Bon Voyage: A Peer-Reviewed Journal of English Studies

- Open Access Journal
- Indexed in NepJOL
- Print ISSN: 2382-5308

Published by:
Department of English
Ratna Rajyalaxmi Campus, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

Land, Landscape, and Refugees' Identity in Krishna Dharabasi's *Saranarthi*

Maheswor Paudel
Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal

Article History: Submitted 14 April, 2025; Reviewed 22 July, 2025; Revised 31 July, 2025
Corresponding Author: Maheshwor Paudel, E-mail: mah5sh@gmail.com
 DOI: https//doi.org/10.3126/bovo.v7i1.83678

Page 67-76

Abstract

This article examines how landscape shapes refugees' identities in Krishna Dharabasi's Saranarthi. *It explores the impact of landscapes in Burma, Northeast India, Bhutan, and Nepal on individuals who, after residing for centuries in Burma, leave their host country in search of a place to belong. After deserting Burma, the refugees hope to find a home in their ancestors' land. Some, upon reaching this land, smell the soil, seeking their ancestors' footsteps and the comfort of a homeland. Others explore living opportunities in Indian locations such as Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim, and Darjeeling, or head to Bhutan, anticipating opportunities in a new location. Ironically, these refugees, marginalized by discriminatory state laws, are compelled to abandon their new locations and are eventually transported to their ancestors' land. Drawing on scholars like Arjun Appadurai and Paul Jay, who discuss the nexus between transnational space and identity, this study scrutinizes how a literary work creates a connection between landscape and identity, particularly for transnational subjects like the refugees in* Saranarthi. *Based on the characters' mobility across different locations, this paper concludes that land and landscapes are inseparable from human identity, and is more intense and engaging in refugees' lives.*

Keywords: landscape, land, identity, refugee, transnational, bond

Introduction

Krishna Dharabasi's *Saranarthi* is an exploration of the complex relationship between land and refugees' identity. It traces the journeys of Nepali refugees across Burma, Northeast India, Bhutan, and Nepal and explores the importance of land in their identity formation. For Dharabasi, these individuals–now languishing in Jhapa's refugee camps– still remain Nepali despite living abroad for generations. They feel culturally connected to Nepal even after living abroad as "Burmese" or "Bhutanese." Even as they drift from one location to another abroad, their language, traditions, culture, religion and attire bind them to their ancestors' land, a homeland that endures in their collective memory. This indelible Nepali identity, rooted in cultural continuity, individuals' roots can hardly be erased even after series of displacements. *Saranarthi*, through the refugees' experiences, treats land and landscapes not as mere backdrops of an individual but as dynamic forces that shape the identities of refugees, who desperately seek belonging after being displaced from multiple locations one after another.

This article examines how landscapes–from Burma's cultivated fields and Bhutan's arable land to Nepal's ancestral land–shape the identities of these transnational subjects in Dharabasi's *Saranarthi*, which weaves the stories of refugees who constantly grapple with locating their identity in a land. Drawing on Paul Jay's transnational literary framework, Arjun Appadurai's concept of locality, Homi K. Bhabha's hybridity, Edward W. Said's reflections on exile, Stuart Hall's diasporic identity, and Gloria Anzaldúa's borderlands, it analyzes how land functions as both a cultural marker and a site of displacement. Primarily, Jay's assertion that transnational narratives "destabilize fixed notions of identity tied to nation or place" (12) provides a lens to understand the refugees' experiences, where landscapes embody dreams of home, scars of loss, and the relentless quest for a place to call their own. Through detailed analysis of characters like Ram Prasad Khanal, Yogamaya, Dharme Bhujel and Jaya Bahadur, this study explores how Dharabasi's *Saranarthi* reimagines land and landscapes as an intimate locale of identity, as the refugees feel a strong emotional and psychological attachment with their ancestors' land.

