

## **CURRICULUM-VITAE**



**NAME** : Dr. Rana Sonia Tez Bahadur  
**FATHER NAME** : T.B. Rana  
**MOTHER NAME** : Padma Rana  
**DATE OF BIRTH** : 20-03-1985  
**MARITAL STATUS** : Married  
**CASTE** : OBC  
**COMMUNITY** : Nepali  
**NATIONALITY** : Indian  
**LANGUAGES SPOKEN** : Hindi, Nepali, Bengali and English

### **EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION**

<b>Examination Passed</b>	<b>Name of Institution</b>	<b>Board/University</b>	<b>%of Marks</b>	<b>Yr. of Passing</b>
H.S.L.C	St, Joseph's Convent, Nagpur	Maharashtra State Board, Pune	72.66	2000
H.S.	Hislop Jr. College, Nagpur	Maharashtra State Board, Pune	67.83	2002
B.A. Pol. Sc. (Hons)	Cachar College	Assam University, Silchar	55.8	2005
M.A. (Pol. Sc.)	Assam University	Assam University, Silchar	64.3	2007
M.Phil	Assam University	Assam University, Silchar	A	2010
PhD	Assam University	Assam University, Silchar	Awarded	2017

## OTHER QUALIFICATION

- I. UGC NET Qualified, June, 2011.
- II. Attended 117<sup>th</sup> Four Week Orientation Programme organized by the UGC- HRDC, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 15<sup>th</sup> February- 16<sup>th</sup> March, 2017 obtaining 'A' Grade.
- III. Attended winter school programme on 'Gandhi and His contemporaries' organized by Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla (1<sup>st</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> December, 2018).
- IV. Diploma in Computer Application

## AWARDS

- I. Gold Medalists in M.A. (Political Science), Assam University, 2007.
- II. Santibala Devi Memorial Award for securing First class First position in M.A. (Political Science), Assam University, 2007

## WORK EXPERIENCE

- I. Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Dayalbagh Educational Institute (Deemed University), Agra in the pay band of Rs. 15600-39100 plus allowances.

Duration:

19/11/2012- 19/05/2014 (Temporary Basis)

20/05/2014- 29/11/2017 (Permanent Basis)

Total No. of Years: 5 years 10 Days

## RESEARCH INTEREST

I am presently pursuing ICSSR Post Doctoral research on '**Democracy and Nationalism in Bhutan: Challenges and Prospects**' (January 2019-December 2021). My areas of research interest as such are as follows:

- I. Multiculturalism,
- II. Ethnicity,
- III. Autonomy Movements
- IV. Identity Politics

## PAPER PRESENTED IN SEMINAR/CONFERENCES

- I. '*Group Consciousness and Politics of Multiculturalism in India*', 56<sup>th</sup> All India Political Science Conference of the Indian Political Science Association (IPSA) organized by the Department of Political Science, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 25-27 October, 2015.

- II. *'Dr. Ambedkar and Uniform Civil Code: A Political Impasse'*, National Seminar on "Indian Constitution and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Work and Life" organized by Dayalbagh Educational Institute (Deemed University), Agra, 21-22 November, 2015.
- III. *'Migration, Ethnicity and Displaced Identity: Implication of India's Open Border Policy with Himalayan States with Indian Nepalis'*, International Seminar on "Re-imagining Indian Foreign Policy: Emerging Challenges and Strategies" organized by Department of Political Science, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 4-5 April, 2014.
- IV. *'Ethnicity and Autonomy: A Perspective of North East India'*, Interdisciplinary International Conference on "Rethinking India: Perspectives from Below" organised by Association of Interdisciplinary Policy Research and Action, Nagpur, 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2013.
- V. *'Immigration and Internal Minorities: A Case Study of Nepalis in North East India'*, National seminar on "Partition and North East India" organized by Department of Political Science, Assam University, Silchar, 25-26 March, 2011.
- VI. *'Role of women in Language Movement in Barak Valley, Assam (1960-61)'*, National seminar on "Linguistic Movement and their future in Southern Assam" organized by Department of History, SriKishan Sarda College, Hailakandi, Assam, 19-20 August, 2011.
- VII. *'Right to Health and Sanitation: A Study of the Role of Silchar Municipal Board'*, 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of North Eastern Economic Association (NEEA) organized by Assam University, Silchar, 16-18 November, 2011.
- VIII. *'Non-aligned Movement: Challenges and Obstacles'*, 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of North East India Political Science Association (NEIPSA), 21-22 January, 2006.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

- I. Gorkha Identity in Multicultural Bengal, Kalpaz Publications, Gyan Books Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2018, ISBN : 978938639787
- II. 'Migration, Ethnicity and Displaced Identity: Implications of India's Open Border Policy with the Himalayan States on Indian Nepalis', South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies, Volume XV No, 2, January-June, 2015, ISSN 0972-4613.
- III. 'Group Consciousness and Politics of Multiculturalism in India, Indian Journal of Political Science, Volume LXXVI, No 3, July- September, 2015, ISSN 0019-5510.
- IV. 'Gorkhaland Movement: Quest for Identity or Resources', Indian Journal of Political Science, Volume LXXVII No. 3, July-September, 2016, ISSN 0091-5510.

