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The Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir -The Ignored Underbelly

**Suheel Rasool Mir, Shameem Ahamad Ganayee
& Towseef Ahmad Wani**



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Abstract

The present study was carried out on Tibetan Diaspora in central Kashmir's District Srinagar. They are ethnically and culturally quite distinct from rest of the valley. This community is easily distinguishable from the rest of Kashmiris. Speaking broken Kashmiri, carrying Mongoloid facial features, adorning a unique culture and dresses are their apparent personality traits. More than 42,000 refugees left Tibet in January 1960 (Central Tibetan Administration). More than 140 Tibetan families fled together from Tibet to Srinagar. Tibetans are settled here at three places in Srinagar: Makhdoom Sahib, Badamwari and Eidgah. Tibetan refugees, who had fled China after their failed uprising against Chinese authorities during 1950s, had settled in Srinagar's Eidgah area of district Srinagar. More than 60 families are residing in Tibetan colony set-up by the state government for Tibetan refugees. However, from employment to basic amenities they are facing plethora of problems. Even Tibetans in Kashmir cannot apply for government jobs nor can purchase land. They are routinely facing difficulties like they don't enjoy the same rights as those of the natives of Jammu and Kashmir. They face certain restriction including not being allowed to purchase land or get governmental jobs .they are still living in Kashmir under refugee status, even if they were born in the state. However, successive regimes have failed to make them state subjects of Jammu and Kashmir though they are given voter ID cards and are entitled to vote. Land lease documents are not issued to them, there's insecurity due to eviction fears from rehabilitated areas, the youth face unemployment and the community cannot access the government's developmental schemes. On the other side they are facing identity crisis. In Tibet they are called as Kashmiris and in Kashmir they are being called as Tibetan. The Tibetan Muslims living in Kashmir are now a mixed identity. Their exposure to two cultures, Kashmiri and Tibetan, has turned them into a unique community separate from both. They are not politically integrated in Kashmir. Moreover; there is no clarity about their legal status which becomes most evident while applying for loans, passports or gaining admissions in universities. The study on Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir is divided into four parts. The first part poses certain questions, looking at the genesis of Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir. The second part gives brief account of relevant literature. The third part gives a brief account about Indian migration to Europe and studies on the Indian Diaspora. The fourth part analyzes the major findings of the study. The discussion has been confined in this project work to Tibetan Diaspora of Kashmir. Therefore the purpose of the present study entitled as "The Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir -The Ignored Underbelly" is to highlight the ground reality.

Keywords: Tibetan, Diaspora, Kashmir, Uncertain Homes

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Statement: All the views expressed in the paper are of the author(s).

The Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir -The Ignored Underbelly

Suheel Rasool Mir, Shameem Ahamad Ganayee & Towseef Ahmad Wani

Introduction

The term “diaspora” has its origins in Greek history and civilization. Cohen (1997: 2) defines the word diaspora in relation to the Greeks in the following manner: “for the Greeks, the expression was used to describe the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the archaic period (800-600 BC)”. The word diaspora is a derivation of the Greek verb *diasperein*, which means to sow or scatter about and the Greek preposition *dia*, meaning through or over. According to Mandelbaum (2000: 2), diasporas are “ancient features of human history”, a concept which has virtually become synonymous with Jewish experience; that of the dispersion of the Jews after the Babylonian exile. To be sure, the period between World War II and the end of the Cold War produced the largest number of refugees due to decolonization and superpower conflict (Hein 1987: 47-48). Yet while a number of superpowers were decolonizing, some continued active policies of pulling their neighboring countries into their ideological fold. The one that interests us here - namely, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) - was pursuing a colonization policy in neighboring Tibet. The rapid dispersion of Tibetan ethnic groups gradually led to the establishment of a global communication network with Dharamsala at the hub. From this central location, Tibetan politicians attempt to maintain and project a self-perceived homogeneous culture, including not only religion and language but also traditional arts, crafts and performing traditions. The same network also serves as a passageway for the transportation of material goods across borders, creating a loosely structured transnational flow of commodities (Appadurai 1991). In India, for example, an infrastructure for the economic movement of goods along this communication network has already been well-developed, as Methfessel (1995) has shown. Moreover, all of these avenues of exchange provide an ideal case study for an analysis of the relationship between transaction and meaning (cf. Kapferer 1976). Tibet lies at the centre of Asia, with an area of 2.5 million kilometres. It is the homeland of 2.9 million Tibetans as per 2010 census. Tibet whose capital is Lhasa, is the highest country of the world and commonly known as the roof of the world, lying in west of China, north of India, Nepal and Bhutan, East of Iran, south of Russia

