



Livelihood Opportunities of Refugees: A Study of Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh

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Abstract

Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh are those, who, along with the Dalai Lama, escaped their native place after Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959. They feared persecution in Chinese occupied Tibet. They have been settled in 39 major and minor settlement areas in India. In Arunachal Pradesh, there are around 6141 Tibetans, who are settled in Miao, Tezu, Tenzingaon, Tuting and some of the places in West Kameng and Tawang District of Arunachal Pradesh. Many of the economic opportunities are denied to them as being refugees. However, they have been able to adapt to the new situation and engaged themselves in agriculture activities, handicraft and handloom and as businessmen/women. They have been successfully running shops and restaurants in different parts of the country. One of major source of income for the majority of Tibetan refugee in Arunachal Pradesh is serving under Special Frontier Force (SFF). This paper examines the livelihood opportunities of selected Tibetans in settlement areas of Arunachal Pradesh; what challenges they, as refugees, face in earning their livelihood and understanding the migration trend among young Tibetan refugees to foreign countries.

Keywords: *Tibetans Refugees, Livelihood, Economic Opportunities, Migration.*

Introduction

From the years 1964-69, as part of the refugee settlement programme, 2,748 families of Chakmas and Hajongs consisting of 14,888 (750 Hajongs) persons were rehabilitated in Chowkham in Lohit district, Miao, Bordumsa and Diyun in Tirap (now Changlang) and Balijan in Subansiri (now Papum Pare) district. At present there are 44,276 Chakmas in Changlang district, 4,962 in Namsai district and 2,077 Chakmas in the Papum Pare district. Hajongs are concentrated only in Dayun sub-division of Changlang district, numbering 2,415 persons (The Special Survey on Chakma-Hajong Population 2010-11, Government of

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Arunachal Pradeshⁱ). However, the context and circumstance under which the Tibetan refugees were settled in the state were different from that of the Chakmas and Hajongs. National uprising in Tibet against the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) started in 1950s. The Chinese government perpetrated various atrocities against the Tibetan people by imposing social, political and agrarian reforms. The Tibetans' religious personages were frequently targeted, and monasteries were destroyed (Kumar, A., 1994). The entire circumstances had eventually forced the Dalai Lama along with his followers to India to leave his homeland. By 1965, there were 85,000 Tibetan refugees who fled into exile in India and took asylum (Barker, 1998).

Missamari in Assam and Buxar in West Bengal were the transit camps identified for initial settlement of the Tibetans (Barker, 1998:14). The early years of the settlements were very difficult for the Tibetan refugees, due to the sudden changes in climatic condition. They were inflicted with various ailments such as, skin diseases, gastric disorders, tuberculosis, cholera, malaria, etc. Despite the assistance provided by the Indian government more than 200 people died in transit camps (Norbu, 2001: 7). With the request of the Dalai Lama, the Government of India resettled Tibetans refugees to some cooler places such as Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Darjeeling, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Dehradun and Mussoorie (Kharat, 2003).

In Arunachal Pradesh, the Tibetans are settled in four settlement areas/camps. They are Choepheling settlement in Miao (Changlang District), Dhargyaling settlement in Tezu (Lohit District), Tenzingang settlement (West Kameng District). Tibetans in West Kameng District are mostly from Tsonaⁱⁱ region of Tibetandin Tuting settlement (Upper Siang District) refugees are mainly from neighbouring Pemako region of Tibetⁱⁱⁱ. In addition, there are scattered communities in Tawang, Bomdila, Rupa/Ghacham, Dirang and Tenga. Each of the Tibetan settlements is under the administrative control of a settlement officer appointed by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). As per the reports of the respective district administrations, there are 4,418 Tibetan refugees in the state. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, records a total of 7,530 Tibetan refugees (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Rajya Sabha Starred Question No. 69, April 29, 2015). Our survey, however, finds that there are 6,141 Tibetan refugees in the state, as given in Table 1.

