

# Structure of International Migration in Nepal

(With Special Reference to British Gurkha Armed Force  
Returnees and Bhutanese Refugees)

A Dissertation Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
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**Master of Philosophy**

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CERTIFICATE

I, Deo Kumari, Gurung, certify that the dissertation entitled “STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN NEPAL” (With Especial Reference to British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees and Bhutanese Refugees) submitted by me for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
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(Supervisor)

*Dedicated to my Husband and Kids*

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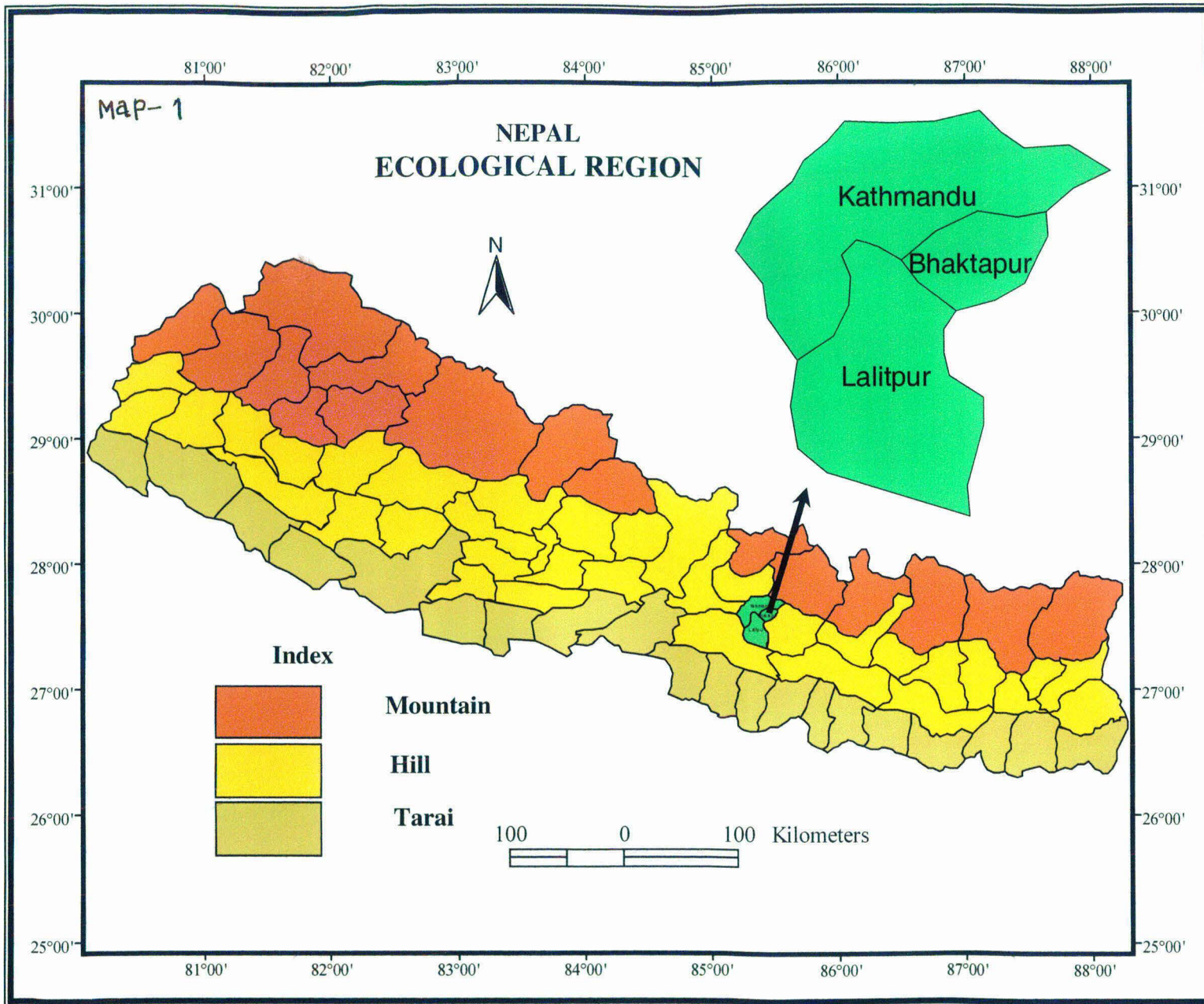
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# Abbreviation

NNAGT	National Network against Girl Trafficking
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour
CWIN	Child Workers in Nepal Concurred Centre
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
HMG/N	His Majesty's Government/ Nepal
DLE	Department of Labour and Employment
MoPE	Ministry of Population and Environment
GO	Governmental Organization
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
INGO	International Non- Governmental Organization
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
CBS	Centre Bureau of Statistics
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugee
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BGAFR	British Gurkha Armed Force Returnee
BHE	Bauddha Handicraft Centre
NTCC	Nynchem Thangla Carpet Centre
CHC	Chials Handicraft Centre
DHC	Dhorpatan Handicraft Centre
MTRHC	Mustang Tibetan Refugee Handicraft Centre
JHC	Jaulakhel Handicraft Centre
VDC	Village Development Committee
EDR	Eastern Development Region
CDR	Centre Development Region
WDR	Western Development Region
MWDR	Mid-Western Development Region
FWDR	Far-Western Development Region
NUCRA	Nepal Unit Commission for Refugee Affair
IDI	Human Development Index
RNA	Royal Nepal Army



# MAP-1A

## NEPAL Political (Administrative Division)



**LEGEND**

- Capital
- Regional Headquarters
- District Headquarters
- International Boundary
- Regional Boundary
- Zonal Boundary
- District Boundary

Source : Topographic Map, Topographical Survey Branch HMG/Nepal. Scale 1:250,000

Projection : Universal Transverse Mercator; Spheroid - Everest; Origin - 87° Longitude, 26° 15' Latitude; Quadrant - NorthEast.

## **1.1 General Background**

**M**igration is a dynamic process which changes the usual place of residence. Diversification of migration flows and stocks is a new catchword for the current dynamics. The number of countries and nationalities is rising steadily. Migration is being shaped by multiple pull and push factors primarily among them are economic development and its disparities, population trends, the existence of migratory networks, access to information, armed conflicts, environmental deterioration and human trafficking and human rights violation. Thus, migration should be understood in relation to socio-economic, political and environment background of any country. Migration is observed in two sectors; internal and international. Migration comprises two components; emigration and immigration in international migrating concerned.

This research basically focuses to international migration in Nepal and mainly examines the structure of international migration. Movement of population across the international borders of Nepal has two components. The first is emigration, or the Nepal born population reported as absentees abroad, and

second, immigration or the foreign-born population reported within Nepal. In this regard, this research discusses about 'Refugees Immigrants' and 'Ghurkha's Recruitment, Emigration and Social Transformation in particular and other pattern of international migration in general in Nepal.

International migration has traditionally remained an important component of the population dynamics of Nepal. Both emigration and immigration has been characteristics of growth, distribution and change of Nepalese population. In connection with emigration of Nepalese hill people for recruitment to the foreign armies have been ever recorded emigration of Nepalese population to the foreign countries for employment opportunities. With ever growing population and resulting surplus manpower and absence of employment opportunities within the country, emigration of Nepalese particularly for recruitment to the foreign armies has been continuing since the largest source of income for their family in particular and source of national revenue from their remittance in general.

Labour migrants for employment either voluntary or involuntarily have been emigrating temporarily or permanently since the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century leaving behind their family to improve their economic condition. The pattern of destination for labour emigration in Nepal has been expanded after the restoration of new democracy in 1991 in Nepal and their sent back remittance is being helpful to improve the family living standard in particular and has been also added in national revenue. Similarly one of the worst forms of labour (women and girls' trafficking) migration from Nepal to India and other Middle-east countries to some extent is challenging emigrants in Nepal.

The influx of refugee immigrants has become population burden to Nepal and has created series problems of integration and repatriation. Their influx has impact upon to socio-economic and environmental degradation and have also affected both domestic policies and external relations with their countries of origin and destination. In this context, however, the proper understanding of Nepal's population scenario is not possible without acareful assessment of the role played by international migration.

The central objective of this study is to analyse the British Gurkhas Armed Force Returnees relating their recruiting history, issues on Bhutanese refugee immigrants and their impacts in particular and examine its pattern in general. With this realization, the



present study has conceived to discuss its important structure of international migration in Nepal in a broader perspective.

The study is based on both primary and secondary data. However, the emphasis of the study is the generation of primary data. Primary data have been collected from fields' survey. British Gurkhas Armed Force Returnees' and Bhutanese refugees' households are the sources of primary data. Information has also been collected through questionnaire, self observation, group discussion and personal communication.

### **1.1.1 An Overview**

#### **Location and Size**

Nepal covers an area of 147, 181 square kilometres, mainly along the southern flank of the central Himalaya and is a landlocked country. From south to the north, landforms of Nepal rise in successive hill and mountain ranges, punctuated by fertile alluvial valleys and bisected by major river (drainage) systems: Kosi, Gandaki, Kanali and Mahakali. Nepal has extremely diversified landscapes, climate, vegetation and culture. The country is predominately highland, with over three- quarters of the land surface, which comprises the Mountain, and the Hill areas and is located in between latitude 26<sup>0</sup> 22' to 30<sup>0</sup> 27' North and longitude 80<sup>0</sup> 4' to 88<sup>0</sup> 12' and elevation ranges from 90 to 8848 meters, and is rectangular in shape lying from east to west (CBS, 1992:1). The country is bordering between the two populous countries of the world, India in the east, south, and west and China in the north. Thus, Nepal is a land locked country and the home of natural beauty.

#### **Ecological Division**

Geographically, the country is divided into three ecological regions: the Mountain, the Hill and the Terai accommodating 7.3, 44.3 and 48.4 percent population with the covering areas about 35, 42 and 23 percent respectively of the total land areas (CBS, 2003). This figure indicate that the Terai region is densely populated area with compared to the Mountain and the Hill. Mountain region lies between the altitudes of 4877 to 8848 meters. The Hill region lies between the altitude of 610 to 4877 kilometers from the sea level and comprises several attractive peaks, fertile valley and basins such as Kathmandu, Pokhara. However, only 2 percent of Mountain and 10 percent of Hills' land is cultivable. The Terai lies to the southern part of the country which forms a low flat land, and this

area includes most of the fertile land and dense forest, which covers 40 percent of the cultivable land.

### **Administrative Division**

Administratively, the country is horizontally divided into five-development regions: Eastern, Central, Western, Mid-Western and Far-Western regions, 14 zones and 75 districts. There are 16 districts in the Eastern Development region, 19 in the central, 16 in the Western, 15 in Mid-Western and 9 in the Far-Western region (See Map-1, 1A). Districts are further divided into 58 municipalities (including one metropolis, four sub-metropolises) and 3915 village development committees (VDCs) as the local units (CBS, 2003).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

### **1.2.1 Socio-demographic features, economic growth, poverty and migration**

#### **1.2.1.1 Population composition and distribution**

Nepal is a land of more than 2.33 crores people having with numerous caste/ethnicity and enjoying by different dialects, cultures, traditions and religions. According to the latest Census 2001, Nepal has a total population of 23.15 million (23, 151, 423 in number) with an exponential annual growth rate of 2.25 percent between 1991 and 2001. Almost equal number of males and females was recorded (11,563,921 males and 11,587,502 females) in the Census with a sex ratio of 99.80 males per every 100 females indicating that overall females slightly outnumbered males (His Majesty Government of Nepal, Ministry of Environment, Country Report Nepal, 2002:1).

The density of population indicates persons' land ratio and is usually expressed as the number of persons per square kilometer. The average density of Nepal was 157.30 persons per square kilometer; district-wise it ranged from 3.75 (Dolpa) to 2738.85 (Kathmandu) persons per square kilometer (ICIMOD/MENRIS and CBS 2003: 18).

The spatial distribution of population varies from rural to urban and north to south. It represents three ecological zones; the Mountain, the Hill and the Terai and from Easter to

Western development regions. According to the latest Census 2001, only 14 percent of total population is residing in urban areas whereas 86 percent are in rural areas having traditional subsistence agricultural system with almost stagnant productivity and with inadequate infrastructure, amenities, facilities and services. But the growth rate of the urban population seems very high as compared to the national population growth rate, which had increased by 56 percent from 1991 to 2001 with annual growth rate of 4.4 percent (CBS, 2001).

**Table – 1a:** Distribution of population density by ecological zones

Ecological zones	Mountain (%)	Hill (%)	Terai	Total (%)
Population distribution	7.3	44.3	48.4	100.0
Distribution of Cultivated Land	35.2 (32.6)	42 (167)	23 (330)	100.0

**Table 1b:** Land distribution by ecological zones

Ecological zones	Areas in Kms in number	%
Mt. Region	51,817	33.2 (35%)
Hill	61,345	41.6 (42%)
Terai	34,019	23.1 (23%)
Total	1,47,181	100.0

Out of the total area of 147,181 square kilometers of land space area of sovereign Nepal, the mountain zone occupies 35.2 percent land space with a density of population of only 32.6 persons per square kilometer (CBS, 2002:1). Most part of this zone falls under the lap of high Himalayas with hostile climate (from temperate to cool temperate) with snowy mountains and peaks. This zone generally inhabits people in agglomerated settlement located far apart from one another. This zone consists of only 7.3 percent of the total population of the country (K.C.<sup>1</sup>, 2003: 128, Table 15.2). Similarly, the hill zone occupies 41.7 percent of the total land area with a population density of 167.1 persons per square kilometer and has 44.3 percent of the total population. It enjoys with moist sub-tropical climate. It is a meeting place of people coming from the north and the south of the country. Although, Nepal is an agrarian country, these two zones have limited of agricultural (cultivable land) which have affected to population distribution of Nepal (KC, 2003 *ibid*). In addition, the Terai zone enjoys with humid and sub-tropical climate and it occupies 23% percent of the total area of the country and accommodates more than 48 percent of the total population of Nepal. By being the smallest zone, the Terai zone has a density of population almost twice greater (329.6 persons per square kilometer) than in the hills (CBS, 2002:1). Comparing to the Terai zone, the Hill and the mountain zones

<sup>1</sup> K.C. is the Head of Central Department of Population Studies (CDPS), Tribhuvan University at Kirtipur.



have very low density but density of cultivable land is found lower in the Terai zone, and higher in the Hill and in the Mountain Zones. Although the mountain region covers about one third of the total area, the suitable land area for cultivation is only 2 percent. Of the total hill area, about one-tenth is considered suitable for cultivation while the Terai is fertile and has matured forest (MOPE, Nepal, 2001:1) (See Table – 1a, 1b). The variation in geographical regions and its capability for production and land use pattern of the nation show the regional disparity in economic growth, employment structure and migration for seeking job within intra-zones, intra-regions and across in abroad.

These ecological zones are important in the discussion of the pattern and trends of internal and international migration in the country because there is a mountain zone with sufficient land, space and sparse population due to rugged topography, sloppy Terrain and inhospitable environment and there is the hill zone in between the mountain and Terai with low agricultural productivity but is strategically located in terms of defense and development initiatives. The proportion of area and population in this hill zone almost match but high environmental degradation, landslides, deforestation, haphazard development of both rural and urban settlement have made it difficult to develop. Terai has rich and fertile agricultural land and has become the prime destination of the mountain and the hill people of Nepal since the very campaign of malaria eradication during the late fifties (K.C., 2003, Population Monograph, Vol. II: 123).

Similarly, in development regions, Central Development Region (CDR), accommodates the highest percent (35 percent) of the total population of the country then followed by Eastern Development Region (EDR), Western Development Region (WDR) (19.7 percent), Mid-Western Development Region (MWDR) (13 percent) and Far-Western Development Region (FWDR) (9.5 percent) in 2001 Census. Because of the location of capital city, Kathmandu, CDR comprises more than 47 percent population of the total urban population of the country, where out of the fifty-eight municipalities; twenty are located in this region. Regarding the size of the area, CDR is the second smallest region after FWDR, which accommodates less than 19 percent of the total land of the country. MWDR is the largest regions that comprise about 23 percent of the total land followed by the WDR (20 percent) and FWDR (13.3 percent) (CBS, 2002:1). Such distribution of population shows rural to rural migration stream getting gradually shifted towards rural to

urban followed by urban to urban to rural represents different stages of development of the Nepalese population.

### **1.2.1.2 Demographic background**

Nepal ranks 143<sup>rd</sup> in human development index (UNDP, 2003). Every two in five persons in Nepal live below absolute poverty and every person in the rural area is poor (NPC, 2003 cited in K.C., 2003, Nepal Population Monograph Vol. II: 124). Among of 95 developing countries in the world, the rank of Nepal is 69 in position according to the human poverty index and about 38 percent of the total population is serving below absolute poverty line (UNDP, 2004). According to Nepal living standard survey (2003-04), about 31 percent of the total population are living absolute poverty line, which seems has decreased by about 23 percent within one year very high unemployment and underemployment rates of 17.4 and 32.3 percent (NPC, 2003: 58, 99 cited in K.C., 2003) have compelled people to remain either under sever poverty or migrate to other places within and outside the country for better opportunity of livelihood.

#### **◆ Life Expectancy**

Life expectancy of females (62.50 years) is higher than that of males (61.76 years) (Census 2001). It indicates that health status of women is improving in Nepal steadily, which could be partly due to decreasing maternal mortality rate and increasing the utilization level of maternal health services over the decades.

Life expectancy also differs significantly by place of residence. Residents of the mountain region, on the average, die 7 years earlier than the residents of the Terai. Similarly, life expecting among the rural residents is lower by nearly 10 years compared to that in the urban areas. Thus, life expectancy is mostly linked with low rates of literacy, high underemployment, low income and wide spread poverty and exclusive from political and social participation, particularly of women, members of the low caste groups and residents of the mountain regions (UNDP, 1998: 57) and such inequalities, results in migration.

#### ◆ Population growth variation

The annual exponential population growth rate by ecological zones and Development Regions for the intercensal periods 1961-2001 are seen uneven. The population growth rate for the Mountain and the Hill was decreasing until 1991 and increased for the period 1991-2001, however the increment rate is slow. The growth rate for the Terai zone highly increased from 2.39 per annum in 1961-71 to 4.11 per annum in 1971-1981 periods, whereas marked decrease is observed for the period 1981-91 (2.75 per annum) and also decreased to 2.62 per annum for the period 1991-2001. Comparatively, the growth rate of the Mountain, the Hill and the Terai zones for the period 1991-2001 are unevenly distributed. The growth rates for this period are 1.57, 1.97 and 2.62 percent for the Mountain, the Hill and the Terai respectively (Panta and Sharma 2003: 50-51, Vol. 1).

This figure acknowledges that the high growth rate in Terai zones as compared to the mountain and the hill zones, for which two main factors were responsible; agricultural land and employment opportunities are the reasons behind the high rate of migration flow from the mountain and the Hill to the Terai. In addition the flow of peoples from the mountain and the Hill to the Terai has slowed down in later period. This indicates that the flow of migration has been started to across abroad and could be flowed horizontally within the country to some extent.

Similarly, the population growth rate per annum seems least in the Eastern Development Region (1.84%) and highest in the Central Development Region (2.61%). The population growth rate is also observed less than two percent per annum in the Western Development Region.

For the Mountain, all the Eco-development regions in the mountains has the population growth rates less than two percent except in Western Mountain (2.23% for the period 1991-2001).

For the Hill including all Eco-development Regions has lesser than two percent population growth rates except for the Central Hill, which includes the Kathmandu District and has second highest population growth rates among the Districts.

In Contrast, the entire Eco-development Region in the Terai zones (plain zones) have been reported more than two percent population growth rates and highest is in the Western Terai (3.86%).

◆ **Age and sex composition and its uneven distribution**

Age and sex composition of the population are the most important characteristics for the demographic analysis. Although sex is a personal characteristic of a person, information of sex can normally be obtained without difficulty. Questions on age, however, may be subject to different interpretations in different cultures. Age-sex structure is the product of past trends in fertility, mortality and migration and influences in turn the current level of birth, death and migration rates. Sex ratio has significant impact on socio-economic and demographic indicators of a country. The balance of sexes affects social and economic relationship within a community. Many types of planning such as military, community, constitution and services, particularly health services require separate population data for males and females.

**Table – 2: Sex ratio trend by urban/ rural Nepal 1952/54 – 2001**

Time	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Urban	104.1	112.4	116.6	115.2	108.3	106.4
Rural	96.6	96.5	100.8	104.4	98.6	98.4

Source: CBS (1995; CBS, National Report, 2002 cited in Panta and Sharma, 2003: 39 *Population Monograph* 2003, Vol. 1.

Note: 1952/54 urban sex ratios are based on three towns of Kathmandu valley only.

According to time series on Census and residing areas, the sex ratio is found in uneven trend and distribution. Sex ratios are found low in 1952/54, 1961, 1991 and 2001 Censuses while in 1971 and 1981 Censuses sex ratios are found higher. This indicates that most of the females in Nepal are more in number than males. This low male sex ratio happened because the males go abroad for seeking jobs and female remain in Nepal. This is supported partially when we analyze the urban and rural sex ratios. Table - 2 shows that sex ratios are always more than hundred in urban areas whereas in rural areas it is lower than hundred except for 1971 and 1981 Census.

There are some variations in the sex ratio by ecological zones in Nepal. In 1981, all the ecological zones reported male dominance in sex ratios, whereas in 1991 and 2001 only the Terai has male dominance. The Mountain and the Hill also reported increasing male dominance till 1981, however female dominance in the sex ratio is observed in 1991 and

2001 with slightly female dominance in the Hill. One of the reasons of this could be sex-selective out migration from the Hills and the mountains with probably more males than females. The distribution of sex ratios for the Mountain, the Hill and the Terai are found 98.39, 95.84, and 103.77 persons per 100 females respectively in 2001. Age composition of population of a country plays significant role on socio-economic and demographic planning. Age selectivity of population does significantly impact on migration volume, size, pattern and trends. Based on broad age group, the total dependency ratio and child dependency ratio are 84.7 and 72.7 respectively per 100 population in 2001, which were 93.1 and 81.9 respectively per 100 population in 1991 while it is in increased trend till 1991 from 1961. Similarly the proportion of 0-4 years of children and 15-49 years of women are 12.1 and 19.9 per 100 populations in 2001 while these population are under our study (CBS, 2002: 24).

There is a higher proportion of population in the rural areas than the urban areas. Similarly some significant differences in proportion of population in the old age group (60+) and the children population in age group 0-4 years can also be noted with a higher proportion in the rural areas (6.62% and 12.55% respectively) than in the urban areas (5.71% and 9.48% respectively) (CBS, 2002:24 cited in Panta and Sharma, 2003, Population Monograph, 2003 Vol. I, pp. 70-71). However, the working age group, a higher proportion of population found in the urban areas than in the rural areas. This indicates younger population (15-49 years) at rural areas, might have gone to urban areas either for working and searching job or for study. In addition, the population in age group 0-4 years is lower than the age group 5-9 and 10-14 years. This could be the effect of fertility and this is not surprising nowadays because fertility is declining. Although, both urban and rural areas have less population for age groups 0-4 years, in urban areas, it is much less than in the rural areas, this reveals that urban fertility is rapidly declining than the rural fertility.

Similarly, it is also observed that the highest proportion of working age group population is found in the Central Development Region because of Capital city, which lies in this region and many facilities are obtained like for job or study. Among development regions, Central Development Region consists of high proportion of working age group male population (about 56%). Besides this region, in all other regions have low

proportion of working age male populations. The reason might be the male immigrants in the capital city for work or study (CBS, 2002: 24).

#### ◆ **Family size/household size**

There are no evidences of family size in Nepal but household size information is interchangeably used for family size. Thus, household size in this study in Nepal is considered as family size.

A household consists of a group of individuals who share living quarters and their principal meals. The household is the basic unit and provides a general framework for the identification and enumeration of individuals in many demographic inquiries. All levels of planning, local district, and ultimately national level, require household size data. The size of the household also plays as an important role in social structure of a country. The average size of a household is the number of persons per unit household (ibid). The average household size of Nepal is observed 5.40 in 2001.

According to the latest Census 2001, the distribution of average household size is slightly different or not evenly distributed. Among the three ecological zones, the Terai zone consists of nearly six family members per house followed by the mountain and the Hill regions five persons per unit household. It indicates that the Terai region has still customs to stay in joint family due to subsistence family system. Subsequently, among five development regions, for Western Development region comprises six persons per unit of household followed by Mid-Western Development Region (5.64 persons per unit of household). Rests of other development regions constitute five persons per unit of household. Similarly, among the 15 eco-development regions, Far-Western and Western Terai Regions accommodate more than six persons per unit of household size and the rest of others comprise around five and less than five persons per unit of household (ibid).

There is higher percentage of households composed of five persons in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Censuses (16.02, 15.83, 17.07 and 18.18 percent respectively). In 1961 Census, the average size of household members was found four percent. Similarly, the household consisting of nine persons and above is observed more in 1981 Census (15 percent of the total) and it starts to decline in subsequent Censuses. Thus, it reveals that there is increasing preferences of comparatively smaller household size in the country. This figure

is supported by Demographic Health Survey 2001 (DHS). According to this survey, five persons household constituted higher percentage (18.5%) and single person household is four percent in the country (DHS, 2001 cited in panta and Sharma, 2003: 198-199).

The percentage of having large number of person household in both urban/rural areas is decreasing in each successive population Censuses for example 9 persons per unit of household is observed 19.06, 11.64, 7.59 percent in 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively and 14.75, 11.84 and 11.01 percent in the some Censuses in rural areas. The percentage of households having five persons is found higher in the case of rural areas that is 15.91, 17.07, 18.23 percent in the same Censuses. On the other hand, the percentage of a single person household in urban area is increasing in each successive populations.

The scenario of household composition by size is slightly different in the Terai from the two ecological zones. But there is no uniformity in the percentage distribution of households by size in five development regions.

### **1.2.1.3 Socio-economic development and its dimensions**

#### **◆ Socio-Development Indicators**

Socio-Development Indicator is one of the major Human Development Indicators in Nepal. Under this section, adult literacy, educational attainments are discussed. Life-expectancy is already mentioned in the section of demographic background.

#### **◆ Literacy**

A literate person is defined as a person (aged six years and above) who can read, write and perform simple mathematical calculation independently. This definition is valid in Nepal. The literacy rate is the ratio of literate population (aged six years and above) of the total population (aged years and above) and is expressed as percentage.

Similarly, adult literacy rate is the ratio of literate population (aged 15 and above) to the total population.

#### ◆ **Overall literacy**

In 2001, the national literacy rate was 54.1 percent; it varied district-wise from 27.1% percent for Humla district (For Western remote mountainous district) to 77.2 percent for Kathmandu district (where the capital city is located). Among the 75 districts, Thirty-two districts had literacy above and 43 districts rates below the national figure (MENRIS/CBS, 2003: 132).

#### ◆ **Gender inequality in literacy rate**

The national male literacy rate was 65.5 percent; it varied district-wise from 86.5 percent (Kathmandu, it also includes the capital city), to 41.3 percent (Humla represents the western mountainous remote district of Nepal. Subsequently, the national female literacy rate was 42.8 percent, it also varied district-wise from 9.3 percent (Mugu represent the mid-western mountainous district) to 66.6 percent (Kathmandu including the capital city).

#### ◆ **Adult literacy**

Adult literacy leads the general awareness for developmental aspects. It covers the all working aged group populations (aged 15 years and above). It also varied gender-wise and residence-wise. The national adult literacy rate was 48.6 percent; it varied district-wise from 20.1 percent (Humla) to 73.6 percent (Kathmandu). Twenty-Eight districts had adult literacy rates above, and forty-seven districts rates below than national figure (NPC, 2000).

Subsequently, the national male adult literacy rate was 62.7 percent; it ranged district-wise from 34.2 percent (Humla) to 85.1 percent (Kathmandu). In correspondence, the national female adult literacy rate was 34.9 percent ranging district-wise from 60.3 percent (Kathmandu) to 5.0 percent (Humla).

Based on adult literacy rate, it can be concluded that there is high variations between remote mountainous district and the capital city- Kathmandu and also high gap between male and female adult literacy rates leading less awareness and poverty in rural mountainous areas and it also indicates that women are the poorest of the poor and least aware of the lesser aware people. People, who emigrate to the city areas, farmland and



abroad having low literacy rate, usually get back low rate of remittances due to non-skilled labour force.

Age and sex patterns of literacy and adult literacy in rural and urban areas in 2001 are also observed differently. The rural literacy rate in 2001, is observed 62.6 percent for male and 39.6 percent for female and 51.0 percent for both sexes. Subsequently, the adult literacy rate of rural area is observed by 59.4 percent for male and 31.2 percent for female and 45.0 percent for both sexes.

Similarly, the urban is observed literacy rate for the period of 1991-2001 by 81.2 percent for male, 61.9 percent for female and 71.9 percent for both sexes. In addition, the adult literacy rate is calculated by 80.0 percent for male and 55.8 percent for female and 68.3 percent for both sexes (Table 3a).

It indicates that there is evidently a wide disparity in literacy rates in the rural and urban area. The higher literacy rate in the urban areas is attributable to the facts that there is greater necessity of being literate.

**Table - 3a:** Literacy rate by rural/urban, 2001 (%)

Age/Sex	Rural Literacy Rate (%)			Urban Literacy Rate (%)		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both sexes
All ages (6 years +)	62.6	39.6	51.0	81.2	61.9	71.9
Adult Literacy (15+)	59.4	31.2	45.0	80.0	55.8	68.3

Source: CBS 2002, population Census 2001 cited in Manandhan<sup>2</sup> and Shrestha<sup>3</sup>, *Population Monograph 2003*: 241-249).

**Table - 3b:** Literacy rate by ecological zones and eco-development regions 2001

Eco-Development Regions	EDR	CDR	WDR	MWDR	FWDR	NEPAL
<b>Ecological Zones</b>						
Mountains	51.4	43.7	55.4	31.2	39.7	43.5
Hills	56.9	63.9	61.8	47.2	44.6	58.6
Terai	55.7	43.8	55.4	54.1	55.5	51.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>55.7</b>	<b>52.9</b>	<b>59.3</b>	<b>49.4</b>	<b>48.7</b>	<b>54.1</b>

The gain in literacy during 1991-2001 was greater for females than that of males in both urban and rural areas. This implies that proportionately more females than males became literate in the rural areas during 1991-2001.

The total literacy rate by ecological zones and eco-development regions is presented in Table-3b for 2001. Among the ecological zones, the Hills had the highest literacy

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<sup>3</sup> Krishan Prasad Shrestha is a Deputy Director of Central Bureau of Statistics.

followed by Terai and lowest in mountain. The highest literacy was noticed in the Central Hills followed by Western Hills and the lowest in MWDR Mountain among eco-development regions. As may be seen from Table-3a, 3b geographic variations are not identical in all development regions. The mountain in WDR have relatively high literacy rate (above the national average), compared to the mountain in other development regions. The Hill in CDR, WDR, and EDR have relatively higher literacy rate (above the national average) compared to the Terai of Central Development Region in 2001. In general, the Mountain in EDR, CDR, MWDR, FWDR, the Hills in MWDR, FWDR and Terain in CDR have relatively low literacy rate in 2001.

#### ◆ Educational attainment

The educational structure in Nepal consists broadly of primary (1-5), lower secondary and secondary (grades 6-10); S.L.C. and equivalent; certificate/intermediate and above, 'no schooling' (including literate persons with non-formal education and 'other' level includes literate persons completing an education level other than mentioned above but not including those who did not state their level of attainments. The proportion of the literate population with different levels of educational attainment is desired as the ratio of the literate population with a particular completed level of education to the total literate population expressed as percentage.

In 2001, a total of 10,243,855 literate people reported their successfully completed level of education. Of these, 42.31 percent had completed primary level, 30.90 percent lower secondary and secondary, 9.09 percent SLC and equivalent, and 8.3 percent certificate and above, 9.07 percent had no schooling or an 'other' level (ICIMOD/MENRIS/ CBS, 2003: 146). It is therefore noticed that the level of education is still poor. Literate people mostly fall under the category of primary level.

**Table – 4a:** Level of educational attainment (%) by sex, 2001

Level of educational attainment	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
No schooling	8.5	9.2	8.85
Primary	39.3	45.9	42.6
Secondary	30.8	30.3	33.5
SLC	9.6	8.1	8.85
Intermediate & above	10.7	5.3	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Nepal Human Development Report 2004:173

Table 4a shows that the higher the level of education the lower the attainment of girls. There is fifty percent deviation of education attainment in intermediate and above level for girls. Gender disparity in education is a major concern here. The proportion of female enrollment at all levels of schooling indicates the attitudes toward female education. The Department of Education estimated that female enrollment at all level in 2000 was 43.33 percent of the total.

Similarly, there is a wider gender gap in pattern of enrollment ratios at all levels of education by eco-development regions. There are two types of enrollment ratios viz., Gross Enrollment Ratios (GER) (Enrollment in a specific level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the eligible school age population corresponding to the same level of education) and Net Enrollment Ratios (NER) (Number of Students in officially defined age group for a given level of education expressed as percentage of population in the corresponding age group).

Table – 4b presents the GER at different levels by Development Regions. At the primary level, the GER exceeds both for boys and girls student and in all the five Development Regions. The highest total GER is found in the Western Region. Relatively low GER is found in the Central Region. At the lower secondary level, a total GER is 63.2 percent, relatively low GER is found in the Mid-Western and Far-Western Regions, particularly for the girl students in 2001. At the secondary level, GER for the country is 43.8 percent, the highest GER (51.4 percent) is found in the Western Region and relatively low GER (about 30%) is found in the Mid-Western and Far-Western Region in 2001. GER are particularly very low for the girl students in all development regions. With respect at the primary level, there is a substantial gender gap indicating the need to be met in getting the girls to schools. The gender gaps are wider at lower secondary and secondary levels than at primary. It implies that marriage and household-workloads might be the principle cause for the gender gaps in higher level.

**Table – 4b: Gross enrollment Ratios, by Development Regions 2001**

Development Regions	Primary			Lower Secondary			Secondary		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Eastern D.R.	126.7	112.1	119.5	71.9	59	65.5	55.8	42.7	49.2
Centre D.R.	125.8	102	114	71	51	61	51	37.2	44.2
Western D.R.	144.4	138.6	141.6	80.9	68.6	74.8	58.2	44.9	51.4
Mid Western D.R.	153.8	119.7	137	66.9	40.1	53.5	42.1	20.3	30.7
For Western D.R.	132	108.4	120.5	66.8	37.1	52.3	43.6	17.2	30.2
Nepal	134.1	115	125	72	54	63	52	36	43.8

Source: DOE, MOES, School level Educational Statistics of Nepal, 2001

In addition, literacy status of indigenous people aged 6 years and above and educational attainment by ethnicity are also found different by ecological zones and ethnicity. Ethnic groups are considered as Janajatsi or Nationalities. A Janajati group or Nationalities as defined by the National Committee for Development of Nationalities (1996) is as follows. “Nationalities (Janajati) is that community which has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and do not fall under the conventional four fold *varna* of Hindu or Hindu hierarchical caste structure. Ethnic groups have the following characteristics:

- A distinct collective identity
- Own language, religion, culture and civilization; own traditional egalitarian social structure
- Traditional homeland or geographical area
- Having “we-feeling”
- Have had no decisive role in politics and government in modern Nepal; (Dahal, 2003: 91)<sup>4</sup>

Based on the characteristics, they are the unprivileged group for various types of opportunities. The latest Census 2001 mention that, Thakali, Byansi and Newar ethnic group comprise highest percentage (72.42 and 72.18 percent) in the Mountain and Hill areas whereas Chepang, Bote and Raute ... etc. comprise lowest percentage (28.66 percent) of the total.

Similarly, in the Terai zone, Rajbansi, Tajpuria, Kisan and Mandal, comprise highest percentage of the total where Santhel, JharNgad, Koche constitute 26.87 percent of the total. There is a wider gap in the highest literacy rate between Mountain and Hills and Terain (72 percent for Mountain and Hill and 49 percent for Terai) but on the contrary there is a slightly gap in the lowest literacy rate (28.87 and 28.66 percent) of total. Among the ethnics, Newar comprises highest percentage (51%) at 11 to 12 levels and has increased the percentage according to increased levels followed by Magar (2.16) percent and Bote, Raute and Chepang constitute the lowest percentage at all levels (0.02-0.01) and have decreased the percentage according to increased level (UNDP, 2004: 175). This notices the poor quality in education status of ethnic groups.

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## ◆ **Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI) in Nepal**

### ◆ **Human Development Index (HDI)**

The concept of human development focuses not on deprivation, but on achievements, enhancing people's capabilities and enlarging their choices. Just as income poverty is not the only kind of poverty, increasing income above does not automatically advance human development.

In Nepal, HDI had been used in 1990 in order to measure average achievement in basic human capabilities. It has three components: longevity, educational attainment, and a decent standard of living. Thus Nepal HDI measures three areas: (i) life expectancy at birth, (ii) adult literacy and mean years of schooling, and (iii) per capita income. Combined with three all sectors, HDI's value has been calculated and evaluated.

### ◆ **Human Poverty Index (HPI)**

Similarly, UNDP, Nepal introduced the concept of human poverty in its 1997 Human Development Report so as to look beyond income poverty to other aspects of deprivation. Human poverty constitutes lack of capabilities, lack of political freedom, in ability to participate in decision making, lack of personal security, and inability to participate in the life of a community. In addition, HPI seeks to measure the following areas: (i) illiteracy (ii) malnutrition among children, early death, poor healthcare and poor access to safe water (UNDP 2001:20).

There is an enquiry and inequality about the distribution of HDI and HPI by residence, regions, an ethnicity and by gender which forces the people mobility from low HDI points to high HPI points for sustaining the opportunity of better life.

HDI value ranges from 0-1.0. It shows that the higher the HDI value, better human development. According to the UNDP Human Development Report 2004, Nepal's HDI scores stood at 0.504 – a graduation from HDI status to medium HDI. But the figure is lower than all the South Asian Nations except Pakistan. Based on 2001 Census and other sources, values are estimated to be even lower: 0.471. HDI in urban and rural is observed by 0.581 and 0.452 respectively. Rural HDI seems poorer than urban, where majority of

the Nepalese people live. The proximate causes that underlie this striking disparity are higher per capita income and better access to social and health services in the towns and cities which cause the peoples movement from rural to urban areas and starts the development of urbanization.

Similarly, HDI in the Mountain scores the lowest (0.386) followed by the Terai (0.478) and the Hills (0.512); then people in the mountain are poorer than those in the Terai and the Hills. Subsequently, the Far-Western and the Mid-Western Development regions and in all eco-development regions of those two regions score the lowest HDI values of the country (Mid-Western Mountain HDI = 0.347, for western mountain HDI = 0.355, Mid-Western Hill HDI = 0.440, for western Hill HDI = 0.403 and Mid Western Terai HDI = 0.440, for western Terai = 0.450) (UNDP 2004: 141).

Moreover, life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and mean years of schooling and the purchasing power parity (PPP) income across regions show different patterns that reflect the uneven distribution of resources country-wide and differences in accessibility as well.

The same pattern is noticed for the Hills (50.0 = Mid-Western Hills and 52.2) and for the Terai (Mid-Western Terai = 38.9, Far-Western Terai = 37.6).

#### ◆ **The Gender Related Development Index (GDI)**

GDI was introduced into human development calculations to capture some of the differences between the achievements of women and those of men. GDI it uses the three variables of HDI to measure gender disparities; gender disadvantage, Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) and examines to what degree men and women actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision making. In short, while GDI focuses on capabilities, GEM shows the use of those capabilities to take advantage of opportunities in life. The differences are significant worldwide.

In the context of Nepal, gender-based exclusion covers physical survival, health and educational opportunities, ownership of assets, mobility, and overall cultural status. The greater the value of GDI indicates the lower degree of gender disparity. GDI in Nepal has a score of 0.452 as against the HDI value of 0.471; this suggests that the depth of gender disparity in human development is not very great. The same GDI for the rural areas (0.430) is significantly lower than the urban areas (0.562) indicating a higher degree of

gender inequality in rural areas. Among the ecological belts, women in the Mountains have a lower GDI value than in the Hills and the Terai. Similarly, among development regions women in the Eastern and Western Development Regions have higher GDI scores (0.0475 and 0.477) than those in other development regions. The magnitude of gender inequality in human development indicators is more pronounced in the rural areas, especially in the mountains and for Western Regions as indicated by their relatively low GDI/ HDI ratio.

The overall situation of both per capita income and human poverty in Nepal can be noticed. Thus the Mid-and Far-Western Development Regions are characterized by human and income poverty, low development, deep gender disparity, and low gender empowerment. Human development in the Mountains is much lower than in the Hills and Terai. Discrimination is clearly observed on women and the disadvantaged groups, especially in the rural areas. Human poverty is also greater among the occupational castes and some ethnic minorities.

Such all Human Development and Human Adjustment Development Indices' disparities invite the people mobility from one place to other better places in and out side the country.

#### **1.2.1.4 Economic indicator**

Nepal is one least developed and home to some of the poorest human settlements in the world. Among 95 developing countries in the world, the rank of Nepal is noticed 69 in position according to the human poverty index and about 38 percent of the total population are surviving below absolute poverty line (UNDP, 2004). According to Nepal Living Standard Survey (2003-04), about 31 percent of the total populations are living below absolute poverty line, which seems that it has decreased by about 23 percent within year. The per capita GDP that estimated by CBS is US \$ 237 for the year 2001-02.

##### **◆ Per capita income**

According to Human Development Report 2004, the estimated per capita income is US\$ 240 for the year 2001-02. Per Capita income also varies according to ecological zones and eco-development zones. Among the ecological zones, the Hill comprises highest

followed (US \$ 261) followed by Terai (US \$ 227) and the mountain (US \$ 204). Similarly, the Central Development Region captures the highest per capita income (US \$ 293) and for Western Development Region Constitutes the lowest one (US \$ 181).

For the Mountain, the Western Mountain holds the highest per capita income is US \$ 460. Similarly, for the Hills, the Central Development Hills comprises the highest one US \$ 382. Thus regional disparity in per capita income invites the situation for people mobility from their respective places to better place where opportunity is available. The estimated per capita GDP for the year 2002-03 is US \$ 237.



#### ◆ Economy

Nepalese economy is basically agrarian where about 60 percent of the total population and 80 percent of the working population are found engaged in subsistence agriculture and provides more than half of the household income (CBS, 2003). The share of agriculture in GDP, however, has been declining consistently over the last two decades leaving the share of employment fairly high and almost constant. It implies stagnant or even declining trends of agriculture productivity.

Farming system remains the dominant occupation in Nepal. The average farm is 0.5 hectares in the Hills and about 1.5 hectares in the Terai. While these farm sizes may seem small, landless or near landlessness and inequality in landholdings reduce their average amounts even further for the majority of the total population. Forty-three percent of peasants are landless or nearly landless (meaning with 0.0 to 0.5 hectares holding) than 85.8 percent of its 22.7 million population live in rural areas having traditional subsistence agriculture with almost stagnant productivity. Farming system is based on an interactive system where cropping patterns, animal husbandry and forest product are combined. Especially in the Middle-Hills, agriculture depends greatly on forest inputs.

Agricultural occupations continue to dominate as a major occupation of the economically active population in 2001. The share of this category of occupation in the total economically active population declines significantly from 94 percent in 1971 to 60 percent in 2001. Such declined percentage of economic active population from agricultural sector was shifted to the other activities (Shrestha, 2003: 359). According to latest Census 2001, the economically active population who are engaged in agricultural

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occupation are also variably distributed by sex, residence and ecological and eco-development regions.

Of the total, 65.58 percent economically active population is engaged in agriculture in rural areas followed by urban areas (38.16 percent). In both urban and rural areas, women percentage in agricultural sector is higher than men (rural women 65.58 percent and urban women 52.17 percent). Its main causes can be that males easily either shift to other sector or emigrate for seeking better employment opportunities.

Similarly, for the ecological zones, agriculture alone absorbs 78.48 percent economically active population in the Mountain zone and followed by the Hill (65.91%) and the Terai (49.15%). Subsequently, among the eco-development regions, Far-Western Development Region comprises the highest percentage of economically active population in agricultural occupation and least comprised by Central Development Region (50.92 percent) where sales and services is higher with regard to the gender differentials in occupational distribution across development regions, the proportion of females engaged in agriculture as their occupation is higher than males in all the regions while the proportion of males engaged in professional and technical and sales as their major occupation is larger than females in all regions (Shrestha , 2003).

Besides agriculture, there are few opportunities for reliable employment; manufacturing, construction, and mining accounts for 2.6 percent employment (CBS, 2003, NESAC 1988). Self-employment is the dominant mode of employment. According to NLSS 1996, four-fifth of the workforce was under this category, whereas only 21.7 percent was in wage employment comprising 12.3 percent in agriculture and 9.5 percent outside agriculture.

#### ◆ **Employment status**

Employment status refers three main components given below:

- Employment
- Unemployment
- Underemployment

**Employment :** According to the definition of Nepal Labour Force Survey (NLFS) 1998/98, a person is counted currently as employed, if they did at least one hour's work in the previous seven days, or if they had job attachment. There are two situations in which a person can be defined as being currently employed. Either the person is actually working (as defined above) class in the reference work, she has an attachment to a job or business but did not work during the reference week. This survey has defined the employment status into two sections; (i) paid employees and (ii) the self-employed. Persons in paid employment are typically remunerated by wages and salaries. Self-employed jobs, on the other hand, are these jobs where the remuneration is directly dependent upon profits derived from the goods and services produced. But currently economically active population (also known as the labour force) comprises all those who are currently employed or currently unemployed, or as defined above.

**Unemployed :** According to NLFS 1998/99 definition followed by strict international standard, unemployment is based three criteria :(i) without work (ii) currently available for work, and (iii) seeking work. However, the 'seeking work' criteria is usually considered too restrictive and is often relaxed for countries in which the labour market is not well developed. Accordingly, in the NLFS definition currently unemployed is made up of these people who did not have a job a business or were not employed.

In addition, as stated in Nepal Human Development Report 1998, a person 10 years of age or above who is not at work at least one day in a year or one hour in a week but seeking work or is available for work and who is not a student or household worker or physically unable to work is defined as unemployed. According to NPC1997, definition, unemployment has been adjusted by keeping the economic active population and the work participation rate. The distribution of unemployment rate in different residence and eco-development regions have been shown on the basis of NPC (1997).

**Underemployment :** A person is treated as under employed if s/he does not work for 40 hours a week or 8 months a year.

The distribution of employment status in Nepal varies accordingly in urban/rural residence and ecological zones and eco-development regions, which influence the internal and international migration in Nepal. The distributional pattern has been explained below.

## **Employment's distributional pattern**

### **◆ Self-employment**

Self-employment is very high and higher scale and dominating volume in rural areas (80 percent) and 57 percent in the urban areas. Of the total work-force, 92 percent of work-force in the Mountain, 84 percent in the Hills and 74 percent in the Terai were engaged in agriculture. Interestingly, 8 percent of the workers in the mountain worked as labourers whereas the share was 13 percent and 35 percent in the Hills and Terai respectively (CIO – SAAT 1997 cited in CBS, 1998, 1999, *Nepal Human Development Report 1998:101*).

### **◆ Wage employment**

Of the total workers, 21.7 percent were wage employment in 1996. Of 21.7 percent, 12.4 percent in agricultural and 9.5 percent outside agriculture of the agricultural wage employment. Among them, the highest wage employment in agricultural sector is found in rural areas (13 percent). By development regions wage employment was 26 percent of the total employment in the eastern, 24 percent in the central, 20 percent each in the Western and Mid-Western and 12 percent in the Far- Western Development Regions, and more than half of all wage employment was in agriculture in all development regions except for the Far-Western Development Region where it was 47 percent (CBS 1997a, CBS 1997b cited in *Nepal Human Development Report 1998 101-104*).

### **◆ Unemployment variation**

As estimated by the NPC, a higher unemployment rate was noticed at percent which is a serious problem in Nepal. The rate of unemployment varies significantly by eco-systemic regions; 2.1 percent in the mountain, 3.7 percent in the Hills and 6.5 percent in the Terai. Similarly, the Eastern, Central and Mid-western regions show relatively higher than in the Western and Far-Western regions. One noticeable indication is data at the level of eco-systemic and development regions, which have a longer “modern sector” and a larger body of a wage labour tend to produce a higher rate of unemployment which means that women have a lower unemployment rate than men (CBS 1997) also tends to confirm this pattern.

## **Underemployment variation**

The greatly majority of the underemployed live in rural areas. Two-thirds of the under employees do work which can be described as subsistence agriculture, and further 20 percent have elementary occupation. Based on industrial sector, three-quarters of the underemployed work in the agricultural sector (CBS, 1998/99:53). The extent of underemployment in 1996 was 47 percent for the country as a whole and at the level of the ecological zones; it was 51 percent for the Terai, 45 percent for the Hills and 36 percent for the mountains.

The rate of underemployment is much higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas. 52 percent of the labour force works for more than 40 hours a week compared with 62 percent in the urban area (CBS 1997). Both underemployment and unemployment with low wage rate aggravated income-poverty from using and enhancing their capabilities, including the capability to work. Such variation and inequalities on distribution employment status forces the regional dimension of migration in Nepal.

### **◆ Ethnic/Caste variation in employment status**

Caste and ethnicity is also concerned on variation of employment status in Nepal. Although both men and women of ethnicity and caste are concentrated in self-employment, proportionately more women than men are concentrated in such employment in all ethnicity/caste group. This concentration, however, is lower for the occupational caste group Damai/Kami/Sarki, both for men and women (Dalit Caste). Once again, proportionately, the degree of concentration of self-employed women in agriculture is more than that for men in all ethnicity/caste groups. As compared to higher caste, a large proportion of lower caste women (Dalit) are in wage earning employment in all ecological zones and eco-development regions. The areas where they have high opportunity for wage earning employment represent a higher level of poverty among the household of these caste/religions (Acharya, 2000:71-73).

### **◆ Income poverty (Incidence of property) and migration in Nepal**

The growing incidence of poverty in Nepal is outcome of an economic process which is associated with a worsening income distribution among the household. Poverty has further been exacerbated by limited access to productive resources, high levels of

underemployment and or unemployment-augmented and perpetuated by the indebtedness of the poor.

Forty-two percent of the people are living under absolute poverty line. Government of Nepal has recently claimed that it came down to 38 percent (NPC 2003). Regarding the incidence and correlates of poverty, recent studies have made the observation that the absolute number of poor is increasing faster; the proportion of rural poverty is increasing rapidly. The incidence of poverty is relatively higher in the mountain and the Hills; the households in western Nepal are poorer than in the East and the incidence is more acute among the lower caste communities (CBS 1997, Rajbansi (1996) NESAC 1998, Premusshi 1998).

Such scenario of poverty in Nepal is believed to be the product of three factors: slow growth in agricultural production and productivity; historical unequal distribution of productive resources such as land; and caste, gender and urban biased development process (Islam 1983, Sharma 1991, Sharma 1998, Pandey 1999). Land distribution is extremely uneven and almost all of the poor households are severely indebted. According to recent survey, the bottom 40 percent of the agricultural household operate only 9 percent of the total agricultural land area, whereas top 6 percent occupied more than 33 percent of the same. The distribution of land was more skewed in the hills compared to Terai and Mountains. Similarly, the average size of land holding was extremely low for the majority of farmers i.e. 40 percent of small farmers operated only 0.5 hectares of land on average. Thus, there is a growing trend of distress migration from the Hills to the Terai and urban areas as well (CBS/1997, NESAC 1998).

Subsequently, man-land ratio reveals the underemployment situation of the country's population. The higher the man-land ratio per hectare presents the higher underemployment situations. This man-land ratio is also determining factor for migration whereas ratio seems higher, that space either could be urbanized areas or fertile land. Man land ratio is unevenly distributed based on ecological and eco-development regions. According to 2001 Census, the national man-land ratio is observed 5.7 persons per hectare given three ecological zones (north-south) and five development regions (east-west). It is also useful to analyse man-land ratio by eco-development regions. Among ecological zones, the Hill comprises the highest ratio (6.0) persons per hectare followed by Terai (6.0 person per hectare), and 3.3 person per hectare in mountain region due to low size of

population. But based on person per hectare of cultivated land, majority mountain districts have less than four persons per hectare of cultivated land (5.3% of the total districts). Likewise, majority Terai districts have man-land ratios between six to ten persons (29.4% of the total districts). The districts of Kathmandu valley especially Kathmandu, and Bhaktapur have very high man-land ratio compared with other hill districts. The reason for high man-land ratio in Kathmandu district, it should be noted that the valley with the only metropolitan city is the most urbanized part of the country (Subedi, 2003:9). As mentioned man-land ratio per-capita cultivated land and landholding per household acknowledge about underemployment of population, forceful factor for migration, urbanization and immigration for better life of the overall population.

As mentioned earlier about poverty situations, employment status, economic indicator and HDI are all disparities in urban and rural residence as well as ecological zones and eco-development regions which create the imbalanced development for the country and compelled people to move for searching the better of life. So poverty and migration are always interwoven.

Although, poverty and migration are interlinked to each other, “experts on migration and poverty work independently and do not consider the effect of demography factor on poverty and vice versa (Oucho, 2002 cited in K.C., 2003: 3-5). Migration is one of the important demographic factors which affects, volume, size, and age and sex structure of the particular destination. Thus, another equally important problem is associated with which type of poverty is to be accepted and related with migration and that whether migration is good or bad in terms of push and pull factors in reducing and increasing the poverty levels of migrant population is largely unresolved. UNDP (1998:16) has provided six different types of poverty such as human poverty, income poverty, extreme poverty, overall poverty, relative poverty, an absolute poverty which are already discussed in earlier section by linking with migration.

Migration has been an important component of population redistribution in Nepal. People have been migrating from rural to rural and rural to urban areas and emigrating abroad as well in search of employment and education and for better life. Important causes of internal migration in Nepal have been poverty, inequitable distribution of income, unemployment, difficult livelihood, and food insecurity. Similarly, many Nepalese manpower have been emigrating temporarily or permanently since the first quarter of the

19<sup>th</sup> century leaving behind women, children and old people to take care of agriculture in the rural areas of Nepal. Many reasons discussed for this kind of emigration have forced labour within the country, forced recruitment in the British Army and British India, indebtedness at home and extreme poverty. Later, the wave of migration to the foreign countries expanded from a few neighbouring countries like India, Burma, Bhutan and Sikkims to many other labour importing countries in South-east, East and Far-east Asia, Middle-east, Europe and North America. Those Nepalese who had been absent for more than six months from their place of origin in Nepal and were living in the foreign countries increased substantially since the people's revolution for democracy in 1951.

Both internal and international migration's pattern and distribution vary over the time and according to residence and eco-development regions based on availability of the resources and access of better amenities and facilities. However level of the research for the reasons of the difference pattern and volume of migration is still felt limited. In addition, migration is the least researched area in Nepal compared to other demographic dynamics despite the fact that many socio-economic, demographic and political problems are closely associated with the process of both internal and international migrations.

### **Distribution of migration patterns as an example**

#### **◆ Internal Migration**

Nepal has been experiencing increasing volume of internal migration after the control of endemic malaria in the Terai (plain) and inner Terai valleys since the early 1950s. According to K.C. (1998) the Census data of 1961 showed 170,137 inter-zonal migrants, which increased to 445,128 in 1971, 929,585 in 1981 (48.2) and 1,228,356 (51.2%) in 1991, and 1,727,35 (51%) in 2001 of the total inter-zonal migration 2001 (51%), female constituted 51 percent of the total (CBS, 2003). In 2001, the mountain (-14.8 net-migration) and the Hill (-48% net migration) lost 1,685, 862 persons, all gained by the Terai (+62.8 net migration).

The major streams of internal migrations are rural to rural (68.2%) and rural to urban (25.5%), urban to urban (2.8%) and urban to rural (3.5%) which are larger important (K.C., 2003: 10). Therefore, Nepal still has an overwhelming rural to rural migration. Internal migration in Nepal is very much a permanent phenomenon and has led to both positive and negative social and economic implication for the place of origin and

destination and 44.1 percent of the total inter-district migrants is living in the destination for more than 10 years (CBS, 2002 cited in K.C., 2003).

According to Nepal HDR (UNDP 1998), lack of work in the mountains and Hills during the slack agricultural season in the winter, low wage rates and lack of income from non-agricultural sources and high levels of human deprivations including in relation to education and health there, annually force a large number of workers to the Terai and cities and towns of Nepal and India looking for work. Such a migratory stream has been noted to be extremely large in the Mid-Western and Far-Western Mountain and Hills. It has further been noted that income from migrant labour forms a high proportion of the total household income for the seasonal migrants' household. According to Census data (1981-1991) 3.5 percent of the population in the Mountains and 5.9 percent of the population in the Hills moved away permanently, mostly to Terai. The landless, highly indebted and members of the low caste group appear to migrate in larger proportion, even the well-off individuals and households join the ranks of labour migrants.

A third migratory stream is immigrant job-seekers from India. The immigrant workers from India either seasonal or permanent can be found mostly engaged in agricultural sector. Of the total, 13 percent workers were manufacturing workers (UNDP, 1998: 104) (e.g., tea estates, carpets, printing press, rice mills, metal work etc.).

### **International migration and its distribution**

#### **◆ Emigration**

Emigrant, here, is defined as a person who is absent in the household and was residing outside the country for 6 months to 5 years before the time of survey. Migration record in Nepal, was recorded first time in the Census of 1920 and 1930, and had recorded only male emigrants on the basis of employment outside the country in the forms of (a) army service and (b) other services. A large number of hill people were recruited in the Indian army during the World War I. This war helped to raise thousands of its people for recruitment. The numbers of men taken out of the country had exceeded 200,000 and of these 55,000 were enlisted in the regular Gurkha battalions of the Indian army. The magnitude of the movement of the Gurkhas for recruitment in the British and the Nepalese armies was so great able-bodied males from the village of the martial races (Mainly Magars and Gurungs).



The two hundred thousand men went out from Nepal's mountains between 1939 to 1945 during the World War II and the casualties of the Gurkhas was 24,000 men (Bishop, 1952: 83 cited in Kanskar, 2003). This time also the deteriorating of agriculture and shortage of able-bodied male was felt not only in the land of Gurungs and Magars, but also in the land of Rais and Limbus (Joshi, 1957 II: 86 cited in Kausakar 2003: 87). Thus, emigration Census and sources area of emigrants was clearly to mention begun from 1920 and 1942 and recorded of emigrants by sex. Census data of 1981 by countries of destination, by sex, age and occupation indicated females constituting 18.5 of the total emigrants and the percentage declined in 1981 but not in absolute term. The proportion of females among the emigrants indicated a gradual increase. It increased from 24, 501 in 1952/54 to 1, 18, 288 in 1991, but declined in 2001 to 82, 712 persons, an absolute decline of 35,576 or 30 percent.

According to the Demographic Sample Survey (DSS), emigrants for males are consistently higher for all regions. Hill has the highest emigration rate for both sexes (24.9% male for rural against women 4.8%, 16.0% for urban and 24.0% male (K.C. et al 1997) for Nepal In connection to distribution of emigrants, the hill comprises highest. Terai comes next and mountain sends the least proportion of emigrants. From the rural Nepal 51.3 percent of males and 9.6 percent of females moved out of the country, from urban Nepal, 44.9 percent of males and 14.2 percent females moved across the country. Among the eco-development regions, Western Development rural area lost the highest proportion of emigrants (i.e. 33.9%) ( 27.2 percent males and 6.7 percent females). The second emigrant sending region is the Far-Western region from rural Nepal that is 22.3 percent. While for urban Nepal, the highest proportion of emigrants are from CDR (38.1%) closely followed by WDR (37.2%). Among the emigrants from CDR of urban Nepal, 22.7 percent are males and 15.4 percent females, whereas among those from rural WDR, 30.4 percent are males and only 6.9 percent females.

Of the total emigrants, 84.7 percent reported to have moved to India and the rest (15.3%) to Non-India countries. Among these who emigrated to India, the highest proportion of emigrants (43.5%) reported to have to states of India other than Bihar, U.P. and ASWB and the next proportion of emigrants (35.2%) emigrated to India but the state is unknown. Among emigrants moving outside India (15.3%), 72.8 percent emigrated to other Asian countries and 27.2 percent to those countries of the other continents.

Based on Census record, of the total absentee population, 97.3 percent had their original home in the mountain and hill of Nepal. This flow trend of emigration increased to 3.4 percent in 1961, 2.7 percent in 1981, 3.7 percent in 1991 and 3.4 percent in 2001. The proportion of immigrating to India was observed 92 percent in 1961, 93.1 percent in 1981 and 89.2 percent in 1991 and substantially decreased to 77.3 percent in 2001. This was because of many Nepalese were bound towards Saudi Arab (8.9%), Quarter (3.2%), United Arab Emirates (1.7%), Hong Kong (1.6%), and Anglo America (1.3%). A huge number of Nepalese used to reside in India for agricultural labour until the 1971. The pattern now has changed. For example, personal service, business, institutional service and other reasons accounted for 95 percent of all reasons, while agriculture merely accounted for less than one percent (CBS 2002: Table 13) in which males comprised 89.1 percent and females 10.9 percent (CBS, 2001). Almost 90 percent of the total absentees were from rural areas of Nepal and 10.3 percent were from urban areas. Females from rural areas comprised 85.3 percent compared to 14.7 percent from urban areas. About 70 percent of these absentees population were from the poverty stricken mountain and hill districts in the Mid-Western and Far-Western region of Nepal. Private job and personal services above accounted for 63 percent of all reasons for absentees. Out of this, 76 percent were destined for India.

#### ◆ **Immigration**

In this section, immigration in Nepal is defined by including foreign born and the foreign citizen, native born and the place of birth and its distribution on ecological zones and eco-development regions over the period.

Like international emigration, the data on international immigrants in Nepal had been collected in 1961 for the first time. The data on foreign citizenship was available for the countries like India, China, and Pakistan, and other not state. Subsequently, information about international immigrations were collected by adding more information. For instance, migration data was collected only for the population present (dejure population) not absentee population (de facto population) which could not give the result of net-migration and the data only derived on the basis of citizenship and by the place of birth and was also available by sex and by age group. In 1981 Census, the data was included about sex, broad age group 0-15, 15-59 and 60 above, the birthplace, duration of stay and reasons for stay. And data had been available by urban and by development regions and

by ecological zones as well. In 1991 Census it seems more advanced and informative which had provided the information about birthplace, citizenship, by regions, by country of destination, by education, marital status and activity. Finally in 2001 Census, data on international migration were grouped into two types.

- i) Based on complete enumeration
- ii) Citizenship of the population by countries, by sex and by age.

Countries of the foreign citizens included are: India, China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Srilanka, Maldives, other countries of Asia, Europe, North America, South America, Africa and Australia/New Zealand.

Only by observing the above mentioned Census, it indicates, that, it cannot be analysed the trend of immigrants over the time period and zonal and regional distribution. We would be only able to explain the number of immigrants by sex, by geographic zones and eco-development regions based on separate Census record. Thus streams of immigrants have also been discussed according to separate Censuses.

#### ◆ **Foreign-born population**

The 1981 Census recorded 234,039 persons as foreign-born population in Nepal. There has been a dramatic increase in foreign-born population from 439,844 (2.4%) in 1991 to 608,092 (2.7%) in 2001. Out of the total foreign born 96 percent were India born. Nepalese and foreign citizens residing in Nepal also constitutes the total population of Nepal. In this sense, Nepal had 22,620,363 Nepalese citizens and 116,571 foreign citizens in 2001. This means that a total of 491,521 or 80.8 percent have already taken Nepalese foreign citizens. In overwhelming majority of 84.37 percent of the total foreign born population in Nepal has resided in the Terai and the rest, in the Mountains and the Hills of Nepal. Among the foreign born, females comprise of almost 70 percent who had born in India (CBS, 2002, Gender Disaggregated Indicator, Nepal).

Of the total foreign born population, 19.7 percent is observed in urban areas in 1991. However, the share of the foreign born population in the urban areas in 2001 constituted 23.5 (142,775/608,094) percent of the total for Nepal. Almost 5 percent (142,775/322,787) of the urban population growth can be attributes to this increasing foreign-born population. This also constitutes 17.2 percent (142,775/746,285 UDC + 81,425, M= 827,

710) of the total urban migrants in Nepal. The Terai zone alone constitutes 89.8 percent of the foreign residing in Nepal for more than 10 years. The major reasons for the foreign born population residing in Nepal were stated as marriage (46%), business (8.4%), service (6.1%), agriculture (4.8%), study (4.5%), and other unspecified reason (30.2%). About 94 percent of the marriage migrations are concentrated in the Terai (CBS, 2002 Table 7).

#### ◆ **Based on citizen of foreign immigrants**

The 1961 Census, reported 110,061 foreign citizens in Nepal. Of the total foreign citizens in Nepal, Indian citizens constituted 69.3 percent, in 1961, 94.4 (1, 36,477) percent in 1971, 75.7 percent in 1991. In urban areas, there were only 32,435 foreign citizens and 81.7 percent of them were Indian citizens. Foreign citizens living in the urban areas in 1991 constituted 35.9 percent of the total foreign citizens in the country. In 2001, the number of foreign citizens was 116,571, of which 90 percent were Indian citizens.

Majority of international migrants in Nepal are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work in trade and service by displacing native workers. Immigrants have strong hold in the commercial and industrial sector due to better networking and investment strategy. A large number of immigrants also work as vendors, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, tailors and barbers in urban areas.

The distribution of the foreign born population in Nepal was marked by overwhelming concentration in the Terai. Of the total, foreign-born persons in the country, the Terai comprised 92.9 percent of the total followed by 5.9 percent (19948 persons) in the Hill regions and 1.2 percent (3939 persons) in the mountain region. Among the foreign population accounted for 94.8 percent of the total comprised by India followed by Burma 1.9 percent and China 0.5 percent.

Among the foreign born population, East Pakistan or present Bangladesh border, constituted 82 percent of total Pakistan born population in Nepal. After the partition of India and formation of Pakistan, the non Bengali Muslims and Hindus seemed to have migrated into Nepal from East Pakistan. Burma born population was mostly concentrated in Eastern Terai and Western Hill, while Malaysia -born population was mostly confined

to the Western Hills indicating the stationing of the British Gurkha and their families in Malaysia.

## **1.2.2 Studies on international migration in Nepal**

Migration is the component of population change; mortality, fertility and migration. Migration is not a biological variable and it comprises cultural economic and political factors. The nature of migration as a factor affecting population is different from the mortality and fertility. Migration comprises two parts; internal migration and international migration and it is further divided into two sections: Immigration and Emigration. When the place of residence changes crossing the international boundary, it is called international migration. In this section, I will focus on international migration.

### **◆ Definition of immigration and emigration**

The terms 'immigration and 'emigration' refer respectively to movement into or out of a particular territory, and are used only in connection with international migration (Bhende and Kanitar, 2003: 357-338). For example, those migrants leaving Nepal to settle down in India, UK and USA, are immigrants to India, UK and USA and are supposed emigrants for Nepal. International migration also caused by two factors. They are:

### **◆ The push factors**

On the one hand international migration concerns at the source region and includes increase in size of population, establishing land relations, unemployment, poverty, food shortage, religious and social oppression, recurring droughts and floods, insecurity, political tension etc.

### **◆ The pull factors**

On the other hand it operates at the destination or the host country. These factors include better employment opportunities, better living condition and favorable economic and political condition. Both internal and international migration when seen in totality, is a function of both the pull and push factors (Chaudhari and Singh, 2003: 309).

In the Nepalese context, international migration means movements of population on across the international border of Nepal and it includes two streams. The first is emigration or Nepal born population reported as absentees abroad, and second, immigration or foreign-born population reported in Nepal.

**a) Emigration :**

Emigration includes both voluntary migration and forced migration as well. Voluntary migration includes, general migrants (full and partial emigrants) to India, labour migration in third world countries, emigrants for higher education, brain-drain emigrants (technical persons) to European and American countries, armed forcer to British government, Indian government and Singapore police force and Brunei Sultan government. Majority of the partial emigrants have moved to India. Emigrants are also of four types: (1) permanent, (2) Semi permanent, (3) temporary, and (4) seasonal (Gurung, 1983:11).

Likewise forced migration in Nepal represents girls and women trafficking to India in particular and the third world women labour migration especially to Arabian countries in general. Child labor emigrants are also moved to India.

Census data on absentee population reported abroad indicate an increasing volume of emigration. The destination of emigrants was mainly India. Of the total such absentees, 93.1 percent in 1981 and 89.2 percent in 1991 were reported in India. Emigrants directed to other destinations though small in volume, increased significantly during 1981-91. The increase was 2.7 times for other Asian countries and 2.5 times for elsewhere (Gurung., 1998:120).

**b) Immigration**

Immigration also comprises two types; voluntary immigrants and involuntary or forced immigrants. Information on immigration in Nepal is derived from Census data on foreign born population and foreign citizens. These data were first recorded in 1961 Nepal Census. Data about foreign born populations and foreign citizens are discussed in Chapter – III.

## **Types of migration: Voluntary and Involuntary**

### **◆ Voluntary migration**

Voluntary migration especially refers to economic migrants who migrate in search of new jobs forced to do so or it is a voluntary decision (Mckinley et. al, 2001 cited in weiss (Ed.), 2003: 11). As economic migrants a person his/her habitual place of residence used to migrate to settle outside his/her country of origin in order to improve his/her quality of life. This term is also used to refer to a person attempting to enter a country without bona-fide cause. It also applies to person settling outside their country of origin for the duration of an agricultural or tourist season, appropriately called seasonal workers (Weiss, 2033:13). This statement could be applied to Nepalese Emigrants to India and Indian immigrants in Nepal. This migration is a voluntary decision taken in full awareness of the facts after a comparative analysis of the costs and benefits of migration. In this regard, migrants will therefore choose the destination where expected not benefits will be the greatest.

Such voluntary migrants follow a macroscopic approach, which is based on the individual behaviour and focused on the structural determination of migration, and migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of capital and labour. Migrants will go there where jobs, wages and other economic factors are most advantageous. This reflects disparities in wages and standards of living, and migration is, therefore generated by supply push and demand pull. This implies to labour migration in abroad.

### **◆ Involuntary migration**

This type of migration is also addressed by the non-voluntary or forced migration. The involuntary migration happens by natural calamities, political conflict led by armed conflicts or political persecution and a situation of violence and/or the violation of his/her rights. This term applies to refugee movements; for instance the Tibetan refugees and Bhutanese refugee in Nepal, displaced population caused by Moist and armed force conflicts in Nepal and their emigration to India in particular and in others abroad in general. Similarly, movements caused by trafficking and forced exchange of population among state. These terms indicate girls and women trafficking in India from Nepal in particular and child labor migration to India in general.

Human Trafficking (HT) is pressurized by the “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation of the exploited. ‘Exploitation’ includes, at the minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practice similar to slavery (Leweiss, 2003, IOM).

### **1.2.3 Geo-political division, regional disparities and migration in Nepal**

Geographically and demographically, Nepal is landlocked between the two of the most populous countries of the world; China in the North and India in the South. Both of which ranked the first and second largest countries of the world respectively in the size of population. Nepal’s present boundary evolved after the peace and Friendship Treaty of 1816 with India and completed in 1861 after the return of the territory of the Far-Western Terai to Nepal which was ceded to the British East India Company in 1816; and border agreement with China was first signed in October 5, 1961. Ultimately, in 1982 by conducting more scientific and accurate ground surveys as well as using latest satellite photographs. Nepal’s International boundary with India almost remained open for the movement of the people from both of her neighbours. With China, it became closed on after 1950. Considering her boundary, particularly the large-scale influx of population from India has become Indian immigrants in the Terai (plain area) of Nepal. People from Indian immigrants and Nepalese Terain people are similar in resource to culture, tradition, customs and physical structure. Likewise Nepalese people also go to India freely due to open border between two countries.

In connection to geo-political division within the country, the three physical or ecological settings are distinctly based on climate, soil, land use pattern and development of infrastructure and facilities of developmental paradigms and socio-economic conditions. Thus, these ecological zones imply inherent differences in natural resources endowment. In the context of eco-development division it comprises five development regions and three ecological regions for each development regions. Man–land ratio is a very common



way of expressing population resources in the country. It gives the idea about as indicative of the pressure of population on land resources. The overall man-land ratio for 2001 is 5.7 persons per hectare. Majority mountain districts have less than four persons per hectare of cultivated land. Likewise, majority Terai districts have between six to ten persons man-land ratios. The Hill districts are complex and demonstrate diverse situation. The average man-land-ratio for the Mountain, the Hill and Terai are observed by 3.3 persons per hectare, 6.2 persons per hectare and 6.0 persons per hectare. Subsequently, among the eco-development regions, Central, Western and Mid-Western hills are with man-land-ratio of more than 7 persons per hectare. This man-land ratio when considered in the context of difference in terrain conditions, history of settlement, overall quality of soil and yield of cereal crops by ecological zones, the pressure of population on land resources is Far higher in the eco-development regions of the Hill than in other regions (Subedi, 2003: 11).

As stated man-land ratio, it indicates that majority of the hill people are compelled to migrate to the Terai or urban areas for seeking cultivable land and seeking jobs. Similarly, young groups of people tend to emigrate in abroad for seeking employment. In addition, the distributions of cultivated land are also unevenly distributed. The Terai comprises highest cultivated land (46.2%), followed by Hills (41.02) and Mountain (12.7%) (ibid.)

This also indicates the cultivated land of the mountain zones has very low followed by the Hill. Due to such marginal land of the mountain and the Hill zones, people are forced to migrate the southern part for seeking cultivable land, and seasonal employment and emigrate for seeking employment abroad.

The mountain and the Hill zones cover two thirds of the total area and accommodate 53 percent of the total population with less than one third of population on limited agricultural land.

Because of the open border, there is a possibility of two-way traffic of migration between India and Nepal. The emigrants from Nepal to India are considered as general migration; seeking employment, education and profession; as forced emigrants; human trafficking and internally displaced people due to the conflicts between the Royal Nepalese Army and Maoist militants and are repressed the people by both groups after the 13<sup>th</sup> February

of 1996. This happened first in the remote and backward place of hilly areas which are totally ignored for developmental aspects.

Another reality to emigrate India is the history of the recruitment of Nepalese hill people in the Indian Armed force and police force.

Cultural and religion similarities may be the most important theoretical factors to continue the process of migration in between two countries along with the socio-economic and technological gap. According to 1991 Census, 45.2 percent of Indian – born in Nepal was for marriage reason. Of the total 95 percent of foreign born in Nepal were from India (Gurung, 1998: 33).

The process of emigration is still in operation mainly due to opportunities available for recruitment the Indian and British armies, employment opportunities in around Indian cities and educational and for other social purposes. Another additional push factors for emigrating the hilly people abroad include: poor educational profile and low health facilities, low agricultural productivity, lack of economic-opportunities. International migrants work as unskilled and skilled labourers or run their own business (Gurung, 1999:20).

Physical disparities among the ecological belts and eco-development regions along with inequality on the distribution of HDI, HPI, Socio-Economic Index and developmental parameters are the root causes of internal and international migration in Nepal.

#### **1.2.4 Characteristics of migrants**

Migrants are a selective group of people with distinctive characteristics and more productive than those left behind. There can be little doubt that migration does have draining effect to the rural areas, either temporarily or permanently. Some of the strongest, most able, most energetic, young men and women are likely to move. There is a tendency for those with a better education to leave their indigenous communities or to eschew assignment in government, education and other services in rural areas (Hence 1970, p. 169 cited in Ghimire ,2004:6). This foretells that the majority of youths, young and economically active working population migrate from their place of origin in search of better life opportunities, employment and related facilities and amenities than their original place.

Migration is a selective process and this comprises in-migrant and out migrant within the country and emigrants and immigrants abroad which shows that the distinctive socio-economic and demographic characteristics with non-migrants. These characteristics include sex, age, education, economic status, occupational status, place of origin and place of destination. These characteristics fix the trends, volumes, pattern and stream of migration.