and Mongolia. Tibet is also known as the “Abode of Snow”, “the cool climate land”, “Land of Lamas” etc. The people of Tibet are called Tibetans, who speak mainly Tibetan and Mandarin (Chinese) languages. Buddhism is the common religion among people and it is believed that Islam reached Tibet due to the advent of Arabs, Chinese, Turks, Yemenis, Nepalese, Ladakhi and Kashmiri’s in Tibet (Adfar Shah).



Figure 1.1: A map showing the geographical location of Tibet in China.

Today Tibet is under the China’s occupation. China (People’s Republic of China-PRC) maintains that Tibet, what it names as Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is an alienable part of china. Tibetans maintain that Tibet has historically been an independent country. In reality, the conflict over Tibet’s status has been a conflict over history (Elliot Sperling). Tibet has a long and rich history as a nation existing side by side with China for centuries. In 1913, the 13th Dalai Lama issued a proclamation reaffirming Tibet’s independence and the country maintained its own national flag, currency, stamps, passports and army. In 1948, following China’s Communist revolution, the newly established Chinese

Communist Regime decided in 1950 that Tibet must become a permanent part of People's Republic of China and invaded it. Overwhelmed, Tibet was forced to give up its independence (free Tibet: Tibet's history). The communist indoctrination basically led to the Tibetan's migration, it started at two levels, at physical level and spiritual level. At the physical level it meant that every citizen of the country whether poor or rich or from any ethnic background is supposed to perform every task himself because every human is equal and no one is superior. It simply meant to degrade Tibetan nobles, riches and spiritual leaders, but to unaware masses and youth it seemed good and reasonable and led to multiplicity of group formation in Tibet which ultimately led to disintegration. The second was the change at spiritual level, which led to the loss of significance of religions, natural power, fate, traditional customs and traditions, etc. it was done by opening schools and colleges where new generation was indoctrinated with communist ideology in the guise of modern education. Another phase started by stopping people forcibly to perform religious rituals and rites. On one hand Buddhists were stopped from performing their religious duties and on the other Muslim minority was not saved too. Muslims were not allowed to perform prayers, and mosques were locked and used as party spots, where wine was served and consumed. People realized it and protested, demanded closing of communist based schools and colleges. Political and spiritual leaders were jailed, tortured and humiliated in public. Muslim religious leaders too suffered a lot and were tortured to death in jails. People were forced to break statues and other sacred objects, and who so ever denied, was mercilessly killed which led to mass suicides of people. For Muslims it remained no longer a place to live in as they could hardly afford to renounce their religion (Adfar Shah 2011).

So, after a failed uprising against Chinese rule in 1959, on 16 March, the 14th Dalai Lama- Tibet's political and spiritual leader at the time fled into exile in India followed by tens of thousands of Tibetans. Since, 1959, China's government has exercised total political control over Tibet, using all the tools of repression to deter and punish Tibetan resistance. For China, possessing Tibet gave access to rich natural resources and allowed it to militarize the strategically important border with India (free Tibet: Tibet's history).

Tibetans Daispora in India:

The then, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to provide all assistance to the Tibetan refugees to settle in India until their eventual return. India allowed Tibetan's to maintain a government in exile called The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) in Himachal Pradesh, which coordinates political activities for Tibetan's in India. It is based at Dharmshala. In 1960, the Government of Mysore (Karnataka) allotted nearly 3,000 acres of land for the first ever Tibetan exile settlement, Lugsung Samdupling. Other Indian states have also provided land for Tibetan refugees. The

Government of India has built special schools for Tibetans that provide free education, health care, and scholarships. Tibetans live in India with a stay permit which is processed through a document called Registration Certificate (RC). It is renewed every year or half year in some areas. While the India's role in the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees has been criticized by China, it has drawn praise from international bodies and human rights groups (Elliot Sperling). Contacts between the Tibetans and the local population are largely confined to the economic sphere. Cultural differences have proved difficult to transcend for closer social relations.

Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir:

According to historical documents, spice merchants from Kashmir visited Tibet around 12th century AD. They settled there, married Tibetan women and converted them to Islam. Immigrants from Kashmir, Ladakh, China and Nepal form the origin of the Tibetan Muslims as per popular beliefs. Presently Tibetan community is scattered in Hawal, Eidgah and Gulshan Colony of Makdooom Sahib (Shams Irfan 2012). Traditionally, and historically Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir have been ethnically different from the mainstream Kashmiri society with a distinct culture, language, social organization. Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir is pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their identity. This distances them from job, income and education and political opportunities, as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision making bodies and thus feel powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives. This in turn has the detrimental impact on the improvement of the children. The rights are denied to the children on the bases of certain social disabilities associated with their identity. The rights necessary for the upliftment of the Tibetan Diaspora are denied. They have been excluded from the mainstream economic and social spheres in Kashmir in one way or the other.

Social exclusion is socially constructed perception, which prevails in every community and is defined variously in diverse cultures. It happens when society marginalizes a particular section of people and prevents them from availing the services available to everyone in the society, So that they are not able to participate in a packed and equivalent role in their community. There is no customary definition of social exclusion, though a number of definitions are on hand which fits in diverse cultural contexts. Social exclusion is defined as a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods.

Very few people in Kashmir know that the community commonly perceived as Tibetans in Kashmir are originally of Kashmiri descent. Lacking the official state

subject status Indo-Tibetans are living as semi-refugees in their own land since their return. In Tibet we were called Kashmiri's. In Kashmir we are called Tibetans," says an aged Indo-Tibetan at Eidgah as he talks about the history of the community living in Kashmir since 1960. With broken Kashmiri, oriental facial features, unique culture, dress, and language Indo Tibetans are a community easily distinguished from the rest of Kashmiris. Their ancestors had gone to Tibet for trade purposes and settled there. As time passed by they formed their own identity distinct both from Kashmiris and Tibetans. Indo-Tibetans returned to Kashmir in 1960, leaving a Tibet invaded by China. The migration was not smooth. India secured their migration from a reluctant Chinese government on the basis of Kashmir origin of these families. Official communications between India and Chinese government reveal that India produced a list of 129 Muslim families of Kashmir origin, who were then repatriated from Tibet in 1960. In Srinagar they are housed in colonies at Hawal and Eidgah. Today there are 236 families living in Kashmir (Nighat Jabeen 2006). This community is easily distinguishable from the rest of Kashmiris. Faizullah, a Muslim Tibet along with 120 Muslim families reached Kalimpong in Assam and then Darjeeling in West Bengal and resided there for five or six months," he said. From Darjeeling around 70 families reached Kashmir. Eidgah in Kashmir was their first camping spot here. He says the then Prime Minister of J&K, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad welcomed them whole heartedly. "We were housed in camps in eidgah and were later shifted to exhibition ground, Jehangir Chowk during winters and meanwhile Bakhshi Sahib constructed housing buildings for us in eidgah area of Srinagar (Shams Irfan 2012).

Methodology /Framework of the study

The present study was carried out on Tibetan Diaspora in Eidgah area of central Kashmir's District Srinagar. They are ethnically and culturally quite distinct from rest of the valley. This community is easily distinguishable from the rest of Kashmiris. Speaking broken Kashmiri, carrying Mongoloid facial features, adorning a unique culture and dresses are their apparent personality traits. In 1960, 42,000 refugees left Tibet and around 140 Tibetan families fled together from Tibet to Srinagar. Tibetan refugees, who had fled China after their failed uprising against Chinese authorities during 1950s, had settled in various parts of district Srinagar including Makhdoom Sahib, Badamwari and Eidgah (*Central Tibetan Administration*). As per secondary sources, more than 60 families are residing in Tibetan colony set-up by the state government for Tibetan refugees. However, successive governments have failed to make them state subjects of Jammu and Kashmir though they are given voter ID cards and are entitled to vote. However, from employment to basic amenities they are facing plethora of problems including social exclusion. Even they are not

