

**HUMAN SECURITY AND MIGRATION “IN-CAGES”:  
CASE STUDY OF NEPALESE MIGRANTS IN INDIA**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "HUMAN SECURITY AND MIGRATION "IN-CAGES": CASE OF NEPALESE MIGRANTS IN INDIA" submitted by me for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University. I have undertaken the plagiarism test and the dissertation fulfills the criteria for originality.


  
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CERTIFICATE

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*Dedicated to*  
*Mamu and Dad*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABNES	Akhil Bharatitya Nepali Ekta Samaj
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
GLOF	Glacial Lake Outbursts Floods
GNLF	Gurkha National Liberation Front
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HPI	Human Poverty Index
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMDT	Illegal Migrants Detection by Tribunals Act
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organizations
IOM	International Organization of Migration
MCG	Maoist Communist Groups
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
NAPA	National Adaptation Plan for Action
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NLSS	Nepal Living Standard Survey
PNCC	Prabasi Nepali Coordination Committee
POTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
RAP	Restricted Area Permit
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

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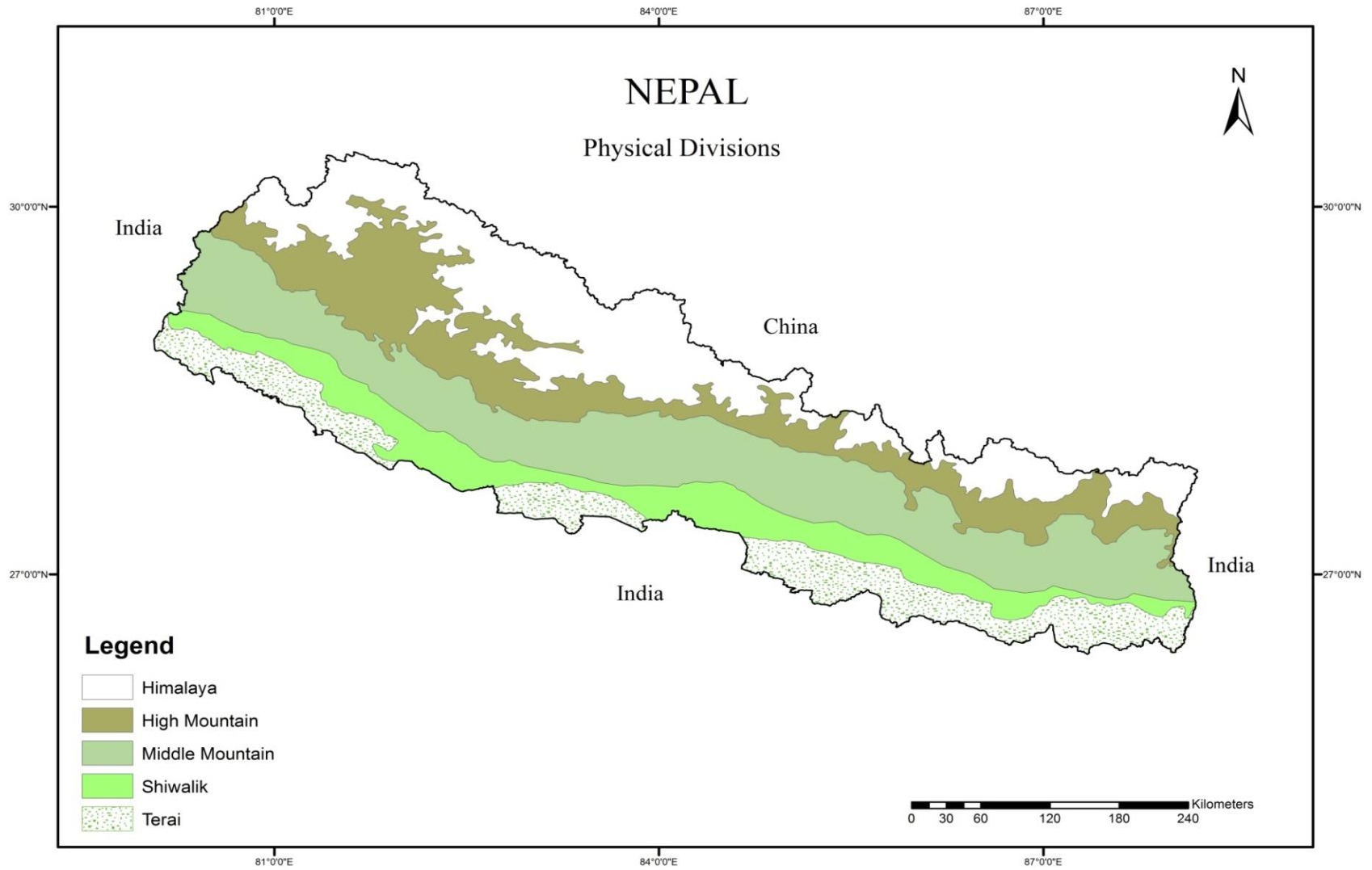
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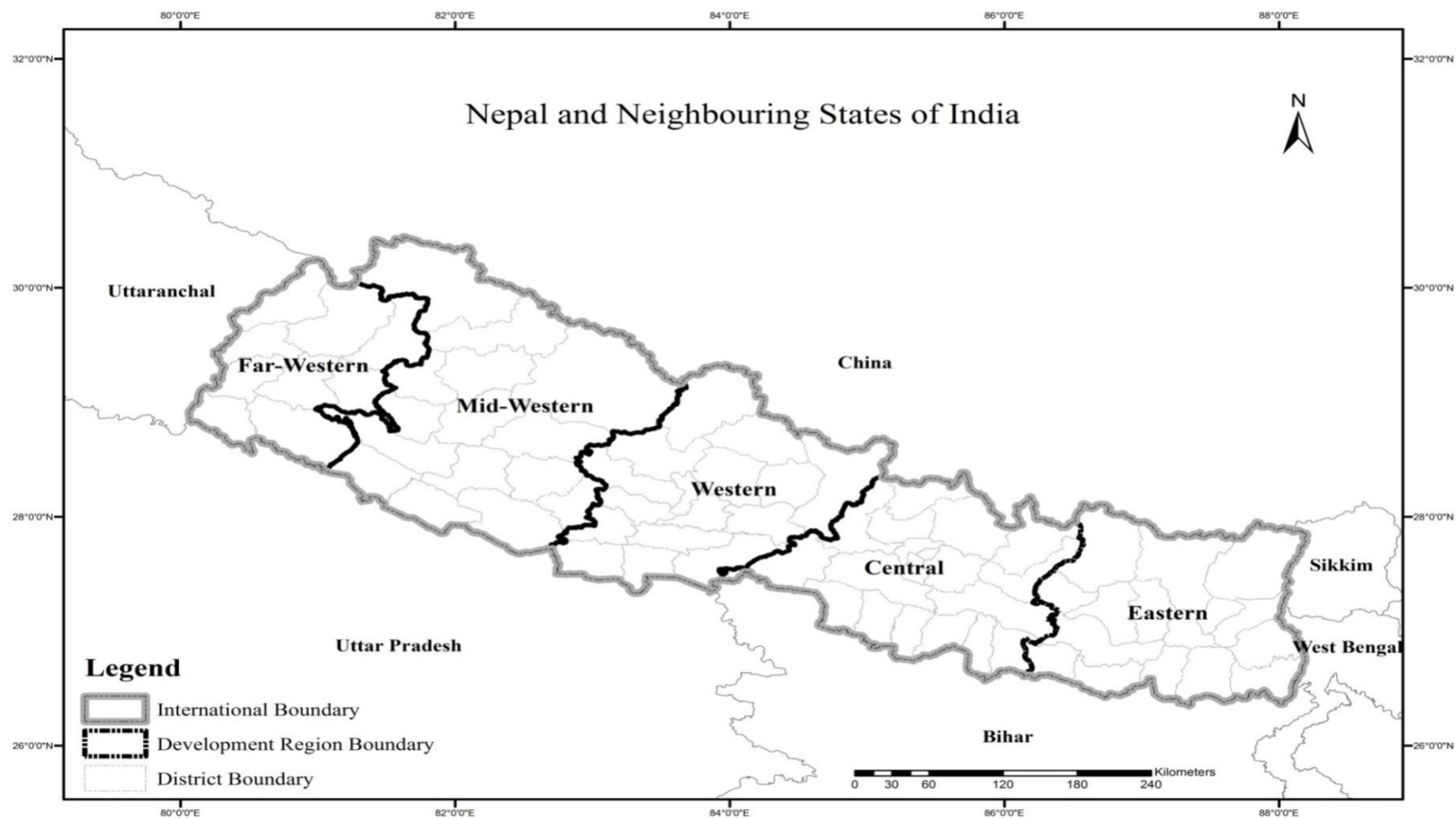
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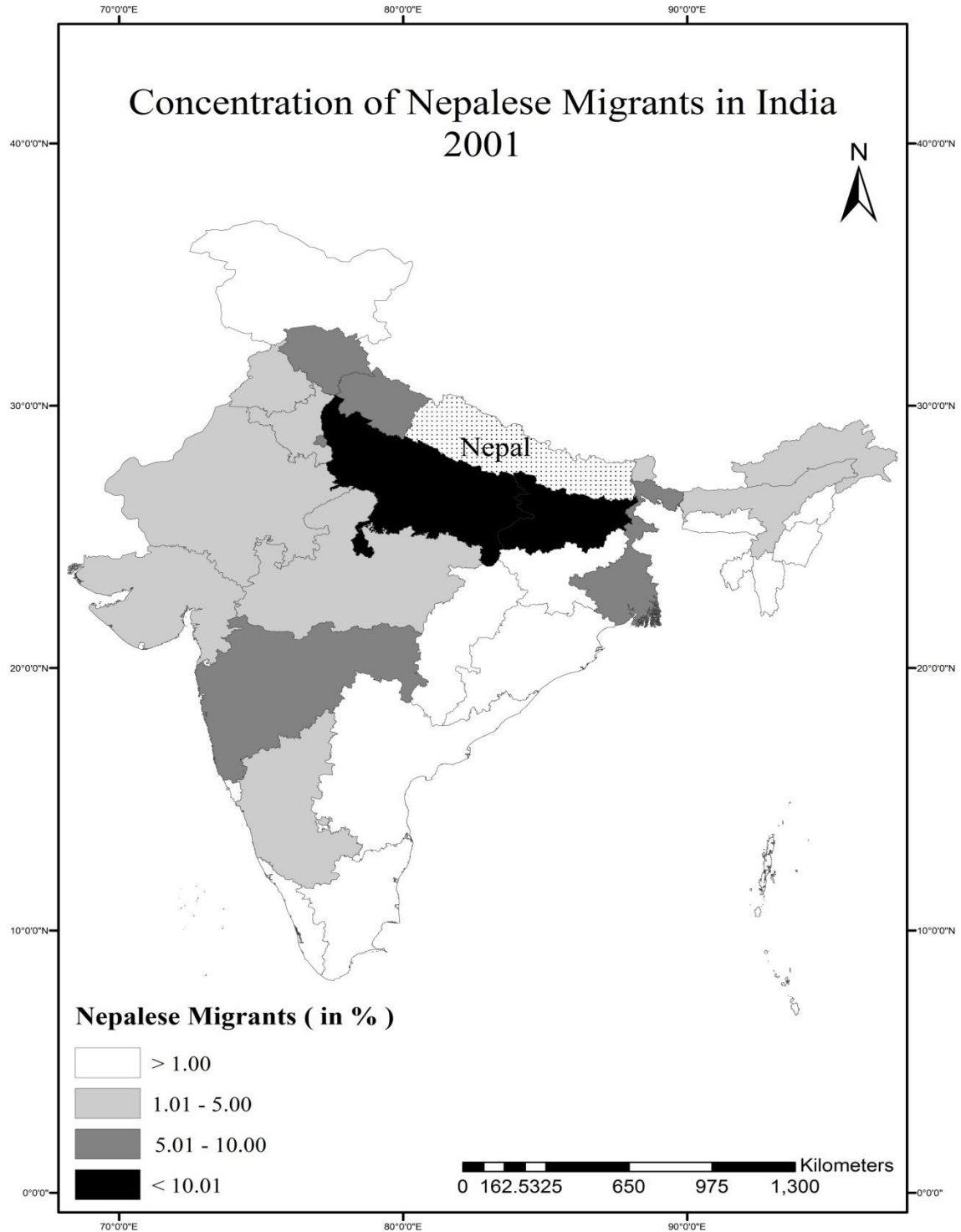
Source: GIS, Central Bureau of Statistics, National Planning Commission Secretariat, Government of Nepal. Map Prepared by the Researcher



Source: GIS, Central Bureau of Statistics, National Planning Commission Secretariat, Government of Nepal. Map Prepared by the Researcher



Source: GIS, Central Bureau of Statistics, National Planning Commission Secretariat, Government of Nepal. Map Prepared by the Researcher



**Source: Government of India (2001), *Census of India 2001*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home. Map Prepared by the Researcher**

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### Background

Migration is an age old phenomenon and one of the common causes for it has always been survival, better livelihood conditions and secure environment. Population movements are characterized by movement to other countries with people of diverse traditions, culture and ethnicity. It therefore, raises issues regarding nationality, citizenship, identity, assimilation, development, marginalization, borders and security. International Organization of Migration (IOM) defines migration as ‘the movement of a person or a group of people, either across an international border, or within a State’<sup>1</sup>. In 2013 international migrants comprised about 232 million people or 3.2% of the world population<sup>2</sup>. Being economically advanced of all South Asian countries; India is one of the preferred destinations by labor migrants from neighboring countries. In the case of migration between Nepal and India, they have been an open border for decades now making movement of its population easier and faster. There is a sharp leap in absentee population in Nepal from 2001 to 2011 from 762,181 or 3.2% of the total population to 1,921,494 or 7.3% of the total population and about 722,255 or 38% of the absentee population migrated to India in 2011<sup>3</sup>.

It was after the Nepal-British India war of 1815-16 that formal entrance of Nepali

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<sup>1</sup> [URL://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html#documented-migrant](http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html#documented-migrant) Accessed 26 September 2014.

<sup>2</sup>United Nations DESA, Number of International Migrants Rises Above 232 Million, 11 September 2013, Accessed 12 July 2015 [URL:www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/population/html](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/population/html) .

<sup>3</sup>Table 9.4.Chapter 9, (2014),“International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, p. 224.

citizens in foreign employment started<sup>4</sup>. Historically the migrants from Nepal were mainly in the arena of security services including defense forces in both India and abroad. The areas of foreign-employment have been widened over the last two decades, starting in the 1980s which saw an increase in labor outmigration to the Southeast Asian countries, the Labor Act of 1985 facilitated arrangements for Nepali migration to the Gulf countries, Europe and the US<sup>5</sup>.

The civil conflict, which broke out in February 1996, between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), ended in November 2006 with a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Political and economic instability however, have continued despite the Peace Agreement. Nepal has been a Republic since 2008 however; the failure of the first Constituent Assembly of Nepal has set the country back into political constitutional instability.

The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between India and Nepal of 1950 in its articles VI and VII elaborates on free and unregulated movement of people and similar status of Nepalese as Indian citizens under this bilateral agreement and vice versa<sup>6</sup>. The open border and the provisions of the 1950 Treaty disregard the movement between the two countries as cross border movement of people.<sup>7</sup> The movement of people hence cannot be distinguished as regular or irregular<sup>8</sup>. Whether one adopts a regular legal channel for

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<sup>4</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, Volume 1, Siba Exim, Pvt. Ltd.

<sup>5</sup> Seddon, D. (2005), "Nepal's Dependence on Exporting Labor", *Migration Information Source*, January.

<sup>6</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, Volume 1, pp.16-21. Appendix.1.

<sup>7</sup> Thieme, S. et.al. (2005), "Addressing the Needs of Nepalese Migrants Workers in Nepal and Delhi, India" *Mountain Research and Development*, May, 25 (2), pp.109-114.

<sup>8</sup> Migration is considered regular, legal or documented when migrants adhere to the rules and regulations assigned to them by the home and the host country while crossing international boundaries and migrants when fail to follow these channels and legal processes and move with faulty provisions and papers come under illegal, irregular or undocumented migrants (Adamson, 2005 and Castles and Miller, 2009).

migration or illegal path to move into India, the bilateral provisions make them void and irrelevant and movement unregulated and easily accessible. Migration into India can be categorized into permanent, temporary or seasonal though it is difficult to account for the exact nature and magnitude of migration between the two countries. International migration for the lowly educated, unskilled and large population of Nepal is an economic and survival strategy. This has historically taken place towards its larger and relatively more developed neighbor India.

Migration from Nepal is still largely a privately organized affair in which individuals make use of their own personal networks or make arrangements through a number of private, government registered manpower or recruitment agencies or through International Non-Governmental Organizations(INGO) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO)<sup>9</sup>. India as a choice of destination for Nepalese largely depend on existing social and economic structures at home and pull for economic and social security along with historical, institutional and kinship linkages at the destination. Geographical proximity makes it the most suitable and viable option to go to India. , For instance, the people of Far Western Region find going to Delhi through Uttaranchal is an easier route due to better transport facility than going to Kathmandu<sup>10</sup>. For the population of Far Western region movement to Kathmandu and Delhi would entail similar proposition as both would mean going to a larger metropolitan city in search of daily wage, yet one takes the international route than internal due to better transport facility and connectivity across border than within the country. Such flexibility attributes lot to international migration to India.

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<sup>9</sup> Adhikari, J. (2006), “Securitization of Migration between Nepal and India”, *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, Dhaka, pp. 1-121.

<sup>10</sup> Rajbahak, R.P. (1992), *Nepal-India Open Border: A Bond of Shared Aspirations*, Lancer Publishers.



In this study, particular focus is directed at the vulnerabilities and human security threats to the migrants from Nepal to India. The insecurities are reflected in sociological arena, economic facets and political practices. On the other hand, the traditional linkages between the two countries culturally and historically and the porous border do tend to suppress the nuances of insecurities. Therefore, this study attempts to go far beyond the comfort of historical and cultural ties and tries to unravel the more dynamics of trials and tribulations of individual migrants, their freedom and capabilities to cope with the state driven policies both in the home country and host country.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) *Human Development Report of 1994* (HDR) for the first time extensively addressed human security issues in diverse circumstances thereby markedly moving away from the classical security discourse of state security. Human security approach recognized threats as lack of security to social, economic, personal, environmental and political wellbeing of the individuals<sup>11</sup>. The referent actor to be secured becomes the individual and not the state. Human security ideals disseminate freedom from fear and freedom from want<sup>12</sup>. Sen writes human security concerns runs across security of survival which includes education, health, peace, tolerance to daily life, the quality of living and maintaining one's dignity<sup>13</sup>. Human security is not solely a state provided policy approach. The state becomes a larger part of the policy network to provide human security along with the non-state actors like NGOs, Civil Society and international and regional organizations<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>UNDP.(1994), *Human Development Report*, 1 UN Plaza, New York.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Sen, A. (1999), *Development as Freedom*, Anchor Books, United States.

<sup>14</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbaksh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* , Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge, London, UK.

Perpetual social and political flux brings about economic dislevel, increases violence, displacement of population, war and lack of human rights. Absence of human security thus, appears in the form of poverty, hunger, violence and lack of human rights amongst population, which is not a natural condition. These are primarily results of poor governance, imbalances in economic development and inequities in political power devolutions thereby creating marked inequality<sup>15</sup>. Such criteria are largely a push condition for numerous people to leave their homes in search of protection and better livelihoods.

In case of Nepal, the decade-long internal conflict and political turmoil has severely affected the polity, law and governance and economics of the country. This has resulted in poor development of infrastructure, limited industrialization, shrinking of economic opportunities, generation of huge unemployment pool thereby triggering intense and widespread poverty. This has given unprecedented impetusto labor migration both within and outside the country<sup>16</sup>. Further, issues of local governance and political turmoil, breaking of the social structures, dislocation of education of children, difficulty in livelihood, food insecurity and disruption in social networking have affected entire dynamics of lives in Nepal.

Nepalese migrants are exposed to human insecurities and challenges to secure survival in India. The India-Nepal relation which hinges on common culture, historical linkages, geographical proximity and most crucially an open border system blurs the presence of Nepalese migrants in India as a distinct socio-political-legal entity making them sometimes a part of the larger crowd and many a times marginalized as outsider. The baggage of being a foreigner subjects these migrants to unfamiliar laws, marginalization,

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<sup>15</sup>Castles, S. (2014), "International Migration at a Crossroads", *Citizenship Studies*, 18(2), pp.190-207.

<sup>16</sup> Seddon, D. et al. (2002), "Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal", *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp.301-327.

couched into dangerous and dirty jobs, inaccessibility to rights and justice, food and health. This however, hasn't lessened the magnitude of migration as the push factors in Nepal have deepened and expanded more so in the years of Maoist conflict and ongoing political turmoil.

This study takes the concept of human security as a conceptual basis for studying the migration- security relations in the context of Nepalese migrants into India. Under the overarching rubric of human security the nature, contents and dimensions of migration from Nepal to India will be explored and examined. What are the human (in) security burden and challenges to those individuals, who cross the unfettered and porous borders, in their own land and in the foreign land, could be an interesting theme of inquiry within the migration dynamics between Nepal and India.

### **International Migration: Theoretical Exploration**

International migration is a multidisciplinary area of research. Migration doesn't take place in vacuum. Series of factors interplay in order to make an individual, a family and a community to move to a new destination temporarily or permanently. To understand the contemporary and complex theories of migration one needs to walk through multidisciplinary tools and perspectives<sup>17</sup>. Migration theory is dynamic and over the years it has largely reformed from the push and pull theory to newer structural, global and critical theories<sup>18</sup>. To understand movements of people across regions and boundaries various interdisciplinary models and definitions need to be looked upon.

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<sup>17</sup> Massey, D.S. et al. (1993), "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal", *Population and Development Review*, September, 19 (3), pp.431-466.

<sup>18</sup> Zolberg, A.R. (1989), "The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World", *International Migration Review*, 23(2), pp.403-430.