There is an association between the above stated characteristics and propensity of migration. In regarding of age, the pattern of youth males of the broad age group of 15-30 years being more prone to migration is fairly widespread, which is probably explained by their higher capacity to adjust during the initial periods of uncertainty after migration. Likewise, more illiterate rural people and people with low level of education, poor land holding and low per capita income, and unskilled people form the majority of population at the place of origin and such people tend to migrate to another destination for searching better life. Initially, such people used to migrate more and get low rate of wage from employment due to unskilled performance. Now, the proportion of migrants from selectively better-off families has increased possibly because of acquiring of formal education and increment of educational status.

As regarding the migrant's characteristics in the Nepalese context, some evidences are discussed below. The age and sex selectivity of emigration has deprived the country of the most dynamic elements of the society. This emigration has resulted in sizeable transfer of migrants from the rural hill parts of Nepal and has an impact in the sending areas as well as in the country as a whole. For example, the emigrants recruited in the age of 17-19 years in the foreign armies particularly in the British army and the Indian army are provided basic education, training in mechanical, electrical and other assistant works at the end of service period of retired time and their retired age fixed at the age of 30 to 34 years. Such large number of retired Army men had filled up the shortage of teacher in the primary and lower secondary schools in the rural areas of the hills. The development planning of Nepal since third plan (1965-70)<sup>5</sup> realized the need to utilization were effectively the service of the retired soldiers having technical training abroad and numbering about 300 per year. Although, the retired Army men and their contribution to the nation as human resources and their remittances play important role to the local as

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<sup>5</sup> HMG/National Planning Council 1965: The Third Plan (1965-70).

well as national development. The research on the context could not lousy continuously. So this research will be helpful to planner and NGO staff and their related institutions.

Based on the characteristics of absent migrants concerning in age and sex reported in 2001, males and females constituted 83.4 and 16.6 percent of the total respectively. The total number of absentees in abroad in the Census of 2001 was 589050 of the total, 77.28 percent had gone to India.

Similarly, there were 402,977 absent population in 1981. Males and females constituted 81.5 and 18.5 percent, respectively. Males greatly outnumbered females in all age groups. The age groups between 15 and 34 constituted highest percentage (58.7%) of the total (K.C., and et. all 1991:184).

As regarding to employment status and sex reported in 1981 Census, males greatly exceeded females for all reasons for emigrating except for marriage. Males constituted 96.7, 79.5, 83.1 and 85.7 percent in service, education, agriculture, and trade.

Emigrants, their nature of working behaviour and place of destination for migration are always interlinked each other. For instance, in Nepal every, 12000 girls under the age of 18 years are trafficked to India and abroad (KC et al 2001: 15). About 200,000 Nepalese women and girls are said to be in the Indian brothels. This consequent the HIV (AIDS to these victims). There is a higher incidence of this disease among younger man and women from 14 years up to 29 years and it decrease very sharply for women after 29 years but the decrease in its incidence among men becomes very gradual until the later ages. Thus, high mobility and migration, internal as well as international and poverty have been overwhelmingly considered as major route cause of the high incidence of HIV/AIDS in Nepal and elsewhere (SeeUNDP, 1999: [http://aidsouthasia.undp.org.in/publication/symposium/symposium/symp\\_detail.htm](http://aidsouthasia.undp.org.in/publication/symposium/symposium/symp_detail.htm)). There is no serious national level research except done by Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) as a piece of research study. Such peace basis research can give the incidence but cannot represent the volume, trend and patterns of such critical migrants as national structure. Among such migrants, majority of the total, emigrated from the periphery the hills and the mountain areas of the Kathmandu valley which are supposed as disadvantaged and remote areas and caste in the initial time. Now it has been increased to remote area from any place of Nepal where transformational link is available.

Based on gender, a research done by Acharya (2000:213) it is concluded that “Tibeto-Burman women, who most consist of tribal groups, were more mobile in search for employment opportunities”. By ethnicity, Tharu women seemed to receive the largest number of remittances, but Gurung/Rai/Limbur and Newar women received the largest amount per person. Such important aspect for economic development through remittance has not still done as national level figure which is also seemed the problem of emigrational research in Nepal.

Concerning to literacy, educational attainment and occupation of life-time immigrants and emigration by place of residence, Nepal 1996, of the total, 60 percent is illiterate migrants and followed by 40 literate migrants. As reported, there is high rate of international out-migration rate in the rural areas than in the urban one.

### **1.3 Objective of the Study:**

#### **Main objective:**

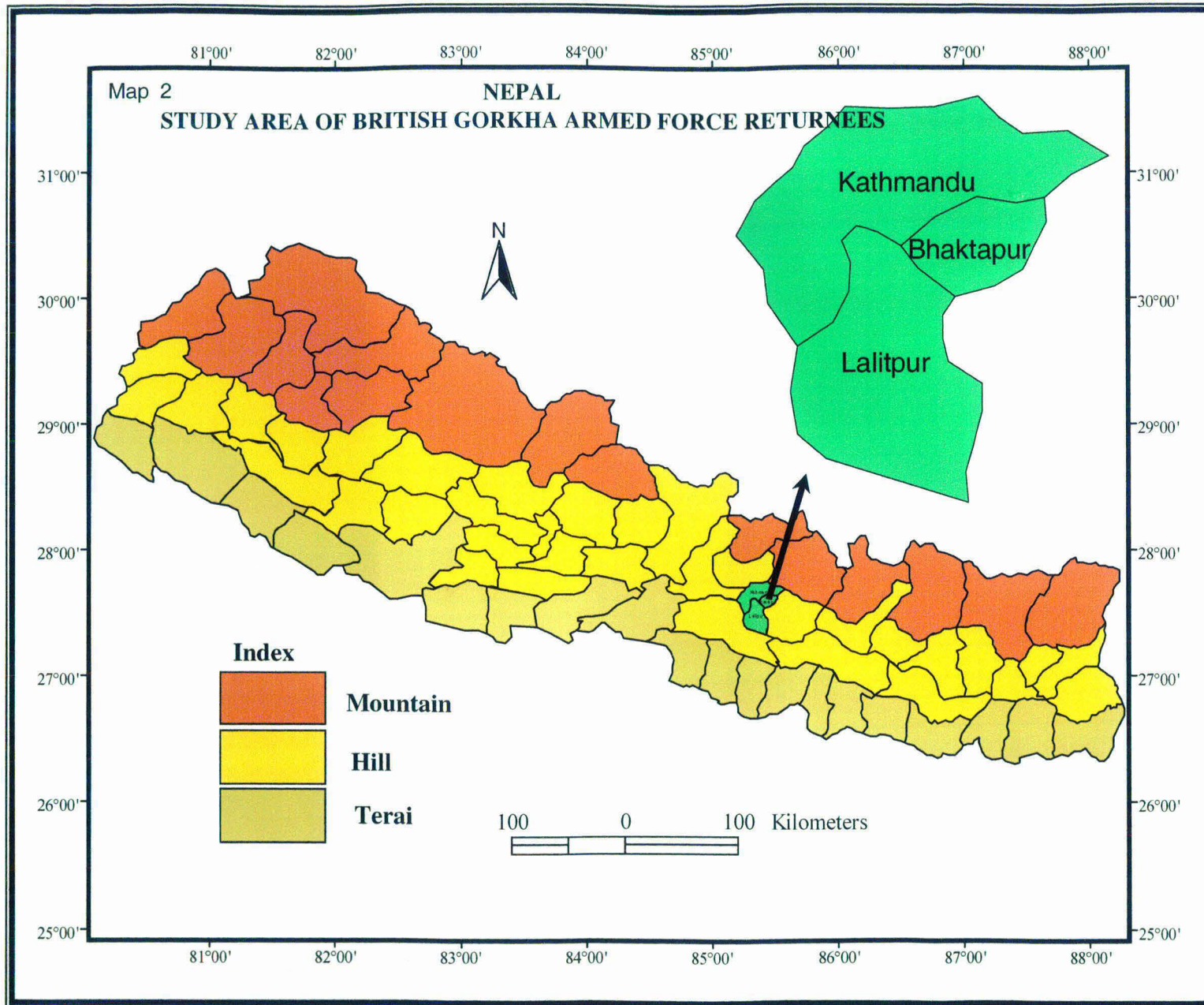
To explain the Processes, causes and consequences of international migration in Nepal.

#### **Specific Objectives:**

- To review the different types of international migration in Nepal (Immigration and Emigration, Voluntary and Involuntary Migration);
- To examine the socio-demographic condition of international migration with special reference to British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in Nepal;
- To review the issues on forced immigration : Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal;
- To examine causes and consequences of international migration in Nepal.

### **1.4 Research methods**



The study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. However, the study is primarily based on primary data. Kathmandu valley, Jhapa and Morang districts of



# Administrative Map of Nepal






## Map 3.2 Locational place of Tibetan Refugee, (Nepal)

### LEGEND

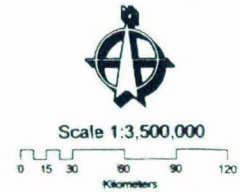
 International Boundary  
 District Boundary



mustang  
 humla  
 sindupalchok (kodari tatopani)  
 namchi bazaar  
 waolam chung gola

Index	Population Size
	4000-5000
	1000-1500
	500-1000
	200-500
	Less than 200

Base Map: Topographical Zonal Map (1:250,000), Department of Survey, 1988





Eastern Terai (plain) area were selected for the study. British armed force returnees and Bhutanese refugees were selected as target population for this study. The following methods are applied for this research;

### **1.4.1 Study Areas**

The study area is based on Kathmandu valley. It consists of three districts, namely Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. But British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees - population under the study area are only residing in Kathmandu and Lalitpur districts and the later one, is heavily resided by them (GAESO, 2005) (See Table 5). Only one family is found in Bhaktapur district and this family is also attached in Lalitpur district of GAESO office. Thus, two districts have been selected for the study area for the British Armed Force Returnees (BGAFR) and Kathmandu district has been selected for the study of women and girls trafficking. Kathmandu district is situated between 27<sup>0</sup> 42' North latitude and 85<sup>0</sup> 22' East longitudes with the elevation of 1336 meters from the sea level and it covers 395 square kilometers where the capital city and only one Metropolitan city of the country are also located. This may be one of the reasons to be resided by the British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees.

Lalitpur district is situated between 27<sup>0</sup> 35' North latitude and 85<sup>0</sup> 24' East longitudes with the elevation of 1400 meters from the sea level, which covers 385 square kilometres of the country. It is one of the Sub-Metropolitan cities of the country, which is closer to the head office of the Gurkha British Recruitment Camp in Nepal. This may be one of the reasons to be resided heavily by British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in Lalitpur district (ISRSC, 2004:295 – 320).

Jhapa and Morang districts of Eastern Terai belt have been selected as a study area where Bhutanese refuses are resided (See Table 5, Map – 2) since these two districts are close distance to Bhutan. Jhapa district is situated between 26<sup>0</sup> 30' North latitude and 87<sup>0</sup> 54' East longitudes with the elevation of 143 meters from the sea level, which covers 1606 square kilometres of the country. (ISRSC, 2004: 295–320). Subsequently, Morang district is situated between 26<sup>0</sup> 29' North latitude and 87<sup>0</sup> 16' East longitudes with the elevation of 72 meters from the sea level, which covers 1855 square kilometres of the country (ISRSC, 2004: –160). These two districts are close to across the boarder from Bhutan via



India. This may be one of the reasons to be resided by Bhutanese refugees in these two districts (Table 5).

**Table 5: Distribution of respondents according to their residing places (Tole)**

Name of the residing places (Tole)*	District code	No. of hh.	%
Adarshatole	1	1	1.0
Anamnagar	1	1	1.0
Bagdol	2	1	1.0
Baneswor	1	2	1.9
Bansbari	1	1	1.0
Bansthali	1	1	1.0
Bishalmarga	1	1	1.0
Dhapasi	1	1	1.0
Dhobighat	2	4	3.9
Dholahiti	2	3	2.9
Gongobu	2	1	1.0
Jambutole	1	1	1.0
Jawalakhel	2	1	1.0
Jhamsikhel	2	2	1.9
Khumaltar	2	12	11.7
Kirtipur	1	2	1.9
Kusunti	2	3	2.9
Mahalaxmithan	2	12	11.7
Milanchowk	2	1	1.0
Nakhipot	2	16	15.5
Samakhushi	1	1	1.0
Shantimarg	1	1	1.0
Syuchhatar	3	1	1.0
Talchhitole	2	10	9.7
Thasikhel	2	8	7.8
Tikhedeol	2	13	12.6
Tutepani	2	1	1.0
Tynglaphant,	1	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey, 200

Note: \* 1 = Kathmandu district, 2 = Lalitpur district, 3 = Bhaktapur

## 1.4.2 Sources of secondary information

Data and information have been derived and traced from Census Report, HMG, Nepal, Survey data, CBS pump lets and Statistical year book, UN, UNHCR ILO officials records, NGO, INGO reports, published and unpublished books, journal, articles, Seminar and Workshop papers, dissertation, news paper and different web-sites.

The data and information have also been collected with especial reference to voluntary and involuntary migration. Voluntary migration represents to labour migration in abroad,

British Armed Force Returnees and to some extent about general migration in India. Subsequently, involuntary migration comprises the refugees and human trafficking.

### **1.4.3 Sources of Primary Information**

The primary information has been collected through sampled survey based on snow-balling method which is used for British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees. As reported by GAESO, there are around more than seven thousands household of Armed Force Returnees in Kathmandu Valley. Among them, 103 household are taken for sampling from Kathmandu and Lalitpur districts of Kathmandu valley. These volunteer returnees emigrants are heavily settled in highly new urbanise area as in compact settlement of Lalitpur district followed by their own community and ethnicity but , these returnees are settled in scatter settlement pattern with mix community in Kathmandu district.

### **1.4.4 Method for Collecting Primary Information**

- i) **Purposive method:** - Information is collected through Ex-Service British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees based on **snow-balling sampling method (GAESO)**. A snow-ball sampling is one in which – persons to be interviewed is identified through a person of similar attribute i.e here from one British Armed Force Returnee to another. This method is particularly useful where it is difficult to identify the universe of the sample population. Pensioners are regarded as main informers of this research.
- ii) **Gurkha Association Ex-service Organisation (GAESO)**-The pensioners' household, related information were taken from the GAESO to visit the sampled respondent' house.

The reasons for taking purposive sampling are as follow:

The households selection were taken to represent the major four ethnic groups, namely, Gurung, Magar, Rai and Limbu who were the long history in British recruitment and origin of the respondents represented from Eastern and Western Development region of Nepal (See Map – 2, 2A Table -5).

### **1.4.5 Tools for primary data collection:**

- i) Pilot survey was conducted in five households of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees before going to field survey,
- ii) Semi-structured questionnaires were used both for voluntary and involuntary migrants especially to British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees, Bhutanese refugees, and women and girls trafficking in Nepal..
- iii) Focus-Group discussion were done with respondents and with their families especially for social and cultural changes and for decision making processes involving in community development and role of use of remittance,
- iv) Focus-Group discussions were done with British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees and with their families especially for social and cultural changes and for decision making processes involving in community development and role of use of remittance, and discussions were also done with representative of refugees' camp committee at Sanischare Camps for cross checking the issues on refugees.
- v) Key-informants interview were taken with pensioners for British Gurkha History and socio-economic consequences at present in the residing place and was also taken with the representative of Ministry of Home Affairs, His Majesty Government of Nepal (HMG, Nepal), leader of Bhutanese refugees, and General Bhutanese refugees about refugees' issues.
- vi) A discussion has been taken with concerned and authorised personnel of women and girls trafficking in Nepal.
- vii) In contrast, as forced immigrants, the Bhutanese Refugees is applied for pilot survey. There are 16673 huts and seven camps in Jhapa and Morang districts in Eastern Tarai belt of Nepal. Of the total huts, Forty-Two huts are taken for Bhutanese refugees. Seven huts are taken from each camp. Among the total camps, one camp named Khudunabari is excluded during my surveyed visit due to insecure conditions and the members' absentees of the Government authorized unit representative. However, a group discussion is launched with the members of Khudunabari Camp Committee, representatives of Lutheran World and three local people around the Khudunabari camp at Sanischare camp organised by Lutheran

World on the occasion of monthly assemble. Information is collected about socio-demographic condition, occupation and lively hood vocational programme, Sentiments about going back to Bhutan and issues on social, psychological economic constraints and its impact. Similarly, four trafficked women and girls are taken as forced emigrants in Nepal.

One key-informant is selected for Tibetan refugees who are well known, highly scholar and Tibetan welfare representative in Nepal

#### **Tools for test:**

Simple average statistical tool were used.

## **1.5 Significance of the study**

Migration is the least understood and researched area among other demographic processor in Nepal. Migration data from both surveys and causes have been collected in Nepal since the first acceptable modern Census of 1952/54. Information on causes and consequences of either internal or international migration at both macro-micro level is severely lacking. Many village studies rely on migration data collected from a few villages or a few districts, but they do not capture the totality of migration situation and structural pattern in Nepal.

Although, migration is one of the main demographic variable which determines the population magnitude of a country is still not introduced with necessary contents of migration. Subsequent periodic plans including the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) continue to emphasize fertility control and neglect distribution aspect population. The Ninth plan, however, recognized the need to enquire into the area of international migration as follows;

A comprehensive study of international migration and policy discussion and based on the fact and conclusions of policy discussion, formulation of policies to regulate international migration it indicates that the migration policy in Nepal is still the stage of policy formulation exercise and it does not seem the structured migration study.

Subsequently, the migration policy in Nepal has been broadened in the Tenth plan which is coded below: 1) “To manage international migration appropriate policies and programs will be formulated by carrying out necessary study and research; 2) To regulate internal migration population pressure index will be prepared and appropriate programs will be formulated based on that index. In addition to this, the roles of other related line ministries and local bodies will be made clear” (National Planning Commission (NPC), 2002: 432).

As stated in policy number 1, Nepal international migration policy still needs the research study and research to formulate the concrete policy relating to specified structure of international migration. Thus, this study will be helpful for formulation and regulation of migration policy relating to structure of international migration in Nepal.

In this connection, the researcher has emphasized the significance study on;

- Labour emigration and its remittance;
- British Armed force and importance of their remittance
- Bhutanese Refugee immigrants and formation of National policy formulation
- Critical human workers and research about them.

#### ◆ **Increase of labour migration in abroad**

International labour migration is an important source for many household in general and their remittance for national revenue in particular. Around 760,000 Nepalese live and work abroad and many of them remit money, contributing to the livelihoods of their families at home.

After restoration of democracy in Nepal 1991, there has been developed and increased of Trans-boundaries employment opportunities and remittance in the country. Access for migrant workers abroad extended from India – Qatar, Maccaw, Hongkong, Korea to Europe to American countries. The established remittances send back to Nepal from Gulf, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Oman accounted Rs. 1099/- million Nepalese currencies per year (Sedden D. and et. all, 2001: 46-48).

This study will contribute to explore the idea that makes the constructive policy for structure of labour employment opportunities abroad, well documentation system and recognition of importance of remittance to the family and nation as well.

British Gurkha and Indian Gurkha Armed force are the traditional as well as historical emigrants from the early of 19<sup>th</sup> century but there is no record about their remittance in national revenue and there is also no national migration research about them. Few researchers concerned about Gurkhas' recruitment were practiced to acknowledge about social position, economic status, demographic information, their contribution to the British Government and discrimination between Gurkhas soldiers and British soldiers but there has been no empirical and researched acknowledge about their contribution for the Nepalese revenue. Instead of these, some researchers argue that the British Gurkhas Armed forced are supposed as National old aged population burden and are no discussion about the importance role of their remittances.

Bhutanese refugee's immigrants have already been population burden in Nepal. Since 1990 A.D. till 2005 (15 years), the repatriation problem has not been solved which is created the social, economical, political and environmental problems in the country.

There is no inclusion of population policy in the "Tenth Plan" of Nepal about Bhutanese refugees' immigrants in Nepal. Some individual researchers and some NGO's are involved to study about them. There is no national level research done by government. Thus, this research will be helpful to make constructive national population policy and to develop the theoretical framework for the study of refugees. In addition, this study will also be helpful to the different organizations who are involved in this study.

Nepal has become a major exporter of Nepali women and girls to India, the Middle East and other parts of the world. An average of 5000 to 7000 young girls are trafficked to Indian brothels every year, and average age has dropped over the past from 14-16 years of age to 10-14 years of age and few of them were the women whose age were between 19 to 29 years old. The 1740 mile-long border between the two countries facilitates this secret trade for prostitution (NNAGT, Nepal, 1999:56).

There has been no national level research for such a critical workers few research had been conducted by NGO'S and INGO'S such as ABC Nepal, Maiti Nepal, Sathi including some other minor NGO'S as a action research. But such research also had been

work-out in patch-work. So this research will be helpful to these organizations who are involved in the research.

In regarding the research on “Structure of International Migration in Nepal” this is supposed a first theoretical concept in Nepal which will contribute to social organization in particular for the study of international migration and also helpful to the national level research in general.



*Chapter*

# 2

# Literature Review

## 2. Introduction

People travel to foreign country or even to one continent to another is known as international migration or cross border travelling. It comprises two parts: emigration and immigration. Emigration refers those people who emigrate in abroad or to foreign countries from their place of origin and they are called emigrants. Conversely, foreign nationals who enter into the country are called immigration and people are recognised by immigrants of that country. International migration has many forms and streams: permanent, semi-permanent, so called temporary or labour migration, circular migration, periodic, seasonal migration, critical migration or worst forms of migration (women and girls trafficking and child labour trafficking), and refugees. All forms of migration are categorised into two major components: voluntary and involuntary or forced migration (See Chapter- I). Roughly, 190 sovereign sates in the international system are now beyond the reach of migration circuits.



International migration is being shaped by multiple pull and push factors – primary among them are economic development and its disparities, population trends, the existence of migratory network, the ease of travel to day, armed conflicts, environmental deterioration and human rights violations. The volume of international migration at the end of twenty - first century one out of every 3.5 persons worldwide is an international migrant. The population Division of United Nations estimates the total number of international migrants at approximately 175 million (United Nation, 2001).

Based on world population, 6.0057 billion in 2000 migrants represent some 2.9 percent. This percentage has been changed in recent decades and has been changed steadily over the past 15 years. Although representing a relatively small percentage of the worlds, if all international migrants lived in the same place, it would be the world's fifth bigger country. There were some 75 million international migrants in 1965. Ten years later, in 1975, the number was 84 million, then 105 million in 1985. International migration rose less rapidly between 1965 and 1975 (1.16 percent per annum) than the world population (20.4 percent per annum). This situation has been changing since the 1980s, as the rate of world population growth began to decline (1.7 percent per annum) and international migration increased significantly (2.59 percent per annum). While the number of migrants more than doubled between 1965 and 2000 (from 75 to 175 million, the world's population also grew twofold over the same period (1960 – 1999), from 3 to 6 billion people. Demographers project an increase in the world population to approximately 9 billion by 2050, to include some 230 million migrants. The annual flow of migrant is now somewhere between 5 to 10 million (Simon, 2001), including undocumented migrants According to estimates published by the US Justice Department in 1998, between 700,000 and 2 million women and children were estimated to be trafficking victims (IOM, 2001).

ILO estimate suggests that as many as 80 to 100 million immigrant refugees or asylum seekers are outsider their country of citizenship (ILO, 1994:241) of which between 18-20 million are refugees as distinct from asylum seekers and internally displaced people(Coen, and Kenedy, 2000:204). But Chaudhury stated that “in 1980, there were about 6 million refugees and 2 million internally displaced persons worldwide. By the end of 1995, the number of refugees increased to 13.2, where as the number of internally displaced persons reached an estimated 30 million. He also further stated that 3ven these

figures do not tell us the whole story, as many victims of forced displacement do not simply figure in these statistics”(Chaudhury 2004:240).

According to migrants’ characteristics, younger adult are more likely to migrate than the older people. Many educated people used to migrate from developing countries to the develop counties compared to sending countries to fill the gaps in the work force of industrialized countries. Economic disparities between sending and receiving countries are one of major reason for labour migration.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, East Asian countries experienced a rapid growth in international migration. Movement have included low-skilled workers, professionals, business people, permanent settlers, students, refugees, asylum-seekers and family members, but the majority have been economically motivated.

### **2.1.1 Relevant terminology of migration for the present study**

**Labour migration:** Movement of person from their state to another state for the purpose of employment. Labour migration is addressed by most states in their migration laws. In addition, some states take an active role in regulating outward labour migration and seeking opportunity for their national abroad.

**Worst forms of labour migration:** All forms of practices similar to slavery (such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt, bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; the use and procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performance; the use , procuring or offering for the production and trafficking or drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; or any other work which, by its nature or the circumstance in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (IOM, 2004). It also includes women and girls trafficking for critical work- prostitution employment and allies to forced migration.

**Forced migration:** The non- voluntary movement of a person is wishing to escape an armed conflict or a situation of violence and/ or the violation of his/her rights, or a natural

or man-made disaster. This term applies to refugee movement caused by trafficking and forced changes of population among states (ION, 2003:9).

**Trafficking in persons:** This term describes the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of person, for purpose having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation includes, at the minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (IOM, 2003, *ibid*).

**Externally displace persons:** Persons who have fled their countries due to persecution, generalised violence, armed conflict situations or other man-made disaster. These individuals often flee 'enmeshes'. Sometimes they are also to 'de-facto' refugees' (IOM, 2004, *ibid*).

**Refugee:** The status of refugee is defined by the convention in 1951. According to this convention, "a refugee is a person who, went to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons for race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his/herself of the protection. Subsequently in 1969, the organization of the African unity (now the African Union) adopted a border definition to include any person who is forced to leave his/her habitual resident on account of aggression, external occupation, foreign domination or events seriously destructing public order in a part or the entirety of his/her country of origins or country of nationality" (*Ibid*).

**Economic Migrant:** A person leaving his/her place of resident to settle outside his/her country of life. This term may be used to distinguish to refugee fleeing persecution and is also used to refer to person attempting to enter the country without legal permission by using asylum procedures without bona-fide cause. It also applied to persons setting outside their country of origin for the duration of an agriculture season appropriately seasonal workers (IOM, 2004, *ibid*). Thus, those people who are legally going and illegally staying by applying the procedure of asylum are known as economic migration. It includes migrant workers-overstaying students in abroad, professionals like technicians,

actors etc., low skill labour caused by poverty, frontier workers-seasonal workers, circular workers. The frontier worker refers retain their habitual residents in a neighbouring state to which they normally return everyday or at least once a week. It indicates circular migration for example seasonal migration from Nepal to India.

**Documented Migrant Worker:** A migrant who entered the country legally remains in the country in accordance with his/her admission criteria. Such migrant worker or members of his/her family authorised to enter, to stay and to engage in remunerated activities in the state of employment pursuant to the law of that state and to international agreement to which that state is a party (international convention on the protection of the right of or migrant workers and members of their families, 1990) (ibid). This is applicable for legal labour migration in abroad in Nepal.

### **2.1.2 Definition of Migration**

Migration is an area of study which permits multidisciplinary approach in social science including as it does, social demography, sociology, social and cultural anthropology, economics, history, geography and psychology. So, migration is considered as an imported component of population analysis and also a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

Migration is defined as a spatial mobility of people by changing usual place of residence to a well defined destination. Shryock and Siegal (1975) defined that migration is a form of demography of spatial mobility involving a change of usual residence between clearly defined units. The United Nation Multilingual Demographic Dictionary defined migration as follows: "Migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical units and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence". Generally, people and whole societies who move across continents, regions and within a nation in search of resources is called migration (Gurung, 1981). So, "the movement of persons from one country or locality to another and the out of changing location from one another or the movement of people from the farm to the cities"(World Net Dictionary, The Free Dictionary.com) is categorized as migration.

A migrant is a person who moves either from his place of birth to another area or keeps on moving stepwise or circular by changing his residence more or less frequently by being either migrant depending upon the duration of a defined geographic area. "Migration is the shift from old home to new home" (Skeldon, 1990, p13).

In population analysis, there are two types of migration flows and these are;

- a) **Internal flows** which consists of – In-Migrants: who have migrated to the destination from the origin and Out-Migrants:, who leave their place of origin and migrate to different destination areas ;
- b) **International Flows** of Migration also consists of two types of migrants, these are;
  - i) Emigration  
Emigration means people moving out of country and;
  - ii) Immigration means indicating foreigners moving into country.

In this review, reviewer is mostly based on international migration aspects. International migration is as old as human history, whether it is voluntary or forced upon people by famines, conquests and various types of persecutions (Bhende and Konitkar, 2003:385). Unfortunately, because of the lack of precise information, the size and nature of such migration are not exactly known. In present times, statistics on international migration are maintained by various countries for their own national use, and have international comparisons based on statistics become difficult because of uniformity.

### **2.1.3 An Overview of International Migration**

Travel to foreign country, or even intercontinental travel is known as international migration. Such travel is increasingly more accessible to potential migrants. The twenty century was one of great change in concerning the international migration. The great change was happened by the expansion of income differentials between workers of rich and poor nations and at the same time technological advances in transportation and communications have sharply reduced the cost of international migration. "A combination of low cost travel, communication and a reduction in the physics cost of migration by enabling individuals to maintain close ties with family and

friend remaining overseas and has contributed to and increase in migratory pressures along international borders”( Djajic, 2001:xv)

Basically, international migration comprises major two parts; emigration and immigration between countries and continents to continents. K.C. B<sup>1</sup> (1998) stated that, orderly international migration can have positive impacts in both the countries of origin and the countries of destination; providing former with remittance and the latter with needed human resources. International migration also has the potential of facilitating transfer of skills and contributing to cultural enrichment. It enacts the loss of human resources for some countries of origin and gives rise to political, economic and social tension in countries of destination. So remittances from migrants are a significant source of foreign exchange and in some countries even account for a sustainable share of national income. Remittance are used in many ways: for consumer goods, building homes, for productive investment, for education and health services and in general contribute to higher living standards for remittance dependent household. Richer countries' investment in health and education and in developing countries would help faster long term co-operation is managing migration pressures and improve the productive capacities both migrants and those who remain at home.

Forced migration (internal/international) in general caused by forced circumstances. Pressures both psychological and real condition even the so-called voluntary migration except on few occasions. “People do not like to leave their places without some motivation – better life, protection from both natural and human disasters such as landslide, floods, earth quake, and fear of being killed in sectarian, violence, ethic and other forms of social and political conflicts or wars. Ppsychologically, people travel long distance transcending national and internal boundaries in quest of economically secure life in addition to be free from fear and anxiety”( Baral, 2003:51). The psychological dimension of migration seems to have become more complex with people of sound economic background trying to leave their countries.

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## **2.1.4 Causes of International Migration (why people migrate)**

Economic, demographic, and social and political developments, combined with the mounting concern about the future of labor supply and labor demand. Countries (OECD) with good economic climate and years of economic growth have led to increase in employment, higher participation rates and lower unemployment rates. Employers started experience difficulties in filling vacant post, concerns about the availability labor on domestic markets arose and the first calls for immigrant labor. Migration has not, however; accelerated at a pace comparable to trade flows and capital movement (Tapinos and Delaunay, 2000) but demography development also took place for the promotion of international migration. So, OECD countries imply and ageing working age. These development results in labor and shortage at the macro level, it has added – and extra dimension to discussion on the need for migration.

There are number of reasons for the promotion of international migration – emigrants and immigration. Among them “international migration for employment is usually studied by examining countries that export labor to or that receive foreign worker in western Europe, North America, and in the Middle East” (Martin, 1998) and other labor migrations are usually considered special causes (Migration into South Africa, a continuation of historical patterns (Migration across African borders), relatively small labor (Migration into Singapore). Besides these, problems associated with social, political aspects are also being the caused of international migration which lead the human factor approach and forced migration model. This relates the human trafficking and Bhutan in Nepal. Reasons for international migration are multiple which are summarized below.

### **2.1.4.1 Wage Gaps**

Most people migrate, either temporarily or permanently, to take advantage of opportunities in richer countries — to earn more money and widen their horizons. The most tempting gaps in income are between industrial and developing countries. For instance, wage gap between two neighbouring countries is between the US and Mexico. Hourly earnings for US workers are around \$15, and range from a low of \$10 in retail trade to \$19 in construction. An **average** factory worker in the US earns around four times more than one working in Mexico, and 30 times more than a Mexican agricultural worker. On average in the US foreign-born men earned 71% as much as native born men

in 2000, primarily because they were concentrated in lower-paid occupations. Within Europe one of the widest cross-border wage gaps is between Germany and Poland. Polish factory workers earning \$250 per month often therefore choose to spend their holidays in Germany where they can harvest asparagus for wages of \$900 a month. Similar gaps are evident all over the world: between Burma and Thailand, or between Mozambique and South Africa even in South Asian countries.

#### **2.1.1.4.2 Demand for Workers by rich countries**

People move to western countries and within the rich Asian countries because many richer countries have jobs available for immigrant workers. To some extent the demand for immigrants fluctuates according to economic cycles. During the period of rapid growth from the 1950s to the mid-1970s many European countries had a huge demand for workers, and brought in immigrants to fill the gaps. Asia's 'tiger' economies have also relied on immigrants at times of rapid growth. South Korea, for example, used to export millions of its own workers but by the early 1990s was facing severe labor shortages, particularly for construction, and drew in people from neighboring countries. The same situation is still evident in countries such as the United Kingdom which are desperately short of workers in many areas particularly in the health and education services. But the need for immigrants persists even during economic downturns. This is partly because once these flows start, they are difficult to stop; workers put down roots and want their families to join them. But more fundamentally the 'dual labor market', mentioned in the section on migration theory, persists and ensures there is an irreducible demand for immigrants to do the less popular work that local workers reject.

This was highlighted during the economic crisis in Asia from 1997. The first instincts of the governments of Thailand and Malaysia was to halt employment of immigrants. But when farmers and factories complained that they now had no-one to do the work, their governments had to relent and remove the restrictions. Nevertheless long-term immigrants are also more likely to be unemployed: in most European countries, unemployment rates for foreigners are twice as high as for native workers. This is partly because they often work in more unstable jobs, but also because of discrimination, unofficial and official.



### **2.1.4.3 Development Disturbance**

Another factor influencing emigration is the disruption caused by economic and social development. Development and modernization break up many of the relationships that hold communities together. Large-scale commercial agriculture in Latin America and the Caribbean Basin, for example, has displaced millions of small producers. Mexico is one of the clearest examples. From 1989 onwards, the government started to dismantle the system of communally held 'ejido' land and reduced subsidies to farmers. Since then hundreds of thousands of Mexicans have left the land. Most of those former farmers had to leave the countryside and flocked to the Third World's towns and cities. But the cities generally cannot offer the jobs the immigrants need so the millions of people who crowd the slums and squatter settlements may also ultimately be tempted or forced to look further a field.

This is similar to the processes which European countries went through two hundred or more years ago during the industrial revolution. Added to this there have been profound demographic changes, largely as a result of falling death rates, that have resulted rapid increases in population size. Nevertheless the underlying principle is similar — that the disruption caused by economic and social development makes people more mobile and creates the conditions for emigration.

## **2.1.5 Process of international migration (How people migrate)**

### **2.1.5.1 Colonial Paths**

Emigrants can in principle go to any country that will admit them. But in practice they tend to follow well-trodden paths, established both by historical flows and by migrant networks. International migrants have predictable destinations. For instance Mozambicans go to South Africa; Bolivians to Argentina; New Zealanders to Australia; Algerians to France. Some simply cross to the nearest country and if the distances are short they may even commute. Many emigrate without even being aware of it: nomadic herders in the Sahel region of West Africa drift back and forth between Niger, Mali and Chad, paying scant regard to frontiers. But for longer distance migration one of the most important influences on the choice of destination is colonial history. France and the

United Kingdom initiated many migrant flows by recruiting workers from their former colonies.

The United States, on the other hand, had few formal colonies but nevertheless exerted military and economic influence over a number of developing countries, particularly near neighbors such as Mexico. In the early 1900s Mexicans had little wish to live in the United States. So the US farmers and railroad companies had to send **recruiters** deep into Mexico. Later, in the 1940s, farm owners made similar efforts to find Mexican workers through the bracer temporary workers scheme — a programme that continued up to 1964.

Germany too lacked extensive colonial links to use to draw in migrant labor. But it made up for this disadvantage during the 1960s with an extensive *gastarbeiter* (guest-worker) recruitment programme in Turkey and Yugoslavia. In this way the industrialized countries deliberately initiated almost all the major international flows of migrants of the past century.

#### **2.1.5.2 Through family ties and relatives**

Reinforcing the colonial patterns is family reunification programmed. Receiving countries give priority to close relatives of existing residents.

The acceptance of family reunification arises at least in part from a greater respect for human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights establishes that everyone has the right to marry and that the family is the ‘fundamental unit of society’ entitled to protection from the state. But there are also sound social reasons for allowing migrants to be with their families, since workers with families tend to integrate better. This has had a profound influence on modern patterns of migration. In recent years, family entry has accounted for two-thirds of all immigration into the United States, and for over one-quarter of all immigration into Australia and Canada. illegal immigrants too want their families to join them. Although all countries accept the principle of family reunification, some are more liberal than others. Thus France and Germany have been more restrictive, *while* Australia and the Netherlands are more liberal — extending rights of reunification to gay partners. The UK is somewhere in between.

Some nationalities, particularly Asians are more family minded than others. This became evident after 1965 when the US passed a new Immigration and Nationality Act basing the qualification for immigration not on national origin, race or ancestry, but bases on types of worker and family ties. The government assumed that this would continue to tilt the balance of immigration in favor of Europe. In fact, it worked in favor of Asians who brought in four times as many relatives per primary immigrant as Europeans or Latin Americans.

### **2.1.5.3 Through channel approach (networks)**

Another major influence on the choice of destination is the availability of a ready channel of contacts. Things are always much more difficult for migrant pioneers. They have to decide where to go and find out about documentation and visas (or how to travel without them) and they have to find work quickly. Things are easier for those who follow. Over the years immigrant communities have provided them with an invaluable source of advance **information** and practical help and **accommodations**. One of the most important things that the network can do is to suggest employment. Many villages in Mexico, for example, are linked through informal networks with certain US farms. One pioneer migrant will arrange with the employer for his family and friends to come to the same place. He or she may also help finance the trip and advice on how to get across the border — and will often train and take responsibility for the new employees. These systems also mean that certain nationalities are gradually concentrated into particular employment niches. Thus, by the mid-1990s almost half of the economy motels in the US were owned by Indians, a high proportion of the fruit and vegetable shops in many cities were owned by Koreans, and if you went into a doughnut shop in California you were very likely to be served by a Cambodian. So deep and extensive have these networks become, with people traveling back and forth between countries, and linked by telephone and email, that they have now created new kinds of ‘transnational community’.

### **2.1.5.4 Through Labour brokers**

A rapidly growing migration industry has emerged, as labor brokers match demand with supply.

Although many people can take advantage of family contacts or migrant networks, others have to rely on brokers who will find jobs for workers, or workers for jobs, and arrange

transport and accommodation and deal with all the bureaucracy of passports, visas and work permits. They operate in sending and receiving countries and make their money at both ends. In the past, some governments in countries of origin, usually socialist, have also organized migration.

For the migrants using private brokers can be expensive even though the charges are often supposed to be regulated. In Bangladesh, unskilled workers can pay up \$2,000 for a job in Saudi Arabia, which is more than 80% of what they can expect to earn in the first year — money that they usually have to find by borrowing from other members of their family, or by mortgaging the family house or land.

Once the migrants have arrived, however, they may find that they have been deceived and that the work and conditions are very different from those promised. Brokers can also be fairly ruthless if the migrant is unable to repay them from his or her earnings. Brokers do not confine their activities to unskilled workers. One of the most lucrative broking activities in the 1990s was to ship Indian computer programmers to the United States. Such workers enter with the 'H-1B' visas for people who have skills that companies are unable to find in the United States. In this case the brokers, called 'body shops', will do most of the work for the company, recruiting the workers and completing the visa formalities. But the workers effectively remain employees of the brokers.

#### **2.1.5.5 Being Refugee or through forced processes**

Pressures and forced circumstances, people are forced to be refugees and forced to migration across the boarder which called forced migration. Olson (1979:130), for example, identifies the following five types of external compulsion that alone or in concert creates refugees:

- Physical danger ( eg. Flood, volcanic eruption ....);
- economic insufficiency (eg. Drought, famine....etc);
- religious persecution;
- ethnic persecution;
- ideological persecution;
- political persecution (created by war and conflict in a country);
- student refugee;

More commonly, persons who are displaced by civil conflict or war are also categorized as refugees (Keely, 1981:6). Refugees are people under threat: people who cannot return home due to fear of persecution. “A series of construction as regards international migration and refugees had developed by the 1990s. The freedom to move is accepted as a basic human right by western democratic system; yet, in the face of real or potentially massive population transfers, pressures, are increasingly being brought by western government on third world (Skeldon, 1992:50). Anyway, different types of refugees are also causes of international migration.

#### **2.1.5.6 Through smugglers**

Migrants who want to enter countries illegally may travel independently but many often use the services of smugglers. Smugglers act as extra-legal travel agents — hiding people in trucks for example, or supplying false passport , or bribing immigration officials. This is a dangerous, but usually very profitable, business. Chinese smuggling gangs, for example are known as ‘snakeheads’. For a journey to the United States they charge around \$60,000; to the UK \$45,000, or to Eastern Europe or Japan \$12,000 most of which they require the migrants to repay from subsequent wages. Mexican smugglers, operating along the 2,000-mile border with the United States, are known as ‘coyote Smugglers also try to get migrants into the United States by boat, particularly from Cuba and other Caribbean countries.

One of the easier ways to smuggle people into Europe is across its long land frontiers, using Central and Eastern Europe as transit areas. The other option is by sea. From North Africa this often involves the 12-mile trip across the Straits of Gibraltar—one of the worlds most treacherous stretches of water. Other well-traveled sea routes into Europe are from Albania or Croatia to Italy. Some 200 high-powered speed boats ply the route from Lore in Albania to Italy. For migrants who want to reach the United Kingdom, the English Channel is a final hurdle. A number of people have died in sealed in containers passing through the Channel Tunnel. Although most countries want to discourage unauthorized immigration, many eventually accept their presence through amnesty or legalization programmers. In Asia and the Pacific, the borders tend to be more porous. So there is less need for physical smuggling. But for the more difficult countries, such as Japan, smugglers supply migrants with forged documents.

### **2.1.5.7 By traffickers**

People being traffic hand have in some way been coerced, taken by force, perhaps, or deceived. According to the US State department annually at least 800,000, and possibly as many as four million people, worldwide were bought, sold, transported and held against their will in slave-like conditions. Coercion at its most serious involves kidnapping, though this is rare nowadays, primarily because it is not necessary. Probably the commonest form of trafficking involves deception. Traffickers pose as brokers offering to find legitimate work abroad for young women and girls. But when the migrants arrive they discover that they are expected to offer sex. This happens all over the world but is particularly prevalent in Southeast Asia in the Mekong Delta. Similar forms of deception take place in the Philippines. Not everyone who migrates for sex work, however, has been trafficked. Many are well aware of what they are getting into, so have only been smuggled. It is important to maintain the distinction between smuggling and trafficking in order to protect the victims and to prosecute the real criminals. A commonly quoted estimate, made in 1994, suggested that trafficking globally was a \$6- to \$7-billion business, though this total also included smuggling.

### **2.1.3 Relevant theories of International Migration for present study**

The state's role either in promoting or in limiting international migration is poorly understood and lacks adequate theoretical underpinning. Although scholars have surveyed national immigration policies (Massey, 1999 cited to Kuwait 1979; Dib 1988, Martin, and Hollifield 1994) conducted case studies of state agencies (Culvita 1992; Morris 1985, Heyman 1985 and compiled legislative histories of immigration (Hutchinsom 1981 cited by Massey Douglas 1981), through 1990 few had attempted to describe in theoretical terms the behaviour of bureaucrats and politicians with respect to immigration. The attention of the states' policies has focused primarily on immigrant receiving countries rather than the regulation of emigration in countries of origin.

Since 1990, however, a body of theoretical and substantive knowledge about international migration has accumulated to describe the state and its influence in shaping international flows.

Massey et al. (1998) summarize the forces driving international migration and tried to place the policies about emigration and immigration in broader facts for the promotion of international movement which created the theoretical terms. Different theories have been acknowledge based on histories, trends, policies and forces driving international migration which are shrifted below;

### **2.1.3.1 Household theory**

Each migrant has different circumstances and motivation; poverty, adventure, calculation, desperation. The main theme of this theory that people impassioned themselves to work in foreign lands with all kinds of hopes and plans and people more to places where they hope to better off. This theory is based on human factor approach.

This approach captures the individual or structural models. The individual approach considers that each migrant as a rational human being who assesses the available destinations and choose the optimum combination – of wage rate, job security, and cost of travel.

Each person can be considered as the product of series of investments – in there education, for example, or their skill or their health who is looking for the best place to use them. An extension of the individual view, migration is considered as group or family choice, as a means of spreading risk. This theory implies the co-insurance system. Under this system, the head if the family will pay the emigrant's travel expenses and living costs where he or she looks for work. The migrants correspondingly promise to send money home, especially if the family suffers a difficult. Mossel (1999) stated that by sending members abroad to work, households diversify their labor, portfolios to control risks stemming from unemployment, crop failures or commodity price fluctuations. Engaging in foreign labor also permits households to accumulate cash for large consumers. Consumer purchases or productive investments or build up saving for retirement. Because, in developing countries markets for insurance, futures, capital, credits, and retirement are rudimentary or nonexistent, and households turn to international migration to compensate for these deficits.

### **2.1.3.2 World system theory**

World system of migration explains how structural links emerge to connect areas of origin and destination. This theory is supported by the structural forces in developing

societies that promote emigration; the structural forces in developed societies that attacks immigrants ; the motivation, goals, and aspirations of the actors who respond the these forces by migrating internationally; and the social and economic structures that arise to connect areas of out – and in – migration.

The structural forces consider the social, economic and political aspects of people that shape their lives. This theory is also improved character of the theory of dual labour markets and is derived perception of Lee's theory of migration based on “pluses” and “minuses” forces which are associated with the area of origin and area of destination. Systems theory follows the L – F – R model of development (Lewi 1954 – Ranis and Fei, 1961). This model “considers migration as an equilibrating mechanism which, through transfer of labor from the labor – surplus sector to the labor – deficit sector, brings about equality between two sectors and this model is based on a concept of dual economy comprising a subsistence, agricultural sector characterized by unemployment and underemployment, and modern industrial sector characterized by full employment where capitalists reinvest the full amount of their profit” ( Oberal and Singh 1983).

Structural approach is based on theory of dual labor market, argues that capitalists development generates two distinct types of job. The first are the secure, permanent high skilled and well paid jobs. The second are the temporary, hard, unpleasant task that no one wants to do, and which are also are poorly paid. The later are often called English the three D's' – dirty, dangerous and difficult and most local workers avoid the 3D jobs. Employers used to achieve this mostly employing woman or young people who were easier to control. But nowadays this system became more difficult. And a neater solution is to immigrant workers, who are not so choosy about what they are prepared to do, and are less preoccupied with job securing or a career path. Because of wage and job differentials, as unemployment population pressure or the influence of international migration media, the labor from developing countries was initiated to pushing emigrants from their homes and pulling them to their destination. Wages are even higher, of course, in developed countries, and the larger size of these wages differentials inevitably prompts some advanterurous people to sell their labors on international markets by moving abroad for work.



World system theory considers that, contemporary immigrants flows originate in the social, economic, political, and cultural transformation that accompany the penetration of capitalist markets into none market or pre-market society.

### **2.1.3.3 Networks and systems theory**

*Both individual and structural perspectives are illuminating in certain cases. But in the end they have to be combined.* Individuals or families cannot make decisions independent of the structures in which they find themselves. Nor do structures exist independently of individuals — who themselves help create and reshape their political and economic environment. One of the clearest examples of a fusion between the two can be seen in the growth of migrant network — through which individual pioneer migrants help those who follow them to settle and find work.

The emergence of such networks suggests an even broader type of theory — a *systems* view that incorporates not just migrant networks and individual decision making but also includes other flows such as those of capital and goods and suggests how all these might combine with political and cultural influences. This in principle could help illuminate the integrated and complex nature of migration particularly at the regional level. But it may do so at the expense of clarity. Everything in the world may well be connected to everything else, but it is difficult to cope with so many issues simultaneously. The following sections, therefore, proceed in a more linear fashion, looking first at why people migrate, and then at how. Some of these factors might be considered structural, some individual, others might be better thought of as elements of a system.

This was highlighted during the economic crisis in Asia from 1997. The first instincts of the governments of Thailand and Malaysia were to halt employment of immigrants. But when farmers and factories complained that they now had no-one to do the work, their governments had to relent and remove the restrictions. Nevertheless long-term immigrants are also more likely to be unemployed: in most European countries, unemployment rates for foreigners are twice as high as for native workers. This is partly because they often work in more unstable jobs, but also because of discrimination, unofficial and official.

## **2.2 Empirical clarity to Nepalese Context**

International migration in Nepal is gaining increasing momentum. Job opportunity, education and social security have been the major cause of international migration. Basically, search for employment and educational opportunities have been the major causes of emigration of Nepal. "Considering the both documented and non-documented migrants, it is estimated that more than one million Nepalese have migrated to India, Golf states and other countries" (HMG/Nepal, 2002:8). It is also estimated that every year substantial amount is being remitted to Nepal through official and unofficial channel. This has created substantial positive impact on the balance of payment and foreign exchange reserve in the country. However, most young people are going abroad belong to unskilled status. This has led to hazardous and difficult life with less earning such as HMG/Nepal is making several efforts to enhance the status of Nepalese migrant workers.

Immigration to Nepal has been due to availability of employment and business opportunities. It is known from the 2001 census that more than 600,000 foreign- born migrants are living in Nepal (CBS, 2001). Since most of the foreign migrants are from India, the system of open border with India has led to higher proportion of undocumented migrants from India. Many of the Indian migrants having experience and skills on business and entrepreneurship have contributed towards economic development of the country.

The presence of more than 10,000 refugees since last fifteen years from Bhutan has been a major concern. This has been creating social, economic and environmental problem in Nepal. In addition, refugee problem is going to add further political problem especially for cross border problem between neighbouring countries. The limited absorbing capacity of the country has been the prime concern continuous staying in Nepal. Thus, it invites the international partner to solve this problem. Subsequently, Tibetan refugees have been another trauma for the Nepalese population burden. The two refugees have different characteristics and different ways of solution. The livelihood characteristics of the two refugees are also different. According to record of NUCRA, 2003, Ministry of Home Affairs, the number of Tibetan refugees is observed by 12,540. They are located different districts of the country in diversified manner. Being located in diversified manner, they are following hidden livelihood process of the country which hampers to the national economy in the future. But this recorded data is contradicted by other reliable sources.

According to the information received from different reliable sources, their total number is estimated to reach 20,000 (both recorded and non-recorded)

**Refugee:** The status of refugee is defined by the convention in 1951. According to this convention, “a refugee is a person who, went to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection. Subsequently in 1969, the organization of the African unity (now the African Union) adopted a broader definition to include any person who is forced to leave his/her habitual residence on account of aggression, external occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disrupting public order in a part or the entirety of his/her country of origin or country of nationality” (IOM, 2003, *ibid*).

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, East Asian countries experienced a rapid growth in international migration. Movement have included low-skilled workers, professionals, business people, permanent settlers, students, refugees, asylum-seekers and family members, but the majority have been economically motivated.

ILO estimates suggest that as many as 80 to 100 million immigrant refugees or asylum seekers are outside their country of citizenship (ILO, 1994:241) of which between 18 - 20 million are refugees as distinct from asylum seekers and internally displaced people (Coen, R. and Kenedy, P., 2000:204). But Chaudhury, R.S.B. (2004:240) stated that, “in 1980, there were about 6 million refugees and 2 million internally displaced persons worldwide. By the end of 1995, the number of refugees increased to 13.2, whereas the number of internally displaced persons reached an estimated 30 million. He also further stated that even these figures do not tell us the whole story, as many victims of forced displacement do not simply figure in these statistics”.

This was highlighted during the economic crisis in Asia from 1997. The first instincts of the governments of Thailand and Malaysia was to halt employment of immigrants. But when farmers and factories complained that they now had no-one to do the work, their governments had to relent and remove the restrictions. Nevertheless long-term immigrants are also more likely to be unemployed: in most European countries, unemployment rates for foreigners are twice as high as for native workers. This is partly

because they often work in more unstable jobs, but also because of discrimination, unofficial and official.

Based on world population of 6.0057 billion in 2000 migrants represent some 2.9 percent. This percentage has been changed in recent decades and has been changed steadily over the past 15 years. Although representing a relatively small percentage of the worlds, if all international migrants lived in the same place, it would be the world's fifth bigger country. There were some 75 million international migrants in 1965. Ten years later, in 1975, the number was 84 million, then 105 million in 1985. International migration rose less rapidly between 1965 and 1975 (1.16 percent per annum) than the world population (20.4 percent per annum). This situation has been changing since the 1980s, as the rate of world population growth began to decline (1.7 percent per annum) and international migration increased significantly (2.59 percent per annum). While the number of migrants more than doubled between 1965 and 2000 (from 75 to 175 million, the world's population also grew twofold over the same period (1960 – 1999), from 3 to 6 billion people. Demographers project an increase in the world population to approximately 9 billion by 2050, to include some 230 million migrants. The annual flow of migrant is now somewhere between 5 to 10 million (Simon, G. 2001), including undocumented migrants According to estimates published by the US Justice Department in 1998, between 700,000 and 2 million women and children were estimated to be trafficking victims (IOM, 2001).

In Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, there was large-scale migration from Spain and Italy to France and Germany due to wage differentials inevitably prompts some adventurous people to sell their labor in international markets by moving abroad for work.

# **British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in Kathmandu Valley**

**An outline History of British Gurkha Recruitments in Nepal**

## **2.3 An outline history of the Gurkhas**

The unit explains about terms of ‘Gurkhas’ genesis of Gurkha recruitment, and emigration as Gurkha recruitment and role of remittances. Moreover this section also provides the reformation on Gurkha recruitment, formation of Battalions and partitions of Gurkha soldiers between India and Britain. Moreover, this section also provides the information on Gurkha recruitment and war assistance from Nepal, consequences of war, and reason for selection of Gurkhas, Tri-partite Agreement between India, Britain and Nepal and its implication and reality.

Finally, it gives the information about Nepalese Diaspora in their battlefield areas and socio-economic and cultural effects of Gurkha recruitment.

### **2.3.1 Origins and definition of term “Gurkha”**

The term “Gurkha” is originated from the present Gorkha district of Nepal. Prior to the Gurkha conquest, Nepal was divided into broadly speaking, five Rajas, each of which was subdivided into various little principalities such as Baisia Raja in the east and Chaobisia Raja in the west. The Gorkha district existed within Chaobisia Raja. This district is situated in the north-east portion of the basin of Gandak, occupying the country between the Trisulganga and the Sweti Gandak and is about 55 miles to the west of Kathmandu. “Name of the district is said to have obtained its name from a very famous saint called Gorakhanath, or Gorakhanath who resided in a cave, which still exist, in the hill on which the city of Gurkha is built. The ancestors of the present race of Gurkhas derived their term. Definition of the national name of Gurkha from the district term “Gorkha” in which they first established themselves as on independent power” (Vansittart, 1992:62)<sup>2</sup> .

The term “Gurkha” is not limited to any particular class or clan ; it is applied to all those whose ancestors lived in Gorkha principality and who from it subsequently extended their conquests far and wide over the eastern and western hills. “Prior to unification of Nepal, Gorkha was also small state and ruled by a section of Rajputs who had come there from Chittaur of India. Late king Prithivi Narayan Shah <sup>3</sup> was born in this dynasty, and to be

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<sup>2</sup> Eden Vansittart was captain of British Armed Force, 2/5 Gurkha Rifles, and was also late District Recruiting officer in 16<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1895.

<sup>3</sup> Prithivi Narayan Shah was the founder father of president Nepal who unified the small states and principalities into single country.

an ambition one and as soon as he ascended the throne and he began to plan the expansion of his Kingdom into present Nepal, by mobilizing the fighting classes of the same territory where Magars, Gurung and Khas<sup>4</sup> (Vansittart, 1992:52.)

During the unification of Nepal, “after having conquered almost all the land around Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan’s army arrived in inside of the Kathmandu valley. In this situation, the last Malla king of Kantipur (present Kathmandu district), Jaya Prakash Malla did not see any other alternatives than seeking assistance the East India Government which was becoming dominant in the neighboring India, for the protection of one’s own existence. This proposal was acceptable by the English authorities because it would provide them an opportunity to enter into the Kathmandu valley. “Eventually, a British army consisting of 2400 men led by British army officer had to face an attack made by Gurkha at a place called Pauwa Gadhi near Sindhuligadhi. Thus, the first encounter Gorkhali army had with the British was the Kinloch expedition (1767 A.D.) at Sindhuli Garhi (Gurung, 2002:87). Being unable to face he surprise attack made in a thick forest, the English army was forced to be dispersed in all directions. At least 1600 English soldiers lost in this battle. (Stiller 1975:129). Thus the English authorities had for the first time a direct experience of the welfare of the Gurkha army.

### **2.3.2 Genesis of Gurkha recruitment**

Gurkhas are most well-known for their history of service as foreign soldiers in the British Army and the Indian Army. The term Gurkha (or, in Nepali, Gorkha) usually referred to soldiers of Nepalese origin who, over many generations, served in the legendary British Brigade. Other regiments designated as a source of recruits for Indian as of 1991. As it has far more than 175 years, Nepal in the early 1990s served as a source of recruits for Indian and British Gurkhas regiments (Mac Donald, 2005:1).

Soldiers who served in the Royal Nepal Army usually not called Gurkhas, although they also claimed to be the rightful heirs of many of the same martial traditions as their countrymen recruited to serve in foreign armies.

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<sup>4</sup> Dr. Surendra K.C. is a reader of Tribhuban University, Central Department of History, Kistipur, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Soldiers from the kingdom of Gurkha established an international reputation for their martial qualities during the eighteenth century by their successful invasions of Tibet. “As the Gorkha Kingdom expanded eastward across the Himalayas to Sikkim, the king’s warriors, taken from all groups in the area, came to be known as Gurkha soldiers. Legend had it that Gurkhas never drew service-issued khukuri (carved Nepalese Knife) without drawing blood, even if it were their own. Although probably a tradition of a bygone era, the legend added immeasurably to the “Gurkhas”, reputation for toughness (ibid).

The old Gurkha kingdom established in the mid-sixteenth century by Dravya Shah, the founder of the dynasty of Shah had seined in Nepal. Since two centuries later, the Gurkhai king Prithivi Narayan Shah conquered and unified the Baishi and Chaubishi (22 and 24 principality) principalities, and consolidate his control over an area substantially resulted the modern Nepal. The first two regular Gurkha regiments named Sri Nath and Purano Gorakh were established in 1763 in the process of unification of Nepal.

The military recruitment in Nepal permanently started in the eighteenth century. “Within Nepal itself, certain ethnic groups, such as Magars, Gurung, Limbu, Rai, Chhetri and Thakuri, had much earlier won reputations as “warrior tribes”. The Magar, Gurung, and Limbu furnished the bulk of the kingdom’s soldiers up to the rank of captain. Higher ranks tended to be filled from the Thakuri, Chhetri, and Rai groups” (ibid).

In 1791-92, Nepali courtiers went second time for war with Tibet-China before asking by British for assistance. But the East India Company government was not able to use this opportunity according to its interest. However, the English officials continued to place the relation with Nepal at the top priority list. Meanwhile, as the Napoleonic war reached to the climax, the British government was not in a position to concentrate itself in South Asia to the desired extent. Therefore, the company authorities continued relations with Nepal through peaceful negotiations. “The main historical characteristics of this period were that the Nepalese courtiers always wanted to remain away from the British, while the British always remained absorbed in an attempt to be mixed up and promote contacts and relations with the Nepalese side. But the Nepalese courtiers did not retreat from their victory campaigns” (K.C, ibid).

Right before their eyes, the small Gurkha state became established as a great and powerful state extending from Tista in the East and Killa Kangada in the West. Such a



status of Nepal would definitely be a challenge for the future protection of the world conqueror, British Empire. Hence they wanted to cripple (handicapped) Nepal forever. (Ramakanta, 1982:6).

For the end of such challenge, on November 1, 1819, the then Governor General Marquis of Hastings of British- India declaration war of Nepal. The Nepal – British (Anglo-Nepal war) continued for about two years. Thus, the history of Gurkha recruitment in Nepal dates back to the history of Anglo-Nepal war in 1814 A.D.

“The war against the British in 1814 A.D. the Gurkha’s Army was envelop long-drawn battle with mercantile British East India Company was the Anglo-Nepal war that first thrust the myth and leg Gurkha bravery into Western minds”. (Nepalese Khukuri House, the brave Gurkhas, 21st October, 2005 info @Nepalese Khukuri.com, Thamel Kathmandu, Nepal).

British India or the East India Company first experienced the effectiveness, stubbornness, valor and indomitable bravery of Gurkhas. “In the Anglo-Nepal war, despite the indomitable valor and discipline of the Gurkha soldiers, the British-India defeated Nepal owing due to overwhelming number and more modern weapon. Nepal was compelled to conclude the unequal and disgraceful treaty of Sugauli on March 3, 1816 which even the sovereign independent states of Nepal to protectorate until 1923<sup>5</sup>” (Gurung, 1999, and Kandangwa, 2005).

The British Officers were immensely impressed with discipline of the finest hilly young in Valor and began to recruit the Gorkhalese into their services. General Ochterloney began to translate his idea by organizing the Gorkhas captive. Officially the British government considers April 24, 1815 as the starting point of the Gorkha recruitment, the day when Ochterloney’s request to establish Sirmoor Battalion (now the 2<sup>nd</sup> King Edward VII’s own Gurkhas or (the Sir moor Rifles) was approved by the Governor General (Defense Committee First Report or The future of the Brigades of Gurkhas, London1988x). The Sir moor Battalion was formed from Gurkha prisoners of war. But, it was unilateral decision of British-India made in the battle ground. Thus, “against this backdrop the perception of Gurkha recruitment was conceived from the battle grounds (ibid). The British did not formalize Gurkha recruitment until 1886 but by the time India

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<sup>5</sup> Dr. Om Gurung is the professor of anthropology, central department of sociology and anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu.

already had Gurkha Rifle unit. So, Gurkha recruitment in British India formalized during the time of Bir Shamsheer (1886) (Gurung, *ibid*).

Gurkha recruitment has its origins in war. The first of those the British would call Gurkhas were called from among the prisoners of war and deserters from the army of the Gurkhas state during the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814-16.

The treaty of Sugauli followed by many other national and international events provided the British government with an opportunity to recruit Gurkha soldiers for their imperial purposes. In addition, the appropriation of taxes in various forms of slavery and forced labor systems resulting in mass poverty that forced hill people of Nepal to join the British regiments in the British India. For the last two centuries, as a loyal servant to the British Empire, the Nepal government has been supplying the hill people, particularly the Gurungs, Magars, Rais, and Limbus, steadily to serve in the Brigade of Gurkhas (*ibid*).

Among the infantry hilly peasants, most of the men were drawn from Gurung and Magars from western hills; Rais, Limbus, and Sunuwars (originated from Rais' ancestors) from eastern hills and the Khassas from Western hills in minimum number". (Nepalese Gurkhas House [info@NepaleseKhukuri.com](mailto:info@NepaleseKhukuri.com)). So recruitment and reorganization of the military was actively overseen by the commander-in-chief Lord Roberts that was in accordance with the "Martial Race" Theory (Desh 1993:70)

The issues on Gurkha recruitments about the surrounding the future of Gurkhas were, from the perspective of the Nepalese government, rather different than those that concerned Britain and India. Thus, "it was seen as an economic necessity that Gurkhas continue to serve in foreign armies. Besides the foreign exchange brought into the country by Gurkhas, the Ranas had directly profited from the various "gifts" given to them by Britain in exchange for Gurkhas. Secondly, they were concerned about the continued independence of Nepal, and the security of their rule (*Ibid*:7and75).

The exodus of the Gurkhas that began around 1815 A.D. has not ceased yet. Since 1815, there have been massive migrations of the Gurkhas to various parts of India through recruitment by British India government and mobility of the population of Nepal due to open borders in East, West and South parts of Nepal in different warrior points of time during the British imperialism. Many infantry men used to settle down permanently and made the "Gurkha Diaspora" in the Indian land colonized by British-India government.

Many Nepalese lands (at present in Indian lands defeated in the Anglo-Nepal war 1814-16) were annexed to British-India by the treaty of Sughuali, negotiated and signed in 1816 A.D. Thus, a large number of Gurkhas were already living in those areas beyond the present political demarcations set by the river Mechi and Mahakali which are now become Gurkha'Diaspora. The Gurkha Diasporas land are Sikkim, Darjeeling, certain portions of Daur, Siliguri, Kumaon, Garwal, Simla, Nainital, Pitthauragarh, Dogra hills in Kashmir in the west and the Doon valley.

Gurkha reached all over the worlds as British-Gurkha recruitment during the expansion of British imperialism and in the mean time, they did not wish to return back to country after their redundancy and also made Diasporas over there such as Burma and Bhutan was a nice example.

### **2.3.3 Gurkha Diasporas**

“The census of 1921 shows some 270000 Gurkhas living in British India; 71138 in Sikkim, which included Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Siliguri. Nearly 50% of this figures lived in Assam, because of Assam Rifles, the police and Special Forces, which comprised mostly of Gurkhas. The population of Nepal in 1920 was 5574756. Similarly, 30000 Gurkhas had been living in Calcutta alone in 1930. They were mostly discharged or pensioned soldiers and their dependents”. (Gurung, 2003:632).

When the war was over, large numbers of Gurkhas were made redundant. These people chose to remain in India rather than home to the mountains. The above-mentioned figures consist mostly of soldiers, ex-soldiers and their families who after retirement and redundancy did not wish to return to Nepal. The situation back home then for the simple Gurkhas was at its worst. There was the practice of slavery by feudalism of the world kind.

Overnight, the Gurkhas became aliens in their own land shaped and emblazoned with their own blood and sweat, and this anomaly persists even today after so many generations and this indicates that the politics of land are never far away” (Gurung, 632:632).

As mentioned by scholar Mory Desh Chene (1993) on the issue of Gurkha recruitment, “the Gurkha recruitment clearly belongs to migratory labor.” Viewed in the context, he further explained that military recruitment has long drawn Nepal into global capitalism as an exporter of cheap laborers. Soldier is now one among many kinds of labor that Nepalese engage in abroad and is comparatively, among the more stable and lucrative, since it can provide wage and pensions (Desh: 77).

The researcher contradicts with this statement that a group of citizens recruited in the armed by negotiation cannot be leveled as migratory labor. Instead of this we can say it periodic migration as armed force.

The historical records available in Nepal and the British India estimate more than 360000 Gurkha soldiers involved in the first and the second World wars to serve the colonial interests of the British imperialism. In the subsequent years, the number of Gurkha recruits in the British regiments increased steadily until the redundancy policy of the British government of India. (Gurung, 2002 and Kantangwa) At present, there is 3300 Gurkhas effective strength serving in the brigades of Gurkhas as a relic of the British Empire (as at December 2004, 2003 contact @bgws.info, BGSWS 15 Rapallo close).

The member of Gurkhas recruited in the British-India army from 1886 to 1904 was 27428 and reached 128770 during 1904 to 1915. The total number of recruitment during the First World War alone was 114565 men. “In addition to the 16544 soldiers sent from Nepal in 1914, 26000 Gurkha soldiers already consisted as part of Indian army. There were also a large number of Nepalese in non-combat continents. It is estimated that those who left the country for various military purposes numbered more than 200000 (Mahat, R.S., 2003:29). “In the Second World War 250000 Gurkhas were mobilized. Among them 7544 were killed in action, 1441 were missing, presumed dead and 25655 were wounded. (The Defense Committee Report-X).

### **2.3.4 Formation of battalion, Gurkha recruitment and war assistance and**

#### **Consequences of war**

As mentioned before, the English officers had ultimately initiated the process of Gurkha recruitment in the battle ground as Battalions. Before 1901, the British-Gurkha army was

not better organized but ordinary changes in its organizations took place now and then. The battalions were created in following orders:

1. The first Gurkha Rifle(1815) from Nasiri Battalion
2. The second Gurkha Rifle(1815) from Sirmoon Battalions
3. The third Gurkha Rifle(1815) from Kumaon Battalions
4. The fourth Gurkha Rifles (1857) from Extra Gurkha regiments
5. The fifth Gurkha Rifle (1858) from Hajara Gurkha Battalion

The sixth Gurkha ) Rifle (1817) from Guttack region

1. The seventh Gurkha Rifle (1902) from English Gurkha Rifle
2. The eighth Gurkha Rifle (1824) from Shilhet local Battalion
3. The ninth Gurkha Rifle (1817)(from Phattegadh levy)
4. The tenth Gurkha Rifle (1890) from Burma infantry

Thus in the course of time, although the tradition of Gurkha recruitment began to develop gradually and it was allowed to recruit Gurkhas openly by the rise of Bir Shamsher power (1885-1901) and then process of recruitment had been regularized by formal agreement and treaties.

For India, the British Empire had used the Gurkha army attainment, protection and promotion of the British Empire. The Gurkha army displayed its tremendous military capability and loyalty to the British not only in the Pindari battle of 1870, the Naharatha battle of 1817, the Bharat battle of 1825 and the first Sikh battle of 1845-46 but also in the decisive battles of the Sipoy mutiny. They enhanced their national glory. The importance of the Gurkha force increased not only in the context of India's internal security but also in the context of the expansion of World Empire and its promotion as well as the probable challenges might have to face. Meanwhile, the Gurkha army was used in Burma (1845), in the second Afghan war (1877-79), in Malaya (1900), in China (1900), and in Tibet (1903-04). But the terrible days of the First World War (1914-18) and the Second World War were still to come.

In the First World War, the Gurkha Army fought in different battlefield of the world. The main battle places were France, Gyallipoli, Palestine, Beluchistan, the North-West border

region of India, the desert of Suez in Egypt and Mesopotamia and the Caspian Sea (Tucker, 1957:1939). In this war, the Gurkhas were decorated with the world famous V.C.

The Second World War (1944-47) started due to the attack of Germany on Poland and then United Kingdom declared the World War Second on 3<sup>rd</sup> Nov, 1939. In the Second World War, there were no fewer than forty Gurkha battalions in the British service. In this war, Gurkha fought in Syria, the Western Desert, Italy and Greece, from North Malaya to Singapore and from the Siamse border back through Burma to Imphal and then for war to Rangoon.

### **War assistance from Nepal**

“In addition to the enormous manpower made available, there were many personal gestures on the part of the minister and court of Nepal. Large sums of money for the purchase of weapons and equipment, including money for the provision of fighter aircraft during the battle of Britain, were presented as gifts from Nepal. Considerable sums of money were also donated to the lord of London during the Blitz for the relief of the victims in the dockland area. (BGWS, 2005, contact @ bgws.info.ibid)

Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher had expressed the view more than once in July 1914 to the Britain presidents. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August, before the news of war reached Kathmandu, Chandra Shamsher had written a letter to the president expressing his fear, and offered through him to the viceroy to the King Emperor- the services of the military resources of Nepal “however little that may be” as a symbol of “devotion and friendship” to his majesty’s persons and Empire. British government immediately accepted the offer with great appreciations and gratitude. Initially, a request was made for a loan of six hundred troops for general service within the borders of India. Subsequently, in June 1915, a gift of thirty-one machine guns was sent. In 1914, the 16544 soldiers were sent from Nepal. In addition to these soldiers, 26000 Gurkha soldiers already existed as part of the regular Indian army (Mahat, 2005). Such spirit of this friendship can best be illustrated by the reply made to the prime minister in Kathmandu after the fall of France in 1940. When Britain stood alone, permission was sought to recruit an additional battalion for the Gurkha Brigade, and for the Gurkha troops to be allowed to serve in any part of the world. These were readily granted by the Prime minister who remarked, “Does a friend desert a friend in time of need? If you win, we win with you. If lose, we lose with you.”

### **2.3.5 Loss and Consequences of war**

Nepal lost more men in the war in proportion to country's population- which was about five millions at that time- than any other nation that participated in the first Great war.

Nepal's countryside was stripped of the young population. Only women, old, boys and crippled remain at home. Thus, the massive exodus of working age men depleted the labor force and adversely affected the hill economy. But the Terai were not perturbed.

During the war and afterwards, Nepal's hill economy suffered acute shortage of manpower even for formal agricultural activities (Mahat, 2005)

Most Nepalese who participated in various duties in the war did not return home even after their decommissioning: they settled down in India because of brighter employment prospects and better living conditions that formed life-time migration in India.

Consequently, the handicapped Gurkhas are now compelled to live neglected lives in the countryside of Nepal.

### **2.3.6 The Partition of India and Transfer to the British Army**

The strength of the relationship between the Nepalese and the British was illustrated in 1940 after the fall of France, when British requested to recruit a further 20 battalions. In the Second World War (1944-47), Gurkha strength was expanded to 45 battalions. Soldiers' action in Iraq, Cyprus, Tunisia, Italy, Greece, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia and Ten Victoria crosses were awarded to Gurkhas.

After the Second World War conflicts in Palestine, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo China, Burma and the troubled partition of India claimed the attention and often the lives of officers and men of the Gurkha Brigade. "The violence of partition was something the British were determined not to have on their heads. Individuals could find in it proof that Indians could not properly rule themselves. Government officials were determined to lay the responsibility at the feet of Indian nationalists. This was the primary reason for the speed of handovers" (Desh Chene, M., 1999:7, October 18-20) at late as March of 1947, plans for Indian independence were premised on the British hand over power in January

of 1948 and they did so on August 15, 1947. Under the Tri-partite agreement held in Kathmandu on November 9, 1947 the discussion about partition army was finalized and British-India armed force was divided into two parts.

At the time of the partition of India, there were ten Gurkhas regiments in the Indian Army. Each regiment was consisting of a number of battalions. As a result of negotiations, between the Nepalese, the British and the Indian government (Known as Tri-partite Agreement) four of these regiments, each of two battalions were transferred to the British Army, the remained staying with the new Indian army. Six of the ten regiments became the Indian Gurkhas Rifles. Thus on 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1948, four Gurkha regiments became for the first time, an integral part of the British Army forming the Brigades of Gurkhas. These regiments were:

1. 2<sup>nd</sup> King Edward VII's own Gurkha Rifles (the Sirmoor Rifles)
2. 6<sup>th</sup> Gurkha rifles (later queen Elizabeth's own)
3. 7<sup>th</sup> Gurkha rifles (later duke of Edinburgh's own)
4. 10<sup>th</sup> Gurkha rifles (later princess Mery's own)

The Brigades of Gurkhas's troop were mobilized for 12 years (1948 to 1962) against communist terrorists and again proved himself to be a super-jungle fighter. The Brigade of Gurkhas was providing the backbones, the expertise and the continuity in the campaign in Malaya.

Subsequently, the Gurkha troops (1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 2<sup>nd</sup> KEO Gurkha Rifles) were the first to be used again in an operational role on the outbreak of the Brunei Revolt in December 1962. There followed four years of continuous operations against units of the Indonesia Regular Army in the Sabah and Sarawak, in which every unit of the Brigades of Gurkhas took part.

Furthermore, between 1967 and 1972, as a result of changing defense commitment and the reorganization of the Armed forces, the strength of the Brigade Gurkhas was reduced from 14000 to about 8000 in number. Similarly, when British forces withdraw from Singapore in 1971 three battalions of Gurkha infantry and the Gurkha Engineer, Gurkha Signals and Gurkha transport regiment were stationed in Hong Kong and the remaining two battalions stationed one in the United Kingdom and the other in Brunei. This history



shows that the numbers of Gurkha recruiters were reduced after finishing of fighting work of British.

### **2.3.7 Reasons behind Gurkha selection in the British Armed Force**

Plans for British withdrawal from the Indian army were vastly complicated by two things. First, it was unclear whether there would be one army or two- a Pakistani and Indian. Second, while trying to recognize the army for either eventuality, it was being used as political force. Muslim troops in Hindu areas and Hindu troops in Muslim areas were not indifferent to the communal violence that was taking place. British officer struggled to maintain discipline even as they were being reassigned, or leaving in interest of their future career prospects. And their position of power was compromised; being British was no longer enough to ensure obedience” (Desh Chene, M., 1999:7).

