

## **Representation of Gorkhas in Nepali Folk Songs**

### **Abstract:**

*This thesis is about a mode of representation of Gorkhas in Nepali folk songs. The discursive construction of images, stereotypes, and identities of Gorkhas in popular cultural discourses are examined in the light of Stuart Hall's theory of culture, popular culture and identity. In countries like Britain, India, Singapore and other lands where Gorkhas are hired as Lahure, they are still subjected to condescending conditions. They are deprived of getting equal pay and self-respect. Their dehumanization, exploitation and misery knew no bound. Subjection of Gorkhas to horrifying working conditions and their terrible debilitating conditions prove that they are exploited and oppressed beyond measure. Despite their repeated efforts and struggle to actualize their dream, they are doomed to suffer. Consequently, they individually and jointly resist against British and Nepalese government in a past and present too.*

**Keywords:** immigrants, homeland, subordination, hegemony

This study concentrates on the problematical representation of Gorkhas in Nepali popular culture. On the one hand, they are lauded as brave and dedicated. On the other, they are subjected to low wage, lack of integration and self-prestige. They are not paid the same wage which is paid to the native soldiers of any country where they are recruited or accepted on any sort of job. Gorkhas is the term used to those who are known for their bravery. They are employed in different sectors of risk taking venture. They are taken in fields ranging from army to sentry and any construction project. The discourses on Gorkhas and their contribution are centered to the issue of idolization. But the responses and reactions to them in practical life are not in keeping

with the intention of idolization. It is this fissure and dichotomy on which this study is based.

Popular culture is determined by the interactions between people their everyday activities: style of dress, use of slang, greeting rituals and the food that people eat or such practices as the seaside holiday and the celebration of Christmas are all examples of popular culture. The portrayal of mass Gorkhas in popular culture is marked by many contradictory characteristics. It is also informed by mass media. Popular culture is brimful of accidental cases. It may be defined as the products and forms of expression and identity that are frequently encountered or widely accepted, commonly liked or approved and characteristic of a particular society. Popular culture appeals to people because it provides opportunities for both individual happiness and communal bonding. Popular culture come from a wide area of genres, including music, printed text, cyber culture, sports, entitlements, leisure.

The representation of Gorkhas in Nepali popular culture is entirely problematical. On the one hand they are lauded as a brave, Herculean warrior. On the other, they are relegated to such a position from which they have never come to the high level of self-respect, equal pay and extension of other amenities. Still, the term Gorkhas or Gorkhalis are tainted with condescending and derogatory implication. This fissures and duality in the depiction of Gorkhas in Nepali popular culture posit a challenge. The actual treatment of Gorkhas in society and their idolization in discourses pertaining to popular culture are incompatible. One is not commensurate to the other. It is this incompatibility that has drawn the attention of the present researcher. To sustain their rule over the world, in a country and also to maintain the economic prosperity the British and Nepali ruler popularized Gurkhas as Brave. Britain was lacking youths to expand British Empire which could fulfilled by Nepal

so started Gorkhas recruitment. British tagged the name of Gorkhas as legendary, martial race, bahadur, masculinity, bravery, gentlemen, and warrior but treated as if they were animals which were not even felt equal to British pets. The word human chopper used by British authorities to Gorkhas is satire to their Victoria Cross awards and Gorkhas polices. Gorkhas are outwardly and discursively construed as brave and heroic and how they are inwardly ridiculed as impulsive, impudent and recklessly audacious brutes. They are subjected to plenty of vicissitudes of emotions and ravages of humiliation. In Nepali popular culture the representation of Gorkhas is not up to the mark. The discursive mode of lionizing Gorkhas in songs and their relegation and exclusion from the same level of prestige and pay received by others are taken into account in this study.

British defined Gorkhas to control world as its colonial empire. Because of those mottos many Gorkhas sacrifice their life. According to Prushottam Banaskota, conservative estimates place Gorkhas casualty figures at 150,000 wounded and 45,000 killed in action from the two world wars and other conflicts before and since. Addressing this issue, Jessica Mai Sim makes the following remarks:

The first contact between the British and the people of modern day Nepal was when the British East Indian Company sought to increase their presence on the Asian sub-continent. In 1815 they declared war with Nepal following a series of boundary disputes with, and raids into, the Gorkha city-state. Despite winning, the British were so impressed with the tenacity of their opponents that they encouraged them to volunteer for service in the East India Company's Army in India in 1816. (5)

This imperial legacy of military service remained after the partition of India, with Nepalese nationals comprising the largest group of foreign nationals in the British

Army, and receiving 13 Victoria Crosses between them. Here, it shows that the colonial construction of the Gorkhas identity. Gorkhas had defined as many other synonymous like ‘martial Gorkha, loyalty and disciplined courage, self-sufficiency, physical strength, resilience, orderliness, the ability to work hard for long periods of time, fighting tenacity and military strength.

