

CRITICAL REVIEW ON POLITICS OF ETHNO-NATIONALISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GORKHALAND MOVEMENT

PAMELA BERA

Research Scholar

AR19BPHDPO003

Enrollment No

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Dr. SUNIL KUMAR JANGID

Supervisor

SARDAR PATEL UNIVERSITY, BALAGHAT

DECLARATION: I AS AN AUTHOR OF THIS PAPER /ARTICLE, HERE BY DECLARE THAT THE PAPER SUBMITTED BY ME FOR PUBLICATION IN THE JOURNAL IS COMPLETELY MY OWN GENUINE PAPER. IF ANY ISSUE REGARDING COPYRIGHT/PATENT/ OTHER REAL AUTHOR ARISES, THE PUBLISHER WILL NOT BE LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE. IF ANY OF SUCH MATTERS OCCUR PUBLISHER MAY REMOVE MY CONTENT FROM THE JOURNAL WEBSITE. FOR THE REASON OF CONTENT AMENDMENT/OR ANY TECHNICAL ISSUE WITH NO VISIBILITY ON WEBSITE/UPDATES, I HAVE RESUBMITTED THIS PAPER FOR THE PUBLICATION. FOR ANY PUBLICATION MATTERS OR ANY INFORMATION INTENTIONALLY HIDDEN BY ME OR OTHERWISE, I SHALL BE LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE. (COMPLETE DECLARATION OF THE AUTHOR AT THE LAST PAGE OF THIS PAPER/ARTICLE)

Abstract:

The Gorkhaland Movement is the name of a long-running sociopolitical movement that began in the Darjeeling Hills of West Bengal, India. The demand for Gorkhaland, a separate state that would emerge out of the current state of West Bengal, is what is driving the movement. The historical, social, and political factors that have shaped the identity and aspirations of the Gorkha community, who live in the Darjeeling Hills, are the movement's original sources. In this article, critical review on politics of ethno-nationalism with special reference to Gorkhaland movement has been discussed.

Keywords: Politics, Ethno-Nationalism, Gorkhaland, Movement

INTRODUCTION:

According to Gorkhas in India, the issue of Gorkha identity in that country can be resolved by creating a state specifically for them, which was previously divided from the state of West Bengal. The establishment of a state in India for the Gorkhas will attest to their Indian origins. This belief is what ties the Gorkhas in India together. "Gorkhaland" is required for more reasons than just economic ones. It has nothing to do with the Darjeeling and Dooars regions continuing to be neglected. Undoubtedly, the area might use better governance and lack expansion, but that is not the main point. Customers in Darjeeling are almost as aware as anyone outside of the region that the Gorkhas' need to maintain their Indian identity is paramount.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Anmol Mukhia (2023). This article highlights how the Nepali-speaking community has created or adopted the identity of the "Gorkha." The term "Gorkha" and the idea of "Gorkha" in general have been used as political tools without bringing about any kind of development, and the desire for the Indian area known as "Gorkhaland" has remained an elitist project. In response to their oppression and isolation, the Gorkha people in India began the "Gorkhaland" movement in the 1980s, which raised concerns about their identity in Indian politics. It begs the question, Why are Nepali people historically mobilised as "Gorkha"? In contrast to ethnic politics, how is the "Gorkhaland" movement in India a developmental issue? This essay is structured into two sections: (1) the term "Gorkha" and its historical context; and (2) Indian "Gorkha" and the demand for "Gorkhaland." Because of regional and cross-border politics, this elite-led movement is receiving attention on a national and international level. This essay employs a theme approach to examine the leader's function in relation to the previous Shah King, the colonial British Raj's programme of recruiting, and the "Gorkha" leaders' legitimization process within the "Gorkhaland" Movement.