Landscape: Definitions and Cultural Significance

Landscape that refers to all the visible features of an area of land, often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal, has a much wider connotation as it transcends mere geography and encompasses a rich tapestry of cultural, historical, and emotional meanings. Veronica Strang, for example, aligns landscape with culture and defines cultural landscapes as "an expression of cultural identity," interwoven with collective memories that define communities (51). Arturo Escobar, aligning landscapes with history, maintains that landscapes are imbued with meanings shaped by individuals' unique backgrounds, histories, and social frameworks, making them deeply personal yet collectively significant (143). Tim Ingold emphasizes their interactivity, noting, "It is within the context of this attentive involvement in the landscape that the human imagination gets to work" (qtd. in Tilling 89). Denis Byrne describes landscapes as "layered with social meanings," where human struggles, aspirations, and histories leave indelible traces (2). Stuart Hall adding a

diasporic perspective, argues that identities are "constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" in relation to place (235). Gloria Anzaldúa's concept of borderlands further enriches this, portraying landscapes as "nepantla," spaces of liminality where identities are negotiated amidst cultural collisions (100).

For Nepalis, land is both a material and emotional phenomenon. Economically, they cultivate crops like rice and wheat, and sell them to manage their essentials such as salt, sugar, or education for their children. Emotionally, they love and protect land as the ultimate source of their livelihood and they worship the land for its benevolence. In *Saranarthi*, this bond is vividly captured when Ram Prasad Khanal's family, arriving at Nakalbanda after an agonizing journey from Burma via India, "touched the soil, smelt it, and then licked some of it" (1). The mother expresses profound relief, feeling as if "breathing rapidly, hiding her face on her mother's bosom" (2), a metaphor for returning to a primal, nurturing land. This emotional response to land aligns with Appadurai's "production of locality," where physical and emotional engagement with land fosters a sense of belonging, however tenuous (179).

Jay's insight that "place is never a stable container for identity" (15), however, reveals the transistoriness of this emotional moment. As refugees, the Khanal family's claim to Nepal as their own land is tempered by their outsider status as Nepalis do not accept these refugees as their own people. This sort of tension is a reality in Anzaldúa's borderlands, where "the border is an open wound" dividing self from place (25). When Nepalis, through their hard work, transform Burma's forests into arable land, they naturally stake an emotional claim: "Since long had our ancestors invested their toil and sweat in this land . . . but emotions wouldn't make it ours" (34). This toil ties their identity to the landscape, but political exclusion dents it, echoing Byrne's notion of landscapes as palimpsests, layered with narratives of belonging and betrayal (3). Hall's view of identity as "never completed" (222) further exemplifies their ongoing struggle, as each landscape from Burma hard-developed fields or ancestor's land in Nepal reshapes their sense of self, blending cultural memory with the realities of displacement. For refugees, landscapes are not static locations, but are fluid battlegrounds of identity, where hope and despair intersect.

Transnational Mobility and Identity

As the title suggests, *Saranarthi* is a novel about refugees whose activities revolve around borders. Written against the backdrop of the transnational journey of displaced Burmese of Nepali descent, the novel opens with one of the protagonists, Ram Prasad Khanal, and his wife and children reaching Nakalbanda, a locality in Mechinagar of eastern Nepal, crossing the Indian borders at Naxalbari. After a month-long heartrending journey, Ram Prasad and his family members feel "their hearts protruding in joy and happiness" (Dharabasi 1). Ram Prasad, feeling secure, consoles his family, "See, now we've reached our country, our grandfather's birthplace," and assures them, "Nobody can evict us from here" and "We won't have to run away either" (1). After being displaced from Burma, a

caravan of Burmese Nepalis reaches Mechinagar. As they escape from Burma, leaving everything behind, what they have in their luggage are "legal documents of their property in Burma, some Burmese kyats in their pocket, and tear in their eyes and humility in their faces" (2). Tormented from the day they cross Burmese borders, "These people who reached Nepal after traveling miles for months, were suffering from illness and famine" (2). Most families have either left their elderly members in Burma or lost young children on the way. Some have reached Nepal, abandoning pregnant women and puerperas on the way. After reaching Nepal, "they were busy mourning the abandoned and dead kin" (3). Though they feel safe in reaching *swadesh* (own country), "They were all preoccupied with uncertain future and terrifying past" (3). At least they believe they will not face further loss after reaching Nepali borders.

