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**Securitising migration between
Nepal and India**

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Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 International migration and its securitization:

International migration at present has been growing, and is expected to grow further in future, despite attempts to restrict it. Migration accounts for some 3 % of the world's population or about 175 million persons. The stock of immigration to high income countries increased at about 3 % per year in the 1990s and early 2000s, which was 2.4 % in the 1970s (World Bank, 2006: 26-27). World Bank also estimates that \$167 billion has been transferred to developing countries as remittances in 2005 – up 73 % from 2001 (ibid: 87), and there has also been some significant income gains for the natives of the destination countries due to immigrant labour. There are three main reasons for this growth in international migration: globalization, uneven pattern of development of the world and declining labour force in high-income countries.

The globalization¹, which has been promoted recently by WTO and backed by rapid advances in information technology, has led to the growth of free exchange of all kind, except labour, at the transnational level. Global relocation or transfer of transnational companies or businesses facilitated by the globalization means that there is also rapid movement of people from one country to another. Similarly, there has been promotion in the mobility of people for study, tourism, and business visits. These types of mobility are rather promoted by the developed countries. on the other hand, they have been restricting the movement of people for work, but people are migrating as 'irregular migrants' without fulfilling the official process required for a foreign national to take up the work. This include various practices like – going to a country without visa or travel documents required, staying for longer than the permission to stay or work, taking up another work than stipulated in the visa or agreement, going there in one pretext and working there without obtaining permission, seeking asylum and working there until it is finalized, and the like.

Even though, globalization is seen to bring more welfare to all² as it responds to market forces without barriers created by 'national borders' and 'concerns for the citizens or

¹ Globalization here is meant to indicate the emergence of a new, global, form of politics in which boundaries between countries (state) and the concept of territorial sovereignty become irrelevant as they allow free movement of capital, goods and commodities, ideas, information and people. But the present reality is that this has not been so especially when it comes to people, particularly the poor and low skilled people. The states have been imposing various regulations to control the movement of these people into their territory thinking that they might strain the welfare of their own citizens.

² 'In a world with no national borders and no limits to the internationally free movement of labour, migration is welfare improving for the world as a whole' (Straubhaar, 2000: 17 quoted in Jorden and Duvel, 2000: 2). World Bank's Yearly Report for 2006 estimated that if the stock of migrants is to be maintained 3 % by 2025 (i.e., movement of 14.2 million workers to high income countries) in high income countries,

members to a particular society', the mobility has also been restricted in the name of securitization despite the fact that it has been increasing in response to market demand or the general theory of 'push' and 'pull' factors, or the uneven development in different 'spatial units'. The net result of this practice has been the increase in 'irregular migration', which is considered as a part of emergence of 'transnational communities' and of the 'turbo-capitalism'³. Irregular migrants generally break the 'rules of migration' made by the states, who seek to protect the advantages for their citizens by giving more opportunities for them. It is also seen as the 'weapon of the weak' strategy of the poor people who generally do not get the advantages from the existing migration rules of the destination countries. From the experience of the past, it is seen that migration across national boundaries depends much on the policy of destination countries on admittance of migrants and effectiveness of efforts to police borders and enforce workplace rules. Similarly, the past experiences also show that opposition to migration will probably grow in destination countries, as it did in major destination countries before World War I (World Bank, 2006: 29).

From the 'security perspective', international migration⁴ has become an important issue. It has been taken, more now than before, as a non-traditional security concern by the labour demanding states. Here the non-traditional security means those security concerns which were ignored previously as irrelevant or those which were outside the purview of military security or traditional security⁵. In the post-Cold War period, security analysis has been broadened by bringing in non-military concerns like international migration, especially the irregular migration⁶ or to other neglected sources of conflict (Weiner, 1985; Buzan *et al*, 1998). Now as migrants are seen as bringing various types of threats – health, physical security, drug trafficking, violence, crime and the like – they are also seen as security issues but not belonging to the traditional security concern of military intervention.

global gains in income will range from \$772 billion to \$356 billion in 2025. The income gain in developing countries will be 1.8 % of income (from baseline year - 2001), and 0.4 % for the native of the destination countries (World Bank, 2006:31).

³ It generally refers to unrestrained form of capitalism under globalization, which erodes all social formations, but draws attention to the new economic activities and social networks that now straddle political boundaries (Luttwak, 1999 as quoted in Jorden and Duvel, 2000: 3).

⁴ Generally 'international migration' means movement of people from one country to another to take up employment or to live or to escape prosecution. UN *Convention on the Protection of Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* (1990) has defined a migrant worker as 'a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national'.

⁵ Traditional security is focused on external military threats to the survival of states. According to the traditionalists the security of citizens was synonymous to security of states and the primary goal of security thus remains the protection of state security and territorial integrity against existing and potential external adversaries.

⁶ Migrant workers can be classified as regular and irregular. Regular migrants have received permission to work and stay in a country for a stipulated period under a specific contract. Irregular migrants are those who are gone to another country without fulfilling requirements established by the receiving and sending states with respect to their policies departure, entry and employment.

'Securitizing the migration'⁷ has been a practice all over the world, especially by the political leaders of the developed and strong or big nations. This happened mainly after the end of Cold War, when developed countries felt a diversification in 'threat' to their state security which led to the realization that such a threat can come not only from traditionally felt source of fear i.e., the other state's military power, but also from criminal gangs, drug traffickers and the like. The term 'non-traditional security' has been developed to cover the security issues that are not directly related state's military security (traditional security). State's stability and legitimacy have been at the center of the traditional security. Non-traditional security has been the interest of a wide range of actors, not only the state but also the individuals, communities, non-governmental organizations. Even though the concept of 'non-traditional security' has been developed after the end of 'cold war' (Buzan, Waever and Wilde, 1998), this has been strongly felt recently from the 9/11 incidence in the USA, but had been taken seriously from time to time when any incidence of this type occurred. The very recent bombings in London, has also led to this practice. Despite attempts to control movement of people across national borders, international migration has been increasing, and so is the concern for security of the state and its people. In this light, new buzz words have also been created like illegal migration or migrants, irregular migration, economic migration, asylum seekers or refugees, and 'global terrorists' (Jordan and Duvell, 2002: 2). This has also led to formulation of new restrictive rules and their strict enforcement. For example, very recently, France has enacted a rule that is aimed at strict restriction of immigration. Similar is also the case in USA, where efforts have been made to arrest the illegal migrants and send them back. The last decade has also seen the increase in the criminalization of illegal migration.

Non-traditional security concerns arises from migration especially when it involves large scale of population movement which are seen to have adverse impacts on cohesion of societies or the inter-state and intra-state social and political conflict (Teitelbaum, 2002). The other security concerns raised with migration include terrorist activities, illegal weapons smuggling, drug trafficking and other transnational criminal activities (Krebs and Levy, 2001). Migrants are also seen to bring economic, social and political problems, which eventually lead to security concerns. For example, when migrants oppose the political system in their country of origin or receiving country and introduce new cultural pattern or become economic burden to the receiving country, they are seen as security threats (Weiner, 1985). Health risks like introduction of new diseases and spread of HIV/AIDS are other non-traditional security concerns.

The concern for securitization of migration often overlooks the other security concerns of the people, both migrants and the people of the receiving society. In this context, the concern for security is to be defined in two levels – at the state level and the individual level. The traditional security and the securitization of migration (by taking non-traditional security issues) take place mainly at the state level. But security at the individual level is often taken as 'human security'. At the theoretical level, free movement of people across the national borders is seen as bringing overall welfare to all people and

⁷ This means putting emphasis on 'security threat' to the state or the territories brought from the migration of people from other countries with the intention of discouraging migration or giving problems to migrants.

countries. In other words, migration would bring better 'human security' in both destination and receiving countries.

The concept of 'human security' seems to have emerged from UNDP's Human Development Report of 1994, which places individual at the center of development initiatives and also criticized the past practice of identifying security concerns with protection of territory or the national interest (UNDP, 1994). This report identified seven elements that comprise human security. These are: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Moreover, this report argued that human security has four important characteristics: universality, interdependency of the components, prevention and people-centeredness. It is also concerned with the security of people's lives through the seven security issues identified above. It recognizes that the priority should be given on policies that concerns with the securities of the insecure people. But under traditional security concern, security and stability of state come first which will then felt to provide security to the citizens. Even though it is also questioned that 'human security' concept is difficult to operationalise, it nonetheless is an important concept as it gives due attention to all the securities complexes that are important in a globalized world for an individual. Moreover, it also addresses the inequality in the society or the world and links it to the state or the global socio-economic structure.

Migrant workers, whether regular or irregular, aim to fulfill these securities at their own and of their families. The income they send back home or used to support their families which may be living with them, help to fulfill their livelihood security. The availability of cheap labour of the migrants also means that the cost of production of goods will decrease helping the people of the receiving countries to get goods and services at low cost. Many of the migrants are involved in care giving to the elderly or to perform difficult and dangerous works with lower wages. As a result, the cost of living for the poor and vulnerable groups in receiving countries has also been reducing or, conversely, their human security has been promoted. But the practice of securitizing the migration means that the human securities of all types will erode in both labour sending and receiving countries.

Securitization is not only about identifying different types of threats in different sectors, but also the process through which certain object or issue is taken as a security agenda or become the objects of security analysis. Therefore, Buzan et al (1998: 23) argue that security issue is more than just the threat or problem; they are considered as more than the normal political problem. The securitizing actor (eg. state, police, business community) identifies the existing problem and gains recognition of security threat from particular audience. With this, the security actor gains the legitimacy to take emergency measure against the threat, which in reality may, or may not, be a threat, but presented as a threat. These authors have then developed five interrelated security areas – military, political, societal, environmental and economic. Migration is linked to 'societal security', which means collectivities within a given society, their identities, and the action taken to defend such identities. Therefore 'societal security' thus refers to an issue which could become threat to the dominant identity of the society. Migration can be taken as such a

threat, which is in fact is not a reality, but it presented as a threat. Therefore, it is argued here, that migration needs to be desecuritized, which means 'shifting of the issues out of the emergency mode and into the normal bargaining process of the political sphere (Buzan et al, 1998: 4).

1.2 Migration between Nepal and India: security concerns

Migration between Nepal and India has taken place without much restriction from at least after the creation of these states. But security concerns have been raised from time to time to restrict the movement. Even though people undertaking these movements and the people employing them in both countries derive more security from these migrations, the security threats perceived by the states have been overshadowing the security enjoyed at the people's level.

Because of the open border between Nepal and India, the migration between these two countries can be regarded as voluntary, even though the forced migration of various types has also been a common feature, especially in case of woman trafficking. As any formal requirement is not necessary to cross the border for the citizens of both countries or to work, 'irregular migration' does not occur. Given this unique situation, Baral (1992: 2) terms migration between Nepal and India as 'open migration'. He further says that this 'open migration' is more encompassing than the 'unrestricted entry rules' that generally happens for the cross-border free movement of the ethnic group, which Weiner (1985) calls as 'transboundary ethnic group'. The example of this is seen in Pashtun-speaking tribals freely moving across Pakistan-Afghanistan border. But in case of Nepal and India, the free migration is not restricted to any ethnic group or language-group. This is for all citizens without any regard to language and ethnic background. Baral (1992:2) has forwarded the following characteristics of this migration, which qualify it to call as 'open migration'.

- Interstate migration is taken as a natural process and cannot be easily discontinued.
- Natural phenomenon gets state's sanction. The border is delineated for national status.
- National identity of people commuting across the border is blurred.
- Migrants have the tendency to settle permanently once they start working in India and Nepal.
- Migrants and local people are easily intermixed if they speak language, share common customs and religion.

The open border between Nepal and India and the free migration practice are fraught with more tension than what might appear from above characteristics. Increasingly, this migration has reinforced the 'identity of each people' and there are tensions at the individual and community levels between the locals and migrants.

Migration between Nepal and India has been guided by the 'peace and friendship treaty' made in 1950, which allow people of both countries to freely cross the border and find

employment without any restrictions. The articles 6 and 7 of the treaty⁸ grant 'national treatment' to each other's nationals with regard to 'participation in industrial and economic development and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development'. Similar 'national treatment' is also to be extended to 'the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce and movement and privileges of similar nature'. Despite this treaty, India is considered as a big country which can absorb all the people of Nepal without much demographic problem. But for a small country like Nepal, which has been dependent on India economically as it is landlocked by India on three sides, face unprecedented problems, if many Indians move into Nepal. For many poor Nepali people, India has been a common destination for work to secure livelihoods of their family or reduce the burden on the family. This study also reveals that migration to India has been undertaken by Nepalis to reduce vulnerability to 'food insecurity' or to generate some income that would help in preventing further submergence in poverty (Chapter 4). Baral also consider India as a 'safety valve' for Nepal (1992: 3), i.e, whenever there is crisis, people move to India to earn their livelihoods. This is also true in the present context of conflict as more people now have migrated to India. This has been discussed in detail in Chapter 5

Despite provision of free movement across border, India and Nepal, at the state level, try to discourage immigration through legal and political measures. From time to time, new measures or policies have been implemented for reducing the immigration. For example, Nepali citizenship law, restriction to purchase of land by foreign citizens including the Indians, work permit and employment policy for foreigners including Indians are attempts to reduce immigration of Indians to Nepal (see Baral, 1992). The Report of Task Force on National and International Migration (in 1983) which examined critically the process of immigration of Indians and their settlement in Tarai drew the attention of many people. The recommendations of the Report, one of which is to issue 'pass system' for the selective restriction of migration, were not implemented because of the sensitivity towards India. Muni (1979: 85) writes that Nepali displeasure with the Indian community began to be aired through media in the early 1960s. This displeasure came primarily from the supremacy of India or Indian migrants in terms of their economic and political power and competency. The main causes of complaints were (are): the facilities

⁸ The paragraphs 3 and 4 of the letter exchanged with the treaty were significant in determining the nature of migration between Nepal and India.

Paragraph 3: In regard to the Article 6 of the Treaty (see the following section) of Peace and Friendship which provides for national treatment, the government of India recognize that it may be necessary for some time to come to afford the Nepali nationals in Nepal protection from unrestricted competition. The nature and extent of this protection will be determined as and when required by mutual agreement between the two governments.

Paragraph 4: If the government of Nepal should decide to seek foreign assistance in regard to the development of the natural resources of, of any industrial project in Nepal, the government of Nepal shall give first preference to the Government or the national of India, as the case may be, provided that the terms by the government of India or Indian nationals, as the case may be, are not less favourable to Nepal than the terms offered by any other foreign government or by other foreign nationals. Nothing in the foregoing provision shall apply to assistance that the government of Nepal may seek from the United Nations Organization or any of its specialized agencies. (Muni, 1979: 84).

enjoyed by the Indian community in matters of licenses for export-import trade and other business activities⁹; the presence of Indian technicians and teachers; the grant of work permits to Indian workers and their 'influx'; the ownership of land and property by the Indians; and the grant of citizenship to foreign nationals including Indians. Until the 1960s, Nepali citizens did not have competency in education, trade and other economic matters. The isolation of the country by the Rana Prime-ministers and Shah Monarchs until the 1950s and their policy of barring the citizens from education and economic activities meant that Nepali were not able to compete with citizens of Indian, where education and trade developed since a long time ago. But by the beginnings of the 1960s, Nepali also began to develop education, trade, entrepreneurship skills, but found competition from Indians. Therefore, they began to seek protection from the state, which to some extent was listened by the Nepali state, especially in the name of 'nationalism' aroused during the Panchayat rule (1960-1990), particularly by the King Mahendra. But, because of dominance of India and the need for the leaders and the kings to take support from India such resentment did not actually materialized in terms of policies.

King Mahendra's action to dismantle the popularly elected democratic government and institutionalization of partyless Panchayat political system is said to have some impact on India-Nepal migration. This system which encouraged 'nationalism' aroused a fear that Nepal would be taken over by India. Accordingly an 'anti-Indian' feeling was developed. As a matter of fact King Mahendra tried to legitimize his direct and dictatorial rule by forwarding the logic that the multi-party democratic political system was not nationalistic enough to save the country. The Panchayat system also looked at Tarai region in a different way. As Tarai region had (has) a large Indian community, which was also the stronghold of Nepali Congress Party which the King Mahendra and the succeeding kings considered as an arch rival, it received some backlash in political and economic development. The government then encouraged hill people to settle in Tarai to buttress the political system and to counteract border infringement and immigration from India. For this purpose, Nepalis living in other countries like Burma and Assam (India) were encouraged to return by providing land in the Tarai (Ghimire, 1998). The then government had a fear that the arch-rival 'Nepali Congress' Party would also organize political opposition from across the border in India. To counteract this possibility, government settled ex-soldiers from British, Indian and Nepali armies in the Tarai, and near the border. They thus became the beneficiaries of the political environment existing at that time (Gaige, 1975, and Mishra et al 2000). Land was distributed freely to them so as to get their loyalty to the government (political system). The other goal of this resettlement program was to change the cultural landscape of Tarai so that Tarai-people (who generally supported Nepali Congress) become minority and the immigration of Indians into Nepal is reduced.

⁹ In the 1960s and 1970s, Nepali government had adopted a policy of 'trade diversification', under which foreign goods could be imported without restriction. Government had given a facility called 'exporter's exchange entitlement' scheme, under which a bonus of 'convertible foreign exchange' was given to exporters, who can use that bonus to import foreign goods. Indians tradespersons also benefited a lot from this policy. They primarily imported the foreign goods to smuggle into Indian.

Muni (1979) argued that New Muluki Ain (civil code) promulgated in 1963, stringent citizenship regulations, Land Reform Act 1964, and the policy of protection in small industries for Nepalis, and policy of giving priority to Nepali for employment in industries were considered by Indian Government as barriers for the Indians to gain rights as stipulated in 'peace and friendship treaty'. Muluki Ain 1963 is said to bar foreigners including Indians to inherit or acquire immovable property in Nepal. Land Reform Act prohibited Nepalis to sell land to foreigners, including Indians. To these concerns of the Indian government, Nepali policy makers resorted to the understanding (see above) that Nepal should be able to protect the economic interest of its citizens as they lack competency in comparison to Indians. But in reality, these policies did not have much impact on the level of Indian migration to Nepal. Even the so called 'stringent citizenship' requirement did not seem to have adversely affected the Indians in Nepal. By 1981, it is said that there were 3.8 million people of Indian-origin in Nepal, of which 2.4 million had already obtained citizenship certificate (Chattopadhyaya, 1996: 81). The same author also argues that unofficial figure of Indians in Nepal is 5 million (1998:92). A large number of Indians were also involved in illegal business of export and import. They were also involved with exporting foreign goods via Nepal to India at a time when India had imposed restrictions on importation of foreign goods. Moreover, there is widespread feeling that Indians were getting citizenship certificates illegally and owning property and engaged in trade and industry. When Nepal received quota for 'readymade garments' in USA, these industries were operated mainly by Indians under various illegal arrangements. Nepali businesspersons also blame their Indian businessmen for export 'low quality' carpets under Nepali production. Baral writes (1990:102):

Sometimes, the Indian immigrants become inevitable for industries that are opened for quick-money. Garment industries are, for example, established in collaboration with influential Indian traders, who use Indian labour force because of their skill and efficiency. And of them are Muslims. In 1985, it was estimated that 20,000 of the 22,000 workers in the quick money garment export industries in Kathmandu valley were Indians.

Owing to the increased migration of Indians and their control on Nepali economy, government had formed a Task Force on Internal and International Migration in Nepal, which submitted a report in 1983. The report was critical of international immigration and migration at large scale detrimental to the national interest. It was critical particularly of Indian migration to Nepal and suggested policies to regulate the migration between Nepal and India. The report had pointed:

The international migrants have a strong hold in the commercial and industrial sector. Foreign bidders dominate big contracts for construction and other works from various governmental and non-governmental sectors due to their organization, investment capacity and entrepreneurial capability. Besides in various forms of illegal trade, the Indian businessmen have almost displaced the local traders (NCP/TFM, 1983: 34).

The 'open border' and the 'national treatment' of citizens of Nepal and India as mentioned in the 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship' of 1950 is blamed for the imbalance in the population in Nepal. The 'task force' recommended that the border between Nepal and India should be managed. It also concluded that increase in the immigration of Indians to Nepal is because of the slack citizenship distribution system. The task force recommended three steps (registration of entry, pass system for entry and entry by passport) to be taken in every next year to regulate the border. On the other hand, Shah (1982: 210-229) argues for the revision of the treaty because 'nothing has been done so far to determine the nature and extent of protection to be given to the Nepalis as nationals of a relatively underdeveloped country'. The sentiment is also echoed by Political Science Association of Nepal (POLSAN) in 1991 which argued that the majority of Nepalis favour substantial changes in this treaty as well as open border regime (POLSAN, 1991 as cited in Mishra et al 2000: 95). Even though these suggestions (including the recommendations of task force) have not yet been implemented, government in the 1980s showed some concerns to change the 'citizenship distribution system' making it more and more stringent from time to time. Similarly in 1987, government imposed a 'work permit system' in Kathmandu valley for foreign nationals, which would have adversely affected the seasonal, temporary and permanent migration of Indians. Even though this was not a new issue as the Factory Employment Act (1961) and Industrial Enterprise Act (1981) had clauses that stipulate that prior-permission needs to be obtained from the government for the employment of foreign national, this new 'work permit system' created some furor among the Indian communities. When the Indian government raised this issue and the problems caused by it to Indian labourers, Nepali government argued that it is only for temporary purpose and not to discourage the Indian workers. This 'work permit system' was said to have led to the decline in the number of Indian Immigration to Nepal (Upreti, 1999). Later on, after the 1990 political revolution, this policy was also scrapped, which led to the rapid increase in the number of Indian workers coming to Nepal.

Indian side is also equally blamed for the policies and practices aimed at reducing the Nepali migration in the name of 'security'. For example, various Indian states have made rules that contravene the treaty. One example of this is the imposition of Restricted Area Permit (RAP), which restrict Nepalis to go to area requiring RAP. RAP has also been imposed in areas where ethnic problems have arisen. In the name of protecting the indigenous population, migration of Nepali population has also been restricted. Moreover, the Nepali people staying in some states in North East of India have been displaced and physically threatened. The central government in India has also been complying with the local populist demands for evicting the foreigners even though it is against its policy. Muni (1979:89) writes that these barriers were imposed in response to the stringent requirements made for obtaining citizenship in Nepal in the mid 1970s. He writes – 'restrictions were put on the movement of foreigners in the sensitive areas of Darjeeling and the North-East. These severely affected the Nepalis and persons of Nepali origin in these areas. This brought home to the Nepal authorities the futility of anti-Indian legislation'. Just before this policy, the then Indian Minister for External Affairs had said in 1976 that India would retaliate Nepal's policies which go against the spirit of 1950 treaty by imposing appropriate restrictions on Nepalis living in India. For example, when Nepalis staying and working in Assam, India were forcefully evicted and their property

confiscated or destroyed, especially after 1979's student led 'anti-foreigners' campaign, Nepalis of that place demanded that those who came earlier, especially before the RAP (1976), should be given citizenship. But the then prime minister Rajiv Ghandi proclaimed in January 1987 that there is no provision of granting citizenship to Nepali who entered India after 1950 (Baral, 1990:55). This would mean that Indian was much more stringent to citizenship requirements than Nepal, which considers 15 years' stay as the requirement for the citizenship. A large number of Nepali migrant workers adversely affected by such regional political movements in Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Mizoram returned to Nepal. They became stateless people for some time, and then entered Nepal as squatters. Baral (1990: 64) writes:

The situation is increasingly becoming inhospitable in India for the Nepali migrants because of the emergence of a number of crises precipitated by ethnological demographic changes and inter-ethnic conflicts. Density of population, scarcity of resources and trends of sub-national identity across India have discouraged the Nepalis to immigrate to India. Today, we cannot see the streams of hill people going to northeast India. On the contrary, there is markedly a process of reverse migration, i.e., Nepalis are returning from those Indian states where the wind of anti-foreigner movement is sweeping. And the Central Indian government is apparently outmaneuvered or rendered helpless by the protagonists of such agitations.

Even today who travel to these states face several types of harassment. Those who have traveled recently say that Indian policemen observe the buses and trains and examine the traveler by speaking the native language. By the tone of the traveler, policemen identify the person and then start the process of harassment, which include, among others, bribe of a large sum of money. This attitude is shown not only to laymen workers, but also to educated professionals¹⁰. It is not that government authorities do not know about this. But there general 'turning blind' eyes to these problems faced by Nepalis, whether they are Indian citizens, or have been staying in India for long time or are the recent immigrants. This is evident from the letter written to prime minister I.K. Gujral (in 1997) by two politician of Nepali origin, an excerpt of which is as follows:

¹⁰ T. B. Subba, a professor by profession, writes based on his experience.

'.. I traveled from Siliguri in West Bengal to Shillong in Meghalaya for the first time for attending one of the sociological conferences.... There was excitement when I boarded the bus at 5 pm for Guwahati in Assam. I was fantasizing about Shillong until I was fast asleep, when I heard someone shouting, in the rudest possible Hindi, 'All Nepalis get down from the bus!'.... A constable asked me to get down. It was about 1 am. I went inside the makeshift hut, where I was told that I would have to give money if I wanted to proceed further. I told the policeman that I am an Indian and a lecturer at North Bengal University. He did not hear what I said as he was busy collecting whatever was given by the helpless – and half-awake myself - Nepalis, including two Bhutia – a scheduled tribe of Sikkim and West Bengal – nurses from Darjeeling. I saw no point in explaining to them about the Indo-Nepal friendship Treaty of 1950, which I knew by heart, and decided to bribe my way to farther northeast. The next morning, as the bus gradually started to ascend the mountains of Meghalaya, and I had again fallen sleep I was once more asked to get down.... I did not speak a word, took out a hundred rupee note from my wallet, kept it under the Table, and walked back to the bus (2003: 197-198).

"But in the absence of any uniform and coherent policies of the Government towards the Nepalis in this region and laxity in the effective implementation of harassments, tortures, murders, lootings and evictions of Nepali speaking population under the pretext of punishing foreigners by chauvinist forces have continued unabated. Neither the State Governments nor the Central Government have taken suitable measures to protect them and pondered over the seriousness of the problem." (quoted in Nath, 2003: 222).

Similarly, Nepalis do not have right to buy land in these regions:

'To buy or sell land, we have to prove our land acquisition before 1948. There is no transaction between a Nepali and non-Nepali' (Nath, 2003:222).

It is because of the above problems that migration of Nepalis to Northeast has drastically been reduced. Rather, there has been a trend of returned migration. Nepalis have been migrating back to Nepal or to other place leaving behind the land and property they had accumulated through their hard work and frugal habits. There has been large scale of 'internal displacement' of people. A large number of Nepalis have also been living in 'relief camps' meant for 'internally displaced people'. In one relief camp, there were about 134 Nepalis families and a total population of 581 Nepalis. There were 78 such relief camps which had some support from 'international welfare organizations' (Nath, 2003: 223-224). The incident of killing of five ethnic Nepalis on February 2, 2002, by the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) led to further fears among the Nepalis. BSF had raided Saralpara Village in Kokrajhar district in Assam. The armed personnel picked up five individuals, took them to a forest 30 km away from the village and shot them in cold blood. The charge was that they had donated some money to the rebels Bodo. It is said that they might have paid something to these rebels in order to live in the village. The sporadic killing of ethnic Nepalis by the army or the rebels has been continuing even today (Upadhaya, 2002).

There are many other cases that aimed at creating barriers for this migration of Nepalis into India (even in other areas than the North East), which will be discussed later on. On the question of whether these barriers (or securitization) are reducing the emigration of Nepalis to India, it is difficult to say. As the 'push' factors in Nepal have deepened and expanded in the last 10 years mainly because of conflict, number of Nepalis going to India might have actually increased. We often hear from India friends that Nepali 'log' (people) now just demand work and ask for food and shelter.

Indian scholar's position regarding migration between 'Nepal and India' has generally been that the Nepali immigration in India is just large (Muni, 1979: 90), and if stopped would lead to 'social and political' crisis in the country. Upreti (2002: 119) also claims that the Indian migrants are much less in number in comparison to Nepali migrants to India. This perception is playing a role in India's dominance on other aspects of 'diplomatic and political' relations. On the Nepal side, this perception is considered as a biased one because it is argued that more money (remittances) goes to India than that come to Nepal, because Indians in Nepal are engaged in lucrative professions and earning

a high of profit or earning, which is discussed in the following chapters. On the other hand, a large number of Nepali in India are earning an income, which is merely sufficient to reproduce their labour or make only a very small saving. Many of the studies (discussed later) conducted on this issue reveal this fact (Upreti, 2002: 119-120). His study reveals that Indian migrants to Nepal is a mixture of businesspersons, industrialists, professionals, skilled and unskilled labour, but the Nepalis emigrants to India have been semi-skilled or unskilled labour. Given this situation, he concludes that Indian migration to Nepal is driven by both 'push and pull factors', but in the case of Nepali migration to India 'push factor' is dominant (ibid: 120). Moreover, India is considered to have much more capacity to absorb emigrants because of its large size, more resources and more employment opportunities. Nepal, owing to its small size and hilly nature with less arable land and lack of modernization, can not absorb a large number of immigrants. Therefore, there is an opinion that simply a comparison of number of migrants between India and Nepal is not logical.

The general perception many Nepali (as compared to Indians in Nepal) work in India is also a 'myth'. There are some evidences to support this argument. For example, the highest estimate so far made regarding the numbers of Nepali in India is 3 million (in early 2000), which in a way is less than that of Indians in Nepal as claimed by Chhatopadyaya (1996: 81). Migration of Indian labourers for agricultural works in Tarai is just huge, but does not feature prominently as public issue. For example, a study conducted by Mishra et al (2000:101) reveals that slightly over 50 % of all paddy cultivating households and all sugar cultivating households in the study settlements of Tarai hire seasonal agricultural labourers from India during the peak agricultural periods contributing to about 30 % to 90 % of the labour requirements during these peak periods. Regarding the overall impact of this labour pattern, the authors write:

Indian seasonal labourer can legitimately be construed to have displaced Nepali, particularly Tarai-located, seasonal labourer. At that level, Indian seasonal labour can also legitimately be construed not only to have subsidized the cost of agricultural production particularly for the large holders in the Tarai but also to have propped up a state in which the large landholders are the dominant partners. (2000:102).