The Gurkha forces that were in India<sup>6</sup> were extensively used as a police force. The British trusted them, more than other troops, to be impartial. They guarded convoys of refugees crossing the Punjab, the U.P. and Bengal and policed large cities such as Delhi and Calcutta<sup>7</sup> while they were engaged in these duties, men in London, Delhi and Kathmandu were debating their future once again the individuals who served as Gurkhas were pawns in international negotiations.

By the end of the 1945 the British Military authorities in India expected to face widespread “trouble” either in the form of communal violence, anti-governmental agitation or both. The commander-in-chief foresaw a number of congress tactics that might undermine the reliability of the army. But, Gurkhas were still thought to be a political, and to expect and need firm guidance from their British officers. Only one factor- a lack of response by the government to congress tactics was through likely to affect the Gurkhas and even this was considered “likely to affect their efficiency more than their reliability”. But the Commander-in-chief warned that “ it is however, most undesirable that we should differentiate between Gurkhas and other troops of the Indian Army, so far as their supposed reliability for internal defense is concerned, unless and

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<sup>6</sup> Not all Gurkha regiments had returned to India from World War II duties at this time. There were Gurkhas among the occupation force in Japan, guarding Japanese prisoners in Burma and Singapore and Java fighting Indonesian Nationalists

<sup>7</sup> There were also about 1200 “Gurkhas”, mostly ex-soldiers, in the Calcutta Police Force at this time. Muslims were hired to act as a counterbalance. The Gurkha Police men ended up fighting with the Muslims Police (Desh Chene, M, 1999:ibid).

until Indian troops have openly failed in their allegiance (Cited by Desh Chene in 199:9)<sup>8</sup>.”

### **2.3.8 The Tri-partite negotiations between British-India and Nepal, 1947: Implication and Reality.**

The Nepalese government was kept informed of the negotiations, but took practically no active role in them until November of 1997. Both the India and British government had obtained permission from Nepal to decide how they wished to apportion the Gurkhas. Both believed that surrounding the future of the Gurkhas were from the perspective of the Nepalese government, rather different than those that concerned Britain and India. It was seen that as an economic necessity that Gurkhas to serve in foreign armies. Besides the foreign exchange brought into the country, the Ranas had directly profited from the variety “gifts” given to them by Britain in exchange for Gurkhas.

Based on the decisions taken on different issues in each time (Nov.7, 9, 1999) the agreement comprises three different annexes (Annexure 1-iii). The representatives of each of the three countries have laid emphasis on the interests their respective countries. They are mainly as follows:

- Nepal wanted that the status of her citizens be not like those of mercenary soldiers.
- India wanted that the salary and other facility of recruiting Gurkhas who worked in India and in Britain be the same.
- The kingdom that the facility of recruiting Gurkhas be continued.

Under this annex3; it was said as stated below:

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<sup>8</sup> (Cabinet chiefs of staff committee paper c.o.s. (45) 665 (01 l/ws/1/1008 pp218-25) internal situations in India, appreciation by commander-in-chief, 24 November 1945. Reproduced in TR. Vol. VI, Document 203, and p.579. See this document for the other factors considered likely to affect the rest of the army. These included the celebration of the I.N.A. by nationalists, and troops in technical branches were therefore considered to be the least reliable).

“In all matters of promotions, welfare and other facilities the Gurkha troops should be treated on the same footing as the other units in the percent army so that the stigma of “mercenary troops” may fall all time be wiped out. These troops should be treated as a link between two friendly countries. (Bhasin, 1994:31-37 cited in K.C., S. 1999:33).

Subsequently, article II of annex 1: was stated like below:

“That the basic rates of pay admissible to Gurkha officers and soldiers present Indian pay code, at which rates personnel serving at the recruiting depots in Gorakhpur and Ghum shall be paid and that a special allowance to compensate for permanent service overseas and high cost of living shall in addition be admissible to Gurkha officer and soldiers serving H.M. government overseas”. (as quoted in K.C, 1999).

During the course of time, the Indian government and the United Kingdom government were able to meet their interests as provided by the agreement but are obvious that Nepal has not been successful in protecting the maximum interest of her citizens.

The kingdom, in particular, did not treat Gurkha army on the same footing as her national army in terms of salary and other facilities as mentioned above. No matter what was said in principle, they were badly discriminated against in actual practice. On the other hand, in July 1953, Britain made another direct treaty with Nepal regarding Gurkha recruitment, thereby making the fore said agreement completely passive. This treaty that had been made five years was declared renewed for another ten years in April 22, 1958 (Devkota, 2036 V. K. as cited in K.C, 1999). Surprisingly, neither the kingdom nor the Nepal government have made any reaction public regarding the status of the secret exchange of letters which should have been renewed in 1968 (Banskota, 1994:139).

Subsequently, after the handover Hong Kong, the possibility of this service has been reduced and nearly had come to an end. After the 183 years’ long practice of Gurkha recruitment, an indication has now been given to end the tradition of Gurkha recruitment.

Instead of recruiting, after July 1, 1997, British government played a significant role by providing Hong Kong ID<sup>9</sup> to British Gurkha Armed Force’ family based on dual system government role. The family of British Gurkha Armed Force then immigrated to Hong

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<sup>9</sup> Hong Kong ID means, the children of Gurkhas who were born in Hong Kong before 1983 were considered as Hong Kong ID holder.

Kong and became the second class Chinese citizens and they have to compel to compete with the Chinese citizens and Gurkhas are supposed to be a life-time migration.

Subsequently, British government operated another clever chapter that British Gurkha Armed Force and their family would stay in U.K. as British citizens which caused the international life-time emigration for Nepalese citizens. This indicates that later or sooner, the British government would be closed the chapter for British Gurkha recruitment practice.

### **2.3.9 Socio-Economic and Cultural Effects of Gurkha Recruitment**

#### **Introduction**

Gurkha recruitment, particularly the Brigades of Gurkhas in the British army services, is always valued in terms of economic benefits at all levels. At an individual or family level, we count the clusters of the high-raised building of Kathmandu, Pokhara (Gurung 2003)

Grkha returnees are inhabiting at Dharan, Chitwan and Butwal with prosperous western life style being high socio-economic indicators because of their good earnings from the British Gurkha Army services.

At the social or national level, we count the Gurkha recruitment as one of the major sources of foreign exchange of our national economy. But all levels, we have never calculated the social and cultural costs associated with the Gurkha recruitment. In this unit, the researchers quarries the social and cultural effects that are associated the Gurkha recruitment. Based on my personal experience and observation supplemented by other sources, it can be argued that individual family has been affected by the Gurkha recruitment but not covered socio-cultural aspects. The central point of the researchers' argument is that Gurkha recruitment has become a major threat to the society and cultural among many ethnic communities of Nepal. Although it is economically beneficial, major causes of social deviation and cultural transformation and cultural perversion among the young generations of the Gurkha families is the Ghurkha recruitment . However, the root causes of these social deviations and cultural perversion are not the Gurkha soldiers themselves. The root causes of these problems are the British imperialism and Nepal

rulers who have been trading Gurkha soldiers as the most valuable commodities to serve their economic and political interests for about the last two hundred years.

### **2.3.9.1 Emigration as recruitment: Remittances and rural / local development**

International migration constitutes is an important aspects of Nepalese population. Emigration of Nepalese is for economic opportunities rather than trade and business took place after the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814 A.D. During the course of invasions into Nepal, the British East India Company had several confrontations with the Nepalese army and had assessed the courage and valor of the Nepalese. "It is said that in 1815 after the fall of the fort of Malawn which was under General Amar Singh Thapa, a large number of Nepalese soldiers were said to have joined the British Army<sup>9</sup>. It is also to be noted in one of the clauses under the convention between Kaji Amar Singh Thapa and Geneal David Octorloney; the British government secured a provision under which it was entitled to raise three regiments of Nepalese hill people for its army<sup>10</sup>.

However, the Nepalese government was principally against the joining of its people in the British army and as such it was very difficult to get Nepalese for recruitment in the British army. In order to make the recruitment easier, the British government established Gurkha settlement in Kangru valley, Dharamshala, Bakshoh, Dehradun, Shilong and different parts of Assam and Burma and encouraged migration into those areas<sup>11</sup>. Thus, trend of emigration as recruitment for hilly people of Nepal took place after the hill settlements of Gurkhas in India. Emigration of Nepalese hill people for recruitment to the foreign armies has been the first ever-recorded emigration of Nepalese population to the foreign countries for employment opportunities<sup>12</sup> (Kanskar, 1982:1) with ever-growing population and resulting surplus manpower, and an absence of employment opportunities within the country emigration of Nepalese particularly for recruitment to the foreign armies has been continuing since last 200 years..

Migration for recruitment in foreign armies carry high social values in the hill areas of Nepal as well as in British Armed Force Returnees' Diaspora (may be rural/urban) because of its high pay-off. However, it is not known how for the remittance from the

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<sup>9</sup> Perceval London (1928): Nepal. Constable and Co., London, Vol. II, pp190-91.

<sup>10</sup> W.B. Northey and C.J. Morris (1928): The Gurkhas. John Lane the Badley Head Ltd., London, p50.

<sup>11</sup> H.M.D.O. (1965): Nepal and Gurkhas.London, p.61.

<sup>12</sup> Prof. Dr. Vidhya Bir Kanskar is a: reknown professor, Central Department of Geography, T, U and decorated by research scholar in CEDA, T.U., and expertise of international migration.

army service in the foreign countries has contributed to the well-being of the involved family, the rural areas of the emigrants and the country. The emigrants recruited in the foreign countries particularly in the British and the Indian army are provided basic education, training in mechanical, electrical and other vocational skills. Thus, these people are considered to be the great agents of local development.

Many ethnographic of recruited communities have forced on the economic aspects of soldiers (Cf. Macfelane 1976, Caplan, 1976, Kanskar, 1982, Desh Chene 1993, and Pignede 1993 cited in Gurung, 1998). The Gurkha soldiers have supported the economy at various levels. At an individual level, they have not only supported the economy of their family and their kin groups but they have also supported the economy of their entire village. In the rural areas, they are the sources of cash economy. The flow of cash in their home and the distribution of the gifts among their kin groups are important social mechanisms that bind every village people into a broader socio-economic network relationship.

At the national level, Gurkha soldiers are the sources of foreign exchange of the national economy. Until 1965/66, remittances from the Gurkha soldiers were the largest source of foreign exchange<sup>10</sup>. Similarly, Gurkha soldiers are considered to be the greatest agents of local development and many other social and cultural changes in their residing areas. Through their own earnings as well as through the Gurkha welfare fund which they raise themselves when they are in active services, they contribute to the supply of safe drinking water, construction of school building, safe trails, suspensions bridges, small scale irrigation and hydro-electric power projects.

Some of the Gurkha soldiers are laborious and industrious. They have invested million of rupees in various productive sectors like hotel business, trekking agencies, transport, food industries, sports facilities etc. Gurkha soldiers are the first people to introduce modern medical system. They are also the first people to introduce primary education in many social villages. Their soldiery brings both wealth and status among many ethnic communities of Nepal. Despite many positive contributions to the economic development, the Gurkha recruitment has many unfolding effects towards social transformation.

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<sup>10</sup> According to the economic survey of 1965/66, Nepal received 26 percent the total foreign exchange from the remittance of Gurkha soldier (Gurung, Om, 1998).

### 2.3.9.1.1 Demographic effects

The demographic disequilibrium among many ethnic communities in Nepal is one of the major effects of Gurkha recruitment. The sex and age selectivity of emigration has deprived the country of the most dynamic elements of the society, the most young and productive adult males. Thus emigration has resulted in sizable transfer of human capital from the rural sector and has pronounced impact in the sending areas as well as in the country as a whole (Kansakar, 1982:4). Due to the emigration trend, the age and sex structure of the recruitment communities is below the national level (Gurung 2003). Kansakar provides several empirical evidences of demographic disparity from the Gurung village Panchamul in Syangja and districts<sup>11</sup> and the Magar village Bharshe in Gulmi district in Nepal. Sex ratio of these two villages was 1149 and 1246/1000 males respectively as compared to 977/1000 males in Nepal. In the same way the economically active age group (15-44) in Panchamul was 15.06% and it is 12.06% in Bharse. Compared to national level of 26.31 % in that time, these percentages were very minimal. Similarly, Macfer Lane (1976) and Pigende (1993) cited by Gurung Om (1998) report similar situation from the Gurung village of Kaski and Parbat districts of western Nepal. Various sources suggests that one in every ten recruited soldiers never returned to their home from the battles of World War I and II war either because of their death or because of their permanent settlement somewhere else in other countries (Rathaur, 1991 cited in Gurung Om 1998). They fought many other bloody battles against Afganstan in 1947/48, Malaysia in 1958 and 1961, Indonesia in 1990/91. In addition, Gurkha soldiers have been used to suppress domestic war, in Europe, Asia and Africa. At present, they are deployed in Kosovo, Kargil, Iraq and many others have put their lives in danger. The member of exact deaths and casualties during these wars is not yet public but we lost thousands of our able-bodied young people.

The demographic disequilibrium composed of mostly children, women and old people has resulted in the shortage of productive labor force during the peak agricultural seasons. This automatically has deteriorated the agriculture based hill economy. Trend of demographic composition has now been charged. The Gurkha soldiers in current job or returnees, and pensioner do not wish to return back their place of origin. They are mostly settled down in urban areas due to their high income, children education and looking for

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<sup>11</sup> Prof. Kansakar had conducted an empirical research on those two villages in 1982 and it was the first research about impact of emigration of Gurkha recruitment in Nepal.

re-services chances and to enjoy the better life in urban areas. This has been resulted the community' clusters in the urban areas: Kathmandu, Dharan and Pokhara.

#### **2.3.9.1.2 Economic effects**

Although the recruitment is considered to be the relief of population pressure and unemployment problem in Nepal, the drainage of the large number of the most economically and productive forces to the foreign countries has adverse effects on our national economy. If we look at the individual level, the high ranking Gurkha recruitment has contributed to enrich the material life, but the majority of the Gurkha soldiers still live in poverty. It has created a growing economic inequality among the Gurkha families. Prof. Om Gurung (1998) has explored the personal experience and observations from recruitment community, that “the soldier who served in the British army prior to 1985 is poor. Many of the Gurkha soldiers do not have enough saving. Their monthly pension cannot support the education of the children and family expenses in urban areas like Kathmandu. Because of their extravagant habits and consumerian life style which they learned from the western societies, the Gurkha soldiers have found it very difficult to adjust themselves to their home country. Those who had saving, they already misused it by investing in unproductive sectors, such as purchasing lands, building big houses in Kathmandu and buying gold and silver jewelry. Moreover, in recent years many Gurkha families are in economic trouble due to their over ambition to become rich by investing heavy amount of money in a rotating credit business called *dhikuri*.

Those who were involved in such a *dhikuri* business drew money with high interest rate from financial banks and local creditors such as friends and relatives. But some of the clever partners of the *dhikuri* who are mostly from non-recruited communities run away with big amount of *dhikuri* not paying back to their *dhikuri* partners in their turns. This has been made almost all the *dhikuri* partners are very poor. Thus, the lack of enough saving to meet their new economic necessities on the one hand, and misutilization of whatever saving they had with them on the other, have once again forced the retired Gurkha soldiers to emigrate abroad in search of job opportunities.

At present, many of them are working either in the Gurkha Reserve unit (GRU) in the Brunei recruitment or in private companies in Hong Kong or security guards, drivers and laborers. Those who do not get such opportunity, they prefer to work either in the pacific



and European countries or in African and not in the Gulf countries. This has made periodical labor migration in Nepal.

#### **2.3.9.1.2.3 Social effects**

Gurkha recruitment has affected the traditional family and social relations among many ethnic communities in Nepal. Traditionally, recruited communities like Gurung, Magars, Rais and Limbus have had joint family system with the father as the head of the household ( ibid) further states that the recruited communities especially Gurung and Magars community practice cross-cousin marriage systems, preferably marriage with mother's brother's daughter. But, after the recruitment in the British army and tendency to migrate in the urban areas during the 70s and 80s have essentially contributed to the disorganizations of joint family system and breakdown social relations. At present, we can find nuclear families with more individualistic attitude. The social education which was the ideal norms of the joint family system is almost non- existent. And the traditional preferential cross-cousin marriage systems prevalent among many ethnic communities are decaying.

The Gurkha recruitment has encouraged teen- age marriage of the girls. Because of the redundancy policy of the British government, there are a few Gurkha soldiers in the village. As a result, there is a competition among the parents to get marry their daughter in their sweet sixteen with a good Gurkha recruits. The practice of early marriage has not only affected the reproductive health of woman, it has also affected the social and intellectual talent of the woman.

The Gurkha soldiers look more submissive, passive and one track-minded even in their home country due to their military training and orientation. But, their children are uprooted, paranoid, anarchist, culturally prevented and socially deviated” ( ibid).

#### **2.3.9.1.4 Cultural effects**

Originally and traditionally, the Gurkha soldiers are Buddhists (Gurungs and Magars) and Kisants (Rais and Limbus). But days they have developed a uniquely bend ended culture of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. “The government employs Brahmin as a priest to perform community of the Gurkha soldiers in all Gurkha regiments who perform every ritual of the non-Hindu Gurkha soldiers according to the Hindu traditions. This has brought the non-Hindu communities of Nepal under the influence of Hindu culture and

religion. This has been affected by their mother language, religion and traditional ritual (ibid).

Similarly, instead of presenting their own culture and religion, the Gurkha soldiers have shared some elements of Christianity due to their service in Christians and Muslim countries. As a result, their own culture and religion are in danger.

# **Forced Immigrants in Nepal**

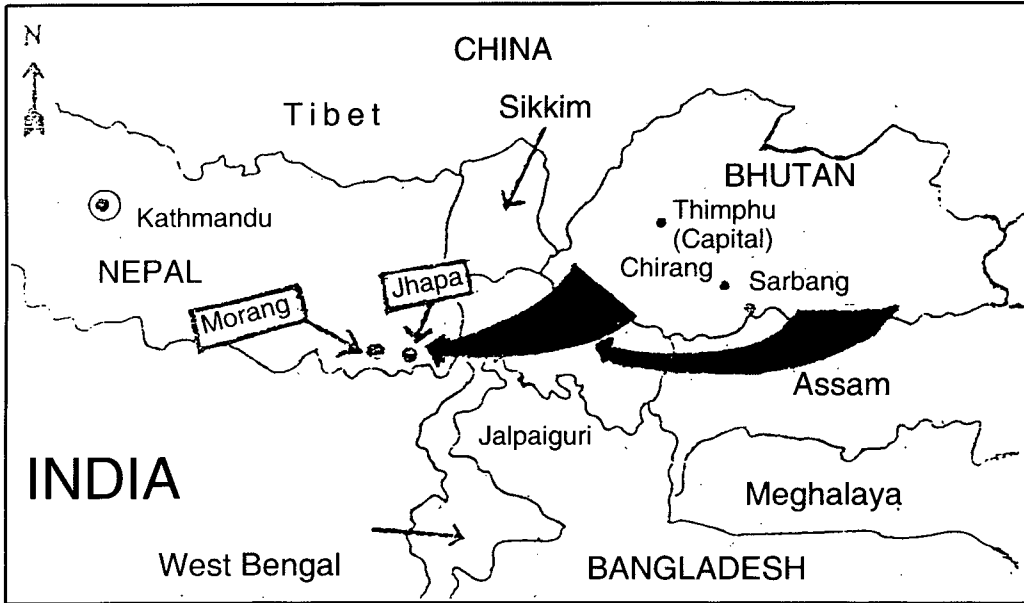
*(Issues on Bhutanese Refugees)*

Map – (2A) Settlement of Bhutanese Ethnic in Bhutan and Bhutanese Refugee in Nepal



Source: Hutt, M. (2003). *Unbecoming Citizens: Culture, Nationhood, and the Flight of Refugees from Bhutan*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

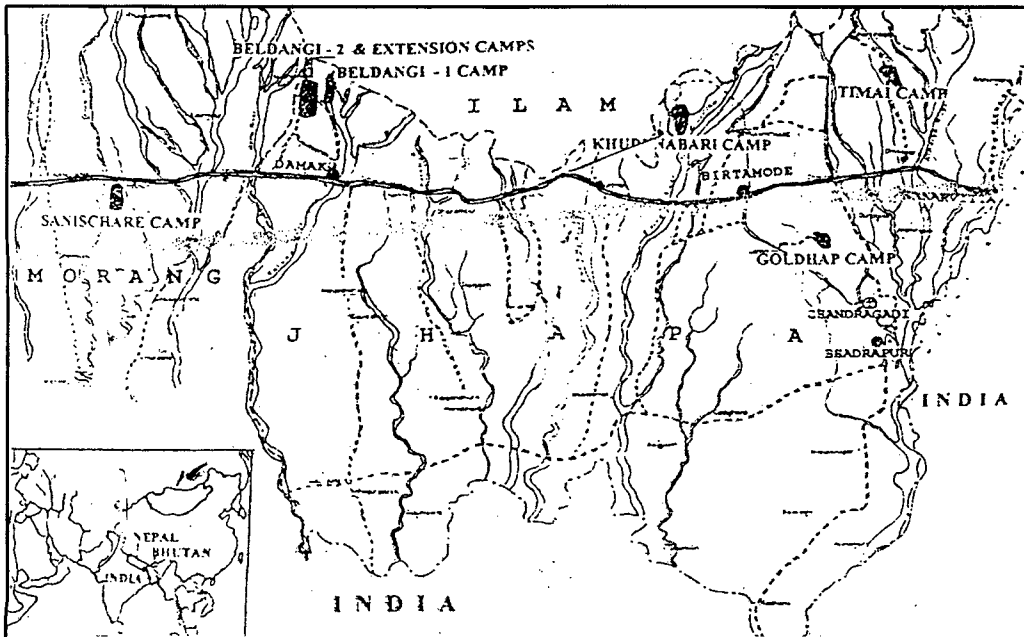
**Map — (2B) Inflow Process and Routes for Bhutanese Refugee and Location of Camps in Nepal**



*Locations of Refugee Camps in Eastern Nepal*

Source : Association of Human Rights Activities Bhutan (AHURA) (2000)  
 — A Shangrila without Human Rights. Damak, Jhapa, Nepal: (AHURA)

**Map — (2C) Physical Setting of Bhutanese Refugee Camps in Eastern Nepal**



Source : Depopulation Design: A report on how Bhutanese citizens were made to sign Published by AMCC, 1996

## **2.3.2 Issues on Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal and its Empirical clarity**

### **2.3.2.1 Bhutan is an ethnic polymorphic nation with variant ethnicity**

Historically, South Asia has witnessed substantial intra-regional movement and dislocation of regional groups fleeing ethnic or religious persecution and political instability. India is a nice example for this evidence. Indian is a multiethnic, multilingual and relatively stable society and has often made it attractive destination for these groups: - Tamil refugee from Srilanka, Jumma people from Bangladesh and Tibet and other tribal refugees from Burma, Afghanistan, Iran and even Sudan and today these comprise the bulk of India's refugee population (Nair 1997:1.)

In connection with, Bhutanese Refugee in Nepal has become a fresh example in South Asia. The Bhutanese who fled from their country under the forced circumstance are separately treated in India and Nepal with the former refusing to give them a refugee status and the latter keeping on more than hundred thousand Bhutanese in the camps as refugees.

Bhutan lies cradled between India and China, boasting a multitude of cultures, languages, and ethnicities. Three principal ethnic groups: Ngalong, Sarchops and Lhotshampas are the main residence of Bhutan. They reside in distinct geographical locations and they maintain their linguistic, cultural and religious practices. Despite these, there are other minor ethnic groups. The Ngalongs are powerful minority of Bhutan and immigrants from Tibet, reside in north-western Bhutan; the Sarchop, originating from Northern India and Burma, Inhabit the eastern valley; and the Lhotshampas, of Nepali origin dwell in the Himalayan' southern foothills. According to the official record of Bhutan, the country's total population is 60,000 (RGB Statistics, 2000). Among the total population Ngalongs constitute 15 percent who are the ruling elites of Bhutan and this family established their hereditary monarchy in 1907, with the aid of the British. Ngalongs are the politically and economically dominant ethnic group and speak Dhonkha language which is derived from Tibetan Script choeke and were fled from Tibet as political refugee. The Ngalongs follow the Drupka Kargu sect. of Mahayan Bhuddhism (Rizal, 2004:3). They were continuous

conflicts between elite families claiming supremacy of their Tibetan sect and institutions to which they belonged. They could established themselves permanently in western Bhutan only after the arrival of a monk named Nawang Nangyal in 1616 A.D. belonged to Drukpa Kagyu monastery Ruling in Tibet. Nawang Namgyal subsequently took the title of Shabdrung and unified the nation under a theocracy, with the dual systems of governance. This dual system of governance lasted tilln1907, and the present Wangchuk, great grandfather become king and Shabdrung Rimpoche came to end in Bhutan. This proves that, present wangchuk monarchy and Ngalongs are seen the ruling class in the Bhutan's history.

The Lhotshampas and Sharchops, who comprise on estimated 80 percent of Bhutan's diverse population and historically have had litle opportunity to influence government polity (Subedi, Acharya and Sahaf, 2003). The Lhotshampas are Nepali speakers and predominately Hindu. Thus, Bhutan has a self-evident as a multi religious, multicultural and multilinguistic society. However, the government of Bhutan argues that "pluralism is only practical for a larger country where a diversity of customs, traditions and culture enriches that nation. A small country like Bhutan cannot afford the luxury of such diversity which may impede the growth of social harmony and unity among the people" (<http://www.geocities.com/bhutanneserefugees>).

In the name of national integration, the government implemented various racial and discriminatory policies aimed at forceful homogenisation of multi ethnic society. This Drukpanization' policy was designed to annihilate the culture, religion and language of Lhotshampas, Sharchops and other minority ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. Under this policy, all other ethnic and minority groups are required to assimilate their social and cultural identity as distinct ethnic groups with society dominated by politically and economically dominated by Ngalongs or Drukpa ethnic groups. This reveals that such forced national integration, through eviction through depriving the Lhotshampas and dissidents of their nationality or through brutal intimidation and use of force have been the hallmark of the state policy. Thus, the government' policy of Bhutan for national integration developed as stubborn first and rest to Sarchops and other minority. Bhutan polity is increasing communalised by the ruling elites. Politics is plasticized on ethnic lives that the politics become the monopoly of the single ethnic Ngalongs. Ruling elites could understand that "ethnicity is an optional resource which can be mobilized

politically under particular circumstance” (Eriksen: 1993 cited in Gurung 1999:81). Consequently, the rule of the state became problematic by seeking of representation one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic-society.

### **2.3.2.2 Genesis and status of Bhutanese refugee’ problem**

Bhutanese refugees’ problems have been rooted by many reasons by applying combined approach and policies which are state below;

#### **2.3.2.2.1 Cut of granted citizenship**

The first step was taken in 1958 by making it the cut off year for granting citizenship to the Lhotshampas or the southern Bhutanese (Nepalese origin Bhutanese). Reviving it in forceful manner in the middle of the 1980s, Bhutan started harassing the Bhutanese Nepalis by imposing dress and language under the Driglam Namzha of code of conduct. The citizenship Act passed in 1985 and implemented in the year 1988 was discriminatory against the Lhotshampas. Census operation was carried out in southern district only and people who had been recognized as Bhutanese until then were arbitrarily declared as illegal immigrants and it revoked the citizenship of tens of thousands of southern Bhutanese who were otherwise bonafide Bhutanese under the 1958 nationality law and 1977 Citizenship Act of Bhutan. On the basis of 1985 Citizenship Act the census team demanded the land tax receipt of 1958 in the year of 1988 (after 30 years) to prove their residence in Bhutan on or before 1958. “Based on it census team categorised the southern Bhutanese under seven groups: viz. F1 – Genuine Bhutanese; F2 – Returned Migrants (those who had left the country but returned); F3 – Drop-outs (those not available during the census); F4 – A non-national women married to a Bhutanese man; F5 – A non-national man married to a Bhutanese women; F6 – Adoption cased (children legally adopted); and F7 – Non-national man (migrants and illegal settlers). Those who were able to produce the land tax receipt of 1958 were considered as genuine Bhutanese and those who could not produce were declared as non-national” (Riza, 2003:46, Acharya, 2005:1). As based on above stated reality “there has been concerns about the Royal Government of Bhutan’s (R.G. of Bhutan) human rights practices including implementation of the 1985 Citizenship Act and the failure to persecute security force members who committed rape, torture and other abuses in the name of enforcing the Citizenship Act” (United State of America in its Department’s report on Human Rights Practice in Bhutan, 1994). This



indicates that the Royal Government of Bhutan' Citizenship Acts is only the base tool to create the ethnic cleansing policy against the southern Bhutanese.

It had been believed that (taking a clue from Sikkim where the swollen Nepali population allegedly outnumbered the other communities leading to the integration of the half-sovereignty country into Indian Union) the Bhutanese ruling elites wanted to stop the domination of the Nepalis by imposing stringer' measures in present Sikkimization of Bhutan. Thus, one of the important points propagated and spread by the Bhutanese side was the fear of second "Sikkimization" i.e. outnumbering of the traditional Drukpa population by the Nepalis and also of destruction of traditional culture and language by the spread of Nepali Hindu religion and culture in Bhutan. According to the thesis "if Bhutan's demographic structure is changed the Himalaya would turn into a Nepal belt with all potentials of irredentism making Nepal as epicentre. Thus, by way of containing the Nepali influence, Bhutan asserted that it would never "compromise on 'one nation and one people' thus adopting the exclusionist policy for what can be called a long-term security and integrity and survival as homogeneous state which reduced the Lhotshampas population (Baral, 2003:63).

Thus, the new Citizenship Act with a retroactive effect from 1958 was introduced to further marginalise the ethnic Nepalis by categorising the Bhutanese into seven groups and required them to produce documentary evidences of their permanent residence since 1958. This Act made the process of acquiring citizenship by naturalization very 1988, a biased and manipulative census succeeded in denationalizing Lhotshampas on a massive scale. Thousands of families who had already received citizenship identity cards were forced to forfeit their status and were arbitrarily placed in seven categories of non-nationals. This provoked a large-scale uprising in Southern Bhutan by Lhotshampas in 1990 giving the regime further pretext for brutal suppression and eventual eviction. Prominent ethnic Nepalis who portioned their grievances were imprisoned and tortured. The most prominent among them was Tek Nath Rijal, a member of the Bhutan's Royal Advisory Council.

#### **2.3.2.2.2 Demographic threats and changing situation in Bhutan**

The situation changed, particularly since the mid 1980s. The 1980-81 censuses revealed that the Nepali-speaking population of the south was increasing at a faster rate than in other parts of the country. This probably prompted the rulers to reconsider their ethnic

policy. There was fear of increasing influence from the better-educated and harder working southerners who had witnessed democratic practices through living along the Indian border. “This demographic threat was perceived at a time when new developments were taking place in the region. It is said that the Sikkim’s amalgamation to India had a positive impact on Bhutan into correcting its in-built discriminatory policy against ethnic Nepalis which was previously similar to that of Sikkim’s Chogyals. But the violent movement in Darjeeling for a separate Gorkhaland, and the recognition of the Nepali language in Indian constitution negatively impacted Bhutan’s rulers into reconsidering their policy towards the Lhotshampas” (Mahat, 2005:265).<sup>12</sup>

#### **2.3.2.2.3 The imposition of Driglam Namzha (Cultural Code of Conduct)**

Royal Government Bhutan made further departures from its past policy of ethnic harmony by introducing the controversial 1985 Citizenship Act and its Bhutanization programme. “The slogan of One Nation One People” was adopted in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country” (Ibid). A new code of ethics called Driglam Namza was introduced with a purpose of enforcing new social and cultural rules, and marginalizing the ethnic Nepalis by promoting a monoculture. The dress code of Kho and Kira respectively for men and women were made compulsory at all places and at all times without any sensitivity to the hot climate of southern Bhutan. Nepali language was abolished from the school curriculum, the practices of Hindu religious ritual restricted, and their temples deserted and further disturbed the Bhutanese state with thousands of Bhutanese Nepalese leaving their country and finding their way into Nepal. “The *raison d’être* of the official policy of citizenship and other cultural measures adopted by Bhutan was made public saying that Bhutan would never compromise “on one nation and one people” formula that aimed at “long-term security and integrity of Bhutan and its survival as a nation” (Baral,1996:157).

#### **2.3.2.2.4 The wave of democracy and human rights**

Nepal had been liberated from the party less regime in 1990 due to the wave of democracy. It made the Bhutanese Nepalis optimistic that they would also return to their country after some time with democracy and freedom. “Nepalese parties and leaders, and other people embraced the Bhutanese Nepalese out of sympathy and support and also of

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<sup>12</sup> Dr. Ram Sharan Mahat is designated by a Nepali Congress leader, combines the background of politician and technocrat, Deputy Chairman of the National Planning Commission, a parliamentarian, Finance Minister and Foreign Minister and also the key architects of the economic policy of the post-1990 Nepal.

confidence that Bhutanese ruler would have no option but to take them back honourably as Bhutanese citizens” (Baral:410-411).The refugee problem anywhere in the world heightened by a number of coercive factors, such as internal repression, ethnic religious, language, communal conflicts restructuring of state boundaries and displacement of population due to natural calamities, interstate conflicts, etc are also the causal factors for influx of refugees. In this connection, Bhutan’s case is precipitated by self-determination movement the policy of ethnic cleansing and state-sponsored and self-imposed policy.

### **2.3.2.3 Imposed of combined policies and emergence of refugees problems of ethnic Bhutanese Nepalese**

Bhutan’s self-imposed policy of isolation was deliberate in view of its claustrophobic geographic position in south of the Himalayas. In this concern, Leo Rose has appropriately summarised it in this words: “Bhutan’s volunerable geopolitical location between vastly larger, richer, stronger, and occasionally antagonistic neighbours has made external relations crucial not only to its survival as on independent state, but also to its internal politics. Like other buffer- area societies, the Bhutanese have after sought security by a withdrawal from surrounding world---when this was both possible and necessary”(Rose:1977:55). Consequently, Bhutan’s foreign policy has now seemingly moved away from isolation because of the emergent internal factors which have had dragged Bhutan into the vertex of conflict. Thus, “the Bhutanese Nepalis Lhotshampas (people of southern Bhutan) were forced to flee the country due to state-sponsored polices, and compelled the Bhutanese regime to be ore alert so as to foil the moves of refugee dissidents working from India and Nepal(Baral, 1999:408-409).

Since the eighties, the politics is being plasticized on communal and religious lines and then Bhutan is experienced an Ngalongs revivalist movement using Buddhism as its medium. “The aim of this movement is self-preservation of absolute monarchy and Ngalong social virtues at the cost of all other social and ethnic groups which regards as unwanted cultural elements. Thus, the ruling authority of Bhutan imposed the ethnic cleansing policy for southerner which was a part of this revivalist movement (Rizal, 2004; Baral, 2003 and Subedi, et al, 2003).

### **2.3.2.3 Ethnic inclusion for the national achievements and ethnic exclusion for regional balance (regional equalities).**

The Nepalis made valuable contributions towards Bhutan building efforts. Conscripted Nepali labour was used for the construction of school, health units, irrigation systems, and the Road connection north and south Bhutan. With their hard work, education, the Nepalese started making their marks in various walks of life. They assumed positions in sensitive state organs including the bureaucracy, cabinet, National Assembly, royal guards, army, and police, and continued to provide exemplary contribution. “The representation of the Nepalis in such positions was generally in line with their share in the total population: Their representation in the realm of politics, however, was very low-14 percent in the 100-member National Assembly, and 2 in the 9-member Royal Advisory Council. In northern Bhutan, one Assembly member represented 20,000. Even this arrangement was changed later on under various pretexts thereby making the representation of the ethnic Nepali extremely difficult.”<sup>13</sup>

### **2.3.2.4 Step-to-step approach, Ministerial Level Committee meeting (JMLC), unwanted result of Joint verification committee and endless problem of ethnic Bhutanese refugees**

There were several Joint Ministerial Level Committee (JMLC), meeting were held, and there was not any substantial result in solving the impasse. However, the tenth Nepal Bhutan Joint Ministerial Level Committee Talk (JMCT) paved the way for the creation of a Nepal-Bhutan Joint verification Team (JVT) which was formed the ten round of Joint Ministerial level talks in Kathmandu during the fourth week of November 2001 (Jayasi, 2002a), the 11<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Committee Meeting (2001) in Thimpu was not so fruitful and again continued in Kathmandu. The procedure was delayed, because two countries had become disagreed on the procedure of verification.

“The Nepali government proposed to go to the verification through information from head of the family, while the Bhutanese government insisted on varying each adult refugee” (Mathou, 2002). However, UNHCR, secretary, Mrs Sadako Ogata bridged between two countries about verification process. Both countries had been agreed through family head information based on four categorization: Bonafide Bhutanese, if they have been evicted forcefully; Bhutanese who emigrated; Non Bhutanese people; and Bhutanese

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<sup>13</sup> See for details, C.L., ‘Option for peaceful Bhutan’, Hari Prasad Adhikari, ‘Sons of soil in Southern Bhutan’, in political problem (2003), edited by R.B. Basnet and D.N.S, Dhakal. Also, Rijal (2004), P.22.

who have committed criminal acts. After spending a lot of time on these and other procedural steps, the verification started on 26 March 2001 in the Khudunabari refugee camp. The verification work of 3' 158 families of 11,182 refugees was completed by December of the same year, but it took another six months to declare the results. The results were quite unexpected and condemned outright by the refugee community as being biased, unfair and arbitrary. They criticised the result as evil design, verified refugees and family units demonstrated that autocratic regime of Bhutan. Although the result admitted that about 76 percent of the refugees were Bhutanese citizens, only 2.5 percent were considered were forcefully evicted. The rest 70.5 percent had "voluntarily" emigrated and 2.8 percent had criminal records. Obviously, the liberal interpretation of category I, earlier agreed by Bhutan, that refugees who were "made to leave Bhutan under compelling circumstances" were not classified under category I (Mahat, 2005:261 and Rizal, 2004:66). There were critical reasons behind the failure of JVT's results and evil design of denationalization which are mentioned below:

Represented by the same officials who were involved in the 1988 controversial population census: The Bhutan side was represented in the JVT by the same officials who were involved in the 1988 controversial population census of Bhutan, which had arbitrarily denationalized a large number of Lhotshampas (Southern Bhutanese). (Mahat, 2005). There existed a clear conflict of interest on the part of verification team;

Non-involvement of third party: The verification process did not involve any representation from the refugee community—real victims, nor the representatives of an independent third party, such as the UNHCR. No objection from Nepal's government side: the Nepali government made an objection to this in the interest of pushing the process forward.

Arbitrary categorization and fake definition about voluntary migration or voluntary emigration: From various quarters, protests were started against JVT's result and mass appeals were submitted against the arbitrary categorisation. Then the news came that Bhutan had agreed news to take back all the refugees including those who, in its version, had emigrated "voluntarily" but voluntary emigration' word itself was not clearly defined. In this concern Dr. Mahat, remarked that the universally accepted principals for refugee repatriation are honour, safety, and dignity, and it was not clear whether Bhutan was ready to accept these refugees under such conditions. The JMC was silent on the issue.

The truth however, is that they did never ask for “voluntary emigration” form Bhutan, rather they were coerced to sign documents and papers saying that they were voluntarily migrating from Bhutan under gun-point. “Eviction was legitimised with the introduction of so called voluntary migration form (VMF). This form was printed in Dzongkha language. As the Lhotshampas couldn’t read these form they did not understand the content of the forms most of them did not even know that they did not understand the contents of the forms most of them did not even know that they were voluntarily enouncing their citizenship of Bhutan. “Many people were coerced (under threat of arrest, direct physical abuse, intimidation, torture and harassment) to sign papers renouncing their land and citizenship, stating they were leaving voluntarily. The concept of voluntary emigrant is no way compatible with the reports of violence, summary arrest, vandalism of property and general intimidation. The bogey of “voluntary migration” is also a conspiracy of the government of forcefully evicting the Lhotshampas” (Lutheran World Federation, 1995 and Acharya, 2005:1).

Meanwhile, Bhutan had adroitly persuaded the Nepali delegation during the Fourteenth JMC, after the Royal takeover on 4 October, 2002, into considering Nepali citizenship for those Bhutanese who were not willing to return to Bhutan which was against existing constitutional controversy in Nepal. This was clearly a deviation from the position Nepal had taken earlier that problem would be addressed separately as an international humanitarian issue. It is clear that in order to take as few refugees as possible, Bhutan was playing a ‘push game’ in Bhutan and persuading Nepal to create ‘pull’ factor.

The refugees who were under category II had reapply for citizenship. They would have to remain in the transitional shelters for two years during which they had to give evidences of their ‘good conduct ‘ and their children would have to learn the Dzongkha language. During this period government would not bear any responsibility for these people and only the head of the family would be allowed to work. As for those facing criminal charges in Bhutan, they would have to remain in police custody until the time the acquitted or convicted them. All these conditions were stated in an abusive and provocative manner, the refugees were enraged. Their hope of returning home after a long patient wait was being dashed again.

**No evidences of an atmosphere conducive to receiving in inside Bhutan:** Bhutan indicated that there were on acceptable atmosphere to recovering the refugee. On the

contrary, a push factor was clearly being created. First, the government had already launched a resettlement programme on the land and property of the Lhotshampa refugees. The surprising event was that while the JVT from Bhutan was taking a very slow space with verification process for Bhutanese refugees on the one hand, the Bhutanese government was speeding its resettlement of its eastern population in Southern Bhutan where the ethnic Bhutanese were forcefully evicted on the other. "There is question then as to where these refugees will go even if they do return to Bhutan as their homes have been demolished"(Chandrasekhar 2002, {<http://.saag.org/notes 2, 33.html> retrieved on 10<sup>th</sup> August, 2002, cited in Gurung Thapa, October 2002:35-36). The refugees could neither return to their homes nor get back their landed property. Second, Bhutan was not willing to accept the presence of UNHCR or any international humanitarian or human rights organization to support and oversee the repatriation process to ensure that minimum humanitarian conditions were met. Third, a strong public opinion was being built inside Bhutan against accepting the refugees. While India government is not showing much concern and the Nepali government is also pre-occupied with the Maoist problem, the refugees have asked for help from the international community. UNHCR involvement is seen necessary in this regard. As a result of demonstration against JVT process programme are still deadlock. 30 percent assistance cut up by UNHCR and its partners and refugees are in position of endless problem. They are being physical, psychological, financial, educational and social problem on the one hand and Nepal has burdened of population pressure along with job displacement and social problem as host country. Thus, combine theories are applicable for Bhutanese refugees.

### **2.3.2.5 Reasons for long impasse**

Efforts toward finding a negotiated settlement to facilitate their early repatriation to Bhutan have not yet succeeded. Bhutan's insistence on treating the issue as a purely bilateral matter has meant that the involvement of international community in mediating a mutually agreeable solution to this serious humanitarian problem has limited. With this, many reasons are there which are mentioned below.

#### **2.3.2.5.1 Delaying Tactics of Bhutan government**

Delaying tactics is the main cause of this impasse. Bhutan has obviously employed delaying tactics to avoid the formation of a verification committee (Chhetri, 200). If the verification process is conducted in Bhutan's government idea, then more than half of the

refugee will be disqualified for returning to their home. For instance, Bhutanese children under five years age, who were evicted along with their parents (those below 20 years of age now) before 1995, will not find their names recorded in the cases of Bhutan, and hence are automatically disqualified if refugees are individually verified to return their home.

“The number of refugee in this age group is quite high. Over 17,000 have been born in the camps and they will also be disqualified. Refugee will get justice, only if they are identified through their family head” (Chhetri, 2000). Furthermore, “spot light” the magazine has also stressed on time buying of Bhutanese, which has made several rounds of talks fruitless whether at the Ministerial level of bureaucratic level (Spotlight, 2000). “Delaying tactics is one part of Bhutan to avoid the formation of verification [process] and repatriation steps (Yogi, 2001).

#### **2.3.2.5.2 Reluctance of international community**

The reluctance of the international community to become involved in this Bhutanese refugee problem also contributes to this impasse. The refugee is only likely to be able to return when the international community makes it happen. The right to return is claimed on the basis that an individual’s attachment and allegiance to a particular territory in which he she was born is a basic human right as per international norms. The international community is now more aware of this refugee situation, Bhutan’s motives and delaying tactics and appreciates Nepal’s efforts to deal with the situation. “A document issued by the Bhutan Ministry of Home affair in 1993 stated that, “the Royal Government of Bhutan is fully committed to respecting all human rights, including civil and political right” (Martensen cited in Grenier and Davis, 2000). So, if the Bhutanese government refuses to acknowledge its responsibility for those in the camps and “to pledge their support for an internationally monitored process verifying the origin of the refugee’ thousands of people are potentially stateless” (Grenier and Davis, 2000:5).

#### **2.3.2.5.3 Determination and willingness**

Willingness and real determination from the Bhutan side is necessary for solving the refugees’ problem. Bhutan needs to agree to take back its citizen, who is languishingly fifteen years long in several camps in the eastern Nepal. Nepal can only request, it cannot be force Bhutan to take back in its citizens. Consequences have been happened that many



refugees have filtered into different cities and villages in search of better life than the refugee camps. However, several rounds of talks have not been able to solve the verification process in these fifteen years long. Bhutan is buying time and making the process painfully slow. The main reason lies in Bhutan's determination to not allow the refugees back home.

#### **2.2.2.6 An overview of refugee in global perspective**

According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, the World Refugee refers to uprooted, homeless, involuntary migrant who have crossed a frontier and no longer possess the protection of their Government. Similarly, the Oxford dictionary defines a refugee as "A person who has been forced to leave his country home etc and seek refuge, especially from political or religious persecution". Pursuant to the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, a refugee is a person who, owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social; group or political opinion, and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself refugee person fleeing their country because their life security or their freedom are threatened by widespread violence, foreign human rights violation or any other circumstances seriously disrupting public order" (World Migration, 2003:10). Those people who are for objective or subjective reason has to leave their country or is expatriated by force are called refugees (Encyclopaedia of the U.N). As 'Refugees' as a person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality and membership if particular social ethnic or political opinion leaves the country of nationality (The UN Official definition).

The first major movement of refugee in modern African history took place during Algeria's war of independence in 1950's, where seven hundred thousand of people fled to neighbouring countries namely Tunisia and Morocco and majority of them spent several years in exile. The UNHCR established its first African office in Cairo to help their civilians in this first continent crisis and through subsequent decade, women and children became the main victims. Such responsibility had taken by IRO before the UNHR. Concerning the refugee problems, the UNHCR meeting was held on first of January, 1951 in Geneva and then renewed office and operational programmes based on the basis of an international convention was sign on July 1951 in Geneva (Refugee Watch, 1996).

### **2.3.2.7 Ethnic heterogeneity, Cultural variation and making of Bhutanese Refugee as Forced Immigrants in Nepal**

“Refugee as concept and practice is related to forcible eviction of people due to war, persecution, repression or natural calamities, and variety conflicts. Bhutanese refugees were evicted following the imposition of citizenship law and other measures that were unpalatable to the Bhutanese Nepalese. The legal, political and cultural aspects had created psychological torture to the Lhotshampas (Southern Bhutanese) forcing them to leave until a congenial atmosphere was created” (Baral, 2003).

The Bhutanese people have become refugee in Nepal because of their demand for protection of ethnic and cultural right in the kingdom of Bhutan. The psychological theory was applied to the southern Bhutanese. Thus, following points were being the main causes for making refugees: Persecution, repression or natural calamities, war and variety of conflicts.

#### **2.3.2.2.8 Making of refugees:**

##### **Ethnic people and ethnical problem in Bhutan:**

Bhutan is a nation of immigrants who arrived there from all directions at different points of time in history. It is a multi-ethnic, multi-religions, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic country. However, the government argues that “pluralism is only practice for a larger country where a diversity of costumes, tradition and culture enriches that nation. A small country Bhutan cannot afford the luxury of such diversity which may impede the growth social harmony and unity among its people”. This reveals the government intolerance of the diversity and Multi-cultural character of its society (Rizal, 2004:2). Bhutanese refugees are thus the product and victims of this conception and ill-conceived policy measures of the government. There are three main ethnic, religious and linguistic groups: Ngalongs, Sarchops and Nepalese-Speaking Lhotshampas.

##### **NGALONGS:**

The Ngalongs, who inhabit the north western region of the country, comprises around 16% of the total population. They are the ruling group who control the government and dominate the economy and are the politically and economically dominant ethnic groups. They belong to the Tibetan ancestry and migrated from in early seventieth century, fleeing political and religious persecution and they speak Dzongkha language, which is

derived from Tibetan script Choeki. The Ngalongs follow the Drukpa Karga sect. of Mahayana Buddhism. They spread over six northern districts.

### **SHARCHOPS:**

The Sharchops are predominately settled in eastern and central regions and they constitute around 37% of the total population. They speak Tsangla language which is not recognised given official recognition by the government. They migrated from north-eastern India and follow Nyingmapa sect. of Mahayana Buddhism and belong to Tibet-Bur man stock. Due to extreme poverty, thousands of Sarchops had to flee from their homesteads in 1950s and 1960s took shelter in adjoining Arunchal and Meghalaya state in India. Many monks and religious teachers/scholars from the Sarchop community were forced leave the country due to religious persecution from the Ngalong religious establishment (Rizal, 2004, reported by Hari Prasad Adhikari, April 18, 2005). They are in exile, majority of them in Nepal and India.

### **Nepali-Speaking Lhotshampas:**

The Nepali-Speaking Bhutanese citizens are officially called Lhotshampas of southern Bhutanese. Lhotshampas literally mean 'those living in south'. They primarily inhabit the whole southern foothill districts stretching from Jaldhaka River in Samchi district in the west to the Dhansari River in Samdrap district in the east, between longitudes 88° 45' east and 92° 10' stretches around 300 kilometres in length. They comprise 46% of the total population, including approximately 135,000 refugees in India and Nepal. They speak Nepali language, which overshadow ethnic boundaries, spoken widely throughout the kingdom (Rizal, HRCB, 2003).

As elsewhere in the world, many coercive factors such as internal repression, ethnic, religious, psychology of fear and hope plus other pressing problems had made the Nepalese flee their country of residence. As "one of the Bhutanese expatriates, D.N.S Dhakal, who is also the general secretary of the Bhutanese National Democratic Party (in exile, has thus stated the forced condition before they left country). The Bhutanese people have become refugee in Nepal because of their demand for the protection of ethnic and cultural right in the kingdom of Bhutan. The public protest in 1990 was for the restoration of teaching of Nepali, practice of Nepali culture and establishment of basic human rights as enriched in 1948 UN declaration.

### **Citizenship Act:**

The 1958 citizenship act that was revived in 1980s and all citizens were issued with citizenship identity cards in 1981 Census. However, in 1985, the king suddenly commanded the then active chief justice (his cousin) to amend the citizenship Act 1958. The king did not consult the member of his cabinet for such an important decision. The amended ACT was brought into the national Assembly to complete the formality. The national Assembly members from southern Bhutanese strongly objected the provision of the Act. But, despite their objection, the citizenship Act was currently adopted by the government without the consult of the national Assembly members from southern Bhutan. The Act was forcibly implemented in 1988, targeting against the Lhotshampas only.

District Plans of Citizens Act 1985 were designed to reduce the southern Bhutanese population by at least one hundred thousand, through the introduction of various manipulative policies and legal measures. “The strategy adopted was to enact new legislation and the political conspiracy was to create fake immigrants and get rid them”. (HRCB, NOV, 25, 2003). The psychological theory of immediacy had been advanced by Bhutanese government to invoking fear in the minds of the Nepalese but one of the important points propagated and spread by the Bhutanese side was the fear of the second “Sikkimization” i.e. outnumbering of the traditional Drukpa population by the Nepalese and also of destination of the traditional culture and language by the spread of Nepali Hindu religion and culture in Bhutan (Baral, L.k., 2003:3). Thus, the ethnic conflicts invites scheme which creates refugees as forced migrants and displaced people from their residing place.

### **Marriage Act:**

Marriage Act was also enacted in 1980 and was forcibly implemented in 1988 to especially target to Lhotshampas. The discriminatory law imposes a number of denial of benefits such as the Lhotshampas who married non-Bhutanese wives did not have the right to stand for election to National Assembly, were denied promotion in civil services, medical treatment abroad and foreign service and Armed force which reduced the Lhotshampas citizens and forced to become refugees.

### **2.3.2.9 A brief history about relationship between Nepal and Bhutan:**

Based on the historical records, Lhotshampas have traced their history of migration to Bhutan to 1624 A.D., the year that formalised the settlement reached between Shabdrung Nawang Namgal, the Dharma Raja of Bhutan and counterpart, then contemporary, Raja Ram Shah of Gorkha, Nepal. In 1624, Shabdrung Ngaway Naggel, then monk's ruler of Bhutan requested the king of Gorkhali in Nepal to dispatch some artisan families to Bhutan as a gesture of good will and co-operation. This was the first official transfer of Nepali-Speaking population to Bhutan (Rizal, T.N., 2004:5, HRCB Nov.25, 2003). However, the primary objective of this artisan was construction of fort, teaching better agricultural practices and arts and craft. The oldest monasteries of Bhutan, Kichu in Paro valley and Jambay in Bhutan valley, were constructed with the help artisan from Nepal. The two words 'Dharma and 'Raja' are not rooted in English or Dzongkha language. They are Nepali words 'Dharma' spiritual religious and 'Raja' means King.

The Nepali-Speaking people of Bhutan always used the term Dharma Raja to refer to Shabdrung. This suggests that Dharma Raja to refer to Nepal had a close affinity and strong influence over Bhutanese since the early part of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Historically, Nepalese people Migrated to Bhutan due to following reasons which are given bellow;

1. Based on requested of Dharma Raja of Bhutan to king of Gorkha Ram Shah then some Nepalese artisan/ agriculturist families had begun to migrate to Bhutan since 1624 A.D.
2. Due to share border between and Bhutan and Nepal. Before the Bhutan- British war of 1864-65, Bhutan and Nepal shared a common border. It was the best time for the Nepalese settlers migrated towards the north eastern plain of India including Bhutan, in search of better economics opportunities.
3. Due to open up the inhospitable terrains for organised Nepalese in Bhutan after the war of 1864-65.

After Anglo-Bhutanese wars 1864-65, Bhutan lost around one-third of her fertile territory in the south to British India resulting in substantial revenue deficit to Bhutan (HRCB, Nov. 25, 2003, Michael Hutt, 2003:24). To make up for the huge loss in revenue, Bhutan had no choice but organised migration of Nepali people from Nepal, Sikkim, Darjeeling and the tea estates of present-day west Bengal and Assam in India. Southern Bhutan during 1860/1870 A.D. had to face formidable challenges of timing the hostile and

inhospitable terrain and eastern southern part of Bhutan was totally uninhabited and was covered with dense forest. There was no international border between British India and Bhutan and had little significance that was unexploited physical resources had to be tapped by capable Nepalese human hand that Nepali settlers migrated into Bhutan. This concluded that Lhotshampas had helped to Bhutanese state to extend her boundaries as well.

#### **2.3.2.10 The Arrival of Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal:**

Nepal is a large influx of ethnic Nepali asylum/seekers from Bhutan. Refugees live in seven camps in Jhapa and Morang district of eastern Terai belt. Proportionally, on a per capita basis, Nepal at present hosts more asylum seekers/ refugees than other countries in the South and East Asia region (UNHCR – Nepal Briefing Notes).

The first influx of refugees (individual and whole families) fled to Assam in India in 1990s; the local India authorities refused to provide any assistance and were forced to move on to eastern Nepal. Subsequently, there, was a mass exodus of refugees who arrived in Indian state of west Bengal numbering sometimes 1000 people every day in mid 1992 (Grenier and Davis, 2000). However, they were not given asylum over there, Instead of that; the government of India transported them in truck to areas near Nepal. This responded by India as mentioned earlier, was probably due to the volatile politics of Gorkha' in west Bengal (Pattnaik, (<http://www.idsa.indis.org>)).

According to provided data by the NUCRA, Ministry of Home affairs, HMG, Bhutanese refugees about 102, 263 in 31st December, 2000 and 105098 in 28th Feb. 2000 and 2005). An additional number estimated at “between” 10,000 to 15000 people which were believed to have taken asylum elsewhere in the country. The population number by year would create the demographic burden to Nepal



*Chapter*

# 3

## Structures of International Migration in Nepal

### **3 Introduction**

This chapter covers the whole structures of international migration of Nepal. This basically concerns about countries of destination by age, gender and reasons for migration. Moreover, this measures the causes and consequences of Tibetan refugees in Nepal as forced immigrants. Subsequently, this chapter tries to analyze and measure the causes and consequences of women and girls trafficking as forced returnees' emigrants in the Kathmandu valley which represents the national scenario of women and girls' forced migrants from Nepal to abroad. Finally, this chapter explains the labour migration from Nepal. In this section, inquiries are mostly concerned on the countries of destination, reasons of migration, history of labour migration, characteristics of labour migrants in Nepal and development of institutions of labour migration.

### **3.1 Emigration**

Nepalese manpower have been emigrating temporarily or permanently since the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century leaving behind women, children and old people to take care of agriculture in the rural areas of Nepal. Many reasons cited for this kind of emigration have been forced labour within the country, forced recruitment in the British Army and British-India, indebtedness at home and extreme poverty. Later, the wave of migration to the foreign countries expanded from a few neighbouring countries like India, Burma (Myanmar), Bhutan and Sikkim to many other labour importing countries in South-east, East and Far-east Asia, Middle-east, Europe and North America. Only two continents, Africa and South America remain to be penetrated by the Nepalese. Those Nepalese who had been absent for more than six months from their place of origin in Nepal and were living in the foreign countries increased substantially since the people's revolution for democracy in 1951. The 1952/54 census enumerated 198,130 persons or 2.3 per cent of the total population being absent from the country for more than 6 months and living abroad. Of this absentee population, 97.3 per cent had their original home in the mountain and hill of Nepal. This flow of emigration increased to 328,470 (3.4%) in 1961, 402,977 (2.7%) in 1981, 656,290 (3.7%) in 1991 and 762,181 (3.4%) in 2001. Such a movement during the last 50 years period until 2001 was overwhelmingly destined to India. For example, in 1952/54 census, absentee population from Nepal destined to India constituted 79.4 per cent (157,323/198,130). The proportion of Nepalese going to India increased to 92 per cent (302,162/328,470) in 1961. More than four fifth of this absentee from Nepal remained in four states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and West Bengal.

#### **3.1.1 Population Absent from Households and Destination Abroad by Sex, Nepal, 1981-2001**

In 1981, Nepalese going to India constituted 93.1 per cent (375,196/402,977). The 1991 census recorded 89.2 per cent (587,243/658,290) of the total number of Nepalese emigrants residing in India. The 2001 Nepalese census recorded even larger number of Nepalese emigrants of India (589,050) but the proportion of India bound Nepalese for the first time decreased substantially to 77.3 per cent (589,050/762,181). This was because many Nepalese were bound towards Saudi Arab (8.9%), Qatar (3.2%), United Arab Emirates (1.7%), Hong Kong (1.6%), and Anglo America (1.3%). A huge number of



Nepalese used to reside in India for agricultural labour until the 1971(K.C., 2003:12). The pattern now has changed. For example, personal service, business, institutional service and other reasons accounted for 95 per cent of all reasons, while agriculture merely accounted for less than one per cent (CBS, 2002: Table 13 cited in K.C., 2003:12). Out of the total absent population from Nepal in the 2001 census, males comprised 89.1 per cent and females 10.9 per cent (Table 1). Almost 90 per cent of the total absentees were from rural areas of Nepal and 10.3 per cent were from urban areas. Females from rural areas comprised 85.3 per cent compared to 14.7 per cent from urban areas. About 70 per cent of these absent populations were from the poverty stricken mountain and hill districts in the mid-western and far-western region of Nepal. Private job or personal service alone accounted for 63 per cent of all reasons for absentee. Out of this, 76 per cent were destined for India.

**Table 1:** Population Absent from Households and Destination Abroad by Sex, Nepal, 1981-2001

Description	1981		1991		2001	
	Total No.	%Female	Total No.	%Female	Total No	%Female
<b>Total absent population</b>	402,97	18.0	658,290	16.8	762,181	10.0
to India	375,19	17.0	587,243	16.2	589,050	11.0
to Other countries	27,781	26.0	71,047	21.3	173,131	8.2
<b>Resident population (in 000)</b>	15,022,83	48.0	18,491,097	50.1	22,736,934	50.0
Total absentees as % of residents	2.7	1.0	3.6	1.2	3.4	0.7

Source: CBS, 2002, Gender Disaggregated Indicators, Nepal

The census data gives a much smaller volume of Nepalese emigrants to foreign countries. A recent statistics (April 2003 cited in Ibid) revealed that the number of people who have gone to various countries for employment is much higher than the number enumerated by the 2001 census (Hada, 2003:4). Within the last ten years about 337,319 Nepalese (only 200 females) are said to have already gone to various foreign countries for employment. Out of this total number, 75,885 went to Saudi Arab followed by 45,825 in Qatar, 43,831 in Malaysia, 21,905 in United Arab Emirates, 3,831 in Bahrain, 3,014 in South Korea, 2,668 in Kuwait and 1,566 in Hong Kong. The Nepalese workers in these eight countries constituted 198,525 (Hada, 2003: 4 cites Department of Labour and Employment Promotion (DLEP)). These figures are not comparable to the census figures because the definition of the absentee population is based upon being absent from home from more than six months and living abroad before the census enumeration day. This does not mean that absentees always live in the foreign countries, many of them might have returned

home. Absentees also include housewives, dependants and students who do not work. Since it has already been two years after the census was taken in June of 2001, the additional number of Nepalese workers to these countries might have been much greater. This statistics for six major labour importing countries except Hong Kong and Kuwait (reported less than the census figures) amounts to 77,661 persons. These statistics by the Department of Labour and Employment Promotion add more number of Nepalese workers abroad to the census figures of 2001 such as 37018 in Malaysia, 21428 in Qatar, 9361 in United Arab Emirates, 8425 in Saudi Arab, 1094 in Bahrain and 335 in South Korea. It is likely that there might be many more Nepalese workers going abroad for employment during the last two years. Even if we simply add 337,319 Nepalese foreign workers to the figure of 762,181 absent population enumerated by the 2001 census, the total number would be 1,099,500 persons living abroad. This means that the total number of Nepalese going to various foreign countries for various purposes would be more than one million during the last twelve years (MOPE, 2003).

### **3.1.2 Duration of Absence**

The information on the duration of absence indicates that out of the total absent population from the country (762,181), 53.2 per cent were absent for 1-5 years and the equal proportion were absent at age 15-24 years (Table 2). About 72 per cent of males and 75 per cent of females had emigrated for less than 5 years before the census. Around 15 per cent of both the sexes had been absent for 5-10 years. The age at which Nepalese males and females emigrated concentrated heavily around the age 15-24 and 25-34 years indicating foreign labour migration of these ages. An intriguing point in Table 2 is that the proportion of under age females below 15 years from both rural and urban areas emigrating for less than 5 years either as dependants, students or else needs further examination.

**Table 2:** Percentage Distribution of Absentees by Duration, Rural-Urban, Gender and Age, Nepal, 2001.

Duration of absence	Nepal			Rural			Urban		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
<b>Total absentees</b>	<b>762,181</b>	<b>679,469</b>	<b>82,712</b>	<b>683,668</b>	<b>613,137</b>	<b>70,531</b>	<b>78,513</b>	<b>66,332</b>	<b>12,181</b>
<1 year	19.2	19.6	16.0	19.4	19.8	16.2	16.7	17.1	14.8
1-2 years	32.8	32.5	35.5	33.2	32.9	36.3	29.2	28.9	30.6
3-5 years	20.4	20.0	23.5	19.7	19.5	22.2	26.0	25.0	31.1
6-10 years	13.9	13.8	14.5	13.7	13.7	14.5	14.9	15.0	14.4
11-15 years	4.8	4.9	4.5	4.8	4.9	4.6	4.9	5.1	3.9
16-20 years	4.3	4.4	3.0	4.3	4.4	3.1	4.1	4.3	2.5
20+years	4.7	4.9	3.1	4.7	4.9	3.1	4.2	4.5	2.7
<b>Age of departure</b>									
<15 years	10.4	9.4	19.2	10.9	9.7	20.5	6.9	6.0	11.6
15-24 years	53.4	53.5	52.5	53.7	53.8	52.5	50.9	50.6	52.6
25-34 years	23.9	24.4	20.4	23.5	24.0	19.4	27.7	27.9	26.6
35-44 years	8.3	8.7	5.0	8.1	8.5	4.8	10.3	11.1	6.2
44+ years	3.9	4.0	2.8	3.9	4.0	2.8	4.2	4.4	3.1

Source: Calculated from CBS, 2002, Table 14 reformatted by K.C., 2003:14

### 3.1.3 Populations absent from Nepal and destination of foreign countries by sex, 2001

In the census of 2001, emigration data were collected for a large number of countries of the world. Emigration data is available for 17 individual Asian countries, 3 European countries, and Australia, whereas some of the countries were lumped together such as Russia and other; and USA including Canada and Mexico (Table 3).

In the census of 2001, the total number of emigrant from Nepal has slightly increased from 587243 persons in 1991 to 589050 in 2001; an increase of 1807 persons or 0.3 percent only, and the Nepalese emigrants to India as percent of the total emigrants has gone down from 89.21 percent in 1991 to 77.28 percent in 2001. This indicates the increasing trend of emigration of Nepalese beyond India to other countries. The second largest destination of the Nepalese emigrants was Saudi Arabia, which accounted for 8.85 percent of the total emigrants followed by Qatar and United Arab Emirates. The total number of Nepalese emigrants to Gulf countries including other countries like Kuwait, UAE and Bahrain accounted for 16 percent of the total. Hong Kong is the fourth largest destination of the Nepalese emigrants followed by Japan, Korea and China and the Nepalese emigrants to these East Asian countries together accounted for 2.83 percent of the total emigrants (Table 3). Malaysia represents the six largest destinations of Nepalese

emigrants and the UK represents the fifth largest destination (Population Census of Nepal, 2001).

**Table 3:** Populations absent from Nepal and destination of foreign countries by sex 2001

Countries	Total	Percent	Male	Percent	Female	Percent
<b>Nepal</b>	<b>762181</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>679469</b>	<b>89.15</b>	<b>82712</b>	<b>10.85</b>
India	589050	77.28	520500	88.4	68550	11.6
Pakistan	552	0.09	466	84.4	92	11.6
Bangladesh	952	0.12	784	82.4	168	11.6
Bhutan	610	0.10	511	83.8	99	16.2
Sri Lanka	201	0.03	176	87.6	25	12.4
Maldives	370	0.06	334	90.3	36	9.7
China	1354	0.18	1018	75.2	336	24.8
Korea	2679	0.45	2433	90.8	246	9.2
Russia and others	747	0.10	633	84.7	114	15.3
Japan	3726	0.63	3087	82.9	639	17.1
Hong Kong	12001	1.57	8143	67.9	3858	32.1
Singapore	3363	0.44	2679	79.7	684	20.3
Malaysia	6813	0.89	6742	99.0	71	1.0
Australia	2491	0.42	1991	79.9	500	20.1
Saudi Arabia	67460	8.85	66629	98.8	831	1.2
Qatar	24397	4.14	24208	99.2	189	0.8
Kuwait	3688	0.48	3044	82.5	644	17.5
United Arab Emirates	12544	2.13	12298	98.0	246	2.0
Bahrain	2737	0.36	2616	95.6	121	4.4
Other Asian countries	3849	0.65	3130	81.3	719	18.7
United Kingdom	7221	0.95	5997	83.0	1274	17.0
Germany	1638	0.28	1420	86.7	218	13.3
France	250	0.03	197	78.8	53	21.2
Other European Countries	1998	0.34	1640	82.1	358	17.9
USA, Canada and Mexico	9557	1.25	7227	75.6	2330	24.4
Other Countries	1877	0.32	1566	83.4	311	16.6

Source: Population Census of Nepal 2001, reformatted by Kanskar, 2003, Nepal Population Monograph, Vol. II, p11.

### **3.1.4 Distribution of Population absent from Nepal by countries of destination and by reasons for absence 2001**

The census data on population absent from Nepal and gone abroad in 2001 and the reason for absence indicated 66.4 percent engaged in personal service followed by institutional service (12.4%), study/training (4.2%), marriage (1.9%), business (1.6%) and agriculture (1.00%). All the persons engaged in agriculture are confined to India only (Table 4) of the total Nepalese emigrants abroad engaged in different activities, all the total in agriculture, 89.9 percent of the total in business, 76.5 of the total in personal services, 73.3 percent in institutional services, 60.9 percent of the total in study/training, 90.6 percent of the total

in marriage and 87.7 percent of the total in other activities have their destination in India (Table 4). Among the individual countries, the largest number of Nepalese emigrants involve in study and training are in Australia/New Zealand, USA, Russia and others, and Bangladesh. In most of the other countries, overwhelming proportion of the Nepalese emigrants is engaged in personal and institutional services. Significant number of Nepalese emigrants to China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Japan, Singapore, UK, Germany, and France are engaged in study/training.

**Table 4:** Distribution of Population absent from Nepal by countries of destination and by reasons for absence 2001

Country of destination	Reasons for absence							
	Total	Agriculture	Business	Personal service	Institutional service	Study/training	Marriage	Others
Total	762181	7763	12050	506221	94329	31747	14101	95970
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
India	589050	7793	10832	385062	69102	19337	12772	84182
	77.28	100.0	89.89	76.07	73.26	60.91	90.58	87.72
Pakistan	558	0	66	211	41	160	12	68
	0.07		0.54	0.04	0.04	0.50	0.08	0.07
Bangladesh	952	0	40	277	71	411	14	137
	0.12		0.33	0.05	0.08	1.29	0.10	0.14
Bhutan	610	0	28	328	71	33	15	135
	0.08		0.23	0.06	0.08	0.10	0.11	0.14
Sri Lanka	201	0	7	88	22	50	6	28
	0.03		0.01	0.02	0.01	0.16	0.04	0.03
Maldives	370	0	8	268	46	7	9	32
	0.05		0.01	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.03
China	1354	0	44	587	154	382	16	171
	0.18		0.37	0.12	0.16	1.20	0.11	0.18
Korea	2679	0	28	1990	462	83	16	100
	0.35		0.23	0.39	0.49	0.26	0.11	0.10
Russia and Others	747	0	12	142	53	330	11	199
	0.10		0.10	0.03	0.06	1.04	0.08	0.21
Japan	3726	0	88	2172	492	585	97	292
	0.49		0.73	0.43	0.52	1.84	0.69	0.30
Hong Kong	12001	0	111	8249	1902	331	224	1184
	1.57		0.92	1.63	2.02	1.04	1.59	1.23
Singapore	3363	0	30	1249	1044	347	145	548
	0.44		0.25	0.05	1.00	1.09	1.03	0.57
Malaysia	6813	0	18	5521	892	37	5	340
	0.89		0.15	1.09	0.95	0.12	0.03	0.35
Australia	2491	0	20	579	176	1487	62	167
	0.33		0.16	0.11	0.19	4.68	0.44	0.17
Saudi Arabia	97460	0	123	54902	8907	56	18	3454
	8.85		1.02	10.85	9.44	0.18	0.13	3.60
Qatar	24397	0	38	19728	3351	17	4	1259
	3.20		0.31	3.90	3.55	0.05	0.03	1.31
Kuwait	3688	0	4	2957	543	4	2	178
	0.48		0.03	0.58	0.58	0.01	0.01	0.19
RAE	12544	0	28	9963	1932	50	10	561
	1.65		0.23	1.91	2.05	0.16	0.07	0.59
Bahrain	2737	0	6	2180	421	9	2	119

	0.36		0.05	0.43	0.45	0.03	0.01	0.12
Other Asian Countries	3849	0	70	1947	917	453	79	383
	0.50		0.58	0.38	0.97	1.43	0.56	0.40
UK	7271	0	101	2513	2088	1613	200	738
	0.95		0.84	0.50	2.21	5.14	1.42	0.77
Germany	1638	0	37	948	207	262	28	156
	0.21		0.31	0.19	0.22	0.83	0.20	0.16
France	250	0	9	86	26	75	9	45
	0.03		0.07	0.02	0.03	0.24	0.06	0.05
Other European countries	1998	0	35	892	339	504	56	172
	0.26		0.29	0.18	0.36	1.59	0.40	0.18
USA, Canada & Mexico	9557	0	238	2482	770	4930	261	876
	1.25		1.98	0.49	0.82	15.53	1.42	0.91
Other Countries	444	0	1877	29	900	300	176	28
	0.06		15.58	0.0	0.95	0.94	1.25	0.03

Source: Population Census of Nepal 2001

### **3.1.5 Percentage distribution of absentee population by reasons and by sex, 1991**

The 1991 Nepali census recorded a much larger volume of absentee population abroad. Of the total of 658,290 absentees, 587,243 or 89.2 percent went to India (Table-5). Among the total absentees, 548,002 were males, 70 percent went broad for employment, 90 percent were in India, and 14.6 percent were dependents (Figure – 1).

**Table 5:** Percentage distribution of absentee population by reason and by sex, 1991

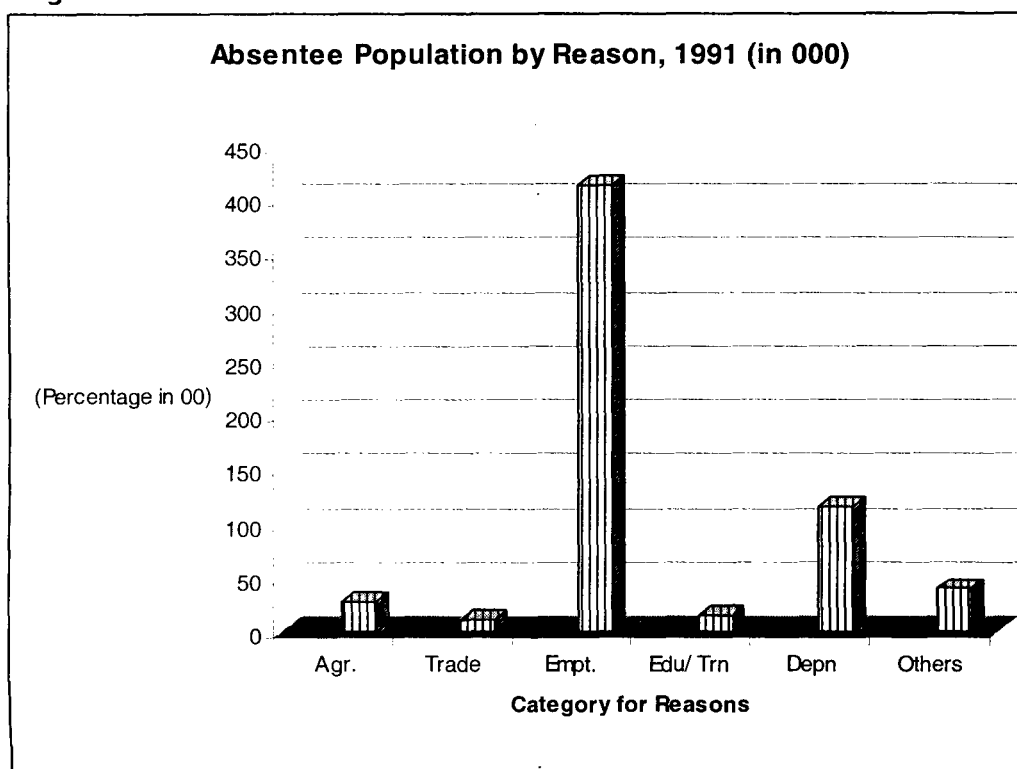
Reason for absence	Total	%	India	%	South Asia	Other Asia	Arab countries	Europe	North America	Other
<b>Both sexes</b>	<b>658,290</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>587,243</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4,799</b>	<b>20,024</b>	<b>6,345</b>	<b>6,404</b>	<b>2,150</b>	<b>581</b>
Agriculture	27,781	4.2	27,718	4.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	11,287	1.7	9,719	1.7	236	824	104	142	44	10
Employment	412,803	62.7	388,169	66.1	2,172	9,693	5,215	2,675	435	188
Edu/Train	14,990	2.3	11,386	1.9	420	879	83	1,043	870	88
Dependency	115,836	17.6	99,980	17.0	1,228	3,903	649	1,725	579	311
Others	39,933	6.1	32,210	5.5	636	2,645	182	575	150	35
Not stated	35,560	5.4	16,998	2.9	285	2,080	112	244	72	19
<b>Male</b>	<b>548,002</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>492,079</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,652</b>	<b>16,364</b>	<b>5,951</b>	<b>4,581</b>	<b>1,484</b>	<b>445</b>
Agriculture	22,495	4.1	22,495	3.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	8,861	1.6	7,561	1.3	159	731	93	90	30	9
Employment	382,855	69.9	360,388	61.4	1,880	8,755	5,101	2,394	328	103
Edu/Train	12,156	2.2	9,302	1.6	330	728	67	845	653	66
Dependency	80,039	14.6	70,111	11.9	700	2,559	438	944	353	234
Others	14,799	2.7	10,136	1.7	376	1,832	153	193	77	24
Not stated	26,797	4.9	12,128	2.1	207	1,759	99	115	43	9
<b>Female</b>	<b>110,288</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>95,164</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,325</b>	<b>3,660</b>	<b>394</b>	<b>1,823</b>	<b>666</b>	<b>136</b>
Agriculture	5,386	4.9	5,286	5.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	2,526	2.3	2,203	2.3	77	93	11	52	14	1
Employment	29,948	27.2	27,781	29.2	292	938	114	281	107	15
Edu/Train	2,834	2.6	2,084	2.2	90	151	16	198	217	22
Dependency	35,797	32.5	29,866	31.4	528	244	211	781	226	77
Others	25,134	22.8	23,074	24.2	260	813	29	382	73	11
Not stated	8,763	7.9	4,870	5.1	78	321	13	129	29	10

Source: CBS (1994b), Vol. II, Table 5

Almost one third of the females were absent as dependents and 27.2 percent were absent from the county for employment. The number of absentees going to other countries were 4,977 to South Asia, 20,024 to other Asian countries, 6,345 to Arab countries, 6,404 to Europe, 2,150 to North America, 581 to other countries, and 30,566 were instated.