Likewise, in this regard B.M. Niven’s 1987 coffee table book, *The Mountain Kingdom: Portraits of Nepal and the Gorkhas*, Niven, himself a Gorkha officer, wrote:

Even terribly wounded cling on and their tough bodies and harsh upbringing enable them to endure. The job in hand and the name of the regiment are everything. Death and the threat of it, they are used to by their very upbringing and so they do not hold back at the prospect of death or of danger that may precede death. Discomfort, they are injured to from childhood and so at war the prospect of being out in, and at the mercy of, the elements, does not in any way inhibit them. (76)

Gorkhas appear as immortal and human blood sucking predators. Gorkhas are recognized for their bravery and heroism. But they were treated the Gorkhas as if they were animals which were not even felt equal to British pets.

In France, a British officer is knocked out by shell-shock. He opens his eyes to find his orderly kneeling over him fanning the flies off his face, tears streaming down his cheeks. With respect to this, Edmund Smith makes the following remark:

“Why are you crying, Tegh Bahadur?” he said:” “I am not badly hit.” “I am crying Sahib,” he said, ‘because my arm is gone and I am no more able to fight. ‘With a nod, Tegh Bahadur indicates the wound. The shell that had stunned the sahib had carried off the orderly’s forearm at the elbow. The

stoicism of wounded Gurkhas impressed all who witnessed their sufferings.

Often enough their first question on reaching the field dressing station was.

How soon can I get back? (34)

Edmund describes the bravery, honesty, and loyalty Gorkhas for their officers but Tegh had to suffer whole life losing his arms. Many Tegh Bahadur were forgotten after war and their life is in pitiable condition.

Byron Farwell also popularized Gorkhas as bravest of brave. Gorkhas are presented as a product in the world to colonize the world. Gorkhas were used as a tool. Farwell displays his empathetic musing on the contribution of Gorkhas as follow: “My grandfather used to describe the war to my grandmother and say ‘In the end, the English will win, will win. The Nepalese serving in the Gurkha regiments had already reached Europe for the war’” (15). It shows how Gorkhas were described in the colonial era. British officers describe ‘Gorkhas’ word as power magic and they used it for their favorable conditions. Gorkhas are depicted as human chopper and wild. They were forced to fight in the warfront across the world. Instead, they lost their dignity and culture identity. Gorkhas are described as it is in colonial era. Thus, the bravery and the brutality of the Gorkhas two staple elements of nineteenth century representations continue to be replayed. But their pain, suffering and dominations are same. Gorkhas were in revolution for victims of discriminatory practices, exploitation since the very beginning for almost 200 years and unjust policies of the British government in the terms of pension and other facilities. They were not paid equal to their British counterpart.

Although all these critics and reviewers portray Gorkhas in positive light, none of them reveals truth about how they are idolized till they are used in the field and how they are forgotten and neglected and mocked in a derogatory way. Nepali pop

culture brings into light how name and contribution of Gorkhas are put at stake when the question of rewarding their heroic contribution comes. Thus, Gorkhas real picture is fulfilled through folk songs. This study tries to cast new light on the nature of contestation and conflation between the colonial identity or the martial identity inscribed on the body of the Gorkhas by the colonial discourse of “martial race” and the cultural identity that was emerging in course of time. It also tries to establish the fact that the colonial forms of representation of the “Gorkhas” as the “martial race” is still the dominant form of representation foreclosing all other forms of representation that had become possible as a new self-identity through folk songs.

Certain theoretical insights pertaining to pop culture is used as a tool in this study. It is also known as inferior culture and marker of class which distinctions class in the society. Cultural theory is engagement with popular culture. According to Stuart Hall something is left over when one says ‘ideology’ and some thing is not present when one says ‘Culture’. This ideology refers to the same conceptual terrain as culture and popular culture. There are five meanings of concept of ideology bearing the study of popular culture: "Professional ideology, capitalist ideology, ideology as power relation, ideological forms, wealth, status, and power. Ideology brings a political dimension to the shared terrain. Cultural ideology refers to relation of power and politics" (76). Stuart Hull says popular forms move up and down the culture escalator. Popular culture is not identified by the people but by other. The historical development of the concept of popular culture reflects the moving meaning of the more basic concept of popularity.

As Raymond Williams reminds us ‘popular’ originally referred to something of the people, which could mean open to all the people in the society as in ‘popular government or able to apply to all the people, thus was ‘common’, ‘low’ or

'best' (Williams 236-7). This evolved into the "sense of 'widely favored' which could be viewed pejoratively as the result of unseemly courting of the public" (Williams 65). Williams suggests that we have inherited at least three related senses of 'popular': (i) Inferior work ii) Work that deliberately sets out to win favors iii) Work that is liked by many people). Popular culture is also influenced by professional entities that provide that public with information. A contradictory source of popular culture is individualism. Once a unique style becomes adopted by others, it ceases to remain unique. It becomes popular.