The above statement is also a part of 'securitization' aspect because it does have a referent object (i.e., Indian labour), and a sensitivity towards their adverse impact. In similar way, the concept of 'securitization' was also seen in the recruitment of Nepalese in Indian armies in recent years. According to informal discussions with the returned army persons in India, Indian government was informally pursuing a policy of 'giving priority in hiring army persons in the Gorkha¹¹ regiments the persons of Gorkha origin, but Indian citizen'. This policy was implemented in the reign of BJP-led government (2001-2005). Furthermore, as Mishra et al (2000: 95) write:

¹¹ Generally known as Nepali with martial qualities. Gorkha regiments in India employs nearly half a million Nepalis, and it has been a tradition of over 200 years, firstly with British-India government and then (since 1950) with Indian government.

'The Indian state has, in effect, reserved senior government positions for Indian citizens, apparently in contravention to the provisions of the treaty. Apparently, there also exists a quota system for the Nepalis wishing to enlist in the Indian army, which is said to be regulated by the 1947 tripartite agreement between India, the United Kingdom and Nepal'.

Despite the attempts to discourage migration between Nepal and India at the state level in both countries, it has been undertaking and is increasing every year. The primary reason for this migration is to increase the livelihood security at the individual or the family level. The economic underdevelopment and continued high increase in population in two highly populated states of India (Bihar and Uttar Pradesh) which borders Nepal on the south has caused increased migration from India. The political conflict, marginal economy of the hills, continued population growth and landlessness also mean that Nepali migration to India is also growing. In this study, how far this migration has been helping in the livelihood (human) security of migrants and what are their security problems as a consequence of securitization of migration are explored, especially from the perspective of Nepali migrants.

1.3. Explaining the Nepal-India Migration: Theoretical perspective.

Given that migration between Nepal and India is complex, it is difficult to explain it from single theoretical strand. Apart from economic dimensions, socio-cultural, historical and political legacy has been shaping the migration. Because of the open border and the provision in the 1950 treaty that Indians and Nepalis should be given facilities as citizens of the respective country, Upreti (1999:4) has indicated that this unrestricted migration, no doubt an international migration, is of especial kind.

The neoclassical approach of 'pull' and 'push' factors leading to migration is not sufficient to explain migration between Nepal and India. If Nepali were tempted to migrate because of bad economic condition and lack of opportunities (push factors) in their place, this place has also attracted Indians for the work. There are pull as well as push factors in both India and Nepal. It can also be argued that historical legacy creates different perceived and actual capabilities and opportunities for different people in different ways. For example, as it can be seen in this study, the historical legacy created a belief that Nepalis are good for 'security' related jobs. This has created a demand for them in India. On the other hand, because of urbanization and industrialization earlier than Nepal, some modern skills in both technical and marketing sectors were available in Indians. They find that they can work in Nepal to utilize those skills. But given fact that Indian migrants in Nepal have been engaged in a variety of works, but mainly in trade, business, industries, and in service sector as investors, managers, skilled workers and professionals, it can be said that 'pull factor' is dominant cause for their migration to Nepal. For the Indians who are undertaking unskilled and menial jobs in Nepal, 'push factor' is obviously the main cause of migration. On the other hand, an overwhelmingly large proportion of Nepali migrants in India are unskilled labourers earning a meager income,

'push factor' is obviously the dominant cause for migration (Upreti, 1999: 120; see also Chapter 4).

The migration between Nepal and India has also been facilitated by open border. This was purely due to political and socio-cultural reasons, but mainly the former. The British rule in India and Rana rule in Nepal, and the need of the later to support former for their survival was instrumental for cordial relation between these rulers. The use of Nepali people in the British-Indian army since 1816 (officially) paved the way for cordial relation between the two countries.

Therefore, 'push-pull theory' can partly explain the migration between Nepal and India. Here the centrality should be focused on historical and political legacy which created different niche opportunities in both the places. Accordingly, migration could take place in both directions. The emphasis on differential (expected) wage rates in push-pull theory (Massey et al, 1993) is not completely applicable in this case.

The other approach of neoclassical micro theory gives attention to individual choice, and this theory is also called as 'human capital theory'. In contrast to neoclassical macro theory which gives emphasis on labour demand and supply and wage rates differential, the neoclassic micro theory uses actors, their income and endowment of human capital as the unit of analysis. This seems to explain, to some extent, the process of migration between Nepal and India.

The level at which decisions are taken for the migration is yet another controversial matter. Even though neoclassical approach takes individual as the rational actor and he becomes the decision maker, another approach called 'new economics of migration' argues that decision to migrate is taken at the household or family level (Stark and Bloom, 1985). In this sense, the appropriate unit of analysis is the household. A household may give consideration not only income maximization, but on optimization of various utilities, which also includes the probability of risks. Migration could also be taken as 'portfolio diversification' for the family which also means minimization of various risks in the face of lack of various insurance systems in a developing society. This approach also takes into consideration of the fact that 'push factors' should not be seen in absolute terms, but in relative terms. From the perspective of Nepali households 'portfolio-diversification' is one reason for increased participation in migration and continuation of subsistence farming at home.

'Dual labour market theory' is another theory of migration which seeks to explain the international migration from the perspective of 'labour demands in the destination countries' as the centre of analysis. It argues that pull factors in destination countries, especially the need to use 'foreign labour' is the major cause of such migration (Massey et al 1993). The need for foreign labour arises because of the 'dual labour market', which means that labour market in destination countries (industrialized countries) is segmented into capital intensive primary sector, which employs the local people, and the secondary sector of labour intensive physical and less prestigious work which is to be done by people from poorer countries. The 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult) that Nepalis

do in foreign countries, including India, can be explained from this theory. Foreign migrants can perform such jobs because of various reasons including the fact that they have short-term and instrumental relationship with the job and the society, which means that they can perform the work at cheap rates without much danger to themselves while at work. Once their goal is fulfilled (usually earning a certain amount of money), they leave the job. Accordingly this job does not make their identity. This is usually the case with short-term Nepali migrants (discussed later on) in India.

Another approach of examining labour migration considers it as a sub-system of global capitalist development. Because of globalization and the interest of capitalists to earn more profit by undermining the labour component, international migration is promoted (Massey et al 1993). The globalization and penetration of capitalism in peripheral regions is assumed to bring underdevelopment and decline in agriculture and rural enterprises leading to unemployment, poverty and deprivation. These problems would make a section of population mobile and dependent on labour migration for their livelihoods. Because of desperate situation they would be given a dirty choice of either to work in degrading conditions or suffer unemployment and poverty. The people at margin learn and adapt to the situation and straddle across the national boundaries for the work, leading to irregular migration. This approach is thus similar to the 'dual labour market theory' explained above.

There are also theories that explain why international migration perpetuates. These include network theory, social capital theory, institutional theory, cumulative causation theory, migration system theory, transnational migration theory and structuration theory. The network theory explains that migration perpetuates as migrants develop a network between labour sending and receiving countries and those having a relation (through kinship, friendship, and shared community origin) with the migrant take part in migration (Boyd, 1989). Therefore every migrant is linked to non-migrants and his migration creates the social structure to sustain it (Massey et al, 1993). The concept of social capital helps us to understand how a migration is embedded in social networks, which makes migrants to initiate/help migration of others (Haug, 2000). Institutional theory postulates that a set of institutions are developed once international migration takes place. These could range from private to the governmental. These institutions (eg. recruiting agencies, government departments, civil society, labour courts, welfare agencies, research agencies, policies etc in both source and destination) could help in the migration of others (Massey, 1993). The cumulative causation theory postulates that the social context is changed by each act of the migrants which will be helpful in promoting migration (Massey et al, 1993). After migration, for example, there will be income distribution in the society. If a part of it is transferred to another person, it might also help in migration. The inequality in income could be another reason for more migration from the poorer section. The effects of migration will thus be multifarious, and cumulative. Migration system theory explains that a system of linkages between labour sending and receiving countries is developed which will increase the migration flow (Haug, 2000). The theory of transnational migration argues that migrants develop their identity not only on one geographical location, but on multiple locations (Parnreiter, 2000). Structuration theory criticizes both network theory and centrality of household decision making. The theory

sees migration as the outcome of a complex combination of individual actions and social structures (Goss and Lindquist, 1995). They give emphasis on 'institutions' under which migrant gain knowledge and then take decisions to migrate. There is the centrality of institution in this theory. Even the social network is considered as institutions as there are also rules and regulations.

This study considers that none of the above theories can fully explain why migration takes place and perpetuates in the context of Nepal and India migration. Each of them could be useful in specific context, but all of them could also be seem relevant to explain one or another aspect of migration. The comprehensive approach that is useful for this research seems to be 'livelihood approach', and it is discussed in some detail here.

Livelihood approach¹² (commonly called as SLR and employed by DFID to identify problems for development and the strength of the people (on which new interventions are based) encompasses the expectations (outcomes) of people in migration, strategies of households to accumulate various assets that are required for living, the vulnerability context of cheating and other risks and coping mechanism to deal with negative situations accidents and disasters, and institutional aspects (policies, private and government structures, organizations, household/individual decision making etc) that are helpful as well as restrictive in undertaking migration. The requirement of assets for living differs from rural and urban settings, and this determines the investment patterns with regard to remittances. The livelihood approach is also important from the point of reducing vulnerabilities by increasing coping capacity. The diversified nature of economy created due to access to non-farm income or labour migration is also aimed at reducing the risks of survival. It should also be noted that 'survival strategy' is not the sole aim of people migrating from higher economic backgrounds. But their migration can also influence the livelihood strategies of other households too. The problem with SLR theory is that it does not give much emphasis on historical reasons, which are important for the Nepal and India migration.

1.4. The Research Study: Objectives and methodology

The major objective of this study was to understand the migration magnitude and patterns between Nepal and India and to examine impact on livelihood security of the families, especially on the Nepalis families, and the problems faced as a result of securitization process. This study uses both secondary and primary information to understand the 'security' perspective in migration by the migrants, and their experiences with 'securitization process'. The understanding of the migration in the historical and political context and the estimation of the totality of migration based on various sources of information has been attempted from the existing literature, earlier studies and census data. A small primary research has also been conducted to understand the purpose of working in India, problems faced and recent securitization of migration and its impact at the individual migrant level.

¹² <http://www.livelihood.org>

The specific objectives of the research were:

- To get a general overview of historical realities regarding the migration process, patterns, kinds and practices between Nepal and India.
- To study the policy and legal regimes to regulate/control/manage migration between India and Nepal.
- To collate information regarding the magnitude of migration of different types between Nepal and India for different years.
- To study the impact of political conflict on migration between Nepal and India.
- To gather information that would help in estimating the remittance flow between Nepal and India.
- To understand the socio-economic backgrounds of the migrants undertaking migration to India.
- To understand the changes in wealth, well being and livelihood of the migrants and their families after undertaking migration.
- To study the decision making regarding the migration and the processes and paths undertaken during migration.
- To understand the vulnerability context in the whole process of migration and the influence of agencies/institutions in reducing these vulnerabilities.
- To examine the type, nature, place, wage rates and condition of employment and wage differentials between local and immigrant workers.
- To examine the persons and agencies involved in the migration process and the benefits they derive and cost they incur.

The study of migration between India and Nepal is complicated due to various reasons. Its long history, diverse pattern of migration from Nepal to India and vice-versa, undocumented nature of migration because of open borders and lack of registration process, cultural (including marital) ties between people of Nepal, especially of Tarai region and of India make it difficult to comprehend what is happening in migration between Nepal and India. This nature of the problem presents methodological challenges. To come to grips of migration between India and Nepal, it is important that the study should be conducted at different levels. Firstly, there is a need to understand or come to near to the total universe of the research, i.e., total volume of migration between Nepal and India in different years. This entails a national level study consulting different literature, gathering information from different sources in India and Nepal (like census reports, study reports, migrant organizations in Nepal and India) and then triangulating the facts and figures to estimate a reliable picture. Consultation of historical records, books, treaties and agreements, and policy and legislation change with regard to migration is also required.

The second step in the research was about conducting empirical study with a sample of migrant population, which is staying in Nepal. A detailed study was done of 100 households who had participated in the migration to India. Information on before-

migration and after-migration status on wealth, well being, livelihoods, family and social life, and the like was gathered. The reasons for migration, decision-making for the migration and reintegration were investigated. The context of vulnerability was studied to understand the problems faced and potentials and actual threats, risks and the like. The working and living conditions, work nature, wages, discriminations in wages and other areas, contributions to the work, social support systems at work and destination places and the like was also be studied. A structured questionnaire was used to collect these information. To substantiate the information so collected, 'qualitative information' were also collected through focus group discussions. Further methodological discussions, the problems faced while conducting the study and the districts where the study was done has been discussed in Chapter 4 which covers the analysis of field information.

1.5. Organization of the report:

This chapter (Chapter 1) discussed the conceptual issues related to 'securitization' and 'migration theories' and how can they be applied or used the migration between Nepal and India. The security concerns in this migration as revealed from secondary sources have been discussed. Finally the Chapter delineates the objectives of the field study, which concentrates only on Nepali migrants in India.

Chapter 2 discusses the migration from Nepal to India. The historical process that led to migration, the magnitude of migration and changes in migration of various types is discussed here. Chapter 3 discusses the migration of Indians to Nepal. The salient characteristics of this migration, magnitude and the various attributes of Indian migrants and the problems they face have been discussed based on secondary sources.

Chapter 4 discusses the result of the field study conducted with Nepalis migrants working in Nepal. Their socio-economic backgrounds, the process of going to India, problems faced at the destination, benefits obtained, and the impact of securitization at different level have been discussed here.

Chapter 5 discusses the impact of conflict on the migration from Nepal to India is discussed. This is based on both secondary information as well as primary information. Chapter 6 analyses the nature of migration between Nepal and India and the impact of securitization on migration. Various way outs to come out of this process have also been proposed so that 'livelihood security' of migrants, the major concern of the migrants is strengthened.

1.6. 'Open border' and 'unrestricted migration' between Nepal and India - Political and historical perspective:

Migration between Nepal and India has been facilitated by the existence of the open border and the socio-cultural and religious similarities between the people of the two countries. It is because of this especial feature, it is difficult to account the exact nature and magnitude of migration between the two countries.

The present migration pattern that we see between Nepal and India is also the result of various social and political understandings and agreements between the governments of the two countries. The legacy provided by those understandings has also been facilitating the movement of people across the boundaries and the nature and type of job/work migrants take and the geographical locations where they go within these states. This is shortly described hereunder.

Rajbahak (1992) explains that the 'open border' between Nepal and India is also the outcome not only of security¹³ needs and political and historical reasons, but also of physical necessity for both Nepal and India. This 'open border' has been considered by these two states as functioning in a way beneficial for both countries, and some authors have claimed that the states have been treating the main 'treaty – 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty' leading to open border as sacrosanct despite pressures to revisit it (see Mishra et al. 2000). Rajbahak (1992: 7) argues that mountain topography had obstructed south-north internal movement and interaction with Tibet and the river system deterred the east-west contact inside the country. Under such situation, free border originated to provide free movement to visit each other's country to the Nepalis and Indians residing near the border without restriction. This is more so for Nepalis as they had to meet their requirements of daily necessities from nearby Indian market and also to reach different destinations of their country through India. In due course, this open border facilitated movement of nationals of both countries to meet their economic and religious needs. Therefore, this 'open border' has been taken also as a symbol of great social and cultural continuity.

Formation of India and India as a separate countries and the political/administrative culture are also equally responsible for the maintenance of 'open border' between these two countries. Particularly, the way the present Nepal was integrated and ruled had an impact on the need to maintain the border in this way. Rajbahak (1992:8) argues that Nepal was conquered by the king Prithiwi Narayan Shah (in 1769, but the process continued until 1816) by sheer physical force. In this process he forcefully annexed the several microstates (called Baise and Chaubise states), which were about 80 in number in the present day Nepal. The major interest of the rulers was to raise tax. Open border helped in increasing the tax and also reduced the burden of checking and controlling of border. Moreover, it facilitated the movement of labour from India to Nepal Tarai for agricultural work, forestry-related activities and to increase farmland under cultivation. These were the major sources of taxes, and government encouraged these activities from Indian labourers as hills people did not like to stay in hot, malaria-prone Tarai. For India also, open border was useful, primarily for the trade. East India Company's main interest in Nepal in the initial stage was trade. Later on, demand for Nepalis in India increased for army jobs and cheap labourers for agriculture related works, land reclamation, tea garden labourers and for other industries. Even though these are the main self-interests for Nepal and India to continue the open border, the specific events that led to the open border are discussed here under. Even before these events (i.e., before Nepal came into being as a state), there are evidence of migration of Indians to Nepal. For example, Indian

¹³ In traditional military sense as it, along with social and cultural reasons, was this need which was instrumental for the open border and special relationship between these two countries.

Muslims from Kashmir, India had come to Kathmandu valley for business purpose. Religious changes in India, especially the ascendancy of Muslim rule, mean the migration of Indians (Hindus) to Nepal in the 11th-13th century A.D. Similarly, the conquest of Kumaon and Garwal by Nepal in the late 1790s also led migration to Nepal of the people from these regions. These areas were later on (in 1816) ceded to India.

Sugauli Treaty of 1816:

In the quest for territorial expansion by both the Nepal (Gorkha rulers) and British East India Company, they met several times for war which ended in 1816 by signing of an agreement called Sugauli Sandhi (Treaty). This Treaty permitted British to employ Nepalis in their army, the main demand put by the British for ending the war. British rulers found the Nepali army suitable for to meet their ambition of territorial expansion and to keep the conquered territory under their control. This treaty thus allowed the Nepalis and Indian to freely cross the border and stay or work there.

Before the signing of the Sugauli Treaty between Nepal and India and subsequent demarcation of the Nepal India boundary, there existed free and unrestricted movement of people of Nepal and India across the border. It was almost impossible to control and regulate the movement of people along more than 1400 kilometres long border. Nevertheless, there existed main thoroughfare for social relations, cultural exchanges (pilgrimages, festivities, fairs, etc.) and trade and commerce and they constituted the major road junctions and places for levying customs duties. Before the unification of Nepal and India as countries, there were many countries spanning over the present political divide between these two countries. This is especially so in Tarai. A vast area in UP and Bihar, popularly known as Gangatic plain, had given rise to cultural and religious systems which also covered the present day Nepali Tarai. Therefore, there was a kind of religious and cultural affinity and similarities between these two regions. Kansakar (2003b) argues that Nepal-India border is unique in the world in the sense that people of both the countries can cross it from any point despite the existence of border check posts at several locations. The numbers of check posts meant for carrying out bilateral trade are 22 and however, only from six out of these 12 transit points the movement of nationals of third countries, who require entry and exit visa, are permitted to cross the border. As the whole length of the border except the check posts, is not patrolled by police or paramilitary or military forces of either country, illegal movement of goods and people is a common feature on both sides of the India-Nepal border.

Just prior to the 1814 war between the then Nepal and British East India Company, movement of people of both countries was allowed, but they were not allowed to purchase land and settle in the Tarai. But in the distant past, people from other countries came to settle in India and even came to control the social and political life. For example, the Lichhavis, the Mallas and the Shakyas who existed before the birth of the Buddha, took refuge in the Tarai and the valleys of the Himalayas when their lands in India were occupied by Ajatasatru (Muslim leader). Similarly, in the religious conflict in India in the 11-12th centuries AD, Hindu population fled to the present day Nepal.

The border between India and Nepal seems to have been restricted to some extent by the Gorkha rulers when they saw East India Company's ambition to expand the territory. They had also kept the Tarai's dense forest intact to protect the movement of people from India. The cattle herders of adjoining Indian territories of Champaran and other districts used to graze cattle annually for four months (October to January) by paying duty. Duty was levied on buffaloes. Cows (being the sacred animal according to Hindu religion) were exempted from the levy (Kirkpatrick, 1801:83). Similarly, the agreement on Dudhawa Range specially preserved the right of the Indian nationals to come to the hills for *banks* (a type of grass) by paying revenue. Prior to 1789, the Nepal Government established bazaars on the border of Nepal and India for regulating trade and decided that trade could be conducted at these points only. This hampered the freedom of trade, as the British (Indian) merchants could not travel to the interior of the country beyond these bazaars, and return to India with whatever they could not sell. Anyone entering Nepal particularly the Kathmandu Valley and other places in the Tarai in general, prior to the Treaty of 1860, had to get visa from the district governor. This was relaxed during the festival of Shivaratri, and thereafter government would expel those staying here (Kansakar, 2003b).

The Treaty of 1860

Even though British East India Company had won the war with Nepal, they had a desire to maintain cordial relation with Nepal, mainly for the fighting men in their armies. Nepali armies had not only helped them in various wars, but also in taking control of India. In recognition of the supply of Nepalis army at the disposal of the British East India Company to quell the Sepoy Mutiny in India, the Treaty of 1 November 1860 signed between India and Nepal restored the territory ceded to India by the 1816 Treaty of Sugauli. The land returned was just a small piece of territory ceded by Nepal while making a treaty in 1816. However, the land returned in 1860 came as a good gift for the ruling class. The land given was called Naya Muluk (new country) in Nepal. This was located in Far West. Prime Minister Jung Bahadur tried to develop this land or country as his family property. In order to develop it he made provision in the first legal code of the country formulated during his time, allowing foreigners to purchase and sell land in the Tarai. He even invited the businessmen, traders and the landlords from India. This led to the large scale immigration of the Indian into the Tarai for reclamation of forests for agriculture and for trade and commerce.

After the unification of the country, rulers of Nepal had an extravagant lifestyle for which more and more revenue was necessary. One of the main sources of revenue was the forest in Tarai. By the late 1950s, the concept of keeping the forest intact for the protection of the country had also gone, because rulers in Nepal saw the diplomatic relation with British is more important for their survival in Kathmandu rather than the physical fence in the form of forest. Therefore, they started a policy of giving the forest to British officials in lieu for favors in politics. Large tracts of Tarai forest were destroyed for supplying hardwood Sal timber to British rulers which were used for the rapid expansion of railways in India. In the process of destruction of forest, Indian contractors and labourers were used.

The land developed from deforestation also attracted Indians to come and settle in Nepal for agricultural production. The Rana government in Kathmandu had encouraged Indian to come and cultivate the land so that they can get revenues. Some concessions were also given to Nepalis to cultivate these lands in Tarai, but hill people would not go there because of hot climate and malaria. But it is because of these opportunities of control over the fertile land of Tarai that massive migration of Indians (for whom Tarai climate was suitable) to Nepal took place.

The 1860 Treaty led to unrestricted movement of people across the border. This was what British government had desired long ago. They wanted this unrestricted movement for two reasons: the first was to maintain unrestricted migration of the Nepalis hill people to India and to secure them for recruitment in the Indian army. The recruitment of the Nepalis in British army was very difficult up to the period of 1850s (until Prime Minister Ranodip Singh), because Nepal Government was, in principle, against the recruitment of its people in a foreign army. Because of this dislike and restriction, British resorted to guises to bring the people to their armies. Similarly Nepalis rulers harassed Nepalis working for the British interest. Some of the Gorkhas serving in Indian army on their return home on leave were even put to death and property of those serving the Indian army was confiscated (Mojumdar, 1973:42-3). It was only during the period of Prime Minister Bir Shumsher that the Nepalis government freely allowed enlistment of Nepalis in the Indian army (Kansakar, 1982: 77-124). The second important factor for maintaining open border by the British was to have easy and free access of British and Indian manufactured goods into Nepal and Tibet. Moreover, the British wanted to have secure and easy supply of raw materials like timber, herbs, medicinal plants and the like from Nepal into India.

Treaty of Friendship 1923:

Treaty of Friendship between Great Britain and Nepal 1923 was signed as a sign of good gesture by Britain to Nepal for its support in World War I. This treaty was a political one and recognized Nepal as a sovereign independent country. Through this treaty, Britain also assured assistance for the development of the country. This treaty erased from the mind of Nepalis rulers the apprehension of invasion by the British. The large scale involvement of men from the hills of Nepal in the World War I led to the shortage of able-bodied youths particularly the Magars and Gurungs resulting drastic decline in agriculture activities and shortage of foodgrains in the hills. The Rana government's conversion of Tarai forest into farmland continued because they needed food for the people and revenue for the government. But this also attracted a large number of Indians. Hill people would not work in such hot, humid and malarial place.

As a result of the treaty, all restrictions on trade between India and Nepal were removed, facilitating not only the flow of commodities into Nepal (with devastating results for the Nepalis manufacturing industry) but also the free movement of labour across the border. This was to have profound repercussions on the scale of migration from Nepal to India (and indeed the scale of immigration from northern India into the Nepalis Tarai).

The flow of immigrants from northern India into Nepal, particularly into the Tarai, increased significantly after the First World War, because of the land reclamation work encouraged by the Nepalis government in the Tarai and the inner Tarai forests for cultivation and resettlement, especially in Morang, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Chitwan, Surkhet, Kailali and Kanchanpur (Upreti, 1981). These immigrants came mainly as agricultural labourers, and remained, in some cases to acquire their own small plots. Indian traders, on the other hand, were allowed to carry on trade at specific points in the Tarai only. This situation was to change with the recognition of Nepal as a sovereign and independent state in 1921. Indian traders were now permitted to trade in the Tarai and specific restrictions were lifted.

The Nepal India Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950

The Nepal India Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 signed in July 31 was a major turning point for the migration between Nepal and India. The article 6 of the Treaty provides 'nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory'. Article 7 grants, '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' and 'afford(s) the Nepalis nationals in Nepal protection from unrestricted competition'. However, it was not materialized until the installation of democracy in February 1951, which replaced the oligarchic Rana regime within three and half months of the signing of the treaty.

The treaty is considered as outcome of India's security needs and Nepal's need for socio-economic development. As Nepal was (is) close to China, India felt that protection of Nepal and its economic and political stability is important. In the early 1950s, India also wanted to reduce the aggression from China, and considered Himalayas as the safest borders to check the intrusion of Chinese. Annexation of Tibet and deployment of army near the Nepal's northern border was a threat for India. Hence, India tried to develop friendly relations with Nepal so that Nepal does not let the Chinese to come close to their country. For this Nepal needed to have peace, stability and economic prosperity. The perception on the Indian side was that only this kind of Nepal can avoid the intrusion of Chinese military and communist ideology. This was materialized into this open border and unhindered flow of people between the two countries, without any visa or passport.

Despite this treaty, there are some problems in the free movements of people of both countries because of 'securitization'. This issue has already been discussed.

Chapter II

Migration from Nepal to India

2.1. Country scenario: migration volume and remittance economy

The present-day of Nepal was once a sanctuary for waves of migrants from north and south of its borders. The early large-scale migration from the north took place from the 5th to the 10th century AD, which brought largely the nomadic Mongoloid people from Tibet (generally called Tibeto-Burman groups of people). This migration continued intermittently until the recent time in the form of Tibetan refugees coming to stay in Nepal. The early migration of Tibeto-Burman people was followed by waves of Indo-Aryans people from India. This migration brought especially the Brahmans and Rajputs. This migration took place from the 9th to the 13th century to a large scale, but has been continuing even to this day. The availability of land and the need to escape the political and religious wars were the main reasons for these migrations. But in recent times, the movement is largely for the livelihood opportunities. As of now, a large number of Indians from Bihar, UP, MP and Orissa and other neighboring areas still cross the border into Nepal. Most of those recent migrants were found in towns and cities, where they are engaged in semiskilled labor and mercantile activities.

Since the beginning of nineteenth century, the migration trend has reversed its course. The hill areas that served as a refuge started experiencing the massive outflow of migrants to other parts of Nepal and to India. In the period around late 1800 to early 1900, men from the hill areas of what was then known as Gorkha migrated westwards to the city of Lahore in the northern region of Punjab. There they joined up as soldiers in the army of the Sikh Rajah, Ranjit Singh. Even today, those working abroad are popularly known as "lahures." The migration that has taken place since then can be grouped into two major types of migration. Permanent or lifetime migration occurred because of unfavorable political-economic conditions resulting indebtedness and hardships for the people. They moved out of the country to work in India and to acquire some land for permanent settlement. This occurred in the earlier periods, during the nineteenth century. After the opportunities to stay permanently ceased in India, people went there on a temporary or on a seasonal basis. The later two types of migration can also be called as circular migration.

Nepal in the 18th century was composed of many principalities (about 80) each ruled by feudal lords, mostly of the Chettri caste. These principalities were gradually united into a single country called Nepal. The unification process began in 1744 and ended in 1816. This unification process seemed to have brought misery to many common people in the country. The high taxes, *corvee* labour, and the need to work for the feudal lords made many people paupers. The indebtedness and lack of income to pay the taxes meant that many people left the country to work in India. The public land and forest was granted to government officials and high rank army personnel in the form of Birta and Jagir. The

peasants cultivating these lands paid very high taxes and shares. In addition, peasants also had to shoulder other taxes that were levied to pay the high expenses of the royal functions and feudal culture. This system also continued from 1846 to 1951, during which Ranas, a family having kinship with king of the country and obtaining hereditary prime-ministership within the family, ruled the country. They also distributed the land to their families and relatives and charged very high tax rates to the people. There were no developmental projects for the economic and social benefits of the people. Peasants were exploited in terms of *corvee* labour for the work related to the state and feudal lords. They also required to pay high shares on crop production to the landlords. Because of these exploitative agrarian relations and feudal political-economy, a large number of Nepalis fled the country and went into India. Many were heavily indebted due the practice of giving a larger part of the production to the landlords. The burden imposed by the war economy of the 'unification process' meant that they had to donate not only free labour, but also food for the army. To escape this burden, Nepalis went into India, especially to work in tea estates in Darjeeling and Assam, to reclaim forest land in Northeast including Sikkim and Bhutan. Some also went to work in coal mines in Bihar and West Bengal. This migration was undertaken with the aim of permanent settlement in destination places, and these early migrants had also been successful in their attempts, even though the recently, they have been facing problems.

