

AN ANALYSIS ON POLITICS THROUGH ETHNO-NATIONALISM WITH SPECIAL FOCUS TO GORKHALAND MOVEMENT

PAMELA BERA

Research Scholar

AR19BPHDPO003

Enrollment No

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Dr. Shweta Rai

Assistant Professor

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 Gorkhas, a prominent ethnic group in the region, have a long history of supporting the demand for a separate state in India. Linguistic, cultural, racial, geographical, and societal factors all contributed to the sense of distinction and identification that Gorkhas, like any other ethnic community in the region, had with respect to other ethnic groups, such as Bengalis, Marwaris, Biharis, Bhutias, Lepchas, and so forth. Gorkha ethnicity grew as a result of a multitude of external and internal reasons. In this article, an analysis on politics through ethno-nationalism with special focus to Gorkhaland Movement has been discussed.

Keywords: Politics, Ethno-Nationalism, Gorkhaland, Movement

INTRODUCTION:

The Indian Gorkhas are adamant that they were deserted at every critical juncture in their sociopolitical safety due to the leadership's dishonesty. [1] The Gorkha National Liberation Front's leadership's betrayal of the unflinching support and dedication shown to it across the nation for the cause of an Indian Gorkha homeland has permanently hurt people's hearts. [2-3] As a result, the Gorkhaland Agitation, led by the Gorkha National Liberation Front in 1986–1988, left the people

feeling betrayed, which had terrible consequences. As a result, despite their greatest efforts, individuals, political parties, and wise leadership have failed to save the people from that misery and revive their confidence in humanity. [4-5]

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

Study Area:

The area selected for the study was Darjeeling Hills, encompassing the districts of Darjeeling and Kalimpong. This region holds significant importance as it has been a focal point of the Gorkhaland Movement, a socio-political movement advocating for the creation of a separate state for the Gorkha community.

Research Questions:

The research was founded on the following research questions:

1. What had been the historical elements responsible for the present crisis in Darjeeling?
2. How as well as to what extent sensation of relative deprivation as well as concentration of energy in the hands of the center as well as state government led to the evolution as well as sustenance of the movement?
3. Is Gorkhaland movement a regional or even an ethnic identity movement?
4. Why the Sixth Schedule is actually unacceptable to the Gorkhas?
5. What would be the upcoming status of some other minority groups such as the Lepchas and also the Bhutias in the proposed state of Gorkhaland state?
6. What is actually the significance of such motions with respect to India's integrity as well as security?

Variables of the Research:

The variables of the research were:

Independent Variable- Gorkhaland.

Dependent Variables- Ethnonationalism, Politics.

Primary and Secondary Data:

The current study was analysed using both primary and secondary sources. As primary sources for the study, information is gathered from a variety of materials, including newspapers, political party manifestos, and official government records. Interviews with some of the personalities involved with the topic are also part of the study. The secondary data for the study was gathered from a variety of publications, including books, periodicals, journals, magazines, bulletins, websites, and published and unpublished research works.

In addition, the researcher employed a methodical assessment and analysis of primary and secondary sources of data regarding the Gorkhaland Movement. Among the materials that shed light on the movement's beginnings, growth, and dynamics were official records, historical documents, government reports, news stories, speeches, and posts on social media. To pinpoint important themes, patterns, and trends in the movement—such as its historical context, political demands, organisational structure, leadership, tactics, and impact—the researcher also conducted a critical analysis of these materials. In-depth interviews were also carried out by the researcher with important Gorkhaland Movement participants, including activists, leaders, and members of the Gorkha community. These interviews also offered firsthand narratives and viewpoints of the movement's goals, complaints, philosophies, tactics, difficulties, and results. In addition, the researcher engages in participant observation by actively participating in the Gorkhaland Movement. It's also essential to attend meetings, protests, rallies, and other movement-related

events to see the dynamics, interactions, and behaviour of the participants. By means of participant observation, the researcher was also able to gain firsthand knowledge of the behaviours, emotions, symbols, and rituals associated with the movement and contextualize the findings within a broader socio-political and cultural framework.

Research Design:

Religion plays a crucial role in maintaining political structures as well as cultural traditions. Over millennia, it has also influenced social and political processes, as well as ideologies. It is a way of life in India.

