

Chapter I

1. Introduction

1.1 Clarifying the term 'Bhutia'

Ethnicity has been mostly defined as the people having 'common ties of race, language, culture and origin. Ethnicity is understood as a social construct and is by nature changeable and influenced by factors like social and political environment and situations. Broadly, ethnicity is shaped by historical and political influences. One of the prominent feature of ethnicity is that, it is embedded in social, historical, and political contexts.

Ford M. E and Kelly PA. in their work '*Conceptualizing and categorizing race and ethnicity in health services research*' (2005), defines 'Ethnicity' as a complex social construct that influences personal identity and group social relations. Ethnicity, encompasses multi factorial aspects of social life like culture, traditions, and identity. It is a term bestowed on ethnic groups which is identified by their distinctive cultural attributes such as language and religion (G.D. Berreman, 2001).

Wsevolod W. Isajiw, University of Toronto, in '*Definition and Dimensions of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Framework*', (1993, pp. 407-27), explains two types of ethnicity or ethnic groups; primary and secondary. Primary ethnic groups are indigenous groups that exist and live in the original place where they are formed. In case of the secondary ethnic groups, their origin is different from the existing one. These type of ethnic group do not share any of their original cultural and historical background with the existing one.

According to the '*Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group*' by Umana-Taylor et al., 2014, ethnic and racial identity is multifaceted and its formation depends on socio-historical developments. Many scholars argue that the ethnic groups are influenced by ethnic identity. Tseng and Kiang, 2014, emphasizes that ethnicity and ethnic identity are influenced by both historical and contemporary factors. To Erikson (1968), identity is viewed as evolving situations across time and ethnic identity is constant. In sociological perspective 'identity' refers to a social category where a set of people are marked by certain characteristics. Thus, 'identity' may be referred to both social categories and individual self-respect or dignity.

Society is created and no doubt the phenomenon in it is ever-changing, accommodating to the change and modifications. People strive for stability but somehow are merged in direction of change, bringing change in their ethnic identity. Change is the law of nature and social structure is also subject to incessant change. The word “change” denotes some observable differences in the activities in the sphere of social, political and cultural phenomena experiences.

The focus of the present study is the change that has set in the socio-economic status of the Bhutias of Sikkim, who enjoy the status of one of the ethnic communities of Sikkim, who also enjoy the status of Scheduled Tribe of India.

Ethnic tribes are an inseparable part of the population, not only in India but through out the world as well. Study on tribes is carried by scholars and academicians belonging to various fields like anthropology, sociology, geography, history, and other related disciplines.

Tribes are regarded as subgroups within a larger cultural group in a society with same culture, traditions and language. The term ‘Tribe’ has received different meanings and nomenclatures from different scholars. It is sometimes described as ‘aboriginals’ or ‘depressed classes’, and to most of the people, it refers to a group of people or families professing the primitive religion known as ‘Animism’, living in some isolated area following primitive way of living and having some common name, dialect, culture and traditions (Desai, ed.1989, p.223). According to Oxford Dictionary, ‘Tribe’ is “a group of people who live in the same area and share same language, culture and history”. In the Indian context, ‘Ethnic Tribe’ means a primitive homogeneous group identified with rich culture and tradition (Majumdar & Madan, 1970).

According to Ministry of Tribal Affairs Statistics Division, Government of India (GOI), 2013, India is the country with largest tribal communities in the world. It accounts to around sixty eight million of tribal population. In total, the tribal population is divided into 227 different ethnic groups and 573 of tribal communities live in diverse geographical regions in the country. Many of the tribal groups have been recognised as Scheduled Tribes (ST) by Article 366 (25) of the Indian Constitution by the President of India through the amendment of the Act of Parliament. Total Scheduled Tribes notified in India is 705 (Ministry of Tribal Affairs Statistics Division GOI, 2013). Some special provisions have been provided for the socio-economic development of these groups. The tribal groups are safeguarded through various constitutional reservations in the

field of education, cultural, social, economic, political and service sectors.

Furthermore, some special articles like; Article 342 (provisions for statutory recognition), Articles 330 and 332 (proportionate representation in Parliament and state legislatures), Article 19(5) (restrictions on the right of the ordinary citizen in their free movement, settlement and acquire any property in any particular areas) and Article 29 (conservation of one's language, dialects and culture) have protected the tribal groups. The Indian constitution further entrusted the State governments to make provision of seat reservations in jobs for these groups (Article 16(4) (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, January 2014, pp.4-5).

The Scheduled Tribe population in India since Census 1961 has increased from 30.1 million in 1961 to 104.3 million in 2011.

Table 1.1. Scheduled Tribe Population in India (1961-2011)

Census Year	Total population (in millions)	Scheduled Tribes population (in millions)
1961	439.2	30.1
1971	547.9	38.0
1981	665.3	51.6
1991	838.6	67.8
2001	1028.6	84.3
2011	1210.6	104.3

Source: Population Census, 2011, Government of India.

As per the population census 2011, the proportion of ST population in India is 8.6% where 11.3% are in rural areas and 2.8% in urban areas. According to Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Statistics Division, Government of India, Scheduled Tribes in India are located in two distinct geographical area: Central India and North- Eastern Area. Large number of Scheduled Tribes are concentrated in Central India, mainly in Madhya Pradesh (14.69%), Chhattisgarh (7.5%), Jharkhand (8.29%), Andhra Pradesh (5.7%), Maharashtra (10.08%), Orissa (9.2%), Gujarat (8.55%) and Rajasthan (8.86%). The states like Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh forms the ST population of North East Area. State-wise distribution of tribal villages by different concentration of groups in the country is presented below.

Table 1.2 State-wise Distribution of Tribal Villages by Different Concentration of Groups – 2001 & 2011

State	100% Tribals		> 90% Tribals		> 75% Tribals		> 50% Tribals		>25% Tribals	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Jammu & Kashmir ^[SEP]	157	89	358	369	460	488	711	766	1168	1295
Himachal Pradesh ^[SEP]	248	230	444	490	611	682	808	966	1011	1411
Punjab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chandigarh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uttarakhand	42	35	102	85	234	174	461	419	650	640
Haryana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rajasthan	1538	1152	3468	4456	4820	5701	6872	7763	9571	10654
Uttar Pradesh	20	23	49	124	63	197	74	340	93	623
Bihar	177	98	287	295	399	447	611	720	989	1155
Sikkim	4	2	12	17	36	51	77	138	178	285
Arunachal Pradesh	2165	2382	2894	3929	3144	4367	3378	4667	3555	4859
Nagaland	551	215	1105	1136	1201	1265	1247	1351	1271	1388
Manipur	1244	554	1586	1741	1663	1844	1694	1887	1722	1905
Mizoram	370	130	642	651	677	684	697	699	702	700
Tripura	123	22	302	301	377	385	451	466	549	564
Meghalaya	3944	1890	5257	5867	5460	6099	5575	6205	5621	6262
Assam	2772	1503	4309	4562	5107	5406	6311	6626	7689	8066
West Bengal	992	711	1601	1629	2302	2357	3900	3977	7256	7454
Jharkhand	3317	2451	6291	6370	8870	9008	12118	12239	15015	15171
Odisha	5085	3839	8688	8684	12249	12396	17531	17798	23000	23208
Chandigarh	1083	1076	3242	3200	5956	5926	9441	9418	12392	12298
Madhya Pradesh	2670	1619	7412	7338	10714	10687	14927	15022	20780	20927
Gujarat	1345	935	3446	3531	4007	4089	4934	4970	6089	6085
Daman& Diu	-	-	3	2	3	3	5	5	8	9
Dadra& Nagar Haveli	9	5	43	44	56	57	63	62	70	64
Maharashtra	1214	930	3614	3760	4785	4836	6640	6738	9944	10257
Andra Pradesh	2407	1466	3812	3928	4444	4515	5239	5335	6589	6748

Karnataka	78	61	224	224	438	447	1032	1083	2799	3000
Goa	-	2	-	11	-	19	-	38	-	78
Lakshadweep	-	1	7	4	8	5	8	5	8	6
Kerela	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6	25	26
Tamil Nadu	75	46	210	231	267	282	323	320	391	391
Pondicherry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A&N Islands	112	41	141	77	157	84	163	89	167	93
All India	31742	21508	59549	63056	78508	82501	105296	110118	139302	145622

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs Statistics Division Government of India, 2013.

Scheduled Tribes in India have emanated from five language families: 1) Andamanese, 2) Austro-Asiatic, 3) Dravidian, 4) Indo-Aryan and 5) Tibeto-Burman (Linton, 1936, p. 231).