Today, foreign labor migration has become an important component of national and household economy in Nepal. This has been recently realized when Nepal Living Standard Survey II reported that it is mainly the remittances that led to poverty reduction in the country. In a period of eight years from 1994/95 to 2003/04, poverty in the country has been reduced by 11 % point from 42 % to 31 % mainly because of remittance, increase in real wages in agriculture and urbanization.

Even though contribution of remittances and labor migration has been recently entered into government's account, people have been taken this as one of the livelihood strategies since long (almost 230 years). In the past, as is revealed from the discussions below, the main reason for migration was the political-economic conditions of the country and the exploitation that is evident in a feudalistic society. Extreme expropriation of taxes, *corvee* labor, debt and slavery were the reasons for migration. Even in a period when there was plenty of land for cultivation, common people and peasants were leaving the country to escape the debt, slavery and taxation. But since the 1950s, when the country opened itself to the outside world and took broadly the democratic or the monarchy guided political system, people went out to foreign countries for employment and income. As the population increased, the marginal nature of hill agriculture was not able to sustain the large population. Food security from the subsistence agriculture started to decline for most household. At present, Nepal's population is about 23 million with annual growth rate of 2.3 %. About 300,000 young people enter into the economy for employment every year. The existing agricultural system has not been able to provide employment to this growing population. Lack of development in industrial and service sectors, and growing dumping of mass-produced goods and subsidized agricultural products have rendered joblessness and disguised unemployment for many households. These are resulting into

out-migration. Moreover, for some out-migration is also an escape from the traditional agricultural sector.

Even though the country was, opened up to outside world in 1950, until 1990 the political system, called Panchayat Partless System, was like a monarchy guided political system. The basic philosophy espoused by the monarchy and the ruling elites was based on 'nationalism', broadly defined as 'bir' or brave people. The feudal elites and monarchy developed a discourse that Nepales people were brave ('bir') and they live in a pride despite poor in economy. The Panchayati system was again used to discourage migration and working in menial jobs in foreign countries, which was considered to bring shame to the country (Onta, 1996). They used to base this philosophy on the fact that the country had never been colonized by others. In Radio and other government media, one could hear and see the messages discouraging work, especially menial work, in foreign countries.

This concept very much helped in reducing the foreign labour migration, especially to third countries, except India, where government had better control. Until 1990 it was extremely difficult to get a passport, especially for the common people. They would not give passports to common people who would like to go abroad for work. As the government had little control on migration to India because of open border, Nepalis continued to migrate there for work and livelihood.

After 1990, when democratic government came into existence, the passport regime was liberalised. As the process of getting passport was simplified and it was easy for every one to get a passport, people who had connections or through 'recruitment agencies' could go abroad. As a result, outflow to foreign countries greatly increased. Moreover at this time, the availability of job opportunities in Gulf States and Newly Industrialized Countries had also increased.

Through out the history, migration had been undertaken mainly by male. Only in case of long-term and permanent migration, women and children have accompanied the males. But in recent times, especially since the mid 1990s, women's migration has also been growing. The changes in gender roles in the countries of destination like Malaysia, Singapour and in some Gulf States means that more and more women are now participating in formal jobs, requiring domestic maids to look after the house and children. This created opportunities for women to obtain jobs. It is estimated that about 34,000 women are working in different foreign countries except India (NIDS, 2004; see also Adhikari, 2005).

Maoist insurgency, which began in 1996, has also triggered migration from the rural areas to the towns and abroad. The conflict that has undergone in Nepal has forced a large number of people to leave their homes. Some of these internally displaced people have also gone into India. Estimate of number of internally displaced people (IDP) range from 50,000 to some 0.5 million. People are caught between government's army and Maoists have been facing serious problems, and they are leaving villages in large numbers.

2.1.1. Volume of emigration from Nepal:

In Nepal, the greatest problem is to quantify the number of people working abroad. One of the main sources about the number of people working away from the country is the census reports. According to latest census report (2001), there are about 0.76 million people termed as 'absentee population', staying away in foreign countries for more than six months. Volume of foreign migrant workers as represented by 'absentee population' in different censuses is shown in Table 2.1. In Nepal, still a high proportion of migrants are from 'hills and mountains', even though, the proportion of migration from Tarai, the plain south, is also increasing.

Census report does not take into account many types of migration like seasonal migration. Moreover, it has been estimated from government's record that many more people migrate to other countries. For example, Department of Labour has kept the record of people working abroad which states that every year more than one hundred thousand people migrate for work. In total it shows that more than 0.5 million people are working in foreign countries, except India. But the census data shows that only 0.17 million people work in foreign country except India.

Table 2.1: Foreign migrant workers (absentee population) in different census reports.

Year	Total Population	Absentee population	Absentee as % of total	Male	Female
1942	6,283,649	87,722	1.4	-	-
1952/54	8,473,478	198,120	2.34	173,619 (87.6)	24,501 (12.4)
1961	9,741,466	328,470	3.37	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-	-
1981	15,425,816	402,977	2.61	328,448 (81.5)	74,529 (18.5)
1991	19,149,387	658,290	3.44	548,002 (83.2)	118,288 (16.8)
2001	23,499,115	762,181	3.24	679,489 (89.2)	82,712 (10.8)

Source: CBS (1986, 1992, 2002) and Kansakar (2003a)

Table 2.2: Nepali foreign emigrants in different censuses according to the ecological belts of Nepal (%ages of total emigrants)

Ecological belts	1941	1952/54	1961	1981	1991	2001
Hills and Mountains	98.63	97.13	95.09	91.10	77.7	70.2
Tarai	1.49	2.87	4.91	8.90	22.3	29.8

Source: CBS (1986, 1992, 2002), Kansakar (2003a).

A study done by NIDS in 2003 revealed that about 2.2 million Nepali work in foreign countries including India. The study assumes that there are about 1.5 million (based on the average of various estimates) Nepali workers in India. The proportion of women in this migrant population is only about 10.2 % (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Number of people working abroad (excluding India) in 2002.

Region	Male		Number Female		Total
Asia	612,888	(93.14)	23,148	(67.09)	640,147 (91.84)
Gulf	461,854	(69.76)	3,650	(10.58)	465,504 (66.79)
East, Southeast	150,620	(22.75)	19,498	(56.51)	170,503 (24.46)
Other	4,140	(0.63)	-		4,140 (0.59)
Australia	8,000	(1.21)	2,000	(5.80)	10,000 (1.43)
Europe	29,582	(4.47)	6,256	(18.13)	35,838 (5.14)
Africa	580	(0.09)	-		580 (0.08)
North America	7,300	(1.10)	3,100	(8.98)	10,400 (1.49)
TOTAL (except India)	662,076	(100.00)	34,504	(100.00)	696,965 (100.00)
India	1,347,000	(88.4)	153,000	(11.6)	1,500,000 (100.00)
TOTAL	2,009,076	(89.8)	187,504	(10.2)	2,196,965 (100.00)

Source: NIDS, 2004. 'Mapping Women Foreign Labour Migrants in Nepal'. Unpublished report submitted to UNIFEM, Kathmandu.

Himal magazine in its special issue on labour migration (15-29 March, 2003) reports various types of jobs (other than in India) in which Nepali migrants are involved: laundry operator, quality checker, cleaner, transport labour, loan and unload worker, window cleaner, quality service, plumber, glass cutter, construction worker, steel welder, diesel mechanics, truck driver, pest controller, office boy, metal fitter, insulation labour, stone decorator, helper, technical plant operator, public area attendant, gardener, steel fabricator, machine operator, security men, press men, bell boy, carpenter, civil driver, sanitary and pipe technician, tire repairing men, house men, production men, cable joiner, loader, tire fitter, electrician and the like.

The other dimension of migration of Nepali citizens to other countries as 'human trafficking', mainly of the women, even though in recent past the incidences of girls and boys trafficking are also reported. This has taken place mainly from Nepal to India, but new incidences of such trafficking in Gulf States have also been reported. These women are taken from their place with the lure of lucrative jobs, but are forced to work in brothels. It is estimated that 5,000 to 7,000 girls are trafficked from Nepal to India and other neighbouring countries every year and about 200,000 Nepalis girls and women are currently working in the sex industry in India (UNIFEM, 1998). There are also groups of people who raise questions on these figures saying that it has taken place but to a much smaller scale. The various estimates of trafficking of Nepali women and girls are shown in Table 2.4. The problems associated with trafficking, mainly HIV/AIDS, has been a subject of much attention.

Behavioral surveys in the Terai, Nepal indicate an association of HIV with sex work and the trafficking of women to India and even abroad especially the Arabian countries. However, HIV prevalence amongst Nepali commercial sex workers (CSWs), located in the Terai, was found to be related to whether they had worked previously in India or not. Women who worked in commercial sex in Mumbai registered the highest HIV prevalence (50 percent), followed by those who worked in other areas of India (7.4 percent). Women sex workers who never worked in India had far lower prevalence (1.2

percent) than those who had worked in India.¹⁴ The male migrants particularly those who go to Indian cities (mainly Mumbai) for work are also vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. A study¹⁵ conducted in 2001 in Doti district in far western region found that 10 % of the male migrants returning from Mumbai had been infected with HIV. A large number of households from mid and far west Nepal participate in foreign labor migration as at least one or two male members of about 60-70 % households go to India, seasonally or temporarily, for work. Most of them go to Mumbai where a large proportion of CSWs have HIV. The situation found in Doti district is common to other districts of that region.

Table 2.4: Estimates of Trafficked Nepali Girls and Women for Sex Work

Sources*	No. Of girls/ women	Frequency/Time frame	Destinations
Acharya 1998 and Koirala 1999	200,000 40,000-50,000 60,000 17,000	- - - -	India Bombay Falkland Calcutta
Pokhrel 1999	250,000	-	India
SAFHR 1997	70,000-100,000	-	India
CWIN 1997	153,000 (in 1987) (20 percent children below 16 years) 100,000-200,000(1996)	-	India
CWIN 1997	100,000-160,000	-	India
Times of India 1989	100,000	-	India
Singh 1999	80,000-100,000	-	India
Pradhan 1991	27,000 21,000 3,480 4,700	- - - -	Calcutta Delhi Banaras Gorakhpur
STOP/Maiti 2002	5,000-11,000	Annually	-
CAC Nepal 2000	300,000	-	Globally
Ghimire 2002	5,000-7,000	Annually	-
PC and TAF 2001	5,000-7,000	Annually	-
STOP 2002	50,000	-	India
Population Council, Delhi 2001	200,000	-	Sex industry
LHRA and UNESCO 1997	Approximately 160,000		Working in Indian brothels
ILO/ IPEC 2001	12,000	Annually	-

Source: UNDP, 2004. Human Development Report. Appendix table. p 173

There is also controversy as to the number of women trafficked to India. According to a recent study (2005) conducted by Asmita Group, Kathmandu, there are not more than 25,000 Nepali women working in different brothels in India. This refutes the general saying that there are about 200,000 Nepali women in India involved in 'sex trade'. The study claimed that there are 12,500 Nepali women in Mumbai brothels, 300 in Delhi, 1300 in Kolkotta, 500 in Pune, and 8000 in all other cities in India (Asmita, 2005: 13-15).

¹⁴ AusAID, HIV/AIDS and STD Prevention and Awareness Project, www.ausaid.com.au

¹⁵ Poudal, K.C. et al 2001. *HIV/STIs Risk Behaviors Among Migrants in Doti District*. JICA, Kathmandu.

But in recent years, another phenomenon is growing. This is related to trafficking of young boys to work in India. The magnitude of this type of trafficking is still unknown.

2.1.2. Remittances entering into Nepal:

As with the number of workers, there is also uncertainty as to the volume of remittances entering the country. The estimates done by different studies vary widely. In recent years, government has also started estimating the contribution of remittances on the national account. But before that it was not included. In Table 2.5, estimates of remittances made by different sources have been summarized. It shows that estimates vary from Rs 35 billion to Rs 115 billion. But assuming that a significant number (more than a million) of Nepalis work in India, the remittances would be significant - about 14-25 % of the GDP.

Table 2.5: Estimates of remittances entering into Nepal.

Agency	Year	Amount (Rs billion)	%age of GDP	Reference
HMG	2003/04	66.5	14.06	Source: Economic Survey (Fiscal Year 2004/05). HMG/Ministry of Finance, 2005. Table 6.7, p.46.
Nepal Rastra Bank	2002	74	18.2	Kantipur (daily broadsheet), June 2002, p.9
<i>Himal Khabar Patrika</i>	2003	115	26.4	Himal Khabar Patrika, 15-29 March, 2003;
NIDS	1997	35*-69**	13-25	Seddon, Adhikari and Gurung, 2001. The New Lahures. Kathmandu: NIDS
Elvira and Seddon	2003-04	77-110	-	Elvira and Seddon (2005: 39)

*Assuming that only 250,000 Nepali work in India in public sector.

** Assuming that about a million Nepalis work in India in various sectors of the economy.

Focusing only on India, an estimate made in 1997 by Seddon, Adhikari and Gurung (2001) revealed that it ranged from Rs 6 billion (assuming 250,000 Nepali working in the public sector in India) to Rs 40 billion (assuming a million Nepalis work in India). After that study, there was no serious study on the remittances brought from India. Given that remittances are transferred through informal channels, it has also been difficult to make an estimate. A journalistic report published in *Himal Khabarpatrika* (Gaule, 2003:22-28) revealed that Rs 31 billion enters into Nepal from India. Here it was assumed that 2.4 million Nepali works in India and of them 1.4 million send remittances at the rate of Rs 1400 in a month. This would mean Rs 23 billion in a year. Similarly 48,000 were assumed to work in Indian army and 105,000 were considered as pension receiver for their past service in the army. This army service would bring Rs 8 billion in a year. In this estimate, the number of persons working in army and receiving pensions from army service and the remittances were reliable as they were obtained from authentic sources. The volume of migration and remittance from other types of migration was based on estimation.

Nepal Living Standard Surveys (NLSS) are also the sources of information on 'remittances' received by the households. Comparisons between NLSS I (1995/96) and NLSS II (2003/04) reveal interesting findings on the contribution of remittances on the household and national economy. This is presented in Table 2.6. The Table shows that Rs 12.9 billion was received as remittance in 195/96, which increased to Rs 46.3 billion in 2003/04. Per cent households receiving remittances increased to 31.9 from 23.4 in this eight year period. But these surveys also reveal the decline in the relative importance of India as a source of remittance. India's contribution to total remittances seems to have declined by about 10 % point in eight years period: from 32.9 % in 1995/96 to 23.2 % in 2003/04.

Table 2.6. Remittances by region of origin as revealed from NLSS surveys.

Description	1995/96	2003/07
% households receiving remittances	23.4	31.9
Average amount of remittance per recipient household (nominal Rs)	15,160	34,698
Share of remittances (%age)		
from Nepal	44.7	23.5
From India	32.9	23.2
From other countries	22.4	53.3
Share of remittance on the income of recipient households	26.6	35.4
Per capita remittance amount for all Nepal (nominal Rs)	625	2,100
Total remittances received in Nepal (nominal Rs)	12.9 billion	46.3 billion

Source: NLSS, 2003/04 Vol II. Table 15.0 (p. 74). (CBS, 2005). In another estimation made by Elvira Graner and David Seddon (2005: 39) share of the remittances from Gulf was estimated at 2.7 % in total remittances in 1995/96 and 26.5 % in 2003/04.

The remittance to Nepal is sent primarily through informal channels, even though the use of banks and formal financial institutions has been growing. Based on the amount of remittances coming from banking channel and the use of different modes of remitting money (which has been revealed from NLSS II), Graner and Seddon (1995: 44) have estimated remittances coming to Nepal. They assume, based on the opinion of the bankers, that about half of the Rs 58 billion remittances (as recorded by Nepal Rastra Bank, the central bank) come from banking channel and other from other modes. Using NLSS data which has clearly specified the relative importance of modes of remitting for people in different regions¹⁶, these authors have estimated (for the year 2003/04) that Rs 77 – 110 billion comes to Nepal as remittances (of this Rs 15-18 billion comes from India, Rs 26-41 billion from Gulf countries, Rs 20-28 billion from Malaysia, and Rs 16-23 billion from other foreign countries). This analysis shows that remittances from India might have been over-stated in the past, or conversely, there should be rapid decline in the money earned or sent to Nepal from India. But as the number of Nepalis going to India has increased in recent times, one would expect that the same level of remittance even in case there has been some reduction in the level of earning.

¹⁶ NLSS report shows that 92 % cases of remittances from India were made by 'personal carrying'. This is so in 60 % cases in Gulf and 31 % cases in Malaysia. 14 % cases in Malaysia and 9 % in Gulf countries have used 'hundi system'. 54.8 % cases in Malaysia and 25.9 % cases in Gulf countries used banking system for the transfer of money (see Graner and Seddon (1995: 43).

2.1.3. Institutions involved in labour migration:

Even though the government has a separate Ministry (Ministry of Labour and Transportation) to look after the migration, it has no control on migration between Nepal and India. There is Department of Labour under the Ministry to look after the welfare and regulation of the foreign as well as domestic labour. But when it comes to migrants between Nepal and India, there is no regulation except for the 1950 Friendship Treaty. Along the borders, there are 12 check posts, where police and immigrant officials may interrogate the person, but are not allowed to restrict the movements. In few cases a pass or any proof of identity may be asked, but this is the personal discretion of the officials. When there was an intensive conflict, there was also a recording system maintained, and Indian officials asked for a letter from authorized persons in India stating the identity of the person.

There are recruiting agencies in Nepal who help the persons to go for employment in overseas countries. But they do not work for those who want to go to India. Personal network is the primary conduit for securing employment in India.

Nepal has developed an Act in 1985 and revised in 2001 to regulate the foreign labor migration. However, this Act has no relevance for the migration between Nepal and India. The 1950 Treaty between Nepal and India precludes all other legal instruments.

2.2. Migration of Nepalis to India:

2.2.1 The early migration:

The oppressive land and labor policies developed in the 18th and 19th centuries in combination with population pressure (Shrestha, 1985 and Poffenberger 1980) caused economic hardships to many village households which led to their migration, permanent as well as temporary, to other areas of Nepal and abroad. Various historical accounts reveal that permanent emigration accelerated after the 1850s, particularly across the border to Sikkim, Bengal, Assam, Darjeeling, Bhutan, and Burma (Caplan, 1970; Nakane, 1966; Poffenderger, 1980). Caplan (1970) has noted that by 1891 about half the population in Darjeeling was of Nepalis origin. These people provided the greater part of the labour force for the tea states located in that region and similarly contributed to the tea industry in Bengal and Assam (Shrestha 1990). The vast majority of these Nepalis emigrants consisted of former slaves and debtors. They left the country in response to the administration's demand for compulsory, unpaid labour and in response to the harassment they faced from landlords and creditors in their home villages. In addition to their work on tea estates, Nepalis migrants to India in the 19th century were also heavily involved in the development of the coal mining industry in adjoining provinces, particularly Bihar and Bengal. It is also reported that they made significant contributions to land reclamation and resettlement in

some parts of India. At the beginning, the British government was instrumental in encouraging their permanent settlement in India. But later on British administrators promulgated relatively harsh policies on citizenship, ownership of property and its security. As a result, the migration of this kind did not continue for long.

Migration had been a resource for families unable to sustain themselves by agricultural production alone, whether for reasons for decreasing viability of land holdings or excessive appropriation of production by the state through taxation and *corvee*. For example, in the eastern Nepal, the Gorkhali conquerors brought new people in the Majkirant and Pallo Kirant. They also confiscated community lands like Kipat, which led to large scale of emigration of indigenous peoples to India.

Darjeeling became the popular destination of the hill people for a number of reasons. The wages were somewhat better. For example, in 1860, the monthly earning for plantation workers ranged between Rs 4 to Rs 8, depending upon the capacity to work. Rs 2 was enough to feed the family. Apart from that, they were also provided with land grants and subsidized rice. Housing and medical facilities were provided. As plantation economy was flourished, education was provided to the children, whereas this was only a privilege of the elites. This work also encouraged the migration of families, because there was work for people of all ages in the plantation. Even children could be used. Therefore, there was a kind of permanent migration. The seasonal employment was also available, but was mainly in road construction and wood cutting. Portering and seasonal agricultural work also available as more food was needed for the growing population. Even though there was no problem with the supply of labour in Darjeeling, but the same problem was recorded in Assam, where indigenous people did not work in the tea states, and they also used narcotics like opium. When government opened for immigration, Nepalis took up the work of herders, rubber tapers, sawyers and colonized the land as independent cultivators. (English, 1992: 254-260).

In the beginning, Darjeeling was mainly dominated Nepalis. The perception among the Nepalis 'money is produced in tea plants' led to the increase in Nepali immigrants in Darjeeling. Kumar Pradhan further writes based on records of English writer Hooker (cited in Pradhan, 2004)

'The Nepalis, of whom there were many residing as British subjects in Dorjiling, were mostly runaways from their won country, and afraid of being claimed, should they return to it, by the lords of the soil..... Jung Bahadur levied a force of 6,000 of them, who were cantoned at Kathmandoo, where the cholera breaking out, carried off some hundreds, causing many families who dreaded conscription to flock to Darjeeling (p. 8).

As the number of tea states increased so was the number of Nepalis, but at the same time number of people born in India declined as the time passed. In 1872 there were 74 tea states, in 1890 177 estates, from 1905-1935, there were 148 tea estates. In 1891 there were 223,314 population of which 88,000 were Nepalis. In 1931, there were 319,635 people of which 134,000 were Nepali. In 1931 population was 445260, 223088 Nepali, of

which 749 were born in Nepal. In 1941, total population was 376,369, of which 67.6 % was Nepali, and of them 45.6 % worked in tea estates (Pradhan, 2004: 10). The plantations in Darjeeling that emerged in 1850s expanded because of the steady supply of Nepali labourers which would come without formalities and cost for immigration. The various superintendents had also encouraged Nepali immigration and settlement there. The British administrators also encouraged settlements of Nepalis in the hills stations in Darjeeling and Shillong. They were also given rice plots. This was especially so in Assam, which led to the creation of Nepali settlements there. In Kangra valley, Nepalis were also settled without the need to pay for the land. This access to arable land was the main attraction for Nepalis. For example, Subedi notes that 'in the past, many Nepalis emigrated to India not because they perceived wage differentials but because of their search for arable land for which North and Northeast India became the potential destinations. As a result, people from the hills of Nepal colonized the relatively poor, sparsely settled interior parts of Sikkim, West Bengal, Assam and Kangra valley of India' (Mandal 1981 cited in Subedi 1991 85). They prepared land for rice cultivation by the native people. They also settled near urban areas and practiced dairy farming and wet rice cultivation. Therefore, Nepali labourers were in high demand (Dahal and Mishra, 1987). In Sikkim also, immigration of Nepalis increased rapidly because of access to land. According to Kanskar, the Nepalis accounted for over a quarter of Sikkim's population at the end of 19th century – and were eventually to come to constitute two-thirds of the population of Sikkim, making the original Bhutia-Lepcha of Sikkim a minority in their own country (Kansakar, 1984: 52). On the other hand, Nepali government was concerned about the use of the Nepali immigrants in India as slaves and bonded labourers. Therefore, they had also imposed restriction on the use of Nepali migrants in the army and on the tea states, except for the members of 'low caste' Dalits like Damai, Sarki, Kami and Gaine groups. Therefore, planters used all kinds of incentives to attract labourers and created barriers, including 'physical coercion' to prevent leaving the plantations.

The migrants in Darjeeling, Benaras, and other parts of India were concerned with their low status, particularly of their language. The unity among the Nepalis or awareness of 'Nepali identity' and 'nationalism' was then begun in India. They started to write about their language and the 'bir' or brave history. This particular writing of Nepali history as a 'history of bravery' was ushered to improve the status of Nepali and Nepali language in British India by the temporary and permanent Nepali immigrants. Nepali migrants who had been living in Benaras and Darjeeling in the first two decades of this century had developed this foundation for 'bir history' and promoting Nepali language.

Because of the lowly status given to Nepali and Nepali language, these groups of people felt a need for self-improvement. Nepali working at that in India (also in Nepal) were not educated and their language was looked down upon by the speakers of other languages. Therefore the discourse at that time was centered on 'general education' and 'progress of Gorkha language' as twin strategy for jati improvement. Since 1920s, this was applied towards familiarizing the Nepalis in India of their own history – both literary and political (Onta, 1996). Kumar Pradhan also mentions that in India, particularly Darjeeling, Nepali language has helped in integrating various ethnic groups. He writes:

It will not be amiss to mention that in India the Nepali language has helped to bring about a closer integration of the Kirats, Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Brahmans, Chettris and others. The Nepali language is spoken there as the first language or 'the mother tongue' (p. 8).

2.2.2 Migration for army job in India:

In the course of their invasion of Nepal after 1814, the army of the British East India Company had several confrontations with the Nepalis (Gorkhali) army which led them to respect the military skills and bravery of the members of some Tibetao-Burman group, who were extensively deployed in the army. Nepalis then started working in British-Indian army formally. This service also brought income in the form of remittances and pensions, but with some price in the form of loss of human resource, especially during the Wars. Until the 1850s, Nepali rulers were reluctant to send their people to work in the foreign armies. Therefore, they did not co-operate. They restricted Nepalis to enlist in the armies. But people fled the country to enlist. They were under severe pressure to do that because of the reasons explained above. Their economic conditions were severely shattered because of the exploitation from the state and local feudal social structure. To get the advantage of this situation, The East India Company had established the recruitment camp along the borders with Nepal, so that they can easily go there under various excuses and enlist. Moreover, many of those who worked in Indian armies stayed in India after the retirement. In fact they were encouraged to do that. The children of these people also worked in the armies. But after the 1850s, Rana rulers of Nepal gave not only permission to come and recruit Nepali in their army, but also supported this process. They sent orders to their regional officers to gather people for the enlistment and encouraged people to work in the foreign armies. This was done basically to sustain their regime as British East India Company's friendship was crucial for their survival and also for the independence of the country.

It is not known exactly as to how many Nepalis worked in the British Indian army in the initial periods. But their numbers certainly grew during the World Wars. Just before the First World War, it is reported that there were about 23,000 Nepalis working in the army. For example, Major Nicolay reported in 1st January 1913 that there were 18,142 Gurkhas serving in the Indian Army, 1,028 in Imperial Service troops, 5,135 in the Military Police of Assam Bengal and Burma. This made a total of 24,305 Gurkhas in all. Of this number, 22,348 men were from Nepal. By 1914, at the outbreak of the First World War, there were some 26,000 men from the hills of Nepal serving in the 10 Gurkha Regiments. Because of the war, there was a need to increase the number of soldiers from Nepal. The Nepali rulers easily supported the British ambition. Six recruiting centres were immediately opened in the hills: two in the east in Ilam and Dhankuta, three in the west in Pokhara, Palpa and Syangja, and one in the far west, in Doti. This number was increased to ten in subsequent years. The Kathmandu Valley and adjoining districts - where recruitment was normally prohibited - were opened up, and a temporary recruitment depot was opened in Kathmandu itself. Throughout the war, 200,000 recruits were raised in all (Landon 1928; Bishop 1952; Morris 1963: 39), including the greater part of Nepal's own army. Nepal also supplied soldiers of

its own and other helpers. In total it is estimated that 243,000 Nepalis worked in the British army in the First World War. This caused a great drain of people from the hills of Nepal. Kansakar argues that "the magnitude of the movement of the Gurkhas for recruitment in the Indian and the Nepali armies (Nepal also assisted the British by sending its own army) was so great that able-bodied males from the villages of the martial races (Magars and Gurungs) were difficult to get during the war (Bruce 1928: xxvii). The drain of manpower led to the deterioration of agriculture and food supply in the hills as well as loss of government revenue from the land. Moreover there was difficulty of getting back the Gurkhas discharged from the army service, because most of them stayed back in India to work either as watchmen, or even to work in the police under the government, or in other positions available to them. Also many Indian merchants relied on the Gurkhas as honest and loyal servants" (Kansakar 1984: 52).

Even though a large number of Nepalis worked in British army, they did not benefit much. There was a problem of human loss, and many returned as disabled persons because of injuries. They also did not benefit much in terms of pensions as they retired before being eligible for that. Moreover, the then Prime Minister, Chandra Shumshere Rana, used to hand over to the soldiers only one tenth of the salary he received for them, and that also in local currency (Bhandari 1990: 490, cited in Adhikari & Bohle 1999: 59). Because of shortage of labour, food production in the hills declined. Land remained fallow. However, there is no evidence as to the impact of this on the people's lives (Adhikari & Bohle 1999: 63).

