LINKED WITH THE WORLD MARKET – THE CASE OF TIBETAN REFUGEES' COMMUNITY IN NEPAL[1]

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1. The Refugee Syndrome

In the anthropological literature of the late 1970s dealing with Tibetans in Indian exile, some authors (Miller 1978, Goldstein 1978) came to the conclusion that, after over ten years of being without a country of their own, these refugees were characterized by their homogeneity, altruism, we-identity, corporate kin groups, etc., even though they had undergone rehabilitation in their host land. The typical 'refugee syndrome' (Goldstein 1978), or a stage that might be called 'after the disaster' (Wallace 1978), characterized by a breakdown of homogeneity, loss of personal and group identity, individualistic and prestige-oriented modes of conduct, quarrelling, etc., it was argued, does not apply to them, in spite of the fact that many have given up all hope of returning tho their homeland. As reasons for this, endogenous factors specific to the culture, on the one hand (Miller), and exogenous factors arising from refugee policy in India, on the other hand (Goldstein), have been offered by these authors as explanations. The endogenous factors are specified as the Tibetan tradition of Buddhism, interpreting the present political situation of Tibet as 'nation's karma', and the exogenous factors of refugee policy in the 'attitude of passive integration' (Lichten 1972) assumed both by the host land and by the immigrants.

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[1] Research was carried out during 1983 in 'Tashi Ling' Camp, Pokhara, Nepal. I am grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for financial support. When I returned to Tashi Ling in 1985/86 and 1992, some conditions had changed which I will refer to in the paper.

In exile, then, the following facts have come to pertain:

- an ethnic segmentation has come about, manifested intra-ethnically according to the region of origin and interethnically between immigrants and host land.
- The interethnic contacts are restricted almost entirely to the economic sphere.
- The 'legitimate political authority' of the Dalai Lama has remained unquestioned.

Whereas the endogenous factors specific to the culture are independent of the region of exile Tibetans have settled down in, the exogenous influences dealt with in the above mentioned studies are restricted almost entirely to the refugee policies pursued, with the socioeconomic influences being neglected. The question thereby arises whether it is not precisely these later factors and their endogenous feedback upon the community which dissolve the homogeneity.

As this study takes as its reference a Tibetan refugee camp in Nepal, the starting point was the investigation of the internal and external relationships of the community in exile: structures within the refugee camp, relations to Nepalis, to the Government of Nepal (GoN) and to the Dalai Lama Government (DLG). These structures, of course, need not be identical in the economic and social sphere. It therefore became imperative to investigate further the extent to which economic structures overlie social and cultural ones and lead to changes in values and to segmentation of the community, and to find out what economic and social security is offered by the camp arisen in the wake of resettlement measures and by the 'closed' camp as an organizational unit.

These questions came together in the following hypothesis: The exogenous socioeconomic conditions of a modern environment and their endogenous feedback upon the traditional norm and value structure - the guarantor of economic and social security - specific to the culture of a refugee community may lead to internal segmentation and a linking up with the world market.

2. Refugee Policy in Nepal

The Nepal government under King Mahendra granted the Tibetans asylum after the exodus in the late 1950s, irrespective of quota restrictions in spite of strong protest from Beijing. In 1960 large-scale resettlement into the infrastructurally developed Nepalese midlands commenced with the aid of the International Red Cross. At the same time, commercial projects like production of handicrafts, which to a certain extent find their way into international trade, were initiated to help rehabilitate the refugees. The Tibetans took an active part in planning and construction (Hagen 1980: 239). The projects were later turned over to the refugees.

The refugee policy practiced in Nepal for rehabilitation purposes - the foundation of self-help organizations - has as its goal, from the point of view of the GoN, keeping its native developing economy from being overburdened, and, from the point of view of the DLG, preserving and furthering the Tibetan cultural heritage as well as maintaining political pressure on Beijing with the help of world public opinion. Integration and assimilation was in our opinion from the very beginning something not sought after, since the exile was not viewed as a permanent state. To this extent the interests of the two governments coincide.

The result of such a policy is that the refugee economy is cut off from the structure of the Nepalese economy. This tendency is reinforced by the status of the refugees. They have no rights to get access to own land, to choose their vocation freely, etc., as the 1962 Constitution, Arts. 10-15, implicitly regulates. Since the early 1980s, however, many Tibetans have taken on Nepalese citizenship and have been able to establish themselves successfully in businesses like carpet industries, tourist accommodation, trekking etc., while many other Tibetans have rejected this possibility and maintained their Tibetan refugee status.

3. The Study

3.1. The Setting

The Tibetan refugee camp 'Tashi Ling' (tib.: place of great fortune) is one of four open camps in Pokhara and was constructed in 1966 by the U.N. refugee organization in accordance with plans drawn by the first Tibetan camp chief-in-charge. Nowadays, these four camps, with about 2,000 inhabitants, are able to various degrees to profit from tourism. Thus a differential exists between the camps with respect to income, whereas, in our opinion, Tashi Ling holds down thirds place with respect to an average level of income. The four camps are not organizationally connected with one another, but they do maintain informal contacts by kinship relations, feasts, etc..