The Bhotias form the fifth group and are mostly found in the Indian Himalayan Region. The Indian Himalayan Region represents nearly 18.5% of the total tribal population of India. The distribution of Bhotia/Bhutia population shows that around 200,000 are in India.

Bhotias are generally known by different names. The nomenclature they carry are Bhotia, Bhutia, Bhote, Bhuti, Buddha etc. The Bhotia/Bhutia/Bhotey as they are called are either directly migrated from Tibet or are the descendants of the migrated Tibetans. The name Bhotia/Bhutia/Bhotey is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Bhotah' which means Tibet in Tibetan language. Bhutia is therefore, referred to as Tibetan. In India, Bhutia is an assortment of different tribes descended from migrated Tibetans like: Ladaki Bhutias, Arunachali Bhutias, Bhutanese Bhutias (Dukpa or Drukpas), the Sikkimese Bhutias (Denzongpa or Lho-po¹) and the Tibetan refugees who have migrated after 1959. Hence, Bhotia/ Bhutia/Bhotiya are Tibetans migrated from Tibet with mongoloid characteristics.

According to historians, altogether three important migrations took place from Tibet; migration during the 7th century; migration during the 10th-11th century; and migration between 14th -16th century. The migration that took place in the third stage are settled in the central and eastern regions of the country. The constitution of India refers Bhutias to the Tibetan speaking inhabitants in the country (Ghosh, 2007).

¹ The term 'Lhopo' refers to Bhutias who migrated from southern Tibet and has Tibetan ancestry.

Thus, the Bhutias are mostly based in the Himalayan region bordering Tibet and have close connection with the Tibetans. Tibetans are commonly called as 'Bhot' and apparently this may be the reason for calling these people with Tibetan connection as Bhutias.

The Bhutia community are mostly settled in the highland zone of the country. Occupationally, they have been involved in trade in the Himalayan borders in items like rock-salt, borax, raw wool, woollen cloth, sheep, horses etc. from Tibet and they also exported cereals, sugar, implements, utensils, mill made woollen and cotton cloths and articles of daily use from India to Tibet. Besides this, they also worked as guides and porters to the pilgrims visiting Kailash Mansarovar. Above this, they were also involved in agricultural activities, handicraft, pastoralism etc. Pastoralism is close to Bhutias economic activity. Sheep, goat, ponies, yak and jibus are the most used animals by them (Bhatt, Joshi & Tiwari, 2009).

The changed bilateral relations between India and China since 1960's however, restricted their trading activities in the cross border areas of Tibet and compelled them to be on the look out for other jobs and occupations. Bhutias received support from the Indian government which declared them as Scheduled Tribe in 1967. Job reservations in the administration, army, paramilitary and police forces were arranged for this group (Chatterjee, 1996, p.162).

As per the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) conducted by Sir George Abraham Grierson, Bhutias belong to Tibeto – Burman family. According to the survey Bhutias includes Tibetans, Bhutias of Sikkim, Sherpa, a branch of Bhutia tribe, Drukpa (Bhotia of Bhutan), Ladakhi (Bhotia of Ladakh, Murmi or Tamang, Lahuli (Bhotia of Lahul), Balti (Bhotia of Baltistan), Bhotia of Spiti and Bhotia of Purik (Grierson 1909 : pp. 14 – 15 & 1927: pp. 54 – 55).

However, some study shows difference in their nomenclature and origin. According to studies, Bhutias in India do not have common origin. According to S.K Chaterjee, the origin of Bhotiyas of Uttarakhand of all the seven river valleys is very uncommon. According to RamRahul, "..... the Jods, the Bhotias of Uttarkashi affirm that they have migrated from Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh. The Bhotias of the regions bordering Tibet, including the Jads of Uttarkashi, are commonly called Johari Shaukas. The Bhotias of Uttarakhand who have settled in the seven river valleys have derived their name as Darmisa, Chaundasis (in Kumaun), Marchhas, Joharis, Vyanshis, Tolchhas and Joda (in Garhwal) (Chatterjee, 1996, p.162). Similarly, the Bhutias of

Sikkim have different origin and are called Denzongpas, residents of Denzong, meaning, Valley of rice.

The study on Bhutias of the Indian Himalayas further presents some social, cultural and religious differences. Variation in the religion is seen among the Bhutia community as a whole. In the Central Himalayas, the Jad Bhutia practice Buddhism, while other Bhutia groups profess Hinduism or the religion is a mixture of Lamaistic Buddhism, Hinduism, and Animism. The study by S. K. Chatterjee, (1996) in his work '*Scheduled Castes in India*', (p.162) elicits that the Johari Bhutia are Hindus and use the services of Brahmans. The Bhutias of Sikkim, Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri of West Bengal and many inhabitants of Eastern Himalayas mostly profess Mahayana Buddhism in the form of Tantrik Buddhism that exists in Tibet (Ghosh, 2007).

1.2 The Bhutias of Sikkim

As per the constitution (Sikkim) Scheduled Tribes Order,1978, Bhutia groups of Sikkim includes Chumbipa, Dophthapa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa and Yolmo. All these groups are of Tibetan origin and use Tibetan script though they may differ in dialects. Once settled in Sikkim, slowly they got conglomerated within the Bhutia group. It appears that these groups have come from one or the other part of Tibet, mainly south-east Tibet.

Tibetans are the migrated Bhote people from U and Tsang districts of Tibet after the era of formation of Chogyal rule in Sikkim. The migration of Tibetans into Sikkim may be categorised into two stages: Tibetans migrated before 1959 and Tibetans migrated after 1959. The Tibetans are grouped into smaller clans like *Thomowa*, *Drobthaba*, *Khampa*, *Lhasawa*, *Tsongpa* and *Andowa*; named after the places in Tibet they have migrated from. They are generally identified as "*Bhote*" in Sikkim and are mostly concentrated in East district of Sikkim.

Thus, on the whole, Bhutias are descendants of Tibetans who migrated a few hundred years ago to Sikkim and finally established their rule in Sikkim. Bhutias are considered as different from that of Bhotia (Tibetan). After their migration and establishment of Namgyal dynasty in Sikkim, the migrated Tibetans, especially the descendants of Khey-Bumsa namely: Zhantarpa or Sandarpa, TshogyuTarpa, Nyungyepa and Guru Tashepa and the eight Tibetan families known as the *hBeps-m Tshan-bGyad* that migrated along with them call themselves as Bhutias, Sikkimese

or Denzongpas and they prefer to maintain their separate identity as different from Tibetans in Sikkim. They are also called the '*Lhorees*' (Risley, 1894). Tibetan customs and traditions are found in the Bhutias but with some modifications and alterations. Tibetans are basically the followers of 'Gelupa' sect of Mahayana Buddhism while the Sikkimese Bhutias mostly belong to 'Nyingmapa' sect of Mahayana Buddhism. The Tibetan script is followed by them, however, with some difference in their dialects. Bhutias form one of the prominent ethnic tribes of Sikkim, the other two being the Lepchas and the Nepalese.

Topas or Tromo-pas are group of Bhutia tribes that have come from Paro and Ha in Bhutan after the installation of Bhutia kingdom in Sikkim. This group of Bhutias are considered to be inferior to the 12 Bhutia tribes. Topas or Tromo are further subdivided into: *To- Lhagopa*, *To- Jamyangpa* and *To- Chu- Khapas*.

Chumbipas are Tibetans from Kham in Tibet, migrated to Hah in Bhutan and settled towards the lower region of the Mochu near Chumbi valley. Hence, they are called Chumbipas. The Chumbipas are found to be divided into six sub-groups: *Lhamodar*, *Genynputso*, *Agon*, *Athub-Putsos*, *Dozho-pa* and *Khyim-Pharpa* (Risley, 1894, p. 29). *Tromo-pas* and *Chumbipas* are the Bhutia groups that have migrated to Sikkim in after the foundation of Bhutia rule. Initially, they moved from Tibet to Bhutan and then to Sikkim.

Among the Bhutia group there also exist some lower or minor caste groups named after their place of origin (Namgyal and Dolma, 1908, p. 8) and *Dotrapas/ Dophthapas* are one of them. They are the inhabitants of Dhopta in south Tibet from where they have migrated to Sikkim. The Sherpas originally are said to have come from Kham in eastern Tibet. The Sherpas are found in northeast part of Nepal called Solukhumbu and in Sikkim. The migration of Sherpas took place from 1530 onwards which continued till 1850 (Subba, 2011, p 279). In Sikkim, Sherpas are mostly settled in Ribdi, Bharang, Okharey, Upper Thambong , Begha, Upper Bermiok, Siribadam, Singling and Buriakhop in west Sikkim. Since its recognition as, Scheduled Tribe in 1978 as one of the subgroups of Bhutia tribe, Sherpas share one seat from among the 12 Bhutia Lepcha (BL) seats in the state legislature.