When the Second World War threatened in 1938, the Nepalis government offered more of its citizen to the British army. Again it is not known exactly how many Nepalis worked in British army during the World War II. Bolt (1967) argues that some additional 160,000 Nepalis were recruited in the army in different recruitment centres. In addition, in early 1940, Nepal sent eight Battalions of the Nepalis Army to India, for service on the frontier to release regular troops. In mid 1940, the British government sought permission to recruit 7,000 Gurkhas for six new Battalions during the recruiting season of 1940-41. This was in addition to the 3,500 recruits needed annually to maintain the existing Gurkha Regiments. By 1943, the 20 battalions existing before 1940 were expanded to form a total of 51 battalions, comprising 44 infantry and parachute battalions, six training battalions and one garrison battalion (Mansergh & Moon 1980: 865). This certainly might have put a large pressure in Nepal. This is evident from a letter written to Indian Commander-in-Chief, A. P. Wavell by the Nepalis Prime Minister pointing out that "from a small hill country like ours the supply of 65,000 recruits in the course of the last three years is certainly a notable achievement" (cited in Rathaur 1995: 102). It now can be safely said that Nepal had sent more than 350,000 of its citizens to work in British army during the World War II. Kansakar suggests that "it was difficult to get able-bodied men not only from the lands of the Gurung and Magar, but also from the lands of the Rai and Limbu" (Kansakar 1984: 53). Certainly, this number of recruits was possible only by opening up for recruitment new areas which had hitherto been prohibited. More than 10,000 Nepalis soldiers died during the war. Kansakar reports that the Gurkha casualties numbered 24,000 (Kansakar 1984: 53). Besides these casualties, 40,000 were wounded or otherwise incapacitated (Bolt 1967).

With the end of the war, all of the specially raised Gurkha Battalions were disbanded. But there was greater difficulty than ever before in getting discharged soldiers to return to their homes, and a large number of the Gurkhas 'demobilised' in 1946-47 made only short visits to their homes before returning to India in search of civilian employment. One of the reasons for doing that was that these early discharged people did not receive pension. They were provided with meagre compensation. To maintain the family in the hills, they started to take civilian employment, because they knew about these opportunities when they worked in the army.

After India won independence from Great Britain in 1947, Gorkha regiment was divided between the British and Indian governments. Of the ten Gorkha regiments, four were retained by the British government and six were taken by the Indian government. The motive behind keeping the Gorkha army by the Indian government was to control the communal and religious separatist movements. India until now has been keeping Nepali citizens in its Gorkha army. There are at present about 48,000 serving in the army, and there are about 105,000 receiving pension (Gaule, 2003: 15-23). They receive about Rs 8 billion annually in pay and pension.

It is only after 1947 that army jobs were very much liked by Nepalis. It proved a good source of income and security to those who were selected for the work. Remittance and pension means stability in the income flow to the families whose member(s) were involved in the work. Therefore, recruitment after the World War II was purely an attraction caused by 'pull factor'. But before that it was a result of push factors. The service in the army had also been a considerable 'dukh' (pain) for the families. As a result, quitting and desertion from the job was also common. Onta suggests that 'the cases of desertion sporadically reported in the 19th century sources indicate that the Gorkha soldiers were prepared to go to considerable personal risk in abandoning the army' (1994: 26). As a matter of fact, prior to 1947, recruitment was not voluntary. There seems to have been considerable forced recruitment. Incentives of various kinds were given both to recruiters and to those being recruited (Onta, 1994: 26). Many recruiters enlisted without parent's consent. Pignede (1993: 253) reports from his study in the mid 1950s in a village in west-central Nepal that 85 % of the boys had left village without their father's consent. He further wrote 'the mother does not like to see her son enrol in the army. She is frightened when she thinks of him living in a foreign country, where everything is different. She also knows that a certain number of soldiers never returned to the village, whether because they die during service or because they have settled down in India' (1993: 254). In similar line, Mary des Chene had interviewed a woman born in 1889. The woman had said 'now it is different, but in my time everyone who left was lost. They walked out of our Gurung country and got lost. They died there or they got lost. My father, I never knew him. He was coming home, we heard, but then he died too. My elder brother, my younger brother, my sister's son. All died. Many many others too. So many' (cited in Onta 1994: 26; see also Des Chene, 1998). Similarly, in an informal chat in 1998, Santi Gurung (age 58) of Ghandruk said:

My father was army man. When I was 2 months old, he died in the war. My mother did not get pension. Then all the burden of work fell upon my mother. She looked after the house, farm and goth (animals).

While conducting a study on 'Ama Toli' (mothers/women's groups) in Ghandruk and Sikles, I came to know that absence of male in these village led to the management responsibility on women who had started co-operation on various aspects of life. Women were then forced to manage both social as well as family works. This co-operation had helped in forming 'Ama Tolis', which have been able for the development of villages. The co-operation developed in the past may be taken as a coping mechanism to mitigate the 'dukh' of different types brought by the loss of village young men¹⁷.

2.2.3. Growth in civilian employment in India:

When they knew about the opportunities in India in relation to hard lives in the hills, the retired army persons from the World War I started to search for civilian employment in India itself. They found that they could earn quadruple the amount by taking positions as watchmen, and so forth, in India. They could live in greater comfort than was possible in the hills, although there was a problem of hot climate. Therefore, there disincentives for these people to return home (Brook Northey, 1937; Morris 1933; Brook Northey & Morris, 1927).

Not only were many ex-Gurkhas choosing to enter into civilian employment rather than return home, many were now more critical both of the status quo, both in India and particularly in their own country, than they had been before the War. Indeed, Uprety suggests that these war veterans brought a new element to the critical Nepalis intelligentsia in India (Uprety, 1992: 37). Nepalis intellectuals in Benares, who had started a Nepali language newspaper in 1907, published a feature article which accused Chandra Shumshere of taking no interest in the development of Nepal, which led to out-migration of people to India.

Civilian employment opportunities in India began to become more available during the 1920s, in part as a result of the 'free movement of labour' encouraged by the 1923 Treaty and in part as a result of economic growth in India itself. From the east of Nepal, migration to the tea estates of Darjeeling continued. Migrant labour included women as well as men, and Brook Northey and Morris observed that "those who obtain employment in such occupations as picking tea in the Darjeeling and other tea districts almost invariably prove to be capable and industrious workers" (Brook Northey & Morris 1927: 97). Some Nepalis were then allowed to go abroad for university education and professional training. Irrespective of reasons it is clear that labour migration from Nepal to India had become a major phenomenon by the mid 1920s. For many, this was an indication of the 'underdevelopment of Nepal'; for others, greater exposure to outside influences (such as were facilitated by foreign travel and employment) was welcomed.

Migration to India certainly grew during the 1920s, and by the early 1930s, it was estimated that about one Nepalis-born person in twenty was living in India (Seddon 1987: 25). But, if the majority were employed in menial jobs in the cities of north India, as the Nepali

¹⁷ Even though there is some evidence that there were some regimental homes for the recruits, but they were grossly insufficient. There was also controversy as to employment of people born and brought up (called line boy) in such regimental homes.

intellectuals has observed, some at least were able to find a distinctive niche in other sections.

Mountaineering and the development of Darjeeling as a mountaineering centre had also attracted Nepalis to work there. Therefore, besides tea estate workers, Nepalis, especially Sherpas from the eastern hill region, also migrated to Darjeeling to obtain portering work for the mountaineering teams.

Throughout the 1930s, migration to India continued, and increased. According to the 1941 Indian census, Nepal provided 45 per cent of the foreign immigrants into India. According to the 1941 census of Nepal, 81,817 Nepalis (or 1.7 per cent of the enumerated population of Nepal) were reported away from home for six months or more.

Migration of people from Nepal to India whether for army, or for civil employment, or for education, also led to import of new political ideas in the country. Those ex-army people who returned to Nepal helped in bringing down the autocratic government of the Ranas, because they were, during the course of employment in India, exposed to freedom movement. This political consciousness was important for Nepal too. Indeed, many Gurkhas, after leaving the British army, joined the ranks of the Indian National Army of Subhash Chandra Bose. At the same time, many Nepali intellectuals and others studying and working in India, joined the freedom movement. Man Mohan Adhikari and B. P. Koirala had joined the Quit India movement.

Despite, Nepalis contribution to Independence movement, they, who constituted one of the largest minority groups in India, were not assured of any minority rights, as they were not recognised as a community in India despite their presence in the country for generations. In order to safeguard the interests of Nepalis living in India, the All India Gurkha League was reformed as a political party in June 1943 (Muni 1992). Initially supportive of the Raj, the League became progressively anti-British, and actively participated in the independence movement after 1945. Moreover, Gurkhas, even though they had worked with strict impartiality to control different religious and political movements, were not liked in some places. They had saved millions of lives also. But the Bengal ministry exposed the Gurkhas to considerable abuse in the press. In Bengal, the slogan directed towards the Gurkhas was: Hindustan for the Hindus, Pakistan for the Muslims and Kabaristan (graveyard) for the Gurkhas (Kansakar 1984: 55).

2.2.4. Magnitude of migration from Nepal to India: census reports and other sources:

One source of information about migration could be the census reports prepared by the government in every 10 years. Nepal conducted first of its census in 1911, but detailed analysis can only be obtained from the census of 1942 onwards. But in every census, new variables are added depending upon the need for social and demographic analysis at the time of census.

Census generally cover the headcounts of the people from the families that were absent from home in the last six months. These people are called absentee population. The absentee population living in India can be considered as emigrants and presence of foreign born population in the country is taken as immigration. Since absentee population are those who stay abroad for more than six months, many of the seasonal migration may not be covered by the census. Accordingly, an attempt has also been to analyze the seasonal migration in the next section.

Table 2.7 shows the emigration of Nepali population to India. Of the total 'absentee population', about 80 – 90 % had gone to live in India. Data from two censuses were not available for this analysis in two census periods – 1961 and 1971. But the information from other censuses clearly shows that a majority of Nepali 'absentee population' goes to India. Among the people living in India, more than 80 % were males in various census periods.

Table 2.7: Emigration from Nepal to India in different census periods.

Census	Absentee population living in India ¹⁸	%age on total absentee pop. of the country	Male	Female
1952/54	157323	79.4	87.7	12.3
1981	375196	93.1	82.1	17.9
1991	587243	89.2	83.8	16.2
2001	589050	77.3	88.4	11.6

(Source: Kansakar, 2003a: 110-113)

A large number of absentee population going to India or to all foreign countries are mainly from the western development region. About 45 % of the migrants going to India came from this region alone. The other areas are far-west and mid-west regions. But considering the seasonal migration also, the later regions' participation in emigration to India is very high. But the census data do not cover this seasonal migration which is generally much less than the six months (Table 2.8).

¹⁸ There is also discrepancy as to the reporting of people of Nepali birth living in India by census surveys in Nepal and India. In 1952/54 Nepali census showed that there were 157323 Nepali absentee population living in India, but a census conducted in 1951 in India reported that 278,972 Nepali-born people (61 % male and 39 % female) were living there. In 1961, Nepali census reported that 302,162 absentee population were living in India, but the Indian census reported that 498,836 (83 % in UP, Bihar and WB). In 1981 census, there were 37516 Nepali people living in India, but Indian census showed that 501292 Nepali-born people were living in India. This shows that Indian censuses have generally reported higher number of Nepalis living in India.

Table 2.8: Sources of emigration from Nepal (% emigrants from different regions of Nepal) in 2001 census

Country	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-western	Far-western
India	11.4	10.9	44.68	15.28	17.83
Total	16.0	14.1	43.54	12.43	13.91

Source: (CBS, 2001)

The main reason for migration from Nepal to India is stated as 'personal service'. A large majority (65 %) of absentee migrants in India have stated this as a reason for migration. The second important reason was 'institutional service'. It should also be reckoned that a significantly a large majority (14 %) did not give any specific answer (Table 2.9). As many people, especially women' also go to India because of trafficking and to working brothels, they may be hesitant to give the reason. As many as 200,000 women from Nepal are said to be involved in this profession in India and every year 5,000-7,000 women are considered to be trafficked there.

Table 2.9: Reasons for emigration from Nepal to India (% emigrants for different reasons) in 2001 census.

Country	Agri.	Business	Personal service	Institution service	Study/training	Marriage	Others
India	1.3	1.8	65.4	11.7	3.3	2.2	14.3
Total	1.0	1.6	66.4	12.4	4.1	1.8	12.6

Source: (CBS, 2001)

The general feeling with regard to data obtained from census is that it does not represent the reality. Various reports and newspapers articles reveal that there are anywhere between 1.8 million to 3 million Nepali migrant workers south of the border¹⁹. A report based on study of Nepali migrants and their associations revealed that there must be at least 3 million Nepali population working in different sector in India. However, this was not believed by Dahal. He argues that if 3 million Nepali people work in India, this must be about 64 % of adult males (15-59 years) of the country in 1991. He considers this as just impossible (*ibid*). But another study reveals that there are more than 2.5 million nepalis working in India (Bhattarai and Adhikari, 2003: 33). Their study in five villages in far west Nepal had revealed that 70 % households had at least a member working in India. Based on this assumption for the rural areas only, they had come to that figure of 2.5 million, which is a quarter of the 'economically active population'. As the migrants are mainly male, it is about half of the 'economically active males'. Regarding the regional distribution of Nepalis in India, they had estimated the number by consulting the Nepali associations and came to this conclusion. There are 0.2 million Nepalis in each of Delhi and the vicinity, Surat-Badoda and Ahmdabad, West Begal, Northeast India, and South India. There are 0.1 million Nepalis in each region of Punjab, Himanchal Pradesh,

¹⁹ <http://www.himalmag.com/jan97/lies.htm> Dilli Ram Dahal, Himal Magazine, Jan.Feb 1997.

Andhra Pradesh, Uttarchanchal, and Uttar Pradesh. Nepali population was estimated in each of Mumbai (Kalyan and Vivandi) and Bihar as 0.3 million. The total in other places was estimated at 0.4 million (ibid: 31).

The migration from the mid and far west of Nepal to India is indeed high, though this is a kind of seasonal employment. When the author had visited Dailekh district in mid west Nepal in 2005, he discovered from the government's district profile that virtually every household has one or two members working in India, with the men often rotating. The district profile indicated that 30,890 workers out of a total adult male population of 38,433 had travelled to India for seasonal employment in 1998. Seasonal employment was more common, and it occurred during the slack farm season (December to April) in the district. The remittances, brought back personally or sent through friends, were used for consumption purposes, both food (mainly rice) and non-food (clothes, shoes, etc.).

The main work a large proportion of Nepalis do in India is the 'security guard'. But now the young ones also work in a variety of works – from dish washing to cooking food. Portering is another common work. Portering is to be done in small lanes where motor transport is not accessible, and for this Nepalis are commonly employed. In North India (like Uttarchal, Himanchal and Jammu Kashmir), which is a common destination of Nepali workers – both temporary and seasonal, portering is very much common (Upreti, 2002: 11). This is locally called palledars. Nepalis also carry people visiting religious places in high altitude areas. As a matter of fact, young and strong Nepali were found to like portering, and it was told to the author that in this work they can get their wages immediately after the potering work is over. Moreover, they can also earn more as the wages are paid based on the volume of the work. Industrial wage labouring is another work Nepalis are doing in India. Apart from army jobs, Nepalis are also involved as agricultural labourers in Punjab, Haryana and Himanchal Pradesh. In Delhi Dabas (restaurants), one can find Nepali boy as young as 12-17 years working as server of food or dish washer. Their working environment is very dirty and they seem to suffer from various health problems. Because of the large number of Nepalis working in Indian cities, it is possible to order food in Nepali language. In Paharjung, Delhi, Nepali boys are seen inviting other Nepali guests for food in their restaurants. Generally, 'security guards' earn higher level of earning. They generally earn Rs 4000-5000 a month. Some also work only with food and shelter. A large number of people who had gone to India because of the conflict generally work in this arrangement. Those who work in restaurant may get Rs 1500 to Rs 2000. Nepalis having some education get more salary as they can read and write. Therefore, the caste and class status in Nepal also determines the nature of work and salary in India (ibid: 25).

Despite unemployment in India itself, Indian households and firms still employ Nepali mainly as 'security guards' because many people still believe that Nepalis from the hills are simple, honest, loyal, brave and hard working. Apart from that there are many added advantage in employing the Nepali. For example, they do not go home regularly and thus are available for work all the time. They also do not have links with local gangsters. They do not organize themselves for mass bargaining. Nepalis also do not generally have to compete with other immigrants like Bengalis. The later have the necessity to work inside the house as they cannot work without proper permission from the government.

There is a broad correlation between regional background of the Nepali workers and the destination in India. The historical reasons are also there for this pattern of regional distribution in India. Nepalis from east Nepal have a tendency to go to Northeast in India. Those from western Nepal (for example Syanjya district and westward) show a tendency to go to Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarchanchal, Punjab and Gujrat. Nepalis from Bajhang mainly go to Bangalore. Nepalis from central Nepal (like Ramechhap, Dolkha) generally work in Kolkota, Darjeeling and Sikkim. More people from western hills go to Mumbai. For example, a major destination of Nepalis of Accham (and to some extent of the Dailekh and Doti) is Mumbai. People from Manang and Mustand and Karnali region also seasonally travel to Ludhiana and Benras to purchase goods which they sold as mobile traders in Nepal and India.

2.2.5. Seasonal migration between Nepal and India:

Seasonal migration, which is generally of less than six months duration at a time, is not covered in the census reports. Even though there is a huge flow, there are no accounts of the seasonal migrants. The primary reason for seasonal migration is due to the interest to maximize family income by using labour effectively during the off season. A study done by Gill in 2001 shows that seasonal migrants from Nepal mostly go to Punjab, Hariyana and UP where work is available for the cultivation and harvesting of wheat and rice crops (Gill, 2001). These are also the green revolution areas demanding more seasonal labour. Harvesting and post-harvesting of wheat and land preparation and transplanting of rice are the general works done here. Delhi is considered as the most popular urban destination. Himanchal Pradesh is also a horticulturally developed region, and Nepali migrants here work on apple, potatoes and other vegetables. In non-farm sector, Nepali seasonal migrants are involved mainly in road construction, especially in high mountain areas like Ladakh and Himanchal Pradesh. In urban areas, Nepali migrants work in low skilled jobs like general labouring, factory works, rikshaw pulling, small trade, and night security. Small numbers Nepali migrant also go to other states like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Mumbai, Kolkotta, Gurjat, Sikkim and West Bengal. Given that Indian seasonal labourers also come to Nepal (see next Chapter), question arises as to why seasonal labour flows take place across the border between Nepal and India. Indian migrants from poverty-stricken Bihar have been traditionally working in Tarai as seasonal farm labourers. They are considered hardworking and industrious (see above). They work mostly on contract basis. Gill (2001) argues that seasonal migration between Nepal and India takes place from poorer regions to richer reasons. For example, Nepalis do not go to Bihar, but to west UP and Punjab, from where Indians do not come to Nepal. But Indians from poorer regions like Bihar and eastern UP come to Nepal for work.

2.2.6. Remittances from India:

There is no study focused on 'remittances' that enters into Nepal from India. Since there is no certainty as to the number of Nepalis people working in India, it is difficult to estimate the remittances. As many Nepalis work as casual labourers, it is also difficult to estimate

their income and savings. The first estimate so far made was that of Seddon, Adhikari and Gurung (2001) in 1997. The amount estimated by this study ranged from Rs 6 billion (assuming 250,000 Nepali working in the public sector in India) to Rs 40 billion (assuming a million Nepalis work in India). Another source was that of *Himal Khabarpatrika* (2003, 15-29 March: 22-45) which reveals that Rs 31 billion enters into Nepal from India. Here it was assumed that 2.4 million Nepali works in India and of them 1.4 million send remittances at the rate of Rs 1400 in a month. This would mean Rs 23 billion in a year. Similarly 48,000 were assumed to work in Indian army and 105,000 were considered as pension receiver for their past service in the army. This army service would bring Rs 8 billion in a year. In this estimate, the number of persons working in army and receiving pensions from army service and the remittances were reliable as they were obtained from authentic sources. The volume of migration and remittance from other types of migration was based on estimation.

The Nepal Living Standard Surveys (NLSS) in 1994/95 and 2003/04 provided information as to remittances from India. But these surveys also reveal a decline in the relative importance of India as a source of remittance. India's contribution to total remittances seems to have declined by about 10 % point in eight years period: from 32.9 % in 1995/96 to 23.2 % in 2003/04. Graner and Seddon (1995: 44) have estimated that in 2003-04, remittances from India could be about Rs 15-18 billion. This is less than the estimates made in the past (eg. 40 billion Rs in 1997 – see above). This analysis shows that remittances from India might have been over-stated in the past, or conversely, there should be rapid decline in the money earned or sent to Nepal from India. But as the number of Nepalis going to India has increased in recent times, one would expect that the remittances might have increased. The increase in Nepali migrants in India in recent times was for survival requirements, and they could not or did not remit money in all likelihoods.

The average value of remittance estimated by NLSSs for a household participating in the work in India was estimated at Rs 10,523 (i.e., monthly I.Rs 548) in 1995/96 and Rs 18,414 (i.e., monthly I. Rs 959) in 2003/04. According to these surveys, the average value of remittance seems to have increased (which is surprising given the decline in wages in India in general), the contribution of remittances seems to have decreased as Nepal now receives more remittances from Gulf and other foreign countries. Some micro-level studies done in India reveal that the remittances estimated in NLSSs are rather over-estimation. The salary in India has now declined by almost half because of two reasons. Firstly, there is a competition among Nepalis because of their increased population in India. Secondly, the public sector which used to pay high and was secure is being reduced in size because of 'privatization and liberalization' policy of the government. Many Nepalis who had better income in the past are now forced to have less income from their job. The salary structure in private sector is rather low and for most Nepali it is now difficult to generate 'savings'. Therefore, a large proportion of recent immigrant Nepalis in India do not send any money home. In this context, the estimation of NLSSs seems rather high (Roka, 2005). He quotes an excerpt of a speech given by Mr

Rajendra Ravi, director of Lokayan, a popular discussion and research center in Delhi (2005:6):

'In Delhi, Nepali migrants increased by three folds - from about 78,000 to about 250,000 - within seven and half years, and competition within them to get the job is very high'.

The impact of this tough competition is seen in the wage rates or salary. For example, Roka quotes the opinion of Mr Jaya lal Sharma of 'All India Nepali Unity Society' (Akhil Bharat Nepali Akta Samaj – Mul Prabaha):

'After Maoist insurgency there is tough competition within Nepali even in lower kind of job such as Dhaba (restaurant) boys, and Chaukidar (security guard). Previously, the monthly earnings per person was, on average, I Rs 3,000 for Chaukidar and Rs 1500 for Dhaba boy. But now it has decreased by almost half.'(2005:6).

Chapter III

Migration from India to Nepal

Indian migration to Nepal dates back to several centuries. The movement of people for religious reasons and due to wars and conflicts was common. This was also one of the causes of early migration of Indians to Nepal. Indians had also come to Nepal even before the unification of the country. The major flow of Indians into Nepal took place from the 11th to 13th centuries because Hindus fled the country as present-day India was over-taken by the Muslims. This migration seems to have changed the political, economic and social structure of Nepal. Hinduism and hierarchical caste structure appeared in the society. When this value system slowly entered as a guiding principle at the state level, the major, often adverse, impact was seen in the social and religious structure of the indigenous people, who were already settled in Nepal. Later on, Muslims also started to migrate to Nepal, especially for the business purpose. For example, king Ratna Malla permitted these Muslims from Kashmir to establish business in Kathmandu valley. The entrepot trade between Tibet and India through Kathmandu valley had attracted these businesspersons. 'Trade and commerce' is still the major reasons for Indians to migrate to Nepal. As a unification and expansion project, Nepal had conquered Kumaon and Gharwal in 1805 and had kept under its control for about 10 years. People from these areas also migrated to Nepal. These may be considered as early settlers in Nepal (Muni: 1979: 81). These are the people who are now in all likelihood Nepali citizens. This group also forms the largest Indian population in Nepal. Among these settlers, there were two main groups: traders and agriculturist.

Migration of Indians to Kathmandu had taken place primarily for trade. Even though entrepot trade between Tibet and India via Kathmandu declined after British opened new trade routes via Kalimpong (India), Indians still continued migrating to Kathmandu for trade between Nepal and India (Upreti, 1999). He further argues that 'Indian trading class had business links with the trading community in Kathmandu much before the Britishers themselves tried to expand their business links with Nepal (1998: 26). Usually Indians have taken two steps in migrating to Kathmandu. Firstly, they would establish trade links with Newar businesspersons without migrating there. As the business and social ties grew, they would then physically migrate to Kathmandu, which would make them easy to adjust and adapt. For establishing contacts, it is also argued that Indians also moved to Tarai first. The earlier history writers of Nepal, who were mainly the Britishers, also report about the existence of Indian businesspersons in Kathmandu. For example, Hodgson has written:

It appeared that at the present time there are, in the great towns in the Valley of Nepal, thirty two native and thirty four Indian merchants engaged in foreign commerce, both with the South and the North, and that the trading capital of former is considered to be not less than Rs 50,18,000 not that of the latter less than Rs 23,05,000 (1971: 92).

One of the reasons for Indian traders to come to Nepal is look for new ground where there was no competition. In India, competition was high because of east India company and British merchants.

Among the early Indian settlers include those who went to Nepal for agricultural production and timber collection in Tarai region. This occurred mainly after the unification of the country (1769). Immediately after the unification, government in Nepal did not permit the Indian and other foreign traders to Nepal. For example, in his so-called 'divine procliam' Prithiwi Narayan Shah who unified the country stated that 'do not permit Indian traders to go beyond God Prdesh. If they come to our country they will definitely make our country paupers' (quoted in Dahal, 1978: 52). But he was in favor of attracting settlers to the Tarai, which he cherished (in comparison to hills) because of the economic potentials. The main reason to develop the settlements in Tarai was to increase production and revenue of the government. Dahal (1978: 53-54) refers to many 'royal deeds' that stipulated the need to increase settlements and cultivation in Tarai. Nepal attracted the tenants from India by giving various incentives like not collecting revenue or production, by giving land itself, and by supplying seeds, construction materials like timber, and some grains to get started. Similarly, the contractors, irrespective of Nepali or Indians, were given various privileges to attract settlers from India. To prevent the possible intrusion of Indians of both traders and military background, Tarai forest was kept intact and dense. Only a few tracks were opened. People were not permitted to open new routes.

The interest of the East India Company and Britishers was always that of trade. Even though the policy of Prithiwi Narayan Shah was said to exclude foreign products from the country, the other generation of Shah rulers spent luxurious lives. This coincided with the removal of various trade barriers for free trade, mainly under the pressure from British government. Import expanded due to demand by royal families for European and British goods. To balance the trade, traditional export commodities was enhanced, timber was the main item. This led to the deforestation, where agriculture was promoted with different schemes that also encouraged the Indians to come and work in the land. For the Nepalis – until this time Tarai was sparsely populated and hill people would hesitate to come here for work because of hot climate and malaria. Regmi (1971: 170) argues that there were vast areas of waste land in Tarai, especially in Morang district, resulting from the deforestation done for the export of timber. These waste lands were not cultivated because in general Nepali peasants were poor to develop the land. As a result, a large number of Indians were encouraged to come and cultivate the land. This was done essentially to raise more taxes for the government. It is even said that Indians who came to cultivate land were made Talukdars for the collection of taxes and to run the local affairs. This not only changed the social composition of Tarai population, but also led to the degradation of forest land.

During the unification period, the government did not have much cash to pay the people who worked for the government. They were paid by land grants – mainly Birta and Jagir.

Birta was given especially to the elite families, who did not have to pay taxes on their land. Jagir was given in lieu for payments, on which taxes needed to be paid. A large part of the land, both forested and degraded forest or waste land, in Tarai was given as grants. This again led to the decline in the area under forest. To encourage deforestation, 3-4 years tax exemption was given for newly reclaimed land.

As pressure for more financial resources built up because of exorbitant expenses of the nobilities and to finance the unification process, government decided to levy taxes from the lands given as grants. The landlords of these lands had to cultivate the land and pay the taxes. Taxes had to be paid even if land was not cultivated. Otherwise, there was a provision to take back the lands. This made the landlords to let the Indian workers cultivate the land. Again this had encouraged a large immigration from India. The revenue functionaries were also under great pressure to increase production and revenue for the government. They were to resign if they could not bring in tenants to cultivate the land under their jurisdiction. There were instructions from the government to bring under all the *parti jagga* (cultivated barren land) and *kala bangar* (land covered by bushes, weeds and thatches). These instructions were promulgated in the form of *Madesh Malko Sawal* (issue of Madesh or Tarai land) by the king Prithiwi Narayan Shah.

During the Rana rule (1846-1951) lands were again granted mostly by patronage to family members and local elite. This was done basically to get support of the elites in running or maintaining the regime. Towards the end of the Rana regime in 1951 about one third of the forestland was under *Birta* tenure and three quarters of this land belonged to Rana families (Regmi, 1978). The elites also used the Indian tenants to cultivate the land. Deforestation and land reclamation increased rapidly after Nepali timber was started to be exported to India for railway expansion. The rail head then came near the Nepal border leading further deforestation and expansion of cultivation. As hill people were not available for cultivation, the potential source of labour was north India, particularly Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. They were asked to settle permanently or seasonally (Mishra et al, 2000: 12). This is evident from a regulation enacted during the period of King Surendra Bikram Shah (1847-1881).

Raitis (tenants) are to be invited from all sectors (irrespective of whether it be Nepal or India) to cultivate the land in Morang district. Necessary items needed (Bhota pota di) for agriculture are to be facilitated and land should be provided. (cited in Dahal, 1978: 59).

During the Rana regime (1846-1950), immigration of Indians to Nepal, especially in Tarai, was enormous. Dahal (1978: 56) list the following factors for this.

- Nepalese governmental policy for maximizing agricultural production and revenue from the land.
- Abundant *birta* and *guthi* lands in the Tarai which needed more manpower to cultivate them.
- The Tarai was sparsely populated and there was a need to encourage more people to settle in to the region.

- There was a need to develop Tarai in the form of market towns. Industries were established in Tarai and trades promoted to make economy strong. This attracted Indian immigrants as local indigenous people were not familiar with trade and industries.
- There were natural calamities in the Indian border regions of the Nepal Tarai.
- Socio-political causes either in Nepal or India which further encouraged Indian immigration (Sepoy Mutiny in India in 1857, partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, revolution in Nepal in 1950).