Saranarthi traces the relentless mobility of Nepali refugees, each landscape a crucible that reshapes their identities while exposing the vulnerability of belonging. Ram Prasad, Jaya Maya, Jaya Bahadur, Bertha, Dharme, Hari, Chandra Prakash, and Nyasur Kanchho are some of the main characters who keep moving from one place to another in search of a fixed domicile and identity. Ram Prasad, a displaced Burmese of Nepali origin, has traveled miles from Burma through India to Nepal. Evicted from Burma, he, along with his wife and children, feels at home as soon as he reaches Nakalbanda. He narrates the heartrending stories of migrants on the way to Nepal. Many migrants "fell sick, lost strength," and with larceny and robbery increasing day by day, "humans started behaving like devils," making him think, "I wish I died in Bhutan for I wouldn't have to see this degenerated character of Nepali brothers" (3). He reports the anxiety of the migrants, spurred not only by the uncertain journey but also by such inhuman activities of their 'own' people.

The novel opens with Ram Prasad, a Burmese Nepali, returning to Nepal through Naxalbari, India. His eldest son, grappling with their eviction, asks, "The soil in Burma, India, and Nepal is the same, then why did they evict us?" and declares with childlike faith, "Now we have arrived in our country… nobody can evict us from here" (1). This innocence reflects their belief in Nepal as an inviolable homeland, yet their journey bears scars of unimaginable loss. At Nakalbanda, they gather with other evictees, their faces marked by "tear in the eyes and scarcity" (2). The toll is harrowing: "Some left their old parents; some buried their infants; and some left pregnant women and mothers in childbirth" (2-3). They lament Burma's brutality, wishing "they were killed" there as "humans started behaving like devils" (3), a descent into chaos that severed their ties to the land they called home.

Said's concept of exile, "the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place" (173), captures these refugees' anguish, tying their identities to landscapes lost to political discrimination. Ram Prasad's determination contrasts with others' doubts. In Shanishchare, he finds solace in a bustling Nepali bazaar, feeling "as if a mother's womb protecting a fetus" (6). His joy is boundless: "Ram Prasad and his family knew no bound of their happiness" (6), a moment of respite supported by Burmeli Bhattarai Baje,

who welcomes them into the community. This integration reflects Appadurai's "production of locality," where social bonds recreate home (179). Yet, the uncertainty persists, as their refugee status looms, echoing Anzaldúa's borderlands, where belonging is "neither aquí nor allá" (neither here nor there) (95).

Unlike Ram Prasad and his family, many migrants, including Dharme Bhujel, Aaite Damai, and Nyasur Kanchho, after reaching Assam, plan to settle there. Having heard that life in Nepal is not easy, they prefer to live in Assam or Guwahati, where thousands of Nepalis have lived for decades. Dharme, a frontrunner in social service, joins the local youths' campaign and assists fellow refugees. While in Burma, Dharme, a stout young man, had been captivated by the Burmese army and forced to work in their mission to suppress Karen rebels. Made to walk with the army in dense forests and steep hills, many young men lost their lives, but Dharme, due to his strength and courage, survived. Despite being a refugee himself, he constantly works with local charity groups to rescue fellow Burmese refugees. Eventually, he settles in Garo Hills with many other Nepalis. Dharme represents a counterpoint to Ram Prasad, rejecting Nepal's promise. He declares, "I don't go to Nepal at any cost… It is better to work and sustain life somewhere here (in India) than to go to that wretched land" (4), his skepticism rooted in tales of Nepal's poverty and limited opportunities. In the novel, we learn about their experiences through characters like Harkadhoj, who gives an account of his journey. After crossing Burmese borders, these evictees reach India, where they feel exalted at surviving the perils on the way. However, because of the "terror of the indigenous people, they fear being looted" (4). While many head to Nepal, some, like Dharme, plan to stay in Assam and settle there. "I won't go to Nepal at any cost," he asserts, "My father has told me the stories about hardships in Nepal" (4). Stressing the lack of opportunities in Nepal, he shares what he has heard: "People from Nepal, in search of some work, enter Assam every day," and "There are many Nepalis in Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, and elsewhere" (5). He thus suggests, "Let's not enter Nepal" (5). Unable to deny Dharme, Harkadhoj also decides to settle in Assam. But, after losing his wife and cremating her on the bank of the Brahmaputra, he no longer feels like staying and heads to Nepal. Such are the common stories of these refugees, who share them among each other and burst into tears.