Tamang, S., & Kipgen, N. (2023). They noted that the reference to "land" is still peripheral to ethnic politics since the prevailing narratives around ethnicity have focused on nationalism and ethnic identity as a type of predetermined category. The concept of "land" in the study of ethnicity and nationalism has been further marginalised in numerous studies on the politics of ethnic homelands in South Asia, and ethnic identity has been overemphasised as the dominant framework for understanding the interaction between the state and society. Land, however, is essential to ethnic claims to belonging in a culture that was previously colonised. British colonialism reshaped indigenous land policy, taking native property for private gain and changing land and citizenship requirements in the process. This study highlights the debate on land contestation, language politics, and regional aspirations for belongingness in order to investigate an ethnic desire for a homeland in the Darjeeling Hills. Gorkha people have a strong devotion to their land, which is shown in the campaign for Gorkhaland in the Darjeeling Hills, which has been described as a demand for acknowledgment of Gorkha as Indian citizenship. In this article, we contend that the ethnic movement in Darjeeling has its roots in the dispute over ethnic differences in control over land, resources, and identity, and that land has historically framed the politics of ethnicity in the area. Despite the fact that there has been very little discussion on the issue of land in the demand for Gorkhaland and that instead the focus has been exclusively on ethnic identity and the development of the Nepali language, Consequently, "land is identity" and needs to be seen as the primary analytical unit in ethnic politics.

Priti Ghatani (2022). A protracted battle in the hills of the Darjeeling and Kalimpong districts as well as the Doars region of the Jalpaiguri district for a distinct state inside the Indian Federal State. Regardless of gender, individuals from all socioeconomic strata of the community supported it. People joined the campaign, giving up their present for a better future, led by Subash Ghishing and Bimal Gurung. Despite the failure of research scholars, mainstream historians, and hill country political parties to document this as proof, women did participate in the same amounts as men. Women were actively involved in the politics of the Bimal Gurung-led movement, supporting the demand for a separate state and willing to give their lives in the process, as was seen in the hillsides from dawn to night. They took part in all the political party's calls for action, including picketing,

hunger strikes, general strikes, and delegations to the executive branch, as required by the leadership. Women from all walks of life took part in the struggle, but when it came to power politics, gender prejudice was evident. This was a result of the patriarchal belief that women are incapable of holding positions of power in Indian culture. Because of social bias against women, women who participated in the Gorkhaland demand did not receive the recognition they deserved for their selfless service.

Chhetri, N. (2021). The concerns surrounding collective mobilisations have garnered a lot of attention lately, not much research has been done to examine and explain why women participate in different kinds of mobilisation at varying rates. This paper will explore women's engagement in two rounds of Gorkhaland movements, followed by the recent mobilisation for recognition as scheduled tribes, while addressing gender concerns within the damaged ethno-politics of Darjeeling. In this sense, the paper will emphasize how the deliberate use of violence, followed by the state's reaction, greatly influences the differences in involvement in ethnic movements. Examining the evolving ethno-politics of the Darjeeling Hills, the paper makes the case that anchoring frames—which employ cultural signals to organize the movement's repertoire—are the source of gender disparities within social movements.

Dipak Kumar Sarkar and Babudhan Tripura (2021). A collection of people can be classified as an ethnic group if they share a similar and distinctive culture, religion, language, or other characteristics. In general, an ethnic group is a minority within society. Even though the Indian constitution has numerous provisions to protect the rights and interests of all groups residing in the nation, it was observed that numerous ethnic groups voiced their displeasure with a number of issues and repeatedly campaigned for the establishment of a "separate state of their own" within Indian territory, which they saw as the most recent attempt to realise their dreams. Additionally, several ethnic groups—like Nagaland, Mizoram, etc.—were successful in achieving their goal of having their own state. The Gorkhaland Movement was one such movement that aimed to create a separate state out of the hill regions of Darjeeling and the Dooars region of Jalpaiguri (the major portion of the Dooars region is now in Alipur Duar District) in West Bengal within the Indian

territory on the basis of Gorkha ethnic identity, which had its genesis long before the partition of India in 1947. The people who wanted to be recognised as "Gorkha" in terms of their ethnicity, language, and culture established the movement. Based on the information at hand, the current work attempts to conduct a case study of the Gorkhaland Movement.

Srishtee Bhitri Kothi and Abhiranjan Dixit (2020). They found that people express their desires in terms of "linguistic heterogeneity" and "distinct culture" at a regional level when they pursue political objectives in the name of statehood. The second degree of political yearning expressed by disparate groups is the demand for statehood for diverse regions in different states. In the early years following independence, the primary factor in the first phase of state reorganisation was language. However, the "distinct culture" of the hill regions has become a central demand for a separate state in the Gorkhaland region of West Bengal, which can be viewed as a second level of assertion. As a result, there was a noticeable surge in the desire for the creation of a new state. The research paper is broken up into five sections. The first section covers the movement's introduction. The movement's history is examined in the second part, the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration's (GTA) failure is examined in the third part, the statehood during the Gorkhaland movement is described in the fourth part along with its antithesis, and the conclusion is made in the final section. In summary, ethnic perspectives may support the demand for Gorkhaland, a tiny, independent state. However, it must ensure that the territories within the proposed new state exclusively contain the dominant areas of Gorkhas and not Bengalis.