Concept of migration dates back to 1885 by Ernest Georg Ravenstein<sup>19</sup>. Zelinsky calls these laws the ‘theory of demographic transition’ and analyses it as set of general empirical assertions which describe migrational connections between the home and destination<sup>20</sup>. These laws reflect migration as a shift across space, within or between countries<sup>21</sup>. The laws of migration by Ravenstein incorporated the economic motivation for migration. These are reflected in the push-pull model which integrates the neo classical economic paradigm<sup>22</sup>. Push factors for movements are mainly generated at the country/region of origin. The obvious causes attributed are economic deprivation, population growth, political instability, social inequality, higher aspirations of the migrants etc and pull factors from the destination are mostly related to opportunities for higher earning, better living conditions with healthy economic, social and political environment especially job, education, housing and welfare system<sup>23</sup>. The versatility of the push and pull model has spilled across discipline from economics to other social sciences.

Massey, D.S. et al. in their seminal work on *Theories of Migrations* point out that the neoclassical model works both at the macro and the micro level. Macro theory views geographic differences in the supply and demand for labor and differential in wages in origin and destination as factors for migratory decision<sup>24</sup>. However, micro theory is mainly dictated by individual rational choices for utility maximization, depending upon the ‘cost-benefit calculations’ in which the higher net returns are

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<sup>19</sup>Ravenstein, E.G. (1885), “The Laws of Migration”, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), pp.167-235.

<sup>20</sup>Zelinsky, W. (1971), “The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition” *American Geographical Society*, April, 16(2), p.219.

<sup>21</sup>Zolberg, A.R. (1989), “The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World”, pp.403-430.

<sup>22</sup>Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Fourth Edition, January, The Guildford Press.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Massey, D.S. et al. (1993), “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal”, *Population and Development Review*, 19 (3), p. 434.

expected, such that investment in human capital is heightened by migration<sup>25</sup>. It is hence an individual's voluntary act to maximize one's utility both from material and perceptual perspectives.

Migration also hinges on the conditions of other markets in the home such as the capital market or insurance market<sup>26</sup>. Here, migration is a strategic move by a group or family in order to minimize risk, reduce hurdles for credits and capital and further to diversify income sources<sup>27</sup>. It mainly attracts the rural settings, cases of Mexico to North America, Africa to Europe or the case of South to North migration. Remittances are a good way of risk aversion writes Castles and Miller<sup>28</sup>. Economic theories of migration see cost-benefits determined through average wages, travelling cost and conditions of the employment markets<sup>29</sup>.

The advent of twentieth century has seen complex understanding of movements where in contemporary theories of migration have developed. Mishra writes that the recent period has seen newer forms of migration with areas of origin shifting to Asia and Africa replacing Europe, increase in volume of irregular and illegal migration and emergence of migrants communities and transnational spaces, making migrant composition more heterogeneous and global<sup>30</sup>. The Contemporary models of migration are inspired by Marxist interpretations such as dual labor market theory, world system theory and cumulative causation. M.J. Piore in his book *Birds of Passage* proposes the dual labour market theory which establishes link between immigration and the structural

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.p.434.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.p.438.

<sup>27</sup> King, R. (2012) "Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and A Primer", *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations* 3/12, pp. 3-43.

<sup>28</sup> Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*.

<sup>29</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Security, Stability and International Migration" *International Security*, Winter, 17(3), pp. 91-126.

<sup>30</sup> Mishra, N. (2001), *Population in South Asia: Migration as a Survival Strategy*, Author Press.

requirements of modern industrial economies<sup>31</sup>. This model has been one of the forerunners in migration theories to understand contemporary realities of the century. Advanced industrial economies consist of dual labor market where well paid secure jobs are booked for natives and migrants are roped in for low wage, unpleasant and insecure job market<sup>32</sup>. This theory eliminates the view that immigrants affect the wage levels as well as the employment prospects of the natives as the demand for immigrants come from sectors which are not filled by native workers hence scrapping the competition<sup>33</sup>. Immigrants in most of the advanced economies over the years create a niche for these jobs which develops a demand for immigrants and can't be filled by native workers. For examples large portion of labor migrants from South Asia in the Middle East and South East Asia today are roped into jobs which are not performed by locals. Thus, the demand for foreign labor in the advanced economies is inherently present in economic structure of the market<sup>34</sup>

Wallerstein's World Systems Theory sees migration as a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across national boundaries. The structure and position of the world market is an incentive for migration. World system is accompanied by division of labor, where in the world is divided according to areas of productions (labor intensive) and distribution (capital intensive), not merely dependent upon occupational considerations but also geographical. Such forces of productions led to classifying countries according to their positioning within the global market economy as core and periphery. Migration is viewed as the product of domination which is exerted by the core countries over the peripheral areas. In systems theory, labor market is mainly

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<sup>31</sup> Piore, M.J. (1979), *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>32</sup> Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Fourth Edition, January, The Guildford Press.

<sup>33</sup> Mishra, N. (2001), *Population in South Asia: Migration as a Survival Strategy*.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

the penetration of capitalist markets in the peripheral countries in need of newer markers, cheaper labor, land and raw materials<sup>35</sup>. For example earlier it was colonial expansion that exhausted the peripheral nations and today it is transnational and multinational corporations penetrating in peripheral economies to exhaust its resources. Further, such interventions lead to mechanizations in the peripheral areas causing large labor surplus, which migrate into core countries to fill in the job vacuum which is left by the natives, similar to dual market theory.

Further, international migration develops with increase in movement of population, which Gunnar Myrdal called cumulative causation<sup>36</sup>. This is similar to Dual Labor Theory, where menial jobs demand migrant workers, such areas of employment over the period gets shunned by natives and thus fetches more immigrants to sustain it causing recurring migration. This could be well understood in the case ‘the stigmatization of jobs’ usually performed by migrants<sup>37</sup>. Lama writes that in Japan irregular migrant workers join the ‘3Ks: *Kitanai* (dirty), *Kitsui* (hard) and *Kiken* (dangerous)’ jobs which are usually not taken up by the natives due to poor wages, working condition and timings<sup>38</sup>. Similar to what Seddon, D. et al. states that most of the Nepalese migrants in India are sucked into ‘3Ds: dirty, dangerous and difficult’ jobs<sup>39</sup>.

The Systems Approach of migration builds upon the Network and Institutional Theories. Mishra writes that Akin Mabogunje gave a vivid understanding of the systems approach in his study of the African rural-urban migration which proposed that migration is linked

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<sup>35</sup> Wallerstein, I. (1976), “*The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*”, New York, Academic Press.

<sup>36</sup> Massey, D.S. et al. (1993), “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal”, *Population and Development Review*, September, 19(3), pp. 431-466.

<sup>37</sup> Mishra, N. (2001), *Population in South Asia: Migration as a Survival Strategy*, p.33.

<sup>38</sup> Lama, Mahendra .P. (2006), “Irregular Migration from India and Nepal: Nature Dimensions and Policy Issues”, *Working Paper Series* ,p.46.

<sup>39</sup> Seddon, D. et al. (2002), “Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal”, *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), p.26.

with groups and associations between host and the origin country<sup>40</sup>. Network theory encourages the increase in circular migration and develops a nexus between home and destination<sup>41</sup>. Network has maintained migration since time immemorial. These networks bank upon relationships with families, friends, former migrants or returnee migrants at home or host countries<sup>42</sup>. Hence it's the social capital, over a large period of time, which develops into webs that draw more migrants. Thus, networks during migration are the key elements in self-perpetuating migration over generations. Such networks could build due to common history, culture and geographical proximity much of which we could see in the case of a region. When migrants move they usually take the preexisting paths like Nepalese migrants to India, Bangladeshi to India and Indonesians to Sumatra<sup>43</sup>. Also the cases like the Algerians migrating to France due to colonial linkages, Vietnamese and Korean in the US, mainly due to their military linkages<sup>44</sup> similarly Nepalese migrants in the UK as a result of the Gurkhas recruitment in the British army. Networks thus help in predicting and estimating the future flow of migration to a certain region or area.

Castles and Miller write that the increasing flow of people across boundaries in the globalised world is further sustained with the help of transnational networks of institutions and communities<sup>45</sup>. These include entities that provide transport, ease paper works, helps in securing jobs through brokers and middle companies especially through labour contractors and other services, many of which have proven difficult for

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<sup>40</sup> Mishra, N. (2001), *Population in South Asia: Migration as a Survival Strategy*, Author Press.

<sup>41</sup> Castles, S. (2000), "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty First Century: Global Trends and Issues", *Global Trends and Issues*, UNESCO, Blackwell Publishers, USA.

<sup>42</sup> Massey, D.S. et al. (1993), "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal".

<sup>43</sup> Naik, A (2009), "Migration and Natural Disasters", in Laczko, F and Aghazarm, C. (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change :Assessing the Evidence*, International Organization for Migration, p. 271.

<sup>44</sup> Castles, S. (2000), "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty First Century: Global Trends and Issues", *Global Trends and Issues*.

<sup>45</sup> Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, pp. 54-56.



governments to regulate<sup>46</sup>. Migration hence gets highly promoted by institutions. Newly emerging recruiting overseas agencies or manpower agencies are an apt example which promotes migration through institution besides family and kinship networks.

Besides systems and institutions perpetuating migration and sustaining it in the twentieth century, globalization and modernization have also been reintegrated in the migration theories. Castles and Millers in their work on *The Age of Migration* stresses on a new paradigm in international migration developing through ‘social transformation’ pertaining mainly due to the process of globalization<sup>47</sup>. They mainly link the north-south divide to accentuate the migration debate and globalization. Growing globalization and market penetration leads to integration of economies with increasing investments from the north which exhausts the resources and economy in the south as similar to the systems theory. Social transformation takes place mainly in the form of shifting in the forces of production from labor intensive to mechanized or capital intensive, thus causing a growth in inequality between north and south and developing migration of population who couldn’t get accommodated into mechanized transformed society to economies that require cheap labor for its labor intensive jobs in the north.

Migration in the post-colonial periods specially 1945 to 1970s could be attributed to the push and pull of economic currents as the need of expanding industrial nations in the north however period following 1970s saw shift in migratory scenario towards family reunifications and marriages which are built due to network and institutional setups<sup>48</sup>. Migration today cannot be understood solely on the basis of economic considerations. Social, political, cultural and environmental causes have always been the undercurrent for

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<sup>46</sup> Massey, D.S. et al. (1993), “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal”.

<sup>47</sup> Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009), *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, pp.54-56.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. pp.54-56.

economic dislevel leading to migration for sustainability and as a survival strategy. These possibilities have affected both the home and the host country

### **Categories of Migration and Migrants**

Who these migrants are and how they are categorized is contextual and destination specific. Ravenstein in his *Laws of Migration* taking analysis from the population study of United Kingdom classifies migrants as the local migrants, short journey migrants, migration by stages, long journey migrants and temporary migrants<sup>49</sup>. Lee defines migration as a change in the residence either permanent or semi-permanent<sup>50</sup>. Weiner categorizes migrants as rejected and unwanted people especially in the case of South Asia<sup>51</sup>. Adamson makes categories of migrants on the grounds of who crosses borders and why. She categorizes them as voluntary versus forced migration, legal versus illegal, permanent versus temporary and economic versus political migrant<sup>52</sup>. King states one is designated as a migrant depending on their citizenship, place of birth and prior residence<sup>53</sup>. Castles makes categories of international migrants as temporary migrants, highly skilled and business migrants, irregular migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, forced migration, family reunification migrants and return migrants<sup>54</sup>.

Migration by one's own will without any coercion to maximize one's set goals is voluntary migration and they are mostly economic migrants. Expulsion from the country of origin, conflict resulting in refugees, communal and ethnic tensions and environmental degradation and natural calamities leading to movement of population is forced migration

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<sup>49</sup> Ravenstein, E.G. (1885), "The Laws of Migration", pp.167-235.

<sup>50</sup> Lee, E.S. (1966), "A Theory of Migration", *Population Association of America*, 3 (1), pp. 47-57.

<sup>51</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(34), pp.1737-1746.

<sup>52</sup> Adamson, F. B. (2006), "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security", *International Security*, 31(1), pp.165-199.

<sup>53</sup> King, R. (2012), "Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and A Primer", *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations* 3/12, pp.3-43.

<sup>54</sup> Castles, S. (2014), "International Migration at a Crossroads", *Citizenship Studies*, 18(2), pp. 190-207.

or involuntary migration resulting in rejected people or political migrants seeking asylum or refuge<sup>55</sup>. Migrants crossing boundaries with legal documents and channels assigned by the states of both the host and the home countries are legal, regular or documented migration. Failing to adhere to the policies and rules assigned to the migrants and either smuggling of human or forging paper fall under illegal or irregular or undocumented migration<sup>56</sup>. Human trafficking and irregular labor movement which is one of the biggest challenges faced by South Asian countries are cases of illegal migration. Lee in his *A Theory of Migration* delineates factors associated with migration with the areas of origin, destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors<sup>57</sup>.

Migratory pressures however, do not always result in massive movement due to border control, state's immigration policies, visa issues etc which intervenes as restrictive factors. International borders are the major criteria upon which the process of migration depends wholly, whether the population migrating would be accommodated or not depends solely on the policies that are exercised by the host state. Further, unwanted migrants are the people crossing boundaries either irregularly to countries who are not willing to accept<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup>Weiner, M. (1993), "Security, Stability and International Migration" *International Security*. And Weiner, M. (1993), "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia" *Economic and Political Weekly*.

<sup>56</sup> Adamson, F. B. (2006), "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security", *International Security* and Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*.

<sup>57</sup> Lee, E.S. (1966), "A Theory of Migration", *Population Association of America*, Springer, 3 (1), pp.47-57.

<sup>58</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia" *Economic and Political Weekly*.

## Migration and Security

Security traditionally given by realist and neo realist is unilateral in its emphasis and secured and defended the sovereignty and territory of nation state<sup>59</sup>. Stephen Walt in his *Renaissance of Security Studies*, states that realist security studies is mainly studying threats from military actions and war, where state takes the centre stage and is the primary locus in every actions , inactions and retaliations in international relations<sup>60</sup>. When the state is secured so are the individuals of the state and anyone outside the purview of state is viewed as a threat to the state security in the realist world<sup>61</sup>. Such world politics dominated with realist concerns maintain state security as priority and undermines human welfare, development and challenges to human race and seeks only for the survival and safeguarding of state<sup>62</sup>.

The meaning of security was becoming intangible towards the end of cold war<sup>63</sup>. The need to meet the challenges of the post-cold war world period led to the emergence of redefining of the security agenda which was largely dominated by realist and neo-realist definitions. In the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s various independent commissions were made to initiate security debates and policy mechanisms. In the late 1960s, Robert McNamara talked of security beyond military intervention especially for the development of poorer nations<sup>64</sup>. In the early 1970s it was Club of Rome which released series of volumes on the problems concerning the world like poverty, migration, environment

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<sup>59</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000), "Human Security: Concept and Measurement", *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper* , pp.1-64.

<sup>60</sup>Walt, S.M. (1991), "The Renaissance of Security Studies", *International Studies Quarterly*, Mershon Series: Research Programs and Debates, 35, pp.211-239.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.pp.211-239.

<sup>62</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000), "Human Security: Concept and Measurement", pp.1-64.

<sup>63</sup> Barnett,et.al. (2010), *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts.

<sup>64</sup>Sam, J.B. (2002), "Development and Human Security: Whose Security, and from What?",*International Journal*, Spring, 57(2), pp. 253-272.

degradation etc<sup>65</sup>. The Pearson's Report, which was undertaken by the former Prime Minister and Nobel Prize winner of Canada: Lester. B. Pearson, highlighted the impending need for international cooperation as an important stepping stone to reach the top of development and such cooperation were to flow from developed to developing nations<sup>66</sup>. This report elaborated the much needed partnership in the global world between the donor and the recipient, and further strategized aid framework to percolate into the needs of the developing nations<sup>67</sup>. It was one of the initial projections on securing nation state through process of development upon economic and political partnership amongst the developed and the developing nations.

In the coming years discourse on non-military threats emerged largely, Indira Gandhi's speech at the Stockholm Conference in 1972, on Man and Environment, used a larger multilateral podium to draw the links between poverty and environment as a security concern. The poorer nations which saw environmental concerns largely as rich nation problem shifted their attention to see the overarching concerns of poverty alleviation and environmental protection<sup>68</sup>. Further, issues on environment started surfacing in the late 1980s and much of it was written in international and security journals<sup>69</sup>.

Following that, in 1980 the Willy Brandt Commission produced report concerning the world poverty and the north-south negotiations for mutual partnership. This also demanded looking closely into the links between security and underdevelopment. This report highlighted and discussed fundamental issues of poverty, health, gender, education, food, population and environment. It mainly stressed on the mutual

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<sup>65</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000), "Human Security: Concept and Measurement".pp. 1-64.

<sup>66</sup> The Pearson Report: A New Strategy for Global Development (1970), The UNESCO Courier, February.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Indira Gandhi's Speech at the Stockholm Conference in 1972, Man and Environment, Plenary Session of United Nations Conference on Human Environment, June. Accessed 12 July 2015, URL: <http://lasulawenvironmental.blogspot.in/indira-gandhis-speech-at-stockholm.html>

<sup>69</sup> Barnett, J. (2001), " Security and Climate Change", *Tyndall Center for Climate Change Research*, Working Paper 7.

partnership between the global north and south to draw solution to increasing income inequality, global disparities and poverty, as it saw it could lead to larger security threat to population in the period to follow. The recommendations on the commission also highlighted the pressing need of the rights and privileges for the migrant workers and the need to reconcile policies to harmonize any tension between the home and the host country in regards to migrant workers<sup>70</sup>. The Brandt commission largely pointed that much of the world insecurity is connected due to the distinction between the rich and poor nations.

Most importantly, it was the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security chaired by Olaf Palme in 1982 which largely sold the survival strategy in the world full of military affiliations and nuclear proliferation with a larger need to end arm race and military expenditure<sup>71</sup>. It hinted on the need for complete disarmament and diversion from military supremacy in terms of security concerns<sup>72</sup>. The findings of the report largely dealt to envisage a world with justice, equality and peace<sup>73</sup>.

More so, non-military threat was brought into forefront during the Bruntland report on the World Commission on Environment and Development of the 1987, which brought forward the overarching issue of sustainable development and recognized the need for common future<sup>74</sup>. Such commissions and reports introduced newer nuances of governance and development and an outlook to security to address nonmilitary threats

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<sup>70</sup> The Brandt Report: A Summary, Accessed 8 July 2015, [URL:www.sharing.org/information/reports/brandt-report](http://www.sharing.org/information/reports/brandt-report).

<sup>71</sup> Dhanapala, J. (1999), "A Future Arms Control and Disarmament Agenda", *1999 Olof Palme Memorial Lecture*, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, in Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, September, Stockholm, Sweden.

<sup>72</sup> Chenoy, A. and Tadjbakshsh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*.

<sup>73</sup> Vietti, F and Scribner, T. (2013), "Human Insecurity: Understanding International Migration from Human Security Perspective", *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Center for Migration Studies of New York, 1(1), pp.17-31

<sup>74</sup> Brown, O. (2005), "The Environment and Our Security: How Our Understanding of the Links has Changed", *International Institute for Sustainable Development*, A Contribution to the International Conference on Environment, Peace and Dialogue among Civilizations, Tehran, Iran, May 9-10.

through non-military interventions. In this re-adjustment period that sketched the rhetoric of traditional and non-traditional security concerns, threats were recognized as arising out of drug supplies and emergence of drug cartels, migration and refugee problems, environment, xenophobia, communalism etc<sup>75</sup>.

Besides these policy approach theorists like Ullmann, Joseph Nye, Sean Lynn-Jonnes and Jessica Tuchman all rallied for the need to redefine security in order to include threats originating other than from military interventions<sup>76</sup>. This non-traditional security is also referred to as ‘unconventional security’ as it moves away from traditional and conventional security idea of safe guarding borders and territory and takes into consideration other wide array of security concerns like economic, political, energy, environment, health and personal securities<sup>77</sup>.

Security of migrant population is one of the security concerns of the recent period highlighted in the IOM<sup>78</sup>. With increase in the movement of population over the years issue of migration has become a forerunner in studies across disciplines, within policy making and international commissions. Today there is a startling relationship between migration and security. Migration earlier was seen in fields of economics, sociology, history and anthropology however, today the debates around it has interested the likes of international relations, politics and foreign policies of countries<sup>79</sup>. Troung and Gasper

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<sup>75</sup> Dalby, S. (2009), “Peacebuilding and Environmental Security in the Anthropocene”, delivered at Swisspeace Annual Conference 2007, in Didier Peclard (eds.) *Environmental Peacebuilding: Managing Natural Resource Conflicts in a Changing World Swisspeace Annual Conference 2007*, Swisspeace, Switzerland.

<sup>76</sup>Smith, S (1999), “The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years” *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20(3), pp.72-101.

<sup>77</sup> Barnett, et.al. (2010), *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts.

<sup>78</sup>URL:<http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html#documented-migrant> Accessed 26 September 2014

<sup>79</sup> Bigo, D. (2002), “Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, 27, pp. 63-92.

taking the insight from Foucault's discipline and punishment states that the idea of surveillance of the human movement has been initiated alongside with the coming of the modern state in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>80</sup>. UN Security Council emphasized on migration and security as an important nexus in security studies in the beginning of the 1990s due to emerging concern towards refugee issues, illegal and undocumented migrants and related security risks<sup>81</sup>. Migration as a security threat got largely highlighted for the first time in Barry Buzan's classic *People, State and Fear*<sup>82</sup>.

The Copenhagen School, mainly Buzan joined by Ole Weaver in the 1990s looked beyond the threat of military to issues of migration, identities, culture and ethnicity in their umbrella concept of securitization<sup>83</sup>. Buzan coins that a successful securitization comprises of three blocks 'existential threats, emergency action and effects on inter unit relations by breaking free of the rules'<sup>84</sup>. The Copenhagen School treats security as a speech-act, an act which corners down the issue as an existential threat leading to immediate actions. Migration is said to be securitized when migration is identified as an existential threat by the state, which requires emergency measures.

Weiner gives the migration-security nexus in his security stability framework in case of international migration. Weiner states that one can identify five broad situational categories in which refugees or migrants may be perceived as a threat to the country that produces the emigrants, to the country that receives them, or to relations between sending

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<sup>80</sup> Truong, T. and Gasper, D.(eds) (2011), *Transnational Migration and Human Security: The Migration-Development-Security Nexus*, Springer, New York.