Chhetri challenges Dharme, asserting, "Nobody can stop [you] from entering Nepal because that is our motherland . . . we can die a respectable death there" (16). Dharme's disapproves of Chhetri's confident claim saying, "Nepal is also a foreign land for us" (16). It reveals his estrangement from his ancestors' land because of the lack of his personal connections. Preferring Meghalaya to Nepal, he hopes to find solace in a community where Nepalis, after over a century, have "preserved their tradition and culture" (21). Feeling "as if he is in Burma" due to familiar language and colors, he adapts, embodying a transnational identity (21). Hall's diasporic framework applies: Dharme's identity is "not an essence but a positioning," shaped by cultural practices across borders (226). Yet, his choice reflects Jay's "pain of living between worlds" (30), as he navigates belonging

without fully claiming any land, and choosing India over Nepal he further risks his chance of belongingness.

Another notable drifter in *Saranarthi* is Yogamaya, a Bhutanese refugee now who, like the Burmese of Nepali origin, is evicted and reaches Nepal. It seems her entire life has passed as a refugee. She shares that after being evicted from Burma, she has not reached home. Deserted by her parents at the tender age of 15, she has kept moving from place to place and learned to live alone. On her way to Assam, she is raped by a truck driver and a young boy, who leave her unconscious. After regaining consciousness, she finds herself in the company of Nepalis who offer her a job as a teacher. After some time, she moves from Assam to Sikkim, where she meets Tibetan refugees like Noyo, who have been working at construction sites to survive. Noyo, like Yogamaya, who is in search of her father, is determined to search for her husband, Sonam, by visiting refugee camps in India and Nepal. In Gangtok, Yogamaya meets Bire, yet another drifter, and asks him about her best friends, Bertha and Jaya Bahadur, whom she had lost contact with on the way. Once she learns from Bire that Bertha and Jaya Bahadur had left for Bhutan, she follows them. She meets her long-lost friend Bertha upon reaching Samtse in Bhutan. She also meets Chandra Prakash, now married to Bertha. A compatriot who had joined the British Indian army just days before the outbreak of World War II, Chandra Prakash reached Bhutan with Bertha after being evicted from Burma. Yogamaya, welcomed by the couple, starts living with them and feels part of their family. She also begins teaching at the school where Bertha teaches. But, as her life begins to settle, she loses Bertha to delivery complications and must shoulder new responsibilities as Chandra Prakash opts for renunciation. In Samtse, Yogamaya meets Jaya Bahadur, her only aide after losing her mother and missing her father on the way. A pitiable man now, Jaya Bahadur shares his story of hardships at a construction site and seems to have lost all hope. He starts living with her and gradually recovers with her care. Contrary to her expectations, he denies any marital relationship but expects mutual love forever. Initially shocked, she accepts this and continues living with him, hoping for a peaceful life. But they are forced to leave Bhutan after the Bhutanese government begins evicting Nepalis, and their journey continues as they head for Nepal.

In Assam, Nepalis face harsher exclusion: "This Assam soil has been soaked by the sweat of the migrants… and dies a miserable Nepali" (15). Their hard work reflected in the lines "They worked hard and developed forest areas into fertile farms, but they are still devoid of the fruits" (15) binds their identity to the land, yet they remain outsiders. Bhabha's concept of hybridity relates to this situation, as Nepalis occupy "the interstitial passage between fixed identifications," blending heritage with new contexts yet facing marginalization (4). Appadurai's "disjuncture" in global flows explains their alienation as they inhabit "imagined worlds" of belonging that crumble under discriminatory realities (31). In the meantime, Byrne's view of landscapes as palimpsests captures how Assam shapes their identities with toil and rejection (3).

Yogamaya's 47-year journey underscores these themes. A Lhotshampa evicted from Bhutan, she reaches a Jhapa camp, reflecting, "I'm a refugee since last 47 years… my

inhabitation has not yet been explored" (30). Her journey spans Burma, Assam, Sikkim, and Bhutan, each landscape a site of transformation. In Burma, the Taqav river marks profound loss—her mother's death and father's disappearance—rendering it a "metaphor of loss" (46). In Assam's Lekhapani, after a 23-day trek, she finds fleeting hope: "They felt elated and complacent" (50). Yet, trauma shatters this—raped by a truck driver, she awakens in Tejpur Mental Hospital, rescued by Nepali activists like Lil Bahadur Chhetri (51). In Guwahati, a 1932 temple fosters unity: "I was assigned to teach Nepali students there" (51), a moment of cultural reclamation.