Popular culture is generally looking for new or fresh. Popular culture play significant role in our lives. It is difficult to imagine life without it. It has some debate too. It is a daunting task. It implied otherness which is always absent or present. It is always defined implicitly or explicitly in contrast to other conceptual categories. It always brings connotation meaning in the text. So, popular culture is itself a difficult term than other theoretical definition. Despite the several proclamation and the consent made by the British and Nepal government. Gurkhas are always eludes from their policies and facilities.

Although Nepali educated classes might have ignored the Gorkhas suffering but it got recognized in the songs of gainey, the minstrels of the hills and in literary narratives of the 1950s and 1960s. Gainey Jhalak Man Gandarva, in the popular song "Ama ley sodlin- nikhoichhorabhanlin" sings of the fallen soldier who instructs his companion of how to break the news of this passing to each family member back in the home village. It presents the real picture of Gorkhas.

*Aage aage topaiko gola, pachhi pachhi masingan baharar. Cigaret nadeu ma bidi kahanelai. Maya nadeu ma Hidi jane lai. (Denzonpa, Dany)*

[In a war gun and cannon are firing continuously. Don't give me  
cigarette, give me Bidi. Don't love me. I am gonna leave you one day.]

This lyric portrays an account of the real picture of Gorkhas in warfield. Killing and dying is a part of their life. He is totally influenced by foreign culture and lamentation for his origin. He curses his life being Lahure because of separation from family member and homeland.

What concerns Raymond Williams is the social acceptability of particular conventions. Williams would develop this concept further. Williams argues there must always be an inner dynamic by means of which new formations of thought emerge. Structure of feeling refers to the different ways of thinking vying to emerge at any one time in history. It appears in the gap between the official discourse of policy and regulations(45). Williams uses the term feeling rather than thought to signal that what is at stake may not yet be articulated in a fully worked-out form.

With this idea of Williams, it can be said that various forces dragged poor Nepalese immigrants to some of the economically viable zones. The living style of Nepali immigrants, their willingness to help one another in crisis and their hope to find escape from exploitation give rise to the culture of underclass workers. To probe this issue pertaining to the lives of underclass Nepali immigrants, it is imperative to apply Williams' idea.

Every social practice and all material production involves signification, but neither communication nor fashion nor any other of those things that cultural studies takes as its specific object of study is merely or even mainly a signifying practice. Nor can the relation between cultural production and its basis in economic and political processes be read off anecdotally or epiphenomenally. It has to be studied rigorously and structurally. Similarly another lyric is expressive of painful level of pathos.

*Ae, lahure dai, ke ho kanchi? Lahure ko fesan kaso re? Lahureko relimai  
fesnairamro, rato rumal relimai, khukuri vireko.* ( Thapa, Master Mitrasen)

[Hello, Lahure brother! What's, Kanchi! How is the fashion of Lahure?

Ya,that's nothing! Lahure's fashion is popular because of the red muffler  
,white half pant, chhatre hat with wearing khukuri logo.]

Above lyric explores that in that time Lahure was describes handsome job in ethnic groups but the reality was different. Especially Lahure become from ethnical group and their education level is not good and they were used by colonial ruler.

For Hall, the study of culture involves exposing the relations of power that exist within society at any given moment in order to consider how marginal, or subordinate groups might secure or win, however temporarily, cultural space from the dominant group. This is an extremely complex process, full of potential pitfalls, and we will consider how Hall has theorized and put into practice this approach in greater detail below. For now, though, it suggests a way of thinking about Hall's thinking, not as a set of internally consistent, static ideas through which we can move step by step, chapter by chapter, but as part of an ongoing and necessarily incomplete process that is always historically contingent. Hall does not become interested in, for example, theories of deviancy and subculture because it seems like a good idea at the time; his thinking forms part of a response to cultural and political developments at precise moments in postwar history. As Hall puts it 'I'm not interested in capitalism as such. I'm interested in why capitalism was like that in the 1960s – or is like that in the 1990s' (28). For Hall, culture is a process over which we must struggle, rather than a static object we can simply describe or provide a grand, overarching theory off.

'*Ghar ta mero himalipakha besi ho re*' by Gopal Yonjan dramatizes the pathetic outcry and agony of those who go foreign countries to be recruited as soldiers and sepoy. The following extract is illustrative of the excruciating agony:

*Ghar ta mero, yehahoina. Ghar ta mero himali pakhatesi ho re. Kun dinako sanjokle bane lahure. Katai mo ta parsayera rakhiyeko boko bane, pardesh ra madeshma namlo ani doko bane. Katai manche tarsaune dobatoko lakhe bane. Aakhirma ghar firda gharaivitra pakhe bane.* (Yonjan, Gopal)

[My home is not here, My home is in the himalaya. Unfortunately I become a Lahure. In somewhere, I became a ready to sacrifice goat. In somewhere I became inhuman and somewhere, I became to scare man being Lakhestatu.

After long time, when I return home, I became unknown in my own house.]

