

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Interdisciplinary research approaches of history paved the way to searching new dimension of Local history. This new field attracted the attention of various scholars, historians and academicians of history. Regional and micro level history deals with in-depth study of a locality; a village, a region, a small town, a district or any culturally autonomous region. Simultaneously, it provides a manageable geographical framework along with the approximated processes of wider demographic, economic and political changes of the people. The present work is an attempt towards an interdisciplinary approach to history and focused on the region of Darjeeling hills. It is an attempt at analyzing the changing demography, economy and growing political tension in the hills of Darjeeling from the memorandum submitted by the Hillmen's Association in 1907 for the separation from Bengal to the rise of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha in 2007. The year 1907 is considered as a landmark in the history of Darjeeling as for the first time people in this region started their separate state movement within free India. Simultaneously, year the 2007 also indicate the same movement launched by newly formed political party Gorkha Janmukti Morcha.

Geographically, ethnically and linguistically, the history of the hills of Darjeeling is totally different from the rest of Bengal. In this thesis, discussion will be done on the changing pattern of demography and economy of Darjeeling hills as well as the political tensions both in State and in Central level. The policy or main objective of the British in India was to promoting and safeguarding the imperialism and Darjeeling was not an exception to this. For this purposes, they after taking this tract as a gift from the Raja of Sikkim have been established Sanatorium, Army Regiments, Roads, Railways and various plantation industries.

The Gorkhaland Movement is identified with an ethnic movement. Ethnicity openly negotiates identity in multiple ways and situations making it less outwardly a visible marker whereby on the other hand race rather projects a definite historical institutionalized marker. Nation the other aspect has centralized attention towards self-definition, sovereignty and political rights speaking of which has lesser connectivity with ethnicity but not devoid of it.

The most distinctive feature of this study was the use of new conceptual and analytical tools to define the relationship between the economy and demographic change with the rise of an ethnic

movement. Some of the ideas and concepts have found reflection in the research based on politico-economic approach will help to understand the society, economy and polity of Darjeeling Hills.

Review of literature is an essential part of historical research and are pertinent to the objectives of the study, have been reviewed. It has also the significance to justify the concept of research that has been undertaken. Review of literature has revealed some gaps regarding the proposed study. The following literature has been reviewed to framing the final shape of the proposed study:

Dorzey E.C., “*A Concise History of the Darjeeling District since 1835*” First Published Jetsun Publishing House 1916, Reprint in 2011 by N. L. Publishers House, Shibmandir, Siliguri. The book focuses on the Tea Industry and tourism in Darjeeling. Majority of the tourist mainly go there to enjoy for train and many other things. Prior to the year 1816 the whole of the territory was known as British Sikkim belonged to Nepal. In 1869 the Cart road from Darjeeling to Siliguri was completed. This becomes a convenient means of communication between the plain and hill. The dominant group in the population of Darjeeling is Nepalis. They accounts for the half population. The other half is made up Bhutius, Lapchas, Tibetans, Mechis, Rajbanshis and a heterogeneous lot. The Bhutias in Darjeeling live as a body in BhutiaBasti or village situated is the North East of the hill. This book reflects the physical aspects, the boundaries, the tour and the people of Darjeeling.

Sarkar, Swatasiddha, “*Gorkhaland Movement : Ethnic Conflict and State Response*”, Concep Publishing Company Private Limited, New Delhi, 2013. This book on Gorkhaland Movements attempts to analyses the issue of ethnicity and government response in Darjeeling district. The author gives a critical analysis of the state led response towards the containment of the movement and offers a sociological aspect of resolution. The book also explains the working of regional autonomy model based on the sociology of conflict resolution. The author argues that the main reason for the failure of the government to stop the conflict through autonomous council is its unresponsiveness to the ground reality of ethnic conflict in the hills of Darjeeling. Various facts like the emergence of the violent movement in the 1980s and its persistent demand for regional autonomy and language issue is depicted in this book. It also stated that the solution

of ethnic conflict in Darjeeling does not lie in addressing developmental concerns through negotiations with elite groups whose representation of the population is questionable.

Subba, Tanka Bahadur, “*ETHNICITY, STATE AND DEVELOPMENT: A Case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*” Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi 1992. It is an important book as well as source of information to the study of Gokhaland Movement till GNLF agitation for separate state. It also gave a little information about Uttarkhand Movement of Cooch Behar. Moreover, this book represent the origin and effects of ethnic conflict upon the state of West Bengal and highlighted the responsibility of the media for the development of GNLF movement in Darjeeling.