Ritu Khosla (2019). She looked at the document that follows the history of the Gorkhaland movement from 1907 to the present, starting with the Hillsmen's Association's demand and ending with the GJM's current agitation. The growth and preservation of the language, identity, and culture of the Gorkha minority population in West Bengal serve as the justification for the Gorkhaland movement. The movement's backers believe that other Indians won't refer to Gorkhas as "foreigners" if the state of Gorkhaland is genuinely created.

Saha, Biswanath & Chakraborty, Gorky (2019). Although the need for self-rule in the Darjeeling hills is not unknown, that the most recent catalysts for the movement calling for the development of Gorkhaland can be traced back to the moment the Trinamool Congress won the civic body elections in the hill parts and also imposed the mandatory adoption of Bengali language in facilities. This forces one to carefully consider the projected geography of a region as envisioned by the government and by those advocating for the creation of a new state in order to determine whether and how a local movement challenges the notion of nationalism.

Tamang, Sangay. (2018). He said that the article attempts to map out a neighbourhood perception of ethnic politics firmly ingrained in their everyday political bargaining with the state and local political parties through informal public encounters and various ethnographic accounts from the area. The study also attempts to illustrate how people's thoughts develop in their day-to-day lives and how people in Darjeeling Hills view themselves as tribal members and benefit from Indian reservations. The study aims to demonstrate the intricate relationship between tribal identity and the Gorkha of the Darjeeling Hills, with a focus on how individuals engage, interpret, react, and create personal meaning from their tribe.

Deepa et al. (2018). She investigated that combating climate change is typically presented as the supreme collective activity issue of significant significance, and this age is created by the demand for techniques that foster collaboration and consensus. In this paper, the irony of this rhetoric is argued to be even starker: the framing of climate policy is in fact an exclusionary process, and climate mitigating interventions—which are primarily designed to address neoliberal economic considerations rather than environmental conflicts—often give rise to new conflicts. In this context, the present study demonstrates how the efforts of local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to enhance hydropower in the Darjeeling region of West Bengal, in the Eastern Himalayas, provide evidence for Gramscian analyses of the processes by which elite bourgeois actors—the state, appropriate civil society, political parties, and the private sector—create consent. These associational unions are frequently disrupted, as seen by the 'Affected Citizens of Teesta' (ACT) people's movement in North Sikkim. The movement led to the cancellation of many

hydropower tasks put forward under the title of climate mitigation. What about the task that drew attention to political tasks active in the creation of consent? This was done in an effort to strike a balance between resistance and giving political room to believe and act otherwise. This study differentiates between Gramsci's views of the political space for disruption and the hidden aim of climatic consensus, using case studies from the areas of Sikkim and Darjeeling. Important policy takeaways: A politics of consensus surrounding climate change is essentially a byproduct of and a confirmation of the growing proximity between civil society and the state. While involving civil society in the formulation and execution of climate policies is inclusive and beneficial, it's important to remember that civil society isn't always inclusive and transformational. Reports indicate that, both nationally and internationally, climate change interventions occur within a broad framework of inclusive, participatory environmental governance; nevertheless, we should keep in mind that, when it comes to hydropower development, this is rarely the actual process.

Wenner, Miriam (2018). This study explores how political actors employ idealized conceptions of morality and virtue in conflicts over legitimacy and authority, as well as the role that room plays in these. I investigate how leaders of competing regional political parties compete for the leadership of the agitation through the employment of particular spatial-ethical rhetoric as well as techniques. Against the backdrop of the movement for a Union-State, Gorkhaland found Darjeeling in India. I show that, notably, the cleaning of space from supposedly undesirable, immoral components works as a vital approach to gaining a good reputation as dedicated and virtuous leaders. This type of purification takes place in both the physical and conceptual spheres, separating Gorkhaland's envisioned natural, moral social movement from the filthy, destructive realm of party politics.