Like Sherpas, Yolmos (also known as Kagetey) have migrated from eastern Tibet. The name Kagetey has been derived from Nepali word '*Kagaj*' which means paper which is allied with the

ancient practice of paper making (Gurung, 2011, p. 139), but this group prefers to be identified as Yolmos rather than as Kagateys. Though this group use Tibetan script and speak Kagatey language, they are more inclined towards Nepali culture and traditions. This is why they are more considered to be Nepalese sub-group by Bhutia organisations in Sikkim. ²

On the whole, it appears that the Bhutias of different regions in India inspite of their claim to have different origins, share close similarities in their socio-cultural system. Their beliefs, religion, traditions, practices, customs, and costumes have common resemblance.

However, after migration, influence of Indian culture and religion has brought some changes and alteration in their actual practice and beliefs. This study closely explore the Bhutias of Sikkim as there has been no comprehensive study on them so far.

² *Survival Skkimese* and *Sikkim Bhutia-Lepcha Apex Committee* are the two organizations that does not accept Yolmos or Kagatey as Bhutia sub-groups.

Section I

Sikkim

Sikkim, a tiny Himalayan kingdom till its merger with India in 1975, is one of the smallest states of India nestled between China to the North, Bhutan to the east, Nepal to the west and West Bengal (India) in the south. Sikkim marks with the total area of 7,096 sq. km and density of population is 86 per sq. km (Census 2011). The state has four districts namely, East, West, South, and North with headquarters at Gangtok, Gyalshing, Namchi and Mangan respectively.³

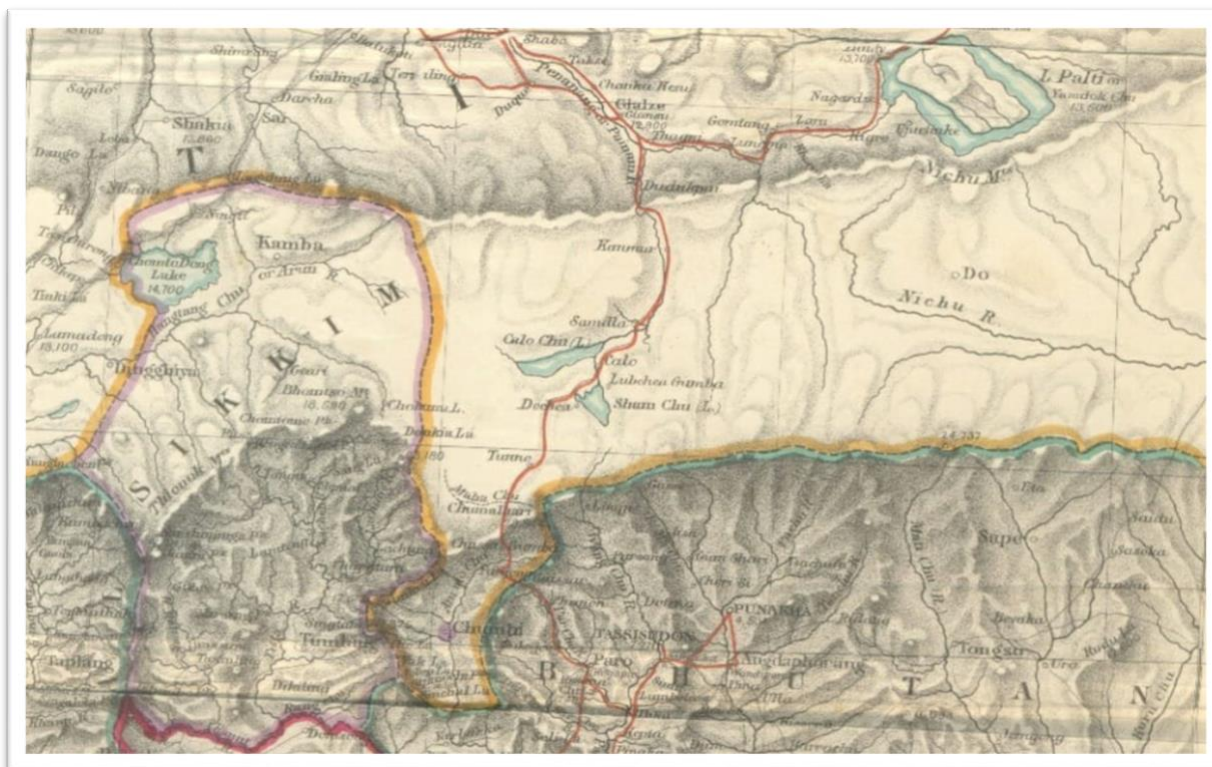
Fig.1.1.1. Map of Sikkim



Source: <https://blogs.bl.uk/endangeredarchives/2016/10/sikkim-palace-archives.html>

³ Sikkim at present has six districts. Two more districts, Soreng (formerly part of West Sikkim) and Pakyong (formerly part of East Sikkim) have been created by the Government of Sikkim through a gazette notification that came into force in December, 2021. There has been change in the nomenclature of the four existing districts. North district will be now called Mangan, West Sikkim will be called Gyalshing, East district will be called Gangtok and South district will be now called Namchi. This is a very recent development. Our study is based on the four districts only.

Fig.1.1.2. Topographic Map of Sikkim



Source: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/map-of-sikkim.html>

The state has sixteen (16) sub-divisions, thirty-two (32) sub-division blocks and 185 GPUs (Gram Prasashan Unit). The highest number of blocks is in West district followed by East district, South and North district. There exists seven (7) Municipal Corporations based on the population density and other relevant factors.

Table 1.3. The Administrative Set-up of Sikkim

District	District Headquarter	Area in Sq. Km	No. of Sub-Division	No. of GVKs	No. of GPUs	No. of Panchay at Wards	Municipal Corporation/ Nagar Panchayat/Nagar Pallika
West	Gyalshing	1,166	4	10	61	348	1
South	Namchi	750	4	8	48	283	2
East	Gangkok	954	4	10	51	283	3
North	Mangan	4,226	4	4	25	126	1
Total	04	7,096	16	32	185	1,040	7

Source: Census, 2011.

According to the population census of 2011, the total population in Sikkim has been recorded at 607,688, of which 321,661 are male and 286,027 are female respectively. The population has increased by one lakh people over a decade.

1.1.1. Socio-economic Status of Sikkim

The Sikkimese society is primarily composed of three main ethnic communities; Nepalese, Bhutias and Lepchas. Along with them there also exists small fraction of population as plainsmen. They comprise of the Marwaris and the Biharis who are basically involved in business and some other allied professions and some are employed in Central and State Government jobs or Private Companies.

The economy of the state was traditionally linked with agriculture but now tourism is emerging as a major source of sustenance. There is also gradual increase of the industrial sector in the state which contributes to the state economy.

Even though small in size in respect to population and area, in Sikkim, there is co-existence of many cultural ethnic groups viz. Nepalese, Bhutias, Lepchas and Limboos. Amongst these groups, the Nepalese constitute the majority. Difference in culture, tradition, language and religion persist among the communities. Almost entire Bhutia community and greater part of the Lepchas are Buddhists, most of the Nepalese are Hindu by religion with exception to the Tamang, Sherpa, Gurung and other communities who practice both Buddhism and Hinduism. Christianity had a little late entry to Sikkim which managed to convert some Lepchas and some groups of Nepalese.

Among the different communities of Sikkim, Lepchas are among the earliest and the original inhabitants with all the other communities been migrated over different phases of history of Sikkim. Lepchas are also called as '*Rongs*' or *Mon-pas* (Subba, 2011, p.249). The Lepchas belong to the Mongoloid group of people living in the foothills of Mount Kanchenzonga. Lepchas were only the inhabitants living in the large tract of mountainous region called Sikkim⁴. Today, Lepchas are found to be settled in all parts of Sikkim. However, the bulk of them are settled in the Dzongu area of North Sikkim. When the Lepchas came to contact with the Bhutias, they got influenced by their culture, tradition and religion and became 'inferior subject race' (Gorer, 1996, p.35-36).

⁴ The land got its name as 'Sikkim' only after 1642, after the establishment of Sikkimese (Bhutia) kingdom. Before that it was a barren land, called 'Mayel' by the Lepchas.