Lama, M.P., (compiled) “*Gorkhaland Movement, Quest for an Identity*,” Published by Department of Information & Cultural Affairs DGHC, 1996. The author in this book argues that the demand for Gorkhaland as a constitutional state within the Union of India has been one of the oldest India. The Gorkhaland demand has to face several ups and downs and has over years taken various political turns. He specifically mentioned the mass movement during 1980’s when Subhash Ghising successfully united the Gorkhas in the hills of Darjeeling to come under one umbrella and demand a separate state known as Gorkhaland. The Gorkha National Liberation Front in its beginning raised the voice about burning issue of the identity of the Indian Gorkhas at the national level. This book provides information about the historic accord signed on August 22, 1988 which finally led to the setting up of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC). The author gives a detail account of the rise and fall of Subhash Ghising and the events that occurred during this movement.

Desai, Mamata, “*Darjeeling: The Queen of the Hills-Geo-Environment Perception*”, K. P. Bagchi & Company, Kolkata, 2014. The natural beauty has been described in this book. The natural calamity and distress has also been pictures here nicely .A graphic description of the natural environments has been delineated here in this books. The growth of tea industry took a leading part in the development and Darjeeling. This book shows the importance of natural rain-fed rivers in the development of this region. We came to know about the tourism industry of Darjeeling. Natural vegetation plays an important role in keeping the landslide problem in control. But in recent times due to deforesting landslides are causing a great loss to human’s life

and poetry. Though this book provided great help but, it lacked in its information regarding the developmental progress of Darjeeling.

Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad, “*Migration between India and Nepal: A Socio-Cultural Study*”, Firma KLM Pvt. Limited, Calcutta, 1996. This book specifically coincide the political relation of Nepal with India and those issues related with migration. Thus it explores the socio-cultural impact of migration in Darjeeling. Therefore, the central objective of the book is too focused on the socio-cultural profile of plantation areas of Darjeeling with the large influx of migration from Nepal to India. But we do not get reliable information about the political history of the area from that book.

Bomjan D. S, “*Darjeeling-Dooars: People and Place under Bengal's Neo-Colonial Rule*” Bikash Jana Sahitya Kendra, Darjeeling, 2008. It discussed about the formation of the district and its various developments from the introduction of tea garden to getting the status of Sixth Schedule. The text only represents overall information about the above mentioned theme. Moreover, this writing depends on least historical sources which make the text less historical.

Bhanja, K.C., “*History of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalaya*”, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993. “Darjeeling always seems to refresh our mind and thrilling. This book by K. C. Bhanja describes the graphic natural beauty of this Hill Queen. He has also described the legends, rituals, expedition and people of Darjeeling. The mountain lakes, the streams and the glaciers are also depicted here. The description of natural calamity in this region shakes our heart. But this book does not add enough description to the growth and developments of the Darjeeling Town.

Samanta, Amiya Kumar, “*Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*” A. P. H Publishing House, New Delhi, 2000. This book dealt about ethnic differences of Nepal, emergence of Nepal as a state and the story of the formation of Darjeeling district. After that, this text turn its focus on Darjeeling hill people's identity and point out chronological events of Gorkhaland Movement. The most special features of the book is that, it provides various important copies of the memorandums, treaties, letters, agreements related to the movement. Moreover, it presents an analytical history of the movement till 1987.

Bagchi, Romit, “*Gorkhaland: Crisis of Statehood*”, Sage Publications India, New Delhi, 2012. This book deals with the various problem appears insoluble given the set about the formation of a separate state of Gorkhaland, and the people are poignantly aware of the impossibility of realizing this collective reverie. Prior to 1861 and from 1870–1874, Darjeeling District was a "Non-Regulated Area" (where acts and regulations of the British Raj did not automatically apply in the district in line with rest of the country. In 1947, the undivided Communist Party of India (CPI) submitted a memorandum to the Constituent Assembly with copies to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Vice President of the Interim Government, and Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister of the Interim Government, demanding the formation of *Gorkhasthan* comprising Darjeeling District, Sikkim and Nepal. From 1986 to 1988, the region observed a violent movement for Gorkhaland under the leadership of Subash Ghising and the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) which resulted in the formation of the autonomous Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC).

