INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9118030

Adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Pokhara, Nepal: A study on persistence and change

Chhetri, Ram Bahadur, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1990

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

ADAPTATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN POKHARA, NEPAL:

A STUDY ON PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ANTHROPOLOGY

DECEMBER 1990

By
Ram B. Chhetri

Dissertation Committee:
P. Bion Griffin, Chairman
Alice G. Dewey
S. Alan Howard
Robert W. Gardner
Murray T. Chapman

DEDICATED TO:

My Father, Shri Nar B. Chhetri who did not have an opportunity to go to school as a child but still did his best to educate me; and

My Mother, Smt. Bishnu Maya Chhetri who brought me up in a special way with all her maternal love and care.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The anthropologist, in his/her efforts to produce an anthropological study, is generally involved in a number of interactions with various institutions, groups of people and individuals. An anthropological research is, therefore, the product of what an anthropologist learns by listening, observing and experiencing. This is very much true of my study on Tibetan refugees in Nepal. I, therefore, want to acknowledge and thank several individuals and institutions which have played significant roles in making this study possible.

I am thankful to the Central Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, for granting me an extended leave of absence to enable me to undertake higher studies at the University of Hawaii. I am also grateful to the East-West Center, Population Institute for granting me the Graduate Study Award as well as a Field Research Award for the present study. At the dissertation writing stage, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawaii supported me financially by offering me a Graduate Assistantship from August 1989 to July 1990. I would like to thank the Department of Anthropology for this. Towards the end of the dissertation writing process, Dr. Leslie Sponsel, Department of Anthropology and Dr. Jefferson Fox, East-West Center, Environment and Policy Institute not

only provided me with jobs as Research Assistants in their respective projects but also introduced me to some new ideas. I am thankful to both Drs. Sponsel and Fox.

Fieldwork in Nepal would not have been easy without the support and cooperation of various institutions and individuals in Nepal. The Tibetan Refugee Welfare Officer Mr. Paljor Tsering (popularly known as Jhope among the Tibetans in Pokhara) introduced me to the settlement chiefs by writing a letter of reference in Tibetan language addressed to the Tibetans in Pokhara. In Pokhara, during my filed research, the Tibetans not only permitted my intrusiveness in their way of life but also made me feel welcome in their settlements. Their hospitality, generosity and cooperation played an important role in the success of my field research in Pokhara. A few individuals like Tenzin Trinle, Karma Rapten, Tashi, Mela, Rinchen Dolma, Topgyal, Tharchin, Samdrupla, Lhagyal, Phunjok Tsering, Tashi Phunjok, Mingmar, Norbu and Dhondup deserve special recognition.

I am thankful to my field supervisor Dr. Pitambar Sharma for his help and support during my field research in Nepal. I am also grateful to Dr. Dilli R. Dahal for sharing his experiences of doing research in Nepal. A number of friends like Tara Nath Baral of PN Campus, Pokhara, Ashoke Shrestha and Jagat B. Basnyat of NEW ERA, Ram Risal, Prem Jung Thapa, and D. D. Bhatta at IDS, Dr. Marta Levitt and

Bachchu Koirala have also helped me at various stages of my field research in Nepal. I am thankful to all of them.

I am grateful to my dissertation committee, Drs. P. Bion Griffin, Alice G. Dewey, S. Alan Howard, Murray T. Chapman and Robert W. Gardner for their intellectual and moral support during my graduate work at the University of Hawaii, as well as for their constructive comments on the drafts of my dissertation. Drs. Griffin, Dewey and Gardner deserve special thanks who were my constant sources of encouragement and guidance at the University of Hawaii.

Dr. Peter Xenos, Research Associate, EWPI, has also made an invaluable contribution to my study by providing insightful comments and suggestions on the drafts of my dissertation. I will always be grateful for his practical advice from time to time here at the East-West Center.

I am also thankful to Victoria Ho and Ho Lom Lee of the EWPI, Computer Section for their cooperation and help.

My friend Dr. Gregory Maskerinec not only read my final draft but also shared with me the information he had obtained about Tibetan refugees in Switzerland from his recent visit there.

Finally, I owe a lot of thanks to my parents and my family: Laxmi, Gyanu, Dilip, Raghav, Gaurav and Prashanta for their support towards my work--expressed in their own ways--which in reality has been a constant source of inspiration in my accomplishments.

ABSTRACT

This study on Tibetan refugees in Pokhara, Nepal, examines their adaptation in the context of persistence and change in socio-cultural, economic, religious and demographic aspects. It also analyses the orientation of Tibetans in exile.

The data for this study come from a field research carried out in the Tibetan refugee settlements in Pokhara during 1988-1989. The methodology of the study is a combination of qualitative (anthropological) and quantitative (demographic--survey) methods. Statistics and ethnography have been used to reinforce each other.

The theoretical ideas of persistent peoples as defined by Spicer and cultural enclaves maintaining ethnic boundaries provide a broader frame of reference for the discussion. In an ethnically plural society in Nepal, Tibetans are seen as forming several boundaries around themselves--which are differentially permeable. The boundaries that are intact may help the Tibetans to persist as a distinct ethnic group while the more fluid boundaries allow them to cope with the realities of exile.

The findings make it evident that, in general, the persistence and change among Tibetans is the result of their negotiation between the ideal and the practical. The ideal for the Tibetans in exile is to persist as Tibetan refugees

and maintain their Tibetanness. The practical aspect consists of the exile context which may pose challenges while not forcing any solutions.

Tibetans are attempting their best to practice and perpetuate and practice their traditional culture but have not been fully successful. In spite of their desire to maintain an intact socio-cultural boundary around them, there seem to be some weak points already caused by circumstances or by the younger generation of Tibetans. For instance, learning about the Buddhist religion rather than practicing it as a celibate monk or nun is preferred by the youths. People say that they want to go back to Tibet one day but the exogamous marriages, acquiring of citizenship in the countries of their residence, and economic investments in exile raise doubts. However, in spite of the challenges in exile, Tibetans have maintained their distinct cultural and religious identity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....iv

ABSTRACT.....vii

LIST OF TABLES.....xii

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS.....xiv

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....1
REFUGEES AND REFUGEEISM IN GENERAL.....5
TIBETANS AS REFUGEES: WHEN AND WHY?.....10
THE PROBLEM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....12
OBJECTIVES.....18
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE.....19
-PERSISTENT PEOPLES.....19
-ADAPTATION.....25
-PREFERENCE OF ADAPTATION OVER OTHER CONCEPTS.....29
LITERATURE REVIEW: REFUGEES AND TIBETANS.....34
OUTLINE OF THE STUDY.....40
NOTES.....43

CHAPTER II METHODOLOGY.....44
NEED FOR AN ECLECTIC APPROACH.....45
DATA SOURCES.....50
MICRO-MACRO LINKAGE.....56
ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION.....58
DEFINITIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS.....59
AGE DATA: HOW ACCURATE ARE THEY?.....60
FIELD RESEARCH AS A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE.....62
NOTES.....68

CHAPTER III TIBETAN CULTURE, SOCIETY AND PEOPLE.....70
I: TIBET AND TIBETANS: TRADITIONAL CONTEXT.....70
ETHNOGRAPHIC TIBET: HOMOGENEOUS OR NOT?.....70
RELIGION.....73
INCARNATIONS.....75
CELIBACY AND SEXUALITY.....77
HIERARCHY IN A THEORETICALLY NON-HIERARCHICAL SOCIETY.....79
ECONOMIC ASPECT.....82
MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP.....85
KINSHIP: RU AND SHYA THEORY.....86
BELIEFS REGARDING MARRIAGE.....89
KIPTUNG (BEATING THE DOG): PREMARITAL SEXUALITY.....92
MARRIAGE TYPES.....95
SELECTION OF SPOUSE AND MARRIAGE RITUALS.....98

II: TIBETANS IN NEPAL: THE EXILE CONTEXT.....100
SETTLEMENTS AND POPULATIONS.....100
SETTLEMENTS IN POKHARA.....102
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT.....105
ECONOMIC LIFE.....107
COMMITMENTS TO TIBET AND TIBETANNESS.....110
NOTES.....115

CHAPTER IV DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TIBETANS IN NEPAL..119
TIBETAN POPULATION: HOW LARGE IS IT?.....119
POPULATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS, POKHARA..123
HOUSEHOLDS IN POKHARA.....125
POPULATION STRUCTURE.....127
SEX RATIOS.....135
PLACE OF BIRTH.....137
EDUCATION.....140
OCCUPATION.....143
MARITAL STRUCTURE.....147
RELIGION.....150
AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF MFS RESPONDENTS.....153
CONCLUDING REMARKS.....155
NOTES.....156

CHAPTER V MARRIAGE AND FAMILY PATTERNS AND PRACTICES:PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE.....158
AN OVERVIEW OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.....158
DESCENT AND INHERITANCE.....159
MARRIAGE TYPES.....161
-POLYANDRY.....166
-MHAKPA.....170
MARITAL STATUS OF TIBETANS: TIBET AND NEPAL.....176
RESIDENCE AFTER MARRIAGE.....183
ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY.....190
TWO CASES OF ABORTED EXOGAMY.....195
SPOUSE SELECTION.....197
AGE AT MARRIAGE.....202
NHYALU: THE NON-MARITAL CHILDREN.....206
FAMILY SIZE, RELIGION, AND CELIBACY.....207
CONCLUDING REMARKS.....215
NOTES.....218

CHAPTER VI ECONOMIC ASPECTS: UNAVOIDABLE INTERACTIONS.....221
OCCUPATIONS: NOMADIC HERDING TO HANDICRAFT,BUSINESS TO...?.....223
ECONOMIC BASE: HANDICRAFT CENTERS.....234
"SOMETHING BUSINESS": PARADOXICAL BUT LUCRATIVE NICHE.....238
ASSESSING THE ECONOMIC STATUS.....242
CONTRIBUTIONS OF TIBETANS IN NEPAL.....245
QUESTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.....249
NOTES.....253

CHAPTER VII ORIENTATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN POKHARA: TIBET OR NEPAL?.....255
A CONCEPTUAL MODEL.....257
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS.....260
DESIRES TO RETURN TO TIBET.....269
PREFERENCE FOR SETTLEMENT: AN OPTION.....279
NOTES.....284

CHAPTER VIII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....286
RECAPITULATION.....286
IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY.....293
THE FUTURE OF TIBETANS: A CONTEMPLATION.....300
NOTES.....305

APPENDIX A FIELD INSTRUMENTS AND OPERATIONAL DESIGN, JANUARY 1988-FEBRUARY 1989.....307

APPENDIX B HOUSEHOLD CENSUS 1988.....308

APPENDIX C MARRIAGE AND FAMILY SURVEY, 1988.....310

APPENDIX D BUDDHIST CALENDAR YEARS WITH LHOTAK USED FOR DETERMINING AGE FROM HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TIBETAN SETTLEMENTS IN POKHARA.....317

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....319

LIST OF TABLES

Table — Page

1.1 Distribution of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal by Settlements and Areas, 1988.....2

1.2 Distribution of Refugee Population in the World by Regions, 1988.....8

4.1 Tibetan Refugee Household by Size and Settlements, Pokhara, 1988.....125

4.2 Age and Sex Distribution of Tibetan Refugee Population in Pokhara, 1988 and Kathmandu, 1985.....128

4.3 Sex Ratios (Males per 100 Females) by Age Groups, for Selected Populations.....136

4.4 Tibetan Refugee Population by Place of Birth, Age, Sex, and Settlement, 1988.....138

4.5 Tibetan Refugee Population in Pokhara by Level of Education, Age, Sex and Settlement, 1988.....141

4.6 Pokhara Tibetan Refugee Population by Occupation or Activity, Age and Sex, 1988.....144

4.7 Marital Status of Tibetan Refugee Population 20 Years of Age and Older by Age, Sex and Settlement, 1988...148

4.8 Distribution of MFS Respondents as Percentage of Ever-married Population in Tibetan Refugee Settlement, Pokhara, 1988.....154

4.9 Age and Sex Distribution of Marriage and Family Survey Respondents, Pokhara, 1988.....154

5.1 Marriage Type for Tibetans by Sex and Settlement, 1988.....164

5.2 Marital Status for Tibetans in Pokhara by Birth Place and Sex, 1988.....176

5.3 Marital Status at the Time of Arrival from Tibet and at Present in Pokhara, by Sex.....178

5.4 Distribution of Respondents for Number of Times Married by Age Groups and Sex in Pokhara Settlements.....180

5.5 Percent Distribution of the Relatives of Household Heads Sharing Residential Units, 1988.....184

5.6 Marital Status of the Relatives of the Household Heads among Tibetans in Pokhara, 1988.....185

5.7 Percent Distribution of Respondents by Sex for their Views on Community Exogamy.....192

5.8 Spouse Selection for Respondents by Age Groups and Sex in Pokhara Settlements.....199

5.9 Kind of Marriage Arrangement for Tibetans by Sex and Settlement.....200

5.10 Distribution of MFS Respondents by Age at First Marriage.....203

5.11 Age at First Marriage by Current Age of Respondents.....204

5.12 Family Size for Tibetans in Pokhara and the Genealogical Population, 1988.....208

6.1 Occupations and Activities of Tibetans: Selected Populations, 1988.....227

6.2 Percent Distribution of Respondents According to their Desired Occupations for their Children, 1988.....229

7.1 Distribution of Respondents by Cohorts on Their Views to Maintain the Tradition of Monkhood.....261

7.2 Respondents' Preference of the Type of Education for their Sons and Daughters.....267

7.3 Desire to Return, Conditions for Returning, and Future Plans of Tibetans in Pokhara.....272

7.4 Preference of a Place for Settlement and Reasons for Choosing Pokhara.....280

7.5 Things Perceived Difficult and Enjoyed in Nepal by the Tibetans.....282

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

Figure Page

1.1: A Conceptual Model of Adaptation Showing Pertinent Boundaries of the Tibetans and Their Interactions With Nepali Society.....22

3.1: Structure of Tibetan Society and its People.....76

3.2: Tibetan Kinship Theory: Ru, Shya, Non-Ru and Non-Shya Categories.....87

3.3: Marriage Types among the Tibetan Populations.....96

4.1: Population Pyramids for Tibetans in Pokhara.....129

5.1: Potential Residents in a Tibetan Household.....186

5.2: Some Possible Residence Arrangements Among Tibetans.....187

6.1: Occupations of Tibetans: Persistence and Change.....228

7.1: Place of Birth and Orientation Matrix: A Conceptual Model.....258

7.2: Monastic Tradition: Views and Practice Among Tibetans.....263

MAPS

Map 1: Tibetan Refugee Settlements in Nepal.....3
Map 2: Pokhara and Tibetan Settlements.....4
Map 3: Ethnographic Tibet.....72
Map 4: Tibetan Autonomous Region.....72

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is about Tibetan refugees in Nepal, many of whom have been in exile for thirty years now. Culturally, Tibetans seem to be an "enduring people" (Castile 1981:XIX) in that they have successfully resisted their incorporation into Chinese society and in exile also have maintained their cultural and religious distinctiveness vis-a-vis the host communities. The study examines adaptation among Tibetan refugees in Nepal in the context of persistence and change in socio-cultural, economic, and demographic behaviors and practices in general. More specifically, marriage and family patterns and practices, economic aspects pertaining to occupations and the orientation (socio-cultural and place for future settlement) of Tibetans in exile are analyzed. There are several Tibetan refugee settlements in Nepal (see Map 1) and within Pokhara valley there are three settlements (see Map 2). The study focuses on Tibetan refugees in Pokhara valley and is based on data gathered during January 1988 to February 1989.

Tibetan refugees in the study area are defined as people who took to flight after the Lhasa Uprising of 1959 and their children born in exile. As stated already, Tibetans have been in Nepal for three decades now. Many of them are second generation refugees--born and grown to

maturity in Nepal. Although Tibetans are settled in various countries in the west too (e.g.,Canada, Switzerland, The United States of America), the largest number of them are settled in India and Nepal[1]. Within Nepal, Pokhara has about 10% of the total estimated Tibetan refugee population in the country (see Table 1.1). In Pokhara, they are settled in three different settlements and all three settlements have been included under the present study.

Table 1.1

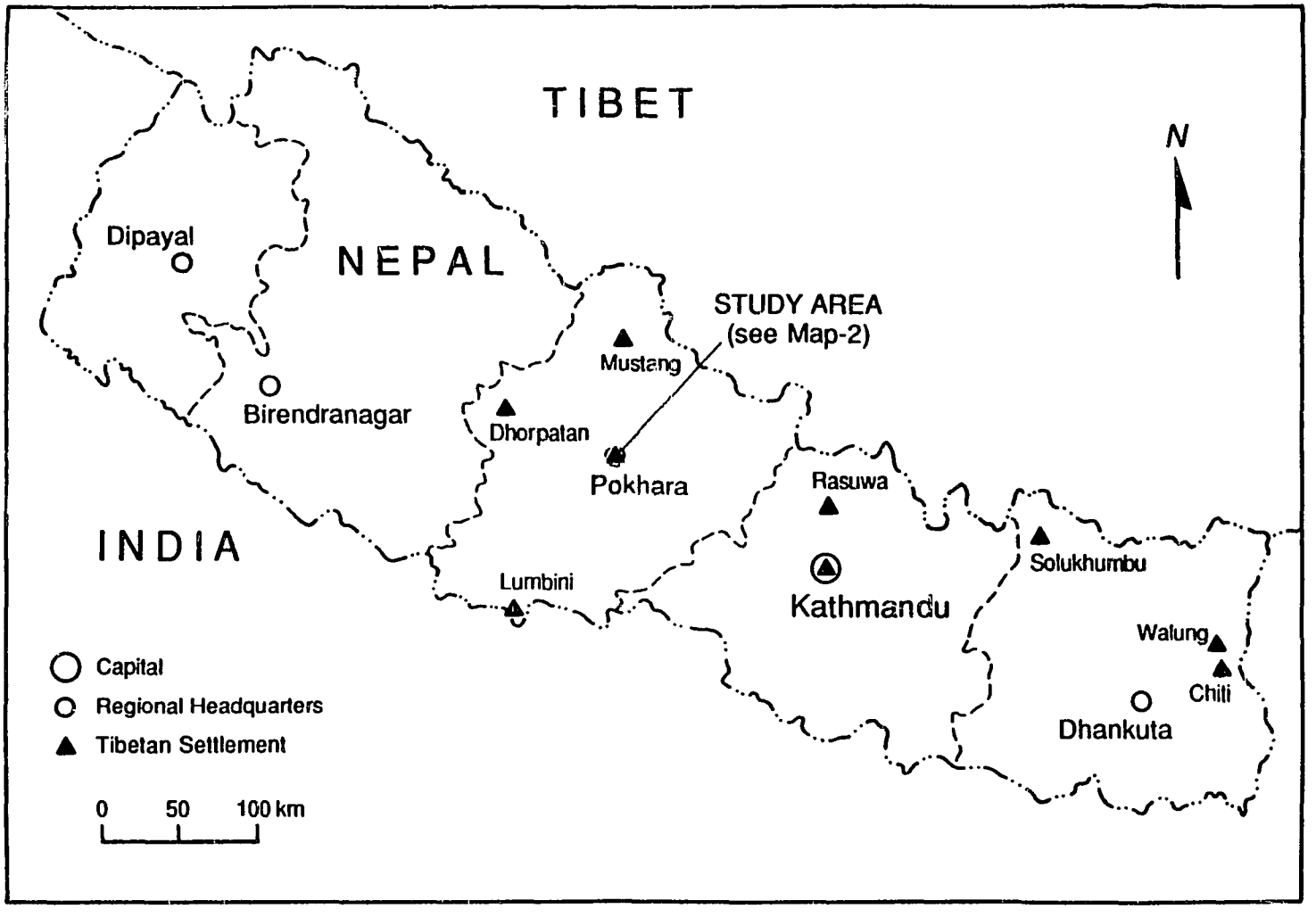
Distribution of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal by Settlements and Areas, 1988.

Settlements and Areas	Estimated Population
Kathmandu Valley*	3,000
Pokhara Valley**	1,427
Solukhumbu Area	1,043
Walung	322
Dhorpatan	400
Chiti	65
Rasuwa	320
Jumla	300
Mustang	912
Dolpo	970
Jhyambaling	500
Other Places	905
Total	10,164

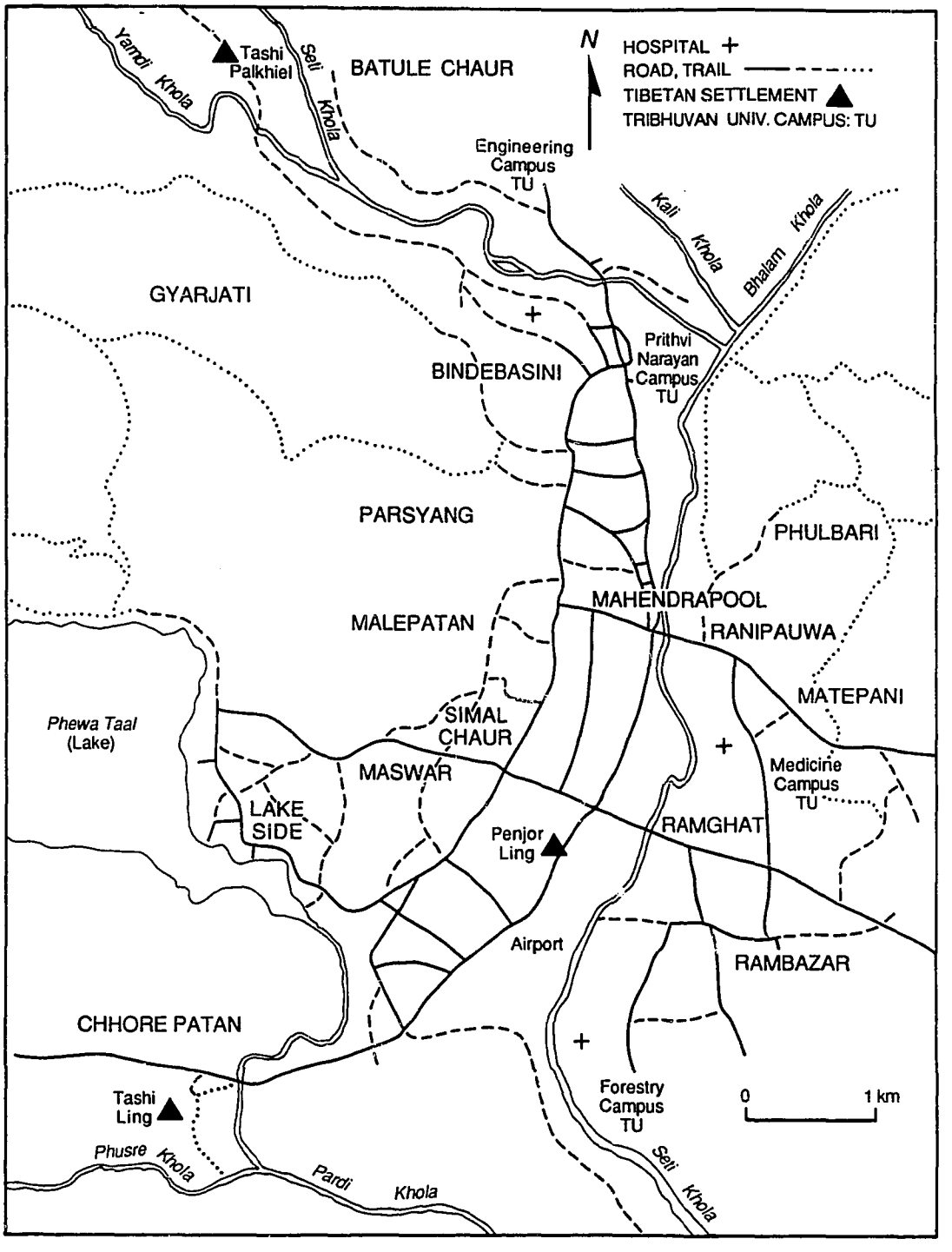
Sources: IOHHDL, 1981:192-206; *=Gombo 1985:78-79; **=Household Census 1988. The estimated total of the Tibetan refugee population in Nepal is quoted as 15,000. As we can see, the total listed by settlement does not add up to this figure. Many more are living on their own outside the Tibetan settlements.

While Tibetans may resemble other refugees in the world, there are some points that perhaps make them

Map-1: Tibetan Refugee Settlements in Nepal



Map-2: Pokhara and Tibetan Settlements



distinct: First, they have been in exile for more than a generation by now. Second, not only the Tibetan people but also their major religio-social and other institutions have taken refuge outside Tibet. A recent paper noted about Tibetans in India that "They have taken refuge not as individuals alone, but rather as a national polity... Both a people and cultural institutions have taken refuge in a host setting and have demonstrated both strength and survivability" (Michael 1985:737). Third, Tibetans may be characterized as a very optimistic people--with a strong hope and desire to return to their homeland as soon as the religio-political conditions in Tibet are in their favor. And finally, Tibetans have taken to a new economic niche--that of handicraft business--while retaining their traditional culture to a great extent. These characteristic features of the Tibetans are important in our discussion that follows and will feature at various relevant points.

REFUGEES AND REFUGEEISM IN GENERAL

In general, refugees are dislocated people, uprooted from their homeland, and are victims of war, politics, natural catastrophes, and persecutions. Although refugees may have similarities with other group of migrants, they are distinct in that they include, as defined by the UN Convention of 1950,

> "any person who, ... owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion,

> nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, ... and being outside the country of former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Article 1-A, see Singh 1984:103).

Although the phenomenon of refugeeism and flight is undoubtedly as old as the history of human societal development itself, formal recognition and attention to the category of "refugee" was accorded during the first quarter of this century[2]. Perhaps with the emphasis on nation, nationality, and state boundaries, groups of people who otherwise may have always been there as people in flight, flux or movement, became conspicuous in our eyes and we labeled them as refugees.

According to the prevalent concept of refugee, their status is a temporary transition state between one place or settlement and another and is a temporary phenomena affecting only those individuals who actually experienced the act of flight. This leaves us with a question: What do we call the children of the refugees who are born and have grown to maturity in exile? Can someone inherit refugee status from one's parents? Abu-Lughod (1988:61-69) argues that Palestinians are exiles at home as well as abroad. Besides, many have inherited the exile status. She also makes a very reasonable point in defining refugee when she says: "it not only requires that there be many dislocated persons but that their displacement results from a common

cause not of their own making" (1988:62). She cites the examples of British individuals banished to Australia after being convicted of committing crimes who were never considered refugees (1988:69 fn #5). As I have defined the Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara, people who have not experienced any flight or displacement or even change of residence are refugees because their parents were and are refugees. Many Tibetans in the Tibetan refugee settlements today are people born and grown to maturity in exile and know of the events of the 1950s in Tibet from what they have heard from their elders or read in books and other publications. But the fact that Tibetans in Pokhara think of themselves as refugees having inherited this status from their parents seems to question the adequacy in the definition of the UN convention of 1950.

The number of refugees in the world also varies depending on what criteria are used to define them. The total number of people grouped as refugees in 1988 by UNHCR (see REFUGEES, Dec., 1988:24-25) is slightly over 12 million people. Table 1.2 gives some idea about the distribution of the refugee population in the world as of 1988.

Asia and Africa have the largest proportion of refugees in the world with 46.7% and 32.8% of the total refugee population respectively. This suggests some important things worth noting. First, it is obvious that most disruptions are taking place in these regions. Whether the

recency of nationalism and other political developments has anything to do with the phenomenon of refugeeism here could be a topic worthy of attention for a political analyst.

Table 1.2

Distribution of Refugee Population in the World by Regions, 1988.

Region	Approximate Population	Percent of Total
Asia	5,668,400	46.7
Europe	711,500	5.9
North America	1,353,000	11.1
Latin America	339,000	2.8
Africa	3,975,900	32.8
Oceania*	92,800	0.8
Total	12,139,600	100.0

Source: REFUGEES, Special issue on UNHCR: 1989 Programme, Dec., 1988. *= Includes Australia and New Zealand.

Zolberg (1983) has pointed out that the formation of new states and a host of international factors are also responsible for giving rise to refugee movements. Second, most of the refugees are in the third world and from those third world countries which are not only resource poor and economically behind the so-called developed nations but which are also already overburdened with demographic problems of over-population (in relation to resources) coupled with high population growth rates. The influx of refugees in some of the third world resource-poor countries could have serious implications for the processes of development. Third, from the table, we get an impression that when people must flee or dislocate themselves from

their homes, they tend to go to closeby places, regions, or countries so that once things are settled in their homeland, they can easily go back. Proximity may also give them a familiarity to the countries or places of asylum. Also, due to proximity, socio-cultural and ecological differences between the refugees and their host settings may not be drastic. For the Tibetans, especially for those settled in places like Mustang, Rasuwa, Dhorpatan, Chiti, and other places along the northern Himalayan belt of Nepal, the host society may not be much different than their own back in the Tibetan Highlands, in terms of language, dress, food habits, or culture in general.

In the refugee settlements in Pokhara, Tibetans are living together irrespective of their family and socio-economic backgrounds[3]. They seem to have, by now, done away with their disrupted family and kin networks by creating new ones in exile. In this process, as a consequence of having to set up new familial and kin relations, traditional rules of marriage may have changed along with the extent, size, and composition of family and kin networks. Isogamy (marriage with someone of the same rank), which used to be a norm in Tibet, had to be pushed to the background. The imperatives set up by the disruptions and the demographic situation in exile allows them to maintain or recognize only one boundary line--the one distinguishing a Tibetan from a non-Tibetan. The other

dividing lines within the Tibetan society have grown very hazy if not disappeared totally.

TIBETANS AS REFUGEES: WHEN AND WHY?

Before discussing when and how Tibetans became refugees, let us briefly talk about how someone becomes a refugee in general. Opinions are divided in this regard. Kunz, for instance, argues that "inner self-propelling force ...is singularly absent from the movement of refugees" (1973:131). He further states that the movement of refugees, like the movement of a billiard ball is governed by kinetic factors. Kunz's kinetic theory of refugee movement, as we see, does not acknowledge the presence of any kind of decision making on the part of the refugees. At the other extreme, Allen and Hiller (1985), see that there are some volitional aspects and that decision making is involved in becoming a refugee. They, however, acknowledge that there could be the classic type refugees who respond spontaneously with little or no forethought, planning, or organization. Hansen (1981) sees that flight and a degree of powerlessness are the essential elements that characterize the refugees as forced or involuntary migrants, moving in spite of their desire to remain where they are. Hansen, however, suggests that "refugees are people who choose to leave and are successful in doing so" (1981:190). He believes that refugees and regular migrants move because

of decisions that compare alternatives. Refugees are, however, not "attracted by the inherent positive aspects of destination" (ibid.).

Let us now turn to find out where the Tibetans fit as refugees. Their exodus from Tibet began as early as 1951 when the Chinese reached Lhasa. But in the beginning, the Chinese did not interfere much with the state of affairs in Tibet (see Corlin 1975, Richardson 1984, Shakabpa 1967). The situation worsened in Tibet only after the Lhasa uprising of March 1959, following which His Holiness the Dalai Lama escaped to India. Between 1951 and 1958-59, "many Tibetans came across the border to Nepal, but as nothing happened, they returned to their villages" (Corlin 1975:78). However, some Tibetans left their homeland permanently during these eight years too. They foresaw the impending persecutions and problems and therefore made a decision to flee. In a way, these first waves of Tibetan refugees could be regarded as anticipatory refugees (see Kunz 1973). However, many of these people were rich merchants, businessmen, noblemen, and their families (see Conway 1975). As their number was not large and since they were well-to-do and did not seek any kind of assistance from the host countries, they settled down by themselves and remained inconspicuous among the culturally and linguistically Tibetan populations in the Himalayan regions of India, Sikkim, Nepal, and Bhutan. Thus, in effect, the

Tibetan refugees living in various countries today are mostly the ones who sought refuge in the years after 1959.

THE PROBLEM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study of refugees (refugee movements, resettlements, adaptation, repatriation, impacts on refugee themselves as well on hosts, etc.), provides an opportunity to look into an interaction of various factors, viz., demographic, socio-cultural, political, religious, economic, etc. Refugees in general could very well be regarded a group of migrants or people on the move. Like other groups of movers, e.g., rural to urban or rural to rural or urban to urban migrants, and immigrants, the refugees are a people away from their homes.

Studies on migrants, immigrants, and refugees have shown that, in general, the process of adaptation tends to be specific to the socio-cultural, economic, and other environments at the destination. Goldlust and Richmond allude to this when they say "Even within a single country ..., it can not be assumed that the experiences of immigrants in one part of the country will be identical with those entering or settling elsewhere" (1974:200). In other words, different groups of people respond differently to different socio-cultural and economic settings, presumably because of the social, cultural, national and religious backgrounds. Based on this general premise, it is argued

that Tibetan refugees in Pokhara, Nepal, have been undergoing the process of adaptation in their own way.

When fleeing from their homes, some of the refugees may have fled with their families, relatives, and friends while others may have been separated from them all. The disruptions caused by the flight are gradually overcome after resettlement. In refugee camps or settlements, the refugees may seem to be a homogeneous group of people to outsiders. In reality, however, they may be very heterogeneous people with varying experiences of disruptions, separation, and trauma as well as coming from different familial and socio-economic backgrounds. This is certainly true of Tibetans in Nepal (see Gombo 1985:31-35). Some belong to Tibetan noble families, while others are commoners, monks, or nuns. Also, some may have come from cities in Tibet while others belong to nomadic groups of people like the Drogpas or the Khampas who were traditionally in opposition to any central authority in Tibet (Avedon 1984:28-29; Richardson 1984:11).

Tibetan refugees come from different regions of Tibet, they belong to different sects of Buddhism, and they may have different socio-economic backgrounds. In spite of their pre-refugee socio-economic differences, however, they share more commonalities among themselves than with the host Nepali people. Tibetans are mostly Buddhists, speak dialects of the Tibetan language, and above all, share a

common culture, which could be called "The Tibetan Culture." In contrast, the majority of the Nepali people are Hindus and therefore have a different life style, beliefs, norms and values than do Tibetans. However, since the society in Pokhara is plural in ethnic composition (see Chhetri 1986:244, Table 2), Tibetans perhaps find that they are just another ethnic group in Pokhara's ethnic mosaic. Most of the Nepali communities in Pokhara, like the Brahmans, Chhetris, Gurungs, Tamangs, Thakalis, Magars, Newars and Muslims maintain boundaries of caste or culture and religion among themselves. For instance, caste or community endogamy is a norm among the various Nepali communities named above. However, at the economic level, the caste or community boundaries tend to attenuate among Nepalis also. While multiculturalism, multilingualism, etc., are taken for granted, the Nepali people also tend to believe that they share some common norms and values across caste and community boundaries. It is commonly believed in Nepal that Nepali society is characterized by unity in diversity. It is within this kind of socio-cultural and economic context that the Tibetan refugees live in Pokhara. Given the nature of the Nepali society, Tibetans can maintain a certain distance from the host populations and thus encapsulate themselves culturally. However, this encapsulation cannot apply to all aspects of their life in Nepal. Thus, the differences between Tibetan refugees and host Nepali people

set the stage for interactions between the two populations. This then initiates the process of adaptation among Tibetan refugees in response to the Nepali host society, culture, and economy in general.

The major focus of this dissertation is on two sets of research questions:

1) Are there discernible differences between pre-refugee and current marriage and family patterns and practices among Tibetan refugees in Nepal? For example: To what extent is celibacy in monkhood and nunhood practiced in Pokhara in comparison to the earlier situation in Tibet?[4] Is the Tibetan community in Pokhara endogamous compared with the earlier situation in Tibet? Does polyandry, which used to be a common form of marriage in Tibet, exist among Tibetan refugees in exile? Is the Tibetan refugee household bigger or smaller in comparison to the pre-1959 household size? What kind of kin and non-kin relationships have developed among Tibetan refugees in response to the new socio-economic setting in Nepal?

2) Are there discernible differences between the younger (second generation) and the older (first) generations of Tibetan refugees in terms of their behaviors and practices in relation to marriage, religious beliefs and practices, and the commitments toward the cause of Tibet? How do they compare with regard to maintaining Tibetan culture (like faith in the Dalai Lama and reading, writing,

and speaking Tibetan)? What differences in orientation of Tibetan refugees can be noted? Is the place of birth and maturity vital in determining the orientation among Tibetans? Where do the different generations of Tibetans desire to settle permanently?

Socio-economic adaptation has important implications for the demographic structure and characteristics of the refugees. The demographic structure in turn has implications for the practice of traditional culture and economic strategies. For instance, because of the new situation, fewer Tibetan refugee families may send of their sons and daughters to the monastic way of life to practice religion and remain celibate. A decline in celibacy will in turn bring about changes in the demographic structure of a population.

In the traditional context, the Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns belonging to some sects (e.g., Sakyapa, Gelukpa and Kagyupa) practice celibacy. It will be observed that Tibetan youths educated in non-Tibetan and non-Buddhist schools in the refugee contexts duly honor the religious tradition but find celibacy difficult to continue. A significant consequence of this change in attitude towards celibacy and monkhood among the younger generation should be seen in the marriage and family patterns among the refugee population. Any change in celibacy will not only influence marriage and family patterns but will also have further

important implications for the demographic structure of Tibetan refugee community. Reduction in the proportion of celibate monks and nuns in the refugee population means an increase in the number of potentially married people in the reproductive age group, which in turn means a possible rise in Tibetan marriage and birth rates. Similarly, a decline in the practice of polyandry may bring about a rise in the marriage rates. Changes in marital practice will also have implications for socio-economic aspects of the Tibetan society. Not only will Tibetans have an expanded kin network, but also a greater proportion of Tibetan men and women will be getting married, establishing independent social and economic units (i.e., families or households), and producing more children (see Goldstein 1981, and Ross 1980, 1984, for a discussion on fertility lowering effects of polyandry in a society).

In summary, we may assert that there could be a feed back or interactive relation between socio-economic and demographic characteristics and processes in a population and this appears to be true among Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Given this situation wherein several factors interact among each other, a model closer to a multivariate model proposed by Goldlust and Richmond (1974) in their study of immigrants in the city of Toronto, Canada, seems useful for the present study. This will be discussed in greater detail in the section on theoretical perspective below.

OBJECTIVES

The research objectives of the present study are two-fold. First, to study adaptation as exemplified by persistence and change among Tibetan refugees in Pokhara. More specifically, marriage and family patterns and practices, marriage types, practice of celibacy as monks and nuns, age at marriage, views on exogamy and endogamy, economic pursuits, culture and nationality of orientation and preference of a place for permanent settlement will be analyzed by looking at pre-refugee and refugee contexts. Second, to identify similarities and differences in patterns and practices with regard to the above named categories among Tibetans by their place of birth, place of growing into maturity, and place of orientation.

The first objective requires that the research focus on identifying the traditional socio-cultural and demographic behavior and practices among the Tibetan refugees before they fled from their homeland in 1959. Once these are identified, the observed behaviors and practices among the Tibetans in Nepal today can be compared to identify patterns of adaptation. The second objective, on the other hand, points to the need to identify similarities and differences across generations or birth cohorts of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, i.e., comparison of the first generation of refugees with those born and brought up outside Tibet as well as a

comparison among Tibetans by their countries or societies of orientation.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

-PERSISTENT PEOPLES

Barth (1981) points out that in order to understand social change, we need to "describe all of society in such terms that we see how it persists, maintains itself, and changes through time" (Barth 1981:105). As is clear from Barth's statement, persistence and change ought to be considered simultaneously. It is in this vein that the adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Pokhara is seen as characterized by persistence and change. In general, the strategy of the Tibetan refugee community in exile may be described as: to persist as far as possible and change only if they must.

The theoretical ideas of persistent peoples (see Spicer 1971, Castile and Kushner 1981, Moone 1981), and cultural enclaves maintaining ethnic boundaries (see Barth 1969, 1981) provide a broader frame of reference for our discussion on adaptation. In a sense, adaptation of Tibetans in Nepal is characterized by a dialogue between the ideal and the practical. To use Spicer's (see Spicer 1971) formulation, the story of Tibetans has been one of "the oppositional process" wherein a "conflict has occurred over issues of incorporation and assimilation" of the Tibetans

into the larger societies. The ideal, therefore, consists in persisting as a distinct people in exile while the practical reality leads them to find ways and means of making adjustments in their group boundaries. It is in this process of dialogue that persistence and change in their behaviors and practices become imminent.

Spicer (1971) presents a comparative discussion on several persistent cultural systems like the Jews, the Mayas, the Yaquis, the Navajos, etc. More importantly, he notes that there are certain identity symbols like land, language, music, dance, heroes, etc., as markers of such persistent cultures. However, there may not be an universal roster of ever present symbols across cultures.

Tibetans, too, have had a set of markers to draw a boundary line between a Tibetan and a non-Tibetan. In general, the persistence and change among Tibetans in Pokhara seems to revolve around the perception of Tibetan vis-a-vis the non-Tibetan. This identity perception has been influenced by their cultural heritage, their sense of belonging to a political entity known as Tibet, their present allegiance to the institution and leadership of the Dalai Lama, their faith in the Buddhist religion, and their future orientation towards the cause of a free Tibet (see Nowak 1984). Tibetans in exile share among themselves a common geographical origin (Tibet), common culture (set of norms and values, language, religion), and a common concern

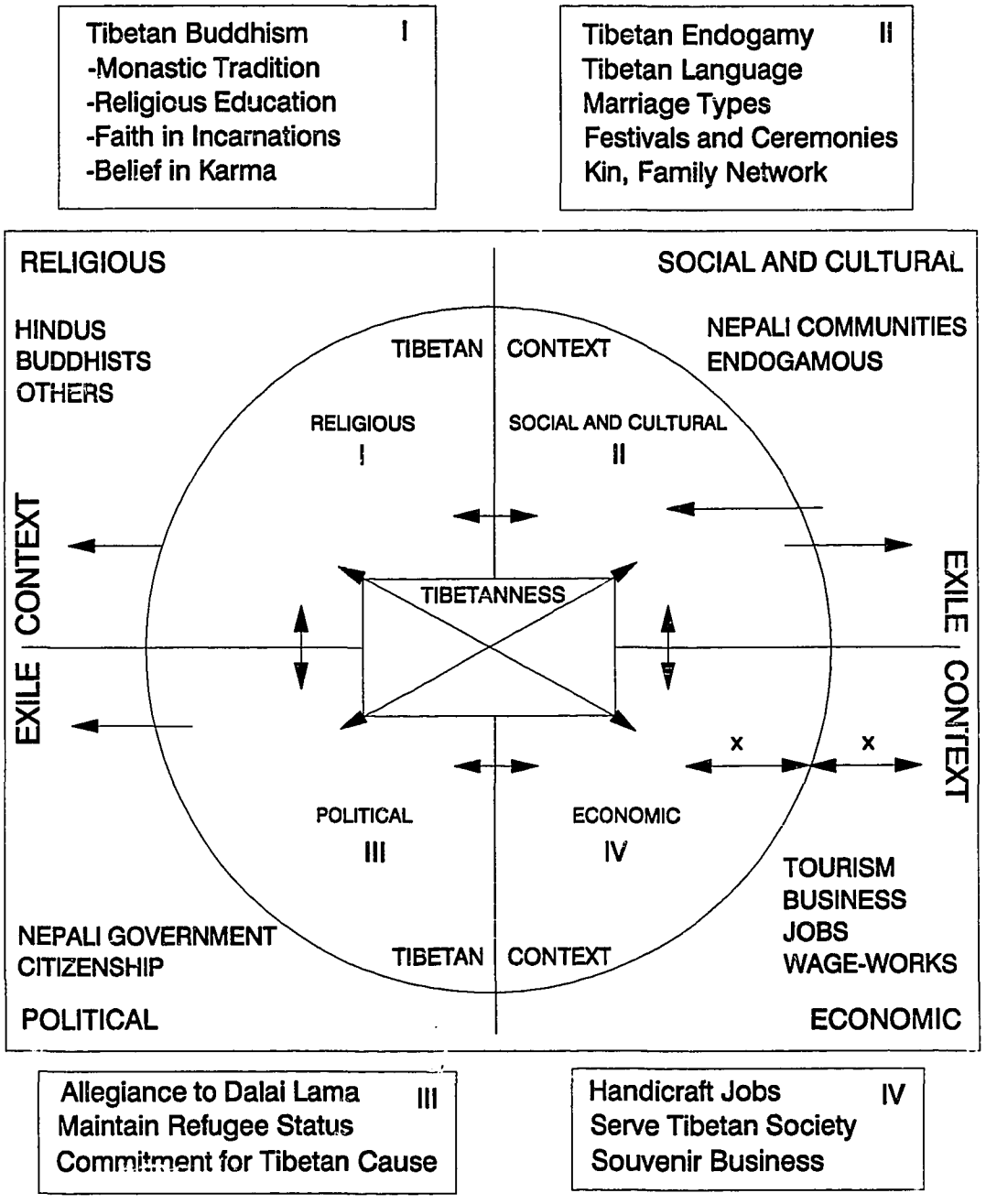
for the cause of a free Tibet. The perceptions of these markers as distinctive features by the Tibetans and their desire to continue to maintain these in the face of the challenges of exile and cultural contact is vital for their survival in exile. Moreover, the identity perception among Tibetans and the plural society in Pokhara in terms of ethnic composition, language, culture, and religion are together instrumental in initiating the negotiations between the ideal and the practical among the Tibetans.

Figure 1.1 presents a conceptual model of the pertinent boundaries of the Tibetans vis-a-vis the Nepali society and the kinds of interactions across the boundaries.

As shown in figure 1.1, at the core of the concern for the Tibetans in Pokhara is the perception of Tibetanness. Maintaining Tibetan identity is most important for them. The circle defined as the Tibetan context represents the Tibetan community in Pokhara with religious (I), social and cultural (II), political (III) and economic (IV) boundaries. Relevant categories that influence the persistence and change among Tibetans in various aspects of their life in exile are given in the boxes numbered I, II, III and IV.

The arrows in the figure also need some explanation. Two-way arrows (except those marked 'x') indicate interactions from both sides as well as fluidity of the boundaries on which they are shown. The two-way arrows marked as 'x' which meet at the economic boundary between

Figure 1.1: A Conceptual Model of Adaptation Showing Pertinent Boundaries of the Tibetans and Their Interactions With Nepali Society



the Tibetans and the society in Pokhara indicate that the economic boundary is very fluid and interactions between Tibetans and non-Tibetans are unavoidable. The one-way arrows, if starting from the boundary lines indicate that the interaction towards which the arrow is pointing is optional and therefore the boundary there is more intact. Finally, those one-way arrows that do cross the boundary lines indicate that there have been cases of individuals crossing the boundaries in those aspects of Tibetan or Nepali society where such arrows appear.

It should also be noted that the exile context--the Nepali society in Pokhara--is plural. Plural societies are neither new nor rare, and therefore, Pokhara or Nepal in general is not peculiar in so far as the general features of a plural society are concerned. In a pluralistic society where contact and interactions take place among various groups of people, there are factors that allow for the formation of boundaries (e.g., socio-cultural, religious, and economic) that are differentially permeable as shown in the figure.

Conceptually, therefore, the refugee community could be seen as forming boundaries--thereby protecting themselves from others. However, all the boundaries can not be as intact as the communities would prefer them to be (see Horowitz 1975). On the economic front, the imperatives of economic survival puts them into an unavoidable interaction

with the host population. Conceptually, therefore, we could think of the refugees as maintaining several boundaries as shown in Figure 1.1, vis-a-vis other communities in the host society. Some of those boundaries of the refugees may be intact and strong while others may be rather fragile. The boundaries that are intact may help the refugees to persist as a distinct ethnic group while the more fragile boundaries allow them to cope with the realities. The intact boundaries of Tibetan refugees in Nepal may be for culture, religion, marriage and family networks, while the economic boundary may be rather fluid.

The refugees may also perceive of these boundary lines differently with different groups or communities in the host society. For instance, Tibetans perceive that they are much closer to Sherpas, Lobas, and other culturally Tibetan populations in Nepal than to Brahmans, Chhetris or Newars. Similarly, in religious aspects, Tibetans certainly feel much closer to the Buddhists in Nepali society than to the Hindus or others.

Defining a group boundary by any group of people could also be influenced by situational factors. The definition may change as the context changes. For instance, a Tibetan individual in his/her interactions among Tibetans themselves may want to identify himself/herself as a Khampa or Amdoba as the case may be. However, in the wider context of the non-Tibetan world, the same individual may resort to a

broader label of being a Tibetan. This kind of boundary contraction or expansion in accordance with the situation is perhaps a practical strategy for the Tibetans in exile today. A community of people, like the Tibetans in Pokhara, tend to maintain boundaries around them to use Barth's perspective (see Barth 1969:9-38). Also, Tibetan culture can be regarded as one of the "persistent cultural systems" to use Spicer's (see Spicer 1971) way of analyzing the identity of a people.

-ADAPTATION

The present study is organized around the conceptual framework of adaptation. The concept of adaptation is widely used in anthropology, sociology, and population studies to refer to the systematic interaction of individuals and collectivities among themselves and their responses vis-a-vis the physical, socio-economic, cultural, and other environments in which they are situated (Goldlust and Richmond 1974). Adaptation as a conceptual framework, therefore, sees peoples or populations as neither totally active nor passive but inherently interactive (cf. Graves and Graves 1974:117-151). Given this, Tibetan refugees in Nepal are viewed as interacting with the host Nepali environment and society (which is a new setting for them), with both refugees and hosts adapting to the other. However, the adaptation in the Nepali society in response to

the resettlement of the Tibetan refugees is not the focus of the present study.[5]

As we know that the concept of adaptation is interpreted in a number of ways, a short discussion about its use in the present study is in order[6]. The spectrum of interpretations of adaptation could be generally fitted into some broad rubrics like, adaptation as a process, adaptation as a state and adaptation as fitness in the Darwinian sense. Besides, we also see scholars talking of the levels of adaptation. Some cultural ecologists, for instance, inspired by the works of L. A. White, have focused on energy use as an indicator of the level of adaptation. Cohen (1968) for instance, argues that "adaptation in man is the process by which he makes effective use for productive ends of the energy potential of his habitat ... He accomplishes this by harnessing increasingly effective sources of energy ... so he can make maximum use of it" (Cohen 1968:41). In spite of the numerous interpretations of adaptation, the ideology of survival and reproduction as essential characteristics of adaptation seems to be a common undercurrent in the usage of this concept. For instance, when Sahlins says "... adaptation implies maximizing the social life chances" (Sahlins 1964:136), we may observe that the concept of survival is taken for granted.

Bennett (1976) has provided one of the better expositions of the concept of adaptation in cultural

anthropology. He recognizes the importance of the concept of behavioral adaptation and defines it as "...the coping mechanism that humans display in obtaining their wants and adjusting their lives to the surrounding milieu ..." (Bennett 1976:246). More importantly, Bennett distinguished between the static as well as processual facets of adaptation (see Bennett 1976) which have been found relevant in a recent study of a culturally Tibetan population in Nepal (see Fricke 1986). Fricke provides an interesting discussion of adaptation among Tamangs in Nepal using the concepts of spatial demographic, technoeconomic, and socioeconomic adaptation. He concludes that the Tamangs of Timling are "successfully organized for survival, yet contained within that organization are the seeds of its own change" (Fricke 1986:187).

In a general sense, the whole world is characterized by the process of adaptation wherein not only the human (or animal) populations are changing to cope with their sociocultural as well as natural environments, but the environments themselves are changing too. This kind of total dynamism is very nicely expressed by Lewontin (1984:235-251) in a recent paper when he characterizes evolutionary adaptation as "an infinitesimal process in which the organism tracks the ever-changing environment, always lagging slightly behind, always adapting to the most recent environment, but always at the mercy of further

historical change" (Lewontin 1984:238). Leaving aside the issue of lagging behind, what is pertinent in the statement is that everything is dynamic. This is vital for our discussion of Tibetans because as the Tibetans are changing or not changing to cope with the host Nepali environment (or the exile context in general), the latter is also changing over time. I may also add that if the Tibetan society is changing or not changing in particular facets of their ways of life, it may not be just because this may have been their way of coping. It might be equally possible that the host society's norms and values may have influenced the change or no change strategy of the Tibetans. In other words, the host society may not incorporate the guests in all aspects of its way of life and thereby limit the guests' opportunity to undergo change in the relevant aspects. That is, the host communities may also maintain intact boundaries in certain aspects. A very good example of this is the non-acceptance of the Tibetans by the caste Hindus into the caste system. The Tibetans are outcastes, which means that they do not belong to the caste system. Another good example of this is the practice of endogamy (group, caste, community, religious, etc.) by the hosts which makes it difficult for the incoming population to practice exogamy, but reinforces their own endogamous practices.