The families in Tashi Ling, principally having migrated from Northeast Tibet, had for the most part formerly been engaged in stockbreeding in their homeland before fleeing in the years 1959/60 across the Nepal border along the traditional salt trade routes north of Pokhara, and it was in this region that they subsisted for a number of years as a work force in the service of native Bothiya groups. In 1962 the resettlement program brought the refugees together in Pokhara. Here they stayed in tents for up to four years until the different camps were set up. Before the economic rehabilitation programs were put into force, they were employed by the GoN as wage-labourers in road construction. Various refugee organizations provided financial aid on the side. Since 1970 no more formal help from foreign organizations has come to Tashi Ling.

The camp consists of approximately 80 housing units as well as two buildings for a handicraft center and an office, all laid out in a quadratic configuration with space in the middle for small gardens for subsistence production. A chorten and mani walls form the center of this mandala-like architectural layout. During our research approximately 320 persons in 75 families lived in the housing units. The average size of a family was 4.4 persons. This figure, however, is skewed by the many single older persons and childless couples.

The housing units, settled according to Tibetan standard by the nuclear families, are of varying size depending upon the family size. A family of five persons (four adults, one child) has a combined living and bedroom (about 12 sq.m), a house entrance (6 sq.m) and an unconnected kitchen, like the flat roofs of the stone houses constructed from corrugated iron. At the time of our research the condition of these roofs was very poor, since they had not been renewed and repairs, for financial reasons, were undertaken by the families with the lowest outlay possible. During monsoon time water invariably leaked through into the living quarter. During our last visit in 1992, many houses, however, had new roofs, paid for by the families themselves. Like in a standard Nepalese rural house, the windows have no glass.

Each housing unit possesses a small plot of land for subsistence cultivation (approx. 38 sq.m). The meager harvest in often destroyed by intruding animals.

Animal breeding, one main traditional income source (cash or in kind) of Tibetans, occurs only on a small scale (small livestock like chickens) and only produces some subsistence 'Income'.

In 1983 the sanitary facilities were insufficient by Western standards. Not a single toilet existed as yet for the approximately 320 persons, and one responded to the call of nature by going out into the field. While it must be pointed out that Tibetans have traditionally made no use of toilets, the congested nature of the camp required such an improvement of infrastructure, which took place in the mid-1980s.

No provisions are made for medical care in the camp. The chief-in-charge, though having had no medical training, treats minor injuries. More serious cases are handled by the hospitals, about one hour away from the camp by bus. Apart from the state-run hospital with fixed rates, the Tibetans prefer a missionary hospital with flexible rates which, however, is allowed only to provide outpatient care. They motivate their preference by a better treatment and, because their economic situation is taken into account. According to statements by the doctors, main complaints of the Tibetans are tuberculosis, as no resistance is built up by high altitude dwellers, typhoid, diseases of the intestinal tract and

collapse. Recovery by the patients is hindered by climate, psychological state (refugee status, unfamiliar way of life, stress, etc.), irregular taking of pills due to high costs, and consulting of lamas and 'witch doctors' (not to be confused with Tibetan homeopathists), who, normally approached before going to a regular doctor, attempt a cure by means of rituals. Retarded also by the camp's sanitary conditions, the treatment consequently often stretches out over years of job disability. Often, too, the illnesses lead to death.

Along with the state-run primary school education Tibetan children enjoy a camp-based Tibetan education, with a curriculum devised by the DLG to pass on the cultural heritage of Tibet. This school is free of charge. From the age of fifteen, to the extent that their financial situation allows, children may enroll in Tibetan boarding schools in India or Nepal. According to statements by Tibetans, a good Buddhist is obliged for the sake of his karma to provide his eldest child, no matter of which sex, with the best possible school education. Many families seek out Western sponsors for this purpose.

Since the Tibetans in Nepalese exile have refugee status, the camp's official connections to the outside are determined by this status. Since 1970 the camp is self-responsible for the internal organization and has not received any directives from the GoN, though it does submit running reports to Kathmandu. This connection is assured by the secondary chief-in-charge, a Nepali. The DLG is the corporation which issues instructions concerning official policy in the camp. It does not, to be sure. provide any financial aid, but it does maintain close contact with the chief-in-charge, appoint and pay administrative personnel and the camp teachers and set guidelines for education, culture and politics.

Internal camp organization, with the exception of administration, is planned by the camp people themselves. At the top of the hierarchy is the Tibetan chief-in-charge with the tasks of official contacts, finances, control of the handicraft center, seeking out retail outlets and guaranteeing internal order. The Nepalese chief-in-charge has only representative functions and lives outside the camp. Functioning as liaison between the administrative level and the camp level are three group leaders who are elected annually. They solve problems internal to the camp and execute official directives. This position is related to high prestige. During our period of stay these group leaders proved to be identical with those in the camp belonging to the highest income hierarchy level. Further outstanding positions are the two teachers, the administrative secretary, the manager of the handicraft center and shop as well as religious personages (lamas, monks).

In studying the refugee economy, one most give due consideration to the legal status of Tibetans in Nepal who can make their living, with few exceptions, only by the production and sale of so-called 'handicraft articles'. Production (e.g. of carpets) occurs either in handicraft centers or at home. Some items (ornaments with Tibetan design, ritual

objects) are imported from India. Retailing is done through officially organized channels like handicraft shops or export companies or via the open market by peddling in the tourist spots or selling to tourists at home.