On the other hand Nakane Chie (1966) argues that Limboos, also called the '*Tsongs or Tsongreos*' were also among the original inhabitants of Sikkim before the migration of Bhutias. Originally, Limboos are known as '*Yakthumbas*'. The signing of the tripartite treaty '*Lho-Men-Tsong-Sum*' between the Bhutias, Lepchas and the Limboos during the first Chogyal of Sikkim (1642-70) is the evidence that Limboos lived in Sikkim prior to the coming of Bhutias.

The Bhutias, in different phases have migrated from Tibet. The Bhutias rose into the position of political and socio-economic prominence after the coming of the three Lamas from Tibet as per the prophesy of Guru Padma Sambhava made in 747 A.D. (Risley, 1894). These lamas played a key role in establishing monarchical set up by consecrating Phuntsog Namgyal, descendant of Khe-Bhumsa, as the first ruler or the Chogyal (*Dharma raja*) of Sikkim at Yoksum in 1642. The Chogyal ruled till Sikkim became a part of India in 1975. The political and social structure was totally under their influence. They developed a strong feudalistic structure based on Tibetan model which allowed them to be at the apex position in the country.

The next community living in Sikkim is Nepalese. They were the last one to enter Sikkim. Composed of different tribes and communities, they were encouraged by the British to enter and settle down in Sikkim. Nepalese are of two kinds: the Mangoloids such as Tamang, Gurung etc. and the Aryans such as, Bahun, Chhetri, Bhujel, Thami etc. The migration of Nepalese into Sikkim since the 19th century not only changed the demographic profile but also there was a gradual wave of change in the socio-economic structure in the country. Even though this community was the last to arrive, they managed to outnumber the early inhabitants, Bhutias and Lepchas in course of time and finally played a crucial role in changing the entire political history of Sikkim. Nepalese settlement was spread all over Sikkim, while the Bhutias became concentrated on North and West districts and the Lepchas were basically confined to Dzongu area in the North of Sikkim.

T.B Subba (1989) reflecting on the Nepalese settlement in Sikkim, relates the migration with the territorial conquest by Nepal in 1700 and 1740 AD. Historians argue that the British were responsible for Nepali settlement in Sikkim due to two main reasons; a) to accelerate the economic growth, and b) to counteract the supremacy of the Sikkimese Royal family and the Bhutia councillors. It is also argued that J.C White, who came to Sikkim in 1889 as the first political officer of Sikkim is responsible to a large extent for the large-scale migration of the Nepalese.

The history of Sikkim in the subsequent period speaks of the spread of some political developments originating from the demand of the Nepalis for a change in the administration and abolition of absolute and feudalistic rule of the Chogyals. The decades from the mid 20th Century onwards witnessed political turmoils which ultimately culminated into the merger of Sikkim with democratic and secular India in 1975. After merger, Sikkim not only introduced all the democratic practices of India but Buddhism also ceased to be the state religion. There was a vital change in the political and social status of the Bhutias who lost their political authority.

By virtue of being the ruling community, the Bhutias had enjoyed certain socio-economic privileges in the society and were the natural elites of the society. They managed to retain that position to a great extent even after the political change.

In this study we intend to examine, to what extent they have been able to retain their social, economic and political supremacy in the society, even after the fundamental change in the political status of the state.

Hence, the title of the study: “Change and Continuity”.

1.1.2. Statement of the Research Problems

The entry of the British which led to the rise in the increase of Nepalese migration to Sikkim tremendously effected the Bhutia status. They were now in danger of being relegated to a subordinate position in the sphere of political, social and economical hierarchy. The rising number of Nepalese tended to overshadow the Bhutias who, along with the Lepchas were given Scheduled Tribe status in 1978. Bhutias accepted this for the protection of their identity among the increasing growth of the Nepalese community.

The post-merger period is often marked by development and modernisation. It also paved the way for the development of ethnic identity discourse. New ethnic organisations competing for ethnic space and dominance emerged. The Bhutias also took recourse to this and strived to maintain their identity. Their high bureaucratic positions in the state with sound socio-economic background particularly their hold on land have helped them to maintain their identity as an elite community in spite of the ‘change’ that had set in the polity and economy of the state.

This is an attempt to a compare their socio economic and political position in the pre and post - merger period.

1.1.3. Literature Review

A literature review is very important and has become the mandatory criteria in conducting any kind of research studies. The literature review is the summary of the literature on the overall theme in general and specific area or topic of the research in particular. It allows a run-through of the subject, issue, or theory on a particular study. It is a summarisation and categorisation of the themes which explains how each work is similar and how it varies from the other studies. It contributes in considering the best argument, views and opinions that helps and develops understanding in the area of research.

Social science research basically depends on the consideration of the available literature. Literature survey allows us to have a complete understanding of the research problem and deliberate examination of the knowledge and perspectives of relevant changes in the past and present.

Literature review enables the researcher to gather a wide range of ideas of the proposed research topic. It leads to a deeper understanding of the available sources related to the study. A thorough literature review supports the ingenuity and pertinency of the research study. The identification of gaps in the sources through the literature review justifies the originality of the proposed research study or dissertation.

Based on the area of work, literature review may be classified as: methodological review, theoretical review, argumentative review, integrative review, historical review and systematic review. An argumentative literature review opposes the ideas and views in the source. This enables the researcher to disagree with the views present in the source and provide perspectives of their own. An integrative review scrutinises and presents a critical analysis on a given topic. It identifies the gap and creates path towards new research. A historical review furnishes the assessment of the historical records of the sources.

Therefore, literature review in any kind of research study is indispensable. The literature review of the present study is organised on thematic lines of reviews of literature. Thematic reviews are basically arranged around a topic or on particular issue. It does not give focus on the progression of time. In the thematic type of review progression of time may also be maintained while reviewing the issues.

For the present study the literature review and surveys of books, scholarly articles, and other sources relevant on the historical development of Sikkim and more particularly on the Bhutias and ethnic communities of Sikkim have been applied. Literature review of the studies conducted on Sikkim on the whole has provided an overview of sources that have been explored while conducting and writing the thesis.

While addressing the previous study on the communities of Sikkim, sources show that Lepchas, Limboos and the Nepalese have received much attention from the scholars. The Bhutia community is still to find attention of the researchers. Study on the political and socio-economic status of Bhutias cannot be completed without a reference to the status and influence of the Bhutias. It is true that so far not a single monograph has been written on Bhutia. On the contrary, the Lepchas have received much more attention from the scholars in recent times. A few monographs on Limboos have been written as well. We have excluded those books and articles on Lepchas and Limboos out of this literature review. Our focus is mainly on the books on Sikkim in general and Bhutias in particular. Thus, it is hoped that the proposed study will fill the gap in the literature on Bhutias of Sikkim and will provide more information on Bhutias.

Few books and articles which are available on Bhutias are:

Risley, 1894, '*The Gazetteer of Sikkim*', which is the oldest published book on Sikkim discusses not only the history but different aspects of Sikkim in detail. In the first part of the book, Risley discusses the physical features, British intervention and the treaties signed by Sikkim. The next part of the book focuses on the geographical position and description. The boundaries and the area of Sikkim are discussed at full length. The book also traces the rulers of Sikkim and the origins of the early Tibetan kings with short descriptions of their reign, population, tribes and chief families of Sikkim, nomenclature of places, old laws of Sikkim and marriage customs. It also gives full account of the geological and mineral resources such as copper, iron, lime and their locations in Sikkim. It gives a general account on *Lamaism* as the state religion, origin of Buddhism and its spread in India and outside, its extension to Tibet, the Lamaic sects and introduction of *Lamaism* in Sikkim. The next part of the book focus on a general description of Sikkim's monasteries, their kinds and location, monkhood, monastic routine as a village priest and some magic rites and charms. There is less focus on the elite structure and its development

of Sikkim during the Chogyal rule. The history section of the book consists of just the origins of the kings of Sikkim and the history of laws.

Namgyal and Dolma, 1908, '*History of Sikkim*' is the only book of its kind written by the king and the queen themselves. It sheds light on the historical background of the Namgyal Dynasty in Sikkim. The Tibetan sources have been consulted extensively to reconstruct the history of Sikkim and its relation with Tibet. In fact, it is the first work written by the Sikkimese themselves. It sheds light on the earlier historical developments of Sikkim. The work may be considered as important source of history of Sikkim.