Above lyric explores that he unfortunately became Lahure. He was in foreign land and laments for his home land. He described that he was using for different purpose but at last when he returns, he become unknown in his own home. He is cursing his own life being Lahure.

According to Hall representation does not successfully convey truth. One who represents has one intention while encoding message in the textual representation. But the viewers or readers approach it from another angle. The one who wants to decode the message has different objective. That is why the problem can occur. The following lines give Hall's view regarding to theory of representation:

A message must be perceived as meaningful discourse and be meaningfully de-coded. There are four codes of the communication. The first way of encoding is the dominant code. This is the code the encoder expects the decoder to recognize and decode. The second way of encoding is the professional code. It serves to reproduce the dominant definitions precisely by

bracketing the hegemonic quality, and operating with professional coding. The third way of encoding is the negotiated code. It acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations. The fourth way of encoding is the oppositional code also known the globally contrary code.

(37)

Hall elaborates how message is encoded and then how the perceiver happens to seek different message other than the message he intends to achieve. The different objectives in the minds of encoder and decoder create problems. The problems exist that at the level of textual production and interpretation. Hall challenged all four components of the mass communications model. It argued that meaning is not simply fixed or determined by the sender. The message is never transparent. The audience is not a passive recipient of meaning.

The 'life-world' of the Gorkhas in India is located both literally and figuratively on the margins of the imagined nation. This 'marginality' is not merely a location but a byword for the oppressed and dispossessed. It is characterized by the dispossession of narratives, the cannibalistic appropriation and the continuing colonization of their epistemological grid. For the most part, it occupies a peripheral location in relation to the pop culture of Nepal. The following lyric depicts the case in point:

*Bir bir bir gorkhali. Gorkhali ko chhoro hu ma. Gorkhe mero naam. Aailagne satru ko. Ma garchhu kam tamam. Itihas paltai hera. Ya purkha lai sodha. Jitekai chhau sansar lai. Aru ko jastai dukkha chha hamilai. Nirdayi ta hainau hami pani. ( Parsant Tamang)*

[ Brave brave brave Gorkha. I am a son of gorkha. My name is gorkha. If enemy attack me, I will not let him to go. Ask to my ancestor or look at history, we have win the world. Like others, we also have pain but we are not inhuman.]

This song express how Gorkhas are popolarized and how history is written. Gorkhas are brave but they also have feeling, pain, happyness and suffering like other people too. Gorkhas are also human which is not present. They are not only for fight but more then that.

Narratives on Gorkhas revolve around the idea of the Gorkhas as an exclusive ethnic group juxtaposed with the liberal nationalist imagination of the Indian nation. There does exists some commendable works on identity formation, particularly the importance they have laid on collective memory of home and the experience of migration, and the changing structure of caste and village settlements. However, a comprehensive study of the contributions of social and cultural movements in Darjeeling and elsewhere towards the formation of a distinct Gorkha identity still eludes us.

Social difference codes are widely shared cultural beliefs. These beliefs define the socially significant distinctions. On the basis of this distinction a society is structured. They provide cultural schemas for enacting social relations on the basis of a given difference. They do so by indicating the attributes by which people may be categorized according to the distinction and the traits and behaviors. It has the purpose of encouraging systematic theories about the reciprocal relations between the patterns of social bonds among people and the social difference codes.

Identities are based on ethnicity, race, sexuality, gender, class, age and (dis)ability, both separately and as they intersect. Gardner Howard views:

Identity is a keyword of contemporary society and a central focus of social psychological theorizing and research. At earlier historical moments, identity was not so much an issue; when societies were more stable, identity was to a great extent assigned, rather than selected or adopted. In current times,

however, the concept of identity carries the full weight of the need for a sense of which one is. (367)

It discusses struggles over identities, organized by social inequalities, nationalisms, and social movements. It discusses postmodernist conceptions of identities as fluid, multidimensional, personalized social constructions that reflect socio-historical contexts.

The notion of identity involves discussion concerning struggles over identities. Such construction reflects socio-historical contexts. It approaches in a remarkably consistent way. It takes insight from recent empirical social psychological research. It is concerned explicitly for a politicized social psychology of identities that brings together the structures of everyday lives. It produces the socio cultural realities.

What is clear in these scholarships and other forms of utterances, especially the ones that have come from within, is the evidence of the fundamental fissures that are located in the interstices of the subjectivity of the Gorkha. Barring a handful of works which can be called insurrectionary, majority of these tend to revolve around the celebration of the famed “bravery” of the “Gorkhas”. Girdled by the colonial constraints of valor and its validation, the Gorkha subject appears ambivalent towards colonialism. Colonialism is often understood in a periodic sense rather than a well-defined set of discursive practices outliving the formal end of the more brutal forms of rule. The following extract of a lyric of a lahure is reflected here:

*Pidima basera, merai bato herera. Meri aama rudi hun malai samjhera.*

*Pardesi choro naaada, Chithi patra napauda. Maanma biraha chaldo ho  
aasule choli vijo ho. (Lamichhane, Buddhi Krishna)*

[Siting on pidi,waiting, remembering , crying and my mother is looking the way of my arrival home . Son is not coming from foreign land and also not getting letters. ]

This song is about lamenting love for son and mother. Son is in foreign land where as mother is at homeland. He says that his mother is crying because of not getting letters and information about him. He says that because of weakness, loneliness and old age she could not work and stay without eating anything.