The handicraft center (HC) is a creation of the Nepal Red Cross and various refugee committees, and was originally planned as a nonprofit means of occupational rehabilitation. Small articles such as purses and clothing were produced, but this project failed due to mismanagement. As enjoined by the DLG, the production of carpets was started up, and in 1980 the chief-in-charge established connections with the 'Himalayan Carpet Trade and Export Center' (HTC), an enterprise centered in Bodnath and organized by the DLG for handling shipments to Europe and the U.S.A. Large profits have been tallied since then, with fifty percent going to the Nepal Red Cross. The money accruing to the camp in part benefits 'unproductive' workers like elderly persons engaged in performing simple chores for a small wage, sick people, etc., and in part is used for the yearly camp festival.

The HC produces according to order placed by the HTC which also provides the raw materials. The finished products that measure up to standard are sent to the HTC. Accounts between HTC and HC are settled yearly by deducting the cost of raw materials from the purchasing price. The HC bears the cost of paying the wages of employees and house workers as well as the rent to the Nepal Red Cross (1,200 Rs per annum). The profit left over is not subjected to taxation. No data, however, were made accessible to us concerning the actual profits. The HC has approximately 100 positions with differential wages to fill:

Table: Employment and Wages of Handicraft Center

Type of employment	Weaving	Spinning	Shearing	Drying Washing	chore labour
Employees	60	20 together	approximately 20		
Type of wages	per m	Piecework per kg	per m	per kg	regular salary
Average wage p.m.	360 Rs	230 Rs	425 Rs.	120 Rs	220 Rs

Health insurance does not exist, and sick-allowances from the profit fund are not paid out in a uniform manner. Where the need is especially great, the disbursement lies between 40 and 60 Rs per month, an amount far from sufficient. Wages of home production are in line with what is paid in the HC if the product may be channeled into the HTC. Otherwise the end product is sold in the open market or on consignment to a Tibetan shop, which will have pro-forma a Nepalese owner.

In making a breakdown of the HC's labour force, one notices that not only Tibetans but also Nepalis are employed. The same tendency is found also in Tibetans private carpet industries. In many cases only the owner and foreman are Tibetans. The official answer to explain this phenomenon was that the HC has to fulfill an important task in the local labour market. Further interviews, however, brought out that it is impossible to fill the vacant positions with Tibetans alone, since the latter can make significantly more income by trading independently on the open market. The precondition for this is command of the English language in order to be able to come in contact with tourists. These reasons lead to the following breakdown of the labour force of the HC:

- for the most part, men and women who were born in Tibet before 1950 and have not attended any Nepalese school and speak neither English nor Nepali.
- so-called supplemental wage earner, women tied down to the camp by their small children.
- elderly and infirm persons of either sex engaged in performing light chores.

The handicraft shop in Tashi Ling is attached to the HC and sells items either produced by the camp or exported to Nepal by Tibetans living in India, to tourists visiting the camp. The prices are fixed, and, although higher than the minimum prices on the open markets, the customer enjoys the advantage of being assured of quality and genuineness.

Other projects started up with official sanction (land cultivation, chicken farming) have failed, in part due to a lack of profits and in part to lack of cooperation among the camp people (organization of labour inputs and distribution of outputs). The SOS-Kinderdorf next to the camp is administered and financed independently. Its day care center for children is open without fees for children of Tashi Ling with working parents.

3.2. The Target Unit of the Investigation, the Family

The structure of the Tibetan nuclear family in exile may comprise three to four generations living together under one roof, with primacy being accorded to the eldest members. Polyandry no longer exists. One of the children, usually a son, remains in the parents' home and takes care of the retiring parents with financial support of his brothers and sisters. When the family income, however, falls under the minimum of existence, the elders often continue to work in order to supplement the income. Attention should be drawn to the fact that women enjoy fairly equal status with men when it comes to making family decisions. A sexual division of labour, however, exists similar to the West.

The unit for computational purposes is generally the number of members living under the same roof. Deviations can nowadays arise due to children in boarding schools or close single relatives who share the same home because of the crowded camp conditions.

Whereas Tibet of old days made use of a form of 'natural birth control': one or two children per family entered upon the monastic way of life, for which, depending upon the particular tradition, celibacy might be imposed, the conditions in exile, however, in addition to decreasing children mortality due to medical conditions, made the population increase.

The furnishings of household units are for the most part very simple, consisting of the basic essentials. It was only by a few criteria that we were able to make out differences in respect to the wealth of the families.

- substance of the tableware (tin, ceramic, Chinese porcelain)
- the family altar (type of thankas, prayer flags or butter lamps)
- possession of 'luxury goods' such as radios, recorders, alarm clocks etc.
- number of light bulbs installed (electric bill is determined by this number)
- quality and number of women's ornaments
- quality and number of wrist watches worn in the family.

No firm conclusions can be drawn on the basis of clothing, since donations from the West are in many cases the source of this item.