White, 1909, the first political officer of the British in Sikkim, in his book '*Sikkim and Bhutan: Twenty-One Years on the North- East Frontier (1887-1908)*' describes in detail his personal experiences in the Eastern Himalayan states of Sikkim and Bhutan. The book deals with the description on geographical features along with the historical and cultural background of both Bhutanese and Sikkimese people. At the same time, he has not failed to carefully describe both the flora and fauna of Sikkim and Bhutan. However, the book does not shed light on the Bhutias of Sikkim in particular but it gives immense knowledge on the other aspects of Sikkim in the pre-merger period.

Sinha, 1975 in the book '*Politics of Sikkim: A Sociological Study*' throws a considerable light on the social structure in Sikkim. It tries to highlight how Lamaism and its tradition of Tibetan feudalism got accommodated in the kingship in Sikkim. This gave monarchy a unique character that established its rule for 333 long years. Monarchy in Sikkim was more based on Buddhism. In Part II, the author identifies different sections of society like the elite, the *Kazi's*, the ambitious pro-palace bureaucrats, the Nepali political leaders and the youth Congress Leaders. The youth Congress leaders were leading the various social forces in Sikkim. This part of the book elucidates more light on the social background, economic status, political affiliation and perception of various elite groups in Sikkim. Part III has four chapters dealing with the political process and development in the post- 1947 period, i.e. after Indian Independence. He mentions that Sikkim politics during that time was also influenced by Indian Independence movement. The interference by the elite class, pro-palace bureaucrats was more on the monarchical rule in Sikkim which was resented by the common people. The democrats and the common people did not favour this kind of political structure where democratic participation in decision making was

absent. Even though it discusses the trends of the history of Sikkim it basically focuses on the influence of the elites in politics.

Sinha has written a second book on Sikkim '*Sikkim: Feudal and Democratic*' in 2008. In it he discusses the social and political development in Sikkim in a much later periods. First part of the book provides the background and social history leading to development of ethnic groups and their political status. It reflects how the Bhutia rulers of Namgyal dynasty ruled Sikkim. From the book one gets to know about the immigration of Nepalese Sikkimese and the ethnic complexities in Sikkim, the interference of the British in the politics of Sikkim and on how Sikkim became the protectorate of India and then the 22nd Indian state. Part III describes the transformation of Sikkim from feudal set up to a democratic set up under Nepali leader. The book is informative and interesting for the readers.

Balicki, 2008, '*Lamas, Shamans and Ancestors. Village Religion in Sikkim*', is a monograph of a Himalayan Buddhist community. The study discusses a form of shamanic village religion that existed quite independently alongside the Buddhism in Sikkim. The author affirms that although Buddhism attempted to absorb the cult of ancestral gods and territorial deities, these rituals have nonetheless remained at the heart of ceremonies performed by both Buddhist village lamas and local religious specialists, or 'shamans', who are related to *Bon*, the native religion of Tibet.

The first part of the book introduces readers to the political and religious history of Sikkim and to 'village religion', a non-dogmatic form of Buddhism. The book focuses on the role played by conventional Buddhism in village relations with the state and the outside world. The particular value of this work lies in its presentation of an unusually well-documented case study of Tingchim village, which shows the social and religious transformation of a Sikkimese village in the twentieth century. The work also opens a space to make a comparative study with other Himalayan communities.

There are many books on Sikkim in general. Many books on history, ethnic compositions and political developments leading to merger. Some of these books are:-

Bhasin, 1989, in her study '*Ecology, Culture and Change: Tribals of Sikkim*' focuses on the two tribes-Lepchas and Bhutias of North Sikkim. The relationship between man and nature has been examined to show how and where eco-system and socio-cultural factors are interconnected. The

study points out cultural adaptation in a forest-hilly environment in north Sikkim. The study has thrown little light on the activities of Bhutias and Lepchas of North Sikkim. This is one of the few books written on the Bhutias of North Sikkim.

Singh, 1993, in the project undertaken by the Anthropological Survey of India entitled, '*People of India*', Singh has worked on various castes and communities of Sikkim. The study throws light on the biological, religio-linguistic and cultural profile of all the three ethnic communities of Sikkim; Nepalese, Bhutia and Lepcha. Sikkim Study Series, Volume III & V of the same project discusses on role and interest of government in the protection and promotion of the languages and cultures of these communities.

Bareh, 2007, *Encyclopaedia of North-East India: Volume VII, Sikkim*, elaborately deals with the development of North East Regions. The book includes the formation of states of North-Eastern India i.e. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura having many links and common bonds. The first part of the book includes the physical features of the region covering snow-clad mountains, undulating hills, dense lush green forests, mighty rivers, sparkling streams, cascading waterfalls and awe-inspiring gorges, inlaid with fertile valleys and bouncing dales resulting in a landscape unique in scenic beauty. The entire work is divided into eight volumes. Each volume covers eight North Eastern States with the collection on all aspects including: culture, economy, politics, planning, history and geography. The book highlights on the strategic importance of the region along with its sensitive geopolitical location which has extremely diverse nature of its population with different cultural, linguistic, religious and historical background which makes the region characteristically different from the rest of the country.

Volume VII of the book confines to the study of ethnic groups in Sikkim and addresses the political development of Sikkim in pre-merger period. This part of the book has contributed in writing the present thesis.

Nakane, 1966, in her study '*A Plural Society in Sikkim: A study of the interrelations of Lepchas, Bhotias and Nepalis*', provides with the views on the belief, way of life and inter-community relationship among the three communities of Sikkim. It is a field-based study carried out in 1955 in the three Bhutia dominated areas of Sikkim namely Pabyuk in the East Sikkim and Phodong and Phensung in the North Sikkim. However, her observation on the Nepalis was not very

revealing. Furthermore, Nakane also seems to be unaware of the fact that other communities like Limboos or Tsongs, Mangers etc. were living in Sikkim

Subba, 2011, in his book *'History Culture and Customs of Sikkim'* provides the history of existence of the Himalayan Kingdom at length. The author elaborately presents the political history, social customs and culture of various groups and communities like the Lepchas, Bhutias, Limboos and the Nepalese. The author has done a good work in explaining and elaborating the various cultures and traditions of the sub-groups of Nepali community as well. The landscape, agriculture, food, dress culture, religion, social transformation, language and literature has been well presented. The book gives a detail account of the folk culture, festivals, art and culture of each existing communities of Sikkim. The different social forces of Sikkim are however not much covered in the book.

Dutta, 1997, in the article entitled *'Inter-Ethnic Relations in Sikkim in Historical Perspective'* is one of the important works on the demographic profiles of Sikkimese people; the Lepchas, Bhutias, Limboos and the Nepalese. The work gives a detailed account on the population census report from 1891 to 1991. The work highlights more on the development of non-tribals as a dominant group in Sikkim. Furthermore, it highlights on the inter-ethnic relations among the three communities during the Namgyal dynasty in Sikkim. This book has been a great help in understanding the demographic structure in Sikkim as a whole.

Subba, 1989, in the book *'Dynamics of Hill Society'*, which is a sociological study on the communities of Sikkim and Darjeeling Hills stresses on the study of Nepali community. The work attempts to understand caste-class relationships with the impact of occupational mobility and modernisation among the Nepalis. He suggests that the effect of modernisation has led to the growing interrelations among various caste and class in Sikkim and Darjeeling Hills.

Wangchuk and Zulca, 2007, in their study *'Kanchendzonga Sacred Summit'* describes the history, culture, tradition, faith and belief, language, literature and social way of life of the Lepchas, Limboos and Bhutias of Sikkim. The author attempts to demarcate the boundaries of Limbuwan (Land of Limboos) that existed before the birth of Sikkim in 1642 A.D. The book lays emphasis on the spread of Buddhism in Sikkim and the coming of the three great Tibetan Monks, Gyalwa Lachen Chempo, Katok Rigzing Chempo and Ngadak Sempo Chempo to

Sikkim in the 1640s. The discussion on the conversion of Lepcha's and Limboo's to Buddhism from their ancestral faith during the Bhutia rule is also included in the discussion.

Dwivedi, 2016, in *'Ethno-ecological Studies on Tribal Communities of Sikkim'* studies the relationship between the ethnic communities of Sikkim in a small Darap village which is rich in natural resources, bio-diversity and very rich in cultures and customs of Local Tribes (Limboo, Lepcha, and Bhutia Tribes). In the study she highlights the culture, customs and traditions of the three tribal communities i.e. Limboo, Lepcha and Bhutia. It also discusses their dependency on Traditional Medicine Systems for their health-care.