After the downfall of Rana regime in 1951, the new government started a political process of land reform. The reform included, among others, land ceiling and rights of tenants to the land they cultivated. The Land Reform Policy of 1964 gave permanency to many Indian tenants because they were also given tenant rights. Until that there was an influx of Indians in Tarai. Then after government started taking steps to discourage immigration of Indians, one of which was not allowing the Indians and foreigners (not having Nepali citizens) to own land. Again this policy discouraged landlords to employ Nepali labourers or tenants because of the fear that they could register the land as a 'tenant cultivated land'. To avoid this possibility, Indian tenants were used for the cultivation. As they did not have citizenship, they would not be able to claim rights to the land they cultivated. This has led to the immigration of Indian labourers in Tarai. Dahal (1978: 78-114) has categorized Indian immigrants in Morang into four groups: Marwari (from Rajasthan), Muslim (from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal), Bengali (West Bengal and Dacca) and Bihari (from Bihar). Among the Biharis there were further four categories – upper caste Hindus²⁰, middle class Hindus²¹, low caste Hindus (caste polluting water only)²² and untouchables²³. Dahal (ibid) field study in the villages and towns of Morang district revealed that Indian ethnic groups were landlords, share-coppers as well as seasonal labourers. Similarly, they were also dominants in trade and industries. For example in Biratnagar, Indian ethnic groups had controlled about 87 % of the shops.

Migration of Indian labourers for agricultural works in Tarai is still continuing (Mishra, 2000). This study has demonstrated that slightly over 50 % of all paddy cultivating households and all sugarcane cultivating households in the study settlements of the Tarai hire seasonal migrant labour from India. This migration is argued to have displaced Nepali, particularly Tarai-based, seasonal labour. This practice has also been helping to prop up the land owning class and unequal distribution of land in Tarai. The mean amount of remittance (including remitting of food grain) sent home by workers in Japha, Banke and Bara was Rs 1125, Rs 538 and Rs 610, respectively (ibid: 85). More than 70 % of the workers in Japha remitted more than Rs 900. A small number of these seasonal labourers were also reported to stay permanently as attached labour.

²⁰ Include Brahmin (Bhuiyar and maithali) and Rajput.

²¹ Include Kayastha, Rouniyar, Halwari, Satar, Keeri, Dhanuk, Yadav, Malaha, Gaderi, Jhanghar, Batar, Kewat, Kewarat.

²² Include Saha Teli, Sudi, Hajar, Lohar, Kalwar, Dushad, Musahar, Kumhar, Kurmi and Dhobi.

²³ Include Dum.

After the 1950s, the flow of Indians to Nepal increased owing to the 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty and also due to beginning of economic support to Nepal. This led to influx of skilled workers and teachers to Nepal. The development of roads, irrigation, hydropower, industries, construction of buildings and the like required technical persons, and Indians were employed as Nepal lacked such human resources. In the first election of 1958, it is reported that these Indians were also listed as voters, which became a basis for their obtaining of citizenship (Upreti, 1999: 30). In the 1960s and 1970s, Indians were also encouraged to invest in Nepal. But in the 1990s, government of Nepal had tried to impose some restrictions like 'work permit system'. This was also cancelled with the political change in 1990. At present, the flow of seasonal migrants seems to have increased. The volume of seasonal migrants is also bigger than the permanent Indian settlers in Nepal.

3.1. Volume of Indian migration to Nepal:

Because of the open border system and similarity in socio-cultural features among the citizens of both countries, it is extremely difficult to exactly estimate the volume of India migration to Nepal. Moreover, there are different types of Indians in Nepal: like Nepali citizens, those who stay permanently, and those who come here seasonally for the work. Various reports reveal that in 1981, there were 3.8 million Indians in Nepal, of which 2.4 millions had obtained the citizenship (Chattopadhyaya, 1996: 81; Upreti, 1999: 23). Chattopadhyaya also claimed that there could be as many as 5 million Indians in Nepal (1998: 81) if one includes the seasonal and floating Indian population. Most of these Indian people have been living in Tarai, followed by Kathmandu. Town areas like Pokhara and other market centers also contain a sizable number of Indians, especially the traders and skilled workers.

One of the sources of information regarding the migration of Indians to Nepal is census report. The immigration of Indians in Nepal as revealed from census reports is shown in Table 3.1. This Table shows that of the total immigrants in Nepal (foreign-born population living in Nepal at the time of the survey), more than 95% were from India. In 2001, there were 583,599 India-born people living in Nepal. From above analysis, it is seen that 589,050 Nepali people lived in India on this census. Therefore, there seems to be balance in the flow of people across the boundary. Most (about 90 %) of the Indian-born population living in Nepal stayed in Tarai, the plain area adjoining India. Considering the time series data, there seems to be quite jump in the Indian population in Nepal in the 1980s and 1990s. The Indian population in Nepal almost doubled in a decade of 1980s.

Table 3.1: India-born population living in Nepal (figures in brackets are percentages)

Country	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
India-born population	324159 (96.0)	322718 (95.6)	222278 (95.0)	418982 (95.0)	583599 (96.0)
Total (foreign-born)	337620	337448	23403	439488	608092

Source: CBS (1961, 71, 1981, 1991, 2001).

Most contrasting pattern of migration between Nepal and India as revealed from the census surveys is that a large number of Nepalis who go to India are male. As seen in the previous Chapter, the % age of women in the Nepali absentee population living in India never crossed 17 % in all censuses. In 2001 census, only 12 % of women were among the Nepali emigrants. But it is just the reverse in case of Indian immigrants living in Nepal. Roughly about 70 % of the Indian immigrants living in Nepal are women (Table 3.2). This difference led to an investigation of the causes of migration. A study conducted in the late 1990s revealed the reasons for Indian immigration in Nepal, which showed that 69 % (66 % female and 3% male) of Indian immigrants stated marriage as the reason for immigration; about 22 % came to Nepal as dependents; and only 2.4 % stated came to Nepal for jobs. From 1981 census, it was revealed that 45.2 % Indian immigrants came to Nepal for marriage, and of this immigration for marriage, 97.4 % were women. These women stayed mainly in Tarai (KC et al, 1991 cited in KC 1998: 61). This showed that it is mainly the marriage that had brought many Indian-born women to Nepal. Because of the cultural and religious similarity between Indian adjoining states like UP and Bihar and Tarai of Nepal, there is a marriage exchange. Given the fact that the problem of 'dowry and bridal bashing' is relatively high in India, Indian parents of the lower and middle classes preferred to marry their daughters to Nepal Tarai. This could be one of the main reasons for this pattern of immigration into Nepal.

Table 3.2: People born in Indian living in Nepal by gender.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1971	115606 (35.8)	207112 (64.2)	322718 (100.0)
1981	65283 (29.4)	156993 (70.6)	222276 (100.0)
1991	113405 (27.1)	305577 (72.9)	418982 (100.0)
2001	171224 (29.3)	412375 (70.7)	583599 (100.0)

Source: CBS (1971, 1981, 1991, 2001)

Among the foreign citizens living in Nepal which totaled to 116571 in 2001 census, 88 % were Indians. The number of foreign citizens living in Nepal seems to peak in 1981 when 483,019 foreigners were living then. The reason for this is unknown. This is a period when many Indians were living in Nepal, and they were given Nepali citizenship (Kansakar, 2003a). In other census period, the increase in Indian population in Nepal remained in the neighborhood of 100,000.

3.2 Socio-economic characteristics of Indian migrants to Kathmandu and Pokhara:

There have not been many studies about Indian migrants in Nepal. Therefore, this is still an explored area. Upreti (1999) had done a study on Indian migrants in Kathmandu. Some key findings of this study have been summarized in this section.

- **Age structure:** Most of the migrants were in the age group of 20-40 years.
- **Sex ratio:** A majority of migrants stay without family. Only those married in Kathmandu and whose husband had settled permanently had come to Kathmandu.
- **Caste background:** Upper caste groups (Brahmis, Rajputs and Vaishyas) dominated the migrants. The other important group was Muslim.
- **Educational background:** Almost about one third migrants had 'college and above' education. Only about 23 % were illiterate.
- **Occupation:** The most common occupation (27.5 %) was trade or business followed by service in public and private sector, fruit and vegetable selling/vending (11%), and semi-skilled or unskilled labour. Marwaris are considered as dominant business groups. These people have come either as refugees from Burma or have migrated from North India. This migration is still going on.
- **Period of stay:** Most migrants lived for 4-7 years.
- **Place of origin in India:** More than half migrants were from Bihar. The other important states were Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.
- **Reasons for migration to Kathmandu:** Most migrants' reason for coming to Kathmandu was that there are sufficient opportunities available for business or to practice the profession. 'Improvement in economic condition' was another reason. Pleasant climate was third important reason to attract the Indians. Invitation from kin members and possibility of peaceful life were other reasons for coming to Kathmandu.
- **Remittances:** No data was given by respondents regarding the income and remittances²⁴.
- **Social and cultural organizations:** Indian immigrants were found to form various social and cultural organizations, some of which were also influential. Marwari Samaj, The Jain Samaj, The Sikh Samaj, Bishwa Hindu Parishad, Bharatiya Beopari Aur Udyog Mandal and the like were the organizations created by Indian migrants. The temporary and seasonal migrants are mostly disorganized.
- **Negative Impacts:** Indian migrants are blamed for checking the growth of local labour force and entrepreneurial class. Since most of the business and industrial concerns are in the hands of the Indians, they prefer to employ Indians. Presence of a large number of Indians in Kathmandu has also made it a safe place for criminals, terrorists and anti-social elements.

In Pokhara²⁵, a tourist town 200 km west of Kathmandu, Indians came only after it was connected to India and Kathmandu with road (1966-70). Prior to that, a few Indian

²⁴ Other studies are also silent about this aspect. A newspaper in Kathmandu (Kantipur) reported that about Rs 2 billion goes to India just as the remittances sent by barbers, who are just a minute section of the Indian business community.

teachers were brought for the schools and college. One of the college teachers (Mr Gorge John), who was in fact a Bengali teacher, is credited with developing this college. He receives considerable respect from the local population. When the roads were being built (one of them was by Indian government), a large number of Indians came to Pokhara. Both workers and technicians were Indians in the road constructed by Indian government that linked Pokhara to Bhairahawa, a town bordering with India in Tarai. Some of them stayed on. They married the locals. Now they live as local people. During the initial years of road construction, a large number of Sikhs came to Pokhara as drivers and owners of buses and trucks. Locals used to have an impression that driving was the traditional occupation of Sikhs. At that time, there were not enough local drivers. Only a few who had worked in India had driving skill. Indian traders then entered into Pokhara, establishing big business houses, hotels and restaurants. The construction boom in Pokhara also brought semi-skilled persons like electricians plumbers. The local Nepalis have now developed skills in electricity wiring, but for plumbing, Indians still dominate. These plumbers have come mainly from Orissa. One of the oldest plumbers came from Orissa when a hotel was built by a member of royal family in late 1960s. He then helped other young plumbers to come to Pokhara. Every year, they go to home, and bring new person for this work. They take contracts for new plumbing work, and also provide regular service in hotels. There was an influx of Kashmiri traders in Pokhara, who were displaced from the conflict. They opened curio shops with things brought from Kashmir itself. These shops attracted tourists. These businesspersons also offered high rents for the shops. At a time, there was a considerable grudge among the locals who usually did not find shopping space for rental. Social problems were also reported to be high among these people. Some of them were also said to have been involved in political (terrorist) activities in the form of supplying arms or smuggling goods and commodities. The other type of Indian migrants includes those who are involved in petty trades, mobile trades, scrap collectors, and vendors of vegetables and fruits. These seem to be poor and from lower economic background. Even these petty traders seem to earn a reasonable profit. They are usually without families. But those who have brought families have send their children to good schools. The locals take this as an indicator that even these Indians earn good income. On the other hand, the established businesspersons who have large restaurants and shops earn a huge profit as it seems that they have certain acumen and talent for business.

Comparing the Indian and Nepali immigrants, it seems that the basic capacity of Indian immigrants to Nepal is far superior to their Nepalese counterparts. It seems that the basic interest of the Indian immigrants is trade and commerce and professional works, whereas Nepali migrants lack skills and education and capital to do business. Their interest is basically to maintain the survival and if possible send some money for the family members. But Indian immigrants' main interest seems to make more profit and income.

The biggest worry on the part of Nepali government has been that other people come to Nepal via India and claim to be Indians. Since the last 50 years, because of the Indo-Pak tension on Kashmir, Muslims from India have come into Nepal through India. It is because of religious and economic security here. In the early 1970s, Bihari Indians came

²⁵ Based on the knowledge of the author, who is a native of Pokhara.

to Nepal when there was a freedom struggle in present-day Bangladesh. Then Sikhs and Afghans came to Nepal. These dissident groups had also organized their political activities and involved in various illegal activities.

Cultural change is considered as another adverse impact of Indian migration to Nepal. Even though most Indians are also Hindus, there are differences in their some cultural pattern. Nowadays, more and more Nepalis, especially in cities, are following Indian practices. For example, a study of cultural change in Kathmandu has shown that 'rakhi' has become common which has replaced the traditional system of thread on the wrist. The easy way citizenship can be obtained in Nepal is considered as a cause for the influx of Indians to Nepal. For example, according to Dr Harka Gurung, Nepal is the only country, which provides naturalized citizenship to the maximum number of Indians (62.8 per cent), who enter into Nepal²⁶. But Indian scholars consider, as discussed in Chapter 1, that Nepal government has made it difficult to obtain a citizenship for Indians.

²⁶ see reported by Dr Gautam in an interview (www.peoplesreview.com.np/p-review/2002/10/03102002/facetoface.html)

Chapter 4

Study of Nepali Migrants (migration process, adaptation and economic and social change).

As mentioned in Chapter 1 a study was conducted to understand the process of migration of Nepalis into India, role of migration in the fulfillment of the livelihood requirement and economic gains, and the impact of various aspects of 'securitization' in the course of migration. Here securitization is meant to include extra sensitivity or concerns (from normal) expressed towards migrants by various stakeholders including the government. The findings of this study are presented in this chapter.

4.1 Methodology of the study:

The study was conducted in a sample of 100 households having an experience of working in India. The households were selected on a purposive basis to include diversity in terms of wealth status, social and cultural groups and regional variations. This is shown in the following Table (Table 4.1). As some problems were faced in studying the households in far and mid west because of the political conflict, proposed sample of 25 households from each region could not be followed strictly. Despite that attempts were made to include households from each region to see the regional variations. A large number of sample households were taken from Western Development Region, where interviews could be held because of our social relations and comparatively better security situation. Taking more sample from this region is also valid considering the fact that census report has shown a little less than half of the 'absentee population' living in India came from this region. There are five 'development regions', but sample households could not be taken from the 'central development region' in which Katmandu belongs.

The interviews were taken with the person who migrated to India and now living in the village /town in Nepal because of retirement or vacation. A structured questionnaire was also used for this purpose. The questionnaire included many of the questions related to the whole process of migration to reintegration in the society including income and expenditure pattern, income from work in India and changes (social and economic mobility) brought about my migration to India. Even though, the answers to the 'income and expenditure' questions were based on memory and thus may not have been accurate, information to these aspects of income and expenditure was required to see the economic change. The research team was aware of the short coming of this type of survey and the possible inaccuracy of information. Realizing this, the emphasis was just to see a pattern among the different groups in terms of the impact of migration on their economic security. Given this reality, the answers obtained were cross-checked vigorously. Qualitative information was also sought from the respondents, which was also used to cross-check about the quantitative information provided to the research team. Cases which could tell us the various facets of 'securitization' were also identified and detail information was collected to make them 'case studies'.

Apart from the household survey, consultations were also made with the groups of people who returned from India. During consultation various questions about why and how they went to India, where they went, what they did, and how they coped with the difficulties and other issues were also raised. One consultation was made in each of the four regions.

All the respondents interviewed were male. There is no practice of migrating women or taking family by seasonal and temporary migrants who move to India to fulfill a part of the livelihood requirements. As will be discussed below, only those a few fortunate ones who had a sort of permanent job and reasonable income, they tend to take the family. Apart from women been to India through forced migration (trafficking), they do not go to India for work. Even the women, who have returned to Nepal after working in India, would not come forward and speak to outsiders as migrant women. There is considerable stigma for such women in the society, as it is assumed that they would have been sex-workers in India. Similar conclusion was also revealed from another study of Nepali migrants in Pithoragarh, India (Upreti, 2002: 91). He writes:

In Pithoragarh most of the Nepalese come for hard jobs like labour which do not provide them with sufficient wages that they could think of keeping their families with them. It is natural that the womenfolk do not migrate. It may also be noted that most of the migration is seasonal, and wherever migration takes place on a seasonal basis family does not move. most of these migrants come from the agricultural background, which implies a piece of land and some cattle. Hence, some body has to stay behind in the village to take care of them (1999:90-91).

Upreti (2002: 94) further provides following four reasons that made the migration to India from far west Nepal totally favourable for the male folk. These reasons were generally valid for the Nepalis migrating to India, especially for the seasonal and temporary migrants, which is the main feature of migration from mid and far west Nepal.

- Men folk who decide to migrate to Pithoraghar region lack sufficient resources and background to seek regular employment so as to stay of the whole family at the place of their migration.
- The place of their destination can provide them casual jobs but not permanent employment.
- The migrants because of the poor condition cannot afford to migrate to distant places where they could seek better employment.
- Hence they are destined to neighbouring places, where some kind of employment is available.

Table 4.1: Sample households from each development region of the country.

Development region	District	Village Development Committee/ Municipality	Sample size
Eastern Development region	Ilam	1. Ilam municipality ward no 7	3
		2. Shantidada ward no 6	1
		3. Panchakanya ward no 4	1
		4. Maipokhari ward no 5	1
		5. Majhuwa ward no 1	1
		6. Mabu ward no 2	1
		7. Chamaita ward no 3	1
	Jhapa	1. Narayan chowk, Arjundhara 1	1
		2. Hattikilla, Arjundhara ward no 2	2
		3. Dadagaon, Arjundhara 3	1
		4. Dada gaon, Arjundhara 4	1
		5. Kada gaon, Arjundhara 8	2
		6. Jyamirgadi ward no 3	1
		Sub total	17
Western Development Region	Kaski	1. Lekhnath Municipality	35
		2. Majhthana ward no 6	2
		3. Majhthana ward no 7	2
		4. Majhthana ward no 9	1
	Syangja	1. Phedikhola ward no 1	5
		2. Phedikhola ward no 8	1
		3. Phedikhola ward no 9	1
	Lamjung	1. Bhoje VDC	1
		Sub total	48
Mid Western Development Region	Bardia	1. Pratappu, Neulapur ward no 2	8
		2. Motipur, Shivpur ward no 1	2
		3. Lathuwa, Shivpur ward no 2	3
		4. Kaligaudi, Shivpur ward no 9	2
		Sub total	15
Far Western Region	Kanchanpur	1. Mahendra Municipality 2	1
		2. Mahendra Municipality 6	6
		3. Mahendra Municipality 8	1
		4. Mahendra Municipality 14	2
		5. Mahendra Municipality 18	2
		6. Salari ward no 9	4
		7. Daiji ward no 9	4
		Sub total	20
		GRAND TOTAL	100

4.2. Socio-economic characteristics of the sample households participating in migration to India.

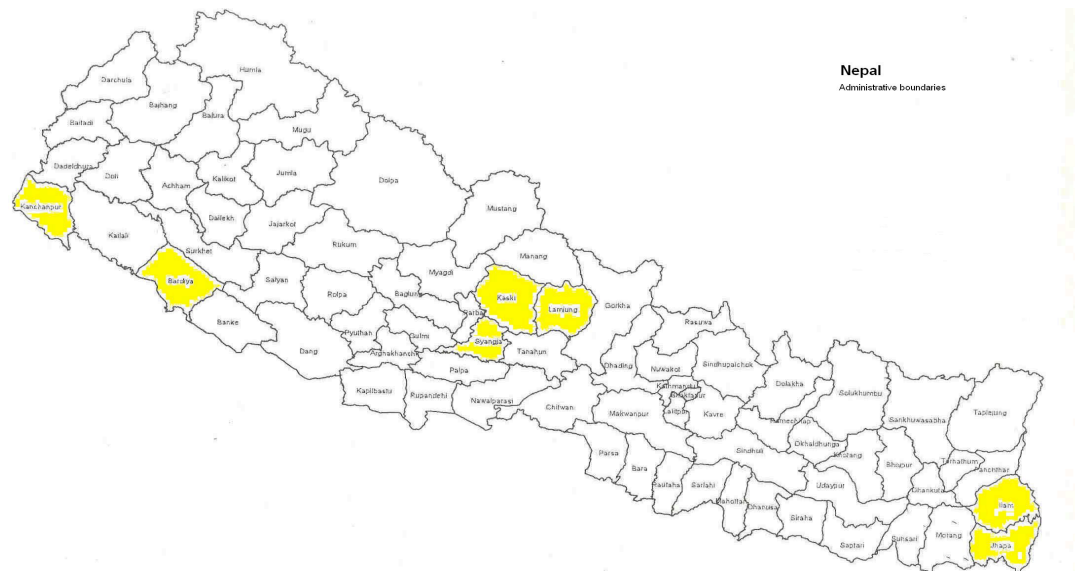
4.2.1 Family size:

The family size of the households varies from place to place, but remains close to 6 to 7 members²⁷, which is slightly higher than the national average (5.4 members). It is seen that female proportion in the family is higher than the male. Even though, women's population is slightly higher in Nepal, the higher proportion of female in the sample size is seen because of male specific migration to work in India.

Table 4.2: Family size and sex ratio in households participating in migration to India.

Regions	Family size	Male (%)	Female (%)
West	5.9	47.2	52.8
Mid western	6.3	46.	53
Far Western	7.1	47	53
Eastern	6.8	45	55

Map 1: Study Districts



4.2.3. Education:

Among the migrants to India, 23 % were 'illiterate', and about 49 % were just literate (including those who have primary schooling). Only about 12 % had high school

²⁷ Bhattari and Adhikari (2003:37) report based on a study in western Nepal had revealed that the average family size of the Indian migrants was 7.0 members.

education. College educated migrants were extremely less in number. There was also wide variation in the educational status of migrants from different geographical origin. For example, there were more 'educated' migrants from 'eastern' region as compared to other regions. This variation is also related to the general development pattern of the country. For example, 'eastern region' is more developed as compared to 'mid west' and 'far west' regions.

Table 4.3: Education status of the household members (%ages)

Regions	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	High school	College	Major groups*
Western	24.5	8.58	51.5	11.6	3.7	Brahmins, Gurung, Chettris, Dalits, Newars
Mid Western	33.0	12.3	46.7	12.3	1.4	Chettris, Dalits
Far Western	18.2	19.2	40.9	4.2	2.1	Dalits, Chettri
Eastern	15.3	24.2	12.9	30.8	16.5	Brahmins, Chettris, Rai, Magar.
All	23.2	14.5	34.2	12.1	4.3	-

* These are social groups, Among them Brahmins, Chettris, and Dalits belong to Hindu fold (Jati) where caste hierarchy is existing. Dalits are traditionally considered as untouchables and belong to lowest hierarchy. Their socio-economic condition is also poor, as almost 90 % of them are under poverty line. Gurung, Magar and Rai belong to 'indigenous people or Janajati' fold. They were popularly known to work in British and Indian armies. Poorer groups of them also work in other profession in India.

In a study of migrants of a special location, i.e., far-western region who were working in Pithouraghar, India, 69.3 % of the migrants were illiterate and 19.3 % were just literate or educated up to primary school (Upreti, 2002: 92). It seemed that this surveyed covered people from a marginal and less developed area (far western Nepal). They were also from rural areas. In this study, the research team could not go far off from the towns. In places like these, educational status is certainly higher.

4.2.4. Caste/ethnic groups:

It is seen that a large number of households participating in India migration and surveyed for this study were Dalits, followed by Chettris, Bahuns, and Gurungs. Dalits's (whose economic condition is generally low and also are stigmatized in the society) migration to India is disproportionately higher because this migration does not require much investment. Their migration is again a desperate migration for 'livelihood security', and to reduce the pressure in the family for food and other necessities. Chettris, Gurung and Rai's involvement is mainly in army. As there is also a tendency of going to certain locations in India based on the regional origin in Nepal, the caste structure of the migrants may also be different in different destinations. For example, in the study of Nepali migrants in Pithauraghar (north) in India, where people from far west Nepal migrate for seasonal and temporary work, Upreti (2002: 91) has found that 'Thakuri' caste dominate (66 %) the migrant population. Thakuris dominate the population of this region, which is also reflected in migrant population. But there also 'Dalits' occupies 10 % in the migrant population. In another study in Accham, which has a significant

population of Dalits, migrants to India were predominantly Dalits (Bhattarai and Adhikari, 2003). Similarly a study in Puythan District in mid west region revealed the higher participation of members of lower caste in migration to India (Acharya, 1978).

Table 4.4: caste composition of households surveyed (%age)

Caste	Western	Mid Western	Far West	Eastern	Total
Bahun	23	-	-	35	17
Chettri	17	20	10	29	20
Gurung	20	-	-	-	10
Dalits	15	19	90	-	21
Newars	6	-	-	-	3
Rai	-	-	-	29	7
Magar	-	20	-	4	9
Tharu	-	40	-	-	8

In areas where migration, especially the one in foreign countries (except India), is predominant, the Dalits or the lower caste households have shown a tendency to stay in the village. Because of the wage employment and share cropping opportunities created by the migration of people from wealthier class, these poorer people stayed back. For them, the local employment was more remunerative than the income in India. This is generally the case in west-central Nepal like Kaski and Syanjya Districts (Adhikari, 1996; Gurung, 1996; Kansakar, 1984).

4.2.5. Occupational patterns:

The occupation patterns of the household showed that agriculture was still the main occupation of the household. Except in one region, i.e., Far west, which is bordering with India, business was also not taken by a significantly households surveyed. This shows that migration has not been significantly able to transform the occupational pattern of the households. The households interviewed had also been involved in wage labouring, which represented the lowest status of some of the households. About 15-25 % of the households in all regions, except for Eastern region, were still involved in migration to India. In eastern region, which is also an agriculturally developed place, migration was mainly for army service in India. All those interviewed were retired from the army service.

Table 4.5: Occupation of the household (% household) of the respondents

Occupation	Western	Mid west	Far West	Eastern	Total
Farming	53	80	40	89	60
business	4	7	35	7	11
Animal husbandry	6	13		15	8
Job (foreign countries - India)	15	16	25	5	16
Job (Nepal)	3	-	5	5	4
Job (own place)	2	-	15	-	3
Retired from army	2	-	-	27	5
Labourer	17	12	-	-	15

* Multiple choice question, and so total may be more than 100.

4.2.6. Housing type:

All the households interviewed lived mainly in a 'kachhi' house. Kachhi generally means a house with walls made of stone or brick, but joined with mud. They were mostly roofed by tin-roof. As the tin-roof has become cheaper as compared to traditional thatch roof, even the Kachhi houses are now tin-roofed. It is also an indication that migrants were not able to change their housing style from the benefits derived from migration in India.

Respondents had not sold land in the last five years. Only 2 had sold land (for paying debt) and 1 seemed to have purchased land. This shows some stability in the economy of the households, which were undertaking the migration to India. This could also be taken as a stabilizing role of migration.

4.2.7. Property indicators:

The ownership of modern equipments and gadgets is an indication of the economic status of households. Of the surveyed households, only 23 % had Black and White TV, 11 % had color TV, 57 % had cassette player. They did not have expensive equipment like refrigerator and motor cycle. All the households interviewed were near from the towns and they had access to electricity also. Therefore, unavailability and lack of electivity was not the cause of lack of ownership of these modern household gadgets. As all of the household interviewed were migrants, the ownership of these gadgets can also be related to the emigration. But this emigration had not led to widespread use/ownership of these gadgets. Among the different geographical regions, respondents (or migrants) of eastern development region has relatively more access to these facilities. It should be noted that migrants from this region interviewed for this study were mainly involved in army jobs in India, which seem to provide stable and reasonable income.

Table 4.6: %age households having different properties.

Property	Western	Mid Western	Far West	Eastern	Total
Electric fan	15	-	30	41	22
Television (B&W)	17	-	18	46	23
TV (color)	5	-	6	30	11
Cassette player	70	15	42	55	57
Video player	-	-	-	10	2
Refrigerator	-	-	-	-	-
Telephone (mobile)	-	-	-	6	1
Cycle	-	60	48	36	27
Motor cycle	-	-	-	6	1
Three-wheeler	-	-	-	-	
Four-wheeler	-	-	-	-	

4.2.8. Agricultural land:

On average the land holding was only 6 *ropani* (0.3 ha). The maximum amount of land a household had was only 11 *ropani* and minimum was only 0.5 *ropani*. Of them 33 % were recognized as landless households. They had kept livestock; 15 % had kept cow and oxen, 25 % buffalo, and 60 % sheep and goat. About 33 % of the households were considered as functionally landless. Considering the fact that average land holding size in Nepal is 0.9 ha, the households participating in migration to India which were selected without any prior information were poor in terms of land holding.

4.2.9. Food security:

Only for 14 % of the households reported that they could produce food sufficient for them, and 85 % reported that they had to buy food from other income. About 93 % could not produce food sufficient for more than 6 months. The only way they could meet food security is by buying food (mainly rice) from the income generated through wage employment, remittances and army pensions.

The low food self-sufficiency combined with lack of employment opportunities in the village are the main reasons for migration. These both causes lead to 'food insecurity'. For example, Upreti writes (2002: 74) based on his study in far western Nepal.

Though these people are believed to be generally reluctant to move outside, their extremely poor economic conditions compel them to migrate. In fact in the rural areas of the hill districts one or two members of a family have to be mobile. They indeed have to migrate under marginal economic conditions... The traditional agrarian economy of the hill is not in a position to serve the economic needs of the increased population. In fact, migration has been necessary to meet certain basic needs which they cannot fulfill by remaining confined to their place of origin.