To test the hypothesis of the refugee syndrome, our investigations within the family units were carried out on the basis of standardized interviews with a sample survey of 25 percent of the number of camp families. In order to obtain a representative cross section, their selection was made on the basis of family size, occupations and family income, foreign language background and location of the house unit within the camp, since families living at the camp entrance have trading advantages. Observations and supplementary conversations with officials and persons on the outside were added. The range of topics included:

- breakdown of camp population, family structures and the families' economic activities
- a cross-family comparison of the raising and disposal of income
- cooperation between the families and interethnic integration
- religion and everyday life in respect to conflicts in between.

3.3. Socioeconomic Conditions

A categorization of occupational types may be drawn according to place of work:

Fig. 1: Occupational Types in the Refugee Economy

Occupation							
in the camp							outside
office	HC incl Works in home	Prod. in the home f. private sale	Est. busi-ness	Ped-ling	Private shops	Hotel	Treks
Principally elderly persons and women				Principally young men, partly young childless women with knowledge of the English language			

The activities of officials as well as work done in the HC or in the home for the HC have already been described. Production in the home for private sale we regard in the following as a form of self-employment. Within the camp trade with tourists occurs to a limited extent. The households, adhering to a self-imposed trading discipline not to undersell each other as long as one deal works, try to sell carpets and sourvenirs at the camp entrance on the ground, or invite people into their homes for a cup of Tibetan tea; a new sponsor might sometimes emerge on such occasions.

The bulk of tourist trade is done by peddling in tourist spots in and around Pokhara, either by public bus or bicycle. They either spread their wares out on the ground and wait for customers, or they directly address tourists in restaurants. The Tibetans' approach is generally very polite: They ask the tourist almost timidly whether he is interested in souvenir, a strong contrast to Indian pedlars. If he shows no interest he will not be pressed; if he does, they try to push home the sale. In some cases profits of even 500 percent are not an exeption, since imported manufactured articles are sometimes sold as antiques. While transactions are in progress, the same discipline like within the camp is held up, although others do look on. If such a transaction is carried out successfully in a restaurant, the Tibetans must pass on 10 percent of the sale price to the restaurant owner - an agreement of informal nature.

In recent years some Tibetans have opened up private shops outside the camp. We shall go into this matter later. Other not strictly lawful forms of livelihood are that of hotel

employee (fixed income) or trekking guide (seasonal income). These pursuits, under conditions, impinge on the Nepalese economy.

As it is apparent from the description of the various kinds of activities, one may further classify the latter on the basis of how they generate income:

Figure 2: Sources of Income

Income per economic unit							
Inside camp	HC	Off. work	Subs. prod	Barter	Prop. as pot. income	Tourist trade	Sale of animals
Outside camp	Hotel empl.					Tourist trade	Trek-king
Exter-nal	Ext. fin. aid	External non-fin. aid					
	Income from salar. employ-ment ext. aid	Rise in inc. by	Rise in income by decreasing expen-diture		Income from self-employment		

The income of the economic units comes together from these sources.

Results of income side of the sampling, indicative of trends:

1) Income from salaried employment (per economic unit)
- HC, including produce in the home for the HC

The average monthly income per family derived from the HC is around Rs. 339 with three quarters of the families in the sample and one to three persons per family being engaged in such employment. Deviations are small. To the extent that the household income is dependent on earnings from the HC (old married couples, single elderly persons), it is hardly enough to live on.

- Employment in an official capacity
  Only two families of the sample with one to two persons per families participate from that income source with an average income of Rs 1125 and high deviation.

- Hotel employment
  One fourth of the families in the sample have an average monthly income of Rs 330 with low deviations. Income earnings, however, are by far increased by tips.

All together, all except two families of the sample, draw income from salaried employment. If we do not take into account the officials, deviations are rather small. 50 percent of these families derive no further income from independent ventures. The types of work in the area of salaried employment are evenly distributed between the sexes.

2) Income from external financial aid
- Sponsorships come to around Rs 125 per month with low deviations to three families of the sample.

3) Income from self-employment
- The tourist trade
  Under the category of tourist trade we include income from private shops and trading in and outside the camp. One forth of the families in the sample derive an average monthly income per family of Rs 678 with large deviations. Income depends on the season. One to two persons per family may be engaged in this trade, outside the camp mainly conducted by males.

- Trekking
  Trekking is a purely male, seasonal occupation. The average income of one fifth of the families in the sample is Rs 1560 in the top season with large deviations.

- Income from animal sale
  This may be only considered an additional one.
  50 percent of the families draw income from self-employment, 25 percent exclusively. Deviations among the incomes are very large. Moreover, we may assume that the actual incomes are greater than figured out by the families. In following comparisons, incomes from self-employment were seasonally adjusted.

4) Raising income by reducing expenditure

12 percent of the sample enjoy clothing sponsorships and the same number is engaged in subsistence production. 10 percent breed animals for subsistence consumption.

All in all, one economic unit (EU) has an average monthly, seasonally adjusted income that adds up to Rs 1003, with large deviations, covering an average family size of 4.6 persons. Of course, we compared the given data for each family with the assumed families' property along the earlier mentioned visible criteria in furnishing. In the case of 10 percent of the families in the sample we suspected a de facto smaller income, in that of 50 percent a larger one. For that reason we assume the average income to be higher.

On the basis of the breakdown of total income into salaried income and that derived from self-employment, and from the unequal income distribution between those who draw it exclusively from wage earnings and specially the families with exclusively private ventures, we came to suspect the existence of social tension within the community. This supposition was later confirmed.