## **EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES**

- I. First Position, Intra University Extempore Speech, Annual Social Meet, Assam University, Silchar, Assam, 2006.
- II. Second Position, Debate, Assam University Teacher's Association (AUTA), Assam University, Silchar, Assam, 2006.
- III. Second Position, Paper Presentation, Assam University Teacher's Association (AUTA), Assam University, Silchar, Assam, 2006.
- IV. Third Position, Intra College Debate, Indian Association of Parliamentarians on Population & Development, New Delhi, 2006.
- V. First Position, Intra College Debate, Annual Social Meet, Cachar College, Silchar, Assam, 2005.

## **REFERENCES**

1. Professor Poornima Jain, Head, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Dayalbagh Educational Institute, Agra. Contact: poornimajaindb@gmail.com Mobile: 9760476997
2. Professor Ranju Dhamala, Department of Political Science, Assam University, Assam. Contact: [rdhamala@gmail.com](mailto:rdhamala@gmail.com) Mobile: 9435175379

## **PRESENT ADDRESS**

879 B, Block A, Sushant Lok Phase I, Gurugram, Haryana, Pin: 122009

## **PERMANENT ADDRESS**

Sushma Enclave, Subhash Nagar Point, College Road, Silchar, District: Cachar, Assam, Pin: 788004

**CONTACT NUMBER** : 9536902625

**E-MAIL** : [soniarana872@gmail.com](mailto:soniarana872@gmail.com)

# **Gorkha Identity in Multicultural Bengal**

**Dr Rana Sonia Tez Bahadur**



**©Author**

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced, stored, adapted, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, micro-filming recording or otherwise, or translated in any language, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner and the publisher. The book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the prior publisher's written consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published.

The views and opinions expressed in this book are author(s) own and the facts reported by them have been verified to the extent possible, and the publishers are not in any way liable for the same.

First Published, 2018

*Published by*



Kalpaz Publications  
C-30, Satyawati Nagar,  
Delhi – 110052  
E-mail: kalpaz@hotmail.com  
Ph.: 9212142040

*Printed at:* G. Print Process, Delhi

**Cataloging in Publication Data—DK**

Courtesy: D.K. Agencies (P) Ltd. <docinfo@dkagencies.com>

**Bahadur, Rana Sonia Tez, author.**

Gorkha identity in multicultural Bengal / Dr. Rana Sonia  
Tez Bahadur.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 9789386397874

1. Gorkha (South Asian people)—India—West Bengal—Ethnic identity.
2. Gorkha (South Asian people)—India—West Bengal—Politics and government.
3. Identity politics—India—West Bengal.
4. Multiculturalism—India—West Bengal. I. Title.

LCC DS493.9.G8B34 2018 | DDC 305.80095414 23





# Migration, Ethnicity and Displaced Identity: Implications of India's Open Border Policy with the Himalayan States on Indian Nepalis

Rana Sonia Tez Bahadur, Assistant Professor, Dayalbagh Educational Institute (Deemed University), Dayalbagh, Agra.

The Himalayan States of Nepal and Bhutan is of strategic importance to India given the close borders India shares with both the neighbouring countries respectively. Consequently India's relations with the Himalayan States occupy an integral part of India's Foreign Policy. India has been unrelenting towards securing the alliance of the Himalayan States. This is clearly reflected in the conclusion of Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty, 1950 and Indo-Bhutan Treaty of Friendship and Neighbourliness, 1949 (revised 2007). Albeit the treaties have survived over half a century, it has become a source of obstacles particularly for the Indian Nepalis. The Treaties has proved to be a source of the mistaken identity of the Indian Nepalis resulting into discrimination and subsequent ethno-political unrest. The present paper thus seeks to examine the implications of the open border policy adopted by the India with regard to the Himalayan states on the Indian Nepalis residing in Nepal, Bhutan and India. It will attempt to analyse how the open border policy has resulted into blurring the lines between the migrants and the citizens and has further escalated the ethnic tensions between the conflicting groups.