In this study also family food insecurity has been one of the main reasons for participating in migration in Nepal. This also seems the case among the respondents which had been migrating to India. The combination of income from different family members engaged in different occupations is a way of coping with uncertainty and food insecurity. This diversification in livelihood strategy is growing for increasing number of households. The food deficit households are more numerous in mid west and far west regions of the country. These are also the regions from where a large scale of migration to Nepal, mostly seasonal type, takes place. For example, in a study in Accham, 70 % households were found to have at least a family member working in India (Bhattarai and Adhikari, 2003). A case study conducted in Pyuthan District in the mid west hills as early as 1970s revealed that a vast majority of those who had migrated had serious deficit (less

than 20 muris²⁸) in food production (Acharya, 1978). A vast majority of these households had member(s) who had gone to India for work.

4.2.10. Wealth class:

Wealth status of households was identified by two methods. Firstly, the respondents were asked to assess their economic status in the context of their society. A simple question 'how do you rate your economic status in general compared with your other village households' was asked. Secondly, the ownership of properties (like land, animals and others) and earnings were assessed. The respondent was again asked whether owning that much assets or earning that much income be common in the village and then he was requested to reassess the status. In case there were confusion and the rating was not satisfied, the other persons, who were familiar with respondents, were asked to rate the economic status of the respondent household comparing it with the village situation.

It is seen that about 60 % households with member (s) working/worked in India were poor. About 38 % were in medium class and only 2 % were rich. The wealth distribution across the region broadly represents the Nepali situation as poverty and deprivation is more in the mid and far west. The 'rich' group was found existing in the Eastern region, and they happen to be associated with Indian army. The high pension and secured income in the past made these households wealthier.

From the information obtained from the respondents, it is clear that it is mainly the poor households who take part in the migration to India. According to Nepal Living Standard Survey 2003/04, 31 % of households are under poverty line. Compared to this general situation of the country with the 'poverty status of respondents, 60 % poor, economic status of Indian migrants is considerably marginal. Regarding the poor people's migration to India, Bishop wrote as early as 1970:

Many young people from poorer households seek work to west in the hills of Kumaon in India. There, principally in the Nanital-Almore area, they work as labourers in the construction and industries in order to make enough money to buy their yearly needs in consumer goods' (quoted in Upreti, 2002: 75).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that these respondents under this study were the migrants to India for a considerable number of years. It can thus be argued that migration to India had not been able to improve the economic status.

Various studies including this claim that the poorer the households, the more likely to migrate to India (Bhatarai and Adhikari, 2003; Adhikari, 1996 and Seddon et al, 2001). In a study of Lachock-Riban village in Kaski district, Adhikari found that 'poorest' households had members working in India. The slightly better off households had gone off to Middle East and well-off households had gone to developed countries for work. This was determined by the capacity to finance the migration. Wealth status was found to

²⁸ Muri is a volumetric measurement of grains. 1 muri paddy = 52.5 kg, 1 muri millet = 63.3 kg, 1 muri maize = 72.7 kg and 1 muri wheat = 63.2 kg.

correlate with this ability to finance the migration. The migration to India does not require high level of financing and mostly the agents involved here would provide service free of cost, like giving information and taking the potential migrants to India along with them.

Table 4.7: Wealth-class distribution in different regions of the households surveyed (%)

Wealth Class	Western (N=48)	Eastern =(17)	Mid west (n=15)	Far West (n=20)	Total
Rich	-	12	-	-	2
Medium	38	35	33	45	38
Poor	46	35	40	35	41
Very poor	16	18	27	20	19

4.2.11. Income, expenditure and savings:

The income of the Nepali migrants going to India seems rather low. Their family income in a year is about Rs 52,000, which means that annual per capita income would come to about Rs 8,5000. The recent Nepal Living Standard Survey II conducted in 2003-04 revealed that average per capita income of the country is about Rs 15,000. Given this situation, migrants going to India seem considerably lower than the average economic status of the households.

But there is also regional variation in the income status of migrants going to India. For example, migrant families in East Nepal seem to have better income. The Eastern region covered two districts – Ilam and Japha. Both districts are agriculturally affluent districts and they would attract Indian migrants for manual work. Therefore, only if they get good job in India they would migrate. Therefore, their income is also high from jobs in India. Mid west region is considerably a poor region, and here people migrate mostly seasonally even for the poor job like portering and farm work in India. The situation in Far west is also similar to the Mid west, but here the sample households were taken from a Tarai district (Kanchanpur) which borders with India.

For the respondent households, income from job in India was the major source of income, contributing about one thirds of household income. Agriculture contributed only about 20 % of income. This becomes plausible from the fact that most households had a small piece of land as compared to 'national average'. This land was also not able to fulfill food requirements. Most households had their own food sufficient for not more than 6 months. About one fourth of income of the households came from 'wage labouring' in the village or in other places within Nepal.

Table 4.8: Household income in Rs last year - 2004 (%age in the bracket; 1 US \$ = Rs 72.0)

Source	Western	Eastern	Mid west	Far west	All
Agriculture	4514 (7.4)	40107 (45.7)	6,720 (38.5)	2800 (10.6)	10,553 (19.2)
Nepal job	9857 (16.1)	2823 (3.2)	-	2000 (7.6)	5,611 (9.8)
Foreign jobs	12,857 (20.9)	32,906 (37.5)	5,724 (32.8)	18,050 (68.7)	16,234 (35.1)
Wage in village	12,314 (20.1)	3,247 (3.7)	4,505 (25.8)	2,400 (9.1)	7,618 (16.0)
Business	2000 (3.3)	59 (-)	-	1,025 (3.9)	1,175 (2.3)
Pension	3,229 (5.3)	8,412 (9.6)	-	-	2,980 (4.2)
Others	2286 (3.7)	-	546 (3.1)	-	1,179 (2.3)
Total	61,343 (100.00)	87,730 (100.0)	17,459 (100.0)	26,275 (100.0)	52,233 (100.0)

Migrants were found to invest a large part of their income on food. This is especially so in mid west and far west regions. Health, clothes, education are other priorities in terms of expenses. Payment for these and other services and commodities required cash income. As farming was not able to generate cash income, off-farm works that generate cash income was essential. It is mainly for this reasons that people migrate to India. From his study in western Nepal, McDougal (1968) had pointed out that 'it is not only food requirements that necessitated migration. Purchase of clothes, metalware and other household goods also require cash which can be earned through migration at least by poorer sections of the hill society of the far-western society'.

Table 4.8: Household expenditure in Rs last year - 2004 (%age in the bracket)

	Western	Eastern	Mid west	Far west	Total
Food	19089 (37.0)	21572 (30.0)	12220 (71.7)	10530 (50.2)	16769 (38.3)
Utilities	1335 (2.6)	3210 (4.5)	0	450 (2.1)	1276 (2.9)
Education	2979 (5.8)	8307 (11.5)	1200 (7.0)	1940 (9.2)	3410 (7.8)
Transport	1345 (2.6)	3970 (5.5)	560 (3.3)	665 (3.2)	1537 (3.5)
Housing	856 (1.7)	2897 (4.0)	670 (3.9)	500 (2.4)	1104 (2.5)
Farming	5185 (10.0)	5852 (8.1)	0	1250 (6.0)	3733 (8.5)
Health	7989 (15.5)	10750 (14.9)	1420 (8.3)	2346 (11.2)	6344 (14.5)
Religion	150 (0.3)	4602 (6.4)	0	362 (1.7)	926 (2.1)
Clothes	6985 (13.5)	10765 (15.0)	975 (5.7)	2360 (11.2)	5801 (13.3)
Others	5745 (11.1)	0	0	590 (2.8)	2875 (6.6)
Total	51,660 (100.0)	71,927 (100.0)	17,045 (100.0)	20,993 (100.0)	43,779 (100.0)

But there was a wide variation in how a household had spent the income. It seems that on average a household would also save a part of the income. Every year, a household was found to save about Rs 10,000. But it, however, does not mean that all households had made the savings. This saving is not a saving per se, because it was said to be invested in big occasions like marriage, religious ceremonies and death ceremonies or for accidental expenses. As a result, not much saving is there if one considers a longer period of time.

Saving rates are particularly high in the east and western regions, whereas it is particularly poor in mid west region.

4.2.12. Participation in social and political life:

Most of the respondents expressed that they had not taken part in political life of the village or town. They further said that this was not because of migration to India, but because they had not been traditionally involved in such activities. However they told that they had been taking part in the social life of the village. Those respondents who were still working in India expressed that their family members actively take in the social life of their communities.

There was diversity among the persons returning from India and their participation in social and political life. Those respondents who retired from a good job in India with pensions (like army service or other formal job), they were playing good leadership role in villages and their communities. This was particularly seen among the retired army persons in Eastern Nepal. In mid and far west, sample consisted mainly the poor households, and they opinioned that they resorted to wage laboring in the village to substitute the income from India. This is also evident from the income sources. As those persons retiring from a formal work have an assured level of income, they would have time to involve in social and political activities.

4.3. Migration to India:

This section is concerned with the questions like who migrate, how they migrate, what steps they take during the course of migration, what are the livelihood changes associated with migration, and the problems faced by migrants while migrating, during the work in India and while reintegrating again in Nepali society. The impact of securitization is also investigated in these different stages of migration.

4.3.1 Age when first migrating:

A large number of migrants go to India at an early age. Even though in the Table below, 70 % respondents went to India when they were 10-20 years old, they go mainly when they cross 15 years. This is also the years when they are fit for army service. Poor parents also send their young sons to India if they do not show any promise in education or other activities in the community. About 22 % of the expressed that they went to India for the first time when they were 20-30 years old. It is very rare after that to go to India for the first time, even though it is also not an exception.

Table 4.9: Age at first migration to India (% respondents)

Age groups	West	Mid West	Far West	Eastern	Total
10-20 years	67	80	90	47	70
20-30 years	24	13	10	41	22
30-40 years	6	7	-	12	6
Born there	4	-	-	-	2

4.3.2. Process of going to India:

It seems that most of the respondents had thought about going to India because of hardships in the family. The process started from the family itself, as most had sought permission from the home. Only a few said that they had gone there because of *rahar* (desire, or curiosity to see new places). About 15 % respondents regarded that their childhood was nice, 57 % considered poor, deprived and hard, and 33 % ok. The respondents also expressed that they had economic problems in the family. 78 % respondents gave that response. Therefore, in large, this was a push factor.

Almost all respondents (90 %) claimed that there was no pressure as such from the family, even though they were suggested to do so when they had problems. Seeing the problem in the family and no opportunities to improve the life, the respondents had also sought suggestions from friends and those who had been to India. This suggestion was discussed in the family. A few respondents (6 %) also claimed that wife had put a pressure to work in India.

In general, there is a psychological pressure for the young boys to migrate. For example, 33 % had felt this social pressure to become a *lahure* (armyperson). There is also a feeling in society that if one is a male, one has to earn and live nicely. This pressure was also found to have motivated some to work in India.

The family members had prior experience of working in India. Moreover, there were contacts of the respondents with the persons working in India. About 90 % regarded that they went abroad with neighbors and kin-members. Only 12 % respondents said that they did not know any one in India when they went there. But all others had contacts with friends, *lahure* brothers, neighbors, kin-members and the like who were there already.

When parents think that the son should go out because of the need to earn money or to reduce pressure to feed, they contact someone in the village or kin-members who were already there in India. They ask them to look for some work. When that person comes home, parents contacts him and ask their son(s) to take with him. This is considered as a safest mode of going to India.

The other process is that when a person comes home, he takes some of his persons (friends, kin-members and neighbors and the like). While coming he may have heard

about the vacancies. Even without such information about vacancies, he takes some persons who also stay with him until getting job.

From the responses from a few persons interviewed in mid and far west, it is also seen that they take some persons to replace them, and get some income in doing that. The amount could be as low as from Rs 2,000 to 10,000 depending upon the nature of job and salary. This is like buying a job. This generally happens in 'security jobs'.

All the respondents had expected that it would be good after migration. But 60 % (72%) expressed that they had also heard about the problems in foreign lands also. Despite this they were motivated to work in India, mainly because of desperation and a few out of curiosity.

Table 4.10 reveals that 47 % migrants went to India alone. But this does not mean that they had no contacts with the person living there. They told that they had taken the address of the known persons living there. When they reached the city, they had contacted him. A few were not able (10 %) to contact the person. They told that local persons had helped them to get that person. Only 8 % went to India with family members, 27 % with friends and 17 % with kinfolks. As generally if a person is already in India, it is less likely that another person from the same family will join the trip. As a result, cases of people going with family to India are rather extremely less.

Table 4.10: Process of going to India (%age response)

With whom they went to India	western	mid western	far western	eastern	total
With the family	17	-	-	-	8
Alone	54	73	20	36	47
With friends	29	27	10	42	27
With kinfolk	-	-	70	18	17

4.3.3. Staying arrangements in India:

A large number of respondents (77 %) expressed that they stayed in India alone. Only 6 % respondents had taken family with them. Another 8 % expressed that they had taken family there only for some time. The rest stayed with friends. The reason for not taking the family were again related to lack of security of work, continuous unavailability of work, low salary/wages, and need to look after the family and farm (whatever it small it may be). This has already been explored.

Table 4.11: With whom they stayed in India (%age respondents):

Companions	Western	Mid Western	Far Western	Eastern	Total
With family	6	-	10	6	6
Partly with family and kinfolk	11	-	15	-	8
Alone	80	80	75	72	77
Stayed with friend	4	20	-	24	9

4.3.4. Marriage before going:

In general, about one fourth of the respondents stated that they were married when they first went to India for work, the rest three fourth (75 %) were unmarried. There was not much variation in this response across the region, but in Mid West, where a slightly large number of respondents were married.

As the age of the migrants (discussed above) was lower, it is usually that people go to India before the marriage. Generally, they come for marriage afterwards. Having a job or work in India could be a point for increasing the marrigability also.

4.3.5. Expense for Migration:

It is seen that expenses required for migration to India is minimum. This seems to include only the travel expenses in the bus and railways and food cost. Almost half of the respondents expressed that they spent only up to Rs 1,000 for migration to India. One in three respondents expressed that they spent between Rs 1,000 to Rs 2,000 for this purpose. Only 15 % respondents had to spend from Rs 2,000 to Rs 3,000. This is again the travel expenses required to go to distant cities within India. Only 4 % respondents had spent more than Rs 3,000, and this also included the expenses required to buy the job. Respondents of mid and far west regions reported less expenses as compared to other regions. This is because of the fact that they went to work in India in places (like Nainital and Pithoraghar) which were close to their place of origin. Another study also confirms this fact (Upreti, 2002:94). He writes that 'it literally does not require anything to them (migrants) to come over to Pithoraghar region (India). Sometime even money is not required because they can travel across the border on foot'.

Table 4.12. % respondents spending various amount of money while migrating to India.

Expenses (Rs)	Western	Mid Western	Far Western	Eastern	Total
Up to 1000	56	67	30	24	48
1000-2000	25	27	65	29	33
2000-3000	15	6	5	35	15
3000 and more	4	-	-	12	4

The lower cost required to migrate to India was also the result of open border and lack of serious barriers for doing so. It is basically the travel cost. Therefore, usually the migrants feel that they would not lose anything by migrating to India. This expense was far less as compared to that for the Gulf states, where a migrant would need to spend about Rs 80,000 to 100,000. The lower expenses required to migrate to India means that poorer people can also do so.

The money usually was obtained from friends, relatives and parents. In case parents have agreed to send the children, they had arranged the money. A significant proportion also said that they had borrowed by themselves from the friends, which they paid after a year. A small number of parents also reported that they had borrowed the money for sending the son to India. While doing research in Dailekh district in mid west region, author found many poor families taking loan for the migration of their young boys (aged 15-20 years). Invariably all the households studied there had one or more male members in India for some time of the year. The poorer families had obtained the loan on the condition that the migrant pay the same amount in Indian currency after a yearly return to village. That is to say, if one has taken Rs 1000 in Nepali currency, he has to pay Rs 1,000 in Indian currency, i.e., 60 % more (as interest) in a year. This is very high interest indeed. The maximum amount of loan obtained for this purpose was Rs 3,000.

4.4 Impact of migration on the livelihood of the family:

4.4.1 Occupational changes:

There is a slight change in the occupation of the respondent before and after migration. There is a slight decline in the dependence on farming. Before moving to India, almost 57 % said that their main occupation was farming. But now only 44 % said so. It is difficult to say whether this change was entirely due to migration. The general decline in agriculture is a common process seen in the village. Increase in population and division of land among the sons of a family means that average land holding has been decreasing. During the time span of migration (i.e., before and after), these demographic and resources ownership pattern have also changed. Therefore, it is difficult to isolate or separate the impact of migration. But 'migration' has also been one of the reasons for the decline in the dependence in farming. the intensity of cultivation in areas characterized by high migration has been reducing.

The other main change is that practice of combining the wage employment and business with farming has increased. Those returning from India had established some small shops in the village. They have also taken the wage employment in large numbers, which was due to combination of skill improvement and greater disposal to work on wage basis.

In the sample there were 2 blacksmiths and 3 tailors involved in their traditional occupation before migration. But after returning to Nepal tailors continued their traditional work, whereas blacksmiths left their profession.

Table 4. 13 Occupations (% households) before going to India

Occupations	western	mid western	far western	eastern	total
Farming	60	40	45	81	57
Farming and wages	6	53	30	18	18
Wages	32	13	15	6	21
Others	2	-	-	-	1
Tailoring	-	-	15	-	3
Blacksmithing	-	-	10	-	2

Table 4.14 Occupation (% households) after migration in India

Occupations	western	far western	far western	eastern	total
Farming	35	-	65	77	44
Farming and wages	21	76	-	6	27
Wages	22	27	10	-	26
Farming and business	22			17	13
Tailoring			15		3

4.4.2 Residential change:

Only 18 % respondents expressed that they changed the place of residence and moved to the urban areas or other comfortable areas like road side after employment in India. All the rest stayed in their original place. The residential change could also be important from the point of view of livelihood security.

4.4.3 Economic change:

Respondents were asked to state their economic position before and after their migration. These respondents claimed that their position has slightly improved after the migration. It has to bear in mind that respondents were those who stayed in India for some time.

From what they said, it appeared that their economic position could not go worse after migration. They had not invested a lot to increase the risk of losing the money. Therefore, failure did not bring risks to the economic disaster for the family. For example, people migrate to Gulf Countries or to other advanced countries invest a lot for going there. For this people either take a large sum of loan or sell their land and other property. Those who were not successful in getting the job have lost assets supporting their livelihoods thereby increasing the risks to their family's livelihood security. This type of risk to migrants to India does not exist to a great extent. On the other hand, those who were able to purchase the jobs had a secured job also. Therefore, after migration to India, people's status would not go down. If there are any chances, they can improve it. From the analysis of the data, it seems that about 2 % respondents could improve their position from 'medium to rich', and they were mainly the retired army officers. There is also a shift in the economic position of a small section of migrant families - from 'very poor' to 'poor', and from 'poor to middle class'. About 6-7 % respondents seem to make such improvement in their class position.

The above analysis would also make us expect that if migration in India has been helping to improve economic condition, even to a smaller extent, then Nepal's economic or household economic position would have gone up because this migration has taken place since a long time ago. The general answer to this question is that every household would not take part in migration all the time. Only those households who could take permanent or fixed job in India would improve the situation. Even though participation of households in India is also dependent on family legacy, this does not hold true for all households.

As most of the income earned from India is used for daily consumption, once the access to that income source vanishes, the economic position of household would go down. As a result, it would lead to stabilization of the household economic position on an average basis, i.e., the gain in economic position vanishes. This process is happening all the time and this temporary upward and downward movement for few households would be balanced all the time.

In sum it can be said that migration to India has been helping the households to balance their economic position, especially the poor households, in the long term. During their course of employment in India, they can bring slight changes in economic position, but this goes down again after that employment ceases. For example, Caplan has also concluded that many people who had migrated to India had been able to retrieve their mortgaged land and meet their recurrent expenditure (1972:44). This retrieving of mortgaged land essentially means pulling out from the 'crisis'.

Table 4.15: Changes in perceived economic position of households before and after migration (as reported by the respondents (%) who had /have been to India)

Wealth Class	Western		Eastern		Mid west		Far West		Total	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Rich	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	2
Medium	29	38	29	35	27	33	40	45	30	38
Poor	52	46	57	35	40	40	30	35	46	41
Very poor	19	16	24	18	33	27	25	20	24	19

4.4.4. New things learned:

It is not only the income, but also other benefits that migrants derived from migration to India. About 60 % respondents said that they learned new things when they worked in India. These new skills learned were: welding, cooking, management style, mechanical work, photography, dying the clothes, using washing machine, carpentry, hotel management skills, tailoring, steel road work and electricity mechanic. Only 27 % said that they did not learn any useful skills from their work in India. Some of the respondents expressed that they have been using the new skill for increasing their livelihood security through new income in cash and kind. For example, migrants were seen to diversify their income opportunities when they return home. They have established shops and involved in small petty trade also.

4.5. Destinations and process of adaptation and work in India:

Mostly respondents had a desire to go to bigger cities like Delhi, Madras, Mumbai, Bangalore, and Kolkotta. But because of friends and kin members staying in other cities than those they had desired, they also had to go a place other than their choice. A certain pattern is also seen in the migration from a certain source region to a certain destination. This is seen in the following Table.

Table 4.16: Source and destination of migration from Nepal to India.

Source region in Nepal	Destination in India (in order of importance)
Western region (Kaski, Syangya and Lamjung districts)	Delhi, Mumbai, Gujarat, Gorakhpur, Haiderabad, Kolkotta, Madras, Rajasthan, Banaras, Faridabad, and Punjab.
Eastern region	Kolkotta, Gujrat, Darjeeling, Patna, Silguri, Orissa, and Madras
Mid-western Region	Delhi, Banglore, Almora, Dehradun, Kullu, Himanchal Pradesh.
Far-western Region	Mumbai, Delhi and Banglore

The past pattern of movement of people to Indian had now created a path for the new emigrants. This 'path dependency' (because now in those paths new emigrants find social network, information and the like) is now clearly seen, as in the above Table. This has also created certain 'ethno-cultural' pattern of migration. Poffenberger has also come to the conclusion that 'the choice of place of migration' depends upon their personal experiences regarding a particular place or profession (1980).

The mobility of Nepali workers in India was also found to be dependent upon the types of work undertaken there. For example, those who worked in army said that they traveled all over India as they were transferred from one place to another. They not only stayed in the big cities, but also in smaller towns and rural areas.

It is not that people had worked in one place. As they become accustomed in the Indian society, they then tend to shift the location and jobs. 70 % respondents expressed that they had changed the place and 30 % said that they did not change the location.

4.5.1. Creating communities in the place of destination:

In places Nepali migrants are working, there have been attempts to create the Nepali communities. This can be said as the reconstruction of the community of the origin. Migration of people of one place to one locality in India also helps in this. The established network and the channels ('path dependency' as described above) that bring people there means that people of one place tend to concentrate in one locality²⁹. As a result, people have a chance to meet, chat and do community activities as in the villages

²⁹ There is a neighborhood (RK Puram -4) in Delhi which is known by the village in Nepal from where a large number of people come to Delhi for work. There are about 110 small houses, sort of huts. Of these, 90 % are settled by people and families from Rolpa district in mid west Nepal. This is thus called 'Rolpali Tol'.

in Nepal. For example, it was even said that people meet during vacations to play the game of cards, i.e., gambling. They play what is played in their communities in Nepal.

The respondents reported that they were also contacted by Nepali political organizations in India. But they did not understand much about these organizations. As it is easy to reach to Nepali in India than in Nepal, political organizations and activism are also growing in India. In some cases, when some Nepalis were in problem, they are also helped by these organizations. For example, it was told that once a Nepali was killed by Punjabi businessman in Ludhiana, Punjab. When a few friends approached the police, the businessman said that he did not do it. The police also did not take care of it. Later on when all Nepalis organized a rally in front of police, then only they caught the businessman and charged him for the murder.

People of one locality were also reported to organize various festivals, religious ceremonies and cultural activities. For example, when the respondents did not come home for Dashain and Tihar festivals, they organized themselves such activities in India. These communities and activities tend to reduce the loneliness while in work in India.

It is revealed from the respondents that migrants who worked in India in informal sectors were also running 'society' sorts of organization with different names. It helped them in different matters. Some of them were also found to organize 'savings and credit' schemes. This was evident from the information given by people working in Delhi and Mumbai. Even though a research done by Thieme 2003³⁰ focused in such saving and credit activities in Delhi, but respondents had organized these activities in other places also.

The respondents from Western region claimed that they had a 'rotating saving and credit association' which is akin to traditional 'dhikuti' system in Nepali hills. Under this system, members put money in fixed installment in fixed intervals. A coordinator will collect the money and give chances to members to take loan. It is a competitive bidding (secret by chits) for the loan. Those members wanting to return home take loan, which they can repay by completing the payment of installment.

As appears from the respondents, the above saving and credit system is run by people having a sort of long-term job. People working in menial jobs like working as restaurant boy or domestic maid and the like would not be able to take part in such meetings.

It was also reported that forming of society was possible as migrants said that in the locality where they worked there were many Nepalis. In localities they worked, there were at least 2-3 thousands Nepalis.

However, the experience of the retired army personnel was different. They did not have many contacts with the society, and they were cut off from these social organizations.

³⁰ Thieme, Susan, 1993. 'Saving and credit associations and remittances: The case of far west Nepalis migrants in Delhi, India. Working Paper No. 39. Geneva: ILO.

Other studies have also reported that Nepalis who are well-established in India have been running 'social welfare organizations' which seem to provide help to other Nepalis facing severe problems there. For example, Bhattarai and Adhikari (2003) report that Mr Chabilal Sunwar, who heads two organizations 'All India Nepali Society' and 'Our Meeting Service Center' have been helping Nepalis. He had good and permanent job. His family is well established in India. Even though his family members do not like his involvement in these welfare activities because it brings many complications for the family, he has been helping the distressed Nepalis. For example, he once had to stay in police custody for four hours when he tried to rescue a Nepali girl of 10-12 years.

4.5.2. Type of work they had done:

From the analysis of the types of work done (see Table below) in India, it appears that mostly they work in both formal and informal sectors, but mostly of menial types. Most of these jobs required no skills and education. The most common jobs undertaken by migrants were *chaukidar* (security guard), portering, domestic help and general unskilled labour work. Chaukidar was the most sought after work by Nepali migrants, but this seems to have been difficult in recent times. The more and more formalization of 'security jobs' by security companies like 'group four' is reducing the opportunities for Nepalese. Generally Jats and Biharis now dominate in these security companies. Analysis of the work also reveals that there is a direct correlation between educational status and the nature of work. Poor and illiterate people were found to work in informal sector like domestic help, watchman, portering, farm labor and hotel/restaurant workers.

Table 4.17: Types of work done in Nepal

Region (source area of migrants)	Types of work done (in order of importance)
Western Region	company job, hotel, <i>kothi</i> (domestic help), industry, <i>chaukidar</i> , domestic help, in shops, farming.
Eastern Region	army, gardener, labor, porter, cow herding, farming, office work
Mid-western Region	laborer of all types including portering (<i>pelladar</i>), farming and other household work
Far-western region	guardsman, <i>chaukidar</i> (watchman), factory work, labor, hotel boy, shop worker

4.5.3 Caste and work:

It is clear from above discussion that people from different caste background had participated in the migration to India. The case of Dalits was also seen especially from the mid western region. It is also a region where there are proportionately more Dalits. One of the reasons Dalits, especially the young boys, went to India was to disguise their caste identity and to get equal treatment. In India, if they could hide their identity, they do

not have to bear the stigma of untouchability. In mega cities, this untouchability was also found to be low.

In India, some Dalits were able to establish themselves. But by and large their position was also not good. They were mostly engaged in menial work like washing dishes, helping in the garden and watchman. Moreover, Dalit respondents also lie to the employer about their caste status in Nepal, because people in India are also conscious of this caste status. A few Dalits were also said to work in the armies.

Some educated Brahmins and Chettris were also found to work in formal sector like in the company as a clerk. They were having secured jobs. But in general, the response was that mostly Nepali migrants worked in informal sector. The army service involved mainly Gurungs, Rais and Chettris. A few Brahmins were also involved.

Even though a clear distinction is not evident among Nepali migrants in India in terms of their caste status, work type and condition of living as compared to that in India, but some indication towards this pattern could also be discerned if one looks deeply into it. The general welfare level, education, confidence and the like could also be the reason for this.

4.5.4. Problems while working in India:

i. For the first time in India:

Almost half of the respondents informed that they had gone to India alone for the first time. Even though they said that they had gone there with contact address of their friends, kin-members and neighbors, 30 % of them reported that they had faced problems in finding their persons. Huge city, railway transportation system, crowd, and aloof nature of the city people scared them first. They got lost, but other Indians helped them to find the place or in contacting the persons they were in touch.

Once they reached the city in destination, which was decided based on whether they had contacts or not, 40 % said that their friends picked them up, and another 30 % reported their own kinfolks picked them up. There were a few individuals who reported that their company and the household where they were going to work picked them up. These were the people having pre-fixed job arranged through the friends, neighbors and kin-folk. There was obviously no problem for those involved in army job.

ii. Finding the work:

Many of them reported that it is not easy to find work. They had somehow got the job, but reported that the prospect is becoming bleak as more and more Indians want to get the work. But there was still the past legacy that Nepali are good for security. Their loyalty and trust is still counted on by the employers. It is only because of this legacy that Nepali get work there, it was told.

The respondents reported that their friends, requested their employers and Indian acquaintances to find work for new immigrants. They were instrumental in finding the work. It may be because of this that 63 % respondents reported that they obtained the work within 10 days of arrival but 15 % said that it took them 20 days to find the work. Until they found the work they stayed with their friends, relatives or whomever they knew.