Lama, Basant B., “*Through the Mists of Time – The Story of Darjeeling: The Land of the Indian Gorkha*” NilimaYonzone Lama Publications, Kurseong, 2008. This text narrated the story of Darjeeling sadar, Kalimpong sub-division and Dooars area of the district which mostly received from the district gazetteers and others sources. Tea plantation, Darjeeling Himalayan Railway and administrative situation during British rule of the district are also discussed. It then highlighted the contribution of the Gorkhas in freedom movement who were involved with Netaji Subash Chandra Bose's INA. Finally, this book also represents the status of Sixth Schedule and Gorkhaland movement up to 1990's.

Chaklader, Snehamoy, “*Sub-Regional Movement in India: With Reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland*” K. P. Bagchi & Co., Kolkata, 2004. It is an important book to know about the historical background Sub-regional movements in India with special reference to Bodoland in Assam and Gorkhaland in West Bengal. The author gave some outline scenario of the two thematic movements. The main objective of the book is to highlight the growth and development of sub-nationalism as well as its impact on the above mentioned region. But as a historical perspective, we do not get sufficient and relevant events as well as information in this book.

Biswas, Sanjay and Roy, Barun, “*Fallen Cicada: Unwritten History of Darjeeling Hills*”, Systematic Computerized Offset Printers, Darjeeling, 2003. Various events, facts, stories,

anecdotes of Darjeeling Hills in brief are highlighted in this book. The visit of a number of prominent personalities to Darjeeling are mentioned in that book like Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, Mark Twain, Mahatma Gandhi, Rishi Aurobindo Ghosh who studied at Darjeeling. Some indigenous personalities are also mentioned in this book like Dal Bahadur Giri, who was an ardent patriot who worked and died for the cause of Independence. Another was Dambar Singh Gurung, the only Nepali member in the Constituent Assembly of India. Numerous photographs, drawings, pictures are also available in this book.

Pradhan, Amber, “*Darjeeling Zillako Rajnaitik Andolan*”, (Darjeeling District's Political Agitation), Shri Madhav Mudranalay, Varanasi, 1985. The political movement from 1907 to the early 1980's in the hills of Darjeeling is written in this book. These demands taking various forms of separate administrative status, hill autonomy, district autonomy, regional autonomy, separation from West Bengal etc. is mentioned beautifully by the author. The demand for separate State outside West Bengal was started by Gorkha League Zilla Committee, Pranta Parishad and GNLF and their agitation based on this demand of Gorkhaland is briefly discussed by the author.

Samaddar Ranabir (ed.), “The Politics of Autonomy: Indian Experiences,” 2005. The author argues that autonomy has to be an essential ingredient in the building of past colonial democracies in this book. The study is based on empirical findings and case studies on the autonomy experiments in Kashmir, Darjeeling and the entire North East. The author divided the whole book into two parts where part I highlighted with genealogy of the issue of autonomy and in Part II dealing with the practices of autonomy.

Datta, Prabhat, “The Hill Council Experiment in West Bengal: A Case Study in Journal of Political Science”, Vol.55.No.1 Jan-March.1994. The author points out the failure of Hill Councils and its works as definite waste. He specifically mentioned that the Hill Council was just used by the GNLF leaders as an institutional device only for further political gains. He also throws light on the situation that became a battle ground between GNLF and the State government regarding flow of funds and transfer of functions and government departments. He point out that the failure can be attributed to the leadership of DGHC which tried to utilize this institution for narrow personal ends. The author also suggests that improvements can be made if

the leaders become more serious, responsible and works only for their people except individual political gains.

Malley, LSS O', Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling, 1907. This Gazetteer is a very essential and important published primary source for understanding the historical background of Darjeeling in the early period of 19th Century. These Official records provide a bulk of information on all aspects of the region as well as the early history before independence. It provides us a systematic analysis about the early inhabitants of the region, their way of life, habits, customs, religious rites and rituals, festivals and indeed everything concerning them.

Gorkhaland Agitation, Facts and Issues, Information Document I, Government of West Bengal, 1986 and Gorkhaland Agitation, Facts and Issues, Information Document II, Government of West Bengal, 1987. Both document published by the Director of Information Calcutta on the agitation for a separate state for Nepali speaking population in Darjeeling and its vicinity by the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF). It dealt with an assessment of the impact of the ten months old agitation during 1980s by the GNLF on the economic and social life in the hills of Darjeeling. These documents generally provide an updated account of the events occurred in the region during 1980's.