Over 73 percent of the total absentee population had been in the foreign countries for 10 years of less and 58.6 percent were abroad for 5 years or less. About 74 percent of the absentees in India were residing there for less than 11 years. Nepalese emigration to other countries started increasing from the early eighties and most emigrants had been absent or less than 6 years in 1991. Only one fourth of the emigrants had been away longer than 10 years. Short-term migrants are likely to come home after some economic gain in the foreign country.

Figure - 1



### 3.1.6 Immigration

#### 3.1.6.1 Foreign Born Population

The 1981 census recorded 234,039 persons as foreign-born population residing in Nepal. There has been a dramatic increase in the foreign-born population from 439,844 in 1991 to 608,092 in 2001 constituting 2.4 and 2.7 per cent of the total population of Nepal respectively (Table 6). It should be noted that the total population of Nepal includes native-born (22,128,842) and foreign-born (608,092). Out of the total foreign born, 96 per cent were India born. Nepalese and foreign citizens residing in Nepal also constitutes the total population of Nepal. In this sense, Nepal had 22,620,363 Nepalese citizens and 116,571 foreign citizens in the 2001 census. An overwhelming majority of 84.37 per cent of the total foreign-born population in Nepal have resided in the Tarai and the rest in the mountain hill of Nepal. Among the foreign born, females comprised of almost 70 per cent (K.C., 2003:15).



**Table 6: Foreign born population by sex and age groups, Nepal, 1981-2001**

Age Group	1981		1991		2001	
	Total No.	%Female	Total No.	%Female	Total No.	%Female
<b>Total foreign born</b>						
0-14	20,749	50.5	51,883	50.5	64,633	49.0
15-59	193,143	71.8	34,835	75.2	489,500	72.0
60+	20,147	66.5	39,249	70.4	53,959	71.0
All ages	234,039	69.4	439,48	71.9	608,092	69.0
<b>Born in India</b>						
0-14	18,364	50.9	46,431	50.6	59,623	49.0
15-59	184,439	73.0	334,90	76.2	472,217	73.0
60+	19,475	67.1	37,651	71.4	51,760	72.0
All ages	222,278	70.6	418,98	72.9	583,600	70.0

Source: CBS, 2002, Gender Disaggregated Indicators, Nepal.

The major reasons for the foreign born population residing in Nepal were stated as marriage (46%), business (8.4%), service (6.1%), agriculture (4.8%), study (4.5%), and other unspecified reason (30.2%). About 94 per cent of the marriage migrations are concentrated in the Tarai (CBS, 2002: Table 6). Further, 50.3 per cent of the foreign born population has been residing in Nepal for more than 10 years followed by 22.7 per cent for 6-10 years, 24.2 per cent for 1-5 years and 2.9 per cent for less than one year (CBS, 2002: Table 2). The Tarai zone alone constitutes 89.8 per cent of the foreign born residing in Nepal for more than 10 years. The census does not capture the floating population, however.

In 1991, 33 designated urban areas of Nepal possessed 86,465 foreign born population. This constituted 19.7 (864, 65/439,844) per cent of the total foreign-born population in 1991. However, the share of the foreign born population in the urban areas in 2001 constituted 23.5 (142,775/608,092) per cent of the total for Nepal. Almost 5 per cent (142,775/322, 7879) of the urban population growth of Nepal can be attributed to this increasing foreign-born population. This also constitutes 17.2 per cent (142,775/746,285 VDC+81, 425 M = 827,710) of the total urban migrants in Nepal (K.C, 2003:15).

### 3.1.6.2 Foreign Citizens

The 1961 census reported 110,061 foreign citizens in Nepal. Indian citizens constituted 69.3 per cent. In 1971, Indian citizens constituted 94.4 per cent of the total of 136,477 foreign citizens in Nepal. But in 1991, the number of foreign citizens decreased to 90,427 persons. Out of this 75.7 per cent were India citizens. In urban areas only there were

32,435 foreign citizens and 81.7 per cent of them were Indian citizens. Foreign citizens living in the urban areas in 1991 constituted 35.9 per cent of the total foreign citizens in the country. In 2001, the number of foreign citizens was 116,571 of which 90 per cent were Indian citizens.

Why do foreign nationals obtain employment opportunity, education and social security in Nepal and its own citizens are deprived of the same to force them to emigrate for the same purpose foreign nationals are immigrating (See KC, 1998 cited in K.C., 2003:16). We just do not know enough. It is estimated that more than one million Nepalese have migrated to India, Gulf and other countries and a substantial amount of about US\$ 920 million is being remitted to Nepal through official and unofficial channels.

Majority of international migrants in Nepal are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work in trade and service by displacing native workers. Immigrants have strong hold in the commercial and industrial sector due to their better networking and investment strategy. A large number of immigrants also work as vendors, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, tailor and barbers in urban areas. On the contrary, Nepalese in India have a limited capacity to compete with Indians in a relative more advanced Indian economic system. Another vital component of Indians being absorbed in the Nepalese economy is such that they are easily acculturated in the Nepalese cultural environments while the majority of hill emigrants to India are different in their culture and language.

### **3.1.6.3 Immigration versus Emigration**

On the basis of available census data on migration data of 2001 based on foreign citizens in Nepal and population absent abroad comparison between Nepal and foreign countries can be made. The comparison has been made between Nepal and visa required countries (excluding India) indicated emigration exceeding immigration at the national level by 159028 persons (Table-7). The countries having more of their nationals in Nepal than Nepalese in their countries were China, Pakistan, and Bhutan, while in other countries and regions, there was more Nepalese than citizens of these countries in Nepal.

**Table 7:** International migration to and from Nepal 2001 (including passport and visa required countries only)

Countries	Foreigners in Nepal	%	Nepalese Abroad	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>14103</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>173131</b>	<b>100.0</b>
China	1344	9.53	1354	0.78
Pakistan	2628	18.63	558	0.32
Bangladesh	79	0.56	952	0.55
Bhutan	3827	27.14	610	0.35
Sri Lanka	89	0.63	201	0.12
Maldives	77	0.55	370	0.12
Other countries in Asia	3777	26.78	143257	82.74
European Countries	708	5.02	11904	6.88
North American Countries	628	4.45	9557*	5.52
South American Countries	348	2.47		
African Countries	293	2.08		
Australia/New Zealand	307	2.18	2491**	1.44
Other countries			1877	1.08

Source: CBS, 2003, Population Monograph of Nepal, Volume II, Table 14.23, p116

Note: \* Including USA, Canada and Mexico only

\*\*Includes Australia only

The census data since 1961 indicate that immigration into Nepal is on increase with immigrants from different countries of the world. The largest number of immigrants into Nepal is from India. Similarly, largest number of Nepalese has also their destination in India. However, the destination and magnitude of emigration from Nepal is increasing in the countries beyond India and has been the result of demand for labour in the oil rich West Asian countries, developed and developing countries of East and South East Asia as well as in developed countries of Europe, Australia and North America. Emigration from Nepal has been characterized by both brain and drain and foreign labour migration has emerged as the major source of earning for the migrant households and the nation.

The population census of Nepal is characterized by lack of consistent plans and policies relating to quality and importance of population data and other data relating to international migration. The frequent changes in census schedules and definition on migration both internal and international has not only resulted in the poor quality and unreliability of migration data for qualitative analysis, and understanding the trend, magnitude and implication of migration particularly the international migration to formulate any pragmatic policy on international migration. The need of consistency, continuity, coordination and monitoring of the data collection has become very urgent in Nepal particularly in relation to international migration.

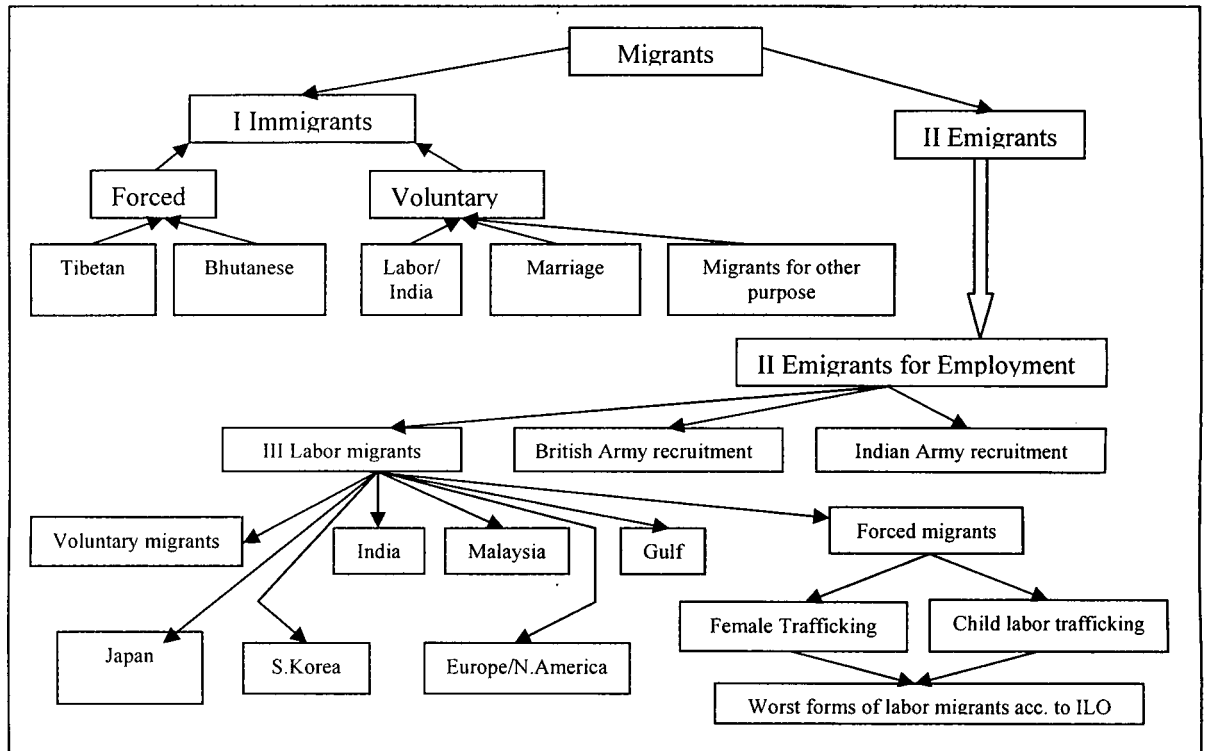
Structures of international migration of Nepal are focused on two components namely emigration and immigration. People who emigrate abroad are called emigrants. Emigrants

are further categorized into three sections; labour migrants, British Armed force and Indian Armed force. The destination of labour migrants from Nepal, have been accelerated as voluntary and involuntary migrants and they have attempted to go abroad dimensionally from South and South Asian countries to European, Arabian and American countries. But mostly, worst forms of labour migrants go to India and Gulf countries. Those migrants who go to the Japan, South Korea, European and American countries have to pay more money to the concerned agencies. They might be either documented or undocumented migrants. But such migrants mostly used to go abroad through personal channel approach and net-working approach than that of the authorized approach.

Migrants who go to Japan Korea, Europe, America and Hong Kong send back more remittances than the other migrants who go to Asian and Arabian countries. In regards to immigrants, there are also two types of immigrants: forced and voluntary. Tibetan and Bhutanese refugees in Nepal are considered as forced immigrants. Labour migration from India to Nepal, immigrants who immigrated through marriage process and other purposes are included in the voluntary migrants.

As an example of immigrants, Bhutanese refugee is extensively elaborated by using secondary and primary resource (see chapter V). Similarly, Tibetan refugee is also explained mostly through secondary source of information. As a case of voluntary emigrants, the British Armed returnees and women and girls trafficking are extensively presented through both primary and secondary source (see chapter III and IV). Remained, other types of migration have been discussed based on census and other reliable sources of information due to time and money constrain (See Diagram – 1 for structures).

**Diagram-1 Flow Chart of International Migration (Nepal)**



# Administrative Map of Nepal

Map 3.2 Locational place of Tibetan Refugee, (Nepal)

## LEGEND

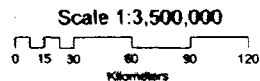
International Boundary  
 District Boundary



mustang  
 humla  
 sindupalchok (kodari tatopani)  
 namchi bazaar  
 waolam chung gola

Index	Population Size
●	4000-5000
●	1000-1500
●	500-1000
●	200-500
●	Less than 200

Base Map: Topographical Zonal Map (1:250,000), Department of Survey, 1968



## **3.2 Issues on Tibetan Refugees in Nepal: Causes and Consequences**

### **3.2.1 Introduction**

The escape of Dalai Lama XIV from Tibet in 1959 and formation of Tibetan administration-in-exile by him in India marked a turning point in the history of Tibet. Thousands of Tibetans followed him and began to arrive in Nepal, Sikkim, India and Bhutan from April 1959.

According to the information received by different reliable sources, their total number is estimated to have reached 20,000 (both recorded and unrecorded). However, the 1993 record has confirmed only 12540 Tibetan refugees in the kingdom (NUCRA, HMG, Nepal, 2003). The Tibetan refugees were first experience of refugee immigrants in Nepal and they had different characteristics in receiving in the host country and experience of way of life. They were assisted by only settlement programme by providing land in different place of the country. They had not facilitated by fooding and clothing but they were and are freed for the use of their professional work. Thus, the characteristics of Tibetan refugees are totally different than the Bhutanese refugees.

Although the number were estimated by 20,000, the number eventually packed to 100,000 (Ahedon , 1984 p. 72 cited in Jha, 1992: 19). But this number again found contradicts. According to former Tibetan welfare representative for Nepal – Wangchuk Tsering had claimed by 8000 non-registered refugees. Thus, number of Tibetan refugees reached 28,000. There is no annual enumerated an official record for Tibetan refugees which might affect to demographic structure, social and economic conditions.

### **3.2.1 Entry points of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal**

In 1959-60, many of the Tibetan refugees entered into Nepal by crossing the Nepal-Tibet border through the given passes;

1. Kodari – Tatopani (Sindhu palchowk district).
2. Namche Bazar – (solokhumbu district)
3. Wallang Chung Gola– (Taplejung district).
4. Rasuwa

- |            |             |
|------------|-------------|
| 5. Dolpa   | Trade route |
| 6. Mustang | ”           |
| 7. Humla   | ”           |

Rasuwa, Namche and Tatopani passes were the largest influx point of refugees due to traditional and ancient trade route – in the eastern region of Nepal. Wallang Chung pass of Taplejung district and Namche pass of solukhumbu district of eastern region of Nepal were significantly important for refugees entering point of view. Subsequently Mustang, Dolpa and Humla pass were the western entry point for Tibetan refugees. Thus, this indicates that the entry points of Tibetan refugees represent from eastern to western mountain region of Nepal.

### **3.2.2 Tibetans as Refugees: When and Why?**

The exodus of Tibet began when China came in power in 1949 and Chinese attacked to Tibet in 1950 as liberation way but not defeated to Tibet in reality (Wangchuk, 2005). The attack ness of Chinese to Tibet indicates that flight and a degree of powerlessness are the essential elements that characterize the refugees as forced or involuntary migrants, moving in spite of their desire to remain where they are” (Hansen, 1981: 175-194). Hansen, however, suggests that “refugees are people who choose to leave and are successful in so” (1981:190). He believes that refugees and regular migrants move because of decisions that compare alternatives.

Then the Chinese reached Lhasa in early 1951, they did not interfere much with the state of affairs in Tibet (see, Corlin,., 1975, Richardson, 1954, Shakabpa, 1967). The situation worsened in Tibet only after the Lhosa uprising of March 1959, following which Hilliness the Dalai Lama escaped to India. “Many Tibetans a crossed the border to Nepal between 1951 and 1958-59, but as nothing happened, they returned to their villages” (Corlin, 1975: 78). However, some Tibetans left their homeland permanently during these eight years too. They foresaw the impending persecutions and problems and therefore made a decision to flee. In a way, these first waves of Tibetan refugees could be regarded as anticipatory refugees (Kunz, 1973 cited in Chhetri, 1990:11). As their number was not large and since they were well-to-do and did not seek any kind of assistance from the host



countries, they settled down by themselves and remained inconspicuous among the culturally and linguistically Tibetan population in the Himalyan regions of India, Sikkim, Nepal, and Bhutan. Thus the Tibetan refugees living in various countries today are mostly the ones who sought refuge in the years after 1959.

When the Tibetan refugees escaped in 1959 from Tibet to Nepal, they recruited guerilla's Board on Mustang in Nepal to fight against the Chinese in their country. The Tibetan guerillas were taken from Amdo, Khans and Utsang places of Tibet. But guerillas fighting could not success due American and Chinese government's pressure to Nepal. They pressurized to Nepal to close the 'Khamba' movement localled so called 'Khambakanda' due to good relations hip between them. Consequently, the Tibetan guerillas surrendered with Nepalese Army in Mustang, Nepal (Wangchuk, 2005).

### **3.2.3 Entry process and way of life at the current movement**

At the beginning, the Tibetan refugees left their land and began to enter into Nepal. Their life was hard and pathetic. Those of them who were nearer to Nepal-Tibet border could enter into Nepal without much difficulty because there was no visa-system in Nepal. But it took months for others living in remote areas of Tibet to reach Nepal. Many of them lost their lives on the way in encounters or due to disease and starvation. Even those who crossed over to Nepal found themselves in a very difficult situation. Most of them could not bring any property with them. Those who managed to bring some animals, gold, coral and other precious metals sold them at a throw-away price to the Nepalese to buy food. Being separated from their family members, most of them also experienced cultural shock. Language and culture and climate in the new land were strange to them. Having exhausted their resources, some of them also adopted begging practice. Most of the Tibetan refugees lived with local people in the north-east, north-west and Kathmandu valley in the initial years of their arrival in Nepal.

## 3.2.4 Settlement Population and Rehabilitation of Tibetan Refugees

### 3.2.4.1 Settlement and Population of Tibetan refugees

Tibetan refugees, right now are scattered over 21 different districts of the kingdom.

**Table 8:** Distribution of Tibetan Refugees population by districts, 1993

S.No.	Districts	Population
1.	Taplejung	219
2.	Illam	50
3.	Sankhuwashabha	33
4.	Dolakha	82
5.	Sindhupal Chowk	57
6.	Bhaktapur	18
7.	Lalitpur	1307
8.	Kathmandu	4795
9.	Rasuwa	297
10.	Solukhumbu	890
11.	Gorkha	38
12.	Kaski	1924
13.	Tanahu	856
14.	Manang	419
15.	Mustang	297
16.	Baglung	263
17.	Nawalparasi	110
18.	Dolpa	698
19.	Jumla	110
20.	Humla	2
21.	Dorchula	75
	<b>Total</b>	<b>12540</b>

Source: NUCRA, Ministry of Home Affairs, Nepal.

Tibetan refugees' settlement programme was conducted through rehabilitation activities to sustain the refugees doing their own profession and getting by some assistance. The features of these activities are given below.

**Jawalakhel Tibetan Refugee settlements handicraft centre:** The Tibetan refugee handicrafts – cum Agriculture settlement was established in November 1960 by International Committee for the Red Cross at Jawalakhel in Kathmandu with the objective of extending accommodation to the Tibetan refugees, providing to them training opportunities in handicraft works so as to help them become self-supporting and preserve

their national identity.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently Jawalakhel Handicraft Centre (JHC) was registered in 1965 under the Company Act of Ministry of Industry of HMG of Nepal.

### **Cooperative Society**

A multipurpose cooperative society was setup at JHC in 1967 with the capital Rs. 117,093. Its objective was to supply basic essential commodities to the refugees of the settlement at the market price.

**Bouddha Handicraft Centre (BHC):** This Centre was started by the brother of his holiness, the Dalai Lama at Bouddha in Kathmandu in 1970. Later on its land and entire complex including the workshop, office and residential quarters were bought by Tibetan administration-in-exile in the name of Bouddha Handicraft Centre (BHC). 46 families of refugees were consisting of refugees consisting of 200 persons work at BHC.

**Nynchem Thangla Carpet Centre (NTCC):** It was established in 1967 at Dallu in Kathmandu with the primary objective of generating employment opportunities to Tibetan refugees. Unlike other Tibetan refuges settlements/handicraft centers, it has neither living quarters for its staff not does it have its own workshop building. About fifty families live at Kimatole Tibetan Refugee settlement at Swayambhu in Kathmandu. The refugee mainly were carpet, make bags and jacket.

**Chialsa Handicraft Centre (Pvt.) Ltd:** Subsequent political change of 1959 in Tibet about 6000 Tibetans crossed over Nepal-Tibet border and entered into Solukhumbu district of Nepal. But a substantial number of these people later on left the district and started for Kathmandu and India. It accommodated 230 people. It was set up in 1961 and registered as private company Act of HMG of Nepal. The capital amount was shared by Dalai Lama 50000 Swiss Government Rs. 50000 and Tibetan Community Rs. 30000 respectively.

The natures of work were carpet weaving, spinning and wool cording and subsequently these were carpentry and restaurant at CHC.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Information office, Central Tibetan Secretariat, Tibetans in Exile, Dharmasala, 1981, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 196-97.

**Wallangchung Tibetan Refugee Settlement:** About 1800 Tibetan Refugees reached Walmy village in early 1960s. This village is way close to Nepal – Tibet border in the eastern side of Solukhumbu. Domestic animals of the refugees subsequently turned to be the main factor for the dispute between the Tibetan refugees and local Nepalese people.

**Rasuwa Tibetan Refugee Settlement and Handicraft Centre:** It is located in the remote northern region of Nepal near to the Nepal – Tibet border. Its remote location added many inconvenience to international agencies in providing it relief measures. It accommodated 200 Tibetan refugees with an area of 6 landhors.<sup>3</sup> Its handicraft centre was setup at the settlement with the contribution from Home Affairs of Tibetan Administration.<sup>4</sup>

**Dhorpatan Tibetan Refugee Settlement and Handicraft Centre (DTRHC):** About 339 people continued stay since 1961 in this settlement 38 acres of land to Dhorpatan was provided by HMG of Nepal for housing. A small carpet-weaving industry was set up at the settlement.

**Mustang Tibetan Refugee Handicraft Centre (MTRHC and Housing) :** It was set up on the back of Kaligandaki at Tserok in Mustang district in 1972 and it accommodated 300 population but 100 population left or deserted in search of new sources of livelihood in other parts of Nepal and India.

**Tarshi Palkhiel Tibetan Refugee Settlement and Housing:** It covers 120 ropanies land at Hyangja nearly 4 miles north to Pokhara and accommodates 450 populations after 1967.

Its Handicraft Centre was set up March 1964 under the sponsorship of SATA – and registered in February, 1966 under the HMG Nepal.

**Jampaling Tibetan Refugee Settlement and Housing:** After the surrender of Tibetan Khampa armies (1200 to 1500) before the Nepalese armies in 1974, they were made to settle down on the bank of the seti river at Helitar in Tanahun district and came into existence in 1975 HMG of Nepal provided 1285 ropanies of land to the settlement.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

No other settlement has as much as much land as this. Refugee mainly from Khampa armies lives at this settlement with 550 people.

### **3.2.5 Distribution of Identity Cards and Registration Process**

In 1974, first time Identity card was issued to certain refugees. The certificates were only distributed to the age of 16 years and above. Children were not recognized which were the main component of young population-group. Thereafter no attempt has been made to maintain their record.

In July 1988, HMG Nepal took record of refugee workers of Bouddha Handicraft Centre (BHC) and not of their children. In 1998, 2<sup>nd</sup> time refugee certificates were distributed. This long time non-record and non distribution of refugee certificate indicate the outnumbered of population and their hidden occupation. On the other hand refugee representative for Nepal, Wangchuk argues that, such delaying and negligence distribution of refugees certificate and keeping record would bring another problems for refugee.

### **3.2.6 Consequence of Tibetan Refugees Immigrants in Nepal**

Influx of a large number of Tibetan refugees created problems for Nepal in view of its geographical configuration and resource constraints.<sup>5</sup> However, the government and people of Nepal accepted the new challenge and adopted generous attitude towards them on humanitarian ground. Accordingly all those who asked for asylum and wanted to settle in Nepal were allowed to do so. The home ministry of HMG of Nepal was made coordinator. It was entrusted with the responsibility of formulating plans and advising the different organizations in the field of providing relief measures to the refugees. Saving the life of the Tibetan refugees more especially in the remote corners of Nepal was an issue of immediate concern food supply and medical supplies in all such places were limited.

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<sup>5</sup> HCR Bulletin, October 1969.

### **3.2.6.1 Attitude of the Government and People of Nepal**

This Consists of two components: positive and negative

Nepal for the first time in her history faced financial and political problems owing to the influx of refugee from outside. HMG of Nepal had no experience to solve this problem. However, HMG, Nepal persuaded many international organizations to provide assistance to Tibetan refugee. It acquired land and built residential quarters in different refugee settlements for them. Besides, it also worked as mediator and coordinator between the refugees and different international organizations.

The positive attitude of the government and people of Nepal towards the refugees could not go unpaid. Nepal earned the reputation among the world community of having a humanitarian outlook in its foreign and domestic policies. In fact, this is not a small achievement.

### **3.2.6.2 Flourishing of Carpet Industry in Nepal**

Friendship between Tibetan refugees and Nepalese people helped the growth non-traditional carpet industry in Nepal. Till 1950s, this industry was unknown to this land. In Nepal, carpet industry has expanded to such an extent that in addition to the Tibetan refugees, a number of Nepalese entrepreneurs have started manufacturing and exporting carpets based on Tibetan designs. It has now become Nepalese for all practical purpose (Jha, 1992, Wangchuk, 2005). Carpet industry is labor-intensive and it has a multiplier effect on the economy. Besides the Tibetan refugees, poorer sections of the Nepalese society especially in the Tibetan refugees' settlement regions like Kathmandu valley, Pokhara valley, Tserok (Mustang) and Chialsa (Solukhumbu) have been immensely benefited.

The cooperative attitude of the Tibetan refugees towards the Nepalese community also helped the later to be trained and skilled in weaving carpet. It was the first practice of Nepalese women in carpet weaving factory in Nepal. Thus successful in carpeting is offering opportunity for neighbouring and this encouraged to Nepalese society in income generating activities. Subsequently, the Nepalese Community in the surroundings of the Tibetan refugee settlements have been benefited from the schools, dispensaries and other facilities made available to the refugees.

### **3.2.6.3 Downfall of the Carpet factories and its Consequence**

All Tibetan refugee partnership was conducted by backdoor process. They did not have right for registration. They attached their partnership with Nepalese citizens. It was the dangerous partnership for refugees (Wangchuk – 2005). Peak point production of carpet factory was 1993 which produced 30 lakh 59 meters.

#### **Reason for downfall of Carpet factories 1993 on word**

- Over productivity
- Issues of child labour
- Buyers came only to quick profits and no quality
- Influx of people without knowledge and no quality.
- No faith between partnership
- Factories shaped individual and scattered

#### **Consequence of downfall**

##### **◆ Affected to girls**

When carpet factories collapsed, girls carpet workers became jobless and reached to Bombay through broker in regard to job seeking.

##### **◆ Affected to boys**

Boys used to go India for the soul purpose and then India started imitation so called Indo-Tibetan carpet. (Wangchak , 2005)

### **3.2.7 Source of Livelihood**

#### **Carpet Factories**

The main livelihood sources of Tibetan refugees are employed in carpet factories as salaries and wages basis. Right from the beginning, working in the carpet factories are being main livelihood sources of Tibetan refugees which is mentioned under the heading of settlement and rehabilitation.

### **Opened shops and restaurants**

Tibetans those who are non-registered, opened shops and restaurant an illegal way. They were trying for work permit. They should have work permit, because, there was no process for recording of refugees for long period. Subsequently, such illegal Tibetans are being more due to non-registration of children under 16 years during the registration time (Wangchuk, 2005). Such Tibetan and other registered refugees have started small restaurants and other business in the urban centre like Pokhara and Kathmandu. The later group (business) may have been experiencing problems of competition with the local business in the same field it on one hand and Nepalese restaurants owners had felt that Nepalese economy is captured by Tibetan on the other. Thus, there is a conflict between the Tibetan and Nepalese restaurant owners in Kathmandu (Gombo, 1995).

### **Agriculture**

Some of the settlements in mountains are primarily agricultural activities namely in Delek Ling in Solukhumbu area and Dhorpatan. According to Jha 1992, about 84 percent Tibetan are engaged as salaries and wages workers, and 10 percent constitutes business and industry.

## **3.2.8 Religion Consequences**

Following religious consequences were realized by Wangchuk, 2005.

- From all the northern belt of Nepal, realized Buddhist religion and go to Tibet for priest education.
- Number of 'Gumbas' has been increased and then European people conducted to Bhuddhist priest from which increased tourism.
- All ethnic people who were allied in Bhuddhist were more attracted.

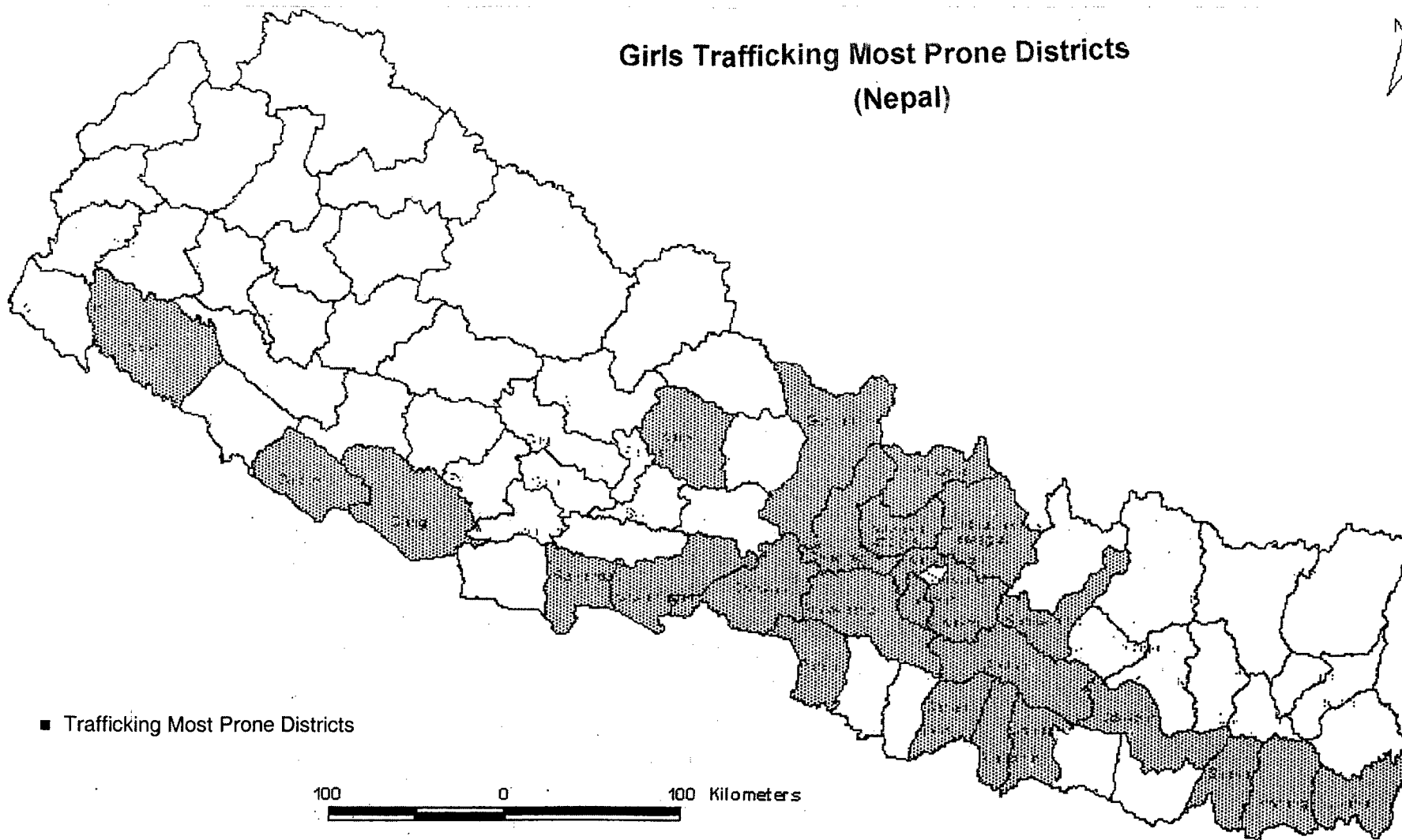
## **3.2.9 Social Linkage**

Marriage, problem and population are the national issues. However, there are some contradictions (Wangchuk, 2005).





### Girls Trafficking Most Prone Districts (Nepal)



■ Trafficking Most Prone Districts

100 0 100 Kilometers

Note: The Figures within district indicate number of trafficked/missing girls below 18 years of age and number of VDCs (within paranthesis)

SOURCE: JIT (2002). *Stock-taking of Existing Research and Data on Trafficking in Girls and Women*, p17. Kathmandu: JIT – NEP/01/017 (Beyond Trafficking: A Joint in the Millennium against Trafficking in Girls and Women and Children and Social Welfare/UNS Task Force against Trafficking).

- If Tibetan girls marry with Nepalese citizens, they are automatically entitled in Nepali.
- If Tibetan boys marry with Nepali girls and they have no citizens. And then their children are victimized for getting education and employment in Nepal some event had been evolved in our community.

### **3.2.10 Community Environment Consequences**

The Nepalese communities in the surroundings of the Tibetan refugee settlements have benefited from the schools, dispensaries and other facilities made available to the refugees. Sometimes, there is conflict between young Nepalese boys and Tibetan boys. In this concerned, Tibetan boys are more aggressive than Nepalese one. Such complaints are frequently reported to NUCRA, HMG Nepal (Staff of NUCRA, 2005, requested that not to mention the name of the staff).

## **3.3 Emigration: Women and Girls Trafficking in Nepal with Special Reference to Prostitution**

### **3.3.1 Introduction**

Global context: Increased involvement of children and women in prostitution is grim of today's world. Commercialization of sex is increasing in the third world countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and Eastern Europe because of high unemployment, rural poverty, growing inequalities in wealth and growing demand (Rane, and Lambay, 1997 Cited in ILO EPEC, 2002:1).

Prostitution and related practices such as trafficking, sex tourism, pornography etc are forms of sexual violence against women and children, and reinforce gender inequalities in the society (DIOS, 1999 cited in ILO, IPEC 2002).

Migration and trafficking are always interlinked each other. However, definition and concept are different. Migration implies the right to movement and mobility, whereas trafficking by definition assumes, coercion and deception. "All acts involved in the

recruitment and transport of a women within and across national borders for sale, work or service by means of direct indirect violence or threat of violence, abuse of authority or dominant position, debt bondage, deception or other forms of coercion” (Verghis, and et al, 2002, 1.18). Illegal undocumented human trade or trafficking is one of the emerging challenges. Trafficking of women and children has grown along with increased trade and economic development, expanding tourism, easy international travel and the officially sanctioned export of manpower. In other word, the journey of women migrant workers is motivated by interlinking issues such as poverty, duty, deception, desperation and precarious family and marital situation. Thus, the lives between migration, trafficking, sex work and debt bondage are very thin. Slow economic recovery, tight governmental budget cutting into programmes for vulnerable women and children, high unemployment rates of women and host of other personal and social factors “push” women and children out of their own countries.

The number of such illegal or undocumented migrants vary globally form 500,000 to two million (ILO/IPEC, 2002:1.19). Traffic in “Women and Girls” was practiced in early civilizations, and in the slavery system, women were auctioned and bought either for domestic labour or brothel bondage (CATW.AP, 1996:12). Despite sustained efforts for abolition of slavery like practices and traffic in women and girls, these practices confine till present. Trafficking occurs through out the world in different forms, including illegal adoptions, theft of body parts, debt bondage of workers and sexual exploitation (Giri, 1999:33). Although, trafficking in women and girls occurs in both developed as well as developing countries this is overwhelmingly a problem of developing countries as trafficking in women and girls originates mostly from developing countries. Estimates million children are trafficked globally every year, almost half of them, under the age of sixteen, are forced to work in brothels (Sanlaap, n.d:2)

Trafficking in women is a widespread phenomenon in Asia. Although reliable estate on the number of trafficked women/girls is lacking-estimate indicates that over one million Asian women and girls are sold into prostitution each year (CEDPA, 1997) and the incidence is increasing in all of Asia (Sanlaap, n.d:3; UBING, 1996:1; /CWCS, 1997:1)

According to UNIFM (1998), in Asia region, Cambodia, China (Yunnan Province), India, Japan, Pakistan, and Thailand are the receiving countries while Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam have become a

transit. India has become a transit point to transport Bangladesh women to Pakistan and Nepalese women/girls overseas. Similarly is transitory to transport women and girls to Thailand while Thailand is transitory to transport women/girls from its neighbouring countries including.

Trafficking women and girls from Asia are used for both sexual and other purposes. This often cited that sex trafficking constitutes the major form of trafficking in Asia. Sex trafficking encompasses pornography, bride trade, sex tourism, and prostitution. Non-sex trafficking includes forced labour, domestic labour, organ mutilation, circus, camel jockey, adoption, forced marriage and other slavery-like practices.

Nepal cannot be excluded from human trafficking crime. Like other women and girls exporter countries, Nepal is also listed for human trafficking such as forced child labour and women and girl trafficking in vulnerable job. Except, women and girls trafficking within and outside the country, there is no reliable data for above mentioned area of research and no attempts have been done for quarries. Thus, following unit especially concerned on migration and women and girls trafficking with special reference to prostitution work.

### **3.3.2 Migration and Women and Girls Trafficking in Nepal: A Situational Analysis**

This unit examines the women and girls trafficking with special reference to prostitution. Data about other form of trafficking is lacked. Thus, as an exemplary account and representatives form is considered as a compound of international migration of Nepal. The analysis is designed from different reliable sources and is related to present study. Furthermore, this section discusses about age of trafficked ethnic groups, prone districts, causes for being trafficked, process for trafficking, traffickers and related approaches and consequences of trafficking. This unit is divided into two parts: literature review and field survey.

Fourteen trafficked girls as pilot respondents have been taken for primary informations. The moralistic approach and the illegal migration approach have been used for this present study.

### **3.3.3 Related Approaches**

#### **◆ The Moralistic Approach**

In this approach, trafficking is equated, which should prostitution, leading to a sex industry and is therefore social immoral, which should be abolished by all means. Trafficked women are considered fallen, bad and misguided. Prostitution is considered as a social evil. The approach maintains that women are forced into prostitution because of poverty or other factors, with least focus on trafficking agents and their networks (IIDS and UNIFEM, 2004:7)<sup>6</sup>

The moralists' repressive strategies over the years basically sought to suppress prostitution, deny the right to self-determination to women, criminalize all those who are, including men visiting prostitute, carry out raid on brothels, formulate strict, anti-trafficking laws, and unilaterally carry out rescue and rehabilitation programmes (IIDS and UNIFEM *ibid.*)

#### **◆ The Illegal Migration Approach**

The illegal migration approach focuses on the problems created by illegal or irregular migration either for work or for other purposes and aims to regulate migration by criminalize trafficked persons as illegal workers. In this approach the repressive strategies always sought to stop illegal migration, these control women and girls mobility and try to strict border controls, visa regulations punish and depot illegal migrants. These activities had made women more vulnerable to traffickers, strengthen the role of broken encouraged corruption, abuse of victims by border police and migration office (IIDS, UNIFEM, 2004:8).

### **3.3.4 Present Situation about women an girls trafficking in Nepal.**

In the Nepalese context, trafficking is most commonly described as “*Cheli Beti Wasar Posar*” (buying and selling of girls and daughter) “*Byabasayik shoshan*” (commercial sexual exploitation). Both are terms that capture only ports of the international definition

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<sup>6</sup> IIDS and UNIFEM refer to Institute for Integrated Development Studies and United Nation Development Fund for Women respectively.

of trafficking. According to an extensive literature review compiled and comprehended by K. C.(2001) on trafficking in Nepal has focused merely on trafficking for sexual exploitation, and mainly through case studies or emotion recounts of the situation of the victims of trafficking. Still, the very limited knowledge of the processes involved as well as of the causes and consequences of trafficking has not proved to be a serious limitation to the often lively and emotional debates on trafficking in Nepal. There is limited research and the circulated figures are at best rough estimates.

#### **3.3.4.1 Debates on Numbers**

The range of information and the variation in estimates of girls trafficked for sexual exploitation in Nepal and India is so fast that it is possible to determine the magnitude of the problem based on the existing literature alone (Seddon, 1996; Upreti, 1996 cited in K. C. and et al 2001:6). The figure ranges from 5,000 to 7,000 to 2,000 Nepalese children being trafficked every year, and from estimates of 70,000 to 375,480 Nepalese women working in Indian brothels, with a record estimate of 417,200 Nepalese in prostitution in India (Seddon, 1996; Upreti, 1996 cited in K. C. and et al 2001:6).

In terms of numbers of annual trafficking of girls is still found different. According to ILO, Nepal (2005), it was stated that between 5,000 - 7,000 Nepali girls were trafficked into India for sexual exploitation annually and that 26 of a total of 75 districts were affected. The recently concluded Rapid Assessment (RA) by ILO, 2001 puts the figure at 12,000 girls trafficked annually to India and identifies 11 additional districts. Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) currently feel that the entire nation is now affected by trafficking. These figures are for trans-border trafficking, for sexual exploitation only and there is no present information for other purposes.

In regarding age of trafficked girls, the available statistics show approximately 40 percent of the total trafficked victims (8,000 girls) are adolescents under 18 years (NNAGT, 2002:1) and followed by 20 percent (4,000 girls) are 16 years of age (CWIN, Bulletin, 2005). Earlier it seemed that mostly Tamang women from Nuwakot, Sindhupalchowk, Kaverepalchowk and Dhading district were trafficked. However, most recently, the pattern and trend in trafficking is changing and extending to and other communities too. In India and Bangladesh, trafficking exists within and outside the countries where as in Nepal, girls trafficking takes place predominately from Nepal to India.

### **3.3.4.2 Causes of Trafficking**

Trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation have been attributed to the monopoly of brokers particularly after the introduction of the multi-party democracy in Nepal in 1994 (ABC Nepal, n.d. cited in K, C, 2001:6). Other reasons believed trafficking and sexual exploitation are noticed by different scholars, researchers and activists. Like other countries, the major contributing factors are listed below.

- Extreme poverty and hardship and family vulnerability,
- Lack of awareness,
- Low literacy rate among women,
- Low social status of women and girls,
- Slack/poor administration,
- Weak implementation of law and order
- Lack of political commitment towards the issues,
- Traditional marriage practices,
- Gender discrimination (Ghimire, 2001:31, IPEC/ILO, 2001, Mainali, 1993, Dea, 1993 cited in K.C. 2001:6)

### **3.3.4.2 Overall consequences of migration and trafficking**

Based on reviewed of many studies, it is concluded that the consequences of trafficking for sexual exploitation are disastrous, and strong emphasis are given to the plight of girls who have returned with possible exposure to HIV (ABC Nepal 1993 Cited in K.C, 2001). Unwanted pregnancies, during and alcohol addiction, growing sex tourism, infant and maternal mortality, mental disorders and more exploitation are also frequently mentioned(Acharya, 1998 cited in K.C., 2001). As for the validity to combat trafficking, there are mostly general, such as eradicating poverty, illiteracy and increasing awareness.

The used transit points for women and girls trafficking of Nepal are Jogbani (70%), Kakarbhita of eastern Nepal (18%) and Gorakhpur (12%).

### **3.3.4.3 Socio-demographic characteristics of trafficking in Nepal**

The section is totally based on data, fact, figures and information collected and compiled by NNAGT Nepal. All information have been collected through its action research for the shirt national glimpse about women girls and trafficking in Nepal, is presented here.

- Age structure: Cases from 2000 to 2003 (total cases = 126)

As separated by NNAGT, Nepal, 2003 of the total trafficked cases, 41 percent (of the 126 cases) where the age of below 18 years followed by 37 percent at the aged of 22-26 years, 14 percent were under 20-30 years. Few group (02%) were aged of 30 years and above. This indicates that more affected age of trafficking were below 18 years. Among the total, 80 percent were unmarried followed married 20 percent.

#### ◆ **Reasons for leading girls to leave home**

Number of reasons leading girls to leave home have been identified by percentage basis. Motivation by traffickers (41%), looking for the job (36%), visit new places (14%), hard life in village (7%), domestic violence (2%) were the identified reasons.

#### ◆ **Education status of trafficked women and girls**

Majority trafficked females were reported illiterate that represents 55 percent, followed by school (42%), literate (3%) and campus (1%). This indicates that more school going young girls are seemed for affected incorporated to literate.

#### ◆ **Channel of trafficking**

Relatives and friends have been seen more effecting for channel of trafficking (49%) and this is followed by strangers and traffickers (34%), Kidnapping/fake marriage (12%) and others (5%).

#### ◆ **Health Consequences (as reported by NNAGT)**

According to questioned report of 2000, of the total returnees cases (22 cases), 59 percent were normal, 36 percent were AIDS affected and five percent unaffected by any disease.

### **3.3.5 Focus on trafficked returnees: A case study of Kathmandu district**

As forced and involuntary emigrants, I have taken interview with 14 trafficked returnees girls of Maiti Nepal, a leading NGO working on women trafficking. Before taking



interview, I had asked to Mrs. Anuradha Koirala, Chairperson, Maiti Nepal for my research validity and confidentiality. It was taken as pilot survey and respondents selection was based on respondents' interests and wishes. The centre them of this section is to measure the socio-demographic characteristics, reasons for leaving home, characters of traffickers, and trafficking channel.

The outcome of this result would be fruitful for researchers, government and no-governmental institutions for formulating the programmes and policies.

### 3.3.5.1 Demographic Characteristics: Age, Religions and Ethnic Composition of the Trafficked Returnees

As reported by respondents, the dominant age group was aged of 15-18 years (35.72%) and followed by aged of 19-25 years (28.57%), aged of 10-14 years (21.42%) and above 25 years (14.28%) respectively (Table 9).

In religion concern, about 64 percent were Hindu and remained were 36 percent. In terms of ethnic composition, Tamang were more affected which comprised 35.7 percent and equally followed by Brahmin/Chhetri (29.57%), and Dalit and scheduled castes (28.57%) respectively. Magars comprised only 7.14 percent (Table 10 and 11).

**Table-9:** Age of Trafficked returnees

Age	Number	Percentage
10-14	3	21.42
15-18	5	35.72
19-25	4	28.57
Above 25	2	14.28
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table-10:** Religion of the Trafficked Returnees

Religion	Number	Percentage
Hindu	9	64.28
Buddhists	5	35.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 11:** Ethnic Composition of the Trafficked Returnees

Caste/Ethnic Groups	Number	Percentage
Brahmin/Chhetri	4	28.57
Tamang	5	35.71
Dalit/Scheduled Caste*	4	28.57
Magar**	1	7.14
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Note- \* refers hierarchical lower caste, professional castes and follow the Hindu religion.

\*\* She was the Bhutanese Refugee and was trafficked during the labour work from outside the camp.

### 3.3.5.2 Social Characteristic

#### ◆ Educational Status

Table -12 provides the educational status of trafficked persons. Illiterate trafficked were found more (42.88%) and equally followed by literate (21.42%) and primary level education (21.42%). Girls who were studying in secondary level, were also trafficked who comprised 14.28 percent. This indicates that illiterate and low levels of educated girls were more affected.

**Table-12:** Educational status of trafficked persons

Status	Number	Percentage
Literate	3	21.42
Primary level	3	21.42
Secondary level	2	14.28
Illiterate	6	42.88
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>

### 3.3.6 Profile of trafficked persons

#### 3.3.6.1 Reasons for trafficking, for leaving home and for trusting agents and pimps

Table 13 examines the reasons for being trafficked, reasons leading girls to leave home and for trusting agents.

**Table-13:** Reasons for trafficking, for leaving home and for trusting agents/ pimps

Reasons	Number	Percentage
<b>(1)Reasons for trafficking</b>		
Economic Vulnerability	9	64.28
Illiteracy	3	21.42
Hypnotism	1	7.14
Social Discrimination	1	7.14
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>(2) reasons of leaving home</b>		
Looking for the job	6	42.85
Hard life in village	3	21.42
Cities tour	2	14.28
Friend	3	21.42
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>(3)Reason for trusting pimps</b>		
Friends	6	42.85
Business/employment	3	28.57
Aunt	2	14.28
Face husband	2	14.28
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>

In terms of reasons for trafficking, poor economic conditions is played main role which comprised 64.28 percent and this was followed by illiteracy condition for the trafficked girls which constituted 21.42. All minority group were affected by hypnotisms (7.14%) and social discrimination (7.14%) respectively. This indicates that poverty is seemed more bitter factor for being trafficked.

In the regarding reasons leading girls to leave home, looking for job or opportunity was the dominant factors 42.85 percent and this was equally followed by hard life in village and friend (21.42) respectively. A minority group was influenced by cities tour that comprised 14.28 percentage of the total. Similarly the reasons for trusting, 42.85 percent trafficked persons trusted to friend and 28.57 percent trafficked persons trusted to those persons who showed business motive. Remained persons groups such as aunt and fake husband were also equally trusted by trafficked persons for trafficking which comprised 14.28 percent.

### 3.3.6.2 Consequences

**Sold after trafficked:** The brothels were the Nepali. Women and girls are sold either by Nepali didi or so called Indian didi. All respondents said that they were betean and threatened to do the assigned task. Among the trafficked persons, 64.29 percent (9 persons) wee handed over to Nepali didi and 35.7 percent to so called didi. Of the total trafficked (14 persons), 71.43(10 persons) percent trafficked girls were known about sold on the way and 7 percent were known when they caught and sold.

**Threat after being trafficked:** The trafficked persons collectively reported that the victims of trafficking suffer social, psychological problem. Their basis human rights are grossly violated. The trafficked persons were undergone torture, humiliation, and violence. The women and young girls are forcibly exposed to mental torture by a torrent of nude male bodies, sexual and verbal abuse, forced to work against will, forced to perform sexual acts, forced to drink alcohol or drugs, undergo abortion against will an so on. The humiliation and torture has brought depression, shock, anger and fear.

**Table-14:** Health condition after engaged in assign task

Condition	Number	Percentage
Normal	10	70.0
Infected	2	15.0
HIV/AIDS	2	15.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.00</b>

All women and girls, who were trafficked, were not good health condition. Of the total, 71 percent (10 persons) were normal, 15 percent (2 persons) were affected by HIV/AIDS and 15 percent were affected by other diseases.

**Challenges when returning to their home in Nepal:** The returnees are facing difficulties for reintegration. A majority of trafficked girls are not leading normal lives due to social stigma and attitudes towards such girls. They are taught skill in rehabilitation centre and such skills are often incompatible with the lives. They lost the relationship with their family, husband and their kids.

### **Conclusion**

- Average duration of trafficked girls was found 3 years. High rates of victims were illiterate whereas school level girls also found affected.
- Poverty was the major determinant factors for leaving home. Trafficked girl were represented to mostly middle hill and terai region.
- Relatives and friends are applied highly as channel of trafficking of women and girls.

## **3.4 Labour Migration and Overseas Employment in Nepal**

### **3.4.1 Introduction**

This unit examines the labour migration from Nepal. This especially analyse the distribution of labour migrants by countries of destination, by years and by gender. This unit is also tending to explain the reasons for going abroad and their types of work. Further more, this especially quarries to women migrants in abroad and their nature of work. In addition, this discusses about volume of remittances sending to Nepal and mechanism of remitting money as well. Finally this measures about debates in data on labour migration in Nepal and gives the conclusion. Before starting the analysis as mentioned above, this has related to relevant theories and approaches and has also been mentioned the historical aspects of labour migration from Nepal.

Labour migration from Nepal is related to “New-classical economics: micro and micro theory”. The central theme of new-classical economic macro theory is about the flow of workers from capital-rich to capital poor countries. According to this theory, the relative

scarcity of capital in poor countries yields a rate of return that is high by international standards, thereby attracting investment. This relates to labour emigration in abroad.

Subsequently, the movement of capital-rich to capital-poor countries in order to real high returns on their skills in a human scarce environment, leading to a personnel movement of managers, technicians and other skilled workers (Massey, 1993:43). This relates skilled labour immigrants in Nepal especially from India. This is basically based on “macroscopic approach” which focussed on the structural determination of migration and study of individual behaviour. According to this approach, migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of capital and labour. This reflects disparities in wages and standard of living, and migration is therefore generated by supply push and demand pull factors. Migrants will go where jobs, wages and other economic factors are most advantages. It is a voluntary decision taken in full awareness of the facts after a comparative analysis of the costs and benefits of migration (IOM, 2003:12).

Labour migration of Nepal is also related to “the world-system theory”. This theory postulated by Sassen and Portes was including back to the 1980s. This theory postulates that international migration is a consequence of globalization and market penetration. According to this theory, many migrants are consequently attracted by jobs opportunity in developed countries where many economic sectors depend on cheap and abundant labour to remain competitive (IOM, 2003:12).

“The migration networks theory” is also related to labour migration in Nepal. This theory was developed in to 1990s when the old sociological notion of “network” began to be considered in formulating a new approach to explaining migration. Massey defines a migration ‘network’ as a composite of international relation in which migrants interact with their family, friends or compatriots who stayed to their country of origin. The links cover the exchange of information, financial assistance, help in finding a job and other forms of assistance. These interactions make migration easier by reducing cost and inherent risk (IOM, 2003:15).

### **3.4.2 A brief history of foreign labour migration and institutions**

It is true that thousands of Nepali youths fly overseas every year by paying considerable amount of money to the recruiting agencies due to the adverse situation in the country economy. The attraction of overseas employment has been tempting to be set aside. Thus,

Nepal has a long history of labour migration. For around 200 years back, Nepali men and to a lesser extent women have been leaving their homes to seek employment and living abroad. The trend of flying overseas for employment, however, is not new. It has been more than 200 years back, Nepalese began seeking work outside the country at the time of Anglo-Nepal war (1814-16 A.D). Even before the well-known recruitment to British-Indian armies, poor Nepalese fled excessive taxation, corvee labour and exploitation from state agencies. According to current report, there are about 40 thousand Nepalese serving in the British Army and more than 50 thousand Nepalese serve in the Indian Army. Till 1917, the earnings of British Gorkhas were the highest resource of foreign currency in Nepal (Overseas Employment Information, 2004/05:29)

Foreign labour migration is generally seen as an unfortunate, and essentially marginal, by product of a stagnant rural economy. There is no data on the number of people working outside the country, it is estimated that hundred of thousands Nepalese have been either working in Gulf, Malaysia and Korea or in any other countries.

Dramatically, the number of Nepali workers in the Gulf and Qatar has risen. Initially, Nepalese youths used to go to the Gulf countries as labours, construction workers or drivers, but the trend has been changing with youths proving themselves as hotel manager and other prominent job. Subsequently, Nepalese migrant workers had accelerated their access to Hong Kong which has become prime destination. There are thousands of Nepalese people working as security officer in Singapore, Brunei and even in Hong Kong. There are thousands of Nepalese working in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Germany, Australia and other countries. These indicate that the patterns and structures of labour migration from Nepal has noticeably dimensioned abroad. However, such migrant workers might be gone through illegal/irregular or legal/regular accesses which can be said undocumented and documented migrant workers.

With regard to migrant workers, by gender, both male and female are working as domestic helpers in different countries like Gulf, and Hong Kong. Among the working countries, Hong Kong has been a promising destination for Nepalese women. The demand for Nepali workers (both male and female) in the Gulf countries and Europe increased after the September/11/2001 incident in the United States. But, women have been deprived this opportunity due to lack of appropriate labour policies of the government. The government of Nepal did not take any action even after the Nepal

embassy in Quarter. After the establishment of the Foreign Employment Policy-1997, the process of sending women workers to other countries, besides the Gulf, was initiated. This regulation made a complicated provision for women workers having to take the permission of their guardians for foreign employment. By being such a Nepal government's Foreign Employment Policy and Employment Regulations, Nepalese migrant workers have compelled to be undocumented workers who used to go through back door process of illegal companies. The first employment policy was found in 1984. In the initial stage, the recruiting agencies sent the people for foreign employment on their own way. But after the government implemented the policy requiring these companies to take license, the number of companies increased to 347. Among them, the license of 47 illegal companies has been revoked. Such illegal companies were the main factors for emigrating illegal labour migrants abroad (Lamsal, 2003:53).

As a result, a large proportion of labours go abroad temporarily with the aim of returning back to their homeland. Foreign labour migration and subsequent remittance prop up the country's ailing economy. However, this important sector continues to be neglected by policy makers and planners. In this regard, policy makers have turned a blind eye to this aspect of the economy. And they have looked down upon those who go to do menial work in their countries. So, there is given little attention to foreign labours' flows of remittances back home. Government agencies did not begin to maintain records of labour migrants and remittance. Such informal nature of this economy continues to make formal recording difficult. Existing and often controversial data is based largely on estimates.

In terms of institutional development, a department of labour was established in 1971, followed in 1981 by a ministry of labour. Until the 1980s labour migrations mainly took people to India where work permit and passport were/are not required. In the mid 1980s, however, Nepali citizens began to seek work in the countries and the government of Nepal took steps to formulate foreign labour related regulations.

Through the collective history of labour migration from Nepal, a mass numbers of people started to migrate to India, where newly established tea states and the opening of land in Assam, Sikkim, and Nagaland had made work available. While British rule in India was encouraging such immigration, the government of Nepal faced a shortage of labour and initially attempted to discourage labours for seeking work abroad. Such evidences

indicate that India is being a home of Nepalese labour migrants as short distance, low cost travel and cheap labour.

### 3.4.3 Manpower recruited for foreign employment (in terms of destinations and years)

Table-15 provides the informations on trend, pattern and dimensions of labour migration from Nepal. As recorded by manpower agencies, majority labour (3.44%) (83458) went to Saudi Arab and this was followed by Malaysia (2.66%) and Qatar (2.28%) respectively. The trend of labour emigration to these high labour receiving countries has dramatically increased per year. Mostly, none-skilled labours immigrated to these countries and they could send back less amount of remittance. Malaysia was opened since 1996 for labour migration. But many labour migrants illegally migrated through so called manpower agencies before 1993 and many of them were imprisoned either in Bangkok or in Malaysia. The data shows that majority Nepalese migrants were basically gone to such countries where they had to pay less cost to manpower agencies and also get back less money as wage and salary due to non-skilled jobs. The reasons behind go to these countries might be unable to afford money and mostly they are rural areas with low economic conditions.

**Table 15:** Manpower recruited for foreign employment (in terms of distribution and years)

S.N	Country	Till 1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/2000	2000/01	2001/02	Total
1	Saudi Arab	2290	1041	1469	1959	4825	14948	17867	17966	21094	83459
2	Kuwait	361	13	18	107	137	609	465	885	378	2973
3	Oman	43				7	90	32	68	96	336
4	Qatar	391	245	505	477	1802	9030	8791	14086	19895	55222
5	U.A.E.	132		23	95	284	1417	6360	8950	8411	25672
6	Bahrain	91				111	787	583	904	695	3171
7	Hong Kong	63	86	59	67	155	301	209	331	482	1753
8	Singapore						1			16	17
9	South Korea	234	774	55	455	192	267	766	245	131	3119
10	Brunei				51					132	183
11	Malaysia					89	151	171	11306	52926	64643
12	Saipan			5	48	143		1	1	38	246
13	Iraq										0
14	Macao						102	119	82	50	353
15	Maldives						46	71	35	39	191
16	Latvia										0
17	Kosovo							27	21	34	82
18	Israel & others						47	81	135	322	585
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3605</b>	<b>2159</b>	<b>2134</b>	<b>3259</b>	<b>7745</b>	<b>27749</b>	<b>35462</b>	<b>55025</b>	<b>104739</b>	<b>242005</b>

Sources: Nepal Overseas Association and Ministry of Labour, HMG/Nepal., Kathmandu:



### **3.4.4 Quantitative analysis for labour migration from Nepal**

This is difficult to find out exact how many people work overseas. Government statistics may record those who do so legally, but has no record of the people who go abroad illegally. In addition, the nature of labour migration to India makes it difficult to estimate the number of labourers who go there for work.

#### **3.4.4.1 Census Data 1991 and 2001**

The 2001 census data puts Nepal's absentee population-people who have been abroad for at least 6 months prior to the survey-at 762,181 people. This accounted for about 3.2% of the country's total population or 6% of the working population. Of this absentee population, 77% of people were working in India and the remaining 23% (173,126 people) were working in other countries. A breakdown of the number of labour migrants by country is given in the table below. David Seddon et al (2001) have argued that the total number of Nepal's migrant workers may be as high as 1.1 million. Yet, the Department of Labour and Employment Promotion, which provides permission for workers to go abroad, records the number of migrant workers at only 223,834. These figures do not give any information on workers who have returned to Nepal, or who took permission to migrate for work out did not go.

Ten years earlier, the 1991 census recorded that 660,000 Nepalese had migrated to foreign countries. This was the equivalent of 3% of the country's total population, and 6% of the working population (CBS 1996, cited in the series 4, ILO 2004:32). With this data, we can see a slight increase in the number and proportion of the population working abroad over the past ten years. This increase is far less than other countries in South Asia. For example, 10-30% of the Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi labour force work overseas (Nair 1998:66 cited in ILO 2004:32)

#### **3.4.4.2 Distribution of labour emigrants by gender and countries of destination**

A gender analysis of census data for the absentee population throws up some interesting features. Overall, 10.8% of the absentee population were women and about 83% of them went to India for work. Only 17% of female labour migrants went to other countries for work) (Figure-2). Although the census reports that only around 2,000 women are working in the Gulf (Table-16), a range of different estimates claim that between 8,000

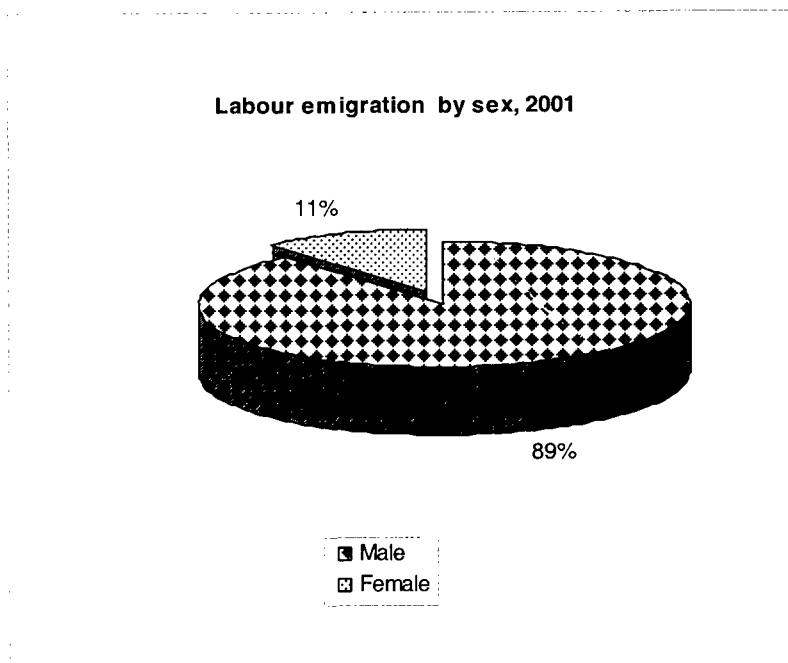
and 10,000 women are actually working in Gulf countries. What is clear is that data on the number of foreign labour migrants is inconsistent and contradictory.

**Table 16:** Distribution of labour migrants from Nepal by sex and countries of destination, 2001.

S. N	Country	Male	Female	Total	%
1	India	520,500	68,550	589,050	77.28%
2	Pakistan	466	92	558	0.07%
3	Bangladesh	784	168	952	0.12%
4	Bhutan	511	99	610	0.08%
5	Sri Lanka	176	25	201	0.02%
6	Maldives	334	36	370	0.04%
7	China	1,018	336	1,354	0.17%
8	Korea	2,433	246	2,679	0.35%
9	Russia and others	633	114	797	0.10%
10	Japan	3,087	639	3,726	0.48%
11	Hong Kong	8,143	3,858	12,001	1.57%
12	Singapore	2,679	684	3,363	0.44%
13	Malaysia	6,742	71	6,813	0.89%
14	Australia	1,991	500	2,491	0.32%
15	Saudi Arab	66,629	831	67,460	8.85%
16	Qatar	24,208	189	24,397	3.20%
17	Kuwait	3,044	644	3,688	0.48%
18	UAE	12,298	246	12,544	1.64%
19	Baharian	2,616	121	2,737	0.35%
20	Other Asian Countries	3,130	719	3,849	0.50%
21	UK	5,997	1,274	7,271	0.95%
22	Germany	1,420	218	1,638	0.21%
23	France	197	53	250	0.03%
24	Other European countries	1,640	358	1,998	0.26%
25	USA, Canada and Mexico	7,227	2,330	9,557	1.25%
26	Other countries	1,566	311	1,877	0.24%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>679,469</b>	<b>82,712</b>	<b>762,181</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: CBS, 2001

Figure – 2



### 3.4.4.3 Foreign labour migrants and types of work

The 2001 census asked people who had previously migrated for work to detail the ‘type of work’ that they were engaged in (see in the table below). The majority of migrants (66.41%) listed their work as personal service; a smaller number (12.3%) recorded their work as institutional service and a minority of people (4.16%) listed their work as study/training. Personal service essentially means domestic service. Most Nepalese who migrate for work in India, both male and female, are employed as domestic workers in households. People may be employed as watchmen or maidservants, kitchen helpers or household helpers (Table 17). (Household helpers are commonly called Bahadur in India). In the Gulf too, most women migrant workers are employed as domestic workers.

**Table 17:** Population absent by reasons. 2001

Reasons	Male	Female	Total	%
Agriculture	6,608	1,155	7,763	1.01%
Business	11,140	910	12,050	1.58%
Industrial service	481,278	24,943	506,221	66.41%
Personal service	91,007	3,322	94,329	12.37%
Study/training	24,929	6,818	31,747	4.16%
Marriage	2,157	11,944	14,101	1.85%
Others	62,350	33,620	95,970	12.59%
<b>Total</b>	<b>679,469</b>	<b>82,712</b>	<b>762,181</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: CBS, 2001

#### **3.4.4.4 Department of Labour Data**

So far, our discussion of the size of an absentee population number and the nature of their work has been based upon census reports. To travel beyond India work, however, migrant labours who are using formal channels must obtain permission from the Department of Labour and Employment Promotion (DLEP). As outlined in the chapter three, they can obtain the necessary documentation through legally registered recruitment agencies or on an individual basis. Records obtained from DLEP list 223,834 persons who travelled abroad for work between 1985 and 2001 as given in below (Tables-18a, Tables18b).

A report released in May 2002 by the Ministry of Labour and Transport Management (MoLTM) states that 214,839 people have gone abroad legally, and are registered with the Ministry. The breakdown presented by the Ministry of Labour is shown below, and differs from those figures given by the Department of Labour.

<b>Table 18a:</b> Nepalese labour migrants and their country of work, as recorded by the DLEP (1985-2001)		<b>Table 18b:</b> Nepalese labour migrants and their country of work, as recorded by the MoLTM, 2002)	
<b>Country</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Number</b>
Saudi Arabia	81,493	Saudi Arabia	77,686
Qatar	52,722	Malaysia	52,581
UAE	24,852	Qatar	48,869
South Korea	3,102	UAE	23,321
Kuwait	2,960	South Kore	3,040
Malaysia	58,705	Bahrain	2,929
<b>Total</b>	<b>223,834</b>	Kuwait	2,821
		Hong Kong	1,639
		Others	1,956
		<b>Total</b>	<b>214,839</b>

Source: Table18 a: DLEP 2002

Source: Table18b MoLTM

The differences in figures produced by the Ministry and the Department of Labour may be due to the time period under scrutiny. What they both attested too, however, is that the number of Nepali workers going abroad has increased tremendously in recent years.

**Table 19:** Women who went to foreign countries through department of labour (1985-2001)

<b>S. N</b>	<b>Country name</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<b>Recruiting Agency</b>	<b>Total</b>
1	Hong Kong	35	17	52
2	South Korea	16		16
3	UK	2		2
4	Saipan	10		10
5	Israel	64	17	81
	<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>161</b>

Source: DLEP 2001

**Table 20: Estimation of domestic workers in different countries**

S.N	Country	No. of Domestic Workers (estimated)	Salary in US\$/month	Lodging & fooding	Week end
1	Saudi Arabia	1,000-3,000	100-200	yes	No
2	Bahrain	500-1,500	100-200	yes	No
3	UAE	2,000-3,000	100-200	yes	
4	Qatar	1,000-2,000	100-200	yes	No
5	Kuwait	500-1,500	100-200	yes	No
6	India	50,000-100,000	20-60	Yes/no	No
7	Korea	250	200-500	yes	yes
8	Malaysia	25-50	100-200	Yes/no	Yes/no
9	Israel	100-200	400-500	yes	Yes/no
10	Hong Kong	1,000-2,000	400-500	yes	yes
11	Japan	1,000-1,500	1000-1200	No	No
12	UK	600-700	500-700	Yes/no	yes
13	USA(New York only)	200-300	500-800	yes	yes

Sources: 1,2,3,4,5,8,10 and 13 from information provided by Nepali Associations based in the country of work (2002); 6 from research by Susan Thieme(2002); 7 from a Female Migrant Worker's Report by Madhuri Sing (2001); 9 from a document by Pioneer Overseas (2002); 11 from data collected by Yamanaka (2000) in Garner (2001). See in ILO (2004), *Decent Work for All Women and Men in Nepal: An Overview Paper Overseas Employment in Nepal--Series 4*, Kathmandu: ILO.

#### 3.4.4.5. Gaps in data on labour migration in Nepal

There are many Nepalese workers who migrate abroad outside these official channels, and whose data does not appear on official records. Compared to other South Asian countries, the volume of labour migration from Nepal through official channels is relatively insignificant. There is some need to go beyond the official data in trying to understand the contemporary situation of foreign labour migrants. The distribution of Nepalese migrants by country, such as is given above, can't be taken to reflect the actual situation. In each case, the number of clandestine migrants will far exceed official numbers.

There are no data, for example, on the women migrating overseas for work, as government data is not disaggregated by sex. Although government policy does not encourage women to work abroad and restricts women working in the Gulf region, various sources show that women have not stopped migrating for work. The government has not even been able to prevent Nepalese women reaching the Gulf for work. An estimated 8000-10,000 Nepali women are working in the Gulf at present (UNIFEM/SAMANATA 2002 as cited in ILO, 2004).

A case study of a Manpower Agency (Lumbini Overseas Concern) reveals that it formally sent 124 women overseas for work between 1994 and 1998. In addition the same company managed to send 659 women on an individual basis. So, altogether, the

company enabled 783 women to migrate for work. About 84% of these women went to work in South Korea (Pandit, 1999).

According to the Department of Labour and Employment Promotion's records, only 161 women travelled overseas for work between 1985 and 2001. See Table 19 above for a breakdown by country. HMG/Nepal does not issue permission for women to work as domestic workers in any country, except Hong Kong.

However, it is generally recognised that most Nepalese women who migrate for work are employed as domestic workers. Field observations of domestic workers in India, the Gulf countries, the US and the UK suggest that data given by the Department of Labour and Employment Promotion in Nepal dramatically underestimates the situation. Although there is no accurate data available on the total number of domestic workers from Nepal, by enlisting the support of various organisations and by making use of currently available reports, it is possible to arrive at more accurate estimates.

Table 20 shows that there are about 12,000 Nepalese working as domestic workers in foreign countries, except India. These people are almost all women.

Furthermore, it is estimated that 5,000 to 7,000 girls are trafficked from Nepal to India and other neighbouring countries each year, and about 200,000 Nepalese girls and women are currently working in the Indian sex industry (UNIFEM, 1998). In an article published in the Kathmandu Post, Prativa Subedi argued that only 20% of women trafficked to other countries actually return home, and when they do return they are treated derogatively (15 September 2002:p4).

It is common for people from the lower middle classes, and especially those who have failed their School Leaving Certificate (SLC) exams, to consider going to the Gulf for work. People from poorer backgrounds are more likely to go to India if they can. Such variables also affect regional patterns. The home districts of migrants to India are concentrated in the mid and far west of Nepal. The home districts of migrants to Japan, Hong Kong and European countries are concentrated in central Nepal. These descriptions, however, must be generalized very cautiously. There are many Nepalese who migrated to

foreign countries for work who do have a higher education. In the case of illegal migrants to Japan, many have passed their SLC and some have a higher education<sup>7</sup>.

### **3.4.5 The inflow of foreign workers of Nepal**

Non-Nepalese workers, other than Indian citizens, are required to obtain work permits from the Department of Labour and Employment Promotion. Indian migrant labourers do not require any visa to stay in Nepal. Therefore, almost all Indian citizens who work in Nepal do so without work permits. Official records for the year 2001/02 show that only 479 foreign citizens were granted a work permit. This was a drop from 806 people in 2000/01. The figures for other years are even lower, and none of them present an accurate picture of reality (ILO, Series 4, 2004:37).

It is commonly recognized in Nepal that a large number of foreign workers, especially from India migrate to Nepal for work. Many semi-skilled or skilled jobs in Nepal's technical sector are filled by Indian workers. The space related by out-migration and technically unskilled Nepali labour force are often given as reasons for this phenomena. This chapter explores some policies related to foreign migrant workers in Nepal, their numbers and their engagement in different sectors.

### **3.4.6 Policy and legislative and provisions for employing foreign labour**

The national policy with regards foreign labour in Nepal is as follows.