In the initial period they were not much concerned with the pay, but just to get a foothold. But once they were established and knew the place they started looking after good work. It is because of this fact that they did not face difficulty in finding the work.

iii. Problems they had in the workplace:

There were many problems reported by the respondents, and they were grouped as below:

- Not payment: 24 % respondents reported that they did not get payment from the employers. This was generally the case of domestic helpers. Domestic help was the one of main employment sectors for Nepali men, and now increasingly for female. It was reported that nowadays young girls are highly demanded in India, especially in cities like Delhi, where women also go for formal work. They need these young girls to look after the children. When they did not get the payment for a long time, they left the work and started the work in another place. They said that they had no other alternatives other than leaving the employer who do not pay.
- Low salary: 12 % respondents reported this. They said that it was barely enough to survive.
- No arrangement for staying: This was stated by 12 % respondents. Lack of place to stay was a problem for them.
- Lack of security: 33 % respondents had faced this problem. They had to work in night without proper safety gears. In the night, there were always chances of encounters with drunken people. 'This would make a problem' they said. Goon's problem was also reported.
- Lack of holidays: This was reported by 20 % respondents. They worked as domestic help in the household and there was no holiday. All the time they had to be in the work.
- Pressures from the local persons: For 25 % respondents this was also a problem. Local people would give pressure to go elsewhere so that they could work instead. Some of the respondents who worked as night watchman said that local persons would always give pressure for them to do the work effectively. Therefore, there was a dilemma for them. One group of people would want them to leave the place and go elsewhere, whereas there was another group of people who want them to perform effectively and give security for them. Even the educated Indians nowadays do not get jobs like watchman. They feel envious to Nepalis. But given the legacy of loyal and faithful worker combined with the fact that Indians are not considered as good workers as they demand more in terms of money, holidays and the like, Nepalis are still preferred.

- 60 % said that they had problems with Police harassment, cheating and demanding money. In one location in Delhi, where a large number of Nepali live in huts, police always demand money on the charges that the community produces alcohol. This community being 'ethnic groups' requires alcohol for various religious and festivals produce alcohol. They had always done so in the hills in their original place. But policemen demand money even for this.
- Not getting pay in time: This was reported by 30% respondents. The employer would delay the payment and it was particularly problematic if they did not money when they needed it to send home.
- About one in six respondents also narrated that they had faced considerable mental tortures in their work. They were beaten, hated and verbally abused. They were not treated with respect.
- Other problems they encountered were language problem, lack of health service, lack of work and less facility. Cheating by the Nepalis and the Indians is equally common. There are so many who demand donations for religious and political reasons. There are also persons who promise to arrange good jobs but do not do so. They flee with money.

iv. Desire to return home while working:

Because of various problems encountered while working in India, a large proportion of respondents wanted to give up the work and return home. About 60 % respondents had this desire, but due to economic condition at home they stayed on. 15 % respondents returned home as they could not earn money.

4.5.5. Duration of work in India

Based on the responses of the people having experience of working in India, it seems that the migrants can be divided into four categories:

Seasonal migrants: Those who work in India during off farm season and stay there in a stretch of time not more than 6 months are known as seasonal migrants. They also frequently return to India, almost once in a year. They seem to work in odd jobs of various types like construction labor, porters, farm laborers especially wheat harvesting in Punjab. In the present study about 9 % of the migrants to India were of this type, and they came mainly from mid western and far western regions. People from Tarai district of eastern region (Japha) which is also adjoining with India also went there for seasonal work, mainly wheat harvesting in Punjab. There they would get IRs 150 per day. But this Japha district is also agriculturally affluent district, and would attract Indian workers in the farming season. As the wages are higher in India, Nepali migrants went there, employing Indian laborers in their farms.

Seasonal migrants were found often to go to places in India which are near to them. They were not found to go far south. For example, the common destinations for the people of mid western and far western regions were the Almora, Nainital, Masuri, and other cities, towns and villages in Uttaranchal and Himanchal Pradesh. People of these places go to

government and other lucrative jobs in Delhi and other mega cities. The space left in the work force for agricultural and forestry related work is taken up by the Nepalis migrants. Apart from that the requirement of porters, carriers of people (old people) in the religious places, and the like are also filled by Nepali seasonal migrants. This is also the finding of Upreti (2002: 76). He writes:

One important pattern of migration from the hills of Nepal to the neighbouring Indian region is determined by the non-availability of any work at home during the off-seasons. The agricultural work in the hills is over by November and then there is no work till March. During this lean period, people plan to migrate to rather less distant areas or nearby urban centers. This serves three purposes:

- To sell off their home products made of bamboo wood or handmade wood, ghee, cardamom etc in the market and raise cash money.
- To seek employment for a few months as labour in ongoing construction work or other projects and add to their capital.
- Finally to purchase cloth, kerosene, salt grains and other essential goods and return home.

The people of mid and far west regions as stated above combine trade of home enterprises or herbs and seasonal employment. In the course of trade they go to Tarai first, and then to India. When selling off the things, they start working. After doing the work for until April, they return home for cultivation of maize and stay there until the harvest of paddy in December. Another round of seasonal migration then begins.

Short-term migrants: The short-term migrants are generally those who worked for more than 6 months and less than 5 years in one stretch of time. Almost half of the respondents belonged to this category. These migrants are those who involve themselves in informal sector and do odd kind of work as domestic help. Proportionately a larger part of the respondents from western region were involved in this type of migration. It was told that they had migrated for certain reason like to pay a debt or to save some money for marriage of children and the like. Once that aim is fulfilled, then they return home.

Medium-term migrants: Those staying in India for more than 5 years and less than 10 years are considered as medium term migrants. They have a reasonably secured work like *Chaukidar* or watchman or a factory work. In a way they are in the formal sector. About one in four migrants was found to work in this position. Some of the persons were in long-term work (like *Chaukidar*, watchman) also found to leave the job earlier by selling their position, preferably to another Nepali, and return to Nepal.

Long-term migrants: Persons working for more than 10 years are considered as long-term migrants. They have a permanent type of job. Generally service in the army, government job, and other job in formal institutions like banks, universities, and private companies leads people to work on a long-term basis. Among the respondents, army personnel and *chaukidar* (watchman) in these formal institutions had stayed longer than

10 years. In general they wait until they get pension or other retirement benefits. One in four respondents interviewed were long-term migrants.

Table 4.18: % respondents with different periods of stay in India.

Duration of work yrs	Western	Mid Western	Far Western	Eastern	Total
Less than a year	-	27	15	12	9
1-5	65	40	45	35	49
5-10	25	33	20	12	23
11-15	15	-	20	12	12
15 -20	4	-	-	30	7

4.6. Income, savings and transfer of money to Nepal:

4.6.1. Income and saving in India:

The respondents' response generally was that they were not able to earn much in India. The salary scale they earned and as reported by them is given in Table 4.19. It shows that about 16 % respondents' earning was only IRs 500 to 1,000 a month. These people were essentially the domestic help, who would get shelter and food in the house where they provided service. The shop, hotel and restaurants workers, especially in the early phase, were in this category. These workers would get a higher salary (from IRs 1,000 to 2,000) after a period of experience and when the employer feels trust upon the worker.

A large number of migrants, almost 40 %, stated that they earned from IRs 1,000 to 2,000 in a month. The cooks, *chaukidar* (Watchman), factory workers, experience gardener and the like were found to get this much of salary. These people when they work in formal institutions like companies, big restaurants and hotels and get experience, they will start to get IRs 2,000 to 3,000 a month.

Permanent job holders in formal institutions like banks, army, universities, factories and companies were said to get more than IRs 3,000 a month. Only one in four migrants was found to get this level of salary.

Considering the above information, on an average, a Nepalis earns about IRs 2,000 a month in India³¹.

³¹ This income pattern is somewhat less than the finding of a journalistic study which was conducted in India itself (eg. Tika Ram Bhattarai and Devendra Adhikari 'Nepali workers in India – big numbers and less income'. Himal Khabarpatrika. p. 15-29 March, 2003. p. 30-37. However the duration of stay (average 8 years) and age at migration (average 16 years) seem similar with this study.

Table 4.19: Salary/income of Nepalis migrants working in India (IRs) in a month.

Salary scale/ month Rs	Western	Mid Western	Far Western	Eastern	Total
500-1000	26	13	10	-	16
1000-2000	40	53	50	12	40
2000-3000	13	33	30	47	26
3000 +	21	-	10	42	19

Apart from salary, no other benefit was given to most of the migrants. It was revealed that, on average, one in four (21 %) respondents stated, they obtained both food and staying facilities from the employer. Only 18 % reported that they got only food and 36 % said that they got only lodging (staying) facilities from the employer. As a large number of migrants were employed in domestic help sector, which also includes *chaukidar*, they were provided with these facilities of food and lodging. This was also the reason for staying in India for a long time, opined the respondents staying on a long-term basis.

One in four respondents expressed that they could not make any savings while working in India. Besides they were alone, they also had some 'bad' habits like drinking and gambling. In a way, 25 % workers did not send any money to home. They were mainly the short-term migrants. They spend their time this way, and then returned home when they were about 25 years old, the time for the marriage. Pfaff-CZarnecka (2002) has also found in a village in Bhanjhang, Nepal, that a significant number of households did not bring money home, but simply 'eat-out' their earnings.

Three-fourth of the respondents expressed that they had saved a small proportion of money they earned. Many were not sure how much they would save, but said that once in a year when they returned home they could bring money to the extent of IRs 6,000-8,000. In addition they would bring clothes and other things required in the households. Some had also taken their families in India and they would not bring money home at all. But their numbers were small (see above). There was also an individual among the respondent who claimed that he used to bring as much as Rs 50,000 in a year.

4.6.2. Keeping and transferring the money to Nepal:

48 % of respondent said that they kept money in the place of their kin-members. One third of the respondents said that they had kept the money with them. They did not face much problem in keeping money at home. They had some savings, which they would bring home by themselves during vacations or permanent return. But they would also send money home through their friends and other persons working with them. Generally people returned home during the festival of Deshain.

In a sense, it was the hand carry system that is used in transferring the money. Hundi system which was in practice in other countries like Gulf States was not operational in India at all, especially with these types of migrants. There was also no cost involved in sending money by the hand carry system, because each is helping the other in similar ways.

A large number of respondents also reported that they did not open an account in bank. Though it could be done easily by using some channels³² to open bank account, they did not prefer it doing that. One informant said that going to bank for the deposit and drawing money would give impression to other people that he/she had some money. This means further risks. But persons working in the army and other formal institutions like bank said that they had an account in the bank and they send money home through the bank transfer. This would take time, but was safe.

Even though hand carry system was followed, respondents did say that there was risk in transferring the money that way. There were risks of goons attacking them and stealing the money while traveling and staying in hotels, and the problem while crossing the border when police were particularly wanted to have some bribes. When Goons know that someone is carrying the money, they would put acid, chili in the eyes and then would snatch the money they were carrying. Even though these were the stories heard by the respondents they did not face any untoward incident while transferring the money.

In another study, the researcher found that Nepali migrants also keep their savings with the person with whom they were working or with contractors who employ them. In this regard they are often subjected to exploitation by these persons (Upreti, 2002: 111). In Uttaranchal, Nepali migrants also have interesting system of saving money. Generally in a group of 10-12 emigrants, one is selected as leader, which is called *mate*. They deposit their savings with *mate* and when it is needed take it back from him in full or in part. But now this system has also been declining, may be due to the risk that the leader will run away. Therefore, nowadays, many migrants keep their savings by themselves (Upreti, 2002: 110).

4.6.3. Expenses of the income/savings earned in India.

The income earned in India was used for a variety of purposes. Almost all respondents (about 90 %) said that they had to use it for household consumption, i.e., food (mainly rice) and non-food items (like clothes, sugar, tea, cooking oil spices, salt, shoes, and the like). Another major area where many households used their earning is education in which nearly 40 % used their income earned in India. The next important purpose was health in which 36 % households used their income from India.

About 26 % respondents were able to buy house and land and accumulate assets for future use.

³² Otherwise, they would ask for an identity like ration card or job certificate. For those working in informal sector this was difficult to get.

Table 4.20: % households spending the income earned/saved in India for different purpose (multiple choice questions, so it exceeds 100).

Expenses	Western	Mid Western	Far Western	Eastern	Total
Buy house and land	29	-	25	35	26
Education of children	27	33	45	71	39
Health	33	33	35	47	36
Household consumption	81	100	100	94	90
Others	-	-	-	29	5

4.7. Reintegrating into the society:

4.7.1 Reasons for returning home:

A majority of the respondents (60 %) said that they returned after working for 5-10 years in India because they were not able to earn much income. 'As the income and saving was low, it did not particularly helped the family, and then decided to come back home' was the common response of the respondents. About 21 % of the respondents said that they had to return because of pensions and old age. 15 % respondents said that they had to return because of the family problems at home.

4.7.2 Problem now:

Even though migrants returning from India are expected to improve economic condition, 40 % of them said that their main problem now is economic, rather than social. One in four respondents expressed that they are now in abject poverty, and 15 % of them said that they do not have any work to do. Accordingly, it can be said that for many, migration to India is like solving the current livelihood problems. Only to a very few this was an 'accumulation' opportunities. It may be because of this fact that 61 % respondents said that they did not fulfill their expectation from migration to India. Only 21 % said that their expectations were fulfilled.

But after migration, they said, they got new skills, new experience and sort of confidence in life. They were also able to develop contacts with other persons. Accordingly, they said, they are socially better off at least than before.

4.8. Case Studies (7)

Shanta Bahadur is 32 years old now. He has a wife and three children. He lives in Lekhnath municipality Ward No. 11 Kaski District. He stayed 9 years in Mayapuri New Delhi. He is illiterate. "My family condition was very poor. I used to hear that Delhi is good place for work. My friends and relatives had also suggested me to go there. Once I decided to go to India. I was 16 when I went for the first time."

His father had arranged money for him. He went with a village brother through Sunauli Butwal (India Nepal border). He didn't face any problem while going to India, but he had lost some luggage when coming back home. "It is very difficult to carry goods safely. There are many chances of being robbed at any point of train" he shares his experience.

"Delhi was new for me. Everything was new for me; new culture, new environment and new friends. It was difficult. I was not educated. I had no friends. I thought it meaningless to come to Delhi. I felt so even during work period" Shanta shares his experience very anxiously. Language was another problem. Sometimes he felt to return home. Staying added another new challenge in new environment. He had to wait long for Job. Finally a known person helped him finding a job in kothi. He received 300 rupees as salary.

"I had worked for 14th months but he didn't pay my salary. He exploited me. Later on I ran away." He went to work in Mayapuri in Electronics Company. His major responsibility was packing the things and supply at nearby places. He had to work for 8 hours and OT for extra work. Over time duty was good during festive seasons. Company has also provided accommodations. After two years, the salary reached 11 hundreds plus bonus. "I could not send money back home before working in this company". He had experienced discrimination in salary. "They think that any amount is fine for Nepali worker" he shares. "I think there should not be discrimination among human beings. All are equal."

Shanta heard that Nepalis visiting the prostitute was very common. "No I didn't go. I got married earlier than I could feel it". But he had a story. A Nepali man called Narayana, from Syangja married a Brahmin girl. He was a driver. He used to drink, made noise and visited prostitute. Later his wife and child left him. Finally he died of unknown disease. Some people used to say that he was HIV positive and died of TB. No one knew when he had died.

Now Shanta is aware of HIV/AIDS. He attends the community program of awareness. He has been active community worker. But as a profession, he is a poor farmer.

Mahendra Biswakarma (39 years old) spent 13 years in Delhi. He is a literate man. He went with village relatives. 'I was told that I'd get an opportunity of study. My parents agreed the purpose' he clarifies of his initial expectation of earning and studying in a big city. When he reached the destination, he was so happy with colorful lives. It was vast different than the life he lived in Patneri where he is living today. "Slowly I could know that studying in Delhi was not true," he says. After a few days, he started working in a Kothi/house in New Delhi as domestic servant. "Problem also started right from that point. It was difficult I had to cry earlier. Everybody could speak Hindi. I was just helpless because of language" he shares.

Mahendra received 100 rupees per month. He worked for a year in the same place. Later on he shifted to a company where he was a machine operator. Though he had to work 12 hours a day, he could earn no more than 1500 to 3000 rupees monthly. He was provided

with lodging and food as well. But Mahendra had bitter experience of discrimination. He returned home after 5 years. During his working period, he rarely sent money. It's only on some occasion or festive season when he could send around five hundred rupees, not huge amount.

Keshab KC is an inhabitant of Khahare Syangja. He is 24 years old. He studied up to class eight in the village. He was around 15 years old when he went to Delhi. He went there with three other village people.

Keshab remembers the problem he had faced in Sunauli border. "It was good. I had other friends to combat with the dacoits. They had threatened us of attacking. Bus drivers and passengers helped to come out of problem. We didn't stop anywhere because of their threat", he says.

The environment was new and working place was new. He got first job in hotel as a washman. He worked one and half years in the same hotel. He had worked in a low salary. "It was difficult to save with that amount" he adds. He reveals that he couldn't send any money till two years. Later on he got another job with 1500 salary where he managed to send some amount during festive seasons back home.

Keshab was not aware on labour rights and HIV/AIDS. He was honest and hard working. He says, "I had to work that's all". He had worked around 5 years in Delhi. Now he is planning to go for gulf country.

Badhuraam Tharu 41 lives in Pratappur of Bardia in Mid Western. He is one of the poorest in the community. He has small and straw roofed hut having no electricity. He was 25 years old when he migrated to India for the first time. He used to send 15000 rupees per annum from his job.

"It is good to hear and dream about working abroad when you are in big crisis" he says sharing his dream and bitter experience in early days of India. He heard about the job in India and dreamt of earning good income. His wife had also pressed and suggested him to go to India. Financial crisis of family had compelled him despite unwillingness. He had no more information except some others who used to talk about the jobs in India. Badhuraam went alone. He took Rs 500 as loan. Badhuraam went to Himachal Pradesh. Initially he had to struggle hard. He had started with daily wages. The earning was not sufficient even for him. He didn't know about the nature of his job. "I was just blank nature of job" Badhuraam adds smiling.

Later on he got better job. His salary was increased to 2500 without other facilities. He worked around seven years in the same place.

Shyam Sunar 46 is an inhabitant of Saleri Wards No 9, Kanchanpur district. He is from a Dalit community. He has 5 family members who depend upon his earnings. He has no farm land. The straw roofed house is the only property of Shyam. He has no electricity. He earns 18,000 yearly from Indian employment.

Shyam migrated to India when he was 15 years old. He heard that he could earn lots of money from the service of India. But when he went to that place, he had to start with daily wages and earn very minimum amount. He wanted to go to Bangalore but it didn't happen. He says, "our family had very serious financial problem when I was young. Our relatives had suggested me to work in India. I had my family pressure too".

He had to work in low salary as many other Nepalis. He took Rs 2000 loan from his neighbor. It took time to return with interest. "After a few months", he adds, "I started to earn good money from the service where I had worked for total 18 years in a same place. I could manage around two thousand to send back home".

The job of India has contributed to change the family status. Now he thinks that he is comparatively in good position. But he can't invest the sum he requires for the business of gold and silver. "This is expensive. However I've gained the confidence of doing anything. I had invested the earnings in education, health and daily needs of home" he added.

Dhanlal Damai, 41, lives in Kanchanpur Bhagatpur ward No 18 since last nine years. He had migrated from Bajura. He is one of many Nepalis of his areas who had worked in India. He had worked for 14 year in Bangalore. He is from a Dalit family. His family occupation is tailoring. He has no land for cultivation.

Dhanlal has very difficult time during childhood. His family was very poor. When he was 15 years old, he decided to go India and work. He had collected initial information from his neighbors and relatives. He knew that going India is not because of good earning but to get job. He wanted to support his family with his own earning. Family pressed him to work abroad.

Well he went and got a job after ten days of landing in Bangalore. It'd have been difficult if there were no other friends. They helped him finding job in a company. He started at Rs 1500 where later on he managed to get Rs 3000 monthly and started saving around Rs 1800, which he used to send back home. But he couldn't invest the money he earned in income generating activities. All the money, he had to spent in education for children and daily needs of family.

Buddhi Bahadur BK 28 lives permanently in Lekhnath Municipality Kaski with five other family members. He studied up to class five. He is working in daily wages in his locality. He has electricity, radio, concrete house and some farming land though that can only help producing two months of food. He had worked 7 years in India. But he couldn't save any money. There is no saving even till today. He evaluates himself poor.

Buddhi migrated when he was around 16 years old. He went with his friends. "I heard it is good earning in foreign countries, but Delhi didn't work. Again I went to Haidarabad. I started working in a home and ended in factory work, but no earnings" he said. He had Rs 500 rupees in initial stage. The amount reached up to 3000 rupees till his return home

after seven years. But he could never save any amount. He was not aware about the banking system.

"I thought working there wouldn't work. It was very difficult to support my family. My aspiration was incomplete" he shared his dissatisfaction. He is planning to go Arab Countries.

Ganga Subedi is an inhabitant of Ilam Municipality ward No 7 Singphring Mechi. He had migrated when he was 25 years old. He decided himself to go abroad and earn some money. Today, he has five family members. They live on agriculture. His house is made of woods and bamboo with tin roof.

Ganga is average in economical status. He has electricity. He has color TV, cassette player and an acre of lands for agriculture. But he acknowledges that before going to Gangtok, he had so many problems mainly financial. "The food production is not sufficient for whole year, but we managed it by working in daily wages in our locality" he said. He was provided with the living room but not other facilities. His major problem was delay in receiving salary. He could hardly save 100 rupees per month. He had worked for a year in a same place.

Semma Rai, 50 Arjundhara-2 Hattikilla Jhapa. Semma is a literate farmer. He had migrated alone when he was 21 yrs old. "I knew our family had economic problem and I thought of my responsibility. Finally working in India was easy access where we can also earn some money. But I initially wanted to go to Delhi, but went to Dehradun" he said. The policeman in border upset him.

He needed Rs 3000 to reach Dehradun. His brother had given him the amount. He started working as a peon with a salary of Rs 1000, which after three years the salary reached up to Rs 2000. The amount was sufficient for him.

Semma lives in old bamboo house with tin roof and some modern assets like electricity, fan, TV color, cycle and toilet, though the food production is not sufficient for the year. But he is a local businessman now. He sells vegetables and fruits. He hardly saves, but he is happy that he regards himself as average in family status. "I think I'm in good position. I have gained economically, socially, confidence, skill and experience and relation extended". He shares that he had spent the earnings from Indian job in purchasing home and land.

Devi Maya Dhakal, now 40, had gone to New Delhi with a village brother. She was compelled due to family reason. They were suffering hardships of life. She decided to work abroad. When she went for the job, she was 19 years old. She was unmarried. Their family occupation was agriculture. She worked for five years in Delhi. Devi Maya had begun working in Plywood factory. His brother had arranged the job for her. It was difficult to work in factory. Beside that she had also language problem. Later on she shifted to a pharmacy.

"Scolding of owners is hatred part of foreign job" she shares. She used to come home and go back to work. During her working period, she could save some amount. She was married after three years of working. She had continued two years more even after her marriage.

Today, she has a small family with five members and owned a small local business. The migration has helped her to establish her as a local businesswoman. The attitude of society has also changed towards her. "I'm better than earlier today. I'm economically, socially in a better place. I've also gained some skills and confidence" shares Devi.

Chapter V

Conflict and migration to India:

The present political conflict in Nepal is largely the result of the opposition of two radically different and antagonistic political visions – government trying to continue the present multiparty and monarchial political system and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) seeking radical changes in political system including establishment of People's Republic. CPN (M) started guerrilla war style of struggle in 1996 in the districts of the mid-western region, targeting the police, the main landowners, and members of other political parties, teachers and local government officials. By now all of Nepal's 75 districts are affected by the fighting which has claimed close to 13,000 lives in the past ten years. Since the conflict started in the mid-1990s, hundreds of thousands of people have been uprooted across the country. Landowners, teachers, and other government employees have been specifically targeted by the rebels and have fled their homes. Poorer sections of the population have also been affected and have fled forced recruitment into Maoist forces, retaliation by security forces or by the more general effects of war. Most of them have flocked to the main urban centers, in particular to the capital, Kathmandu. Many more migrated to India. No reliable figures exist on the current number of people internally displaced due to the conflict, but the most realistic estimates put it at between 100,000 and 200,000. Some estimates of the total number of displaced, including refugees in India, since the fighting began in 1996 go as high as two million.

Displacement has taken place by the direct as well as indirect effects of the conflict. Direct causes of displacement include among others: murder of a family member, threats, and violations of human rights, forced recruitment into Maoists forces, taxes, arrests and harassment by security forces. Acceleration of rural exodus in the last years is a result of the conflict like food insecurity and lack of opportunities for employment, low production in farms and constraints for livestock rearing, business or other income sources. Threats for death, extortion of money and food, charges of spying from both the conflicting parties, murder of the family members and fear of being abducted.

5.1 Magnitude of conflict-induced displacement and migrants to India:

There is wide variation as to the number of IDPs (internally displaced people) and how many of them have gone to India. The number of IDPs as reported by different reports varies to a great deal. This is illustrated in the following Table, which also includes the extent of migration to India. Total internally displaced persons in Nepal have been estimated to range from 37,000 to 400,000 except those who had gone to India³³

³³ Global IDP Report, Sept. 2004, p. 48.

Table 5.1. Number of IDPs in Nepal quoted in various reference materials.

Source	Number of IDPs	Reference year
GTZ et al	Between 100,000 – 150,000	Early 2003
One World Nepal News	200,000 displaced in urban areas only with 100,000 in Kathmandu alone	Mid 2003
CSWC (Community Study and Welfare Center)	160,000	Late 2003 – Early 2004
ICG (International Crisis Group)	Some 120,000 Nepalese crossed the border to India	In January 2003 alone
WFP (World Food Program)	Some 2000 Nepalese crossed the Nepaljung border to India	Every day during September 2003

The above Table, especially the reports of ICG (international crisis group) and WFP (world food program) reports, reveals that a large number of displaced people have been crossing the border to India. The number also fluctuates depending upon the severity of the conflict. This displacement has taken place mainly in the mid and far west regions where the impact of conflict has been severe.

Seddon and Adhikari (2003) have carefully cited some figures of IDPs from different sources on ‘Conflict and Food Security in Nepal’. A report in Kathmandu Post (12 April 2003) quoted the Local Development Officer of Dailekh district as saying that ‘10000 thousands people left the district up to August 2002’, while the Narayan Municipality record suggested that nearly 25,000 people had sought permission to leave the district. Mainali (2002) reports that a quarter of 800,000 people from Bajura region (i.e., 200,000) have moved away from their villages (cited by Seddon and Adhikari, 2003). They further estimate for the total number of those displaced as a result of the conflict vary enormously, but the numbers involved may be as high as 500,000. A reporter from Kanchanpur reports that about 10,000 Nepali people entered India with in past few weeks from Gaddachowki police check post³⁴. Another report states that about 9,000 to 11,000 people enter India through the same post every day. This report is maintained at the police post office, as recording has become a practice in recent times³⁵. In the same report it is mentioned that an Indian border official remarked “if the people of Nepal migrate at the same scale, Nepal will be vacant soon”.

The author's study in Dailekh in 2005 revealed that there were 12, 000 IDPs who have left the district, including about 1 600 in Surkhet (including children in school); about 1 500 in the Kholpur squatter settlement and the remaining 10 000 in India. Last year, the CDO office issued 8 000-9 000 of the identity letters (a Government measure aimed at preventing Maoists from escaping to India). This indicates that an overwhelming proportion of IDPs escape into India.

³⁴ The Himalayan Times, 21 Dec. 2002.

³⁵ Chitranga Thapa, 2002. Kantipur, Decm 23:7

The 'internally displaced people' can be classified into three main groups by the place they resettle: 'settlers on public land (sukumbasis)', Bazaar settlers, and 'migrants to India'. Settlers on 'sukumbhasi' land include those who are relatively well off. There are many people who regularly settle on free land until they obtain the rights to that land. However many of those who have settled on 'sukumbhasi' land are low caste households from hill districts who have moved down with their families, as they have nothing left in their home areas. Often husbands of these families are away working in India. Bazaar settlers are those who have moved into the bazaars. Family members of security forces personnel (police and army) have moved into bazaars from rural areas for their own personal safety. Ex-Maoists, both girls and boys, are present in bazaar areas in order to be away from the Maoists who would retaliate for fleeing the group and for providing information to the government. These ex-Maoists then escape to India if possible, which is a safe heaven for them. In some cases, these girls end up in 'red light area' as they are often illiterate with no skill to do other works. They are often sold into brothels by the person with whom they marry them or by those who lure them to safe place. Ex-Maoist boys are likely to be better able to look after themselves if they are able to leave the area, as they can work as labourers in India. Better off families have also moved to bazaar areas, particularly to bigger towns. There they are involved in business and other professions.

One of the problems in studying the migration into India is to segregate the population into normal (economic) migrants from conflict induced migrants. As migration to India has been taking place in normal times also, this problem becomes a difficult matter to solve. The 'open border' between Nepal and India and the 'unrestricted migration across border without any recording' make it extremely difficult to separate these two types of migrants. Since 2001, the flows of migrants have reportedly significantly increased. It was reported that during January 2003 alone, some 120,000 Nepalis crossed the border to India (ICG, 10, April 2003, p.2). Towards the end of August 2003, fighting and displacement have again resumed, and at the end of September 2003, some 2,000 persons were reported to be crossing the border in Nepalgunj (Banke) every day (WFP personal communication September 2003) compared to an average migration flow of 300-400 per day in previous years³⁶. A much higher proportion of women and children were also observed, although the majority of the migrants were still men. Those men who have migrated to India before, often have contacts and know where they are going in India. However this regular movement has been swelled by a large number of first time migrants. These were the people who had gone to India in haste without having or developing any contacts. In most probability, these migrants end up in slum area. At present it is unknown where these people are and what they are doing to survive. It is also reported that the increased flows of migrants have resulted in falling wages for jobs undertaken by migrants. Jobs that provided IRs 80-120 per day, now gives only IRs 20-25³⁷.