This investigation was theoretical in nature and was conducted in an effort to extract new information. This is not the first study in this area; others have conducted studies to determine the degree to which politics and religion interact. This study, however, was unique in that it attempted to evaluate how religion has shaped Indian political culture since antiquity and forecast how religion will function going forward, including whether it will continue to be a constructive force in politics and economy or merely play the role of a passive partner with no say or influence.

This study is relevant because it adds to the body of knowledge that has already been written, which has shaped theoretical paradigms and helped academics in related subjects. The research study's conclusions and findings gave the people who formulate policy important information and new perspectives on the degree of religious influence in India's socio-political institutions. It additionally functioned as a framework and a guide for subsequent research in this area.

The historical approach that served as the foundation for this particular research study on the origins and revival of the Gorkhaland movement was both exploratory and explanatory in nature. The goal was to formulate a research question for a more thorough investigation as well as reveal previously undiscovered aspects of the subject that will be crucial for further study of the area. The effectiveness of the work also depended on an analytical and comparative approach. It involved conducting a lot of in-depth interviews. We used non-probability sampling. The primary

information sources for me were government records, reports, and interviews; the secondary sources were various articles from newspapers, journals, and publications.

Research Methodology:

The study was qualitative in character as a result. Qualitative analysis is a research technique that looks at an object's intangible qualities to evaluate its characteristics, reputation, and efficacy. Subjective evaluations are necessary when assessing non-numerical factors including human resources, corporate morale, management leadership calibre, and the company's brand image. It was an unscientific way of seeing things that are difficult to measure. It employs the skill of assessing business traits and trends rather than a scientific approach. Experience, knowledge, and intuition, after years of rigorous training, give rise to the tendency to assess everything qualitatively. The study's philosophical framework was interpretive as well as critical.

Then, if there is no prior precedent for them, they must be interpreted, sometimes within the limitations provided and based on accepted standards, and other times on personal experience and intuition.

For these kinds of investigations, the most valuable data are these interpretations across time. This research was also critical in that it examined how political culture has evolved under the influence of religion since antiquity, how people's views towards religion are evolving, and how Indian society is evolving as it moves towards both economic growth and human development. Numerous theorists have thoroughly assessed these modifications in order to develop a variety of theories on the nature and patterns of these ideas.

Since this is a qualitative study, the main approaches used are descriptive, historical, exploratory, and hermeneutic. Given that both politics and religion are dynamic ideas that evolve throughout time, the study was adaptable. They require a period of careful observation and analysis in order to gain insights. Their growth and interdependence have been studied since antiquity, and

inferences drawn from implicit knowledge have emphasised the character of their relationship and its significance for pluralist Indian society.

The following parameters of the research approach used for the study:

- An examination of the research area
- Secondary sources, such as books, journals, online articles, newspapers, and so on, are used to gather data.
- Define the terms using the description and analysis of the data gathered.
- Review of the literature
- The formulation of theories and analysis of such theories during the investigation.
- Making inferences from the data and forecasting patterns in the future.

The Gorkhaland Movement in India was an ethnic and identity movement. To get a full picture of the movement's start, growth, dynamics, and effects in its social, political, and cultural setting, a mix of qualitative research methods, including document analysis, interviews, and participant observation, was used.

Research Tools:

A study method known as qualitative analysis examines an object's intangible attributes in order to assess its attributes, standing, and effectiveness. When evaluating non-numerical aspects including human resources, corporate morale, management leadership calibre, and the company's brand image, subjective evaluations are required. It's an unscientific method of interpreting hard-to-quantify phenomena. Instead of using a scientific method, it made use of the ability to evaluate business characteristics and trends. After years of intense training, experience, knowledge, and intuition give rise to the propensity to evaluate everything qualitatively.

ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

Analysis:

The information obtained from participant observation, interviews, and document analysis was thoroughly examined using thematic analysis. The researcher was able to recognise significant themes, patterns, and trends in the data and analyse the results in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the Gorkhaland Movement as an ethnic and identity movement in India. The researcher also critically analysed the findings and compared them to recent literature, ideas, and concepts pertinent to ethnic and identity movements in order to provide new insights, dispel misconceptions, and expand the body of knowledge in the field.