Singh, Bhai Nahar and Singh, Bhai Kirpal "*History of All India Gurkha League 1943-1949*", Nirmal Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1987. The main features of this book are thoroughly discussed events of a series of publications on the subject "Political Parties and Organizations in India from 1937 to 1957". More importantly, the book comprises of original documents in chronological order which shows the formation, purpose and growth of the All India Gurkha League. Both the author used documents like Letters, Notes, Reports, Memorandums, Extracts, Mass Meeting Proceedings, Proceeding of Conferences, Resolutions passed, Summary of discussions, Telegram etc. in this book. These are the important source of information in the field of research particularly on the political movements in the hills of Darjeeling.

Gurung, Bir Bikram, "*Gorkha League Dekhi Gorkhaland Samma : Atihasik Tippani*" (From Gorkha League to Gorkhaland - A Historical Perspective), Jai Bharat Printing Press, Varanasi, 1996. This book is written in Nepali and provides some valuable informations about the

Gorkhaland movement in Darjeeling. The author makes some historical and political analysis using various primary and secondary source materials in this book. This book describes the rise and fall of political and social organizations in Darjeeling in a systematic manner. The author also highlighted the social and literary activities of Darjeeling people, their linguistic efforts, their political awareness, and the activities of different political parties.

Thulung, Sukura, “*Gorkhaland Andolan*”, Graphic Prints, New Delhi, 2005. Collection of a weekly Newspaper entitled 'Ama' (meaning mother) which was in circulation during the Gorkhaland Agitation is the main feature in this book. This Newspaper had been in circulation in Darjeeling hills, Sikkim, Dehradun and some parts of Calcutta, Assam, Dooars, Lucknow, Delhi and Nepal. The author himself was the editor of that newspaper. It can be said that the author's intention was to bring out a newspaper that was in favor of the Gorkhaland Agitation. This book also contains some news items, articles, correspondence, etc of the agitation period written in Nepali, Hindi, English and Adivasi languages. The author mainly highlighted those news items in the book which dealt with politics and views of political leaders of Darjeeling hills during 1986-1988.

Chakraborty, Subhas Ranjan "Identity. Movements and Peace: The Unquiet Hills in Darjeeling" in Ranabir Samaddar and Helmut Reifeld edited “*Peace as Process. Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution in South Asia*”, Manohar Publisher, New Delhi, 2001. In this paper the writer has tried to provide the idea of the question of ethnic identity in Darjeeling and the evolution of a separate Gorkha Nepali identity in the hills. The author seeks to explore the development of the identity crises and the root of the problem that emerged in Darjeeling after independence. The entire period of violent movement led by Ghising and GNLF is also discussed in this paper. He also analyses the leading events that finally gave the birth of a new separate administrative framework in Darjeeling (DGHC). The paper briefly gives some idea of Gorkha identity and its association with Darjeeling which can have satisfaction only with the establishment of a separate state.

Wangyal, Dr. Sonam B., “*Sikkim and Darjeeling, Division and Deception*”, KMT Press Pvt. Ltd., Phuentsholing, Bhutan, 2002. This is a very important and valuable book for understanding the history of the colonial Darjeeling and Sikkim. It provides information about the story of British by employing deception, cunning, trickery, lies and bullying tactics annexed south

Sikkim to their vast Empire. Furthermore, it analyses the events that how the new British Sikkim was added Kalimpong and subsequently the District of Darjeeling. This book also deals with chronological facts of Deed to grant of Darjeeling and the annexation of the larger areas.

From the review of literature presented above, it is revealed that all the studies have paid adequate attention about the movement dynamics. The above mentioned studies mostly concentrate on historical, economic, political, approaches to understand factors and forces, issues and events operating in the hills of Darjeeling. Numerous works have been done and researches in this area but building a relationship between the economy and demographic change with the rise of an ethnic movement is the gap which existed. The present work has tried to adopt this new direction and analyzed the intricate relationship between demography and economy and its impact on the rise of an ethnic movement i.e, Gorkhaland.

The thesis has been written and organized into seventh chapters including introduction and conclusion. The first chapter is an introductory part of the thesis.