In a report published in *Samaya Weekly* about the displacement of Nepali and their staying in India reveals that 24,000 Nepali from 3500 families of one locality called

³⁶ The Kathmandu Post, 16 September 2003.

³⁷ GTZ, INF, SNV, UNDP/RUPP, NHRC & the Global IDP Project, March 2003, pp. 6-10.

Rajapur, Bardiya district, have migrated to Baharaich in Bihar, India. Some of the people have been working there as bonded labourer to the landlords. These people were forced because of the conflict between the government and Maoists armies. Rajapur is a conflict-prone place. The life of these people has become a hell. To make a survival, even the old persons of 65 years have been pulling Riksa. Some of the women and children washed the dishes and clothes of the Indian families. It is interesting that even the landlords of Rajapur have gone to that place to live. A few have also purchased some properties, but they are worried about the legal transfer. A person who bought the land has been regularly threatened for evacuation (Gyawali, 2005: 29-32).

5.2. Conflict-induced migration to India: findings of the study

Respondents surveyed for this study were not the ones who had gone to India because of the conflict. If they had gone, they would not have come to the village or their place of origin. But they were able to give insight about what has been happening in their villages and what they saw in India. But much of the information for this section comes from secondary sources.

All the respondents reported that they were affected by the conflict in many ways. For example, there has been increase in price of commodities and lack of availability of jobs and work. As farming has gone down as landlords were adversely affected and development activities have been slow to come to villages, employment and income opportunities have been curtailed. People are also caught between the two forces – government and Maoists, and their livelihoods have been jeopardized. Extortion of food and money and human resource to work in Maoists army has been the main problem. These were the general information provided by the respondents.

Respondents from mid western region claimed that they had seen people from the hills of that region (like Rukum and Rolpa) who want to go India, but are not able to do so. In these places young people have gone out. While in India they had met many people gone there, and their problem is very serious. They have often stayed in squatter or slum area without job and income. As they have also migrated with family, the problem is serious. In India, Nepali associations had provided some help like distributing food but it was too difficult as others in India were also poor.

Respondents from Ilam district also reported various incidences of which one was serious. In one village, people were displaced. But they said that they had no idea as to where they went. In India, they have heard about people coming there because of the conflict.

Respondents of the western region did mention the problems created by the political conflict. But they said that they did not see displaced persons because of the conflict. Western region, especially the area where survey was done, is considered as a relatively safe place with regard to conflict.

Respondents from the far west had seen more people displaced from their villages and gone to India. 45 % respondents said that seven families from their village had to go elsewhere because of the conflict. In another village, they had seen about 100 persons leaving the village. They claim that most of them had gone to Indian towns. While working in India also they had come across the people who had gone there because of the conflict.

Box 1:

While travelling to Dailekh in 2005, the author met about 20 groups of men. Most of them were 18-22 years old, but some were as young as 14-15 and others as old as 40. They said that they were walking from Dailekh to Guranse on the border with Surkhet, to take the bus to India, where they expected to save about Rs 10 000, on average, in a period of 3-4 months. Informants at Dailekh declared themselves to be somewhat surprised to hear that so many people (about 200) were going to India at this time of the year. Migrants usually left after sowing maize, transplanting rice or millet, or after a festival. These groups were on the road only a few days "before" the Tij festival, and they would also miss the post-harvest festivals of Deshain and Tihar in December. They felt that the early start could be attributed to a combination of two reasons, namely drought (the maize crop was expected to be as bad as it was 20 years ago) but especially fear of conflict, in the aftermath of the Pilli (Kalikot district) attack, which took place on the 8th August 2005 leading to the death of 64 army personnel and 26 Maoists.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

6.1 Migration between Nepal and India and security concerns:

6.1.1. Human security: Migration as a survival strategy

The overwhelming reason for migration of Nepalis to India was for survival security. The study reveals that the Nepali migrants going to India come from the lowest economic background. Their aspiration is to generate some savings to meet certain goals like paying debts, marriage, improving households and buying food. The circular and long-term migrants were found migration as a way to generate some extra cash income required to buy food and nonfood items not produced at home.

As the cost of migration is low (usually the transportation cost and food), most migrants feel that there is nothing to lose in this type of migration. But for the poorest migrants, they had to borrow even the 500 or 1,000 Rs to meet the cost of transportation and food.

- Migration as a social and personal matter:

A few migrants were also found to go to India because of social and personal reasons. Caste discriminations and ambition of the young to become free is important for them, and they migrate even if they do not mean bringing economic advantages. Similarly socially discarded people were also found to migrate.

- Migration for accumulation strategy:

From the analysis of economic benefits, it is seen that migration to India has been helping in balancing the economic conditions of the migrants. It is in some way is helping to avoid further deterioration in the household economy. Despite that a small proportion of households expressed that they were able to improve the economic condition and make economic mobility.

- Conflict and migration:

The growing conflict in Nepal is increasing the flow of migrants to India. For them, this migration opportunity has also been providing security. In this way, India is taken as a safety valve in terms of security.

- Learning skills and knowledge:

A large proportion of migrants stated that they learned various trade skills, mainly from experience, while working in India. Cooking, driving, mechanics, and the like were the skills learned by migrants. The new skill has been helpful in improving the livelihood of the people even after they come back to Nepal.

- Improving the security at the destination level:

A large number of Nepali people have been working as 'security guards' providing security to the individual households, communities or companies. Apart from that they were also providing cheap labour to the enterprises and factories. This might have been helping the receiving community also.

With regard to Indian migrants to Nepal, a major cause of their migration was the 'pull factor'. Most of the migrants were undertaking profitable enterprises and professions and their strategy was 'accumulation of capital or money'. But there were also a small part of Indian migrants who have come to Nepal with the aim of improving the livelihoods. Their situation was similar to the majority Nepalis who have been to India for work.

6.1.2 Securitizing the migration: traditional and non-traditional security:

India and Nepal have some unusual relationship in that the border has been kept open. But looking back, it is revealed that it has been maintained so for the security reasons. But this was more so from 'traditional security' concerns, which is about the territorial security from external aggression. India used to regard Himalayas as good security for the country, which would make a formidable border to cross. Therefore, India's concern is not to bring Chinese to a point where natural demarcation of border is not there. Jawaharlal Nehru thus always had a sight on the Himalayas from the border security perspective. It is also for this purpose that India/Nepal border has been maintained as 'open border' even after British rule, who had maintained this because of several reasons – trade, recruitment in British-Indian army and for the military help provided.

From the study, it is revealed that there are three levels at which we need to look at migration from security concerns of the Nepali migrants in India:

a. Micro-level: Security of the Nepali migrants at the individual level. This has been a concern of many migrants. They were harassed by the locals who were not able to get good job, and are also not trusted or prepared the type of job Nepali do. But they would feel jealous and harass the Nepali working there. The other type of threat came from the police and other state security personnel, who also harass Nepali to get some income. Almost all Nepali working in India have been harassed by police at one or the other time in their working periods there. In India, Nepali were also harassed and felt insecure from the Nepalis themselves. They would cheat them from various perspectives. There are two types Nepali who live in India – those who come and go regularly. They are temporary or

seasonal migrants. The other Nepali are those stays in India itself. There are Nepali Indian citizens, and Nepali citizen in India. It is estimated that there are 7 million (Chattopadhyaya, 1996: 81) such people in India, especially in Darjeeling or Gorkha land, of which about 40 % are supposed to be Nepali citizen. Nepalis who are established in India also work to create insecurity for new Nepalis. They also work as agents for trafficking people to different countries. As a result India has also been a destination of people who want to go to other countries. When the agents cheat them, they work there in different jobs. For example, in a newspaper report it was stated that about 100 men and women who wanted to go to Kuwait through agent are stranded in Mumbai. The agent took Rs 1 lakhs from each and was unable to send them. The ticket he has given is also an illegal ticket. These agents have now fled. It is a common practice that a few Nepali living in Mumbai do this business³⁸.

Nepali migrants also feel insecure in keeping the money and in sending that to the home. They do not use banks. The main method of remitting money is through 'personal carrying', and many have been cheated by the police. They have lost their savings also. Low caste persons in India, particularly those working in restaurants and domestic help always feel insecure from those who are close to them. They always fear that these people might tell the caste status to the employer, who, in every likelihood, will fire him/her. This insecurity comes from Nepali as well as close Indian friends.

b. Regional level: Governments, especially the state governments, have been putting new regulations (for example, restricted area permits) restricting the entry of Nepalis to some areas of the state/country. In order to prevent Nepali's free movement in India, these 'restricted permits' have been imposed. This has happened especially in North-East Indian states like Assam and Meghalaya. Nepalis have been harassed by indigenous people. Nepalis are considered as foreigners despite the legal provision for them to stay and work there. In a report in a weekly magazine *Nepal*³⁹ published from Kathmandu, it has been reported that Nepalis had been living in Meghalaya since 1820, but are now driven away by the indigenous people. The State Parliament of Meghalaya has passed an 'identity card' regulation in order to prevent foreigners entering into the state. But this has been used against the Nepali. Accordingly, an Organization of Nepali called 'All India Nepali Ekta Samaj' has protested this with the government. A writ was also given to Gwahti high court in Assam stating that such new regulations are against the 'peace and friendship treaty' between Nepal and India. The court asked government in North East States not to restrict movement of the Nepalis, but the administration is not implementing this regulation. But the Governments are bent on formulating new regulations from time to time to harass the Nepalis and other foreigners.

A report in a fortnightly magazine stated that (2004, December 20) Nepalis have been suffering in both Meghalaya and Assam states, more so in Meghalaya than in Assam.

³⁸ Kantipur Corresponant. 2005. 'Hundreds young people on the way to Kuwait stranded in Mumbai' *Kantipur*. August 30, 2005 p .5.

³⁹ Benupraj Bhattarai. 2002. 'Meghalayako Mahadukh (Great Misery of Meghalaya)'. *Nepal Weekly*. Sunday, 23 Srawan 2062. p. 39.

They, who are living there mainly on cattle raising and dairy, have become insecure, especially after 1987 when ethnic movements arose. Many Nepalis used to live in Silong in Meghalaya. When there was ethnic violence, they moved to Khanpara, in the same state. In Silong, the properties of Nepalis were destroyed. It is difficult to estimate number of displaced Nepalis from Meghalaya. Nepali people walk without exhibiting their identity. Now ethnic organizations, including that of Khansi students check the people. These ethnic organizations like Henio Trek National Liberation Council, Ashik National Volunteer Council, Khansi Students Union are some of the organizations which are working against the foreigners. They check the vehicles and give problems for Nepalis, but the government turns its blind eye⁴⁰. The same report states that in Khanpara, last year, 24 Nepalis had leased a land worth Rs 6 million. After six months, the ethnic organizations warned the land owner not to give land for lease to foreigners.

When there was students protests in the early 1980s in Assam (by All Assam Students Union), the central government had an agreement that foreigners can stay there by submitting appropriate papers. In 1998 there was a writ to cancel the commission to look into the immigrant issue. In July, the high court abolished the commission. Now those living in Assam after 1971 will have to leave the place, and for Nepalis this was against the 1950 treaty.

c. National level: Increased security concern is now mixed up with Maoists activity. Government is concerned with the fact that Maoists are mixed up with migrants. The Nepali Ekta Samaj, which has been the largest of the Nepali organization in India, has been banned by government of India because it considers that it has been a free ground for Maoist activity, for the creation of Maoists cadres, raising of donations for Maoists activity, and sending arms to Maoists. In Assam, there is a Nepalis' organization called Prabasi Nepali Organization, which seems closer to Maoists. Now the administration gives problems to Nepalis in the name of Maoists. Therefore, all Nepalis working in India are suspected as Maoists.

Migration has been securitized in India. Because of the Maoists threat, borders are being clamped down. Government of India has fenced some parts of the borders, and in some areas SIB (security intelligence bureau) has been deployed. India government's 'national security' concerns have been putting 'security of migrants' under the shadow.

With regard to 'securitization of migration' in Nepal for the Indian migrants, field study was not conducted for this purpose. But the secondary information collected for this study (see Chapter 1) reveal that there are also some government policies and practices that discourage Indian migration to Nepal. For example, policy about the citizenship, ownership of properties, and work permit system imposed in the past were restrictive and demotivating factors for immigration of Indians. During the Panchayat political system (1960-1990), general perception of 'anti-Indian' feeling was encouraged as a part of 'nationalism'. Although, this was aimed at protecting the active monarchial political system by promoting 'monarch' as the savior of the country and India as a threat to

⁴⁰ Pokharal, Mukesh. 2002. 'Guhati High Court Made Nepalis Homeless' *Drishya National Fortnightly*. Paush 5, 2062, year 1, No, 2, page 8-9.

sovereignty of the country, this attitude also discouraged migration of Indians. During this rule, it was also rumored that Nepali state had captured Indians, especially street beggars and poorer people and then transferred them to the border. Using 'defamatory words' for the Indians and occasional looting of simple vendors are also commonly reported. During 'Rithik Rosan' scandal – i.e., a riot caused by Indian cinema star's defamatory remarks on Nepal – in 2001 also led to problems for the Indian migrants. These on-and-off problems discourage the migration and increases fear for the migrants who had no any role in causing such scandals.

6.2.2. Securitizing the migration: Indian media against Nepali migrants.

Media has also been used to bring disgrace to Nepali migrants in India in the name of promoting the security of Indian individuals and their families. Their aim seems to erode the past legacy of the Nepali migrants in the work of 'security guards'. Media reporting to this end appear in slightest excuses or incidence. For example, in 1997, when there was a murder case of a family in New Delhi, a Nepali migrant working there was blamed for the murder. The news report blew the case in such a way that it was an advocacy against using the Nepali servants. It was well covered in the January/February issue of Himal South Asia. It took instances of reporting and opinion expressed at that time by officials and police officers in employing the Nepali servants. The following excerpts from the article serve this purpose:

The Sharmas (the victim family) was just one household of scores where family members were killed by domestic helpers in Delhi over the past year. Five of 12 incidents in the first quarter of 1996 are said to have involved Nepali servants, which led the New Delhi police to issue a circular suggesting that Nepalis not be hired as servants because of increasing criminality among them.

The crimes served to erode the stereotype of the Nepali "bahadur", whose qualities of loyalty and honesty have long been cherished in India. It is an image which goes back to the conscription of Nepali men in the Indian and British armies, and which has been honed by the portrayal of the faithful bahadur in Nepali cap.

The popular Hindi family magazine Manohar Kahaniyan, providing a detailed account of the Tika Ram case, had this to say, with more than a little exaggeration: 'The last two or three years has seen hundreds (saikadon) of deaths at the hands of Nepali servants. The fact that Nepalis are by nature straightforward has now been proven false

What, then, has led to the increased criminality among the immigrant Nepalis and, more particularly, those employed as domestic help? Some Nepali observers feel that the New Delhi police and press have exaggerated the issue, and that Nepali helpers are no more or less prone to theft and violence than any other community which serves as the underclass in middle class and rich metropolitan households. Others believe that Nepali criminality easily made the news because it is seen to dispel a myth.

On the other hand, media do not report or give scant coverage of the incidence where Nepali people are killed at the hand of the Indian employers. For example, a Nepali domestic worker and a minor (Indrajit Magar, 13) was found dead in Harsha Bihar Colony in New Delhi very recently. His father went there to fetch the dead body but

police did not ask for post mortem even though the father requested for it. Police had some secret talk with the landlord and offered Rs 6,000 for cremation. With no other way, the father returned home. But the media kept silent on this issue. Only a Nepali daily took this issue as a small news in Nepal⁴¹.

6.2.3. Impact of securitization on migration of Nepalis to India:

It is now clear from above discussions that Nepali migrants in India face securitization of their migration at different levels. This has led to various problems and harassment – both physical and psychological. The question then arises as to what are the impacts on the migration. Certainly, securitization is not only the factor that determines migration flow, adoption and migrant's behaviour. As there are other factors associated with migration, it was difficult to separate the impact caused by 'securitization' practice. For example, in the last decade or so, there has been an increase in the flow of Nepalis to India, mainly because of the conflict. This has already been covered in Chapter 5. From the interview with migrants, it appears that the new practice of 'securitization' has certainly discouraged the migrants. We have seen the cases of people who have left the job in the middle of their careers and went back to the village. Owing to greater difficulties, those who can manage their life without going to India or those who can go at least to Gulf countries, they have cut back their migration to India. But as the 'push factors' have also grown and new 'pull factors' have created opportunities, migration is continuing, but its dimension seems to have changed. For example, new migrants to India who have at least some schooling seem to have changed their work from say 'security guard' to 'service sector' (like work in hotels, mobile trading and running a mobile restaurants and the like). The transformation of city in recent decades like the practice of working both husband and wife has led to new demands for girl domestic help.

The increase in migration in the last decade to India was more due to 'push factor' in Nepal, especially the conflict and its adverse impact on the economy. This seems the case if one considers the situation of 'returned migration' once the prospect of peace prevailed in Nepal when the *Janaandolan* (people's movement) II in late April 2006 brought a ceasefire and possible political solution of the conflict. Immediately after this event, every day thousands of Nepalis have been coming back to their villages, and this has been widely reported by foreign media like BBC and Nepali newspapers. This clearly indicates that conflict was the main reason for migration. the increased securitization might have also be a cause for the returned migration, but it cannot be definitely be said without further investigation of these returnees.

6.2.4. Desecuritizing the migration:

It is seen from the historical development of migration between Nepal and India that it has been going on even though at the state level barriers are created from time to time in the name of improving the state security in traditional sense, i.e., the security of the boundary and the welfare of their own citizens. Even though in the past, military security

⁴¹ Post correspondent. 2005. 'Minor Dies Mysteriously in Delhi' *Kathmandu Post.* , Friday Sept 2, 2005. P. 2.

was of the prime concern, the recent emphasis is on any other activities like migration which is linked with security problems. As a result, migration has been securitized in both Nepal and India. It seems it is more so in India than in Nepal.

Given the fact that migration has been increasing despite restriction or barriers means that the labour markets have been made imperfect by artificial means. Otherwise, the movement would not have been taking place for such a long time.

It is clear that migration of people has been helping the human security in both sending and receiving places. Indians and Nepalis have been moving across the border and working in places where they have developed certain niche market defined geographically, culturally, or through the past legacy. As they are selling their labour in areas where they are competent enough, they are helping in promoting human security by making the products and services cheap and by introducing new ideas and knowledge. It is because of this reason that migration between Nepal and India has been taking place. This natural process should not be disturbed by mixing the 'security or risks to security' with 'migration'. Therefore, barriers on migrations should be reduced in legal terms but also in practice.

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Appendix

Migration between Nepal and India

Questionnaire for Nepali migrants

Interviewee:
 Village:
 VDC/Municipality.....
 District:
 Interviewer:
 Date:

1. GENERAL BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- 1.1 How many people usually live in your household?
 1.2 How many males and females are in each age bracket?

Age F M
 0 - 5
 6 - 15
 16 - 55
 Over 55

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- 1.3 Tell us the educational level of all the members of the family:

Household Members	Age (years)	Male/Female (use male or female)	Level of education (use the above codes as mentioned below)
1 Household head			
2 Spouse			
3 other member 1			
4 2			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			

Codes for Education: Illiterate; Literate; Primary school; High school; College (up to BA); Higher education (MA and above)

- 1.4. Ethnic groups or caste of the household?

- (1) Bahun
 (2) Chettri
 (3) Rai

- (4) Gurung
 (5) Others (Specify):

1.5. Main occupation (which is a major source of livelihood) of the household?

Occupation	Number of family members involved
1. Farming 2. Livestock 3. Own business 4. Service (outside country) 5. Service (within country but away from home) 6. Service (within the place of residence) 7. Retired from service 8. Others (specify.....)	

1.6. Type of house(s) owned.

1. Kachhi
 2. Pakki

1.7. How many stories the house you own has:

House 1:

House 2:

House 3:

1.8. What roof materials you have used, and when those house(s) built?

Roof	House 1	House 2	House 3	House 4
1. Stone-slates 2. Tin sheets 3. Thatch grass 4. Bamboo mats 5. Others				
When the house was built? (years ago)				

1.9 Have you sold or purchased land in the past 5 years?

1. Sold Why did you sell?
 2. Purchased How could you purchase?

1.10 If there is electricity in the area, is your house connected to electricity?

1. Yes
 2. No - If No why?:

1.11 Wealth Indicators *(Tick the appropriate box where the household has any of the following – can make more than one choice)*

- (1) Electric fan
- (2) Television (B & W)
- (3) Television (colour)
- (4) Radio/cassette recorder
- (5) Video player
- (6) Refrigerator
- (7) Telephone (including mobile phone)
- (8) Bicycle
- (9) Motor cycle
- (10) Motor tricycle
- (11) 4 wheeled motor vehicle

1.12. Do you have toilet at your house? Yes No

- If yes what type: 1. Permanent (pakki)
2. Temporary (kachchi)

2. AGRICULTURE

2.1 What is your land ownership and its type

Types	Total (ropani/ha)
Land owned	
Khet	
Pakho	
Others	
Land leased in	
Khet	
Pakho	
Others	
Land leased out	
Khet	
Pakho	
Others	
Total land cultivated	
Khet	
Pakho	
Others	
Total	

2.2 Types of livestock you own?

Livestock species	Number
1. Cow	
2. Buffaloes	
3. Goats/Sheep	

Milk, ghee and milk products			
Vegetables (list them)			
Fruits (list them)			
Jobs in Nepal			
Jobs in India			
Jobs in other country			
Wage labour within village			
Selling of forest products/NTFPs			
Business/trade			
Industry			
Pension			
Total			

3.3 Consumer Expenses last year

Items purchased	Purchased amount if known	Expenses (Rs)
Rice		
Other foods		
Electricity		
Water		
Education		
Transport		
Housing		
Agri. Tools		
Health care		
Religious ceremonies		
Clothes		
Others		

3.4 Do you normally have savings at the end of the year?

1. Yes, state how much: Rs
2. No
3. Sometimes

3.5 Do you currently have any debts?

1. Yes
2. No

If no, go to Question 3.7

3.6 If yes, are these debts with

1. A Bank
2. An informal money lender
3. Extended family members
4. Other (Specify):

3.7 How many times did you take part in various social activities?

Social activities	Number of times	Who took part (male /female)
1. Social welfare works		
2. Community meetings		
3. Political meetings		
Others (specify)		

3.8. Do you think that working in India has affected your participation and leadership of family in the village?

3.9. Do you think that social participation is important for your family?

4. Migration:

4.1 At what age did you go out?

4.2 Did you migrate alone or with family (in detail,)?

4.3 Has your family accompanied you in any time when you were in India?

4.4 What was the main occupation of the family before migration?

4.5 What is the main occupation of the family after migration (now)?

4.6 What was the place of living before migration?:

4.7. What is the place of living now?:

4.8. Were you married before you migrated?

4.9. Place of living after migration:

4.10. Economic Status before going to India:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. High | 2. Upper medium |
| 3. Medium | 4. Lower medium |
| 5. Low | |

4.7 Economic status after going to India:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. High | 2. Upper medium |
| 3. Medium | 4. Lower medium |
| 5. Low | |

- 4.8. How was your childhood?
- 4.9. Was it hard or a happy one?
- 4.10. What were the main family problems?
- 4.11. Were you (before going out) in touch of people going abroad? If yes, who?
- 4.12. Has anyone from your family, kinship group, and neighborhood migrated? If yes who?
- 4.13. Did you (before going out) consider the lives of migrants were better?
- 4.14. Before going out, have you heard that people would also suffer while going out?
- 4.15. Who suggested you to go out (friends or relatives)?
- 4.16. What were their suggestions?
- 4.17. Did you receive pressure from family members to go out?
- 4.18. Is there any family member out the country?
- 4.19. Has anyone of your family member worked outside? If yes who?
- 4.20. Did you have any friend working outside?
- 4.22. If yes, What was their response about migrating out?
- 4.23. Which city in India you wanted to go?
- 4.24. Why in that city?
- 4.25. Could you go there?
- 4.26. If not where did you go?
- 4.27. What led you to go there?
- 4.28. How many Nepali people were there in the city in which you were working?
- 4.29. What types of work they were undertaking?
- 4.30. What were there general problems?
- 4.31. Could they earn something for the family?
- 4.32. Why did they have migrated there?
- 4.33. Did you go there with anyone or alone?
- 4.34. If accompanied with someone, who was that persons?
- 4.35. Is he/she your relative to you?
- 4.36. Before migrating, did you know about the nature of job you would probably do?
- 4.37. Was your family supportive for you to go out?
- 4.38. Did you migrate because of your family problem?
- 4.39. What exact problem did you face at household level?
- 4.40. Did you face any problem at the border and cities in India? If yes, please explain.
- 4.41. Which people you contacted for going abroad and why?
- 4.42. How did the idea of migration develop?
- 4.43. What information you collected and from whom, did you discuss it with family?
- 4.44. Whom did you contact for information?
- 4.45. If you had gone to India on your own choice? Why?

- 4.46. How your family members reacted when you told about going out?
- 4.47 How much money you spent to go to India?
- 4.48 Did you have money?
- 4.49 How did you arrange the money?
- 4.50 Was arranging money a problem?
- 4.51. Was there any cheating/or other problem, while you were traveling for the first time? If yes, what types of?
- 4.52 Was any help available when you faced problems?
- 4.53. Who helped you solving the problems?
- 4.54. Did any one come to receive you in the city you were going?
- 4.55. Who came to receive you?
- 4.56. If no one came, how did you find the company or the household to where you are going to work?
- 4.57. Did you get the work immediately?
- 4.58. How could you get the job?
- 4.59. Is it difficult getting the job?
- 4.60. What was your first reaction when you saw the place of work/house and family?
- 4.61. What was the nature of work you were doing?
- 4.62. Could you communicate with the people?
- 4.63. Were you familiar with the work, equipment and the system of that place?
- 4.64. What problem did you face to adjust?
- 4.65. Did you feel of returning back? if so why?,
- 4.66. How did people respond to you?
- 4.67. Did you receive salary for your work?
- 4.68. How much you got (per month/year)?
- 4.69 Did you receive it regularly?
- 4.70. Did you get other facilities also (like food, clothes, medical expenses, housing, and the like)? If so what facilities?
- 4.71. Where did you keep the money?
- 4.72. Was there problem in sending money home or in keeping it in the bank?
- 4.73. How much you could save in a month?
- 4.74. Did you send all this to your home or how much you sent? And if so, how?
- 4.75. How long did you work in India?
- 4.76. Did you stay in the same place or changed the place? Please describe why? Where did you change?
- 4.77. How long did you have to work in a day?
- 4.78. Tell us about the problems in the work that you faced?
- 4.79. Tell us about harassment that you faced,
- 4.80. Was there a place to talk about harassment?
- 4.81. What new things you learnt there"
- 4.82. Why did you return home?
- 4.83. What problems you faced at the home, work or company when you returned?
- 4.84. Was there any problem on the way you were coming back home?
- 4.85. What were the problems you faced after immediately arriving in Nepal?

- 4.86. What are various problems you are facing now?
- 4.87. Where you are living now?
- 4.88. Do you find difference in people's behavior towards you before migration and now?
- 4.89. What are your aspirations in migration? Could you meet those aspirations?
- 4.90. What are your aspirations now?
- 4.91. Do you see problems in meeting these aspirations? What are these problems?
- 4.92. What work or profession do you want to do now?
- 4.93. Are there problems in doing that work or following that profession?
- 4.94. Do you think that you are better off now than before:
- 4.95. If yes, please describe in terms of:
1. Economically (did you buy land and other assets from the income earned from India.. please list all the things added in the family like land, house, vehicles, gold, other assets and the like)
 2. Socially (were you able to send children to good schools, is your prestige has gone up...)
 3. Confidence:
 4. Skill and experience: (new skills learned while you were in India)
 5. Network
 6. Connections
- 4.96. If you are not better off now than before migration? How you ended up being so?
- 4.97. What are your problems now:
1. Economic:
 2. Social:
 3. Legal:.....
 4. Confidence:
 5. Cultural:
- 4.98. How did you spend your savings earned in India? (Give details)
1. Adding economic assets like land and house (describe):
 2. Educating children (describe, where when how etc):
 3. In medical bills (describe):
 4. In buying food and household necessities (describe):
 5. Others (specify and describe):
- 4.99. What help do you need to develop profession or work?

5. Conflict-related questions

- 5.1. How has the situation with the Maoist and Government fighting affected the daily life of your family?
- 5.2. What is different now (probe on presence of military forces, and other differences)? How do you feel about this?

5.3 Could you tell us what kind of conflict incidences have occurred in your place?

5.6. Who many killed?

5.7. What infrastructures were damaged?

5.8. How many left the home?

5.9. Have they left alone or with family?

5.10. Where did they go?

5.11. How many people went to India?

5.12. Did you meet people in India who left the country because of conflict?

5.13. How many were they in your city of work in India?

5.14. What was their condition in India?

5.15. How are they feeding up themselves or their families?

5.16. Do you see Maoists and security guards in the village every day?

5.17 What are their general concerns about the development in the village?

5.18 Are there resistance against them?

Note:

Please observe the entry point to India (eg. Rupaidiya, Nepalgunj or the border area in far/mid west) and get information from Nepali officials and Indian officials about how many go to India every day? Is there some records maintained? Also ask people migrating to India and ask what the reasons for their migration were? Observe what type of people are migrating – young man, women, old, children, sick and the like.