<sup>81</sup> Collyer, M. (2006), "Migrants, Migration and the Security Paradigm: Constrains and Opportunities", *Mediterranean Politics*, 11(2), pp.255-270.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.pp.255-270

<sup>83</sup> Koslowski, R. (2003), *International Migration and Human Mobility as Security Issues*, The International Studies Association Meeting, New York City, February 15-18.

<sup>84</sup> Willaims, M.C. (2003), "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quaterly*, pp.514



and receiving countries<sup>85</sup>. The first is when Refugees and migrants are regarded as a threat in relation between sending and receiving countries. The second is when migrants or refugees are objected as a political threat or security risk to the government of the host country third, immigrants are seen as a threat to the identity, tradition and culture of the host country fourth, as a social and economic problem for the host society. And the fifth is migrants as hostages, risks for the sending country rises when the host society uses immigrants as an instrument of threat against the country of origin<sup>86</sup>.

So, how does migration actually become a security issue? How is it securitized? It's important to contextualize migration and the threats it generates. One of the most important variables while understanding the connection between migration and security is the policies adopted by the home, and the host states in order to put migration as an existential threat. These policies most of the times are segmented and favor one group of population and neglect and reject the others<sup>87</sup>. By placing migration as a security problem the state puts migrants as an object or project to be managed and tackled. As rightly put by Bigo the act of securitization is a well-documented and planned state of affairs of the politicians, the bureaucrats and the high officials<sup>88</sup>. These securitizing actors manifest their political interest either by supporting the group or by securitizing it<sup>89</sup>. For example, it could be the vote bank politics of many politicians to seek migrants like in case of Bangladeshi migrants in Assam<sup>90</sup> and sometimes it's the need for cheap factory labor which are to replace the native in the menial and dangerous job that capitalists would

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<sup>85</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Security, Stability and International Migration" *International Security*, Winter, 17(3), pp.91-126.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Adamson, F. B. (2006), "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security", *International Security*, 31(1), pp.165-199.

<sup>88</sup> Bigo, D. (2002), "Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, 27, pp. 63-92.

<sup>89</sup> Barnett, J. (2001), "Security and Climate Change", *Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research*, Working Paper 7.

<sup>90</sup> Behera, S. (2011), "Trans-Border Identities: A Study on the Impact of Bangladeshi and Nepali Migration to India", *ICRIER Policy Series*.

welcome them<sup>91</sup>, for example in United States Mexican migrants are largely cheap laborers similar to the case of South Asian migrants in Middle East and South East Asia. However, the language of the state, the policymakers, capitalists and certain leaders of the political and ethnic groups which sees immigrants as racist, burden to the economy, and problematic to the state sovereignty due to fear of xenophobia and communalism result in restrictive policies for them<sup>92</sup>. Thus, Krause and Williams state that security is subjective and its construct depends largely upon who speaks of security<sup>93</sup>. Sometimes securitization of migration also gets materialized due to social labeling through images, visuals, media, cartoons and arts<sup>94</sup>. These instruments also act as agents of securitization when strategically pushed by the securitizing actor. For example In France and Australia migrants are seen as religious fanatics<sup>95</sup> especially Muslim migrants after 9/11 and visual images, arts and cartoons are circulated to induce threat perception, like the recent attack on Charlie Hebdo - French satirical newspaper and vandalizing mosques in Australia. Thus, migration security nexus is largely a subjective discourse and ‘a social construct with different meanings in different societies’<sup>96</sup>. This occurs mainly as securitization gets implemented through states foreign policies, rules and regulation<sup>97</sup>.

The state security was the protection of the state sovereignty and territory and the societal security concept introduced by Buzan and Wæver was to safeguard the societal identities, culture, tradition and language<sup>98</sup>. Here, identity becomes the main security

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<sup>91</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), “Security, Stability and International Migration” *International Security*, 17(3), pp. 91-126.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, pp. 91-126.

<sup>93</sup> Krause, K. and Williams, M.C. (1996) “Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods” *Mershon International Studies Review*, October, 40(2), pp. 229-254.

<sup>94</sup> Wæver, O (1995) ‘Securitization and Desecuritization’. Quoted in McDonald, M. (2008), “Securitization and the Construction of Security”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4), pp. 1-36.

<sup>95</sup> Bigo, D. (2002), “Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, 27, pp.63-92.

<sup>96</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), “Security, Stability and International Migration” *International Security*, 17(3), p.103.

<sup>97</sup> McDonald, M. (2008), “Securitization and the Construction of Security”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4), pp.1-36.

<sup>98</sup> Wæver, O. et al. (1993), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*.

concern of the society<sup>99</sup>. In such a context, Identities in the host country are seen being infiltrated by the immigrant population. Immigrants are seen as a threat to the identity, tradition and culture of the host country<sup>100</sup>. Migrants are seen as threats because of its ethnic composition in the host country or demographic imbalance it would generate for example Nepalese migrants in Bhutan or the case of ‘Cuban migrants in Florida’<sup>101</sup>. Societal security concept however do not replace the state security concern instead is in the center of it<sup>102</sup>. Survival of the state and society is the main objective of the security. For example migration largely threaten the home and the host state as well as create tensions between two states, which is witnessed in the case of movement of refugees from the home and the acceptance of it in the host country<sup>103</sup>.

Hence, it is international boundaries that create and perpetuate securitization amongst the migrant population<sup>104</sup>. Such, securitization of migration speak the language of state and becomes a security issue with grave implications on politics and policies. The case of Nepalese migrants in India and the larger context of securitization, societal security, social labeling is explored in the fourth chapter. Securitization of Nepalese migrants in India has been constructed differently under different political regimes in both Nepal and India. It’s interesting to see the change in foreign policy of India towards Nepal and how it shapes the underlying concerns of migration and security between the two countries.

The securitization of migration though promises to move away from the realm of traditional security discourse by attacking on newer threats still safe guard the

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<sup>99</sup>McSweeney,B.( 1996), “ Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School”. Quoted in Keith Krause and Michael C. William (1996), “ Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods”, *Mershon International Studies Review*, October 40(2), pp. 229-254.

<sup>100</sup>Weiner, M. (1993), “Security, Stability and International Migration” *International Security*.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid. p.94.

<sup>102</sup>Smith, S (1999), “The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years” *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3), pp.72-101.

<sup>103</sup>Weiner, M. (1993), “Security, Stability and International Migration” *International Security*, 17(3), p.103.

<sup>104</sup>Zolberg, A.R. (1989), “The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World”, *International Migration Review*, 23(3),pp. 403-430.

sovereignty and identity of the state<sup>105</sup>. Edward Newman reflects that the notions of securitization of migration which mainly advocated for the survival of the state and the society perpetuate fear, conflict and anxieties among migrants, refugees and asylum seekers by placing migration as an existential threat and generating concerns of xenophobia, communal tensions and ethnic cleansing<sup>106</sup>. Buzan suggested that the actor to be secured in international relations should remain the state<sup>107</sup>. Securitization, thus undermine the migrants, whether it is refugee seeking asylum or rehabilitation due to conflict, population seeking avenues for economic security and welfare and environmental migrants seeking safer zones<sup>108</sup>. These actors are sidelined in the larger context of the survival of the state.

### **Human Security Discourse**

The prequel to human security was witnessed with numerous theories emerging from realist, neo-realist, the Copenhagen school and policies, commissions and conventions which were held to address the need to move beyond traditional security outlook. These brought larger discourse of threat in the forefront however still attached the referent of security as state. These were the precursors to the entire discourse on Human Security which was conceptually consolidated and intellectually presented by Mahbub ul Haq at the UNDP.

It was the *UNDP Human Development Report 1994* which for the first time extensively addressed on Human Security, it stated that ‘A new development paradigm is needed that puts people at the centre of development, regards

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<sup>105</sup> McDonald, M. (2008), “Securitization and the Construction of Security”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4), pp.1-36.

<sup>106</sup> Newman, E. (2010), “Critical Human Security Studies”, *Review of International Studies*, 36, pp.77-94.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* p.85

<sup>108</sup> Humphrey, M. (2013), “Migration, Security and Insecurity”, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 34(2), pp.178-195.

economic growth as a means and not an end, protects the life opportunities of future generations and respects the natural systems on which all life depends'<sup>109</sup>.

Thus, security is more pluralized and encompasses arena which were once sidelined<sup>110</sup>. The sole purpose of this security concern was to identify newer threats to individuals like climate change, environmental degradation, migration and spread of epidemic which are now seen more wrecking and threatening than terrorism<sup>111</sup>. Annan defined peace as much more than the absence of war and incorporated the human security agenda in the new UN mandate in 1999 Millennium Declaration<sup>112</sup>. Human security views the inherent weakness in traditional security studies and tries to fill in the gap by focusing on the security of the individual. Human security seeks to address the problems faced by the world within its policy initiatives.<sup>113</sup> It seeks to challenge 'attitudes and institutions that privilege so called high politics above individual experiences of deprivation and insecurity'<sup>114</sup>. In ethical terms, individuals are the direct subjects to be secured rather than indirectly through the security of the state. Thus, human security proposition aims to secure 'individuals *qua* person' and not 'individuals *qua* citizens'<sup>115</sup>. Here, vulnerabilities are addressed through developmental policies and approaches are deviated from the military version of security. Humans are thus a whole unit to be secured<sup>116</sup>. However, human security is not against or competing with state security, state still remains the sole

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<sup>109</sup>United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*, 1 UN Plaza.

<sup>110</sup>Barnett, J. et.al. (2010), *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts.

<sup>111</sup>Hassmann, R.H. (2011), "Human Security: Undermining Human Rights?", *Human Rights and Human Welfare*, Working Paper, Ontario, Canada, January.

<sup>112</sup>Annan, K. (2001), *Towards a Culture of Peace*, Lecture Delivered at UNESCO. Quoted in Chenoy, A. and Tadjbakshsh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge, London, UK.

<sup>113</sup>Bajpai, K. (2000), "Human Security: Concept and Measurement", *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper*.

<sup>114</sup>Newman, E. (2010), "Critical Human Security Studies", *Review of International Studies*, p. 79.

<sup>115</sup>Graham, D.T. and Poku, N.K. (eds) (2000), *Migration, Globalisation and Human Security*: 17 Quoted in *ibid*, p.13.

<sup>116</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbakshsh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, London, UK.

provider of security though; extra emphasis to state security could demean the importance of human welfare and security<sup>117</sup>.

Human Development Report recognized the human insecurities emerging in the localized zone as threats to economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security and further global threats included population growth, disparities in global income, increasing international migration, environmental decay and drug trafficking, international terrorism, thus propagating freedom from want and freedom from fear<sup>118</sup>.

Chenoy and Tadjbaksh (2007) recognize human security threats as both direct and indirect, one which is organized like genocide and political violence and others like under investment in health, education, and basic livelihood schemes, environmental and natural calamities and material threats like insufficient income or chronic unemployment<sup>119</sup>. UNDP human security report segregates threat perceived by rich nations and poor nations. Richer nations are threatened more by crimes, drug wars, pollution, spread of diseases and unemployment however poor nations are threatened by disparities and inequality, poverty, hunger, disease including those faced by rich nations<sup>120</sup>. Thus, divides human security as one safety from chronic threats and other protection from disruptions in the pattern of daily life.

Human insecurities diffuse across boundaries and affect the masses across states and continent mainly through migration, health and climate change<sup>121</sup>. Hence it's not an isolated occurrence which needs to be relegated to set boundaries of nation-state. Such,

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<sup>117</sup>Newman, E. (2010), "Critical Human Security Studies", *Review of International Studies*, 36, pp.77-94.

<sup>118</sup> United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*, p.24.

<sup>119</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbaksh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*.

<sup>120</sup>United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*, p.24.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.p. 24.

concerns of human security have been forefront in policy making, countries like Canada, Norway and Japan were the first few nations to adopt human security in their official foreign policy. Canadian approach of human security includes threat on physical self mainly due to conflict and places it alongside traditional security<sup>122</sup>.

Thakur and Newman, proposes that to reorient the provision of security around people in order to enhance their human welfare should be the concern of contemporary security studies<sup>123</sup>, where threats can arise from anywhere. Chenoy and Tadjbakhsh seek to look at ‘security of whom’, ‘security from what’ and security by what means’<sup>124</sup>. Hence, McDonald states “human security is a potential response to the growing insecurity of security”<sup>125</sup>. Human security adds the new rubric of security and implodes with human welfare and human rights agendas in it<sup>126</sup>.

Kanti Bajpai’s human security audit revealed that the punch of human security should be on threats to individual bodily safety and freedom<sup>127</sup>. Jennifer Leaning sees human security besides social, economic and political aspect and includes psycho-social needs like identity, autonomy, participation in community and network building<sup>128</sup>. Another notable contribution to the theory of human security is given by Hampson who seeks to

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<sup>122</sup>Axworthy, L. (2001), “Introduction”, in McRae, R. and Hubert, D. (eds). *Human Security and the New Diplomacy Protecting People, Promoting Peace*, Carleton University Press.

<sup>123</sup>Newman, E. and Thakur, R. (2004), “ Introduction: Non Traditional Security in Asia”, in Newman, E. and Thakur, R. (eds.) *Broadening Asia’s Security Discourse and Agenda: Political, Social and Environmental Perspectives*, United Nations University Press, pp.4-9.

<sup>124</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbakhsh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge, London, UK.

<sup>125</sup>McDonald, M. (2002), “Human Security and the Construction of Security, *Global Society*, 16(3), p. 277.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.* p. 277.

<sup>127</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000), “Human Security: Concept and Measurement”, *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper*, p. 51.

<sup>128</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbakhsh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*.

address similar notion as Bajpai as safety of individual and protecting ones freedom, also elaborated the roles of institution both state and non-state actors in reaching out to it<sup>129</sup>.

Human security is multidimensional, interdisciplinary and having varied definitions which has resulted it as a contested concept in security studies. Newman states that human security studies have been attack by critical school for not engaging itself in theoretical underpinnings of security studies and being more inclined towards policy world in quest of solving world problems<sup>130</sup>. Paris writes the concept of human security lacks precise definition, is vague and constitutes all threats and insecurities however this should not be narrowed down to threats which look quintessential to some as broad understanding would allow to bring together diverse definitions and actors in human security understanding<sup>131</sup>.

King and Murray in their quantitative analysis, look into individual well-being in order to construct the definition of human security. Here, human security focuses mainly on generalized poverty. Generalized poverty occurs when one falls below critical threshold of pre-defined well-being leading to deprivation. Deprivation however is not synonymous to just income poverty here but also lack of basic capabilities. Thus, Human security is to address the state of below well-being rather than the idea of human development which is just a state of average well-being<sup>132</sup>.

Most definition of human security as stated above is seen as broad and widely encompassing. Though multidimensional and large in its conception human security is both advantageous and a necessity in contemporary debates on insecurities. It

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<sup>129</sup> Menon, S. (2007), “ Human Security: Concept and Practice”, *MPRA*, Paper no. 2478, ICFAI Business School, Ahmedabad, p.13-14.

<sup>130</sup>Newman, E. (2010), “Critical Human Security Studies”, *Review of International Studies*, 36,p.77-94.

<sup>131</sup>Paris, R. (2001), “Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security*, 26(2), p.87–102.

<sup>132</sup>King, G. and Murray, C.J. (2002), “Rethinking Human Security”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 116(4), pp.585-610.



incorporates anything which threatens the security of the population. Such an approach brings in interdisciplinary integration and analysis to efficiently counter threats which are linked innately.

Importance of Human security and migration has been largely elaborated by the EU's Global Approach to Migration and Mobility report. The report prioritized to facilitate legal migration, check on irregular migration and trafficking, protection to asylum seekers and to enhance the importance of migration and development<sup>133</sup>. Wongboonsin categorizes people on the move due to vulnerabilities from the absence of human security as 'conflict-induced population displacement' mainly the refugees and internally displaced people, and 'development-induced population displacement' mainly economic migrants or migrant workers<sup>134</sup>. Stephen Castles in his paper on *International Migration at a Crossroads* discusses the significance of migration for human security and links it to emerging globalization process<sup>135</sup>. Migration that is caused due to lack of human rights, economic failure, political conflict, societal tension and lack of development opportunities lead to migration out of necessity for survival. S.D. Muni states that all concerns of human security i.e. security of life and freedom from fear, search for quality and freedom from want and security of environment are present in South Asia<sup>136</sup>. Mostly, it's the state in South Asia, which is responsible for failure in the area of human security<sup>137</sup> due to distorted legal regimes, administrative inefficiency and corruption<sup>138</sup>. For example, failure of entitlements and abuse of arms in underdeveloped

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<sup>133</sup> *The EU's Global Approach to Migration and Mobility*, (2012), House of Lords, European Union Committee, 8<sup>th</sup> Report of Session 2012-13.

<sup>134</sup> Wongboonsin, P. (2004), "Human Security and Transnational Migration: The Case in Thailand", *Policy and Governance Working Paper Series No. 16*, February, Human Security Research in Japan and Asia.

<sup>135</sup> Castles, S. (2014), "International Migration at a Crossroads", *Citizenship Studies*, 18( 2), pp.190-207.

<sup>136</sup> Muni, S.D. (2006), "Human Security in South Asia", in Baral, L.R.(eds. ) *Non- Traditional Security: State, Society and Democracy in South Asia*, Adroit Publishers

<sup>137</sup> Khatri, S.K. (2006), "What is the 'New' Security Agenda for South Asia?", in Baral, L.R. (eds.), *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Muni, S.D. (2006), "Human Security in South Asia".

conflict ridden countries is a major source of human rights violations<sup>139</sup>. Conflict induced migration is not a new phenomenon for South Asian state, migratory scenario either in the case of Sri Lankan Tamils to India during the LTTE era or Nepalese migrants in India during the decade long political conflict was largely due to disruptions of both economy and just and secure society. Here migration is mainly to a safer destination in order to fulfill the human security deficit endured in the home country and to seek better livelihood opportunities in terms of socio-economic, political stability in the host country. Also, Chenoy and Tadjbaksh sees socio-economic threat as that pertaining to one's employment, income and lack of access to one's basic need like food, health and education<sup>140</sup>. This is also a vital push factor in labor out migration. For Nepalese migrants India is seen as a security and safety net by Nepalese population mainly those living in the border areas either for employment, access to food, education or health care<sup>141</sup>.

Individual persons to be free from fear and free from want generate a population movement as a survival strategy. Thus, Castles emphasizes on studying migration not as a state security concern but as emerging due to human insecurities<sup>142</sup>. An elaborate understanding of human security and migration nexus within the Nepalese migration scenario is presented in the second chapter to comprehend the position of the population for survival and livelihood in the case of Nepal.

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<sup>139</sup>Upreti, B.R. et al. (2013) *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges*, Institute for Policy Studies (NIPS) and South Asia Regional Coordination Office of NCCR (North-South), Kathmandu, Nepal.

<sup>140</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbakshsh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge, London, UK.

<sup>141</sup>Shakya, S. (2012), "Unleashing Nepal's Economic Potential: A Business Perspective", in Sebastian V Einsiedel et al. (2012) *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

## **Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study**

Today countries are not termed as destination, origin, or points of transit, but are combination of three. Migration's socioeconomic, political and cultural impact on societies has become enormous, so have the implications for states, for civil society, and for the individuals involved. Migration narratives are complex and regulated due to intervening factors in both the home and destination. Also, it is important to develop perception and preferences for migrant workers regarding the extent of friendliness of the State and institutional policies on migration. The issue of migration and human security is important in case of Nepal as the country has overcome the decade long conflict, with emerging developmental challenges around the globe, booming technology and economic disparities.

Nepal and India have been chosen for the study, as Nepal's migration to India is a complex case. The open border between these two countries facilitate unrestricted flow of migration not just of one ethnic group but of the entire population from across the country and to across India<sup>143</sup>. Such provisions hence cause large movement not possible for the authorities to regulate on either side. As labor migration couldn't be distinguished between regular and irregular the identity of migrants are often uncertain and in many places may be treated as homeless in India<sup>144</sup>.

Human security focuses best on aspects of insecurity in the case of migration. This ethical approach to security mainly moves away from state security to that of migrants and allows for an inter disciplinary and integrated approach to understand migration that causes many abusive and exploitative practices like conditions of vulnerable migrant

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<sup>143</sup> Baral, L.R. (1990) *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

<sup>144</sup> Jha, H.B. (2001) "Open Border and Economic Interdependence among Nepal-India Border Inhabitants: Some Reflections in Upreti, B.C. and Ramakant. (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi.

labors, human trafficking and irregular migration. Hence, recognitions of human insecurities within movement of people underpin the fundamental tenets of the human security approach, namely 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear'<sup>145</sup>. It would rightfully address the motives, modes and challenges of moving populations that act as push factors, as well as an analysis of the conditions of migrants in their new areas of settlement.

In this study migrants are noted as Nepalese Migrants or Nepal born population in India<sup>146</sup>. The study examines the insecurities that are dealt with at the individual and collective level for migrants. Also, strategies adopted by the state and non-state actors are examined in the case of labor migratory flows especially when the migration is across the borders which are open. Undocumented and difficult to channelize such movement pose multi layered challenges. This research will hence examine if state dynamics and insecurities impacted the scenario, magnitude and dimension of migration and whether it's changing and how?

Nepal today is largely seen as a labor exporting nation in the international market. The pressure which is generated locally in terms of employment and livelihood is siphoned to the labor importing nations. However on the other hand, it has to deal with exploitation, human insecurities and even death situation of its citizens in the host countries. State's emigration policies are most of the times formed in agreement to traditional security and economic interest in such scenario human security aspects get neglected. Hence it is important to look at how this migration is generating through human insecurities in the

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<sup>145</sup> Newman, E. and Thakur, R. (2004), "Introduction: Non Traditional Security in Asia", in Newman, E. and Thakur, R. (eds.) *Broadening Asia's Security Discourse and Agenda: Political, Social and Environmental Perspectives*, United Nations University Press.

<sup>146</sup> The Census of India reports the data of Nepalese migrants as the Nepal born population in India under the category of Population by Place of Birth in its Migration Tables.

home country, whether mobility of labor constrains or influences policies that each state is taking and how the destination reacts to such movements.