The second chapter throws attention to the formation of Darjeeling district. The name of the origin of this district and geographical location has been mentioned through the historical viewpoint. The strategically importance and British interest simultaneously highlighted in this portion. Strategically, it would safeguard the northern Indian border from China, Bhutan and India Sikkim also commanded the historic Kalimpong-Lhasa trade route which was the shortest route to Tibet. The next portion focuses on the transfer of power of the territory from one to another. Darjeeling was ceded to the British as a gift in 1835 and then it has changed its status several times. The Raja of Sikkim was persuaded to give away Darjeeling to the British on 1st February, 1835, the deed of grant was signed which just comprised 357.4sq.km. L. S. S O'Malley opined that, "It was wholly covered by forests and it has been said that there were not even twenty resident families or households in the area." From the beginning of the 19th century the English East India Company began to take active interests in Darjeeling, and the whole territory came under the British occupation in three phases during the thirty years from 1835 to 1865.

The establishment of sanatorium, tea gardens, roads, buildings, educational institutions has been mentioned in this chapter. Immigration and growth of tea gardens interlinked to each other and

the detail analysis of every moment shown by this portion. The next wave of the same chapter focuses on the process of urbanization in the hills of Darjeeling. The post-independent political status of the Northeast was settled in a piecemeal fashion. Partition in 1947 split hill tribes living on the new border with East Pakistan, further east, the separation of Burma from British India had already divided hill communities.

The third chapter throws attention on the changing demography and structure of the society in the hills of Darjeeling. Demographic changes helped to transform every region into several socio-economic and political perspectives. The demographic changes in the hills of Darjeeling also led to the socio-economic and political transformation with the migration in plantation areas. Darjeeling was sparsely populated forest region before British occupation mentioned in second chapter. Darjeeling had been made into a sanitarium for the weary British soldiers. The process of migration both by “push” and “pull” factor is highlighted here. Simultaneously, increase of migrated population and vanishing of original inhabitants has also been mentioned here. The next and inevitable changing structure of the society in the region explore in another portion of the same chapter. The relevant listed tables are also been included with explanation in this chapter.

The fourth chapter explains the economic growth and urbanization in the hills of Darjeeling. Darjeeling district offers the most remarkable example of growth of population stemming mainly from immigration from outside India. The most important factors for the large inflow of the Nepalis were the establishment of the tea industry which required a large labour force and also this rapid expansion is due entirely to the migration of agriculturalists. The first census was taken in the hill areas after the formation of the district in 1869 and it was found that the population was around 22,000. Lepchas and Bhutias, the early inhabitants of this region area tribal community of the Darjeeling hills have recently been described as the single biggest community amongst the agricultural labour of the region.

The three Ts or more specifically tea, timber and tourism were the key factor for the economic development of Darjeeling. The roads and railways of the district was the creation of the British rule. Tourism is a major source of economic activity in Darjeeling hills and is one of the three pillars of Darjeeling’s economy which were managed privately by the hoteliers and transport company owners until 1958. As regards the influx of agriculturists, its extent will be apparent

from the exceptional growth of the population of the Kalimpong tract to the east of the Tista. Policies like the Land Reclamation and Wasteland Rules for Darjeeling favoured the settlements and growth of Darjeeling. The next portion throws light on internal and external trade with tables.

The fifth chapter of the selected thesis describes about ethnicity, ethnic identity and conflict, separate statehood demand from 1907 to 2007. As already mentioned earlier that both, the year 1907 and 2007 is two different landmark of the history of Darjeeling. The first type was initially voiced by the retired Nepali army and police officers, who were supported by the Nepali aristocrats and traders. They submitted a memorandum in 1907 to the British Government, pleading for the creation of a separate administrative for the Darjeeling outside Bengal but within the British Indian Empire. The question of identity among the Nepali people in the hills and the demand of statehood is the nucleus objective of the movement. The identity crisis among the people of the district, ethnic conflict, Nepali language movement and movement for separate state has been discussed in this chapter. Various types of demands for autonomy of Darjeeling began to converge in the 1950s and in the 1960s. For example, the movements for the recognition of Nepali language in the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution as well as for the autonomous status of Darjeeling within the province of West Bengal. In fact, the major portion of the chapter has shown the violent statehood movement during 1980's.