Findings, Results and Discussion:

For many years, the Gorkhaland Movement has been a significant ethnic and identity movement in India. In the Darjeeling Hills, this trend has led to a number of sociopolitical, economic, and cultural issues that have broad implications for Indian society at large. In this research, we have examined the economic and cultural status of Gorkhaland, examined the history of the Gorkhaland Movement, and examined the identity crisis that the Gorkha people are facing in India. [6]

Since the people of the Gorkhaland region have a separate language, culture, tradition, and philosophy from the rest of West Bengal, they have been tenaciously fighting for the territory's separation so they can decide its political fate independently. The political parties, social groups, scholars, and people from all walks of life within the Nepali-speaking Gorkha Community all hope to establish their own state in India. It is also an inevitable reality that over 90% of the population of Darjeeling resides there. It is found that the Terai and Dooars districts of Bengal are in favour of breaking away from Bengal and establishing their own independent state within India. Unfortunately, the region's desire to break away from West Bengal has not succeeded, even with such significant backing. On the other side, West Bengal has managed to cling onto the region

despite opposition by using administrative coercion and political deceit. As a result, the dispute over the Indian Gorkhas' homeland has been reduced to a peculiar dispute between the nation's oppressed Nepali/Gorkha community and the rich, developed Bengali majority of the state. Furthermore, the Indian Constitution's clause allowing for the establishment of a separate state for the Gorkhas came into effect during the battle. Speaking, Gorkhas appear to be locked in with the key of PRECEDENT OF CLEARANCE FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT, FOR INVITATING THE PROCESS FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE DEMAND. Article 3, Indian Constitution: "Formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries, or names of existing states: Parliament may by law (A) form a new state by separating territory from any state, uniting two or more states or parts of states, or by uniting any territory to a part of any state; (B) increase the area of any state; (C) diminish the area of any state; (D) alter the name of any state." Therefore, in accordance with the Indian Constitution, the Indian Gorkhas will have their own state, which will include Darjeeling. The Parliament may easily form the Terai and Dooars areas. Regarding the creation of a homeland for the Indian Gorkhas, who predominately live in the area, it appears that there are no legal or constitutional obstacles because Article 3 of the Indian Constitution makes this quite clear. On the advice of concerned state governments, the subsequent Indian government has solely adhered to the precedent established for the creation of a new state. As a result, even though Article 3 of the Constitution states that this is not necessary by law, it is now administrative tradition to request approval, consent, or a recommendation from the relevant state prior to presenting a bill creating a new state. Thus, as long as the precedent is followed, the aspiration to establish a separate state comprising Darjeeling for the Indian Gorkhas is justified. Terai and the Dooars pose a problem since asking West Bengal for a generous recommendation for a fellow citizen who is a member of a different nationality would be like asking the butcher to spare an innocent lamb from certain death. [7]

The political parties, social groups, and more sensible, democratic-minded individuals are quite worried about preventing the political volcano that is rapidly heating up from blowing up. They are deeply worried that certain radical and subversive groups may take over the unsteady political

landscape. There is no doubt that the cauldron would explode if they did it. Therefore, the arrival of such forces may have negative effects on the populace and the country as a whole. Consequently, numerous political, social, and private groups are striving to join Delhi's political Durbar. Additionally, the Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh, the apex organisation of Nepali-speaking Indian Gorkhas, is working tirelessly to advance the sociopolitical and economic interests of Indian Gorkhas, who live everywhere from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and Gujarat to Assam. The Akhil Bharatiya Nepali Bhasa Samity filled the void left by the All India Gorkha League's destruction and restriction of the Darjeeling Hills in former times, when it was the only organisation offering hope to Indian Gorkhas. But after Akhil Bharatiya Nepali Bhasa Samity vanished and Nepali language was added to the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution in 1992, the Nepali-speaking Gorkha felt an urgent need for an All India Organisation for the Indian Gorkhas throughout the whole country. Additionally, it was evident that participation in everyday sociopolitical activities was necessary at the all-India level, particularly for the Indian Gorkhas. As a result, Indian Gorkhas who speak Nepali throughout the country have great aspirations for the Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh to materialise. Consequently, Smt. The President of Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh, Dilkumari Bhandari, the Working President, Sri C.K. Shrestha, and the General Secretary, Sri Sukman Moktan, have a heavy and challenging task ahead of them. The participation and involvement of Fr. The history of Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh has to record Enosdas Pradhan of the Church of Northern India, Delhi, in the trio's unified mission. In a short amount of time, the Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh is alleged to have established state committees in 22 of India's states. However, it is likely that the failure of the assigned leadership to complete the Herculean task at hand will be regarded as a failure and an incapacity of the Indian Gorkhas collectively. It seems, therefore, that having grasped the scope of the undertaking, they were engrossed in it and momentarily set aside the demands of their families. However, the goal still needs to be accomplished. And sagacious and committed individuals and organisations from throughout India are closely monitoring their efforts. This is because the Indian Gorkhas have historically been conned and exploited in the name of nationalism. The saying "once beaten, twice shy" comes to mind for them after they have painfully learned their lesson. They really aren't in a position to give in or run the risk of being taken advantage of and deceived again. [8]