-PREFERENCE OF ADAPTATION OVER OTHER CONCEPTS

Several conceptual models have come into existence to assist the explanation of the socio-cultural dynamics occurring in a situation of cultural contact. Since the adaptation of a refugee population is to be seen in the cultural contact situation too, a short review of some of the concepts may help justify our preference of adaptation over other concepts.

Since the overall process of adaptation is interactive, an understanding is contingent upon seeing the observed phenomena as being influenced by a number of factors. This necessitates an overarching conceptual model close to what Goldlust and Richmond (1974) have called a multivariate model of immigrant adaptation. They make the basic argument that the immigrant population as well as the receiving population needs to be recognized as heterogeneous. (In the context of the present study, both the host Nepali society as well as Tibetan refugee community are heterogeneous.) The immigrants or refugees have different pre-migration characteristics and socio-economic conditions among themselves and these "will affect the type of mutual adaptation taking place between the migrants and ... the receiving society. Out of this interaction will emerge new social patterns that are determined by the complex interplay of the technological, demographic, economic, cultural, and social forces" (Goldlust and Richmond 1974:196-197).

Adaptation--persistence and change in the Tibetan refugee population with regard to demographic, socio-cultural and economic aspects--will be seen as suggested by the multivariate model. Tibetans, like any other group of refugees, can be seen as confronted by the two contradictory pressures of wanting to practice and perpetuate their culture while at the same time, as stated above, having to negotiate their desires with the practical realities of life in exile. With this situation in mind, the demographic (age, sex, marital status, family size), economic (occupation before and now), socio-cultural (ethnic origin, religious sect, education, knowledge of languages, birth place), and the temporal factors (length of stay in Nepal, life-cycle stage at the time of arrival in Nepal, age at arrival) will be seen as interacting with each other, thereby influencing the overall adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Nepal.

The term adaptation, as I understand it, captures the process of adjustment and other changes being experienced by the host as well as the in-coming populations in a situation of cultural contact. Adaptation, in other words, is a two way process--a more reasonable conceptual tool than integration, or assimilation (which generally see one group of people, usually the minority, changing itself to conform to the norms, values, and behaviors of the larger and dominant group). Also, adaptation recognizes the plurality

of cultures, languages, religions, and ethnic groups in particular settings. By using adaptation as a frame of reference, one could conceive of the 'setting' under study as consisting of sub-systems existing within larger systems. The concept, therefore, provides the fluidity essential to an analysis which aims at integrating the micro and the macro levels instead of sticking to one or the other. For an anthropologist, the concept gives a holistic perspective as well as an intensive focus. Elsewhere I have argued that the process of adaptation does not necessarily lead to the assimilation of in-migrants into the host society (Chhetri 1986:239). Non-assimilation is more likely to result when the host society is multi-ethnic in character and when the in-migrants share the same social, cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds and originate from the same geographical region.

Adaptation can be seen as a state as well as a process. As a process, it can be viewed as interactive or reciprocal and therefore on-going. As a state, it could be conceived as a condition reached by way of interaction between or among groups (or sub-systems) in question. The adaptation of refugees is a complex process involving variables at the societal, institutional, family, and individual levels. The causes which influence the movement of people from one place to another, the personal characteristics of the movers, the knowledge, values, and norms they bring to the new setting

are all pertinent to adaptation. Also, equally crucial are the social, economic, and political policies of the receiving society which could facilitate or hinder the process of adaptation.

For the discussion of the adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Pokhara, we need to make note of two important sets of conditions. First, the human populations--ethnic groups or communities, families, and individuals--have their own distinctive social, cultural, economic, political, demographic, ecological, and other factors or contexts in which they exist. The populations may be said to be embedded in a system of these factors. But then these populations also shape, reshape, or mould and change these factors to suit their needs and desires. Second, when populations move, they do so not only in physical or geographical space, but also travel in social and cultural space. The geographical and socio-cultural factors or characteristics of the origin and destination involved in the movement could be the same, or drastically different, or falling somewhere in the continuum. Since it is the individuals, families, and communities who reach a new geographical and socio-cultural space which also has its own individuals, families, and communities (with all their diversities or heterogeneities), the contacts and interactions between and among them take place at various levels.

With these dual boundaries formed around them, the refugee populations adapt themselves to the host setting: They may retain their identity as a cultural group distinct from the hosts, yet interact freely on the economic front which ensures the survival of the socio-cultural identity of the group while providing for the day to day needs by ensuring the "economic survival."

In Pokhara, the Nepali society is composed of a number of endogamous castes and communities. While free interactions at various levels may be observed among Nepali people, when it comes to establishing matrimonial ties, the rule is to maintain caste, community, or ritual group boundary. This kind of boundary-maintaining norm also makes it easier for the Tibetans to maintain their own boundaries as relatively impermeable. Situations may be different for Tibetans living in other places of Nepal, like Rasuwa, Dhorpatan, Solukhumbu, Mustang, etc. Similarly, if Tibetans were living in a western country or society where no such caste, ritual, or class distinctions exist, it may have been very different and Tibetans might have found it much harder in some ways to maintain endogamy as well as their mother tongue. At the same time, major cultural differences between the Tibetans and European or American host communities might also hinder intermarriages.

LITERATURE REVIEW: REFUGEES AND TIBETANS

The study of migrants, immigrants, and refugees has been receiving increased importance in various social science research works related to population studies. It is therefore not surprising that "the trickle of migrant studies in the 1950s has by the 1970s become a flood" (Graves and Graves 1974:117). Today there is a wealth of literature on migrants and adaptation done in communities all over the world (Corlin 1975; Desbarats 1986; Goldstein 1978; Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Gombo 1985; Graves and Graves 1974, 1980; Punekar 1974; Richmond 1988; Rumbaut and Weeks 1986).

With regard to adjustment and adaptation of the refugees in the society of their refuge, economic aspects seem to have drawn more interest than any other. There are a number of studies dealing with occupational adaptation alone (Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982; Stein 1979; Stein and Tomasi 1981). Many of the Tibetans in Nepal have had to adapt to new occupations (e.g., as wage workers in the handicraft centers) because the agro-pastoral and nomadic life to which many of them were accustomed to in Tibet is no longer practicable in the settlements in Nepal. Some Tibetan refugees have started small restaurants and other business in the urban centers like Pokhara and Kathmandu. This latter group may have been experiencing problems of competition with the local businessmen in the same field

(Gombo 1985 mentions conflict between the Tibetan and Nepali restaurant owners in Kathmandu).

The majority of the published works on Tibetans are accounts of Buddhist religion, Tibetan monastic way of life, art, symbolism, the legendary or real history of Tibet, and political aspect of religion in Tibet. This kind of scholarship has been continued to a great extent in the studies on Tibetan refugees (Aziz and Kapstein 1985; Burman 1979; Corlin 1975; Goldstein 1968; Nowak 1984; Pulman 1983). In contrast, Saklani (1984) took up a sociological study of social and cultural change among the Tibetan refugees in India, while Gombo (1985) undertook a study on continuity, change and adaptation among the Tibetan refugee population in the Kathmandu valley. There also have been studies dealing with the issue of identity among Tibetans living outside Tibet (see de Voe 1981, 1987; L. Dargyay 1988; McLellan 1987).

In Canada, Tibetan seem to be in a state of betwixt and between from what L. Dargyay reports (1988:114-123). Dargyay, himself a Tibetan, presents some findings based on interviews with 30 individuals living in Alberta, Canada where Tibetans were placed in the early 1970 in "pre-arranged employment situations" (L. Dargyay 1988:114). He points out that the Tibetan youths in Canada are gradually losing the Tibetan language because their entire school education takes place in English. Dargyay also reports that

a significant change could be observed in religious awareness among the young Tibetans. He finds that while the older generation emphasize the value of accumulating merit, youths lay greater emphasis on the Buddhist doctrine of non-violence and compassion (1988:120). He concludes that the Tibetans in Alberta deliberately adjust to the mainstream of Canadian life style, but at the same time "they do want to remain Tibetans" (1988:122), which they achieve by "trying to maintain their Tibetan traditions within their families and their own ethnic community" (1988:121). Another scholar (McLellan 1987:63-76) has argued that the belief in and the practice of Buddhism both reinforce the ethnic identity of Tibetans in Canada. McLellan's study based on eleven families in Lindsay, Canada while exploring the role of religion on maintaining ethnic identity among Tibetans, tells us that Tibetans in Canada have created options for themselves to be either Tibetan Buddhists or Canadian Tibetans (1987:73). McLellan also makes a point that Tibetans in Lindsay feel that "it is impossible to separate Tibetan ethnic identity from their Tibetan Buddhist identity..." and that for them, "to be Tibetan is to be Buddhist" (1987:64).

Somewhat different orientations with regard to identity is reported by de Voe for Tibetans in India (de Voe 1987). She mentions several indicators of the persistence of culture among Tibetans in India which include wearing

traditional Tibetan dress for important events, hoisting of the prayer flags, maintaining a household altar with pictures of the Dalai Lama, and social activities (de Voe 1987:61). She further reports that Tibetan refugees and their children born in India are allowed to maintain their stateless identity and thus for the Tibetans, "the refugee paper is expressive of a cultural, ethnic and national identity, an allegiance to the past, and a candid avowal of dedication to Tibet's future freedom" (de Voe 1987:56). She also suggests that Tibetan identity, while reinforced by the presence of the leadership of the Dalai Lama, is "more clearly understood and felt because of the refugee status which frames their lives in India" (1986:63). In an earlier paper, de Voe (1981) however, reports that while being recognized as refugees, "they have been forgotten as Tibetans." This may be true for the Muslim Tibetans who are known as "Lhasa Kakchi" (i.e., Lhasa Muslims) by the Tibetans themselves. As de Voe points out in a foot-note "In 1960, the Indian government agreed to allow the Lhasa-Kachis exile. However, they were not allowed to enter as 'refugees' but rather as Indian citizen (see de Voe 1981).

Tibetans who have moved to other parts of the world, such as the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and other western countries, are certainly having a different fate than their compatriots in South Asia. Tibetans in these occidental societies may soon assimilate into the larger

societies around them. Studies on Tibetan refugees in Switzerland and the US (Messerschmidt 1976; Olschak 1967; Ott-Marti 1976) indicate that this process is already well under way. According to Ott-Marti (1976:43), in Switzerland this is due to the policy of the Swiss Red Cross in encouraging the Tibetans to adopt German as their new language. Learning a new language implies not only learning a new set of syntax, vocabulary, etc., but also a new set of cultural norms and values and behaviors (Nann 1982). Ott-Marti alludes to the problems of the Tibetans in the process of their integration into the Swiss culture. Many of the Tibetan refugees in Switzerland were brought there in the early 1960s when they were still young. From the available studies, we get a picture that being far away from the mainstream of Tibetan culture, these refugees could have retained relatively little understanding of their own culture.

More recent information, however, suggests that Tibetans in Switzerland are also maintaining their ethnic identity, culture, language and religion (Maskarinec 1990, personal communication) like their compatriots in Nepal. According to Maskarinec, the Tibetans in Switzerland have built a monastery at Rikon (therefore practice Buddhism) with a Geshe as its abbot, have made arrangements for the young children to learn Tibetan language and culture, and above all do prefer Tibetan endogamy. The plural nature of

the Swiss society and the Tibetan families joining their young children in recent years have perhaps been factors responsible for creating a conducive environment for the Tibetan community in Switzerland to persist as a distinct community.

Messerschmidt (1976) presents the case of Tibetan refugees in the US and concluded that the Tibetans "have adapted to extraordinary culture contact" (1976:64). Implicit in his discussion is the argument that the Tibetans in the United States have assimilated to the larger American society. I would argue that Tibetans in Nepal have not changed so much, at least in part due to the smaller cultural distance between Tibetans and Nepalis as compared to the cultural distance between Tibetans and the Americans or the Swiss people. Further important factors include the existence of some culturally Tibetan Nepali communities and also settlement in refugee camps rather than as individuals. Moreover, plurality is a characteristic of the Nepali society in general and Pokhara in particular (see Chhetri 1986), and therefore, one would expect less pressure to conform to any single cultural standard.

Mukerji (1985), in his cultural-ecological appraisal of the resettlement of four groups of refugees in India in the post-1947 period (the Punjabis, the Tibetans, the Bengalis, and the Sri Lankan Tamils), points out that unlike other groups, the Tibetans "settled in relatively isolated areas

where they encountered relatively unfamiliar Hindu culture and environmental conditions" (1985:89). Tibetans in India have been reported to have encountered a range of adjustment problems in the new setting (Mukerji 1985; Nowak 1984; Pulman 1983; Saklani 1978, 1984). Some of the Tibetan refugees in Nepal may also have been encountering adjustment problems (either economic or social and psychological in nature). Given the poly-ethnic nature of the society in Pokhara, strong pressures on the Tibetans to assimilate into the Nepali society may not be the case as reported for the Tibetan refugees in some parts of India (see Mukerji 1985, Saklani 1984).

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The second chapter presents the methodology. Besides outlining the methods of data collection and analysis used in the present study, it will be argued that a combination of intensive qualitative ethnographic method with extensive quantitative surveys may give us a better perspective than what we could get by following one or the other exclusively. I have also presented an account of my personal experience of doing field research in my own home country--Nepal.

In the third chapter, a socio-cultural profile of the traditional Tibetan society will be presented. This is based mainly on the ethnographic information collected in the field and the available published accounts of Tibetan

society and culture. A socio-cultural context of Tibetans in exile will also be presented. This chapter will provide us with a background for discussing persistence and change, i.e., adaptation, in the subsequent chapters. We will end the chapter with a brief discussion of the settlements: their physical location and other features.

Chapter four will present a simple demographic profile of the Tibetan refugee settlements under study. Some important socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Tibetan refugees will be presented.

The next three chapters form the central body of the study, presenting arguments and substance on adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Chapter five will talk about persistence and change in marriage and family patterns and practices. Besides discussing marriage types, we will also look into spouse selection, age at marriage, family size, residence after marriage, and inheritance patterns. The next chapter, on the economic aspects, will look at the importance of the handicraft centers for providing economic security to the Tibetan refugee families. It also helps to reinforce Tibetan identity since the handicrafts are more valuable because they are made by real Tibetans (see Barth 1969 for the value of ethnic identities in certain transactions across boundaries). Occupational changes in exile and the emergence of "something" business will be discussed. This chapter will also mention the contributions

made by the Tibetan refugees to the economy in the host society at various levels. It will also be noted that while occupational changes for the Tibetan refugees have been drastic (a shift from nomadic pastoralism to working at the handicraft centers for many), the new occupations and work places have had a positive feedback on the maintenance of Tibetanness among Tibetan refugees in general. Chapter seven discusses the orientation of Tibetans in exile. Orientation will be examined by looking at their preferences for permanent settlement, issues related to Tibetans acquiring citizenship in Nepal, and the commitments of Tibetans toward the cause of a free Tibet.

Chapter Eight will present a summary of the research findings and the significance of the study. After a theoretical and methodological recapitulation, we will outline the implications of this study and also look at the future of Tibetans.

NOTES

1. It is estimated that India has approximately 85,000 Tibetan refugees living in different parts of the country. The seat of the Dalai Lama's Government in exile is also located in Dharmasala, India. Nepal has about 15,000 Tibetan refugees according to the estimates of the Tibetan Refugee Welfare Office located in Kathmandu. de Voe (1981:89), however, points out that there are "an estimated 100,000 live in India, while 15,000 in Switzerland, 6,000 in Bhutan, 8,000 in Nepal..". The figures tend to vary. See also Grunfield 1987.

2. Some relevant facts will make this point clear. For instance, the term Nansen Passport--a document issued to refugees by countries of asylum has been in use since 1921. Its name comes from the first High Commissioner for Refugees on behalf of The League of Nations, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. Similarly, the first convention on refugees was adapted in October 1933. The International Refugee Organization (the first agency created by the UN) was created in July 1947 by the United Nations and was later replaced by United Nations High Commission for Refugees in December 1950. The famous UN Convention defining the status of refugees dates back to 1951 and was modified later by the 1967 Protocol.

3. Ekvall presents a discussion of the cultural similarities and differences between the DrogPas--the nomads and the Tibetans in general (see Ekvall 1968, 1972).

4. The information on celibacy in Tibet can be found in the books on the ethnography of Tibetans. The genealogical information collected during my field study 1988-1989 has some information on this which can be used to make inferences on the extent of celibacy in Tibet.

5. There are a few Nepali individuals in Pokhara who are either running a handicraft center or doing "something business" like the Tibetan refugees. Also, there are quite a few Nepali children going to Tibetan schools in the refugee settlements and learning the Tibetan language. How the Tibetans have influenced the Nepali families living around the refugee settlements is beyond the scope of this dissertation and therefore, I intend to treat this topic in a separate paper.

6. Adaptation is a loaded term, and for the present study, among its various meanings, I take it to mean 'the getting along of a group of people but not yet losing their identity'.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The overall methodology of this study is a combination of anthropological (ethnographic) and demographic (survey) methods. In this chapter, I will first present my rationale for a triangulation or an eclectic methodology. I argue that a combination of qualitative and quantitative tools and techniques at the data collection stage can provide a better body of data than either of these would yield without the other. Triangulation of methods enables one to accrue the benefits from different methods, thereby enhancing the strength of the research. Next, I present a discussion of the tools and techniques used to collect the information needed for the present study. Anthropological tools and techniques have been supplemented by more sociological and demographic tools like the household census (HHC) and the marriage and family survey (MFS). A short note on macro-micro linkage is followed by a description of the analysis and presentation of the data. At the end, I make a confession that field research is very much an individualized experience (at least for an anthropologist). What one particular researcher asks, sees, and experiences in a given community, population or research site may not necessarily be similar to what other scholars did or will do in the same context.

NEED FOR AN ECLECTIC APPROACH

In order to understand the adaptation--persistence and change--among the Tibetan refugee community in Nepal, data and information on the past as well as the present appertaining to various aspects of the refugees' ways of life were felt to be necessary. Keeping this in mind, various methods have been used to collect the bits and pieces of data needed to tackle the issue of persistence and change among Tibetans in Pokhara, Nepal. It is in this regard that I have pointed to the need for an eclectic methodology. Lauro (1979) has stated the importance of such an approach based on his research in a community in Thailand. He writes: "In community demography both quantitative and qualitative data are equally important. Systematically conducting surveys to provide data for calculating means of the occurrences of demographic events is as important as collecting information on other aspects of behavior, ... which may provide insights for explaining patterns of demographic occurrence" (Lauro 1979:32).

The fact that an integrated field design is more powerful has been spelled out by more and more researchers recently. Chapman (1987), for instance, provides a good statement on the advantages of an integrated field design. He points out that there are technical level as well as conceptual level advantages of such an approach and it allows the research to:

> "proceed simultaneously at several levels: from the individual and the family to larger groupings or aggregates... On a more conceptual plane, research designs that combine field instruments to collect intersecting primary data admit the prospect of establishing internal consistency" (1987:361-363).

Caldwell, Reddy, and Caldwell (1988), assert that "participant observation provides a background context which permits a general interpretation of one's findings and experience" (1988:14). They have also mentioned that along with the use of survey questionnaires, notebooks were used to record information offered by the villagers or actions observed or experienced when living in the village.

Large scale surveys such as the World Fertility Survey have shown to us that socio-cultural variations in different parts of the world demand a varied and flexible use of tools and techniques for data collection (see Caldwell 1982 and 1988 for a good critique of such surveys). Analytical interpretations can be made from survey data, but there is the possibility of bias due to the researcher's lack of knowledge about the socio-cultural context. This problem has been instrumental in making demographers appreciate the strengths of anthropological field methods (see Caldwell 1988; Howell 1986 also provides a review of recent works in the field). Thus, in order to see that more meaningful and less biased analytical interpretations are made from survey data, a research design needs to incorporate some qualitative tools and techniques as parts of the overall

research design. My use of a household census and marriage and family survey along with the collection of genealogies, kinship terms, and other ethnographic information collected by means of observation and key informant interviews on certain aspects of Tibetan society and culture is an attempt to integrate methodologies. I am, thus, convinced that a qualitative and quantitative mix in methodology can always give a better picture of what we examine. That anthropological research should involve a blending of quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and analysis has been receiving increased acknowledgement in recent years (see Bernard et al. 1986; Gage 1985; and also Johnson 1976).

Demographers have by now abandoned the earlier view that small populations of the kind generally studied by anthropologists do not lend themselves to demographic analyses (see Caroll 1975; but see Howell 1975)[1]. The situation today is that "there have been radical shifts of perceptions on both sides of the anthropology-demography border, and the flow of information across that border in both directions has increased substantially" (Howell 1986:223).

Given this, we can now talk of using tools and techniques from both the disciplines. This kind of strategy provides us with an "opportunity for utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques in

the pursuit of specific research objectives" (Lauro 1979:31) and is therefore useful for my attempts to put together demographic and ethnographic data.

My endeavor in this study has been to combine demographic and ethnographic methods. While I do not propose an exhaustive discussion of such an approach here, I would like to make a few further points to provide a rationale for favoring the use of techniques from both anthropology and demography. First, I hope to reinforce a point already well made by some demographers that small scale community studies are amenable to demographic analyses (see Carroll 1975; Feeney 1975; and Lauro 1979). I also would like to emphasize that ethnographic information supplements and complements the statistical information generally used by demographers, thereby enhancing the strength of their analyses. To those skeptical of statistics[2], on the other hand, I would like to convey that numbers do make sense even as the interpretations of cultures by an anthropologist do. I am inclined to think that a middle road--some numbers and some ethnography--is a better solution than being antagonistic to one or the other. As will be seen in the chapters that follow, I do use statistics and ethnography to reinforce each other. I neither use highly complex statistical models nor rely solely on my own imagination and interpretation to expound a theory of the Tibetan population's adaptation in Nepal. In

this way I have made an attempt to combine ethnography and surveys.

Some earlier studies in Nepal have employed a similar methodology (see Dahal 1983; Fricke 1986; Gombo 1985; Macfarlane 1976). Dahal (1983) collected "micro- and macro-level data to assess population pressure on resources over time and response to this pressure" (Dahal 1983:28). Upon realizing that the village records of the census were not very reliable sources of vital statistics, he reports that he collected a detailed household census of the Barabote Panchayat--his study site. Besides the census, Dahal mentions having used surveys and, of course, traditional anthropological methods of observation, using key informants, and collection of genealogies (see Dahal 1983:22-41 for details).

Similarly, Fricke (1986) in his study of Tamang demography and domestic processes reports that his "research involved a combination of standard anthropological techniques and more formal census and survey methods" (see Fricke 1986:53-59 for details). Besides conducting a village census, and several structured and formal surveys, Fricke reports: "Following more traditional anthropological methods, I relied on people with whom I had a special relationship..." and he goes on to state that from these people, he collected "lineage histories, village stories, and information on agricultural and planting techniques"

(Fricke 1986:59). Thus, we see that in recent years, it is gradually becoming a practice among anthropologists in Nepal to combine formal surveys and census operations with the anthropological methods in order to collect a range of data sets and information. This is perhaps a healthy development towards fulfilling the general endeavor of anthropology to present a holistic picture of the society or culture or people under study.

DATA SOURCES

I now turn to the discussion of the tools and techniques I used to collect data. A discussion of the more qualitative anthropological methods will be followed by one on the quantitative tools of data collection.

The data for the present study come from extended period of field research conducted in Nepal among Tibetan refugees. Although the original plan was to spend twelve months in the field, the actual field research period lasted a little over one year, from the beginning of January 1988 to mid-February 1989. The various tools and techniques used for data collection along with the time devoted for each operation are very clearly shown in Appendix A[3]. However, I feel that there is a need to mention how various tools and techniques were used and what data and information were collected for the present study. This is what I have done in the rest of this section.

While living in the Tibetan refugee settlements[4], I volunteered to teach the children at the school and also the young monks at the monastery. This turned out to be a good experience as well as a fruitful practice. It was easier for many people to conceptualize me as one of the teachers (Gegenla in Tibetan) rather than see me as a researcher. Talking to the youngsters and the student monks allowed me to observe their perceptions, practices, behaviors, and preferences[5]. When I was not teaching I used to sit and talk with the people working at different parts of the handicraft center. I used to visit the handicraft centers and other work or gathering places of people during the day time to observe people at work or talk and listen to them. Sometimes I used to sit in a tea-shop and talk to or listen to the people gathered there.

I followed the proper channels of entry into the community. I secured a letter of reference from the Tibetan Refugee Welfare Officer (TRWO) at Kathmandu and presented it to the settlement-chiefs upon arrival in Pokhara. My being a faculty member at Tribhuvan University added further legitimacy to my status as a teacher as well as a researcher. One day, a prominent Tibetan brought these things up while discussing someone else who was seen as conducting research among Tibetans without securing necessary permission--like a research visa from the Nepali

government or a letter of reference from the Tibetan authorities.

In the initial period in Tashi Palkhiel, I lived with a Nepali family. It was not until April 1988 that a room was available for me at the Tibetan Guest House which was under renovation when I arrived there in February. While at TP, I used to eat with the Tibetans working at the Guest House. Later when I moved to Tashi Ling, the settlement's chief, the Director of the Vocational Training Center (VTC), and the Head Master of the school arranged for me to share an apartment with a Tibetan language teacher who was always offering to help me in doing the ethnographic interviews. At TL, I ate at the VTC mess with Tibetan students and the staff working in the settlement[6].

I kept field notes throughout the period I lived in Pokhara. I recorded the events I observed or participated in, as well as any other information secured during conversations or formal questioning. The note books contain information on a number of issues pertinent to the understanding of the Tibetan community in Pokhara which would otherwise not have come from HHC or MFS. Eating with Tibetans, playing with them, teaching their children, watching movies on videos on Friday nights, chatting with them at afternoon tea or during evening walks, have not only remained in my memory (and will remain) but also gave me

opportunities to look at closely and understand the Tibetan people.

Genealogies were also collected. As a tool of data collection, the genealogical method stands mid-way in a continuum of quantitative-qualitative methods. It resembles a survey in its orientation towards retrospective information. However, as Hackenberg noted "a genealogy, unlike a survey, is a contextual document, since each person it contains, even a still-born child, is embedded in a kinship matrix" (Hackenberg 1974:296). Collecting genealogies is not always an easy job[7] but the richness of information contained in the genealogies collected in the field compensates for the trouble which one has to undergo in completing each genealogy. Although I could complete only 13 genealogies during my field research in Pokhara, there is complete demographic and other information on more than six hundred individual Tibetans available from these genealogies.

A cursory look at the completed genealogies shows how the family members and relatives of each Tibetan have been dispersed in space: some still living in Tibet, some others living in different places in Nepal and India, and still others living in western countries. For the people represented in the genealogies, there are data on age, age at marriage, age at death, place of residence, education, occupation, number of children, and number of siblings.

Genealogy collection has thus elicited information on the network of relatives dispersed in time and space.

The census and survey data in particular highlight the present conditions while the genealogical data provide opportunity to look at generational change also. The information contained in the genealogies, when used together with data from household census and survey, provides insights on shifts in age at marriage, types of marital practices, family size, celibacy, and other aspects of Tibetan culture, society, and population. In this study, an attempt is made to combine information from the genealogies with census and survey statistics to derive a picture of Tibetan society and culture at present as well as in the recent past.

Kinship terminology for the central dialect as well as the western dialect was collected. It becomes easier to collect genealogies if kinship terms are collected first. Some case material on polyandry, ex-monks, illegitimate children, and life in Tibet were also collected.

Publications on Tibet, Tibetan civilization, Tibetan religion, and Tibetans have been used as secondary sources of information. Reconstruction of the traditional context is based primarily on the secondary sources supplemented by informal talks and unstructured interviews with the Tibetans in Pokhara. Genealogies collected in the field and some information contained in the MFS, for instance, on family

size in Tibet, marital practices in Tibet, etc., also add to the information available for the reconstruction of the traditional context.

Neither census data nor other statistical data on the Tibetans in Pokhara were available. This prompted me to begin my field research by conducting a household census in the three settlements under study in Pokhara. I collected information by interviewing the household heads (in most cases) and their spouses. Information was secured on age, sex, marital status, occupation, place of birth, religion, age at arrival in Nepal (if not born in Nepal), education, and community affiliation for each member of the household. Each household member's relationship to the household head was noted on a separate column by using kin terms. More information was collected on the family, household head, and spouse by incorporating a series of open-ended questions in the same questionnaire (see Appendix B).

Another tool for collecting quantifiable data was the use of the Marriage and Family Survey questionnaire (see Appendix C). Most of the numbers presented on the discussions of marriage and family patterns and practices, economic aspects and orientation among Tibetan refugees in Pokhara come from this survey.

The household census served as a frame for drawing the sample for MFS. Before beginning the survey, a complete list of ever-married individuals was prepared from which a

total of three hundred individuals were selected for this survey[8]. Attempt was made to have equal number of respondents of both the sexes. Age, marriage type and marital status were other criteria used in selecting the individuals for the survey. I tried to have 50 percent of the individuals of age 40 and over and the remaining below 40 at the time of the survey. The survey also has representation of widowed, divorced, and separated individuals, as well as those having polygynous and polyandrous marriages. Finally, it was seen that no household had two respondents. Thus from the way the respondents were selected for the marriage and family survey, the sample for this survey can be regarded as a stratified representative sample.

Since the list of 300 respondents was drawn from the household census completed in March-June 1988, and the survey itself was conducted during July-October, it turned out that some of the individuals selected for the MFS had died, while some others were temporarily away and still others refused. A total of 236 cases (36.25% of the total ever-married population) was taken for analysis.

MICRO-MACRO LINKAGE

It is beyond an individual's capacity to manipulate or alter a community's or a country's demographic and cultural patterns and processes. Notwithstanding this, however, the

demographic and cultural patterns and processes we observe around the world are but the outcome of the practices and behaviors of individuals and families. Given this fact, it should be common sense that an understanding of micro-macro linkage in theory as well as methods is desirable for a better grasp of any phenomenon under investigation on human populations. The adaptation of Tibetan refugees in the present study is to be considered at various levels--the community as a whole, the settlements, generations, gender, and so on. While the statistical data for these will be the aggregates of the individual reporting, the ethnographic data emanate from various levels. It may be reiterated at this point that an individual is embedded in the larger units of the social system, but it is again the individuals who make up those larger units.

While demographers are often skeptical of small scale, community studies, anthropologists in particular and other social scientists may find it hard to accept the generalizations based on large-scale national-level survey data. There is one very good reason for people to be skeptical about judgements made on the basis of survey data. We all know very well that what people say they do and wish to do does not always match with what they really do. This tells us that there is limited accuracy of conclusions based on surveys asking people about their day-to-day life or asking them to reveal their intentions or wants and desires.

Living among the people and observing them can ameliorate this problem to a large extent.

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

The adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, will be examined at various levels--the community level, the settlement level, and by generation, sex and such other groupings. My presentation will also keep in view the premise that it is individuals who make the larger aggregates of the society or population and therefore, it is reasonable to go down to the individual level, at least by way of illustrating cases to substantiate the pattern suggested by the aggregations.

The data on changes in age at marriage, changing marriage types, celibacy and monkshood, and household size, etc., and the comparison of practices, perceptions, and values by place of birth, age and other characteristics as well as other quantitative presentations will reveal the characteristic patterns of adaptation. The qualitative information (ethnographic data) based on observation, key informant interviews, and genealogies will be used to substantiate the quantitative analyses by revealing culturally based explanations of adaptation. In other words, ethnography will be used to contextualise the patterns suggested by the quantitative presentations. The quantitative data, on the other hand, provide evidence to

support the generality of individual level case illustrations or the qualitative statements or assertions made on the basis of ethnographic information. In the overall presentation, I have attempted to show that an interaction among a complex set of variables influence the adaptation of Tibetans in exile.

DEFINITIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS

There are several questions about basic individual characteristics which need to be stated at this point. Some of the important characteristics are birth place, place of orientation, generation, occupation, age, sex, and the settlement. How these are used in the present study is discussed briefly.

Birth place for the analysis was distinguished between Tibet and Nepal. The various places within these two countries are grouped together. Whether Tibetans exhibit any differences in certain behaviors and practices by place of birth is one of the features of analysis in this dissertation.

Place of orientation is defined by means of an individual's preference for citizenship, place for future residence, and attitude towards socio-cultural practices of the host society vis-a-vis their own. Place of orientation influences the adaptation of individual Tibetans. If oriented towards one's own culture and Tibet, one may be

less interested in interacting with non-Tibetans, learning other languages, and other aspects of the host society and culture.

Generation is presented as older and younger generation. The former consists of people who were born and encultured in Tibet and fled their homeland after the events of 1959. The younger generation refers to the Tibetans born and grown to maturity in exile.

Occupation and activities are grouped together. Monastic life is an occupation in the Tibetan cultural context while it may not qualify as an occupation in the economic sense of the term.

Finally, a number of social and economic characteristics are age and sex related. The relevance of the effects of age and sex differences will be discussed. In most cases, data are presented by settlements in combination with other variables also while in some others, the settlements are not distinguished whenever such a distinction was not felt to make a difference in the analyses.

AGE DATA: HOW ACCURATE ARE THEY?

Demographers often complain that obtaining correct age data from a community of people who are either not 'modern' or not educated (in the western sense of course!) is very hard. This is not always true. In general, most people

seem to have their own system of reckoning whether it be numbers, age of individuals, events, ancestors or kinsmen, and so on. Among the Tibetans and other Buddhist populations, the Twelve Year Cycle (Tib. Lho Khor ChyuNi), can be cited as a good example.

I should add a cautionary note on the use of Lho Khor ChyuNi. The Tibetan calendar is based on the lunar cycle and starts sometime in mid-February. Depending on the lunar cycle, there could be an overlap of up to three months between a Gregorian and the Tibetan calendar year. For instance, the recent Dragon year (which corresponded with the field research period for the present study) began in mid-February 1988 and ended in mid-February 1989. Notwithstanding this overlap, the Lho Khor method of is certainly a better way to derive the accurate age for populations which use it for a calendar. I have used a table (see Appendix D) based on the Twelve Animal Year Cycle to derive the age of Tibetans in Pokhara. Fricke (1986), in a recent demographic anthropological treatment of Tamangs has found the use of this method substantially minimizes errors in fixing events. He notes that "the use of this aging system contributed to a high degree of consistency in age reporting. Not only would individuals be able to report their birth years accurately, but their relatives and friends would independently give the same responses if asked the same person's lho" (Fricke 1986:53). This should make

it clear that Tibetans and other populations accustomed to the animal year cycle, in general, may be keeping accurate information about their age. Perhaps securing reliable data on age and life cycle events for individuals by means of a household census or a survey in a non-literate society depends on whether or not the local methods of reckoning age and events--like the Lho Khor among Tibetans--are identified and used.

FIELD RESEARCH AS A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

It is quite possible for two or more people to have similar field research experiences in different socio-cultural contexts or populations while it is also possible for people to share different viewpoints with regard to their research experiences in one and the same population at the same time. I suggest that a host of factors or contexts influences the kind of experience a researcher comes to have. These can be grouped under two broad categories. The first one may be called researcher contexts or factors and the second situational factors or contexts. As the labels suggest, the first factors are those embedded in a researcher's person or personality, culture of origin, experience, etc. The personality of the researcher, his/her position in the society, institutional, national, and/or community affiliations, and the religious, cultural, political, economic ideologies he/she is indoctrinated into

(because of life experiences or formal training) are the kind of contexts that influence an individual researcher's field-work.

The other factors are socio-cultural contexts or situational factors (extrinsic to the researcher) within which the researcher has to situate himself/herself while conducting field research. These are things like the events specific to a particular time and place, the kind of leadership (supporting, indifferent or unsympathetic-uncooperative to researchers), the socio-economic conditions of the society or population under study, etc. A researcher is no different than an incoming refugee population in one respect: both have their own pre-arrival characteristics and face a different socio-cultural context--the host context.

Notwithstanding the diversity in researchers' personalities and the socio-cultural contexts or factors, there seem to be some common experiences. Although no two researchers and research sites could be similar, sharing of the research experiences by individual researchers is the only way to add to the inventory of our knowledge on research methodology in general. Given this, I present a brief discussion of my experience as a Nepali anthropologist conducting field research among Tibetan refugees in Nepal.

A few days after my arrival at Tashi Palkhiel Tibetan settlement, a Nepali man who owns a tea-shop nearby made an

interesting remark. He said that the people in this settlement as well as the Nepali people living near the settlement had seen only foreigners (i.e., Americans or Europeans) who came and lived there as researchers. In his opinion, therefore, I was the first Nepali anthropologist--strange and not conforming to the local peoples idea of a researcher as a rich Bidesi (foreigner)--they had ever seen doing research among Tibetans. The underlying feeling of strangeness with regard to my being a researcher that was evident in his tone was also observable for some time in the expressions of Tibetans--officials as well as common people. Fortunately, this did not last for long. Once I began conducting the household census with the help of Tibetan research assistants and also when the Tibetans were convinced of my genuine interest in Tibetan culture, cooperation was came from all sides.

My being a citizen of Nepal and having an institutional affiliation--as a faculty member at Tribhuvan University-saved me from the bureaucratic hurdles of having to secure a research visa and a permit from the concerned institutions in Nepal. However, entering the Tibetan refugee community was certainly not so easy. I had to overcome a number of thresholds before my field research progressed smoothly. In fact, towards the beginning of my field-work in Pokhara, I often felt that the refugees were encapsulating themselves, thereby rendering it hard for a researcher to establish a

quick and good rapport. But then, there were other researchers of western origin who were perhaps being accepted more readily. This led me to think that my being a Nepali as opposed to a western researcher or anthropologist may have raised the apparent skepticism among Tibetans.

My feeling that Tibetan refugees were encapsulating themselves was true. In fact, soon I learnt why they were doing so which made me relate the situation to a Nepali proverb: Aagultole Haneko Kukur Bijuli Dekhi Daraunchha. Literally the proverb means that a dog who was once beaten with a burning fire-stick gets scared at the sight of lightning. In the context of my field research, I found that there were two reasons for the initial skepticism among Tibetans. First, I learnt that Tibetans were not fully comfortable with Nepali government officials. In order to overcome this hurdle, I had to convince the Tibetans that I worked for the University in Kathmandu and not for a government office. More importantly, I made a point that I was there to learn about Tibetan culture, religion and other aspects of their life. In retrospect, I remember that my knowledge of Tibetan language and culture, however little it may have been, became an advantage in this context.

Second, Samdrupla--chief of Tashi Ling--who is a well educated man told me one day that in the recent past the Tibetan refugees have had some spies trying to create discord among Tibetans while disguised as researchers.

Given these reasons, which are related to the researcher context as well as the situational context, it is clear why the proverb cited above perfectly describes my initial research experiences among Tibetan refugees in Nepal.

As I noted above, I had secured a letter of reference (written in Tibetan language) from the Tibetan Refugee Welfare Officer--a representative of the Dalai Lama's government--in Kathmandu as a credential to be presented before the chiefs of the settlements in Pokhara. Without this document, my initial entry into the Tibetan settlements in Pokhara would have been much more difficult.

Once I crossed the threshold and entered the Tibetan community in Pokhara, the cooperation and support of Tibetans toward my research was indeed remarkable. I do not recall when and how exactly I crossed the outsider-insider threshold and entered the Tibetan community in Pokhara as a marginal insider.

As I have said already that I used a number of data collection tools and techniques during my field research in Pokhara. Some Tibetans used to ask me in a very straightforward manner as to what I was going to do by writing so much detail about each and every individual (referring to the census and survey) or by learning so much about Tibetan culture. They wanted to know if I was going to teach or write a book on Tibetans. My responses to these questions used to be that it was necessary to know details

about individuals even though there may not be lot of variation among them. I also tried to explain to some that I was going to write a dissertation to be submitted at a university in America. Often I had to ask educated Tibetans to explain to the inquisitive elderly Tibetans as to what I was going to do with so much information about Tibetan people and their behaviors and practices pertaining to marriage, religion, economic activities, and so on.

Some aspects of a population remain unstudied because of the theoretical and methodological orientations or interests of the research scholars. Researchers tend to study what they want to study or what they are interested in for theoretical, methodological or other reasons. This explains why I did not explore more into such sensitive aspects as the economic and legal (especially the citizenship issue) status of Tibetans in Pokhara.

NOTES

1. Little over a decade ago, Howell (1975) stated that "Making demographic studies of the kind of people that anthropologists classically study (that is, small group of people who are not literate or timekeepers) can never be easy" (Howell 1975:249). Things certainly have changed since Howell wrote this. It is notable that while Howell, in 1975 was pessimistic about the demographic studies of small communities, demographers in the Pacific, in 1975 itself were not only asserting that it is possible to do community demography, but were also offering detailed discussions of the demographic concepts and techniques for the study of small populations (see Caroll 1975:3-19 and 485-524; Feeney 1975:20-63).

2. It is interesting to note what Howell (1986) had to say in a recent review of demographic anthropology. She alludes to the statistics phobia among anthropologists up until the mid-1970's and states:

> "Even today the anxiety level generated by a table full of numbers--even small numbers--in a roomful of anthropologists can sometimes be comical. But the resistance to quantification was always more characteristics of social and cultural anthropologists than of archaeologists or physical anthropologists, and it seems to be declining over time among social and cultural anthropologists" (Howell 1986:222).

3. As shown in Appendix-1, data coding and data entry were not planned in the beginning. For a student of anthropology, it turned out to be quite an interesting experience to prepare a coding manual, enter the codes into the already completed household census and survey questionnaires, prepare code-sheets, and finally enter the data on dBase III.

4. I lived in two of the three settlements in Pokhara valley. From March until July 1988, I was stationed in Tashi Palkhiel, Hyangja and from thereon till October 1988, I lived at Tashi Ling.

5. I taught English to the young monks at Tashi Palkhiel monastery. While at the school there, I was teaching Science. At Tashi Ling, I had the children read story books, told them stories from story books, and sometimes took them out to the field to play games.

6. In the beginning of October, as a part of celebrating Tibetan Youth Day (which was started in 1970), I played soccer as a staff member. People counted me as one of the staff members perhaps because I ate with them and also taught at the settlement's school.

7. In spite of the perceived advantages of the genealogies, collecting complete and accurate genealogies in the field is difficult (see Chagnon 1983:18-23; and also Hackenberg 1974). While Chagnon points out how his informants gave him fictitious genealogical information in the beginning, Hackenberg cautions that "as some individuals possess more genealogical information than others, some cultures permit and stimulate greater depth and precision in the recall of kinship than others" (Hackenberg 1974:302).

8. There are quite a few single individual households (see Table 4.1 in Chapter IV) and many of them are also never married. Because of this, I decided that 300 would be a realizable number of respondents than having 358--i.e., one respondent from each of the households.

CHAPTER III

TIBETAN CULTURE, SOCIETY AND PEOPLE

In order to understand the adaptation of the Tibetans in exile, the importance of their religious and cultural backgrounds as contexts can not be ignored. Adaptation being a process, its study is more meaningful if a discussion of the traditional context as well as the existing context is provided. Keeping this in mind, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the background of the traditional Tibetan society and culture. The second section presents a socio-cultural description of the life of the Tibetans in exile in general and that of the Tibetan refugees in Pokhara in particular.

I: TIBET AND TIBETANS: TRADITIONAL CONTEXT

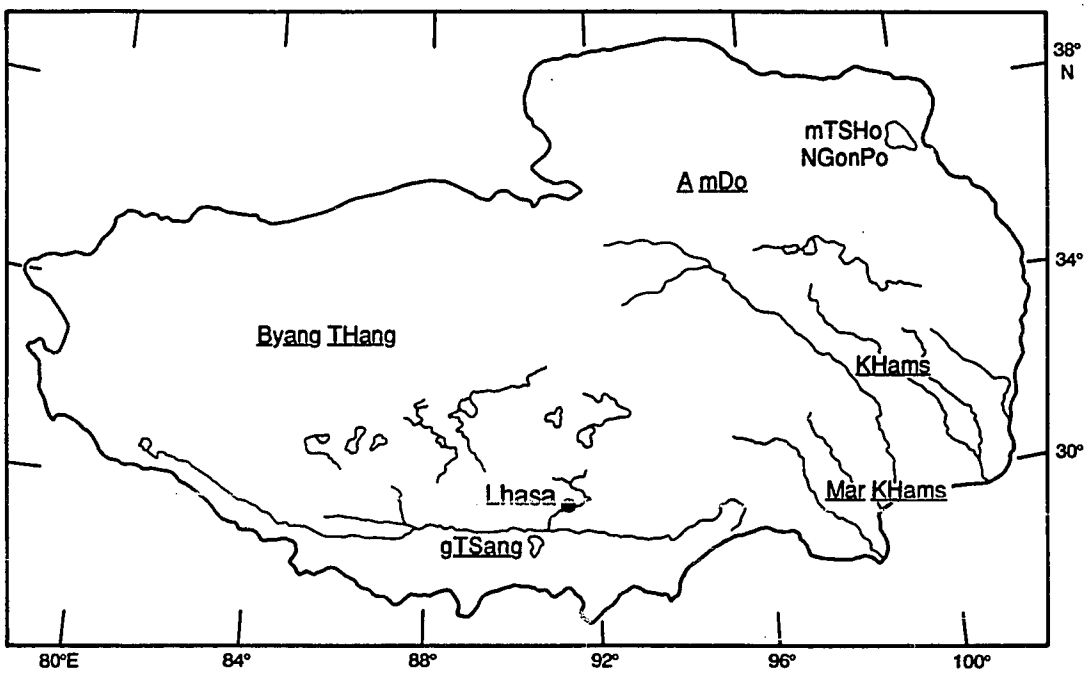
ETHNOGRAPHIC TIBET: HOMOGENEOUS OR NOT?

No culture, society, or population in the world can be regarded as a static one, because dynamism seem to be the basic rule of everyday reality. Stein very aptly points out in the preface to his monograph on Tibetan civilization that it has changed over centuries and that it varies with different regions and social milieu (Stein 1972:15). Another scholar, writing on his research among Tibetan refugees in South India, comments: "The life in Tibet is not

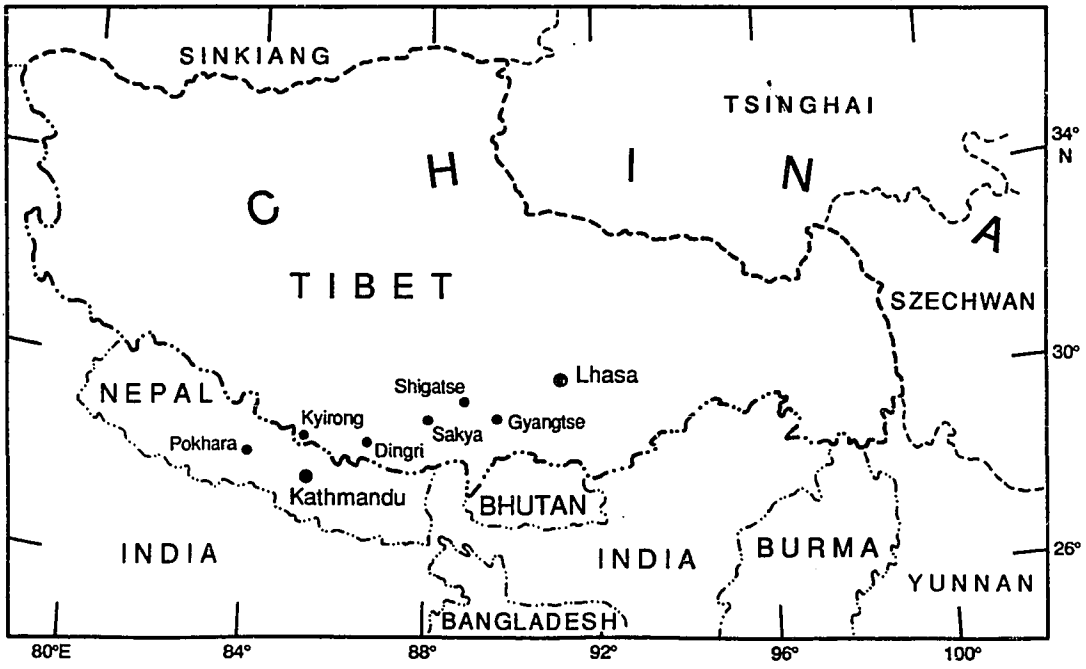
uniform throughout the length and breadth of the country; it varies from one area to another" (Palakshappa 1978:25). While we must acknowledge the heterogeneity in Tibetan society and culture, for the purpose of this chapter, we may need to emphasize the homogeneities to present the general Tibetan socio-cultural context. Since discussing the adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Nepal will involve an approach combining synchronic and diachronic perspectives, a sketch of the traditional socio-cultural context of the Tibetans and Tibet vis-a-vis the exile context is essential.

Scholars have often distinguished between political and ethnographic Tibet (see Bell 1968:5; Richardson 1984:1-3; van Walt van Praag 1987:1-3). Ethnographic Tibet has been recognized as an area where Tibetans and their culture(s) predominated. We will see shortly, in the section on Tibetanness, that the corporate identity as Tibetan is not very old. Tibetans themselves have recognized regions like Amdo, Kham, U-Tsang, and Tod as socio-cultural and administrative units. Traditionally social, cultural, economic, and other variations existed among the regions. For instance, the regions in the eastern and central Tibet have had a sedentary way of life based on a predominantly agricultural economy, while the arid western plateau of Tibet has had an economy characterized by transhumance. That there was and still is regional variation in the way of life is important to note. However, in presenting an

Map-3: Ethnographic Tibet



Map-4: Tibetan Autonomous Region



outline of the Tibetan socio-cultural context, I have done two things. First, Tibet here refers to ethnographic Tibet (see Map 3 and Map 4). The objectives of the present study make it imperative to emphasize the socio-cultural aspect while I personally acknowledge the political sentiments of the Tibetan people. Second, the account of traditional Tibetan society and culture is based on the ethnographic interviews supplemented by the published texts on Tibetan religion, civilization, history, and Tibetan populations. Acknowledging that Tibetan culture and society is heterogeneous, it is, nonetheless, reasonable to seek strands of homogeneous elements within the various socio-cultural systems represented by Tibetan communities.

RELIGION

Religion and religiosity are regarded as very important aspects of Tibetan society and culture. In order to know Tibet and Tibetans properly, "a broad familiarity with the total picture of Tibetan religion and religion-dominated Tibetan life is absolutely necessary" (Saklani 1984:122).

History tells us that before the advent of Buddhism, the Bon religion was common in the area and also that Tibet has not always been a theocratic state ruled by the religious monarchs (Aris 1988; Avedon 1984; Carrasco 1959; Finegan 1986; Grunfeld 1987; Richardson 1984; Shakabpa 1967; Snellgrove and Richardson 1986). From the available

accounts of the genesis and development of Buddhism in Tibet we learn that this religion was preceded by Bon in Tibet and that it was Srong Tsan Gampo, "the first truly historical king and the first unifier of Tibet" (Carrasco 1959:15), who really adopted (and propagated) Buddhism as the state religion. There were periods when Buddhism was more dominant than Bon and there were also times when it was almost pushed to the background. For instance, Lang Darma is said to have persecuted Buddhism almost to extinction in Tibet in the ninth century and it was not until the eleventh century that an Indian teacher named Atisha restored the Buddhist faith in Tibet (Richardson 1984:28-33; Tucci 1967:28-29)[1]. However gradual the spread may have been, Buddhism and the monastic way of life eventually became an integral part of Tibetan culture and society. Today there are several schools of thought in Tibetan Buddhism (which is Mahayana), which are known to us in the form of sects. There are four major sects, viz., Nyngmapa, Sakyapa, Kagyupa and Gelukpa[2]. Although Bon is the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, it has been treated as if it were one of the sects of Buddhism itself, which may be because of the incorporation of Buddhist elements into it and the presence of Bon in some Buddhist practices. It is also interesting to find that the people who follow the Bon faith also have an allegiance to the spiritual leadership of the Dalai Lama. The fact that some Bon practitioners are away from home in exile is just

an indication that they do not consider themselves much different than their Buddhist compatriots.