In independent India, The GNLF, a party formed mainly to carve and protect the distinct identity of the Indian Nepalis of Darjeeling in particular, has produced a kind of demonstration effect on the other communities living in the area. Western concepts of State and nationalism failed to justify itself in a country of multi racial and multi ethnicity. Nations are nation-states in Western Europe, Switzerland being the only exception. The Indian nationalist felt compelled to assert that India was a nation... It seemed quite improper for India to without a nationality. The Lepchas and Bhutias, who have now become the ethnic minorities, when compared to the major Nepali community, but have been living here since time immemorial, are keen on bringing revivalism of their own respective ethnicity, traditions and culture. People in this region made various attempts under several organisations to getting separate status of language, ethnicity and finally separate state. It is due to their economic backwardness, weak democratic decentralization of power and Nepali ethnic aspirations.

The sixth chapter mainly based on establishment, structure and functions of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. The DGHC was an autonomous body in the hills of Darjeeling. The process of democratic decentralization of power, which has started with the functioning of the elected and autonomous Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, nourished further to include all relevant aspects of Nepali ethnic aspirations. This process is more comprehensively enshrined not only in the urban middle class of the hills of Darjeeling but also in the plantation workers and poor peasants of the hills who actively involved in the grass-root decentralization of power. The various institutions or organizations of DGHC and power of each sector has been mentioned in a systematic manner. Along with the growth of literary movement for Nepali cultural identity, ethnic exclusiveness was expressed through demands for autonomy in Darjeeling. After the fall of DGHC for its unsatisfactory economic development of the hills, the movement lost its backbone and emerged a new political organization in 2007 aiming to achieving Gorkhaland.

The seventh chapter briefly analyzes the emergence of new hill political party in the hills of Darjeeling. This newly formed party came into limelight in 2007 under the leadership of Bimal Gurung. He along with some hill people formed Gorkha Janmukti Morche (GJM), an independent party against Gorkha Nation Liberation Front (GNLF). The main aim and objective of the party was same as earlier except its nature of the movement which is discussed in chapter no. seven. However, the demand of separate Gorkhaland for Darjeeling was the core objective of this party. The GJMM movement launched against DGHC and its Chairman Subhas Ghising and then Sixth Schedule status for this region. After that they raised their voice for the creation of Gorkhaland which proposed political map covered some strategic areas surrounded with the Darjeeling. For achieving the goal, the party supporters organized several rallies, meetings and submitted memorandums like GNLF. The detailed explanation is cited in the second paragraph of the chapter eight. The movement became violent till the establishment of Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA).

The eight or last chapter is concluding part. The summary and findings of the whole study has been mentioned in this.

The study is based on the theoretical framework of ethnicity and identity. The ethnic political tension aroused in the hills due to the demographic change vis a vis the economic transformation in the Colonial and post Colonial period. “Ethnicity embraces groups differentiated by colour,

language religion; it course ‘tribes’, ‘races’, and castes.” Similar argument has been done by Max Weber that, “ethnic groups are those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exist.” Ansell says “ethnicity is voluntarily self-identification for the ultimate aim of identifying us.” (Amy Ansell E, “Race and Ethnicity: The Key Concepts”, Oxon: Routledge, 2013)

The thesis is thus based on the concept of ethnicity which is ascribed on some inherent qualities i.e., “decent based attributes” which has both subjective and objective implication. Here ethnicity is used as synonymous to identity and ethnic identities are more a representative of collective issue rather than individual. The ethnicity or identification of the ‘Gurkhas’ from Nepal was largely a colonial construction as the Gurkha ‘martial race’ needed in British Indian army as hardly and loyal soldiers. The Nepali language or *Khaskura* as the cultural heritage of the group developed as a lingua franca of Darjeeling hills after the migration of the Nepalese. Along with this there was huge flow of people from Nepal as tea garden workers farming a separate identity through a common language, common experience of settlement in the Darjeeling hills and sharing the common sentiment. The common sentiment of a separate race or ‘*jati*’ led to various demands in establishing their identity. In the post independence period the emotional attachment of ‘belonging’ was politicized by specific parties such as All India Gorkha League (A.I.G.L.), Communist Party of India (C.P.I.), Pranta Parishad, Gorkha National Liberation Front (G.N.L.F.) and Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (G.J.M.) by the sentiment with the issue of identity. These political parties using various cultural symbols of Gorkha identity demanded a separate state creating political tensions and separatist movement in the country.

The whole study conducted following the qualitative and qualitative method of analysis. The primary sources based on archival materials in the form of government published and unpublished records have been included. The secondary sources collected from various regional libraries, state, as well as national level in form of books, journals and periodicals. Interviews and field surveys was also conducted in order to fulfill the empirical method of research. Various tools and techniques have been applied to collect the data such as interviews and field surveys.