A perfect storm led to the current disaster. In May, the West Bengal government announced that Bengali would be taught in all state-run schools. By June, this had sparked protests and charges of "linguistic imperialism" in Kalimpong and Darjeeling districts. (Where Nepali is the primary language.) Then, after more than 40 years, Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee decided to have the first Cabinet meeting in Darjeeling. The lack of effort to include the three hill MLAs and representatives of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) was a source of concern. Many protesters were injured, and government property was damaged after the confrontation with the police. The rioting really got worse when the Army was called in to put an end to it. More devastation and crackdowns were due to the ensuing protests and fatalities. "Jai Gorkha, Jai Gorkhaland" reverberates through the hills, and Darjeeling has fallen into anarchy again. The Internet and cable television have been suspended for the past month. The local economy has been severely damaged by strikes and security worries during the busiest travel period. There's a general feeling of resistance and unanimity mixed in with the dread. The crisis has shown that Darjeeling is not what it is sometimes made up to be, despite the uncertainties.

Now is the time to take a closer look at the background of the latest Darjeeling problem. This begs the question, "What is Gorkhaland?" and "Why do the people who live there think it's necessary?" For a considerable time, the Gorkhaland movement in India has aimed to establish a distinct state of Gorkhaland for Indian citizens who speak Nepali, sometimes known as "Gorkhas". Like the sub-nationalist movements that gave rise to Telangana, Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh, among others, Gorkhaland has a long history dating back more than a century. Above all, Gorkhaland is a symbol of the Gorkha people's desire to be accepted, acknowledged, and included in the Indian nation-state. The movement is not anti-nationalist or separatist; rather, it is about inclusion and belonging in India, unlike what the general public believes. "We Nepali-Indians who have nothing to do with Nepal are continuously confused with "Nepalis," that is, inhabitants of Nepal, a foreign nation," said Gorkha National Liberation Front founder Subash Ghisingh. "During the initial Gorkhaland movement in the 1980s, we were both aware that if Gorkhaland exists, then our identification as citizens of an Indian State will be evident, as well as yours."

The quote emphasises the need for representation and agency for those who have been historically marginalised or oppressed. It suggests that until those who have been silenced or ignored in history, symbolised as "lions," are given the opportunity to tell their own stories and contribute to the historical discourse, the dominant narrative will always be biased and glorify those who hold power, symbolised as the "hunter."

Bimal Gurung, the leader of the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM), once said, "I urge the people to get prepared for the final battle as the time has come for a do-or-die fight if we want to achieve our dream of Gorkhaland." This quote highlights the widespread support for Gorkhaland among the Gorkha community beyond political affiliations.

Their connection to the Darjeeling area of West Bengal dates back to 1835, when Britishers purchased the territory from Sikkim and began economic activity there. They required dedicated men for this, so they invited Nepalese from Nepal to go to the highlands and establish themselves. As a result, the Nepali population in the area grew dramatically. They now account for about 90% of the overall population of the hilly region. Other demands included citizenship, a separate army regiment, and the repeal of Article VII of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Friendship of 1950.