The expenditure side of the sample figure out to the following hierarchy:

- Most of the income (on the average 50 percent) is used for comestibles (rice, seasonal vegetables, noodles, tsampa, butter tea, etc.). Only the families with high incomes can afford 'luxury' foods (meat, fruits, Coca Cola etc.). The deviation is very large for these outlays.

- Fuel is named as the second highest expense factor from the average of the families. Here, too, there is a large deviation between these who have income enough to use kerosene, and these who use firewood.

- For water fixed rates are charged per person.

Other expenses do not arise on a monthly basis:

- Whatever money is spent for religious purposes is determined by the individual family and depends on the family income (large deviation).
- Clothes are generally purchased only on the occasion of the Tibetan New Year (lossar).

- expenses for education are small as long as there is no child attending a boarding school, and so hardly a matter of concern. Eleven percent of the families in the sample sent their children to boarding schools with average costs of Rs 225 per month; one family had a school sponsor.

- Specific costs are the rent incurred only by shop owners (large deviation).

Taken together, the seasonally adjusted average figure for total outlays amounts to Rs 871, with a large deviation dependent on the family size and income. In our opinion, the individual figures prove in more cases to be too high rather than too low.

A study of the difference between income and expenditure shows:

For 10 percent of the sample the figures coincided, for 45 percent there was a positive balance, and for 45 percent the balance was adverse, in most cases very much so. We suspect that in these latter instances false statements were made regarding income. Particularly in the case of self-employed persons the income is presumably higher. Our interpretation was confirmed by outsiders.

A comparative formulation regarding the incomes of Tibetans and nationals is, according to informants' statements, difficult to make:

The financial situation of Tibetans who have established themselves in tourist trade as compared to that of Nepali businessmen is not unfavorable. Still, we must keep in mind that the income of the latter is in the rarest cases limited to monetary earnings from a single occupation. Generally land ownerships, subsistence production, barter, but also lettings and farming out, also enter the picture. The monetary income of the rural Nepalese population in particular, may be expected to be far below that of self-employed, established, and even below the-average-Tibetan families. The Tibetan families, however, that make their income exclusively by salaried employment, with the exception of the officials, live on the edge of poverty. We are of the opinion that, with the exception of a few Tibetans who have established themselves as shop owners and enjoy a large turnover, the situation of the Tashi Ling refugees is, taken as a whole, poor, and it is aggravated by their psychological condition; for the majority, income is just enough to meet their basic needs, and other families (a total of three percent of the whole camp according to the chief-in-charge) must rely on outside help. Since 1983, however, the living conditions of most families in the camp steadily have improved. Many have been able to profit from the constantly growing tourism. The average income and the number of sponsorships have risen, and absolute poverty has fallen off, but income inequality among the Tibetans has increased.

3.4. The Practice of Religion

Religion and every-day-life represented a unity in the Tibet of former times. What is the state of religion today in exile?

According to the Nepalese constitution freedom of religion exists within the territory of Nepal; the state religion is Hinduism. Tibetans can celebrate their religious festivals and rites freely.

To what extent have exogenous influences (altering living conditions in exile) or endogenous ones (changes in attitudes toward religion) affected the established place of

religion among Tibetans? We carried out studies of the sacerdotal and mundane aspects of the problem.

While the daily routine of monks is no different that what it was in Tibet, the external living conditions have completely changed. The monks who, in the monastery cities of Tibet, controlled their own means of production now depend exclusively upon financial support from donations. Moreover, up to 1984, there was no monastery in Tashi Ling. The monks were house in normal dwellings, and the spatial separation of 'sacred' and 'profane' could not be accommodated; involvement in the every-day-life did not foster quietude. Furthermore, the priestly order was not able to see to its educational duties (recruitment and training of young Tibetans as monks) to the extent like in former Tibet.

We noticed that, due to the economic changes in the monk's everyday-life, monks who ranked low in the priestly hierarchy, are, though on a smaller degree, engaged in individual business like laymen for individual profits The 'Great Tradition' rule of poverty and austerity with regard to material property is made to appear absurd, at least, on this hierarchy level.

Functioning as the connecting link between 'sacred' and 'profane', the lama's and monk's integration into family life remains like in old days very strong. The lama is consulted for all important decisions and affairs. Within the rituals he attempts to recognize the causes of events and to turn their effects to the good. A strong belief in spirits and spirit possessions is manifested due to Bon influences in Mahayana Buddhism. The family does not take part in the sacral ceremonies, made by lama and monks, for the sake of the families in their home. Family life follows the same pattern with undiminished noise, and we conducted an interview during an exorcism. Laymen rely on these religious specialists. They do not feel to be in a position to confront powers they are no match for.

As regards the relations of the sacerdotal order and the family, one may note that these ceremonies cost a good deal of money: Apart from the paraphernalia necessary for the sacral acts, the monks and the lama must be attended to, and at end of the ceremony, which may least up to a week, a contribution for monastery-building, and now maintenance, or another donation is often made. Donations and ceremonies form the basis of livelihood for the exiled priestly order.