Table 1: Tibetan Refugee Population in Arunachal Pradesh

Sl. No	Name of the Tibetan Settlement	Population
1	Tenzingang Settlement	893
2	Dhargyaling Settlement, Tezu	1044
3	Choephelling Tibetan Settlement, Miao	2659
4	Tibetan Settlement, Tuting	938
5	Scattered communities of Tawang, Bomdila, Rupa/Ghacham, Dirang and Tenga	607
	Total	6141

Source: Survey Data

Conceptual Framework

Given the complexity of the concept, “no clear definition on refugee livelihoods has emerged. “It essentially refers to the means used to maintain and sustain life (Vriese, 2006). The Oxford English Dictionary defines livelihood as “[a] means of securing the necessities of life” (English Oxford Dictionary). In the absence of universally accepted definition of livelihood, the most widely accepted one has been provided by Chambers & Conway, 1991: “A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A sustainable livelihood allows to cope with and to recover from stress and shocks, to maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. It also contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term” (Chambers, Robert, Conway, Gordon, 1991).

Livelihood opportunities of a refugee can be developed or restricted by factors in the external environment. These factors determine the vulnerability context in which households have to operate. Refugees often have to deal with traumatic experience of flight and displacement which often leave them with limited resources due to loss of assets and capabilities (Vriese, 2006).

Objectives

The paper understands the access of Tibetan refugees to livelihoods in the settlement camps in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. It identifies Tibetan refugees’ main sources of livelihood; and the obstacles and opportunities the refugees face to access livelihoods.

Methodology

The present study is based on both primary and secondary sources. The study has been primarily based on field surveys using both open ended and closed ended questionnaires. To understand the proximity of the subject both formal and informal interviews and focus group discussion were conducted in the Tibetan refugee settlements. Respondents consisting of Tibetan administrative officers, and other staffs from the Tibetan Settlement Office, camp leaders of all the Tibetan Settlements in Arunachal Pradesh, elderly knowledgeable members of Tibetan community and educated youths of the Tibetan community were included in the study.

Besides, data have been collected from the records of the office of the Tibetan Settlement at different settlements in Arunachal Pradesh; office of the secretary in scatter communities of Arunachal Pradesh; records of Central Tibetan Relief Committee; Central Tibetan Administration, Dharmasala; and records of Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

Purposive sampling methods have been used to collect data in the study. Purposive sampling method is suitable for the study as the subject is sensitive in nature and most of the Tibetans respondents are hesitant to respond in free manner. So, this sampling method is flexible and we can select the maximum informative respondents from the field for the study. All four settlements Tenzingang (West Kameng), Tezu (Lohit), Miao (Changlang) and Tuting

(Upper Siang) have been include in the field survey. Considering the total Tibetan Population which is 6141, a sample size of 220 respondents, 50 each from Tenzingang (893), Tezu (1044), Miao (2659) and Tuting (938) and 20 from the scatter communities (607) of Bomdila, Dirang, Rupa and Tenga have been included in the study. Samples have been selected from the different camps in the settlement using purposive sampling method.

Economic Condition and Livelihood Strategies

Tibetan refugees are settled in 39 major and minor settlements in India and these settlements are divided into different categories such as agriculture-based settlement, handicraft, agro industrial and cluster settlement (Tibet Justice Centre, 2016). The refugees' right to work is covered by three articles in 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees – Article 17 (Wage-earning employment), Article 18 (Self-employment) and Article 19 (Liberal professions). But India not being a signatory of any international refugee conventions, these rights is not extended to the refugees. Being a refugee in India, Tibetans are denied many employment opportunities, and they cannot apply for jobs in various sectors.

Tibetan settlements in Arunachal Pradesh lacked livelihood opportunities. Agriculture, horticulture, running petty shops and restaurants, and sweater selling during winter seasons are the common source of livelihood for Tibetan refugees. In the absence of other opportunities within the settlements, agriculture remains the primary source of livelihood. However, agriculture as a source of livelihood is unable to satisfy the needs of people. The young generations of Tibetan Refugees lack interests in agricultural activities. Moreover, the older generations are old enough which makes them incapable to engage themselves in agriculture activities.

The livelihood opportunities of the Tibetan refugees get boost because of the Tibetan Multipurpose Cooperative Societies^{iv}, which operate in all the Tibetan settlements and are registered under the respective state's cooperative societies. The main objectives of the Cooperative Societies are: to make the Tibetan Settlement viable and sustainable; to strengthen and to provide assistance to member co-operative societies; to preserve and promote Tibetan culture and traditions; to strive for attaining sustainable markets for the products of member cooperatives societies; and to generate employment opportunities within the exile Tibetan community especially for the youth (centraltibetanreliefcommittee.org).