entitled for government jobs nor can purchase land. They are routinely facing difficulties like they don't enjoy the same rights as those of the populace of Jammu and Kashmir. They are still living in Kashmir under refugee status, even if they were born in the state. Land lease documents are not issued to them, also they are living with uncertainty due to eviction fears from rehabilitated areas, community in general and youth in particular face unemployment and cannot access the government's developmental schemes. Besides the above mentioned issues and problems, they are also facing identity crisis for example in Tibet they are called as Kashmiris and in Kashmir they are being called as Tibetan. The Tibetan Muslims living in Kashmir are now a mixed identity. Their exposure to two cultures, Kashmiri and Tibetan, has turned them into a unique community separate from both. Thus, in totality, their exclusion indicates the following characteristic which includes Inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life, distance and alienation from a mainstream society, isolation from major societal mechanisms which produce or distribute social resources; they are not politically integrated in Kashmir. Other Issues related to land, proper housing, employment, stereotyping and discrimination are still felt by them. Moreover; there is no clarity about their legal status which becomes most evident while applying for loans, passports or gaining admissions in universities. Therefore the purpose of the present research paper entitled as "*The Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir -The Ignored Underbelly*" is to highlight the ground reality. The study used explorative and descriptive design as it studies the community profile of Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir

Universe of the study:

The universe of the present study consisted of Eidgah area of Srinagar district. The researchers exclusively selected the Tibetan population living in Eidgah area for the present study with special reference to identity issues and factors responsible for their social exclusion. The tibetan population is distributed across different areas namely Hawal, Eidgah and Gulshan Colony of Makhdoom Sahib. There are different castes groups with different names viz names and surnames like Trumboo, Malik, Bhat, Shah etc. So far as the linguistic profile of Tibetan diaspora in kashmir is concerned , they chat mostly in their indeginieous mother tongue .As fascinating Mongoloid facial features, adorning a unique culture and dresses are their apparent personality traits, are ethnically and culturally quite distinct from Kashmiris. Though over the past few decades, the region has been influenced much by Kashmiri culture but it still represents a distinct socio-cultural, traditional and linguistic identity.

On the basis of information about the residences of the selected respondents of the study, the researcher approached them one by one. In order to grant the consent of the respondents, the need and purpose of the present study was

explained to them under. After a brief introduction about the topic, the interview schedule was used to get the required information from them. It was also assured to the respondents that all their information will be kept confidential and will be only used for the purpose of research.

In order to collect the information about the present study both primary and secondary sources of data were used respectively. Primary source of data should be obtained from interview schedule, and complimented with Observation. After identifying the desired sample of 20 respondents, the relevant information was collected by using interview schedule as methodological tool. The questions in the schedule were of both structured as well as unstructured depending upon the nature of question and the response required for the question. All set of questions were based on the objectives of the study. There were certain types of information that was obtained through direct observation because observation helps in the recording of behavior at the time of its spontaneous occurrence. It is also not uncommon that there are events in the life of the people about which people want to maintain secrecy and which they are not willing to discuss with others. Secondary source of data should be obtained from Books, Journals, Research Papers, and government Records, Police Stations and other relevant unpublished archival material available on this subject

Objectives of the study

- To study the nature of social exclusion of Tibetan Diaspora of Kashmir.
- To explore various factors responsible for social exclusion of Tibetan Diaspora of Kashmir
- to highlight the sectors and institutions where the exclusion is prominent and alarming of Tibetan community in Kashmir
- Finally to study the parameters of social exclusion among Tibetan Diaspora living in Eidgah area of district Srinagar