Positive factors included their publicity to the outside world while trying to serve in the British army, the Communist Party of India's recognition of Darjeeling as their homeland, the spread of education among them, and the growth of different ethnic organisations that encouraged unity and consciousness among them. Aside from this, other unfavourable elements exacerbated their ethnic animosity. The British policy of granting safeguards and special status; historians' portrayals of Gorkhas as British government lackeys; Bengalis' supremacy dynamic; the government's denial of Gorkhas' effective participation in judgement; the ejection of Gorkhas from the north-east; and the Indian government's indifference to their requirements were among them. Each of these circumstances instilled in Nepalis a sense of insecurity, to the point that they had no choice but to rely on their own community for whatever assistance and safety they could get from them. Other

circumstances, like the construction of a number of new states based on linguistic criteria, the merger of Gorkha majority Sikkim with India, their own economic backwardness, and a lack of a defined identity for them in relation to the Nepalese, all contributed to their ethnic awareness. The elite also played a significant role in exacerbating their need for special status and respect. By twisting history and blending myth with it, it created a sense of privation and fear among some of the ordinary people, changing a perfectly natural ethnic rise into a little contrived one.

In other words, aside from a few rare instances, their ethnic ambitions, motives, and urges did not lead them to engage in anti-national acts. For example, they sent a memorandum to the King of Nepal, with copies sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations and the Heads of States and Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and Bangladesh; they forced the Gorkhas of the Indian army to leave the army; and they declared Darjeeling a "no-man land." In actuality, despite their frustrations and interest in preserving their ethnic identity, they consistently indicated a wish to stay in the Indian mainstream.

In contrast, the G.N.L.F. took all of these steps to attract the attention of Indian and foreign authorities. They also used violence for nearly the same reason. In this instance, the Indian government cannot be held accountable for fostering instability in the region because it is evident that the Gorkhas have only used nonviolent means to express their dissatisfaction since the beginning of their uprising and have been democratically voicing their requests to the government since the turn of the century. However, the Indian government's failure to address their predicament until the mid-1980s is what led to their resort to violence, which is consistent with the government's prior silence on the subject. The habit of only acting and reacting when a movement turns violent and jeopardises national security.

Distinct individuals and groups responded differently to their requirements and troubles, but the very next requirements were widely opposed in India: the conception of a separate nation of Gorkhaland; the abrogation of Clause VII of the Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950; and the formation of the Indian Gorkha Regiment. They were nevertheless in favour of giving the Nepali

language fair recognition and allowing regional autonomy. However, practically every segment of India opposed the G.N.L.F.'s brutal tactics. On the subject, public opinion, the media, and political parties in Nepal were split. The people, for the most part, sympathised with the protesters. Some in the media and political parties backed it, while others condemned it. The other faction was committed to maintaining the status quo. The rest of the civilised world was nearly deafeningly silent on the subject.

A significant portion of the Indian population was made aware of the concerns and aspirations of the Indian Gorkhas as a result of this campaign, which had some positive effects but also some negative ones, including the unimaginable loss of life and property, the destruction of the economies of Darjeeling and Sikkim, the promotion of indiscipline among the youth of Darjeeling, the weakening of Nepali-Bengali ties, and the G.N.L.F.'s rise to political power in the region as a result of the disturbance. [9]

However, in response to their continued agitation, the Central Government, the State Government, and the G.N.L.F. signed two deals in mid-1988. The G.N.L.F. chose to give up on a number of demands, such as the repeal of Clause VII of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Friendship (1950), linguistic recognition, and the creation of a separate state called Gorkhaland with a unique Indian Gorkha Regiment. The government agreed to fulfil their other demands by granting citizenship to pre-1950 settlers, allowing them to join any Indian Army unit they desired, and establishing D.G.H.C.

It wasn't the reason they had been fighting for so long. Their aspiration to forge an Indian identity while sacrificing their ethnic identity could not be satisfied by these concessions. It was simply a band-aid solution until they could eventually force the government to accede to their earlier demands.

Moreover, the agreement had to be carried out in the right spirit in order to be truly valuable, which was extremely difficult to accomplish in the current atmosphere of suspicion. Moreover, a number of areas required a great deal of complexity to execute. For instance, it was quite difficult to ascertain the citizenship requirements for Gorkha settlers prior to 1950. In addition, the

government disregarded citizenship laws in other states to the fullest extent possible. Gorkhas who arrived in Assam prior to 1971 were granted this privilege. This caused Gorkhas who came to Darjeeling after 1950 to feel resentment and suffering. Similarly, the provision permitting soldiers to enlist in any unit of their choice did not work out well because Army Headquarters did not provide any suitable directives to that effect. Everything here indicates that there was a considerable delay between the formulation of the provisions and their implementation. It instilled doubt and loneliness in the minds of agitators.