In Sikkim, Yogamaya meets Noyo, a Tibetan refugee, who questions, "Why did humans develop this sort of culture of preventing the citizens from working and securing meals in their home country?" (54). Their shared displacement embodies Bhabha's third space, where identities emerge "neither the one nor the other" (37). In Bhutan's Samtse, she reunites with Bertha, who shares her life with Chandra Prakash, a Nepali with a colorful past (*Saranarthi* 28). Their integration into Nepali networks affirms Dharabasi's view: Lhotshampas, despite Bhutanese labels, are Nepali by culture. Historically, Nepalis entered Bhutan at royal behest: "The first monarch Ugyen Wangchuck invited the Nepalis… to develop remote uninhabited places into arable and habitable" (27). By 1990, Lhotshampas held "39 percent of all Bhutanese civil servants" (Hutt 135), yet were deemed outsiders. The 1985 Citizenship Act enforced assimilation—replacing Nepali with Dzongkha, mandating Buddhism, and promoting intermarriage to erase their identity (122). Dharabasi notes, "The Bhutanese government framed various uneasy rules… to evict Lhotsampas" (28), stripping them of autonomy.

Identity and the Refugee Experience

Dharabasi's belief that Nepalis remain Nepali, regardless of how different countries perceive them as, is the central motif of *Saranarthi*. Ram Prasad's confidence after reaching Nepal "Now we have arrived in our country" (1) contrasts with Dharme's cynicism, yet both represent a Nepali identity rooted in language, culture, beliefs and practices. Yogamaya's lament in "My inhabitation has not yet been explored" (30) reveals her fluid identity, forged across the borders of Burma, India, Bhutan and Nepal. Jay's view of transnational subjects as "caught in a web of affiliations" (25) applies, as her journey encompasses Burma's losses, Assam's traumas, and Bhutan's betrayals into her sigh of relief in Nepali soil. In Guwahati, Nepalis' empathetic response offers solace, yet her longing for her ancestors' land Nepal persists, echoing Said's nostalgia: "the mind's return to a lost home" (179).

The increasing mobility of the global population, the spread of various diasporas, and the growing number of people in need of escape to safety lead to a corresponding panic, as borders of nations are ever more strictly protected by anti-refugee and restrictive immigration policies. Bill Ashcroft notes, "The increasing mobility of the global population, the spread of various diasporas, and the growing number of people in need of an escape to safety all lead to a corresponding panic as the borders of the nations are ever more hysterically protected by anti-refugee and restrictive migration policies" (2). In the

case of Bhutanese of Nepali origin, for example, India aided the Bhutanese government in sending them past India to Nepali borders while preventing their return to Bhutan or hosting them as refugees. Despite India's hostility, some Nepalis opt to join others and try their luck in Assam, Sikkim, and Darjeeling.

The Jhapa camps, a theatre of displaced Nepalis, orchestrates this fluidity. Gathering refugees from Burma, India, and Bhutan, they share stories of struggles and loss. Lhotshampas, despite working hard to transform Bhutan's wastelands into arable lands and hospitable societies, faced eviction under the 'One Nation, One People' policy, which erased their Nepali heritage (122). Dharabasi's claim that they comprised 53% of Bhutan's population (27) exemplifies their significance, yet policies deemed them "illegal" and usurped their hard-earned identity (28). By 1990, their achievement in holding nearly 40% of civil service roles backfired (Hutt 135). Hall's notion of diasporic identity as "not about where you're from, but where you're at" (223) echoes their efforts to settle abroad, yet their nostalgia for Nepal persists, a 'shifting mosaic of human experience'.

Jay's note that "authenticity is a fraught term" (133) relates to the question how can Yogamaya claim Nepal as her own country when Bhutan labels her outsider? Anzaldúa's borderlands frame her as a "mestiza," wading across "a struggle of flesh, a struggle of borders" (100). Her longing "Jaya Bahadur has entered Bhutan, I'll meet him there" (61) reflects this irony, dejected by separation yet sustained by collective memory. Her hope to reunite with Jaya Bahadur sharply contrasts with her agonizing experiences in Assam. In Assam, Nepalis lament: "They worked hard . . . but they are still devoid of the fruits" (15). In Burma, Subedar mourns: "Emotions wouldn't make it ours" (34). In Meghalaya, Dharme finds continuity (21), yet remains transnational. Bhabha's third space illuminates their hybridity, navigating "the interstitial passage" (4). The camps, vortex of struggle and sorrow on the one hand and a strand of hope on the other, embody Byrne's palimpsest (3), where Nepali identity persists against all hostilities.