Lacina, Bethany (2018). They investigated at Darjeeling's requests for further regional autonomy following India's independence. Leaders of political parties usually organise to demand independence when election rivalry is at its highest. When there is truly little electoral competition, these motions are likely to lose their lustre. Movement leaders have used autonomous institutions that have been granted to mass movements for Darjeeling in order to suppress regional electoral

competition. In fact, the current Darjeeling leaders are feckless when it comes to pressing demands for autonomy because there is no electoral pressure. The West Bengal state government in Kolkata and the national government in New Delhi have advised Darjeeling's autonomous institutions to remain anti-democratic in order to maintain peace. I support my position with examples from the careers of Bimal Gurung, Subash Ghisingh, and Deoprakash Rai. Demands for Darjeeling's autonomy were de-escalated by each leader as their personal authority grew.

Ghimiray, Arvind (2017). He investigated how the freedom of self-determination is an essential component of any meaningful democracy. It is necessary for any community to advance culturally, politically, economically, and culturally, especially in this unique ocean of dazzling identities that we call India. This study examines the fight of a specific Indian ethnic community to attain the right to self-determination, which is a fundamental feature of any functional democracy. The ethnic Nepali inhabitants of India, often known as the Gorkhas, have been striving for their own administrative device in an area that was once outside of Bengal and became a part of Bengal due to a historical impulse. Tracing the movement through its many stages from 1907 to the present reveals a range of underlying causes, objectives, and strategies for expressing discontent and claiming their political demands. In a country beset by issues of greater national relevance and importance, it is perhaps fair to assume that the necessity for Gorkhaland will be written off as just another local issue involving law and order in a distant corner. The Gorkhas have stubbornly clung to their long-cherished dream of succeeding against all difficulties in a town that has yet to search for a place in the national mainstream and be a part of its debates. This specific study has prompted a reconsideration of this demand as an attempt at acceptance and protection, as well as an example of political and ethnic aggressiveness. It's difficult to imagine that discussions about identity have the same resonance in the national psyche as they do in the plains and hills of Darjeeling. An average Indian would actually find it difficult to understand a conflict like the Gorkhas'. However, the elite of the nation refers to it as identity politics, a chic term used to define the battle of marginalised groups inside Indian culture, including Dalits, tribals, forest dwellers, feminists, homosexuals, and other similar groups. The casual interpretation of the Gorkhaland movement as identity politics distorts the gravity of the issue as well as its poignancy. We observed the location

where the additional demands for separate states diverge from the necessity for Gorkhaland. Underdevelopment and prejudice are the main reasons for any additional criteria; however, in the case of the former, identification is the most important issue. Indian Gorkhas' nationality has been jeopardised as a result of an unforeseen consequence of an international accord. By creating Gorkhaland, a treaty that advances national interests may be fulfilled without the necessity for its annulment, in addition to resolving a significant issue for its nearly one million citizens. Many rulers have experimented with and implemented peace meal reforms, but their inability to address community grievances and persistent dissent should be viewed as a valuable lesson that applies not only to this situation but also to other similar needs for self-determination that are recognised by this country's Constitution.

Ritu Khosla's (2015). The document centres on the fight for the independence of West Bengal's Gorkhaland state. Where the movement has mostly been contained, the history of the Darjeeling region has been discussed. As the movement's supporters point out, the area was never a part of West Bengal. The study goes on to look at the several concerns that the movement's proponents have brought up throughout time to support their demands.

Kom, C. (2015). The various ethnic groups living in Manipur have openly declared their ethno-territoriity, notwithstanding the overlapping settlement patterns of the ethnic population. The inclination of different groups seeking territorial concession on the soil of constituting a vast majority in their specific geographical settlements appeared to be the rationale behind competing micro-nationalist ventures, supported by counter-mobilisation as well as ethnic identity mobilisation.