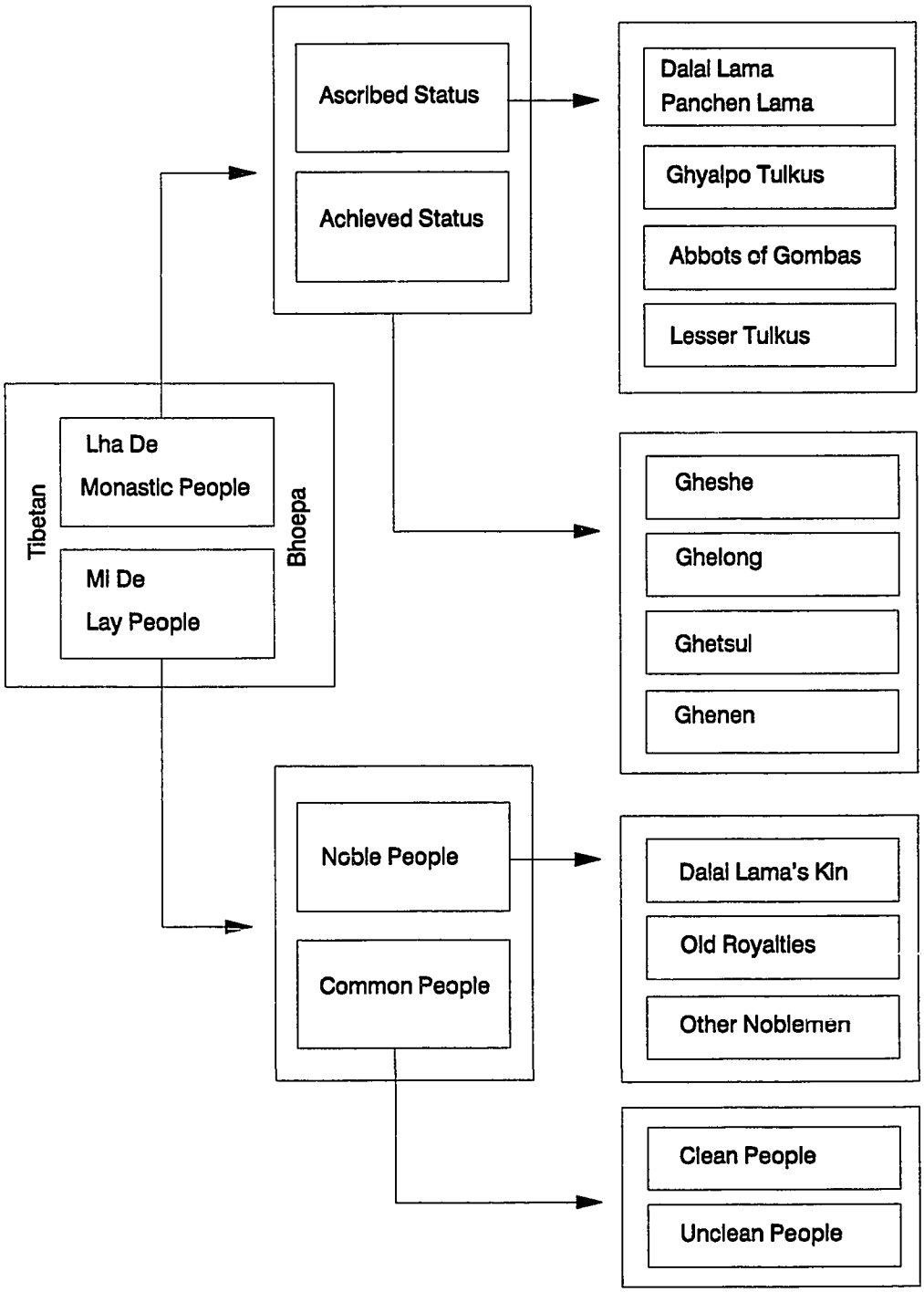
INCARNATIONS

Incarnations or the Tulku Rimpochhes have become so pervasive these days that almost every Tibetan monastery has its abbot being re-born somewhere. In the Tibetan way of thinking about this particular phenomenon, it is perfectly within the canons to have as many incarnations as happen to appear because Avalokiteswora is believed to be able to reincarnate himself in numerous human bodies.

The system of rule by incarnations does not seem to be a very old practice. Commenting on the rule by the religious kings, Bell (1968) points out that Ganden Truppa - the founder of Tashi-Lhumpo monastery- died in 1474 and "his spirit was held to have passed into an infant born two years later. This child became his successor, and this system of reincarnation rapidly became popular and spread throughout the country" (Bell 1968:33).

The system of incarnation and reincarnation is most widespread in the Gelukpa sect. The number of living Buddhas today is very high, perhaps increasing concomitantly with the increase in the number of monasteries. An interesting thing is that incarnates are also hierarchically classified into four (see Fig 3.1), viz., (i) the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama; (ii) the royal incarnates known as

Figure 3.1: Structure of Tibetan Society and its People



Ghyalpo Tulku-the abbots of four monasteries of Lhasa who could be appointed regents during the absence or minority of the Dalai Lama; (iii) abbots of monasteries holding large estates (About 50-60 of such monasteries are said to have been there in pre-1959 Tibet); and (iv) lesser incarnations of which almost every monastery seem to have one or two and they may or may not occupy abbotships of monasteries (for details, see Carrasco 1959; Norbu and Turnbull 1968; Richardson 1984; Shakabpa 1967).

CELIBACY AND SEXUALITY

Tradition requires that Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns in sects like Kagyupa, Gelukpa and Sakyapa be administered vows of celibacy. Monastic life and the practice of celibacy certainly had significant influence on the marriage and family patterns among Tibetans, although analyses linking these have yet to be seen. However, the question of how far the practice of celibacy itself remains intact, has no definite answer.

Renunciation of celibacy could be volitional as well as involutional. In the former, a monk or a nun may become involved in amorous sexual activities by his or her own will which is not sanctioned by the society. Such people are thrown out of the monastic life when discovered and are referred to as Dhalok, which is a rather derogatory term. In contrast, one could also come forward, confess his/her

guilt, and request that monastic vows administered on him/her be withdrawn[3].

Those who had to renounce monastic life and celibacy due to some other unavoidable circumstances get more sympathy from the society. This would occur, for instance, when the other male members in a family died out and the only male that could inherit and keep the family together was the monk. He was then asked to come back to the family and lead the life of a layman. Stein provides a case where "a Lama of the Hemis monastery in Ladakh returned to secular life on the death of his elder brother, the king, married his widow and inherited the throne" (Stein 1972:98).

The illustration above points out to us that religious and secular walks of life have a symbiotic relationship in the Tibetan context. Religion and religious authority are supreme for the Tibetans, which is manifested in the display of faith in the institutions of the Dalai Lama, incarnations, and the monastic people in general. At the family level, the faith in religion is reinforced by the act of giving away a son or a daughter to the monastic life in those cases where a family has two or more sons and/or daughters. By doing so, a family would be ensured of any benefits emanating from the ecclesiastical regime while also earning religious merit. At the pragmatic level, a family would reduce the number of potential claimants of and competitors for the parental or family property and

resources. Besides, this would mean cutting down the number of potential marriageable people. If this same practice is viewed from the ecclesiastical angle, then it also appears pragmatic. Each family would be contributing to the perpetuation of religion, which is believed to be the path towards enlightenment and the eventual emancipation of humans from the evils of the worldly life.

HIERARCHY IN A THEORETICALLY NON-HIERARCHICAL SOCIETY

Buddhism as propagated by Gautama Buddha should have been egalitarian--not recognizing hierarchical social status distinctions. However, in reality today, Tibetan Buddhism as well as the Tibetans are not free from non-egalitarian caste like structures or concepts of hierarchy. It is not uncommon to hear a Tibetan mention the distinctions among people as a result of superior bone and/or blood, as opposed to inferior bone and/or blood.

From Fig 3.1, we see that Tibetans recognize two types of people, viz., Lha-sde--the godly class, and Mi-sde--the human class. We would refer to the former group of people as monastic people or monks and nuns. As shown in the figure, there are ascribed statuses which are bestowed upon an individual because of being recognized as an incarnate or Tulku. The other group of monastic people consists of those who have either voluntarily opted to be in it or were put into the monastic life by their parents. Among these monks

too there is a hierarchy which starts from Genen at the bottom followed by Getsul, Gelong, and Geshe. While Genen is just a candidate for the monastic life, the others are fully ordained monks having taken various levels of vows of the monastic life[4] (for details on religion and monastic life, see Bell 1968; Das 1987; Finegan 1986; Shakabpa 1967).

Once someone is 'given' to the monastery, he/she ought to live in the lamaseries or nunneries within the Gomba territory. In our discussion later we will see how religion and religious beliefs are of supreme importance to the Tibetans. Educated or un-educated, westernized or not, every Tibetan tends to abide by the religious precepts, thereby giving an impression that religion, religious canons, and religious authority are beyond questioning in the practice of daily life.

Perhaps because of the supremacy of religion, the monastic people in general hold a higher social status than the lay people. The lay population consists of people who lead a regular family life as opposed to the monastic people who in general have renounced or given up family life to devote their time and energy to the practice of religion. While the monastic people provide various kinds of services appertaining to religio-social life, the lay people may provide livelihood for the monastic people as their patrons (Klieger 1988 discusses the patron-client relationships).

Among the lay population there is a further distinction between noble people and common people. There are, of course, hierarchical groupings within these groups as well (see Fig 3.1). At the base of the societal structure are the unclean people, including such people as butchers, smiths, corpse-cutters, and fishermen, among others. A very ironical paradox exists in the Hindu society wherein the service castes like musicians, smiths, etc., are indispensable for various religious rituals and ceremonies as members of the Hindu caste structure but are not permitted to enter the temples because they are regarded as unclean and untouchable people. This seems to have a counterpart, although in a slightly revised form, among the Buddhist Tibetans too. Monasteries do allow the unclean people to pay their homage to the Lamas and the deities. However, they do not admit people from the unclean castes to monkhood or nunhood[5].

Saklani (1984:172) presents a slightly different picture of the traditional hierarchical structure. In her scheme, the Dalai Lama is at the top of the hierarchy wherein the society is divided into two regimes, viz., ecclesiastical and secular. The former includes high clergy and lower clergy, while the latter includes higher overlords (nobles, local princes), big merchants, landlords cum-district governors, rich merchants, landholders and herdsmen, craftsmen, manual labourers, beggars and people of

unclean occupations in order from top to bottom. The secular regime, as Saklani has shown, is very often classified on the basis of the economic standing or occupations of a group of people also.

ECONOMIC ASPECT

Tibetan society at large is often characterized as pastoral-nomadic, practicing transhumance or engaging in pastoralism and long-distance trading. While such characterizations are correct, they can not be taken as generalizations to hold true for the whole of Tibet. In reality, the Tibetan economic system is highly diverse, which may be accounted for by the ecological variation. The main ecological variables responsible for the variation in the economy of Tibet are altitude, water supply including rainfall, and the size of land area under use. Tibetans themselves distinguish between agricultural valleys, mountain pastures, and high pastures (see Carrasco 1959:4-12). Richardson provides an interesting comment on the geographical variation in Tibet, noting that of its impressive area of about 500,000 square miles,

> "...the greater part--perhaps three quarters--is a high, tangled wilderness of mountain ranges and plains, all of 16,000 feet or over, uninhabited or sparsely scattered with nomads. The southern quarter of the country contains the valleys of many great rivers and their tributaries where, from an elevation of some 15,000 feet down to 9,000 feet, lies the main cultivated area of Tibet" (Richardson 1984:3).

The economy of Tibetans could best be characterized as a mixed one, consisting of agriculture, animal husbandry, and trading as the major components and "gradations exist between an intensive agricultural, a mixed, and a purely pastoral economy" (Carrasco 1959:11). Emphasis on one or the other is based on the imperatives set by such factors as altitude, precipitation, and availability of water, land, and pastures.

At the household level or family level, Tibetans in general could be characterized as following a 'multiple resource strategy'. By this, I mean any Tibetan household would ideally tap economic benefits accruing from agriculture, animal husbandry, and long distance as well as petty trading. The multiple resource strategy seems to be in agreement with the traditional ideal marital practice of polyandry and the prevalent rule of inheritance. Primogeniture was the norm of inheritance. This ensured that the scarce resources--especially the agricultural fields--passed on undivided from one generation to the next. Polyandry would reinforce the practice of primogeniture and thereby rule out the division of parental property. On the other hand, polyandry also ensured that a household had more than one male member in it (i.e., male siblings staying together), thereby enabling it to lay its hands on as many income-fetching activities as possible.

The involvement of a household in more than one economic pursuit seems to have had another important implication--that of attenuating possible conflicts and jealousy among siblings in matters of their sexual life. For instance, if all the brothers married polyandrously to a single woman were to stay home throughout the year, the possibilities of discord developing among the siblings could not be ruled out. However, in actual practice, while one of the brothers in a traditional Tibetan family would stay home to take care of the household and agricultural responsibilities, the others would be away either on a long distance trading trip or living in the high pastures tending the animals. Thus we may say that in Tibetan societies, the economic strategies and the traditional marriage and family arrangements are supplementary to and reinforce each other.

Animals also have had an important economic role in the multiple resource strategy of the Tibetans. The animals themselves also performed multiple roles in the Tibetan socio-economic context. Some animals ensured social prestige for the family (e.g., yaks, horses and dogs), and/or others served their masters as pack animals (yaks, dzos, donkeys, sheep, and goats) and draft animals (yaks and dzos); as sources of food and protein (yaks, dzos, cattle, goats and sheep); provided materials for clothing and shelter (yaks, goats, and sheep); as workers guarding their houses and property (i.e., dogs guarding the tents and the

herds of animals); providing manure for the agricultural fields and fuel for the household (yaks, dzos, goats, sheep, and cattle).

MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP

In general, Tibetans may be said to observe lineage exogamy. Since marriages between noble peoples' families and common peoples' families were not socially sanctioned, a kind of caste endogamy or rather, isogamy seemed to have been the rule. That is, hypergamous and hypogamous marriages were not sanctioned. However, forms of marriages were similar within class or caste groups because marriages in the traditional context were aimed primarily at "saving the family property from disintegration, maintaining the purity of the family stock, avoidance of inbreeding and retention of class distinctions" (Saklani 1984:91).

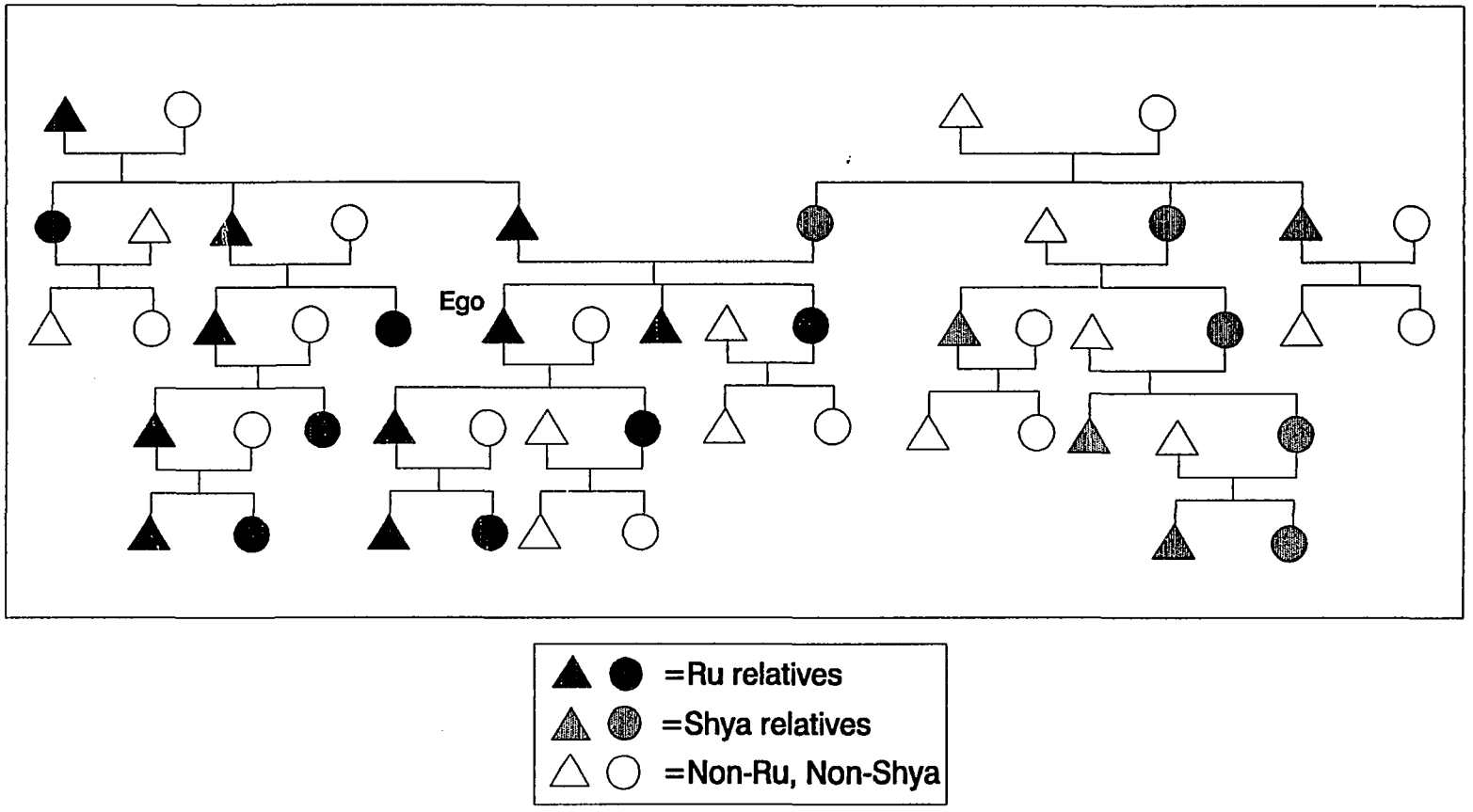
Marriage, family, and kinship are interlinked in the Tibetan socio-cultural context. Kinship determines the selection of spouses in marriages. Conversely, marriage and matrimonial forms determine the family type as well, either proliferating or limiting the alliance network. How the Tibetan theory of kinship distinguishes between relatives and non-relatives and thereby provide a basis for matrimony will be made clear on the section on kinship below. Let me, however, illustrate briefly how marriage influences the family forms and kin networks. As a Tibetan scholar points

out, "the structure of the traditional Tibetan family depended on the form of marriage involved" (Gombo 1985:162). It should suffice here to point out that depending on whether a marriage was monogamous or polygamous, the family form would be determined. Again, the number of alliances a family would have tends to be limited when fraternal polyandry or sororal polygyny is entered, whereas a family that goes for monogamous marriages--several brothers marrying from or into (i.e., Mhakpa) different families--will have more alliances.

KINSHIP: RU AND SHYA THEORY

Tibetans categorize relatives into two major categories viz., Phapun and Mapun, i.e., those related through the male line and those related through the female line. Together the relatives are known as Ghyupa and often referred to as Punkya. The Phapun and Mapun categorization of relatives seems to match the anthropological categorization of relatives as agnatic and uterine. However, once we get into how the Phapun and Mapun relatives come into existence for an individual Tibetan, these etic categorizations become less applicable. Important at this point is to mention that among the Tibetan populations the principles of Ru and Shya (i.e., bone and flesh) form the basis of the emic theory of kinship (see Levine 1981 for a detailed discussion)[6]. Theoretically, as shown in Figure 3.2, there are Ru

Figure 3.2: Tibetan Kinship Theory: Ru, Shya, Non-Ru and Non-Shya Categories



relatives and Shya relatives for the Tibetans and any one who does not fit this category is a non-relative.

A short explanation of the Ru and Shya theory is in order. In the Tibetan way of thinking, men and women are combinations of both Ru and Shya which they inherit from their parents. However, when it comes to passing these elements to their offsprings, males are supposed to pass on Ru while females pass on Shya, the substance they can transmit.

Figure 3.2 shows the Ru, Shya, and non-relatives with a male Ego. By looking at this figure we can say that a male flesh relative and a female bone relative could be regarded as terminal relatives because, theoretically, these people are the last people along the line to whom the ego would have a kinship relation. For instance, in Figure 3.2, Ego's father's sister is his Ru relative. But since she as a female cannot pass on Ru to the next generation, her offspring are, according to the emic theory, non-relatives of the Ego. The same is true of the relation between the Ego and his Mother's brother who is a flesh relative as shown in the figure. In contrast, those that are male Ru relatives or female Shya relatives of the Ego would continue to reproduce Ru and Shya relatives respectively for the Ego. The figure also makes it clear for us the rationale behind the practice of cross-cousin marriages among people who reckon relatives using the categories of ru and shya. The

theory of ru and shya as shown in Figure 3.2 seems to hold true for most of the culturally Tibetan populations who share similar conceptions of kinship. It should be noted, however, that these relatives on both sides can become marriageable if they are at least seven generations apart, i.e., parallel cousinships attenuate and are disregarded at this point for matrimonial purposes.

BELIEFS REGARDING MARRIAGE

In addition to the rules set by the inbuilt theory of Ru and Shya, Tibetans have several other factors that should be given due regard in settling or establishing matrimonial relations. The theory of kinship is a primary factor because its breach is highly disapproved. This is in conformity with the fact that every human society has a mechanism whereby it avoids inbreeding and incest (although when and how the practice originated is still a matter of conjecture). The other factors that appear as determinants of the rules of marriage among Tibetans are, however, secondary in that they seem to have room for breaches as well as reinterpretations in actual practice. Since they are important parts of the Tibetan cultural tradition, I shall mention them in brief. Although there are various such factors, I shall restrict the discussion to four of them which seem to be prominent, viz., Kham, Lhotak, age, and days of the week.

Tibetans recognize five Khams (elements) for the purpose of matrimony: Sa (earth), Chhyu (water), Me (fire), Chyak (iron), and Sing (wood). In addition to these there are twelve Lhotak which are the animals assigned to the Tibetan calendar years: mouse, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, bird, dog and pig[7]. Almost every Tibetan seems to know his Kham and Lhotak. What is important for us to note here is that there are some Kham and Lhotak combinations that should be avoided in establishing marriages. Tibetans believe that while Sa is compatible with any of the other four Khams, a combination of Chhyu and Me or Me and Sing is to be avoided. Chhyu extinguishes Me, while Me burns Sing, which is interpreted as one eliminating the other. Chyak is rather arbitrary since its compatibility with others varies from one situation to the other.

On the Lhotak side, the combinations to be avoided are tiger and dragon (both are associated with roaring sounds and thus would make a quarreling couple), bird and hare (would fight for food), and dog and pig (would fight for shelter).

Age at marriage for Tibetan males as well females seem to be higher than that prevalent among Hindus in South Asia (see the discussion in Chapter V). Tibetans differ with Hindus in one more respect: universal marriage does not seem to be a rule. The practice of celibacy in monkhood and

nunhood and the societal acceptance of children born of unwed mothers indicates the endorsement of a valid role, status, and position for the non-married adults in the Tibetan society.

Tibetans do not seem to have a lower or an upper age limit for marriage. However, there is a strong belief among them that a girl of 19 should not be married. There is a Tibetan saying "Chyuku Bhumo DhoNak, Gho Ser Ghi Yang Mi Len", which means a girl of 19 has a black face although her head is golden, i.e., even if the girl is perfect from every point of view, marrying her at age 19 should be avoided because this may bring bad luck and misfortunes to the couples and the family as well.

Another important consideration is the day of the week for solemnizing the marriage. The auspicious days are, of course, pointed out by the priests or lamas after studying the Chi (astrology) in conjunction with the astrological credentials (i.e., Kham and Lhotak) of the prospective spouses. Yet, there are some general beliefs associated with the commencement of certain events on certain days of the week. Friday seems to be a good day to begin anything new in life except marriage for the Tibetans. They believe that a couple married on a Friday may end up having no sons. Avoidance of holding marriages on Fridays because of this belief may be regarded as an indication of son-preference among the Tibetans. It is also believed that if a girl

begets her first child when she is 21 years old, she may not have any more.

KIPTUNG (BEATING THE DOG): PREMARITAL SEXUALITY

Now that the rules of matrimony have been described, we need to talk in brief about premarital and non-marital sexuality and 'illegitimacy' among Tibetans, which seem to have tacit social sanction since they are prevalent. Speaking about premarital sexuality, Norbu, a Tibetan scholar, very nicely sums up the norm and practice when he writes: "Although married couples were extremely faithful, the unmarried, particularly the young people enjoyed much premarital license" (Norbu 1987:92). Talking about his pre-refugee life in Tibet, he recollects that young boys and girls would look forward to the after-harvest autumn season when they could watch the crops which had not yet been threshed and at the same time enjoy romance. Norbu depicts a vivid picture of the romantic opportunities open for the youngsters when he says: "As soon as the moon rose, the open air love-making began... Groups of boys went hunting for sleeping girls... The girl was often taken aback--or pretended to be... In spite of our rigid social system, young unmarried people enjoyed free love" (Norbu 1987:97-98). Premarital sexual involvement among young boys and girls, in fact, seems to be prevalent among culturally

Tibetan populations in Nepal too (see Aziz 1978; Chhetri 1985; Furer-Haimendorf 1964; Levine 1988; Ross 1981).

Although the illustration Norbu provides is related to a particular season, it should not mean that romance does not happen throughout the year. In fact, the act of boys going out at night "hunting for girls" is known as Kiptung among Tibetans, which literally means beating the dogs. In their adventures at night, the young boys had to encounter and frighten the dogs (each family in Tibet is said to keep at least one mastiff dog to guard the residence as well as the animals) in order to reach the sleeping girls in the tents or houses. Some elderly Tibetan men recollect that going out for Kiptung at night used to be fun where settlements were mostly tents. Speaking in a comparative vein they say that in Pokhara today, once the doors are locked at night from inside, it is hard to reach the girls. So the practice of Kiptung for the boys these days is not a real adventure, according to the elderly Tibetans who had their Kiptung in Tibet.

A brief note on 'illegitimacy' needs to be made since it is associated with non-marital sexuality to some extent. Among Tibetans, children born of an unwed mother should perhaps be called non-marital children since the semantics of illegitimacy do not seem to fit here. The biological father of the child is known and a social status corresponding to the caste or social status of the parents

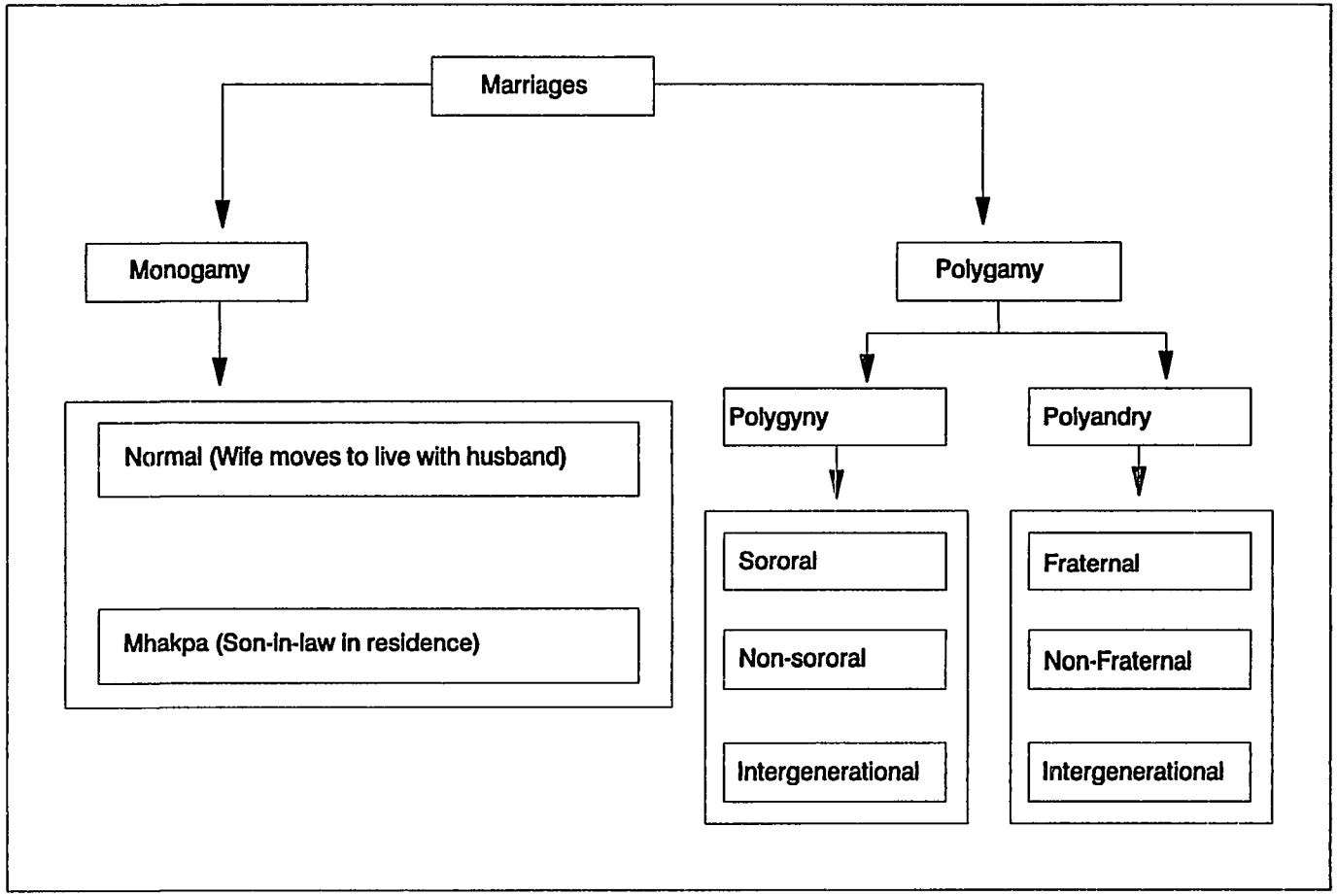
is accorded to the child. As far as the question of legitimacy is concerned in regard to inheritance of parental property, a non-marital child did not have a worse status than that of many of the marital children in the Tibetan families. From the available literature, we know that primogeniture was the predominant rule --wherein the eldest son of the family would inherit the patrimony. His younger brothers would either become monks or join him in polyandry. A monk as well as a younger brother who established his own family would automatically lose his rights to parental property. Given this kind of reality, a non-marital son or a daughter (Tibetan term =Nhyalu) has an equal chance of entering a regular family life through marriage. A non-marital male child could become a Mhakpa and thereby eventually become the de facto head of the family or household. Similarly, upon being married into a household, a non-marital female child also could become the lady of the household. The fact that Tibetan society treats non-marital children the same as any other children when it comes to matrimony is in agreement with their tacit approval of pre-marital sexuality among the young boys and girls. In other words, bearing of children does not have to happen only within marriage in the Tibetan society. As the children's parents are known, the children are automatically accorded a place in the kinship system which would then bind them and

make them follow its rules when they come to establish sexual or matrimonial ties in their lives.

MARRIAGE TYPES

As we can see from Figure 3.3, both monogamous and polygamous marriages have been in practice among the Tibetan populations. There is also mention of other practices like the inheritance of a brother's or an uncle's widow. In monogamous marriages the sex ratio of the spouses is 1, while in polygamous marriages it may vary. If it is polyandry, a single female would have two or more spouses while in polygyny, a single male would have two or more female spouses. As shown in the figure, polyandry could be fraternal as well as non-fraternal and polygyny could be sororal and non-sororal. Besides, Tibetans also are known to practice intergenerational polygyny as well as polyandry. In the former, a man may marry a woman as well as her daughter provided the latter was fathered by a different man. In the intergenerational polyandry, often a father and a son may decide to share a woman and the condition again is that the woman should not be the son's biological mother (for details on various types of polyandrous practices among Tibetans one should read Prince Peter 1963, while for polyandrous practices among different groups of people in Nepal see Levine 1988; Schuler 1987; and for India see Parmar 1975).

Figure 3.3: Marriage Types Among the Tibetan Populations



Among the Tibetans we see a distinction made between a 'normal' and a 'Mhakpa' marriage: the distinction is purely based on the pattern of residence after marriage. In anthropological jargon, the former would include neo-local and patri-local residence while the latter would be matri-local residence of the newlywed couple. A monogamous marriage in the traditional context in Tibet would take place when: 1) the family had only one son, 2)the family had two sons but one was given to the monastic life, 3)the sons in a family do not want to practice polyandry[8], 4)the family has no sons but only daughters. In the last of these conditions, the family would bring in a Mhakpa who may be regarded as a son-in-law in residence (Chhetri 1985).

SELECTION OF SPOUSE AND MARRIAGE RITUALS

In general, marriages in Tibet were arranged. A boy's father or close relatives of the family would go out in search of a match. Once they found someone, they would visit the girl's family to talk about the match, bringing with them a Khada (white ceremonial scarf), some chhyang (home-brewed alcoholic drink), and a package containing 108 units of coins or money or cereal as gifts. If the gifts, including the drink, were accepted by the girl's parents, the proposed match was supposed to have been accepted. If they were not accepted, the search party may either resume the search or may make repeated attempts to persuade the

girl's parents by approaching them through other persons or relatives. Relatives and friends seem to have a very important role to play as go-betweens in negotiating a matrimonial relationships.

Once the proposed relationships become acceptable to both the families in question, a Lama or a priest is approached to do the "Chi Ghyapu", i.e., comparing the astrological credentials of the prospective spouses. If the Lhotaks of the prospective spouses are found to be compatible, the Lama or the priest finds an auspicious day for solemnizing the actual marriage ceremony. If there are obstacles, or the Lhotaks are not compatible that particular match is given up and the search resumes. But if the parents like a particular girl or a boy, they approach the Lamas and seek their advice and help. The Lamas may then make arrangements to perform the necessary rituals and prayers to attenuate the evil effects of disregarding the rule of marrying only when the Lhotaks agree[9].

Caste status and Lhotaks of the prospective bride and groom are important considerations. Equally important is the element of Ru and Shya, the two broad rubrics into which the Punkyas are grouped (see Figure 3.2). Ru is the more important of the two. Theoretically, no marriages can be arranged between people who fall in either of the two categories in relation to each other.

On the day of the marriage, the groom's parents send some men to fetch the girl. Three is regarded as a good number. They would ride horses to the bride's place and also bring extra horses with them for the bride and her company. The fetching party is received by the bride's family by putting khada on them. The bride-groom and his father do not join the marriage procession. However, the procession party should have the groom's maternal uncle (MoBr, real or classificatory). If the marriage were to bring in a Mhakpa instead of a Nama (the bride), the bride and her father stay at home and here too the bride's maternal uncle has to go with the fetching party.

The Lamas or the priests have important roles to play throughout the process of spouse selection up to the solemnization of the marriage by performing the necessary rituals. At the time of the marriage, they perform rituals wherein they request the deities of the bride's family to allow one of its members to relinquish the family or lineage membership. At the groom's household, another ritual is performed requesting the family deities to admit a new member into the family or lineage. This new member, however, seems to remain a marginal member when it comes to entering the kinship network of the new family. A nama (wife) or a mhakpa (a son-in-law in residence) would be referred as so and so's wife or husband rather than by a kin term.

From the above discussion we see that the traditional Tibetan society was characterized by a mutual interaction between ecclesiastical and secular sections, economic and non-economic aspects, and in maintaining the hierarchical social structure.

II: TIBETANS IN NEPAL: THE EXILE CONTEXT

In this section, I will present a brief overview of Tibetans and their socio-cultural context in exile. While a more detailed discussion of various aspects of the Tibetan culture and society will have to wait for the later chapters, an overview is provided here to supplement the background provided in the previous section.

SETTLEMENTS AND POPULATIONS

As I pointed out earlier, there are Tibetan refugee settlements in different parts of Nepal (see Map 1). Various international and national as well as private agencies have provided assistance in cash or kind in establishing these settlements[10]. After the initial problems of resettlement were overcome, most of the refugee settlements seem to have come up with some kind of cooperatives in the form of Handicraft Centers (HC), restaurants or shops. These were established by pooling contributions from the individuals or families in the

settlements to supplement and sustain the monetary and technical assistance received from a number of agencies and private individual donors.

Except in Lumbini (the birth place of Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhist religion)[11], which has only a monastery for the Tibetan monks (along with other monasteries), most of the areas marked on the map have monasteries, schools, HCs, and cooperative shops, as well as hotels and health centers in some places. Some of the settlements in the mountains are primarily agricultural, such as the ones in Solukhumbu area and Dhorpatan. Due to the relative availability of agricultural land in the mountains, some camps (such as Delek Ling in Solukhumbu which has 727 ropanis of land; 9 ropani=1 acre) have plenty of land.

According to the official sources of the Tibetan Government in Exile, "there are about 15,000 Tibetan refugees settled in different parts of Nepal" (IOHHDL 1981:16). A recent study reported 2,467 Tibetan refugees in Kathmandu valley (Gombo 1985:32) while the figures quoted to me during my field research (1988) by the TRWO for Kathmandu added to only 1,300 (Boudha 150, Patan 850, and Swayambhu 300).[12] I did not ask for an estimated population for the three settlements in Pokhara since I had done a household census there. According to the TRWO the estimated number of Tibetan refugees in other settlement areas in Nepal are: 575

in Solukhumbu (300 in Chialsa and 275 in Gunsa), 500 in Jhyamba Ling, Tanahun (approximately 25 Km east of Pokhara), 225 in Mustang, and 300 in Dhorpatan.

SETTLEMENTS IN POKHARA

Of the three settlements under study (see Map 2), Tashi Palkhiel Tibetan Refugee Settlement (TP hereafter) in Hyangja is located to the north of Pokhara city on the trekking route to Mustang and the Annapurna Base Camp. This settlement was set up in 1963 with 360 Tibetan refugees (see IOHHDL 1981:199)[13]. His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N) provided land (120 ropani) for the settlement "on the condition that water supply facilities would be constructed for the surrounding Nepali villages" (ibid). Various agencies like SATA, Swiss Red Cross, Snow Lion Foundation, OXFAM, and the Dalai Lama's Government in exile contributed funds and other assistance at various stages and as a result TP today has a handicraft center, a cooperative guest house, a lower secondary school, and two health centers (one with Tibetan medicines and the other with allopathic medicines). In the Tibetan clinic, there is generally a resident Tibetan Doctor (Tibetan=Amjila) who is appointed by the government in exile. The other clinic has a nurse and an assistant. Both the clinics cater to the needs of the Tibetans at the settlement. Nepali people from Hyangja also secure services from these clinics.

Although TP is only a few miles away from the northern end of Pokhara Nagar Panchayat (Municipality), the environment in the settlement is more rural than in the other two settlements. TP is known to the Nepali people as Hyangja's Bhote Camp. Hynagja is a fairly large village which is divided into upper and lower Hyangja. TP is located at the southern end of the lower Hyangja. A few Nepali households are close to the camp and some of them even have roadside tea shops there.

The Pokhara-Baglung road which is under construction passes through Hyangja. The road passes through TP's eastern boundary. Whether the completion of this highway will benefit the Tibetans is a question on which there are mixed feelings at TP. Some think that the settlement may have more people passing through. Others think that, while this may be true, the vehicles will not be stopping and thus will be 'taking away' the tourists who would otherwise walk through the settlement area on their way to Nau Danda, Ghore Pani, Jomsom, or the Annapurna Mountains. From my own observations, I agree with the second group[14].

Tashi Ling Tibetan Refugee Settlement (TL hereafter) is towards the southern end of Pokhara valley. This settlement was the first Tibetan refugee settlement set up in Pokhara, in 1960. According to IOHHDL (1981:201), about 1,000 Tibetan refugees arrived here in early 1960 and UNHCR set up a temporary camp for them. The settlement in its present

form was started with 500 people in 1966 on the land provided by HMG/Nepal (155 ropani of land), under the sponsorship of the Nepal Red Cross.

There is a handicraft center (started in 1966 as a cooperative endeavor), a health center, a primary school, and a cooperative tea shop. The existence of a Vocational Training Center (VTC) and the SOS supported school have added to the assets of this settlement. Besides, the Patale Chhango (also known as Davis Falls) near the settlement attracts a lot of tourists, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why TL is the most frequented of the three settlements in Pokhara by tourists.

Penjor Ling Tibetan Refugee Settlement (PL hereafter) lies in the middle of Pokhara Town. It is not very far from the Pokhara bus terminal and the airport. This settlement was set up in 1974-75 by HMG/Nepal in order to resettle the Tibetans who were living until that time in the resource-poor region of Lo in Mustang District.

PL has a handicraft center run by the Tibetans themselves. There is a primary school and a recently completed health center, both managed by the Tibetans. Several Tibetan households have restaurants and hotels by the main streets that go around the settlement. Some have souvenir shops by the roadside. The regional office of one of the major Banks in Nepal (Nepal Bank Ltd.) is located within 2-3 minutes' walking distance from the settlement.

From the amenities point of view, TL and PL certainly are doing better than TP. While TP now has electricity, only the other two settlements have phones in their offices. Also, TL and PL are linked by the city bus system and have access to metalled roads. Perhaps because of this and the proximity to the city, people there have motor cycles and bicycles.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT

In the socio-cultural aspects, Tibetans in Pokhara seem to have made attempts to preserve their traditions. Due to changes in the context in Pokhara in comparison to their homeland in Tibet, some minor changes seem to have been accepted. For instance, details of marriage ceremonies seem to have changed. The social structural hierarchy, a characteristic feature of the traditional Tibetan society and considered important in arranging marriages, seems to be attenuating. Traditional Tibetan dress is more common among the women, and of course, the religious people. Others wear traditional dress only on special occasions like marriages, festivals, and important celebrations.

It is notable that monks and nuns are getting non-monastic as well as monastic education. The youth are growing up as polyglots--reading, writing and speaking Tibetan, Nepali, and English. Learning about Tibetan culture, religion, and history for the youths is thought

necessary by the parents and is also emphasized in their education curriculum.

The settlements in Pokhara have at least one monastery and also a chhorten for the settlement deity which seems to be the parallel of the Yhul Lha (village deity) of villages in Tibet. Gombas have been built in the settlements too, to make life complete and to enable the Lamas--an indispensable component of their society--to resume the life of prayers, rituals, study, contemplation, and teaching. The Tibetan people in Pokhara observe most of their rituals and religious festivals by following the Buddhist calendar year which is based on lunar calendar. Investments in religious merit-earning is a part of their way of life. Construction of monasteries, sponsoring religious rituals, etc., have continued. Religion in general seems to have changed little. Households keep altars with, among other things, pictures of the Dalai Lama.

In the Tibetan refugee settlements, there is always a monastery. Religion and language have persisted very well in spite of the forces of change in exile. Many Tibetans prefer that their children should get a rounded education, which means for them a combination of Tibetan and non-Tibetan learning. In the households and in the settlements, Tibetan is the language of conversation or communication. However, educated Tibetans may often switch from Tibetan to Nepali or English while talking among themselves.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The day-to-day life seems to have become rather mechanical for the Tibetans in exile. With the break of day, everyone is up and about and by sunrise most of them have finished their breakfast. Some are rushing to the Handicraft center to resume the weaving or dying or trimming the carpets while others are spinning wool. At the shop, the shop-keeper is dusting the jewelleries and other items before the tourists arrive in groups, saying Namaste as a way of establishing temporary rapport. The children are off to school, playing in the school yard waiting for the school bell to ring. The back-packers are on their way, rushing to reach the Lake Side or Nau Danda before the tourists start coming out of their hotels. The monastic people are either in the prayer session or in a class learning English or arithmetic.

Tibetans in Nepal are disadvantaged in one respect: they may not legally buy immovable property such as land or a house. However, the Nepali government has provided them land for settlements where they have been constructing houses for themselves, schools for their children, monasteries for the community, as well as handicraft centers and other cooperatives as work places for Tibetans as well as non-Tibetans.

The Tibetan flair for trade has created a new and thriving handicraft industry (see Richardson 1984:252) and a

recent mushrooming of "something business" shops along the Lake Side which is basically a tourist center of Pokhara. Some individual families have a shop of their own within the settlement area or not far from their settlement. Running restaurants and hotels has been possible for Tibetans in Penjor Ling since they are located in the vicinity of the Pokhara bus terminal. Some individuals go to India during winter months to do business in buying and selling woolen sweaters.

In general, the life in the Tibetan refugee settlements in Pokhara does not appear to be temporary. Many Tibetans have not only constructed durable homes for themselves, they also seem to have made other kinds of investments in the socio-economic system of Nepali society. If we look at the Tibetans from the economic point of view, the community in general does not present the look of a refugee population. In fact, observation of their way of living in terms of dress, food habits, household possessions, etc., indicates that they seem to be doing much better economically, than the average Nepali living around their settlements. For this 'success' Tibetans themselves get the greater share of the credit. Except for a lunch-break of about two hours, the work day for the Tibetans is quite extended one in comparison to that of the Nepali people in various offices. The disease of absenteeism from one's desk or work-place during office hours and similar other corruptions do not

seem to have found a place among the Tibetans in Pokhara[15]. Perhaps this is why they are doing quite well economically in spite of the limited occupational opportunities, vis-a-vis many people in the host Nepali society living around the Tibetan settlements.

Tibetans have not only found a new economic niche for themselves in Nepal, but have made the best out of the limited opportunities available to them. In none of the three camps under study do any of the Tibetan families have land for agriculture. In addition, they also may not work in the governmental and semi-governmental offices in Nepal. The occupational options for them are limited to jobs within the settlements in the handicraft centers, cooperatives like the guest house, or doing the souvenir business which seems to be a very lucrative job. At one time (October 1988), I counted 43 souvenir shops along the Lake Side area owned by Tibetans. There are many who come to the Lake Side early in the morning with their back packs and spread their souvenir items on a sheet of cloth on the foot path. Some others stay around the camp with their bags while still others go to Nau Danda. (Details on the occupational distribution of the Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara will be discussed later).

COMMITMENTS TO TIBET AND TIBETANNESS

If we go back into the religio-political history of Tibet, we find that national consciousness, which today seems to be so strong among Tibetans at home as well as in exile, is in fact a recent phenomenon. Speaking of this, Aris (1988:8) says that the national consciousness "was limited to some of the inhabitants of the main Tsangpo valley and neighbouring districts to the north and south." People until recently identified themselves as Khampa, Amdoba, and Drogpa, and often they still do so. Today Tibetans call themselves Bhoepa and their Nepali hosts refer them as Bhote. It may be noted here that among Tibetans we may speak of levels of corporate identifications based on ancestry, village or region, community, and of course, the nation (see Corlin 1975). Reckoning one or the other of these could be determined by the situation confronting an individual Tibetan. However, in the present context of exile, their regional identities often become attenuated in favor of a larger corporate identity of being a Bhoepa or a Tibetan. Today of course they identify themselves as Tibetans, which needs to be supported by their allegiance to Buddhism and to their religio-political institution of the Dalai Lama. In addition, for those in exile, a commitment to the "cause of Tibet" is essential to remain a Tibetan and a refugee from Tibet.

The Tibetan refugees in Pokhara came from different parts of Tibet. Some of them did not have any relatives or persons from the same village. Families, friends, and relatives were separated for many. In spite of their different home-related regional and ethnic backgrounds, in Pokhara they have formed a relatively homogeneous Tibetan community. Differences of ethnic and social backgrounds are seldom brought to the surface. In fact, due to inter-marriages, the inter-ethnic boundaries among Tibetans themselves seem to have disappeared. Even the social hierarchy has weakened. For them it is more important to make distinctions between Tibetan and non-Tibetan than among Khampa, Amdoba, Drogpa. However, the ideological difference between the Lha De and Mi De remains, which is suggestive of the importance of religion in Tibetan society.

As stated above, the corporate identity of being Tibetan is vital for the Tibetan refugees. Equally important is maintaining the ideology of the 'Tibetan cause' among the younger generation. This is achieved in various ways. Tibetans celebrate the March 10 Lhasa uprising anniversary, the birth day of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in July, Tibetan Youth Day in September, etc. During these occasions when the camps observe holidays, people gather in a central meeting place where the leaders and educated Tibetans, including the chief of the settlement, reiterate the importance of the Tibetan cause. Speeches recently

delivered by the Dalai Lama are quoted, which are taken as decree by many of the refugees. Another way of fostering Tibetanness and the cause for Tibet is the showing of documentary films of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's visits to various western countries. The warm reception and the reverence shown to the Dalai Lama by the western world reinforces the trust of every Tibetan in the leadership of their spiritual and political leader.

One of the things that gives Tibetans a distinctive identity vis-a-vis the host communities is their being followers of the incarnate Dalai Lama and of course, being Buddhists. It should be noted, however, for the common Tibetan the sect differences are less important. Tibetans, of course, know what sect's monastery exists in their camp. But this does not stop them from sending their sons or daughters to a monastery belonging to another sect. It is the monks and nuns who belong to sects and who think that it is vital to identify themselves with their sect. For instance, a Sakyapa Lama, head of the Sakyapa sect was visiting Pokhara. Non-Sakyapa people from the Tibetan camp as well as the monks received blessings and 'wang' (empowerment) from him. There seems to be an unity in diversity in the practice of religion. The sects are distinguished but all lead to the same overall goal--that of letting each and every Tibetan earn religious merit in this life so that a better life in the next birth and eventually

'nirvana' could be achieved. As we can see, the belief in incarnations and rebirths has continued to remain part of Tibetan world view.

Tibetans in Nepal today pursue many different activities, ranging from agriculture and trading to businesses such as running restaurants, shops, hotels/guest houses, etc. Not all Tibetan refugees are living in the Tibetan refugee settlements. In Kathmandu, there are quite a few living independently and pursuing various income-generating activities to make their living. In the Himalayan belt of Nepal, where the Nepali population resembles the Tibetans culturally and has a religio-cultural affinity with Tibetans, many Tibetans may have settled among the Nepali villagers.

Tibetans have been living in good harmony with their hosts. The way the Tibetans have adapted economically is just an example of how even a people uprooted from their homeland and living in a totally new socio-economic context can make their lives better than any one would imagine. The credit for this should go mostly to the hard work, determination, and a readiness to face the challenges characteristic among the Tibetans.

From the discussion above we can make a few generalizing statements. First, religion has been a supreme force in Tibetan socio-cultural life. Perhaps it is the Tibetan Buddhism which has functioned as a glue holding the

Tibetan people together and at the same time given them a broader corporate identity of being Tibetans.

As our later discussions will reveal, there seem to be some differences between the traditional and current marriage and family practices and patterns among Tibetans in Pokhara. While monkhood and nunhood and celibacy retains public respect, the basic norms and values of religious life seem to have undergone some changes with the new generation. In marriage, community exogamy is still a norm but not a rule any more. Polyandry--the so called exotic practice--is not extinct in exile. It is, of course, true that because of the prejudice of the societies not practicing polyandry, Tibetans do not always find it easy to admit that they are practicing it. The younger generation may favor exogamy and monogamy with preference for love marriage or a combination of love and arranged marriage. Maintaining Tibetan culture is regarded as important. However, simulation of their traditional culture in its totality in the exile context in Pokhara is rendered difficult by the differences in the ecological as well as social, cultural, and economic contexts between the Tibetan Highlands and the Pokhara valley in Nepal. In the chapters to follow I hope to present a clearer picture of the adaptation of Tibetans in Pokhara by referring to what has persisted and what has changed for Tibetan population, culture, and society.

NOTES

1. Lang Darma was the last of Srong Tsan Gampo's line of rulers of Tibet. He ruled Tibet during 838-842, a period during which Buddhism in Tibet is reported to have declined in importance. Atisha, also known as Dipankara Srijanana in Sanskrit, came to Tibet in 1042. He was born in 982 A.D. in a royal family in India.