Along with these specific family ceremonies there are many religious and folk (likewise celebrated religously) holidays. These festivals are attended ideally by everyone, so that, during this period, even the vital business generally comes to a halt. The festivals are celebrated in a mixture of religion (processions and teachings), tradition (folk dances and songs) and conviviality (banquets).

In the daily family life, religions practice finds expression in the continuous recitation of mantras ('Om mani padme hum') during the day while fingening malas as well as prayer wheels and holy texts hours on end before breakfast. The question, though, occurs to the observer as to whether the real meaning of the mantra to which spiritual power is attributed is in fact cultivated on the family level, or whether recitation has degenerated into prayer, with the discharging of the duty of reciting the mantra as often as possible being uppermost in the mind of practicer. For every 1,000 and 10,000 revolutions of the mala of 108 pearls he may add an extra pearl on sideway cords, being visible for every neighbour and improving his 'cultural capital'. In answered to the question of whether he made other forms of meditations, one Tibetan answered: "That's much too dangerous! we leave that to the lama".

In the interviews all those questioned described themselves as deeply religious; the role of the Dalai Lama as their charismatic religious and political leader was uncontested. Tensions between Hindus and Tibetans due to their different religions and, partly controversial, rituals (f.l. animal sacrifice) is said not to exist.

3.5. Interethnic Relations

The question of the extent of the Tibetans' social integration cannot be answered in a straightforward manner. Due to the segregated nature of the refugee economy, the contact adults have with the outside world is almost exclusively limited to the area of consumption and the tourist trade.

In the street scene, we noticed mainly male Tibetans who were engaged in peddling, usually in groups or pairs. Contacts with nationals were seldom observed in this context.

Most Nepalis professed either to have no contact with Tibetans or (hotel owners) to have a good relationship with them on commercial basis. The Tibetans answered the question about their social integration in various ways. The may be encompassed within three groups:

- The first group is composed of the elderly, who perform exclusively salaried labour within the ghetto-like camp, which they leave, if at all, only for shopping or to see a doctor. This group generally has no external contact whatsoever with nationals. People belonging to this group speak normally exclusively Tibetan, even though they have been living over twenty years in their host country. The urge to become integrated does not appear to exist. Most important to them, rather, seems to be social cohesion within the

camp and the hope of repatriation, though many elderly persons know very well that they will never see Tibet again, but this is also true for many Nepalis.

- The second group is composed of aged persons employed in the camp, generally women, who, though they leave the camp, like the first group, only for the above mentioned purposes, are able to speak Nepali and some English as a result of having attended school in their host country or because they want to become integrated. To a certain extent they have kept alive contacts from their school days, but, due to the difficult lives led, the older they get, the less frequent these become.

- The third group is composed of those either employed outside the camp or self-employed; for the most part young men. They all speak Nepali, and most of them English as well. They all have contact with the native population, but the meaning of 'friendship', often used to characterize their relationship to Nepalis, is business related. Emotional friendship is found in the rarest cases.

All those questioned expressed the desire to return to Tibet, although some of the younger persons confessed, however, that they would not mind going to Europe or the U.S.A.

At this point we would like to refer once more to the 'attitude of passive integration' common to both sides. On the one hand, barriers are set to integration by the host land (asylum law), and, on the other, the directives coming from the DLG and the way they are internalized (fixation upon the return to Tibet) also contribute to non-integration.

3.6. Innerethnic Relations

We studied the internal relations of the Tibetans with the object of determining the degree of cooperation exhibited among themselves and with other camps, and the degree of cognitive dissonance. In our opinion, such forms taken by relationships can only be rudimentarily brought to light within an interview. There exits among those interviewed a large discrepancy between 'altruistic, paradigmatic behavior', the ideal behavior resulting from the Great Tradition (particular socio-religious collective norm and values) and realistic, commonplace behavior. In the case at hand, the answers may be expected rather to have tapped this ideal picture of the collective Buddhist *'bermensch'*, a construct of Buddhist philosophy by which egoisms are transformed, that the real, every-day-life behavior of common man, who is molded by his ego and external influences, and who, on the side, happens to believe in Buddhism.

Of course, this problem is not exceptional for researchers. However, in the case of the Tibetans one should constantly keep in mind the fact that ever since the Dalai Lama himself and the DG started making trips abroad, and a number of Western authors started publishing information concerning the fate and tragedy of the Tibetan nation, making good what the U.N. and, above all, India had neglected to do in the beginning 1960s, the Tibetan refugees have cherished the image of an intact 'community', high in ideals, which , though struck hard by fate, has held firm to its tradition and nationalism. And it is precisely this image which brings in contributions, sponsorships and buying zeal on the part of tourists who come into contact with Tibetans - a contact which comes about, according to one outsider, from the 'apparently selfless Tibetan hospitality and is triggered by an invitation for some butter tea in the wretched hut, in which the wealth is hidden under the pillow.'

For this reason, in this part of the study we rely heavily on statements of outsiders as well as on those of camp officials, who are naturally always careful to paint a picture for the outside world of a community intact, but who, on the other hand, readily admit when questioned point blank, that at least the danger of cognitive dissonance does exist.