Steven Menashi (2014). It several academics contend that by adhering to a particularistic ethno-national identity, liberal democracy displaces the state. From their point of view, Israel stands apart among modern nation states because it permits its particularistic Jewish identity to supersede ideas of universalism and equality, which are supposed to be the foundations of liberal democracy. This article makes the case that ethno-nationalism is still a recognised and widespread feature of liberal

democracies, in accordance with both international law and the current state apparatus. Democratic states enact laws of return that favour certain ethnic groups' immigration and citizenship. Liberal democracies also maintain political ties to diasporic ethno-national communities and advance the welfare of their fellow ethnic citizens residing overseas. These kinds of techniques are becoming more common as globalisation upsets the balance between ethnic and political demographics. International legislation and customs attest to the possibility of sovereign democratic authority representing a particular ethno-national community. Far from being unusual, the experience of Israel embodies the character of liberal democracy by showing its dependency on particularistic nation-states.

Sarkar and Swatahsiddha (2014). The reactions of Gorkhaland agitation illustrate the uniform policy framework that identity movements in India face. The response by the West Bengal administration to the Gorkhaland movement is consistent with the pattern we have seen elsewhere, including in Jharkhand, Nagaland, Kashmir, and elsewhere. In India, attempts to resolve ethno-regional disputes have a long history and have come to a consensus on a single approach that assumes the conflicts are purely political in nature. Ironically, then, the core of this political strategy typically entails state governments using punitive measures to force opposing parties to engage in negotiations. The constant requirement in this particular framework is to punish and discipline uncontrollable subjects. Effectively, those fighting for Gorkhaland are aware of it. The state's response was expected and included mass detention, the resumption of all ongoing charges against GJM party officials and workers, and the use of paramilitary troops. Two main claims are at the heart of the Darjeeling Hills' movement for self-governance. First and foremost, they must acknowledge their collective social and cultural rights, which distinguish them from other Bengalis. The goal of achieving self-governance without endangering the nation-state's sovereignty will come next. The merging of the stances of identity politics on the one hand and the realisation of this specific identity with the politics of self-rule on the other has defined the contours of the over a century-old Gorkhaland movement. The movement has mobilised issues of civility (citizenship and nationality) and "primordiality" (language, culture, race, shared past, attire, etc.) as essential articulation bases. It took a long time for the Subhas Ghising-led movement

for a separate state to reach its loud and violent peak, but in the early years of the previous century, a different governmental system for the Gorkhas of the Darjeeling Hills was first proposed. The establishment of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC), which went some distance towards giving the hills some autonomy but stopped short of full autonomy, was welcomed by the demonstrators in August 1988. Ghising, along with his party men, assumed leadership of the newly formed Hill Council and became the embodiment of peace and governance. The DGHC was the first substate, regional administrative system of its kind in India outside the Northeast's Sixth Schedule areas. It was later used as a post-conflict tool to restore normalcy in Ladakh, Jharkhand, and Bodoland. However, the enthusiasm and hope that greeted the Hill Council's founding soon faded, and the DGHC has subsequently found itself reduced to a repository of political cronyism, corruption, and heavyhandedness. Ghising's close associate Bimal Gurung, who established a new platform, the Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM), in October 2007, restrained Ghising's influence as his reputation declined. In 2008, Gurung deposed his former political leader.

Wenner, Miriam. (2013). An analysis of the language used by the Gorkhaland movement, which calls for the creation of a separate union state in India from West Bengal, shows that even though the movement contests the allocation of power over territory, it does so by using pan-Indian grammar, to use the words of Baruah. This is reflected in creative geographies that depict the desired territory as a useful element of an imagined Indian country while also giving it meaning and transforming it into an ethnoscape. The Gorkhas questioned prevailing identity attributions by working to close the divide between national and regional identities. They emphasize their numerous possessions and affiliations as a result. The Indian nation is constructed at several social levels within this framework.

Middleton, Townsend. (2013). They claimed that the politics of belonging continue to produce shocking volatility and violence throughout South Asia and beyond. The practical, embodied aspects of politics continue to be a pressing issue. I challenge how worry shapes these judgements of who belongs and who doesn't in the paragraphs that follow. Anxieties over national identity continue to be a potent, if little-understood, political force that has the power to energise

institutions and the upper body politic. Uncertainties about belonging, or what I refer to as "nervous belongings," have propelled particularly volatile sub-nationalist politics in Darjeeling, India, where there have been frequent calls for the creation of a separate state called Gorkhaland. In the midst of these interactions between politics, anxiety, and belonging, I see uneasy belonging as a co-embodied phenomenon that is simultaneously political, social, and historical. As I demonstrate, these fears have deep historical and physical roots. These days, they continue to be as uncomfortable as they are influential in shaping a person's identity and political beliefs. By using an anthropological perspective to examine the causes and sociopolitical context of anxiety in Darjeeling, I hope to shed light on new ways of comprehending and perhaps even projecting the volatility of global politics of belonging. Appropriately, stressed belonging emerges as a possibility and dimension of notably agitated forms of existence and politics.