The cooperative societies also provide assistance in various aspects such as supplying of agricultural inputs, marketing of agriculture produces and handicraft providing financial assistances, safeguarding of shareholders deposit and generating employment opportunities. Presently, there are 15 cooperative societies functioning in Tibetan Settlements across in India; of which 3 Tibetan cooperative societies are operating in Tezu, Miao and Tenzingang, Arunachal Pradesh (centraltibetanreliefcommittee.org).

The Cooperative Societies provide agriculture loans for purchase of fertilizers and tools, marketing agriculture produce and handicrafts, etc. In some cases, direct financial assistance is provided to the members. Cooperative society in some settlement run business in

various sectors such as, showrooms, workshops, hardware shops, cybercafé, car repair and washing section, general store etc.

Our study finds that the Tibetan refugees in Arunachal Pradesh are largely engaged in sweater selling business along with agriculture. Sweater selling business has developed into one of the most profitable businesses and the common source of livelihood among the Tibetans. During the winter seasons (October to February) at least one member from every household of Tibetan settlement is engaged in sweater selling business. Tibetans travel from their respective settlements to metropolitan cities; from there they buy sweaters from the factories and sell them in different parts of India (Tibetan Justice Centre, 2016).

The winter sweater selling is the key support of livelihood of Tibetan refugee in India affecting over 70% of the exile population (Jigme, 2018). The income source of 45% of Tibetan Refugee household in India is sweater selling business (Jigme, 2018). This business is easy and it provides relatively quick returns with little investments. It has also been observed that the sweater selling business and agriculture is not a stable source of livelihood as both depends on weather and seasons. There have been cases for the failure of such businesses and Tibetans suffer from such losses.

The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA)^y is the exile government of Tibetans in India plays a huge role in maintaining the livelihood opportunities for Tibetans. The CTA provides job opportunities for the Tibetans in exile and also extend economic assistance and funds for certain projects in the settlement. As 60% of Tibetan settlement in exile comprises of agriculture settlement; CTA felt the necessity to have an agriculture division/ section in every agriculture settlement in India (centraltibetanreliefcommittee.org). Agriculture division under CTA provides various kind of assistance to the farmers for agricultural growth and lately it is quite successful in assisting the farmers to realize speedy progress in their source of livelihood. In addition, CTA also provide unemployment allowance to the Tibetans who are not engaged in any jobs. It also takes responsibilities for any kind of economic crisis and accidental conditions (Bhist, 2015). Moreover, CTA offers 100-110 unemployed and school dropouts' vocational trainings, life skill courses every year in an average of two batches to the Tibetan Refugees (centraltibetanreliefcommittee.org). Skill courses are open to all Tibetan settlement in India. CTA is supporting Tibetan's youths in every facet for making livelihood in all possible manners.

Handicraft is a part of Tibetan culture, generally, Tibetan settlement has handicraft centres. Carpet weaving, tailoring, weaving of Tibetan traditional dresses etc., are focused in handicraft centers. Tibetan women are employed in weaving centre and there is a demand of Tibetan carpet in international markets. These handicraft centres are created by CTA to preserve and promote Tibetan culture and tradition (Tibetan Justice Centre, 2016). Conversely, with changing circumstances, these kinds of centre are losing its value, people are becoming modern and traditional items are less bought by the people. Now in many Tibetan settlements handicraft centre is closing due to the loss in business. Presently, Choepelling Tibetan settlement in Miao has a carpet weaving Centre in Arunachal Pradesh.

Moreover, Tenzingang Settlement has also a small weaving centre under cooperative society. Tibetan women in the settlement are engaged in weaving carpet and it is available in the showroom of the settlement for the purchase. Table 2 display the livelihood activities of Tibetan Refugees in Arunachal Pradesh.

Table 2: Livelihood Activities of Tibetan Refugees in Arunachal Pradesh

Livelihood Activities of Refugee	No. of Person	Percentage
Farming	85	38.6
Restaurant/shop owner	55	25
Employment under CTA	36	16.4
Special Frontier Force (SFF)	25	11.4
Others	19	8.6
Total	220	100