### **Objectives**

- To trace the genesis, nature and composition of migration from Nepal to India.
- To elucidate the centrality of borders and frontiers in the entire unfolding of migratory movements.
- To understand the policies, legal and constitutional provisions both at the sending and host countries related to migration from Nepal to India.
- To assess the role of institutions in the migration context between Nepal and India.
- To examine the issues of human (in)securities within the migration context in Nepal.
- To assess the human security challenges to the migrants from Nepal to India
- To examine constrains to human security and migration management within the receiving state.

### **Hypotheses**

- Human insecurity induces labor out migration from topographically varied locations of Nepal.
- Migrant sensitive policies are introduced in Nepal as migration creates differentiated experiences and outcomes.
- Voluntariness in migration from Nepal is directly related to 1950 Treaty which continued and triggered open border system.
- In the absence of migration related regulatory institution by the host country, migration mismanagement becomes management.

## **Research Questions**

- What human insecurities are inducing migration out flows from Nepal to India?
- What regulatory mechanisms are undertaken in the home country to tackle migration outflows?
- What is the nature and category of migrant entering India from Nepal?
- What are the human security challenges faced by the Nepalese migrants in the host country?
- What migratory mechanisms are adopted by the host country in regulation of Nepalese immigrants?

## **Methodology**

This empirical research is explanatory and evaluative in nature. Human security approach in the study recognizes threats as agency based as well as structural causes of insecurities. Threats are recognized as socio-economic, personal, environmental and political. Further, it also includes psycho-social needs like identity, autonomy, participation in community and network building.

## **Methods and Techniques**

The research is qualitative and effort are made to keep the research as objective as possible. It is a case study research of the Nepalese migrants in India. Case study method has facilitated the research to test the hypotheses in order to highlight the needed objectives and to answer the questions raised. Case study has helped to sharpen the awareness of the issue that might have been overlooked in other studies.

Analyses of primary and secondary data are the major research method. Primary data have been gathered from government's report mainly the census report data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Nepal and Indian Census Reports related to various states.

Primary census data are evaluated, tested and explained through graphs and charts. This is supplemented with secondary sources which are evaluated through qualitative technique of research methodology, through review of scholarly and academic studies, reports of international organizations mainly World Bank, International Organization of Migration (IOM) and International Labor Organization(ILO), reports of the research institutes, articles from leading journals and magazines, socio-economic documents, documentary material taken from the files of the organizations i.e. brochures, pamphlets, magazines, annual reports, videos and films and newspaper clippings.

## **Chapterization**

### **Introduction**

The Introduction section highlights briefly the context of the paper along with the theoretical exploration, of migration and human security, that run along the chapters. Methodology, scope, questions and objectives are highlighted in this section of the paper.

### **Human Security and Migration: The Sending Country Perspective**

The chapter will discuss the human security debates within Nepal in context of migration that has unfolded in the recent years. Human insecurities which have triggered migration to the neighboring India are described, explained and explored. Economic, Political and Environmental securities are discussed under human security taking the larger case of Nepal.

### **Migration to India: Nature, Dimension and Contents**

This chapter revolves around the historical as well as present migration pattern from Nepal to India. The chapter takes in the census data to assess the magnitude of migration to describe the striking features of Nepal-India migration.

## **Human Security and Challenges to Migrations: Host Country Perspective**

Here the question of security of the Nepalese migrant population will be explored in the context of the Indian state. The central and state policies will be evaluated to assess the security and insecurity on the migrants and further its impacts on the human security dimension of the migrant population in India. Securitization theory is looked upon to contextualize the migration situation in the Host country.

### **Conclusion**

This will chart out the possible research analysis which is gathered through answering the questions posed along the different chapters.



## CHAPTER II

### HUMAN SECURITY AND MIGRATION: THE SENDING COUNTRY PERSPECTIVE

#### **Introduction**

The end of the cold war has introduced a new paradigm in the security studies. The reference point has shifted from the omnipresent state to individuals/people. Hobbes, Morgenthau, Kissinger and Waltz have extensively written and argued for state as the main actor both in terms of its own security and also in ensuring the means to its security<sup>147</sup>. The realist and neo-realist security based on Westphalia idea of nation state has state as its kernel and as sole provider of security for the people within the states. In the Hobbesian world aspects to secure are territorial integrity and national independence<sup>148</sup>. Hence, the security is at the expense of the rights and choices of its population. This discourse has war, military and nuclear capability as its propaganda<sup>149</sup>.

Over the years the traditional security notions have been challenged and alternatives have surfaced in the security literature. Caroline Thomas argued for the need of an elaborate understanding of security, especially in the case of third world nations where threats are not only military external threats but also internal threats<sup>150</sup>. Ayoob points out that traditional realist security does not take into consideration the dilemmas of the third

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<sup>147</sup>Smith, S (1999), "The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years" *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3),pp.72-101.

<sup>148</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000), "Human Security: Concept and Measurement", *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper*,pp.2-4.

<sup>149</sup> Willaims, M.C. (2003), "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quarterly*, 47, pp. 511-531.

<sup>150</sup> Thomas, C. (1987) *In Search of Security: The Third World in International Relations*. Quoted in Steve Smith (1999), "The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in The Last Twenty Years", *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3),p.81.

world security concerns<sup>151</sup>. Steve Smith calls the non-traditional discourse in security studies as ‘new thinking’, which departs itself from traditional realist security studies<sup>152</sup>.

Providing other perspectives, Amartya Sen asked ‘*Why Human Security?*’. He summed up his argument as human security encompasses the effort to tackle and overcome every day survival and livelihood threats and mainly concentrates on ‘survival, daily life and dignity of human beings’ and ‘human freedom as both the primary end and the principle means of development’<sup>153</sup>. Human development is achieved through political, social, economic, health and educational liberties and opportunities and such opportunities are freedom<sup>154</sup>. Similarly, Haq points out that human security emerges out of the daily concerns<sup>155</sup> of the people, hence it’s a ‘people’s concept’ and ‘people’s concern’<sup>156</sup>. Bajpai writes human security’s two component ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ as its core element in addressing the individual. Main questions that evolve while dealing with human security concerns are security for whom? Security of what values? Security from whom? Security from what threats? Security by whom? And Security by which means?<sup>157</sup> As it addresses the security concerns wholesomely, human security becomes important in order to maintain national, regional and global stability and integration.

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<sup>151</sup> Ayoob, M. (1984), “Security in the Third World: The Worm about to Turn?” *International Affairs*. Quoted in Steve Smith (1999), “The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in The Last Twenty Years”, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3),p.82

<sup>152</sup> Smith, S. (1999), “The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in The Last Twenty Years”, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20 (3),pp.72-101.

<sup>153</sup> Sen, A. (2000), “Why Human Security?”, Presentation on 28 July 2000 at the International Symposium on Human Security, Tokyo, p. 2.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid. pp. 2-11.

<sup>155</sup> Daily concerns of access and availability of food, quality of health services, spread of drugs, fear of homelessness, fear of being jobless, aftermath of disasters and natural calamities.

<sup>156</sup> Haq, M. (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, Human Development Centre, Oxford University Press,pp.8-10.

<sup>157</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000), “Human Security: Concept and Measurement”,p.9.

South Asia as Swaran Singh calls ‘Southern Asia’<sup>158</sup> and Ayesha Jalal puts it as a ‘geographical expression’<sup>159</sup> is the most endangered region’<sup>160</sup>. The traditional security discourse still remains the core concern in South Asian states. India and Pakistan can be credited largely for the militarization<sup>161</sup> of the South Asian region<sup>162</sup>. The magnitude of dependence on military security in South Asia has deteriorated the human security concerns leading the countries to become one of the deprived nations in the world<sup>163</sup>. However, the region even before its cartographic occurrence of separating its boundaries had engulfed itself in periods of colonial subjugation, political violence, drought, famine and natural calamities<sup>164</sup>.

Today the countries in the region are prone to dangers and deprivations arising from nuclear threat, armed conflicts, insurgencies, ethnic/communal violence, natural calamities, food insecurity, economic downturn, severe poverty, migration, gender issues, water and energy insecurity<sup>165</sup>. Such diverse issues have led the region to become ‘human security deficit’<sup>166</sup>. Basrur elaborates that the region, at the time of independence, started with the conception of security which did incorporate human security aspects including

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<sup>158</sup>Singh states that South Asia connotes a colonial lingo. Singh, S. (2015), “Nuclear Command and Control in Southern Asia: China, India and Pakistan”, Presentation on 25 March 2015 at the International Conference on “India and Its Neighbors: Policy Priorities for the New Government” at the Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

<sup>159</sup> Bose, S and Jalal, A (2004) *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*, Psychology Press, p.3.

<sup>160</sup> Haq, M. (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, p.7.

<sup>161</sup> The nuclearisation, Kargil war, Kashmir issue and arm race

<sup>162</sup> Sabur, A.K.M (2003) , “Evolving a Theoretical Perspective on Human Security: The South Asian Context”, in P.R.Chari and Sonika Gupta (eds.) *Human Security in South Asia Gender, Energy, Migration and Globalization*, New Delhi, Social Science Press.

<sup>163</sup> Haq, M (2006) *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*.

<sup>164</sup> Weiner, M.(1993), “Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia” *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(4), p. 1737-1746.

<sup>165</sup> Haq, M. (2006) *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*. And Sabur, A.K.M. (2003) , “Evolving a Theoretical Perspective on Human Security: The South Asian Context”.

<sup>166</sup> Basrur, R.M. (2007), “Bringing Human Security Back into South Asia”, in Rajesh M Basrur and Mallika Joseph (eds.) *Reintroducing the Human Security Debate in South Asia*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, p.3.

military, political, economic and resource securities<sup>167</sup>. It is mainly the political leadership in the countries of the region and failing governance, which has resulted in the shift away from people centric security concerns<sup>168</sup>. National security becomes ‘ineffective’ and ‘self-defeating’ in the absence of human security<sup>169</sup>. The human security discourse in South Asia clings on both freedom from want and fear.

It was the *Human Development Report* which emphasized the need to shift from military security to security through human development. Human security is an integrative concept far from defensive concept and indicates seven kinds of securities - economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political<sup>170</sup>. Though conventional security concepts are popular in political level it doesn’t adhere to safeguarding vitals of everyday human needs<sup>171</sup>. Human security doesn’t negate the idea of state security; however, the locus of security is not fixed. State becomes an instrumental entity and an agency, which facilitates in attaining human security<sup>172</sup>.

In human security, human beings are the ultimate actor and his/her security is the ultimate goal. Individuals as ultimate end to the security concern is made possible by ‘his/her vulnerabilities at one end and his/her capacity to effect change in the other’ hence, tagged as an ultimate actor or ‘a unit’ or whole<sup>173</sup>. Human security in that case is not just the absence of war it incorporates wider aspect of security<sup>174</sup>. It is transnational which transgresses political boundaries, and includes threats which are diverse ranging from politics, development, drugs trading, spread of diseases, environmental threat and

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.pp. 4-5.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.pp. 4-5.

<sup>169</sup> Haq, M. (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, p.7.

<sup>170</sup> United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*, p. 4.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.p.4

<sup>172</sup> Basrur, R.M. (2007), “Bringing Human Security Back into South Asia”, p.5.

<sup>173</sup> Chenoy, A. and Tadjbaksh, S. (2007), *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge, London, UK, p.13

<sup>174</sup> Haq, M. (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*.

more importantly the spread of global disparities among countries, which needs to be dealt with multiple policy and nonmilitary institutional approaches<sup>175</sup>.

It's the growing interdependence in the world due to open markets and change in patterns of production, exchange, and communication that has intertwined the security concern for the people around the globe from spread of disease to famine and environmental degradation to issues of mass movement of population<sup>176</sup>. It is mainly the human rights consciousness globally that has led to move into people centric security in response to state centric<sup>177</sup>. Human Security threats are thus not mutually exclusive in fact they are interconnected and develop into a vicious circle<sup>178</sup>.

### **Human Security Concerns in Nepal**

'One's conception of security depends on one's social, economic, political and geographical place in society; some issues are more general, some more specific'<sup>179</sup>. Many threats that emerge are internal than external<sup>180</sup>. Threats for many are not political or military apocalypse but facing everyday lives, and threats which generate in one's family, society and community<sup>181</sup>. Democracy is said to enhance human life with peace and prosperities however, democratic systems with poor administration, unstable governance, and baseless practices lead to threatening human security and such cases are

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<sup>175</sup>Bhattarai, R. (2013), "Human Security: Concepts and Criticism" In Bishnu R. Upreti. et al. (2013), *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges.*, Kathmandu: Nepal Institute for Policy Studies (NIPS) and South Asia Regional Coordination Office of NCCR (North-South).

<sup>176</sup>Basur, R. M. (2007), "Bringing Human Security Back into South Asia", p. 5.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid. p.5

<sup>178</sup> Ibid. p.5

<sup>179</sup>Basur, R.M. (2007), "Bringing Human Security Back into South Asia",p.6.

<sup>180</sup>United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid.

evident in South Asia- Nepal, Bangladesh and Indian states like Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur and Assam<sup>182</sup>.

Nepal right after the end of Rana regime in 1951 was for the first time politically free and liberated. This period saw organizations of political parties and groups and first general election in 1959 and such operations were allowed without suspicion<sup>183</sup>. However this freedom was short lived as the then King MahendraBir Bikram Shah announced the commencement of *Panchayat* system in 1960 with a palace coup by removing the then elected prime minister B.P Koirala from the post, sending him behind bars and curbing the freshly gained democracy by the country<sup>184</sup>. This period marked a single ruler autocratic regime under the monarch and security concerns and nationalism reflected safeguarding the palace and the King. *Panchayat* period induced fear of the regime, curbing freedom of speech, political patronization, failure of fundamental human rights and any form of organization against the palace was termed anti-national, for example ‘the Treason Act of 1961’ made public utterance of discontent for the King or the regime as illegal<sup>185</sup>. Hence, the political and social security of the population rested on the interest of the palace upon the dictatorship of the monarch.

Year 1990 with commencement of multiparty democracy marked the advent of political and social freedom and economic boost owing to globalization and liberalization in Nepal. Fundamental rights were restored by the constitution of Nepal 1990 and country was under constitutional monarchy and multiparty democracy<sup>186</sup>. Freedom of speech and growth of media in the form of privately owned newspapers, news channels and radio

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<sup>182</sup>Lama, Mahendra.P. (2010), *Human Security in India: Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications*, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), The University Press Limited, Dhaka, p.11.

<sup>183</sup> Hangen, S.I. (2010), *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal : Democracy in the Margins*, Routledge, p. 21.

<sup>184</sup> Shrestha, Nanda. R and Dahal, Dev.R . (2008), “ Nepal”, in Guntran H.Herb and David H. Kaplan (eds.) *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Overview, Volume 4: 1989 to Present*, p.1807.

<sup>185</sup> Hangen, S.I. (2010), *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal : Democracy in the Margins*, Routledge, p. 22.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. p. 22

channels restored the democratic phase of the country<sup>187</sup>. Also, proliferation of social, political, governmental and non-governmental organizations emerged<sup>188</sup>. Amidst the democracy, political instability continued in the state with short term governments, favoring of elites and high class in bureaucracy, politics of non-inclusion and marginalization and contestations within the parties<sup>189</sup>. Such instability in a freshly achieved democracy couldn't be much of a progress in its economic and social arenas, for example GDP growth rate remained at 5% during early 1990s similar to the last decade of the *Panchayat* period<sup>190</sup>.

The political insecurity and conflict situation in case of Nepal in large scale is viewed during the decade long Maoist insurgency from 1998 until 2008. Nepal's 10 year long civil unrest was seeded out of deprivation and marginalization due to vested political interest of the elite class<sup>191</sup>. Post 1998, with the insurgency and the political upheaval that followed has weakened access to resources, economic, social and political inclusion and freedom from discrimination and marginalization<sup>192</sup>. Furthermore, ethnicity based nationalism culminating into violent uproar and civil conflict resulted into the issue of wider ethnic and geographical representation and ethnic federalism<sup>193</sup>. It was during the peace building process many marginalized groups demonstrated large scale political

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<sup>187</sup> Onta, P. (2001), "The Print Media in Nepal Since 1990: Impressive Growth and Institutional Challenges", *Studies in Nepal History and Society*, 6(2), pp.331-346.

<sup>188</sup> Hangen, Susan.I. (), *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Nepal : Democracy in the Margins*, Routledge, p.22

<sup>189</sup> Lawoti, M. (2012), "Ethnic Politics and the Building of an Inclusive State", in Sebastian V Einsiedel et al. (eds.) *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>190</sup> Panday, D.R.(2012), " The Legacy of Nepal's Failed Development", in Sebastian V Einsiedel et al. (eds.), *Ibid*, p. 85.

<sup>191</sup> Mishra, R. (2004), 'India's Role in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency', *Asian Survey*, 44, pp. 627-646.

<sup>192</sup> Bharadwaj. N. et al. (2007), *Nepal at a Crossroads: The Nexus Between Human Security and Renewed Conflict in Rural Nepal*, 014, Friends for Peace and International Alert, Kathmandu, Nepal

<sup>193</sup> Hachhethu, K. (2007), "Madhesi Nationalism and Restructuring of Nepali State", *Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies*, Tribhuvan University, Paper Presented at an International Seminar on "Constitutionalism and Diversity in Nepal" Organized by Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, TU in Collaboration with MIDEA Project and ESP-Nepal, 22-24 August, Kathmandu, Nepal, pp.1-12.

upheaval specially the Madhesi Andolan of the 2007 in the Terai belt of Nepal adjoining the Indian border<sup>194</sup>.

Since, 2005 Peace negotiations have moved from signing a frame work agreement which culminated into ceasefire agreement in May 2006 to Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in December 2006<sup>195</sup>. With the end of monarchy in 2008, Nepal is moving towards more democratic processes. Nepal, hereafter, became involved in endless peace process that often seemed incapable of reaching a final destination. The elections of 2008 after the collapse of monarchy saw sweeping victory of Maoists, the CPN-M. However, the peace process and drafting of constitution of the Republic of Nepal<sup>196</sup> went through a dry phase with Maoists attempting to dismiss the then army chief general Rookmand Katawal in May 2009, which was viewed as an attempt by the Maoist to take over the state<sup>197</sup>. This caused change in Prime Ministers from Prachanda to Madhav Kumar Nepal and the period that followed saw a new Prime Minister again as Jhala Nath Khanal. The fall of the government each time hinted on a poor and disabled political structure of Nepal. Since the *Jana Andolan II* Nepal has also been undergoing a historic transition characterized by unprecedented dynamism, such as the rise of ‘ethno-nationalism’ recorded in the Terai region of Nepal and resurgence of tribal identity and rights assertions from various regions of Nepal<sup>198</sup>.

The rise of Madhesi nationalism in the bottom most fertile strip of Nepal adjoining India dragged once a peaceful region into a brawl of political contestations. This region based

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<sup>194</sup>Ibid. pp.1-12.

<sup>195</sup>Upreti, B.R. et al. (2013a) *Ignored or Ill-Represented ?The Grievance of Terai-Madhes Conflict in Nepal*, Adroit Publishers, New Delhi, p.1.

<sup>196</sup>With the end of Monarchy and declaring Nepal a secular nation the country was renamed as the *The Republic of Nepal*.

<sup>197</sup>Martin, I. (2012), “The United Nations and Support to Nepal’s Peace Process: The Role of The UN Mission in Nepal” in Sebastian V Einsiedel, et al. (eds.) *Nepal in Transition: From People’s War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>198</sup>Hachhethu, K. (2007), “Madhesi Nationalism and Restructuring of Nepali State”, *Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies*, Tribhuvan University, pp. 1-12.



nationalism pushed for restructuring of the country in order to incorporate federalism. With more than ten different ethnic groups, culture, religions, caste and class residing in the region, the nationalism called for recognition, representation and redistribution of power amongst all and inclusion in the main stream politics<sup>199</sup>. The main contestation arose in the region as an aftermath of the Hill versus Terai rhetoric, which saw the domination by the elite hill population due to their position, representation and concentration of power in capital<sup>200</sup>. The 1990 constitution of Nepal, after the end of *Panchayat* system and with the start of multiparty democracy, did incorporate the marginalized groups like dalits, women, tribals however, the different languages, ethnic groups and culture of Madhesh was ignored and excluded<sup>201</sup>. This could also be attributed to the conflict of interest amongst the political parties of the Madhesh and the centre<sup>202</sup>. Such political contestations causing marginalization and exclusion nurtured deep seated need for nationalism which was based on region and ethnicity. This uproar was the most violent and heard in January- February Madhesi uprising of 2007, after the second people's movement of 2006, which lasted for 21 days<sup>203</sup>. Besides Madheshi, the assertion for recognition, representation and distribution of power along with ethnic federalism also made itself felt from 'Limbu outfits' for example 'The Pallo Kirat Limbuwan National Front', 'Rais', 'Tamangs' and 'Newars'<sup>204</sup>. Such, ethnicity based nationalism in the country caused hemorrhage to the age old Nepalese social, religious

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<sup>199</sup> Lawoti, M. (2013), "Dynamics of Mobilization: varied trajectories of Dalit, Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi Movements", in Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilisation after 1990*, Routledge.

<sup>200</sup> Dahal, D. (2005), "Democracy and Regionalism: Perspectives from the Nepali Terai", *Nepali Journal of Contemporary Studies*, 1(4), pp. 11-27.

<sup>201</sup> Yadav, R. (2006), "Madhesi Hunda (Being Madhesi)", in B. Thapa and M. Mainali (eds.), *Madhesh: Samsya ra Sambhabana (Madhesh: Problems and Opportunity)*, Social Science Baha, Kathmandu

<sup>202</sup> Rakesh, R.D. (2007), *Murder of Madhesh*, Safari Nepal, Kathmandu.

<sup>203</sup> Hachhethu, K. (2007), "Madhesi Nationalism and Restructuring of Nepali State", *Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies*, Tribhuvan University, pp.1-12.