Barkataki et al. (2013). This essay connects the seven articles in this particular issue by demonstrating how they examine different aspects of the overall performance of national, ethnic, and cultural identities. It also introduces the reader to the politically complex and strategically important, but relatively little researched, region of Northeast India. It suggests entirely new ways to perceive and comprehend the region's historical, ethnic, and cultural concerns. Northeast India is centred on the northwest corner of Southeast Asia, even though it is politically a part of both India and South Asia. There are several distinct east and west communities living there, and there is a remarkable range of linguistic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. Due to the ensuing conflict with both these groups and the majority Indian population, many minority groups have recently declared their ethnic identities, with some even threatening to break away from the Indian state. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the dynamics of ethnicity and cultural identification as well as the underlying political factors. This particular collection of articles views cultural traditions as the result of interactions between individuals as well as ambient environments and changes in power relations across time, rather than neatly classifying them into binary categories. As expressed in this particular area, identities are typically more natural and enduring than purely reflexive reactions to the outside environment.

Middleton, Townsend (2013). This piece profoundly reexamines the decisions and contradictions surrounding identity in the intersections of South Asia. I document the various failures, dissatisfactions, and expressions of ethnic identity in the politically delicate region of Darjeeling, India, using historical and ethnographic analysis. In this Himalayan region of the nation-state, borders have been shown to be both productive and destructive of identity and politics, simultaneously enhancing communities' aspirations for national inclusion and largely preventing them from meeting the requirements set forth by the Indian state for national recognition. Anxieties about national identity have led to violent sub-nationalist agitations in Darjeeling as well as more justifiable struggles for rights, recognition, and autonomy, as well as the situation along some of India's other borders but not much success. As a result, both the people and the politics of this Himalayan borderland are plagued by a persistent identity problem. This research reframes the current crisis by examining how some human distinctions become practical identities in India while others do not. By doing this, I place the dilemma in relation to the legitimate acknowledgment of identity rather than the world of identity. The newspaper develops states of difference as an analytical tool that is ideal for comprehending the paradoxical and exaggerated interactions between identity, state, and differentiation along the boundaries of South Asia and beyond.

Miriam Wenner (2013). The Gorkhaland movement, which advocates for the establishment of a distinct union state in India from West Bengal, challenges the distribution of authority over territory, but it does so by employing pan-Indian grammar, to use the words of Baruah. An examination of the movement's language demonstrates this. Creative geographies that show the desired region as an integral component of the imagined Indian nation while giving it a purpose and transforming it into an ethnoscape are a reflection of this. The Gorkhas' effort to blur the lines between national and regional identity and challenge accepted identity attributions As such, they highlight their many belongings and connections. Within this framework, the Indian nation is produced at multiple social levels.

Romit Bagchi (2012). The study titled 'Gorkhaland: Crisis of Statehood' aims to explore the various facets of the ongoing conflict in the Darjeeling Hills, where the Gorkha people are engaged in a war with the state of West Bengal, of which they are a part. He talked about the darker corners of the Gorkha people's mentality who live in the Darjeeling hills. He looks at the psychological, cultural, and historical elements that contributed to the challenge and recognises the Gorkha settlers' citizenship identification crisis as a significant issue with potential global repercussions.

Abhijit Dutta and Gaur (2012). They addressing Gorkhaland gives a picture of the difficulties that are unique to the region. They also look at the many agreements that the West Bengal government's officials have struck with the local and regional hill leaders who oppose them. Lastly, it draws attention to the different components, attributes, and authority of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration and the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. It doesn't give a clear picture of how the term "Gorkha identity" developed.

Bidhan Golay (2009). "Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History," makes an attempt to understand the colonial construction of the Gorkha identity and its subsequent crisis. By identifying the process of formation within the colonial public sphere that formed in Darjeeling in the first part of the previous century, the study attempts to track the evolution of the Gorkha identity over the last 200 years or more. According to him, the problem with modernity is really an identity issue.