- In case of skilled Nepalese labour being unavailable, work permits may be issued to foreign workers under certain conditions.
- In order to increase the opportunities for waged employment in Nepal, existing skill development programmes will be qualitatively and quantitatively reformed and expanded. Ultimately, non-Nepalese workers shall be replaced with skilled national labour, according to the demand of the labour market.

According to the Labour Act (1992-Amended), non-Nepalese citizens are prohibited to work in Nepal without work permits authorised by the Department of Labour and

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<sup>7</sup> The data are drawing from the survey conducted by the ILO by selecting 795 persons using random sampling. See in ILO (2004), *Decent Work for All Women and Men in Nepal: An Overview Paper Overseas Employment in Nepal—Series 4*, Kathmandu: ILO



Employment Promotion. Some key provisions of the Labour Act regarding such matters are as follows:

- If a Nepalese citizen is not available for any skilled technical post, even after the publication of advertisements in national newspapers and journals, the Manager may submit an application to the DLEP for approval to appoint a non-Nepalese citizen.
- If it is found, upon conducting an inquiry into the submission of any application, that no Nepalese citizen available for a skilled technical post, the DLEP may grant approval for a non-Nepalese citizen to work in Nepal for up to five years. In specialised or skilled technical post, the period may be extended up to seven years.
- Any manager, who engages non-Nepalese citizens at work, shall make arrangements for offering training to Nepalese citizens and for gradually replacing non-Nepalese workers.

### **3.4.7 Remittances and Returnees**

#### **3.4.7.1 Volume of Remittances**

How many Nepalese citizens are working in foreign countries? And how much money do they send back to Nepal? These two questions are extremely important to the Nepalese economy. Yet, there is no exact information available to provide satisfactory answers.

During the second half of the 1970s, the recorded value of remittances doubled. In 1974/75 the figure was put at Rs.90.7 million. This had risen to 216.8 million by 1980/81. Over the next decade, the official value of foreign remittances increased three fold. By 1989/90 it had reached Rs. 676.8 million. This was equal to about half of the country's income from tourism and equal around one seventh of the export economy. Furthermore, it is estimated that by the mid 1980s Nepal was gaining \$47 million annually in foreign exchange from the salaries, remittances and pensions of people employed as British Gurkha's. In addition, Indian currency worth \$ 100 million was brought to Nepal from Nepalese employed in the Indian Army (Seddon et al 1998 cited in ILO, Series 4, 2004).

In the 1990s, the official value of the remittance economy was put at Rs. 2.9 billion. This was around 7.7% to total foreign exchange earnings, leaving Nepal well below countries

like Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, around 33% of foreign exchange earnings come from foreign labour employment (Nair, 1998)<sup>8</sup>.

It is widely believed that official records for the remittance economy represent just the tip of the iceberg; particularly as most remittances are transferred informally. Various studies conducted at the village level revealed that not-farm incomes make an important contribution to livelihood security. Such studies led to an important piece of research conducted by David Seddon and his colleagues. They attempted to estimate the total value of remittances reaching Nepal, from all sources. The findings of the study are summarized in the table below.

**Table 21: Foreign Remittances Reaching Nepal, 1997**

Region	Workers (estimated)	Remittance (estimated)	Workers (possible)	Remittance (possible)
The West	15,000	4.4 billion	--	--
The Gulf	40,000	1.5 billion		--
East/S.E.Asia	44,000	23 billion	--	--
India	25,000	6 billion	1 billion	40 billion
Others	1,000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>350,000</b>	<b>35 billion</b>	<b>1.1million</b>	<b>69 billion</b>

*Source:* Seddon et al (2001). *The New Lahures: Foreign Employment and Remittances Economy of Nepal.* Kathmandu: NIDS.

Table 21 reveals that remittances worth as much as Rs 69 billion could have entered Nepal in 1997. This figure includes remittances sent from India, which is particularly difficult to estimate. In recent years, remittances from all sectors have grown. The Nepal Rasta Bank says that the expenditure patterns of households have also grown, despite the problems facing the national economy which will record almost no growth (0.8%) in 2002. These expenditure patterns can be attributed to the growing dependence of household economies on remittances. There are four key mechanisms—money transfer using bank, HUNDI system, licensed private money transfer system and the ‘HUNDI Carry’ system— for remitting money to Nepal. The use of these mechanisms by a migrant worker depends largely on the country from where it is being sent.

<sup>8</sup> Nair S (1998). *The World Today*, March

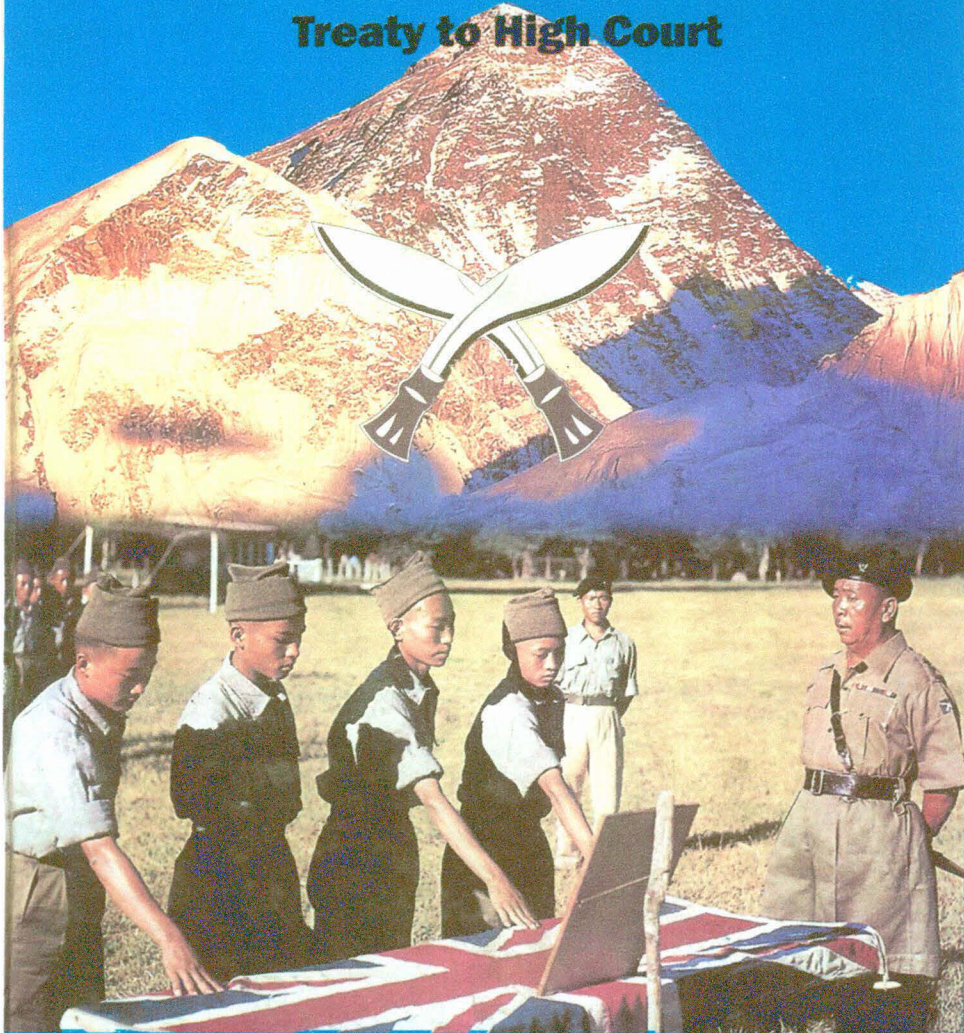
Chapter-IV

# ब्रिटिस-गोर्खा भर्ती

सन्धिदेखि सर्वोच्चसम्म

## British-Gurkha

Treaty to High Court



Process of British Gurkha Recruitment





**Chapter**

# 4

**The Profile, Processes,**

**Causes, and Consequences of British**

**Gurkhas Armed Force Returnees**

**in Kathmandu Valley**

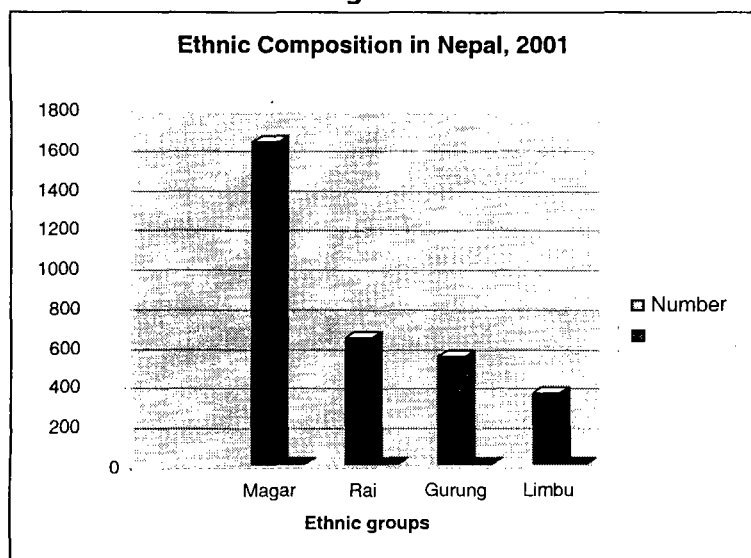
## **4 Introductions**

This chapter introduces the home environment in which the great majority of men who had served in the British Gurkhas had grown up. It seeks to identify certain of the ecological residence, economic, demographic and social contexts within which decisions to serve in foreign armies were made. Among the British Ghurkhas Armed Force Returnees, the four ethnic groups, namely Rai and Limbu from the eastern part and Gurung and Magar from western part of Nepal are included for this study which is assumed as national representatives ethnic groups for British Gurkhas recruitment. These four groups have had long history in Gurkhas soldiers in Nepal and, the British and the Indian Gurkhas Armed Force as well. They were supposed as bravery of the brave, honesty and loyal for the British since 200 years back. This chapter further examines about the profile of British Ghurkhas Returnees including reasons for recruitment, processes, services in the armed force, retirement and, socio- cultural and demographic characteristics and consequences and economic impacts in their local community, life style and their livelihood conditions. Finally, the implications and effects of military service on the local communities from which soldiers migrate are considered.

The overwhelming majority of Gurkhas Returnees originate from the villages and township situated within the mountains and middle hills<sup>1</sup> of Nepal (Himalaya and Pahar) and a much higher proportion until relatively recently reside at altitude between 3500 and 9000 ft.

Based on the 2001 Census, the population figure of four major ethnic groups whose number is highest in the given respective districts. Limbus are numerically highest in the ‘Wallo Kirat’ ( Panchthar=81,408, Terhathum=67286, Taplejung=53,324, Illam=40,286 and, Dhankuta=22,849) districts. These districts lie within Mechi and Koshi Zones. As usual, Rais are numerically highest in the ‘Manjh Kirat’ and ‘Wallo Kirat’ Regions which compromise Mechi, Koshi and Sagarmatha Zones. Khotang (89,633), Bhojpur (69,244), Illam ( 68,901), Udayapur (47, 128), Solukhumbu (33,903), Dhankuta (38,257), Sankhuwashava (35, 728) are heavily resided districts of Rais ethnic group. Similarly, Gurungs are numerically highest in the Kaski (69,038, Gorkha (64240), Lamjung (56,140), Tanahu (39,418), and Syangjya (31,687). Gurungs are numerically highest in Manang (75.9%) and Muatang (75.9%) of each district total population. Thus, Gurungs are heavily resided in Narayani, Gandaki and Dhawalagiri. As usual, Magars are numerically highest in Palpa (1, 36,750), Nawalparasi (96, 881), Rolpa (91, 936), Tanahu (84,332), Pyuthan (65, 123) and Mygdi (47, 820). Thus, Magar are heavily settle in Lumbini, Dhawalagiri, Gandaki and Rapti Zones (CBS, 2003:99-133).

Figure-4.1



<sup>1</sup> The Terai was thinly populated until the 1960s when the government of Nepal undertook a major programme of malaria eradication.

According to 2001 Census, among the four ethnic groups, Magar Consists of Highest percentages (7.1%=1,622,420), followed by Rai (2.79%=635,151), Gurung (2.39%=543,571) and Limbu (1.58%=359, 379) respectively (CBS, 2003:117 *ibid*). Thus, this data shows the four ethnic composition of Nepal who preferably join in the British Armed Force (See Figure-1).

So, those stated figures and facts indicate that ethnic or nationalities (Janajati) is a “social group with its own mother tongue, native area and religious tradition. In other words, ethnic groups are horizontally distributed in space (Gurung, H.B<sup>2</sup>., 2001:3).

There are ‘Mongoloid’ peoples spoke a diversity of what are now classified as Tibeto-Burman languages, some virtually indistinguishable from one another. These Tibeto-Burman – speaking ethnic populations, recruitment into the Gurkhas have concentrated on only four of these groups, namely the Magars, Gurungs, Rais and Limbus<sup>3</sup> (Caplan, I., 1995:38). The Khas, Magar, Gurung and Thakuri are the Military tribes of Nepal from which the fighting element is almost exclusively drawn for the army and there are also a few Limbus, Rais, and Sunuwars to be found in most in Gurkha regiments. Experience gained in Sikkim, Burma, and elsewhere, would prove Limbus, Rais, and Sunuwars to be excellent (Vansittart, E., with an introduction by H.H. Rishley, 1992:58). Magars were recruited from No. 2, 3, and 4 of western Nepal namely Palpa, Gulmi, Pyuthan, Tanahu, and Kaski and at the same time, Gurungs were recruited from No. 2, 3, and 4 of western Nepal in large number. Lamjung, Kaski, Gorkha and Parbat were included in those mentioned number. Similarly Rais were recruited from No. 3, 4 and 5 eastern Nepal namely Solukhumbu, Bhojpur, Khotang, Dhankuta, and Illam. Meanwhile, Limbus was recruited from No. 2, 3, and 4 of eastern Nepal namely, Terhthum, Taplejung, Panchthar, Illam and Dhankuta (Morris, C.J<sup>4</sup>., 1993). Major C.J., Morris further expressed his belief on Gurkhas that “the Gurkhas who by nature are bold, enduring, faithful, frank independent and self-reliant, have inherited the military spirit from their forefathers”. So, a major contribution to the Rai Cash income derives from their employment in the Indian and British Gurkha regiments. Similarly a good many Limbu men join to British or Indian

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Harka Gurung is recognised by combined designations – Ph.D. from the University of Edinburgh; Research fellow in School of Oriental and African Studies; Lecturer, Tribhuvan University, Vice Chancellor, National Planning commission; Minister of state of Education, Commerce, Industry, Transport and Public works; Consultant for the Government of Nepal, ADB, ESCAP, IDRC, IUCN UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO World Bank.

<sup>3</sup> A small proportion of soldiers was also recruited from other Tibeto-Burman population, as well as among the ‘Khas’, or non-tribal Chhetri and Thakuri inhabitants of the hills

<sup>4</sup> Major C.J. Morris belongs to late 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles.

regiment for employment. As the Basis of Magar economy, British and Indian Gurkha regiments were considered for remitting regular money to their families, as well as retired soldiers drawing pensions from various military sources. As usual, a great majority of Gurungs joined in the Indian and the British armies and went to various parts of India, to Malaysia, Singapore, to Hong Kong and to England and the most imported sources of Gurung family income is from the pensions and salaries of those who become soldiers (Bista, D.B., 1976:33-76). As mentioned above, four ethnic groups have had a history of Gurkhas Armed recruitment as important source of economy since their forefathers. So, this chapter explores in detail for four ethnic groups about following given subjects.

## 4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This section deals with inflow of British Ghurkhas Armed Force Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley, their current age, sex and ethnic groups. In terms of inflow of Gurkha Armed Force Returnees, a large majority (89.3%) were settled in Lalitpur district and followed by Kathmandu district (10.7%). Of the total respondents, 68 persons were males and the rest of 35 persons were females. These 35 females were interviewed in the absence of their husbands. As females reported, all absentee males had gone in abroad for re-service (Table-1, Figgure-2). Of the total respondents, Magar represents highest in number (27 households) followed by Gurung (26 households) from the western region of Nepal. As usual, Rai and Limbu equally represent in third position (25/25 households) from eastern part of Nepal. Three more households from Magar and Gurung community were taken due to key informants in Lalitpur districts who were associates with GEASO office (Table-1)

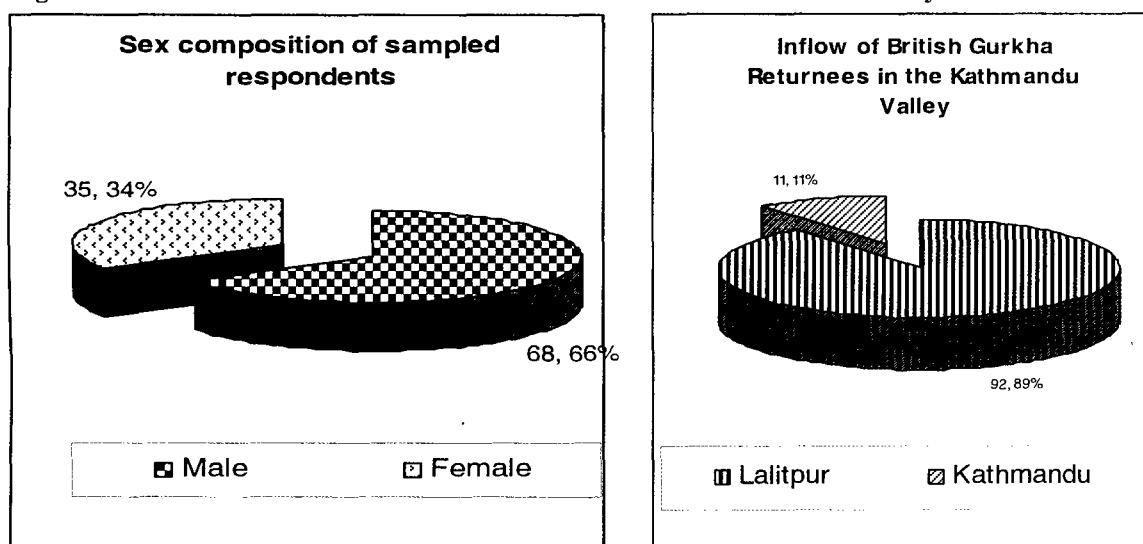
**Table 1:** Distribution of inflow of sampled respondents in Kathmandu Valley by districts, sex, ethnic groups and according to current age

Districts	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Lalitpur	92	89.3
Kathmandu	11	10.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Respondents sex</b>		
Male	68	66.0
Female	35	34.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Ethnic groups</b>		
Gurung	26	25.24
Magar	27	26.24



Rai	25	24.27
Limbu	25	24.27
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Current age</b>		
Less than 40	7	6.8
40 - 44	19	19.4
45 - 49	22	21.4
50 - 54	20	19.4
55 - 59	21	20.4
60 and above	13	12.6
Dead	1	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Figure-2 Inflow of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in Kathmandu Valley**



The age structure of the respondents shows that age group of 45-49 years represents highest percentage (21.4%) followed by age group of 55-59 years (20.4%), and age group of 40-44 and 50-54 years are equally represented by 19.4 percent. Age of 60 years and above represents in less number. The fact about age structure indicates that a majority of the British Ghurkhas Returnees (about 68%) still present in the position of working age who might again be able to remitting foreign money in the country. Such army men are allowed till age of 56 years in different working areas in abroad (Table-1).

## 4.2 Social Characteristics

This section describes about literacy status, religions, and spoken languages and types of recruitment in abroad of the sampled population of British Ghurkhas Returnees.

## 4.2.1 Literacy status, spoken languages, religion, types of recruitments in abroad

**Table 2:** Distribution of respondents according to their literacy status in English medium, spoken languages, changed and unchanged, Religion, Types of recruitments in abroad

Literacy status in English medium*	Yes		No		Total
English writing	76.5	78	23.5	24	100.0 (102)
English reading	79.4	81	20.6	21	100.0 (102)
English speaking	94.1	96	5.9	6	100.0 (102)
<b>Types of spoken language</b>	<b>Number</b>			<b>Percentage (%)</b>	
Nepali & own language	60			58.3	
Nepali	32			31.1	
Magar	6			5.8	
Limbu	4			3.9	
Rai	1			1.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>			<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Religion</b>					
Unchanged Hindu	33			32.0	
Changed from Hindu to Kirant**	31			30.1	
Changed from Hindu to Buddhist	27			26.2	
Unchanged Buddhist	5			4.9	
Unchanged Kirant	4			3.9	
Changed Kirant to Buddhist	1			1.0	
Changed from Hindu to Christian	1			1.0	
Changed Buddhist to Kirant	1			1.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>			<b>100.0</b>	
<b>Types of recruitment abroad</b>					
British Gurkhas Returnees	83			80.6	
Singapore Gurkha Returnees	20			19.4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>			<b>100.0</b>	

*Note:* One respondent is excluded because of death and answers are multiple\*

Kirant is a religion of an indigenous group (Rai and Limbu) \*\*

In terms of literacy status, majority respondents (94%) reported that they can speak English and followed by reading (79.4%) and writing (76.5%). Their literacy status was found higher than the national average (54%) and the capital district –Kathmandu (77%). The British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees had to emigrate in the age of 17 to 19 years and had also emigrated from remote areas – mountain and hill where educational facilities were less. Due to both stated causes, they had no opportunities for further study. Although, they recruited with illiterate or nominal literate position, they had opportunities to learn English in the Paltan or recruited place. Because English language learning was compulsion for Gurkhas as the main means of communication during their service period which was and is still so called ‘Paltane’ education. This indicates that the British Gurkha Returnees did not only come back to country with foreign currency but also arrived with

English education. It concludes that both citizens and nations are benefited for both income and education point of view (Table 2).

In connection with spoken languages, about 58 percent were found both Nepali and their own languages followed by Nepali language (31%); Magar (5.8%), Limbu (3.8%) and a minority was found Rai spoken language. This shows that majority of the total Returnees are practicing their own languages in migrated places.

In concerned to religions, majority respondents were found unchanged Hindu religion and followed by changed from Hindu to Kirat (31%), changed from Hindu to Buddhist (27%). There were also found Unchanged Buddhist and Kirat representing by 5 and 4 percent (Table 2). The religions changed from Hindu to Kirat and Hindu to Buddhist compromise about 56 percent. In earlier, all the Ghurkhas who had joint the armed force, had to show and make citizenship with the Hindu religion identity. The ruling practice of Hindu monarchy system had also compelled to make such citizenship to the Nepalese people. The recruiting authority also checked the identity of Ghurkhas soldiers by relating to Hindu religion. The processes and practicing of cultural preservation is widened after the restoration of democracy in 1991. People, after there are legally free to preserve their culture which encouraged and inspired the Nepalese nationalities to return back to their own cultures. So, this concludes that their religious practices were and are more practiced and preserved after retirement than their service period that means when they were in regiments.

Based on types of recruitments abroad, 83 returnees' respondents were interviewed from British Ghurkhas Armed Force and 20 returnees' respondents from the Singapore Police Force were selected for this study. There were three reasons proved by evidences to select the Singapore Police Force as a reserved unit and a part of British Armed Force from British Government side – Firstly, British recruited 20 extra battalions – 40 in total during the World War II and they served everywhere in the world such as in addition to keeping peace, the Ghurkhas fought against Japanese in Singapore and in the jungles of Burma. The Ghurkhas thereafter, was formed as the Ghurkha Contingent (GC) of the Singapore Police Force on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1949 from selected ex-British Army Ghurkhas. Secondly, the Ghurkhas Arm Service Corps was formed in Singapore in 1958 as a cadre of volunteers from the Ghurkhas infantry Battalions and trained under Royal Army Service officers and in 1959 Royal approval was given for affiliation to the RASC and other companies also

subsequently raised. In 1962, among the companies which were formed in Singapore, one company, became one strategic Reserve in U.K. The formed companies had served in operation in Brunei, Borneo, Singapore and Hong Kong. Thus, this proves that British Gurkhas Armed Force is the forefather of the Singapore Gurkhas Police Force. Thirdly, the Singapore Gurkhas Recruitments' procedures, policies, selecting time and selecting depot and an official work are also practiced under British Armed Force's authorities. They do handover the recruits to the representative of Singapore Government's Police Force after completing the selection. According to oral communication communicated by ex-Armed British Gurkhas Armed Force's personnel and some Nepalese historian, British are a contractor for Gurkhas recruits for Singapore. They used to take 30 percent salary per recruit from Singapore government and Singapore government used to pay 30 percent less revenue to the Nepalese government on the one hand and Singapore Gurkhas recruits get less salary on the other in compared to British Gurkhas on Armed Force. Thus, such disparities, practiced by British are interesting, challenging and studious for the Nepalese government and researchers as well.

#### **4.2.2 Place of origin of British Gurkhas Armed Force Returnees in Nepal**

The British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees are now regarded as in-migrants for Kathmandu valley, out-migrants for their place of origin and, emigrants for British Gurkhas Armed force. Thus, these terms are the mixture of British Gurkhas Returnees in the Kathmandu valley. Table-3 presents that, all the pensioners from British Gurkhas Armed Force had been emigrated from the mountain and the middle hills zones and regions of Nepal for the recruitment in the British Armed Force for employment. This relates with the "Theories: Migration and Development" innovated by Hoffmann-Nowotony, 1973 (Schuerkens, U., 2005:536) (See detail in Chapter-II –literature review). Of the total respondents, 51.5 percent represents the western part and rest of the other represents from eastern part of Nepal. Among the respondents, about 30 percent were found from the eastern hills which cover five districts of the Hill region and followed by the Mountain region (13.6) and this also consists of two districts Among the Mountain districts, Taplejung districts represents the highest one (11 in out of 12 respondents).

Subsequently, among the respondents from the eastern hill, Khotang and Bhojpur equally represent in respondents number (9/9).

In the same way, of the total, 47.6 percent respondents represents to the western hills of Nepal followed by the Mountain region (5.8%). Among the Hill districts, Parbat represents by 14 respondents and followed by Baglung (8). Subsequently, among the western mountain districts, Myagdi represents by highest respondents (4 among the five respondents) (See Map-3, Chapt-II, and Chapt-IV- Introduction, Appendix of Chapt.-IV- Table -1).

**Table 3:** Place of origin of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in Nepal by districts and eco- development region

Place of origin	Number	Percent
<b>Eastern Devt. Reg</b>		
Eastern Mountain(2 Districts = Taplejung, Solukhumbu)	14	13.6
Eastern Hill ( 5 Districts= Okhaldunga,Panchathar, Terhathum,Kotang, Bhojpur)	32	31.1
Terai (1 District= Sunsari)	3	2.9
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>47.6</b>
<b>Western Devt. Reg.</b>		
Western Mountain (2 Districts=Gorkha, Myagdi)	6	5.8
Western Hill (6District=Baglung, Lamjung, Tanahu, Parbat, Kaski, Syangja)	46	44.7
Mid-Wn. Hill ( District	1	1.0
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>51.5</b>
<b>Singapore*</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>

*Note:* \* One respondent who reported his birth place in foreign country, he also mentioned that his forefather was belonged to Sagarmatha district of eastern Nepal. Thus, he was also included in eastern part of Nepal.

### 4.2.3 Housing Condition of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees at Kathmandu Valley

**House and type:** In terms of the concept and definition used in both censuses of 1991 and 2001, a house refers to a structure where household is using it as a shelter and which is closed or surrounded by walls or curtains made by of any types of material such as mud, wood planks, bricks, stone, concrete, etc. It is cleared here that a house may contain any number of rooms, but it must have a separate way to get inside. It is cleared that a house may have contained more than one household that means a house may have more than one family having separate kitchen for food. According to Nepalese population census, houses are divided into four categories – i) Permanent/Pakka house which is made

its both walls and roof by permanent construction material; ii) Semi-permanent/Ardha Pakka house refers to that where either the wall of the roof is constructed with temporary materials; iii) Kachhi house belongs to non-durable materials like wooden flakes, bamboo, straw, thatch and mud, and iv) 'Other' type of housing unit is, generally, made with very non-durable material such as plastic sheet, bamboo, straw/thatch, etc., for example hut/ten (Kayastha, R.P<sup>5</sup>. and Shrestha,<sup>6</sup> N.L., 2003:175). Based on these categories, the house type of British Gurkha Returnees was examined in this study.

**Housing condition:** The term housing means the household or family accommodation in dwelling units, its structure type and facilities such as electricity, drinking water, cooking fuel, toilets, etc (Karmacharya and Sangraula, 1998 cited in Kayastha and Shrestha, 2003 ibid). The type of house and housing condition are influenced by local environment or of construction materials locally and the level of development. On the other hand, the impact of development efforts is reflected in housing condition of people in the area. So, it is the main indicator of human well being and level of development. In Nepal, there is a problem of availability of sufficient data on house and housing facilities, and household composition or family structure. Like wise, there is a shortage of information about housing facilities such as room per persons, number of rooms, space occupied by house, flooring material etc. Those available data are only at national level and in some cases it is available up to regional and sub-regional level. So, this present study will helpful to examine the housing condition at local level.

In this perspective, the family structure, types of houses, access to toilets and housing facilities of the British Ghurkhas Armed Force Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley, are examined in this section of the present study.

#### **4.2.3.1 Family structure and average family size of the sampled households**

Nepali society is structured of multi-ethnic groups. So, there are many cultural and social practices in the country. As a result, family structure, average family size or average household size, and household composition are also influenced and some ethnics groups want to live in joint family or in large family structure and some family want to live in nuclear families. For example, Tharu people want to live in extended family because of

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<sup>5</sup> Rabi Prasad Kayastha is a Deputy Director of Central Bureau of Statistics

<sup>6</sup> Nebin Lal Shrestha is a Deputy Director of Central Bureau of Statistics

agrarian economy system and Newar ethnic group usually lived in joint household but preferred to stay in nuclear family because of business occupation. Newar ethnic group mostly settles in the town or urban areas. Thus, family structure and average household size are influenced by economy activities, occupational structure, residential areas, and process of development and increasing trend of urbanization in the country (Kanskar V.B., 1995). In the process of development and increasing trend of urbanisation in the country, some traditional practices and norms have been gradually changing. According to the Urban Population Survey 1996 conducted by Central Bureau of Statistics showed that the Nuclear family is becoming more popular instead of joint family in urban areas of country (Dangol, 1997 cited in Kayastha and Shrestha, 2003 *ibid*). Same evidences are seemed in British Gurkha Returnees in the Kathmandu valley.

Of the total respondents, about 85 percent were lived in nuclear family and minority were belonged with joint or extended family. This could be because of living in urban areas and changes in occupational structure than their place of origin. Although, nuclear family size is existence in high percentage, the number of family members is still look high. However, this shows the increasing trend of nuclear family of British Gurkha Returnees in the Kathmandu valley. The average family size of the nuclear family of the British Armed Force is calculated by 5.35 persons per household which is nearly close to national average household size (5.40 persons per household) and higher than the average household size of Kathmandu and Lalitpur districts (4.60 and 4.90 persons per household). The average family size of British Ghurkhas Armed Force Returnees is 5.50 persons per households which is higher than national average (Table-4) (ICIMOD/MENRIS, 2003). Similarly, the average extended family size is observed by 6.30 persons per household which is also not comparable with national average family size. Based on above comparative data between National Survey data and resulted data from the present study are noticed differently. Thus, the researcher has been defined those family structure based on anthropological study, approach, process and practices during the field visit in the British Gurkha Armed Force community in the Kathmandu Valley. There may be two reasons behind to be different in those two data and fact - i) The census does not give the data about whole profile of family size in Nepal due to shortage of sufficient national survey including the subject of family size; ii) In Kathmandu Valley, Newar ethnic group wants to live in joint household but prefers to stay in Nuclear family. Thus, ethnic group might confusingly be report to the enumerators. So, the Nepalese

censuses might be de-enumerated family member and household size during the census period in the Kathmandu valley.

**Table 4:** Family structure of and average family size of the sampled households

Family structure	No. of household	% of households	Average family size
Nuclear <sup>7</sup>	88	85.43	5.35
Joint/ Extended <sup>8</sup>	15	14.57	6.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5.50</b>

#### 4.2.3.2 House ownership of Gurkha Returnees in Kathmandu Valley

About of house ownership used by household, the data or information is collected in only two censuses and has used similar definition. According to two Nepalese censuses' definition, it refers to the legal status of ownership of house or part of house or apartment/flats that usually is used by household and it is categorised like: Owned About of house ownership used by household, the data or information is collected in only two censuses and has used similar definition. According to two Nepalese censuses' definition, it refers to the legal status of ownership of house or part of house or apartment/flats that usually is used by household and it is categorised like: Owned, Rented, Rent-free, Institutional and others. In this present study, the definition of house type is defined by anthropological approach by relating to the census' definition. In this present study, owned house type is accepted as reported by respondents that they had own built houses where they lived during the responding time. As usual, the rented house is defined that where the respondent lived by paying per month rent for a household. The respondents might be lived in an apartment or in a flat or in a whole house About of house ownership used by household, the data or information is collected in only two censuses and has used similar definition. According to two Nepalese censuses' definition, it refers to the legal status of ownership of house or part of house or apartment/flats that usually is used by household and it is categorised like: Owned, Rented, Rent-free, Institutional and others. In this present study, the definition of house type is defined by anthropological approach by relating to the census' definition. In this present study, owned house type is accepted as reported by respondents that they had own built houses where they lived during the responding time. As usual, the rented house is defined that where the respondent lived by

<sup>7</sup> Nuclear family includes parents and their unmarried children of a family in a house but it does not matter about number of children should be fixed there. But, in general family members are lesser than the extended family size.

<sup>8</sup> Joint/ Extended family means parents and their unmarried and married children, brothers and sister in-laws and cousins except relatives living together



paying per month rent for a household. The respondents might be lived in an apartment or in a flat or in a whole house.

Of the total respondents, 89.3 percent had their own houses and rest fewer respondents lived in rented houses (10.7). Among the total Gurkha respondents, 88 percent British Gurkha Armed Force accommodated in their own houses but Singapore Gurkha Police Force respondents accommodated more in their own houses. Based on research's result, the condition of housing of Gurkha Returnees seem better in the Kathmandu valley (Table-5).

**Table 5: House type Ownership of the Gurkha Returnees**

Types of ownership of the house in Kathmandu*	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Owned <sup>9</sup>	73	88.0	19	95.0	92	89.3
Rented house <sup>10</sup>	10.0	12.0	1	5.0	11	10.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\* Respondents are only those who have own house

#### **4.2.3.3. Structure of the house, construction materials and number of stories**

Table 6 describes that, of the total respondents, majority of the respondents had two storied building (48.9%) and closely followed by three and above storied building (46.7%) and a fewer had one storied building. All houses were found constructed by durable and permanent construction materials such as local woven bricks, Chinese bricks, cemented plaster and concrete material with concrete ceiling. Majority of houses were constructed in European design with slanting ceiling and room and as well as in Bungalow design which represent 38 percent. Official personnel's and some Singapore Police personnel are accommodated in such houses. Of the total houses, about 24 percent were built in simple design. Some of the respondents rented their houses for glossary shops and also for family residence. Minority respondents were engage in glossary shops and restaurant in the shutters of their own houses. This indicates that housing condition of the respondent looks in good conditions and it also shows the better living standard in the

<sup>9</sup> Nuclear family includes parents and their unmarried children of a family in a house but it does not matter about number of children should be fixed there. But, in general family members are lesser than the extended family size

<sup>10</sup> Joint/ Extended family means parents and their unmarried and married children, brothers and sister in-laws and cousins except relatives living together

valley (The researcher's own observation and personal discussion with the respondents during the field visit, 2005).

**Table 6: Structure of the houses/building and construction materials and number of storeys**

	Number	Percentage (%)
<b>No. of stories of current house</b>		
One	4	4.3
Two	45	48.9
Three and above	43	46.7
<b>Types of house structure/used materials</b>		
Local bricks with cemented plaster & slanting ceiling	35	38.0
Chinese brick +cemented wall & plain ceiling	22	23.9
Chinese brick +cemented wall +slanting ceiling	21	22.8
Local bricks, and cemented and simple RCC ceiling	14	15.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: i) only those responded who have own house

ii) All the 92 respondents have permanent (pakka) house

#### **4.2.3.4 Access to toilets (Toilets facilities)**

In terms of toilet facilities, if household posses their own toilets that could be within the house of boundary of the houses then such households are considered as households having toilets facilities. If the households do not have their own toilet and household members use either public toilets or open places then such households are considered as households having no toilets facilities. The criteria of the access to toilets of the present study, has been accepted the above definition developed by Nepalese Census 2001 (Kayastha and Shrestha, 2003, *ibid*). The researcher has been categorised the toilet facilities into three groups by her observation as modern with flush system, ordinary and both. If it is possible to clean human excreta by pouring water (either using machine or manually) is connected to drainage or septic tank, then the toilet is said to be modern with flush system. On the other hand' if it is possible to clean human excreta by pouring water but it is placed simple pan or not placed of commode but it is also connected to drainage or septic tank, then the toilet is said to be simple or ordinary.

In the total houses, 57.3 percent were used both types of toilets- modern and ordinary/simple followed by used of simple toilets only (19.4%) and minority were used modern toilets with flush system (Table-7). So, data shows that hundred percent household have the toilet facilities. This figure is higher than the national urban toilet facilitated household (78% toilet facilitated urban household). There might be two reasons to be used of both types of toilets- i) The Gurkha Returnees may still have

connection with their place of origin and first migrated places. So, the people who come from those places, prefer and used to ordinary toilets; ii) There might be shortage of water due to heavy population pressure in their residential areas and the modern toilet consumes more water than the ordinary one. This also indicates the better housing condition of the British Gurkhas Armed Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley.

**Table 7:** Distribution of access to toilets

Types of toilet	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Flush toilet (modern)	9	10.8	4	20.0	13	12.6
Simple toilet	17	20.5	3	15.0	20	19.4
Both	47	56.6	12	60.0	59	57.3
Rented	10	12.0	1	5.0	11	10.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### **4.3.5 British Gurkha Returnees and their housing facilities**

In terms of housing condition of this study, number of rooms including kitchen and store and types of toilets facilities and number of toilets are studied. Answers for these are multiple. Of the total respondents' house, 42.4 percent were found with 9-12 rooms followed by 25.0 percent house (5-8 rooms). Subsequently, 20 percent house had 13-16 rooms. Similarly housed with less than 5 rooms and 17 rooms were found in less percentage (See Appendix of Chapt – IV -Table-1).

In connection to toilet facilities, the average number of toilet is 3.5 per house. Of the total houses, 27 percent houses were found with three toilets. Of the total houses with modern toilets, 36 percent housed were observed with two modern toilets per house. The same pattern was followed by houses with simple toilets. This also proves that the housing condition of Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley looks better condition than the national and district levels (See Appendix –Table-2).

#### **4.2.3.6 per month rents for rented houses (in Rs) and Number of respondents**

Rental houses are generally permanent and these are mostly found in urban areas. Of the total respondents (103), 11 respondents' family were lived in rented house and houses were permanent type. They averagely paid Rs.5063/- per month in Nepalese currency. The maximum rent was paid Rs.7000/- per month. Such rented residence was about 18 percent of the total and followed by Rs.4500/- (18.2 %). Majority of rented residence paid

Rs.6000/- per month which is equivalent to salary of non-gazetted officer of Nepal. This figure and fact shows the good living standard of Gurkha Armed Force Returnees family. But other general Nepalese family would not able to afford such expensive rent. These rented family might be in-migrate later than the permanent one and takes time to build their house (See Table-.8).

**Table 8:** Number of respondents who were living in the rented houses and amount of rents per month (in Rs.).

Per month rents for rented houses (in Rs)	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
4000	1	9.1
4500	2	18.2
4600	1	9.1
6000	4	36.4
7000	2	18.2
Non-response	1	9.1
<b>Total response</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average rented amount (in Rs)</b>	<b>Rs .5063</b>	

### **4.3 Characteristics of Household Population**

According to latest Nepalese Population Census, 2001, a household consists to groups of a individuals who share living quarters and their principal meals. The household is the basic unit and provides a general framework for the identification and enumeration of individuals in many demographic inquiries. Relatives, cousins and servant were excluded in this present study. This section deals about age-sex composition, level of education, occupation, status of the British Gurkha Armed Force in the Kathmandu Valley.

#### **4.3.1 Age-Sex composition of sampled household population of British Ghurkhas Armed Force Returnees**

For the demographic purposes, age is defined as of full years lived by an individual. In developing countries with a high prevalence of illiteracy, age is one of the most difficult of personal characteristics to be ascertained by direct enquiries. There are considerable error and biases that have been observed in the reported ages. Clearly the age structure of a population at a particular point of time is the result of past demographic processes of births and deaths. Also, the age structure of the population at present can affect the future trends of demographic events (Shrinivasan, K., 1998:44-46). Subsequently, a significant feature of any population is the distribution of its members according to age, which facilitate the planners and policy makers in formulating effective socio-economic

development plans for the population of different age groups for the various purposes. However, an age structure and sex compositions in this present study is believed and accepted as reported by interviewees. Sex and five- years broad age groups is presented in (Table-9).

**Table 9: Age-Sex composition of sampled household population of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees<sup>11</sup>**

Age group	Female		Male		Both Sexes		Sex ratio
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Persons/
0-4	8	2.6	5	2.3	13	1.9	63
5 – 9	8	2.6	13	3.7	21	5.0	163
10 – 14	23	7.4	17	7.0	40	6.6	74
<b>Young aged population (0 -14)</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>90</b>
15-19	44	14.2	39	14.6	83	15.1	89
20-24	50	16.1	31	14.2	81	12.0	62
25-29	38	12.3	30	12.0	68	11.6	79
30-34	31	10.0	17	8.4	48	6.6	55
35-39	22	7.1	12	6.0	34	4.6	55
40-44	25	8.1	18	7.6	43	6.9	72
45-49	21	6.8	23	7.7	44	8.9	110
50-54	19	6.1	20	6.9	39	7.7	105
55-59	11	3.5	20	5.4	31	7.7	182
<b>Economic working aged popn.</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>84.2</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>82.8</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>80</b>
60-64	4	1.3	8	2.1	12	3.1	200
65+	6	1.9	6	2.1	12	2.3	100
<b>Old aged population (60+)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>84</b>

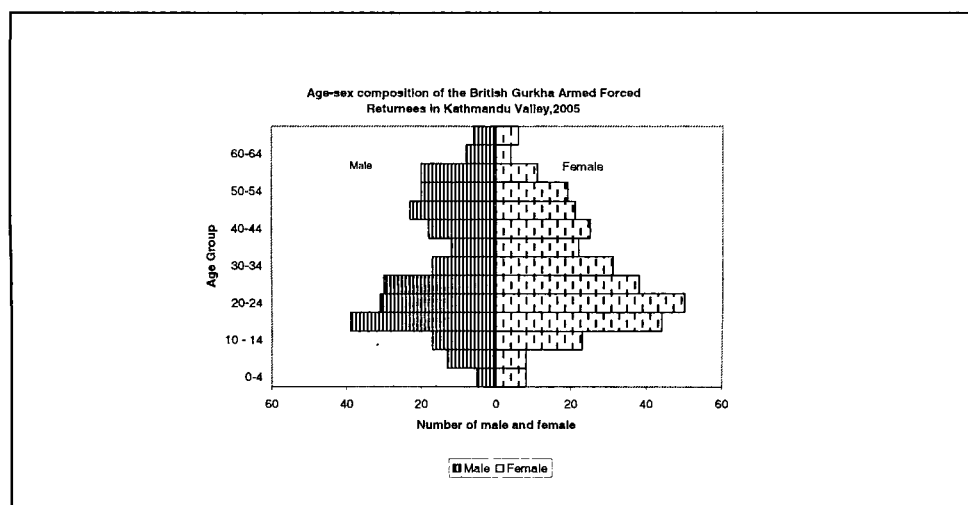
Note: 3 persons are the missing respondents who reported during the pilot survey.

But the researcher could not find them during the second visit while the Researcher was taking the information about the family roster.

Table-9 explains the distribution of sampled population according to their age, sex, dependent population and sex ratios. Considering the age-sex selectivity of the British Gurkha Returnees, 54.4 percent were females followed by males (45.5%). Among the total, 81 percent were economically working aged population followed by young aged population (13.5) and old aged population (5.4%). This pattern relates with national and Kathmandu valley's figures. According to latest National Population Census 2001 reported in June 2002, in the context of Nepal, 54 percent is noticed economically active working aged population followed by young aged population (39%), and old aged dependent population. Similarly, in the perspective of distribution of Kathmandu valley's

<sup>11</sup> Sample survey is conducted by de-facto method. So, respondents are included in the total sampled population but, relatives and servant are excluded who were at home at present and family members who were in abroad for their re-service, service, and student were also excluded.

population, of the total, 67 percent were economically working aged total population followed by young aged population (26%) and old dependent population (See Figure-3). So, the distribution pattern of population looks similar between the British Gurkha Returnees, national and Kathmandu Valley (See Appendix Chapter –IV, Tables 3a, b, c, d). Overall distributions for all five years broad aged group are dominated by females' number. This shows the just opposite situation with the national figure and the average figure of Kathmandu Valley. It can be concluded that, because of the small sample size of population may not be representative to district, Kathmandu Valley and national level as well.



In terms of sex ratio in the context of Nepal, the sex ratio is the ratio of the number of persons of one sex to that of the other persons and one of the principal numerical measures of sex composition. The accepted measure for Nepal is as the number of males per 100 females. According to field survey, the average sex ratio of the Gurkha returnees is noticed by 84 males for every 100 females. The pattern of sex ratios between the age group of 15-44 is observed lower than the other age groups; it ranges 55 to 90 males for every 100 females. Interestingly, the sex ratio of economically active aged group was found very low that is calculated by 80 males for every 100 females. It indicates two dimensions- One, males of this group might be in abroad either for re-service, being as Hong Kong ID holders or study abroad. Second, because of small sample size of population and being as migrated groups, it may not be representative to the national, Kathmandu Valley and district level sex ratios based on Census Report, 2001. The national level sex ratio is observed by 99.8 males for every 100 females. Similarly, the sex ratios of three districts of Kathmandu Valley are higher than the average sex ratio of

the British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees. Of the total districts of the Kathmandu Valley, Kathmandu district comprises the highest sex ratio (about 114 males for every 100 females and this is followed by Lalitpur and Bhaktapur (about 104 males for every 100 females). Thus, the average sex ratio of Kathmandu Valley is characterised by 107 males for every 100 females. This still shows the higher value of sex ratio than the British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees. Surprisingly, the sex ratios of the old aged dependent population (60 and above) and children aged group of 95-9 constitute very high than other broad aged groups. The old aged dependents population's sex ratio is 140 males for every 100 females and followed by children aged group of 5-9 (163 males for every 100 females) which are very high than the national and Kathmandu Valley's sex ratios of the same groups of population (See Appendix of Chapt.-IV, Tables 3a,b,c,d).

#### **4.3.2 Marital status and processes of sampled population in the Kathmandu Valley**

Marital status indicates the fertility behaviour of any community and society particularly in a non-contraception society where most of the birth take place marital union in under developed and developing countries like Nepal, Bangladesh etc. Although, marital status of Nepal is latest defined in 2001 Census, the researcher has been self-defined on the basis of anthropological study during the field survey for the four ethnic groups. The current concept about the marital status and processes, some of them may be applicable according to definition of 2001 Census and some were excluded.

Table 10 provides data on distribution of marital status and marriage processes of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley. Among the total marriageable aged population, 56.4 percent were married. Those persons that were living with only single spouse at the time of surveying are kept in this category and this definition follows the concept of 2001 Census. Of the total married population, 57.8 percent were females of the total marriageable aged females and followed by married males (54.8 percent) of the total marriageable aged males. Second largest majority sampled population were unmarried (42.5%) of the total population. Of the total 0.7 percent was widow. Re-marriage was also practiced by 0.4 percent. A person who married again after divorce, separation or death of previous spouse/s is accepted as remarriage category.

**Table 10:** Marital status and marriage processes of British Gurkha Armed Force Family In the Kathmandu Valley

Marital status	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Percent	Percent	Number	Total	Percent
Unmarried	122	40.5	113	44.8	235	42.5
Married*	174	57.8	138	54.8	312	56.4
Remarriage	1	.3.0	1	0.4	2	0.4
Widow	4	1.3	0		4	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
Marital processes	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent	Total
Arrange marriage	137	76.5	109	78.4	246	77.4
Jari marriage*	1	0.6	1	0.7	2	0.6
Love marriage	35	19.5	24	17.3	59	18.5
Chori**	6	3.4	5	3.6	11	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Note: 3 persons are the missing respondents who reported during the pilot survey.

But the researcher could not find them during the second visit while the

Researcher was taking the information about the family roster.

\* Jari: Persons who married with others wife.

\*\* Chori: Persons who married without marriage processes but conditioned for marriage in further time processes and also accepted for marriage by their guardians.

\*\*\*Responses are only for those who got marriage

In terms of marriage processes, four types of marriage processes were practiced. Among the sampled married population, about 77.4 percent of the sampled population were reported as arrange marriage and followed by love or elopement process (18.5%). Jari and Chori marriage processes were also practiced by 0.6 and 3.5 percent respectively.

Ideally, all marriages are monogamous for those four ethnic groups that is, of one husband and one wife. The marriage can be one of the given varieties: by arrangement, by love or elopement, by the case of wife abduction or 'jari', by Capture, and by Chori or mutual understanding between boys and girls and also understandings between the parents of boys and girls.

The word 'chori' is formally used in Gurung community. It happens by two processes: one understands between parents of girls and boys. In this situation, bride is directly taken to boys' house with the help of relative representatives and process of ritual marriage will negotiate with convenience of both guardians. Second, is mutual attraction and understanding between boys and girls. In this regard, boys can take girls either friends' or relatives' house for hide or directly boys' house. His parents then send some of their friends or male relatives as their representative to the girl's parents' house to inform and



convince the girl's guardians. Representatives used to go with the present of some amount of money, rice bread and two bottles' of home made wine as a penalty charge. Among Gurungs, however, the institution of 'rodi' gives ample opportunity for the young girls and boys to develop mutual understanding and love in the western hill of Nepal (Bista, D.B.<sup>12</sup>,:1976:76).

Subsequently, 'jari' or case of abduction wife from other's wife is also practiced by those four ethnic groups. This marriage process is also costume by tradition. In the case of wife abduction or 'jari', the second husband is made to pay compensation of some money- depending upon social and economic status of the persons involved- to the first husband of the woman (Bista, D.B. ibid) but it has been changed by code of nation ('Muluki Ain') and the amount of compensation is fixed in Rs.1000/- Nepalese currency.

The next, 'capture' marriage process is also acceptable for Rais, Limbus and for southerner Magars in to some extend but acceptance processes after happening event, ritually might different by tradition in different ethnic groups. Capturing a girl is usually done in a large gathering of market place, at festivals and fairs amidst confusion and quarrelling, or some times quietly in village when the girls comes out of her to fetch water or do some other errand. The boy then takes girl to the house of relative for hiding for a few days and after then, his parent try to negotiate with the parents of the girl through representative. Such marriage practice has been changed due to individual literacy and social awareness in the community. Although the arrange marriage is popularly practice by those four ethnic groups, their ritual systems are different. Limbus' marriage rules in general are similar to those of the Rai community (Bista, D.B. ibid). Finally the present study figures indicate that the British Returnees still follow their tradition system for marriage processes.

#### **4.3.3 Educational background of the sampled population**

**Literacy status:** The definition of literacy is accepted to the definition of various population censuses in Nepal. According to latest definition, defined by Census 2001: a literate person is defined as a person (6 years and above) who can read and write and perform simple mathematical calculations independently. Subsequently the literacy rate is

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<sup>12</sup> Dor Bahdur Bista was the former professor of sociology and anthropology, Central Department ,Kirtipur, Tribhuvan University; research fellow in Centre for Nepal Asia Study (CNAS),T.U. Kirtipur and he was the first person to enuiry and writer about 'People of Nepal'.

the ratio of the literate population (aged 6 years and above) to the total population (aged 6 years and above) and is expressed as a percentage. Literacy status of the respondents' family is seemed well. Of the total sample population, about 88 percent were literate. A minority group was found illiterate (12%). There is no more difference between male's and female's literacy rate (Table-11a). The literacy rate of British Armed Force Returnees is higher than the national level (54.1%) and the Kathmandu valley (73%) but lower than the capital district- Kathmandu (77%). The high rate of literacy in the pensioner households could be governed by three factors. Firstly, some of the ex-servicemen, were illiterate when they joined the army services, got themselves educated while in army service. Secondly, the exe-army men, because of their earnings from army service as well as pensions, could afford to educate their children and thus resulted in the increase in literacy rate. Thirdly, since last few decades, educational qualification has become one of the major basis of selection of the recruits, because it considerably save the time and the resources required for educating the fresh recruits (Kanskar, V.B. 1982:28-29). But level of education for recruiting has been increased: illiterate to literate, literate to primary or grade 8 and now is considered 10 class pass in first division, and it is given priority.

**Table 11a: Literacy status of sampled population by sex \***

Lterate Status	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Literate	230	93.11	250	83.61	480	87.91
Illiterate	17	6.88	49	16.39	66	12.09
<b>Total</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**It includes 6 years and above**

Note: 3 persons are the missing respondents who reported during the pilot survey.

But the researcher could not find them during the second visit while the

Researcher was taking the information about the family roster.

**Level of education by age and sex:** In terms of education level by age for male, 66.7 percent (12 persons) of the total surveyed male population had completed grade 10 in the aged of 44-44 followed by less than grade 10 (27.8%) . A minority number had completed the grade 10+2 or intermediate. Subsequently, 84.6 and 83.3 percent of the total male of the aged group of 55-59, 60+ were found less than grade 10. The limited number of these two aged groups had completed grade 10 (28 in number of the total literate male). The young aged group of between "20-29" had secured bachelor level (91 persons of the total). These groups still seem for further study. There is found only 20 (11%) persons who secured master degree. This aged group falls under the aged of 50-56 years. They could be an officer rank and could be educated during the army service and equivalently reported as degree level. The majority sample male population falls under

less than 10 grade. Literacy status is observed higher in the aged groups of 60+ which secure less than grade (50%) and literate only (50%). An overall level of education for male looks higher in between the aged of 15 – 39 years and lower in between the aged of 40 + years (Table 11b). So, it shows lesser the age, higher the level of education and reaching the more age and achieving the lower level of education. Age can also be related to level of literacy and education and ranks. Among the recruitment respondents' returnees, 12 persons were found an official rank ranged from Warrant Officer to Queen Gorkha Officer (QGO) whose ages were reported by 45 to 59 years old. Some minority of the respondents, who had achieved the QGO rank, reported their level of education by equivalent to Master in Arts (M.A) during the Armed Force achieved education and training. They were found in the age of 50 – 59 years old (See Chapt.– IV, Table-4a, 4b).

In connection with literate rate and level of female education, the level of literacy rate is seen higher in the aged groups of 60 -64 and 65 and above (100% of the total literate females). Table -10c shows that more aged groups females fall only under the literate category. Among the 299 literate females, 50 persons were found in the aged group of 20-24. Among them, 40 percent had completed the +10 or intermediate level followed by Bachelor level (24%), intermediate level (18%), and less than grade 10. Among the 299 literate women, professionals were found less (2.4%). They were also in the aged groups of 20–34. Professional level refers to tailoring, beauty parlour, special training for women empowerment, mid- wife training, vocational training, etc. This table also proves that lesser the age, higher the level of education and reaching the more age and achieving the lower level of education that means same pattern with level of male education followed by level of female education. But, there are contradiction between male and female for levels of education. Interestingly, females were found more in higher level of education than male which represents from +10 to professional. This may indicate two factors: i) Males usually used to go in abroad either for armed force recruiting or for employment and or Hong Kong for employment as Hong Kong ID holder after completing grade 10; ii) Females especially young group might devoted to further study after completing grade 10 and they might also encouraged by their parent, husband, and parent in-laws for further study after marriage. There is no difference between daughters and daughter in-laws in these ethnic groups because of high social status and gender balance. They may have opportunities for further study due to financial support from family, high social status and because of staying in the urban areas. Of the total, about 23 percent had

competed intermediate level followed by bachelor (14%) and master degree (1.2). In contrast of the total literate males, 17 percent. Of the total, about 17 percent had competed intermediate level followed by bachelor (7.8%) and master degree (0.9) (Table-11c).

**Table 11b:** Level of male education of sampled population

Age group	1-10 Failed	10 Pass	Intermediate or equivalent	Bachelor or equivalent	Master or Degree	Professional education	Literate only	Percent	Number
5-9	100.0%							100.0%	6
10-14	100.0%							100.0%	17
15-19	33.3%	48.7%	15.4%	2.6%				100.0%	39
20-24	25.8%	22.6%	32.3%	19.4%				100.0%	31
25-29	20.0%	16.7%	36.7%	20.0%		6.7%		100.0%	30
30-34	12.5%	31.3%	31.3%	25.0%				100.0%	17
35-39	27.3%	45.5%	9.1%	9.1%			9.1%	100.0%	12
40-44	27.8%	66.7%	5.6%					100.0%	18
45-49	45.5%	40.9%	13.6%					100.0%	23
50-54	29.4%	41.2%	11.8%		11.8%		5.9%	100.0%	20
55-59	84.6%	15.4%						100.0%	20
60-64	83.3%	16.7%						100.0%	8
65+	50.0%						50.0%	100.0%	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>40.4%</b>	<b>31.3%</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>.9%</b>	<b>.9%</b>	<b>1.7%</b>		<b>247</b>

**Table 11c :**Level female education of sampled population

5-9	100.0%							100.0%	5
10-14	100.0%							100.0%	23
15-19	25.0%	38.6%	31.8%	4.5%				100.0%	44
20-24	16.0%	18.0%	40.0%	24.0%		2.0%		100.0%	50
25-29	8.1%	24.3%	32.4%	18.9%	2.7%	10.8%	2.7%	100.0%	38
30-34	32.3%	16.1%	22.6%	22.6%	3.2%	3.2%		100.0%	31
35-39	33.3%	38.1%	9.5%	19.0%				100.0%	22
40-44	58.8%	23.5%	5.9%		5.9%		5.9%	100.0%	25
45-49	63.6%		9.1%	18.2%			9.1%	100.0%	21
50-54	60.0%	40.0%						100.0%	19
55-59		50.0%		25.0%			25.0%	100.0%	11
60-64							100.0%	100.0%	4
65+							100.0%	100.0%	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>34.8%</b>	<b>22.4%</b>	<b>22.8%</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>		<b>299</b>

*Note:* 3 persons are the missing respondents who reported during the pilot survey. But the researcher could not find them during the second visit while the Researcher was taking the information about the family roster. So this information is only analysed on the basis of 100 households

#### 4.3.4 Occupation of Household Population

This section describes about the nature of occupation of the sampled households population. Traditionally and by history, the occupation of those four ethnic groups in their place of origin are based on agriculture economy, Ghurkhas Armed Force soldiers in the British, Indian Armed Forced and Nepalese soldiers, pensioners. They are ethnically different to follow their own occupation. Basically, Rais and Limbus follow the same pattern of occupation and Gurungs and Magars are slightly differ for occupying the occupation. Rais and Limbus of the eastern hills and mountains were basically based on agricultural economy, shifting cultivation and made trips for southern towns for searching short term job and the men who were and are good and fitted used to go in abroad for recruiting in the Armed Force and major income sources were based on soldiers' remitting money and older pensions.

Subsequently, Grurungs and Magars' occupation were mainly agriculture, Armed Force soldiers, to some extend were employment in the civil services, trading. Gurung's main occupations by history were agriculture, sheep breeding and soldering in the Armed Force (Bista, D.B.ibid). Now, occupations of those four ethnic groups after recruiting in the British Armed Force and after migrating in the Kathmandu valley have been changed.

Of the total population, 37.6 percent (199 persons) were found in household chores followed by students (36.39%)(192 persons), and 8.3 percent (44persons) were in abroad service either for pensioners' re-service or for employment abroad. Minority were found in the British Armed force (3 persons or 0.56%). Population engaged in business, service holder and in teaching occupation in the Kathmandu Valley were found minimum. Among the total population, 3 percent were found Hong Kong ID holders. Among the population engaged in Household chores, 80 percent were found in the aged group of 25-59. Of the total students, 62 percent were in the aged group of 15-25 and followed by aged group of 26 percent. Aged group of 15-24 were represented the Hong Kong ID holders. Although this group of population are legally Chinese citizens provided and negotiated by the British Government after the 1983 A.D., they still do leave the Nepalese citizenship. They were remitting money from Hong Kong to their families. Most of the pensioners fall under the category of unemployment and service in abroad (Table-12).

Comparatively, females were more found in the household chores than males in the aged groups of 25-59 and 15-24. If we compare the student section, females were found more

than males in the aged groups of 15-24 and 25-59 but in services in abroad, males were more than females. Thus, it can be concluded that, the major occupation and major income source of the British Ghurkhas Armed Force Returnees were found household chores, services in abroad, pensions, Hong Kong ID holders (See chapter-IV, Tables-5a, and 5b).

**Table 12:** Total Occupation of sampled population aged 10 years and above by broad age group in the Kathmandu Valley<sup>13</sup>

Age group	< 15		15-24		25-59		60+			
N/%	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Household chores		0	12.1%	24	80.9%	161	7.0%	14	100.0%	199
Unemployment		0	40.0%	2	60.0%	3		0	100.0%	5
Student	26.0%	50	62.0%	119	12.0%	23		0	100.0%	192
Abroad service		0	6.8%	3	93.2%	41		0	100.0%	44
Teacher		0		0	100.0%	14		0	100.0%	14
British army		0	33.3%	1	66.7%	2		0	100.0%	3
Business		0		0	100.0%	4		0	100.0%	4
Dependent		0		0	36.4%	4	63.6%	7	100.0%	11
Service holder		0		0	100.0%	28		0	100.0%	28
Hong-Kong I.D		0	31.3%	5	68.8%	11		0	100.0%	16
Pensioner		0		0	60.0%	3	40.0%	2	100.0%	5
NR		0		0	87.5%	7	12.5%	1	100.0%	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>29.1%</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>56.9%</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>529</b>

Note:Table-9ibid

#### 4.4 Processes and Causes for Recruitment

Gurkha recruitments in British India were formalized during the time of Bir Shumsher (1986). Subsequently, the Tripartite Agreement signed on the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1947 between U.K., India and Nepal. After the Tripartite Agreement, the British Ghurkhas' soldiers started to partitions for Indian and British Ghurkhas soldiers. In the subsequent years, the British Gurkhas were recruited Armed Force from the Hills and the Mountain and sent them to the different colonial states to fight against the enemies. The centre piece of recruiting was selecting place, selective age, selective ethnic groups, nature of recruiting candidates and selection for countries of destination. Thus they recruited in

<sup>13</sup> Pensioners represent only those who were dependent only their pension and they did not do any occupation during the surveyed period. Similarly Hong-Kong ID holder refers those populations who were working in Hong Kong and were presence in the Kathmandu Valley during the surveyed time. Among the total, 40 persons represent the child group who did not have any occupation.

different period of time for countries of destination during the first recruiting and they returned back to country from different countries.

In terms of first recruiting places for this study, 52 percent were recruited and taken first to Hong Kong and followed by Malaysia (23.3%), Singapore (22%), and Brunei. Minority were recruited for U.K. Based of recruiting time period, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Burma were the earlier one than Hong Kong and U.K. U.K must be the latest one. Similarly, majority of the returnees retired from Hong Kong (47.6) and followed by U.K. (20.4%) and Singapore (17.5%) and minority were retired from Brunei and Burma (Table-13)

**Table 13: Distribution of British Gurkha Returnees according to the first recruited and pensioned for countries of destination.**

Countries	Countries for recruiting		Countries for pension	
Hong Kong	52	50.5	49	47.6
Malaysia	24	23.3	7	6.8
Singapore	22	21.4	18	17.5
UK	4	3.9	21	20.4
Brunei	1	1.0	6	5.8
Burma	-	-	1	1.0
Returned at 1970 through the custom case in Kolakatta	-	-	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.4.1 Age of Recruitment and Pension or Retirement

Age selectivity is the most important component for recruitment, retirement, and for promotion for the process of British Gurkhas Armed Force recruitment. According to the present study about British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley, the average age limitation for recruiting was reported by 18 years old. As reported by respondents, of the totals, about 60 percent were recruitment in the aged of 16-18 years and followed by the aged of 19-21 years (28.2%). In addition, a minority group were also recruited in the aged of 22 and above years (about 7%). According to the British Armed Force' rule, 22 years old is the last one. Any able young men cannot be recruited beyond this age. Similarly, about 4 percent of the totals were recruited under the aged of 16 years (Table-14b). This aged group used to recruit under the precondition of boys recruitment or premature age for recruiting. Such group used to promote in the full infantry after two years since the recruited date. This group had got an opportunity of British education and British Armed Force education as well. But such recruiting system is now excluded. This

indicates that, it affects to the promotion of level of education and it implies to reduce the percentage of higher study for males of those ethnic groups.

In terms of pension aged or age of retirement, the reported average age was 36 years. Among the totals, about 36 percent were retired in the aged group of 30-34 years followed by aged of 35-39 years (31%) and aged group of 45-49 years (about 10%). A minority number was retired in the aged group of 29-29 years. This low percentage of retirement may not represent the whole feature of Armed Force due to less sampled size of the respondents. Further more, this group might represent non-officers' level and represent some accidental case about health or an official cancellation in to some extent. Subsequently who retired in the aged group of 45-49 years, may represent the officer levels with long service. Majority respondents were retired in between the aged groups of 32-44 years and most of them, are still tend to engage in re-employment in abroad and remitting money to their families (Table-14a).

**Table 14a:** Distribution of respondents According to their pensioned aged.

Age group	N	%
25-29	1	1.0
30-34	37	35.9
35-39	32	31.1
40-44	20	19.4
45-49	12	11.7
NR(death)	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Median age</b>		<b>36</b>

**Table 14b:** Distribution of respondents according to their recruited aged.

Age group	N	%
Under 16	4	3.9
16-18	62	60.2
19-21	29	28.2
22 and above	7	6.8
NR (death)	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.4.2 First recruitment of the sampled Armed Force Returnees

Table-14c describes about the history of recruitment period of time. As reported by respondents, of the totals, about 36 percents were recruited in 1970-79 (25 years completed) and followed by 1960-69 (31%), by 1980-89(27%) respectively. A minority group was recruited in 1940-49 (55 years back). This group might be recruitment for Malaysia and Burma. The respondents who were recruited in 1960-89, might be recruited for Singapore, Hong Kong, and United Kingdom (Table-.14c).



**Table 14c : Percentage distribution of the respondents for the first recruited Date (50 years completed)**

First recruited date	Number	Percentage (%)
1940-49	2	1.9
1950-59	3	2.9
1960-69	32	31.1
1970-79	37	35.9
1980-89	28	27.2
No response	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## 4.5 Causes for recruiting in the British Armed Force

This section describes about the inspiration of respondents to recruit in the British Gurkha Armed force, reasons for being recruited in Armed Force and total service years of the respondents.

### 4.5.1 Inspiration of respondents to recruited in the British Gurkha Armed force

Inspiration refers the acknowledgement about the forefathers' and ancestors' recruitment in the Armed Force. As reported by the respondents, 66 percent of the totals were recruited on their own interest followed by the insistence of their families' members (16.5%) and family and on their own interests (11%). A minority group was recruited by the influence of peer and grown up and study in the Hong-Kong with parents (about 7%). Thus, the overall scenarios of the inspiration for the recruitment indicate that majority of respondents were inspired by their own interest and it could be caused of forefathers', ancestors' and neighbours' recruitments' tendency in the Armed Force. After then, it implied as customs, values and tradition in their community and society (Table-15).

**Table 15:** Inspiration of respondents to recruited in the British Armed force.

Inspirations	Number	Percentage (%)
Own interest	68	66.0
Insistence of family's member	17	16.5
Family and own interest	11	10.7
Peer influence	6	5.8
Grown up and study in Hong Kong with parents	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### 4.5.2 Reasons for being recruited in the British Gurkha Armed Force

Reasons behind recruiting in the armed force were reported as multiple answers that mean one respondent answered more than one reasons. That is why percentages may exceed more than 100. Of the total respondents, about 49 percent were recruitment to improve their families' economic conditions and followed by interested in the British Gurkha

Armed Force (42.7%) and no opportunities to study (45.6%) and not interested going to school (33.0). A small number was recruited with the influence of peer and due to the motivation of recruiting agent of the local area (galla) (27%) (Table-16). This indicates that majority of the respondents were recruited for searching the better living standard and to improve their economic conditions. Due to the hardship of the economic life and non-availability of infrastructure in the Hills and the Mountain areas, young able body had compelled to emigrate for the recruitment in the BGAF and it became an alternate opportunity for those young men who were not interested to go to school.

**Table 16: Respondents reporting the reasons for being recruited in the British Gurkha Armed Force**

Reasons	N(103)	%
To improve economic conditions & not enough land for cultivation	50	48.5
No opportunity to study	47	45.6
Interested in Gurkha armed force	44	42.7
Not interested going school	34	33.0
Peer influence	27	26.2
Motivated by recruiting agent in local area (galla)	1	1.0

\*Percentages may exceed 100 due to multiple

#### 4.5.3 Distribution of British Gurkha Returnees according to their service Year

In terms of total service years, they averagely served their service by spending 18 years. Among the totals, 51 percent were worked for 15 -19 years. Such group of respondents might represent the non- officer level pensioners. Table 17 presents that more service years indicate the representation of officer along with junior officer level service (25 and above years) which represents about 33 percent. A minority group were reported for 10-14 service that could be returned by redundancy which used get low rate of pension. Such non – officer level groups would be re-emigrating for re-service and re-employment in abroad.

**Table 17** Distribution of British Gurkha Returnees according to their service Year

Service year	N	%
10-14	13	12.7
15-19	52	51.0
20-24	19	18.6
25-29	14	13.7
30 and more years	4	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Median years of service</b>	<b>18</b>	

\*Note: excluded one respondent due to return at the middle of the service year.

## 4.6 Education, Training and Achieved ranks of the respondents

This section explains about the changes of life style of returnees' respondents. At the year of retirement, the respondents were brought not only money but also become trained for different areas of vocational subject which would be helpful for forth coming service for the respondents themselves and helpful for local development as well and community. Such education, training and achieved ranks would achieve either during the service period or at the end of service or the time of retirement. Some special training for instance driving and engineering and ranks would be able during the service period.

### 4.6.1 Education and Training

As reported by the respondents, 25.4 percent were trained for agriculture training followed by engineering, driving which are always benefited for practical life. Other minor vocational training such as carpenter, electronic and plumbing also fruitful for home assistance and forthcoming re-service as well. Of the total, 63 respondents were trained in different vocational areas (Table-18).

**Table 18** Distribution of household head according to their achieved training during the time of pensioned (N=63)

Special training of household head	Number	Percentage (%)
Agriculture (bee hiving, poultry, herding)	16	25.4
Engineering	9	14.3
Driving	9	14.3
Health and environment	6	9.5
Carpenter	6	9.5
Special educational training	5	7.9
Electronic	4	6.3
Resettlement course	4	6.3
Plumber	2	3.2
No response	2	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Note: responses are only those who have taken special training during the time of pensioned

### 4.6.2 Distribution of British Gurkha Returnees by their achieved rank

Table-19 provides the different hierarchical ranks achieved by returnees. It indicates that higher the percentage of returnees achieved the lower ranks and lower the percentage of returnees achieved the high ranks. Among the total, about 7 percent were found in Queen Gurkha Officer (QGO) which is highest rank for Gurkhas. This percentage would nicely represent for the Gurkhas. This group had to serve long service because of high rank and they did not have opportunity to abroad for re-service. Riflemen and Corporal represents

more percentage (46.6%). An officer level is considered above from Warrant Officer –II. Of the totals, about 30 percent were found as an official ranks. It indicates the well Armed Force skill, bravery, dedicated, honesty, and Loyal of the British Gurkha soldiers who were generation ally believed by the British Armed Force Officer and this is supported by the Chapter-2- British literature review.

**Table 19:** Distribution of British Gurkha Returnee by their achieved rank.

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Rifleman (RFN)	25	24.27
Corporal (CPL)	24	23.30
Sergeant (SGT)	18	17.48
L. Caporal (LCPL)	10	9.71
Warrant officer II (WO II)	8	7.77
Captain	7	6.80
Leftenant	4	3.88
Queen Gurkha Officer (QGO)	7	6.80
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.00</b>

## **4.7 Consequences**

### **Introduction**

This section interprets the data on British Armed Force Returnees' emigration in abroad for re-service and countries of destination. This also examines the processes, reasons and consequences of their family internal migration and discusses about their housing condition, living standard and life style in the Kathmandu Valley. Further more, this section is devoted to the discussions of economic consequences which consist of landholding, present sources of income and present situation of expenditure, remittances and investment of the returnees and their families. Finally, this analysis the information of social and cultural aspects which comparatively comprises the marriage system, trend of recruitment, changes in health practices, cultural existence, changes in food habits, decision making role in the family, and, contribution in the community,

#### **4. 7.1 British Gurkha Armed Force Returnee emigrants in abroad for re-service**

After retirement from British Armed Force, the returnees used to go in abroad for re-service as periodic and circular migrants. Periodic migration in the 2001 census of Nepal has been defined as those people 5 years and above prior to the census whose place of residence was different from place of enumeration during the census period.

Subsequently, some of them, used to go less than five years are considered as circular migrants. Such migrants do not need fixed period of time. Both types of migrants can be considered as periodic migrants. They used to go in abroad based on labour migration theory. The major reasons for re-emigrate in abroad are multiple: i) they were averagely retired in the age of 36 years. But majority of returnees, used to be retired between the aged group of 30-34 years who served as non-officer level rank; ii) In this economically active working age, they have had interest to go abroad for employment and remitting money at home for financial support to their families and in this age, they did not have an opportunity to search jobs in their own country; iii) they do not want to be burden for families in particular and for the nation in general; iv) they did not have an opportunity to join in the public service within the country due to low level of education and age of limitation; v) without continuous income source, it is difficult to support the family expenditure in the expensive urban areas like Kathmandu, Pokhara and Dharan; vi) It is easier to them to get employment because of security skill and vocational skills which achieved during the armed force service; vi) It would be more easier for them to search the employment in abroad after the restoration of democracy 1991 in the country. After the restoration of democracy, the multiparty government has extended the countries of destination for employment and then the Nepalese people extended their employment pattern from third countries to advanced countries like European and American countries; vii) finally, they usually migrated in the city areas where the access for job searching would be more convenience for them.

This section is devoted to enquiry about re-service years, number of respondents, types of job and countries of destination of the respondents in the Kathmandu valley.

#### **4.7.1.1 Number and re-service years of the returnees**

The numbers of respondents of the totals, 75.5 percent (78 persons) were found for re-service after pensioned and rest of 23.3 percent (24 persons) were not found in re-service in abroad after pensioned. Of the totals, 55 percent (43 persons) were found currently working in abroad and rest of the respondents (45%), were not currently working but they had already spend long years of service in abroad. Of the total currently working population, about 37 percent respondents had reported for 1-3 years long service and followed by 25.58 percent (for 3-6 years service). Among the currently working returnees, one fourth (25%) were reported for less than 1 year service. Subsequently,

those respondents who had work for re-service in earlier, about 46 percent (16 persons) were reported 10-12 years service and followed by 34.28 percent (12 persons) for 7-9 years service. A minority group was reported for 13 years and above service. The respondents who were not currently working and spend more service years in abroad might work in Brunei Sultan government under the contract of British government for nine years and then they might be work for other countries for the rest of service years (Table-20a and 20b). This indicates the increase of emigration trend of BGAFR in abroad for employment.