In actuality, the Internal Colonialist Perspective is able to provide a complete picture of the entire issue since it examines the nuances of real group interactions and the core-periphery phenomenon. It can also explain how cultural identifiers change over time, moving from rudimentary traits to discriminatory policies. According to this perspective, differences exist between populations that are advanced and those who are retarded as a result of economic growth. The periphery becomes more dependent on the central when these differences are formalised into stratifications. The elite of the advanced group tries to maintain the status quo. But the retarded group tries to change it, which leads to interethnic conflict. Over Gorkhas, Bengalis held a dominant position in every aspect of life. They used the state's natural and human resources to their fullest advantage, having complete control over them. Ethnic violence thus emerged and deepened throughout the area.

Numerous academics have evaluated the state of affairs and the crisis from different angles. For the sake of simplicity, their perspectives can be categorised into three groups. The first point of view is pro-agitation, which defends the agitation as a whole by pointing to long-suppressed legitimate demands. B.T. For example, Subba thinks that the ethnic mobility in the area is a result of the long history of economic hardship, cultural instability, and a lack of political voice among the Gorkhas. Additionally, tampering with their demographic numbers, cultural heritage, and history has led to this. Resources, particularly for development, were given to them infrequently. Fearful of losing their Indian identity and ethnic group, the Gorkhas fought for a "home" inside a "home" in just such a situation. P.K. This is also the opinion of Radical Humanist and Economic and Political Weekly, as well as Khanal and Inderjit. The current scenario is described from a primordialist perspective. The latter even criticises C.P.I. (Motto)'s "no more division of Bengal."

This is partly due to the fact that ethnic identities in this area are based on shared ancestry. The Nepali language, certain common social practices, familial ties, and other things are among the many "givens" that give Gorkhas their identity. In this instance, G.N.L.F. President Subhash Ghising and other leadership have taken advantage of and exploited ethnic desires in order to achieve strength and power. As a result, the Instrumentalist Method also addresses some of the underlying causes of the current ethnic crisis. The truth in this case can be more fully described by the Eclectic Method, but with a twist, because it incorporates components from both the Primordialist and Instrumentalist approaches. To mobilise support among ethnic Gorkhas and advance the goals of the group they represented, the Gorkha elite did employ cultural markers or fundamental identities; nevertheless, these markers were organic rather than artificial.

Furthermore, because there were multiple ethnic groups in society and one of them held power over the others, cultural pluralism was rather significant in this situation. Bengalis were the dominant group, while Gorkhas were the subordinates. In terms of group affiliations in particular, the interaction or cross-cultural contacts were limited to the economic sphere. The two groups differed greatly in terms of social structures, value systems, belief patterns, and action systems. The modernization technique can only be applied in limited circumstances in this case. It is accurate to believe that modernity will make individuals more aware of themselves. But it's untrue to say that these processes will cause ethnic affiliations to disappear. Since the Marxist approach reveals the economic foundations of the ethical dilemma, its influence is particularly noteworthy in this instance. However, it just presents a portion of the story. The natural and human resources of the state belonged to them exclusively, and they made the best use of them. Ethnic unrest consequently emerged and deepened throughout the area.

There is a third point of view, known as the "middle view," however, and some of their grievances were legitimate while the others were unfounded. For instance, Prof. Manas Dasgupta claimed that economic stagnation was the main cause of the movement. The situation stems from economic deprivation and neglect, according to Mahendra P. Lama. Some thought that a major contributing element to the development of this issue was the unfavourable attitude of the Bengalis. The West

Bengal administration was criticised by some media, while the central government was held responsible by others, including The Hindustan Times.

However, a thorough analysis of the goals, agitation tactics, and leadership positions of the Gorkhas in the area shows that there is no one source of ethnic violence in the area. This kind of statement is one-dimensional. Many factors contributed to the growth of their claims, which sparked the Gorkhaland dispute. The pro-agitationist perspective completely eclipses India's apologies, worries, and compassion for the local populace. The anti-agitationist viewpoint completely disregards the genuine concerns and demands for legitimacy and identity of the Gorkha people. Unfortunately, the median strategy overlooks other significant elements in favour of focusing just on one key component. All of these techniques, however, are successful in identifying the cause of the aspects that the general public usually ignores.