We shall present the results separately, according to source:

a) Results of the interviews with families

Our questions made reference to the cooperation among families within the camp and between camps as well as to the possibility of envy arising due to differences in income and external aid. The questions were formulated in such a way that those questioned assumed a fixed role (f.i. to have received a sponsorship) and were asked to judge the behavior of their neighbors. As for envy, the majority expressed the opinion that such did not exist. Here it should be mentioned that, in Buddhism, envy is one of the eight egoistic properties to be transmuted. In the same manner differences in income were justified by referring to individual karma.

As for mutual cooperation, it is evident that such internal aid does in general exist, though principally within kin groups, which often reach across into other camps. Families with large incomes boasted of the good works undertaken by them for their karma, whereas those with lesser incomes viewed it as matter of great shame that they were not in a financial position to help others. While these responses reflect Buddhist reasoning, economic arguments also came up, as, for example, the preference of a constant low income in comparison with a seasonal high income.

During the course of our investigations, however, we came to realize that there are families within the camp whose income just meets or even fails their basic needs, but who receive no cooperative help. This applies mainly to single old persons or couples without relatives.

We came across certain indications of cognitive dissonance in the reactions of individuals outside the framework of interviews (envy expressed during purchasing or receiving presents, competition to invite us to lunch and so to put us under obligation to care for a sponsorship, etc.).

b) Results of interviews with outsiders and officials

Completely different were these results:

Outsiders reported that a tendency towards cognitive dissonance has appeared since 1981. In this year all the Tibetans, as a result of Beijing's new policy after the end of the Mao era, for the first time began to get ready to pull up stakes, and awaited only word from Dharmsala. The DLG, however, did not think the time to be ripe yet. The Tibetans resignedly began to prepare themselves for, and in some cases to commit themselves to, a prolongation of their stay in Nepal, and talked in terms of then at least ten years. In contrast to a two-class system existing previously among the exile Tibetans - an upper class which was able to establish itself immediately after the exodus with the help of the belongings they brought along with them, and which is well off in comparison to average Nepalis; and a lower class whose income is small - now a new middle class, borne particularly on the shoulders of young persons, is beginning to emerge. One might term them risk-taking 'young entrepreneurs'; they set up shops outside the camp, employing native 'straw men' as owners in order to get around the law. This new middle class is at present under particularly severe financial strain due to high investments. Tensions imperceptible on the surface have arisen between upper an middle classes due to this newly evolved mobility and the shifts in power and income resulting from it, within the middle class due to an emerging income differentiation, and between the middle and low classes, between whom there is no vertical mobility as long as the language prerequisites and/or venture capital is missing. All over the camp, to go by outsiders, unseen conflicts crop up; no firm structures (class consciousness), however,have developed. Possible interest groups fall apart after a short time from quarrels. The common image of the tourist (source of capital) produces, on the one hand, cohesion, but from individual success in business there results, on the other, envy of neighbor.

Asked specifically about this phenomenon of new enterprise, the chief-in-charge admitted the existence of the described tendencies. On account of the prolonged exile everyone in the camp wishes, if possible, to become independent. Resulting therefrom are the tensions between salaried and self-employed. Income inequality is also exacerbated by unjustified sponsorships, as those with knowledge of the English language have an easier access to business as well as sponsorships.

3.7. Value Shift: Capitalism Instead of Buddhism?

The trend just described - the enterprising spirit - is forwarded above all by that portion of the young generation which has become attached in Tibetan boarding schools in Kathmandu or India to Western ideas and the Western way of life. This living-style is opposed to the old Tibeto-Buddhist ethic in which social and economic status do not necessarily coincide. The patterns of behavior resulting from this ethic formed the basis of social stability in the Tibet of former times. Due to the change in environment and the influences of the modern world, this ethic is now beginning to totter. Socio-religious paradigms of behavior are now being overlaid, or even suppressed, by economically and rationally based ones. To put it in simple terms: If the slogan formerly was to 'love the neighbour for the sake of karma',now the individual 'battle for survival and profit' is taking place.

While the religious framework is still existent (and is supported by the DLG and the officials) and each Tibetan has internalized the socio-religious paradigms of behavior, the majority of the young generation confronted with Western values, acts according to patterns based on economic and rational considerations. The social fabric is slowly dissolving.

The uncertainty regarding the future will, in our opinion, accelerate this process. Return to Tibet is projected at the earliest for 1990. Camp officials, too reckon with a fairly long further stay in Nepal and making plans for the future there. There planning that was directed in 1983 towards better sanitary conditions, education, revival of cultural aspects and religion, has partly been realized. Investments in camp hygiene (toilets, water taps) have been made, a new chorten and a gompa (monastery) have been built at the camp entrance, and the lama is nowadays able to recruit young Tibetans to start a monastic life.

3.8. The New Tibet

The Tibetans expect domestic political problems whenever a return to Tibet becomes possible:

- Whereas the living conditions concerning economic and infrastructural development in Tibet have remained rather unchanged outside Lhasa, the structured complex of vocations found among the exiled Tibetans no longer conforms to the situation in their homeland but is geared to the conditions of their host country. Thus it is clear both to camp dwellers and officials that the new Tibet will no longer correspond to the old one:

The new Tibet will be modernized to a significantly greater extent in the areas of technology and infrastructure, and will be open in regard both to tourism and to foreign policy. The old theocratic system will be replaced by a parliamentary democracy under the leadership of the Dalai Lama. Secular affairs will acquire significantly greater importance within the state.