Singh, 1985, in his study *'People of India: Sikkim'* emphasises on bio-cultural and linguistic profile of all the 25 communities of Sikkim. A close attention has been given to study the history, culture, custom, religion, faith and belief, languages, art, crafts, food habits, agriculture, settlement pattern, festivals, socio-economic and political organisations of the communities. The study also covers Bhutia as a ruling community in Sikkim. The focal point is on the interrelationship between the indigenous culture and Buddhism and other ethnic cultures of Sikkim. In the political development of Sikkim, he criticises the role of Buddhist institutions in the foundation of Sikkim's political system since the establishment of monarchy in Sikkim in 1642. It sheds light on the influence of Buddhism in the governing system, administration and law-making process.

Rahman, 2006, *'The Beautiful India Sikkim'*, is a comprehensive and exhaustive encyclopaedic work. It covers description on land, people, heritage, history, geography, economy, polity and tourism of every state and union territory of India. Part one of the book gives a general introduction of the state, Sikkim, that includes; significance of the state, tradition and landscape, agriculture, irrigation and power, industry, transportation, festivals and tourism.

Part II of the book gives a glance at the historical journey which includes, the sources, ancient history, medieval history, modern history, the dawn of the new era -years after merger, the challenge and the disparity political developments and recent history of state. In Part III, the land and people, geography (that includes physiography drainage, climate, flora, wildlife, mineral wealth location, forestry and wildlife), Society, which includes demography, demographic attributes, population, literacy, language and literature, health and family welfare, art and culture where indigenous system, monasteries, festivals, role of mass media, sports and youth affairs are

discussed. Part IV gives an insight on the economy, business and industry, agriculture and economic development. Part V focuses on the polity, system of governance and political events. The last part, Part VI discusses tourism and tourist spots.

Though, the book does not cover the Bhutias and other communities of Sikkim, however, it sheds light on the detailed account of various aspects of Sikkim which in some way has helped us to gather information on the historical process and development in Sikkim. The book works as reference to the readers, scholars, researchers, teachers and students.

Arora, 2007, *'Assertive Identities, Indigeneity, and the Politics of Recognition as a Tribe: The Bhutias, the Lepchas and the Limbus of Sikkim'*, studies the tribal identities and interests of the ethnic groups of the Himalayan region, Sikkim. Arora seeks to discuss the identity politics of contemporary Sikkim which is complicated by the cultural, religious, linguistic and racial diversity of the twenty-two groups residing, along with educational and occupational differentiation among them. Basically, the author talks about the three main ethnic communities: the Lepchas, the Bhutias, and the Nepalese. She affirms that there are cultural, religious and linguistic differences between these groups, however, they play a crucial role in inter-ethnic relations. The ethnic identity claims are intimately connected with their survival and struggles over land, forests, education, employment, justice and dignity in post-merger period. Hence, the study focuses on the politics of tribal identity in Sikkim.

Choedon, 1988, *'Cultural Evolution of Sikkim: A Survey'* the article mainly focuses on the historical development of the Namgyal dynasty. More importantly, it focuses on the effects of modernisation on the socio-economic status of the people of Sikkim. However, specific mention of the social and economic status of Bhutias in particular is not included in the study. It fails to address the socio-economic status of communities of Sikkim in pre and post-merger period.

Mullard, 2011, *'Opening the Hidden Land. State Formation and the Construction of Sikkimese History'*. The book contains a detailed documentation on the construction of Sikkimese history. The first chapter is dense with theory and methodology as the author discusses different interpretations of the term 'state', defining "the Sikkimese state as a community living under an organisational structure where power and authority is defined in the form of a structured hierarchy. He also argues that "the Tibetan concepts of state and social organisation were fundamental to the organisation of the Sikkimese state." In addition to this, it also deals with the early inhabitation of Sikkim. The book overall sheds a fascinating light on the myths, the

narratives and the figures, both religious and secular, which contributed to the formation of the state. Saul Mullard places the 'historical events' in the particular context of Sikkim with its indigenous population and the overpowering influence from Tibetan culture in all its aspects. The work is an outstanding contribution on the history of Sikkim, using Tibetan and Sikkimese sources.

Books on political developments in Sikkim includes:-

Rao's, 1978, '*Sikkim: The story of its Integration with India*' begins with the influence of India's Independence on the democratic movement of Sikkim. He discusses about how the people of Sikkim struggled for a democratic set up. The book also deals with the political growth in the pre-merger period. It highlights the internal intrigues to embarrass India by siding with the feudal regime and awakening of the political consciousness among the people that culminated in creating Sikkim as the 22nd state of India Union. Chapter I of the book gives insight on the creation of Sikkim Council after the first democratic election in 1953 which was based on "Parity System" and formation of an Executive Council. The book also reveals the signing of Tripartite Agreement. The agreement was completed amongst the ruler of Sikkim, the Chogyal, existing political parties in Sikkim and Government of India on 8th May, 1973. It also gives a detailed account on Government of Sikkim Act, 1974 and its provisions for the formation of Assembly, Chief Executive, Council of Ministers and Judiciary. It further explains the status of Sikkim as an "Associate state" under the 35th Amendment Act of the constitution of India and the status of Chogyal as the constitutional head. The book however remains silent on the role and position of Bhutias in the post-merger period.

Das, 1983, in '*The Sikkim Saga*', makes a historical analysis on the reasons behind the transfer of power from Monarchy to Democracy and merger of Sikkim with India. The author tries to deal with questions like; was the merger of Sikkim with India necessary? Was there really a popular uprising against the Chogyal in 1973. In discussing the above questions, the writing is clear with author's personal experiences which make the book more relevant. The inclusion of the role played by 'three ladies', Hope Cooke, Elisa Maria Kazini and Indira Gandhi, in the events that led to the agitation of 1973 and the ultimate merger of Sikkim in 1975 has made the book more interesting. However, a very evident shortcoming of the book is its lack of a detailed role and influence of Bhutias in particular.

Sengupta, 1985, in *'State Government and Politics, Sikkim'* looks at the geo-political, economic and social foundations, political dynamics, electoral process, role of pressure groups and political parties that contributed in changing the trends in political dynamics contributed in Sikkim. He also traces the cross-current of ethnic, social and religious factors that correlates with the political dynamics in the state.

Bhattacharya, 1994, in his book entitled *'Sikkim-The Prayer Wheel and Scriptre'* is focused on the study of the socio-political system in Sikkim and at large stresses on the inter-relationship between the indigenous Bhutia and Lepcha communities. The second part of the book is on the critical role played by the Buddhist institutions in the foundation of Sikkim's political system in the mid 17th century. Bhattacharya has made an important understanding towards the impact of Buddhism on the political process in Sikkim. The author is however analysing the impact of Buddhism in the politics of Sikkim and not the other factors. In the book, the author has tried to be less critical towards the Buddhist institutions of Sikkim that played a pertinent role in the foundation of Buddhist state of Sikkim. Nonetheless, the books is very much relevant to present study.

Basnet's, 1974, *'Geography and Demography of Sikkim'* is divided into two parts. Part I discusses the geography and demography of Sikkim and anointing of the first Bhutia King of Sikkim in 1642. It discusses the Bhutanese and Gorkha invasion in 1700 and 1740 respectively. The book presents a detailed account of the Treaty of Sougali (1816) between British and Nepal and the Treaty of Titaliya (1817) between British and Sikkim. Part II reflects on the development of political parties, agitation launched by different political parties and sections of society and the intervention of the Indian government in the political affairs of Sikkim. This part of the book presents the first Panchayat election of 1950, the first Sikkim Council election of 1953, distribution of seats among Bhutia- Lepcha, Tsongs (Limboo), Scheduled Caste and Nepalese in 1966. The author talks about the revolt against monarchy and zamindari system under the monarchy which resulted in the implementation of democracy in Sikkim in 1975. This is basically a political history with focus on the political movements prior to the merger with India.

Sharma, 1996, *'Sikkim: Past and Present'* (*Sikkim Hijo Dekhi Aaja Samma*) is another book that focuses on political developments, provides a detailed account of the historical developments in Sikkim. In his work, Sharma illustrates on the monarchical set up in Sikkim and it's working. He

discusses how the people were dissatisfied with the rule of Chogyal and the exploitation and suppression by the *Kazis*, who were *Zamindars* during the kingship. In the second part of his work, he mainly focuses on the growth of political organisations and parties in Sikkim. He highlights on the Assembly and Lok Sabha elections in the state and the changing governments. He tries to look at Sikkimese people's faith and trust on the Sikkim Democratic Front party.