A thorough evaluation of the overall problem is required. It is clear from the current debate that the core issue is one of "ethnic identity" and that solving the real issues of the Gorkha proletariat should take precedence over the demands of the leaders or elite. Their economic illiteracy, complete reliance on the elite, and arbitrary leadership cannot treat them like puppets. A more robust and functional political system would have surely come from actual accommodation of their justifiable demands and democratic aspirations, but neglect and apathy towards their ethnic concerns led to a recurrence of violence. [10]

It isn't like that, ethnic Gorkhas must be represented in political decision-making for peace to be sustainable. This issue has received zero attention from the state administration thus far. Local governance must involve ordinary Gorkhas in decision-making. Therefore, it is imperative to ensure that a small number of Gorkha elites do not come to hold all the authority. The G.T.A. ought to be able to address issues that affect the residents of the hills and conduct itself with transparency and accountability. As stated differently, social and economic well-being must be ensured along with good government. Thus, in the latter, "harmony" can be lost.

Politically, the government was ineffectual since the West Bengal government showed no care for the political shifts occurring in the hills of Darjeeling. The aspiration for self-government was the root cause of all Gorkhaland movements. The desire to have the freedom to make their own policies is what is driving the statehood movement in West Bengal. Ethnic minorities, like the Gorkhas, view the right to governance as a political privilege that enables them to challenge Bengal's political hegemony and develop policies for a region with a distinct history, culture, language, and customs. They think that self-governance systems, like the DGHC that was given to the Gorkhas, are insufficient because they lack real authority and have structural faults. In addition, the government did nothing to guarantee that development funds were used appropriately and that the DGHC was carrying out the administrative duties assigned to it. Therefore, they demand distinct statehood as a means of achieving real power fragmentation.

Studying the political aspirations and cultures of the Rajbangsis and Gorkhas reveals that they both want to split off West Bengal into their own states. In contrast, the Rajbangsi and Gorkha communities desire to create their planned states of Gorkhaland and Kamtapur, respectively, in the same Dooars and Siliguri regions. As Siliguri is a part of Darjeeling, it should fall under the jurisdiction of the proposed Gorkhaland state, claims GJMM. However, GJMM recognises Rajbangsi as the indigenous population of Cooch Behar. The KPP claims that the Gorkha colony in Darjeeling is almost a century old, and the Gorkhas are citizens of India. The leaders of the KPP and the GJMM concurred that there was a chance for mutual agreement on territory sharing. On March 27, 2009, the Greater Kamta United Forum and GJMM turned to talks to find a shared solution to their overall predicament. The Greater Kamta United Forum expressed sympathy for the Gorkhas' plight and declared complete support for their aspiration for a separate state of Gorkhaland. In the end, both sides united as a single unit to fight their alleged common enemy, the West Bengal administration. In addition, the GJMM said that Gorkhaland would adhere to a policy of cultural preservation and minority development inside its borders whenever it was established. It seems that the Gorkhaland and Kamtapur Movements are resolving their differences on shared territories, uniting two seemingly disparate people and fostering solidarity.

Therefore, a comprehensive decision-making process with the participation of the Gorkha ethnic communities in particular on matters pertaining to their welfare is necessary in West Bengal. It needs to be ensured that the outcry of the majority does not drown out their voices. Equal civic, political, and economic rights must coexist with cultural rights. The state has granted its citizens all of these rights, but they are not all in place for their effective exercise. Gorkha and other ethnic minorities can fully practice their constitutionally guaranteed cultural rights as long as their distinctive culture is sufficiently valued and accepted and they are given a sense of security in both the public and private domains. If this doesn't happen, West Bengal will still be a place where multiculturalism is uncommon.