Source: Survey Data

Table 2 show that the majority of the Tibetan Refugees in Arunachal Pradesh are engaged in farming for their livelihood. 25% of the respondent belongs to the business communities, mostly running restaurants, garment shops and sweater selling business during winter season. Employment in Special Frontier Force (SFF)^{vi} also contribute to a large extend in the economic well-being of the Tibetan refugee communities. 882 out of 6141, which is the total Tibetan population in Arunachal Pradesh is serving under SFF; which consist of around 15% of the total Population of the settlement (Survey data). Careers under CTA are also one of the employment opportunities for the Tibetans. 16% of the respondent works under CTA, they are engaged in various departments of CTA such as health, education, administration etc. However, the salary under CTA employment is not satisfactory as stated by the respondent during the survey. Because of this reason many younger generations of Tibetan refugees are attracted to settle abroad or prefer to join SFF in India. And 9% of the respondent belongs to others, the category others include those working under private sector such as working in mall in the cities, beauticians, working under Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh as contractual workers under Public Health Engineering Department and serving in Central job under Special Investigation Branch and ex-serviceman (retired SFF).

Besides, The Tibet Fund also plays an active role in creating economic self-reliance among the Tibetan communities. The Tibet Fund is a non-profit organization based in New York City. It was founded in 1981. It works to facilitate economic self- sufficiency by promoting entrepreneurship, small enterprise development, employment and job competitiveness and vocational training to unemployed youth^{vii}. The Tibet Fund is providing trainings in vocational and business skills among the Tibetan youth to improve their livelihood opportunities.

Tibetan Demography and Workforce Information System (WFIS) is another initiative by CTA, home department which aims to link the fissure between existing workforce of Tibetan community and to meet the developing workforce situation for planning program,

strategies and to access the skills and training needs in the context of changing aspiration among the Tibetan youths and rapidly changing markets and economic environments (Guidelines for TPIS Data Entry, Department of Home, CTA).

WFIS regulate information about the characteristics of workforce, their professional qualification, job demands and support job seekers with work vacancies. It provides basic information about occupation liaison with job markets and guides the higher education programs to address the emerging workforce scenario (Guidelines for TPIS Data Entry, Department of Home, CTA).

Livelihood Pattern of Tibetan Refugees in Tenzingang Settlement

Tenzingang settlement is situated in Sub-Himalayan range in the West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh Northeast India. It is situated near the Indo-Tibetan border and also close to the border of Assam and Bhutan. The Tenzingang settlement was established in the year 1972 to rehabilitate 34 Tibetan refugees living in the scattered places in West Kameng and Tawang District. The land for the settlement is an offering to His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, from a village called Domkho under Kalaktang Subdivision. Besides, the name Tenzingang had been given in the name of his holiness Tenzin Gyatso the 14th Dalai Lama.

The total population of the settlement is 893 and total land area of the settlement is 2123.36 acres. The Tenzingang settlements consist of four camps with a total household of 255 (Tibetan Settlement Office, Tenzingang). The altitude of the settlement is about 6000ft to 6500ft above sea level with an average minimum temperature of 35° to maximum 40°C in summer and minimum in 0°C to 3°C during winter. The average rainfall of the area is around 1543 mm in a year. Of the total land area of 2123.36 acres, 400 acres is used for the cultivation purpose, houses and road usage covered 300 acres, and area covered by forest is 1423 acres.

The basic amenities have been provided to settlement such as school, Sambhota Tibetan School Society administered by CTA; a primary health Centre to provide minor medical assistance to settlement people, and one Tibetan traditional medical Centre (*Mensikhang*) is functioning as well. The settlement has a Buddhist monastery named as Gyuto monastery which consists of 20 monks at present^{viii}.

To support the needs of the settlement people in various aspects and for providing assistance to the Tibetan society, they have a Multipurpose Cooperative Society established in 1986, registered on 9th January 1987 under the registration number Coop (ORG) 25/86 under the Arunachal Pradesh Co-operative Societies Act of 1978. The society runs various sections such as funds horticulture and agricultural projects; runs fair price shop, showroom and general store; it also provides loans in low interest rate to the members of the society for their economic support. Generally, loan is given for the purpose of agriculture assistance and sweater selling business. The cooperative society also run a handmade paper mill; they produce paper from the barks of a tree. It also runs a small handicraft centre which produce carpet presently there are only two carpet weavers in the settlement.

Besides the cooperative society also runs a construction section and take the charge of constructions in the settlement and it also provides a rental transport service in the settlement. One flour mill section is also functional in the settlement under cooperative society. 4 acres of Kiwi and 2 acres of Apple farms are maintained by cooperative society in the settlement. The farm produce is sent to Tibetan Cooperative Society in Sonada, West Bengal. Every member of the settlement is a shareholder in cooperative society. Presently there are 826 shareholders in the cooperative society. They contribute 250 as member fees to the cooperative society and become a member of it and later the profit is shared among the members.