**Table 20a:** British Gurkha Returnees migrants and their re-service years

Re-service after pensioned	Number	Percentage
Yes	78	75.7
No	24	23.3
Returned at 1970 through the custom case in Calcutta	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*  
Respo  
ndents  
are

those who did service after pensioned

**Table 20b:** Distribution of Returnees migrants who were currently working or not working in abroad

Re-service period	Currently working	%	Not- working	%
Less than 1 year	11	25.58	-	-
1-3 years	16	37.20	-	-
3-6 years	11	25.58	2	5.71
7-9 years	5	11.62	12	34.28
10-12 years	-	-	16	45.71
13 years and above	43	100.0	35	100.0

**Table 20c:** Distribution of British Gurkha Returnees and types of re-service in abroad

Types of re-service	Currently working	Percent	Not-working	Percent
Security guard	30	69.76	30	85.71
Occupational service	3	6.97	4	11.42
Re-armed force service	2	4.65	-	-
Labour	4	9.30	-	-
Administration/management	3	6.97	-	-
Welfare Officer	-	-	1	2.85
Settlement visa	1	2.32	-	-
<b>N*</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Only those respondents who have joined re-service in abroad.

#### 4.7.1.2 Types of re-service and countries of destination

The patterns for re-service were found different Out of the total returnees, about 86 percent (60 persons) went for security guard who had skilled during the infantry period. They usually used to go to Brunei, Hong Kong and Gulf countries and South Asian countries and this is followed by occupational services (11.42%) (7 persons). A minority group of returnees about 5 percent was working any non-specify work based on his

settlement visa (2%) and Welfare Officer (about 3 %). Person who was working through settlement visa may indicate the step-life-time migration in abroad in future and he was also using of double citizenship. But the person who reported for welfare officer rank job would have gone to ship service in U.S.A. Of the total currently working returnees, a minimum percentage had gone for re-armed force services under the contract of British overseas company who again ratified the qualification of the returnees. Such services were conducted in Iraq, Afghanistan etc. In addition, among these currently working returnees, about 9 percent (4 persons) had gone for labour work and such returnees used to go in third world developing countries like Malaysia, Arabian countries. The returnees who were working for administrative and management work were found about 7 percent and such returnees might work in the ships in U.S.A. (Table-20c).

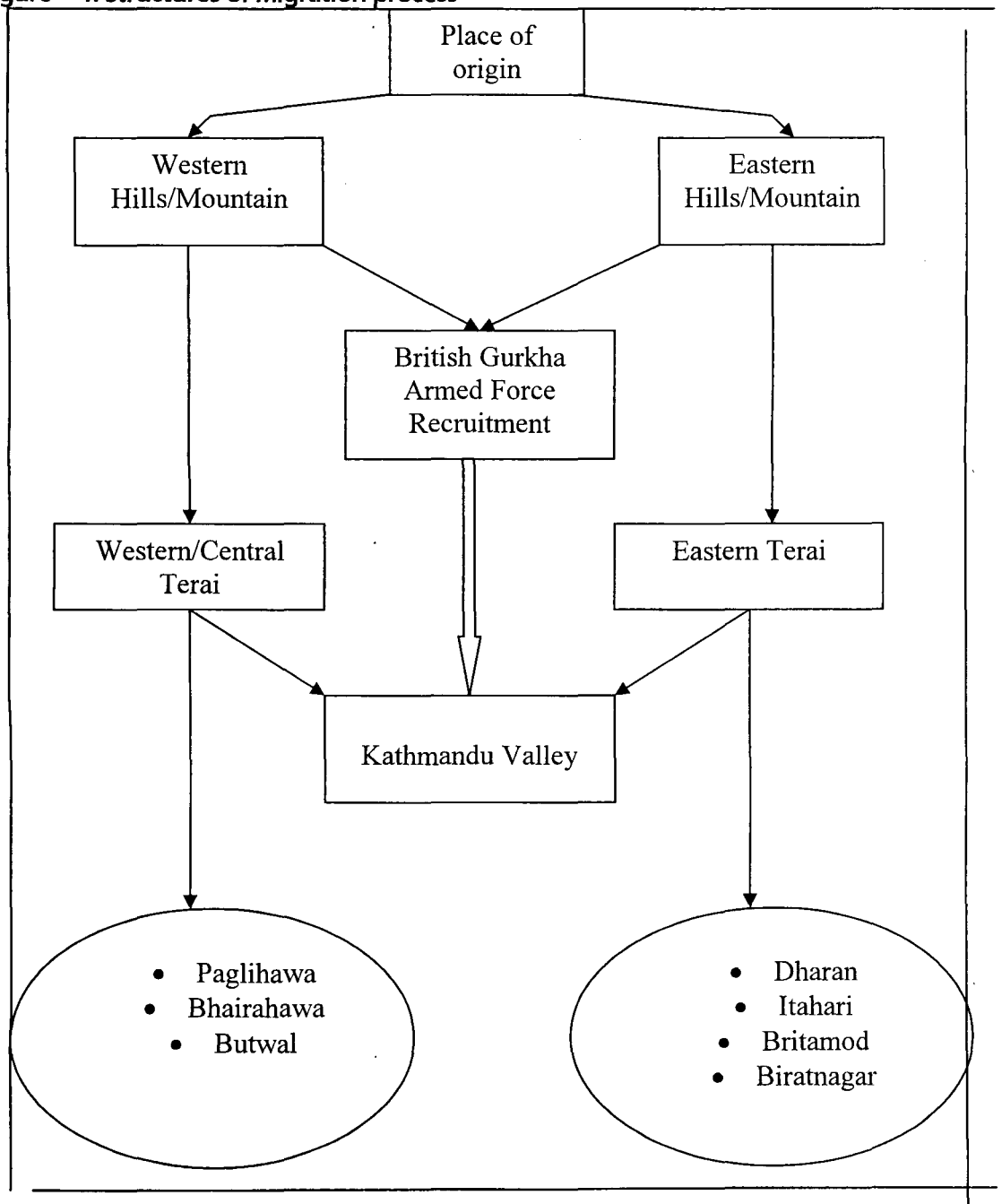
Majority of the returnees were worked in Brunei (about 72 percent and 56 in number) and this is followed by American countries (about 9 percent and 7 in number), and European countries (about 8 percent and 6 in number). Those returnees who had gone to South Korea and African countries were found minimum number (5 persons) (about 6 percent). Such returnees might return back in a single contract within short time of service (See Chapter-IV Appendix, Table-6).

#### **4.7.2 Family internal migration: Processes, Causes, and Consequences**

Family internal migration of BGAFR represents the rural to urban migration within the country. This is the major consequence of British Gurkha recruitment in Nepal. Migration within a country does not affect it's the total size of the population and growth rate but it affects regional and sub-regional population and growth rate within the country. Such returnees' in-migrants in the Kathmandu valley' would more develop of new urban areas in the valley. Subsequently, their ethnic population might decrease in their place of origin or in sending areas. Migrants are those persons who move either from their place of birth to another areas or keeps on moving stepwise or circular by changing their residence more or less frequently by being either temporary, semi-permanent or permanent migrants depending upon the duration of migration and reasons for migration within a defined geographical area. In connection with this statement, migration of BGAFR with family follows the stepwise and life-Time-Migration. A life time migration is one who has moved from his place of birth to the present place or destination where he is enumerated at the time of the census irrespective of the number (K.C., 2003:125). Among them, some

family were directly immigrated and some were through Terain town and town from the hilly areas after the recruitments in the British Gurkha Armed Force. For the eastern region, some of the family, they migrated to Dharan, Itahari of the Sunsari district and Birtamod and Dhulabari of Jhapa district. There after, they migrated to Kathmandu. Similarly, in the western region, they used to migrate first to Pokhara valley in the western hill city, Bhairahawa and Butawal in the Terai town and then came to Kathmandu (See Figure-4).

**Figure – 4: Structures of migration process**





#### 4.7.2.1 Duration of stay in the Kathmandu Valley for British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees

Internal migration in Nepal has been very much a permanent phenomenon. Duration of stay is an important determinant to measure the type of migration. As reported by the British Armed Force returnees for the Kathmandu Valley about their duration of stay, all were living as permanent migrants. Latest Census of Nepal 2001 has not clearly defined about the permanent migration. Here I have defined permanent migrants as those returnees who have their house and are not willing to migrate in near future to other destination is considered as permanent migrants. In addition, those migrants who were staying in rented house but they do not want to move to other destination and have a plan to settle permanently in the valley is also considered as permanent migration and this makes the sense of life -time migration for the valley.

**Table 21:** Duration of stay in the Kathmandu Valley for British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees

	Number	Percent
<b>Complete years</b>		
Less than 5 years	10	9.7
5-9	17	16.5
10-14	34	33.0
15-19	28	27.2
20 and more years	10	9.7
Not stated	4	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table – 21 provides the duration of migration for the returnees in the Kathmandu Valley. Of the total, 33 percent were living in the destination for 10–14 years. Those staying in the destination for 16–19 and 20 and more years respectively comprised 27.2 and 9.0 percent. Migrants staying less than 5 and 5-9 years respectively were found 9.7 and 16.5 percent

The returnees who were in-migrated to the Kathmandu Valley, all of them did not directly moved to the Kathmandu valley. Among the totals, 45.6 people (47 returnees and families) were step-migrants that mean they migrated from their rural areas to urban areas at first. This shows the pattern of rural to urban migration. Among them, 55 percent from the Eastern region and minority were from Western region (Table-22, Flow Map-3).

**Table 22:** Migration from place of origin to the first place except in Kathmandu by development regions

Migrated place before Kathmandu	Western region		Eastern region		Foreign country		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	20	37.1	27	55.1			47	45.6
No	33	62.3	22	44.9	1	50.0	56	54.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.7.2.2 Reasons for migration to the first destination rather than Kathmandu

The dominant reason for first migrated destination was the expectation of more facilities in urban areas (61.5%). Other reasons included were: low man-land ratio or poor cultivation (21.2%), access for child education (5.8%), relatives are near/close (5.8%), not enough land to cultivation and hardship life in the hilly area. The second main reason was to study and there after they recruited in the British Armed Force. Among them, 32.7 percent were migrated with their parents as dependent members (Table-23). Such stream of migration indicates the rural poverty as push factor (Lee, E.S, 1966:428-445) and migrants move from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunities and the choice of destination is regarded by distance (Revenstein, E.G., 1985:167-235).

**Table 23:** Reasons for migration from place of origin to the first destination rather than Kathmandu (N=47)

Reasons for first migration	Number	Percentage (%)
More facilities in urban areas	32	61.5
To study	21	40.4
Migrated with parents (Dependent)	17	32.7
Due to poor cultivation	11	21.2
Not enough land to cultivation	6	11.5
Access for child education	3	5.8
Relatives are near/close	3	5.8
British camp is near	1	1.9
Hard to go/return home (Pahad)	1	1.9

\*\*\*No and Percentages may be exceed 47 and 100 respectively due to multiple answer

#### 4.7.2.3 Types of the houses for BGAFR in the first place of migration

This section compares the building construction between the place of origin and first place of destination. Houses which were constructed by stone wall with mud plaster and straw roof is considered as temporary house or Kacha house and the houses which were constructed by stone wall with semi-cement plaster and roofed with tin is defined by Pakka house or permanent house for the place of origin. But, the house which is constructed by bricks and cemented wall and roof is said permanent house and that house which is constructed by mud joint and roofed by tin is categorised as Kacha house. Of

the total housed, 92.2 percent were reported as Kacha house in their place of origin. In contrast, 89.3 percent were reported as permanent houses for the place of migration (Table-24).

**Table 24:** Types of the houses in place of origin and in first place of migration

	Number	Percentage (%)
<b>Types of house in place of origin**</b>		
Temporary(Kachha house)	95	92.2
Permanent (Pakka house)	6	5.8
NR**	2	1.9
<b>Types of house in first place of migration</b>		
<b>Temporary</b>	10	9.7
Permanent	92	89.3
* NR	1	1.0
<b>N</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*NR Refers to foreign born respondents

\*\* Refers to types of house in place of origin

#### **4.7.2.4 Migration to the Kathmandu Valley from both their place of origin and the first place of migration**

Direct migration to the Kathmandu Valley refers that those returnees who immigrated from the British Gurkha Armed Force service after their retirement. Of the total, 54.4 percent (56 returnees) were migrated directly from their service place. The returnees who migrated from first place to the Kathmandu Valley indicates the inter-regional and inter-district step migration and also shows the streams of urban to urban migration and it refers to the process of growth in the proportion of population living in urban areas. The reasons for migration to the Kathmandu Valley were combinable which are presented below.

#### **4.7.2.5 Reasons for migration in the Kathmandu Valley**

Majority of the returnees (81 persons or about 79 %) were immigrated due to good opportunity for their children education and that was followed by the reasons for enough facilities in the urban areas of the Kathmandu valley (60 persons or about 58 %) than the earlier places. Of the totals, about 47 percent (48 persons) were immigrated in the Valley for the reasons of getting chance to rejoin the service within the Kathmandu valley and in abroad as well. The minimum number of the total returnees (12 persons or about 12 %) were reported for the reason of insufficient property both in place of origin and first place of migration. Among them, 2 persons or about 2 percent were immigrated due to near the British camp. It can be concluded that the major reasons for the returnees are being the

access for children education, more advanced urban facilities and chances for re-services (Table-25).

**Table 25:** Reasons for migration in the Kathmandu for British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees

Reasons	Number	Percentage (%)
Good opportunity for children education	81	78.6
Enough facility in urban areas	60	58.3
Get chance to rejoin services	25	24.3
Earned property in current place	23	22.3
No property in place of birth and first place of migration	12	11.7
British camp is near	2	1.9
Others (Spouse is in the KTM & good environment)	3	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>103*</b>	<b>100.0*</b>

Percentage and number may exceed 100 due to multiple responses\*

#### 4.7.2.6 Linkage of the respondents to their former place

In terms of linkages, 87.4 percent or about 90 migrants of the totals had linkages with their former place. The main reason for linkage was land property except in the Kathmandu Valley. A minority (13 persons or 12.6 %) did not have any property and relation with their former place. This group of returnees relates the Table-18 that about 12 percent migrated because of no property in their earlier places. Although those returnees who had land property in their earlier places had no uniformity and surety for frequencies of visit. Among the total, 57.8 percent (52 returnees) did not state the frequencies of visit and this was followed by 26.7 percent (24 returnees) who used to go once a year. The pattern of frequencies for visit indicates that they could have less income from their land property (Table-26).

**Table 26:** Linkage of the respondents to the former places based on property and frequencies for visit

	British Gorkha Returnees		Singapore Gorkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Any land except in Kathmandu						
Yes	75	90.4	15	75.0	90	87.4
No	8	9.6	5	25.0	13	12.6
Total	83	100.0	20	100.0	103	100.0
<b>If yes how often do you go to that place</b>						
Within 2-5 years	1	1.3			1	1.1
Once in a year	19	25.3	5	33.3	24	26.7
In 6 months	4	5.3	2	13.3	6	6.7
Within 1-5 months	7	9.3			7	7.8
Not sure	44	58.7	8	53.3	52	57.8
N*	75	100.0	15	100.0	90	100.0

\*Respondents are those who have any land except in Kathmandu.

#### 4.7.2.7 Family members in the armed force in different countries

This unit provides the information about the history and trends of recruited members in the armed force by generations. This also indicates that the recruitment in the armed force for these ethnic groups is seemed to be the trend of their forefathers. As stated by the returnees, their family members were recruited in the armed force from very earlier time and this trend is still look popular for them. In this regard, of the total, 99 percent of the returnees' family members were recruited first from India and were taken them into different countries of destination such as Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Hog-Kong . Such recruited members could be their forefathers, fathers and uncles. This proves that why the Gurkhas were selected and recruited in the British Armed Force during the partition of Battalions between India Armed Force and the British Armed Force (See chapter-II: Literature review) Rest of the returnees members were directly recruited for Hong Kong (22.36 %), Malaysia (22.3), U.K (12.6 %) and Singapore (1 %) (Table-27). This trend still relates to the new generation which is considered as consequences of family members recruitments in the armed force after migrating to the Kathmandu valley.

**Table 27:** Recruited family members in the British Gurkha Armed Force by generation and countries of destination (N=103).

Recruited country	Number	Percentage (%)
India	102	99.0
Hong Kong	23	22.36
Malaysia	23	22.3
UK	13	12.6
Singapore	1	1.0
NR	1	1.0

Percentages may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

#### 4.7.2.8 Percentage distribution of British Armed Returnees and their number of sons who joined in the British Gurkha Armed Force and related concerned jobs

This unit discusses about the returnees' sons, recruited in the armed force and related concerned agencies as well. Of the totals, 66.7 percent were recruited for U.K. and still continuing for their armed force job and 33.3 percent were presently working in Hong Kong after their retirement. A minority group was recruited for Singapore police (11 %). But this may not represent well to whole returnees of the valley because of universal and small sampling. There may be some reasons not to be recruiting more: i) mostly male young population may be either student or may working in Hong-Kong as ID holders or as Chinese Citizen; ii) all may not be able physically for recruiting the armed force.

Majority of the recruited sons, were found in non-officer level rank due to short time of service. This group may settle in U.K. and Hong Kong as life- time step migrants from Kathmandu to those destinations. This invites two consequences: i) Citizen will transfer and convert into foreign citizens which directly affects to size, sex and age composition of population in the Kathmandu Valley; ii) they may not remit the money to their family which directly affect to source of family income in particular and national revenue in general (Table-28)

**Table 28:** Percentage distribution of British Armed Returnees and their number of sons who joined in the British Gurkha Armed Force

<b>Name of recruiting countries</b>		
*Directly U.K. recruited and still working	6	66.7
Presently working in Hong Kong	3	33.3
Singapore	1	11.1
<b>N</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Name of armed force</b>		
6 Gurkha Rifle (6GR)	1	11.1
10 Gurkha Rifle (10GR)	1	11.1
Queen Gurkha Signal (QGS)	2	22.2
RLC	1	11.1
GSL(Gurkha Signal Levee)	1	11.1
Engineer	2	22.2
Not stated	1	11.1
<b>N</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Rank</b>		
Riflemen (RFN)	1	11.1
Le. Corporal (LCPL)	3	33.3
Corporal (CPL)	1	11.1
Queen Gurkha Signal (QGS)	1	11.1
Regiment Sergeant Major (R.S.M.)	1	11.1
Not stated	2	22.2
<b>Number</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: respondents are those who have any sons in Gurkha Armed force.

\* UK and British merged

#### 4.7.2.9 Distribution of respondents whose children have Hong Kong Identity (ID )

ID refers those children who born in Hong Kong before 1983, they were authorised for Hong Kong Identity (ID) and Chinese citizenship under the dual system government of Chinese and British. Such children have an authority like other national citizenship. They have right to get work permit for doing job in U.K. They can be also recruited in the British Armed Force in U.K. and will have right to stay in U.K. with British passport. But they should have had registered in Hong Kong at first. The rule for getting red passport for the British Gorkha recruitments both from Nepal and Hong-Kong was opened since the last 3 years back. Such policy offered by British government, indicates the trend and

pattern of step and life-time migration for British Armed Force Returnees' family members. This is one of the consequences of the returnee's community in the Kathmandu Valley. Among the totals (103 returnees respondents' family), 22.9 percent returnees (19 returnees) were found the parent of Hong Kong ID holder and about 77 percent returnees did not ID holder children (Table-29).

**Table 29:** Distribution of respondents whose children have ID or with ID holder children

Do you have ID for your children	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	19	22.9			19	18.4
No	64	77.1	20	100.0	84	81.6

### 4.7.3 Economic consequences

Firstly, this unit presents the present housing condition in the Kathmandu valley, comparative land holding status in the place of origin, first place of migration, and Kathmandu Valley of the Armed Force Returnees. Secondly, this also examines the average income and expenditure for the Armed Force Returnees' Families in the Kathmandu Valley which gives the idea to analyse the living standard of the families. Thirdly, it analysis the amount of remittances brought by returnees at the end of service period or pensioned time and its investment in different sectors.

#### 4.7.3.1 Present housing condition of Gurkha Returnees in Kathmandu Valley

The land area of any house shows and fixes the standard of housing condition and valuable location of the households. The per capita landholdings of the surveyed households of the British Gurkha Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley refer the compounded areas of the constructed houses. More area of a house acknowledges the residential and simple and standard of houses. But the area of the houses does not relate the financial capacity of the house owners. It depends upon the interest of returnees' community and availability of the land desired by returnees. Returnees mostly prefer to stay within their armed force and ethnic communities. But land could not be found in those areas as they desired.

As they reported, among 92 returnees, 25 (27.2 %) returnees had small land area for housing ranged from 5-6 annas, and this percentage was followed by the land holding of 7-8 annas (25 returnees). The houses which were found in the areas of 7-8 annas, were seemed to be medium standard' house of the returnees. The returnees who had house in

the area of 11-12, 15-16 and 17-18 were found in equal percentages (8-7 %). Such houses were mostly residential with Bungalows style which indicates the higher living standard of the returnees. Minority groups had built their houses in less than 5 annas (4.3 %). Such houses comprised of either business store in the ground flower or rented the some flats to others. In addition, majority of the respondents' returnees had flat system houses with parking and gardening (46.7 %). Some of the owners of those houses had rented their houses. It was followed by shops, shutter and family residence type's house (32.6 % returnees' house). Of the total, 20.7 percent were found Bungalow house with parking, and gardening. Overall scenarios of the housing condition conclude that the living standard of returnees, were fond in good condition and totally changed in compared to their place of origin and were also reported the different conditions than their first place of migration (Table-30). This shows the major consequences of returnees after the retirement from their service and after the settled down in the Kathmandu Valley.

**Table 30: Present housing condition of Gurkha Returnees in Kathmandu Valley**

	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
<b>Land area of house(in anna)<sup>14</sup></b>						
Less than 5	4.1	3	5.3	1	4.3	4
5-6	28.8	21	21.1	4	27.2	25
7-8	20.5	15	52.6	10	27.2	25
9-10	9.6	7	5.3	1	8.7	8
11-12	11.0	8			8.7	8
15-16	11.0	8			8.7	8
17-18	1.4	1			1.1	1
Not stated	13.7	10	15.8	3	14.1	13
<b>N*</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>Types of Houses</b>						
Bungalow house with parking, and gardening	20.5	15	21.1	4	20.7	19
Flat system with parking and gardening	45.2	33	52.6	10	46.7	43
Shop/shutter and residence for family	34.2	25	26.3	5	32.6	30
<b>N*</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>92</b>

\* Respondents are only those who have own house.

\*\* Land area measurement unit is converted below:

#### 4.7.3.2 Land holding status of the respondents

This unit examines the land holding status of the returnees except occupied a house in the Kathmandu Valley. In this present study, this status of land is defined as their additional property. It also examines the sources of money for buying land.

<sup>14</sup> 4 annas = 0. 01355 hector.



In this connection, out of 103 respondent's returnees, 95 returnees (92.2 %) had land in their place of origin. The maximum land area per household authorised by the property policy of the Nepalese government for the hilly areas is 35 ropanies. 35 ropanies can be hold 10-12 family members only for fooding. However it also depends upon fertile and non fertile land. Of the total, about 42 percent (39 returnees) were found with the land areas between less than 5 to 30 ropanies. Such small size of land holdings of the returnees' household might have been responsible for emigration for recruitment to the foreign armies, not to return back to their home town and out migration to the other places including Kathmandu Valley. Subsequently, 22.6 percent (21 returnees) had reasonable landholding size which consists of 31-60 ropanies. This group of returnees could be added the land by buying their source from army's salaries during their service period. A minority group of returnees had large size of land holding which represents 15.1 percent (14 returnees). Among them, 21.5 percent did not response about their land property in their place of origin. Of the totals, 22.6 percent returnees purchased by their children source that mean source from the service of returnees' children. The land purchased from first service before pension (18.3 %), 9.7 percent from pension, 8.6 percent from their second or re-service, and about 19 percent from their ancestors and armed service were the sources for consisting land.

For the first place of migration, 45.5 percent returnees (10 persons of the 22 persons), consists of land area less than 1 bigha and this was followed by 3 and more bighas (22.7 % returnees), 2-3 bighas (18.2 percent returnees), and 1-2 bighas (13.6 percent returnees). Overall figures of the land status indicate the insufficiency for lodging and fooding for the returnees' family. The sources of land holding for the first place of migration as reported by the returnees were from armed force salary during the service period (63.6 % returnees), ancestor (9.1 % returnees), second service (9.1 %) returnees and armed force and pension (4.5 % returnees). The land holding in the first place of migration were mostly purchased from their own source of income.

For the Kathmandu Valley, of the totals, 60.4 percent returnees comprised less than 1 ropani and this was followed by 1-2 (24.5 %), 3-4 (7.8 %), 2-3 and 5 and more ropanies (3.8 %) respectively. They used such land either selling or rented for industrial purposes. Among the 39.6 returnees (21 in 53 persons) purchased the land from their armed service. Of the totals, 19 percent returnees were purchased the land from pension and contribution

of their children' service and it was followed by business (5.7 percent returnees). It indicates that the economic activities of the returnees have been changed from agriculture to armed force, business, employment in foreign abroad and social activities and community contribution for the adjustment in the migrated areas (Table – 31).

**Table 31:** Land holding status of the respondents in place of origin, first place of migration and Kathmandu Valley<sup>15</sup>

	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Land in origin</b>						
Yes	79	95.2	16	80.0	95	92.2
No	4	4.8	4	20.0	8	7.8
	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total land of land in origin place(in ropani)</b>						
Less than 6	9	11.5	1	6.7	10	10.8
6-10	6	7.7	6	40.0	12	12.9
11-30	13	16.7	4	26.7	17	18.3
31-60	20	25.6	1	6.7	21	22.6
61-100	7	9.0	1	6.7	8	8.6
100 and more	5	6.4			5	5.4
NR/DK	18	23.1	2	13.3	20	21.5
	<b>78</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Source for land in origin place(in ropani)</b>						
Ancestor	11	14.1	1	6.7	12	12.9
Pension	4	5.1	5	33.3	9	9.7
First service before pension	13	16.7	4	26.7	17	18.3
Children's services	20	25.6	1	6.7	21	22.6
Second service after service	7	9.0	1	6.7	8	8.6
Ancestor +army force	5	6.4	1	6.7	6	6.5
NR/DK	18	23.1	2	13.3	20	21.5
	<b>78</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total land in first place of migration rather than Kathmandu (in bigha)<sup>16</sup></b>						
Less than 1	10	47.6			10	45.5
1-2	3	14.3			3	13.6
2-3	3	14.3	1	100.0	4	18.2
3 and more	5	23.8			5	22.7
	<b>21</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Sources for land of first place of migration</b>						
Ancestor	2	9.5			2	9.1
From armed force	13	61.9	1	100.0	14	63.6
Pension	1	4.8			1	4.5
Second service after service	2	9.5			2	9.1
Armed force and pension (2+3)	1	4.8			1	4.5
NR/DK	2	9.5			2	9.1
	<b>21</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total land in Kathmandu (in ropani)</b>						
Less than 1	27	61.4	5	55.6	32	60.4
1-2	11	25.0	2	22.2	13	24.5

<sup>15</sup> 1 ropani == 0.05072 hectares

<sup>16</sup> 1 bigha = 0.6775 hectares

2-3	1	2.3	1	11.1	2	3.8
3-4	3	6.8	1	11.1	4	7.5
5 and more	2	4.5			2	3.8
	<b>44</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Sources for land in Kathmandu(in ropani)</b>						
From armed force	18	40.9	3	33.3	21	39.6
Pension	2	4.5	3	33.3	5	9.4
First service before pension	4	9.1	1	11.1	5	9.4
Children's services	3	6.8			3	5.7
Second service after service	2	4.5	1	11.1	3	5.7
Ancestor +army force	1	2.3			1	1.9
Armed force and pension	6	13.6			6	11.3
Armed force and first service before pension	1	2.3			1	1.9
Pension and first service before pension	2	4.5			2	3.8
Pension and service after pension	1	2.3			1	1.9
Business	2	4.5			2	3.8
NR/DK	2	4.5	1	11.1	3	5.7
	<b>44</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.7.3.3 Monthly current income and expenditures of British Gurkha Returnees

Table-32 provides the information on monthly income and expenditure for the respondents' families. There was found a balanced budget between monthly income and expenditure for the returnees' families. Average monthly income of the respondents is calculated a Rs 60,000/- . The major source of monthly income was pensions for all returnees, some of them had reported the money from foreign re-service, and house rent. Other sources of income were found the children service, income from land property and business. Children service refers the service in the British armed force and remitting money from Hong Kong who were working as Chinese citizens. The researcher derived these types of income through discussion with them .She would feel uncomfortable to write the abject amount of different sources. Of the total income, 66 percent (Rs 40, 000/- ) was found as balanced budget. Of the total income, 34 percent (Rs.20, 000/-) used up for monthly expenditure. Monthly expenditure includes the lodging, fooding, medical treatment, children education, travelling and social welfare and activities. Of the totals, 34 percent respondents (35 in 103 respondents) comprised between Rs.50, 000/- to Rs.100000/- . Similarly, income between Rs.15000-50000 (33 %), Rs.100000/--150000/- (16.5 %), Rs.150000/--200000/- (4.5 %) and Rs.20000/- and above (6 %) follow this. Minority group of returnees comprised less than Rs.15000/-(5.6 %). Overall scenarios of the income indicate the good living standard of the returnees than the non migrants.

In terms of expenditure, about 77 percent returnees used up money between Rs15000 and Rs100000/-. This amount of expenditure would be applicable for high class family of non migrants in Kathmandu Valley. Among the returnees, about 7.5 percent returnees used up Rs 50000/- to 100000 and Rs 100000/- and above. Such category of the respondents was mostly found either Queen Gurkha Officer (QGO) or equivalent position. A small group of returnees (16 %) used up less than Rs15000/- which represents the general expenditure of simple non-migrants. Those returnees who expensed money more than Rs 100000/-, it could be expenditure for education sector in abroad (Table-32).

**Table 32:** Monthly current income and expenditures of British Gurkha Returnees (In Rs)

	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Income</b>						
Less than 15000	5	6.0	1	5.0	6	5.8
15000-50000	25	30.1	9	45.0	34	33.0
50000-100000	31	37.3	4	20.0	35	34.0
100000-150000	13	15.7	4	20.0	17	16.5
150000-200000	3	3.6	2	10.0	5	4.9
200000 and above	6	7.2			6	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average income</b>	<b>62,000</b>		<b>44,000</b>		<b>60,000</b>	
<b>Expenditure</b>						
Less than 15000	12	15.6	3	17.6	15	16.0
15000-50000	59	76.6	13	76.5	72	76.6
50000-100000	5	6.5			5	5.3
100000 and above	1	1.3	1	5.9	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average expenses</b>	<b>20,000</b>		<b>17500</b>		<b>20,000</b>	

#### 4.7.3.4 Remittances Brought by British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees.

This section explains the amount of remittances and its use in different sectors. It also examines the role of remittance in development aspects. The British Gurkha recruitment and remittance brought by them is based on 'coherent theory' about international migration. This theory was developed after the 1970s when neoclassical economic theory known as traditional migration theory: pull and push models, were first challenged in the 1970' and theories were challenged, when a variety of studies about migration were undertaken and had developed from different scientific disciplines, mainly from sociology, economic and geography (Parnreiter, 2000 cited in Wyss, 2004:13-30). The recruitment in the British Armed Force and remittances brought by them had basically spent for family and household members' consumption and welfare. Thus, this relates to the 'theory of 'New Economics of migration' which includes social capital approach

influenced by Network system theory, and 'Decision Making Approach' distinguished by (Ritchey, 1976 cited in Wyss). Based on this theory, Stark and Bloom (1985:174) cited in Wyss (2004), argue that although, the migrating unit is usually an individual, the decision making unit is a large groups of related people, normally the family or household acts as an income pooling unity which collectively makes decisions about migration or non-migration of its family members. Migrants and non-migrating family members are interdependent and remittance is considered as (part of) an intertemporal contractual arrangement between the migrant and the non-migrating family members, rather than the result of purely altruistic considerations (See in Chapt-II: Literature Review).

In connection with, the remittances are basically based on development approaches. The positive view on availability of remittances is the improvement of the income distribution, and quality of life beyond what other available development approaches could deliver. Subsequently, migration and remittance propels social changes in families, gender roles and so on as integral parts of economic development. In addition, most studies of remittance use find that remittances are spent on current consumption, health and education leading to improved standards of living for migrant households and higher standards compared to non-migrant household (Keely, and Tran, 1989:500-505).

The existing definition of remittance is that those people who are working outside the home town within the country or working in abroad and remitting or sending money back to their family which is earned by their employment or services. Forms of remitting may be different like through bank, travel agencies, western money transfer and hundi system or personal network. But, for the present study, the researcher has differently defined the remittance of the British Armed Force Returnees. According to her, remittance of the returnees is calculated of their earned cash and commodities which had sent to their families before coming back and during the incoming time at the end of service years or time of pensioned in the country. Here, earning period of returnees is considered for three years which was the policy of British Armed Force to get salary leave and allowance for the army men after completing the three years service. Commodities are also converted into cash value by asking respondents to bring in uniformity.

Although all the respondents could not state the remittance what they brought, the remittance that sent brought, the returnees who had clearly explored either for cash or commodities or both is presented in table -33. According to present study, usually, the

amount of money brought by the army men during leave once in three years ranged from Rs 500,000/- to Rs250,000/- in equivalent to Nepalese currency per person service. The average per person remittance brought by the returnees during leave once in three years is calculated by Nepalese currency Rs 12, 79, 600/-. This total amount of remittance is summed up by commodities and cash. The commodities are divided into two parts: i) gold and silver; ii) other material like electronic goods, clothes, shoes, etc. Of the total average, cash comprises Rs8, 63,884/- followed by converted amount of gold and silver (Rs 304,896/-) and converted amount of other commodities (Rs 260,445/-). The category of other commodities was used only as gifts for relatives, friends and neighbours. Of the totals, 38.2 percent returnees had brought remittance ranged Rs 500,000/- to 100, 0000/- per person serving and this was followed by ranged Rs 150, 0000/- to 200, 0000/- (24.5 %), less than Rs 500000/- (17.6 %), and Rs 2000000/- to Rs 250, 0000/- (17.7 %). It indicates that higher the rank constitutes more remittance and average amount of remittance person looks higher than non-migrant earning in the returnees country. If we compare the remittance between the British Armed Force and Singapore Police Force, Singapore Police Force had brought remittance by 44 percent more than the British Armed Force. Because the salary of Singapore Police was not given fully during service period when they used to come leave once in three years and such stored salary was given to their retirement.

In terms of foreign exchange earnings remittance constituted the fourth largest source of foreign sources of foreign exchange earnings. According to 1980-81 figure earnings from merchandise export by export, remittances constituted by 8.2 percent. However, the figure on remittance fails to indicate the foreign exchange brought people serving in the foreign armies as well as services. The remittances of foreign exchange received directly by the Rastra Bank from the British, Indian and Singapore government represents the pensions and gratuities only. The earnings on the salaries and allowances usually brought by those serving in the army are not included (Kanskar, V.B.S, 1983:61-62). Thus, this present study would be helpful to the researchers of government, non-government and international originations. According to Nepal Living Standard Survey Report remarks, although remittance from other countries represented only a small share of the total, they were much higher than the average (Rs 79,183/- versus and average of Rs 12,090/- per remittance) (NLSS 1996:64). According to 1994/95, the official recorded value of remittance from abroad was around Rs 2.9 billions. Of the total recorded remittance'

(presumably those employed in the British and Indian armies) accounted for between a quarter and a third of the total. In 1996/97, the official recorded value of remittance from abroad was Rs 2, 938 million (Nepal Rastra Bank, 1997, Table 20) which constitutes about 7.7 % of foreign exchange service (Sedden, and et al, 2001:30-31).

**Table 33:** Remittances' brought by British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees by the incoming time of pensioned (specially within three years)

	British Returnees		Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
<b>Total converted amount of gold/silver brought by BGAF</b>						
Less than 200000	46.1	35	52.6	10	47.4	45
200000-300000	19.7	15	10.5	2	17.9	17
300000-400000	11.8	9	10.5	2	11.6	11
400000-500000	5.3	4	5.3	1	5.3	5
500000-600000	5.3	4	15.8	3	7.4	7
600000 and above	11.8	9	5.3	1	10.5	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Average amount</b>	<b>2,95,461</b>		<b>3,43,092</b>		<b>3,04,896</b>	
<b>Total converted amount of materials brought by BGAF</b>						
Less than 200000	59.5	47	63.2	12	60.2	59
200000-300000	21.5	17	10.5	2	19.4	19
300000-400000	3.8	3	21.1	4	7.1	7
400000-500000	1.3	1	5.3	1	2.0	2
500000-600000	3.8	3			3.1	3
600000 and above	10.1	8			8.2	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>Average amount</b>	<b>2,80,796</b>		<b>,175,829</b>		<b>2,60,445</b>	
<b>Total converted cash brought by BGAF</b>						
Less than 200000	19.7	14	17.6	3	19.3	17
200000-300000	14.1	10	5.9	1	12.5	11
300000-400000	14.1	10	5.9	1	12.5	11
400000-500000	2.8	2			2.3	2
500000-600000	9.9	7	5.9	1	9.1	8
600000 and above	39.4	28	64.7	11	44.3	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>Average cash</b>	<b>6,75,729</b>		<b>16,49,706</b>		<b>8,63,884</b>	
<b>Total converted cash brought by BGAF</b>						
Less than 500000	19.3	16	10.5	2	17.6	18
500000-1000000	42.2	35	21.1	4	38.2	39
1000000-1500000	22.9	19	31.6	6	24.5	25
1500000-2000000	1.2	1	5.3	1	2.0	2
2000000-2500000	9.6	8	15.8	3	10.8	11
2500000 and above	4.8	4	15.8	3	6.9	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11,15,839</b>		<b>19,94,974</b>		<b>12,79,600</b>	

#### **4.7.3.5 Investment remittance in income generating and social sectors**

In terms of investment of remittances, the major portion of remittance were spent on banking/saving/co-operative institutions which are the safety for money saving and regular increasing of money accounting for 44.7 percent (46 returnees). The returnees were also influenced by the business investment accounting for 16.5 percent (17 persons). Third largest group of returnees invested their remittance for debt repayment for interest which was accounted by 7.8 percent. A minority group of returnees was invested their remittance for industrial purpose (2.9 %) and purchasing land for selling purpose. Of the totals, 27.2 percent returnees did not response (Table-34a). It can be concluded that returnees did not have idea for mobilizing the money due to adjustment in the new place and more investment in household maintenance and being a tendency to go abroad for re-service.

Majority of the respondents spent their remittance in social work which indicates the use of remittance for local and community development. As they reported, the investment in social sector is still continued from the beginning. Of the totals about 71 percent returnees spent some fraction of remittance for community development programme. Based on time, of the total, 60.3 returnees donated their remittance in any necessity condition of the community followed by annually donation (12.3 % returnees), monthly (9.6 %) and accepted above all were found 17.8 percent of the totals. The later group returnees can be played an important role for community development. Similarly, the amount of donated money for once was found in different range. The largest percentages of returnees donated money at the range of Rs 5000 – Rs10000/- which is accounting for 45.2 percent. 11 percent returnees donated Rs10000 and above. A minority group was donated Rs 100/- – Rs 1000/- (5.4 %). Some of the returnees donated their remittance for health related equipment (1 person) and land for community development like construction for temple and building for common welfare purpose (1 person) (Table-34b). This indicates that income derived from foreign military services has helped to raise the standard of living of Magars, Gurungs, Rais and Limbus beyond the subsistence level. Saving money from army wages brought back to the cities a considerable sum of currency and allows the returnees live well above the standard set by the local resources. Well living standard of people can contribute the investment for their local community.



**Table 34a:** Investment of remittances in different income generating sectors

<b>Income generating sectors</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Debt repayment for interest	8	7.8
Business	17	16.5
Industry	3	2.9
Bank/saving/co-operative	46	44.7
Purchased land for selling purpose	1	1.0
Not Response	28	27.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 34b:** Investment of remittances in social work

<b>Investment of remittances</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Investment of remittances in community development</b>		
Yes	73	70.9
No	30	29.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Investment of remittances by time</b>		
Monthly	7	9.6
Annually	9	12.3
Any time not fixed	44	60.3
Altogether	13	17.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Donated money by the BGFA (in Rs)</b>		
Less than 100	2	2.7
100-1000	2	2.7
1000-5000	7	9.6
5000-10000	33	45.2
10000 and above	8	11.0
Not stated	21	28.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Kinds</b>		
Health related equipment	1	50.0
Land	1	50.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.7.4 Social consequences of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees

In connection of social consequences, this unit queries of respondents' opinion about their children marriage by preference, respondents' insistence to their sons for the recruitment in the British Armed Force. This also deals with respondents' perception about less involvement of the children in Nepalese government services, comparative treatment process for health and contribution for development in the Kathmandu valley.

##### 4.7.4.1 Opinion of respondents about their children's marriage

In terms of opinion of respondents for their children marriage, majority respondents favoured the children' wish or preferences which represent 63.1 percent (65 returnees) of the total. The second largest group of respondents emphasized their children' marriage with educated candidate and family which accounts for 18.4 percent. Of the totals, 16.5 percent returnees wished their children' marriage with the British Gurkha Armed Force

family members. The reasons for selection of the British Armed Force family expressed by returnees were similar understanding and interest, quick economic return and the same occupation. Small group of returnees had chosen the Indian army family if British family (1.9 %) (Table-35) were not available. From these opinions it can be concluded that there seen different views about the choices for marriage family but majority of parents were found changed in their traditional behaviours. Reasons stated by respondents were found that, children are educated and they can choose with parent negotiation and candidates chosen by children would be better selection for the children.

**Table 35:** Opinion of respondents about their children's marriage by preferences

Opinion	British Returnees		Gurkha/Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
According to children's wish	49	59.0	16	80.0	65	63.1
Non army and educated family	16	19.3	3	15.0	19	18.4
British Gurkha army family	16	19.3	1	5.0	17	16.5
Indian army family	2	2.4			2	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.7.4.2 Insistence of respondents to their sons to the recruitment in the British Armed Force by various reasons

Table-36 provides the information on returnee's insistences for their sons' occupation. Among the totals, 33 returnees insisted on their son to recruit in the British Armed Force and rest of the returnees did not insist on. Many reasons for insistence and non-insistence were expressed. For the reasons of insistence, the largest group of returnees had expressed that is children own interest (15.2 %) and 9 percent of the total was due to family genesis. Minority group of returnees had insisted on to their sons due to negligence in study (2%), to make independent (6.1 %), due to discipline in the armed force (6.1%). Of the 57.5 percent of the totals, were denied to response.

Subsequently, reasons for 'no' 73 percent respondents did not response. Among the respondents for no reasons, the category of 'children were and are not interested comprised of 15 percent. More or less, there were equal important reasons were due to be an engineer (4.0 percent), due to ID Holders (3 %). due to too much trouble in armed force (3 %) (Table-36).

**Table 36:** Distribution of respondents who insisted to their sons to the recruitment in the British Armed Force by various reasons

Reasons			Reasons			Total	
Reason for 'yes'	N	%	Reasons for 'no'	N	%	N	%
Children own interest	5	15.2	Children were & are not interested	11	15.7	16	15.0
Due to family genesis	3	9.0	To be an engineer	1	1.4	4	4.0
Due to negligence in study	2	6.1	Due to ID holder	1	1.4	3	3.0
To make independent	2	6.1	Due to too much trouble in armed force	1	1.4	3	3.0
Due to good discipline in the armed force	2	6.1		-	-	2	2.0
Not reported	19	57.5		56	80.0	75	73.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.7.4.3: Respondents' Perceptions on less involvement of their children in Nepalese government and non government services in Nepal

The British Armed Force Returnees who settled in the Kathmandu Valley felt difficulties about their children career in Nepal. Long stay in abroad and settled down in new places could be major complication to adjust and to enquiry them about their children occupation. Residence within the same profession (army men) and the same ethnic community would face another obstacle to assimilate in the country. Because of good economic position in the family, young generation might have habit to expense more than the children of non-migrant community. Thus, services and job with the salary of Nepalese context would not satisfy for them which could be factors for going to abroad for seeking job.

In this concern, returnees were expressed their multiple perceptions which are presented in table 37. Of the total respondents (100 %), 27 percent respondents (50 respondents) emphasized on low salary/payment and this was followed by the cause of non availability of relatives in higher post (22.7 %). Subsequently, equally importance reasons were expressed that were difficult to adjust with Nepalese staff (10.3 %), lack of patience/could not compete with the children of non-army family (9.7 %), no job availability according to the children' qualification (9.7 %) and lack of opportunity (8.1%). Among the total, 5.4 percent respondent were interested to send their children in abroad by spending more money for good and quick return in the feature. Except these, other minor reasons were lack of knowledge about Nepal (3.2 %), language problem due to study in foreign country especially in Singapore (2.2 %) and influenced by their own clan and relatives who have gone to abroad (2.2 %). This indicates the complication for social adjustment and

assimilation in the society and Nation as well and no access the occupation for their children which had has compelled for emigration for their children in abroad for employment. This is the major consequences of the returnees' family not only in the Kathmandu Valley but in nation as well. This is one of the adverse consequences of British Armed Force, but it can be managed through unbiased domestic laws-the country, especially encouraging them in involved in the government services.

**Table 37:** Respondents' Perceptions on less involvement of their children in Nepalese government and non government services in Nepal

Reasons	Total	
	N	%
Low salary/payment	50	27.0
No relatives are in higher post	42	22.7
Difficult to adjust	19	10.3
Lack of patience/couldn't compete	18	9.7
No job available according to qualification	18	9.7
Lack of opportunity	15	8.1
To earn large amount of money and spent happy life	10	5.4
Think that they shouldn't work because they have already money	5	2.7
Others (poor education, to have foreign experience, and lack of knowledge about country's administration)	6	3.2
Language problem	4	2.2
Can capable to invest money in abroad	4	2.2
Follow to foreign going people special own caste	3	1.6
Not Response	11	5.9
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>185*</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Numbers may exceed 100 due to multiple responses

#### 4.7.4.4 Process of treatment for health

In terms of process of treatment, there was variation in used up process of treatment in three different places. Although, there found disparity in used up process of treatment, all the process were used in all places where they were and are resided there.

In the context of use of traditional healer, 97.1 percent (100 returnees) had used the traditional healer in their place of origin and this was followed by 18.4 % while they were in the armed force and 32 percent returnees were still using these processes in the Kathmandu Valley. Similarly, among the total, 15 percent returnees had used doctor in their place of origin but this process was exceeded by 98 percent during the armed force and followed by 100 percent in the Kathmandu Value. Subsequently, about 7 percent of the totals had used the Baidha treatment in their place of origin and followed by about 5 percent during the armed force but exceeded the use of this process by 27.2 percent in the Kathmandu. In addition, local treatment was largely popular in their place of origin which

comprised of 46.6 percent and then it was mostly excluded during the armed force but this treatment process was extended in the Kathmandu Valley.

By analysing the process of treatment, it can be concluded that the use of traditional healer were preserved in all places and these ethnic groups seemed in traditional mind and believed their culture and rituals but decreasing percentage in the use of this process during the armed force and in the Kathmandu than in their place of origin shows the changes in their life style and scarcity of this process. Honestly it can be said that, the popularity of traditional healer was the cause of non-availability of doctors and influence and belief of their traditional values. Interestingly, there was higher percentage of use of doctor in the Kathmandu Valley than in during the armed force. If we concern to armed force and Kathmandu Valley, all process of treatment tend to exceed to the place of origin. This could be the availability of the processes and preservation of their culture but the percentages of use of processes are seen minimum due to residing in the urban areas. Thus, this also shows consequence of the British Gurkha Returnees in the place of armed force and in the Kathmandu Valley.

**Table 38:** Comparative processes of treatment for health in three places: place of origin; platen (regiments in recruiting places) and Kathmandu (Only yes percentages).

Categories *	Origin place		While in Armed forced		Kathmandu		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Traditional healer	100	97.1	19	18.4	33	32.0	100.0(103)
Doctor	16	15.5	101	98.1	103	100.0	100.0(103)
Baidha **	7	6.8	5	4.9	28	27.2	100.0(103)
Local treatment***	48	46.6	3	2.9	23	22.3	100.0(103)

\*Number and percentage may exceed 100 due to multiple responses

\*\* Baidha process is concerned to homeopathic treatment and medicine is especially made by local herbal

\*\*\* Local treatment is similar with Baidha but medicine is prepared by own their traditional local knowledge.

#### **4.7.4.5: Contributions of respondents' in the community development**

This deals with respondents or returnees contributions in the community development programme. This also explains about the involvement of the family members in this programme. Majority of the returnees found in the community development activities. Of the total respondents (103), 83 respondents were the British armed Force Returnees and the rest were Singapore Police Force (20 returnees). They involved by giving cash and labour. Among the contributors, 54.4 percent respondents were contributed by giving cash and labour and this was followed by giving cash only (40.8 %). Minimum number was contributed by physically presence as labour (2.9 %). If we analyse the involvements

of family in the community programme, the largest representative group husbands which comprised 43.7 percent and this was closely followed by their wives (39.8 %). It indicates the gender balanced in the development programme. The reasons for this might have less household course for wives than their place of origin, empowered by husband as being culture and civilized during the armed force and educated by British for family culture, access for involvement in the development programme in the urban areas and wives could be literate on compared to their place of origin. Subsequently, they used to send their son, daughter in-law, and daughter in their absence.

**Table 39:** Contributions of respondents in the community development programme

	British Gurkha Returnees		Singapore Gurkha Returnees		Total	
	N	%	N		N	%
<b>Contribution of house hold head in community development</b>						
Cash and labour	45	54.2	11	55.0	56	54.4
Cash only	34	41.0	8	40.0	42	40.8
Labour only	2	2.4			2	1.9
NR	2	2.4	1	5.0	3	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Family members involvement in community development</b>						
Husband	36	43.4	9	45.0	45	43.7
Wife	36	43.4	5	25.0	41	39.8
Son	2	2.4	1	5.0	3	2.9
Daughter-in-law	1	1.2	1	5.0	2	1.9
Daughter	1	1.2			1	1.0
Both (husband and wife)	5	6.0	2	10.0	7	6.8
All	1	1.2	1	5.0	2	1.9
NR	1	1.2	1	5.0	2	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4.7.5 Cultural consequences of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees

This unit examines the religions, festival, languages and food habits used in different places. This also describes the changed in culture and food habits and environments of their present residence.

#### 4.7.5.1 Cultural existence of British Gurkha Returnees Armed force at different places in Nepal.

**Table 40:** Cultural existence of British Gurkha Returnees Armed force at different places in Nepal \*

Cultural /rituals	Origin Place (N=103)		First migrated place rather than Kathmandu(N=47)		Kathmandu (N=103)	
Kul puja	103	100.0	44	93.6	67	65.0
Traditionally follow of deity	101	98.1	42	89.4	70	68.0
<b>Religions</b>						
Kirat	9	8.7	8	17.0	35	34.0
Hindu	91	88.3	33	70.2	35	34.0
Buddhist	3	2.9	6	12.8	32	31.1
Christian			-	-	1	1.0
NR	-	-	9	19.1		
<b>Festivals</b>						
Dashain	88	96.7	33	91.6	15	81.3
Tihar	70	89.7	28	96.6	73	92.4
Loshar	11	55.0	7	87.5	20	95.2
Chandi	30	90.9	10	100.0	31	93.9
Chaitra Dashain	26	81.3	12	85.7	30	93.8
Maghe Sankranti	37	82.2	14	82.4	42	93.3
<b>Languages</b>						
Mother tongue and Nepali	74	71.8	32	68.1	62	60.2
Only mother tongue	6	5.8	1	2.1	5	4.9
Only Nepali	21	20.4	12	25.5	27	26.2
Mother tongue, Nepali and English	2	1.9	2	4.3	9	8.7

Percentage may be exceeding more than 100 due to multiple answers.

Table-40 provides information about religions, festivals and languages celebrated and used in different places. Culture and ritual aspects represent the Kul Puja (Special worships for late fore fathers, fathers or kinship relatives) deity (worships of local gods which are respected by generation and community). Although all cultural and ritual aspects were found existed in places where the returnees were and are resided, the trends of follow ness has been decreased in the first place of migration and in the Kathmandu valley than their place of origin. Of the totals, 93 and 89.4 percent respondents followed this culture while in the Kathmandu Valley these percentages decreased by 65 and 68 percent respectively. In connection with religions, there has been vastly changed according to time and place of residence. Of the total respondents, 88.3 percent followed the Hindu religion in the place of origin and this was followed by 70 percent in the first place of migration and decreased to 34 percent in the Kathmandu Value. But the number respondents who belong to Kirat, Buddhist were surprisingly increased in both migrated places than their origin place. For instance, Kirat followers shifted from 8 percent in place of origin, 17 percent in the first migrated place and 34 percent in the Kathmandu

Valley. Buddhist followers' respondents also shifted from 2.9 percent in the place of origin to 12.8 percent in the first place of migration and 31.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. This changed result may be done open political environment after the restoration of democracy in Nepal after 1991. After the restoration of democracy, people wished to identify their religions. Next reasons, there was compulsion to write Hindu in citizenship certificates form and on the citizens as Hindu state and these ethnic group used to write Hindu for the recruitment in the British Armed Force because the British were used to recruit Hindu able young boy from Hindu state.

In terms of festivals, the proportion of respondents observing Dashain or Durga Puja, and Chaitra Dashain which are belong to Hindu religion has been decreased in its celebration believes. But Tihar or Bhai Puja celebration has become popular in the both migrated places than in their place of origin. Similarly, Losar and Chandi which are belonged to Kirat and Buddhist religions has been increased in both migrated places but percentage of increasement is higher in the Kathmandu Valley than in the first migrated place. For instance, percentage of Dashain celebrators has been shifted from 96.7 percent in the place of origin to 91.6 percent in the first place of migration and 81.3 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. This also has follow to the religion aspect.

In the context of speaking language, of the totals 60.2 percent used to speak both their mother tongues and Nepali in the Kathmandu Valley and this was followed by 26.2 percent only for Nepali language, 8.7 percent for mother tongues, Nepali and English and 4.9 percent for only mother tongs. Surprisingly, the use of mother tongues has decreased from their place of origin (5.8) to the first place of migration (2.1 %), and again increased in the Kathmandu Valley. Thus it indicates the preservation of their languages in the valley as well. In addition, percentage of only Nepali speaking has continuously increased from their place of origin (20.4 %) to the first place of migration (25.5 %) and in the Kathmandu Valley (26.2 %). This might be the cause of children who cannot speak their own languages.

#### **4.7.5.2 Changed in food habit in different places**

An attempt is made here to examiné the changees in food habit between the three places: place of origin, first migrated place and in the Kathmandu Valley.



**Table 41:** Types of food and changed in food habit in different places

Types of food	Origin Place (N=103)		*First migrated place rather than Kathmandu (N=47)		Kathmandu (N=103)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Main food</b>						
Lentils (Dal), rice, curry and pickle	43	41.7	30	63.8	1	100.0
Lentils (Dal), rice and pickle only	18	17.5	2	4.3	73	70.9
Main food and curry soup	38	36.9	8	17.0	7	6.8
All	4	3.9	7	14.9	23	22.3
<b>Types of refreshments</b>						
Boil fruits, maize, and soybean	93	90.3	14	29.8	5	4.9
Beaten rice and curry	4	3.9	9	19.1	5	4.9
Bread (roti) and curry	3	2.9	14	29.8	11	10.7
Thukpa, chowmein and bread (pauroti)	2	1.9	5	10.6	39	37.9
Only drinks	-		2	4.3	10	9.7
All	1	1.0	3	6.4	33	32.0
<b>Taken time for refreshment</b>						
Only in the afternoon	52	50.5	23	48.9	45	43.7
Only in the morning	19	18.4	11	23.4	7	6.8
Both morning and afternoon	32	31.1	13	27.7	51	49.5
<b>Drinks</b>						
Homemade drinks only	92	89.3	24	51.1	5	4.9
Homemade hard drinks	2	1.9	8	17.0	12	11.7
Hard drinks	1	1.0	1	2.1	15	14.6
Tea and soft drink only	2	1.9	1	2.1	15	14.6
Homemade drinks +soft drinks			2	4.3	6	5.8
Homemade drinks + Hard drinks +soft drinks	2	1.9	3	6.4	2	1.9
Homemade and hard drinks+ soft drinks	1	1.0	2	4.3		
Hard drinks+ soft drinks					37	35.9
Homemade drinks and soft drinks					6	5.8
All					5	4.9
No drinks	3	2.9	3	6.4	4	3.9
<b>Feast at festival</b>						
Lentils (dal), rice, meat and pickle	44	42.7	19	40.4	8	7.8
Lentils (dal), rice, meat, curry and pickle	17	16.5	11	23.4	5	4.9
Rice ,meat and pickle	38	36.9	6	12.8	1	1.0
Palau, meat and other vegetable.	-	-	9	19.1	57	53.3
Palau, momo, thukpa, chowmein and vegetable	-		2	4.3	30	29.1
Plain rice and vegetable	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.0
Lentils (dal), rice, and meat pickle and + rice ,meat and pickle	1	1.0	-	-	-	-
Lentils (dal), rice, meat, curry and pickle + Palau, meat and other vegetable	2	1.9	-	-	1	1.0

Source: Field survey, March 2005.

\*Respondents are those who have migrated rather than Kathmandu as first migrated place.

Note\* homemade drinks refers to alcohol, liquors which is made in home

\*\* Hard drinks refer to alcohol, wine, beer, whisky.

\*\*\* Soft drinks refer to cold drinks (Cock, Fantail, Juice etc).

Food is especially divided into in terms of main food, types of refreshment, drinks and feast at festival which is extensively elaborated in Table 41. For the main food, there has been changed in the use of items. Lentils, rice, curry and pickle are used more in the Kathmandu Valley than their place of origin and first place of migration which are

considered as full items for main food. All the returnees' respondents (100 %) gave the emphasis to such combination of food. This indicates higher living standard of the returnees in the Kathmandu Valley. Conversely, rice and curry soup are also used for main food in all places but it is highly used in their place of origin (in hilly areas) (36 %) as compared to the Kathmandu Valley (6.8 %).

In terms of refreshment, modern and chemical mixed foods are used more in the Kathmandu Valley than in other two places which are more expensive than other items and non affordable and non-available in the place of origin. Of the total, 37.9 percent returnees had used in the Kathmandu and this is followed by 10.6 percent in the place of origin and 1.9 percent in the place of origin. Taken times for refreshment were found different in different places. Of the total respondents, 49.5 percent used both morning and afternoon. It could be influenced of the British Armed Force, and signals of well living standard. There is no difference of time for afternoon refreshment. Among the respondents family, 50 percent family had used of afternoon refreshment time in their place of origin and this was followed by 48.9 percent in the first place of migration and 43.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

With regard to drinks, those returnees' families who had used of homemade and distilled hard drinks and simple and distilled soft drink is observed by 35.9 percent and followed by 29 percent for using distilled hard drink, soft drink (wine, whisky, coke, fanta, juice etc). A minority group of respondents (4.9 %) had been used only homemade hard drink which indicates only their old habit.

Items used in feast at festivals were also changed in the first place of migration and in the Kathmandu Valley. Among the total returnees, 53.3 percent returnees had used modern feast for festival in the Kathmandu Valley and this is followed by 19.7 percent in the first place of migration and it was totally excluded in their place of origin. Plain rice, simple lentils, meat and pickle had popularly been used in their place of origin (42 %), and in the first place of migration (40.4 %) in compared to Kathmandu Valley (7.8). Changed in food items and habits indicates to the change of life style and living standard of the returnees. By these figures, it can be concluded that the living standard of the returnees in the Kathmandu Valley is higher than the other non-army family.

#### **4.7.6 Household decision making process of British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees' family at different places**

Table-42 provides information on decision making process in different sectors and at different places. For the decisions made for household expenses, medical treatment, education, social and cultural work, travelling, land purchasing, investment in agriculture, and business, all were dominated by household parents. Little bit decision powers were empowered to the returnee's families or son and daughter in-laws. There were disparity between husband and wives for decision making power. Household expenses and social and cultural work were mostly handled by wives (8.7 % against 2.9 % of hundreds). Rest of the other sectors were handled by husband. However, all decision making power were handled by parents which ranged to 74.8 percent to 81.6 percent.

For the place of armed force service, returnees' husbands were more empowered in all sectors than their wives for decision making process. However the percentage for decision making empowerment has been highly increased than their place of origin. To some extent, decisions were made by army office for medical treatment, education, social and cultural programme and for travelling which ranged 8 to 11 percent.

For the Kathmandu (current situation), decision making empowerment had shifted from husbands to wives in the sectors of household expenses, medical treatment, socio/cultural work and travelling which ranged 8.7 to 49.5 percent between husbands and wives. There is a well mutual understanding between husbands and wives in having decision for purchasing land, investment in agriculture and business sector. It shows the changing gender status and applicable of gender approach in women's' advancement.

**Table 42:** Household decision making process at different areas in different places (place of origin, first place of migration, and Kathmandu) (N=103)\*

Areas of destination	Decision makers					
	Husband	Wife	Both	HH's parents	Son/daughter	Army's decision
<b>At place of origin</b>						
Household expenses	2.9	8.7	6.8	81.6		-
Medical treatment	6.8	6.8	9.7	74.7		1.9
Education	3.9	7.8	13.6	74.8		
Socio/cultural work	2.9	8.7	13.6	74.8		
Travelling	6.8	3.9	14.6	74.8		
Buying land	6.8	1.9	15.5	75.7		
Industry	5.8	2.9	16.5	74.8		
Invest on agriculture	6.8	2.9	15.5	74.8		
Business	8.7	1.9	14.6	74.8		
<b>While in Armed force</b>						
Household expenses	30.1	31.1	35.9	2.0		
Medical treatment	31.1	19.4	37.9	1.0		10.7
Education	28.2	18.4	43.7	1.0		8.7
Socio/cultural work	24.2	24.3	38.8	1.0		10.7
Travelling	32.0	15.5	41.7	1.0		9.7
Buying land	34.0	10.6	51.5	2.9		
Industry	33.0	16.4	47.6	1.0		1.0
Invest on agriculture	31.1	11.7	47.8	9.7		
Business	32.0	11.7	55.3	1.0		
<b>At Kathmandu (current)</b>						
Household expenses	8.7	49.5	38.8	1.0	1.0	
Medical treatment	19.4	30.1	47.6	1.9		1.0
Education	16.5	27.2	53.4	1.9		1.0
Socio/cultural work	13.6	28.2	55.3	1.9		1.0
Travelling	19.4	21.4	57.3	1.9		
Buying land	19.4	15.5	61.2	2.9	1.0	
Industry	21.4	15.5	59.2	2.9	1.0	
Invest on agriculture	22.3	14.6	59.2	2.9	1.0	
Business	23.3	14.6	58.3	2.9	1.0	

\*Percentage may exceed due to multiple answers.

#### 4.7.7 Consequences of BGAFR' returnees in their residential areas

As reported by returnees, they were having many changes and problems in their residential areas. Among these, cultural and religion changes were major one (See Table – 40) and this was followed by problem of robbery and thieves (65 %), heard of rape and prostitution case (62.1%) and problem of air pollution (60.2 %). Third largest problems reported by respondents were drug abuse (41.7 %), sound pollution due to close to big road (45.6 %)., realization of necessary of relatives and other family members (45.6 %). Water pollution (38.8 %); quarrel after drinking alcohols (36.9 %), violence in the tole (local unit of area) were equally dangerous problems. These all happened due to development of the new. There were violence between local boys and returnees' boys and also happened gang fights between returnees' children. Because of new migrated

settlement and being an army household, both local and professional thieves would steal either in local area or next area of army community. In the case of drug abuse, Khumaltar-15 and 14 ward of Lalitpur sub-metropolitan city were more affected. People used drug from the age of 13 to 70. All the respondents of that area reported that, 70 percent local people use drug and they try to influence the children of the returnees. They convince to returnees young boys either by making friends motivate by saying 'golden son' for asking money or clothes and shoes. If they get such materials from the armed force returnees' son, they would sell to other place for purchasing drug. On the other hand, sons of returnees whose father had gone to abroad and were staying only with their mother, they were more motivated from such brokers and such children quarrel with their mothers for asking money. Second process for motivating the children of the British Armed Returnees by mixing drug into the tea without their knowledge. Thus many multiple problems were found in the new migrated places.

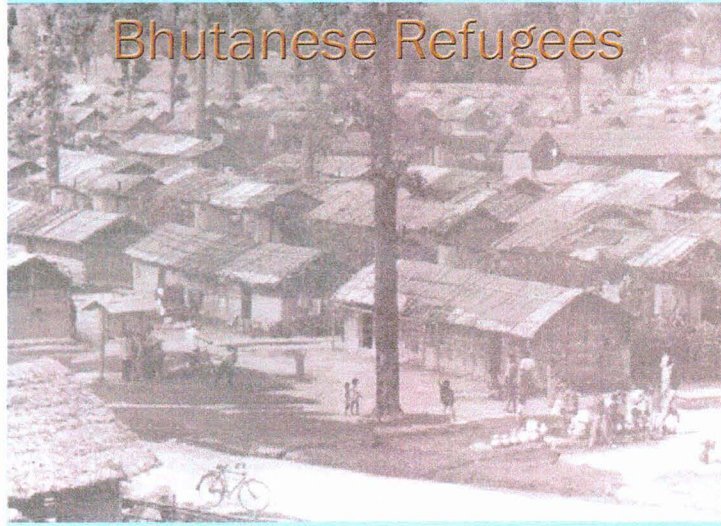
**Table 43:** Consequences of returnees' in their present residential areas

Consequences	N	%1
Change in culture/religion	77	74.8
Water pollution	40	38.8
Air pollution	62	60.2
Sound pollution	47	45.6
Violence in the tole	32	31.1
Slums	17	16.5
Heard of drug use	43	41.7
Realization of necessary of relatives and other family	47	45.6
Tole problem	64	62.1
Heard of rape/prostitution case	18	17.5
Heard any events quarrel after drinking alcohol	38	36.9
Any problem of thief and robbery	67	65.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>



Chapter-V

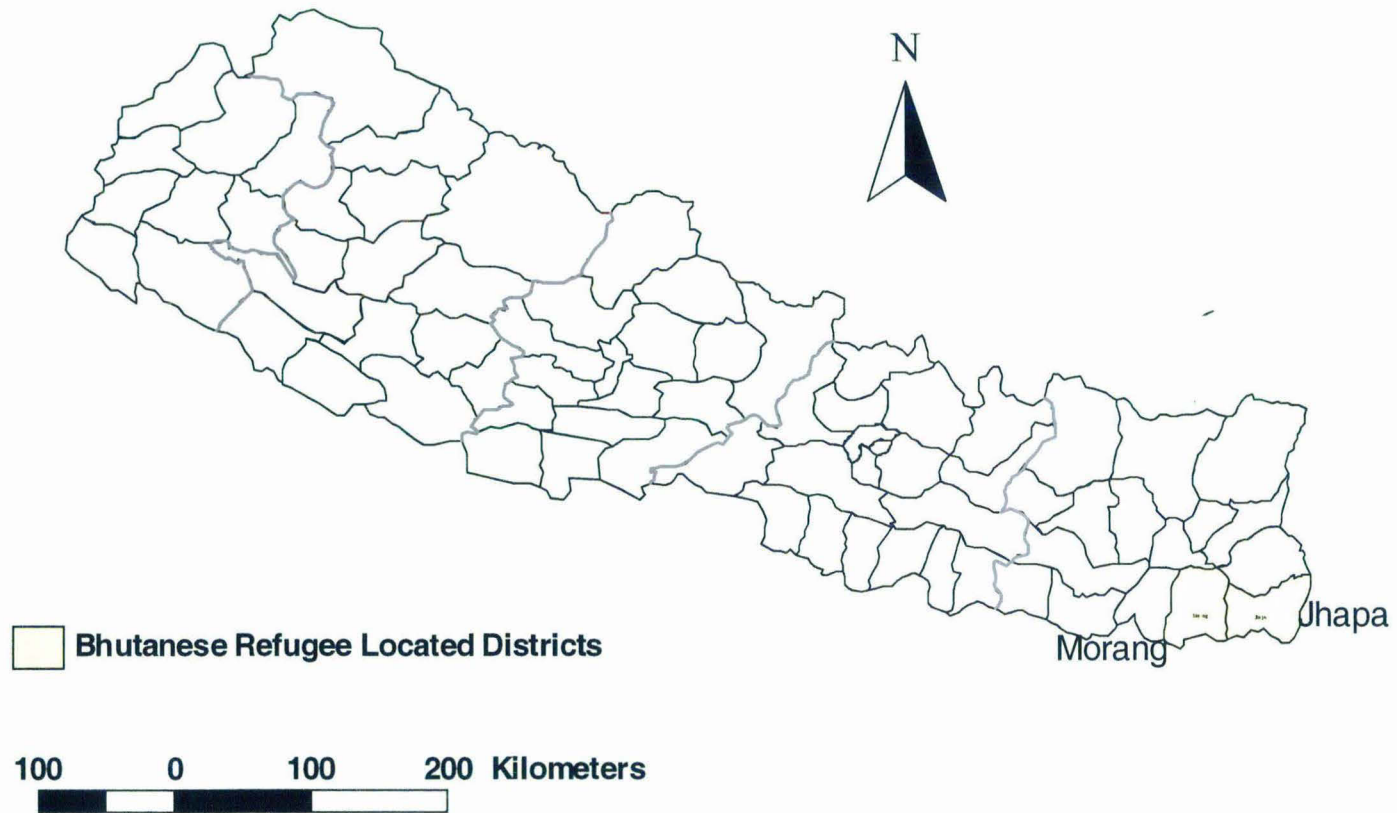
## Pattern of Huts of Bhutanese Refugees



A scenario of Bhutanese Refugee's Camp in Jhapa District, Nepal

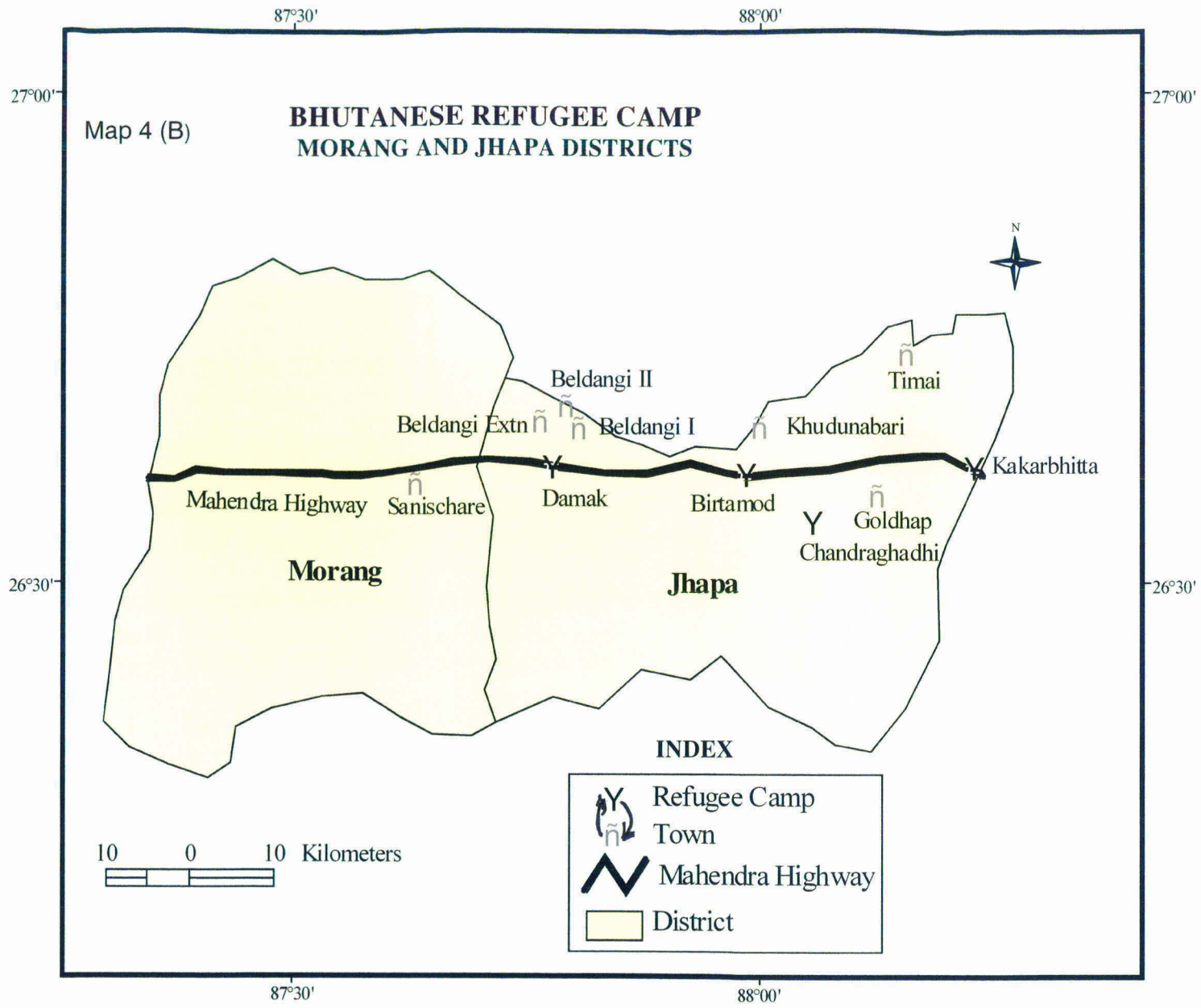
Map 4 (A)

## BHUTANESE REFUGEE IN NEPAL



Map 4 (B)

### BHUTANESE REFUGEE CAMP MORANG AND JHAPA DISTRICTS





**Chapter**

# 5

## **Analysis of Demographic Characteristics of Bhutanese Refugee**

### **5 Introductions of Demographic Characteristics**

“Demography is defined as the scientific study of human population, primarily with respect to their size, their structure and their development in narrow term” (Vande Walle, 1982 cited in Srinivasan, 1998:13). So, it deals the study of human population in their aggregate with regard to their composition or structure, spatial distributions and developments or changes in these over time. The term demography has been widened according to the demand of changing time and connection of it with other disciplines. “Thus, demography not only deals with levels and changes in the size, composition and distribution of the population but also with the causes and consequences of the levels and changes” (Shrinivasan, K., 1998 *ibid*).

As stated above, this section explores about demographic characteristics of the Bhutanese refugee in Nepal: age and, population size by years, annual exponential growth rate in different camps and average household. It also includes demographic characteristics of sampled population of Bhutanese refugees.

## 5.1 Demographic Characteristic of overall Bhutanese Refugees

Demographic composition of the Bhutanese refugees living in different camps up to February, 2005 shows that their total population is 105098. Of the total, 51 percent were male and 49 percent were female (Table -1). There is slightly difference between male and female but as compared to National figure of Nepal, percentage of male Bhutanese population is slightly higher (51%) and consequently female is slightly lower (49%) than national figure. Of the total population of Nepal, 50.05 were male and 49.94 were female in 2001 (CBS, 2001). The population size by sex appears to be similar in 2002 and 2005.

**Table 1:** Population distribution by sex and years

Years	Sex			Percent		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2002*	52171	50092	102263	51.0	49.0	100
2005**	53648	51450	105098	51.0	49.0	100

*Source:* \*Refugees in Nepal: A Short Glimpse. National Unit for Co-ordination of Refugees Affairs (NUCRA), Ministry's of Home Affairs His Majesty's of Nepal, April, 2003, Annex-1 (Brochures)

\*\*Refugees Co-ordination Unit, District Administrative Office, Chandragadi, Jhapa Ministry of Home, HMG, Nepal, April, 2005

### Population distribution by age and sex, 2003

The two characteristics of the population that receive the most attention in demographic analysis are age and sex. Although, the age-sex composition of a population is important component in welfare series including prediction demographic parameters scale on fertility, mortality and migrant. There is no availability of data on Bhutanese refugees. No timely census has been done in different camps by authorised organisations. "Age-sex structure is the product of past trend of fertility, mortality and migration and influence in turn the current levels of birth, death and migration" (Pantha, and Sharma, 2003:37).<sup>1</sup> Because of non availability of data, such important analysis would not be possible in comparative perspective by different camps, years, decades and sex. Only cross-section data is demonstrated and analysed here (Table-2).