Major Findings

Assimilation amidst Exclusion

The study revealed that Tibetans have very close contacts with Kashmiri's on a daily basis. Some Tibetans are related through business, some have marital relations while some have friendly relations. A man namely Mohammad Abdullah Bhat of age 65 said that we have Kashmiri's as our neighbours, we buy grocery from Kashmiri shopkeeper, travel in buses who have Kashmiris drivers, our children get education from Kashmiri teachers, so we are closely linked to them and regard them as our brothers. ***Elements of Tibetan culture existing even today:***

The study revealed that the Tibetans while living in Kashmir

have kept some part of their Tibetan culture even alive today especially their Tibetan language and some dishes from their Tibetan food culture like Momo's, noodles etc, and the interesting part is that even the Kashmiri people have become fond of Tibetan food. Not only food and language but also their traditional dress of Tibet called 'chupa' along with the traditional jewellery is still worn by the brides on their wedding day as it has been an important part of their culture. A woman namely Sameena of age 30 said that she herself wore the "Chupa" dress and jewellery on her wedding which she got from Darjeeling as these dresses and jewellery is exported from Tibet to Darjeeling also. Moreover the elder women can be seen wearing their traditional dresses on a daily basis. It was clearly evident that they still have an emotional attachment with their culture but music was the only thing which they had no knowledge about.

The study revealed that there are various elements of the culture of the Kashmir the Tibetans have adopted like the dressing pattern, language, cuisine, some rituals and education. A man namely Mohammad Syed of age 45 said that we cook Kashmiri dishes everyday and wear what a normally Kashmiri's wear. He said we are no different from a normal Kashmiri even on marriages we cook the famous Kashmiri Wazwan but only four dishes as per the rules laid by the Imams of their locality. The study revealed that the Tibetans feel at home while living in Kashmir as they consider it as their ancestral homeland. They feel safe here in the midst of Muslim brethren and do not want to go back to a place like Tibet where they won't feel secure. The study revealed that Tibetans living in Kashmir were positively treated by the Kashmiri people with very less instances of being differently treated. A woman namely sameena of age 30 stated that: "If a Tibetan will meet an accident on road, Kashmir's will rush and take him/her to hospital, so we see Kashmiri's as being very kind and humane towards us, but there are exceptions as well". The study revealed that although the both communities seem to have very cordial relations with each other but the Tibetans are tagged as "others" in their own ancestral homeland because of the fact that they have come from the different country and have does not resemble with Kashmiri's. Tibetans feel that somehow the thinking has crept into the minds of Kashmiri people since beginning but they hardly express these feelings in front of Tibetans, as they think that it could hurt their sentiments. A girl namely Maryam of age 21 said that when I go to college or outside boys sometimes call me 'Tipti' due to my facial features which sounds odd to me, such instances make us feel as the Kashmiri society has not accepted us as a part of their own.

Social distance maintenance:

The study revealed that the Kashmiri people does not maintain social distance from Tibetans and are well integrated with Tibetans on societal level. A female of 37 age namely Fatima said that we invite and attend each other's marriage functions, our children study in the same classrooms, we get electricity

and water from the same lines, so there is nothing like maintaining distance. The study revealed that the Tibetans perform mostly endogamous marriages i.e.; marrying within the group, but nowadays there has been an increasing trend of love marriages between Tibetans and Kashmiri's which has resulted in exogamous marriages among Tibetans. A female namely Sameena prefer exogamous love marriage with a Kashmiri man and she stated that: "Although we do some marriages outside our community but the only reason which prevents Tibetans from performing exogamous marriages is the difference in mentalities of people of two communities.

State Government initiatives for integration of Tibetans:

The study revealed that the State government has not done much for their development and integration in Kashmiri society apart from providing them with basic plots and apartments to live in. The study revealed that the elder and young members of Tibetans although feel being well integrated with the Kashmiris at the social level but the young members feel that when it comes to the overall developmental process of Kashmir they feel that they are being excluded from that process as they are facing problems in their education and careers in government sectors.

Representation of Tibetans of Kashmir in public sphere

The study revealed that the Tibetans living in Kashmir communicate in Tibetan language with each other on daily basis and many times communicate in Urdu language, while due to contacts with the Kashmiri people they have also learned to speak broken Kashmiri. A girl namely, Farzana of age 24 stated that we have been speaking Tibetan language since birth. This language represents our Tibetan culture and this language will be transmitted to our future generations too.