There are some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) working in the settlement such as, Regional Tibetan Women Association established in 2002 for the empowerment and protection of women and Regional Tibetan Youth Congress which works for the cause of Tibet's complete independence.

As the settlement itself is an agriculture settlement, people mostly for livelihood are engaged in agriculture and horticulture. For agricultural purpose cultivation of crops like paddy, millet, barley and vegetables are common while, horticulture products such as apple and kiwi are popular in the area. These products are mostly sold in nearby towns of Assam. CTA provide various assistances to farmers for agricultural needs. There is an Agriculture section in the TSO office administered by an Agriculture Officer. One household in the settlement can avail a loan of 1 lakh at the interest rate of 3%. If 3 or more household wants to take loan together than they can avail a loan up to 5 lakhs. Generally, loan is provided to the farmers for agriculture machinery, animal husbandry, cash crops etc. Besides, if a household cultivate more than five acres of land than there is no interest rate for 9 months but the loan amount has to be returned in a year. The agriculture section also distribute free sapling to the farmers in the settlement and maintenance fund is provided to the farmers for agricultural purpose. The settlement promotes organic farming and all kinds of chemical fertilizers are banned. Table 3 and the corresponding figures shows the main occupation of Tibetans in Tenzingang Settlement.

Table 3: Main occupation for Livelihood in Tenzingang Settlement

Livelihood Activities	No. of Respondents		Total	%
	Male	Female		
Farming	12	09	21	42
Employment under CTA	02	08	10	20
Restaurant/shop owner	03	03	06	12
SFF/Others	10	03	13	26
Total	27	23	50	100

Source: Survey Data

Table 3 show that 42% of the respondents are engaged in agricultural activities. 20% are working as CTA employees; 12% are engaged in business sector and 26% are occupied in other works such as serving in Special Frontier Force (SFF) and other informal jobs. Thus, we can see from the Table 3 above that majority of the Tibetan population in Tenzingang settlement is engaged in agricultural activities- cultivating crops, vegetables and growing fruits. Moreover, the land in the settlement is fertile which results in good productions of vegetables every year. Cabbage cultivation is very common in the settlement and has huge demand in the market. Apple and Kiwi plantations are also flourishing in the settlement.

Other than agriculture, the Tibetan refugees in the settlement are engaged in business sectors such as, running garment shops in the nearby towns, restaurants selling momos (steamed filled dumplings) and thukpas (noodles soup) near highway of the settlement. Mostly Tibetans in Tenzingang Settlement are engaged in agriculture, garment business and running restaurants. During interview, one of the respondents stated that there are more restaurants in the settlement than customers. Owing to absence of sound livelihood prospects in the settlement, many people from the settlement are found doing business in other parts of the state mainly in Itanagar and Bomdila area. Likewise, any other settlement, sweater selling is common in Tenzingang settlement. During winter seasons for 3 to 4 months member of the settlement is engaged in sweater selling business. Sweater selling business contributes as a decent source of income for every household in the settlement. But sweater selling is a seasonal business and they are engaged in it only for few months in a year.

During the field survey it was found that 134 young male members of Tenzingang settlement are engaged in Special Frontier Force (SFF) which is around 15% of the total population of Tenzingang settlement. Opportunities to work under Government sector are not considerably available to the Tibetan Refugees. Thus, younger generation finds it fascinating to serve under SFF. As they believe that as refugees, they are not given opportunities in other government jobs, so to serve in SFF is the only way possible for them as they get recruited easily and its pays well too. Moreover, less economic opportunities in the settlement leads migration of Tibetans outside the settlement for better prospects.

However, the economic condition of Tibetan refugees in Tenzingang settlement if we compare it with other refugee communities and some of the locals in the state is thriving. The support of CTA, Indian government and also the hard work of Tibetans themselves have improved the livelihood conditions of Tibetans in Tenzingang Settlement. Generally, Tibetan people were mostly farmers and nomadic pastoralists but were forced to adapt the new survival skills for livelihood in different environment.

Further, one of the interesting facts is interest among younger generation to settle abroad and search for better livelihood ventures. Table 4 shows the detail of members in Tenzingang Settlement whose families are working abroad.

Table 4: Does anyone from your Family work outside India?

