ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
Acknowledgement

The completion of the present work could not have been possible but for the encouragement of my supervisor Dr. Nancy Jetly. She painstakingly went through all my chapters, provided me with insights and helped me in reformulating my work. Her useful suggestions and constructive criticism helped me in improving my work. I express my heart felt gratitude to her. My thanks are due to other faculty members of South Asian Studies Division, especially Prof. S.D. Muni, Dr. Mahendra P. Lama and Dr. P. Sahadevan, who have helped me whenever I have sought their help. I am indebted to Prof. H.S. Chopra for the invaluable help rendered by him.

Mr. Sonam Tobden Ragbye, councilor of the Royal Bhutanese Embassy needs special mention here. It is due to his pursuance I was able to visit Thimpu for my field research work and collect materials for the same. Several Ministers and bureaucrats enlightened me about the problems concerning the Southern Bhutanese viz. the Home Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Deputy Minister for Education, the Minister of Trade and Industries, the Secretary Special Commission, Secretary Royal Civil Service Commission and other senior officials. Without their cooperation it would have been difficult to do an in-depth study. The Member of Royal Advisory Council from southern Bhutan gave me a clear picture of the feelings of the southern Bhutanese.

Apart from this my trip to Kathmandu was extremely fruitful because I was able to meet many refugee leaders and know their views about the problem. People in the refugee camps also provided me a clear picture about the general feelings of the masses towards the policies of Government of Bhutan. I want to express my gratitude to Pt. Bedanidhi Sharma of Goldhap camp, who not only gave me shelter for a night in the refugee camp but also took me around and helped me in conducting interviews. Apart from him, my heart felt gratitude goes to Dr Purna Chettri and Mrs. Vidya chettri for their hospitality and allowing me to stay with them in Jhapa without knowing my antecedents. Mr Bhampa Rai’s hospitality will be remembered, and his caring attitude will also be cherished. Mr. D.N.S. Dhaka! helped me by giving information about the movement. Mr. Vidya Bir Singh Kansaker and his family will always be remembered, especially his helping nature and
hospitality. He was never tired of helping me. He helped me tracing materials in the library and introducing me to people who were in a position to provide information.

I am extremely grateful to the Ministry of Foreign affairs, Royal Government of Bhutan for giving me government documents, arranging my stay in Thimpu and my meetings with government officials. Without their help and hospitality it would have been impossible for me to complete my work.

I want to express my thanks to the staff of National Library Thimpu, Tribhuvan University Library, Kathmandu, Department of Population Studies Library, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Centre for Nepalese Studies Library, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, TU Library, Centre for Economic Development and Administration Library for helping me to consult material.

Apart from above the staff of J.N.U Library, Teen Murti Library, IDSA Library, ILO Library, UNDP Library needs special mention for their co-operation.

I am grateful to a few of my close Friends who have been very supportive during my thesis work. My very close friend Jayshree and Saroj will be fondly remembered always for beings extremely caring and supportive. Apart from this my friends who needs special mention are Bonie, Prasad, Preet, Patty, Shankari, Sathyaa, Sridhar, Debolina, Rupa, Nandini, Hruda, Ramesh, Nihar, Rajashree, Jyotsna, Pradeep and Devika for helping me when I have needed them most. Thanks also due to Pintu, Litty and Chubby who have always been supportive throughout my work. Finally things would not have been done in a relaxed manner if not, my sweet little niece Sumsum had provided me with the needed humour to work through all the tensions. Last but not least I am grateful to my parents and family members for being supportive through out my research work.

I am thankful to the field research committee of School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for funding my field trip to Kathmandu and Thimpu to collect materials.

Needless to say whatever shortcomings may exist in this work are all mine.

Smruti Smita Pattanaik