2. The four major sects of Tibetan Buddhism are: Nyngmapa, Sakyapa, Kagyupa and Ghelukpa. Nyngmapa (Tib. Nyngma=Old) is the oldest of the sects. Its beginning is traced to the Adi Buddha known by various names like Samantabhadra, Vajradhara and Vajrasattva. Nyngmapa are generally recognized as the followers of Padmasambava. Sakyapa gets its name after the first monastery of the sect known as Sakya. Kunga Nyingpo (born 1092) who was renamed Sachen is recognized as the propounder of Sakyapa doctrine. Sakyapas were politically very powerful in Tibet during thirteenth and fourteenth century. Kagyupa (Tib. Ka=Speech) refers to the practice of orally instructing the disciples. Marpa (1012-1096) is regarded as the spiritual force behind the emergence of this sect.
Ghelukpa was founded by Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) at the end of the 14th century. Originally ordained as a full monk in the Kadampa sub-sect of Kagyupa, Tsongkhapa founded the Ganden monastery in 1409 as the seat of Sarma Kadampa (i.e., New Kadampa), which is better known today as Ghelukpa. The line of incarnate Dalai Lamas have always belonged to this sect. It was Sonam Gyasto who was given the title of Dalai Lama in 1578 by the Mongol ruler Altan Khan and thenceforth the incarnations have been known as Dalai Lama. Genden Truppa (1391-1474), the disciple of Tsonkhapa (the founder of Ghelukpa sect) and the founder as well as the abbot of Tashi Lhunpo monastery in Tibet, and his next incarnation Genden Gyatso (1475-), were accorded the title posthumously thereby making Sonam Gyatso the third Dalai Lama. Today almost all the Buddhist world reveres the Dalai Lama as an incarnate Buddha. The institution and the person of the Dalai Lama is an example of a tremendous leap from the mere abbotship of a monastery in Tibet being hereditized by incarnations to vesting religious and secular powers on the person of the Dalai Lama. Perhaps the granting of the title of the Dalai Lama by the Mongol ruler was one of the forces that transformed a mere incarnate abbot to an institution in which Tibetans today often find their identities intricately linked. In the Ghelukpa sect celibacy has been consistently observed as a percept as it is done in Shakyapa and Kagyupa sects. Shaving of hair in these sects is a sign of renunciation of the worldly life.

3. In this regard, the famous case is that of the Sixth Dalai Lama. He is remembered well for his amorous sexual activities and the romantic life he chose to live. He is, however, said to have confessed that he had broken the monastic vows by will and therefore, requested the then Panchen Lama to allow him to renounce the vows (see Aris 1988 for a comprehensive account of the life of the Sixth Dalai Lama).

4. Ghetsul is the very first vow in Tibetan Mahayani Buddhism generally taken by the young monks after their entry into monastic life. The vow of Ghelong, i.e., fully ordained monk, may be taken by Ghetsul monks upon attaining adulthood and also having successfully completed the required religious studies. Lharampa and Gheshe are the highest monastic degrees conferred upon Lamas of outstanding knowledge and learning. Gheshe is often thought of an equivalent of a doctor of philosophy. For more details on these, refer Finegan (1986), Richardson (1984), Shakabpa (1967), Snellgrove and Richardson (1986), and Tucci (1967).

5. A Tibetan scholar citing a Tibetan source writes: "Admission to the monastery is open to all classes of the population" (Shakabpa 1967:14). Perhaps Shakabpa is pointing out the fact that every one, irrespective of the social class/caste affiliation can go to the monasteries for prayers. My own understanding, which is based on the ethnographic interviews I have done among Tibetan refugees in Pokhara and culturally Tibetan Buddhist people in the Himalayan regions of Nepal, is that unclean people can not enter into the monastic life as monks and nuns.

Some scholars have attempted a comparison of the four-fold classification in the Hindu caste system--the Varna Model--with the four-fold classifications of people in the culturally Tibetan populations (see Allen 1978). This is only an apparent similarity--the Tibetan model is a combination of ascriptive and achieved statuses. While a Brahmin in the Hindu context is born of a Brahmin parents, an incarnate Lama or an abbot of a monastery could have come from a common people's family. Ecclesiastical status can be improved in the Tibetan system which is not possible in Hinduism.

Saklani points out that "the opportunities for upward mobility in the lay world of Tibet appear to have been still less than in the ecclesiastical world. This is indicated by the very wide gap between the commoners and the nobles" (Saklani 1984:169).

6. Nepali society too has a similar categorization: bone relation, blood relation. Besides, we also have a category of milk relation meaning either sharing of the milk or

mother-child relations established because of the child being breast fed by the woman.

7. There are two ways used by Tibetans to reckon time period, viz., Lho Khor Chyu Ni or the Twelve Year Cycle, and Lho Khor Dug Chyu or the Sixty Year Cycle. The former is generally used in keeping track of the age of people.

The Tibetan calendar is said to be an adaptation from the Sanskrit Kalachakra. It was adapted in 1027 (see Stein 1972:55), and the earlier dates were fixed by backward calculation. The five elements known as Kham in Tibetan are: iron, water, wood, fire and earth. The twelve animals (known as Lhotak) are combined with the Kham to make the sixty year cycle.

8. The escapes from polyandry in the traditional context of Tibet generally meant forsaking ones share in the parental property. Since primogeniture was the rule of inheritance in most cases, a brother who did not want to share his elder brother's wife and work for his household had to enter monastic life, or become a Mhakpa, or establish ones own household.

9. Rules are made to be followed. But it looks like that it is a pan-human societal feature that there are always ways to circumvent the rules. After all, the rules themselves are man-made. If they can circumvent the laws created by nature by producing test-tube babies, or by producing offsprings with the use of artificial insemination in a surrogate mother, there does not seem to be a reason why human populations would not challenge the rules made by themselves.

10. International Red Cross, Swiss Red Cross, Swiss Aid for Technical Assistance (SATA), Snow Lion Foundation, UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Nepal Red Cross, OXFAM and various governmental and non-governmental agencies as well as individuals seem to have contributed to the resettlement of Tibetan refugees in Nepal (see IOHHDL 1981 for details).

11. It is true that Gautama Buddha attained Buddhahood or enlightenment under a Pipal or Bodhi tree in a place not far from today's Bodh Gaya in India. However, his place of birth falls within the territory of Nepal (see Bell 1968).

12. Since Gombo's numbers are based on a survey, it may be more reliable than the figures I was given by TRWO as estimates of the populations in various settlements.

13. In 1965 the Nepal Red Cross and UNHCR took over the assistance program. In 1966, the Handicraft center at TP

and the settlement was handed down to the Tibetans themselves.

14. When I was living in TP, I could see a number of jeeps carrying more than 20 people at a time passing through the relatively new dusty road there to and from Pokhara and Fedi. Until a few years ago, before the jeep transportation was available, the trekkers had to start walking from Pokhara itself. Things have already changed for the people in TP because of the jeeps and the coming of the buses and other means of transportation may mean more drastic changes.

15. Unlike in many Nepali offices where it has become a normal thing to see a peon dutifully guarding the door of the officer who is due any time but god only knows when, or your file waiting on the officer's desk for his signature since at least two days, etc., the Tibetans seem to be more serious at work. Whenever I visited the HC offices or other offices in the Tibetan settlements in Pokhara I did not have to encounter an empty chair wearing a jacket.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TIBETANS IN NEPAL

TIBETAN POPULATION: HOW LARGE IS IT?

How large is the Tibetan population in Tibet as well as in exile today? This simple question does not have a definite answer due to the lack of accurate and reliable demographic statistics on Tibetans. Scholars and authorities tend to depend on the guesswork and estimates of each other whenever a statistical figure needs to be cited.

Before presenting a demographic profile of the Tibetan settlements in Pokhara, I will, therefore, make a few remarks on the population figures on Tibetans in Tibet as well as in exile. The total population figures for Tibetans in Tibet and Tibetans in exile as estimated by different sources tend to vary significantly. Tibetan exile sources, including the Dalai Lama have estimated the total Tibetan population (including those in Tibet as well as those in exile) at about six million[1]. It is rather surprising to note that other estimates range from less than two million to more than fifteen million (see Grunfeld 1987:219 for a summary of other sources of estimates).

There are several reasons for this wide-ranging variation. One of the main reasons lies, perhaps, in the geographical area being taken into account in making these estimates. As we noted earlier, ethnographic Tibet and

political Tibet are two different geographical entities. In addition, after the PRC's takeover of Tibet in the 1950s, Tibet's political boundary was changed and some part of its earlier territory was annexed to other adjoining provinces of the PRC. The earlier north eastern region of Tibet known as Amdo, for instance, is a part of today's Qinghai province. Today's Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), therefore, is not the same geographical area as the pre-1959 political and ethnographic Tibet.

In terms of population, today's Tibet does not consist only of Tibetans. In fact, recent Chinese sources show that in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, the Tibetan Minority Population is about 95% of the total population in the province (SSB/PRC 1988:71), thereby suggesting the presence of other ethnic populations there.

A Tibetan scholar contends that the population of Tibet could have declined over the centuries and says that "the present estimated population of Chol-ka-sum (the three regions of ethnic Tibet)[2] is about six million" (Shakabpa 1967:6) (parentheses in the original). Another Tibetan scholar (Gombo 1985), on the other hand, points out that no exact population figures for pre- and post-1959 Tibet are available. Talking about the pre-1959 Tibet, he also reiterates that since "most areas were sparsely populated, and most people lived in pastoral areas or rural villages of

no more than a few dozen households, the population of Tibet was probably very small ..." (Gombo 1985:53-54).

As Grunfeld points out, the figures on the population of Tibet provided by the Chinese are perhaps closer to reality since they are in a better position to make population estimates by virtue of their control over the TAR (see Grunfeld 1987:219). In a recent study on Korean minority population in the PRC, Lee (1986) presents a summary of the national census data for the minorities, 1964-1982 (see Lee 1986:3, Table 1.1). He finds that the Tibetan population in the PRC in 1964 was 2,501,174 (.36% of the total population of China) and rose to 3,870,068 by 1982 (.39% of the total). These figures seem reasonable, given the fact that the Tibetan plateau is sparsely populated---a fact reported by ethnographers also (see Ekvall 1968, 1972; Stein 1972). These figures show that in less than 20 years, the number of ethnic Tibetans in China grew by approximately 55%. Tibetans today are to be found in the provinces of Tibet, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunan (State Statistical Bureau [SSB] of the PRC 1988:72). The SSB, however, does not state what proportion of the population in these provinces are Tibetans or any other minorities for that matter. In effect, the actual ethnic Tibetan population in TAR and elsewhere is still based on estimates.

Turning to estimates of the Tibetan refugee population, we have to concede that the situation is no better. Here

again, sources vary in quoting the number of Tibetans that fled their homeland as well as the number of Tibetans living in exile today. The number of those fleeing Tibet to take refuge in neighboring countries ranges from 80,000 to 100,000. The total number of Tibetans living in various countries of the world today is equally shrouded in mystery[3].

It is notable that births and deaths, as well as migration do not seem to have been taken into consideration. Also those who have acquired citizenship in the host countries (which is against the general policy of the Dalai Lama's Government in exile) are not accounted for. In Nepal and India, where the majority of the Tibetan refugees are living today, the host governments do not honor dual citizenship[4]. Besides a few Tibetans who have returned to Tibet also have not been accounted for[5]. Thus, it is rather surprising to note that without any serious thought, the Tibetan refugee population seems to be treated as a stationary population. From what the Tibetans in Pokhara could tell me about their initial period in Nepal as well as the flight, many of their relatives and friends succumbed to the hardships of flight, starvation, and gastrointestinal and malarial diseases. Similar experiences have been reported for Tibetans in India. In the absence of vital statistics, we have no easy way of estimating what

proportion of the Tibetan refugee population died during the flight and the initial phase of resettlement and adjustment.

The estimates for Tibetans in Nepal are also outdated. The figures given in the official document of the Tibetan government in exile (IOHHDL 1981) need to be revised and updated. Most of the figures are estimates that were made at least 20 years ago. The exception is Kathmandu, for which we have population figures closer to the actual population structure due to Gombo's (1985) systematic household survey in Kathmandu. Gombo, however, admits that approximately 16.7% (or about 100 households) of the total Tibetans in Kathmandu were missed by his survey. If these were included, he concludes that the actual population of the valley would be closer to 3,000 or more.

POPULATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS, POKHARA

The Tibetan refugee population in the present study has a diverse origin in Tibet. During my field research in Pokhara among the Tibetans, I met only a few families and individuals that mentioned having people from their own village back in Tibet living in one of the three settlements in Pokhara. Genealogical data provide further support to this observation. The network of relatives that the Tibetans have today in their own settlements or other places in exile are mostly the ones established in exile. In other words, the relatives of many Tibetans in exile are not

necessarily the continuation of the kin network from back in their village. Many Tibetans have their siblings and other close relatives dispersed in various countries in the West. For example, the individuals represented in the collected genealogies live in different places in Nepal, India, Tibet, the United States and other countries. This is perhaps typical of a refugee population.

For Kathmandu Valley, Gombo (1985:34) reports a total of 160 villages as places of origin in Tibet for the 517 Tibetan refugee households covered by his survey, suggestive of the diverse regional origin of the Tibetan refugee population. I will treat the Tibetans in Pokhara, however, as originating in Tibet in general rather than as coming from Kham, Amdo, U-Tsang, or Lhasa. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, the corporate identity of being a Tibetan is more vital for the Tibetans today than their regional backgrounds. Over the years, not only have the regional variations in behavior and practices attenuated, but also not every Tibetan in exile today can draw clear regional distinctions in the general cultural pattern. It is with this premise that I am treating Tibetans in Pokhara as homogeneous and sharing the same language, culture, religion, and above all as being Tibetans as opposed to non-Tibetans.

HOUSEHOLDS IN POKHARA

The Tibetan refugee population in the present study live in three settlements in Pokhara: Tashi Palkhiel, Tashi Ling, and Penjor Ling (see Map 2). According to the household census conducted in 1988, there were 358 households in the three settlements under study. Tashi Palkhiel had 168 while there were 74 in Tashi Ling and 116 in Penjor Ling. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of household size in the three settlements. The average

Table 4.1

Tibetan Refugee Household by Size and Settlements, Pokhara, 1988

Household Size	Tashi Palkhiel		Tashi Ling		Penjor Ling		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1	21	(12.5)	6	(8.1)	47	(40.5)	74	(20.7)
2	20	(11.9)	9	(12.2)	13	(11.2)	42	(11.7)
3	35	(20.8)	7	(9.5)	14	(12.1)	56	(15.6)
4	24	(14.3)	3	(4.1)	10	(8.6)	37	(10.3)
5	18	(10.7)	15	(20.3)	15	(12.9)	48	(13.4)
6	20	(11.9)	14	(18.9)	9	(7.8)	43	(12.0)
7	16	(9.5)	14	(18.9)	3	(2.6)	33	(9.2)
8	4	(2.4)	4	(5.4)	2	(1.7)	10	(2.8)
9	7	(4.2)	1	(1.4)	2	(1.7)	10	(2.8)
10	2	(1.2)	1	(1.4)	1	(0.9)	4	(1.1)
14	1	(0.6)	--	--	--	--	1	(0.3)
Total	168	(100)	74	(100)	116	(100)	358	(100)
Average	4.24		4.93		3.00		3.99	
Median	3.3		4.8		1.8		3.2	

Source: Household Census, 1988.

household size for the three settlements was 3.99 persons per household. Tashi Ling ranked first in average household

size with 4.93 persons per household, while Tashi Palkhiel had 4.24 persons per household and Penjor Ling had only 3.0 persons per household. The household sizes range from 1 to 14 individuals. This wide range is partly explained by the fact that a number of Tibetan households have membership ranging up to three generations, while quite a few do not have other family members living with them. Table 4.1 shows that most of the larger households are in Tashi Palkhiel and Tashi Ling. Penjor Ling has fewer large households in comparison to the other two settlements which is perhaps suggesting that Penjor Ling has yet to recover completely from the disruptions of the mid-1970s (i.e., the time when the people in this settlement were moved from Mustang to Pokhara).

In order to get a clearer view about the household size, we need to look at the median household size also in the three settlements (see Table 4.1). Tashi Ling ranks first with a median of 4.8 followed by Tashi Palkhiel and Penjor Ling with median household sizes of 3.3 and 1.8 respectively. All three settlements have quite a few single individual households, with Penjor Ling ranking first, Tashi Palkhiel second, and Tashi Ling last. Tashi Palkhiel has 10 households with single male members, while Tashi Ling has 4 and Penjor Ling has 44. The households with single female individuals are fewer. Tashi Palkhiel has 11, Tashi Ling has 2 and Penjor Ling has 3 such households.[6]

POPULATION STRUCTURE

Random fluctuations in population structure and vital rates are commonly observed in small populations. Fricke (1986) points out that "While minor disruptions in more general trends can be masked by the sheer weight of numbers in large groups, chance events will have a more visible impact in smaller groups. If the special explanations for anomalous rates or distributions aren't known, the analysis of data can be seriously affected" (Fricke 1986:85). In small populations, the absence or presence of even a small number of people belonging to a particular age group can significantly influence the population structure. Penjor Ling's population structure is certainly a very good example of this (Figure 4.1). Its population in the age group 25-44 is conspicuously small in comparison to the population below age 25 or above age 44.

If we look at the population structure of the three settlements combined and separate, as well as of Kathmandu for 1985 (Table 4.2, and Figure 4.1), we see strong evidence that disruptions in the age and sex structure of a population may be caused by flight, movement, and resettlement processes. The population structure of Penjor Ling, for instance, which is a more recently resettled population, differs significantly from the others (see Figure 4.1) and perhaps is showing effects of disruption due to movement and resettlement. Tashi Ling and Tashi Palkhiel

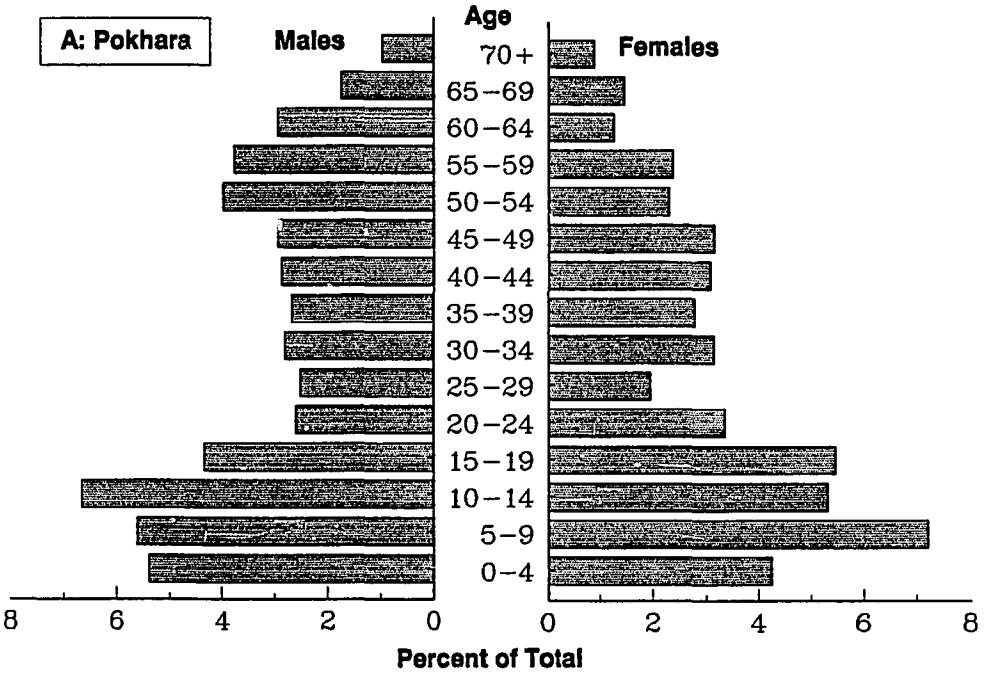
Table 4.2

Age and Sex Distribution of Tibetan Refugee Population in Pokhara, 1988 and Kathmandu, 1985

Age Group	Tashi Palkhiel		Tashi Ling		Penjor Ling		Pokhara, 1988		Kathmandu, 1985	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0- 4	48	29	21	20	8	12	77	61	146	109
5- 9	34	50	28	26	18	27	80	103	157	141
10-14	40	38	24	24	31	14	95	76	119	111
15-19	33	41	17	22	12	15	62	78	84	87
20-24	19	31	8	9	10	8	37	48	75	92
25-29	20	18	14	5	2	5	36	28	105	106
30-34	30	25	9	12	1	8	40	45	58	76
35-39	17	19	16	10	5	11	38	40	86	78
40-44	23	21	9	8	9	15	41	44	73	72
45-49	23	17	7	10	12	18	42	45	71	47
50-54	22	20	10	8	25	5	57	33	69	48
55-59	20	19	6	12	28	3	54	34	54	37
60-64	15	9	7	7	20	2	42	18	31	28
65-69	7	10	3	8	15	3	25	21	20	14
70+	5	10	4	1	5	2	14	13	12	15
Total	356	357	183	182	201	148	740	687	1160	1061

Sources: Pokhara=Household Census 1988, and Kathmandu=Gombo (1985).

Figure 4.1: Population Pyramids for Tibetans in Pokhara, 1988



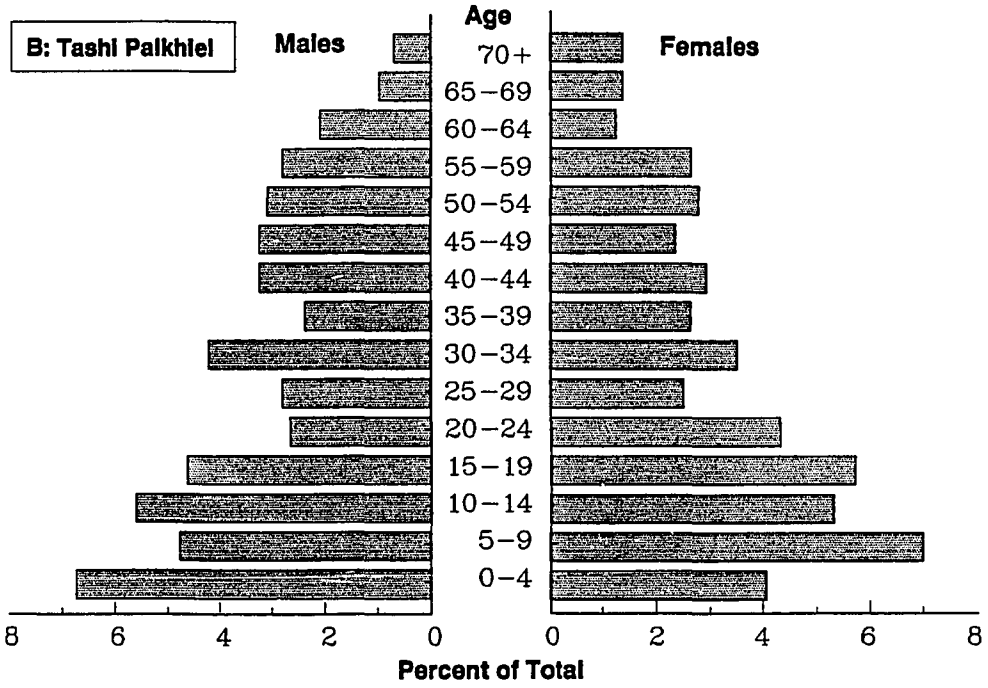
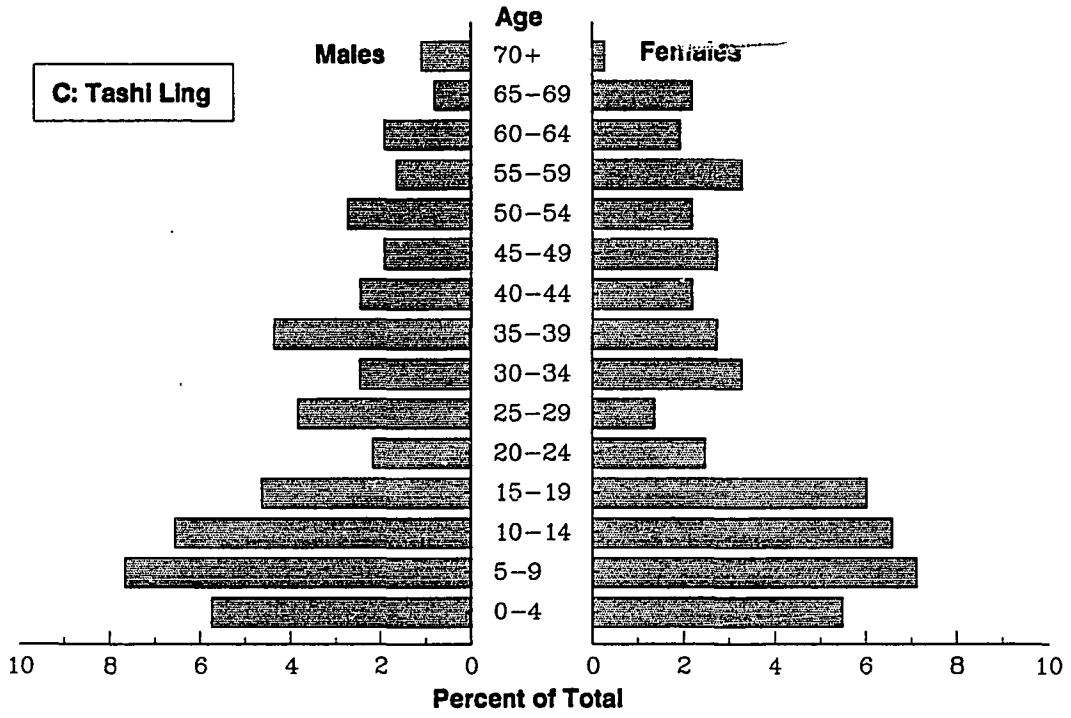
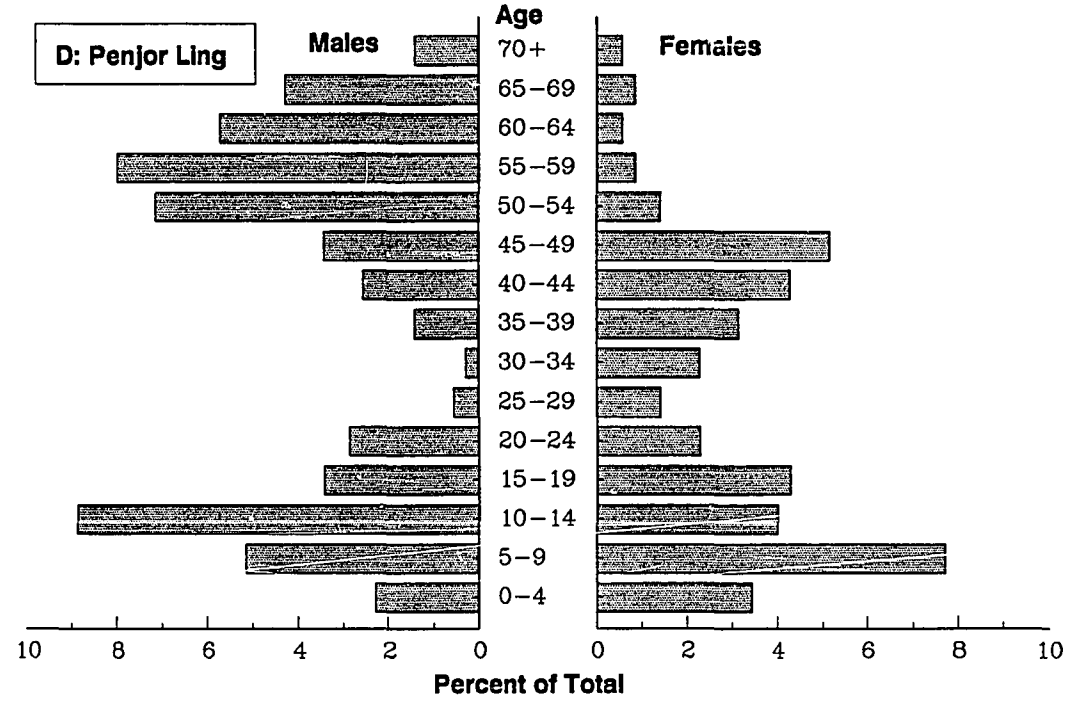


Figure 4.1: (Continued) Population Pyramids for Tibetans in Pokhara, 1988





seem to have overcome the effects of disruptions as is reflected in their population structure (see Figure 4.1). For Penjor Ling, on the other hand, sometime in the early 1970s (i.e., 15-20 years ago), a lot of youths may have died in, what is popularly known in Nepal as the "Mustang Incident," and therefore, the male population in the age group 30-34 in particular is very small there. During the beginning of the 1970s, the Tibetans who had continued to live in the Himalayan regions of Nepal since their exodus from Tibet had started an armed conflict against the Chinese. Before it was stopped by the Royal Nepali Army in 1974, a lot of Tibetans had already lost their lives in the struggle[7].

The indentations in the population pyramids for the Tibetan populations in Pokhara in the age group 20-29 is perhaps indicative of an arrested reproductive performance of the Tibetans for almost 10 years beginning in 1959. It also suggests that a significant proportion of children and infants may have died during the initial years of flight and resettlement.

The sharp indentation in the population structure of Penjor Ling in particular and other settlements and the three settlements combined in the age groups 20-29 (in the case of Penjor Ling 20-34), prompts several questons. Does this indicate disruption of fertility at some point in time?

Does it suggest increased child and infant mortality at some point in time (i.e., about 20 to 30 years ago)?

If we look at the statistics in the context of the events encountered by Tibet and Tibetans in the late 1950s and early 1960s, we may be able to find some possible explanations. Disruptions in the fertility performance resulting from the flight are suggested. That movement tends to affect fertility has been reported from research elsewhere (Hervitz 1985; Desbarats 1986).

The population in the age group 20-29 are individuals born during 1959-1969. This is the period of mass flight, resettlement (involving the overcoming of disruptions), and initial adjustments. From what the Tibetans could recall during ethnographic interviews and informal talks in Pokhara, many experienced the deaths of their relatives, family members, and friends during the flight and the initial years in exile (and thus the above argument seems plausible). Truncated or temporarily arrested fertility (due to separation of spouses) and accelerated mortality (because of diseases, malnutrition, starvation, etc., associated with flight) which could have hit the infant and child population more than any other age group could be regarded as the most plausible causes for the disproportionately small population in the above-mentioned age groups.

A factor accounting for the apparently smaller 0-4 age group could be the household census timing. Given that the Tibetan New Year--the Dragon year--began in February 1988 and that the household census was completed in June 1988, the age 0 in the population represents babies born during the first 4 months of the Dragon Year. The indentation at the bottom of the population pyramids for the Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara is, therefore, not necessarily a result of declining fertility, nor an artifact of age heaping or misreporting. The indentation is due mostly to the fact that for age 0, only about one third of the births for the whole year have been accounted for[8]. Fertility, at present, is certainly not declining. The reported sibling size of the Tibetans as seen from the Marriage and Family Survey and the genealogies, and the average number of children ever born to Tibetan women supports this assertion (See Chapter Five).

Some demographic indicators also suggest that the Tibetan population in Pokhara is relatively younger (the exception is Penjor Ling) and therefore may be growing larger. For instance, children (ages 0-14) constitute about 35% of the total population which is indicative of a high birth rate in the recent past. Moreover, if we look at the percent distribution of the population by age, about 50% of the population is 25 years and younger. The median age for the total population is 24.7 years, while it is 24.4 for

Tashi Palkhiel, 20.1 for Tashi Ling and 36.1 for Penjor Ling. In Penjor Ling, as we can see from Figure 4.1, the population in the age groups 25-39 is conspicuously small.

For Penjor Ling, a second disruption in the 1970s, as we noted above, may have caused the sharp indentations for ages 25-39 in the population structure. Interestingly enough, the population in the age groups below 15, especially 10-14, seems to suggest that a baby boom was experienced by this population around the time when they came out of Mustang and were resettled in Pokhara.

As I pointed out above, the Tibetan refugee population may have a higher birth rate. In part this could be due to their pro-natal religious values. Tibetans in Pokhara do not practice birth control and this ought to be considered in the light of their religious values. The Mahayana school of Buddhism with which the Tibetans are affiliated, disapproves of violence and sacrifice or killing. This general theory, when linked to the pervasive idea of Karma, establishes a core value: 'perform meritorious deeds to earn a good Karma.' Any sinful act would bring you a bad Karma. When we relate it further to the Tibetan belief on rebirth, it becomes easier to understand why the Tibetans would not want to limit the births. Children are regarded as the gifts of God and as the returns for your conduct or Karma in the past life. Moreover, by stopping or hindering the

reproductive process of a mother, you may be depriving her from begetting an incarnate or a Tulku.

In exile today, Tibetans often add one more practical reason for non-practice and non-approval of birth control. Most of the people feel that they ought to have a bigger population in order to make their cause stronger.

SEX RATIOS

The sex ratios by five year age groups for the study population and some selected populations are given in Table 4.3. Of the total Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara in 1988, 51.86% were male and 48.14% were female with a sex ratio (males per 100 females) of 107.7. As we can see, of the total Tibetan refugee population under study, 50% live in Tashi Palkhiel, while 25.6% live in Tashi Ling and the remaining 25.4% live in Penjor Ling (derived from Table 4.2). Here again Penjor Ling stands out from two other settlements in Pokhara in terms of the overall sex ratio (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 also shows that the overall sex ratio for the Tibetan populations in Pokhara and Kathmandu is not very different, although variations for age specific sex ratios of the two populations are seen.

In Pokhara refugee settlements, it is notable that the sex ratio for age group 0-4 for all three settlements combined is 126, which is much higher than an expected

normal of 105-107. The corresponding figure for Nepal is 106, and Tashi Ling with 105 comes closer to this. As we can see, Tashi Palkhiel and Kathmandu have a much higher sex ratio for age 0-4 whereas their overall sex ratio is 100 and 109 respectively. The overall sex ratio for Pokhara's Tibetan settlements as a whole is, however, only slightly higher than an expected normal figure of 105. The highly variable sex ratios across Tibetan refugee settlements by age are perhaps the results of "chance events" (see Fricke 1986) showing their effects on these small populations.

Table 4.3

Sex Ratios (Males per 100 Females) by Age Groups, for Selected Populations

Age Group	Tashi Palkhiel 1988	Tashi Ling 1988	Penjor Ling 1988	Pokhara (Tibetan) 1988	Genea-logy 1988	Kath-mandu 1985	Nepal (Nepali) 1987
0- 4	166	105	67	126	111	134	106
5- 9	68	108	67	78	107	111	104
10-14	105	100	221	125	88	107	117
15-19	81	77	80	80	133	97	110
20-24	61	89	125	77	41	82	91
25-29	111	280	40	129	77	99	96
30-34	120	75	13	89	111	76	92
35-39	90	160	45	95	87	110	107
40-44	110	113	60	93	179	101	100
45-49	135	70	67	93	89	151	114
50-54	110	125	500	173	170	144	115
55-59	105	50	933	159	171	146	119
60-64	167	100	1000	233	108	111	109
65-69	77	38	500	119	62	143	116
75+	50	400	250	108	83	80	111
All Ages	100	101	136	108	104	109	105

Sources: Kathmandu- Gombo, 1985; Nepal-HMG, Central Bureau of Statistics 1987 Population Monograph of Nepal p.43, Table 3.3.

The inter-settlement differences in age and sex distribution reflect, to some extent, the past trends of fertility and mortality patterns. They also reflect the pattern of refugeeism by sex. For instance, whether a very high sex ratio for the Tibetan population in Nepal is indicative of a higher proportion of men coming into exile than women (i.e., population 20 years and older in 1959) is a pertinent question. Sex ratios for Tibetan populations in Table 4.3 seem to be suggesting this. Comparable data from Tibetan exile populations elsewhere are needed to establish this hypothesis.

Penjor Ling has a large number of single male households. It also has very high sex ratios for ages 50 and over while for the age groups between 25-49 the sex ratios are relatively low. An interesting point to note is that Penjor Ling, despite of its very high overall sex ratio, has a very low sex ratio for the age groups wherein the reproductively active female population is present (ages 20-49).

PLACE OF BIRTH

According to the household census 1988, 46.3% of the total Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara settlements are first generation refugees (see Table 4.4). In other words, these people are Tibet-born and came to Pokhara either as

Table 4.4

Tibetan Refugee Population by Place of Birth, Age, Sex, and Settlement, 1988

	Tashi Palkhiel		Tashi Ling		Penjor Ling		Pokhara	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Born in Tibet								
0-9	-	-	-	-	0.8	-	0.3	-
10-19	-	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	0.3
20-29	6.0	2.6	7.9	3.8	-	6.0	4.4	3.7
30-39	26.9	27.4	32.9	27.8	5.0	27.3	20.9	27.5
40-49	26.9	24.8	19.7	22.8	17.3	43.9	22.2	28.5
50-59	24.5	25.5	21.0	25.3	43.8	12.1	30.2	22.5
60-69	12.6	12.4	13.2	19.0	28.9	7.6	18.1	13.1
70+	3.0	6.5	5.3	1.3	4.1	3.0	3.8	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	167	153	76	79	121	66	364	298
Born in Nepal								
0-9	43.4	38.7	45.8	44.7	31.3	47.6	41.5	42.2
10-19	38.6	38.2	38.3	44.7	53.8	35.4	41.7	39.3
20-29	15.3	22.1	15.0	10.6	15.0	11.0	15.2	16.7
30-39	1.1	1.0	-	-	-	1.2	0.5	0.8
40-49	0.5	-	0.9	-	-	4.8	0.5	1.0
50-59	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-
60-69	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-
70+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	189	204	107	103	80	82	376	389

Source: Household Census 1988.

children or adults. Most of the non-Nepal born Tibetan people came to Pokhara before they reached age 50 (47.8% male and 60.0% female). Of the total Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara today, 53.6% are Nepal-born. Very few of these people have first-hand experience of Tibet and the ways of life there. Of the total non-Tibet born, 329 male and 334 female are Pokhara born (which is 46.5% of the total population)[9].

Table 4.4 shows the Tibetan refugee population by age, sex and place of birth for all three settlements under study. Of the Nepal-born, there are people born in places like Mustang, Kathmandu, Dhorpatan and Dolpo, which shows that some Tibetan families lived elsewhere before they were resettled in Pokhara (these details are not shown in Table 4.4, see note # 9). Some of these non-Pokhara-born Tibetans came to Pokhara because of marriage. However, more male than female Tibetans seem to have came from outside to Pokhara.

From Table 4.4, we can see that the Tibet-born are mostly 20 years and older today while Nepal-born Tibetans are mostly less than 30 years old. In fact, among the Tibet-born refugees, 97.7% were 20 years and older, and among the Nepal-born Tibetans 98.4% of the male and 98.2% of the female were less than 30 years of age in 1988. This suggests two things: First, we can infer on the basis of this information that most of the Tibetans came to Nepal at

least 20 years ago. Second, very few people in the Pokhara settlements have been in Nepal for more than 30 years.[10]

EDUCATION

In the traditional context--in Tibet--monasteries performed the role of educational institutions to a greater extent. Thus, in order to get an education in pre-1959 Tibet one had to be enrolled in the monasteries. Very few children had access to education outside the monastic institutions (see Norbu 1987).

Education in the Tibetan refugee settlements today is given in secular as well as religious institutions. Although these institutions emphasize different types of education, they are not exclusive in what they teach and study. Religious education and learning Tibetan script is not limited to the monastic schools, and monasteries have also started providing opportunities to the monks to learn a second and or a third language. Many parents in the Tibetan refugee settlements in Pokhara feel that their children should ideally learn to read and write Tibetan and English as well as Nepali. Learning the Tibetan language is seen as essential for the continuity and transmission of their own culture, while learning English and Nepali is necessary to interact and survive in exile.

Table 4.5

Tibetan Refugee Population in Pokhara by Level of Education, Age, Sex and Settlement, 1988

Age	Level and Type of Education: No Education	Less than Secondary	Secondary	Higher	Tibetan	Total
Male (N=670)						
9 or Less	0.4	12.4	-	-	0.3	13.1
10-19	0.6	18.6	2.1	-	2.1	23.4
20-29	2.1	4.5	2.5	0.9	0.7	10.7
30-39	2.7	4.8	1.9	0.6	1.6	11.6
40-49	9.5	1.3	0.4	-	1.0	12.4
50-59	12.8	0.9	-	0.1	2.7	16.6
60-69	8.2	0.6	-	-	-	10.0
70+	1.6	0.3	-	-	1.2	2.1
Total	38.0	43.4	7.0	1.6	9.8	100.0
Female (N=637)						
9 or Less	0.9	17.1	-	-	-	18.1
10-1	0.9	20.4	2.7	0.1	-	24.2
20-29	4.4	6.3	1.1	-	0.1	11.9
30-39	7.8	4.1	1.4	-	-	3.3
40-49	13.5	0.1	-	-	0.1	13.8
50-59	10.4	0.1	-	-	-	0.5
60-69	6.0	0.1	-	-	-	6.1
70+	2.0	-	-	-	-	2.0
Total	46.0	48.3	5.2	0.1	0.3	100.0

Table 4.5 presents the distribution of Tibetan population in Pokhara by age, sex and the level of education.

In none of the settlements is school attendance for the children mandatory. The economic argument often put forward for taking away grown-up girls from schools is framed in terms of helping the mother or the family.

From among those having no education, most of the Tibetans are 40 years and older today while most of those who have been educated are among people who are less than 40 years of age for both sex. This indicates that after coming into exile, education has gained priority among Tibetans.

At the primary and lower secondary level, the number of school-going boys and girls is almost equal. Very few women (0.1%), however, have attained education beyond high school in comparison to the male population (1.6%). Tibetan education is also biased towards male population. While 9.8% of the total male population have acquired Tibetan education, only 0.3% of the total females have done so (see Table 4.5). In the traditional context, education in the monasteries was mostly for the monks. Few nuns would also get monastic education which meant reading the religious text. Whether things have changed in this regard is interesting to consider. If we take the imparting of Tibetan education, especially religious learning in the monastic life, things have not changed much--because females

still do not seem to have easy access to Tibetan monastic education.

If we look at the general schooling practice in the Tibetan settlements today, things suggest that some changes have been introduced. The norms with regard to imparting of Tibetan education, for instance, seem to have changed for the better of the society. Many people not only feel that their sons and daughters should learn to read and write Tibetan but also are happy to see that schools in the Tibetan settlements have incorporated the Tibetan language in their curricula. In pre-1959 Tibet, only few children who belonged to the noble families (unless some one was enrolled in the monastery), had the opportunity for education, which meant learning to read and write Tibetan. Today, apparently every child going to school has such an opportunity. More interesting is to note that the monks in the monasteries also have expanded their curricula by incorporating English[11].

OCCUPATION[12]

Demographic and socio-cultural factors influence the occupational structure of a population. If a population is very young, the proportion economically active may be small. Similarly, if there is mandatory schooling for children up to a certain age, this automatically reduces the proportion of economically active population. In a society where

Table 4.6

Pokhara Tibetan Refugee Population by Occupation or Activity, Age and Sex, 1988

Age	Business	Handi-crafts	Service	Monk/ Nun	Student	None	
M a l e (N=670)							
0-9	-	-	-	0.4	12.1	0.4	
10-19	0.4	0.1	0.1	5.5	16.4	0.7	
20-29	3.4	2.8	1.9	1.5	0.9	0.3	
30-39	3.6	4.3	1.9	1.6	-	0.1	
40-49	3.7	8.1	0.6	-	-	-	
50-59	2.2	11.8	0.4	1.2	-	0.9	
60-69	0.6	8.1	0.4	0.7	-	0.1	
70+	0.1	0.9	-	0.4	-	0.6	
All Ages	14.2	36.1	5.5	11.5	29.4	3.3	=100.0
F e m a l e (N=637)							
0-9	-	-	-	0.2	16.3	1.4	
10-19	1.1	2.3	0.3	0.3	18.4	1.7	
20-29	3.1	6.9	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	
30-39	2.3	8.6	0.6	-	-	1.7	
40-49	0.3	12.4	0.3	-	-	0.9	
50-59	0.5	9.6	-	-	-	0.5	
60-69	-	5.8	-	-	-	0.3	
70+	-	1.3	-	-	-	0.8	
All Ages	7.4	46.9	1.9	0.6	35.0	8.2	=100.0

Source: Household Census 1988.

education or schooling does not exist, even children are involved in some kind of economic activity. Tibetans in Nepal seem to be giving due priority to their children's education. The younger children are in school today (see Table 4.6) while in the traditional context just a few would have had such an opportunity. This can be easily seen if we consider the reported occupation for the genealogical population and that for the population in Pokhara. In the genealogies, while the children and youths in the exile context are reported to be students, those in Tibet are said to be involved in agriculture, and animal herding. It should be noted, however, that student life for most Tibetans in exile does not extend beyond 20 years of age either, which suggests that higher education has yet to become common (see Table 4.5 and 4.6).

Tibetans in Pokhara are involved in various occupations (Table 4.6). Handicraft dominates the economic activities followed by business. It is interesting to contrast this pattern with the one for Tibetans in Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) today. Recent statistics show that 94.8% of the Tibetans in TAR today are involved in farming, forestry, and animal husbandry, and only about 5.2% are in other kinds of employment (see PRC 1987:92-105).

Occupationally, 29.4% of the male and 35.0% of the female population in Pokhara settlements is reported as students, while monks and nuns account for 11.5% and 0.6%

respectively[13]. Only 3.3% of the male and 8.2% of the female population is reported as having no occupation or jobs. If we were to classify the population into two groups, viz., economically active and economically inactive, all the categories mentioned above qualify for the latter. This gives us a 44.2% of the male and 43.8% of the female population as economically inactive and the remaining as economically active. The occupations reported for the economically active could be grouped as households, business, and handicraft. Business, which includes selling souvenir items, hand made Tibetan carpets, or keeping restaurants, is important. However, only 10% of the total population (14.2% of the male and 7.4% of the female) is reported to be engaged in business.

Handicraft centers provide jobs to more than 40.0% of the total Tibetan refugee population in Pokhara. People work at the handicraft centers in various capacities depending on their skills. The jobs in the handicraft centers include weaving, spinning, trimming of carpets, dying wool, designing the patterns for carpets, and accounting. In a way, these are all people working for the production of woolen goods (carpets, shoulder bags, belts, door mats, chair and cushion mats and various other items) in which the cooperative handicraft centers in the settlements are involved. Of the total Tibetan population working at the handicraft centers, the number of weavers and

spinners is very low. This is because in reality a number of local Nepali females are employed in the handicraft centers as weavers and spinners. Also, a number of families living near the settlements spin wool for the handicraft center for a fixed wage.

Service requires some basic education, whether it be Tibetan or non-Tibetan. As we can see, females age 50 and over are not listed in this occupation. This makes us reiterate the reality that women in traditional Tibetan society did not have easy access to education. Of the 1.9% females listed in the service category, most of them are below age 40 and have had some education after their arrival in Nepal.

MARITAL STRUCTURE

Table 4.7 presents the marital status distribution of Tibetans in Pokhara refugee settlements by age and sex. A detailed discussion of marriage and family patterns will be done in the chapter on marriage and family. Only a few remarks based on Table 4.7 will be made here.

First, no Tibetan male or female currently under age 20 is reported as ever married, suggesting that few Tibetans today marry before age 20. Second, females tend to marry earlier than males among Tibetans also. This becomes clear if we look at the never married and married for the age groups 20-29.

Table 4.7

Marital Status of Tibetan Refugee Population 20 Years of Age and Older by Age, Sex and Settlement, 1988

Age	Male					Female				
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Separated	Divorced	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Separated	Divorced
Pokhara (N: Male=426 and Female=370)										
20-29	12.0	5.2	-	-	-	6.5	14.3	-	-	-
30-39	4.5	13.4	0.5	-	-	0.8	20.8	1.1	0.3	-
40-49	1.9	17.1	-	0.5	-	0.8	20.0	2.7	-	0.5
50-59	5.4	17.4	1.6	1.2	0.5	-	11.1	5.9	0.5	0.5
60-69	2.8	9.1	2.1	1.4	0.2	-	4.6	5.7	-	0.3
70+	0.5	0.9	1.6	0.2	-	-	0.3	3.2	-	-
Total	27.0	63.1	5.9	3.3	0.7	8.1	71.1	18.6	0.8	1.3
Tashi Palkhiel (N: Male=201 and Female=199)										
20-29	12.9	6.5	-	-	-	8.5	16.1	-	-	-
30-39	6.0	16.4	1.0	-	-	0.5	20.6	0.5	0.5	-
40-49	1.0	21.9	-	-	-	0.5	15.6	2.5	-	0.5
50-59	2.5	14.9	2.5	0.5	0.5	-	12.0	7.5	-	-
60-69	0.5	7.0	3.5	-	-	-	3.5	5.5	-	0.5
70+	-	-	2.5	-	-	-	0.5	4.5	-	-
Total	22.9	66.7	9.4	0.5	0.5	9.5	68.3	20.6	0.5	1.0

Table 4.7 (Continued) Marital Status of Tibetan Refugee Population 20 Years of Age and Older by Age, Sex and Settlement, 1988. (Continued)

Age	Male					Female				
	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Separated	Divorced	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Separated	Divorced
Tashi Ling (N: Male=93 and Female=91)										
20-29	17.2	6.4	-	-	-	4.4	12.1	-	-	-
30-39	6.4	20.4	-	-	-	2.2	20.9	1.1	-	-
40-49	2.1	15.0	-	-	-	-	16.5	3.3	-	-
50-59	-	15.0	2.1	-	-	-	11.0	6.6	2.2	2.2
60-69	1.1	8.6	-	1.1	-	-	8.8	7.7	-	-
70+	1.1	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-
Total	27.9	68.8	2.1	1.1	-	6.6	69.2	19.8	2.2	2.2
Penjor Ling (N: Male=132 and Female=80)										
20-29	6.8	2.3	-	-	-	3.7	12.5	-	-	-
30-39	0.8	3.8	-	-	-	-	21.2	2.5	-	-
40-49	3.0	11.3	-	1.5	-	2.5	35.0	2.5	-	1.2
50-59	13.6	22.7	-	3.0	0.8	-	8.7	1.2	-	-
60-69	7.6	12.9	1.5	3.8	0.8	-	2.5	3.7	-	-
70+	0.8	0.8	1.5	0.8	-	-	-	2.5	-	-
Total	32.6	53.8	3.0	9.1	1.5	6.2	80.0	12.5	-	1.2

As we can see from Table 4.7, in all the three settlements, the proportion of never married males is higher than that of married males. For the female population in the same age group, a reverse pattern can be seen. The proportion of never married females for the ages 30 and over is very negligible and in fact there are no never married females beyond age 50. This suggests two things. First, there seems to be a near universal marriage for the female population[14]. Second, the less prevalent practice of celibacy in nunhood in Tibet does not seem to be persisting in the exile context today. The number of nuns is insignificant. It is, however, possible for Tibetan females to become nuns and devote to themselves to religious studies.

For the male population, the proportion of never married declines after age 30 but is not totally absent in older age groups also. Most of the never married males in various age groups are celibate monks. This suggests that celibacy in monkhood remains a persistent practice in exile also.

RELIGION

Religion is very important and religiosity is strong among Tibetans in Pokhara. However, the lay population find it difficult when it comes to identifying oneself with a particular sect of Buddhism. For the laity, what really

matters is being a Buddhist. Only the monks and nuns can easily identify themselves as belonging to one or the other sect (and so do their families because of 'their' monks or nuns).

The monk and nun category in Table 4.6 above shows that there are only 0.6% nuns in the total female population. In fact, from my field observation, I know that there are no nuns in Tashi Ling and Penjor Ling, and Tashi Palkhiel has only four of them.

Table 4.6 also shows that none of the settlements have monastic population in the age group 40-49. The cohorts that were already 20 years of age and older in 1959 (i.e., those who are 50 years and older at present), and the cohorts born thereafter (i.e., those who are 30 years and younger today) are represented in the monastic population. However, the cohort that was 10-19 years of age in 1959-60 (i.e., those in current 40-49 age group) is conspicuously missing in the monastic population at present[15]. In fact, Penjor Ling which is newest of the three settlements under study (established about 15 years ago), does not have monks or nuns in the age group 25-49[16].

The absence of monastic population in certain age groups noted above suggests two things. First, during the disruption years, parents did not admit their children into monasteries. Second, the young novices of that period may have renounced monastic vows as a consequence of the

disruptions of flight and resettlement. It is also very likely that in the midst of all the turmoils at that time, this cohort of novices may have never been ordained into full-fledged monkhood. Besides, in the initial period of resettlement, since there were no monasteries the young novices may have found it hard to continue the practices of monastic life.