The study revealed that the Tibetans are free to profess any religion of their choice and are not restricted to visit any sacred place in Kashmir. A male of age 68 namely Mohammad Ibrahim Bhat stated that: "The fact that Kashmir has majority of people following Islam religion prompted us to chose this place to migrate to, as we would be free to practice our religion here".

Tibetan marriages, festivals, and other rituals are distinctly Islamic, but this community is in a transition. Their youth are highly receptive to prevalent changes in lifestyle. In spite of merging with Kashmiri culture and ethos for decades now, the Tibetan Muslims have maintained their identity. Their Kashmiri names and surnames like Trumboo, Malik, Bhat, and Shah etc have not diluted their distinct Tibetan cultural identity. However they yearn for domicile status in the state. They are marrying Kashmiri and Ladakhi girls to avail state benefits (Shams Irfan 2012).

Semi-Refugee status of Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir

The study revealed that although the Tibetans have been granted citizenship of India but the State government has not given them permanent resident certificates to validate their residence in Kashmir. Despite the fact that they have already given the proof of their ancestral origin of Kashmir to Indian Government they are not getting the deserved status of being permanent resident of Kashmir. The study revealed that the Tibetans enjoy the political right to vote and have been issued adhaar and election cards. Despite political precipitation, successive government's as well state administration ignored them. The community are not contented with the state administration. The study revealed that since the Tibetans have not been given permanent resident certificates they cannot purchase any property or land in Kashmir. A girl namely sadia of age 25 said that after their parents had migrated to Kashmir they have been allotted some portion of land on lease first and also given some apartments which they own now but cannot buy a new property which for them is a misery as the families are growing now and married children needs new spaces. As a result they are either living in rent houses or building extra storeys over their own houses to accommodate new families. The study revealed that the lack of permanent resident certificate affects the higher education of Tibetans to a large extent as they cannot get admission in Government universities within State as they demand permanent resident certificates for admissions. According to a girl namely Zahida of age 24 said that I stopped my education after doing bachelors degree in Arts, as I cannot get admission in Kashmir University without permanent resident certificate and or without recommendation. She said that most of our youngsters are compelled to move outside state to get Higher education. The study revealed that lack of permanent resident certificate hampers our economic growth as without permanent resident certificate we are unable to get any government jobs which compels us to take either business or any other occupation. A male of age 65 Mohammad Abdullah Bhat said that our youngsters suffering without permanent resident certificates and many are doing embroidery works to earn money to feed families but we have learned to live with these occupations and it does not hamper us that much.

Conclusion and discussion:

Tibetan Diaspora scattered in various areas of district Srinagar and settled in Hawal, Eidgah and Gulshan Colony of Makhdoom Sahib Area. They are known for their communal brotherhood in these areas. In 1960, around 120 families are supposed to have migrated from Tibet, and at present there are about 270 families settled in these three localities, which make up a population of about a thousand people. Tibetan Diaspora in Kashmir still held onto their culture. In terms of their food culture they still relish Tibetan food at home which comprises of famous Momo, Thukpa, and Chowmein but are not averse to cooking Wazwan. And their dress pattern in general and dress pattern of women in particular, women wear 'Shhuba' a traditional gown and they chat mostly in