Joshi, 2004, in '*Sikkim: Past and Present*', a work on different aspects of Sikkim; history, politics, society and economy comprises of seven chapters. The first chapter covers an overview of Sikkim's history and geography, agriculture system, industries, irrigation and power, transport, festivals and tourist centres of Sikkim. The second chapter presents the abode of snow, interesting places in and around Gangtok as tourist spots, natural wealth, and mountainous adventure, Lamaism, Buddhism and Monasteries of Sikkim. The third chapter discusses the historic evolution of Sikkim, cultural and economic aspects, population and settlement pattern of Sikkim. It also discusses the economy of the former Kingdom, forest resources, minerals, industries, power and transport. Political aspects like internal and external political problems with the neighbouring countries like Bhutan, Nepal and India are also discussed. Talking about the modern state, the book sheds light on national identity, nation-building efforts, accession of Sikkim to the Indian Union and the rise of democracy in Sikkim. A large number of issues and problems have been discussed in this book.

Yasin and Chhetri, 2012, '*Politics, Society and Development*', discusses the impact of the end of Chogyal administration in the political system of the newly formed state of Sikkim and its impact on the society, economy and polity of the region. The book proceeds with the discussion on Sikkim's progress towards democracy, the introduction of electoral system based on adult suffrage and the abolition of the institution of monarchy in 1970s. The book deals with the constitutional changes that took place following the 1973 uprising and Government of Sikkim Act 1974 that led to a dramatic change in political and economic institutions. It further gives an insight on the change in the political institutions that led to the formation of representative government ensuring greater participation of people in the decision-making processes. The authors mention how the Government of Sikkim Act 1974 removed many of the worst inequities under the old political system where only few aristocrats and nobles were the part of the Government system. The book attempts to portray the different socio-political and economic

aspects of Sikkim in the post-merger period. It gives an account on various developments in Sikkim.

Kazi, 2009, in his book *'Sikkim for Sikkimese: Distinct Identity within the Union'* makes a study on the Sikkimese people- Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese who have been living in Sikkim for generations. The author focuses that Sikkim now being a part India has the right to preserve its unique and distinct identity.

Gaunley and Chettri, 2003, in their book *'History of Democratic Movement'* provides a historical background of Namgyal dynasty and the influence of Bhutias as a ruling class. The later part of the book covers the life history of the political leaders of Sikkim and their contributions in the process of democratisation of Sikkim. The book to some extent is helpful in understanding the nature of Bhutias as a ruling class.

Raizada, 2012, in his work entitled *'Merger of Sikkim: A New Perspective'* highlights the historical background of the advent of British and its interference in the Sikkim politics. Focus is on the political developments and the settlement agreements of 1973. The book unfolds various issues related to the merger of Sikkim- domestic and international as well as China's objections over it. It allows an understanding on the political unrest and demand for ending Bhutia rule.

Bhadra's, 1992, work *'Sikkim-Democracy and Social Change'* explains the factors and forces that led to the transformation of Sikkim from a monarchy to democracy. Commenting on the political developments in a traditional society it stresses that the objective of the study is not theory building but to explore the factors of socio-political change in Sikkim. The book presents the socio-economic conditions and the rise of different political organisations and parties in Sikkim. To her, it is important to analyse the political process in terms of nation-building, popular participation, modernity, social mobility, identity etc. It also tries to find out the agents of social change and what role do different social and economic classes in Sikkim play in political development. According to her, the Sikkimese feel threatened with more outsiders pouring into the state. To her, abolition of the safeguards by means of reservation has led to slow erosion of Sikkim's distinct identity.

Bhutia and Kharga, 2015, made a study on *'Democratic Associations and Political Representation of Tribal Population in Sikkim: a study on the Associational Activity of Bhutias*

and Lepchas’ finds that the tribal associations of Bhutia-Lepchas in Sikkim have failed to ensure “genuine tribal representation” of the Bhutia-Lepchas along the lines of Sikkim’s tradition. The study also highlights that the parity formula system that existed during monarchical rule fairly represented the Bhutia-Lepchas of Sikkim and the number of seats reserved for the Bhutias and Lepchas in the State Legislative Assembly is also not likely to be increased under the present framework of one-man-one-vote system of political representation.

Karki, 2018, in a study entitled *‘A Historical Study of Tribal Status Development in Sikkim- Post Merger 1975’* explains the different topics related to development of different tribes in Sikkim. The study throws light on the tribal seat reservation issues and their dissatisfaction during L. D Kazi led Government where the Bhutias and Lepchas demanded for 15 seats reservation policy.

Chakrabarti, 2012, *‘Migration and Marginalisation in the ‘Himalayan Kingdom’ of Sikkim’*, gives a close look at the political history of Sikkim during monarchic rule. It stresses on the marginalisation of the Lepchas and the Limboos by the Bhutias in the pre-merger period and reflects on the political hegemony of the minority Bhutia over the majority Nepalese who were mostly landless.

The study traces the process of migration and the political, economic and cultural changes in the ‘Himalayan kingdom’, Sikkim from the seventeenth century till the merger in 1975. The study explicitly looks into the process of possible political, cultural and economic marginalisation of the ethnic groups during the Bhutia rule in Sikkim. In doing so, the author discusses the existence of major ethnic groups like the Bhutias, Lepchas and Limboos. Chakrabarti proceeds on with the discussion on the British intrusion in Sikkim, Nepalese immigration and changing demographic pattern in Sikkim. The change in the demography brought major socio-economic and politico-cultural change in Sikkim. The study has provided a major insight on the ethnic communities of Sikkim and changes in their socio-economic status. More particularly, the study has been helpful in understanding the process of marginalisation of ethnic communities in the pre-merger period.

Dewan, 2012, *Education in Sikkim: An Historical Retrospect Pre-Merger and Post- Merger Period*, traces the development of education sector in Sikkim. Dewan underlines his focus on historical survey of the development of education in Sikkim. He discusses on the factors leading

to break through the age-old conservativeness and to move towards progressive activities. The stress is on how the formal system of institutional instruction had been initiated in Sikkim paving way for development in the school education. The chapters are designed according to periodical events and phenomenal changes in educational sphere of Sikkim. The discussion on the inclusion of different ethnic groups in the educational sector in the pre and the post-merger period is very limited. However, the book covers other aspects of educational progress both in pre and post-merger period that fulfils the understanding of overall educational development in Sikkim.

While there are many books on Sikkim, there are very few written on Bhutias. Of course, they have received attention in the historical and political developments but not as a single community whose status have changed over the years. Some of the books and articles on Bhutias are:-

Prasad, 1989, in his work entitled '*Bhutia Tribals of India-Dynamics of Economic Transformation*' seeks to understand the dynamics of economic transformation and cultural adaptation among the Bhutia tribals. The study has been spread over large and wide compass, beginning from the emergence of trading activities of the Bhotias and its impact on their socio-cultural life. The study covers a vast period of growth and development of Bhotia society. Though it is a general study on Bhotia, it highlights the Bhotias residing in India. This is one of the few books on the Bhutias.

Ghosh, 2007, '*Culture Patterns of the Bhotias: The Bhotias of Indian Himalayas: A Socio-Linguistic Approach*', the author sheds a fascinating light on the settling of the Tibetan speaking people in the Himalayas, with their socio-linguistic peculiarities. She talks about how the settlers in the Himalayas have made themselves a unique case of cultural integration in spite of diverse ethnicity and distinguishable cultural identity. Specifically, the book sheds light on culture and how it manifests manifold aspects of human life including their behavior patterns. More particularly, the author identifies the culture scenario of the Bhotias residing in different parts of Himalayas with similarities and differences. Linguistic divergence in the dialects from a Monpa to that of Ladakhi and Baltis (now in PoK occupied Kashmir) has been discussed. Reference on the reminiscence of high civilization of the Tibetans residing in the Trans-Himalayan region has been given in the book.

Sector-wise distribution of Himalayan groups is presented in Western Sector, Central Sector, Eastern Sector. The author further discusses that in the culture-growth of the Bhotias in Indian Himalayas, various common trends may be noticed, despite their separate language identities. Bhutia language though based on Tibetan stems but is transformed in speech from its origin. The scripture, literary language is almost the same while the spoken language prevalent among the Bhotias in three sectors differ. The book also gives a detailed picture on multidimensional cultural traits of the Bhotias like: food habits, housing, dress and garments, ornaments, household goods, weapons, travel and transport, occupation, shop-keeping, trade, family property and inheritance, family structure and social institutions, spirituality and religious identity, welfare service to the sick and destitute, socio-economic speech and communication, arts and crafts education-non-formal and formal of the Bhotias of Indian Himalayas.