<sup>204</sup> Lawoti, M. (2013), "Transforming Ethnic Politics", in Mahendra Lawoti and Susan Hangen (eds.) *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nepal: Identities and Mobilisation after 1990*, Routledge, p. 237.

and cultural lives which led to lasting effects and fragmented the harmony of the Nepalese society<sup>205</sup>. Besides, this led to law and order issues, violent conflicts, strikes, mass looting and disappearances all culminating into issues of human security threat.

Hence, it was the Chief of Nepal Army, General Gaurav Samsher Rana, who during his first address to the nation in 2012, put forward the need to integrate non-traditional security threats while including national security concerns for Nepal<sup>206</sup>. Many countries in the world have taken up human security concerns in their national security agenda. Canada, Japan and Norway have been exclusive examples of countries which incorporated human security in their foreign policy which highlights freedom from fear or freedom from want. Nepal with strong presence of donors and development aid has striking inequality in all aspects: economic, social and regional and these inequalities culminate into deep seated oppressive regimes, which have failed the development of the country largely<sup>207</sup>. It remains one of the poorest in South Asia with half its population in poverty and per-capita income of not more than \$200<sup>208</sup>.

Einsiedel, S. et al. in their book *Nepal in Transition* writes that Nepal has struggled with difficult transition moving from war to peace and from autocracy to democracy<sup>209</sup>. The second people's uprising or *Jana Andolan II* of April 2006 symbolized the commencement of a significant phase in executing the schema of socio economic-

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<sup>205</sup>Wagle, G.S. (2013), "Political Insecurity and Armed Conflict : A Threat to Human Security", in Bishu R Upreti. et al. *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges*. Institute for Policy Studies (NIPS) and South Asia Regional Coordination Office of NCCR (North-South), Kathmandu, Nepal.

<sup>206</sup> Upreti, B.R. et al. (2013a) *Ignored or Ill-represented ?The Grievance of Terai-Madhes Conflict in Nepal*, Adroit Publishers, New Delhi ,p.5.

<sup>207</sup>Seddon, D. and Hussein, K. (2002), "The Consequences of Conflict: Livelihoods and Development in Nepal", Working Paper 185, Overseas Development Institute, Westminster , London, UK, p.2.

<sup>208</sup>Ibid. p.2.

<sup>209</sup> Einsiedel, S. et al. (2012), *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press,p. 1-33.

political transformation in Nepal<sup>210</sup>. Nepal's attempt at democratization in 1950s failed with the advent of *Panchayat* system in 1960s, the country then initiated multiparty democracy in the 1990s followed with constitutional monarchy, the late 1990s saw the period of insurgency and today with peace process and Maoist coming into the government there is an undying need to craft the constitution and to find the solution through multi-party system<sup>211</sup>. The country is hence juggling to find the right harmony between democracy, the people, political parties and their politics.

The government formed after the constituent assembly election in Nepal is in the pressure to move the country out of the aftermath of conflict, which caused underdevelopment, deepened poverty, food insecurity, water scarcity, and lack of everyday basic needs<sup>212</sup>. Nepal has least possibilities of direct threat from external sources. However the people of Nepal are not free from internal threats of insurgencies, poverty, education and poor health<sup>213</sup>. This led to deprivation of politically and economically secured situation in the country.

'Migration as a livelihood strategy' emerged within such political, economic and social arena<sup>214</sup> in Nepal. Migration is unique as diverse range of situations could have led one to move out. Migration is seen as a coping strategy and among different theories of migration there are also socio, political and cultural causes and consequences of migration. Migration could be a household strategy to put in use human capital to reduce

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<sup>210</sup>Ibid. pp.1-33.

<sup>211</sup>Ibid.pp.1-33

<sup>212</sup>Bhattarai, R. (2007a), "Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi", Presented on 30 and 31 August 2007 at The International Migration, Multi-Local Livelihoods and Human Security: Perspectives from Europe, Asia and Africa, Panel 5: International Migration, Citizenship, Identities and Cultures, Institute of Social Studies.

<sup>213</sup>Bhattarai, R. (2013), "Human Security: Concepts and Criticism" in Bishnu R Upreti.et al. (2013) *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges* .

<sup>214</sup> Kothari, U. (2002), "Migration and Chronic Poverty", *Institute for Development Policy and Management*, University of Manchester, Working Paper 16, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, pp.1-16.

risk and vulnerability<sup>215</sup>. The period of 1990 and globalization which has resulted in the want for cheap labor migrants in menial and unorganized sector has also provided individuals opportunities for better living conditions and sustaining their livelihood<sup>216</sup>. One of the coping mechanisms taken to get evacuated from this complex situation has been migration both within and outside the country. Migration as a liberating force from the complexities and intricacies of human insecurities is what this study tries to examine.

### **Human Security Indicators**

Nepal is a diverse country in terms of its ethnic groups, caste system, geographical terrains and ecological features. Hence out-migration of population also reflects these diversities. It is difficult to quantify human insecurity as a major cause of migration. However, human insecurity that have caused out migration from Nepal could be broadly categorized as economic insecurity that constitute poverty, inequality, unemployment and access to livelihood. Another crucial indicator is political insecurity, where fear and displacement caused by armed conflict and the human rights violations are rather critical. This is unlike in the past i.e. pre 1992 period, where despite the absence of large scale violence and physical insecurity, the people in general suffered from serious violations of human rights including freedom of speech, assertion of basic rights like setting up of political organizations and also right to protest. Equally vital cause of migration could be environmental insecurity.

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<sup>215</sup>Ellis, F. (2003), “A *Livelihoods Approach to Migration and Poverty Reduction*”, Paper commissioned by the Department for International Development (DFID): 1-21. Quoted in Yogendra Bahadur Gurung (2008), *Migration from Rural Nepal: A Social Exclusion Framework*, Central Department of Population Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, pp.1-35.

<sup>216</sup>Adhikari, J. (2006), “Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India”, *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, pp.1-121.

## **Economic Insecurity**

Economic security is a pre requisite to safeguard human security. *Human Development Report* sees economic security as one of the vital aspect of human security whose main threat is poverty and an assured basic income, productive work or social safety networks are needed to overcome such insecurity<sup>217</sup>. International Labor Organization (ILO) states that poverty is most easily measured by a comparison of income or consumption against basic material needs for food, shelter and clothing<sup>218</sup>. Hence, poverty is the primary indicator of one's social, economic and health status thus has a direct link with human security<sup>219</sup>. Haq in *Human Development in South Asia 2005* has projected that South Asian region with high levels of poverty, lacking access to health, education, food and sufficient credits to the poor results in higher economic insecurity for its citizens<sup>220</sup>. This section will look into economic insecurity mainly as poverty, income disparity, underemployment or unemployment and lack of access to basic needs in the case of Nepal and it's linkages with Migration.

Migration as Lenin (states results due to 'the growing sense of human dignity among the people ... along with their desire to get away from the state of poverty and dependence'<sup>221</sup>. Migration joins a clear protest against the existing socio-economic arrangements which results due to non-inclusive growth patterns and occurrence of disparities<sup>222</sup>. However, migration is nothing but displacement of labor forces to the

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<sup>217</sup> United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*.

<sup>218</sup> International Labor Organization (ILO) (2003), *Working Out of Poverty*, International Labor Conference, 91<sup>st</sup> Session 2003, International Labor Office, Geneva.

<sup>219</sup> Lama, Mahendra .P. (2010) *Human Security in India: Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications* ,p.43.

<sup>220</sup> Haq, M. (2006) *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia* ,p.7.

<sup>221</sup> Lenin, V. (1964: 576), Quoted in Nanda. R. Shrestha (2001) *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*, Nirala Publication ,p.60.

<sup>222</sup> Shrestha, N. R. (2001), *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*.

cities<sup>223</sup> and these displacements are poverty driven<sup>224</sup>. Hence, foreign labor migration has been seen as an unfortunate byproduct of a stagnant rural economy<sup>225</sup>.

Teitelbaum in *The Role of the State in International Migration* writes that some states are migrant exporters<sup>226</sup>. Countries promote export of their own nationals mainly due to economic insecurities in the home country. The lack of available employment, job, career, education options domestically lead the country to adopt policies which are towards people's export. Countries like Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan seek such opportunities in the bigger nations like India and Pakistan within the South Asian region. On the other hand, following more or less the same rationale countries like India, Pakistan, Philippines, Myanmar, Thailand seek to push their economic migrants to larger developed nations in the west. Such policies are mainly adopted in order to capitalize on the development and income gap between the rich and the poor nations in the world<sup>227</sup>.

Haq writes that the escalation of Maoist insurgency has affected the economic performance of Nepal with economic growth slowing to an average of 1.9 percent from a high of 4.9 percent in the decade before<sup>228</sup>. The income/ consumption share and inequality measure in South Asia shows that Nepal has the highest income gap in South Asia and the income gap between Kathmandu valley and the rest of the country is very marked<sup>229</sup>. Yoko Niimi's study on *Poverty and Inequality in Nepal: An Empirical Analysis* suggests that though Nepal was able to reduce poverty in the period between

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<sup>223</sup> Marx, K. (1967), Quoted in *ibid*, p.44.

<sup>224</sup> Lama, Mahendra .P. (2003), "Poverty, Migration and Conflict: Challenges to Human Security in South Asia" in P.R. Chari and Sonika Gupta (eds.) *Human Security in South Asia: Energy, Gender, Migration and Globalization*, New Delhi, Social Science Press,p.132.

<sup>225</sup>Seddon, D. et al. (2002), "Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal", *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp.301-327.

<sup>226</sup>Teitelbaum, S.M. (2002), "The Role of the State in International Migration" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 8(2), pp.157-167.

<sup>227</sup>*Ibid*. pp. 157-167.

<sup>228</sup>Haq, M. (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, Human Development Centre, Oxford University Press.

<sup>229</sup>*Ibid*.

1995-96 and 2003-2004, the economic growth wasn't inclusive<sup>230</sup>. The study concluded that poverty reduction was greater in the urban areas than in the rural areas which were 56% and 20% respectively<sup>231</sup>. Poverty is distributed unequally amongst the five development regions and different ecological zones in Nepal. The Human Poverty Index (HPI) which captures the income and capability deprivations, show that the HPI value for Nepal was 31.12 in 2011, topographically hills scored the lowest HPI value at 29.20, followed by Terai at 33.04 and the highest in the Mountains at 38.51<sup>232</sup>. Regionally Mid-Western and Far-Western recorded the highest HPI at 36.63 and 34.80 respectively<sup>233</sup>. District wise highest HPIs were recorded of Humla, Accham, Bajhang and Mugu of the Far-Western and Mid-Western Development Region which ranged from 45 to 49 and Lowest HPIs were recorded of Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur of Central Development Region, which were ranged from 16 to 22<sup>234</sup>.

Poverty develops a vicious trap for individuals, poor family settle for poor livelihood mechanisms, low quality food, clothing, and shelter and limits the families' current and future potential. This is largely prevalent in the Mid-Western and Far-Western Development Regions looking at above HPIs. Even, ILO's country report on Nepal suggests that large number of country's domestic labor force work in poverty<sup>235</sup>. In such a situation adopting an outside intervention is what bails out such families. People adopt migration mainly as a viable and meek economic strategy to overcome the structural trap

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<sup>230</sup>Niimi, Y. (2010), "Poverty and Inequality in Nepal: An Empirical Analysis", in Juzhong Zhuang (eds.) *Poverty, Inequality and Inclusive Growth in Asia: Measurement, Policy Issues, and Country Studies*, Asian Development Bank, Anthem Press.

<sup>231</sup>Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Nepal Human Development Report 2014 (2014), *Beyond Geography, Unlocking Human Potential*, Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Nepal, p.20

<sup>233</sup>Ibid. p.20. HPI for Central Development Region:31.54, Eastern: 29.22, Western: 27.20.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.p. 20

<sup>235</sup> International Labor Organization (ILO), Country Report, Duncan Campbell, Anja Slany and Shagun Khare, International Labour Office, Accessed 15 January 2015 URL: [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/ed\\_emp/documents/publication/wcms\\_144425.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/ed_emp/documents/publication/wcms_144425.pdf)

that engulfs in the home situation<sup>236</sup>. This is similar to the Neoclassical theory of migration which combines micro level decision making choices of individuals as well as the macro component of structural determinants for migration like disparities in income, resources and wages<sup>237</sup>.

The *Nepal Human Development Report 2014* reflects Human Development Index (HDI) as a function of healthy life, literacy and better livelihood calculated by the Gross National Income<sup>238</sup>. The HDI ranks Nepal as one of the poorest in the world ranking 157<sup>th</sup> out of 187 countries<sup>239</sup>. In 2011 HDI score of Nepal was the lowest in South Asia at 0.458 and the rural-urban HDI gap was recorded at 19.7%<sup>240</sup>. Regional distribution showed Central Development region with the highest HDI score at 0.51 followed by Western and Eastern at 0.49 and the lowest rankings were of Mid-Western Development region at 0.44 and Far Western Development region at 0.43<sup>241</sup>. Topographical distribution of HDI showed hills with the highest score at 0.52 followed by Terai at 0.468 and the least in Mountains at 0.440. The HDI scores of Districts like Achham, Bajhang, Bajura, Kalikot, Jajarkot, Mugu, Humla of Mid-Western and Far Western showed the lowest scores of HDI around 0.3 against the 0.6 of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur of Central Development Region<sup>242</sup>

The report highlighted that most of the district in the Mid-Western and Far-Western had poor performance in terms of its basic resources like access to drinking water, health,

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<sup>236</sup>Shrestha, N.R. (2001) *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*, Nirala Publication.

<sup>237</sup> Massey, D.S. et al. (1993) "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal", *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), p.431-466.

<sup>238</sup> Nepal Human Development Report 2014 (2014), *Beyond Geography, Unlocking Human Potential*, Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission and United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Nepal, p.12

<sup>239</sup>The World Bank, Nepal Overview, Accessed 20 January 2015 URL:

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nepal/overview>

<sup>240</sup> Nepal Human Development Report 2014 (2014), *Beyond Geography, Unlocking Human Potential*, Government of Nepal, Nepal, p.15.

<sup>241</sup>Ibid, p.15.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, p.15.



sanitation, education and literacy<sup>243</sup>. In terms of income, For example, The Per Capita Income Index of Nepal in 2011 was at 0.4 amongst the Development Regions; Central had the highest at 0.44 and Far-Western the lowest at 0.34 and Mid-Western at 0.36<sup>244</sup>. Amongst the districts Jajarkot, Kalikot, Bajura, Bajhang and Achham recorded low per capita income ranging from 0.25 to 0.3 which is a huge contrast from districts like Kathamandu which recorded per capita income at 0.55, Lalitpur 0.49 and Bhaktapur 0.43<sup>245</sup>.

Thus, Population from poverty stricken Western, Mid-Western and Far-Western regions of Nepal hence seeks opportunities in the adjacent areas in India<sup>246</sup>. *Nepal Migration Year Book* also recorded that 90% of the work force from the Far-Western and Mid-Western region migrate to India<sup>247</sup>. The UN field bulletin on Labor Migration issues in Achham and Bajura also observed migration from Nepal as a livelihood strategy being observed by the people of Far-Western and Mid-Western region<sup>248</sup>. The report elaborated that agriculture in Nepal is a primary form of occupation and also the main source of income for many households<sup>249</sup>. NLSS reported 61% of the employed population of the country were in agriculture<sup>250</sup> and the workforce mainly those from the Far-Western and

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<sup>243</sup> Nepal Human Development Report 2014 (2014), Beyond Geography, Unlocking Human Potential, Government of Nepal.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, p.91.

Topographically per capita income index was highest in the Hills at 0.43 above the national average followed by Terai at 0.39 and lowest in the Mountains at 0.378 and region wise Western Development Region at 0.40 and Eastern Development Region at 0.39.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, p.91.

<sup>246</sup> Dixit, K.M. et al. (1997), "Lowly Labor in the Lowlands" Quoted in Seddon, D. et al. (2002) "Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal", *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp.301-327.

<sup>247</sup> Ghimire, A. et al. (2010), *Nepal Migration Year Book 2009*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS), South Asia Regional Coordination Office, Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South, Kathmandu.

<sup>248</sup> United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office (2013), "Why do People Migrate? An Overview of Labor Migration Issues in Achham and Bajura", *Field Bulletin*, 36, May, RCHC Office, Nepal.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal (2011), *Nepal Living Standards Survey*, Volume Two, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal, p.51

Mid-Western development regions are unable to produce enough food to meet minimum requirements<sup>251</sup>. It was such pushed back economic scenario due to economic hardship pertaining to food insecurity, unemployment and debt has influenced many individuals to look at foreign employment as an alternative livelihood strategy from these areas<sup>252</sup>.

NLSS gives the unemployment rate in 2011 to be at 2.7% and youth unemployment rate to be 4.5 % highest among 15-24 year olds<sup>253</sup>. This could largely be attributed to the Maoist insurgency, which led to large scale displacement of laborers. Constant bands and strikes during the Maoist insurgency caused farmers to throw away their supplies causing bankruptcy in the case of many<sup>254</sup>. Also, strikes, bands and blockades in industries and factories for example, 'Colgate Palmolive Nepal Pvt.Ltd in Hetauda' and buring down of 'Joti Spinning Mill Sarlahi' led to the closure of the company and around hundreds of workers were left behind unemployed, following this many other industries closed down<sup>255</sup>. These nuances are very important to understand the pressing need for the population then to seek immediate, close, easier and safer outlet and India was the most sought after for many seasonal farmers and wage laborers.

NLSS showed the movement of out migration from Nepal by reason of migration as economic insecurity mainly movement for work, starting a new job/business and searching for easier life<sup>256</sup>. The 2011 census data reported that absentee population to India decreased in percentage and increased in volume. The percentage migrating to India

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<sup>251</sup> Sherpa, D. (2010), "Labor Migration and Remittances in Nepal: Case Study Report".

<sup>252</sup> United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office (2013), "Why do People Migrate?"

<sup>253</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal (2011), *Nepal Living Standards Survey*, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal.

<sup>254</sup> Upreti, B.R.(2006), *Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal : The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations, and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation*, p. 259.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid. p.259.

<sup>256</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal (2011), *Nepal Living Standards Survey*, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal.

in 2001 was 77 which decreased to 38 in 2011. However in terms of volume of migrants to India there was an increase from 589,050 in 2001 to 722,256 in 2011<sup>257</sup>.

Study conducted by Bhandari in the Chitwan Valley in the mid-hills of Central Development region of Nepal showed that relatively deprived households are likely to let migration of their family members. Deprivation here is caused due to lack of Access to cultivated land, which is considered as a source of income, household employment and food. However, relative land deprivation either due to land fragmentation owing to inheritance or rapid population growth has led to lack of access to farm land<sup>258</sup>. In such household migration becomes a coping strategy where migrants are likely to enter Indian market for employment as seasonal workers through the Terai borders to states like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in India<sup>259</sup>.

Migration then does not become an individual decision, but rather a strategy of a larger unit of people, mainly the family or household as approached by Stark<sup>260</sup>. It is the New Economics of Migration<sup>261</sup> where it is the family strategy in order to diversify sources of income so as to minimize risks of unemployment, lack of credit, loss of income or land holdings, also crop failure in an agricultural set up like Nepal. It is likely that individuals act to maximize income whereas families act to minimize risks<sup>262</sup>.

The idea behind the Harris-Todaro (1970) model is that labor migration is based primarily on individual rational economic expectations. In the decision making process, a

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<sup>257</sup>Table 9.7. Major Areas of Origin of Absent Population in Chapter 9, (2014), "International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal," in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, p. 227.

<sup>258</sup>Bhandari, P. (2004), "Deprivation and Migration in an Agricultural Setting of Nepal", *Population and Environment*, Springer, 25(5), pp. 475-499.

<sup>259</sup> Dixit, K.M. et al. (1997), "Lowly Labor in the Lowlands", *Himal South Asia*.

<sup>260</sup>Oded, S. (1991), *The Migration of Labor*. Quoted in Douglas. S. Massey et al. (1993), "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal", *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), pp.431-466.

<sup>261</sup>Oded, S. and Bloom, D. (1985), "The New Economics of Labor Migration". Quoted in *ibid*. pp. 431-466.

<sup>262</sup>*Ibid*. pp. 431-466.

migrant considers the various labor-market opportunities available to him and chooses the one that maximizes his utility<sup>263</sup>. Remittance, the money sent back by the migrants to the home country, mainly quantifies the valuation of the rational choice or the gains from migration to the individual households. This is very vital, as the migrants who take human security risks in the destination countries will have the great satisfaction of at least improving the lot of families back home in this case<sup>264</sup>. The World Bank has projected that total remittances received by Nepal in 2013 was 29% of the GDP which was at \$19.4 billion<sup>265</sup>.

The increasing remittance inflow in Nepal is injecting maximum liquidity into the banking system<sup>266</sup>, enhances foreign exchange reserves and maintains balance of payments<sup>267</sup>. Remittances have become a growing source of income for the household in Nepal<sup>268</sup>. The *New York Times* article in 2014 reported that ‘No country in the world with at least 10 million people earns a greater share of its wealth from emigrant workers than Nepal’<sup>269</sup>. Sending money back home from the destination country has always been a major difficulty. Though *Hundi*<sup>270</sup> system has been in practice for long now, financial

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<sup>263</sup> Harris, J.R. and Todaro, M.P. (1970), “Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis” *The American Economic Review*, 60(1), pp.126-142.

<sup>264</sup> Sapkota, C. (2013), “Remittances in Nepal: Boon or Bane?”, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 49(10), pp. 1316-1331.

<sup>265</sup> URL: <http://data.worldbank.org/country/nepal>. Accessed 21 July 2015.

<sup>266</sup> The World Bank (2013), “ Migration and Remittance Flows: Recent Trends and Outlook 2013-2016”, *Migration and Development Brief*, 21, Migration and Remittances Team, Development Prospects Group.

<sup>267</sup> Sapkota, C. (2013), “Remittances in Nepal: Boon or Bane?”, pp.1316-1331.

<sup>268</sup> Niimi, Y. (2010), “Poverty and Inequality in Nepal: An Empirical Analysis”, in Juzhong Zhuang (eds.) *Poverty, Inequality and Inclusive Growth in Asia: Measurement, Policy Issues, and Country Studies*, Asian Development Bank, Anthem Press.