CONCLUSION:

The results can assist stakeholders and policymakers in addressing the demands and worries of Gorkhaland, including matters of cultural identity, economic sustainability, governance, and transnational components. The report also highlights the need for inclusive policies that respect the Gorkhas' unique cultural past and ambitions, as well as the importance of identifying and treating the group's identity crisis. The results of this study add to the body of knowledge about the Gorkhaland movement, which has worldwide components as well as implications for academia and policy. In order to create inclusive and long-lasting solutions, more study and work must be done to address the complexities of the Gorkhaland movement and the aspirations of the Gorkha community, taking into account its cultural, economic, social, political, and transnational components. To conclude this study's argument, I would like to point out that the literature that has already been written about the Gorkhaland movement has helped to clarify the complex web of identity politics that surrounds this desire for a distinct state. The literature currently available on the Gorkhaland movement clarifies the intricate identity politics underlying the desire for a separate state. Identity and culture are important to the movement, in addition to political representation and economic advancement. The majority of people in the area who speak Nepali and are Gorkhas see themselves as distinct from the Bengali-speaking majority of West Bengal

and feel that their identity and culture are being suppressed. The body of literature illustrates how the Gorkhaland movement was influenced by political and historical factors. The intricate history of migration and colonisation in the area has influenced the diversity of linguistic and cultural identities among the populace. The movement has also been inspired politically by the assimilation programme of the Indian state and the demands of other ethnic communities in India for increased autonomy. The literature has also highlighted the ways in which conflicting interests and viewpoints characterised the Gorkhaland movement. Some suggest that the desire for a separate state is a ploy to get political power and influence, while others contend that a separate statehood would give the Gorkha people a platform to affirm their identity and preserve their culture, money. The literature that surrounds the desire for a separate state around the Gorkhaland movement emphasises the complex web of identity politics. It highlights the intricacies of the problems at hand as well as the divergent interests and viewpoints of the parties. Any policy aimed at resolving the Gorkhaland demand must take these issues into consideration. Moreover, it has highlighted the conflicting interests and viewpoints that defined the Gorkhaland movement. Some suggest that the demand for a separate state is a ploy to get political power, while others contend that Gorkhas would have a platform to preserve their culture and announce their identity in the event of a separate statehood. In addition, the international elements of the Gorkhaland movement—such as the Gorkhas' sentimental attachment to and views of Gorkhaland from around the world—have been acknowledged as a crucial part of the movement. Overall, this study contributes to the body of knowledge and has implications for academia and policy. It sheds light on the complex interplay between the Gorkhaland movement and the ethnic and identity dimensions of the Gorkha community, which can help stakeholders and policymakers better understand and respond to the demands and difficulties of the Gorkhaland movement. Finding inclusive and long-lasting solutions that respect the cultural history and aspirations of the Gorkha people while taking into account the economic, social, political, and international factors at play would require more study and effort given the complexity of the Gorkhaland movement. Nonetheless, research on the importance of identity in shaping the objectives and strategies of the movement is lacking. This seeks to advance knowledge of how identity affects the Gorkhaland movement through empirical research that examines the nuances of the identity issue Gorkhas in India face. By examining the

framing of identity-based demands and negotiation strategies, this study aims to shed light on how identity politics intersect with the movement and offer insights into the complexities of the Gorkha community's struggle for autonomy and legitimacy.

REFERENCES:

1. Sarkar Dr. D.K. and Bhaumick Dr. D.J., Empowering Darjeeling Hills: An Experience with Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, Indian Publisher Distributors, Delhi, 2000.
2. Fareedi M. and Lepcha PD, Area and Issue Profile of Darjeeling and Sikkim, Darjeeling Gorkha, Nagendra – Gorkhaland Andolan Part I & II, Published by Information & Cultural Affairs DGHC, 1996.
3. Basu Sajal, Regional Movements: Politics of Language, Ethnicity, Identity, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992.
4. Mukherjee Bharati, Regionalism in Indian Perspective, K.P Bagchi, Calcutta, 1992.
5. Ganguly Sumit, Ethnicity, Nationalism and the State in South Asia, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001.
6. Bahadur, Rana Sonia Tez. Gorkha Identity in Multicultural Bengal. Kolkata: Shree Publishers & Distributors, 2018.
7. Sarkar, Swatahsiddha. Gorkhaland Movement: Ethnic Conflict and State Response. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd., 2013.
8. Koehler, Jeff. Darjeeling: The History and Precarious Fate of the World's Greatest Tea. New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2015.
9. Rai, Indra Bahadur. There's a Carnival Today. Translated by Manjushree Thapa. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger Publishing Private Limited, 2017.
10. Tillin, Louise. "Remapping India: Emerging States and Their Political Roots." International Political Science Review 34, no. 3 (2013): 306-21.

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 patent or 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 hence it 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. SHWETA RAI