In *Saranarthi*, Dharabasi raises a serious question of identity linked with land and landscape as he advocates that these Bhutanese of Nepali origin in refugee camps, despite living in Bhutan for decades and acquiring a new identity as Lhotshampas, are essentially Nepalis as language, culture, rituals and dresses still bind them. Ram Prasad's sigh of relief in 'his' land Shanishchare, Dharme's adaptation in Garopahad, a land mostly inhabited by Nepalis, and Yogamaya's relentless journey first from Burma to India and then from Bhutan to Nepal, her ancestors' land, reflect this perpetual journey of struggle for identity, each trying to affirm self through landscapes that resist yet define them. Through persistent struggles, they preserve Nepaliness within, even in the most hostile situations. Anzaldúa's "new consciousness" of the borderlands (102) sees them forging identities that transcend geographical and political boundaries, affirming their Nepaliness amidst series of displacements.

Conclusion

Dharabasi's *Saranarthi*, a work of fiction based on the real experiences of transnational Nepalis, is a case study on the impenetrable bond between land and identity. The novel, portraying Nepali refugees like Jaya Maya, Ram Prasad Khanal and Dharme as flagbearers of Nepali identity, exemplifies how land and landscape matter the most to the issues of identity of refugees. Jay's transnational lens, supplemented by Appadurai's locality, Bhabha's hybridity, Said's exile, Hall's diaspora, Anzaldúa's borderlands, and Byrne's layered landscapes, envisions their relentless journeys. From Ram Prasad's soil-licking at Nakalbanda to Dharme's new exploration in Meghalaya, Yogamaya's trials and tribulations in her journey, and the Lhotshampas' resistance in Bhutan, landscapes play a deciding role in forming these migrants' identities, sometimes as the mere inhabitants and sometimes as the architect of these landscapes. Dharabasi's message that Nepalis remain Nepali through language, culture, tradition, and memory echoes in every character, from the confident Khanal family to the indomitable Yogamaya and self-exploring Dharme. These landscapes from Burma, India, Bhutan and Nepal are just like railway stations for these drifters rather than any fixed locations. Every time they move from one landscape to the other, these migrants forge new identity.

The novel, relying on the migrants' inherent identity as Nepali, defies the political labeling such as Burmese or Bhutanese as the measuring rod of identity. Ram Prasad's faith in his ancestors' land, Dharme's self-exploration in Meghalaya, and Yogamaya's impenetrable resilience define a Nepali identity that transcends all hostile situations abroad. As transnational literature reimagines identity as a dynamic process, *Saranarthi* vividly portrays this through the refugees' experiences of displacement, resilience, loss, and hope. In their agonizing journey, Nepal remains an anchor, a homeland promising some sense of hope and belonging. Even among uncertainties, these refugees eventually find a strand of hope in Nepali land. *Saranarthi* thus epitomizes the story of migrants turned refugees who, through land and landscapes, affirm their identity, carrying the dream of home across every border.

Works Cited

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. 4th ed., Aunt Lute Books, 2012.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. U of Minnesota, 1996.

Ashcroft, Bill. *Post-Colonial Transformation*. Routledge, 2001.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, 1994.

Byrne, Denis, et al. *Heritage and Landscape: Managing the Past in the Present*. Routledge, 2010.

Dharabasi, Krishna. *Saranarthi*. 4th ed., Sajha Prakashan, 2067 BS [2010/2011].

Escobar, Arturo. "Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization." *Political Geography*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2001, pp. 139–74.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, Lawrence & Wishart, 1990, pp. 222–37.

Hutt, Michael. *Unbecoming Citizens: Culture, Nationhood, and the Flight of Refugees from Bhutan*. Oxford UP, 2003.

Ingold, Tim. "The Temporality of the Landscape." *World Archaeology*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, pp. 152–74.

---. The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill. Routledge, 2000.

Jay, Paul. *Transnational Literature: The Basics*. Routledge, 2021.

Said, Edward W. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Harvard UP, 2000.

Strang, Veronica. "Uncommon Ground, Landscape as Social Geography." *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, edited by B. Davis and J. Thomas, Left Coast Press, 2008, pp. 51–59.

.