A close look at the figures on the monastic population in Table 4.6 also reveals another interesting phenomenon. We can see that very few children are put into the monastic life at an early age (i.e., below 10). However, the number rises sharply for the age group 10-19, but declines again for the subsequent age groups. This perhaps suggests that quite a few youths begin to give up the monastic life after they reach their twenties. This is in agreement with the popular view prevalent among the Tibetans that not every one can remain celibate and become a learned monk or nun in practice. Whether a similar pattern by age exists among Tibetans in Tibet and elsewhere is a pertinent question which can be answered only when comparable data from elsewhere become available. Instances of monks renouncing the monastic vows to return to a lay person's life are often cited. However, what proportion of the monastic population does this and around what ages is not clear.

Tashi Ling, which is a settlement where the primary and pre-primary school facilities are the best among the

settlements in Pokhara, does not have monastic population below age 10. This prompts us to make two important inferences. First, perhaps parents are not enforcing monastic life on their children any more but are allowing them to make a choice. Second, Tibetan people are perhaps perceiving that the monastery is no longer the only institution of education and learning. The 'secular' schools become viable alternatives for educating children. People are also realizing that obtaining religious education is important but could be done outside the monastery.

AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF MFS RESPONDENTS

The discussion in the subsequent chapters will draw upon the data from the Marriage and family Survey (MFS) also. Cross reference will be made to the census and genealogical population wherever relevant. A short discussion of the age and sex distribution and some pertinent characteristics will be presented in this section.

As I mentioned in Chapter two, a total of 236 respondents have completed the MFS. Table 4.8 shows the distribution of respondents by settlement and sex vis-a-vis the total ever-married population in the respective refugee settlements in Pokhara.

Table 4.8

Distribution of MFS Respondents as Percentage of Ever-married Population in Tibetan Refugee Settlement, Pokhara, 1988

Settlement	Ever-Married		MFS Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male (Number and Percent of ever-married by sex)	Female
Tashi Palkhiel	155	180	54 (34.8)	57 (31.7)
Tashi Ling	67	85	34 (50.7)	36 (42.3)
Penjor Ling	89	75	24 (27.0)	31 (41.3)
Total	311	340	112 (36.0)	124 (36.5)

As mentioned in the section on marital structure, the Tibetan population in Pokhara currently does not show any individual below age 20 as ever married. The MFS respondents are, therefore, 20 years and older. Table 4.9 gives an age and sex distribution of the MFS respondents.

Table 4.9

Age and Sex Distribution of Marriage and Family Survey Respondents, Pokhara, 1988

Age Group	Male	Percent of Total	Female	Percent of Total
20-24	2	(0.85)	6	(2.54)
25-29	9	(3.81)	9	(3.81)
30-34	13	(5.51)	16	(6.78)
35-39	13	(5.51)	19	(8.05)
40-44	6	(2.54)	13	(5.51)
45-49	3	(1.27)	12	(5.08)
50-54	15	(6.36)	12	(5.08)
55-59	16	(6.78)	16	(6.78)
60-64	17	(7.20)	6	(2.54)
65-69	11	(4.66)	8	(3.39)
70+	7	(2.97)	7	(2.97)
Total	112	(47.46)	124	(52.54)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion above provides some basic demographic and socio-economic statistics on Tibetan refugees in Pokhara. This kind of endeavor is essential since there does not seem to be a source of reliable statistics on Tibetans in Tibet or in the exile. A comparative look at the age and sex structure of Tibetan populations presented in Tables 4.2 and Figure 4.1 reveals some similarities as well as differences. This perhaps indicates that the factors responsible for the present age and sex structure of the Tibetan population in Pokhara may also explain the population structure of Tibetan populations elsewhere.

From the discussion above, we also see that while there have been some changes for the Tibetans in exile, some persistent features can also be noted. There may have been a disruption in the population structure (especially as suggested by Penjor Ling's population structure), but the religion-influenced demographic ideology persists. While many may have experienced a drastic change in their occupation, the monastic population (which takes away potential marriageable men as well as labor) is maintained. In the subsequent chapters we will have more to say on the nature of persistence and change, i.e., adaptation, of Tibetan community in Pokhara.

NOTES

1. For a population that has remained in exile for three decades now, the Dalai Lama's government could easily conduct a de jure census and get more accurate statistics rather than having to depend on the guess work of different individuals.

2. The three regions are: U-Tsang, Dotod and Dome (see Gombo 1985:31).

3. The annual reports of the World Refugee Survey is one of the relatively reliable sources of refugee statistics. However, even this source's credibility becomes shaky when we see that in the annual report of 1987, the total number of Tibetans in India is shown to be 100,000 and the same number are reported as in need of protection and or assistance, while in 1988, the total Tibetan refugee population in need of assistance and protection rose to 112,000 with Nepal being reported to have the additional 12,000 Tibetans.

4. In 1979, the government of Bhutan, asked the Tibetan refugees living in the country either to abandon Tibetan refugee status and become Bhutanese citizen or to leave the country. Out of an estimated total of 4,000 Tibetan refugees in the country, about one fourth is believed to have opted to secure Bhutanese citizenship while the rest moved on to India (see IOHHDL 1981:189-192).

5. We also have isolated reports of some Tibetans having returned to Tibet. One of the Tibetans who returned to Tibet in 1985 after 26 years in exile, initially living in India for two years and later in Nepal, is reported to have stated: "Many Tibetans who went abroad in 1959 have now returned. Just among people I know in Nepal, some 20 or 30 families have come back to Tibet, and few of them want to go tc Nepal again" (see Tibetans on Tibet 1988:182-185). This man named Chinlei Targyai says that he was 21 in 1959 and was a monk at Drepung Monastery. He reports to have fled from home in 1959 with his elder brother, two relatives and some other monks.

6. The single individual households presented in Table 4.1 were separated by sex in order to derive these figures.

7. See Avedon (1984) for a description of the Tibetan armed movement and how it was ended in the 1970s in the north western region of Nepal.

8. The number of infants in the age group 0-4 is very small in all three settlements. In fact, PL does not have any children in age 0. The population age 0 in the other two settlements is :TP M-5, F-3, and TL M-4, F-4.

9. These figures were derived by separating the birth places for Nepal-born Tibetans in the household census (source: Household Census 1988).

10. Of the total Tibet-born population in Pokhara settlements, 3.2% have been in Nepal for fewer than 20 years, while 94.2% have been there for 21-30 years and the remaining 2.6% for more than 30 years (Source: Household Census 1988).

11. I used to teach English Language class to the young monks at the TP monastery. Most of the young monks in the monasteries in Pokhara can also read Nepali.

12. The total in the table on occupational structure does not add up to 1427 because for 120 children in all three settlements the occupation was recorded as not applicable since they are below school attending age. Their distribution by sex and settlement is as follows:

	Male	Female
TP	43	24
TL	19	15
PL	8	11

13. Among Tibetans, monkhood and nunhood not only takes away a proportion of reproductively potential or potential marriageable population from the nuptial pool but also removes potential human labor away from the job market.

14. The existence of celibate monkhook and the practice of polyandry should theoretically leave a surplus of unmarried females in the Tibetan society. The data in the Table on marital status do not lend support to this. Why? However, the presence of non-marital children is perhaps one of the manifestations of these practices.

15. Most of the monastic population in the age group 10-19 is generally Ghetsul. Since these people are not yet fully ordained monks (i.e., Ghelong), they have not committed themselves to the celibate monastic life. Renunciation of monastic at this stage, therefore, should be relatively easy for them.

16. The two monks appearing in the age group 20-29 for PL actually belong to 20-24 age group.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY PATTERNS AND PRACTICES: PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE

AN OVERVIEW OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY[1]

Marriage and family have been perceived to have vital roles in reproduction--in both a socio-cultural and a demographic sense. However, the kinds of questions demographers ask are different from the ones asked by anthropologists. Demographers tend to be more interested in knowing the role of marriage and family patterns and practices in influencing and at the same time being influenced by the demographic picture of the society under study. Anthropologists, on the other hand, may want to know how marriage and family as institutions influence the social structure of a society and vice-versa. In this chapter I will attempt to deal with both types of questions. We may say that in the study of marriage and family, we can distinguish between a social structural approach (predominantly anthropological) and a demographic approach for analytical purposes. However, I should caution that these are neither exhaustive nor exclusive. As the discussion will reveal, there are a number of issues like the relation between marriage, family, and celibacy in Tibetan society and non-marital children which will be

relevant to both sides in spite of the conventional boundaries.

Demographic, social, and economic structures and processes in a society are closely related. Demographic rates influence the family lines, the number of social dependents, the number of potential spouses, and the composition of households. Conversely, social and cultural practices like celibacy in monkhood among Tibetans influence demographic patterns and processes. While I do not intend to focus on the causal links between cultural and demographic factors, I hope that the discussion in this chapter will suggest how demographic and social structural factors influence each other. Also, I may reiterate that practical situations are often more influential in the decision process of Tibetans to act one way or the other.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

A few words about inheritance and descent among Tibetans is in order. Inheritance among Tibetans in Tibet is generally primogeniture: the eldest son inherits if there are one or more sons in a family. In case a family has daughters only, the eldest one has the priority of bringing in a mhakpa and inheriting the parental estate and title. Adoption would be considered only if the family did not have any issue.

In exile today, the inheritance system seems to be perceived differently. First of all, most Tibetan refugee households hardly have much property to pass on, let alone an immovable estate in the form of land. If some families are well off, they may have a business (like handicraft centers, or souvenir shops) to pass on to the next generation. Since most of the property now is in cash, dividing it equally among children irrespective of sex is possible. Priority is therefore given to those children who take care of the parents in their old age.

Differences can be noted in regard to the views of Tibetans on the type of inheritance. Several possibilities are suggested rather than pointing to a particular rule. In response to a question: who will inherit your property? of all the MFS respondents (N=236), 19.1% said that their eldest son will inherit from them, while 13.1% were in favor of all sons inheriting equally and 36.4% in favor of all children inheriting equally. If we consider actual practice, only 11.9% of the respondents themselves have inherited any property. Of these, 9.3% have inherited from parents and 2.6% from other relatives including parent-in-laws. The majority of the Tibetan respondents did not inherit any parental property due to the flight from Tibet.[2]

The Tibetan case also presents an anomaly if we take the European and Japanese as typical stem family examples.

In these societies, as we know, primogeniture was associated with the stem family, since the oldest son remained with the parents as the heir while the younger sons moved out in search of jobs. Among Tibetans, the response to the practice of primogeniture was different: brothers practiced polyandry and consolidated the parental land holding, herds and businesses by adopting a multiple resource source for the household. The Tibetan society also had separate roles for the younger siblings who did not want to enter polyandrous unions. They could become celibate monks and devote their life to the pursuit of earning a good Karma or move out as mhakpa to a household that needed a male heir.

MARRIAGE TYPES

When it comes to practices of marriage, residence and inheritance, Tibetans are characterized by flexibility--allowing for choice from among the possible options. Pragmatism rather than orthodoxy is observed in this regard. A complex set of factors including demographic (a family having no sons), economic (to retain the family property undivided), and social (the need of a male heir to pass on family line) seem to be operating together to prompt individual Tibetans or families to opt for one or the other of the available choices. Our discussion in this section will be an exposition of these various factors.

Marriage and family practices in human societies are characterized by diversity across cultures as well as some flexibility within a single culture. For instance, a number of societies either practice or condone polygyny, some are strictly monogamous, while others practice polyandry[3]. In some societies, like the Tibetans in the present study, a combination of these may be common. Polyandry, polygyny and sharing of a wife by a father and son, or of a husband by a mother and daughter are not uncommon reporting for Tibetans (see Carrasco 1959; Prince Peter 1965)[4].

The process of family formation is influenced by demographic, biological, and temporal factors. Whether one or the other factor determines the size and structure of a family and the marriage pattern in a society is a debatable question. With regard to the practice of polyandry, there seems to be a strong argument that economy is the centripetal force (Goldstein 1975; Levine 1988; Schuler 1987). However, this kind of materialist thinking belittles the significance of situational, socio-cultural, and demographic factors in influencing the patterns and practices of a society in regard to marriage and family. As our discussion in this section (especially on polyandry and mhakpa) shows, some practices may be explained in economic terms. If we examine things more closely, however, the reality suggests that a complex set of factors is operating when individuals and families are making choices. In a

recent study on Nyinba, a culturally Tibetan population in far western Nepal, Levine (1988), shows that a particular family may begin as polyandrous, but with time it may end up becoming monogamous because of the death of one of the male spouses.

In Pokhara, 4.7% of the MFS respondents (N=236) reported that their relatives practice polyandry in Nepal, while 5.5% pointed out that their relatives in Tibet practiced polyandry. The difference between these two figures should not lead us to assume that polyandry is declining in exile today (I will talk more about it in the sub-section on polyandry). 4.2% and 3.0% of the respondents reported that there were mhakpa and polygynous unions respectively among their relatives. These figures, field observations, and the statistical data obtained by means of MFS, household census, and genealogies allow us to make an assertion that marriage type among the Tibetans is better characterized by the availability of multiple options. Polyandry itself could be fraternal, non-fraternal or intergenerational (i.e., a father and a son or an uncle and a nephew sharing a wife). Similarly, polygyny could be sororal, non-sororal as well as intergenerational (i.e., a mother and a daughter sharing a husband). Often levirate and sororate result because of the death of the elder siblings leaving behind him/her a family, children and an estate. The rationale for levirate and sororate is that the

siblings are likely to take better care of the families which deceased persons have left behind.

Table 5.1 gives a distribution of respondents by the type of marriage they have. Monogamy, mhakpa, polyandry, and polygyny are all represented in Pokhara today, which tells us that the marriage types from Tibet have persisted (see Figure 3.3).

Table 5.1

Marriage Type for Tibetans by Sex and Settlement, 1988

	Monogamy		Mhakpa		Polyandry		Polygyny	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Tashi Palkhiel*	N=111							
	49	44	-	-	2	9	3	-
	(44.1)	(43.2)	-	-	(1.8)	(8.1)	(2.7)	-
Tashi Ling*	N=70							
	30	35	3	1	1	-	-	-
	(42.9)	(50.0)	(4.3)	(1.4)	(1.4)	-	-	-
Penjor Ling*	N=55							
	21	28	2	-	1	3	-	-
	(38.2)	(50.9)	(3.6)	-	(1.8)	(5.5)	-	-
Genealogical!	N=360							
	151	149	-	-	23	12	8	17
	(41.9)	(41.4)	-	-	(6.4)	(3.3)	(2.2)	(4.7)

Source: *=Marriage and Family Survey, 1988, and
!=Genealogies Collected in Pokhara in 1988. The N consists of individuals for whom information on marriage type could be derived correctly from the genealogies. For about 3.4% of the total of 652 individuals (dead and alive) in the genealogies, marriage type was not reported since the Ego did not know the marital arrangements of some of his/her relatives.
Figures in parentheses are percentages of the respective N.

There is clearly a predominance of monogamous marriages in all three settlements in Pokhara. This perhaps is true for most of the societies around the world today. However, an interesting fact that emerges from this table should be noted. I do not deem it essential to explain the predominance of monogamous marriage among Tibetans in Pokhara. However, it is more important to consider why mhakpa, polyandry, and polygyny have persisted in exile in spite of the changes in the economic practices which were thought instrumental in making individuals and families choose these forms of marriage.

Corlin (1975) reports that among Tibetans in Rasuwa, Nepal (a district north of Kathmandu), polyandry was in decline. He estimates that in Kyirong, from where the Tibetans in Rasuwa are said to have come, about 50% of the households were polyandrous. The change is characterized as one from predominantly polyandrous to predominantly monogamous, and it is attributed to the change in economic aspects.

The host Nepali society and its legal system are also not sympathetic to the practice of polygamy. However, it is clear from the data presented in the above table that polyandry and mhakpa marriages have persisted among Tibetans in exile. Polygyny is not as common.[5] From the table, we also may note that there are no mhakpa in Tashi Palkhiel nor in the genealogical population. This, however, does not

necessarily mean that the two populations in question do not practice mhakpa marriages. If we look at the data from the household census, we find that there are wife's fathers, wife's mothers, and daughter's husbands of the household heads sharing the household or the residential units with them (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6 below). This is evidence of the presence of mhakpa in those households. The discussion below will attempt to provide a rationale for the persistence of these practices.

-POLYANDRY

Tibetans may be one of the few people having several marital arrangements in practice. About twenty-five years ago, Prince Peter wrote that "polyandry is the most usual form of Tibetan family system" (Prince Peter 1965:193), and also categorized Tibetans as "the greatest polyandrous group of people in the world" (1965:181). While the total validity of these statements is debatable, Prince Peter correctly made the point that polyandry has been a common marital arrangement among Tibetans. Ekvall (1968) gives a more cautious and perhaps a more reasonable picture in this regard when he states that among the Tibetans, "family may be monogamous, polygynous, or polyandrous, though by far the greatest majority of families are monogamous" (Ekvall 1968:126). Studies on Tibetans in exile have also corroborated this (see Aziz 1978; Gombo 1985; Palakshappa

1978:66; Saklani 1984). Our discussion on the Tibetans in Pokhara shows that they also practice various forms of marriage (see Table 5.1).

Reasons for the practice of polyandry have been reported to vary from society to society (see Goldstein 1978; Levine 1988; Prince Peter 1965; Ross 1981; Schuler 1987). In some societies, this practice is attributed to the practice of female infanticide which in turn offsets the sex ratio[6]. Ross, for instance, reports that "Dhingba polyandry is not the result of a shortage of women" (Ross 1984:170). Avoiding fragmentation of land and other resources is considered as another reason. Division of labor or the need to pool male labor is also cited as a reason. Solidarity of the sibling group, high bride-price, prolonged absence of husbands from home, economic hardships and even physical weakness of men to produce offspring have been proposed as still other reasons. Population control for proper economic adjustment is also thought to be a reason for this practice.

A polyandrous marital system is not contingent upon excess of males or shortage of females. Studies on culturally Tibetan communities in Nepal have clearly provided evidence against the hypothesis that polyandry is the result of a disproportionate sex ratio (see Ross 1981, 1984 for Dhingba; Schuler 1987 for Chumikwa), and the present study also argues that there is a more complex set

of factors for this practice among Tibetans than a simple sex ratio.

It is not uncommon to come across more situational rationales for the kind of marital arrangement individuals may have had. More often, individuals may have a choice while at times it may be an imperative set by the situational factors. Let me illustrate this by citing a case of non-fraternal polyandry. As we know, disruptions during flight meant separation or loss of family members for many Tibetans. Families had to be re-created and often people encountered unusual situations. This is what happened to Lhamo (not a real name), who is polyandrously married today. When Lhamo and her family took flight from Tibet, she arrived in Pokhara with her children while her husband got left behind in an encounter with the Chinese soldiers. The husband did not arrive in Pokhara for several years and there was no news about him. The presence of a man in a family is regarded as essential in Tibetan society. As Norbu tells us that "a fatherless family was often bullied. Who would protect a weak woman with a bunch of children?" (Norbu 1987:89). Lhamo, therefore, got married to another man living in the same settlement. Life had become normal for her and her new family once again until one day, several years later her first husband (who was thought to have been killed) arrived into the settlement looking for his lost family. The situation might have been

very awkward. But then the realities of life outweighed everything else and the three of them decided to live together in a polyandrous union. A situation like this one may not be common, but nonetheless suggests that non-economic factors may also play vital role in forming polyandry.

Levine (1988) notes that sexual jealousy is rather minimal in polyandry among the Nyinba of far western Nepal. The main problem there, she reports, seems to be in sharing children rather than a wife among brothers (see Levine 1988:268). In contrast, sexual jealousy among male spouses seems to be a potent reason for the dislike of polyandry today as a form of marriage among Tibetan youths. Besides, the socio-economic situation does not necessarily require them to continue this practice. Brothers can inherit equal shares of their parental property, if there is any. Also, each individual is in a position to establish his own material base to support his own family and thus younger brothers do not have to share a wife with the eldest brother and attach themselves to his household. Finally, to some extent, because of the unsympathetic and ethnocentric view of the host Nepali people in Pokhara towards polyandry, Tibetans may have tended to shed this practice. More than a decade ago, Furer-Haimendorf (1975), writing on the Sherpas of Nepal concluded that the growing importance of cash earnings and the diminishing interest on maintaining the

family land holding and herds undivided was perhaps at the root of change in attitudes of the Sherpas towards polyandry.

-MHAKPA

Mhakpa as an option to adoption is in practice among Tibetans in Pokhara too. In this section, I will discuss the conditions under which Tibetans normally choose this form of marriage. The discussion is based on published literature as well as my own ethnographic observations in Nepal.

I have discussed elsewhere that mhakpa form of marriage is prevalent in various societies (see Chhetri 1985) in Nepal as well as in Tibet. But when it comes to talking about marriage, family and kinship among Tibetans and culturally Tibetan populations, the discussions have centered around the practice of polyandry. Polyandry certainly is vital in the discussion of Tibetan culture. But an overemphasis on polyandry has tended to make other forms of marriage inconspicuous. Mhakpa is an important form which is one of the various responses of the Tibetans to demographic and economic realities. It has been given only lip-service so far in the ethnographies and even dubbed as "exceptional and really makeshift" (Prince Peter 1965). I would like to point out that in the course of time it may become a form preferred over polyandry among Tibetan youths,

since it conforms to their emerging monogamous ideology even though mhakpa is different in some respects from patrilocal monogamy.

As we know, the family that ends up only with daughters opts to bring in a mhakpa. For the family, it is an alternative to adopting a son, while to the man entering as a mhakpa, it can be an alternative to avoiding polyandrous union. Also, while the girl's family may take this as a way to hand over its property undivided, for the mhakpa it may be an end to poverty or a change in status from an illegitimate son of his father to a legitimate kin with his own kin network. For the elderly, is it psychologically important or secure to have one of their children looking after them in old age, plus inheriting their property. Also, an imperative of the cultural belief to have an heir to carry on the family name leads the Tibetans to practice mhakpa marriage; the mhakpa not only inherits the property but also inherits and carries over the family name and any social positions thereof.

Mhakpa may be arranged under two different conditions. First, it could be a marriage between a man and the first or other daughters of a household that does not have a male heir. The mhakpa in this case comes in as a residual heir to the parents of the women to whom he is married. Second, it could be a marriage between a widow and a man. The widow may have children and family estate and therefore may need a

man to support her family's business, trade, etc. In this case, the heirs to the property and the family status are already there, but the mhakpa moves in as a caretaker of the family. Norbu (1987) provides a good example of the second form of mhakpa. He tells us that his mother, having remained a widow for three years, was remarried in spite of the fact that she had two children who were in their mid-teens. He writes that this marriage "was essential if we hoped to acquire greater social status and income. In short, she was to marry for our sakes, to build a great fortune for us" (Norbu 1987:89).

A pertinent question is: How are people attracted to become mhakpa? One could be attracted by the fact that he would inherit property and family title and status from his father-in-law. Generally, second or later order sibs are involved in such marriages. Others could be a propertyless person, a Nhyalu, or a widower. Such person may be attracted by the material base on which he himself can live while enhancing its persistence until the next generation takes over.

Mhakpa is an alternative to adoption. The practice of mhakpa marriage among the Tibetans perhaps indicates that the practice of polygyny is less preferred. Adopting a son to inherit the family title and property seems to be vital. But as it would be seen in many culturally Tibetan

communities in Nepal, mhakpa seems to be preferred over adoption per se or polygyny (see Chhetri 1985).

Mhakpa marriage may also be a status climbing device. Carrasco (1959:129) presents two interesting cases of mhakpa whose social status was elevated because of mhakpa marriage. In the first case, a commoner named Pishipa was adopted into the family of a noble family to carry on the family line. Pishipa was a monk official and was employed by a minister as secretary. Since the minister had no sons he 'adopted' Pishipa as a mhakpa to his daughter. As Carrasco writes, after "the death of his adopted father and father-in-law, Pishipa became minister under his adopted name of bShad-sgra. Later in life he entered the church again in order to become regent" (Carrasco 1959:129).

The second case is that of Tsensar, a servant of the 13th Dalai Lama. He had helped the Dalai Lama during his escape to India in 1910. After they returned to Tibet, a famous minister named Tsarong was put to death on the charge of intriguing with the Chinese. The Tsarong family was left without a male heir since Tsarong's son was also killed. Tsensar was married to the widow and daughter of Tsarong and to the widow of Tsarong's son according to Carrasco (see Carrasco 1959:129; see also Taring 1986:33-34, 39-40 and 93-94).

Among Tibetans, from the practice of mhakpa we cannot generalize that the mode of inheritance is strictly lineal

and primogeniture. Primogeniture and lineal inheritance may have been the preferred forms but certainly not the rigid norms. The only point to be noted is that there seems to be a preference of vertical or lineal inheritance over the horizontal or lateral inheritance.

A pertinent question about the continuity of family name needs to be pointed out before I conclude the discussion on mhakpa. In order to attract a brother out of the sibling set, the mhakpa would be offered the heirship and eventually be the sole owner of an estate, and a family of his own. His name may be changed, which begs a question: Is the family name a secondary issue? If it were, why would people want an heir even in the form of a mhakpa to continue their family name? If it were so important to continue the family name, why would a mhakpa so easily relinquish his own family name and adopt that of his father-in-law? Only further research and analysis of the practice of mhakpa and adoption among Tibetans and other societies having similar practices will reveal answers to this paradoxical issue on family name.

A discussion of marriage types, especially polyandry and polygyny, has revealed that these practices have persisted in the exile context as viable forms along with other marital options. In general, these marital practices are thought to be rare and influenced more by economic considerations. Given this, the incidence of these

practices in the exile should have declined among Tibetans. Our data, however, do not lend support to this assumption, thereby raising the possibility that other factors may also be crucial in making the Tibetans choose between forms of marriage.

We may conclude that Tibetan marital and family practices are responses to economic or resource constraints, occupational imperatives of diversification, socio-psychological considerations, biological and or reproductive defaults (i.e., having daughters only), and of course, cultural norms and beliefs. Tibetans are found to practice polygamy--both polygyny and polyandry--and also variations of monogamy: neolocal or patrilocal monogamy and mhakpa form of monogamy. The need to maintain parental property undivided may lead to polyandry and mhakpa. Again, in order to maintain and survive socially, individuals may need to take to polyandry or mhakpa--thereby consolidating the economy of one household unit or one hearth. The need for a family to diversify its occupational involvement in animal husbandry, agriculture as well as trading, requires the brothers to stay together and therefore, marry polyandrously. For security in old age, for passing over or maintaining a family's title and estate, etc., arrangements for mhakpa marriages may be made.

MARITAL STATUS OF TIBETANS: TIBET AND NEPAL

Changes in marriage and family patterns and practices of a population could result in re-structuring the social structure of the population in question. That marriage and family patterns and practices are influenced by and also influence demographic patterns of a society are commonly accepted by scholars. Marriage and family patterns and practices could change due to socio-cultural and economic changes while also playing a vital role in determining the demographic as well as the social structure of any society.

Table 5.2

Marital Status for Tibetans in Pokhara by Birth Place and Sex, 1988

Marital Status	PLACE OF BIRTH: Tibet Male	Tibet Female	Nepal Male	Nepal Female
Never Married	20.9	3.0	93.9	86.9
Married	67.6	71.1	6.1	13.1
Widowed	6.9	23.2	--	--
Separated	3.8	1.0	--	--
Divorced	0.8	1.7	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	364	298	376	389

Source: Household Census, 1988.

Some interesting things can be noted from table 5.2. As we can see, the proportion of never married among Tibet-born is very low. Of the 20.9% Tibet-born never married males, about one third (i.e., 32.9% of total never married Tibet-born males) are celibate monks. This clearly

indicates that celibacy in monkhood is a persistent practice that removes a proportion of the male population from the marriageable group. An opposite picture is seen for the Nepal-born among whom the proportion married is very low.

Also notable is that among Nepal-born, there are no widowed, separated or divorced individuals. Given that Tibetans generally seem to get married around age 20 years and later, the pattern in this table becomes understandable if we compare the statistics on this table with the proportion of Nepal-born (see Table 4.4). As we can see from the table on place of birth (in Chapter 4), a larger proportion of the Tibet-born are age 20 and over, while a greater proportion of Nepal-born are less than 30 years old. Moreover, the percentage of Nepal-born in the ages 20 and over is very small, suggesting that a greater proportion of Nepal-born individuals have yet to reach the marriageable age. It should be pointed out that the proportion of individuals experiencing ever-married status in Nepal is much higher as we will soon see (see Table 5.3).

Let us also consider whether there have been any changes in the marital status of Tibetans in Pokhara in comparison to their marital status at the time of arrival from Tibet. Table 5.3 presents the marital status matrix for Tibet born respondents in the MFS.

Table 5.3

Marital Status at the Time of Arrival from Tibet and at Present in Pokhara, by Sex

Marital Status at Arrival	Marital Status at Present: Male			Female		
	Married	Widowed	Other*	Married	Widowed	Other*
Tashi Palkhiel	36.8	10.5	3.1	31.6	13.7	4.2
-Never Married	26.3	4.2	2.1	24.2	3.1	2.1
-Married	10.5	6.3	1.0	7.4	9.5	2.1
-Other	-	-	-	-	1.0	-
N=95						
Tashi Ling	43.5	4.8	-	27.4	19.3	4.8
-Never Married	27.4	-	-	19.3	9.7	3.2
-Married	14.5	4.8	-	8.1	8.1	-
-Other	1.6	-	-	-	1.6	1.6
N=62						
Penjor Ling	36.7	2.0	4.2	44.9	6.1	2.0
-Never Married	24.5	2.0	-	34.7	-	-
-Married	2.0	-	2.0	10.2	4.1	2.0
-Other@	10.2	-	6.1	-	2.0	-
N=49						

* This category includes divorced and separated. Of all the divorcees today, Tashi Palkhiel has 1 male and 2 females, Tashi Ling has 1 female. Among the currently separated, Tashi Palkhiel has 2 males and 2 females, Tashi Ling has 2 females, and Penjor Ling has 4 males and 1 female.

@ This includes widowed, separated, divorced, and monks. Tashi Palkhiel has only one female who was already widowed at the time of her arrival. In Tashi Ling, 1 male was separated, while 1 each females were widowed and divorced when they arrived here. Penjor Ling has 9 individuals in this group. Of the five that are currently married, 3 were monks at the time of their arrival from Tibet while the other 2 were separated. Three separated males are still in the same category today. The only female who arrived separated is a widow now.

As we can see from the Table 5.3, a greater proportion of respondents who are married today were never married at the time of arrival. From the data presented in Table 5.3, we find that 26.3% male and 24.2% female of the total population in Tashi Palkhiel, 27.4% male and 19.3% female of the total population in Tashi Ling and 24.5% male and 34.7% female of the total population in Penjor Ling were never married at the time of their arrival in Nepal. More interesting to note is that some Tibetans who were never married at the time of their arrival in Pokhara have been married but are either widowed, separated or divorced today. After all, this is expected since Tibetans have been in Nepal as refugees for three decades by now. It should also be noted that not all individuals who are currently married have been married only once. Of the 236 MFS respondents, 38 are married twice or more. An equal number of men and women (19 each) have experienced more than one marriage (see Table 5.4). If we use age 50 as the dividing line, there is a clear difference by sex indicating that females may experience marital dissolutions and remarriages earlier than males.

From Table 5.3, we also learn that marriages involving previously married individuals is common among Tibetans (see, for instance, the 'other' category under marital status at arrival who are currently married). However, we see no females currently married who were widowed separated

Table 5.4

Distribution of Respondents for Number of Times Married by Age Groups and Sex in Pokhara Settlements

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
			Male				
Tashi Palkhiel							
-Once	7	17	3	8	7	2	44 (81.5)
-Twice or more	-	2	-	4	3	1	10 (18.5)
Tashi Ling							
-Once	3	6	4	10	3	3	29 (85.3)
-Twice or more	-	-	-	2	2	1	5 (14.7)
Penjor Ling							
-Once	1	1	1	7	10	-	20 (83.3)
-Twice or more	-	-	1	-	3	-	4 (16.7)
			Female				
Tashi Palkhiel							
-Once	9	18	4	8	4	5	48 (84.2)
-Twice or More	1	1	3	4	-	-	9 (15.8)
Tashi Ling							
-Once	2	8	8	7	7	-	32 (88.9)
-Twice or More	-	1	1	2	-	-	4 (11.1)
Penjor Ling							
-Once	3	6	7	4	3	2	25 (80.6)
-Twice or More	-	1	2	3	-	-	6 (19.4)

Note: There are a total of four individuals married for the third time and they are all in Tashi Palkhiel. Three of them are male (55-59=2 and 70+ =1), and only one is a female (50-54).

or divorced at the time of arrival and this may lead us to conclude that things may not have changed after all in this respect. Men did remarry in Tibet too and therefore that is not something new. However, if we look at Table 5.4, we see that both men and women have remarried or married twice or more. As reported by the respondents, among males 18.5% in Tashi Palkhiel, 14.7% in Tashi Ling and 16.7% in Penjor Ling are married twice or more; the equivalent percentages for female respondents are 15.8%, 11.1% and 19.4% respectively. It is evident that the proportion of remarrying is higher for both sexes in Penjor Ling. This is perhaps because the population in this settlement, as I pointed out earlier, has had a second disruption and resettlement in the early 1970s, in addition to the one in 1959.

The percentages of respondents marrying twice or more also indicate that among Tibetans remarriage is common for divorced and widowed individuals. A similar pattern was noted by Ross (1981, 1984) in a different context, for a culturally Tibetan population in the far western region of Nepal. Among Tibetans, it is generally held that a widowed individual should wait at least one year after the death of the spouse for remarriage while a divorcee may marry whenever one finds a suitable partner. There is no age limit on remarriage for either sex.

By age 30 or so, the chances of first marriage coming to an end seem to increase, as suggested by the number of

individuals marrying twice or more (see Table 5.4). As we can see in Table 5.4, a number of men and women have been married twice or more. The majority remain in the first marriage, but the percentage of those marrying twice or more is also significant in all three settlements. Given the fact that divorce is not very common among Tibetans, a question that comes up is: whether dissolution of first marriages indicates a normal pattern of the Tibetan society or is rather a consequence of flight and disruptions. At this point it would be interesting to consider the reasons for the ending of first marriages for those who have had this happen to them (this includes widowed, divorced, separated married more than once). The stated reasons are, death of spouse 63.4% (N=82), divorce 14.6%, and separation 22.0%. Death of the spouses seems to be the primary reason for marriages that end while separation ranks next. Divorce among Tibetans in Pokhara is not the same as what we normally understand by the term. It simply means the abandoning of one of the spouses by the other who also remarries. There is no divorce in the legal sense of the term among the Tibetans in Pokhara. Divorce and separation are mostly the results of the flight of one of the spouses, while widowhood may have come to a few because of the incidents of the 1950s in Tibet.

RESIDENCE AFTER MARRIAGE

Anthropologists have argued in the past over whether a particular community could be characterized as predominantly patrilocal, matrilocal, or neo-local in residence pattern. There have also been attempts at categorizing societies as nuclear or joint family oriented. It is one thing to say that a particular community has a strong preference for one or the other type of residence pattern or family formation, but it is quite another thing to characterize them or label them with one or the other pattern or type. Norms or preferences are always there in every society. However, the real life situation may not always even approximate the norm let alone be in total conformity to it. In the context of Tibetans in exile, due to the disruptions they have had and because of having to make adjustments in the new socio-economic environments, we find that several types of residence patterns have existed. As we will see, with regard to the residence pattern by relationship, the Tibetan refugee settlements in Pokhara give us a complex picture (see Table 5.5 and 5.6).

From Table 5.5 and 5.6, which present statistics on relationships, we can make inferences on the residence pattern among Tibetans in Pokhara. We may also make observations on polyandry, mhakpa, and household headship. On the basis of Table 5.6, we can also tell that a household in Pokhara among Tibetans may contain more than one married

couple or more than two married individuals. In terms of residence, we can see that a number of relatives other than the immediate family members are living in the same household (including such relatives as co-husbands, and daughter's husbands).

Table 5.5

Percent Distribution of the Relatives of Household Heads Sharing Residential Units, 1988

Relation	Tashi Palkhiel Palkhiel N=545		Tashi Ling N=291		Penjor Ling N=233	
Household Head	168		74		116	
Father (Fa)	--		--		2	(0.9)
Mother (Mo)	7	(1.3)	7	(2.4)	2	(0.9)
Brother (Br)	15	(2.8)	5	(1.7)	9	(3.9)
Sister (Si)	10	(1.8)	5	(1.7)	1	(0.4)
Son (So)	173	(31.7)	98	(33.7)	75	(32.2)
Daughter (Da)	158	(29.0)	93	(32.0)	68	(29.2)
Husband (Hu)	2	(0.4)	--		--	
Wife (Wi)	108	(19.8)	54	(18.6)	61	(26.2)
Da Hu	6	(1.1)	--		--	
So Wi	7	(1.3)	1	(0.3)	--	
So So	3	(0.6)	1	(0.3)	--	
So Da	13	(2.4)	2	(0.7)	--	
Wi Fa	2	(0.4)	--		1	(0.4)
Wi Mo	3	(0.6)	4	(1.4)	4	(1.7)
Da So	10	(1.8)	--		--	
Da Da	5	(0.9)	--		--	
Co Hu	1	(0.2)	--		2	(0.9)
Adopted So	2	(0.4)	--		--	
Adopted Da	3	(0.6)	--		--	
Wi So	8	(1.8)	6	(2.1)	--	
Wi Da	2	(0.4)	1	(0.3)	--	
Others	7	(1.3)	14	(4.8)	8	(3.4)

Table 5.6

Marital Status of the Relatives of the Household Heads among Tibetans in Pokhara, 1988

Relation	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Separated/ Divorced	Total
HH Head Male	49	225	20	15	309
HH Head Female	--	5	42	2	49
Father (Fa)	--	1	1	--	2
Mother (Mo)	--	1	15	--	16
Brother (Br)	14	13	1	1	29
Sister (Si)	10	3	1	2	16
Son (So)	333	13	--	--	346
Daughter (Da)	297	19	1	2	319
Husband (Hu)	--	2	--	--	2
Wife (Wi)	--	223	--	--	223
Da Hu	--	6	--	--	6
So Wi	--	8	--	--	8
So So	4	--	--	--	4
So Da	15	--	--	--	15
Wi Fa	--	--	3	--	3
Wi Mo	--	1	8	2	11
Da So	9	1	--	--	10
Da Da	5	--	--	--	5
Co Hu	--	3	--	--	3
Adopted So	1	1	--	--	2
Adopted Da	3	--	--	--	3
Wi So	12	2	--	--	14
Wi Da	3	--	--	--	3
Others	21	5	2	1	29

Source: Household Census, 1988.

The presence of fewer married wives (i.e., 223 wife+5 female household heads=228) than married husbands (i.e., 225 household heads+2 husbands+13 married brothers+3 co-husbands=243) suggests that there are quite a few cases of polyandry among Tibetans in Pokhara. However, most of the cases of polyandry seem to be fraternal since only 3 co-

husbands are reported (which are non-fraternal polyandry cases).

The practice of mhakpa among Tibetans has been discussed in the preceding pages. From Table 5.5 and 5.6 we can see that there are several cases of mhakpa in the three settlements in Pokhara (see that 19 married daughters, 6 daughter's husbands, 2 wife's fathers, and 3 wife's mothers are reported living with the household heads).

The household headship seems to be commonly held by men. Women seem to assume this role mostly when their spouses are not present (there are a few exceptions). Also, as long as the father is alive, sons generally do not seem to assume the role of household headship.

Figure 5.1: Potential Residents in a Tibetan Household

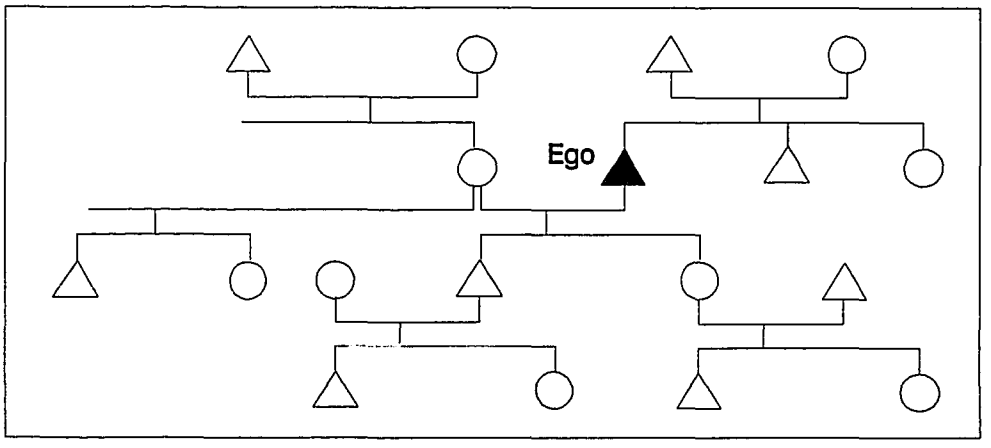
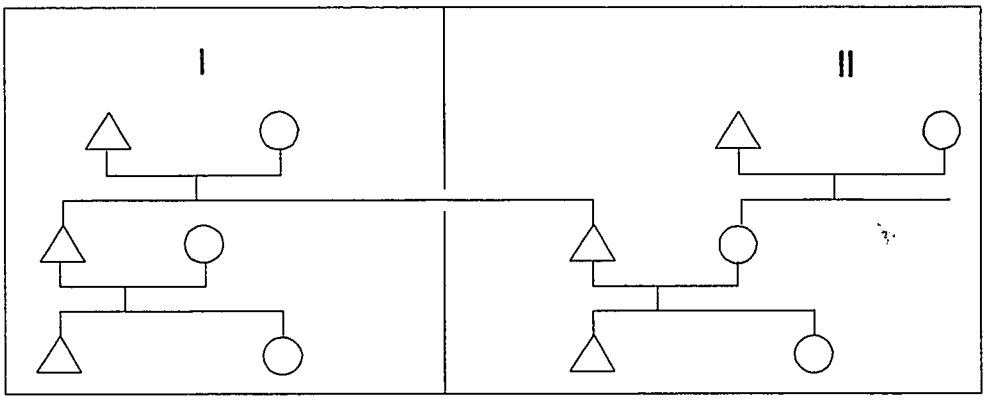


Figure 5.2: Some Possible Residence Arrangements Among Tibetans



While the data presented in Table 5.5 and 5.6 indicate various types of residence patterns prevalent in Pokhara today, Figure 5.1 shows the potential relatives of the household head who may generally share residence with him in a Tibetan household.

Figure 5.1 captures most of the commonly found residents in a Tibetan household. By definition, Ego's wife's parents or her children may not be relatives. But since they have a primary relative who is a rightful co-resident with the Ego, they may share a household. It should be remembered that Figure 5.1 presents only the potential residents in a Tibetan household in Pokhara (and the figure is based on Table 5.5 and 5.6), but does not mean that all the people shown here necessarily live together at the same time. Figure 5.2 presents a more concrete example of two different household units from among the various

possibilities. Depending on whether the marriage is non-mhakpa or mhakpa, the residents at Ego's parental level will differ. According to Tibetan tradition, while it is common for parents to live with one of their married children, if is rare to see Ego's parents as well as his spouse's parent(s) living in the same household. In Pokhara, there are a couple of cases where such a residence pattern is observed. It is perhaps the lack of other relatives who would take care of them which forces the older couples into such living arrangements.

The figures above do not show co-husbands: fraternal or non-fraternal, nor do they show co-wives. Non-relatives or distant relatives, and adopted children are also not seen in the figures. From Table 5.5 and 5.6 we learn that there are some non-relatives living in the same household with the household heads (e.g., those listed as 'others'). If we consider the traditional Tibetan pattern, non-relatives would be found there also. However, while in Tibet the non-relatives in a household were servants or maids in most cases, in Pokhara they are either friends, co-workers in the handicraft centers, monks affiliated to the settlement monastery, or partners in a business.

In Figure 5.2, the residence on the left panel (I) is a virilocal one and the inheritance in this family may be patrilineal and descent is patrilineal. On the other hand, the residence on the right panel (II) is a mhakpa marriage.

The Ego in this case may have moved into his wife's natal household or his wife's parents may have moved to live with him. In either case, such residence pattern generally indicate that the mhakpa is the heir to his wife's parents: the young couple may inherit estate and title from the older couple. In this case, the descent for the immediate descending generation will be matrilineal. Thus we see that depending on the marriage type and the residence pattern following the marriage, descent among Tibetans is bilateral.

A marriage often would create a new household unit. If brothers are not marrying polyandrously, they generally establish their separate residential unit. Thus we see a single household unit fissioning to give rise to two or more such units. Conversely, marriages may also result in the fusion of two household units. Elderly couples may join the household unit of their daughter or son rather than living by themselves in old age. Residential arrangements in this regard are commonly dependent upon practical considerations. Family estate or property, welfare of the elderly, and children are some of the important reasons that seem to influence people to make such arrangements or decisions.

It is rather rare to see a Tibetan household with members spanning up to four generations. In fact as confided by Tibetans in Pokhara, a child born while one or all of its great grand parents whether on the maternal or paternal side (FaFaFa, FaMoMo, MoFaFa, MoMoMo), is or are

still living, is considered a rare happening and the child is recognized as a 'fortunate child'. This is perhaps because of the low life expectancy among Tibetan populations.

ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

The marriage rule among the Tibetans today in Pokhara may be characterized as ru and shya exogamy and community endogamy.[7] The exogamous group is primarily defined on the basis of ru and shya, since a marriage partner has to be a non-relative according to the way of reckoning relatives among Tibetans.[8] That is, while close relatives falling within ru and shya kinship category can not marry among themselves, the smaller size of the community in exile does not permit for a very wide range of choice. Oftentimes marital partners come from the same settlement. This is perhaps the reason why some set of rules regarding marriage have been relaxed or redefined. A vital question is: What does it mean for Tibetans when we say that there has been a re-definition of the concepts of exogamy and endogamy?

Many Tibetans arrived in Nepal without their families or relatives. In fact, as inferred from Table 5.3, many of the Tibetans living in Pokhara today had not reached the age of family formation at the time of their arrival in Nepal. Family and kin ties were necessary and thus gradually people got interwoven in a network of relationships. In doing

this, the exigencies of the exile made it imperative that Tibetans relax the rule of isogamy and emphasize only Tibetan-community endogamy. The consequence now is that people that may have belonged to the noble families back in Tibet are linked matrimonially to commoners. Similarly, marriages between Khampa, Amdoba, and Drogpa are not only common but are also accepted. The social status boundaries as well as regional-origin boundaries seem to have attenuated because of their negative adaptive value. Inter-group marriages like these would have been considered exogamous in the Tibetan context. Today, in exile, due to the redefinition of the group boundary (as discussed in Chapter III), for pragmatic reasons, the exogamy and endogamy concepts have also assumed new meanings.

Hypergamous and hypogamous marriages may have occurred back in Tibet too. But whenever such marriages took place, some people recollect, there used to be some criticism if not outright resentment about the unions among relatives as well as the village people. Today, what could have been regarded as hypergamous or hypogamous marriages are just marriages. Some attempts may be made to find partners from among families with equally good ru, but this does not stand as a limiting factor in any way[9].

Although exogamous marriages involving Tibetans and non-Tibetans are few in Pokhara, the younger generation of the Tibetans seems to condone community exogamy in exile.

Some Tibetans observed that a Tibetan boy marrying a non-Tibetan girl is more acceptable than vice-versa. This perhaps emphasizes the Tibetans' inherent concern for ru (which is passed on from male).

One way to look at whether Tibetans have made any compromise in their minds with regard to exogamous marriages is to elicit their views on this subject (Table 5.7 presents data based on a question whether one endorsed community exogamy or not).

Table 5.7

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Sex for their Views on Community Exogamy

	Tashi Palkhiel		Tashi Ling		Penjor Ling	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Endorse Exogamy	20.4	24.6	-	-	8.3	-
Do Not Endorse	79.6	75.4	100.0	100.0	75.0	71.0
Indifferent	-	-	-	-	16.7	29.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	54	57	34	36	24	31

There are already some exogamous marriages among the youths. From Table 5.7, we can see that some people already endorse its practice. People reason that such marriages are likely to happen under certain conditions. What is important for us is the implications of exogamous marriages for Tibetans. This perhaps means a step towards the assimilation of Tibetans into the Nepali society. Such marriages would establish social and kinship ties for the

Tibetan individuals and families among the host people. In the event of repatriation, whether those people who have married to non-Tibetans could return to Tibet is an open question.

From Table 5.7, we see that majority of the Tibetans do not endorse community exogamy. But the percentage of those who endorse its practice is also significant. Incidentally, 100% of the respondents in Tashi Ling reported that they do not endorse exogamy while three of its men have Nepali wives. Some people in this settlement were concerned that these men were alienated from their relatives and community in the Tibetan settlement after their marriage to a Nepali. The negative views on exogamy by the respondents is perhaps due to the apparent alienation of these individual cases of exogamy.

Tibetans were questioned as to who or what kind of people in their community tended to marry exogamously. They were asked to list more than one reason they thought were pertinent in tempting people to marry outside the Tibetan community. The most frequently mentioned factor was the living condition which allowed the young Tibetan boys and girls to come into frequent contact and interaction with non-Tibetan boys and girls in schools and colleges are good examples. This was followed by a concern for economic gains and alienation from the Tibetan society. Very few mentioned citizenship change as a reason for exogamous marriage. The

economic gains from marriage to Nepali may be crucial for some Tibetans. Since non-citizens can not legally own immovable property like a house or a piece of land, marriage could be one way to get around this barrier if some one wanted to invest in these things. Acquiring citizenship after marriage may follow.

Talking about exogamous marriages, one respondent very nicely pointed out that marriage meant a coming together of two hearts, not two nationalities. However, he was emphatic that "social pressures may prevent two people from marrying each other." Some people contend that Tibetan boys and girls staying away from Tibetan community for an extended period for work or study, and Tibetan youths who work with non-Tibetans, tend to marry exogamously. Many Tibetans feel, however, that exogamous marriages may raise questions about the ethnic identity of the children and that the children may find themselves torn between two different cultures.

The most persistent facet of any ethnic group in the face of the forces of socio-cultural change is perhaps the 'identity' and the core practices of their culture that are considered markers of ethnic distinctiveness. Maintenance of Tibetan ethnic identity vis-a-vis the various communities of people in the host Nepali society seems to be a primary concern among most Tibetans. Religion is one primary ethnic marker among Tibetans. Perhaps marriage is perceived as

equally important for maintaining ethnic purity or identity, while language is another strong contender.

TWO CASES OF ABORTED EXOGAMY

A few in the younger generation have succeeded in breaking the rule of endogamy while abortive attempts seem to have been made by quite a few. Let me mention two recent cases of aborted exogamy. In the first case, a hard working and educated Tibetan boy had an affair with a Nepali girl and they both wanted to get married. Upon approaching the parents, the boy and girl found out that while the boy's parents had no objection, the girl's parents were totally against the proposed relationship. The two decided to elope but were not successful. In the second case, a Nepali boy fell in love with a Tibetan girl. They eloped and went into hiding to another place since their parents were not ready to accept the relationship. They were found within a few days and were separated from each other.

As argued by some Tibetans in Pokhara, from the side of the Tibetan parents and the community at large, the resentment is very strong if the non-Tibetan marital partner is neither a Buddhist nor a culturally Tibetan. This, however, raises a question regarding the marriages of Tibetans with spouses from western countries. Perhaps the difficulty in this respect is partly because of the endogamous norms of the Nepali hosts too.

In Pokhara, the Nepali society itself is composed of a number of endogamous castes and communities. While free interactions at various levels may be observed among Nepali people, when it comes to establishing matrimonial ties, the rule is to maintain caste, community, or ritual group boundary. More orthodox Nepali people may also strive to follow isogamy. This kind of boundary maintaining norm also makes it easier for the Tibetans in general to maintain their own boundary relatively intact. The absence of such caste, ritual, and community boundaries among the host population could have made it less easier for the Tibetans to maintain their own norm of Tibetan-community endogamy.

Cases of abortive exogamy suggest attempts made by Tibetan young boys and girls to challenge the rules of community endogamy. The paradox created by this kind of behavior among Tibetan youths for the long run is: whether they want to remain 'Tibetan' and keep their hopes of returning to Tibet one day as most of the older generation aspires, or to get into the network of social and kinship ties in the host society, which may run counter to their feelings towards the cause of Tibet. Exogamous marriages may also mean acquiring a new identity or a step towards assimilation into the host society. In the event of repatriation, whether exogamously married people would return to Tibet is a pertinent question for debate. While tradition-oriented Tibetans would be more concerned about

the estrangement of their youths because of exogamy, some youths feel that marriage and the selection of partners is an individual choice. In the next section, we will talk more about spouse selection.