Numerous reasons ranging from the ‘run of reverses and deaths of veteran English generals in the war’ inspiring awe for the Gorkha soldiers, the Company’s desire to cut down the number of Hindus with ‘brahmanical prejudices’, to the ‘growing Russian threat to the British Empire from the North Western frontiers necessitating the shifting of the base of recruitment from Madras and Bombay towards Punjab and Nepal’ have been cited for the Company’s decision to enlist the Gorkhas in the British Indian Army.

Michel Foucault contends that the new notion of truth is formed out of discursive practice. He categorically rejects the effects of ideology in the productions of knowledge. Discursive framework is largely responsible for the inception of a new mode in which discourse about culture and history circulates. The production of discourse about culture and history is affected by power groups. At the same time, the circulating truths and knowledge generate a sort of power. The process is mutual and interactive. The following lines exemplify the point:

With the emergence of post-structuralism, a shift from ideology to discourse in social theory took an upper hand. Let us begin with the two main tendencies in post-structuralism: textuality and discursivity. Textuality refers to a movement within literary, cultural theory and in philosophy emphasizing the revaluation

and revalorization of text as text. Textual researches focus on language as a producer of meaning rather than a pale reflection of some prior reality.

Discursivity on the other hand, has an area of research much broader than textual analyses. (70)

Foucault's discourse contains all traditions, norms, rules, texts, symbols, words and expressions. These contents demonstrate hierarchical power relations. Discursivity unlike textuality, not only deals with the text but also with the context. Discursive researches focus on the question of how rather than why. They do not look for causal explanations. Foucault analyzes different institutions and other discursive unities to detect power relations. According to Foucault, whenever one can describe, between a numbers of statements, such a system of dispersion, one can define regularity an order, correlations, positions and functioning, transformations. That regularity, order and symmetry are highly hegemonic and oppressive.

Moreover, the discourse on martial race was as much about the praise of the dogged bravery and masculine qualities of the Gorkhas as it was about highlighting the cultural difference. Thus it was a commonplace belief that the 'Gorkhas' could realize their enormous potential only under the tutelage, supervision and leadership of British officers. The 'bravery' of the 'Gorkha' was considered to be a danger to him, forcing the British to keep him under continuous supervision. The following part of the lyric about a Nepali recruited who has returned home is reflected explains many confounding things about their pathos and pride:

*He barai, dasi dhara po naroye aama. Bachi pathamla tasbirai khichera.*

*Kasto lekhini vabile karma lila thaimalau hajur.* (Gandharva, Jhalak Man)

[Don't cry mother. If I survive, I will send my photographs. God has already written fate. Other's come and goes again and again. But our son never came

as if he is died in a war or can't get holiday. It is a king's order not to give a holiday when we want.]

Here, through this lyric Gainey presents the story of mother, she is remembering her son at home. Son was at Warfield and death in war. Gainey says that do not cry mother because your son will sending a picture of him if he will alive in a war.

The discourse on martial race and the subsequent enlistment of the Gorkhas into the British Indian Army changed the entire course of the Gorkha history. At the discursive level, the colonial state firmly placed its control over the hill societies by 'civilizing' and 'normalizing' the 'frontiers'. It also collapsed multiple identities and fluidities, typical of the Gorkha society then, and represented them as a single identity the martial identity.

Hall points out some of the important clues as to how representation of culture takes place in a discourse and how the process of interpreting culture turns out to be problematical. Hall works out some sorts of plan to narrow down the gap between cultures as such and the textually represented culture. Hall's ideas are reflected below:

As people who belong to same culture must share a broadly similar conceptual map, so they must also share the same way of interpreting the signs of a language. In order to interpret them, we must have access to the two systems of representation: to a conceptual map which correlates the sheep in the field with the concept of a sheep: and a language system which is visual language, bear some resemblance to the real thing of looks like it in some way. The relationship in the system of representation between sign, the concept and the object to which they might be used to refer is entirely arbitrary. (72)

As claimed by Stuart Hall, the meaning is constructed by the system of representation. It is constructed and fixed by the code, which sets up the correlation

between our conceptual system and our language system. One way of thinking about culture is in terms of these shared conceptual maps, shared language systems and the codes which govern the relationships of translation between them. Not because such knowledge is imprinted in their genes, but because they learn its conventions and so gradually become culture persons. They unconsciously internalize the codes which allow them to express certain concepts and ideas through their systems of representation. But of our social, cultural and linguistic conventions, then meaning can never be finally fixed. The following lyric explain the gorkhas fellings.