Respondent	Yes	%	No	%	Not Answered	%	Total
Male	11	22	13	26	4	8	27
Female	14	28	7	14	1	2	23
Total	25	50	20	40	5	10	50

Source: Survey Data

Table 4 shows that 50% of the respondents give their responsive as yes. During the field survey, it was found that typically younger generation of household works abroad. Tibetans' youth in Tenzingang Settlement have generally immigrated to Canada and other European countries. In the year 2014, 235 Tibetan Refugees from Tenzingang Settlement were immigrated to Canada under Canada resettlement project initiated by Canada Government on the request of His Holiness Dalai Lama for Tibetan refugees from North East. It was a project to resettle 1000 Tibetan Refugees to Canada from Tibetan Settlement in North East (Field Survey). They are normally engaged in petty jobs such as housekeeping, factory worker, waiters, bakery worker etc. Despite of certain trivial employment opportunities, Tibetan youths are fervent to settle down abroad; as they believe that there are no employment opportunities for them in Tenzingang settlement. Besides if they work abroad, they can support their families in here as the foreign currency exchange in higher rates. This is as well one of the key factors contributing for the economic growth of Tibetan communities in Tenzingang Settlement.

International aids too contribute as a main element for the economic development of Tibetan community in Tenzingang Settlement. Various aids from different countries are funded in the settlement for the development purpose and giving assistance to the settlement members in managing livelihood. Table 5 gives the opinion of the respondent on foreign aids.

Table 5: Do you get any kind of aid from International agencies?

Respondent	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Male	27	54	0	0	27
Female	23	46	0	0	23
Total	50	100	0	0	50

Source: Survey Data

Table 5 show that 100% of the respondents responded as yes. They stated that they do not receive the aid from international agencies directly but they obtain it through CTA. They have received aid from different foreign agencies such as US AID, Project Refugee and migration, German Aid to Tibetan, AET France, Cassada Tibet House Spain, and American Himalayan Foundation etc. These aids are provided to the Tibetan Refugees in the form of sponsorship to children for education, sponsorship for old age people, for developmental project in the settlement and so on. These aids for the Tibetan community are essentials in bringing economic stability for Tibetan communities in settlement.

Table 6 show the details of Monthly income of Tibetan refugees in Tenzingang Settlement.

Table 6: Monthly income of Tibetan Refugees in Tenzingang Settlement

Respondent	Less than Rs.20,000	%	Between Rs.20,000- 30,000	%	Between Rs.50,000- 1,00,000	%	More than Rs. 1,00,000	%	Total
Male	19	38	3	6	1	2	0	0	23
Female	14	28	10	20	3	6	0	0	27
Total	33	66	13	26	4	8	0	0	50

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 6 illustrate the monthly income of selected respondent in the settlement. 66% of the respondent fall under the category, less than Rs 20000, 26% falls under the category between Rs 20,000-30,000, the respondents which fall under this category are generally from business sector and 8% falls under the category, between Rs 50,000-100,000 and lastly the category more than Rs.1,00,000 is nil. Thus, the table indicates that the common income level of Tibetans in the settlement is under the category less than Rs.20,000. Tibetans in Tenzingang settlement are mostly engaged in small scale agriculture activities. Thus majority of the respondent's monthly income fall in the category of below Rs 20000. Besides, Tibetans in the settlement those who are living in scatter communities and working outside the states are earning well. Typically, the elderly members are remaining in the settlement; unable to work outside. Younger generations are in search of better livelihood opportunities in other parts of the country and abroad leaving behind the settlement.

Conclusion

Being a refugee in India, Tibetan refugees are deprived of healthier livelihood opportunities. They are denied many employment opportunities which in due course show the way to migrate outside the settlement and settle abroad. During the visit in field, it was found many younger generations of Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh are settled abroad engaged in trivial jobs. Given the fact though, many are interested in moving abroad; because they do not find any proper livelihood opportunities here in the settlement in Arunachal Pradesh. Tibetans' settlements in Arunachal Pradesh are based on agricultural settlement and mainly they are cultivators. Nonetheless they face marketing problems for their agricultural produce. Besides, the younger generations of Tibetan refugees lack interest in agricultural activities.