<sup>1</sup> Basanta Raj Sharma is a statistical officer Centre Bureau of Statistics, HMG, Nepal

**Table 2: Population of Bhutanese Refugees by Age and Sex, end of 2003**

	Sex				Total	
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	No.	Percent
Age group						
< 5	4,443	8	4,172	7	8,615	8
5 – 17	18,118	31	17,660	32	35,778	31
18 – 59	27,049	47	26,278	47	53,327	47
60+>	3,286	6	2,694	5	5,980	5
Age not stated	5,103	9	5,103	9	10,206	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>57,999</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55,907</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>113,906</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: UNHCR, Annual Report, 2005

Table 2 shows percentage distribution of population by age and sex, 2003 recorded by UNHCR. Male and female are equally distributed in proportion but number is slightly different. The total population was 113, 906 in 2003 while it was shown 105, 098 in 2005.

Thus, total Bhutanese refugees decreased by 8808 persons in 2005. The reasons for differences between two years may be due to, age not stated population which consists of 9 percent (10,106) and registered Bhutanese refugees might be absent without reasons at the time of enumeration. Of the total population, about 47 percent has been counted under the age group of 18-59 which is the economically active working population group. Both male and female of this group is equally distributed (47%), and this is followed by young age population (39%). The data recorded by UNHCR, does not allow calculating and comparing about young age and old age population. Table-2 demonstrates the one interesting aspect, which follows the same pattern of population distribution in all broad aged groups.

**Table 3: Population distribution of overall Bhutanese population by camps and years**

Camps	Population by years					
	June,1993*	Percent	Dec.,2002**	Percent	Feb.,2005***	Percent
Beldangi-I	14537	17.3	17650	17.3	18091	17.2
Beldangi-II	18639	22.1	21790	21.3	22280	21.2
Beldangi-(Ext-II)	9494	11.3	11100	10.9	11444	10.9
Timai	7983	9.5	9735	9.5	10131	9.6
Goldhap	7850	9.3	9095	8.9	9353	8.9
Khudunabari	9100	10.8	12799	12.5	13120	12.5
Sanischare	16642	19.8	20094	19.6	20679	19.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>84245</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102263</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>105098</b>	<b>100</b>

Source:\*Luthern World Service, Bhutanese Refugee' Project Planning and Monotoring Department, June 22, 1993;

\*\*Rfugees in Nepal: A short Glimpse. National Unit for Co-ordination of Refugees Affairs (NUCRA), Ministry's of Home Affairs His Majesty's of Nepal, April 2003'Annex-1 (Bhrochure).

\*\*\* Refugees Co-ordination Unit, District, District Administrative Office, Chandragadi, Jhapa, Ministry of Home Affairs. HMG, Nepal , 2005.

Tables-3 shows the population distribution by camps and years. According to total population, a large majority (80%) lives in the six camps in Jhapa district viz, Beldangi-I, II and Beldangi Ext-II, Timai, Goldhap and Khudhanabari. The remaining 20 percent of these refugees live in Sanischare Camp of Morang district. If we look at the spatial distribution of the population, Beldangi location has hosted the largest number of the refugees that is around 51 percent in 1993, 49.4 percent in 2002 and 49.3 percent in 2005. Sanischare camp ranks second position that is 19.7 percent in an average of 1993, 2002, and 2005 in all camps. This implies that “the larger the population of a camp, the more adverse are effect on host-community”.

### **Population Distribution of Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal, 1994-2003**

Table-4 shows the distribution of population by years from 1994 to 2003. During the 10 years, the population increase from 103 thousands to 113 thousands. Except 1998, in all successive years after 1994 population has been increasing. The increasing and decreasing percentage of population between different years is less which indicates in decimal differences (Fig-6). There is slightly decreased in 1998 and 1999 and has continuously increased since 2000 to 2003. This table again shows contradiction with total population of Bhutanese refugees in 2005. Such contradict number of total population could be two possibilities. First reason, more population recorded by UNHCR could be counted either according to their application for registration or counted of Bhutanese refugees who were staying outside camp without assistance. Second reason, such controversial number of Bhutanese population to be less in 2005, could not counted to de-registered refugees and the application form of asylum seekers and refugees who left their status.

**Table 4: Population distribution of Bhutanese refugees in Nepal, 1994-2005**

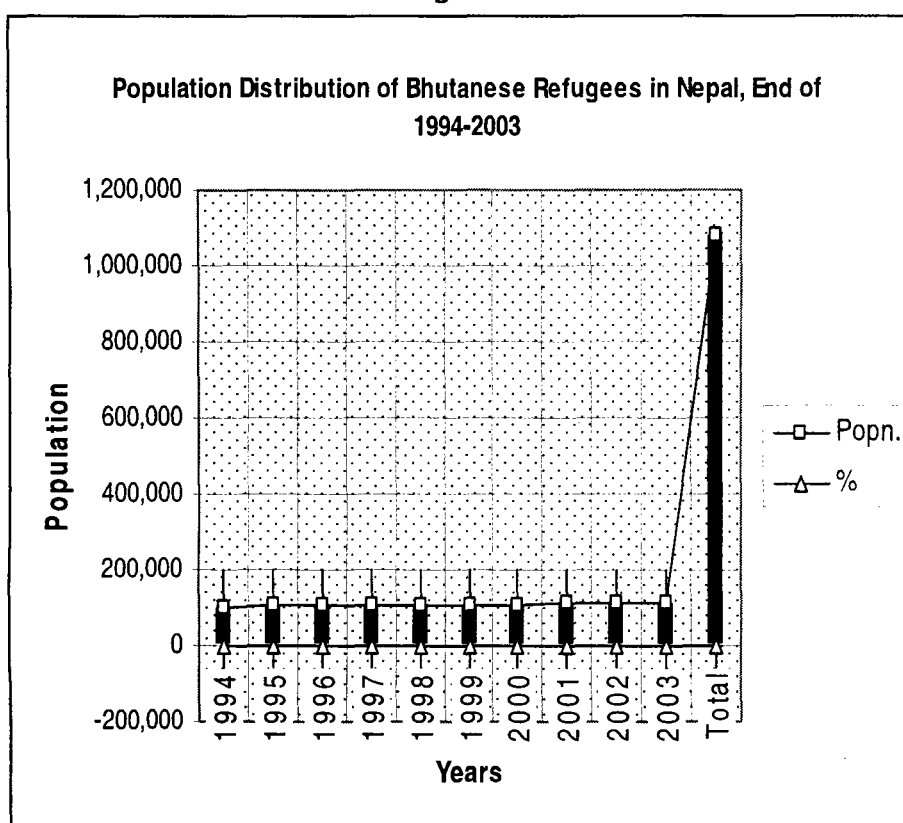
End of Years	Population.	%
1994	103,265	9.5
1995	104,740	9.7
1996	106,801	9.9
1997	108,674	10.0
1998	105,651	9.8
1999	107,571	9.9
2000	108,897	10.1
2001	110,780	10.2
2002	112,263	10.4
2003	113,907	10.5

Source: UNHCR Annual Report, 2005. Head Office, Maharajgunj, Kathmandu

Note: \* Age of Refugees' family members who are staying outside from the camps due to various reasons.

\*\* Children are also included.

**Figure-6**



Source: UNHCR Annual Report 2005. Maharjungung, Kathmandu

## 5.2 Annual Exponential Growth Rate of Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal, 1993 - 2002, 2002-2005

**Table 5:** Annual exponential population growth rate of Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal, 1993 – 2002, 2002 – 2005

Years/ Population	Population			Population growth rate per year	
Camps	June,1993*	Dec.,2002**	Feb.,2005***	1993 - 2002	2002 -2005
Beldangi-I	14537	17650	18091	2.28	1.14
Beldangi-II	18639	21790	22280	1.84	1.03
Beldangi-Ext II	9494	11100	11444	1.84	1.04
Timai	7983	9735	10131	2.33	1.84
Goldhap	7850	9095	9353	1.73	1.29
Khudunabari	9100	12799	13120	4.01	1.14
Sanischare	16642	20094	20679	2.22	1.32
<b>Total</b>	<b>84245</b>	<b>102263</b>	<b>105098</b>	<b>2.28</b>	<b>1.26</b>

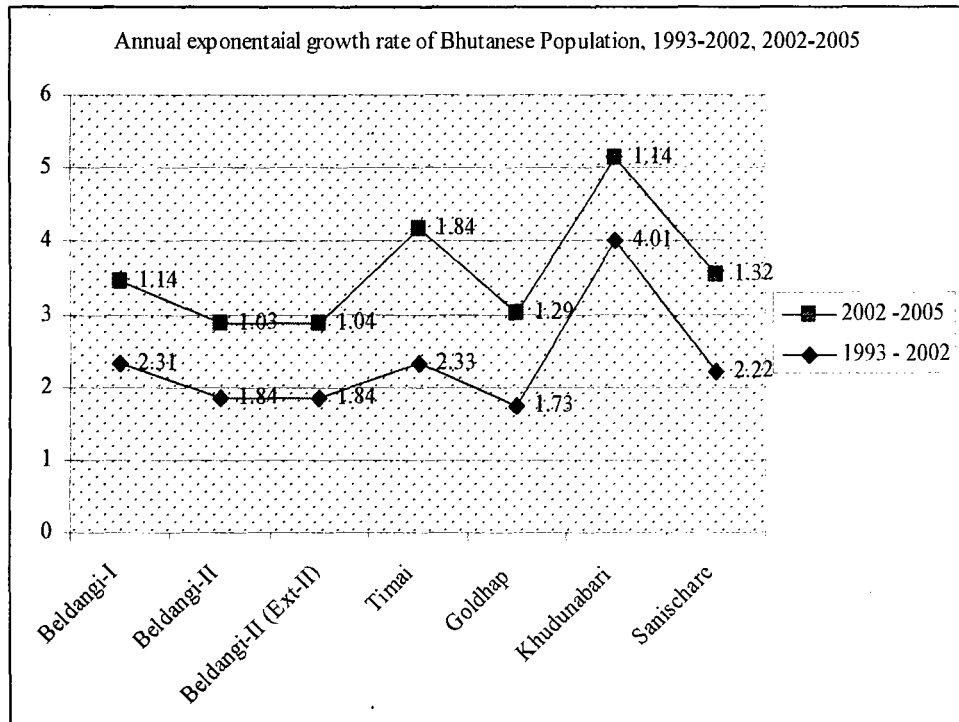
Source: Table 3 (ibid)\*: Population distribution of overall Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal

Population growth is a fundamental demographic description on which all others are either directly or indirectly contingent upon. It refers to the growth of the human population in a particular area during a specific period of time. In practice the annual growth rate of population, is usually derived from decennial census data and is expressed as a percentage. Based on stated rules, Table-5 shows the annual exponential population growth rate of overall Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. Camp Census period for different years are different but time is fractionised and counted the months and calculated in average growth rate per year. Two different points of time have been used for calculating the annual growth rate. But here I have established population growth rate of Bhutanese refugees in two points of time: from 1993-2002 and 2002-2005, according to camps. The annual growth rate of population during the year of 1993 to 2002 is 2.28 percent per annum which equals to national figure of Nepal (2.25% per annum). But it has sharply declined during the period of 2002 and 2005 (1.5%) (Figure- 7). The population growth of refugees' host district; - Jhapa and Morang in 1991 to 2001 was 1.48 percent and 2.23 percent per annum respectively (CBS, 2003:20). The population growth rate of Jhapa and Morang districts is equal to the growth rate of 2002 to 2005 and 1993 to 2002 respectively. The lower growth rate in later period due to deregistration during census in the camps and excluded from refugees' status due to marriage and long stayed in abroad.

### Formula for Exponential population growth rate:

$$1) P(t) = P(0)e^{rt}$$

Figure - 7



### 5.3 Population density of Bhutanese Refugees, 2005

Population density is an effective index to measure the pressure of population on land. Population per square kilometer of total area measures to population density. Thus, it indicates the person: land ratio and is usually expressed as the number of persons per square kilometer.

### 5.4 Sex- Ratio of overall Bhutanese Refugee, 2002 and 2005

The sex ratio is the ratio of the number of persons of one sex to that of the another and is one of the principal numerical measures of sex composition. The ratio may either be expressed as the number of males per 100 females or as the number of females per males. Usually the former definition is employed in Nepal which I have also followed. A sex ratio value above 100 indicates a greater number of males and of below 100 indicates a greater number of females. The sex ratio is simply calculated that the number of female and is multiplied either 100 or 1000 which are the constant number (k).

**!Unexpected End of Formula;**

$$\text{Sex Ratio} = \frac{P^m}{P^f} * 100 \text{ per females}$$

P<sup>m</sup> = Number of males in a population at a specific time

P<sup>f</sup> = Number of females in a population at a specific time

**Table 7: Sex-ratio of overall Bhutanese refugee by camps and years**

Camps	Population, 2002 <sup>i</sup>		Population, 2005 <sup>ii</sup>		Sex-ratio, 2002	Sex-ratio-2005
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Bel-I	9025	8625	9241	8850	104.6	104.4
Bel-II	11077	10713	11327	10953	103.4	103.4
Bel-Ext II	5670	5430	5854	5590	104.4	104.7
Timai	4713	4382	4865	4488	107.6	108.4
Goldhap	6427	6372	6601	6519	100.9	101.3
Khudunabari	10274	9820	10591	10088	104.6	105.0
Sanischae	4985	4750	5169	4962	104.9	104.2
<b>Total in average</b>	<b>52171</b>	<b>50092</b>	<b>53648</b>	<b>51450</b>	<b>104.2</b>	<b>104.3</b>

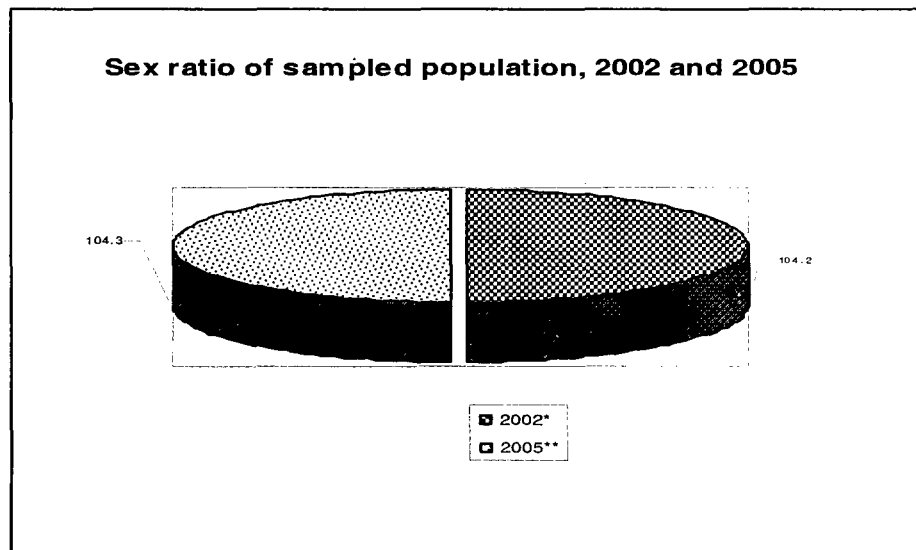
Source: i) Refugees in Nepal: A short Glimpse. National Unit for Co-ordination of Refugees Affairs (NUCRA), Ministry of Home Affairs, and His Majesty's of Nepal, April, 2003, Annex-1 (Brochure), (Formatted).

ii) Monthly report, December, 2005, Refugees Camp Unit (RCU), Head office, Chadragadi, Jhapa district, Nepal, Ministry of Home Affairs, and His Majesty's of Nepal, (Formatted).

Overall sex-ratio of total population of Bhutanese refugee is found 104.3 and 104.4 males per 100 females in 2002 and in 2005 respectively (Table-6, Fig-8). The sex ratio for camp census years, 2002, and 2005, are higher than overall sex ratio of the total population of Nepal 2001 and are also higher the sex ratio of the total population of Jhapa and Morang districts . Among the camps, the Timai camp consists of highest sex ratio (107.4 and 108.4 in 2002, 2005) respectively and Goldhap camp ranks the last one in both census year. The sex ratio for all camps is higher than the national level (99 males per 100 females) and as well as district level of Nepal



Figure - 8



$$\text{Total population} \\ \text{Ahs} = \frac{\text{Total population}}{\text{No of huts}}$$

### **Average household size/ family size of Bhutanese Refugees population**

The average size of a household is the number of persons per unit household. The size of the household plays an important role in social structure of a country. The household is the basic unit and provides a general framework for the identification and enumeration of individuals in many demographic inquiries. A household consists of a group of individuals who share living quarters and their principal meals.

The average size of household is derived by dividing the total population by number of huts. Family size and household size are interchangeably used IN Nepal although by definition they have different meaning.

- Family size is the total number of members related to blood and marriage and also included the outside staying member at the enumeration time while household size generally indicates the total number of family members living in a house and eating together at the time of enumeration.

In this analysis, I have used size as an indicator household size family size. Table- 7 indicates that, there are no differences of household size remained unchanged in between 2002 and 2005. The family size of Bhutanese refugees is 6.3 house which is higher than an average household size of 5.40 including Jhapa (5.01) and Morang (5.02) district. I have analysed the secondary information o age, sex, and population size of Bhutanese refugees. Data were collected through different sources unblushingly from UNHCR.

The following section deals with the demographic characteristics of sample population, which I visited I 42 huts of four camps.

## **5.5(B) Demographic Characteristics of Sample Population of Bhutanese refugee:**

### **5.5.1 Distribution of population by age and sex**

\* Age composition of the respondents

**Table 8:** Age Composition of the respondents

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>No. of responden</b>	<b>%</b>
25 -29	3	7.1
30 – 34	2	4.8
35 – 39	5	11.9
40 – 44	4	9.5
45 – 49	5	11.9
50 – 54	4	9.5
55 – 59	5	11.9
60+	14	33.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 8 shows the distribution of respondent according to their age. In order to obtain retrospective information of Bhutan, I have interviewed only persons who were aged 25 and above, so that they were at least 15 years when they were evacuated from Bhutan. Of the 42 interviewees aged 25 years and above, 33.3 percent were the age of 60 and above who had explored the whole history about the becoming refugee. Among the respondents, a large majority (54.7) were the age group of 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54 and 55-59 (Table – 8). These groups may be noted that, were active groups who could explore the evidences about ethnic cleansing policy drive of Royal Bhutan Government about camps' situation and delaying process for repatriation in their homeland. The remaining age

groups also fall under the status of teachers, camp committee members who could explore their situation in the camp (Table-8, Figure 9 ).

**Figure-9**

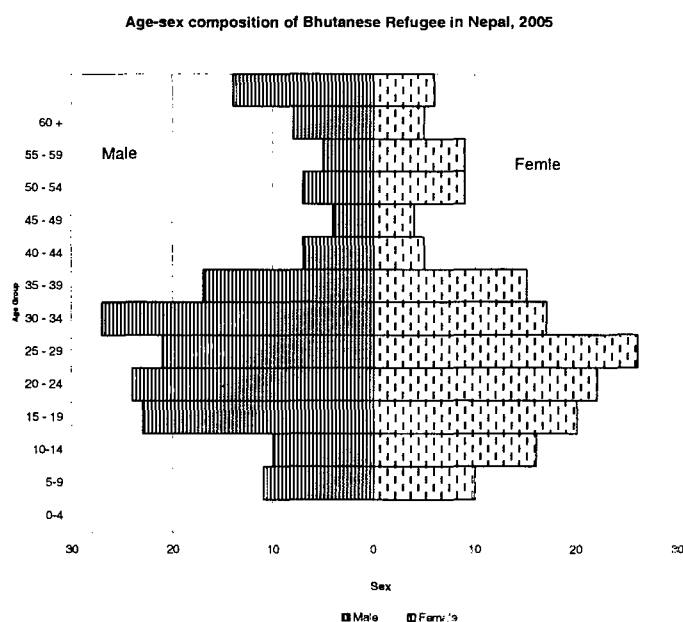


Table-9 summarises the distribution of sampled population according to their age, sex. Of the total population, 52 percent were males (178 persons) and 48 percent (164 persons) were females. Among the sampled population, 67.8 percent were in the age ranged of 15-59 which could be considered as economically active population, more than one-fourth of Bhutanese population consisted of child population under 15 years while to elderly accurate from 5-8 percent. Of the total population, overall dependent population was 32.2 percent— child and elderly. Among the total females, 54.2 percent were in the child bearing age, that I 15-59 years.

**Table 9:** Percentage distribution of Bhutanese population by sex and five-year and broad age group, 2005

Age-group	Sex composition					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	11	6.2	10	6.1	21	6.1
05-09	10	5.6	16	9.8	26	7.6
10-14	23	12.9	20	12.2	43	12.6
Young aged population (<14 years)	44	24.7	46	28	90	26.3
15-19	24	13.5	22	13.4	46	13.5
20-24	21	11.8	26	15.9	47	13.7
25-29	27	15.2	17	10.4	44	12.9

30-34	17	9.6	15	9.1	32	9.4
35-39	7	3.9	5	3	12	3.5
40-44	4	2.2	4	2.4	8	2.3
45-49	7	3.9	9	5.5	16	4.7
50-54	5	2.8	9	5.5	14	4.1
55-59	8	4.5	5	3	13	3.8
Economic active population(15-59y)	120	67.4	112	68.3	232	67.8
Old dependent population 60+	14	7.9	6	3.7	20	5.8
Total dependent population	58	32.6	52	31.7	110	32.2
Total	178	100.0	164	100.0	342	100.0

Source: Field survey, 25<sup>th</sup> April to 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 2005.

### 5.5.2 Dependency Ratio

The total dependency ratio is used to study population structure; it is the ratio of the number of dependent persons (persons of non-working age) the working age persons in practice. It is defined as the ratio of the total number in the two age groups 0-14 aged and 60 aged and above per 100 persons in the age group of 15 to 59 years. Dependency ratio is not a completely accurate measure of the dependency burden since not all persons of working age are employed, nor all are persons in the dependent age group economically dependent. However, this measure gives a broad idea of economic dependency in a population and is, therefore, widely used.

Calculated dependency ratio of sampled population is 47.41 persons per 100 persons of working population. This ratio is lesser than national and host districts' level dependency ratio which were 68.76 and 71 persons per 100 working age group respectively.

### 5.5.3 Family Size of Sample Population

Family size of sampled population is calculated based on the principle of household size. Family size and household size are interchangeably used in Nepal. In this analysis, family size is the product of total number of population divided by total huts.

**Table 10 a: Family size in Bhutan \***

Ethnicity	Types of family			Average family size
	Small	Medium	Large	
Mongoloid (N=20)	3(15.0%)	5 (25.0%)	12 (60.0%)	7.45
Aryan (N=15)	3(20.0%)	5 (33.3%)	7 (46.7%)	6.6
Dalit (N=7)	2 (28.6%)	2 (28.6)	3 (42.3%)	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>8 (19.0%)</b>	<b>12 (28.6)</b>	<b>22 (52.4)</b>	<b>6.6</b>

**Table 10b: Family size in Nepal\***

Ethnicity	Types of family			Average family size
	Small	Medium	Large	
Mongoloid (N=20)	2 (10.0%)	6 (30.0%)	12 (60.0%)	9.2
Aryan (N=15)	4 (26.7%)	5 (33.3%)	6 (40.0%)	6.3
Dalit (N=7)		3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6 (14.3%)</b>	<b>14 (33.3%)</b>	<b>22 (52.4%)</b>	<b>8.1</b>

**Table 10c: Family size of Bhutanese refugee by types of huts and Ethnicity**

Huts	Ethnicity			Average family size
	Mongoloid	Aryan	Dalit	
Single (N=27)	10 (37.0%)	13 (48.1%)	4 (14.8%)	5.7
Double (N=22)	9 (75.0%)	2(16.7%)	1 (8.3%)	11.3
Extended (N=27)	1 (33.30%)		2 (66.7)	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>20 (47.6)</b>	<b>15 (35.7%)</b>	<b>7(16.7)</b>	<b>8.1</b>

Source: Field visit of Bhutanese refugee, 25<sup>th</sup> of April to 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 2005 (Tables: 10a,10b, 10c)  
 Note: Huts are categorised by the rule of UNHCR, and NUCRA, Nepal

\* Types of family and family size are categorised on the basis of Demographic norms of Nepal (Small family=<4 members, Medium=5-6 members, and Large size family= 7 and above)

Table -10a shows the family size in Bhutan according to types of family and ethnicity. The average family size in Bhutan was 6.6 persons per house. Among ethnic groups, highest average family size was mongoloid Lhotshampas (7.45%) followed by Aryan (6.6%) and Dalit (5.7%). Mongoloid Lhotshampas are identified as *Janajati* (Ethnic groups/ Nationalities) in Nepal who have own “a own distinct collective identify, own language, tradition, culture and civilization; own traditional egalitarian social structure, own traditional homeland or geographical areas”(Dahal, D.R., 2003:9).<sup>2</sup> According to their oral history about their ancestors, such Nepali origin Mongoloid Lohtshampas or southern Bhutanese are hilly/Pahariya Janajaties who were emigrated from hilly region of Nepal. This people have tradition of joint family. Data also indicates that 60 percent Bhutanese Mongoloid family resided in joint family while the comparable figure of Aryans is only 40 percent.

Table -10b reveals the family size and types of family of Bhutanese refugee in Nepal. Same pattern of family size and types of family are followed as were in Bhutan. But total number of percentage of types of family and average family size are seen more in Nepal. Of the, Mangoloid consists highest average size (9.2 persons per house) followed by large family size and Dalit ranks second position in both average family size followed by large family type. This indicates that percentage and number of average family size and types

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Dilli Ram Dahal is a reknown professor of Anthropology at Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CENAS), T.U., Kathmandu, Nepal

of family are seen more in Nepal. Among ethnic groups, average family size and percentage of types of family size of Dalit has been increased.

### **Family size of Bhutanese refugees by types of huts and ethnicity**

Table-10c shows the average family size by types of huts and ethnicity. This family size is especially categorised on the basis of huts and adjustment approach. There are three types of huts; (1)Single huts includes 1-8 persons per hut, (2)Double huts includes 9-15 person per huts, (3)Extended hut which comprises of 16 and above persons per hut. Were done for specific purpose of providing shelter to the refugees by NUCRA, Nepal, and UNHCR officials during the hosting time. In our studies of the average family size, Double huts were 11.3 persons per hut, followed by Extended family (17 persons per hut). Single hut compromises 5.6 persons per hut which is nearly close with average household size of Nepal (5.4 persons per hut). Among ethnic groups, three fourth of Mangoloid have occupied Double hut by 75 percent followed by Aryan (16.70 %). Subsequently, one half of Aryan reside- a single hut. Dalit ranks the first to occupy extended hut. It indicates that, Mangoloid have attitudes to stay in joint family by their tradition and attitudes and also would not be possible to report to stay separately.

I have also expanded the reasons higher family size of Bhutanese refugees as compared to them in Bhutan (Table 10d). Accordingly birth, marriage are the major reasons. Among the reasons for increasing of family size and percentage of types of family in Nepal, birth constitutes 74 percent followed by marriage cause (23 percent). Of the total reasons for decreasing in Bhutan, separation and marriage were most important (Table-10d).

**Table 10d: Reasons for decreasing in Bhutan and increasing in Nepal**

<b>Reasons for decreasing of family size in Nepal</b>			<b>Reasons for increasing of family size in Nepal</b>		
Marriage	4	21.1	Birth	55	74.3
Death	3	15.8	Marriage	17	23.0
Separation	7	36.8	Relatives	2	2.7
Study1	1	5.3	<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Study2	3	15.8			
Empt.	1	5.3			
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100</b>			

## 5.6 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Sample Population

This section presents the information about ethnicity, religion, level of education, marital status and lively sources of sampled refugee population.

### 5.6.1 Ethnicity and religion

The Bhutanese refugees residing in the camps were all of Lhotshampas origin i.e. southern Bhutanese of Nepali descent. In this analysis, I have grouped them according to anthropological grouping of different caste group in Nepal. Brahmin were around 26 percent and Gurung ranked second position (21 %). Tamang and Dalit were around 33 percent and Rai and Limbu were 9 percent. In a broader ethno group Manganloid (Gurung, Rai, Limbu and Tamang) consisted of 47 percent followed by Aryan (35.7 percent). Dalit were in minority (16.7 percent) (Table-11a). These all Lhotshampas Bhutanese are similar with hilly ethnic group of Nepal.

**Table 11a:** Distribution of respondent's by

**Table 11b:** Religions of the respondents

Ethnicity	No. of respondent	%
Brahmin	11	26.2
Chhetri	4	9.5
Gurung	9	21.4
Rai	2	4.8
Limbu	2	4.8
Dalit	7	16.7
Tamang	7	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>

S.N.	Types of Religion	No. of respondent	%
1	Hindu	22	52.4
2	Buddhist	15	35.7
3	Kirat	4	9.5
4	Christian	1	2.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>

Concerning religious practices, 52 percent of the respondents were Hindu, 36 percent Buddhist, 10 percent Kirat and a few were Christians (2%). Among the ethnic groups, Aryan, and Dalit practiced Hindu religions and Gurung primarily follow Buddhism. Similarly, Rai and Limbu follow Kirat religions. A few comprising of any case of ethnic group practiced Christianity (Table 11b). From the religion point of view, eviction of Bhutanese refugees was not main cause. Because, around 36 percent Bhutanese were already practiced Buddhism who were included under the code of conduct of Royal Bhutanese Government. Thus, religious alone could not be the cause of ethnic cleansing policy of government.

### 5.6.2 Literacy and educational backgrounds of the respondents' family members

It seems that majority of the respondents are either illiterate or uneducated. The status of education amongst the respondents, 47.6 percent were illiterate whose age were 25 years aged and above and rest of literate people also had low level of education (Table-12a).

**Table 12a: Educational background of the respondents, 2005**

Status of education	No. of Respondents	Percent (%)
Illiterate	20	47.6
Literate	22	62.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Level of education		
Literate but not schooling	11	50.0
Primary (Class 1 – 5)	6	27.3
Secondary (Class 6 – 10)	2	9.1
Intermediate (10+2)	3	13.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source:* Field survey, April to May, 2005

Table-12a explains the level of education. Of the total, one hut could hardly read and write but not been in school. Primary level ranked the second position followed by 10+2. Among all levels, percent people were literate and primary level. This indicates the low level of education of the respondents.

#### Level of education by sex

Table-12a shows the level of education by sex of literate Bhutanese sampled population. In this research, levels of education were distinguished on the basis of family rosters reported by respondents and people were put different levels of education what they achieved earlier and were achieving currently. The school going population were put on the remarks as reported at the time of enumeration. Thus, in this table, all school going and not going population were counted as literate Bhutanese population.



**Table 12b:** Distribution of literate Bhutanese population by level of education and sex

Education level	Sex composition					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Literate but not schooling	14	10.1	13	11.1	27	10.6
Primary	82	59.4	74	63.2	156	61.2
Secondary	7	5.1	9	7.7	16	6.3
SLC pass	10	7.2	5	4.3	15	5.9
Intermediate (10+)	18	13.0	11	9.4	29	11.4
Bachelor+	7	5.1	5	4.3	12	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Note:* 6 years aged and above including respondents were reported for level of education

Regarding their educational levels, about 61 percent of those surveyed population had completed their education, followed by secondary and SLC pass (12.0 percent). Among all levels, 10.6 percent were literate but not schooling group. Thus, if we look literate and primary level education, a majority people (around 71%) falls under this low level of education which indicates poor in education. The distribution of level of education by gender lines, females literacy rates in all levels were lower than males which is an indication that female were not encourage for education. There was more difference between primary and intermediate levels. Of the total surveyed population 25.4 percent were illiterate (87 persons). Among 87 persons, 26 people were children under 6 years of age (29.9 percent), 57 and 4 people were adult illiterate (65 percent) and disabled (4.6 percent) respectively. These 87 persons fall under the missing system from the total sampled population (342 persons) (Table-12b).

### **Surveyed Bhutanese population, age group and level of education**

Table-12c shows the distribution of literate Bhutanese population by five year age group and level of education. As presented in table, more aged group (35-83 years old) had completed or achieved low level of education. These aged groups basically were literate and primary level of education (14.1 percent). Subsequently, Young group population (15-24 years of age group) were reported more literate and educated (35.6 percent). They represent from literate to bachelor levels. Among these groups, about 52 percent had completed secondary, SLC pass and 10+ 2. Young age populations between the ages of 10-14, 15-19 falls under the primary level education that comprises about 34 percent of the total percentage. This indicates that, education of Bhutanese children might be disturbed during the time of escaping and time for camp management.

**Table 12c:** Distribution of literate Bhutanese population by five-year age group and level of education

Age group	Educational level of literate population													
	Literate		Primary		Secondary		SLC pass		Interm10+2		Bachelor+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
5-9			20	12.8									20	7.8
10-14	1	3.7	38	24.4	3	18.8							42	16.5
15-19			36	23.1	3	18.8	4	26.7	2	6.9			45	17.6
20-24	1	3.7	23	14.7	6	37.5	6	40.0	7	24.1	3	25.0	46	18.0
25-29	3	11.1	16	10.3	3	18.8	4	26.7	10	34.5	4	33.3	40	15.7
30-34	3	11.1	7	4.5	1	6.3	1	6.7	9	31.0	5	41.7	26	10.2
35-39	3	11.1	2	1.3					1	3.4			6	2.4
40-44			5	3.2									5	2.0
45-49	4	14.8	6	3.8									10	3.9
50-54	5	18.5	1	0.6									6	2.4
60-83	7	25.9	2	1.3									9	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Bhutanese students, level of education and destination for enrolments

**Table 12d:** Distribution of Bhutanese students by level of education and destination for enrolments

Level of education	Destinations					
	Jhapa		Kathmandu		USA	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary (Class 1-5)*	76	84.4				
Secondary (Class 6-10)	6	6.7	1	50		
Intermediate (10+2)	3	3.3			2	66.6
Bachelors +	5	5.6	1	50	1	33.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: \* Between the aged of 5 - 29

As presented in Table-12d and 12e of the total literate Bhutanese sampled population (255), 95 (37 percent) were reported by their guardians as schooling going children who were remarked on column for family roster. Of the total school going population, 94.35 percent were enrolled in refugees' school within camp of hosted districts. Two persons were gone to Kathmandu; one for study Master in Arts (M.A) and another for Bachelor level study. Rest of 3 persons were reported for study abroad in USA. But those students, who were reported to study in Kathmandu and America, were ignored to report about funding of sources. This indicates that refugee may follow the possibility for Refugee-step migration and possibility of job seeking.

### 5.6.3 Marital status of Bhutanese refugees

Marital status is an important determinants of fertility behaviour particularly in a non-contraception society and where most of the births take place within marital union in under developed and developing countries like Nepal (Chaudhary, and Niruala, 2003:73). Keeping in view, information about marital status of Bhutanese sampled population where collected on 25<sup>th</sup> April to 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2005 in refugees camp in eastern Nepal. Fifteen years aged and above of sampled population, were selected and children below 15 years aged were excluded from selection of marital status.

**Table 13a:** Distribution of Bhutanese population by sex and marital status, 2005

Sex	Marital status					
	Unmarried		Married		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	65	58.6	69	48.9	134	53.2
Female	46	41.4	72	51.1	118	46.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey, April to May, 2005

Table- 13a: provides data on distribution of Bhutanese population by sex and marital status. Among the total marriageable aged population, 56 percent were married and 44 percent constituted unmarried. Among married, females were more than male (Females =51.1 percent females and males=48.9 percent) but in unmarried panel, males' percentage were higher than females (58.6 percent).

**Table 13b:** Distribution of Bhutanese population by five-year age and marital status, 2005

Age-group	Marital status					
	Unmarried		Married		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	45	40.5	1	0.7	46	18.3
20-24	35	31.5	12	8.5	47	18.7
25-29	23	20.7	21	14.9	44	17.5
30-34	5	4.5	27	19.1	32	12.7
35-39	2	1.8	10	7.1	12	4.8
40-44			8	5.7	8	3.2
45-49	1	0.9	15	10.6	16	6.3
50-54			14	9.9	14	5.6
55-59			13	9.2	13	5.2
60-83			20	14.2	20	7.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Note:* 15 years aged and above surveyed population are counted for marriageable age

Among the total unmarried but marriageable aged groups' population about 40 percent were 15-19 years age followed by 20-24 years aged (31.5 percent) population. One person (0.9 percent) was found unmarried in 45-49 years aged grouped. Of the total married population, 35-39 years aged group ranked in first position which was followed by 25-29 years aged grouped population (21%). There were no encourage able situation to get marriage in 15-19 years aged groups (Table-13b). Although, researcher could not derive the information with sampled respondents, she found unmarried but having birth between the age 15-19 and 20-24 years aged group at Timai camp including other camp. So, this indicates that, prostitution events also were practiced within the refugee community. All elaboration will be explained in the chapter.

#### **Distribution of Bhutanese sample population by marital status and sex, 2005**

I have further categorised martial under six categories: Unmarried/never married, married, Re-married, Polygamy, widow and widower.

A person who has not lived as husband and wife even once is known as a person of married. A person who has lived as husband or wife after being religious or socially is defined as married. Re-married: It refers to currently married person who is married more than once but currently living with single spouse. If divorced or separated or widowed person marries again with other person of any marital status, then the person is included in "re-married" category. Any man living with more than one wife at the time of enumeration is categorised in this group of marital status. Those spouses may live in different places with concerns and all spouses are not bound to live in the same place and eating in the same kitchen. In this way, this category includes a man who has currently more than one wife. A man / a woman who has lost his wife or her husband due to death and has not re-married was defined as widower.

**Table 13c:** Distribution of Bhutanese population by five-year age group and sex, 2005

Age group	Marital status													
	Unmarried		Married		Remarriage		Polygamy		Widow		Widower		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	45	40.5	1	0.8									46	18.3
20-24	35	31.5	12	9.8									47	18.7
25-29	23	20.7	21	17.1									44	17.5
30-34	5	4.5	21	17.1	1	10.0	4	28.6	1	50.0			32	12.7
35-39	2	1.8	9	7.3			1	7.1					12	4.8
40-44			7	5.7			1	7.1					8	3.2
45-49	1	0.9	13	10.6			2	14.3					16	6.3
50-54			12	9.8			2	14.3					14	5.6
55-59			12	9.8			1	7.1					13	5.2
60-83			15	12.2			3	21.4	1	50.0	1	100.0	20	7.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 13d:** Distribution of Bhutanese population by marital status and sex, 2005

Marital status	Sex composition					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	65	48.5	46	39.0	111	44.0
Married	59	44	64	54.2	123	48.8
Remarriage			6	5.0	6	2.4
Polygamy	9	6.7	-	-	9	3.6
Widow			2	1.7	2	0.8
Widower	1	0.7			1	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey, April to May, 2005

Note: 15 years aged and above surveyed population are counted for marriageable age

Keeping in mind, Table-13d demonstrates the different types of marital status by sampled population at home. Of the total, marriageable age population, a majority (49 percent) were married followed by unmarried population (44%). Re-married, polygamy, widow and widower were also practiced among some Bhutanese sampled population. Re-marriage was practiced by females which constituted 5 percent of the total married females. Reasons for remarriage reported by concerned people were divorced, separation and misunderstanding between husband and wife. 6.7 percent male went in polygamy , which ranked in third position. Polygamy practices are common in developing country like Nepal and Bhutan. The reasons for polygamy practices were reported by concerned persons were 'death of wives' 'self interest' or fall in love. A fewer (1.2%) were widow and widower. According to information reported by other non-sampled refugee, congested huts and people gathered from different district or places of Bhutan were encourage able for re-marriage and remain polygamy.

### Marital Status of Sampled Bhutanese Population by Types of Marriage and Age group, 2005

**Table 13e:** Distribution of Bhutanese population by five-year age group and marital status, 2005

Age group	Marital status													
	Unmarried		Married		Remarriage		Polygamy		Widow		Widower		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	45	40.5	1	0.8									46	18.3
20-24	35	31.5	12	9.8									47	18.7
25-29	23	20.7	21	17.1									44	17.5
30-34	5	4.5	21	17.1	6	100	2	22.2	1	50			35	13.8
35-39	2	1.8	9	7.3			1	11.1					12	4.8
40-44			7	5.7			1	11.1					8	3.2
45-49	1	0.9	13	10.6			1	11.1					15	5.8
50-54			12	9.8			1	11.1					13	5.2
55-59			12	9.8			1	11.1					13	5.2
60-83			15	12.2			2	22.2	1	50	1	100	20	7.5
Total	111	100.0	123	100.0	1	100.0	9	100.0	2	100.0	1	100.0	252	100.0

Table 13e shows the distribution of sample population according to age group and marital status. Married population constituted first rank followed by unmarried population. Polygamy ranked the third position indicating the existed of violence against women in this population. This polygamy practice was mainly exercised by the age groups of 30-34 to 60-83. Similarly, re-marriage was practised by females in age of 30-34.

## Marriage linkage of sample population by nationalities and sex, 2005

**Table 13f:** Distribution of Bhutanese population by marriage linkage by nationalities and sex, 2005

Marriage linkage by nationalities	Sex composition					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
With Bhutanese but Nepali origin in Bhutan	43	62.3	45	62.5	88	62.4
With indigenous Bhutanese in Bhutan	5	7.2	7	9.7	12	8.5
With registered Bhutanese in Nepal	19	27.5	18	25.0	41	26.24
With Nepali citizens	2	2.8	2	2.7	4	2.8
Total	69	100.0	72	100.0	141	100.0

Table-13f provides the data and information on marriage linkages of sampled population by Nationalities. It can be categorised into four different groups and based on nationalities, origin and non origin. In this analysis, 62.4 percent population were married with Bhutanese Lhotshampas in Bhutan. That means, Nepali origin Bhutanese refugees married with some ethnic group while they were in Bhutan. Subsequently, 26 percent of sample population married with registered Nepali origin Bhutanese refugees married with same nationality when they came in refugee camp in Nepali. Lhotshampas Bhutanese refugee was also married with indigenous Bhutanese refugee while they were in Bhutan (18.5%), three of 100 sample population married with Nepali citizens (2.8 percent) which is not permit able to refugee. The researcher also found some more cases about married with Nepali citizens through personal communication with RCU representative and with knowledge persons of camp committee's members. Such evidences will explain be in section of consequences.

### **5.7 Economic characteristic of Bhutanese refugee**

This section provides the information about livelihood sources of overall Bhutanese in and outside the camps. The sources have been categorised into legal or front door and back door (not permeable work for refugees). Different income generating programmes and trainings conducted by different assistance bodies and partially employed to educated refugees in the office for refugees' welfare by giving incentives are regarded as legal sources of livelihood. The backdoors sources of livelihood are also thought in and outside camp. These overall sources of livelihood give an image and picture for all registered Bhutanese which are also expected to represent the livelihood source refugee.

### 5.7.1 Livelihoods sources of Bhutanese refugees

All registered/non-registered Bhutanese refugees are not allowed to work formally in and outside the camps, but they want to do job and to earn cash for their pocket money. In this research, the researcher had tried to collect the information through partner organisations, her own observation, discussion with representative of Refugees Camps Units, indirect inquiries with other refugees and local key informants. Quantitative information was not collected but has been generalised through the perception, opinion and report collected from different informants. Based on achieved information, formal economic activities such as income generating and training programmes and vocational training programmes have been practiced practised within the camps. Subsequently, educated and skilful refugees are employed by Partners Assistance bodies in the refugees' welfare office in and outside the camp area. Such refugees get minimum scale of incentives on behalf of their service. On the other hand, informal or illegal economic activities were also practiced in refugees' community. Refugee could practice in and outside the camps. Thus, local host community and refugee community have been affected by such illegal economic activities.

#### 1) Livelihood sources inside the camp

- i) **Small glossary shops:** Each camp has a small glossary shop inside the hut and it has been authorised by the administration of Refugee Camp Unit and UNHCR but it should not be more than Rs.5000/. In reality, the investment of such shops was found more than that authorised amount.
- ii) **Thread weaving:** This activity has been extensively found inside the Beldangi Camp I, II and Beldangi Ext. II. Women were mostly engaged in this work as hidden job or private source of income. They bring raw woollen materials from contractors who stay in Damak Bazar which is nearest distance for Beldangi camps. Contractors prefer cheapest labourers from this area. Contractors bring raw material from the carpet industries and Pasmina woollen industries from Kathmandu valley. This information was basically collected by researcher herself during her camp visit and was also supported by refugee themselves and reports from RUC head.
- iii) **Restaurants:** There were small restaurants inside the camps authorised by concerned office. The restaurants were especially servicing for camp staff, field visitors from office for assistance and other visitors also.



- iv) Making and selling of small wooden pots in Beldangi camp areas: Although this is illegal activities, we cannot control them because of less staff said the RCU staff of Beldangi areas.
- v) Tailoring service: Tailoring services were also available by professionals in their own huts.
- vi) Kitchen garden for the refugee's community: This is authorised economic activity which is extensively conducting in Beldangi, Goldhap in Jhapa district and Sanischare Camp in Morang district. This activity is financed and assisted by Luthern World Federation and given remittances to refugees.
- vii) Reserved pool/ Watchman: Under this activity, refugee are employed for radio mechanics, security guard and other concerned activity which are run by UNHCR' office. They are paid or given remittances by LWFP through UNHCR.
- viii) Schooling teaching in refugees' school inside the camp: Educated registered Bhutanese refugees' are employed in refugees' school and they get their incentives by the UNHCR' partner agencies such as CARITUS Nepal and OXFAM. Incentives scale is less. Maximum salary for high school teacher is Rs1300/-. If we compare the salary between Nepalese citizen and Bhutanese is vast difference. Nepali citizens get Rs8000/- instead of Rs.1300/\_

### **5.7.2 Source of Livelihood of Registered Refugee outside the Camp**

- i) **Teaching profession in private bordering school:** Some educated Bhutanese refugee has been involved in private teaching in bordering English private school where, citizenship certificate is not required for getting job. They get paid half of the salary than the Nepalese citizen holder teacher. Such refugee's teachers are employed outside camp. They mostly used to go morning and come back in the evening. Some educated refugees also go to remote districts to searching job. This process may a displace Nepalese national from teaching profession in the same areas.
- ii) **NGO/INGO Staff:** Some of the registered Bhutanese refugees are working in NGO/INGO. They are mostly educated and made de-registered from their refugee station Most them who staying at Kathmandu. Some of them are

working in district level. They work with Nepalese nationals with the refugee statue without disclosing their name.

- iii) **Business attached with Nepalese local people:** Bhutanese refugees who had well economic condition in Bhutan, are doing business attached with Nepalese nationals. Such refugees are investing their money in bus service and schools but they are regularly staying in camp. The researcher found three cases in Damak Bazar, Jhapa district who were regularly staying inside the camp at night at Beldangi refugee camp.
- iv) **Labour work:** As reported by the key informants from local community, RCU (Refugees Camp Unit) representatives, and informal discussion with some of the registered refugees, some working aged group refugees work in agriculture farm in around local community, building and road construction work and also used to go to India as seasonal labour for short term duration. They practice such labour work from backdoor process. Working as cheap labourers, contractors and owners prefer to Bhutanese labours. Searching for jobs is cumbersome and does not produce successful result. They got less salary as illegal workers. Amongst workers, especially woman and girls were exploited by contractors. They were sold by contractors for sexual abuse in around the local market and a distance at different cities within the country and India as well. The evidences will be presented in consequences chapter. Some of the refugees are working as Rickshaw-pullers in cheap rate a compared to Nepalese Rickshaw-pullers.
- v) **Seasonal wild vegetable business (Nigro and mushroom):** These activities were practiced by refugees' women. According to report, such activity was practiced in Beldangi camps area.

### 5.7.3 Income generating activities for Bhutanese refugee at different camps

**Table 14:** Income Generating Activities for Bhutanese Refugees at different camps

Project	Camp	Staff	Part I <sup>N</sup>	Founder	Period
Multi cloth	Bel-II	5	32	WFP, Damak	1998 Cont.
Individual loan	7 Camps	-	74	" "	1998 Cont.
Individual loan(New)	K/Bari	1	20	" "	2000 Cont.
Bakery	K/Bari	1	-	" "	2000 Cont.
Group loan	Timai/Bel II	-	10	" "	June 2001

Mushroom	K/Bari	2	-	" "	1997-99
Cotton weaving	Sanischare	8	78	By OXFAM	1996 Cont.
Chalk making	Goldhap	1	5	" "	1996 Cont
Dhaka weaving	Timai	1	4	" "	1996 Cont
Jute mat	Bel-II Ext.	3	150	RWF	2000 Cont.
Jute bag	Sanischare	-	3	RWF	2000 Cont.
Baby blanket	Bel -I	1	150	RWF	2000 Cont.
Sewing	7 Camps	-	-	Revolving fund	1996 Cont.
Jute rope	Timai	1	25	"	2000 Cont.

Source: Refugee Women Forum, Head office, Sanischare, Morang, April, 2005

Table -14 shows the distribution of income generating programme for refugees in different camps in different period reported by different partner agencies of UNHCR. Funding agencies were the managers for marketing for produced goods. The agencies buy the goods in minimum rate and distribute to the refugees within the camps. Bhutanese women's Forum (RWF) is actively participated to run such income generating activities and training programme. These activities and programme were managed mostly for females and partly for males. Among the total income generating programmes and trainings, thread making, clothes weaving, cape weaving, jute mat and jute rope are intensively and largely conducting at Sanischare camp. For this, staffs and labourers are appointed from refugees. Refugee's women are mainly weaving clothes and men are making and colouring the thread. A woman can produce 10 meters cloth/day and gets 35 rupees remuneration for a whole day work or gets Rs.3.50/- per meter. Two women are required for one loom. If partner is absent, one cannot run the loom. It looks physically hard and seems hazards to health as well. Anyway, refugee's women are tried to earn cash for pocket money to fulfil their necessities. Leela Thapa narrated her view that "those are good for refugee's population and can support in economic crisis in somehow but they are not enough and are not access the all, our main ambitions are not looking and searching for job but our ambitions and request, with authorised bodies are, are and will to return in our homeland".<sup>3</sup> This narration was also emphasised by Jagat Gurung, Camp Secretary of Khudhanabari camp, Geeta Karki, Chairperson of Refugee Women's Forum and belongs to Khudanabari camp. Voices of refugees with different personalities (combined voices of educated and non educated Bhutanese refugees) indicated that income generating programmes and assistances given by concerned bodies would not be

<sup>3</sup> Leela Thapa is an educated Bhutanese Refugee women, General Secretary of Head Office of Refugee Women's Forum. She explained about income generating activities during the discussion with researcher in May, 2005.

possible to sustain their lives. Repatriation is the main goal for their survival in a humanitarian ground.

**Vocational Training:** Three months vocational training was operated at Goldhap camp which is listed below;

Tailoring	Community development programme (all camp)
Carpenters	Afforestation programme (all camp)
Electrician	Stove repairing (Gold hap camp)
Fire preventive	Plumbing
Soap production activity	Hosiery training (Beldangi Ext.II)
Beauty parlour	Batik print (Beldangi II)
	Gardening Golahap, Sanischare)

#### 5.7.4 Economic and other activities of sampled population on outside the camps

Of the registered sampled Bhutanese refugees, 14 persons were outside the camps. As reported by their family head, they were engaged in different economic activities. Of the total, 5 persons were reported to be studying in Kathmandu and America. Bus serviceman, driver, and labour were staying outside but frequently use to contact to the camps that compromise 28.5 percent and they were mostly stayed at Damak Bazar, Pokhara and Kathmandu. Among them, farmer and his wife and child were working and staying in India. Rest of 14.3 percent were staying outside but in abroad. The family' head of the outside staying members did not mention their job. All these activities were practiced through backdoor. This indicates that, Bhutanese refugees were starting to overtake the rule for refugees of UNHCR due to long impasse of repatriation in their homeland (Table-15). The not reported persons might be suspending.

**Table 15:** Economic and other activities of the outside family member of respondents

Types of activities	No. of member	Percent
Student	5	35.7
Bus service man	1	7.1
Driver	1	7.1
Labour	2	14.3
Agriculture in Assam, India	1	7.1
House wife	1	7.1
Child	1	7.1
Not reported	2	14.3
Total	14	100.0

Age composition of refugees' family members who were stayed outside the camps were mostly 16-30 and 31-45 aged groups who consist of 57 percent. Rest of other aged groups and not reported grouped ranked in second position. This indicates that young generation might be either seeking employment or students (Table-15).

**Table 16:** Age composition of Refugee' family member who are stayed outside the camp\*.

Age group	No. of Respondents	Percent
1 – 15	2	14.3
16 - 30	4	28.6
31 - 45	4	28.6
47 - 60	2	14.3
Not reported**	2	14.3
Total	14	100.0

### 5.7.5 Linkages in different Places of Bhutanese sample respondents in and outside Nepal.

This sections deals about linkage of their family members and relatives who were in and outside Nepal. This also explores about places for linkage, reasons for linkage. Table 17a, 17b and 17c provide the content for linkages.

**Table 17a:** Linkages of family of Bhutanese Refugees

Respondents	No.	%
Respondents "Yes"	15	36
Respondents "No"	27	64
Total	42	100

**Table 17b:** Name of the linkage place and number of respondents

Place of linkages	No. of Respondents	Percent
Linkage to Bhutan only	12	80
" to India only	1	6.7
Linkage to India and Bhutan	1	6.7
Linkage to Nepal	1	6.7
Total	15	100

**Table 17c:** Reasons of linkage in Bhutan

Reasons	No. of respondents	Percent	Relation
Marriage	4	33.3	Daughter
Engage in Govt., Service	4	33.3	Brother, son, uncle
Other (Govt. job, separation, study, divorce)	4	33.3	Son, uncles, Brother, eldest mother
Total	12	100.0	

Of the total respondents, 36 percent linkage in and outside Nepal but linkage Bhutanese were not included in sampled refugees' members. Among the total, 80 percent had linkage to Bhutan and rest of others, had linkage to India, Bhutan and Nepal. One family had linkage both in Bhutan and India (Table-17b). The reasons for linkage were marriage (33.3 percent), engage in government service (33.3 percent) and others (Job, separation, study, divorce). The relation with them were daughter, brother, son, uncle and mother (Table-17c). This reveals that, some of the family members were left in Bhutan and it also seems that same eviction process was not implied for the same family members. Among the linkage person, son were gone India for Buddhism.

## 5.8 Problems Faced by Refugees in Nepal

Bhutanese refugees expressed their diversified problems. As reported by young generation of sampled household that 35.5 percent were lodging and fooding problem. The assistant given by partner agencies were cut by 30 percent. Lack of health facility ranked the second position. Young generation had more experienced the problems of pocket money, financial problem for higher education and use of abuse words say Bhutanese, by local young group. Due to separation from relatives and being a homeless people, refugees expressed the frustration and psychological problem. Young generation were looking alternatives way to solve their financial problem. They reported that, they are compelled to search the job through backdoor channels (Table-18).

**Table 18:** The Bhutanese Refugees and their current problems in Nepal.

Problems	No. of respondents	Percent
Less assistance for lodging and food	27	35.5
Lack of health facilities	13	17.1
Congested housing condition	11	14.5
Financial problem for higher education beyond 12 class	8	10.5
Problem for pocket money	6	7.9
Domination of local people by using abuse word say Bhutanese	4	5.3
Psychological problem being a homeless people and separation from relatives	3	3.9
Scarcity of water	1	1.3
Not reported	3	3.9
Total	76	100.0

Source: Field survey, April 25<sup>th</sup> to May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2005

Note: Answers were multiple, that means one person answered more than one problem.

## 5.9 Status of Refugees

This unit deals with about status of sampled refugees and also analyses the reasons for being different status.

**Table 19:** Family members and their status of refugees

Status of Refugees	Sex				Reasons for cases
	Male	Female	Total	Percent	
Registered	171	154	325	95.0	
Non-Registered	5	9	14	4.1	No attachment with husband=3(F) Not reached in screening time=6(F) Not reached in screening time=5(M)
De-registered	3		3	0.9	Went to India for study of lama priest Went to Assam and not returned yet
Total	179	163	342	100.0	

Of the total, 95 percent were Registered refugees. 4 percent were non-registered refugees due to no attachment with husband, not reached in screening time and 0.9 percent was reported as Buddhism student and went Assam and not returned yet (Table-19). This demonstrates that, incoming refugees were seemed regular process and included assimilated in their family in different points of time.

Concerning to status of refugee of overall Bhutanese refugees, they were officially categorised into five categories:- Registered; De-registered, Re-registered; non-registered, registered refugee outside the camp (suspended). De-registered is defined that those refugee who left camps for long time without in formations may get chance to be registered again. Number of such de-registered refugees is reported 1124 persons of the total refugees. Three years back, there were 200 to 300 refugees were De-registered from each camp of Beldangi camp. They were not avoided from refugee status but are unable to get assistance (Reported by RCU head, Beldangi I, II, Ext.II, and April, 2005). Bordering teacher, labour and petty contractor in road, security guard to India were the main causes to be De-registered refugees. Registered Bhutanese boys married with non-registered Bhutanese refugee girls and can be /would be apply for re-registered after many years and would registered after verified by NUCRA and UNHCR is called Re-registered refugees. Those refugees who were absent in screening time and who had not proved documents to be refugees but applied for refugees were considered as non-registered refugee. 390 families were reported as non-registered refugees. Similarly, of

the total registered refugees, 121 families were resided outside the camp (Nirmal Raj Khanal, RCU head, head office chandragari Jhapa, 2005). Those refugee who stayed outside the camp, were excluded from refugees' assistance but refugees' status were remained. Mr. Khanal gave his experiences and view about the reasons for outside staying.

Possible reasons for outside staying are listed below:

- They might be rich family
- Economically sustained family
- Linkage to Darjeeling a Sikkim
- They are perhaps politically active
- Might be engage in teaching profession
- Engage in NGO/INGO

They are mostly settled in Birtamod. It can be noted that, it is difficult to distinguish by face and also difficult to follow their address. They can be assimilating with Nepalese national and Nepalese society, culture and there would be more chance to increase Nepali citizens. Because they can take Nepalese citizenship through backdoor channels.

Evidence shows that trucks and buses packed with Southern Bhutanese came to Nepal's border under protection of the Bengal police. Dr. Mahat argues that "The reality is that India is the pre-eminent power of the region and its own role is very much linked with the present problem. When a country like Norway from Nordic Europe can show interest and mediate between the Tamil Tigers and the Government of Shri-lanka in purely internal matter, there is no reason why India cannot mediate on an issue which could have repercussions to Indian interest as well". Refugees in Nepal feel that Indian intervention could contribute in resolving the issue, even though India wants the problem to resolve bilaterally. Dr. Mahat 2005 and Tek Nath Rijal, 2004 expressed their views through literature that India's special relation with Bhutan, particularly with regards to the latter's external relations as defined by the India-Bhutan Treaty of 1949 is well known.

There is a widely held view in the refugee community that Bhutan's new ethnic policy would not have been possible without India's turning a blind eye. Looking from the perspective of Indian foreign relations, its "hands off" policy on the issue may have been



prompted by the fact that Bhutan has been its loyal ally and has strictly supported Indian position in International forums, unlike Nepal which has followed an independent line. Bhutan has continued its delaying tactics for repatriation and has also dampened the prospect of the bilateral mechanism from succeeding. Thus, the refugees are asking for an international conference to solve their problem and this demands serious attention. The Nepali side also should now press and insist on the involvement of a neutral third party. But Bhutan has always been against third party mediation on the issue. It would be still delaying in repatriation process, if Government of India will not show the positive responsive as third party.

The long impasse for repatriation, it can be calculating the consequences that it would eventually lead to the assimilation and integration of the refugees in Nepal society. Many refugees would be 'infiltrated' into different cities and villages in search of better life than refugee camps. To some extent, "refugee problem has created social problems leading to crime, displacement of local jobs, and environmental degradation. The further less refugee youth are vulnerable to crimes and militant revolutionary appeals, from which the country has already been suffering" (Dr. Mahat, 2005:269).

### **5.10.3 Date of Arrival of Refugee, Distribution of Respondents Refugees According to Their Submitted Documents and First Landing Place in Nepal.**

Bhutanese refugee entered to Nepal in different points of time followed by different routes and processes. Of the total respondents, 12 percent entered to Nepal in December, 1991. 83 percent arrived during one year which was largest influx of Bhutanese refugees. Other minority groups came in 1993 and 1995 (4.8 percent (Table-21a). According to an official record, a major flow came in 1993 (6700 persons), and 3000 persons came in 1991 and 1993. Those refugees who came in 1991 and 1993 were sheltered on the bank of *Maidhar and Timai River*. The refugee who entered in Nepal in 1991, were lodged in Maidhar and they were the first sufferers' refugees due unmanageable situation. Mortality condition was high due to diaherea and other communicable diseases. Sometimes, 5 to 10 children died per day (Nirmal Raj Khanal, Refugee Camp Unit head, Chandragadi Jhapa, Brikha Bahadur Gurung, Camp secretary at Goldhap camp and also refugee member of Maidhar shelter April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2005).

## 5.10 Movement from Bhutan and arrival in Nepal: Incidence and processes for Bhutanese refugees.

### 5.10.1 Duration of stay and first landing place in India Before Entering Nepal and problems faced by refugee during movement time

Bhutanese asylum seekers sought refuge in India and Nepal, attracted by porous borders and few migration barriers. “Interviewees either passed through India en route to Nepal, or sought refuge in India, eventually migrating to Nepal. Most who stayed in India left due to high insecurity in the Indian refugee camps, and violence by the security forces” (Subedi, and et al, 2003:25). As reported by sampled respondents of Bhutanese refugee, all asylum seekers/refugees did not immigrate in Nepal at a time and directly. They came on different points of time through direct and indirect processes. Of the total interviewees, around 60 percent came directly via India while others first went and stayed to India before migrating to Nepal Because Nepal does not share a border with Bhutan and it is not the first destination for the refugees. Among the respondents, about 5 percent stayed one year and 36 percent lodged in between 1–15 days in India (Table-20a). Of the total, a majority (50 percent) came via Farash Basti – Malbazar – Assam of Indian land to Nepal while others came via Galup Assam, Dhadhari, Jalpaigudi – Bagmara – West Bengal in India to Nepal (Table-20b).

**Table 20a:** Duration of stay in India before entering Nepal

Duration	No. of Respondents	Percent
1 - 15 days	15	35.7
One year	2	4.8
Direct and not stated	25	59.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 20b:** First landing places in India before entering Nepal

Name of the places	No. of respondents	Percent
Farash Basti via Malbazar, Assam to Nepal	21	50.0
West Bengal via Galup Assam to Nepal	13	31.0
Dhadhari India to Nepal	4	9.5
Lukas, Jalpaigudi via Bagmara, Assam to Nepal	2	4.8
Not Reported	2	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>

It must be noted here that a precedent was set by the Indian police who pushed the asylum seekers across Kakarvitta check post in the initial stages. It was later accepted as a slandered practice by both asylum seekers and the Indian Police.

**Table 20c:** Problems faced by Bhutanese Refugees on the way during the movement

Problems	No. of respondents	Percent
Border problem in Bhutan	2	4.8
Robbery	4	9.5
Torture was given by Indian check post and delayed in Screening point in Nepal	4	9.5
Sickness on the way	5	11.9
Transportation problem	5	11.9
Not reported	22	52.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source:* Field survey, April 25<sup>th</sup> to May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2005

*Note:* Answers are multiple and leading more than two.

As reported by sampled refugees, they faced the range problems on the way before entering Nepal. Of the total, 52 percent were denied to mention their problems. They reported only short duration of stay. This group might be directed by political channels of Bhutanese leaders, already linkage and acknowledged about Nepal, and expectation of facilities. Rest of others, faced the problems of borders between India and Bhutan. When they stayed in Bhutanese land, were tortured by Bhutanese ruling authority and when they crossed the border and reached to Indian land, they experienced Indian police brutality. 10 percent refugees reported the lack of humanitarians ground in Indian check post. Of the total, 23 percent experienced transportation, sickness problems linkage with financial problems due to sudden and forcefully eviction action of Royal Bhutanese Government. They also reported the problems in screening point in Nepal due to delaying process (Table-19c). As reported by respondents and supported by other non sampled refugees, those respondents refugees and other asylum seekers who temporarily resided in India indicated insufficient aid for lodging and fooding and especially for security as the primary cause for their migration to Nepal.

### **5. 10.2 Cross-border Problems and Role of West Bengal Government (India)**

As a result of group discussion with sampled and non-sampled Bhutanese in camps, discussion with five government refugee camps representative (individually), discussion with Bhutanese refugees' political activities such as Hari Prasad Adhikari Beldangi II, Jagatmani Acharya, Programme Officer, SAFHR, Kathmandu and discussion with teachers of refugees' school at Timai camp, and discussion with camp secretary, Brikha Bahadur Gurung and School teacher of refugees' camp Thhakur Prasad Adhikari at Goldhap camp, it can be argued that Indian police played one way traffic role for refugee entering in Nepal. This statement is also proved by the opinion of Dr. Ram Sharan Mahat

who explored in his literature who was the Foreign Minister during the some Ministerial meeting and bilateral talks between two countries. They expressed same voice either in group or individual. Based on their voices and literature, Nepal does not share a border with Bhutan and it is not the first asylum destination for the refugees. There is evidence that the refugees' passage to Nepal was facilitated by the West Bengal administration but obstructions were placed when they wanted to return (Hari Prasad Adhikari, Personal communication, 2005).

**Table 21a:** Registration date of Bhutanese' families

Year	No. of Refugees' families	Percent	Months
1991	5	11.9	December
1992	35	83.3	Jan., Feb., March, April, May, Jun, July, Nov., Dec..
1993	1	2.4	
1995	1	2.4	
<b>1991 - 1995</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Of the total respondents' families, 64 percent resided first in Timai and Goldhap camps and stayed long time and later shifted to other camps due to extended family and camp management programme. Rest of the others entered into Maishar, Bhudhabare , Pathari and Goldhap for one week to fifteen days as nomads(Table-21b).

**Table 21b:** Number of Respondents with their families and duration of stay at the first Landing place in Nepal

Duration of stay	Name of the places where they landed	No. of Respondents	Percent
1 -15 days	Maidhar*, Kankarbhita, Budhbare, Pathari	9	21.4
1 - 6 months	Maidhara, Pathari, Goldhap	6	14.3
Continous Residing	Timai & Goldhap camps	27	64.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*Maidhar is a first landing and entering place of first influx of refugees which is not camps now and no refugee there

**Table 21c:** Distribution of respondents according their submitted documents during the Registration time

Nature of documents	No. of respondents	Percent
Citizenship & Land-Tax receipts	25	59.5
House No., Land - Tax receipts, Citizenship Population form	5	11.9
Land Tax and out gate pass	5	11.9
Based on oral report	4	9.5
Student	1	2.4
Not reported	2	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 21c presents the nature of submitted documents by the respondents' family during the screening time. Among the documents, Citizenship, Land – Tax receipts were the most important documents to be authorised as Bhutanese nationals. Of the total respondents, about 60 percent had both citizens. 12 percent submitted more than two documents and another 12 percent showed two different documents which were also applicable to prove as Bhutanese national. 5 percent did not report about their document and 9 percent entered Nepal by their oral report. This group did have possibility to bring their documents during escaping time. From this analysis, it can be concluded that, Royal Bhutanese ruling party intensively imposed their ethnic cleansing policy against Southerner/ Lhotshampas Bhutanese nationals.

### **5.11 Emigrational history of Bhutanese refugees' ancestors**

Bhutan is trying to paint its ethnic Nepali populace as economic immigrants who entered the country in recent decades for jobs and economic opportunities. This declaration contradicts historical facts. Nepalis have been living for centuries; in fact, some of their ancestors came to Bhutan as early as the ruling Ngalong community who came from Tibet in seventeenth century. As early as 1624 A.D, even before the unification of present Nepal, the king of Gorkha, Ram Shah had dispatched a team of artisan, construction workers, and agriculturists to Bhutan at the request of Shabdrung Nawang Namgyal, Dharma Raja of Bhutan, to train Bhutanese in construction techniques, agricultural practices, arts, and craft. The Nepali artisan built fortresses and several famous monasteries such as the Kichu of Paro valley and Jambay of Bumthang. There is also evidence of Nepali influence in Bhutanese symbols and names.

Following the loss of one-third of its territory to British India after the war of 1864-65, Bhutan started a deliberate policy to encourage organized migration of Nepal population from Nepal, Sikkim, and Darjeeling. This was primarily done to reclaim the inhospitable territory of southern Bhutan with a view towards raising new sources of state revenue. The settlement started in 1860s and 70s in the inhospitable southern Bhutanese foothills that were infested with malaria and tropical diseases. What started as a small number of settlements received a big boost after 1887 when a royal decree was issued authorising two prominent Nepalis, Dalchan Gurung and Garja Man Gurung to settle ethnic Nepalis

in the Sibsoo and Samchi areas, and Sarbhang, Chirang and Dagana districts. In 1898, a separate Liaison office called Bhutan House was established in Kalingpong to administer the state-sponsored settlements and revenue collection from the settlers (Rijal2004:22). As Rijal further observes:

“British India encouraged and supported this arrangement as the settlement of hardly Nepali people provided a safety buffer zone against the marauding Bhutanese from the north. The Dorji family, in alliance with Wangchuk family and British India, actively promoted the settlement of Nepalese people, their culture, ethos and value system as the former as well as the British wanted a legitimate base for the monarchy as against the past theoretic set-up which did not provide stability to the country”(Ibid, pp6-7).

As stated in history, it can be concluded that Lhotshampas were Nepali origin, emigrated their ancestors to Bhutan from different parts of hilly areas of Nepal but they were already authorised Bhutanese citizens due to demanded and agreed by Bhutanese ruling elites and government to fulfil their national necessities on different points of time. So, there are no questions that Lhotshampas are Nepalis origin but are ethnic Bhutanese citizens. They have documents to prove the fact about Bhutanese national. Thus, the painting of ethnic cleansing policy of Bhutanese rulers against Lhotshampas was seemed for political matter and political power. These historical events in to some extent can be proved by the oral history expressed by sampled Bhutanese population.

#### **5.11.1 Place of birth of Bhutanese refugees' ancestors**

Geographically, it was accessible for eastern hilly Nepali people to go to Bhutan. Nepal does not share a border but Nepal's eastern part is bounded by Sikkim, Darjeeling and Kalimpong which are attached with western parts of Bhutan. These are the closest points to entry Bhutan for eastern hilly people. As stated oral history by Bhutanese refugees about their ancestors' place of origin, 81 percent of the total were emigrate reported their ancestor from the Eastern Hill of Nepal. A small percentage (2.4 percent) was from the Western Hill of Nepal. The Central ranked second position (4.8 percent) and around 10 percent reported unknown (Table-22a).

**Table 22a:** Place of birth of Bhutanese Refugees' Ancestors by Geographical Region in Nepal

Regions	No. of Respondents	Percent
Eastern Hill, Nepal	34	81.0
Central Hill, Nepal	2	4.8
Western Hill, Nepal	1	2.4
Don't know	5	11.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Of the 81 percent, 66.7 percent were emigrated from Panchter, Taplejung, and Illam districts which belong to Mechi Zone of Nepal. These districts are very close and borderline attached with Sikkim, Darjeeling and Kali Pong of India and considered as closest distanced to Bhutan. Subsequently, Bhojpur, Sankhuwashava and Okhaldunga districts of Kosi and Mechi Zones ranked the second position for ancestors' emigration. These districts belong to the Mid Western Hill of Nepal and also close distances with Sikkim and Darjeeling and Kalipong of India. Rest of others were emigrated Ramechhap, Sindhupalchawk and Lamjung districts of Bagmati and Gandaki Zones (Table-22b).

**Table 22b:** Place of origin of Bhutanese Refugees' ancestors in Nepal by districts

Name of the districts	No. of Respondents	Percent	Remarks
Panchther	12	28.6	Mechi Zone
Taplejung	11	26.2	"
Illam	5	11.9	"
Sankhuwashava	2	4.8	Koshi Zone
Bhojpur	2	4.8	"
Okhaldunga	2	4.8	Sagarmatha Zone
Ramechhap	1	2.4	Bagmati Zone
Sindupalchok	1	2.4	"
Lamjung	1	2.4	Gandaki Zone
Don't know	5	11.9	
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

This indicates that majority of refugees' ancestors were emigrated from hilly areas of Nepal. Among them mostly were from eastern hilly areas.

#### 5.11.2 Tentative date of emigration and mediums for migration of Refugees' Ancestors

Ancestors of all refugees' sample population immigrated in Bhutan on different series of time. Large majority ancestors (40.5 percent) immigrated to Bhutan in earlier of 17th the century (400 years ago). Second majority ancestors (33.3 percent) entered in earlier of 18<sup>th</sup> century (300 years ago). Subsequently, 16.7 percent immigrated in 19<sup>th</sup> century

(200 years ago). A small percentage (7.1) of ancestors was settled in Bhutan in earlier of 16<sup>th</sup> century (500 years ago) (Table-22c). These tentative dates of emigration of refugees' ancestors prove that the Southern Bhutanese are seen authorised Bhutanese Nationals. They would entitle the Bhutanese citizens before 1958 which was the last date for citizenship distribution.

**Table 22c:** Generation gap of Bhutanese Refugees' Emigration from Nepal to Bhutan by years

Years	No. of Respondents	Percent
100	1	2.4
200	7	16.7
300	17	40.5
400	14	33.3
500	3	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

As reported by respondents, about 29 percent of the total, immigrated themselves by direct travelling and Bhutanese ruler elites gave authority to them to settled down legally. Of the total, 14.3 percent immigrated as professionals through the demand of current Bhutanese ruling elites. Among the refugee, 21.4 percent ancestors immigrated via Sikkim to Bhutan as potters. At that time Sikkim was the best place for seeking job to eastern hilly people of Nepal. They usually used to go seasonal basis as potters for pottering of orange in Sikkim. After that they might be stepped to Bhutan. A minor group (7 percent) went to Bhutan with neighbours, friends and relatives (Table-22d).

**Table 22e:** Ancestors of Bhutanese Refugees and their medium to go to Bhutan

Medium for emigration	No. of Respondents	Percent
Due to demanded by current Bhutanese Govt.	6	14.3
Direct Self-Travelling and authority given by Govt for settling	12	28.6
By pottering	9	21.4
With neighbours, friends and relatives	3	7.1
Due to environmental hazards and to sustain the family	5	11.9
Don't know	7	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>



### 5.11.3 Reasons for migration of ancestors from Nepal

Respondents orally mentioned the different reasons of migration.

**Table 22f:** Reasons for migration of Bhutanese Refugees' ancestor mentioned by respondents.

Reasons	No. of Respondents	Percent	Remarks
To improve economic condition based on settlement programme by clearing forest and searching new place	10	28.5	
Searching for employment	6	14.3	
Searching of cultivable land for lively hood	4	9.5	Specially encroached in southern Bhutan by clearing forest
Demanded by current Bhutanese Govt. for settlement by clearing the forest	8	14.3	
Other reasons	7	16.7	Road construction labour for capital, Ghee business, Pottering,
Environmental hazards	2	4.8	Earthquake
Don't know	5	11.9	
Total	42	100.0	

Table-22g shows the reasons for migration of ancestors from Nepal to Bhutan. Of the total, 23.8 percent ancestors immigrated due settlement programme in inhospitable territory in southern Bhutan organised by alliance of ruling party and ruling elites. Of the total, 14.3 percent were sent by Nepalese king on request of Bhutanese Dharma Raja. About 17 percent immigrated as road construction labour for capital, ghee business and potters (Table-22d). However, all the ancestors immigrated to Bhutan for the improvement of economic condition and current demand of Bhutanese government. Anyway, migratory history links to the duration of settlement of Lhotsampas and have a right for struggle to be bonafide citizens.

## 5.12 Consequences of Bhutanese Refugees Immigration in Nepal

This section basically deals with social, economic, environmental and psychological consequences and especially focuses on negative impacts. Information have been collected about impacts through direct and indirect discussion with government representatives of Refugee Camp Unit, key informants from host community, discussion with refugee's camp community members, and general non sampled refugee population. Some critical information such as prostitution have been collected through indirect

channels and evidences also collected through others who were not concerned with that event. Thus, this analysis is fully based on qualitative and descriptive manner. This is not based on percentage basis.