<sup>269</sup> The New York Times (2014), *In Nepal , A better Life With a Steep Price*, 14 August 2014 , Accessed 17 May 2015, URL: [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

<sup>270</sup> It’s a medium of money transfer which is largely prevalent in South Asia. It’s an order or a bill in writing made by one person (the middle man in the destination) indicating the other (at the home) to provide the sum of money dictated in the order to the name addressed (the money bearer). It is an informal system and does not have any legal status. In the Middle-East similar process is called as the *Hawala* system. URL: [www.rbi.org.in/monetarymuseum/hundi.html](http://www.rbi.org.in/monetarymuseum/hundi.html)

institutions<sup>271</sup> have taken over for money transfers. NLSS shows that the remittances that come from India about 85% of it gets used in daily consumptions of livelihood and access to basic resources like food, health and education and very minimal amount of it is used repaying of loan i.e. about 5%<sup>272</sup>. Considering that going to India doesn't entail much initial cost remittances coming from India aren't used up in repaying loan. However destinations like Middle East, South East Asia, United Kingdom and others require higher initial costs mainly to pay the recruiting agencies, passport requirements as well as transportation which means many migrants engage in taking loans and sometimes with very high interest from local money lenders. Thus much of the remittances that come in from these countries are used up in daily consumption and then repaying back loans i.e. about 25 to 30 %<sup>273</sup>. World Bank (2011) stated that initial cost to make travel arrangements to destinations other than India for example to Malaysia is about 1 lakh, these costs are related to visa, tickets, passport, recruiting agencies and money for the initial stay at the destination and initial travel costs to migrate to India is about 5 thousand<sup>274</sup>. Cheap accessibility to India makes it a lucrative destination for Nepali migrants to overcome economic insecurity within their households.

Thus, employment opportunity plays a vital role in Indo-Nepal migration. It's also the demand for labor in unorganized and informal sectors of India which generally get filled by recruiting cheap labor from Nepal. Hence, search of better livelihood is one of the most important criteria for migration from Nepal to India. Hill population mainly men folks have been crossing borders in order to join informal workforce as watchmen,

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<sup>271</sup>Western Unions, Money Gram International Money Transfer, Nepal Remit in association with Nepal SBI Bank etc.

<sup>272</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal (2011), *Nepal Living Standards Survey*.

<sup>273</sup>Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> World Bank (2011), Large-scale migration and remittance in Nepal: Issues, challenges and opportunities, World Bank. Quoted in Chandan Sapkota (2013), "Remittances in Nepal: Boon or Bane?", p.1326.

waiters, porters, sales boys etc<sup>275</sup>. Wage differentials and differential in employment opportunities as push factors have led to migration from Nepal. Immediate yet pressing push factors in the hills and mountain valleys of Nepal are poverty, food insecurity and lack of local development opportunities<sup>276</sup> which are partially accompanied by skewed distribution of capital<sup>277</sup>. Labor migration thus becomes a demographic expression of human insecurity<sup>278</sup>. Population in the borders especially in Nepal's Terai are asked or rather forced to visit hospitals in neighboring India if one cannot get treated there, further kids are sent to schools and colleges in India due to its closure during the decade long political upheaval<sup>279</sup>. There is a strong dependence of Nepal for financial, social, economic and political support in India<sup>280</sup>.

### **Political Insecurity**

Critical school scholar Keith Krause proposes to focus on the other dimension of human security which mainly hints at political security of ordinary people, where threats result due to conflict or violence and tackling such threats would help achieve human security goals much quicker as they are more precise<sup>281</sup>. Political threats include civil and human rights violations stemming from conflicts, corrupt civil services, poorly functioning

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<sup>275</sup> Adhikari, J. (2006), "Securitizing Migration from Nepal to India", *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, Dhaka, pp.1-121.

<sup>276</sup> Bardsley, D.K. and Hugo, G.J. (2010), "Migration and Climate Change: Examining Threshold of Change to Guide Effective Adaptation Decision-Making", *Population and Environment*, Springer, 32(2/3), pp. 238-262.

<sup>277</sup> Shrestha, N. R. (2001) *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> Shakya, S. (2012), "Unleashing Nepal's Economic Potential: A Business Perspective", in Sebastian V Einsiedel et al. (2012) *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Krause, K. and Williams, M.C. (1996) "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods" *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40(2), pp.229-254.

judiciary or lack of enforcement of law<sup>282</sup>. UNDP definition of political security also includes similar threats emerging out of political repressions, dictatorship and asks for the respect of human rights.<sup>283</sup>. Further, political security stresses on responsibility to protect (R2P) which was exclusively spelt out in the 2001 report the *Responsibility to Protect* by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. This incorporates responsibility directly related to human security i.e. responsibility to protect, react and rebuild<sup>284</sup>. Political security stems out of a vital component of human security i.e. freedom from fear. Amartya Sen and Sadako Ogata in their report on *Empowering People for Human Security* presented in UN identified six areas to distinguish various parameters of security. Their first area identified conditions of people affected due to conflict mainly pertaining to stricter implementation of human rights and humanitarian laws and the second area focused on internally displaced people, refugees and migrants mainly massive movement of least protected people<sup>285</sup>. Haq states that human security demands a deeper and sustained attention in addressing the intra and inter-state conflicts in South Asia<sup>286</sup>. The top five political threats for South Asia are ‘war, police brutality, lack of political participation, civil unrest and ethnic violence’<sup>287</sup>. South Asian region has been a source of mass population displacement pertaining to ‘the reorganization of political communities’<sup>288</sup>.

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<sup>282</sup>Chenoy, A. and Tadjbaksh, S. (2007) *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge, London, UK.

<sup>283</sup>United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*, p.12.

<sup>284</sup>Kerr, P (2009), “Human Security and Diplomacy”, in Myriam Dunn, et al. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Security*, London: Routledge, pp.117-118.

<sup>285</sup>Sen, A. and Ogata, S. (2003).Quoted in Nischal N Pandey (2007), “Nepal: The Political Economy of Turbulence”, in Rajesh M Basrur and Mallika Joseph (eds.) *Reintroducing the Human Security Debate in South Asia*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, p. 41.

<sup>286</sup>Haq, M (2006) *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*,p.22.

<sup>287</sup>Ibid, p.22.

<sup>288</sup>Zolberg, A.R. et al. (1989), *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, 126. Quoted in Susanne Schmeidl (2002), “(Human) Security Dilemmas: Long Term Implications of the Afghan Refugee Crisis”, *Third World Quarterly*, 23(1), February, Taylor and Francis,pp.1-29.

Migration resulting due to conflicts is usually large, uncontrolled, most of the times illegal and migrants not prepared to live in the destination as compared to voluntary or formal process of migration<sup>289</sup>. Internal armed conflict and civil unrest pushes long term damage to the growth path of the country affecting the governance, institutions and civil society causing human security deficit. Changes in the prime ministers or other high officials, complete collapse of the government, states of emergencies, ceasefires, and major strikes or protests can decrease the sense of security and authority at all levels on which people depend, creating a sense of chaos or anarchy<sup>290</sup>. Political instability, or lack of political and legal control, can also signal the possibility of violence in the future. Conflict results in human sufferings mainly by extreme poverty, loss of development and infrastructure, agricultural disturbances as well as hindrance to basic human necessities<sup>291</sup>.

A study by Friends for Peace and International Alert states that the peace process has failed to address a fundamental underlying cause of the conflict mainly the culture of non-inclusion that runs in every corner of Nepali society and which perpetuates the insecurity of many vulnerable and marginalized groups<sup>292</sup>. As stated earlier in the chapter, the most vulnerable and easy target of such conflict situation are the marginalized and rural population of the country. Such conflicts make clear that security of people should have precedence over security of borders, if integrity of the state is to be maintained<sup>293</sup>.

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<sup>289</sup> Williams. N. and Pradhan. M.S. (2009), "Political Conflict and Migration: How has Violence and Political Instability Affected Migration Patterns in Nepal?", *Population Studies Centre*, Report 09-677, May, University of Michigan, p.3.

<sup>290</sup> Haq, M (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, pp.18-22.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid, pp.18-22.

<sup>292</sup> Bharadwaj. N. et al. (2007), *Nepal at a Crossroads: The Nexus Between Human Security and Renewed Conflict in Rural Nepal*, 014, Friends for Peace and International Alert, Kathmandu.

<sup>293</sup> Haq, M (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, pp.18-22.



Conflict in Nepal has taken a toll on social, economic and physical infrastructure of the country and it is felt in all the corners. Nepal reached a crisis situation where political, legal and social rights got weakened. For example, with escalation of armed conflict in Nepal, criminalization of society increased. People's participation in development projects were affected by the restrictions imposed by the rebels and security forces. From schools being closed in the metropolitans to the rural areas, calling for strikes and vandalism in the streets, increase in looting and extortions, abduction of people and hindrance to the supply of essential resources to the rural areas<sup>294</sup>. Such cases of disappearance, rape, abuse, deprivation and killing led to erosion of human rights of citizens and individuals have been swept off secure livelihood<sup>295</sup>. Thus, societies were characterized by depressed livelihoods<sup>296</sup>. This also developed a war mentality in the psyche of citizens such as fear, mistrust, insecurity, brutality etc<sup>297</sup>. Districts like Gorkha, Sindhuli, Rolpa and Rukum which were hub of Maoists activities<sup>298</sup> were prone to suspicion, the locals there were seen as sympathizers of Maoists and many households were hiding and lodging joints for Maoists cadets. People's houses were ransacked and raided and many faced abuses and humiliation on the pretext of political suspicion<sup>299</sup>. Nepalese citizens hence got caught up in the tussle between the Maoists and the state and lost their lives and livelihood.

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<sup>294</sup>Upreti, B.R.(2006), *Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal : The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations, and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation*, Adroit Publishers, New Delhi.

<sup>295</sup>Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Haq, M (2006) *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*, pp.18-22.

<sup>297</sup>Upreti, B.R. (2006), *Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal : The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations, and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation*, p. 262.

<sup>298</sup> Mishra, R. (2004), 'India's Role in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency', *Asian Survey*, 44,p.627.

<sup>299</sup>Thieme, S. (2006) "Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi: NCCR", pp.9-61.

Nepal was ranked as first in the year 2003 in the world for disappearance<sup>300</sup>. National and international human rights institutions including the UN and Amnesty International strongly raised issues of killings, arrests, torture, forced disappearances and gross human rights violations in international forums and appealed to the government and the rebels to respect the fundamental principles of human rights and international humanitarian laws including the Geneva Convention<sup>301</sup>. The *Jana Andolan II* and the comprehensive peace agreement didn't stop the political violence which perpetuated since 1998<sup>302</sup>. BBC news in 2009 stated that government of Nepal revised the death toll due to the civil war which lasted a decade and reached at least 16000<sup>303</sup>. Pointing at the report published by Community and Study Welfare Centre on '*A Decade Long Disaster*' states that insurgency killed 13,190 people including 446 children and 173 teachers<sup>304</sup>.

There is a sharp leap in absentee population in Nepal from 2001 to 2011 from 23,151,423 or 3.2% of the total population to 26,494,504 or 7.3% of the total population in a decade which marked political turmoil, transition, economic downturn and natural calamities. This shows that an increase in insecurity is directly proportional to increase in absentee population<sup>305</sup>. Thus, from 2001, as the internal armed conflict in Nepal intensified, the flow of migrants from Nepal to India has increased. Migration was seen most prevalent amongst the internally displaced people from the Mid and Far-West Hill districts of

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<sup>300</sup>Dixit, K.M.(2011), *Peace Politics of Nepal*. Quoted in Wagle, G.S (2013), "Political Insecurity and Armed Conflict: A Threat to Human Security", in Bishu R Upreti, et al. (2013) *Human Security in Nepal*, pp.251-277.

<sup>301</sup>Ibid. p. 251

<sup>302</sup>INSEC Nepal, human rights organization working in Kathmandu gave an astounding account of number of political killings in Nepal since the signing of the peace accord (see Wagle 2013), :251-277.

<sup>303</sup>BBC News (2009), *Nepal Raises Conflict Death Toll*, 22 September 2009, Accessed 18 May 2015, URL: [www.bbcnews.southasia.com](http://www.bbcnews.southasia.com)

<sup>304</sup>Pandey, N. N (2007), "Nepal: The Political Economy of Turbulence", in Rajesh M Basrur and Mallika Joseph (eds.) *Reintroducing the Human Security Debate in South Asia*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, p.41.

<sup>305</sup>Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal (2011), *Nepal Living Standards Survey*, Volume Two.

Nepal<sup>306</sup>. For example, The internally displaced population of the Maoist dominated areas like Kalikot, Mugu, Dolpa, Rolpa, Rukum sustained themselves either by staying in government made makeshift camps or migration to district headquarters, Kathmandu and to India<sup>307</sup>. With increase in intensity of conflict around 24000 people of 3500 households of Rajapura areas of Bardiya districts in Far Western region of Nepal left their villages and entered Baharaich and Bacchya areas of India<sup>308</sup>. The report of the Inter Agency Displacement Division (IDD) mission to Nepal concluded that while the full length of population displacement is unknown, estimates suggest that up to 200,000 Nepalese may have been internally displaced by the conflict with perhaps 2 million or so moving to India in the recent times<sup>309</sup>.

### **Environmental Insecurity**

One of the widely discussed issues to redefine and relocate traditional state centric security has been the agenda of and vulnerabilities related to environmental security. Jessica Tuchman Mathews in her article *Redefining Security* emphasizes that environmental degradation has led to grave security threats to the population species, which is viewed as more threatening than the external military threats. She therefore called for redefinition of strategic studies to include environment issues and population<sup>310</sup>. National security is not just about military security and weaponry but it also needs to consider forests, land, watersheds, rivers, climate, vegetations, which isn't propagated by the state or political leaders, however is crucial to be alongside national

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<sup>306</sup>Bhattarai, R. (2007a), "Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi".

<sup>307</sup>Upreti, B.R. (2006), *Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal : The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations, and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation*, p.251.

<sup>308</sup>Ibid.p.251.

<sup>309</sup>IDD (2005). Quoted in *ibid*,p. 251.

<sup>310</sup>Tuchman, M. J. (1989), *Redefining Security*. Quoted in Keith Krause and Michael. C Williams (1996) "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods", *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40 (2) ,p.233.

security<sup>311</sup>. Threat due to environmental security is similar to the threat of nuclear warfare as it's equally global and largely devastating<sup>312</sup>. The contemporary period saw a major call for environmental security with the nuclear accident of the three miles island of 1979 and Bhopal gas tragedy of 1984<sup>313</sup>. Thus, emerges a security concern due to environment led issues in the international relations from desertification, water scarcity and environmental depletion to migration<sup>314</sup>.

Environment could very well spark a necessary debate in the national security concerns. The James Bond movie *Quantum of Solace* gives an interesting take on how the new world order could spark debates on emerging issue on Global war due to access to fresh water. Ecologists across the globe are hence pushing environment into the issue of high politics<sup>315</sup>. Lester Brown addresses environmental changes as a threat to national security and that there is the need to press environmental degradation and climate change as security issues<sup>316</sup>.

Thomas Homer-Dixon of Toronto School, makes a critical links into environmental changes leading to scarcity of resources, triggering conflict and insecurity emerging from elite possession of scarce resources and 'ecological marginalization' of poor indigenous

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<sup>311</sup>Myers,N. (1986), "The Environmental Dimension to Security Studies," *The Environmentalist*. Quoted in Mahendra.P. Lama (2010), *Human Security in India : Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications* , Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS), p. 69.

<sup>312</sup>Smil, V. (1997), *China's Environment and Security: Simple Myths and Complex Realities*. Quoted in Jon Barnett (2001), " Security and Climate Change", *Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research*, p. 4.

<sup>313</sup> Brown, O. (2005), *The Environment and Our Security: How Our Understanding of the Links has Changed*, A Contribution to the International Conference on Environment, Peace and Dialogue among Civilizations, May 9-10, Tehran, Iran.

<sup>314</sup> Kaplan, R.D. (1994), *Coming of Anarchy*. Quoted in Unaldi, S. (2012), " Environmental Change as Security Dilemma and its Institutional Implications", *Transcience*, Institute of Asian and African Studies,3(1), p. 55.

<sup>315</sup>Ibid.p.55.

<sup>316</sup>Barnett, J. et.al.(2010), *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, p.6.

communities<sup>317</sup>. UNDP sees environmental security as a defense from threats of pollution, lack of access to resources, decreasing productivity from desertification and salinization of land as well as environmental insecurity due to manmade disasters like developmental projects and nuclear power plants<sup>318</sup>. It was in 1977 that Lester Brown developed the relationship between environmental degradation and security and included ‘fisheries, grasslands, forests and croplands’ as components under threat<sup>319</sup>.

Environmental security is mainly a localized phenomenon until and unless it affects significantly large population or geo strategically sensitive region of the country<sup>320</sup>. Many environmental threats are chronic and long lasting like the Bhopal and Chernobyl catastrophes<sup>321</sup>. Herein, environmental disasters have cross border character and chances of larger destruction and serious hazards<sup>322</sup>. Steve Lonergan in Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS) Project hints at the population displacement as a case generated due to environmental insecurities and vulnerabilities<sup>323</sup>. Environmental changes and degradation can undermine livelihood opportunities, basic needs of everyday life and could put at risk the social and economic opportunities which enhances human security and reduces the likelihood of pursuing an emancipated human life<sup>324</sup>. Thus, generates violence in which economic, social, political all structures get destabilized<sup>325</sup>.

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<sup>317</sup> Brown, Oli. (2005), *The Environment and Our Security: How Our Understanding of the Links has Changed*, p.3.

<sup>318</sup> United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*.

<sup>319</sup> Barnett, J. (2001), “Security and Climate Change”, p. 3.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid. p.3

<sup>321</sup> United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1994), *Human Development Report*.

<sup>322</sup> Lama, Mahendra P. (2015), *Valedictory Address*, Presented at the International Conference on 25 March 2015 on India and its Neighbours: Policy Priorities for the New Government, Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

<sup>323</sup> Lonergan, S. (1998), *The Role of Environmental Degradation in Population Displacement*, Global Environmental Change and Human Security Project (GECHS). Quoted in Niloy R. Biswas (2011), “Is The Environment A Security Threat? Environment Security Beyond Securitization “, *International Affairs Reviews*, 20(1), pp. 9-10.

<sup>324</sup> Barnett, J. et.al. (2010), *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts.

<sup>325</sup> Lama, Mahendra P. (2010), *Human Security in India: Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications*.

Such conditions increase new wave of out-migration in search for newer avenues as an important adaptive mechanism.

IOM's definition of environmental migrants states 'Environmental migrants are persons or group of person who for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently , and who move either within their country or abroad'<sup>326</sup>.

Study on environmental migration is divided into two categories one of 'minimalist' in which environment can be a contextual factor in migration and other 'maximalist' which argues environment alone can cause out migration<sup>327</sup>. Lama writes that South Asian region witnesses two types of environmental migration one 'large displacements due to developmental projects and natural calamities' and other slow and steady process of 'displacement due to environmental degradation'<sup>328</sup>. The tsunami which hit in 2004 and the massive earthquake in Kashmir and north-west province of Pakistan later in 2005 killed 100,000 people, destroyed property, and disrupted the life and livelihood of the entire regions<sup>329</sup>. Lama in one of his interviews to *The Hindu* in the aftermath of the Sikkim earthquake of 2011 states that proper environmental assessment is required in order to indulge in developmental projects like hydropower mainly in the Himalayan regions. The fragile topography needs to be assessed to match the capability, size and scale of the project in order to reduce the environmental insecurities they bring along the

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<sup>326</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2007), *Migration and Environment*, Ninety Fourth Session Discussion, Accessed 20 May 2015, URL: [www.iom.int/jahia](http://www.iom.int/jahia).

<sup>327</sup>Shukre, A.( 1993), " Pressure Point: Environmental Degradation, Migration and Conflict". Quoted in F. Laczko and C. Aghazarm (2009), "Introduction and Overview :Enhancing the Knowledge Base" in F. Laczko and C. Aghazarm (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change :Assessing the Evidence*, International Organization for Migration, p.14.

<sup>328</sup> Lama, Mahendra P. (2003), "Poverty, Migration and Conflict: Challenges to Human Security in South Asia" in Chari, P. R. and Gupta, S. (ed.) *Human Security in South Asia: Energy, Gender, Migration and Globalization*, New Delhi, Social Science Press, p.132.

<sup>329</sup>Haq, M. (2006), *Human Development in South Asia 2005: Human Security in South Asia*.

terrain to human lives<sup>330</sup>. It was the aftermath of such disasters which resulted in an effective look into the human security aspect of the region in terms of environmental security.

*Labor Migration for Employment: A Status Report of Nepal* states that although there is lack of empirical evidence regarding the role of environmental drivers of migration in Nepal, there is an increasing interest in the issue and its implications<sup>331</sup>. The National Adaptation Plan for Action (NAPA) in Nepal distinguishes the pressure of climate change on movement of people<sup>332</sup>. In 2013, in order to fight the drought, The National Planning Commission, with the support of the UNDP-UNEP Poverty-Environment Initiative (PEI), conducted a study on environmental causes of displacement to study the impact of water scarcity on livelihood and mechanisms adopted by people to deal with scarce water and drought. The study revealed that an increasing number of people were unable to cope with locally and had to adopt migration as a strategy to deal with extended drought<sup>333</sup>.