Tibetan refugees are denied bank loans from commercial banks and other institutional lenders as they do not have conventional collaterals. For running business, license is required but in Arunachal Pradesh non indigenous people cannot acquire business license. Therefore, Tibetans have to rent a license from the locals and run the business which makes them pay additional for running business. Migration in foreign countries, scatter communities, lack of employment opportunities, and absence of alternative source of livelihood in the settlement is generating a sense of challenges among the Tibetan communities. Scarcity of economic

opportunities for the settlers in the camp is the main reason for declining population in the settlement. In search of better opportunities people are migrating outside. Therefore, there is a vital need to create a better and sustainable economic opportunity for the people living in the settlement in order to make their stay a conducive one. Mostly, the younger generation in the settlement wants to move abroad in search of better economic opportunities.

The paper basically focused on the livelihood opportunities for Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh and the challenges they face as refugees in earning their livelihood. Livelihood opportunities are limited for refugees. As refugees they cannot apply for trading license in Arunachal Pradesh which is a huge obstacle for Tibetan refugee community as running business is one of the main sources of livelihood for them. Tibetan settlement in Arunachal Pradesh is agriculture based settlement; however, during the field survey it was found that there is a problem in marketing their agriculture produce. That's the reason for lack of interest in agricultural activities in the settlement. They have the capacity to produce in larger quantities but face marketing problems in the settlement.

Handicraft industry of Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh is losing its hold. Presently, there is only two handicraft centre in Tibetan settlement in Arunachal Pradesh. There is less demand for this handicraft items in present time. Therefore, weaving as a source of livelihood is declining. Though, Tibetan refugees have limited livelihood opportunities in Arunachal Pradesh nevertheless they have successfully managed to build stable livelihood strategies for years. Tibetan in Arunachal Pradesh is economically progressive. Their business skills and hard work is the main tool for better economic status. Thus, Tibetan Refugees are the most organized and successful refugee community in the state as well as in the country.

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End-note

ⁱ*The Special Survey on Chakma-Hajong Population (2010-11)*, Government of Arunachal Pradesh. Another group of refugee-the Tibetan refugees has been settled in the state since early sixties. They had migrated out of their homeland with the 14th Dalai Lama. They are spread in four refugee settlement areas. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, records a total of 7,530 Tibetan refugees.

ⁱⁱTsona is situated in South of Tibet Autonomous Region, People's Republic of China and it is near Zimithang circle of Tawang District in Arunachal Pradesh.

ⁱⁱⁱPemako also known as as Metok or Motuo country is a traditional region of Nyinchi city in the Tibet Autonomous Region of People's Republic of China.

^{iv}Tibetan Cooperative Society was first registered in April 1963. It is an initiative to meet the urgent need of long-term rehabilitation and sustainable development of Tibetan Settlement in India. The cooperative society gives assistance such as supplying of agriculture inputs, marketing of agriculture produces and handicraft, providing financial assistance, safeguarding of shareholders deposits and generating employment opportunities.

^vCTA is elected Tibetan parliamentary government based in Dharamshala in India. It was formed in 1959 to work for their goal of Tibet's freedom and to protect their religion and culture while living in exile. It is also known as Tibetan Government in Exile.

^{vi}The Special Frontier Force (SFF) is an Indian special operations unit created on 14 November 1962. It mainly comprises Tibetan refugees living in India. Its primary goal originally was to conduct covert operations behind Chinese lines in the event of another Sino-Indian War. Throughout its history, SFF has fought in India's major external wars including the Bangladesh Liberation War and the Kargil War. It has also been involved in internal security, including Operation Blue Star and also serving as the "Personal Force" of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to suppress opposition parties during the state of emergency from 1975 to 1977. It has been part of border operations against China, including the 2020 China-India skirmishes.

^{vii}Tibet Fund is a non-profit organization based in New York City, United States. It was founded in 1981 to sustain Tibetan language, culture and national identity by funding to preserve the health, education, refugee rehabilitation, cultural preservation and economic development programs. The organization works closely with CTA and its various departments to implements programs for Tibetan refugees living in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

^{viii}The great tantric institute called GyutoTantric Monastery (GyutoDratsang) was established for the preservation and promotion of the tradition of tantric teachings of the great Teacher Tsongkhapa, the crown among the learned and accomplished masters of Tibet, who had the transmission of the entire teachings of the Buddha, through Nagarjuna and other learned Indian Buddhist scholars of Nalanda University and great Tibetan translators and accomplished masters. Tibetan people follow Buddhism as their religion; therefore, the monastery has immense value and meaning in their life. Since the Tibetan refugees are deeply religiously inclined people, they visit monastery in every important occasion.