Mukherjee, 1980, in the article '*Some Aspect of Bhutia Culture in Sikkim*' focuses on the Bhutia culture in Sikkim. She presents on the physical features, settlement, language, house pattern, clothing, household goods, jewellery and food. She has also not failed to highlight the social traits of the Bhutias like birth ceremony, marriage, death ceremony and spiritual traits like religious institutions, temples and arts and crafts. The only missed out point in her work is the study of political role and the socio-economic background of the Bhutias which would have been a good source for the present study.

Gyamtso, 2009, in '*The History, Religion, Culture and Traditions of Bhutia Communities*' extends study on Bhutia as an ethnic community in Sikkim. The book is a reprinted work entitled "*An Introduction to Sikkimese Songs*" (1969). History, religion, culture, customs, traditional Sikkimese dishes, costumes, Bhutia ceremonies, songs etc. are the main course of the work. Description on the Bhutia establishment in Sikkim with its influence of religion, culture and traditions are the focus of the study. The book covers almost everything of the Bhutias but the author is not aware of the economic status of the Bhutias in traditional Sikkim and nor does it throw light on the evolution of their position in society. The book is basically descriptive in nature.

Verma, 2002, in her book '*A Guide and a hand book of Sikkim*' has tried to explore the historical aspects of Bhutia of Sikkim and has focused on the political role of the Bhutias. She has tried to study the changes in the Bhutia culture over the decade and the main aim as per the book is to

make the Bhutias understand their culture and help them preserve and practice so as to keep this tribe alive.

Bhutia, 2014, in his article '*Bhutia Tribe in Sikkim: A Sociological Study*' studies the history, origin, present social status along with cultural practices of Bhutia community in Sikkim. Bhutia tribe has its own language and scripts. In the study it is found that in the house, the Bhutia people speak and communicate with each other by their own language but outside the house they generally speak Nepali as a means of communication. The younger generation, due to establishment of English medium Convent schools throughout the state, does not know complete Bhutia scripts. According to the author, transmission, cultural assimilation, development of transportation and communication facilities, establishment of industries particularly Pharmaceutical industries, development of tourism, establishment of English Medium schools, Colleges, Technical and Professional institutions; the people of Sikkim in general, Bhutia in particular have gone a radical change in every spheres of their life. Though the book has elicited much information on Bhutia language and scripts and its use by the Bhutias in present days, the work could have included more information on the present position of Bhutias in Sikkim which would have given the book a better weightage.

Bhutia and Mishra, 2014, in a study entitled '*Socio-Economic Status of Bhutia Tribe in Sikkim*', elicits on the areas like: present status of Bhutia tribe in Sikkim; the origin and history of the Bhutias, the art of writing, the alphabets and the scripts of the Bhutias, the family life, way of living, kinship, status of women, education, social organisation and also analyses various cultural aspects of Bhutias. The study briefs that the establishment of English Medium schools, Colleges, Technical and Professional institutions along with industries particularly Pharmaceutical companies, development of road transport facilities. The book highlights on how Bhutia in particular have gone a radical change in every spheres of their life. As seen in the works of other scholars, in this study, there is a gap in mentioning about the present socio-economic status of Bhutias.

Iqbal, 2012, in his work entitled '*The Socio-Economic Status of Various communities: An Empirical study on Sikkim Himalaya*' highlights on the historical background and different communities of Sikkim. The importance of his work is that he has tried to analyse the status of

Bhutia as a Scheduled Tribe as recognized by the constitution of India. In his study it is found out that the Bhutias are the most influential community in all fields of life which is rare among the other Scheduled Tribes in India.

From the comprehensive study on related literatures, it is clear that there is not a single monograph specially dedicated to Bhutias of Sikkim. Hence, the present study addresses the position and status of Bhutias in Sikkim.

1.1.4. Objectives of the Study

The basic objectives of the study are:

1. To understand the social, economic and political status of the Bhutias in the pre-merger society of Sikkim.
2. To understand how the Bhutias were affected by the immigration of the Nepalese into Sikkim.
3. To trace the political and administrative changes brought about by the Nepali demand for equality and abolition of monarchy.
4. To understand the shift in the role of Bhutias as majority ruling community to a minority Scheduled Tribe in the state.
5. To examine to what extent the Bhutias have been able to maintain their traditional status in Sikkim.

1.1.5. Research Questions

The study will pose to answer those questions that we have derived from the objectives of the study.

1. What was the actual position of the Bhutias in the traditional government of Sikkim? What kind of political status they are still enjoying in the state?
2. To what extent has the social status of this elite community been affected by the termination of monarchy and introduction to democracy in Sikkim?

3. What kind of economic privileges did they enjoy in the pre-merger period? Have they been able to maintain that status in the post-merger period? Has there been any substantive change in their occupational pattern particularly in relation to land in the post-merger period?
4. Where do they stand now in relation to other communities particularly in areas of education, landholding, jobs- both government and otherwise.
5. To what extent did their influence shape the state's cultural and religious policy in the pre-merger period? Does their cultural and religious influence still continue to be felt in the overall cultural atmosphere of the state as it used to be in the earlier period?

1.1.6. Methodology

The proposed research work is on the history of evolution of the socio-economic status of the Bhutia community of Sikkim. The study is basically a diachronic one. Diachronic means *across-time*. Diachronic approach, as we know, is one that analyses the evolution of something over time, allowing one to assess that something changes throughout history. Diachronic research can offer us the appropriate examples in relation to a phenomenon from many historical periods and make possible the connection between a specific phenomenon and others that remain the same or change in different historical periods. It attempts to make deductions about the progression of events that contributed to the current state.

Sociologists and anthropologists consider this approach as one of the best ways of studying change in a society and it is also widely used by the historians for studying change in the course of history. Number of studies on social and economic change of different villages and places has been carried so far. Tom G. Kessinger's *'Vilayatpur' 1848-1968: Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village (1974)*, *The Toda of South India: A New Look (1986)* by Anthony R. Walker and G.S Ghurye's *'After a Century and a Quarter (1960)* are some of the important diachronic studies.

Since the focus of the study is their present condition in the context of the past, the use of traditional historical methods involving archival and literary sources is not sufficient. The study includes methods of other social sciences or studies particularly field survey for

studying the present status. Data were collected from both secondary and primary sources, from libraries as well as from the field.

As a work of history, it is based on data collected from both documental as well as oral sources from the study area. Study of the history of Sikkim, particularly that of Bhutia migration, emergence of the monarchy and evolution of the social and administrative characteristics of Sikkim under the Chogyals involve an extensive and critical desk review of the various books, documents, and articles etc. in the libraries of both Sikkim and outside Sikkim.

Initially, the evolving demographic profile of the state is presented from the Census reports that highlights the Bhutia dominated areas and pockets of Sikkim. Reports and records in the various administrative departments of state government are consulted for an idea about the percentage of Bhutia employees over time while land revenue records have provided similar information regarding the percentage of land under the Bhutia landowners. Similar data is collected from educational institutes and some other departments. Some schools, colleges and university rolls are collected for getting an idea about the share of the Bhutia students in such institutes.

Case studies of certain Bhutia families were conducted as an oral source for understanding their present status, changing lifestyle and their self perception about the present status. Bhutia families each group from three Bhutia dominated villages, one each from three districts: Lachung in North, Tashiding in West and Tathangchen in East districts were interviewed. This has shed light on the evolution of the fortunes and socio-economic status of those families over the years and generations. Structured schedules for interview as well as methods of personal discussion and observation were used for the purpose. The identification of such families was done specially taking care that the respondents cover both older and young generations. Such case studies have added more information on their socio-economic status in connection to other communities. This has given an idea about the self-perception of the community in the context of changing social, political and economic condition of the state. During the case studies care was taken to highlight the condition, educational level and occupational patterns of the girls/women in the Bhutia society as well.

Based on the objectives and the research questions the dissertation is chapterised in the following manner:

Chapter I: *Introduction*

Chapter II: *Population of Sikkim: An Overview*

Chapter III: *A Short history of Sikkim and Status of Bhutias in Pre-merger period*

Chapter IV: *Role of Bhutias in Sikkim's Journey Towards Democracy and their Gradual Marginalisation in Politics*

Chapter V: *The Occupational Pattern and Economic Status of Bhutias in Sikkim*

Chapter VI: *Bhutias in Bureaucracy of Sikkim*

Chapter VII: *Bhutias in Educational Sector of Sikkim*

Chapter VIII: *Case Studies:*

Summary and Conclusion