Developmental projects result in enormous displacement and controversies in South Asia, there have been variety of environmental migrants from Bangladesh to India due to displacement caused by Kaptai dam project of 1957-62 and the Farakka barrage project in 1976<sup>334</sup>. Further, examples can be taken of Arun III project of Nepal, Kalabagh project

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<sup>330</sup> Lama, Mahendra P. (2011), "Periphery Shaken by the Centre's Neglect", *The Hindu*, 13 October 2011, Accessed 19 May 2015, URL :<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/interview/periphery-shaken-by-centres-neglect/article2532179.ece>

<sup>331</sup> Ministry of Labor and Employment (2014), *Labor Migration for Employment: A Status Report for Nepal: 2013/2014*, Department of Foreign Employment, Government of Nepal, p.9.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid. p. 9

<sup>333</sup> Mainstreaming Climate Change Adaptation into Development Planning: A Guide for Practitioners (2011), Accessed 20 January 2015, URL: [http://www.unpei.org/sites/default/files/e\\_library\\_documents/Policy%20Brief%20Nepal%20\(EN\)%20Water\\_Depletion\\_2013\\_two%20pages%20v2.pdf](http://www.unpei.org/sites/default/files/e_library_documents/Policy%20Brief%20Nepal%20(EN)%20Water_Depletion_2013_two%20pages%20v2.pdf)

<sup>334</sup> Lama, Mahendra. P. (2010), *Human Security in India : Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications*, pp.136-140.

in Pakistan, Mahaveli in Sri Lanka and Sardar Sarovar and Tehri in India<sup>335</sup>. Migration flows to India from Nepal due to sudden environmental activities could be attributed to the Glacial Lake Outbursts Floods (GLOF) or loss of livelihood and agricultural productivity due to unstable precipitation<sup>336</sup>. For example, GLOF can cause damage to large areas in its path, such cases have been reported from the Namche Village of Khumbu region in Nepal when Dig Cho glacial lake outburst swept off the entire village causing huge loss of life and property in 1985<sup>337</sup>. Large displacement of population occurred which were either seen migrating to Kathmandu and Pokhara valley or to India<sup>338</sup>.

The Environment Statistics of Nepal has pointed out that Nepal is prone to two types of environmental degradation one due to 'pressure on the natural resources' and other 'climate change induced degradation'<sup>339</sup>. Floods, soil erosion, landslide, and access to water have been an emerging problem in Nepal and policies on the same have been incorporated in Nepal since its sixth five year plan<sup>340</sup>. The Terai region of Nepal which experiences regular flooding could lead to out migration from recent settlers as a precautionary measure to escape crop and stock losses and malnourishment and impoverishment<sup>341</sup>. However, late monsoon has also resulted in loss of agricultural productivity and keeping off farmers during agricultural seasons. Kabilash VDC in

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<sup>335</sup>Lama, Mahendra. P. (2003) "Poverty, Migration and Conflict: Challenges to Human Security in South Asia", p.133.

<sup>336</sup> The Energy and Resources Institute( TERI) and Department for International Development (DFID) (2009), "Climate Change induced Migration and it's Security Implications for India's Neighbourhood", The discussion paper was prepared for the 15<sup>th</sup> Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 7-18 December 2009, Copenhagen, Denmark, p.3.

<sup>337</sup> Climate Change in Nepal, Nepal Trade Union Congress, Accessed 21 July 2015

[http://unfccc.int/cc\\_imet/cc/public\\_awareness.php](http://unfccc.int/cc_imet/cc/public_awareness.php)

<sup>338</sup>Ibid.

<sup>339</sup>Central Bureau of Statistics (2011), *Environment Statistics of Nepal*, Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal, pp.4-6.

<sup>340</sup>Ibid. pp.4-6.

<sup>341</sup>Bardsley, D.K and Hugo, G.J. (2010), "Migration and Climate Change: Examining Thresholds of Change to Guide Effective Adaptation Decision-Making", *Population and Environment*, 32(2/3), pp. 238-262.



Chitwan district experienced dry spell during the farming month causing fall in productivity<sup>342</sup>.

In 2008, the heavy torrential rainfall and landslides affected approximately 200,000 people in eight districts of Mid and Far-West Nepal. The flood in Koshi River, the biggest river in Nepal, breached its embankment at *Paschim Kushaha* towards Indian border, and majorly affected the Sunsari district of Nepal affecting more than 40,000 people<sup>343</sup>. UNICEF Nepal reported that monsoon flooding which are mainly concentrated in 20 districts in the Central and Eastern regions in the hills and the flat lands of the Terai caused heavy destruction also nearly 44,000 houses that were partially destroyed by the floodwaters. In addition to the floodwaters, landslides are a particular problem in the hilly areas of Nepal<sup>344</sup>. Natural calamities and climate change conditions in Nepal do experience migration of population either to Kathmandu valley from flood affected plains of Terai or to India due to its closer proximity from Nepal, especially for seasonal farmers to generate wage income during off seasons mainly to bordering states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Uttarakhand.<sup>345</sup>

The *Wall Street Journal* on its South Asia section mentioned that the recent earthquake in Nepal of April 2015 is likely to deepen out migration mainly of the labor class in search of better income as local wage rates wouldn't cover the post conflict situation of poor settings who have had enormous loss of livelihood and property, mainly from

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<sup>342</sup> Climate Change in Nepal, Nepal Trade Union Congress, Accessed 21 July 2015  
[http://unfccc.int/cc\\_imet/cc/public\\_awareness.php](http://unfccc.int/cc_imet/cc/public_awareness.php)

<sup>343</sup> Koshi Flood Emergency Response Lessons Learnt Workshop, Inaruwa, Sunsari (2009), Accessed 20 January 2015, URL :<http://www.un.org.np/reports/OCHA/2009/2009-04-01-Koshi-Flood-LLWorkshop.pdf>

<sup>344</sup> Thousands Displaced in Nepal by Flood (2004), Accessed 20 January 2015, URL:[http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/nepal\\_22633.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/nepal_22633.html)

<sup>345</sup> Climate Change in Nepal, Nepal Trade Union Congress, Accessed 21 July 2015  
[http://unfccc.int/cc\\_imet/cc/public\\_awareness.php](http://unfccc.int/cc_imet/cc/public_awareness.php) and Brusle, T. (2008), "Choosing a Destination and Work: Migration Strategies of Nepalese Workers in Uttarakhand, Northern India" *Mountain Research and Development*, 28(3/4), pp.240-247.

impoverished districts<sup>346</sup>. Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB) report to Kantipur suggests that the remittance inflow of the mid April after the earthquake rose upto 7.1% against 4 % in mid March<sup>347</sup>. Remittances would work as an income source for reconstruction and repair process in the aftermath of the quake as local source of income wouldn't suffice the poor household.

GECHS study concluded that environmental migrants are not solely the result of environmental issues alone<sup>348</sup>. Hence it's yet to be made as a sole driver for human insecurity for migration rather it is the combination of economic, political, social, cultural factors along with ecology that leads to migration. Bhandari in his study in Chitwan Village in Central Development Region of Nepal found that increased environmental insecurity measured in terms of access to forest resources increases the likelihood of migration<sup>349</sup>. Massey, et. al. looks the relevance of environmental factor in case of out-migration from Nepal where he sees the mobility is within Nepal itself due to reducing land productivity and perceived time taken to gather firewood and fodder. Farmers who feel land productivity is better elsewhere tend to migrate to nearby villages or towns and lower access to firewood motivates movement to areas with large mass of forests. This study concludes that environment is not the most important factor for migration and migration is mainly seen to nearby areas and not cross-border<sup>350</sup>. Migration can't be explained by just one factor alone and environment can't be delineated as that one factor.

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<sup>346</sup> The Wall Street Journal (2015), *Nepal Earthquake May Trigger a New Wave of Migrant Workers*, 2 May 2015, Accessed 19 May 2015, URL: [www.blogs.wsj.com](http://www.blogs.wsj.com)

<sup>347</sup> Kantipur (2015), *Remittance Up As Migrants Send Home More Money*, 31 May 2015, Accessed 31 May 2015, URL: [www.ekantipur.com](http://www.ekantipur.com)

<sup>348</sup> Biswas. N.R. (2011), "Is The Environment A Security Threat? Environment Security Beyond Securization", *International Affairs Reviews*, 20(1), pp.9-10.

<sup>349</sup> Bhandari, P. (2004), "Relative Deprivation and Migration in an Agricultural Setting of Nepal", *Population and Environment*, 25(5), pp.474-499.

<sup>350</sup> Massey, D.S. et.al. (2010), "Environmental Change and Out-Migration: Evidence from Nepal", *Population and Environment*, 32(2/3), pp.109-136.

Therefore, in case of Nepal, political and economic insecurities have played an important role in outmigration to India. The post 1998 period in Nepal marks the escalation of out migration under these circumstances. However, environmental insecurity is yet to be developed as a sole agent for out migration. Having looked at the debate surrounding human security and migration nexus in this chapter concentrating on political, economic and environmental security, the next chapter will give an elaborate account of the population migrating to the Indian state from Nepal and chart out its trends over the years.

## Chapter III

# MIGRATION TO INDIA: NATURE, DIMENSION AND CONTENTS

### Background

Migration between Nepal and India is not a new phenomenon of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Nepalese immigrants were identified in Indian census as early as 1881<sup>351</sup>. From 1881 to 1941 Nepalese immigrants were identified as one who are born in Nepal, other Nepali speaking population in India and lastly Indian domiciled Nepalese Citizens<sup>352</sup>. The known records of migration from Nepal to India dates back to the period 1804 as Nepalese started moving to Kumaon, Gharwal and up to Sutlej<sup>353</sup>. One of the striking reasons to move out of Nepal and to settle in the foreign land was the recruitment in army as Gurkha soldiers<sup>354</sup>. However, the formal entrance is believed to begin since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century after 1814-15 war with the British India and the recruitment in the Gurkha regiments of the British and Indian armies<sup>355</sup>. The tripartite agreement signed between the British, India and Nepal in 1947 allowed for continued recruitment of Nepalese in their army who join the Gurkha regiment<sup>356</sup>. Some studies have also identified migration of Nepalese hill population into defense services much earlier in the army of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh, to Lahore<sup>357</sup>. Kansakar writes that in order to make the recruitment of the Nepalese hill people easy, the British Government encouraged the Nepalese Gurkhas to migrate to India along with their families. They

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<sup>351</sup> Regmi, K.R. (1987), *Nepali Immigrants in India: An Analysis of Trends and Pattern, 1951-1961*, M.Phil. Dissertation, Centre for South, Central and South-East Asian and South-West Pacific Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, p. 37.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid, p. 129.

<sup>353</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (2001), "Nepal- India Open Border: Nature, Pattern and Socio-Cultural Implications" in B.C. Upreti and Ramakant. (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi.

<sup>354</sup><sup>354</sup> Gellner, D.N. (2013), "Warriors, Workers, Traders and Peasants: The Nepali/Gorkhali Diaspora Since The Nineteenth Century", in Joya Chatterji and David Washbrook (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of the South Asia Diaspora*, Routledge, p. 143.

<sup>355</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, Volume 1, Siba Exim, Pvt. Ltd.

<sup>356</sup> Sijapati, B and Limbu, A. (2012), *Governing Labor Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*, Center for Labor and Mobility Studies, Himal Books, Kathmandu, Nepal. p. 6.

<sup>357</sup> Seddon, D. et al. (2002), "Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal", *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp. 301-327. And Kansakar, V.B.S. (1984) "Indo- Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects", *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, Tribhuvan University, 11(2) pp.49-69.

established Gurkha settlements all along the hill areas of North India extending from ‘Simla, Bhaksu to Shillong’<sup>358</sup>.

Migration to India did continue in other sectors than defense specially to work as tea plantation laborers at major tea estates of India like Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Kamrup, as watchmen, factory laborers, domestic helpers in factories, offices and residences in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Bangalore and porters and road construction workers in the states of Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh<sup>359</sup>. However, Davis writes that one of the steady reasons for migration has remained agricultural related work for the hill population of Nepal to India<sup>360</sup>. Nepali hill populations were then the perfect fit for the requirements of the colonial regimes to help open up forest lands for settlement and tea plantations<sup>361</sup>. Gellner writes migration from Nepal in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was in order to seek land and filling the labor demands in the agricultural sector mainly in India, migration after 1950s had been to work in the cities for better economic situation and fleeing hardships in the country and migration after 1980s which took shape in 1990s caters to new wave of labor going to Gulf countries, Europe and Australia through man power agencies and recruiting offices<sup>362</sup>.

### **Nepal and India: Migration and Borders**

Situated between two Asian giants, India and China, King Prithvi Narayan Shah<sup>363</sup>, called Nepal a ‘yam between the two boulders’. ‘The absence of any physical barrier against its southern neighbors makes Nepal an integral geographical component of the

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<sup>358</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (1984), “Indo- Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects”, *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, 11(2), April, Tribhuvan University, p. 9.

<sup>359</sup> Weiner, M. (1972), “The Political Demography of Nepal” *Asian Survey*, 13(6), June, pp. 617-630, Dixit, K.M. et.al.(1997), “Lowly Labor in the Lowlands”, *Himal South Asia*. And Seddon, D. et al. (2002), “Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal”, *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp. 301-327,

<sup>360</sup> Davis, K. (1951), *The Population of India and Pakistan*, p.117. Quoted in Bhim.P.Subedi,(1991), “International Migration in Nepal: Towards an Analytical Framework”, *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, 18(1), January, Tribhuvan University, p. 85.

<sup>361</sup> Dixit, K.M. et.al.(1997), *Lowly Labor in the Lowlands*.

<sup>362</sup> Gellner, D.N. (2013), “Warriors, Workers, Traders and Peasants: The Nepali/Gorkhali Diaspora Since The Nineteenth Century”, in Joya Chatterji and David Washbrook (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of the South Asia Diaspora*, Routledge. pp.142-144

<sup>363</sup> The first King of Unified Nepal from the Shah Dynasty.

vast Indian peninsula<sup>364</sup>.

Prime Minister Nehru on December 6, 1950 stated in the Indian Parliament on International Situations and the Policy of the Government of India that ‘...regardless of our feelings about Nepal, we were interested in our own country’s security, in our own country’s borders. We have had for time immemorial a magnificent frontier that is to say Himalayas...the not principal barrier to India lies on the other side of Nepal and we are not going to tolerate any person coming over that barrier’<sup>365</sup>.

Independent India made sure to keep Nepal under its sphere of influence and efforts because of its strategically placed position<sup>366</sup>. Nepal virtually lies in the southern lap of the Himalayas, and shares borders with two huge states of Asia. Nepal shares its border with India on three sides south, east and west and with China only in the North which is mainly high altitude terrain with marginal population and economic activities in those regions. The Nepal-China border since the 1950 has been restricted with requirement of visa for the people of the two countries to travel<sup>367</sup>. The border between India and Nepal were demarcated scientifically for the first time in 1926-27 when topographical survey of Nepal was carried out by India<sup>368</sup>. Nepal has been a buffer state since the British India times and till date the same policy is being implemented. The absorption of Tibet by China has made it clear that Nepal is the sole buffer between India<sup>369</sup>. New Delhi views the presence of any external power in Nepal as an abhorrence to Indian interests. Nepal’s membership in UN in consultation with India

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<sup>364</sup> Chaturvedy, R.R. and Malone, D. (2012) ‘A Yam between Two Boulders: Nepal’s Foreign Policy Caught between India and China’, in Sebastian V Einsiedel, et. al. (eds.) *Nepal in Transition: From People’s War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press. p. 8

<sup>365</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal’s Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, Volume. 1, Siba Exim, Pvt. Ltd, p. 45.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.p. 45

<sup>367</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (2001), “Nepal- India Open Border: Nature, Pattern and Socio-Cultural Implications” in B.C. Upreti and Ramakant. (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.p.5.

<sup>369</sup> Chaturvedy, R.R. and Malone, D. (2012) ‘A Yam between Two Boulders: Nepal’s Foreign Policy Caught between India and China’, in in Sebastian V Einsiedel, et. al. (eds.) *Nepal in Transition: From People’s War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

clearly clarifies India's larger security concerns regarding Nepal<sup>370</sup>.

Border between countries are guarded, restricted and marked with armies and guns. From Mexico-US border in west to India-Bangladesh in the east, borders are restricted or guarded on the grounds of controlling movement of illegal population and activities. Along with that harmless peaceful people seeking opportunities and decent, secure livelihood are also stopped<sup>371</sup>. Lamastates 'borders are bastion of orthodox military thinking and human security dynamics are utterly neglected'<sup>372</sup>. Porous borders in South Asia has facilitated the movement of population across the region. There are few natural boundaries like mountains and rivers that separate one country from another (with the exception of Sri Lanka from India) which are long and heavily populated on the both sides<sup>373</sup>. Though border security is always a prime concern in all these long borders, it is extremely difficult to patrol all borders, to build a sufficient number of check points or to create man-made obstacles to border crossings<sup>374</sup>. Several of the countries have border security forces, but these are inadequate to monitor all possible entry points.

On both sides of most of the borders, like Nepal and India from east to west, both sides of Punjab in India and Pakistan and Nagas on the Indian state of Nagaland and Myanmar and Bengalis in Bengal and Tripura in India and Bangladesh, are people who share a common language or religion and have a strong sense of common ethnic identity, though they are citizens of a different country.<sup>375</sup> All these make easy for the migrants to slip into the communities across borders. Carens revisiting Michael Walzer's argument on membership of immigrants state that people are attached to their

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<sup>370</sup> Nehru had given similar consultation to Tibet in 1949 to seek UN membership however Dalai Lama did not accept these ideas. For India it was also a security move as Tibet was a buffer state between India and China (Muni, 1995). Muni, S.D. (1995), *India and Nepal: A Changing Relationship*, Konark Publication, Delhi. p. 33.

<sup>371</sup> Carens, J.H. (1987), "Aliens and Citizens : The Case for Open Borders", *The Review of Politics*, 49(2), pp. 251-273.

<sup>372</sup> Lama, Mahendra.P. (2015), *Valedictory Address*, Presented at the International Conference on 25 March 2015 on India and its Neighbours: Policy Priorities for the New Government, Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

<sup>373</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(34), pp. 1737-1746,

<sup>374</sup> Barbra, S. et al. (2008), "Migration Matters in South Asia: Commonalities and Critique", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(24), pp.57-65.

<sup>375</sup> Adamson, F. B. (2006), "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security", *International Security*, 31(1), pp.165-199.

land, language, culture and community and movement of population across borders take place only to escape hard livelihood at home and to seek opportunities at destination<sup>376</sup>. Lama rightly puts that ‘Borders should be used as opportunities rather than threat’<sup>377</sup>.

Nepal's strategic ties with India dates back to the Treaty of Sugauli of 1816 signed between the Nepalese Monarch and the British East India Company following the Anglo-Nepalese War in 1814-1816. Across its nine clauses the treaty spelt out the ambitious expansion and territorial accession of the British. However, it also initiated the recruitment of Gurkhas in the British army for the bravery and zeal they showcased in the war<sup>378</sup>. This initiated migration for work for Nepalese population mainly in the defense services. Hence, per the treaty, the British annexed large parts of the Nepalese kingdom and most importantly started the movement of people across border<sup>379</sup>.

The political situation in Nepal has been in turmoil for a long time, as highlighted in the second chapter it has shifted from Rana regime, Panchayat system, Constitutional Monarchy and today Federal Republic of Nepal, with such dynamism in a short period, some scholars say that Nepal is in a continuous transition<sup>380</sup>. Before 1951, prior to the Rana regime, Nepal was isolated from the rest of the world. Nepal's contemporary political history begins in 1950, when the Nepalese people and King Tribhuwan threw away the ruling Rana regime with a strong support from the Indian counterpart<sup>381</sup>. It was Nepal's dependence on India and its move towards democracy, economic, political and social development and India's concern over its national security that Nehru's India and King Tribhuwan's Nepal moved ahead with a steadily growing bilateral relationship since 1950s<sup>382</sup>.

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<sup>376</sup>See the section on The Communitarian Challenges in Carens, J.H. (1987), “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders”, *The Review of Politics*, pp.264-270.

<sup>377</sup>Lama, Mahendra.P. (2014), “Security Issues in Cross Border Energy Cooperation”, *Weekly Seminar*, Center for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

<sup>378</sup>Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, pp.6-11.

<sup>379</sup>Ibid.pp.16-21.

<sup>380</sup>Einsiedel, S.V. et al. (2012), *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>381</sup>Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, p.45.

<sup>382</sup>Muni, S.D. (1995), *India and Nepal: A Changing Relationship*.



India's close relationship with the strategically important Nepal through the India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 recognized the security and socio-economic concerns between the two nations<sup>383</sup>. The open borders between the two countries were formalized under the treaty of Peace and Friendship of the 1950 between Nepal and India. The 1950 treaty mentioned strengthening the ancient ties and historical legacies and accentuating in developing interactions one in the field of security and defense and other in socio-economy and culture. Articles 6 and 7 of the treaty cater to the socio-economic needs of the people of both the countries and formalized the nature of Nepal- India economic relations. The provision of equal treatment for the nationals of both of the country was one of the significant hall marks of the treaty. Article 6 points 'In token of the neighborly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development'.

On the other hand, Article 7 states 'The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature'<sup>384</sup>. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950 marked the complete ease of movement of the people between India and Nepal, owing to which India does not treat Nepali immigrants as illegal. The treaty clearly mentions mutual respect, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of both the nations<sup>385</sup>. Such historical and bilateral linkages have helped in ushering inter- state migration between the two.

The British had kept the borders open between Nepal and India to have an unrestricted flow of Nepalese in the Indian army and to have unrestricted supply of manufactured goods to Nepal and then to Tibet in order to establish their market in each country and

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid. pp.38-40.

<sup>384</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, pp. 16-21. Appendix.1.

<sup>385</sup> Muni, S.D. (1995), *India and Nepal: A Changing Relationship*.

supply of raw material from Nepal<sup>386</sup>. Rajbahak writes that south- north internal movement in Nepal was obstructed due to mountainous terrain and east west movement hindered due to river system, it was needed under such circumstances to develop an open border with India in order for Nepalese to reach out to their daily necessities from Indian markets as well as movement of people and goods within Nepal. Also, movement to Western Nepal from Eastern Nepal is more accessible and easy through India via Darjeeling, Patna, Gorakhpur and Dehradun than internally<sup>387</sup>.

The historical legacies of ancient civilization exist along the entire length of Nepal-India border. The ethnic and linguistic similarities are prevalent in areas bordering both the hills and plains of Nepal. The open border between the two countries facilitates and establishes a strong durable relationship by developing interdependence<sup>388</sup>. People living along the borders of Nepal and India are 'transnational contiguous communities' as they share a common kin, religion and economic activities<sup>389</sup>.

Indian Minister Mr. P V Narshima Rao in the Lok Sabha on Indo-Nepal Relations in April 26, 1989 highlighted that Indo-Nepal border though a political reality is also a part of a great social and cultural continuity and it becomes an evocative symbol of the relations between both the nations<sup>390</sup>.