*Kathin chhaye jati chha bato. Chhaye mritu nai vetos samune ma. Hachkane yo chhaina kadapi. Himmat dep banai. Aaune chhu aaune chhu. timilai vetna priya.* ( Master Ratna Das Prakash)

[ I do not care difficulties of ways. I do not care,if death will come in a way. I do not change my ways. Making myself strength, I will come to meet you.]

This song show the life style of gorkha. Gorkhas are suffering being seprated from family members. They make themselves strength and do their duty well. But gorkhas are phychologically effected.

The ethnic identities were stereotyped and continuously reproduced through a discursive practice. Colonialism violently disrupted the social-conceptual world of the Gorkhas, taking away his freedom by permanently colonizing his body. The Gorkha subject was dislocated by stripping off his past and relocated him back again as a deterritorialised subject of history. The following lyric is expressive of many things pertaining to this issue at hand:

*Hey, bhantheu aama nepalma dukha chha . Bidesh ma ta paisako rukh chha . Kalo badal nilo aakashma . Gayeu aama chadhera jahaj ma farkeu bakashma.*  
( Usha Magar)

[ Mother you said that they is pain in Nepal. There is money tree in foreignland. There is black cloud in blue sky. Mother you went climbing airplane but return in a box.]

This song express that mother goes foreignland to earn money if as it there is money tree. Being happy, she went and return only her death body at homeland. Son remember his mother in dream. All friends mother is in Nepal but only his mother is not there. So, son say that take him with her.

Nepali history seems caught in a time warp where the same old hackneyed events unfailingly keep appearing in its unchanging form over and over again. For some strange reason the paradigm of social enquiry in the hills remains ossified and immune to the world of social and cultural theories. As a result the scholarship that comes out from here fails to situate itself on the broader canvas of postcolonial theoretical discourses in general and such on India in particular.

One way of making amends to these inadequacies is by undertaking a comprehensive inter-textual analysis of the colonial discourse in all its varying forms. The borders represent the one domain in which there are various layers of contestation and influence. Moreover, within India the indeterminate zone of authority persisted, and was even encouraged by the colonial rulers for all their claims of sovereignty. The narrow frontier implied a single rule of law within a given territory. However, there were exceptions to this rule, mainly by excluding many aspects of life, classes of people and territories these exceptions constituted the broad internal frontiers of British rule.

The Nepalese did migrate to Munger (the land of the Mughals), and their numbers kept increasing with the possibilities of starting tea and cinchona plantations in Darjeeling. Migration was encouraged by feeding the oppressed and brutalized

people with stories like, "*chiyako bot maa paisa falchha*", meaning money grows on tea bushes. Migration was a painful experience, a tragic event in the lives of most people, even though in the Burghardian sense it was merely an act of 'relinquishing one's tenorial contract in one polity and taking up in another polity within the country.

Over the past forty years, Stuart Hall and the project of cultural studies have worked to disrupt traditional definitions of what constitutes culture. He aims at helping to transform popular culture into an area of serious, even popular academic enquiry. Where the study of culture within universities was once notable for the extent to which it excluded the popular, the culture of cultural studies is almost entirely dedicated to the study of popular culture. Before getting carried away with such neat inversions, however, it is important to temper them with Hall's distinctive take on the popular, which is less about elevating popular culture to a high academic status, than with unsettling the very distinction between 'high' and 'popular' culture.

For Hall, popular culture is not a serious issue because of the 'profound' intellectual questions it raises but, first and foremost, because he believes popular culture is the site at which everyday struggles between dominant and subordinate groups are fought, won and lost. This, he has said, is "why popular culture matters. Otherwise to tell you the truth, I don't give a damn about it" (87). In Hall's view the popular is not a 'thing' like a can of Coke on the supermarket shelf; it can only be understood in relation to the cultural forces within which it is caught at any particular moment. This makes the popular an exceedingly difficult concept to define or pin down. As Hall has noted in this context, the term 'popular' raises nearly as many problems for him as 'culture', but when they are brought together 'the difficulties can be pretty horrendous.

Nepal was considered to be the land of the pure, leaving which meant permanent defilement. “Immigration” was encouraged by the colonial state, as it required cheap labour for building infrastructure for its “hill station”, and most importantly for its teeming teagardens, which had by the turn of the century formed wonderful mosaic on those “virgin” hills. There is an interesting parallel between the discourse of “martial race” and the discourses that informed the decision to employ “Hill Coolies”. This agony is reflected in the following lyric:

*Ninteen fauntin yuddha ladda pako maile takma. Tinta dushman chwattai kate,  
Risutheko jhokma. Yo manle rojehha eutalai, phul chadhai dhogchhu  
deutalai. Laidiula maya jhyammai.* ( Rai, wilson Bikram)

[ In 90's war, I got a medal. In aanger, three enemies were behaded by me. I liked one person. I worshiped god to get her.]