Let me conclude this section by pointing out the implications of the change in the definition of exogamy and endogamy among Tibetans. One major change is the weakened distinction between noble people and common people as shown in Figure 3.1 in chapter three. This perhaps will eventually lead the Tibetan exile community to form a non-hierarchical society of lay people or MiDe in conformity with the theoretical egalitarianism of Buddhism.

SPOUSE SELECTION

As we noted in Chapter 3, marriages generally were arranged by parents and relatives for young boys and girls in Tibet. It was also noted that Kiptung allowed young boys and girls to engage in courtship which may or may not have resulted in marriage. The rules of kinship have remained a major determinant in arriving at a potential marriage partner. Other secondary rules may have been relaxed but incest avoidance as defined by their kinship rules seems to have remained intact.

An interesting change can be noted in the process of spouse selection too. In the traditional context, marriage was generally arranged by parents or relatives, although the

romantic affairs between a man and a woman also played an important role in it. Today, in the exile context, the shift seems to be toward the predominance of a combination of love and arrangements. Elderly Tibetans would argue that love marriages are a new phenomenon and most of the marriages in Tibet were arranged[10]. This, however, raises a question: What is the explanation for the common premarital sexual relations young people enjoyed in Tibet (see Norbu 1987)? Also, the Kiptung discussed in Chapter III earlier illustrates of amorous ventures undertaken by young boys or men. Whether this was mere recreation and amusement or a socially recognized process of courtship is a question. A few relations may end up with non-marital children. However, often marriages could also result out of Kiptung courtships. The incidence of love marriages and the combination of love and arranged marriages clearly indicates this.

In all three settlements, we see that there is a predominance of spouse selection by oneself (see Table 5.8), which is supported by the pattern in the next table (Table 5.9) on kinds of marriage arrangements. With some exceptions, the individuals in the cohort aged 40-49 show having selected the spouse by self. These are people who were married in the 1960s, a period when many were just being resettled. In a state of confusion and instability created by flights, loss of family members and relatives,

Table 5.8

Spouse Selection for Respondents by Age Groups and Sex in Pokhara Settlements

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
		M a l e					
Tashi Palkhiel							
-Self	9.3	29.7	5.6	14.8	13.0	1.9	74.3
-Parent	3.7	3.7	-	7.5	5.6	1.9	22.4
-Kin	-	1.9	-	-	-	1.9	3.8
Tashi Ling							
-Self	5.9	14.7	11.8	26.4	2.9	2.9	64.6
-Parent	2.9	2.9	-	8.8	11.8	5.9	32.3
-Kin	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	2.9
Penjor Ling							
-Self	4.2	4.2	8.3	20.8	37.5	-	75.0
-Parent	-	-	-	4.2	-	12.5	16.7
-Kin	-	-	-	4.2	4.2	-	8.4
		F e m a l e					
Tashi Palkhiel							
-Self	8.8	22.8	12.3	12.3	1.8	-	58.0
-Parent	8.8	8.8	-	8.8	5.3	8.8	40.5
-Kin	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	1.8
Tashi Ling							
-Self	2.8	19.4	22.3	13.9	16.6	-	75.0
-Parent	2.8	5.6	-	11.2	2.8	-	22.4
-Kin	-	-	2.8	-	-	-	2.8
Penjor Ling							
-Self	9.7	22.6	25.8	19.4	-	-	77.5
-Parent	-	-	3.2	3.2	9.7	6.5	22.6
-Kin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N: Tashi Palkhiel=111, Tashi Ling=70 and Penjor Ling=55.
Source: MFS, 1988. Total percentages may not add exactly as 100.0 because of rounding.

and the initial processes of resettlement, the Tibetan society perhaps had relaxed most of its norms and values in regard to marriage and family formation. More practical concerns may have dominated the decisions in these matters.

Table 5.9

Kind of Marriage Arrangement for Tibetans by Sex and Settlement

	Tashi Palkhiel		Tashi Ling		Penjor Ling	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Arranged Marriage	16 (29.6)	22 (38.6)	14 (41.2)	12 (33.3)	5 (20.8)	5 (16.1)
Love Marriage	25 (46.3)	15 (26.3)	19 (55.9)	23 (63.9)	17 (70.8)	18 (58.1)
Combined Marriage	13 (24.1)	20 (35.1)	1 (2.9)	1 (2.8)	2 (8.3)	8 (25.8)
Total N	54	57	34	36	24	31
Percent	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Source: Marriage and Family Survey, 1988.
Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages of the respective N. Percentages may not add to an exact 100% because of rounding.

The earlier cohorts also show high proportion of individuals choosing their own spouse but then the proportion of people whose spouses were selected by parents is also significant. By looking at the cohorts 50-59, 60-69 and 70+, we can see parental selection of spouses for their children as reported in the ethnographies. However, since the population under study is exceptional because of

refugeeism, the predominance of self selection of spouse reported by the cohorts aged 50 and over may be anomalous.

Things seem to have stabilized in Tashi Palkhiel and Tashi Ling while Penjor Ling has yet to stabilize. In Tashi Palkhiel and Tashi Ling, the cohorts 20-29 and 30-39 show that while some individuals select spouses by themselves, others have their parents select their spouses. More females than males report that their spouses were selected by parents.

Pregnancy before marriage or pregnant brides are becoming common these days[11]. This is a new phenomenon not reported in the ethnographic accounts on Tibetans. My own ethnographic observations indicate that the Tibetan youth in exile are beginning to challenge the traditional authority of their parents when it comes to deciding on marriage and spouse selection and as noted before, in choosing to be or not to be a celibate monk. Table 5.9 further supports the assertion that most of the marriages today are not arranged by parents and relatives. If we look at the marriages for Tibetan respondents who have had their marriages about 30 years or before, the picture is different. If this is taken as a proxy for the traditional pattern in Tibet, 75.7% (N=33) had an arranged marriage, while 15.2% had a love marriage, and only 9.1% had marriages that were combination of both. The higher percentages of love marriages as shown in Table 5.9 are therefore because of the self decision in

marriage and spouse selection among Tibetans in exile. It clearly reflects the autonomy desired by the Tibetan youths in making decisions about their own life.

In Tibet, premarital relations may have resulted in pregnancies which were not necessarily planned. However, in Pokhara today, it is often used as a strategy by the young boys and girls to gain acceptance or recognition of their love affair by their parents. If one of the parents refuse to accept the relationship, as one recently married Tibetan man (whose bride was pregnant at the time they had the marriage ceremony) confided, the girl and the boy plan to have a child since meeting and premarital sexual relations can go on. Once the girl is pregnant, the parents generally accept the relationship partly because of the excitement of having a grandchild.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

In general girls get married as early as 17 and most get married by their late 20s, depending on the circumstances. Boys also generally get married between 17 to 30 years of age. Both male and female population start getting married around the same age. However, the age range for males seems to be much larger than that for females. The age at first marriage ranges from 17 to 55 for male respondents while the corresponding range for female respondents is 17 to 40 years[12]. These figures clearly

suggest that males tend to get married at a later age than females among Tibetans. The age at first marriage for the genealogical population which ranges from 15 to 47 for males and 16 to 43 for females supports the argument (from Genealogies collected in Pokhara, 1988). It should be noted that with the exception of Penjor Ling, the age at first marriage range is not very different for all others. If the first marriage age is low for males, it is likely that such individuals are the younger siblings in a polyandrous union.

Table 5.10

Distribution of MFS Respondents by Age at First Marriage

Age Group	Tashi Palkhiel		Tashi Ling		Penjor Ling	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Up to 19	3.7	5.3	5.9	5.6	-	35.5
20-24	25.9	45.6	32.4	58.3	16.7	41.9
25-29	51.8	43.8	44.1	22.2	29.2	16.1
30-34	13.0	1.8	8.8	5.6	8.3	6.5
35-39	-	1.8	8.8	8.3	8.3	-
40-44	3.7	1.8	-	-	12.5	-
45-49	1.9	-	-	-	12.5	-
50+	-	-	-	-	12.5	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean:	26.1	24.3	26.0	24.5	34.7	21.4
Median:	24.7	23.9	24.7	22.8	30.0	19.7

Let us consider what patterns the Tibetan populations under study exhibit in terms of age at marriage (see Table 5.10 and 5.11). Whether there has been a change in age at marriage among Tibetan refugees is an important question. However, since there are no comparable data on Tibetan

populations on this subject, I will use the information available on Nepali populations for the discussion.

Table 5.11

Age at First Marriage by Current Age of Respondents

	Current Age						
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
Age at Marriage			M a l e				
19 or less	18.2	-	-	3.2	3.6	-	3.6
20-24	63.6	15.4	-	32.2	21.4	28.6	25.9
25-29	18.2	77.0	88.9	19.3	35.7	57.1	44.6
30-34	-	7.6	11.1	22.6	7.1	-	10.7
35-39	-	-	-	13.0	-	14.3	4.5
40-44	-	-	-	9.7	7.1	-	4.5
45-49	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	3.6
50+	-	-	-	-	10.7	-	2.7
	N=11	N=26	N=9	N=31	N=28	N=7	N=112
Age at Marriage			F e m a l e				
19 or less	13.3	14.3	16.0	10.7	14.3	-	12.9
20-24	80.0	51.4	48.0	39.3	42.8	14.3	48.4
25-29	6.7	34.3	20.0	39.3	28.6	71.4	30.6
30-34	-	-	8.0	7.1	7.1	-	4.0
35-39	-	-	8.0	3.6	7.1	-	3.2
40-44	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	0.8
	N=15	N=35	N=25	N=28	N=14	N=7	N=124

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

The mean age at marriage for Nepal according to 1981 census data is 20.7 years for males and 17.2 years for the females. For Mustang district, which has a predominantly Buddhist population (and most of the people in Penjor Ling were in this district until early 1970s), the mean age at marriage for male and female population is 25.8 and 22.7 respectively. In contrast, the mean age at marriage for the Nepali population in Kaski district (where Pokhara, the

study site is located), is 22.6 for male and 18.4 for female. For Nepal as a whole, the mean age at marriage is reported to be higher for Buddhist population among the religious groups (see CBS 1987; Thapa 1985:120-122).

If we look at the mean and median age at first marriage by sex presented in Table 5.10 and 5.11, it becomes evident that the exile population in general has a higher age at marriage. The exception is the female population in Penjor Ling for whom the mean as well as the median ages are lower than that for the other populations presented in the tables. Tashi Palkhiel and Tashi Ling, have population settled since about 1960, so it is natural that they exhibit convergence in this regard.

It is generally believed that a low age at marriage "implies a longer exposure to the risk of pregnancy, hence higher potential fertility" (Thapa 1985:95). In the Tibetan population under study, as I have noted in the section on Nhyalu below, there are a number of cases in which a girl gets pregnant before she gets married. Pregnancy may lead to marriage, but often girls end up becoming un-wed mothers of non-marital children. This implies that among Tibetan populations in Nepal, age at marriage does not necessarily influence the risk of exposure to pregnancy. This suggests that a research on fertility among Tibetan women (which, however, is not my focus in the present paper), therefore,

needs to take account of non-marital as well as marital births.

NHYALU: THE NON-MARITAL CHILDREN

Nhyalu is a Tibetan term which has been defined in English-Tibetan dictionaries as bastard or illegitimate child. Considering the position of Nhyalu in the Tibetan socio-cultural context, I would suggest that it would be more reasonable to define them as non-marital children. Non-marital children are common among Tibetans and culturally Tibetan populations in Nepal too. How the Tibetan society looks at Nhyalus and their un-wed mothers is a question that needs some attention.

Premarital sexual relations are not prohibited and contraceptives are not common: thus the existence of Nhyalu. However, it is notable that unlike among the caste Hindus in Nepal, an un-wed mother still remains a potential marital partner for an unmarried man. Also, a Nhyalu is treated like any other child in the society. Often Nhaylu may be adopted into the family of the relatives of their biological father or mother.

In the literature, it is common to define the children born out of wedlock as illegitimate. This may apply only to societies where the rules of inheritance and other rights of the individual as a person may be affected by the legal codes. Legitimacy does not seem to be an issue in Tibetan

society, at least in relation to the socio-economic position of Nhyalu. It is, therefore, more reasonable to call them non-marital children.

In Tibetan society, a woman remains a potential bride even after she has had non-marital children, or is a widow or divorcee. This is substantiated by the fact that in Table 5.5 and 5.6, 14 individual males are listed as wife's sons and 3 individual females are listed as wife's daughters sharing residence with the household heads. Here we may ask: Why not husband's sons or daughters? None of the 49 female household heads (see Table 5.6), have children in this category although theoretically it is possible to have relatives of this category also. Two reasons could be given as plausible explanations. First, perhaps because of the practice of polyandry, a man would distinguish his children from his co-husband's children by designating the latter as wife's children. This could be more applicable in cases where the marriage may have been non-fraternal polyandry. Second, the man may have married a woman who already had non-marital children or children from her earlier marriage (i.e., in cases of widow or divorcee remarriage).

FAMILY SIZE, RELIGION, AND CELIBACY

In this section, we will first consider the family size among Tibetans and see if it has been changing. The second half of the section will deal with the role of religion in

determining the actual or the desired family size among Tibetans.

Table 5.12 presents some indicators of family size among Tibetans. As we noted in chapter four, the average household size in Pokhara ranges from 3 to almost 5. In Table 5.12 we have information on sibling size for the genealogical population, family size of the Tibetans back in Tibet and in Pokhara today, and the number of children for the genealogical population as well as the MFS respondents[13].

Table 5.12

Family Size for Tibetans in Pokhara and the Genealogical Population, 1988

Size	Genealogy Sib Size	Family Size Tibet	Family Size Pokhara	No. of Children Genealogy	No. of Children Pokhara
1	33.1	-	4.2	26.0	19.4
2	12.6	7.5	15.3	21.5	16.5
3	15.2	9.5	16.9	21.1	20.9
4	12.9	16.6	12.7	14.5	15.0
5	13.8	13.6	17.8	8.7	10.2
6	6.1	17.6	11.0	4.2	9.7
7	2.0	9.0	11.4	1.4	3.4
8	1.5	12.6	6.8	1.0	3.4
9	2.8	2.5	3.0	1.4	1.5
10+	-	11.0	0.8	0.3	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.1	5.9	4.6	2.9	3.5
Median	2.3	5.2	4.1	2.1	2.7
N=	652	199	236	289	206

The average family size in Tibet was 5.9 and most of the families had 5 individuals in it. In Pokhara today, the family size seems to have decreased, as shown by the figures

in the table above. Back in Tibet no individual reported of being in a single individual household, whereas in Pokhara today 4.2% of the respondents are living by themselves. This is a change. In the Tibetan socio-economic context, as many Tibetans recall, a single individual would normally join the household of one of his relatives. In Pokhara, too, the practice is still there but in spite of this we find single individual households in the settlements. This indicates two things. First, not every one who ends up as a single individual in a household has a relative to live with. The kinship networks which had to be re-established in exile context are still shallow and not everyone seems to be embedded in a kinship network of the kind that must have existed in Tibetan. Second, the ideas about living arrangements themselves may have changed in exile. Due to a more individualized nature of economic pursuit, some individual Tibetans perhaps find it more comfortable to live by themselves rather than attach themselves to the household of a relative. On the basis of my observation in Pokhara, I would say that among some Tibetans in the younger generation, the second reason is more true.

In Pokhara, the average number of children, as we see from Table 5.12, is higher than that for the genealogical population. This suggests that fertility levels may have gone up in exile. Again, if we consider it on the basis of field observation, the picture gets hazy. There are couples

that have had 5 or 6 children already and as they told me, were not thinking of stopping having children. On the other hand, a few couples seem to have stopped having children (whether this was deliberate or not is questionable) after having 2-3 children. Since birth control measures are socially detested among Tibetans in Pokhara, how those couples have managed to stop bearing children is an open question which needs attention in future research.

There is generally a difference between a desired family size and what one can actually achieve or has achieved. The actual family size of any individual couple is the result of a complex set of factors: fecundity, age at marriage or exposure to the risks of conception, number of live births to the woman, infant mortality, survival rates, etc. Desire, on the other hand is independent of these factors, and therefore, you could desire for 'x' number of sons and daughters. It is interesting that the desired number of children by most of the MFS respondents was 2 children of each sex. Few wanted more sons than daughters. Leaving aside the fact that their desired family size is relatively large, it is rather interesting to note their remarks on this issue. Almost every respondent in Pokhara had to say that your desire for a particular number of children is not what counts because what you get is what was 'written in your forehead'. While this kind of fatalistic attitude tells us that Tibetan society sees children as

gifts of the deities and the result of Karma, it also informs us about their unwillingness to practice birth control measures (or if they do practice they do not want to acknowledge it). Thus we see that religion has a strong hold in the demographic ideology of the Tibetans.

Behaviors and actions of individuals as well as groups are, in general, the manifestations of the overall cultural norms and values of a population. Given this, the relationship between culture and the demographic behaviors of a population should be obvious. Religion is an aspect of culture which has often been cited as influencing reproductive behaviors and marital practices of societies. For instance, Hindus in general are said to have a high preference for sons (as do the Chinese and other Asian populations). Researchers have, however, sought the explanation for the higher value placed on sons in economic factors. The obvious and conspicuous economic implications seem to have attracted the attention of the researchers, thereby making them overlook the religio-cultural foundations for son preference among the caste Hindus also. In this regard (although writing in the context of kinship), a reality brought out by Khare (1983) makes it clear why a Hindu family would consider it more important to have a son than a daughter. He writes: "To be father is one thing for the Hindu and to be father of a son quite another" (Khare 1983:62). A son is important because he not only continues

the line of progenitorship but also performs the essential rituals of dahasanskara and pindadana after the parents are dead[14]. The demographic repercussion of this kind of religious ideology is obvious. This deep-rooted belief makes people continue to have children until they have one or more sons. This tells us why some people would not practice birth control in spite of their knowledge about it as well as the accessibility of the measures.

Tibetans, too, do have a son preference since son preference is not limited to a particular society and population (see Cleland et. al. 1983). The importance of son preference in developing societies is also thought to influence the achieved family size (see Thapa 1985:145-175). I do agree that Tibetan parents in general desire more sons than daughters. However, families that end up having daughters only would not be in a situation of panic as a Hindu tradition oriented family would be. Sons do not have to fulfil religious rituals for their parents as in Hindu society. Among Tibetans a son would generally inherit parental property as well as socio-cultural roles, if any. But in the absence of a son, the family could bring in a mhakpa, as we pointed out, for one of their daughters who would then assume the family name and also inherit the property.

Among Tibetan and culturally Tibetan populations, the preference for sons may be a less important factor in

determining the family size. More vital is the religious ideology which is pro-natal. By extension, it may also be noted that this very pro-natal religious ideology rather than son preference could be the major barrier for non-acceptance of birth control measures and therefore, it may be a crucial factor inhibiting fertility decline. A dramatic shift in the pro-natal ideology alone can lead to changes in fertility behavior among Tibetans. So long as the belief that the practice of contraception is equivalent to killing a potential life prevails, birth control among Tibetans cannot be imagined. Possibly, education will foster an idea that smaller family size could mean a happier family life.

In addition, celibacy in monkhood, which is supposed to reduce the number of potentially marriageable men, may be a factor contributing to a larger family among Tibetans. As we know, celibate monkhood may be a way to reduce competitors for the parental property (see Ortner 1989). More importantly, the practice of celibacy forbids one of the siblings in a sibling set from taking part in the reproductive act. But the mere fact that in the tradition of Tibetan culture, parents would want an extra son to put into the monastery is sufficient to say that celibate monkhood may also have contributed to achieving a larger family among Tibetan parents. Some parents would say that if you practice birth control, you could devoid yourself

from begetting a Tulku, since you never know what the next child is going to be like. Let us consider the perceived advantages of this practice and see if there are signs of change in it.

As noted earlier, Tibetan society is highly dominated by religion. The practice of celibacy in monkhood has been one of the markers of Tibetan way of life. This practice theoretically removes some men from the potential marriage market. However, in practice, how far this is true is a debatable issue. Monastic life, being a strong element of Tibetan culture, has not only accompanied the Tibetans into exile, but has also persisted.

The perceived advantages of sending one of its sons by a couple were pertinent in the context of Tibet's socio-economic situation. By this practice, the family as well as the son who became a monk could be earning religious merit, which is essential to earn good Karma for next birth. If the monk proved to be profound, intelligent, and most important of all, could rise to the abbotship of a monastery, he could be one of the living Buddhas or a Tulku (reincarnate) after his death. Having a Tulku in a family is certainly a prestige symbol in the religion-dominated Tibetan society.

The monk of the household would be an asset since he would be the educated member of the family in a society where education was limited. It was therefore an avenue

through which a poorer family could also educate at least one of its sons. Besides, as some Tibetans pointed out to me in Pokhara, there were some material benefits also from becoming a monk, both for the monk and his family members.

In exile today both the schools and the monasteries play educative roles. Tibetan monks today are also getting secular education along with religious education. Perhaps this is why quite a few monks tend to give up their monastic vows to join the lay life. A total of 23 respondents in the MFS reported that there was at least one of their relatives in exile who had renounced the monastic life. This trend may continue, which in turn means the marital structure of the Tibetan populations may see more changes in the future.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the discussion in this chapter, we see that there are some changes in the marriage and family patterns and practices of the Tibetan society. Perhaps due to the disruptions of exile, many celibate monks or nuns may have gotten married. We also see that the Tibetan society has redefined the concepts of endogamy and exogamy. However, by redefining exogamy and endogamy boundaries--to consider endogamy as marriages among the regional groups from Tibet, such as Khampa, Amdoba, and Drogpa and exogamy as marriage between a Tibetan and a non-Tibetan--the Tibetan refugee

community has shown a strong desire to persist as a distinct cultural group and maintain Tibetanness.

Youths may endorse exogamy and a few such marriages have been reported in Pokhara. However, from the cases of aborted exogamy, it is evident that various Nepali ethnic groups are themselves endogamous, thereby making it easier for Tibetans to maintain Tibetan endogamy. In other words, the norms of caste endogamy among Nepali people is reinforcing Tibetan community's endeavor to maintain their distinct socio-cultural boundary.

Marriage and family patterns and practices among Tibetans are also subject to a negotiation between traditions and practical situations in exile. For instance, inheritance is not necessarily primogeniture in exile today. Tibetan parents prefer to pass on their property to someone who takes care of them in their old age--a very pragmatic choice.

The traditional residence patterns have also yielded to the practical situations in the refugee settlements. A number of households in Pokhara today have various categories of relatives as well as non-relatives living in the same household.

Parental selection of spouse is declining while love marriages and the combined (parental arrangement of marriages between a girl and boy who are having an affair) marriages are becoming common. Pregnant brides also seem to

be common and acceptable. However, the incidence of Nhyalu and the premarital sexual relations need a closer research in order to find out why not all love affairs end up in marriages.

In spite of the challenges to their traditions in exile, the influence of religion--the belief in Karma, for instance--is still strong in Tibetan society. This explains why Tibetans do not want to deliberately control the size of their family. Also, in regard to the rules of marriage and kinship, ru and shya have remained intact. Incest and inbreeding are avoided by most human societies and Tibetans are no exception.

Change in the marriage practice--redefining the endogamy and exogamy boundaries--perhaps has also changed the social structure of Tibetan society. While strengthening the overall identity of Tibetanness, marrying among Tibetans (irrespective of social-status distinctions or regional affiliations) may be paving a way toward a more egalitarian Tibetan society devoid of the hierarchies of clean and unclean people.

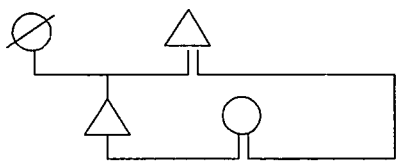
NOTES

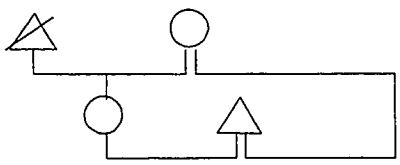
1. It may be necessary to define the term family. It is a term that has been used with various meanings depending the context. One may talk of monogamous or polygamous family thereby classifying family by using marriage type. We also hear of nuclear, joint, extended, as well as stem families referring to the composition of the residential unit in terms of kinship. It is also common to distinguish family by using the criteria of authority (patriarchal, matriarchal, equalitarian), descent (patrilineal, matrilineal, and bilateral), and residence (patrilocal, matrilocal, neolocal, avunculocal, etc.). Family of orientation and family of procreation are other concepts in use. To compound the issue, the concept of family among Tibetans is further different. It could include the kin members closely related to each other but not necessarily sharing the same residential unit. The Tibetan concept of Dhongba is, on the other hand a residential unit which may not necessarily consist of relatives alone. For the purpose of simplicity, the term family is used in the present study to refer to an union of spouses and their children (unless specified in other ways), while the term household is used as an equivalent of the Tibetan term Dhongba.

2. A majority of Tibetan respondents said that Ghyami or the Chinese inherited their parental property. By this they mean the immovable property like agricultural land, house, etc., which had to be left behind when they took to flight after PRC took over Tibet from the Dalai Lama's government in Lhasa.

3. Polygamy can be further classified into two, viz., polygyny and polyandry. In polygyny a man is simultaneously married to two or more women while in polyandry one woman is married to more than one man.

4. It should be noted that intergenerational sharing of spouses whether it be in polyandry or polygyny is very rare. A major rule in such sharing is that the individual being shared should be a non-relative to both of the intergenerational spouses. Examples are:





5. Noble families who were either rich or were in high governmental positions in Tibet used to practice polygyny. Whenever this kind of marriage was arranged, it was generally a sororate. Taring (1986), for instance, reports of her marriage to Tsarong, a minister and who was already married to her older sister.

Polygyny in some culturally Tibetan societies are not socially permitted (see Chhetri 1985) as among the Loba of Mustang in Nepal.

6. Theoretically, polyandry should create a surplus of marriageable women in the society. Goldstein, for instance reports that in Limi, 18-19% of females aged 45+ years were unmarried because of the practice of polyandry there (Goldstein 1981, see also Ross 1981).

7. The genealogies collected in the field do not show exogamous marriages. There are quite a few cases of exogamy: Tibetans married to non-Tibetans in the host societies of their residence.

8. One morning while I was looking for a particular man in one of the Tibetan settlements in Pokhara, I ran into his sister's husband. He asked me who I was looking for. When I told him that I was looking for Mr. X, his relative, he quickly pointed out that Mr. X was not his relative but only his wife's brother. Thus we see that an affinal kin is clearly perceived as a non-relative according to the Tibetan way of reckoning kinsmen.

9. The group of people categorized as untouchable were not present in Pokhara at the time of my research in 1988-89. People in Pokhara, however, pointed out that they were not sure if marriages between Ghara and Kuthag were common yet.

Caste and caste-like structures were present in Tibet also. As Norbu writes, "Butchers, hunters and smiths especially blacksmiths, were known as 'impure' bones --a term applied to the occupations which the non-violent Buddhists considered the most sinful" (Norbu 1987:85).

10. See how Taring (1986) discusses her marriages to Tsarong first (pp. 85-95) and then to Jigme (pp. 103-117). Taring's account of her first marriage shows more of an agreement between her, Tsarong and his senior wives, one of whom was Taring's sister. Her second marriage was more of a 'dream come true' of a dormant affair she and Jigme had developed while they both were going to school in Darjeeling.

11. During my field research period in Pokhara, three marriages involved pregnant brides.

Tibetans do not endorse the practice of abortion. However, the marriages of pregnant brides do not happen because they have to avoid the birth of a non-marital child or of abortion. Moreover, Tibetans in Pokhara could not think of female infanticide being in practice in their villages back in Tibet.

12. In the populations in Pokhara, the age at first marriage among the respondents ranges from 17 to 46 in TP, 18 to 38 in TL, and 20 to 55 in PL for males, while for females it is 17 to 40 in TP, 19 to 37 in TL and 16 to 30 in PL. The age of the spouses of the male respondents ranges from 15 to 40 in TP, 16 to 33 in TL and 16 to 39 in PL, while the age of female respondents' spouses at their first marriage ranges from 20 to 45 in TP, 17 to 40 in TL, and 17 to 47 in PL.

13. For MFS respondents, irrespective of their sex, they were asked to record the total number of sons and daughters born to them. For genealogical population too, the sex of the parent was not controlled. Also, the information is not limited to females of past reproductive age.

14. Dahasanskara involves the crematory rite or the disposal of the dead body. This is generally followed by a period of mourning during which certain food taboo is observed and some day-to-day activities are suspended. After death rituals are also performed which are perceived to help the deceased on his journey to the heaven. Pindadana is in fact offering sacrificial food to the deceased which is generally performed by a son.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC ASPECTS: UNAVOIDABLE INTERACTIONS

Refugees, like most other populations (or individuals), can not isolate themselves from the economic systems of the society, region or country of their residence. Economically, most of the societies and nations in the world could be perceived as being embedded in a world economic system. That is, they are bound to interact in a systemic way among themselves at various levels. It is in this sense that I regard the economic interactions as unavoidable for Tibetans in Nepal. They could be self-contained culturally, and establish their own monasteries, and have their own socio-political organization, and maintain endogamy and continue to speak Tibetan language among family members and within the Tibetan community, but when it comes to economic survival, interactions with the host population or other communities--whether it be in the form of cooperation, competition or reciprocity--becomes an inevitable response. Culturally, socially and linguistically Tibetans have exhibited the characteristics of a persistent people since they have certainly formed an ethnic enclave of their own in Nepal (see Castile and Kushner 1981 for a detailed treatment of the concept of persistent peoples). However, when it comes to economic aspects, things seem to have taken a drastic turn for the Tibetans ever since their refugeeism began.

While maintaining the idea that economic interactions are unavoidable for Tibetans, we also need to answer some pertinent questions to ensure a meaningful discussion of economic adaptation among Tibetan refugees in Pokhara, Nepal. What were the characteristics of economic life in its traditional context? What adaptive responses are evident? How are they doing economically in the exile context? What occupations and jobs are they taking now and how do they feel about them? Are they taking away resources and jobs from the Nepali hosts around them? These questions will be addressed in the present chapter. Answers to some of these questions are supported by survey data, while the discussion on some others are based on observations and personal judgements of both Tibetans and myself, as well as some case materials. Concluding this chapter, an attempt will be made to suggest: a) the socio-economic questions that need to be addressed in future research among Tibetan refugees; b) the economic policy that may be adopted by the Tibetan community as well as by the Nepali government for furthering the mutual benefits; and c)that a refugee community needs some kind of economic organization to practice and perpetuate the material aspect of their culture.

OCCUPATIONS: NOMADIC HERDING TO HANDICRAFT,BUSINESS TO...?

Let me begin this section with excerpts from the life of a Tibetan refugee living in Pokhara since 1960. For anonymity, I will call him Lhundrup, which is not the name by which he is known. His first marriage ended because of separation during flight. He was remarried in Pokhara at the age of 46. His wife and a son work at a settlement's handicraft center. At the age of 70, he himself gets his primary income from the handicraft center by spinning wool.

Lhundrup comes from a village in the southwestern region of Tibet. There may have been about one hundred people in his village at the time of his departure from there in 1959.

His father and uncle had a polyandrous marriage and he points out that his family was economically in good shape because of the two brothers living and working together. He does not recollect ever seeing a school in his village. There was a monastery and monks used to get their religious education there.

Since Lhundrup was not a monk, he recollects that until he was 8-10 years old he had hardly any work to do. Of course his family owned herds of animals like yak, dzopa, sheep and goat and he helped his parents in herding the animals. He says that only if the children were old enough (10 years and older), they could spin wool and make yarn (which was used for making the tents from yak wool), and

rugs as well as clothing needed for the family members. He emphasized that the tents were important possessions for families in his village.

Lhundrup remembers that people in his village used to move to different places within the area with their animals in search of good pasture. It was important to take care of the animals since they were the sources of milk, butter, meat, and chhurpi (locally made cheese) for food, and wool for clothes, hides for making storage bags, shoes, and yak wool for making the tents.

While animals provided the Tibetan families with most of their needs, there were other things for which they needed to go on long distance trade and thus interact with the outside world. Lhundrup's village traded wool and salt for wheat, barley and other food items not grown in the village. He also recollects going on a long distance trading trip as a young man. Generally a few people joined together in the caravan which consisted of yaks, dzopa, and goats carrying salt and wool which were the trade items from their region[1]. On the average, the trading trips lasted for one month or a little more. He looks back at the life in those days and points out that the trips were not always easy but people enjoyed them because of the prospects of profits from the trade and because of the excitements of seeing other places and peoples. Of life in the exile context in Pokhara, he says that animals are not only hard

to keep but you can do without them. Very few families still own a horse or a couple of mules in Pokhara. He says that money can get almost anything you want today and that is why people do business, or work in the HCs and do other jobs to earn money.

In Pokhara, the sites where the Tibetan refugee settlements are located would not produce enough for the populations living in them even if they were suited for agriculture. Agriculture was in fact tried on an experimental basis in Tashi Ling in the early years of the settlement of Tibetans there. It was stopped because of infertile land and lack of proper implements for agriculture (see IOHHDL 1981:201-202).

From Lhundrup's account of his own life and the life in his village, we get a pretty representative picture of the economic pursuits of most of the nomadic and semi-nomadic people of Tibet, to which the majority of the Tibetans in Pokhara belonged. As we can see, animals played a vital role in the life of the Tibetans. They were the sources of food, fuel and shelter, and were the sole means of transportation. Also, yaks and dzopas were used as pack and draft animals. It is therefore not surprising that people moved with their animals seasonally to ensure better pasturage for them.

Whether it is an adaptation strategy or a compliance to the demands of the socio-cultural and economic settings in

Nepal, Tibetans have certainly exhibited diverse responses. Tibetans are known for adopting multiple resource strategies at the household level, as do the culturally Tibetan populations living in the Himalayan regions of Nepal (see for instance, Fisher 1986; Fricke 1986; Furer-Haimendorf 1964, 1975; Levine 1988; Macfarlane 1976; Schuler 1987). Agropastoralism combined with long-distance trading were the cardinal facets of their economic practice, as we see from Lhundrup's account. As Gombo reports of Tibetan refugees in Kathmandu, "the majority of Tibetan refugees who entered Nepal directly from Tibet had been either nomads or agriculturalists" (Gombo 1985:98). In exile, they have not only given up their traditional occupations but have adopted diverse occupations as wage laborers, spinners, and gone into business selling carpets, and souvenir items. However, it may be noted that the strategy of earning household income from multiple sources seems to have persisted.

Spinning and weaving were done in Tibet too. However, there it was done to meet the needs of the family providing a tent, some clothing for the family members, rugs for the tent floor or to be used as bed, etc. Only very occasionally a family would make an extra rug for trading purpose. In the handicraft centers at the settlements today, carpet weaving is done on a larger scale and mainly for business.

In terms of occupation, there has been a clear change from the parental generation to the present generation in exile today. The main reason for the change is, of course, the difference in the ecological and economic system between Tibet and Nepal. As we can see in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1, the parents of the Tibetans who lived in Tibet were predominantly involved in nomadic pastoralism[2].

Table 6.1

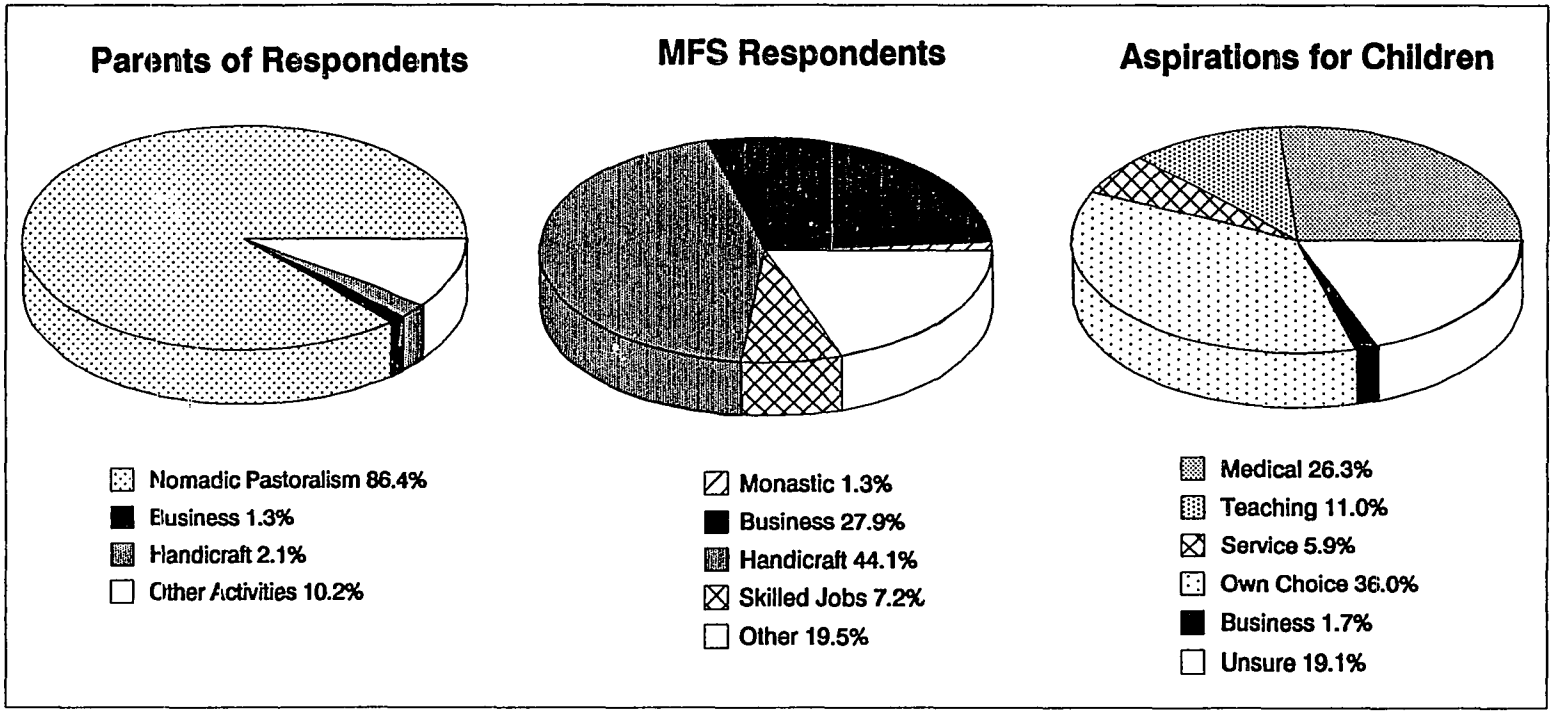
Occupations and Activities of Tibetans: Selected Populations, 1988

Occupations/ Activities	Parents of Respondents	Respondents	Children	Genealogy
-Nomadic Pastoralism	86.4	-	-	10.9
-Agriculture	-	-	-	2.8
-Monastic	-	1.3	9.6	2.6
-Business	1.3	27.9	3.5	13.3
-Handicraft	2.1	44.1	3.1	15.1
-Student	-	-	75.7	25.9
-Skilled Job	-	7.2	2.1	6.4
-Other	10.2	19.5	5.9	22.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	236	236	511	502

Notes: The other category for parents includes household chores, and for respondents it includes household chores, traditional medical practice, and one individual who is in the Indian army.

Figure 6.1 and the data presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, show the occupations for three generation of the Tibetans[3]. In simple terms, I present answers to three simple questions: What was the primary occupational pattern of the Tibetans before they left Tibet? What are the

Figure 6.1: Occupations of Tibetans: Persistence and Change



occupations and jobs currently held by Tibetans in Pokhara? What do the Tibetan refugees like their children to become as defined by the jobs and occupations?

Table 6.2

Percent Distribution of Respondents According to their Desired Occupations for their Children, 1988

Age Group	Medical	Teaching	Service	Own Choice	Business	Unsure	Total
20-29	4.2	0.8	-	5.9	-	-	10.9
30-39	8.0	3.8	1.7	10.6	0.4	1.3	25.8
40-49	4.2	1.3	0.8	5.5	0.4	2.1	14.3
50-59	4.7	3.8	1.7	7.6	0.8	6.3	24.9
60-69	3.4	1.3	1.3	5.1	-	6.8	17.9
70+	1.7	-	0.4	1.3	-	2.5	5.9
(N=236)							
Total	26.3	11.0	5.9	36.0	1.7	19.1	100.0

Notes: Medical jobs includes doctors and nurses. Teaching includes being a teacher in the secular school as well as in the monastery. Service includes the same categories as skilled jobs for Table 6.1, except that teaching was mentioned separately.
*Respondents who are age 35 and older only reported being unsure about their choice or desire for their children's occupation. The younger parents mostly had a preferred occupation for their children, which is reflecting the exposure of the younger parents to various occupations.

Nomadic herding and agropastoralism was the dominant occupation (practiced by the parents of 86.4% of the respondents) in the homeland of the Tibetan refugees living in Pokhara today[4]. This was a pattern more or less determined by the ecological factors. In Pokhara today, business and handicraft together are the occupations adopted by most of the Tibetans (27.9% and 44.1% respectively). Due to a change in the ecological factors as well as the socio-

economic system, we can see a marked change in the occupations of Tibetans. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the handicraft jobs, which may have been taken as a make-shift option by many in the beginning of their lives in the refugee settlements, have become very important as well as more permanent. In fact, as we will discuss shortly, handicraft centers not only preserve the material culture of Tibetans in exile, but also provide an institutional affiliation for many.

One interesting continuation may be noted with regard to the economic strategies of the Tibetan households or families. It was common for a household in Tibet to have its members involved in several income fetching activities like animal husbandry, agriculture, and long distance trading. In Pokhara today, this strategy seems to be very common. There is hardly any household which has only one breadwinner in it unless it is a single person household or one with just a single adult and children. Children mostly go to school today while some may be in the monastery, but most of the adults are economically active.

More drastic change can be seen in the occupations of respondents aspired to for their children (see Figure 6.1). There seems to be a bias toward the jobs and occupations that require skills or educational qualifications. A big proportion of the respondents desire their children to take medical or teaching jobs (26.3% and 11.0% respectively).

More importantly, respondents would like to let their children choose an occupation for themselves. This attitude can be attributed to some important factors. First, of course, is the wider potential range of jobs and occupational choices available. There are already some Tibetans who are well qualified medical practitioners (doctors or nurses), teachers, accountants and engineers working in the settlements in Pokhara. The public respect for these educated Tibetans and the prestige associated with the skilled jobs are perhaps reflected here. Second, respondents may have come to perceive that with education their children would be in a better position to make a choice for themselves. I would say that while this kind of attitude shows Tibetans' respect for individual decisions, it also tells us how flexible, practical and adaptive they are. Perhaps it is so also because of the fatalistic attitude among Tibetans which is certainly manifested in statements like, 'whatever is written in your forehead will come to you'. If this is true for the number of children you will end up bearing, this is equally true for other things that happen to you during your life cycle. It is however, not true that Tibetans do not trust in individual efforts because earning good karma is again contingent upon your deeds or conduct in the present life.

A cautionary note is in order with regard to the marked difference between the occupations of the respondents and

the occupations they aspired to for their children. Since the aspirations of the respondents show a complete change in the future occupations of the Tibetans in Pokhara, a pertinent question is: does this really tell us what is going to happen? The answer is not an yet affirmative. If we look at the actual occupations of Tibetan children (sons and daughters of the household heads) who are living with their parents and are already economically active, we get a different story than that conveyed by the aspirations alone. It may not be ruled out that the children who are going to school today may turn out to be engineers, medical practitioners, teachers and accountants as desired by their parents (and as noted above, some Tibetan youths have already taken these jobs). However, from among those who have already chosen their jobs, the children today are taking occupations and jobs not very different from that of the respondents. Business and handicraft related jobs are still going to be important for some time to come.

Table 6.2 presents percentage distribution of the desires of the respondents by their age group with regard to the economic pursuits of their children. From Table 6.1, we see that children who are already out of school and economically active in Pokhara today do not differ markedly from their parents. But when it comes to the aspirations of Tibetan parents for their children we can see some interesting things. Some parents are unsure (19.1%) and

this is more pronounced among respondents who are 50 years and older. Given the fact that most of the respondents who are 50 years and older may have their sons and daughters already working, the response of being unsure in this respect could mean two things. First, they perhaps do not want to talk about their desire because it is too late. Second, it could be a manifestation of their not being very happy with what their children have already chosen as their occupation.

Another interesting thing to note from Table 6.2 is that a larger proportion of respondents in every age group (except 70+) are in favor of letting the children make their own choice. It reflects the willingness of the respondents as noted already to respect the individual aspirations and desires of their children on the one hand, while on the other, it indicates their thinking perhaps based on their own experiences, that jobs and occupations are to be taken by individuals in accordance to the availability and other practical considerations. To put it into the Tibetan context of thinking, Karma will also play a vital role making you choose or get a particular job or occupation.

A major change can be noted in that a total of 43.2% (medical, teaching and service combined) of the parents would like their children to take more skilled jobs which they think involve working for the welfare of the society. Many Tibetans think that their country (if they get freedom)

and society needs more doctors and teachers. The majority of those who desire their sons and daughters to take medical and teaching jobs are from among the younger respondents, which may reflect their world view based on whatever education they have acquired in exile.

It is rather surprising that only a small minority of the respondents (1.7%) would like to see their children take to business as a primary occupation. Whether or not this is a manifestation of the paradox created by the spreading "something business" (see the section on 'Something business' below) could be an interesting thought. In the section below, we will talk about the something business, handicraft centers and other economic pursuits of Tibetan refugees in Nepal.

ECONOMIC BASE: HANDICRAFT CENTERS

Among the things Tibetan refugees brought with them, perhaps the handicraft skills have been crucial for the economic adaptation of Tibetan refugee populations in various settlements in Nepal and India as well[5]. Carpet weaving skills which the Tibetans brought with them have been particularly useful for their economic adaptation, since this has brought them income in the form of salary, wage or profit.

All three settlements in Pokhara have Handicraft Centers (HC hereafter), in them which seem to be performing

the role of a centripetal institution at the settlement level. People may take to individual or family level business away from the HCs, but do not seem to completely dissociate themselves from these community level cooperatives. A young man named Pasang, for instance, works for a trekking agency in Kathmandu. His wife and children live most of the year in Kathmandu. When I asked why they would not live in Kathmandu permanently instead of coming back every now and then to the Pokhara settlement, Pasang and his wife told me that they did not want to give up their place in the settlement where they belong physically and socially.

The existence of a community level economic institution in a settlement is perhaps necessary for Tibetan refugees since this seems to ensure cohesiveness and harmony at the settlement while providing jobs for individuals who need them. Some individual families have their private business endeavors (shops, HCs or restaurants) and are doing quite well whether it be in Pokhara or Kathmandu. But these people not only regard the settlement as their home but also try not to hamper the goodwill or the interests of the corporate handicraft center. Dhundup, for instance, is fairly well off by Tibetan standards and has a business of his own away from the settlement to which he belongs. But I could see him spending a considerable amount of his time and energy running a cocperative guest house owned by the

settlement. Thus we see that people who are employed elsewhere or even those who are self employed do not seem to forsake the interest of the community at large. The importance of the HCs for the Tibetan community and the maintenance of harmony is invoked at times. There may be apparently conflicting views expressed by various people in times of community gatherings, celebrations, and meetings. But these reflect no more than the concerns of each and every Tibetan in regard to how their settlement system is functioning and how it ought to be run.

HCs have played a vital role in the economic life of the Tibetan community in exile ever since the 1960s when these institutions were established. They have provided economic security to most of the families in the settlements. By providing a common work place for a people with common problems and economic needs, the HCs may have been instrumental in the beginning to let the Tibetans get to know each other and adjust among themselves. Tibetans may have brought the skills, but the ideas and the efforts that brought them into proper use by establishing the HCs are equally to be credited for the flourishing Tibetan Carpet industry in Nepal today.

The HCs form a major source of income for many[6]. Those who are older and those who do not have capital and human resources to invest in other economic endeavors find a ready job at the HCs. People also feel a part of the

community and seem happy to be able to contribute to the community's economy.

The HCs, besides providing jobs and opportunities to earn a living for the individual Tibetans and Nepalis working in them, have also accomplished a vital role of maintaining a craft which could have easily died if all the Tibetans had to take to other occupations. Not many Tibetans with good quality skills in the Tibetan handicrafts may have escaped into exile (see Gombo 1985:98-101, for a discussion on this). However, the existence of over 40 flourishing Tibetan handicraft centers in India and Nepal is indicative of the spreading of the skill among the new generation of Tibetans (see IOHHDL 1981). I have observed in Pokhara as well as Kathmandu a number of Nepali entrepreneurs starting carpet production, which means that it is already accepted as one of the viable business endeavors in Nepali economy and society[7].

The handicraft centers employed only Tibetans in the beginning since these were meant for the refugees. Besides, the Nepali people were neither familiar with the jobs in the HCs and nor were they perhaps ready to work with a group of Bhote, who were wrongfully perceived as unclean and therefore untouchable[8]. Also, before exploring other occupational potentials or avenues in Nepal, Tibetans readily accepted the HC jobs. This also meant that jobs at the handicraft centers were not readily available for non-

Tibetans. Today, however, many Tibetans have found it profitable to get involved in individual business endeavors like the "something business." As a result of this, a number of Nepali spinners and weavers are found working at the Tibetan carpet factories in Nepal.

"SOMETHING BUSINESS": PARADOXICAL BUT LUCRATIVE NICHE

Since Tibetans, as non-citizens, do not qualify for jobs in the public sectors in Nepal, their option is to create a job of their own (if they are not working at the cooperative HCs), one of which is entering into business. From the Tibetans' point of view, 'if you can not get a job, create your job' seems to be a logical option. They are involved in several businesses and "something business" is one of them.

"Something business" is the name Tibetans in Pokhara use to denote to the individual and family level businesses involving the buying and selling of Tibetan souvenir items which may include jewelleries, precious stones, small prayer wheels, and similar items, as well as woolen products like carpets, bags, sweaters, and belts. It is a seasonal business dependent on the flow of tourists in the area. Those who can not afford to rent a space for a shop in the Lake Side area or set up a shop in the settlement itself become moving vendors. For the people involved in this

business, more tourists coming into the area could mean a better business while no tourists may mean no trading.

While the HCs provide a centripetal force, the individual and family level "something business" seems to run counter to this force and in fact may be regarded as a force with centrifugal tendency. It starts from a Jhola Byapar (Nep. Jhola=bag, Byapar=business), meaning selling souvenir items out of a bag or a back-pack. Some individual Tibetans lay out their souvenir items on a sheet of cloth by the road-side. Eventually, when these individuals can afford to rent a tanki (Nep. a small shopping space) or a better space for a shop, they establish a more permanent shop by the Lake Side. Within the past five to six years, as a number of Tibetans in Pokhara concur, the "something business" seems to have attracted many business-minded youths from their community.

In Pokhara this business is relatively new but seems to be quite lucrative. Because of the increasing number of youths in it, some Tibetan parents are concerned that this business is taking students away from the schools. However, even the critics of the business among the Tibetans acknowledge that from the economic survival point of view, it may not be a bad option after all. But on the other hand, they are also afraid that the hard working nature (see Gombo 1985 for a discussion of work ethic among Tibetans in Kathmandu) and the honesty and sincerity of the Tibetan

society may start eroding in the hands of the youths involved in this business. Some say that staying in the road and literally chasing the tourists is rather mentally depressing for those who take into this trade. Perhaps this provides an impetus for the Tibetans to rent a 'Tanki' in the Lake Side to set up a fixed shop that not only saves the trouble of having to wander around but also makes it possible to add to the variety of items to be traded. The advantage of the Tanki shops is that they also allow for a barter operation rather than selling and buying for money alone. In other words, a kind of barter trade with which Tibetans are known to feel comfortable seems to have re-emerged and coexists in a pecuniary context.

The "something business" is creating a paradoxical situation for the Tibetan society since certain deceptions are commonly used. Truthfulness is, however, one of the core values supported by their religious faith. Their need to survive economically in exile has challenged it.