their indigenous mother tongue. They respect and enjoy the symbols of their identity. Every household has varied items of Tibetan origin like utensils, fabrics, carpets or wool. In terms of occupation Majority of the Tibetan population in Kashmir are associated with the business of embroidery, hosiery or tourism. They are not entitled to government jobs e. Tailoring and stitching are their main occupation. In their quest of sustaining they start migrating to other districts in search of better markets. Most of the Tibetan youth living in Kashmir engage in small businesses and tailoring, needle work, brocading and other embroidery works. They have also made business links in Nepal, Ladakh and other neighbouring regions. Besides unemployment, Tibetans are facing deprivation like they don't have access to higher education. The Tibetan Public School in Hawal is their major educational institute. Literacy rate among this community in Srinagar is 61.33% according to a survey. Besides modern education, religious education is especially high among them. In terms of issues and challenges, they have been so many impediments that bother this community which includes denial of state subject hood, little opportunities for higher education besides having no access to government jobs. They don't have state citizenship. They are still not considered state subjects, even though they have all relevant documents like Electoral Identity card, ration card etc. Lack of opportunities in the context of both higher education and employment opportunities has led to poor literacy rate among the Tibetans On account of state restrictions on education, the younger Tibetan generations in Kashmir are also able to study only until school, with most girls dropping out after 10th-12th . Their financial condition is not good and so they had to struggle hard for their living. Also Tibetan Colony of Kashmir is still an enigma for most of the Kashmiris. Besides above mentioned issues, this community is facing issues when we came to language; language was and is still one of the biggest problems," they are still facing miserables because of their semi-refugees status. In terms of identity issues, In Tibet, they are Kashmiris. In Kashmir, they are Tibetans. There's nowhere where they are simply themselves. In a region where not belonging, or being seen as outsiders, can be risky, the community keeps a low profile. They seem content in Kashmir. But they are bound to reflect on a painful paradox. It was observed during field study from all aspects that Tibetans Diaspora in Kashmir is marginalized: be it be social, political, education and employment opportunity and soon. Politically and economically, their situation has remained as it was in the sixties, and even though the members are entitled to vote. The state government counts them in its census, but because it will not grant them citizenship, the community lacks access to other basic rights, including not being allowed to purchase land, work government jobs or attend state universities. The Tibetan Muslims living in Kashmir are now a mixed identity. This community is undergoing change in cultural, educational and economical fronts. Issues related to land, proper housing, employment, stereotyping and discrimination are still felt by them. They don't consider themselves refugees in Kashmir.

Their exposure to two cultures, Kashmiri and Tibetan, has turned them into a unique community separate from both. They are not politically integrated in Kashmir. Even Tibetan marriages, festivals, and other rituals are distinctly Islamic, but this community is in a transition. Their youth are highly receptive to prevalent changes in lifestyle. In spite of merging with Kashmiri culture and ethos for decades now, the Tibetan Muslims have maintained their identity. Their Kashmiri names and surnames like Trumboo, Malik, Bhat, and Shah etc have not diluted their distinct Tibetan cultural identity. However they yearn for domicile status in the state. They are marrying Kashmiri and Ladakhi girls to avail state benefits. Tibetan community has been very successful in maintaining their identity despite the tremendous impact the host community has on absorbing them into the identity of the host.

Thus, in totality, their exclusion indicates the following characteristic which includes Inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life, Distance and alienation from a mainstream society, Isolation from major societal mechanisms which produce or distribute social resources; they are not politically integrated in Kashmir. Other Issues related to land, proper housing, employment, stereotyping and discrimination are still felt by them. Moreover; there is no clarity about their legal status which becomes most evident while applying for loans, passports or gaining admissions in universities.

Suggestions:

- Both The central government and state government should address the problems of Tibetan Diaspora of Kashmir and should launch projects to tackle social exclusion of this particular community
- Government should develop some plans and policies to reduce the disparity and inequality between the Tibetan Diaspora of Kashmir and mainstream society.
- Besides unemployment, Tibetan is facing deprivation like they don't have access to higher education. Therefore government should provide them adequate education
- Adequate rights should be given to the children's of Tibetan Diaspora, specially the rights necessary for the upliftment of the Tibetan Diaspora in general and children's in particular.

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Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT) is a consortium of researchers and policy makers drawn from national and international universities, institutes and organizations. GRFDT is presently based in India and is shaping as the largest such group focusing specifically on the issues related to diaspora and transnationalism.

The GRFDT works as an academic and policy think tank by engaging national and international experts from academics, practitioners and policy makers in a broad range of areas such as migration policies, transnational linkages of development, human rights, culture, gender to mention a few. In the changing global environment of academic research and policy making, the role of GRFDT will be of immense help to the various stakeholders. Many developing countries cannot afford to miss the opportunity to harness the knowledge revolution of the present era. The engagement of diaspora with various platform need to be reassessed in the present context to engage them in the best possible manner for the development human societies by providing policy in-put at the national and global context.