Rajatuly Ganguly (2005). He investigated the recent political mobilisation of minority ethnic groups in several Indian states in favour of achieving independent statehood status inside the Indian federation, which would mostly involve splitting apart the current states in which they currently reside. The main drivers of Gorkha nationalism in West Bengal are discussed in the paragraphs that follow. These factors necessitated the creation of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) and a separate Gorkhaland. After that, I assess the DGHC's impact in an attempt to determine, to the best of my ability, whether or not Gorkhaland agitation and demand will resurface soon.

CONCLUSION:

The hilly regions of Nepal, India, and Bhutan are home to the majority of the Gorkha people. The Kingdom of Gorkha, which was established in the middle of the eighteenth century in what is now Nepal, is where the Gorkha people may trace their ancestry. Due to their reputation for being skilled fighters, the British East India Company employed the Gorkhas as soldiers. When India was liberated from British colonial rule in 1947, it was split into India and Pakistan. The Gorkhas were essential to the expansion of the British Empire in India and beyond, and they were also essential to the British Indian Army. The Gorkhas, who had worked for the British Indian Army before, were given the option to join the Indian or Nepalese military. Most Gorkhas made the decision to join the Indian Army, and they continued to do so even after India attained independence. In contrast, the Darjeeling Hills Gorkhas faced discrimination and marginalisation in the years following independence. The government of West Bengal, which was presided over by Bengalis, disregarded the needs of the Gorkhas in terms of development. The Gorkhas were subjected to linguistic and cultural intrusion and were denied recognition despite having a distinct cultural and linguistic identity.

REFERENCES:

- Anmol Mukhia (2023). Identity and elites in developmental politics: a case study of the “Gorkha” and “Gorkhaland” movements in the eastern parts of India, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2023.2224761
- Bagchi, Romit (2012). ‘Gorkhaland: Crisis of Statehood’. New Delhi: Sage Publication
- Barkataki-Ruscheweyh, Meenaxi & Lauser, Andrea. (2013). Performing identity: Politics and culture in northeast India and beyond. *Asian Ethnology*. 72. 189-197.
- Chhetri, N. (2021). Gendered Frames of Mobilization: Differential Participation of Women in Ethno-politics of Darjeeling. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 28(1), 46-66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0971521520974846>

- Dipak Kumar Sarkar, Babudhan Tripura (2021). Ethnic Identity and the Statehood Movement in West Bengal: A Case Study Of Gorkhaland Movement, *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research*, 10: 7(2): 50-56.
- Dutta, Abhijit and Gaur (2012) 'Tackling Gorkhaland', *Frontier*, vol.44.no. 35
- Ganguly, Rajat. (2005). Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical Mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gorkhaland Agitation in India. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. 11. 467-502. 10.1080/13537110500379286.
- Ghimiray, Arvind. (2017). The demand for Gorkhaland: Fragmentation or Self- Determination?.
- Golay, Bidhan (2006) 'Rethinking Gorkha Identity: Outside the Imperium of Discourse, Hegemony, and History' 'Peace and Democracy in South Asia'. Volume 2.
- Joshi, Deepa & Platteuw, Joas & Singh, Jasber & Teoh, Juliana. (2018). Watered down? Civil society organizations and hydropower development in the Darjeeling and Sikkim regions, Eastern Himalaya: A comparative study. *Climate Policy*. 19. 1-15. 10.1080/14693062.2018.1557035.
- Khosla, Ritu. (2015). Gorkhaland Movement: Issues and Concerns.
- Khosla, Ritu. (2019). Demand for Gorkhaland: Tracing the Movement. 2249- 2496.
- Kom, C. S. (2015). Ethno-nationalism: Competing Micro-nationalist Dissents in Manipur. *Social Change*, 45(2), 289–307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049085715574192>
- Lacina, Bethany. (2018). Electoral Competition and the Gorkhaland Movement. 10.1093/oso/9780199483556.003.0005.
- Middleton, Townsend. (2013). Anxious Belongings: Anxiety and the Politics of Belonging in Subnationalist Darjeeling. *American Anthropologist*. 115. 10.1111/aman.12051.
- Middleton, Townsend. (2013). States of difference: Refiguring ethnicity and its 'crisis' at India's borders. *Political Geography*. 35. 14–24. 10.1016/j.polgeo.2013.01.001.
- Miriam Wenner (2013) "Challenging the State by Reproducing its Principles The Demand for "Gorkhaland" between Regional Autonomy and the National Belonging" *Asian Ethnology* Volume 72, Number 2, 2013, 199–220
- Priti Ghatani (2022). Women's Untold Stories in Gorkhaland Movement (2007-2017), *International Journal of Innovative Research in Technology*, 9 (3): 812-817.