The presence of a very large number of refugees in Jhapa and Morang districts of eastern Nepal, the host community and refugee community have been adversely impacted where the refugee have been sheltered in and outside the camps (Upreti, L., and et al. 1993; NUCRA, HMG, Nepal, 2003). Due to heavy pressure of these refugees in the area, problems about job displacement, scarcity of food stuffs, social conflicts, social violence, and price hike, epidemics and pollution have been experienced. Similarly, maintenance of law and order, peace and security has been threatened by the occurrence of frequent vandalism and violence inside and outside camps (NUCRA: 2003 and reported by refugees, 2005). Some evidences have been explained below.

#### **5.12.1 Economic impact**

- i) **Affect to local labour market:** One of the greatest negative impacts that local people have experienced is the continual loss of employment opportunities of agricultural farm and construction labourers and even in Rickshaws- pullers. Refugees used to go to outside for labour work through backdoor in the morning and use to come back home at evening. They preferably go to agricultural farm, road constrictions work, building construction area. Comparatively, they are cheaper in wages than Nepalese labourers. Contractors and owners predominately prefer to employee Bhutanese refugee labours in lower rate. Four Bhutanese workers of Beldangi camps reported that, they get fifty percent less salary than Nepalese labour. If Nepalese people get say Rs.120/- Bhutanese get Rs70/-. This fact was again reported by RCU head of Beldangi I, II and ext II., Timai and Beldangi camps. Indra Bahadur Gurung: Local key informant of Damak Bazar, Jhapa district also responded the same events. Refugees usually do labour work for pocket money. Heads of RCU of refugees' camps expressed their facts that it is difficult to distinguish between refugees' workers and Nepalese workers. They look like similar in face and speak same language. Because of less staff, it is difficult to control them. Similarly, one Rickshaw -pullers of Damak Municipality of Jhapa district used to pay Rs.30/- to their owners per day but

now the refugees pay as high as Rs.40/- per day, as result of this undercutting, Rickshaw owners have started to prefer the Bhutanese refugees to local Rickshaw-pullers to give their Rickshaws on hire. There happened violence between local labours association (LLA), and Bhutanese refugees. RCU heads of Beldangi camps reported that, about 200 labours used to go outside the camp per day.

Local labour displacement was particularly heightened in neighbouring communities of Timai camp site, home of Sukumbasi population who have squatted the government's reclaimed land for tea cultivation. They told that their primary source of livelihood was daily wage labour which now displaced by the Bhutanese refugees. The researcher correlated the voices between Sukumbasi population and the member of Local Labour Association that the earlier negative impact has been lesser but local labours still having same problem, it is difficult to control them, they can still employed by owners to some extent. Such a lower wage payment for refugees was used only as additional income for the family, since they are provided with food commodities free of cost. But the local labourers have to buy food commodities with the help of daily wages and they cannot afford to work at the lower rate of wages. Thus, the local labourers have to compete with the foreigners, eking out their livelihood in their own country. If this problem is not seriously acknowledged, it will contribute to untoward incidents between the locals and the refugees.

ii) Job displacement to local level and also leads to national level:

Teaching profession: Bhutanese refugees are more employed in local bordering English school because of cheap rate of salary. They get 30 to 50 percent salary from proprietors. This was responded by bordering English school teachers of Goldhap camp and Beldangi camps who were teaching out site the camp. Such trends are expanded as national level where proprietors would be benefited and national job seekers would be jobless. This created the unemployment situation in Nepal especially in local level.

- iii) Loss of grazing land and the consequent decline of livestock population and household income: The sites where refugee camps are established were previously the grazing lands of the local people. Because of the presence of the refugees are the sudden loss of their traditional grazing land and the consequent decline of livestock population and the household income. The affect of the loss of the grazing land is very severing for the people of Beldangi area where 50 percent of the refugees live in three camps. However, the negative impact with respect to the loss of grazing land in other areas/ locations is less severers. Local farmers supply milk to hotels and restaurants of Damak Bazar and Mini market along the road of around the camp and earn supplementary income for their households. They were also earned income through the sale of goats, but this income system of earning has been severely affected due to declining of their livestock population.
- iv) High rate of market price in the host community area: Due to influx of the Bhutanese refugees and the subsequent of local offices of the INGOs to work for their relief have been contributing to price hikes of essential commodities such as: rate of bamboo, thatch buffalos meat, fruits, vegetables. The price of bamboo and thatch has adverse effects on the local resource poor farmers who have to use it for constructions and roofing of huts/housed.
- v) Increase of house rent: House rent has heightened at Damak Bazar area. The local offices of INGOs have rented houses at four times the normal amount paid by local teachers, officials, businessmen and skilled and un-skilled labourers. For example, businessmen of Damak Bazar responded that a house previously rented at Rs.5000/- is now rented at Rs.10000. Similarly, looking at the higher rent paid by the INGOs and its incumbents for residences, the landlords have started to charge higher rent to Nepali teachers, officials, businessmen and labourers.
- vi) Opinion and perceptions on economic issues explored by Nirmal Raj Khanal, RCU head, Chandra Gadi, Jhapa district, April 25<sup>th</sup> 2005:

Affect to national budget: Source of earning earned by refugee from backdoor practices are not countable in Gross Domestic product, money went under to refugees' pocket. So, it affected to National annual budget.

Nepalese labourers disappeared in abroad: Nepalese general workers, skilled and semi-skilled and educated people also are displaced by refugees' labour and workers due low rate in wage and in salary. By this incident, such displaced population became frosted and went to abroad for searching job. For this, they paid high charge to manpower and broker which would take more time to refund. Thus, they have to compel to stay long over there.

Local people became lazy: Because of availability of refugee labour in cheap rate, local people do not want work on their own. They employed refugee labour from servant to farm workers.

Industrial entrepreneurs and landlord and even government contractors also are being benefited but local labourers are being poorer.

### **5.12.2 Social impact**

Following social issues were reported during field visits;

- i) Theft: A group report reported by RCU head, Beldangi-I, refugee women of Beldangi, the young Bhutanese refugees became frustration, they did not have chance to do work, to study but they had lots of interest which were not possible without money. Thus these population theft ornaments and pots in any time within the camps and sold in some where. Local people close to Beldangi camps also reported their corn from farmland, goats from grazing land, bicycles, and motorcycles from ground flower of the house were stolen after the settled of refugee. This practice was more from 1993 to till 2004 but is being lesser after 2004.
- ii) Robbery: Two robbery reports were found from RCU head of Timai and Beldangi camps. Local people of Timai camp, reported to RCU head that young refugee population became fake Maoist and demanded money and other materials what ever they wanted. Similarly, RCU head of Beldangi camp-I reported that one refugee young man rubberized a goat, electronic materials in April, 14, 2005. Such event is now improved.

- iii) Social distrust and conflict: As reported by RCU head of Timai and Beldangi camps, there were created mistrust and conflict between local and refugees' young population due to sexual harassment within and outside the camp. Because of refugees' girls, the boys from outside camp used to come in and refugee girls also used to go outside. If outsider boy rag to refugee girls, the refugees' boys protest against them. In this situation, there had been started conflict between them in gand fight form. The reasons behind these are;
- Due to dropout students and unemployment;
  - Elopements between refugee girls and local community boys.
- iv) Cheating: As reported by RCU head of Beldangi I, and local community, at the beginning, some of the refugee population started to chat and took some materials and escaped. Cheaters are guided by outsider of the camps. Such cheaters reach to Kathmandu. Such evidence was proved by one shop of Nakhiboat, Kathmandu.
- v) v) Prostitution: Prostitution was reported to be another growing social problem in the communities around the refugee camps. Young unemployed youths of the host community, outsiders who were stayed at Damak Bazar and Birtamod Bazar with taking different jobs and business have been the clients of refugee girls. For the outsiders, contractors of constructions are the main brokers. For example, as reported by a camp secretary Brikha Bahadur Gurung, refugees' teacher (requested not mention his name) and government representative head of Goldhap camp, RCU head Sagar Mishra, Khem Nath Fuyal, camp committee member, and two refugee's teachers of Timai camp, around 65 girls found at Goldhap camp and three from Timai camp. Similarly, RCU head of Beldangi I, II and Ext.I, some staffs from partner assistance and local informant from Damak Bazar (requested not to mentioned their name), reported that, there were easy to go and back to home at night, Damak Bazar is being the gathering point for refugee prostituted girls. Girls are picking up at night from Goldhap camp to hotel of Birtamod Bazar Dropped out by vehicles in the morning. Collegian girls are more engaged in this practice. These 65 girls of Goldhap camp are all affected by disease. Such collegian girls are around 1500 – 2000. One girl is affected by HIV of Timai camps. Two girls

are still in Bombay. The researcher found one HIV affected girl in Maiti Nepal who was from Sanischare camp. The reason behind prostitution were reported below;

1. Affected by western fashion and free
  2. RCU could not control due to lack of staff,
  3. Due to more facilitate of human right, parent cannot control their daughter. In this connection five families were already poisoned,
  4. Design of huts (reported by two section officers of NUCRA, Singha Durbar, Kathmandu who were screening post in Kankaribhita). Due to open hut construction, girls of refugees' camp were encouraged for sexual work and prostitution.
  5. Poor economic condition and scarcity of pocket money (reported by NUCRA's staff, RCU head of Timai camp, and Khem Lal Fuyal, camp secretary of Timai camp from refugees' representative).
  6. As reported by above persons, professionally distances of prostitution girls of Bhutanese refugees are Dharan, Biratnagar, Birgung, Birtamod and Damak Bazar.
  7. This practice of prostitution does have very effect on the local adolescent girls who might also engage in profession.
- vi) Women and Girls trafficking: As reported by RCU heads of Beldangi camps and head of Timai camp including local people's opinion, girls were sold by two processes: firstly, refugee camp brokers (male/female), who are engaged camp committee workers. Secondly, local brokers (male/female) were practiced this activity and thirdly, contractors were more active in this activity. Girls were especially supplied by gay leader of refugees and supplied in high class side.
- vii) Problem of cash turned into social cyclic problem: A joint report reported by refugee's teacher, Khem Raj Phuyal, member of camp committee and RCU head of Timai camp, reveals cyclic problems in the camp. Some events were happened in Timai camp. Some girls are sent to Puna, India for work and earn

money but came back after three years in the camp with AIDS disease and became frustration. Because frustration with AIDS, she started to do prostitution work to Birtamod, Jhapa. By earning money, she had good looking with fashion and nice clothes. By her good looking with fashion and money, other girls of refugees in around the camp were being attracted and followed her prostitution profession. Thus, one prostituted girl pulled other many girls and number of such prostituted girls was multiplied.

- viii) Impact of marriage: A result from group discussion with Sagar Mishra, RCU head, Megnath Luetel, consular of refugee' camp, and Narendra Raj Pokharel of Timai camp concluded the reasons and impact behind different types of marriage of Bhutanese population.

Early/underage marriage: This type of marriage was encouraged by design of huts. Because, minimum, 8/9 members stay one small huts in an open scenario of sexual work. 12-15 years aged of teenagers' population is mostly interested and encouraged by this scenario. Such type of marriage practice leaded to high fertility and mortality and expected of more assistant from office by having more children. That means, children also get same amount of ration on the one hand. On the other hand, illegal marriage of teenagers' girls also practiced within the camp and children having birth from such girls are unregistered and excluded from all types of assistant. In this condition, they should share their food which leaded the scarcity of food. RCU head again emphasised that if the children are sick, he recommended as a humanitarian ground with blind eyes. Such refugees' girls can be said unmarried girls but having children within the camp. Three cases were reported in Timai camp during discussion period. It indicates that maintenance of law of refugee should be strictly applied and camp census should carefully be done.

Re-marriage system within camps: Re-marriage system (married women re-married with another guy within camp) was also practiced. The reasons for such marriage were congested huts, gathering refugee from different villages of Bhutan and custom from Bhutan. Three cases at Beldangi camps, two cases at Goldhap camp and two cases at Timai camp were reported by RCU head and camp secretary members of concerned camps during the field visit.



## Marriage of Bhutanese girls/boys with Nepali/other national boys and girls and adjustment problem

- i) Bhutanese guys married with Nepalese girls: The number of such type marriage was reported in around 100 (RCU head, Beldangi I, April 2005). The children of such couple are registered as refugee status but mother can be re-registered after many years on the basis of application and application should be verified by RCU staff and UNHR.
- ii) Refugee girls/ladies married with Nepalese guys and non-registered children: Those refugee girls who are married with Nepalese guys, guys and their children are not accepted as refugee status and are not able to get all types of assistance. Girl/ women are only able to get assistance. It indicates that children are illegal population in the camps and family should share their fooding and lodging and it lead the food scarcity. Such married girls were reported around 150 in number in Beldangi camps (RCU head, Beldangi I, 2005). Similarly, RCU head and consular of Timai camp also responded the same thing. Children of such couples were reported 100 per thousand 10, 000 refugees population. This case especially happened due to complication of adjustment with Nepalese family and refugee girls come back at camps. Children born by such couples are non- registered, non- recommendable for health check up beyond the camp and lead in poor health.
- ix) Alcoholism and Gamling: It was the principle factor for misunderstanding and conflict between the young male refugees and the local youths in 1993 to 2000. Liquor was freely sold around and within the camps of Beldangi areas. Both Nepalese and Bhutanese were engaged in the sale of liquor around Beldagi camps. This activity is now less as compared to 1993<sup>4</sup> (Reported by RCU head, Beldangi I and Indra Bdr Gurung and Hasta Gurung, Damak Bazar, local acknowledgeable personnel, 2005).

Male refugees were seen engaged in playing card throughout day and local males also were joined as time pass. Both alcoholism and playing card were created negative impact on young children of the host-communities. This

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<sup>4</sup> Mr Laya Prasad Upreti and et al was conducted a research on Mitigating of the Impact of Bhtanese Refugees on Local Communities and a reported submitted to Luthern World Service, Lalitpur and Submitted by New ERA, August 1993.

playing activity is now less but not last. Local parents are extremely concerned with growing undesirable activities.

- x) Insecurity problem: Insecurity seems to be very serious social problems. Bhutanese refugees are physically, socially, culturally and linguistically similar to their Nepalese counterparts and all these have resulted in the difficulty of distinguishing the Bhutanese refugees from the Nepalese citizens. This socio-cultural and physical affinity has encouraged the free movements of the refugees which have contributed to the creation of more social problems in the host-communities. For instance, informants of ward No. 5 of Damak Municipality also reported that Nepalese women who had gone to the forest for fuel wood collection were robbed by male refugee. Therefore, women alone do not dare to go to the forest of fuel wood collection. Such situation is now improved due to community forest management programme.

### **5.12.3 Environmental impact:**

Fuel wood collection: Local people living around all the refugee camps have experienced the sever scarcity of fuel wood. Prior to the influx of the refugees into their areas, collection of fuel wood in the neighbouring forests was very easy due to abundance of dead wood, fallen twigs and stumps. Women recall that they could fetch one bundle of fuel wood in one or two hours. But today it takes the whole day to collect and fetch one bundle of fuel wood because refugees have already over exploited the fuel wood in the forest. After degraded of forested areas, refugees were facilitated giving by stoves and kerosene for cooking and this action has been discouraging them to enter the forests for the collection of fuel wood. Thus, deforestation was more serious but it is now improved by community forest programme (RCU head of Beldangi camp area and local people, 2005). "Although, one refugee's restaurant owner within camp defended that they were not allowed to go to forest but allowed to go community forest during opening time, the amount of use of fuel wood would not be possible for his restaurant. Similarly, some of huts of Beldangi camps and Timai camp were using enough fuel wood" (The researcher observation during field visits, 2005). Solar heater is available at Beldangi areas which reduce the use of fuel wood but such facilities cannot found to other camps. As reported by RCU head of Beldangi camps, 2005 the use of fuel wood would be able to boy by their following income sources;

- Money from labour work;
- Bordering school teaching;
- Saving kerosene and selling to businessmen to Illam Bazar.

This indicates that forest encroachment by collection is still practicing in refugee camp.

Wood smuggling: Wood cutting and selling activity was practiced by local smugglers which reduced the forest cover areas. Refugees' population were employed by so call local smugglers in lowest rate for illegal cutting and selling. Finally refugees were blamed as smugglers. Thus, influx of refugees gave opportunities to local wood smugglers.



**Chapter**

# 6

## **Findings and Conclusion**

### **General Analysis**

The foregoing analysis indicates that the structure of international migration in Nepal is highly complex. The diversity in geographical regions and their diverse capability for production, higher population pressure than the sustainability of region and land use pattern of the nation show a high regional disparity in economic growth, employment structure and migration, for seeking job within intra-zones, intra-regions and the across abroad. Ecological zones— the Mountain, the Hill and the Terai are essential in the discussion of pattern and trends of internal and international migration. Among the zones, the proportion of area and population in the hill zone almost match and it is also strategically located in terms of defence and development initiatives but high environmental degradation, such as landslide, deforestation and hazard have made the development of both rural and urban settlement and difficult. Man-land ratio and persons per hectare of cultivated-land are unevenly distributed and are based on ecological and eco-development regions which reveal the incidence of poverty. Per capita cultivated land ratio is lower in the hill zone than the other ones which reveal the underemployment situation of the country's population. Comparatively such event of poverty is higher in the hill followed by the mountain zone.

As mentioned earlier, man-landed ratio, per capita cultivated land and landholding per household indicate the extent of population underemployment of population, and these become forceful factors for migration, urbanization and immigration for better life of the overall population. There is disparity in poverty' level, employment status, economic indicators and Human Development Index (IDI) in both rural and urban residences as well as between the ecological zones and eco-development regions. The unbalanced development of the country compelled people to move in search of better life. Thus, poverty and migration are always interwoven. In this regard, the government of Nepal, International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) have to formulate and implement the development policies to eradicate the poverty situation.

Nepalese economy is basically agrarian where about 60 percent people are engaged in subsistence agriculture and this sector provides more household income. However, the share of agriculture in GDP has been declining constantly over the last two decades leaving the share of employment fairly high and almost constant. It implies stagnant or even declining trends of agriculture productivity. Declining agriculture productivity has reduced their average amounts which further forced to move the majority population from their place of origin.

Employment is an effective factor to migration; self-employment is very high and its scale is higher and dominating volume in rural areas (80%) against the urban areas (57%). Similarly the work force in agriculture is highest in the mountain zone (92%), followed by the hill zone (84%) and terai zone (74%). But only eight percent of the workers from the total workforce in the mountain worked as labour. Remaining who are workless and jobless could migrate from their place of origin to the destination.

In terms of waged employment, 12.4% of the total workforce is engaged in agricultural sector on waged basis. Among them, agriculture comprises the highest waged employment in rural area (13%) but due to the declining productivity in agriculture sector, surplus workforces have to compel to migrate either within country or abroad.

With regard to unemployment variations, two-third of the underemployed do works in subsistence agriculture sector. Such people are higher in the mountain (36%) and the hills (45%) which encourage the migration/mobility of people for search of jobs. Both underemployment and unemployment with low wage rate have aggravated income-

poverty. Inequalities in the availability of employment opportunity have caused the regional dimension of migration in Nepal.

Women found more in self-employment sector than men especially in agriculture where they also work as unpaid family labour. Scheduled caste women are found more in the wage employment sector and such areas are affected by high level of poverty.

Many Nepalese have been emigrating temporarily or permanently since the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century leaving behind women, children and old people to take care of agriculture in the rural areas of Nepal. Many reasons are cited for this kind of emigration e.g, forced labour within the country, forced recruitment in the British Army and British India, indebtedness at home and extreme poverty. Since 1951, out migration to distant foreign lands has expanded from a few neighbouring countries and other labour importing countries. Both internal and international migration's pattern and distribution vary over time based on availability to resources and access of better amenities and facilities. However, the level of research for the reasons of the difference in pattern and volume of migration is still limited. In addition, migration is the researched area in Nepal compared to other demographic factors.

In terms of emigrants, almost 90 percent of the total emigrants were from rural areas of Nepal and 10.3 percent were from urban areas. Among them, 70 percent of these absentees population were from poverty stricken mountain and hill districts in the mid-western and far western region of Nepal. Out of this, 70 percent were destined for India. Majority of them were agricultural labourers until 1971. But there has been no attempt of migration research programmes and policies for measuring the reasons of migration streams, pattern volume and countries of destination which is the most important affecting factor for population size, sex and age.

Because of open border, there is a possibility of two-way traffic of migration between India and Nepal. So, emigrants from Nepal to India are treated in general migration for seeking employment, education and profession. Further more, the volume of Nepalese emigrants to India has been exceeded by forced migrants such as human trafficking (women and girls trafficking especially for sexual industry in particular and trafficking for other purposes in general) and internally displaced migrants due to the conflict between the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) and the Maoist militant after the 13<sup>th</sup> February of

1996. Such internally displaced people have substantially increased to India by the years. They are engaged in different kinds of labour work. In addition, these people who were affected by Maoists insurgency, which are financially capable and have network abroad, have also emigrated. It is difficult to find out their number, country of destination and their occupations for their countries of destination. This situation prevailed in remote areas and backward places of hills area where developmental programmes could not reach which further caused the poverty situation for the local people.

Later on, this incidence has continuously accelerated due to both repression of the state side and face-saving problem from Maoist side and volume of forced emigrants to India is continuously increasing which is a challenged for researchers first and second for government.

Cultural similarity and religions seem the most theoretical factors to continue the process of migration in between two countries along with the socio-economic and technological gap.

For immigration, information and data surveyed through census is poor. Data about immigrants is only based on complete enumeration system through de-jure process and citizenship. Only by observing the census' data, trends and distribution of immigrants over the time period cannot be analysed. It indicates that research for major parts of international migration is still incomplete.

Education systems are also defective in the context of job opportunities. Low quality and non-skilled education and education systems which are neither employment oriented nor compatible for modern skilled job opportunities put a **counterpart** on well-paid opportunities for the Nepalese emigrants. Such education systems produce low level or unskilled human capital and cause unemployment within the country as well and situation and forced the young to emigrate population for seeking employment.

### **British Armed Force Returnees (BGAFR)**

Emigration of Nepalese people is noticed for economic opportunities rather than trade and business which took place after the Anglo- Nepal war of 1814 AD. Although, it has very long history and army families developed social values in the society. It is not known how

for the remittance from the army services in the foreign countries has contributed to the well-being of the family involved and the home areas of the emigrants and the country. Gurkha soldiers have not only supported the economy at various levels: - individual to national level, but they are also considered to be the greatest agent for development, such as community welfare programme, and community improvement programme in the villages and in the urban areas as well.

Based on age and sex selectivity of emigration, the most young and productive adult males are recruited in the armed population. Such emigration has resulted in sizable transfer of human capital from the rural sector and has prolonged impact in the sending areas as well as in the country as a whole. Such drainage of the large number of the most economically and productive forces to the foreign countries has both positive and negative impacts. Socio-economic and cultural aspects which is being shifted, transferred and changed during service period and after retirement which is proved by ethnography study from primary field survey.

Since 200 years back, the British Government had tradition to recruit the hilly people in her armed forces because they were supposed to be brave, honesty and loyalty for their British Bosses. They are mostly from Mongoloid—Tibeto-Burman ethnic group. Consequently, the British Gurkha Armed forced returnees migrated from their place of origin to the next destination within the country for having more urban facilities and amenities. Such process of migration was possible because of their high pay-packet and this provided an opportunity for re-service which would have helped to stay in urban areas. Thus, this has also been resulted the development of urbanization in the country. Some INOs are considering them as burdened population for the nation. Because they argued that such recruited people used up most of working age in abroad and when they returned in the country had already crossed the active working age. The field visit indicate that they usually retire at the age of 34 years with high pay-up pension and again moved abroad for re-service which enables them to remit more money than per month earning of Nepalese bureaucratic officers. They are remitting money to the country which is very gainful for national revenue and would be added for national economy. But there is no national level research for migration and also no inclusion of population policy in “Tenth Plan” about such productive human capital of the country.



Finally, internal migration of the British Gurkha Armed Force Returnees (BGAFR) represents the rural to urban migration within the country. There has been a major consequence of British Gurkha recruitment in Nepal. They had followed all migration process such as circular migration, step-migration, periodic migration and life-time migration after their recruitment in the British Gurkha Armed Force. The process of migration from emigration abroad to immigration back to Kathmandu valley has become a source for socio-cultural and economic transformation of the returnees which is reflected in the changes in socio-economic and cultural characteristics of returnees in their present places of residence.

**Economic consequence:** In terms of economic aspects, the average per person annual remittance brought by returnees is higher than the non-migrant earning in the Kathmandu valley. This shows the high living standard BGAFR but their money is not being used properly. Initially, the returnees did not have any idea for mobilizing the money due to adjustment in the new place, more investment for household maintenance and having a tendency to go abroad for re-service.

**Social consequence:** Thinking horizon of BGAFR has seen widened due to influence of British culture and education in many social aspects. For instance, from the opinions given by BGARF for their children's marriage, it can be concluded that majority of parents were changing their traditional concept and behaviour. According to them, they are ready to accept the decisions made by their children for selection of spouses.

Although, there is a possibility of all kinds of treatment for health, medical treatment was used more during the British Armed force period and it has slightly come down after migrating back to the Kathmandu valley coming immigrating to the Kathmandu valley but they still believed on traditional treatment such as professional healer.

According to multiple perceptions given by armed force returnees, there has been started a step-migration process of returnees' children for going abroad for seeking job and for studying. The reasons given were that they have no higher links to get a job and difficult to compete due to language problem, they could not be settled with Nepalese salary, young generation might have habit to expense more than the children of non-migrant communities and parents could invest money for abroad because of their good sources of income than the non-migrants.

Finally, it can be concluded that the complication for social adjustment and assimilation with non-migrant society and no access to occupation for their children had been major causes of compelling the children's emigration for employment in abroad. This is one of the adverse consequences of British Armed Force Returnees but it can be managed through unbiased domestic way. The country society and community should encourage them to involve in the government services.

In regard to community development programme, majority of the BGAFR involved in community development activities by giving cash and by labour. Not only husband but wives also are equally participating and representing in these activities. The reason for this might have less household course for wives than their place of origin, empowered by husband as being cultured and civilized during the armed force and educated by British culture. This gender balance activities is the major positive consequence of BGAFR.

Although all cultural and ritual aspects were found existed in places where the returnees were and are resided, the trend of fallowness has been decreased in the first place of migration and in the Kathmandu valley than their place of origin.

For the main food, there has been changed in the use of items due to higher living standard. In terms of refreshment, modern and chemical foods are used after leaving their place of origin. By all their activities, their standard of living appeared higher than the other non-army families. They tend to spend more for household consumption. As a result, their children find it difficult to adjust and to assimilate with the children of non-army families which have an adverse impact for children.

With regard to decision-making, the process, of a BGAFR' family has shifted from husband to wife in a BGAFR family matter of household expenditure, medical treatment and socio/cultural activities which shows the changing gender status and approach towards women's empowerment in Kathmandu valley.

In terms of environment of residential areas, the areas where returnees are newly settled are polluted by the use drug. Drugs are provided by local people to the children of new settlers who were unaware about drugs earlier. Being new settlers, the returnees' family are facing multiple constraints, such as their children ask for more money to be a company with neighbours who are used to drug. If they do not have money from their parents, they tend to violent behaviour at home and they can sell their clothes for getting

money etc. On the one hand, they are also exposed to petty thefts in their houses by the local thieves. The children of returnees are motivated by saying “**gold**” word to please them for asking money. About 75 percent respondents’s family reported this event during my field visit. As a researcher, I felt that, there is a need of establishment of counselling committee for children. For this, Governmental and non-governmental organizations should take steps to mobilize such young population which would be fruitful and helpful to discourage such practices both among the returnees and local people work.

## **Bhutanese Refugees**

As for Bhutanese refugee in Nepal, they are considered as a burden population in Nepal. There is no **inclusion** of population policy in the “Tenth Plan” of Nepal about Bhutanese Refugee. Some individual researches and some INGOs’ are involved in research related to various dimension of this group of migrants. But there is no national level research done by government. As mentioned in the literature, scholars and respondents, Tri-lateral agreement is necessary to repatriate the refugee to their place of origin. Assistance of India to repatriate those seems most important because of cross border problem and as a good neighbour for both Nepal and Bhutan.

As mentioned by the respondents, genesis of Bhutanese Refugee problem lies in cutting off the granted citizenship, by Bhutan government code of conduct was the main issues to becoming refugee. Bhutan government imposed them to accept **one people one language, one people one dress and one culture**. But southern Bhutanese denied it which became major issue to become Refugees. As per UNHCR rules, such persons should settle down in neighbouring country but they were deported through crossing the border of neighbouring state. The reason behind this might in rooted emigration of their fore fathers and ancestors from Nepal, and their language and cultural ties with Nepalese people. However, it does not matter, who were the refugee’s generation but citizenship is the most authentic tool for fighting for human rights.

A large number of refugees are settled in Jhapa and Morang districts of eastern Nepal. The host community has been adversely affected in two major aspects: economic and social. The economic impacts are observed in the following.

- Job displacement at local level and also at national level. Salaries in private boarding schools have gone down due to availability of cheap Bhutanese school teachers.
- High rate of market prices in the host community areas
- Nepalese labours are compelled to emigrate.

The social impact is observed in the increase in the cases of theft, robbery, social distrust and conflicts, between local communities. Prostitutions activities are on the increase and have become a level of concern in the community.

## **Tibetan refugees**

In regard to Tibetan refugees in Nepal, it also has both positive and negative impact. Opening of carpet industries in Nepal is a major positive impact of Tibetan refugee immigrants. Nepalese labour especially living close to Tibetan refugees settlements were benefited from flourishing of carpet industry. It became major economic resources. Sources of employment are entrepreneurs in particular and nation in general. With passing the time, the volume of production went down due to conflicts and mistrust between Nepalese entrepreneurs and Tibetan refugees' share holders. They had no legal right to establish factories. As a result, Nepalese workers were compelled to emigrate for employment. Among them, girls were the most affected. They reached Bombay through brokers in the process of seeking employment. There, became a victim of prostitution work. Subsequently, male workers went to India for the same purpose and then India used them in the carpet factory. India started making imitation Indo-Tibetan carpet which is of low quality with cheap price (Wangchuk, 2005). It was another major cause for downfall of the carpet industries in Nepal. The resulted the negative impact both for refuge share holders and Nepalese economy as well. There is no time series record and process of registration of Tibetan refugees. So many illegal Tibetan refugees have started small restaurants and business in the urban centre which resulted in conflicts between Nepalese owners and refugee shops keepers. There need to be a defined territory for refugees for their livelihood.

## **Women and Girls Trafficking**

Women and girls from Nepal are increasingly being used for immoral focused merely on trafficking for sexual exploitation. The victims mostly who migrated to India are categorised as critical, as forced, and as worst form of migrant workers. It does not cover the whole features of human trafficking and structure of international emigration in Nepal. But it reflects the image and condition of trafficked people and covers a part of international emigration from Nepal to abroad. Data or numbers are debatable and confusing which show the limited research and the circulated figures are at best rough estimates. The figure ranges from 5,000 to 7,000 to 20,000 Nepalese children are being trafficked every year and deported to India. It is estimated that 70,000 to 3750,480 Nepalese women are working in Indian brothels (CWIN, 20045). It is concluded that number of annual trafficking of girls is still found different and needs the national level time series research for identifying the issues. Based on age selectivity, adolescent girls under 18 years are to be greater victims. Contributing factors to be trafficked were extreme poverty and family vulnerability, law literacy and slack administration. Most powerful channel in the involvement of victims was their own relatives, friends and fake husbands. The trafficked returnees felt uncomfortable in reunion with their families due to social constraints or rejection. By observing those mentioned situation, there seems to be a need of strict administrative on nation wise research to identify the magnitude of problem and of the available data and affected area wise awareness programme. Government also should take steps with the help of local key persons and through district administration. Local social and political activists would be the best personnel to socialise the trafficked returnees at their home town. It would not be possible by only certain number of NGO's and INGO's programme and research.

## **Labour Migration**

In the context of labour migration, available data is controversial. The data of the migrant workers who migrate abroad outside through official channel does not appear on official record. There is some need to go beyond the official data in trying to understand the contemporary situation of foreign labour migrants. The distribution of Nepalese migrants by countries of destination, such as given by different department and sectors, can't be taken to reflect the actual situation. In each case, the number of clandestine migrants will

for exceed official numbers. In addition, there are no data, for example, on the women migrating overseas for work due to strict policy of government for not allowing to women to go abroad especially to the Gulf region. Various resources show that women have not stopped to migrate for work. Thus, the Nepalese government should take steps for recording the women migrants abroad especially who are reaching the Gulf for work and should take steps to formulate flexible, safe and legal policy for the going abroad with certain criteria that could provide security to the women in the countries. They go for work.

In the last 4-5 years, the Nepalese government has recognized the significance of labour migration and remittances to the national economy. Only in the last couple of years, new researches have been done for generating information which shows the extent of Nepal's dependency on foreign labour employment and remittances. Although, the information and data generated by the research have helped to highlight some questions that how many Nepalese citizens are working in foreign countries? How much money do they send back to Nepal? These two questions are very important for national revenue of the Nepalese economy. Yet, there is no exact information available to provide satisfactory answers. It is widely believed that official records for the remittance economy represent just tip of the iceberg; particularly as most remittance is transferred informally. It is already proved by an important piece of research in a village level study conducted by David Sedden and his colleagues (Sedden et.al. 2002:41). Thus, state should provide authentic information on Nepalese emigrants' abroad, foreign employment and amount of remittance sent back by migrants. These subjects should be included in the Nepalese economic survey through National Development Plan.

Finally, this piece of research on "Structure of International Migration in Nepal" is supposed to be the first of its kind with some theoretical concepts and empirical findings in Nepal which hopefully will contribute to the existing knowledge about the multi-dimensional complexities of international migration in Nepal and strategies to a human approach' towards migrants.



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# Appendices-A

## Chapter – IV: The British Armed Force Returnees in the Kathmandu Valley

**Table 1:** Origin place of British Ghurkha Armed Force in the Kathmandu Valley .

Birth zone	1 British Gorkha		2 Singapore Gurkha		Total	
	Returnees		Returnees		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dhawalagiri	25	30.1	5	25.0	30	29.1
Gandaki	14	16.9	7	35.0	20	19.4
Lumbini	1	1.2			1	1.0
Koshi	15	18.1	1	5.0	16	15.5
Mechi	15	18.1	5	25.0	20	19.4
Bheri	1	1.2			1	1.0
Sagarmatha	12	14.5	1	5.0	13	12.6
Singapore			1	5.0	1	1.0
<b>Birth districts</b>						
Baglung	8	9.6	3	15.0	11	10.7
Gorkha			1	5.0	1	1.0
Lamjung	1	1.2	4	20.0	5	4.9
Tanahun	8	9.6	2	10.0	10	9.7
Myagdi	4	4.8	1	5.0	5	4.9
Parbat	14	16.9	1	5.0	15	14.6
Kaski	2	2.4			2	1.9
Sunsari	2	2.4	1	5.0	3	2.9
Syangja	2	3.6			2	1.9
Solukhumbu	1	1.2			1	1.0
Taplejung	11	13.3	2	10.0	13	12.6
Okhaldhunga	1	1.2			1	1.0
Panchthar	4	4.8	3	15.0	7	6.8
Terathum	5	6.0			5	4.9
Dailekh	1	1.2			1	1.0
Khotang	9	10.8	1	5.0	10	9.7
Bhojpur	9	10.8			9	8.7
Singapore			1	5.0	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>VDC/Municipality</b>						
VDC	79	95.1	19	100.0	97	96.0
Municipality	4	4.9	-	-	4	4.0
<b>Total*</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey, March, 2005

\* One respondent is excluded due to foreign

**Table 2:** British Gurkha Returnees and their housing facilities

	Gurhka Returnese					
	British		Singapore		Total	
Total rooms including kitchen	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 5 rooms	4	5.5			4	4.3
5- 8 rooms	17	23.3	6	31.6	23	25.0
9-12 rooms	33	45.2	6	31.6	39	42.4
13 -16 rooms	14	19.2	6	31.6	20	21.7
17 and more rooms	5	6.8	1	5.3	6	6.5
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total no. of toilets</b>						
One	3	4.1	1	5.3	4	4.3
Two	14	19.2	6	31.6	20	21.7
Three	19	26.0	6	31.6	25	27.2
Four	17	23.3	2	10.5	19	20.7
Five	12	16.4	2	10.5	14	15.2
Six and more	8	11.0	2	10.5	10	10.9
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total no. of modern toilet</b>						
One	12	21.4	6	37.5	18	25.0
Two	22	39.3	4	25.0	26	36.1
Three	10	17.9	2	12.5	12	16.7
Four	5	8.9	4	25.0	9	12.5
Five	3	5.4			3	4.2
Six and more	4	7.1			4	5.6
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total no. of simple toilets</b>						
One	23	35.9	6	40.0	29	36.7
Two	27	42.2	5	33.3	32	40.5
Three	12	18.8	2	13.3	14	17.7
Four	2	3.1			2	2.5
Five			2	13.3	2	2.5
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 3a:** Population distribution by aged 10 years and over by five yearly age groups and sex, Nepal 2001

Age group	Both sexes	Sex					Sex ratio
			Male		Female	%	
0 - 4	2,755,213	12.1	1,395,715	12	1,359,498	12	103
5 - 9	3,211,442	14.1	1,633,087	14	1,578,355	14	103
10 - 14	2,981,932	13.1	1,533,806	14	1,448,126	13	106
<b>Young aged Popn.</b>	<b>8,948,587</b>	<b>39.4</b>	<b>4,562,608</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>4,385,979</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>104</b>
15 - 19	2,389,002	10.5	1,185,826	10	1,203,176	11	99
20 - 24	2,016,768	8.9	946,742	8	1,070,026	9	88
25 - 29	1,725,478	7.6	821,014	7	904,464	8	91
30 - 34	1,489,503	6.6	726,040	6	763,463	7	95
35 - 39	1,310,653	5.8	651,351	6	659,302	6	99
40 - 44	1,088,044	4.8	539,993	5	548,051	5	99
45 - 49	923,373	4.1	469,695	4	453,678	4	104
50 - 54	766,054	3.4	392,659	3	373,395	3	105
55 - 59	602,093	2.6	318,610	3	283,483	2	112
<b>Working aged Popn.</b>	<b>12,310,968</b>	<b>54.1</b>	<b>6,051,930</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>6,259,038</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>97</b>
60 - 64	520,908	2.3	262,255	2	258,653	2	101
65+	956,471	4.2	482,585	4	473,886	4	102
<b>Old dependent Popn.</b>	<b>1,477,379</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>744,840</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>732,539</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>22,736,934</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11,359,378</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11,377,556</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 3b:**

Age group	Both Sex	Sex					Sex ratio
		N	%	Male	%	Female	
0 - 4	85276	7.88	44039	7.6	41237	8.2	107
5 - 14	103588	9.58	53679	9.3	49909	9.9	108
10 - 14	114742	10.61	59378	10.3	55364	10.9	107
<b>Young aged Popn.</b>	<b>303606</b>	<b>28.06</b>	<b>157096</b>	<b>27.3</b>	<b>146510</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>107</b>
15 - 19	125547	11.60	67125	11.7	58422	11.5	115
20 - 24	144353	13.34	77340	13.4	67013	13.2	115
25 - 29	122604	11.33	66441	11.5	56163	11.1	118
30 - 34	99727	9.22	55965	9.7	43762	8.7	128
35 - 39	74169	6.86	40898	7.1	33271	6.6	123
40 - 44	54824	5.07	30190	5.2	24634	4.9	123
45 - 49	40914	3.78	22347	3.9	18567	3.7	120
50 - 54	33310	3.08	17707	3.1	15603	3.1	113
55 - 59	24865	2.30	13474	2.3	11391	2.3	118
<b>Working aged Popn.</b>	<b>720313</b>	<b>66.58</b>	<b>391487</b>	<b>68.0</b>	<b>328826</b>	<b>65.0</b>	<b>119</b>
60 - 64	19012	1.76	9359	1.6	9653	1.9	97
65+	38914	3.60	18068	3.1	20846	4.1	87
<b>Old dependent Popn.</b>	<b>57926</b>	<b>5.35</b>	<b>27427</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>30499</b>	<b>6.0</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1081845</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>576010</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>505835</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>114</b>

Table-3c

Lalitpur	Total		Sex				Sex ratio
	Both S.	%	Male	%	Female	%	
Age group							
0 - 4	26,274	5	13,367	4	12,907	8	104
5 - 9	33,877	7	17,176	5	16,701	10	103
10 - 14	37,757	8	19,273	6	18,484	11	104
<b>Young aged Popn.</b>	<b>97,908</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>49,816</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>48,092</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>104</b>
15 - 19	38,562	8	19,408	6	19,154	12	101
20 - 24	40,299	8	20,367	6	19,932	12	102
25 - 29	188,251	38	171,319	52	16,932	10	1,012
30 - 34	29,117	6	15,505	5	13,612	8	114
35 - 39	22,620	5	11,902	4	10,718	6	111
40 - 44	17,581	4	9,264	3	8,317	5	111
45 - 49	13,497	3	7,069	2	6,428	4	110
50 - 54	11,880	2	6,040	2	5,840	4	103
55 - 59	9,608	2	5,056	2	4,552	3	111
<b>Working aged Popn.</b>	<b>371,415</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>265,930</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>105,485</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>252</b>
60 - 64	7,512	2	3,689	1	3,823	2	96
65+	15,140	3	7210	2	7930	5	91
<b>Old dependent Popn.</b>	<b>22,652</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10,899</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11,753</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>92.73</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>491,975</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>326,645.00</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>165,330.00</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>197.57</b>

Table 3d:

Bhaktapur	Both Sexes		Sex				Sex ratio
	Total	%	Male		Female	%	
Age group							
0 - 4	18,234	8.2	9,495	8	8,739	8	109
5 - 9	24,174	10.9	12,470	11	11,704	11	107
10 - 14	27,027	12.2	13,700	12	13,327	12	103
<b>Young aged Popn.</b>	<b>69,435</b>	<b>31.4</b>	<b>35,665</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>33,770</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>106</b>
15 - 19	27,498	12.4	14,017	12	13,481	12	104
20 - 24	26,806	12.1	13,390	12	13,416	12	100
25 - 29	21,175	9.6	10,702	9	10,473	10	102
30 - 34	18,275	8.3	9,589	8	8,686	8	110
35 - 39	14,049	6.4	7,292	6	6,757	6	108
40 - 44	10,528	4.8	5,359	5	5,169	5	104
45 - 49	8,396	3.8	4,275	4	4,121	4	104
50 - 54	7,419	3.4	3,617	3	3,802	4	95
55 - 59	6,249	2.8	3,303	3	2,946	3	112
<b>Working aged Popn.</b>	<b>140,395</b>	<b>63.5</b>	<b>71,544</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>68,851</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>104</b>
60 - 64	6,249	2.8	3,303	3	2,946	3	112
65+	5,015	2.3	2,415	2	2,600	2	93
<b>Old dependent Popn.</b>	<b>11,264</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>5,718</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5,546</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>221,094</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>112,927</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>108167</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>

**Table 4a: Rank of the household head during the pension time**

Ranks	Age group						Total
	> 40	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	
Rifleman (RFN)							
Less Corpol (LCPL)	3	5	4	3	5	2	22
Corpol (CPL)	3	2	2	0	3	0	10
SGT	1	8	5	4	3	2	23
Warrent officer II (WO II)	0	3	5	4	3	3	18
Leftenant	0	0	4	3	1	0	8
Captain	0	0	1	2	1	0	4
Queen Ghurkha Officer (QGO)	0	0	0	2	3	2	7
Sigapore Police Inspector	0	0	0	2	0	2	4
NA returned at 1970 through the custom case in Calcutta	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4b Rank of the household head during the pension time  
Percentage within Rank of the household head during the pension time**

Rank of the household head during the pension time	Age group						Total
	less than 40	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	
Rifleman (RFN)	12.5%	20.8%	20.8%	12.5%	25.0%	8.3%	100.0%
Less Corpol (LCPL)	30.0%	20.0%	20.0%		30.0%		100.0%
Corpol (CPL)	4.2%	37.5%	20.8%	16.7%	12.5%	8.3%	100.0%
SGT		16.7%	27.8%	22.2%	16.7%	16.7%	100.0%
Warrent officer II (WO II)			50.0%	37.5%	12.5%		100.0%
Leftenant			25.0%	50.0%	25.0%		100.0%
Captain				28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	100.0%
Queen Gurkha Officer (QGO)				50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Sigapore Police Inspector						100.0%	100.0%
NA returned at 1970 through the custom case in calcutta					100.0%		100.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>18.4%</b>	<b>21.4%</b>	<b>19.4%</b>	<b>20.4%</b>	<b>13.6%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Table 5a:** Occupation for Male of sampled population by broad age group in the Kathmandu Valley

**Table 5b:** Occupation for male by broad age group in Kathmandu Valley

Age group	< 15		15-24		25-59		60+		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Household chores		0	11.3%	7	74.2%	46	14.5%	9	100.0%	62
Unemployment		0	33.3%	1	66.7%	2		0	100.0%	3
Student	26.4%	23	58.6%	51	14.9%	13		0	100.0%	87
Abroad service		0	5.9%	2	94.1%	32		0	100.0%	34
Teacher		0		0	100.0%	9		0	100.0%	9
British army		0	33.3%	1	66.7%	2		0	100.0%	3
Business		0		0	100.0%	4		0	100.0%	4
Dependent		0		0	50.0%	2	50.0%	2	100.0%	4
service holder		0		0	100.0%	19		0	100.0%	19
Hong Kong ID		0	33.3%	2	66.7%	4		0	100.0%	6
Pensioner		0		0	60.0%	3	40.0%	2	100.0%	5
NR		0		0	66.7%	2	33.3%	1	100.0%	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>26.8%</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>57.7%</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>5.9%</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>239</b>

Note:Table-9ibid

**Table 5b:** Occupation for Female by broad age group in Kathmandu Valley

Age group	< 15		15-24		25-59		60+		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Household chores		0	12.4%	17	83.9%	115	3.6%	5	100.0%	137
Unemployment	25.7%	0	50.0%	1	50.0%	1		0	100.0%	2
Student		27	64.8%	67	9.5%	10		0	100.0%	105
Abroad service		0	10.0%	1	90.0%	9		0	100.0%	10
Teacher		0		0	100.0%	5		0	100.0%	5
Dependent		0		0	28.6%	2	71.4%	5	100.0%	7
Service holder		0		0	100.0%	9		0	100.0%	9
Honking I.D		0	30.0%	3	70.0%	7		0	100.0%	10
NR	9.3%	0		0	100.0%	5		0	100.0%	5
<b>Total</b>		<b>27</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>56.2%</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>290</b>

Note:Table-9ibid



**Table 6:** Distribution of British Gorkha Returnees according to their re-service countries

name of the countries of second time service after pension	Currently working	%	Not-working	%
1 Honkong	-	-	7	16.27
2 Brunei	22	62.85	14	32.55
3 Maccau	4	11.42	-	-
4 south Korea	-	-	3	6.96
6 Afghanistan	1	2.85	2	4.65
7 European countries	3	8.57	3	6.96
8 American countries	-	-	7	16.27
9 Uganda	2	5.71	-	-
11 Cambodia	1	2.85	-	-
12 Bahrain	-	-	1	2.32
13 Oman	-	-	1	2.32
14 Angola	-	-	1	2.32
15 Singapore	-	-	1	2.32
16 Doha	-	-	1	2.32
17 Africa	-	-	2	4.65
18 Arab	1	2.85	-	-
19 Kuwait	1	2.85	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>

# APPENDICES-B

## Questionnaires

Title: Structure of International Migration in Nepal: With special reference to British Gurkha Armed Force Pensioners'/Returnees and Remittances: A study of Kathmandu Valley.

### Respondent's Bio-data/Profile

Surveyor's name and clan... Date of survey...  
Surveyed house/block No. ... Tel No. ... District...  
Municipality/VDC... Ward No. ... Name of village/locality...

1. Respondent's bio-data/profile (Put  $\checkmark$  on any one) (1) if the respondent is the head of the household him/herself (2) if the respondent is member or relatives of the household

(a) Name and clan... (b) Sex... (1) Male (2) Female

(c) Religion: (1) Non-proselytized (2) Proselytized

(1) Hindu (2) Buddhist (3) Kirant (4) Christian  
(5) Islam (6) Jain (7) Other (Specify if any...)

(d) Language spoken currently (Mother Tongue)

(1) Nepali (2) Gurung (3) Mangar (4) Rai (5) Limbu  
(6) Nepali and own Mother Tongue

(e) Age completed currently: ...

(f) Marital status:

(1) Married (2) Unmarried (3) Remarried  
(4) Widow (5) Widower

(g) Relationship with the head of the household

(1) Spouse/wife (2) Son (3) Daughter (4) Daughter-in-law  
(5) Mother (6) Father or other relatives ... (5) Other relatives

(h) Current occupation of the head of the household:

(1) Occupation of the head of the household (2) Respondent's occupation

(1) Home-maker/Household-chore (2) Professional service (3) Industrialist  
(4) Trade/business (5) Teacher (6) Other (knitting, sewing...)

- (i) If the respondent is a Male:  
 (1) Regiment/Company/Platoon's name, (i) while enrolling ... (ii) while being in the regiment ... (iii) while on pension...  
 (2) Country's name while being enrolled (3) Rank ...
- (j) Academic qualification (passed level/standard): ...  
 (See Question Number 13 for coding to be filled in Questionnaire for Head of the Household Survey)
- (k) If the respondent is Female (Her place of birth if is the mother or spouse of the head of the household)  
 Place of birth ... Zone ... District ...  
 Municipality/VDC ... Ward/Locality ...

## Questionnaire

### Questionnaire for Head of the Household Survey

**Title:** British Gurkha Armed Force Pensioners' International Migration and Remittances:  
 A Case Study on Socio-economic and Cultural Changes in the Kathmandu Valley,  
 Nepal

#### Part 1: General background

Surveyor's name and clan: ... House No. of the survey: ... Tel No. ...  
 Zone ... District ... Municipality/VDC ... Ward No. ...  
 Village/Locality ...

Regiment/Platoon: (1) British Gurkha Army Household (2) Singapore Gurkha Police Household

Serial Number **Questionnaire**

**1. Head of the household:** (a) Name and clan...

(b) Language ... (1) Nepali (2) Gurung (3) Mangar (4) Rai (5) Limbu

(6) Nepali and own Mother Tongue (7) Other

(c) Religion: (1) Non-proselytized (2) Proselytized

(1) Hindu (2) Buddhist (3) Kirant (4) Christian  
 (5) Islam (6) Jain (7) Other (specify if any...)

**2. Household head's age:**

- (1) Age at present (in year) ...
- (2) Age while on pension (in year) ...
- (3) Age while in enrollment (in year) ...

**4. Household head's academic level and condition (Put ✓):**

Academic level	Condition	Remarks
	(1) before enrolment (2) condition at present	Specify (1)+(2)

- Literate but not passed →0
- If literate:
  - (1) only can write English (0→1)
  - (2) can read English (0→2)
  - (3) can speak English (0→3)

- standard 1-10 not passed →1
- standard 10 passed →11
- IA or equivalent →12
- BA or equivalent →14
- MA or equivalent →16
- Special training →01
  - in health system →1
  - in water supply →2
  - in electricity →3
  - in engineering →4
  - other (Specify in any) →5

**Coding:**

Literate (✓)

- |                           |         |        |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|
| -can write English or not | (1) Yes | (2) No |
| -can read English or not  | (1) Yes | (2) No |
| -can speak English or not | (1) Yes | (2) No |

**4. What is name of the country you enrolled first and your regiment? (Put ✓)**

- (1) Hong Kong (2) Singapore (3) Malaysia (4) Brunei (5) United Kingdom  
(6) Burma/Myanmar (8) Other

Name of Regiment: ...

**5. Date of enrollment: ...**

**6. Which was the country on pension? (Put ✓)**

- (1) India (2) Burma/Myanmar (3) Malaysia (4) Singapore (5) Brunei (6) Hong Kong (7) United Kingdom (8) Other

**7. After how many years of total service did you retire on pension?**

Year or period of service: ...

**8. What was your rank while on retirement?** (Put ✓)

- (1) RFN      (2) L/CPL      (3) CPL      (4) SGT      (5) WO I      (6) WO II  
(7) LT      (8) CAPT      (9) MAJOR      (10) RSM

**9. State the name of the country if you had been to for service after retirement on pension.** (Put ✓)

- (1) Hong Kong      (2) Brunei      (3) Macao      (4) South Korea      (5) Dubai      (6) Afghanistan  
(7) European countries      (8) American countries      (9) Other

10. How many years did you work in those country and still working?

Mention in year:

11. What sort of work did you go for?

- (1) Security guard (own occupation on enrollment/ training related to security)  
(2) Occupational service (on the basis of training while in the regiment)  
(3) To assist for the security deals of other nations (for war)  
(4) As an ordinary labour  
(5) Other (Specify in remarks):

**12. Present family background of the household head**

- Family size:** (1) Total number of female...      (2) Total number of male  
(3) Total:

**Current family types** (Put ✓)

- (1) Nuclear family: parent and children  
(2) Extended family: parent, uncles, aunties and their children, brother, in-laws  
(3) Single: unmarried, husband only, wife only

## Questionnaire

**13. Current family composition**

SN      Members      relationship with the      Sex F-1 M-2      Age (in year)      Academic level  
Academic institution      Marital status      Type/process of marriage      Occupation      of the  
family members

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.

## Coding/Number

<b>(1) Academic level</b>	<b>Code</b>
Literate but not passed any class	0
Not passed 1-10	1
Passed class 10	11
IA or equivalent	12
BA or equivalent	14
MA (Masters)	16
Technical education (doctor, engineer, nurse etc.)	01

<b>(2) Academic institution</b>	<b>Code</b>
Government school	1
Private boarding school	2
Government campus	12
Private campus	13
Government university	16
Private university	18
Institution other than school	0

<b>(3) Marital status</b>	<b>Code</b>
Unmarried	1
Married	2
Remarried	3
Polygamous marriage	4
Widow	5
Widower	6

<b>4) Type/process of marriage</b>	
Arranged marriage	1
Paramour marriage	2
Love/elopement marriage	3
Capture marriage	4

### 14. If visited foreign countries:

SN	Foreign countries visitor member	Sex F-1, M-2	Age (in year)	Purpose	for
visit	Visited when (date or year)	Name of visited country	Monthly	income	
(Rs.)	Types of visit	Remarks			
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

**Coding/Number****Purpose:****Code**

Higher studies	1
Professional service (Doctor, Engineer)	2
Wage labourer	3
Skilled labourer	3.1
Unskilled	3.2
Army/security	4
Hong Kong ID	5
Trade/business	6
Marriage	7
Other	

**Types of visit:****Code**

Permanent	1
Periodical/temporary	2
Seasonal	3
Illegal	4

**15. Who inspired you for enrollment/recruitment?** (Put  $\checkmark$ )

- (1) my own interest and choice
- (2) taking up family members' footsteps (e.g., grandfather, father, uncle, brother)
- (3) from companions/colleagues
- (4) family insistence and my own interest
- (5) Others

**16. What are the reasons for your enrollment?** (Number for given answers on the basis of priority, e.g. allot 1 for the main reason and 2 for the second)

Reason	Number
(1) had no chance to go to school	( )
(2) had no interest to go to school	( )
(3) to improve economic condition and had no sufficient land for tilling	( )
(4) following friends' footsteps	( )
(5) desiring to serve in the foreign countries	( )
(6) Others (Specify if any)	

**17. Who were/are the members of your family to go for enrollment?** (Number for answers given)

Family member and relationship	Countries of enrollment	Date of enrollment	Name of the first country of enrollment	Rank	Income M/Y
--------------------------------	-------------------------	--------------------	---	------	------------

- (1) Grandfather
- (2) Father
- (3) Elder brother
- (4) Younger brother
- (5) Uncle/great-uncle
- (6) Pension received by widow
- (7) Pension received by infant





## PART 2

### Details on migration of family-household

25. Where is your birthplace?

Zone...          District...          Municipality/VDC...          Ward No...          Village...

26. How many places have you migrated in before coming to Kathmandu and when and what was the condition?

Place:

(1) The place migrated for the first time: ...

(1) Zone...          District...          Municipality/VDC...          Ward No and locality...

(2) Date of migration (How many years ago?): ...

(3) What was the condition of migration? (Put  $\surd$ )

(1) before enrollment          (2) after enrollment

(4) Marital status (Put  $\surd$ )

(1) Married          (2) Unmarried          (3) Age (completed that time)

(4) Education achieved

(2) Detail of the place migrated second time:

(1) Zone...          District...          Municipality/VDC...          Ward No and locality...

(2) Date of migration (How many years ago?): ...

(3) What was the condition of migration? (Put  $\surd$ )

(1) before enrollment          (2) after enrollment

(4) Marital status (Put  $\surd$ )

(1) Married          (2) Unmarried          (3) Age (completed that time)

(4) Education achieved

**27. What were the reasons of migration in that place?** Number them based on priority, e.g. give Number 1 for the main reason.

Reasons	First place	Second place	Remarks
---------	-------------	--------------	---------

1.

2.

Coding/Number

Reasons	Code number
---------	-------------

Insufficient land	1
Escort with parent and the family	2
Further studies	3
Because of the sublime land in the place migrated	4
Because of the higher chances of consumption of urban-facilities	5
Other (specify)	6

**28. Who were the family members while migrating in other places before migrating to Kathmandu?** (Put  $\checkmark$ )

SN	Family members & relationship	First place Number	Second place Number	Remarks
1.	Only myself	( $\checkmark$ )	( $\checkmark$ )	
2.	I myself and & my spouse			
3.	Me & my family (including children)			
4.	Father/mother			
5.	Grandfather/grandmother			
6.	Uncle/aunt			
7.	Brothers			
8.	Sisters			
9.	Other (specify if any)			
	Total number of family migrated	( $\checkmark$ )	( $\checkmark$ )	

Example:

Number: Only myself- 1

If I myself and spouse- 2

... ..

**29. Structure of the house (in the homeland and in the migrated place)**

place/type of house (1) place/place of birth (2) first time migration (3) Second time migration remarks

non-cemented 1

cemented 2

**30. Construction and structure of house in the homeland:** (Fill numbers)

storey/construction material (1) non-cemented and thatched (2) non-cemented and zinc-roofed (3) brick-cemented wall and concrete-roofed (4) rock-cemented wall and concrete-roofed

1 storeyed

2 storeyed

3 storeyed and above

**31. Construction and structure of house in the first migrated land:** (Fill numbers)

storey/construction material (1) non-cemented and thatched (2) non-cemented and zinc-roofed (3) brick-cemented wall and concrete-roofed (4) rock-cemented wall and concrete-roofed

1 storeyed

2 storeyed

3 storeyed and above

**32. Construction and structure of house in the second migrated land:** (Fill numbers)

storey/construction material (1) non-cemented and thatched (2) non-cemented and zinc-roofed (3) brick-cemented wall and concrete-roofed (4) rock-cemented wall and concrete-roofed (5) Semi-cemented wall and floor not cemented

1 storeyed

2 storeyed

3 storeyed and above

**33. Do you have house and land in those deserted places?** (Put  $\checkmark$ ) (Yes) (No)

**34. How often do you visit in the deserted homeland if 'Yes'?** (Put  $\checkmark$ )

(1) in 2-5 years (2) once in a year (3) in six months (4) in 1-5 months  
(5) not fixed (none of the above)

## PART- 3

### Amenities and facilities

**35. What were/are the facilities in the homeland, migrated land and in Kathmandu?**

Facilities at homeland	Place of birth (1)	First migrated place (2)	Second migrated place (3)	Kathmandu (4)	Remarks
------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------	------------------	---------

Educational Institution:

School:

Government-1

Boarding-2

Campus:

Government-1

Private-2

Hospital:

Hospital-1

Health post-2

Clinic-3

Other...

Drinking water:

Natural faucet-1

Well-2

Rivulet-3

Tube-well-4

Public faucet distributed by corporation-5

Personal faucet distributed by corporation-6

Toilet/latrine:

Open-1

Trenched-2

Modern-3

Electricity (Source of fuel):

Kerosene-1

Electricity-2

Gas plant-3

Facilities	Place of birth (1)	First migrated place (2)	Second migrated place (3)	Kathmandu (4)	Remarks
------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------	------------------	---------

Source of cooking fuel:

Firewood-1

Dung-2

Gas plant-3

Gas cylinder-4

Electricity-5

Other-6

Note: Fill in numbers

**36. Particulars on migration to Kathmandu**

- (1) How long have you migrated to Kathmandu? (Write in years) Year...  
(2) What is the preference for migrating here? (Write numbers based on preference)

Reason Classified based on preference

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| (1) pre-information about this place                       | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) because relatives are living here                      | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) because platoon's co-workers asked for living together | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) because of platoon's community                         | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) because of our many ethnic communities living here     | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (6) because it's easy for children's education             | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (7) because the British Camp is near here                  | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (8) Other (Specify if any)                                 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> |

**37. Reasons for returnee migrants**

Amongst the given reasons, write number 1 for the first reason and 2 if it's second based on preference and if the given reasons fall into one or more, write 1 and 2 for both.

Reasons	Reason of the first group	Reason of the second group	Remarks
	First reason	Second reason	

- |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| (1) because of no land and house in the homeland as well as in the first migrated place      |  |  |  |
| (2) because of land acquisition in here  |  |  |  |
| (3) because of imparting education for children  |  |  |  |
| (4) because of excessive access of facilities in the urban areas                             |  |  |  |
| (5) because of seeking re-employment or second chance employment after retirement on pension |  |  |  |
| (6) Other (Specify if any)   |  |  |  |

## PART- 4

### Economic status and family background

**38. What type of family, academic level and profession have you had your offspring married and if it is not what is your opinion? (Give reason)**

Type of family	son profession/ed	daughter-in-law profession/ed	daughter profession/ed	son-in-law profession/ed	Remarks
(1) British Gurkha Army family					
(2) Indian Army family					
(3) Nepalese Army family					
(4) No alliance with any army family but want alliance with educated family					
Other (Specify if any)					

39+40. Why do you prefer the British Army family for your son and daughter?

Reason:

**41. What difference do you find between the Lahure and non-Lahure family?**

Difference:

**42. Had you encouraged your son for recruitment/do you encourage or don't/do you? Give reasons. (Put √)**

(1) had encouraged/do encourage      (2) had not encouraged/don't encourage

**43. Give particulars if your sons have enrolled/recruited in the Gurkha Army (e.g., Britain, India, Burma/Myanmar).**

The number of sons recruited    The country of recruitment    Platoon    Rank    Total year of enrollment

1.

2.

**Coding**

**Name of countries:** India-1, Burma/Myanmar-2, Hong Kong-3, Singapore-4, Brunei-5, Britain-6

**Ranks:** RFN-1, L/CPL-2, CPL-3, SGT-4, WO I-5, WO II-6, LT-7, CAPT-8, Gurkha Major-9, RSM-10

44. How many of your sons and daughters have been to Hong Kong through ID?

Have been ( ) have not been ( ) if they have been:

S.No. Son/Daughter Nos. in Hong Kong in Britain through ID/BNO Income in NRs. Remarks

**45. Give reasons if they have not been to Hong Kong/Britain irrespective of having their ID.**

**46. Why do not the sons and daughters of a Lahure prefer taking any civil service in Nepal even after earning a higher degree? Give reasons in your own opinion.**

**Healthcare Details** (presently and before migration/before recruitment)

**47. What approach had/have you undertaken in the following condition while taking treatment?**

Place	Approach of treatment				Remarks
	Shaman	Doctor	Ayurvedist	Herbal	
Birthplace					
While being in the platoon					
After returning in Kathmandu					

**Coding:**

If the respondent is the head of the family-1

If the respondent is the member of the family-2

**Position in the community/society before and after retirement and migration**

**48. What was/is the position in the community/society?**

(1) in the birthplace/ before recruitment	(2) in the place migrated for the first time	(3) in the place migrated for the second time	(4) after arriving here (in Kathmandu)
student-1	student-1	student-1	local member-1
home-maker-2	home-maker-2	home-maker-2	ethno-involvement-2
commomer-3	Ex-Lahure-3	Ex-Lahure-3	pol.activist-3
other (specify)-4	other (specify)-4	other (specify)-4	other (specify)-4

**49. Have you organized any institutions or organizations for community development activity collectively? If 'yes' name them.**

.....

**50. What contribution have you made in the community development? (Put √)**

(1) Cash (2) Labour (3) Both

**51. Who goes for the community discussion from the family? (Put √)**

(1) Husband (2) Wife (3) Son (4) Daughter-in-law (5) Daughter (6) Other

## Decision-making procedure in the household

### 52. Whose role was/is dominant in the process of decision-making in the household?

Topic of decision (1) in the birthplace (2) in the platoon (3) presently Kathmandu Remarks

- (1) Household expenses
  - food-1
  - cloth-2
  - utensils & retails-3
- (2) Treatment and medicine
- (3) Expense on education
- (4) Socio-religious function
- (5) Traveling/hiking
- (6) Capital mobilization for domestic product
  - land purchase-1
  - investment in industry-2
  - investment in crops production-3
  - Trade/business-4
- (7) Other

**Coding:** (1) Husband (2) Wife (3) Both (4) Son-Daughter (5) Parents of the head of the family (6) Platoon's decision

## PART- 5

### Economic aspects (in the past and presently)

53. Area of the land, source of land purchase, and income of the land product (net profit)

Area/Source

Area

Place and geo-physique of the land Ropani Ana Paisa Bigaha Kattha Dhur Source of land purchase

- (1) birthplace:
    - hill:
    - terai:
  - (2) in the migrated place before coming to Kathmandu
    - hill:
    - terai:
  - (3) Kathmandu:
    - hill:
    - terai:
- Total area:

**Coding:**

**Resource while purchasing the land and house-construction**

- Ancestral property-1
- Earned through recruitment-2
- From pension-3
- From income before pension-4
- From son-daughters' income-5
- Second recruitment after pension-6
- Other-7

**Present source of income**

54. What are your present sources of income (adding earned by the family members) and how much do you save after monthly expenses approximately in Kathmandu?

Income and expense Source of income	Income		Expense	
	Monthly	Annual	Monthly	Annual
1. from pension				
2. from earning after retirement on pension				
3. from the land-production				
4. business/trade				
5. from rent and lease				
6. from son-daughters' earning				
7. other (specify)				

**Total income:**

55. How much do you spend monthly for education from your earning/income?

Number of children	Monthly expenses (in Rs...)
Child-1	
Children-2	
Children-3	
Children-4	
Children-5	

Total expense:

**Cultural aspects**

What differences have you noticed in the following cultural aspects in Kathmandu and other places?

Questions to be asked (topics) place first place of migration second place of migration Kathmandu

56. Ancestor-cult (traditionally observed by forefathers)



## 57. Ethnic pantheons worshipped through generations

### 58. Religion

Kirant- 1

Hindu- 2

Buddhist- 3

Christian- 4

Jain- 5

Other

### Just before recruitment

Questions to be asked (topics)	birthplace	place first place of migration	second place of migration	Kathmandu
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### 59. Main festivals celebrated from the past

Dashain-Tihar- 1

Lhosar- 2

Tangnam/Chasuwa/Shyādar/Sakela- 3

Other- 4

### 60. Language

The ethnic mother tongue spoken before recruitment and the language spoken while migrating in Kathmandu

Ethnic Mother tongue and Nepali- 1

(Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Mangar)

Ethnic Mother tongue only- 2

Only the lingua franca Nepali-3

Ethnic mother tongue, lingua franca Nepali and English (mixed)-4

61. What are the types of food item you have?

#### Types of food item:

Main item

(pulse/cereal, rice, curry + pickle)-1

Main item

(rice + pulse/cereal and pickle only)-2

Main item

(rice, soup-curry)-3

Other (eat all of the above equally)

**Snacks/tiffin:** (Ask which is eaten frequently)

Boiled roots, maize, soybean- 1

Beaten rice and curry- 2

Bread/*roti* and curry- 3

*Thukpa*, *chaumin* and loaf- 4

Drink(s) only-5

All of the above- 6

Other (specify)- 7

**Time frequency of taking snacks/tiffin**

Only in the afternoon- 1

Only in the morning- 2

Both (morning and afternoon)- 3

Questions to be asked (Topics)	birthplace	place of first migration	place of second migration	Kathmandu
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**Drink(s) item:**Homemade *jand* and wine-1Homemade *jand*, wine, whisky, beer and wine- 2

Whisky, beer and wine- 3

Tea, Fanta, Coke and juice- 4

Other (specify)- 5

**Type of food item consumed in marriage ceremony, festivals and gatherings:**

pulse/cereal, rice, meat, and pickle- 1

pulse/cereal, rice, meat, curry and pickle- 2

rice, meat and pickle- 3

*pulau*, meat and other curry- 4*pulau*, *momo*, *thukpa*, *chaumin* and curry- 5

plain rice and curry- 6

**62. What are the means of entertainments you and your family members had/have utilized?**

Madal/tom-tom, Khaijadi, Harmonium, Chyabrung and cymbal- 1

Radio only- 2

TV and Radio- 3

Movie-going- 4

Other (specify)- 5

**63. What were/are the modern means of facility at home?**

Radio- 1

Watch- 2

Freeze- 3

TV- 4

VCD player- 5

All of the above- 6

**64. What are the traditional ornaments/jewelry do you decorate now and decorated in the past?***Dhungri bulaki*, *phulibulaki* and *chepte sun* (gold), *laskari*, *kandhungri* and *kantha*, *tilahari*, *jantar* <sup>1</sup>(traditional)- 1*Dhungri kundal*, *marwadi*, *kantha* on the neck, *sunko har* (*dembal*)- 2

Ear-top, chain, gold-bangle of new design- 3

Other (specify)- 4

<sup>1</sup> Types of ornaments/jewelry used by women made up of gold and other valuable materials

## PART- 6

### Pension and salary per annum

#### Remittance utilization of the Returnee British-Gurkha Armed Forces

#### 65. On what topic do you expend your income from pension and salary after pension and who utilizes it most?

Topic of expenditure	User-members of the family	Remarks
1. Familial/daily expenditure (food + clothing)		
2. For education		
3. For house construction		
4. For industrial investment		
5. For purchasing land		
6. For saving		
7. Other (specify)		
7.1 providing loan for marital ceremonies and ritual performance		
7.2 providing loan on interest		

Total:

#### Coding:

Members of the family: (1) husband (2) wife (3) parents of the household head  
(4) Other (specify)

#### 66. What are other areas of investment you have planned in order to increase your income more? (Put ✓)

(1) interest (2) business/trade (3) industry (4) bank/saving/co-operative  
(5) Other (specify)

#### 67. Have you invested your income for the sake of community and society? What is the period if you have? (Put ✓)

Time/period	Type of investment	amount	liquid-property
Monthly- 1			
Annual- 2			
Collective amount- 3			
Open time (not specific)- 4			

#### 68. Did you bring any other liquid-property while on leave or pension?

(1) Yes (2) No

Particulars of the liquid-property	only once	for personal use	for sale	Rs. Approximately
1. Gold				
2. Silver				
3. Radio				
4. VCD player				
5. Clothes				

6. Watch

7. Shoes

8. Other (specify) Money ...

Total: ...(provide in Nepalese currency)

### 69. Consequences of the British Gurkha returnee migration

Topics (questions)

Classification/Coding Remarks (Give reasons)

1. Have you realized any lack or differences in your tradition, culture, attire, language and religion practice here while leaving your birthplace?	Yes- 1 No- 2	Give reason
2. Is there any problem of pollution in your locality?	Yes- 1 No- 2	Give reason
a. Water pollution	Yes- 1 No- 2	
b. Air pollution	Yes- 1 No- 2	
c. Noise pollution	Yes- 1 No- 2	
d. Violence in the vicinity	Yes- 1 No- 2	
e. Increasing slums in the vicinity	Yes- 1 No- 2	
3. Have you heard any case of drug abuse by the children of your vicinity and community? Give reasons if 'yes'.	Yes- 1 No- 2	Give reason
4. Are there any problems you have come across while migrating here?	Yes- 1 No- 2	Problems
5. What problems have you realized in your locality?	Yes- 1 No- 2	Problems
6. Have you heard any case of social-evils like rape, prostitution etc.?	Yes- 1 No- 2	Give reason
7. Have you heard or seen any case of gang fights of drunkard boys? What is the age group if 'yes'?	Yes- 1 No- 2	Give reason

# APPENDICES-C

## Questionnaire for the Bhutanese Refugee

**A. General Background:** (While questioning the male respondent's age must be over 25 and his wife should be asked regarding fertility)

Surveyor's name and clan...

Date ...

1. Respondent's name and clan...
2. Name of the camp...  
Place...  
Sector/hut No...
3. Religion...
4. Respondent's academic qualification...
5. Languages that s/he can speak in Bhutan...
6. Respondent's age...
7. Respondent's occupation while being in Bhutan...
8. What was the respondent's special designation (at the community, social and national level) while being in Bhutan?

### **B. Information regarding demographic shifts**

#### **Family roster**

9. Family size:
10. How many members were there while coming here including you? ...
11. How many are there now? ...
12. Particulars of household roster

Number of family members	Sex	Age	Academic degree	Marital status	Date of marriage	with whom	Remarks
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1. Head of the family/respondent
2. Respondent's wife
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.

- Coding: A. Sex** (1) Male (2) Female  
**B. Marital status** (1) Unmarried (2) Married (3) Remarried (4) Widower  
 (5) Widow (6) Polygamous marriage  
**C. with whom**  
 (1) with a Bhutanese while being in Bhutan  
 (2) with a Bhutanese refugee  
     2.1 with a registered Bhutanese  
     2.2 with a non-registered Bhutanese  
 (3) with a Nepalese  
 (4) with an Indian

13. Are there any guests in your family now?  
 Yes- 1 No- 2

14. What is the duration of stay if there are?  
 (1) Day...  
 (2) Month...  
 (3) Year...

15. Family members and the status of refugee

Refugee's status	Sex		Reasons for cases
	Male	Female	
1. Registered			
2. Non-registered			
3. Deregistered			
4. Verified			
5. Non-verified			

### Refugee's influx from Bhutan to Nepal

16. Where did you stay for the first time arriving here while being cleansed from Bhutan?  
 16.1 name of the habitat/residence if in India...  
 16.2 period of stay there if in India...  
 16.3 name of the place first stayed while coming to Nepal...  
 16.4 period of the place first stayed while coming to Nepal...

17. The date of registration in Nepal...

18. What are the documents to be produced and produced valid documents in the process of registration?

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19. Which route did you follow while coming to Nepal and what time did it take?

- (1) Route: 1.1 directly from Bhutan 1.2 via staying in India  
 (2) Duration:

20. What problems did face on the way?

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21. What problems are you facing now?

- (1)
- (2)
- (3)

### **Linkages**

22. Are there any other members of your family living out of this camp?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

23. Who are they and where are they if 'yes'?

- (1) in Bhutan...
- (2) reasons living in Bhutan...

24. What are the reasons for living outside the camp in Nepal?

- (1)
- (2)
- (3)

25. Where are they living outside the camp?

Name of the place...

Condition (how they are living, e.g. on rent, own, profession)...

26. Are you getting assistance from those members living outside the camp?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

27. What supports are you getting if 'yes'?

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-----  
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### **Information on fertility**

(To be asked with the wife of the male respondent)

28. Have you given birth to children?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

29. If 'yes';

29.1 What is the number of sons born alive?

29.2 What is the number of daughters born alive?

29.3 How many living sons are there now?

29.4 How many living sons are there now?

30. Are there any other members of your family living out of this camp?  
(1) Yes      (2) No
31. Can you provide information if they are living outside the camp?  
31.1 Relationship with the members (e.g. father, mother, son, daughter)  
31.2 Age of the member living outside the camp  
31.3 Academic qualification  
31.4 Profession chosen for his/her independence  
31.5 Name of the place presently living
32. What was his/her reason for living outside the camp?
33. Can you tell your family-history of migration to Bhutan from Nepal?
34. How many generation/years before had you migrated?
35. What was the specific locality of Nepal you had migrated from?
36. How did you go there?
37. What would be the reason for migrating to Bhutan?  
(a) Economic  
(b) Other