Migration of population among the countries of Bhutan, Nepal and India reflects a natural movement guided by socio-cultural affinity and a kinship factor. It is not political in character rather is more historical. Darjeeling and its areas was part of the dominions of the Monarch of Sikkim till 1835. In 1706 the Bhutanese took what is now the Kalimpong subdivision of the District from Sikkim. Sikkim later became engaged in unsuccessful struggles with the Gorkhas who had seized power in Nepal and invaded Sikkim in 1780. During the next 30 years the Gorkhas ruled the District. Disagreement over the frontier policy of the Gorkhas, led to Anglo-Nepal war in 1813 in which the British Army led by General Ochterlony defeated the Gorkhas. By the Treaty signed at Segoulie, 1816 the Gorkhas ceded Darjeeling to the British, which in turn by Treaty of Titaliya, 1817 was handed over to the Monarch of Sikkim. However, in 1935 Darjeeling was "granted" away by Sikkim to the British as per a "deed of agreement"

in 1835. The present Siliguri subdivision was annexed by the British in 1850 rather forcefully, as a punitive measure for having got Campbell and Hooker imprisoned by Namgyal Dewan, brother-in-law of the Monarch of Sikkim. And the Kalimpong subdivision was finally annexed in 1885 following the Anglo-Bhutanese War of 1864 and included in Darjeeling district in 1866. The Dooars, which too was a part of Sikkim conquered by Bhutan in 1706, was annexed to the British India in 1865. It is thus clearly understood that it was only when borders were redrawn following the independence of India that various solidarities were fragmented and the legality or otherwise of the movement of people across borders came into question.

## Indo-Nepal Peace And Friendship Treaty, 1950

India-Nepal migration is a social inter-relationship since peoples on both the sides of the border share a common language, religion and ethnic identity; their relations

transcend political considerations. The commonalities are more evident between the Terai (Plain) people of Nepal and Indians across the border reflected in linguistic commonality and practice of Hinduism. The migration was further promoted by the Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 which allows Nepalis to freely reside, own property, find employment and carry on business in India. Article VI of the 1950 treaty states: "Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development." Article VII further adds: "The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature."

India thus generally does not treat Nepali immigrants as "illegal." They have become just like other Indian nationals within the broad framework of the Indian federation. There is sizeable Indian migration to Nepal from the adjoining districts in India, particularly to its Terai region and that of the Nepalese of Nepal to the adjoining districts in India, particularly Darjeeling and Siliguri in West Bengal. Marriage is also an important reason for migration. The immigrant Nepalese marry into local Indian families as do Indians settled in Terai townships in Nepal as traders and moneylenders. This has resulted in the cross-fertilisation of cultures, reinforcing commonalities between



## GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS AND POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM IN INDIA

Rana Sonia Tez Bahadur

### **Group Consciousness: Meaning And Nature:**

Group Consciousness combines group identification with a set of ideological beliefs about the group's status and the alternative means to improve it. While Group identification refers to an individual's sense of belonging or solidarity to a social group; ideological beliefs about the group's status generally comprises action oriented beliefs about exclusion, prejudice and disadvantage in socio-economic and political sphere. Alternative means involves collective action to improve their status in relation to the majorities.

Studies of the civil rights movement suggest that group consciousness helped galvanize thousands of disadvantaged African Americans to engage in collective action to demand equal rights. Group consciousness can be viewed as a psychological resource that made politics relevant to people's lives and supplied them with reasons to become active. Group consciousness refers to the diffusion of an ideology that bolsters group pride and identification, diagnoses group problems, offers prescriptive solutions, and encourages group members to act in solidarity to achieve common ends. Finally, group consciousness is mostly applicable to subordinate minority populations making it one-dimensional. The nexus between the majority-minority can thereby be improved through the group consciousness study providing solutions to many conflicting issues in India and elsewhere.

**Impact Of Group Consciousness On Political Behaviour Of Minorities:** Group consciousness potentially heightens awareness and interest of the minorities in politics. It changes the group bases for social comparisons; bolsters group pride and political efficacy; alters interpretations of group problems and promotes support for collective action. The Shingles (1981) re-analysis of the 1967 Verba and Nie participation provides empirical support for several psychological links. The psychological dynamic works as follows: minority consciousness turns the

blame for unequal outcomes away from the individual toward the system. Attributing responsibility to the system for unequal group outcomes produces stronger feelings of personal efficacy. Efficacy and trust are thus inversely related to each other. High trust and high efficacy lead to allegiant participation while low trust and high efficacy produce protest activity. Thus group consciousness promotes development of political efficacy, but reduction of political trust. Just as there are different *degrees* of group consciousness, different *kinds* of group consciousness may have varying effects on political participation.

group consciousness leads to higher levels of political participation by individuals on behalf of the group. But not all group ideologies necessarily promote political participation to the same degree; some may even direct individuals away from political activities.