- When the approximately 100,000 exiled Tibetans return to their homeland, it may be presumed that claims to power and control of government will be made both by the Tibetans who remained in Tibet (at least the opposition) and by the exile Tibetans, as both regard themselves as defenders and preservers of Tibetans culture. It might be imaginable that some Tibetans having remained in Tibet consider the exile governmental to be opportunists.

Result

We shall now summarize the result of this study:

1. The social integration of those refugees who have remained with their refugee status within their host land has been shown to be minimal, this as a result both of the 'attitude of passive integration' on the part of the host country and their guests, and of the economic non-integration. Taking the recent democratization of Nepal into consideration, Tibetans in the camp maintain that their status before and after the introduction of parliamentary democracy has remained unchanged. Considered as a whole Tibetans in Nepal are unpolitical with regard to Nepali domestic policy. They consider, however, the growth of communist support with suspicion.

2. Constitutional barriers have been placed in the way of economic integration. Because of the segregated nature of the refugee economy in the production and marketing sectors, interethnic economic relations exist mainly in the area of consumption.

The segregated refugee economy is tailored exclusively to tourism and export. The income of self-employed persons is dependent upon season, whereas this is not the case with salaried laborers. For neither type of income, is there any formal social security.The enmeshment within the world economy is apparent from the dependence of the segregated refugee economy on export and tourism. The recession of tourism during the Indian blockade and the following period of political change have severely struck all Tibetans and Nepalis who in one or another form depend on tourism.

The intraethnic segmentation arising from the different types and levels of income leads to social tensions.

3. When we assume that the Buddhist ethnic formerly governed day-to-day affairs in Tibet and implied a particular social behavior, now this has been overlaid, or even suppressed, by external capitalist influences and the economically and rationally based action deriving from it. This shift of values is the cause for conflict potential within the community, though up to now, in our opinion, no such conflict has broken out against the religion and Dalai Lama. Nevertheless, the gap between religion and every-day-life is widening.

The homogeneity of the Tibetan community (which Miller and Goldstein in their studies recognized) is breaking up. Group-oriented behavior and collectivity is being supplanted by individual economizing.

If this tendency has in fact been in existence only since 1981, one might come to suspect that the Tibetans' disillusionment at the Dalai Lama's refusal to return in this year produced a shock which brought to them the reality of their situation - they became fully aware of the long-term effects of personal and cultural loss (Wallace 1970: 202) - and catapulted them into the 'refugee syndrome' (Goldstein 1978). The results of Miller (178) and Goldstein (1978) do not contradict our own, once the supposition is made that the reaction of the DLG to the new Beijing policy gave rise to the same tendencies among the refugees in India. Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the reasons given in these studies (endogenous values specific to the culture, Miller; refugee policy, Goldstein) are an over-simplification. It may be true that these factors for a long time postponed the onset of the 'refugee syndrome', but, in the end, we see the new socioeconomic exogenous influences (capitalism) and their endogenous effects (income differential, segmentation, non-integration, role change, etc.) as being the harbingers of the behavior sequences described by Wallace which occur, in our opinion, not abruptly but smoothly.

One must constantly bear in mind, however, that the Tibetans are careful to present a picture of homogeneous community to the outside world, this image being the precondition for the functioning of the entire refugee economy, be it from orders received by the HTC from Europe or the business carried on by the self-employed with tourists. Miller in her study justifiably points to the resemblance that the answers she received from her informants have to public pronouncements by the Government of India and the DLG (391). This explains why it was possible for the communities to preserve their image so long, even though, in the last analysis, the homogeneity no longer exists at all. We, too, would have been left with the impression of homogeneity, were it not for the information from outsiders.

In the final analysis, we are not able to provide any definite answer to these questions. It merely appears to us probable that the 'refugee syndrome' has affixed itself to the object of our study. We cannot, however, make generalizations covering all refugee camps, since in each camp different exogenous conditions and influences prevail.

In any case, it seems to us probable that the economic programs called into being by the refugee policy, together with the consequence of an increasingly segmented refugee economy alongside that of the host land (Nepal and India), bring about a hookup not with the host country but with international economic structures. These have a feedback effect upon the endogenous structure and appear to open the way for the decay of community solidarity.

How far along this process of dissolution is depends, in our opinion, upon the given endogenous structures in the particular case:

- To what extent is a segmentation into self-employed and salaried workers and a potential for conflict, due to difference in income in general, possible? Camps far from tourist centers do exist in the mountain region of Nepal, being geared exclusively to the production by salaried laborers of articles meant for export.

- To what extent may intraethnic contacts with other camps call forth cognitive dissonances?

- To what extent is the marketing system of the HTC and similar organizations, organized by the DLG and integrated into the world economy, able to shield the individual camps from the influences, inherent in this very marketing system, which tend to corrode traditional structures?

- To what extent, by means of culture and educational policies, are the strategic institutions of the DLG (camp administration, camp-internal education-system, religion, etc.) able in fact to resist the decay brought on by the 'import' of structures incorporating capitalist values?

We must leave these and many more questions open at the end of this study, as an answer to them presupposes a comparative study of camps with different relations to the outside world.

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