This song present the history of lahure. Here Lahure says that in 19th century, he had joined armed force and got medal. Because of his anger he killed enemies and got medal. He also represent from ethical group. He also said that he had serviced many place but he loves Nepal. He also presents Nepali culture, traditions and language too. This song is good example of Lahure who mostly marries more than one wife. It also presents economic background of lahure whose sons were gone to Korea and German to support family.

Just as the “Gurkha” soldier, simple and free of religious prejudices was better suited to serve in the British Indian Army, he was also thought to be a useful plantation worker as he was casteless, docile and hardworking hill-man. It was within the matrix of race relations in the colonial situation that the colonial capitalist enterprise encouraged migration. The British planters did not fail in employing sardars who would go to Nepal and bring back “young” and “healthy” laborers to

work in their tea gardens. The sardars in return got commissions from the planters. Along with this, the sardars had the additional duty of enforcing discipline and attendance, for which 'he got one pice for every worker turning up for work.

The efforts of these organizations and many other factors led to a pluralist synthesis of the myriad groups that together constituted the Gorkhajati, secured and sustained by a pluralist culture and imagination. Nation building has been the national goal of Nepal, to have realized itself outside the boundaries of Nepal.

The problem of Gorkha subjectivity is not so much the problem of cultural displacement as it is a sense of being deterritorialised. There was a certain sense of lack that kept haunting him as he left his home and hearth. His subjectivity was bitterly torn between the calling of the home and the hard reality of never returning to see it again. There was optimism and hope when he said "*sunako lingo, chandiko ping, ekjieu khana launalai thikaichha Darjeeling*", meaning Darjeeling will take care of me. But there was also a fear of the uncertain. This liminality of the deterritorialised subject was clearly reflected in the cultural production of those times.

The memory of migration was at once an occasion to feel lost, and also a historical moment from where one had to chart a different course of history. It was also a moment for readying oneself to the regimen of new life. People would often say '*ekjhumro launchhu, ek mana khanchuu*', meaning "I will live frugally". The process of the formation of self-identity was dislocated by the Nepali historiography which while carving out a political space in the liberal nationalist imagination of India constituted its subjectivity in the pre-colonial Gorkha glory and bravery. The agony of a Gorkha youth who work as a soldier is described in the following lyrical segment:

*German ko dhawa ma, hamrobaje le gauthere . Tato roti nakhau timi, chisai  
roti khau. Mati bata German aayo tallo batojau. Chiyako b ot ma, paisachha  
vanthyo re. Janmeko thaulai, mayamari aauthyore .(Chakra Band)*

[In a German War, my Grandfather Sing a song. Don't eat hot bread, eat cold bread because in up street Germans are coming. So, let's move to lower street. There is money in the tea leaf but he leaves his birth place.]

This lyric represents Lahure as a tradition in ethnical groups. Here, grand son is sing song of his grandfather feelings how he fight at German. He said that it's better to stay in Nepal becoming Lahure. He compares Lahure with Tea garden and money with beloved. It also presents the historical economic of Nepal. Some becomes Lahure and some went to Muglan but their suffering and pain are same.

It is not that there were no indigenous conceptions of martiality and valor. The problem with Gorkha history is that these very ideas and values were appropriated by the colonial state by giving a scientific sanctity to the great tradition. Thus the narrative of the bir Gorkhas quite logically conflates with the discourse of martial race. It creates a peculiar situation in which the bir Gorkhas is self-idealized and reified into a brave soldier but since the identity is deeply implicated in the colonial history, it remains tied to the white master with feudal loyalties.

The Gorkha subject while attempting to liberate itself from the hegemony of colonial discourse creates a new subjectivity in the self-identity which is again reconstituted by the same discourse from which it came out. Thus, the emerging cultural identity of the Gorkha remains hostage to the racial identity inscribed on the body of the Gorkha by the white man through colonial state. The following lyric shows sufferings of mother and son.

*Aama rudai gaubesi melai ma, Chora rudai gorakhpur relaima. Aaja aaula voli aaula barsau biti gayo. Choro parkhi basda basdai aadhi umer gayo. Ae chora pharka aaba ta budhi baba aama lai samjhera. Dada pakha padhera le timrai bato herchhan. Timra jahan pariwar samjhi ruirachhan. ( Lok Bdr. Chhetri)*

[ In a village, mother is crying working at field. Whereas son is crying at train station. Mother become older and older waiting her son for years. Son come back remembering old father and mother. Your beloved cries remembering you and even hills and mountains also looking your ways.]

This lyric portrays the separation of mother, son and family members. Mother says come remembering the birth place. Even hills, mountains and birds are waiting his ways. Father is becoming older and he is sick too. Home and lands are taken by landslide. As if god has also cursing us. Mother just want to look her son face one time.