Ethnic group identification, for example, can hinder participation rates by slowing rates of acculturation and thereby reducing interest and participation in political affairs. (Greeley 1974).

There may also be instances of competing ideologies circulating within a group. When there is no ideological consensus, the various forms of group consciousness may tend to influence individual behaviour in different directions. Shared political identity derives from commonality of history, language, and may be religion. But these are precisely the things which are not shared in a multination state. Further balkanisation is being demanded. India is grappling with the problem of ethno-secessionist movements challenging its multicultural framework.

**Multiculturalism In India:** Multiculturalism seeks to ensure that the many cultural communities that are present in a society must live as equals in the public domain. It believes that the mere presence of many plural cultures and communities are not enough; the state should ensure that different communities



## GORKHALAND MOVEMENT: QUEST FOR IDENTITY OR RESOURCES

Rana Sonia Tez Bahadur

*The Gorkhaland Movement is mainly the drive for personal identity founded on the desire of the Gorkhas to preserve their distinctive identity based on primordial ties as against the Nepalese from Nepal in general and the Nepalese who came to India post 1950, in particular. The article titled 'Gorkhaland Movement: Quest for Identity or Resources' examines the causes for the demand by the Gorkhas in Darjeeling and the adjoining areas for a separate state of Gorkhaland within the Indian Union. It focuses on the Gorkhaland Movement organized under Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) and also discusses the reemergence of the Movement in the present decade under the leadership of Bimal Gurung and his party Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM). It draws a distinction between the two phases and thereby analyses the role of ethnic identity in the organization of the Gorkhaland Movement together with its socio-economic and political dimensions.*

Gorkhaland Movement is the movement by the Gorkhas<sup>1</sup> living in and around Darjeeling and the Dooars for a separate state of 'Gorkhaland'. The Movement is mainly an expression of the desire of the Gorkha populace to assert their ethnic individuality against the allegations of displaced identity. The Gorkhas who have their own distinct ethnic culture, language and customs are different from the dominant community of the rest of Bengal i.e. the Bengalis in West Bengal. The Gorkhas as a result find the inclusion of Darjeeling district and parts of Dooars where they are in majority within West Bengal as unjustified.

### Gorkha Settlement In India During British Colonial Period

The immigration of the Gorkhas from Nepal to Northeast India began when the British encountered the Gorkhas in an adversary situation during the Anglo- Nepal war of 1814-15. They found their adversary not only brave warriors, but also effective in wild, difficult and mountainous tract. Moreover, they found them inexpensive, obedient and efficient even in trying circumstances. So much so that the British adopted many clandestine measures to encourage the Gorkhas to settle in places like Shillong, Darjeeling and Dehradun and dispatching *gallawallas* (local appellation for recruiting agents) to collect young boys for recruiting in their army. Consequently, the British proved to be a catalyst for an organized migration from the Nepal hills to the Indian Frontiers only to serve their own motives. After the Sepoy

Mutiny of 1857 the British viewed the higher caste Hindus and Muslim Hindustani soldiers as less reliable. Thus, when the British consolidated the thinly populated, entirely wild and mountainous tract covering the entire Northeastern India, they preferred the Gorkhas which could swiftly move without a murmur and work as an ethnic buffer between hill and plains communities. Furthermore, the tribal hill tracts in Northeast India continuously necessitated armed pacification expeditions to be sent. And the Gorkhas were always available as a regular army, police or constabulary to restore the law and order.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to this the pre-British economy being a subsistence economy the British tried to generate more revenue by bringing more wastelands under production. It encouraged cash crop production such as cinchona, rubber, pepper and other herbal plantations.<sup>3</sup> Commercial activities like timber extraction and tea plantation required strong muscle power for jungle clearance. The British, thus, co-opted immigration, and this was done by giving land on favorable terms to Nepalis, who as soon as knew about it, came freely in.<sup>4</sup> Besides, the British also encouraged the Gorkhas to settle in the vast wastelands of Sikkim and Bhutan so as to avoid the Chinese and Tibetan infiltration.<sup>5</sup> The internal situation within Nepal also served as a positive pull factors encouraging Gorkha migration to the Northeast India. The classical Nepalis regime was notoriously a repressive one that considered some of the communities as enslavable.<sup>6</sup> The Nepal Government had no system of paying its soldiers in cash: they fought for their nation in lieu of daily food

Ms. Rana Sonia Tez Bahadur, Assistant Professor, Dayalbagh Educational Institute (Deemed University), Dayalbagh, Agra (U.P.)