Not every one is doing the "something business" with complete mental satisfaction. Some Tibetan youths who do this business seem to have mixed feelings about it. An educated and clever Tibetan youth made a very good point about this business while several of us were discussing as to which occupation was better. He said that every day the something business people (he himself does this), are repeating one and the same old story to the tourists who are

the primary customers. He caricatured very nicely to make his point: "Hello. I am a Tibetan refugee. I am selling my family jewellery and religious possessions (pointing to the bag or the things spread on the ground), because I need money to buy food. Please buy something."

When asked to compare the HC jobs with the "something business," the Tibetan youths emphatically point out that the money you make by working at the HC gives you a feeling of contentment since you worked for it. They say that in something business too you have to work hard but the story you have to tell there is half true and that makes you feel guilty. They mostly concur that it is not an easy job either.

Besides working at the HCs and doing "something business", some individual Tibetans go to India during winter months to sell sweaters. Talking about this aspect of economic pursuit among Tibetans in India, Richardson writes that "the Tibetan flair for trade has created a new and thriving small industry with refugees making or buying up woolen sweaters during the summer and travelling round north India to sell them in cold weather" (Richardson 1984:252-253). Sometime in the beginning of September, 1988, some people from the Tibetan settlements in Pokhara also left for India to take advantage of the winter business (I was told that a few people do this every year). Tibetans say that Indian people tend to buy woolen clothes from

Tibetans rather than from Indian vendors even though both may be selling one and the same thing.

ASSESSING THE ECONOMIC STATUS

When it comes to assessing the economic status of individuals and families, we have to accept the reality of human society in that not every individual is equal to the others in the society. In other words, a real picture would show individuals and families distributed and clustered at various points along the rich-poor continuum. The Tibetan refugee community in Pokhara is no exception despite the fact that they are refugees.

When asked whether Tibetans in Pokhara would qualify as refugees economically, Tibetans themselves seemed to have a mixed opinion. Some aptly pointed out that economic achievement or well-being is a different thing than being a political refugee. A strong argument was that Tibetans do not live in their homeland, they have not been accepted in the Nepali job market (which meant government and semi-government offices), and that they do not own any land or house. Thus, the argument is that Tibetans are refugees and the economic well being of some Tibetan families is misleading. It should be pointed out, however, that the private business sector in Nepal is open to non-Nepali nationals as well. Some Tibetans have been absorbed into

the private business sector like the trekking agencies, hotels and travel agencies.

An educated Tibetan official in Pokhara expresses concern that he lacks roots, by which he is referring to a piece of land and a house in Nepal. Otherwise, he does not feel like a refugee at all. In fact, economically, he thinks that most of the Tibetans are better off than many of the average Nepali family living in the villages. He says that he does not feel a sense of permanency and explains: "Before buying anything, I ask myself whether it is worth buying and whether it can be moved if I have to leave this place tomorrow." He argues that Tibetans do not really exhibit any other characteristics of a refugee group, except that of not being citizens of the countries of their residence. In fact, the time factor (i.e., having been in exile for almost three decades) coupled with their economic adaptation may be why Tibetans do not feel like refugees. But the "stateless status" is in the back of their mind and it has persisted over time.

Many people feel that the average living standard of Tibetan families involved in "something business" may have risen because of the better income. From my own observations while living in the Tibetan refugee settlements in Pokhara, it was clearly visible that the families having a business (something or a shop), were dressed better, living in better homes, and overall, seemed to have a better

standard of living in comparison to those whose income sources were HC jobs like weaving, spinning, and wage earning at the settlement's cooperatives.

Some Tibetan families own motor-cycles, and such home appliances as refrigerators, rice-cookers, fans, etc., which are considered to be signs of economic well being. But then, as the Tibetans rightly point out, since they do not have any immovable assets of their own, in terms of the total asset possession, Tibetans may not be any better off than average Nepali families. To sum up, I will quote an educated Tibetan in Pokhara who one day expressed very nicely to me the difference he sees between himself and a common Nepali man: "A Nepali here has a house and some land about which I can only dream."

Before I move on to discuss the contributions of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, let me mention a startling remark made by a Tibetan refugee living in Nepal. "Tibetan children have no future", remarked a Tibetan official in Pokhara. While he was mainly referring to the "something business" taking away children from schools, we could think of more ways in which his statement is correct. The Tibetan children who go to school and become educated have limited job opportunities. The Dalai Lama's Government and the few Tibetan Schools and HC jobs can not absorb all those who are qualified. The Nepali public sector is legally closed to the Tibetans by virtue of being non-citizens of the country.

This forces Tibetans to underemployment and unemployment unless they can take to self employing jobs like the "something business."

CONTRIBUTIONS OF TIBETANS IN NEPAL

One of the strongest arguments with regard to the positive role of refugees in the economic development of the host economy was made by Keller (1975) in his study of the refugee community in Punjab, India. It is common to hear that refugees are dependent on the host society and donor agencies for their economic survival. Whether this dependency extends beyond the temporary relief is doubtful. Moreover, the material aid received by the refugees is not always substantial. As Keller notes in regard to the refugees in Punjab, "what the refugees received as compensation was, for most, much less than what they had lost, both quantitatively and qualitatively" (Keller 1975:231). This could very well be true for the Tibetan refugees too. What should be noted is that the refugee community may create an economic niche on the basis of the infrastructure laid down with the temporary relief funds and live from it rather than living on the aid alone. In the case of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, international agencies like the Swiss Association for Technical Assistance, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the International Red Cross provided temporary relief to the

community and helped to set up such vital infrastructures as the HCs, schools, health centers, and drinking water supplies[9]. The handicraft centers in the Tibetan refugee settlements today have benefitted local people, the Nepali society and the economy.

In a way, Tibetans in Nepal are subject to discrimination at the economic level, at least in the public job market as I pointed out earlier. However, in spite of this, Tibetans are hardly complaining about it. On the contrary, in trying to earn a living for themselves, they contribute to the host society and economy. We will address to this issue in the discussion below.

Competition for resources in certain spheres have been noted by earlier research works on Tibetans in exile (Goldstein 1978; Gombo 1985). A pertinent question is: Are the Tibetans in exile really taking away resources and jobs from the host populations? The discussion in this chapter and my own observations do not allow us to answer this question in the affirmative. Tibetans are interacting at various levels with the Nepali as well as non-Nepali populations in Pokhara. A Nepali man living close to one of the Tibetan settlements in Pokhara told me one day that in his opinion, Tibetans were making money easily. He explained that Tibetans were making a living even by selling rocks (referring to the precious and semiprecious stones sold by Tibetans to tourists). Whether the living was

coming easily to the Tibetans at no cost has already been discussed in the section on something business. Two questions emerge: are they reaping easy benefits, and more importantly, are they not sharing the benefits with the Nepali hosts?

The refugee settlements in Pokhara, for instance, are occupying strips of land which are not suitable for agricultural activities. But their HCs have been playing vital role in the Nepali economic system. As Gombo notes, the carpet industry "has not only made the refugees contributing members of the host society; it has also made them important foreign exchange earners ..." (Gombo 1985:152).

We can talk of the contributions of the Tibetan refugee community to the Nepali society and economy at individual, societal, and national levels[10]. At the individual level, Nepali girls working as weavers and spinners are learning a new skill from Tibetan carpet masters. At the societal level, the HCs are providing jobs to a large number of young Nepali girls as carpet weavers, thereby ensuring them a regular monthly income. Also, quite a few families living near the settlements earn some extra money by spinning wool for the HCs. At the national level, the carpets earn foreign exchange as one of the major export items from Nepal[11].

Tibetans have introduced a new item into the Nepali market--carpet and other woolen products. The Tibetan souvenir items are also important in the tourist-oriented markets in cities like Kathmandu and Pokhara. The HCs have found favorable market within Nepal too. One could see the mushrooming of shops in cities like Kathmandu and Pokhara with Tibetan carpets and other handicraft items. Some of the HCs are frequented by tourists also making a bargain buy.

Who really benefits from the HCs in the Tibetan settlements? The Tibetan Carpet Trading Company (TCTC), an umbrella organization for the Tibetan handicraft centers in Nepal, could be getting a fair share of the profit from the difference between the price for the carpets it pays the individual HCs and the price it gets from the foreign agencies for the same carpets[12]. As a wholesale dealer of the carpets and the raw materials for the HCs, the TCTC may not be doing badly at all. The HCs are also not doing very badly since they seem to be flourishing. The plight of the individual Tibetans in the settlements is reflected by their preference to "something business" in spite of the apparent paradox involved. The best carpet weaver in Pokhara was making 600-900 Rupees a month in 1988.

Perhaps the HCs are beneficial for all at some level. Although the wages are low, for the individual spinners and weavers in the HCs, their monthly or piece work income of

six or seven hundred rupees is important because it provides a living for those who have no other occupation. Perhaps the low wages may be a vital factor in pushing away the youths from the HCs into the alternative occupation of "something business" which provides them with higher incomes.

As far as the cooperative HCs are concerned, they too may not be really exploiting the individuals. They make some profits but again I found that this sum is spent on the welfare of the community itself. Setting up a cooperative guest house, tea-shop, and the expansion of the HC are some of the ways in which the profits are spent. Carpets are sold by HCs for only Rs. 1500/- per square meter (about U.S. $67 in 1988), which could fetch $200 to $250 in the Western market where most of the customers for these hand-spun carpets are found[13].

QUESTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

From our discussion above, it becomes clear that the HCs may lose Tibetan workers to something business in spite of the antithetical roles of each for maintaining Tibetan culture and harmony in the community. The easy money coming from "something business" seems to compete with HCs. To ensure the success of the HCs, the wage level could be raised and other incentives could be added. This could

prevent the draining away of young workers from the business as well as welfare oriented HCs.

There is a noteworthy question that needs attention. An important piece of research could be carried out to reveal the economics of HCs. Who is really benefitting from the HCs? Individual Tibetans? Settlements? Nepali government? The Tibetan Carpet Trading Company? or the International agencies that place orders and buy the carpets through the Tibetan Carpet Trading Company? An inquiry along these lines would certainly reveal the extent to which the refugee community could contribute to the economy of the host society besides revealing other relevant and interesting facts.

Another interesting thing is that some Tibetans, as I mentioned earlier, have made investments to establish private HCs, or restaurants and shops. Whether these economic investments have altered the desires of Tibetans with regard to going back to Tibet is an interesting question. While some seem to be reluctant to invest in things that are not movable, or which are very difficult to move, others seem to be doing just the opposite. What could cause this contrasting behavior among a people who say they have similar goals of returning to an independent or free Tibet? We will have more on this issue of returning to Tibet in the next chapter.

There is something to which the Nepali government should pay attention. Perhaps it is time that the government should introduce a work-permit system in order to let the non-citizens like the Tibetan refugees get employment in certain sectors of the formal job market. By doing this for the Tibetans, the host society will not only have people who are well qualified but also who are hard working, while the Tibetan individuals and families will benefit from an opportunity to earn their living in a greater variety of ways. This process may also help towards the integration of the Tibetan community into Nepali society.

Finally, there is something which may be useful for the various national and international agencies involved in the relief and resettlement of refugees in different parts of the world. It is true that refugees need help and relief and I think there can be two ways to do this. Let me make my point by using an allegory which I learnt from my elders back home in Pokhara. Suppose you have a new neighbor who has migrated from elsewhere. They have children who need milk every morning. Since you have cows and you get enough milk every morning, you can show your generosity by providing milk for the children every morning. You are certainly helping the neighbor but at the same time you are making him dependent on you. There is a second way to help. Make arrangements for your neighbor to get a cow for himself

and teach him how to look after it and how to milk it. This will help the neighbor stand on his own feet and in time he may do better. I see the establishment of the HCs for the Tibetan refugees by the Dalai Lama's Government with the help of various international agencies as the second form of help. From the Tibetan case, the agencies involved in the resettlement of refugees and dislocated people may find it useful to consider similar long term solutions to the economic problems.

The change in occupations have been drastic for Tibetans in exile. However, the fact that Tibetans are organized around the handicraft centers--working and living together--is positively reinforcing Tibetan peoples' desire to maintain Tibetan culture and traditions. Thus, despite a more fluid economic boundary, Tibetans have been able to maintain their distinctiveness vis-a-vis the non-Tibetans in exile.

NOTES

1. Lhundrup said that there was an area where they used to go to collect rock salt. From his description it sounded like the area was open to every one from his village. All they needed was working hands and animals to transport the salt to the village.

2. Ekvall (1968:20-30) provides a nice discussion on Drogpa and the sub-categories within the group. As the Tibetans would put it, most of them share a Drogpa background. From Ekvall's description of the population in Tibet that "owned fields on the hoof", are pastoral nomads, and their non-sedentary way of life is because of the ecological factors and the mobile nature of their fields which are the animals.

3. The figures on the children is derived from the relationship category of the household census. It includes the sons and daughters of the household heads.

4. All those practicing nomadic pastoralism from among the Genealogical population live in Tibet. Handicraft includes weavers, spinners, dyers, carpet trimmers, as well as carpet design masters. Business includes having a shop in the settlement or Lake Side, doing something business on a regular basis and running a tea-shop or a restaurant. Most of these people are self employed. Skilled jobs or service includes clerical and administrative jobs at the settlement, teaching at schools, and medical practitioners.

5. There are about forty settlements with handicraft centers as the main work place for Tibetan refugees in Nepal and India (see IOHHDL 1981). Today there are handicraft centers owned by individuals too (see Gombo 1985).

6. Weavers make Rs. 600 to 900 per month depending on their skill and the design of the particular piece of carpet they get to work on. Gombo (1985:157 Note # 16) reports that carpet weavers could earn about Rs. 330 a month in Kathmandu during his field research period. Perhaps the wages have gone up substantially in the past four to five years. Tibetan spinners get Rs. 25 per kilogram of wool they spin which involves cleaning the raw wool, combing it and finally making yarn out of it. It is Rs. 20 per Kg. for Nepali spinners. In spite of the difference, a number of Nepali families living close to the settlements are registered as regular spinners.

7. Gombo (1985) points out that in Kathmandu the individual Tibetans owning carpet factories employed mostly Sherpa, Tamang and low-caste Hindus. He notes on the basis of information given to him by one of his Tibetan informant that high-caste Hindus do not work for the carpet factories since they regard weaving as a polluting occupation (see Gombo 1985:152 and Note # 20). In Pokhara, I observed Nepali spinners and weavers coming from high caste Hindu backgrounds too.

8. Bhote were treated as untouchable and unclean by Nepali high caste people. In spite of the legal changes to stop the practice of untouchability, we cannot claim that this practice has vanished from the Nepali society altogether. It is a deep rooted practice and will therefore take some time to be corrected.

9. Now that most of the international organizations have virtually stopped giving economic aid, Tibetans have been able to attract individual donors. Still some are giving aid like the Danish Volunteer Organization, and the Snow Lions Foundation. Individual Tibetan families have been successful in securing western Jhintags (sponsors) for their children attending schools in India or Nepal.

10. This reminds me of the Tibetan community's response to a particular disaster in Nepal. An earthquake measuring 6.6 on a rector scale (as reported by the Radio Nepal), hit parts of Nepal on August 21, 1988 (there were other disasters also during the year). Individuals and agencies were contributing to the relief of the natural disaster. In September 1988, Tashi Ling Tibetan refugee settlement contributed over Rs. 7,000 towards helping the earthquake victims in Nepal.

11. About 15% of the total foreign exchange earning is attributed to carpet exports in the recent years. It is certainly becoming one of the major export items from Nepal.

12. The Tibetan Carpet Trading Company Private Ltd, Nepal established in 1966 buys carpets from the cooperative HCs. It is said to be very particular about standard. The TCTC handles most of the export of carpets produced in the cooperatives.

13. The HCs in Nepal in general and those in Pokhara in particular are believed to have maintained a fairly high standard of carpet weaving (see Field Notes). The carpets are ordered by foreign businessmen who specify the designs and the color combinations. Those with dragons seem to fetch a good price.

CHAPTER VII

ORIENTATION OF TIBETAN REFUGEES IN POKHARA: TIBET OR NEPAL?

Most of the Tibetan refugees in Pokhara have either been away from Tibet for about thirty years or have never been to Tibet. While the majority would say they would like to go back to Tibet, investments in building big monasteries, business, and acquiring citizenship in the countries of their residence indicate otherwise. Identifying the place, society or culture of orientation is one way of dealing with the issue of adaptation of a refugee as well as an immigrant population. The observed persistence or change in a refugee population's behaviors and practices could be greatly influenced by their orientations. It is therefore worthwhile to examine the orientation of Tibetan refugees in exile.

Orientation as a concept used in the present chapter simply means the direction in which the Tibetans are looking. Thus, Tibet oriented Tibetans are those who look towards Tibet and Tibetan culture as their point of reference. Nepal oriented refugees, on the other hand, are those who look towards Nepal, the Nepali culture and society as their point of reference. Theoretically, it is possible to have Tibetans who are largely Tibet or Nepal oriented as well as those who may fall somewhere in between.

Before proceeding further I would like to draw attention to the fact that what people say or think they ought to do is not what they necessarily do in actual practice. When we are considering the cultural norms and values of a society and the actual behaviors and practices of the people therein, such an approach could lead us to important observations. For instance, if the difference between the two is minimal, it may indicate a persistence rather than change in the culture of the society in question. Within the same population there may be people who show a marked difference while others show less difference between what they say they should do and what they really do. In our discussion in this chapter we will see that some Tibetan youths may differ from the older generation of Tibetans in terms of the normative pattern they invoke versus what they do.

A basic question to be addressed in the present chapter is whether some one wants to return to Tibet, identifies oneself as a Tibetan, and shows commitments to maintain Tibetanness by way of behaviors and practices. For an analytical purpose we may distinguish between a geo-political orientation and a socio-cultural orientation. The issue of citizenship, of returning to Tibet and allegiance to the government in exile, and a commitment for the cause of Tibet may be regarded as falling under the geo-political aspects. The general questions on religion, language,

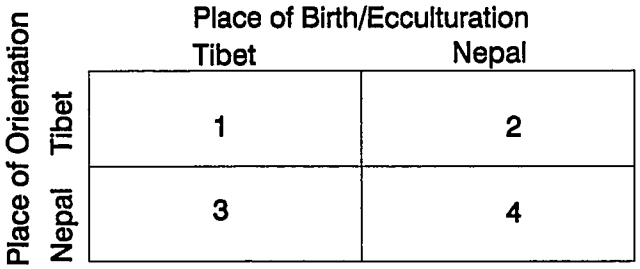
ethnic identity, and culture in general may be regarded as related to the socio-cultural aspect.

At the level of behaviors and practices, the orientation of Tibetans in Nepal can be discussed on the basis of their: 1) desire to return to Tibet; 2) the issue of citizenship; 3) commitments to Tibetan traditions; 4) economic investments in Nepal; and 5) preference for exogamy or endogamy. In each of these aspects, Tibet looking refugees will be different than Nepal looking refugees. Tibet oriented Tibetans in general may have: a strong desire to return to their homeland some day; strong commitments to their cultural traditions, norms and values; matrimonial relations within the Tibetan community; social interactions maintained mostly within the community; not acquired or do not desire to acquire Nepali citizenship; and no major investments in Nepal of immovable properties, like buying land or constructing a house. The Nepal oriented, on the other hand, may exhibit characteristics opposite to the ones listed above.

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

On the basis of the conceptual model presented in Figure 7.1, I would like to distinguish four different groups of people in terms of their orientation vis-a-vis the place of birth and enculturation.

Figure 7.1: Place of Birth and Orientation Matrix: A Conceptual Model



People in group 1 tend to: keep a strong desire to go back to their country; take adjustments in exile as a make-shift arrangement; be less responsive to drastic changes; oppose assimilation; limit interactions to the group as far as possible; disapprove the practice of community or religious exogamy; and have a strong commitment towards Tibet's cause.

The people in box 2 are similar to those in 1 in respect to their orientations and by extension, also in some other features. However, since they were born in exile in contrast to those in 1, they may be differ in some respects. Their interactions at social, cultural or economic levels could be more diverse; they could be better educated, and may have a wider world view. Their commitment toward Tibet may be characterized by a sense of nationhood or nationality which is a manifestation of their education and political socialization in exile. Independence, or Rangzen[1], has a deeper meaning for them than those in 1, whose orientation may be influenced more by the nostalgic feelings about the

society and place they left behind. Group 1 wants to go back to Tibet mainly because that is their home and that is where they came from, whereas group 2 wants to take the risk of moving to a place to which they have developed emotional links but have yet to see it. In spite of their being born and brought up in Nepal, they value Tibet, Tibetanness, and Tibetan culture.

In contrast to the above two groups we have groups 3 and 4 who are oriented toward Nepal and Nepali culture and society. Group 4 in particular are those who were born and brought up in Nepal and therefore their orientation is to where they have lived. They may have been exposed to Tibetan culture in the community or settlements and the host society's culture outside the settlement. Culturally these people are unique, having acquired two cultures at the same time. However, it is possible that these people tend to be oriented towards the culture of their own community but at the same time are more open. In the case of the place of orientation, they may not lean towards Tibet since they have not seen it and know only from the secondary sources (i.e., by listening to their elders in exile or by reading the published accounts of Tibet). Having been born and brought up in Nepal, they may regard Nepal as their home, and the Nepali socio-cultural and economic system as a milieu to which they belong.

The people in 3 are again similar to those in 4. However, these are people who were born in Tibet and may have, in most cases (but not necessarily) come to Nepal as children. These people may not return since they regard Nepal as their home, and Nepali culture and society as a broader system to which they belong. It is also possible that these people have: acquired Nepali citizenship, made investments in business, and established socio-economic relations. Life in Nepal could be more appealing to them than the one they had seen or experienced back home. Another main reason why these people do not intend to return could be because they do not want to undergo the trouble of moving and making adjustments yet again.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

What makes a Tibetan distinct from a non-Tibetan? Ekvall dealt with a similar question thirty years ago (see Ekvall 1960) in his discussion of self image among Tibetans. According to him, the main criteria used by Tibetans in defining self image were: 1) Religion: CHos Lugs gCig, 2) Folkways: KHa Lugs gCig, 3) Language: sKad Lugs gCig, 4) Race: Mi Rigs gCig, and 5) Land: Sa CHa gCig[2]. Ekvall saw a hierarchy in the importance and sharpness of these as markers. He argued that religion was the most important while race and land were of less importance. For the Tibetans in exile today, this hierarchy suggested by Ekvall

may not hold true but the criteria as such are still relevant and are equally important. Today, there are other things like the institution of the Dalai Lama, and the status of being a Tibetan refugee, which are also important in defining Tibetan identity in exile.

Religion certainly can be taken as an important marker for looking at the orientation of Tibetans. Table 7.1 presents a distribution of Tibetan respondents in Pokhara by cohorts on their views toward and practices of monastic traditions. It presents answers to three basic questions: What do they say they should do? What are they observed to do? and What do they say they will do?

Table 7.1

Distribution of Respondents by Cohorts on Their Views to Maintain the Tradition of Monkhood

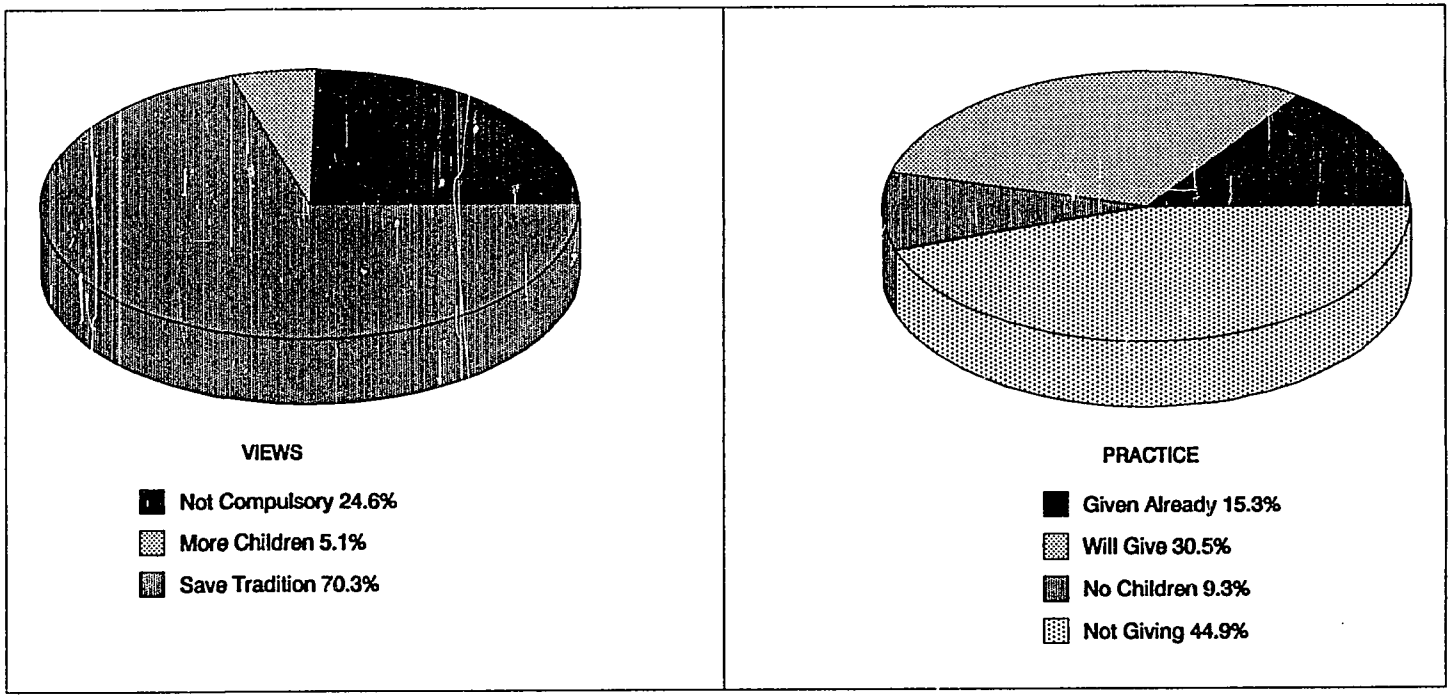
Period of Birth	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	Total	Percent of Total
Should Families Give One Child to Monastery?								
Yes	14	34	39	24	50	17	178	75.4
No	6	10	13	15	10	4	58	24.6
If Yes, For What Reasons?								
Save Tradition	11	31	34	24	49	17	166	93.3
More Children	3	3	5	-	1	-	12	6.7
Have You Given or Plan to Give One?								
Yes	7	15	22	14	36	14	108	45.8
No	13	29	30	25	24	7	128	54.2

Note: In the middle panel, "save tradition" means a desire to continue or save the monastic and religious tradition; "more children" means that one should give a child to the monastery only if a couple has three or more sons or daughters.

Surprisingly, it is seen that the older generation of Tibetans (those born in the 1930s and earlier) say that families should give a child to the monastery only when a family has more children. These people possibly reflect what was the general practice in pre-1959 Tibet. Saving a tradition was not an issue then as it is today in exile. Giving a son or a daughter to the monastery was certainly common but only families that had 'extra' children were doing so. The exceptions, perhaps, were the families in which Tulkus or incarnations were discovered. In general, we see a greater proportion (75.4%) saying that the monastic tradition should be saved. In practice, however, only 45.8% have done what they say the Tibetan families should do.

Tibetans may not be orthodox, but they certainly could be characterized as one of the very religion-oriented people. The presence of a monastery, whether it be big or small in a Tibetan settlement, and a prayer altar in the majority of the Tibetan households is suggestive of the importance attached to religion and religiosity by the Tibetans. If one went a step further down to the individual level, it is common at least among the elderly Tibetans to carry a rosary and to turn a prayer wheel in their hands. Every evening people could be seen visiting the settlement monastery with mini prayer wheels or rosary in their hands while murmuring "Om Mani Padme Hum." It was also common to see people prostrating around the Chhorten or in the Gomba.

Figure 7.2: Monastic Tradition: Views and Practice Among Tibetans



I have reasons to believe that the faith in religion and the religiosity of the Tibetans is unquestionably strong. Even those who renounced the vow of celibacy were seen prostrating, turning prayer wheels, and visiting the monasteries as often as they could. While this is an example of the practice of religion among Tibetans in Nepal, the information presented in Figure 7.2 gives a different impression.

Figure 7.2 shows a clear contrast between the perceived ideal and the real practice of Tibetans in relation to monastic tradition which certainly, as Tibetans would agree, is a primary marker of Tibetanness. 70.3% of the Tibetans state that each family should continue to give one of their children to the monastery. This is essential in their view to save their religious tradition. In practice, on the other hand, 54.2% of the respondents stated that they do not intend to give their own children to the monastery. While 9.3% say 'No' since they do not have children to be given, 44.9% are simply not prepared to give their children to the monastic life. Only 15.3% have given their children to the monastery while another 30.5% intend to give one in the future. From my own observation, I have the impression that the importance of the monastic institution and religion is not attenuating so much among Tibetans in exile. To the contrary, as I noted above, religious beliefs are very strong and so is religiosity. The founding of monasteries

in exile is precisely an example of how important the monastic institution is (see Chhetri 1987; Gombo 1985). Some changes seem to be underway. People already think that not every one admitted into the monastery can continue to practice the religious vows all his/her life. Learning is emphasized rather than being in the monastery which is perhaps reflected in the difference seen between views and practice (see Figure 7.2).

Since Tibetans have been living amidst a different culture than their own for thirty years now, it is normal for them to undergo some changes in their traditional culture. Saklani (1984), in her study of Tibetans in India points out that the older generation of Tibetan refugees are worried that "the Tibetan youth will be completely weaned away from their national culture" (Saklani 1984:328) if the influence of the western culture through education and other means (music, cinema or movies, etc.) continues on the Tibetan youth. However, speculations like this are still debatable. There seems to be a conscious effort among Tibetans in Pokhara and elsewhere to perpetuate the practice of Tibetan culture, religion, and language. Tibetan youths in exile, for instance, have come up with the Tibetan Youth Congress[3], the Tibetan Women's Society, and the Tibetan Drama and Theater Society. A research on Tibetan youths in India reveals that "they are attempting to rescue the possibility of an ongoing cultural heritage by elaborating,

refashioning, and creating new meaning out of the dialectical interaction of their past and present ideologies and experiences" (Nowak 1984:2).

It is true that Tibetan youths, like their counterparts in South Asian societies are, in certain ways, oriented towards the west. They have a preference for English movies and some tend to think erroneously that proficiency in English makes one more educated and knowledgeable. However, as I have noted, Tibetans in general have made considerable attempts to transmit their language, religion, and material culture as well as other aspects of the traditional Tibetan culture. The schools and monasteries teach three different languages and scripts to the students, viz., Tibetan, Nepali and English. I was impressed by the proficiency level of Tibetan youths in all three languages. On several occasions I noticed that the Tibetan youths in their conversations among themselves or in a discussion, may be mostly talking in Tibetan language, but to make their points, often quote sayings in Nepali or English without translating[4].

The Tibetans' intentions to perpetuate and transmit their culture to the descending generation of Tibetans in exile is reflected also in the type of education and the schools they prefer for their children. About 80% of the Tibetan parents in Pokhara want to send their children to a Tibetan school in Nepal or India. The reasons for the preference are that they want their children to be able to

read and write Tibetan, get some education on Tibetan culture and history. A western educated Tibetan working in Pokhara among the Tibetan refugee community concurs with this general feeling among his people and adds that such an education "will enable our children to have a good understanding of the world situation which we lacked before." Later when the children grow up, children may choose to study whatever they like. In general it is thought that a Tibetan, whether he/she be a doctor, engineer, accountant, teacher, or a social scientist, should have some basic education and understanding of Tibetan language, culture, religion and history.

Table 7.2

Respondents' Preference of the Type of Education for their Sons and Daughters

Type of Education	Percent Distributions For Sons	For Daughters
Tibetan	7.2	6.4
Three Languages	28.0	35.2
Technical	19.5	32.6
Modern*	10.5	-
Religious	13.6	-
Handicraft	-	3.4
No Preference	21.2	22.5
Total (N=236)	100.0	100.0

Notes: No preference is stated because some do not have either sons or daughters to educate and therefore, did not want to state their preferences. Others have grown up children or do not have children who have to be educated. Most of the respondents having no preference are from the older generation of Tibetans.
* This is commonly referred to the college and university level education in the social sciences and humanities.

Some interesting points emerge from Table 7.2. In spite of the non-discrimination in education for children of both sexes, parents do not seem to think that religious and modern education are appropriate for their daughters. Many Tibetans feel that either the job of a nurse or that of a teacher are best suited to a Tibetan educated female. Another interesting point is that there is a strong emphasis on the need for children to learn three languages, viz., Tibetan, Nepali and English[5].

A sense of belonging is somehow not a problem for Tibetan youths. Although they are growing in a multicultural environment, and learning at least three languages, they are not necessarily required to be up to the expectations of all of the cultures. It is of course true that the transmission of culture is dependent to a great extent on whether the new generation is exposed to all the traditional aspects of a culture or not; whether the mode of learning is direct (seeing, practicing) or indirect (reading and listening).

There is a gap already visible between the older generation and the younger generation of Tibetans in certain aspects. The older generation, for instance, did not have schooling. For those who have had opportunities for education, it may have been a religious education either in the monasteries or with a Guru. The education was characterized by learning one particular point of view about

the world and society. In exile, the youths have grown up with constant contacts with a Tibetan way of life at home and in the settlement and with other ways of life outside their home and settlement. Their contacts with people from different cultures, religion, language, political convictions, economic way of life, and so on have certainly given them a different outlook or viewpoint on the human society. Their world view is certainly different than the one held by the older generation for whom the economy consisted of nomadic herding, agropastoralism, transhumance and long-distance trading (barter); the political system may have hardly mattered and they held unquestioned loyalty to religious cannons and the institutions of the Dalai Lama and the monasteries; language for them was Tibetan or its dialects. In exile today things are markedly different.

DESIRES TO RETURN TO TIBET

I asked a question to some Tibetan youths: Can you marry a Nepali? A few of them thought that it was not a good idea since there was a difference between the two people in terms of culture, language, food habits, etc[6]. Some others had a different answer: "Yes, we can. There are some Tibetans who have already done this. If the boy and the girl are happy, they can marry." Marriage of a Tibetan to a Nepali could be a step toward acquiring Nepali citizenship. But, as we know from the cases of aborted

exogamy discussed in chapter five, not every Tibetan family is interested in Tibetan exogamy. It is, of course, perceived as a way of acquiring citizenship as well as ensuring one to legally own land and other immovable property in Nepal.

I often asked the same question in my conversations with the youths and educated Tibetans in Pokhara: Do you think you will go back to Tibet? Most of the time the reaction used to be: "Why not?" They all concur and say: "We all want to go back to Tibet because after all it is our own country." When we move further in our discussion and start talking about the physical and socio-cultural adjustments people will have to make upon returning to Tibet, most of the youths admit that they really do not know what their parental villages are like. They are also not sure if they will like the place or not and they generally end up saying: "Well, it is hard to leave the place where you were born and brought up unless you are forced to do so." When people are faced with a situation wherein one has to choose between staying and repatriation, it is hard to say what every one will do. Some may decide to go back while others may decide against moving once again, i.e., they may prefer to stay where they now are.

Tibetans have consistently stated a desire tc return to a free Tibet. More recently, there has been a renewed discussion on the possibility of returning home after the

Dalai Lama put forth some conditions popularly known as the five point proposal. The proposal was made by the Dalai Lama while addressing the U.S. congressional human rights caucus in Washington, DC, on 21 September 1987. This was the first political statement made by His Holiness outside India since his exile in 1959. The five basic components of the proposal are:

> 1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace; 2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people; 3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms; 4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste; 5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples" (Dalai Lama 1987:5).

The question is: If China accepted the five point proposal of the Dalai Lama, and if the Dalai Lama and his government in exile decided that it was time for the Tibetans in exile to return to Tibet, two questions arise, viz., 1) Will all the Tibetans go back to Tibet? 2) If not, who may stay behind? Table 7.3 shows Tibetans' desires and conditions for returning to Tibet, and their future plans.

As we can see from Table 7.3, a majority of the respondents report that they want to return to Tibet some day. When confronted with a question of repatriation, a majority of the Tibetans assert that their primary objective ever since they came to exile has been to get their country

Table 7.3

Desire to Return, Conditions for Returning, and Future Plans of Tibetans in Pokhara

	Numbers	Percentage
Desire to Return to Tibet		
Yes	229	97.0
No	4	1.7
Not Sure	3	1.3
Total	236	100.0
Conditions for Returning		
Complete Autonomy	157	68.5
Five Point Proposal Accepted by China	11	4.8
Other Conditions	58	25.3
Not Sure	3	1.3
Total	229	100.0
Future Plans		
Wait and Go Back	189	81.4
Fight for Freedom	18	7.8
Not Specific	25	10.8
Total	232	100.0

Notes: Other conditions under conditions for returning include responses like religious freedom, get the lost property back, Chinese leave Tibet including the Hans settled in various parts of Tibet. Not specific under future plans include responses like a desire to remain a Tibetan, obtaining a Tibetan citizenship, or remaining the same way they are today.

back from the Chinese so that every Tibetan can return to a free Tibet. Of those who are not sure (1.3%) and those who do not want to go back (1.7%) to Tibet, some have a business in Nepal while others are married to a Nepali. While the percentage of those who do not want or are not sure they want to return is low, it nonetheless tells us about an important trend. A few Tibetans doubt if they would go back and settle in Tibet when the Dalai Lama calls for a repatriation. However, "even though most of the Tibetans now realize it is not likely they will return to Tibet in their lives, the overall attitudes of the people is positive" (Goldstein 1975:168).

Those who stated that they want to return to Tibet some day gave several conditions which would be necessary preconditions for their return. The majority (68.5%) stated that they would return only if complete autonomy is granted to the Tibetan people. The five point proposal of the Dalai Lama is new to many. Not every educated youth seems to be in complete support of this proposal (e.g., see Wangyal 1988). Very few people think that it is a right decision on the part of their leader to make such a proposal. Some other youths justify the proposal by saying that "His Holiness the Dalai Lama emphasizes the welfare of the people today and tomorrow. So we have to accept it."

The majority of the Tibetans (81.4%) do not seem to have any existing future plans. The elderly and those who

are uneducated and therefore unfamiliar with the political processes seem to hold that their spiritual and religio-political leader the Dalai Lama will eventually convince the Chinese to return Tibet to the Tibetans. In view of the immense faith they have in the institution of the Dalai Lama and the stated concerns of their leader towards the welfare and happiness of the Tibetans inside and outside Tibet, such a loyal dependency on the Dalai Lama and the government in exile is understandable[7].

Youths and educated Tibetans do revere the leadership of the Dalai Lama but hold a different perspective on the issue of free Tibet. A few of the educated people and those who have had the experience of taking part in the confrontations with the Chinese soldiers up until the early 1970s think that the Tibetans themselves have to fight to get freedom. I often asked a question: Do you think Tibetans will get freedom from China? One well educated Tibetan told me one afternoon that "Tibetans inside as well as outside Tibet want Rangzen. However, there is no one who can make the Chinese give us our freedom". This implied that Tibetans have to get their freedom by themselves with little dependence on other countries in the world. Moral support from people all over the world is perceived to be a big help.

There is a strong community orientation among many youths and educated Tibetans. In Pokhara, the educated

Tibetans feel that they should be dedicated to work for the Dalai Lama's Government in exile, or in other words, serve the Tibetan community. Some of them feel that it is their responsibility to tell the uneducated Tibetans the real meaning of free Tibet, of Tibetanness, and the consequences of relinquishing Tibetan status by acquiring citizenship in the host countries. A somewhat similar orientation among educated Tibetans is reported in a recent study of Tibetans in Kathmandu. Talking about a young Tibetan woman with an M.A. in education and teaching at a Tibetan school in Kathmandu, Forbes writes: "Yeshi feels strongly that Tibetans, particularly those who are educated, should work for the government-in-exile" (Forbes 1989:118). I myself have talked to several educated Tibetans in Pokhara who also feel the same way[8].

While what people say they ought to do is clear, the actual practice is more complex to understand. A few have acquired citizenship in Nepal. While a few others may be interested in acquiring it, the majority prefer to remain Tibetan refugees. There have been political and economic benefits associated with being or not being a refugee for the Tibetans. About fifteen years ago, Corlin wrote on the Tibetan refugees in Rasuwa, Nepal that "their refugee status gives them rights to enjoy aid from the U.N. ... Moreover, it means greater possibilities of putting diplomatic pressure on the international organization against China"

(Corlin 1975:141). While in the early 1970s, Corlin could see political and economic advantages in non-acceptance of citizenship by Tibetans in Nepal, today there are arguments to the contrary among Tibetans in Nepal. That is, some people have been feeling that the economic and other advantages of acquiring Nepali citizenship outweigh those of remaining a Tibetan refugee in Nepal. Non-acceptance of citizenship of the host country of course tells about the allegiance of the Tibetans to the spiritual as well as the political leadership of the Dalai Lama. The question today is whether Tibetans want to maintain Tibetan status and with it a refugee status, or to be citizens in the host countries?

Let me illustrate with two examples, one suggesting that Tibetans may stay and turn into 'Nepali Tibetans' like the 'Canadian Tibetans' (see Dargyay 1988:121), while the other indicates that not every Tibetan is ready to trade his Tibetan refugee identity for the citizenship certificates of the host country. The first one is related to the construction of a monastery in Tashi Palkhiel, Pokhara[9]. There is already a two storey monastery building in this settlement. It is said that this monastery project has an estimated cost of ten million rupees for construction (about $ 400 thousand). Once completed this four storey building is going to be the largest Gomba in Pokhara valley. Some people proudly pointed out that it will also have flower

gardens on the upper floors. What is interesting though is that some educated Tibetans cannot stop being critical of such a huge expense on the construction of a monastery in a refugee settlement. A very observant and well educated Tibetan pointed out to me one day: "If Tibetan were given the freedom proposed by His Holiness ... and we say o.k. let us go back, I am sure 75% of the Tibetans would want to go back. In that case, what is the use of this huge Gomba?[10]" He further expressed his doubts that all the monks from this monastery were thinking about going back.

The second case is that of a young educated Tibetan who has been working in Pokhara for several years now. In the summer of 1988, he told me that he may have to leave Pokhara soon. When I asked for the reason, he said that his girl friend who, just finished her masters degree in education from India may not find a job in Nepal. He also told me that they were planning to get married soon. Since he does not want to take Nepali citizenship and also does not want his girl friend to become Nepali, he mentioned that he may have to move from Pokhara to live with his family in India in spite of his intentions to work for the Tibetan refugee community in Nepal.

In reality, many Tibetans in exile are perhaps caught in a dilemma which I think can be best described by a Nepali saying which depicts the predicament of a hunter who happened to kill an ape at the end of the day which he could

neither eat nor just abandon. The Nepali saying goes: "Na Khaaun Bhane Dinbhari Ko Sikar, Khaaun Bhane Kanchha Babuko Anuhaar." Literally, it means: "If I do not eat, this is all I have hunted throughout the day. But, on the other hand, how do I eat it since it looks like my uncle?"

The stated policy of the Dalai Lama's government in exile, to which most of the Tibetans have an undivided allegiance, is to discourage the acceptance of citizenship of the host countries by the Tibetans. The socio-economic exigencies, on the other hand, perhaps force the Tibetans to go against their own will as well as the policy of their leaders. Maintaining a dual identity is perhaps a strategy adopted by people who are discriminated against or perceive themselves to have been in a disadvantageous position. Depending on the situation at hand, they may switch from one to the other identity label. In Nepal the Tibetan refugees may find it advantageous to be 'Tibetan refugees,' 'Tibetans,' or 'Nepali but culturally Tibetan,' depending on the situation. Talking about a Tibetan entrepreneur in Kathmandu, Forbes writes: "Pu is shrewd. For legal purposes, he has declared himself a pure Sherpa and has claimed Nepalese citizenship, enabling him to export goods, own land, and travel abroad. To the German carpet importers, he says he is Tibetan because that helps to sell carpets" (Forbes 1989:70). Forbes also reports about another family whose members have acquired Nepali

citizenship "to obtain export permits, an international passport and the right to own land..." (Forbes 1989:71).

Whether those Tibetans who are oriented towards Tibet are so because they want to return because they are not well adapted in exile in contrast to those who are oriented towards Nepal, and want to stay in Nepal because they are well adapted there is difficult to say. From my formal and informal talks with educated Tibetan youths, I know that there are some who are not ready to accept Nepali citizenship while there are others who are seeking avenues to do so. Some less educated Tibetans and those in business have managed to get Nepali citizenship certificates. The well educated Tibetans could also acquire citizenship in Nepal if they really desired it. Perhaps their commitments towards Tibetan rangzen inhibits them from doing so.

PREFERENCE FOR SETTLEMENT: AN OPTION

Most of the first generation or the older Tibetan refugees have been in Pokhara for about three decades by now. Among the youths, many were born and brought up in Pokhara while others have been living there long enough to develop emotional attachments with the place. Given this, it is deemed worthwhile to consider the preference of a place where Tibetans in Pokhara would want to settle permanently in case their dreams about returning to Tibet does not come true. The answer to this question will let us

examine the options Tibetans have in their mind for their future settlement. Table 7.4 presents the distribution of respondents by the place of their choice for permanent settlement and the reasons for selecting Pokhara.

Table 7.4

Preference of a Place for Settlement and Reasons for Choosing Pokhara

	Number	Percentage
Preferred Places		
Pokhara	211	89.4
Kathmandu	4	1.7
India	6	2.5
Other	15	6.4
Total	236	100.0
Reasons for Choosing Pokhara		
Settled Already	126	59.7
Peaceful Atmosphere	16	7.6
Nepal is Second Home	37	17.5
Other	32	15.2
Total	211	100.0

From Table 7.4, we learn that in regard to the preference for a place for permanent settlement, a majority (89.4%) would like to remain where they are. Only a minority of the Tibetans in Pokhara would like to move to Kathmandu (1.7%), India (2.5%), or other places (6.4%) which includes western countries. Those who prefer Kathmandu do so because of the presence of their relatives as well as a perception that the economic opportunities could be better in the capital city. Those who prefer to live in India are in fact more interested in moving to Dharmasala where they

can be closer to their leader the Dalai Lama. Some of the Tibetan refugee families have relatives living in the western countries like the U.S., Switzerland and Germany. Thus, there are some Tibetans in Pokhara who desire to go to the west while a couple of others think that a Buddhist country like Japan would be a nice place to live. The reasons stated by those who prefer to live in Pokhara permanently are presented in the lower panel of Table 7.4. As we can see, the majority (59.7%) want to stay just because they are settled there. Many people still remember the difficulties they have had during flight and initial years of resettlement and are not ready to undergo yet another cycle of movement and resettlement unless it meant going back to their own villages in Tibet. Some of the Tibetans like Pokhara because in their view it has a peaceful atmosphere (7.6%), while some others consider Nepal as their second home (17.5%). The remaining people (15.2%) stated that they would choose Pokhara for their permanent settlement because of the presence of relatives, the host Nepali are nice to them and that they find the climate to be nice.

Life certainly has not been without problems for the majority of the Tibetan refugees. Problems may have been more acute in the initial years of their flight and resettlement, but people can still think of some problems.

Table 7.5 present the stated problems and the things Tibetans have enjoyed in Pokhara.

Table 7.5

Things Perceived Difficult and Enjoyed in Nepal by the Tibetans

	Number	Percentage
Difficulties in Nepal		
Financial	29	12.3
No Job Opportunity	50	21.2
Health Related	12	5.1
Language	12	5.1
Restricted Movement	19	8.1
Landlessness	5	2.1
Discriminations	19	8.1
None	88	37.3
Total	236	100.0
Things Enjoyed in Nepal		
Good Scenery	79	33.5
Peaceful Place	84	35.6
Friendly People	47	19.9
Other	26	11.0
Total	236	100.0

Notes: The category other under things enjoyed in Nepal include transportation and communication facilities, schools for children, opportunities for business, relatives living in the same settlement, closer from Dharmasala where the Dalai Lama lives as well as from Tibet which is their homeland.

While more than 90% of the Tibetans in Pokhara stated that they would choose Pokhara for their permanent settlement, a minority (37.3%) only can not think of any problems in Nepal. With the exceptions of the difficulties of language (5.1%), and health related (5.1%) problems, most other problems are related to the discriminations Tibetans have had to face because of their not being citizens of

Nepal. While the government in Nepal may not be ready to let non-citizens make investments in immovable assets like land, I see no reason why things can not be made better for Tibetans in other respects. Tibetans point out that the Nepali host populations among whom they are living are friendly towards them, while the place and society in general is peaceful (55.5% combined together). As we can see, among the difficulties, financial, lack of job opportunities, restricted movement (because of being refugees), landlessness and other kinds of discrimination together account for 51.8% of the difficulties faced by the Tibetan refugees in Nepal. From our discussion on citizenship, we learn that similar problems were responsible for causing some Tibetan families to acquire Nepali citizenship. Unless measures are taken to solve these difficulties of the Tibetan refugees in Nepal, most of the Tibetans may end up taking Nepali citizenship for legal purpose and to avoid the above mentioned difficulties. Once they become naturalized citizen of Nepal, whether they will relinquish Nepali citizenship and return to Tibet is an open question. Also, expecting them to maintain their commitment towards the cause of a free Tibet is out of question since they would no longer be Tibetan refugees on legal grounds.

NOTES

1. The term Rangzen is the result of combining two Tibetan words, rang meaning self and btsan (pronounced zen) meaning power. Thus it is supposed to connote freedom, independence, and similar meanings. Rangzen is a newly coined term and in this connection Nowak points out that up until the 1950s, there were "no standard Tibetan words for such modern political concepts as independence, socialism, capitalism, ..." (See Nowak 1984:32).

2. For a detailed discussion of these markers and what they meant in the Tibetan socio-cultural context, the reader should refer Ekvall's paper on Tibetan self image. The Tibetan equivalent terms for these criteria have a wide range of meanings which are clearly noted in the paper.

3. Tibetan Youth Congress was established in 1970. It publishes a journal called Rangzen which means freedom. Besides disseminating news on events pertinent to the Tibetan community, the journal features articles and information aimed at provoking thoughts and interests among Tibetans on the issues relevant to the Tibetan refugees.

4. At the college and university level students are allowed to write their exams and theses either in Nepali or in English. One day while talking to Tharchin, a Tibetan youth who was going to college in Pokhara told me that he wrote his exams in Nepali. Then I asked him why he did not write in English since neither Nepali nor English was his mother tongue. He explained to me that because he grew up speaking Nepali with people around him and that the college professors taught in Nepali also, he finds it much easier to express his thoughts in Nepali than in English.

5. Tibetan language is essential to learn about the traditions of Tibetans. Nepali language is thought to be necessary to interact with the Nepali hosts in their day to day life. English is needed in order to do business with the tourists who form the majority of the clients of Tibetan handicraft and souvenir business.

6. A Tibetan man married to a Sherpa justifies his exogamous union by emphasizing the similarity of religion, language, dress, food habits, etc., between the Tibetans and the culturally Tibetan Sherpas of Nepal. His Sherpa wife fully agrees with what her husband says in this regard.

7. A lay Tibetan's faith in the Lama and the Buddhist religion can be understood in a statement Norbu quotes as stated by his Khampa brother-in-law:

> If you have a profound belief in your lama, and wear his relic to protect yourself against weapons, you will never be injured, even when the bullets hit your heart. They will bounce back (Norbu 1987:104).

8. There are some exceptions. I somehow could not quite understand why each of the Tibetan Amjila (I mean those trained in traditional Tibetan medical practices) commissioned to the clinic in Tashi Palkhiel could not stay for more than a few months. During the year 1988, three Amjila came to Pokhara but none stayed long. From my talk with one of them and a Tibetan engineer who lives in Pokhara, I gathered that some educated Tibetans in India think of Pokhara as a remote village and therefore they are reluctant in the first place to accept an appointment for a job there. This raises a question as to whether all Tibetan youths are really committed to serve their community.

Forbes (1989:145) notes her talk with an educated Tibetan who returned from Denmark to work for the Tibetan government. She quotes him saying, "I simply made a mistake, I made the wrong choice... At that time I felt a strong drive to work for my people. I did not know how hard life in India and Nepal was" (see Forbes 1989:145).