Some of the acts of bravery were extraordinary, like that of Rifleman Tul Bahadur Pun, now 87, who won the VC fighting the Japanese in the jungles of Burma. Only three of his section survived the onslaught from the enemy. When all his comrades were dead or wounded he snatched up a Bren gun and made a solitary charge across 30 yards of open ground to take a Japanese machine gun which he then used to give covering fire that save a large number of British lives, including that of Major James Lumley, whose actress daughter Joanna is now one of the staunchest campaigners for the Gorkha cause.

The popular art offers a descriptive account of popular culture, which assumes it has an intrinsic value that can be identified within certain texts through close analysis. On the other hand warns against such 'self-enclosed approaches' in

which popular cultural forms appear outside history ‘as if they contained within themselves, from the moment of their origin, some fixed and unchanging meaning or value. This radically revised theory of the popular as something that emerges at a particular historical conjuncture and which is a site of struggle without a fixed inventory. While popular culture represents the earliest and most persistent subject of Hall’s published writing since the 1950s, it was not until the 1980s and 1990s that he provided "a fully elaborated theory of popular culture. This theory is reproduced and extended across a series of what are, on the surface, very different essays such as ‘Notes on deconstructing the popular" (87).

Although there was relative peace between the Nepalese and other ethnic groups in the Kachin hills under British colonial rule, the situation changed after independence in 1948. The state-controlled economy ended in a state of high inflation, and movements organized by students and ethnic groups soon took place. If the preceding cases illustrate the imbricated dispersal and migratory routes of Gorkha families, how is this diaspora experienced in terms of their everyday practices, their further/future mobilities, and their identity construction? The lives of members of the Gorkha diaspora by engaging beyond the home/host land binary. The following lyric displays lamentation of homeland.

*Swami najau chhodi bidesh. Yesto ramro ramilo desh. Chhadi jadaina mo ta bidesh. Dhara ma chhiso varaula pani. Kodo fapar chharaula swami. Aaha pahadma aananda garaula.* (Master Ratna Das Prakash)

[Do not go foreignland husband, leaving this beautiful country. Ok, I do not go foreighland. We will fill cold water from tap. We will grow kodo and fapad. We will enjoy at himalaya.]

This song portrays how beloved is stopping her husband not allowing him to go foreignland. Convincing him, she said we will stay at our homeland which is peaceful and beautiful. They will never forget ancestor and birth place which is in a himalaya. There is difficulties in foreignland.

These various vicissitudes, representing both colonial and local contexts of empire and governance, hence set the stage for non/return migration and also, step migration that further explain how Gorkha families and descendants are dispersed in the region.

The Gorkha soldiers have been an essential part of the Indian army ever since the country became independent. They have fought for the Indian army on three of the major wars against Pakistan. During each of these three wars the Gorkhas regiment was highly successful in causing serious casualties to the Pakistani battalions and they helped to keep the enemies out of the country. The Gorkha exhibits amazing courage all the time irrespective of the situations prevailing. Even when they are surrounded by enemies, the brave Gorkha soldiers fight with great courage and this sometimes cause the enemies to get scared and hence lose track.

The Gorkha soldiers are also a great boon for the nation even outside the military circles. Recently a Gorkha soldier who was traveling by train helped to save quite a lot of people from getting looted and also saved a girl from a rape attempt. The interesting fact is that this brave soldier fought all alone against about 40 armed bandits. Usually during such situations nobody shows such great excellence in handling the counterattack so perfectly but the Gorkhas are an exception. This incident underlines the fact that they are indeed brave men who cannot tolerate injustice and it also explains their great bravery and love for the nation in a wonderful manner.

Most of the nations around the globe were impressed by the fighting skills of the Gorkhas. Hence the Gorkha soldiers of the Indian army are treated with great pride. They serve the army with complete dedication as shown to their own homeland. Even the traditional Gorkhas hailing from Nepal show absolute dedication when it comes to the operations of the army or be it helping the civilians of the country. The Gorkha soldiers were also part of the army's operations during the Kargil war and were also deployed in the Kashmir valley to safeguard the line of control.

The most impressive facts about the Gorkha soldiers is their dedication and fearlessness. They believe that death is a better option compared to living the life of a coward and hence they take on any number of enemies with great courage without thinking about the harm it can bring back to them. These brave soldiers are mostly deployed in the Eastern sector and they do their duty and are an essential part of the defense squad of the country. India and all its citizens are proud of the Gorkha regiment of the Indian army for what they have done a great service to the nation.

To conclude, the Gorkha soldiers also known in equal measure for their adaptability, compassion, cultural awareness and intelligence. Poverty, superstition, threat of feudal lords and the hope of getting recruited in British Army pushed a large number of Nepali immigrants to different territories. Gorkhas single handedly and collectively protest against the existing social system which is regulated by the British and Nepal government as per their interest. Therefore, Nepali folk songs reveal truth about how they are idealized when they are used in field and how they were forgotten and neglected when they were retired. Thus, Gorkhas should not be treated as product, inhuman, economic burden and dishonest to their own heroes of the war.

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