- Ritu Khosla (2015). Gorkhaland Movement: Issues and Concerns, *International Journal of Physical and Social Sciences*, 5(9): 1-11.
- Saha, Biswanath & Chakraborty, Gorky. (2019). Reimagining the Geographies of the Gorkhaland Movement. *Economic and political weekly*. LIV. 27-31.
- Sarkar, Swatahsiddha. (2014). Gorkhaland and beyond Analysis. *Himal South Asian*.
- Srishtee Bhitri Kothi, Abhiranjan Dixit (2020). Significance of Gorkhaland Movement: A Critical Analysis, *Journal of Emerging Technologies and Innovative Research*, 7(4): 106-110.
- Steven Menashi (2014) *ETHNONATIONALISM AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY*, Published by Penn Law: Legal Scholarship Repository, 2014
- Tamang, S., & Kipgen, N. (2023). 'Land' as a site of contestation: Empire, identity, and belonging in the Darjeeling Himalayas. *Ethnicities*, 23(2), 213-234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687968221101400>
- Tamang, Sangay. (2018). Becoming Twenty-First Century Tribe: Between Tribal and Gorkha Identity in Darjeeling Hills. 10.2307/26633112.
- Wenner, Miriam. (2013). Challenging the State by Reproducing its Principles The Demand for "Gorkhaland" between Regional Autonomy and the National Belonging. *Asian Ethnology*. 72. 10.5167/uzh-87966.
- Wenner, Miriam. (2018). Dirty politics and virtuous movements. Morality, space, and politics in Darjeeling/India. Conference: Geographies of South Asia At: Collogne Volume: In: Butsch, Carsten , Follmann, Alexander und Müller, Judith (Eds.): Aktuelle Forschungsbeiträge zu Südasiens: 8. Jahrestagung des AK Südasiens, 19./20. Januar 2018, Köln, Heidelberg; Berlin: CrossAsia-eBooks, 2018 (Geographien Südasiens, Band 10). 32-35.

Author's Declaration

I as an author of the above research paper/article, hereby, declare that the content of this paper is prepared by me and if any person having copyright issue or patentor anything otherwise related to the content, I shall always be legally responsible for any issue. For the reason of invisibility of my research paper on the website/amendments/updates, I have resubmitted my paper for publication on the same date. If any data or information given by me is not correct,I shall always be legally responsible. With my whole responsibility legally and formally I have intimated the

publisher (Publisher) that my paper has been checked by my guide (if any) or expert to make it sure that paper is technically right and there is no unaccepted plagiarism and henceforth is genuinely mine. If any issue arises related to Plagiarism /Guide Name /Educational Qualification /Designation /Address of my university/college/institution/Structure or Formatting/ Resubmission / Submission /Copyright / Patent/Submission for any higher degree or Job/Primary Data/Secondary Data Issues. I will be solely/entirely responsible for any legal issues. I have been informed that the most of the data from the website is invisible or shuffled or vanished from the data base due to some technical fault or hacking and therefore the process of resubmission is there for the scholars/students who find trouble in getting their paper on the website. At the time of resubmission of my paper I take all the legal and formal responsibilities, If I hide or do not submit the copy of my original documents (Aadhar/Driving License/Any Identity Proof and Photo) in spite of demand from the publisher then my paper may be rejected or removed from the website anytime and may not be considered for verification. I accept the fact that as the content of this paper and the resubmission legal responsibilities and reasons are only mine then the Publisher (Airo International Journal/Airo National Research Journal) is never responsible. I also declare that if publisher finds any complication or error or anything hidden or implemented otherwise, my paper may be removed from the website or the watermark of remark/actuality may be mentioned on my paper. Even if anything is found illegal publisher may also take legal action against me

PAMELA BERA

Dr. SUNIL KUMAR JANGID