9. All three settlements have fairly nice monasteries. The one in Tashi Ling was also made one storey higher in 1988.

10. Educated Tibetans are not necessarily rejecting the basic tenets of Buddhist religion nor are they against maintaining the monastic tradition. However, they rightly believe that earning good Karma could be done better by spending time and money for the welfare of the needy in the refugee settlements than by constructing huge monasteries.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

RECAPITULATION

This study has focused on the adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Pokhara, Nepal. In the preceding pages, I have explained that adaptation for the Tibetans in the present study is characterized by persistence and change in behaviors and practices. The study has more specifically examined persistence and change in marriage and family patterns and practices, the demographic profile of Tibetans in Pokhara, their economic realities in exile and the orientations of the Tibetans.

The theoretical concept of adaptation has been a framework for organizing the discussion in the study. In particular, it has been argued that persistence and change in behaviors and practices could also be regarded as strategies of adaptation. Barth's (1969) ideas on ethnic boundaries and Spicer's concepts related to persistent peoples were relevant in developing the conceptual model of adaptation presented in Chapter I. Conceptually, the refugees or migrants form a number of defensive boundaries and try to encapsulate themselves. These boundaries are also differentially permeable. From our discussion, we know that there are aspects in which Tibetans have shown to be more defensive, like in the practice of religion,

maintaining Tibetan-endogamy, and, in general, in defining Tibetan vis-a-vis non-Tibetans. The economic realities have, on the other hand, compelled the Tibetans to allow for fragile points in the economic boundary. For instance, in the economic aspect, especially in the practice of the type of occupations, there have been remarkable changes. Also, Tibetans can not isolate themselves from the Nepali economy--especially the tourist industry--which therefore requires that Tibetans be more outgoing. Their emphasis on learning English and Nepali language while maintaining Tibetan language meets an economic imperative in exile. In socio-cultural aspects, as has been noted, Tibetans present themselves as a persistent people and have maintained a less impermeable boundary. In this way the overall patterns and practices of the Tibetans in Pokhara fit the conceptual framework of adaptation defined in the present study.

Methodologically, this study has opted for triangulation, in which a number of methods are employed to answer a set of research questions. The data presented in this study come from observation, genealogies, formal and informal talks with the Tibetans, household census, and a survey. Both quantitative and qualitative data have been presented to strengthen the arguments emerging from one or the other. Triangulation at the data collection as well as the presentation has added to the strength of the present research. Information gathered by means of genealogies,

ethnographic interviews and observation have added more contextual and temporal information in our discussion. For instance, in the discussion of orientation, in spite of the majority of the survey respondents stating that they desire to return to Tibet one day, we argued on the basis of information obtained by other methods that the actual practice of the Tibetans gives us a less clear picture on this issue.

From our discussion in the earlier chapters we see that culturally Tibetans have been a persistent people. The religious, cultural and linguistic aspects show some persistent as well as some changing trends. In marriage, they have been attempting to practice Tibetan endogamy even though it has meant redefining endogamy in exile. In the chapter on orientation of Tibetans in Nepal, it was noted that some people even doubt if the religious and the business community will go back to Tibet in the event of a call from the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet. There are still others who prefer to stay where they are instead of going into a place about which they do not know much.

In our discussion on marriage types prevalent among Tibetans in Pokhara, it was noted that contextual or situational factors are also important in making Tibetan individuals opt for a monogamy, polygyny or polyandry. I illustrated how a monogamous marriage turned into a

polyandrous union because of separation of the spouses during flight from Tibet and resettlement in exile.

Economic pursuits are certainly vital for a people's survival. Tibetans in exile are pursuing totally different occupations than their traditional occupation of nomadic pastoralism, which can not be practiced any more in places where they live today. Tibetan family members are involved in obtaining income from two or more sources (as weavers or spinners at the handicraft centers, doing business, or taking other jobs). This strategy of diversifying a family's involvement in as many income generating activities as possible is not something new for the Tibetans. As we noted, back in Tibet too, family members were involved in agriculture, pastoralism as well as occasional long distance trading trips.

The chapter on economic aspects also emphasized the importance of handicraft centers for individual Tibetans, the Tibetan community as well as the Nepali economy. Whatever may be the impact of something business on the core values of Tibetan society, the tourism based Nepali economy has certainly benefitted from the petty souvenir business too.

In the economic aspect, the concentration of most of the Tibetans in Pokhara around the Handicraft centers has perhaps been a positive factor to reinforce their distinctiveness as Tibetans. The handicraft centers and

their something business provide a secure subsistence base anchored in special occupations as weavers, spinners, souvenir sellers, which the Tibetans may be able to pursue from one generation to the next (as they have been doing so far). Thus, even a drastic change in occupation from nomadic herding to a sedentary way of life has had a positive role for the persistence of Tibetans as a distinct people in exile.

Religion and cultural revivalism related to the persistence of Tibetans as a group is a remarkable strategy of adaptation. Emphasis on learning the basic tenets of Buddhism, learning the language, culture and history of Tibet and Tibetans is a manifestation among the Tibetans in exile of a desire to persist as a distinct people.

There may have been a harmonious articulation between the norms and values versus the day-to-day practice for the Tibetans in the pre-1959 Tibet. The day-to-day practices perhaps did not deviate much from what was prescribed by religion and the tradition. In fact, the ideal and the practical may have reinforced each other. In exile today, their adaptation appears to be a negotiation between the two. However, in spite of the contradiction, I believe that neither the ideal nor the practical factors alone should be regarded as dominant and therefore determining adaptation. The ideal for the Tibetans is to remain Tibetans and show commitments towards the cause of a free Tibet. The exile

context may pose challenges while not forcing any solutions. The practice for the Tibetans, therefore, consists of dealing with the challenges within their socio-cultural, economic and demographic contexts. It is an interaction of these contexts along with a complex set of factors within each context that has shaped the adaptation of Tibetans in Pokhara.

In general, Tibetans have maintained their language, religion, economic strategy of diversification, and above all, a Tibetan identity. However, in the thirty years of exile they also have undergone some changes too[1]. Persistence and change may be antithetical to each other but are processes that describe every day realities of most human societies. It is interesting to note in this context what McGee (1975) wrote about fifteen years ago. In his discussion of the adaptation of migrants in an urban center from a rural background, he argued,

> The majority of migrants retain attitudes which may be regarded as both urban and rural at the same time. Perhaps these attitudes will change after long period of residence and work in the city, but it is dangerous to argue that they will necessarily change because of the influence of the city. We do tend to underestimate the considerable capacity of the individuals to hold seemingly antithetical attitudes at the same time and the range of choice that individuals have in deciding these questions (McGee 1975:145).

This is entirely true of the Tibetan refugees in the present study. On the basis of the discussion in the preceding pages, I feel that the Tibetan case also can be

summed up by noting some emergent paradoxes. First, Tibetans are trying their best to practice and perpetuate their traditional culture but have not quite been fully successful. In spite of their efforts to maintain an intact socio-cultural boundary around them, there seem to be some weak points, some of which are caused by circumstances while others by the younger generation who are challenging the traditional authority in certain respects. Second, earning merit and ensuring a good Karma is a core value but this is also being challenged. For instance, the half true story used by the something business people is thought to be a bad practice by some of the Tibetans themselves. Third, people say that they want to go back to Tibet some day but the exogamous marriages, acquiring of citizenship, and economic investments in exile raise questions about what they say.

Finally, Tibetans in general desire to maintain their Tibetan refugee status. However, the economic and other realities in Nepal have posed a challenge for them. For those who desire to get into the Nepali business system or want to accrue the economic benefits available only to a Nepali, three alternative paths seem to be open: a)acceptance of Nepali citizenship, b)marriage to a Nepali, and c)securing a Nepali partner for business. From our discussion, we now know that some Tibetans have already resorted to one or the other of these alternatives.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are theoretical, methodological as well as policy level implications of the present study. The study makes a theoretical contribution to the study of adaptation of refugees (and this could be applied to migrants and immigrants too). In particular, the study has shown that focusing on persistence and change could be a way of examining adaptation.

The discussion on Tibetanness and orientation should be relevant to those interested in looking at issues of ethnic identities. From this study on Tibetans, we now know that a group of people could maintain their ethnic identity in spite of their having to live among a people with a different religious and cultural background than their own. It is, of course arguable that the arrangement for the Tibetans to live in settlements of their own people could have facilitated the perpetuation of their culture. Tibetans who were dispersed among families in some western countries may have lost their language and culture (see Ott-Marti 1976) while the Tibetans in the present study have not met this fate yet.

The study will also be of significance to those interested in the question of identity among refugees. For instance, how Tibetan refugees perceive their marriage and family practices vis-a-vis the host Nepali people may be of relevance in looking at identity in one particular way. The

identification of Tibetan refugees by their place of orientation could be another index for judging how Tibetan refugees perceive their identity.

From the methodological point of view, the present study is among the studies emphasizing the need to combine research tools and techniques from two or more disciplines. The call for open borders among social science disciplines to allow fruitful exchange of concepts and research methods is heard more and more often. The present research may encourage more students in anthropology in particular and those in social sciences in general to respond to a call for this methodological triangulation.

On the basis of the present study, it could also be reiterated that from among the concepts related to the study of social and cultural change, the concepts of assimilation and the melting pot are extreme ideals[2]. The existence of multi-ethnic societies around the world are living testimony to this and some studies in plural societies have also provided evidence against the occurrence of assimilation in a melting pot (see Glazer and Moynihan 1973; Richmond 1988; Schermerhorn 1978). It is quite possible for societies or nations to remain pluralistic in various ways while accommodating common cultural norms and values. Nepal itself has been a society characterized by ethnic diversity and this has remained so even in the face of the forces of so-called modernization in recent decades.

Assimilationist and melting pot ideas tend to take ethnic identities as if they were liquids of different colors so that when a small amount of 'x' colored liquid is poured into a larger quantity of 'y' colored liquid, the former will dissolve into the latter. Cultures and ethnic identities are not like liquids and therefore, we can not talk of assimilation or a melting pot. The American society is a living example of the fallacy of the concept of melting pot in terms of ethnic and cultural identities. Instead of having a blended outcome of 'American' we have a mosaic picture with a number of hyphenated Americans.

Tibetan populations and their culture, history, polity, social structure, etc., have certainly attracted more and more interest of researchers in the years after the exodus of Tibetans from Tibet. Despite the increasing amount of literature on Tibetans, there has not been any systematic attempts to examine persistence and change in the marriage and family patterns and practices, demographic aspects, economic pursuits (but see Gombo 1985) and the orientations of Tibetan refugees in exile. The present study fills this gap. Similar studies on Tibetans living elsewhere could help us know more facts about Tibetan refugees.

An important consideration for the Nepali government is to realize the contributions of Tibetans in the economy of the country. Besides, the Nepali handicraft industries which are not doing very well in spite of all the support

from the government, could also benefit from the way the Tibetan handicraft centers are functioning. The work ethic which seems to be so strong among Tibetans in Nepal could be further researched to uncover the mechanism behind it so that it could be useful to the planners and policy makers involved in running handicraft industries or in the establishment of resettlements for dislocated people.

Since the culturally Tibetan populations in Nepal are not very different in the Nepal's Himalayan region than the Tibetan refugees in terms of behaviors and practices related to religion, marriage, language, etc., the Nepali authorities should find studies like the present one useful in gaining a better understanding of the Himalayan populations. The rationale for the practice of polyandry, and non-use of birth control measures should help the policy makers to propose more appropriate ways of implementing some of the regulations on related matters.

The presence of non-marital children in the Tibetan society which has continued to exist among Tibetans in Pokhara allows us to make two interesting observations. First, non-marital sexual relations are common among Tibetans. This also means that reproduction among Tibetans is not limited to marriage. It should be relevant for demographers interested in examining fertility among Tibetans and culturally Tibetan populations in the Himalayan regions. Second, the incidence of non-marital children

indicates that birth control measures may not be common among Tibetans. There does not seem to be a conscious effort among Tibetans to avert non-marital births. This is mostly due to the negative attitude towards birth control measures created by the religious ideology related to Karma. Implementation of family planning programs among Tibetan populations in the Himalayan region would not be possible without being sensitive to religio-cultural values and norms. Education may play a secondary role in creating an atmosphere of acceptance of birth control among such populations.

Relatively little is known about the demographic profile of refugees in the world (see Huyck and Bouvier 1983). The present study adds some information as in this regard as a demographic anthropological study of Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Also, as I pointed out earlier while discussing the demographic profile of Tibetans, accurate and reliable demographic information on Tibetans was lacking. The present study is, therefore, important in that it is a beginning towards overcoming such a problem. The demographic statistics presented here may be useful for governments and other agencies concerned with Tibetans in Nepal.

Marriage of Tibetans to non-Tibetans, thereby acquiring of citizenship in the host countries, may mean a reduction in the number of Tibetan refugees. A pertinent question for

the Tibetan authorities in exile is whether they are gradually losing the participants involved in the fight for the cause of a free Tibet.

The implications of the present study for the Tibetans themselves is that it indicates to them which way they are going in terms of economic, religious and cultural persistence and change. The Tibetan parents as well as the society in general should benefit by knowing the fact that youths are challenging the traditional authority in some ways. Before the generation gaps becomes too wide, they can resolve the problems of the alienation of the youths by taking the necessary measures.

The discussion on the economic aspect in particular has shown that the Tibetans in Nepal have turned their adversity into prosperity by means of diversifying their income sources, as they would have done in the Tibetan highlands. Unlike refugees in many other countries, Tibetans in Pokhara are certainly not dependent on the host population. They are not only working hard to earn a living for themselves but are also contributing to the economy of the hosts.

A pertinent question at this point is whether Tibetans have been well accepted in Nepal. At the societal and individual level, Tibetans and Nepalis are in good relations. The Nepalis are used to a multi-ethnic mosaic society and the presence of Tibetans does not seem to bother them. We do not hear of any complaints from the Nepali

people among whom the Tibetans are living. For many, these people are the followers of the Dalai Lama and just another group of Bhote who live in the northern Himalayan regions. No incident of confrontation or clash between a Nepali and a Tibetan was noted during my field research period of about fourteen months.

At the national or the governmental level, there is no clear picture as to how the Tibetans have been treated. This particular issue needs to be addressed in a separate study based on information gathered from Tibetans, Tibetan authorities, Nepali people living near the settlements as well as the Nepali officials at various levels of the system.

Availability of comparable demographic and other relevant data on Tibetan populations in Tibet today would have been quite useful in appraising the extent of persistence and change among those in exile vis-a-vis those who stayed behind. A formal research design incorporating an exile sample as well as a home based sample is out of question for studying Tibetans at present. This could be tried in other refugee or immigrant populations where such opportunities are available. Such a study would allow a discussion of how far apart or how closer are the movers and stayers (of the same population) in terms of behaviors and practices in relation to culture, religion, reproduction, etc. Among Tibetans, carrying out a comparative research

along the same lines as the present study with one settlement in Nepal and another in a western country (e.g., Switzerland) may reveal more interesting factors about adaptation of refugees in general.

THE FUTURE OF TIBETANS: A CONTEMPLATION

Two sets of questions are relevant in discussing the future of Tibetan refugees. First, what kind of Tibetan community will it be in exile in another thirty years or so? Second, what kind of Tibet do the Tibetans envision after their return into their homeland? Educated Tibetans and the youths perceive of a different kind of free Tibet than others.

I discussed in my formal as well as informal talks with educated youths and officials in the Tibetan refugee settlements in Pokhara the fact that Tibetans have been in a state of refugeeism for 30 years by now. My question was: If Tibetans remain in exile for one more generation (i.e., 25 to 30 more years), What kind of Tibetan community in exile will it be then? How long can a group of people remain refugees? Will there be a change in the commitments of people towards the cause of Tibet? What is the best way to maintain commitments among Tibetan youths on Tibet's cause? There are some people who have already opted to obtain Nepali citizenship or marry a Nepali. Can this trend not increase in the future?

Tibetans in Pokhara feel that the commitments for the cause of Tibet may not remain as strong as it is today among the next generation. However, people also feel that the education system might play a vital role in maintaining the commitments.

An educated Tibetan in Tashi Ling thinks that the Tibetan issue will remain alive and even may be internationalized in the future. Some other Tibetans express their fear that the Tibetan community will assimilate if it has to remain in exile for another generation. However, most of them sound optimistic when they say that something is going to happen in the near future and the Tibetan issue will be resolved. They argue that so long as people think that the issue is not resolved, they are likely to maintain commitments, to maintaining culture and preserve their identity as Tibetans.

A second set of questions is related to the kind of social, cultural, economic, political, religious, and other conditions the Tibetans envision for a free Tibet. Would the Tibetan culture and society be the same as it was before 1959 after the exiles return to Tibet? In what ways will it be similar or different? They certainly want a free Tibet but hardly anyone has stopped to imagine what it would be like. Rangzen is the goal of the people and they utter this word with some emotion. However, this new concept (see

Nowak 1984) may have a range of meanings rather than giving them a composite picture of the cherished free Tibet.

Tibetans are just beginning to attain political consciousness. Most can not foresee a socio-political situation of the free Tibet. Some elderly just laugh and say: "It will be fun again. Everything will be back to where it was". The youths are the most skeptical on this regard. They really can not say anything about it now since they lack the picture of the socio-cultural and environmental conditions in Tibet proper. On the other hand, some educated and conscious Tibetans claim that the free Tibet will be a democratic state. They see that religion is going to play important role for the welfare of the people rather than involve itself in politics. They think that the monastic system had not really paid much attention to the upliftment of the community at large. These things will certainly change in free Tibet. Economically too, free Tibet will prosper because Tibetans are hard working and will be more so after going through all the adversities during these dark years. Some think that for a few years in the beginning there will be some difficulties unless Tibet gets a lot of foreign aid.

A well educated Chief of one of the Tibetan refugee settlements under study says: "The returnees as well as the stayers will have to adjust to each other. The returnees may be educated, and may have a different world view than

the stayers. Even in trying to maintain Tibetanness, those in exile have certainly changed."

The process of cultural change is going to continue into the future and what kind of Tibetan society will there be in Pokhara in another thirty years or so from now is a thought provoking question. It could be speculated that by that time the Tibetans will have gone away to Tibet. However, considering the way China has been crushing the Tibetans from time to time ever since 1959, it is hard to say when the Tibetans will get what they want. The recent events of June 1989 in Tiananmen Square and the suppression of the pro-democracy movement in China is further evidence of the adamant nature of those who are currently in possession of political power in China[3]. Given the present situation, perhaps it is too early to speculate on the future of a free Tibet. On the other hand, in view of the recent unprecedented socio-political changes taking place in Europe and other parts of the world, some hope for the Tibetans too can not be completely ruled out. How many people in the world would have imagined the coming down of the Berlin wall five years ago? If something similar happens in China, some of the Tibetans in exile may have their desires of dying in the place of their birth fulfilled one day.

There seem to be some signs of hope--at least from the view point of Tibetan refugees. One factor that may have

had a positive effect on the optimism held by Tibetans about regaining freedom is the awarding of the Nobel Prize for Peace (1989) to the Dalai Lama--a Tibetan refugee. This certainly is a recognition of the Dalai Lama's championing of a peaceful and amicable means in dealing with the issue of Tibetans. Beyond this, however, it is also a confirmation that Tibetan issue is alive in the minds of the world community--perhaps a message to the Tibetans that their hopes may be realistic.

NOTES

1. One of the observable changes which has not been mentioned in the study so far is in the dress pattern. The traditional Tibetan dress would have totally disappeared among Tibetans in Pokhara if the women and the monastic people were not wearing them more frequently. I was rather surprised to find that even on occasions like the Lhosar (new year), the birth day celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, March 10 gathering, the anniversary of the founding of Tibetan Youth Congress, to mention a few, only a handful of Tibetan men were out in their traditional costume.

2. The concepts of assimilation and melting pot, the way they were used in the studies of social change, seem to be nothing more than the manifestation of colonial mentality of the time when these terms were brought into popular usage. The ideology of superordinate vis-a-vis subordinate which was a major feature of the colonial period was easily seen to find its way into the academic world through the concepts of assimilation. This perhaps also suggests the embeddedness of the social science explanations and the emergent concepts in the dominant socio-political ideologies of the time period in question.

3. Every time I hear the news of subjugation or domination of a smaller country or a minority people by a larger country or a dominant majority of people, and especially when some other countries or people that happen to know the facts resort to the strategy of not meddling with others' internal affairs, a story that I read in the school in my second grade comes to my mind. In this story, as I remember, a group of monkeys come into the possession of a garden of peach trees. The trees were laden with fruits but were not ripe yet. Some individual monkeys were destroying the crop by taking a small bite and tossing away a lot unripe peaches every day. Some one in the group then brought up a proposal that all of the monkeys should wait until the peaches were ripe so that they could then eat not only sweeter fruits but also could have more to eat. This idea was liked by all the monkeys and therefore they decided to take a turn in guarding the peach trees so that no individual monkeys could destroy the crop.

One afternoon, one of the monkeys that was on guard could no longer suppress his desire to eat a couple of peaches. He thought that since everybody was away in search of food and he was the only one around no body would even know about it. He climbed up a tree and plucked a couple of peaches. When he was on his way to a safe corner where he could relax and eat, he saw another fellow monkey also stealthily walking away with a couple of peaches in his

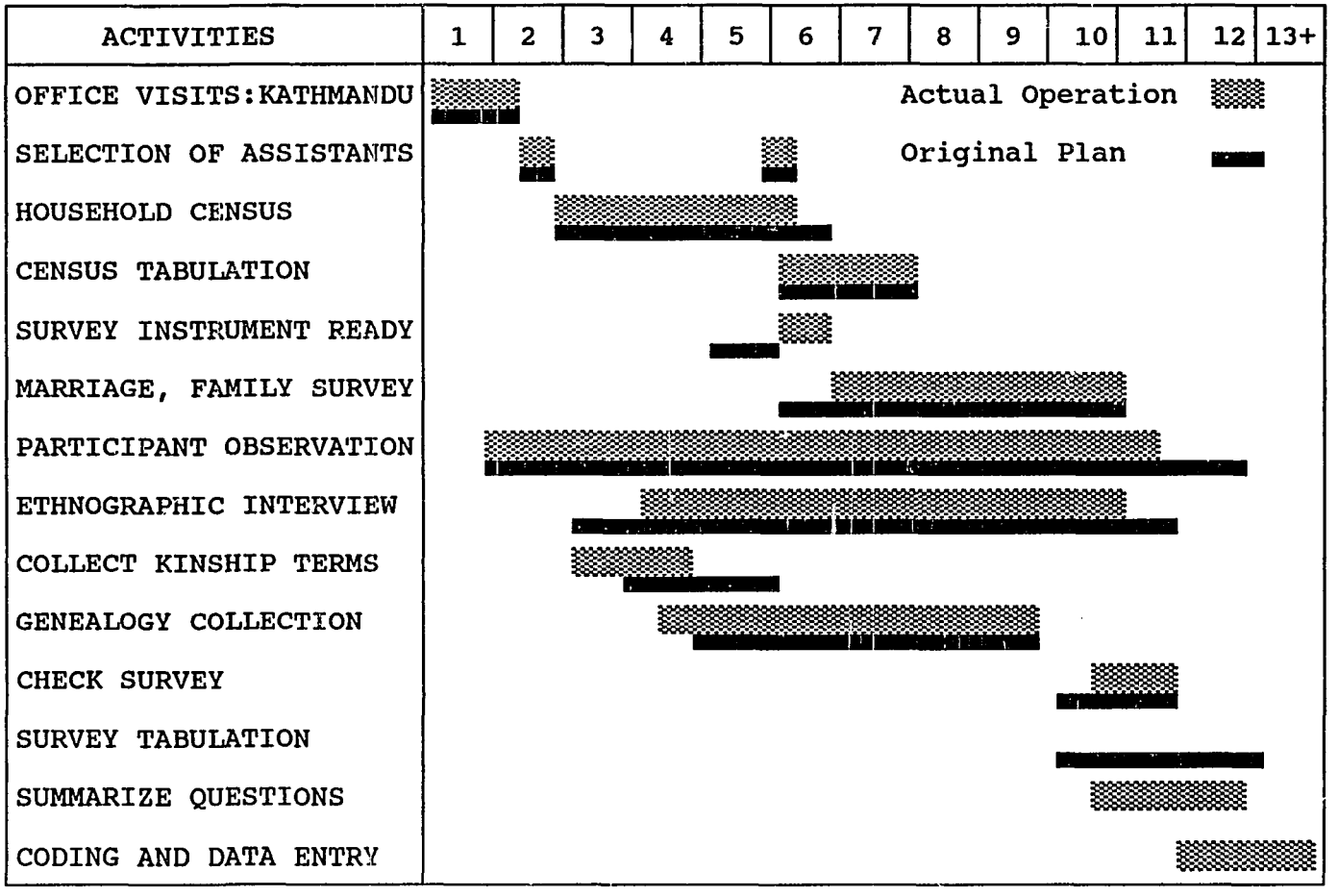
hands. Well, they both saw each other and knew what each of them was doing. Both of them simultaneously gestured each other by closing the mouth with a hand implying "You keep quiet, I will keep quiet".

The game of power politics in the world is not much different than the present story. The only difference is that the bigger nations or mightier powers are subjugating or exerting their control on the smaller ones. There is always a certain degree of denouncement of such acts but hardly any measures are taken to undo what has been done.

In the above story, two monkeys are portrayed as agreeing to conceal each others' corruption thereby lending legitimacy to one's own misconduct. Tibet and Sikkim have ceased to exist as independent political entities in their own right because of China and India, each of which, like the monkeys in the above story, did choose to keep their mouths shut on issues related to these nations and nationalities.

APPENDIX A

FIELD INSTRUMENTS AND OPERATIONAL DESIGN, JANUARY 1988-FEBRUARY 1989



APPENDIX B

HOUSEHOLD CENSUS 1988*

1. Name, Relation to Household Head (Self for the household head himself/herself), Sex, Age, Birth: Year, Lhotak, Place, Lhokhor completed, Education, Occupation, Marital Status, Community Affiliation, Age at Arrival in Nepal (For Tibet-born only), and Religion.

(Questions 2-18 were asked to the head of the household)

2. What language is usually spoken in your household?

3. What language do you usually speak with other members of the Tibetan community in Pokhara, Nepal?

4. What language was usually spoken in your household in Tibet? What languages were you able to speak besides Tibetan before you left your homeland?

5. When did you arrive to live in this camp?

6. How old were you when you left your village in Tibet? How old were you when you arrived in Nepal?

7. Where else did you live before moving to Pokhara after leaving your home in Tibet?

8. What was your marital status at the time of your flight from Tibet?

9. Which of your relatives moved with you when you came here? Who did not come? Who followed later?

10. Who made the decision for you to move from Tibet? Who made the decision for you to settle in Pokhara?

11. What were your main reasons for settling in Pokhara?

12. During the first month of your arrival in Pokhara, did you have any difficulties?

13. Do you have any difficulties now?

14. What is the main difficulty? Also list other difficulties.

15. Did any of your relatives or friends already living here assist you to settle down? If Yes, What kind of assistance did you get?

16. Have you visited Tibet after your flight from there? If Yes, How many times? Reasons for the visits? Your impression of the Tibet you saw?

17. Do you plan to go back to Tibet some day?

18. Where do you want to live the rest of your life? Why?

19. How many females have been married into this household? [FOR EACH, ASK] Name, Previous ethnic group affiliation, Age at marriage, Place where she was living before marriage, Number of live children she has had.

20. Has any male member of this household been married out as a Mhakpa?

21. List the Live Births for (Name taken from question 1 above): [BEGIN WITH THE ELDEST CHILD AND FOR EACH ASK] Name, Age, Sex, Lhotak, Birth place and year, and If not living now, Age at death, Place of death, Cause.

* Many of these questions were arranged in tabular form.

APPENDIX C

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY SURVEY, 1988

A. General Information:

Settlement, Household Number (taken from Household Census), Household head's name, Respondent's (R hereafter) name, Age, Sex, Lhotak, Place of Birth, Primary occupation, Other income generating activities, R's Parent's occupation.

[Go to Q 5 if R born in Nepal]

1. In what year did you leave Tibet?
2. In what year did you arrive in Nepal?
3. Where else did you live before you finally arrived in Pokhara? [List places]
4. What was your age at the time of arrival in Nepal?
5. What was your marital status at the time of departure from Tibet? [Circle one] Never married, Married, Separated, Divorced, Widowed, Monk or Nun.
6. What is your current marital status? [Circle one] Married, Separated, Divorced, Widowed.
7. How many times have you been married?
8. How old were you at the time of your marriage? [Write for each marriage]
9. How many children do you have? [Sons and Daughters from each marital or non-marital relation]
10. How old was your spouse at the time of your marriage? [Write for each marriage]

11. More information on your marriage: Marriage number, Type (Monogamy, Mhakpa, Polyandry and Polygyny), Date married, How ended and When (if it ended)?

B. SPOUSE SELECTION AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

[Go to Q 2 if R born in Nepal]

1. At what age did the boys and girls normally get married in your village in Tibet? [Write for both]

2. At what age do Tibetan boys and girls normally get married today in you settlement in Pokhara? [Write for both]

3. Do you think you were ready for marriage at the time you were first married? Yes No Reasons.

4. Who Chose the spouse for you?

5. Would you consider your marriage as: [Circle one] Arranged Love marriage, Combination of both?

6. At what age do you think a boy and a girl is too young to marry? [Write for both]

7. What ages were your children and their spouses when they got married? [Write for each child]

C. FAMILY SIZE

[Go to Q 2 if R born outside Tibet]

1. How many children have been born to you after you left Tibet?

2. How many living children do you have altogether?

3. Do you want another child in addition to those you already have? If Yes: Son? Daughter? [Write how many of each]

4. How many live children have been born to you? Sons Daughters Total.

5. How many brothers and sisters do you have? [For each of them, Write] Age, Sex, Present Residence, Occupation, Marital status.

[Go to Q 7 if R born in Nepal]

6. How many people were there in your household back in Tibet? Male Female.

7. How many people are there in your household at present? Male Female.

8. How many children do you think a couple should have? Total Sons Daughters.

9. If you could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be? Total Sons Daughters.

D. ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

1. Was your spouse related to you before marriage? [If No, go to Q 3]

2. What was your relation to him/her?

3. What ethnic group does your spouse come from?

4. Is the religious sect of your spouse's parents same as yours? [If No] What is their religion?

5. Is your mother tongue same as that of your spouse's parents? [If No] What is their mother tongue?

6. Do you endorse a marriage between a Tibetan and a non-Tibetan? Yes No.

7. What kind of boys and girls in your community tend to marry with non-Tibetans? [Note for both sexes]

8. Has any one among your relatives married to a non-Tibetan? Yes No [If Yes, write for each marriage] Relation, Age now, Sex, Date of marriage, Name of the ethnic group married to.

E. MARRIAGE TYPE

1. Has any of your relatives in Nepal been married polyandrously? [If Yes, note numbers for Qs 1-3]

2. Has any of your relatives in Nepal married as a Mhakpa?

3. Do any of your relatives have polygyny?

4. Did any of your relatives have polyandry back in Tibet? Yes No [If No, go to Q 6]

5. How many of your relatives had polyandry?

6. What kind of marriages were common in your village in Tibet?

7. Do you approve the practice of divorce among Tibetans? Reasons? [For Yes or No]

8. When would a person be justified in asking for a divorce from the spouse?

9. Under what conditions do you think a divorcee should remarry?

10. Is there an age limit after which a divorcee should no longer try to remarry?

11. Under what conditions can a widower/widow remarry?

12. Is there an age limit after which a widower/widow should no longer try to remarry?

F. INHERITANCE AND RESIDENCE AFTER MARRIAGE

1. Where did you live after your marriage? [Circle one] With parents, With spouse's parents, With spouse only, With others (specify).

2. [If not with spouse only] How long did you live with them?

3. Why did you move out to live separately?

4. Who lives with your parents now? [If parents are alive and R not living with them]

5. Where do your married sons and daughters live now? [If R has no married children, go to Q 6, otherwise ask for each child] Place of current residence and with whom is the child living?

6. Where do your close relatives live? [Note place for each] Spouse, Father, Mother, Brothers, Sisters, Spouse's Father and Mother.

7. Generally, who would inherit parental property in your village in Tibet? [Ask only if R is Tibet born]

8. Who inherited your parental property?

9. Did you inherit any property? [If Yes] From whom?

10. Who will inherit your property?

G. MONKHOOD AND NUNHOOD: CELIBACY

1. How many of your close relatives are celibate monks and nuns? [If none, go to Q 2. For the number reported, ask] Relation to R, Monk or Nun, Sect affiliation, Place of residence.

2. Is there any one recognized as Tulku from among your relatives?

3. Has any of your relatives given up monastic life after being a Monk or Nun for some time?

4. [If Yes to Q 3] Why did they give up the monastic life?

5. Do you feel that each and every Tibetan family should give at least one child to the monastery? Reasons?

6. Do you plan to give any of your children to the monastery? Why?

H. EDUCATION AND ORIENTATION

1. Where would you like to send your children to school? [Write place, type of school, and reasons for the choice]

2. What kind of education do you prefer for your sons? Why?

3. What kind of education do you prefer for your daughters? Why?

4. What kind of occupation would you prefer for your children? What are your reasons?

5. Do you think that some day it will be possible for you to return to Tibet? [If Yes] Under what conditions?

6. Where would you live permanently if going back to Tibet does not become possible?

7. What are your reasons for the preference stated above?

8. What do you find most difficult about living in Nepal for you?

9. What do you enjoy most about living in Pokhara, Nepal?

10. In what respects is the Tibetan community different in comparison to non-Tibetan communities in Pokhara?

11. Have you thought about taking a Nepali citizenship? Reasons? What are your future plans?

APPENDIX D

BUDDHIST CALENDAR YEARS WITH LHOTAK USED FOR DETERMINING AGE FROM HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TIBETAN SETTLEMENTS IN POKHARA

Buddhist Year	LhoTak	Age	Buddhist Year	LhoTak	Age
2003	Mouse	112	2004	Ox	111
2005	Tiger	110	2006	Hare	109
2007	Dragon	108	2008	Snake	107
2009	Horse	106	2010	Sheep	105
2011	Monkey	104	2012	Bird	103
2013	Dog	102	2014	Hog	101
2015	Mouse	100	2016	Ox	99
2017	Tiger	98	2018	Hare	97
2019	Dragon	96	2020	Snake	95
2021	Horse	94	2022	Sheep	93
2023	Monkey	92	2024	Bird	91
2025	Dog	90	2026	Hog	89
2027	Mouse	88	2028	Ox	87
2029	Tiger	86	2030	Hare	85
2031	Dragon	84	2032	Snake	83
2033	Horse	82	2034	Sheep	81
2035	Monkey	80	2036	Bird	79
2037	Dog	78	2038	Hog	77
2039	Mouse	76	2040	Ox	75
2041	Tiger	74	2042	Hare	73
2043	Dragon	72	2044	Snake	71
2045	Horse	70	2046	Sheep	69
2047	Monkey	68	2048	Bird	67
2049	Dog	66	2050	Hog	65
2051	Mouse	64	2052	Ox	63
2053	Tiger	62	2054	Hare	61
2055	Dragon	60	2056	Snake	59
2057	Horse	58	2058	Sheep	57
2059	Monkey	56	2060	Bird	55
2061	Dog	54	2062	Hog	53
2063	Mouse	52	2064	Ox	51
2065	Tiger	50	2066	Hare	49
2067	Dragon	48	2068	Snake	47
2069	Horse	46	2070	Sheep	45
2071	Monkey	44	2072	Bird	43
2073	Dog	42	2074	Hog	41
2075	Mouse	40	2076	Ox	39
2077	Tiger	38	2078	Hare	37
2079	Dragon	36	2080	Snake	35
2081	Horse	34	2082	Sheep	33
2083	Monkey	32	2084	Bird	31
2085	Dog	30	2086	Hog	29
2087	Mouse	28	2088	Ox	27
2089	Tiger	26	2090	Hare	25

APPENDIX D (Continued)

BUDDHIST CALENDAR YEARS WITH LHOTAK USED FOR DETERMINING AGE FROM HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TIBETAN SETTLEMENTS IN POKHARA

Buddhist Year	LhoTak	Age	Buddhist Year	LhoTak	Age
2091	Dragon	24	2092	Snake	23
2093	Horse	22	2094	Sheep	21
2095	Monkey	20	2096	Bird	19
2097	Dog	18	2098	Hog	17
2099	Mouse	16	2100	Ox	15
2101	Tiger	14	2102	Hare	13
2103	Dragon	12	2104	Snake	11
2105	Horse	10	2106	Sheep	9
2107	Monkey	8	2108	Bird	7
2109	Dog	6	2110	Hog	5
2111	Mouse	4	2112	Ox	3
2113	Tiger	2	2114	Hare	1
2115	Dragon	0			

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu-Lughod, Janet L.,
1988 "Palestinians: Exiles at Home and Abroad," Current Sociology. 36(2):61-69.

Allen, Rebecca and Hiller, Harry H.,
1985 "The Social Organization of Migration: An analysis of the uprooting and flight of Vietnamese Refugees," International Migration. 23(4):439-452.

Allen, N. J.,
1978 "Fourfold Classification of the Society in the Himalayas," In James F. Fisher (ed.), Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface. The Hague: Mouton Publisher. pp. 7-25.

Aris, Michael,
1988 Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683- 1706). Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.

Avedon, John F.,
1984 In Exile From the Land of Snows. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Aziz, Barbara N.,
1978 Tibetan Frontier Families. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Aziz, Barbara N., and Matthew Kapstein,
1985 Soundings in Tibetan Civilization. Delhi: Manohar.

Barth, Fredrik,
1969 "Introduction," and "Pathan Identity and its Maintenance," In Fredrik Barth (ed.), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. pp. 9-38 and 117-134.

1981 "On the Study of Social Change," In F. Barth, Selected Essays of Fredrik Barth. Vol. I. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul. pp. 105-118.

Bell, Sir Charles,
1968 The Religion of Tibet. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation (First published in 1931 by Oxford: Clarendon)

Bennett, John W.,
1976 Ecological Transition: Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaptation. New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Bernard, H. Russel, et. al.,
1986 "The Construction of Primary Data in Cultural Anthropology," Current Anthropology. 27(4):382-396.

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

Caldwell, John C.,
1982 Theory of Fertility Decline. London: Academic Press.

Caldwell, John C., P. H. Reddy, and Pat Caldwell,
1988 The Causes of Demographic Change. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Caroll, Vern,
1975 "The Field Study of Small-Island Populations," In Vern Caroll (ed.), Pacific Atoll Populations. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. pp. 485-523.

Carrasco, Pedro,
1959 Land and Polity in Tibet. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Castile, George Pierre,
1981 "Issues in the Analysis of Enduring Cultural Systems," In G. P. Castile and G. Kushner (ed.), Persistent Peoples: Cultural Enclaves in Perspective. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. pp. xv-xxii.

Castile, George P. and Gilbert Kushner (ed.),
1981 Persistent Peoples: Cultural Enclaves in Perspective. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS),
1987 Population Monograph of Nepal. Kathmandu: His Majesty's Government, National Planning Commission Secretariat, Central Bureau of Statistics, Nepal.

Chagnon, Napoleon A.,
1983 Yanomamo: The Fierce People. (Third edition) New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Chapman, Murray,
1987 "Population Movement Studied at Microscale: Experience and Extrapolation," Geo Journal. 15(4):347-365.

Chhetri, R.B.,
1985 "Marriage and Family in a Tibetan-Culture Society: A study among the Loba of Mustang, Nepal," Paper presented at the 14th. Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, November 1-3, 1985.

1986 "Migration, Adaptation and Socio-Cultural Change: The case of a migrant Himalayan community in Pokhara, Nepal," Contributions to Nepalese Studies. 13(3):239-259.

1987 "The Tibetan Refugees in Nepal: Socio-Cultural and Demographic Adaptation and Change," Paper presented at the 4th. Annual South Asia Research Symposium, University of Hawaii at Manoa, March 18-20, 1987.

Cleland, J. G., et. al.,
1983 Preferences for the Sex of Children and their Influence on Reproductive Behavior. WFS Comparative Studies No. 27.

Cohen, Yehudi A.,
1968 "Culture as Adaptation," In Yehudi A. Cohen (ed.), Man in Adaptation: The Cultural Present. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. pp. 40-60.

Conway, John S.,
1975 "The Tibetan Community in Exile," Pacific Affairs. 48(1):74-86.

Corlin, Claes,
1975 The Nation in Your Mind: Continuity and change among Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Goteborg, Sweden.

Dahal, Dilli R.,
1983 Poverty or Plenty: Innovative Responses to Population Pressure in an Eastern Nepalese Community. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The University of Hawaii.

Dalai Lama, His Holiness The,
1987 "Address to the U. S. Congress," (Manuscript), Capitol Hill, September 21, 1987.

Dargyay, Lobsang,
1988 "Tibetans in Alberta and their Cultural Identity," Canadian Ethnic Studies. 20(2):114-123.

Das, S. C.,
1987 Tibetan Studies. Delhi: K. P. Bagchi and Co.

Desbarats, Jacqueline,
1986 "Fertility and Adaptation: Indochinese Refugees in the United States," International Migration Review. 20(2):405-427.

de Voe, Dorsh Marie,
1981 "Framing Refugees as Clients," International Migration Review. 15(1-2):88-94.

1987 "Keeping Refugee Status: A Tibetan Perspective," In Scott Morgan and Elizabeth Colson (eds.), People in Upheaval. New York: Center for Migration Studies. pp. 54-65.

Ekvall, Robert B.,
1960 "The Tibetan Self-Image," Pacific Affairs. 33(4):375-382.

1968 Fields on the Hoof: Nexus of Tibetan Nomadic Pastoralism. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

1972 "Demographic Aspects of Tibetan Nomadic Pastoralism," In Brian Spooner (ed.) Population Growth: Anthropological Implications. Cambridge: MIT Press. pp. 269-285.

Feeney, Griffith,
1975 "Demographic Concepts and Techniques for the Study of Small Populations," In Vern Caroll (ed.), Pacific Atoll Populations. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. pp. 20-63.

Finegan, Jack,
1986 Tibet: A Dreamt of Image. New Delhi: Tibet House.

Fisher, James F.,
1986 Trans-Himalayan Traders: Economy, Society, and Culture in Northwest Nepal. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Forbes, Ann A.,
1989 Settlements of Hope: An Account of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cultural Survival, Inc.

Fricke, Thomas E.,
1986 Himalayan Households: Tamang Demography and Domestic Processes. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press.

Furer-Haimendorf, C. von.,
1964 The Sherpas of Nepal. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1975 Himalayan Traders. London: John Murray.

Gage, T. B.,
1985 "Demographic Estimation from Anthropological Data: New Methods," Current Anthropology. 26(5):644-647.

Glazer, N. and D. P. Moynihan,
1973 Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Goldlust, J., and Anthony H. Richmond,
1974 "Multivariate model of Immigrant Adaptation," International Migration Review. 8(2):193-225.

Goldstein, Melvyn C.,
1968 An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

1975 "Preliminary Notes on Marriage and Kinship," Contributions to Nepalese Studies. 2:57-69.

1978 "Ethnogenesis and Resource Competition among Tibetan Refugees in South India," In James F. Fisher (ed.), Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface. The Hague, Paris: Mouton Publishers. pp. 395-420.

1981 "New Perspectives on Tibetan Fertility and Population Decline," American Ethnologist. 8:721-738.

Gombo, Ugen,
1985 Tibetan Refugees in Kathmandu Valley: A study of socio-cultural change and continuity and the adaptation of a population in exile. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Graves, N.B. and Graves, T.B.,
1974 "Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration," Annual Review of Anthropology. 3:117-151.

Graves, T. D., and N. B. Graves,
1980 "Kinship Ties and the Preferred Adaptive Strategies of Urban Migrants," In Linda S. Cordell and S. Beckerman (eds.), The Versatility of Kinship. New York: Academic Press.

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

Hackenberg, Robert A.,
1974 "Genealogical Method in Social Anthropology: The Foundations of Structural Demography," In John J. Honigmann (ed.), Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Chicago: Rand McNally. pp. 289-325.

Hansen, Art,
1981 "Refugee Dynamics: Angolans in Zambia 1966-1972," International Migration Review. 15(1-2):175-194.

Hansen, Art and Oliver-Smith, A. (eds.),
1982 Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The problems and responses of dislocated people. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Hervitz, Hugo M.,
1985 "Selectivity, Adaptation or Disruption ? A comparison of alternative hypotheses on the effects of migration on fertility: The case of Brazil," International Migration Review. 19(2):293-317.

Horowitz, Donald L.,
1975 "Ethnic Identity," In N. Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.), Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 111-140.

Howell, Nancy L.,
1975 "The Feasibility of Demographic Studies in Anthropological Populations," In Michael H. Crawford and Peter L. Workman (eds.), Methods and Theories of Anthropological Genetics. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp. 249-262.

1986 "Demographic Anthropology," Annual Review of Anthropology. 15:219-246.

Huyck, Earl E. and Bouvier, Leon F.,
1983 "The Demography of Refugees," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 467:39-61.

Information Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama (IOHHDL),
1981 Tibetans in Exile 1959-1980. Dharmasala: Information Office, Central Tibetan Secretariat.

Johnson, Allen W.,
1976 Quantification in Cultural Anthropology: An Introduction to Research Design. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Keller, Stephen L.,
1975 Uprooting and Social Change. New Delhi: Manohar Book Service.

Khare, R. S.,
1983 Normative Culture and Kinship: Essays on Hindu Categories, Processes and Perspective Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Klieger, Paul C.,
1988 Accomplishing Tibetan Identity: The Construction of a National Consciousness. Unpublishes Ph. D. Dissertation, The University of Hawaii.

Kunz, Egon F.,
1973 "Refugee in Flight: Kinetic models and forms of displacement," International Migration Review. 7(2):125-146.

Lauro, Donald J.,
1979 The Demography of a Thai Village: Methodological Considerations and Substantive Conclusions from a Field Study in a Central Plains Community. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra.

Lee, Chae-Jim,
1986 China's Korean Minority: The Politics of Ethnic Education. Boulder and London: Westview Press.

Levine, Nancy E.,
1981 "The Theory of Ru: Kinship, Descent and Status in a Tibetan Society," In C. von Furer-Haimendorf (ed.), Asian Highland Societies in Anthropological Perspective. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers. pp. 52-78.

1982 "Social Structure, Fertility, and the Value of Children in Northwestern Nepal," Contributions to Nepalese Studies. 9:1-19.

1988 The Dynamics of Polyandry: Kinship, Domesticity, and Population on the Tibetan Border Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lewontin, Richard C.,
1984 "Adaptation," In Elliot Sober (ed.), Conceptual Issues in Evolutionary Biology: An Anthology. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pp. 235-251.

Macfarlane, Alan,
1976 Resources and Population: A Study of the Gurungs of Nepal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maskarinec, Gregory,
1990 Personal Communication.

McGee, T. G.,
1975 "Malay Migration to Kuala Lumpur City: Individual Adaptation to the City," In Brian M. DuToit and Helen I. Safa (eds.), Migration and Urbanization: Models and Adaptive Strategies. The Hague, Paris: Mouton Publishers. pp. 143-177.

McLellan, Janet,
1987 "Religion and Ethnicity: The Role of Buddhism in Maintaining Ethnic Identity Among Tibetans in Lindsay, Ontario," Canadian Ethnic Studies. 19(1):63-76.

Messerschmidt, Donald A.,
1976 "Innovation in Adaptation: Tibetan Immigrants in the United States," Tibet Society Bulletin. 10:48-70.

Michael, Franz,
1985 "Survival of a Culture: Tibetan Refugees in India," Asian Survey. 25(7):737-744.

Moone, Janet R.,
1981 "Persistence With Change: A Property of Socio-Cultural Dynamics," In G. P. Castile and G. Kushner (eds.), Persistent Peoples: Cultural Enclaves in Perspective. Arizona: University of Arizona Press. pp. 228-242.

Mukerji, A. B.,
1985 "A Cultural Ecological Appraisal of Refugee Resettlement in Independent India," In L. A. Kosinski, and K. M. Elahi (eds.), Population Redistribution and Development in South Asia. London:D. Reidel Publishing Co. pp. 89-109.

Nann, Richard C.,
1982 "Uprooting and Surviving-An overview," In Richard C. Nann (ed.) Uprooting and Surviving:Adaptation and Resettlement of Migrant Families and Children. Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company. pp. 1-10.

Norbu, Dawa,
1987 Red Star Over Tibet New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Norbu, Thubten Jigme and Colin Turnbull,
1968 Tibet. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Nowak, Margaret,
1984 Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the new generation of meaning. New Jersy: Rutgers University Press.

Olschak, B.C.,
1967 "Tibetans in Migration," International Migration. 5(3-4):187-194.

Ortner, Sherry B.,
1989 High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism. Princeton, New Jersy: Princeton University Press.

Ott-Marti, Anna Elisabeth,
1976 "Problems of Tibetan Integration in Switzerland," Ethnologia Europa. 9(1):43-52.

Palakshappa, T.C.,
1978 Tibetans in India. New Delhi: Sterling Publisher.

Parmar, Y. S.,
1975 Polyandry in the Himalayas. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark,
1963 A Study of Polyandry. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

1965 "The Tibetan Family System," In M. F. Nimkoff (ed.), Comparative Family Systems. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. pp. 192-208.

Pulman, Lynn,
1983 "Tibetans in Karnataka," Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies. 10(1-2):119-172.

Punekar, Vijay B.,
1974 Assimilation: A Study of North Indians in Banglore. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

REFUGEES,
1988 UNHCR: 1989 Program. Special Issue, Dec., 1988.

Richardson, Hugh E.,
1984 Tibet and its History. Boulder and London: Shambhala Publications, Inc, (Revised second edition).

Richmond, Anthony H.,
1988 Immigration and Ethnic Conflict. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Ross, James L.,
1981 Hindu and Tibetan Reproduction and Fertility in Northwestern Nepal: A Study of Population, Ecology and Economics. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University.

1984 "Culture and Fertility in the Nepal Himalayas: A Test of a Hypothesis," Human Ecology. 12(1):163-181.

Rumbaut, Ruben and John R. Weeks,
1986 "Fertility and Adaptation: Indochinese Refugees in the United States," International Migration Review. 20(2):428-466.

Sahlins, Marshall D.,
1964 "Cultural and Environment: The Study of Cultural Ecology," In Sol Tax (ed.), Horizons of Anthropology. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co. pp. 132-147.

Saklani, Girija,
1978 "Tibetan Refugees in India: A sociological study of an uprooted community," The Tibet Journal. 3(4):41-46.

1984 The Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change. New Delhi: Cosmos Publication.

Schermerhorn, R. A.,
1978 Ethnic Plurality in India. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Schuler, Sydney Ruth,
1987 The Other Side of Polyandry: Property, Stratification, and Nonmarriage in the Nepal Himalayas. Boulder: Westview Press.

Shakabpa, W. D.,
1967 Tibet: A Political History. New York: Potala Publications.

Singh, Nagendra,
1984 The Role and Record of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Delhi: Macmillan India Limited.

Snellgrove, David, and Hugh Richardson,
1986 A Cultural History of Tibet. Boston: Shambhala Publications (First Published in 1968).

Spicer, Edward H.,
1971 "Persistent Cultural Systems: A Comparative Study of Identity Systems that can Adapt to Contrasting Environments," Science. 174(November):795-800.

State Statistical Bureau of the PRC,
1988 China Statistical Yearbook 1988. Beijing: China Statistical Information and Consultancy Service Centre.

Stein, Barry N.,
1986 "Durable Solutions for Developing Country Refugees," International Migration Review. 20(2):264-282.

Stein, Barry N., and S. M. Tomasi,
1981 "Foreword," International Migration Review. 15(1-2):5-7.

Stein, Rolf A.
1972 Tibetan Civilization. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Taring, Rinchen Dolma,
1986 Daughter of Tibet London: Wisdom Publications.

Thapa, Shyam P.,
1985 Fertility in Nepal: A Sociodemographic Analysis. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Brown University.

Tibetans on Tibet,
1988 Tibetans on Tibet. Beijing: China Reconstructs Press.

Tucci, G.,
1967 The Religions of Tibet. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Van Walt van Praag, Michael C.,
1987 The Status of Tibet: History, Rights and Prospects in International Law. New York: Potala Publications.

Wangyal, Phuntsog,
1988 "Giving up the Struggle," Tibetan Review. 13(9):9-12.

Zolberg, Aristide R.,
1983 "The Formation of New States as a Refugee Generating Process," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 467:24-169.