Lok Raj Baral has given the Indo-Nepal model of migration. This open migration has certain characteristics as:

- "Interstate migration is taken as a natural process and cannot easily be discontinued.
- Natural phenomenon gets states sanction. The border is delineated for national status.
- National identity of peoples commuting across the border is blurred.

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<sup>386</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (2001), "Nepal-India Open Border: Nature, Pattern and Socio-Cultural Implications" in B.C. Upreti and Ramakant. (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi.

<sup>387</sup> Rajbahak, R.P. (1992), *Nepal-India Open Border: A Bond of Shared Aspirations*, Lancer Publishers.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> Manchanda, R. (2001), "Whose Nepal-Whose India: of Diasporas and Transnational Identities", *India International Centre Quarterly*, 28(3), Monsoon, pp. 47-56.

<sup>390</sup> Speech of P V Narsimha Rao in the Lok Sabha on "Indo-Nepal Relations", New Delhi, April 26, 1989. In Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, pp. 439-445.

- Migrants have the tendency to settle permanently once they start working in India and Nepal.
- Migrants and local people are easily inter-mixed if they speak common language, share common custom and religion”.<sup>391</sup>

Nepal-India migration cannot be explained only by considering socioeconomic parameters. Since people in the either side of the border share a common history, cultural inter-connectedness and familiar language<sup>392</sup> in such regions building of social and economic networks during migration can be recorded. Network theory is seen as one of the major factors for perpetuation of migration from Nepal to India. Such networks are accentuated more with geographical proximity, cultural affiliations, interconnectedness in case of language, religion, historical connections and network relations, which then play a very important role in migration from Nepal to India<sup>393</sup>. Network theory of migration is highly reflected in out-migration from Nepal to India. It helps in promoting migration by lowering ‘associated costs’ as well as ‘risk of movement’<sup>394</sup>. Nepal is a population ‘exporting nation’<sup>395</sup>.

It is often the regions where land and employment are scarce and poverty abundant that become major sending regions of labour migration<sup>396</sup>. In case of Nepalese migrants to India, push factor is mainly dominant. These factors could be analyzed in neoclassical model at both the macro and micro level. It’s the demand for cheap labor and difference in wages in India and the sending countries that which cause individuals to make choices that maximizes their utility resulting in migration. This is so within India where from various geographical locations one finds a stream of migrants floating to commercial like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta and agricultural hubs like Punjab and Haryana. For migrants in India from Far-Western districts of

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<sup>391</sup> Baral, L.R. (1990) *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, p.2.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Seddon, D. et al. (2002), “Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal”, *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp. 301-327.

<sup>394</sup> Bhandari, P. (2004), “Relative Deprivation and Migration in an Agricultural Setting of Nepal”, *Population and Environment*, 25(5), pp. 474-499.

<sup>395</sup> Weiner, M. (1972), “The Political Demography of Nepal” *Asian Survey*, 13( 6), June, pp. 617-630.

<sup>396</sup> Barborá, S. et al. (2008), “Migration Matters in South Asia: Commonalities and Critique” *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(24), June, pp.57-65.

Nepal agriculture at home and wage employment in India are complementary activities<sup>397</sup>. There has been a strong presence of seasonality also.

In the Dual Labor market well paid secure jobs are booked for natives and migrants are appointed in for low wage, unpleasant and insecure jobs in the market<sup>398</sup>. Migration from Nepal to India is mostly of the unskilled labour class, who work in unorganized sectors as watchmen, restaurant workers, porters and domestic helps<sup>399</sup>. Migration decisions in Nepal are mainly taken at the household level in order to diversify the risk similar to the new economics of labor migration<sup>400</sup>. For example: Nepalese seasonal migrants to India are a strategy adopted by households in minimizing risk.

Cohort study on migration from Nepal to India shows three categories of migration permanent, semi-permanent and temporary or seasonal migrants<sup>401</sup> and Nepal Migration Year Book categorizes Nepali migrants in India as a) Indians of Nepali origin, b) Permanently settled Nepalese and c) Seasonal labor migrants<sup>402</sup>. Ones who have settled permanently in India have resulted in colonies of Nepalese to sprung up, another category as semi-permanent in nature, whose stay varies from six months to 10 years, mainly in the urban areas of India and the third category is of the seasonal migrants who migrate for three months during the winters<sup>403</sup>. Harka Gurung has defined temporary migrants as individuals who had been living in the place of enumeration for less than a year<sup>404</sup>. In case of categories of migration and migrants between Nepal and India, migrants are undocumented though mainly voluntary and

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<sup>397</sup> Brusle, T. (2008) "Choosing a Destination and Work: Migration Strategies of Nepalese Workers in Uttarakhand, Northern India" *Mountain Research and Development*, 28(3/4), pp.240-247.

<sup>398</sup> Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Fourth Edition, January, The Guildford Press.

<sup>399</sup> Adhikari, J. (2006), "Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India", *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, Dhaka, 1-121.

<sup>400</sup> Massey, D. et.al. (2010), "Environmental Change and Out-Migration: Evidence from Nepal", *Population and Environment*, 32(2/3), pp. 109-136.

<sup>401</sup> Datta, P. (2002), *Nepal Migration to India*, Paper to be Presented at the IUSSP Conference on 'Southeast Asia's Population in a Changing Context, 10-13 June 2002, Bangkok, Thailand.

<sup>402</sup> Ghimire, A. et al. (2010), *Nepal Migration Year Book 2009*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS), South Asia Regional Coordination Office, Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South, Kathmandu.

<sup>403</sup> Baral, L.R. (1990), *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*.

<sup>404</sup> Sharma, J.R. and Sharma, S. (2011), "Enumerating Migration in Nepal: A Review", *Working Paper I*, Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility.

regular/ legal migration. Forced migration as human trafficking and child labor/ smuggling has also taken place in significant numbers.

Nepal's migration case is complex. The open border between these two countries facilitates unrestricted flow of migration not just of one ethnic group like the 'Pasthun speaking tribals cross Afghan-Pakistan border'<sup>405</sup> but of the entire population. Due to such circumstances large population cannot be regulated by authorities on either side. As Nepalese migrants can't be distinguished in India as they mix within the Indian community the identity of migrants are often uncertain and in many places may be treated as 'stateless persons' in India<sup>406</sup>.

### **Population distribution of Nepal**

In order to understand the pattern of migration it is important to contextualize the population of the country. Population distribution of Nepal is scattered and uneven owing to its topographical variations which are in contrast to each other. North to South Nepal can be divided into the Terai, Hills and Mountainous region. The Terai region is the 'economic Nepal' banking on its agricultural land, industrial base and the hub of country's international trade, which covers 23% of the total land area of the country, The hill region with 42% of the land area is marked with series of lowly elevated mountain ranges and numerous river channels and the Mountainous region with 35% of the total land area includes the Himalayan chain with arctic climatic condition difficult for livelihood<sup>407</sup>. This topographical division shows variation in climatic conditions, agricultural land availability, natural resources distribution and other essential resources. The country is divided into 5 development regions i.e. the Eastern, Western, Central, Mid-Western and Far-Western Development regions, 14 zones and 75 districts across the three ecological belts. Table III.1 gives the distribution of the zones and districts of Nepal .

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<sup>405</sup> Baral, L.R. (1990) *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, p.4.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid and Jha, H.B. (2001) "Open Border and Economic Interdependence among Nepal-India Border Inhabitants: Some Reflections.

<sup>407</sup> Rajbahak, R.P. (1992), *Nepal-India Open Border: A Bond of Shared Aspirations*, Lancer Publishers, pp.4-6. And Gurung, H. (2001) *Nepal Social Demography and Expressions*, New Era Kathmandu, pp.4-6.

Table III.1 Distribution of the Development Regions, Zones and Districts<sup>408</sup>

Topographical Belts	Development Regions, Zones and Districts								
	Eastern		Central		Western		Mid-Western		Far-Western
	Districts	Zones	Districts	Zones	Districts	Zones	Districts	Zones	Districts
<b>Mountains</b>	Taplejung Sankhuwasabha Solukhumbu	Mechi Koshi Sagarmatha	Dolakha Sindhupalchok Rasuwa	Janakpur Bagmati Narayani	Manag Mustang	Gandaki Dhawalagiri Lumbini	Dolpa Jumla Kalikot Mugu Humla	Karnali Rapti Bheri	Bajura Bajhang Darchula
<b>Hills</b>	Panchthar Ilam Dhankuta Terhathum Bhojpur Okhaldhunga Khotang Udayapur		Sindhuli Ramechhap Kabrepalanchok Lalitpur Bhaktapur Kathmandu Nuwakot Dhading Makwanpur		Gorkha Lamjung Tanahu Syangja Kaski Myadi Parbat Baglung Gulmi Palpa Arghakhachi		Pyuthan Rolpa Rukum Salyan Surkhet Dailekh Jajarkot		Accham Doti Dadeldhura Baitadi
<b>Terai</b>	Jhapa Morang Sunsari Siraha		Dhanusha Mahottari Sarlahi Rautahat Bara Parsa Chitwan		Nawalparasi Rupandehi Kapilvastu		Dang Banke Bardiya		Kailali Kanchanpur

<sup>408</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics (2011), Government of Nepal, *Nepal Living Standards Survey*, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal, p.6.

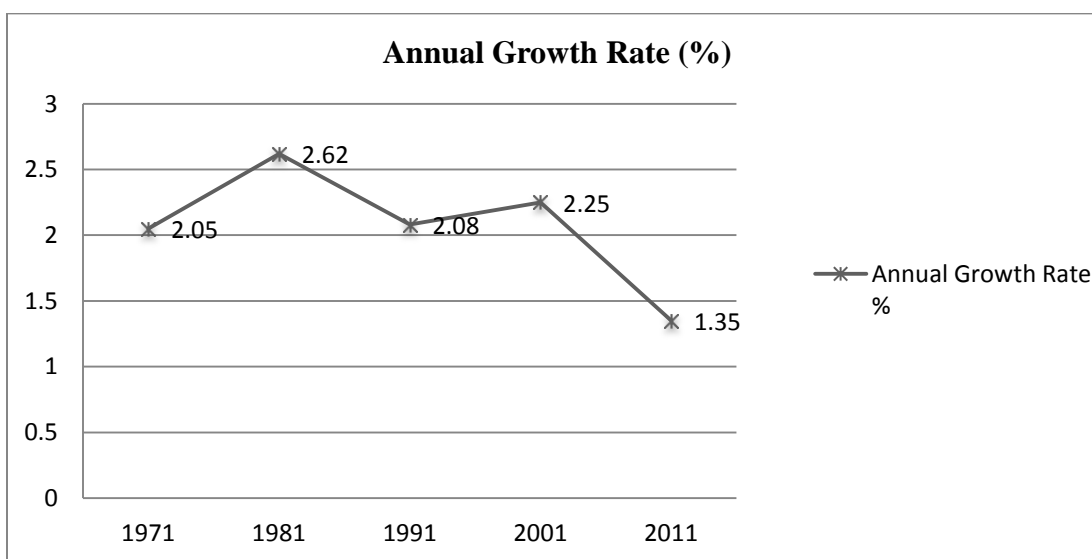
**Table III.2: Size of Population of Nepal**

Year	Population Size
1971	11,555,983
1981	15,022,839
1991	18,491,097
2001	23,151,423
2011*	26,494,504

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Monograph 2003,

p. 38 and 2011 Monograph 2014, p.17.

**Figure III.1 : Annual Growth Rate (%) of Population of Nepal**



Source: Graphed by the Researcher, Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Monograph 2003, p. 38 and 2011\* Monograph 2014, p. 17.

Table III.2 shows trend in population increase from 1971 to 2011 and Figure III.1 depicts its annual growth rate (%). The population of Nepal as per 2011 census is recorded at 26.4 million, which is a rise from population in 2001 at 23.1 million at an annual rate of 1.35%. However, the annual growth rate shows decrease from 2.25% recorded during 1991-2001 to 1.35% recorded during 2001-2011. This is despite the fact that there has

been an increase in the absolute number of population. The fall in growth rate could be attributed to a number of factors including falling death rate and birth rate and also increase in migration<sup>409</sup> in the period 2001 to 2011 due to Maoist insurgency and the political transition that the country has been going through. The census 1971 was conducted after the political division of the country into 75 districts<sup>410</sup>

**Table III.3: Demographic Distribution according to Topographical Region of Nepal**

	1971		1981		1991		2001*		2011**	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
<b>Mountain</b>	1,138,610	9.9	1,302,896	8.7	1,443,130	7.8	1,687,859	7.3	1,781,792	6.7
<b>Hilly</b>	6,071,407	52.5	7,163,115	47.7	8,419,889	45.5	10,251,111	44.3	11,394,007	43.0
<b>Terai</b>	4,345,966	37.6	6,556,828	43.6	8,628,078	46.7	11,212,453	48.4	13,318,705	50.3
<b>Total</b>	11,555,983	100	15,022,839	1000	18,491,097	100	23,151,423	100	26,494,504	100

Sources: Niroula (1995) in Harka Gurung (New Era, 2001), 2001\* Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Monograph 2003, p.42 and 2011\*\* Central Bureau of Statistics, Monograph 2014, p.19.

Topographically the trend of increase in population is mainly seen in the Terai region<sup>411</sup>. Table III.3 gives the demographic distribution according to topographical region in Nepal from the year 1971 to 2011. Population distribution of Nepal shows that the low land Terai areas have an increase in total percentage of population from 37.6 % in 1971 to 50.3 % in 2011. There is a visible decrease in the percentage of population in Mountain and Hill from 9.9 % in 1971 to 6.7% in 2011 and 52.5% in 1971 to 43% in 2011 respectively.

<sup>409</sup> Pathak, R.S and Lamichhane, K. (2014), "Population Size, Growth and Distribution," in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepa, pp. 15-37.

<sup>410</sup> Sharma, J.R. and Sharma, S. (2011), "Enumerating Migration in Nepal: A Review", *Working Paper I*, Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility, Social Sciences Baha, Kathmandu.

<sup>411</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (2001), "Nepal- India Open Border: Nature, Pattern and Socio-Cultural Implications" in B.C. Upreti and Ramakant. (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi. And Pantha, R and Sharma, B.R. (2003), "Population Size, Growth and Distribution", in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal, 37-86.



**Table III.4: Demographic Distribution according to Development Regions of Nepal**

Development Regions	1981		1991		2001		2011	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Eastern	3,708,923	24.69	4,446,749	24.05	5,344,476	23.09	5,811,555	21.93
Central	4,909,357	32.68	6,183,955	33.44	8,031,629	34.69	9,656,985	36.45
Western	3,128,859	20.83	3,770,678	20.39	4,571,013	19.74	4,926,765	18.60
Mid-Western	1,955,611	13.02	2,410,414	13.04	3,012,975	13.01	3,546,682	13.39
Far-Western	1,320,089	8.78	1,679,301	9.08	2,191,330	9.47	2,552,517	9.63
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,022,839</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18,491,097</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23,151,423</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26,494,504</b>	<b>100</b>

Sources: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Monograph 2014, p. 20.

The population distributions according to the five developmental regions over the years from 1981 to 2011 are given in table III.4. The data shows that the concentration of population is largely in the Central Development Region which also constitutes the Kathmandu Valley<sup>412</sup> followed by Eastern and Western Development regions. Central and Far-Western development regions have an increasing demographic trend 32.68% of population in 1981 to 36.45% in 2011 and 8.78% in 1981 to 9.63% in 2011 respectively. However, the Western region along with Eastern show fall in percentage of population from 20.83 % in 1981 to 18.60 in 2011 and 24.69 % in 1981 to 21.93 % in 2011 respectively. The Far and Mid-Western regions show low percentage of total population as compared to other three development regions 9.63 % and 13.39% of the total population respectively in 2011. The period 1991 to 2001 showed a decline in population trend in all the four development regions of Nepal except the Far-Western.

Gorkha, one of the focal points of the Maoists insurgency<sup>413</sup> and a district in Western region concentrated in the Western Hills<sup>414</sup> shows a declining trend in its population share both during 1991-2001 and 2001-2011 from 1.37% to 1.24% and from 1.24 % to 1.02%

<sup>412</sup> Kathmandu Valley constitutes three districts Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. Kathmandu is a Metropolitan City and Largest municipality of Nepal and Bhaktapur and Lalitpur are Sub-Metropolitan Cities. See Ministry of Urban Development Nepal, URL: [www.moud.gov.in](http://www.moud.gov.in)

<sup>413</sup> Mishra, R. (2004) "India's Role in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency", *Asian Survey*, 44, pp. 627-646.

<sup>414</sup> Table III.1 of the dissertation.

respectively<sup>415</sup>. The population census of 2001 shows maximum insurgency affected districts like Dolpa, Jumla, Kalikot, Mugu in Mid-Western Mountains and Salyan and Surkhet in Mid-Western Hills<sup>416</sup> recorded a decline in population trend during 1991-2001. The Maoist insurgency can be largely attributed to this declining phenomenon.

### **Absentee<sup>417</sup> Population**

The Nepal Living Standards Survey defines migration as ‘geographical or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another’<sup>418</sup> and migrants are those individuals who are currently not in Nepal and working abroad, mainly in the Gulf states, India, Malaysia and other countries<sup>419</sup>. The 1942 census of Nepal recorded the headcount of the absentee population only. The 1952 census that counted the emigrants limited the destination for migration to seven places India, Malaya, Tibet, Burma, Pakistan and other countries and unspecified<sup>420</sup>. The census of 1961 gave data for place of birth, population absent from home for at least six months and destination of the migrants.<sup>421</sup> However the 1971 census calculated the population present and not the absentee population<sup>422</sup>.

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<sup>415</sup> See 2.3.4, Distribution of Population by Districts and Population Growth Rates 1991-2011 in Chapter 2, (2014), “Population Size, Growth and Distribution,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal, p.22.

<sup>416</sup> See Table 2.5: Distribution of Population by Districts and Population Growth Rates 1991-2001 in Chapter 2, (2003), “Population Size, Growth and Distribution,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal, pp. 37-86.

<sup>417</sup> Absentee is an individual who is excluded from the survey because of his or her prolonged absence/migration either for 6 months, 12 months or has recently left and won’t be back for long (NLSS, 2010/11) in Ministry of Labor and Employment (2014).

<sup>418</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Nepal Living Standards Survey*, Government of Nepal, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal in Sharma, Jeevan Raj and Sharma, Sanjay (2011), “Enumerating Migration in Nepal: A Review”, *Working Paper I*, Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility, Social Sciences Baha, Kathmandu.

<sup>419</sup> Gurung, B.K. (2010), “Status and Trends of International Labor Migrants”, in Anita Ghimire et al. (2010), *Nepal Migration Year Book 2009*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS), South Asia Regional Coordination Office, Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South, Kathmandu.

<sup>420</sup> Sharma, J.R. and Sharma, S. (2011), “Enumerating Migration in Nepal: A Review”.

<sup>421</sup> Shrestha, N.R. (2001), *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*, Nirala Publication.

<sup>422</sup> Chapter 2, (2014), “Population Size, Growth and Distribution,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics. and Chapter 2, (2003), “Population Size, Growth and Distribution,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, pp. 15-37.

However, a very significant dimension of the absentee population is that it includes both internal (those who migrate within Nepal) and external (those who migrate outside Nepal) migrants and observes internal migrants as migrants who leave home for short time during non- farming season and return home for farming season and doesn't need to cross any international borders. On the other hand, external migrants are seen as those migrating by crossing borders for longer duration of time to settle with secured job opportunities, to join the families or to flee the political and environmental conflicts<sup>423</sup> .

This study concentrates on external or international migration. Table III.5 shows absentee population of Nepal from year 1971 to 2011 internationally or as external migrants. In the year 1971 absentee populations was not calculated but the years that followed show an increase in percentage of absentee as the share of the total population. In 1981 it was 2.6% of the total population which rose to 7.3% by 2011. There is a sharp leap in absentee population in Nepal from 2001 to 2011 from 3.2% of the total population to 7.3% in a decade which marked political turmoil, transition, economic downturn and natural calamities. This shows that an increase in insecurity is broadly proportional to increase in absentee population.

**Table: III.5 Absentee Population of Nepal (International)**

Year	Total	Absent	Percentage (%)
1971	11,555,983	NA	NA
1981	15,022,839	4,02,977	2.6
1991	18,491,097	658,290	3.4
2001	23,151,423	762,181	3.2
2011	26,494,504	1,921,494	7.3

Sources: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Monograph 2014, Table 9.3, p. 213.

<sup>423</sup> Shrestha, N.R. (2001), *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*, Nirala Publication.

The 10 districts which highlighted the maximum absentee population in 2011 census were Gulmi (20.9%), Syangja (17.5%), Kaski (11.6%), Nawalparasi (10.2%), Jhapa (9.9%), Kailali (8.1%), Dhanusa (8%), Morang (7.3%), Rupandehi (7.1%), and Kathmandu (5.7%)<sup>424</sup>. Gulmi in the Western development region accounted for the highest percentage of the absentee population

The reasons for absence for international migration in 2001 census were highlighted as Agriculture (1%), Business (1.6%), Personal Services (66.4%), Institutional Services (12.4%), Study/Training (4.2%) Marriage (1.9%) and Others (12.5%)<sup>425</sup>. The reasons for absence in 2011 census were Business (0.6%), Private job (71%), Institutional Job (10%), study (5.8%), Conflict (0.1%), Dependent (6.8%), others (1.4%) and not stated (4.3%)<sup>426</sup>. Economic insecurity in Nepal is prevalent largely as a cause for migration in 2011 as well as 2001. Inclusion of conflict as a reason to migrate in 2011 hints to the period of turmoil and political insecurity and political insecurity has become a prime concern mainly after 2000.

### **Absentee Population to India**

Increase in absentee population also coincides with increase in population migrating to India<sup>427</sup>. Kansakar states that largest foreign population in pre-independent India was the population born in Nepal<sup>428</sup>. Census 2001 recorded a steep falloff percentage of absentee population to India, with increase in newer destination for Nepalese migrants like 'Kuwait, Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE'<sup>429</sup>. The 2001 census showed an

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<sup>424</sup>Table 9.7. Major Areas of Origin of Absent Population in Chapter 9, (2014), "International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal," in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, p. 229.

<sup>425</sup>Table 14.22. Distribution of Population Absent from Household by Sex, Age, at Departure and Reason for Absence 2001 in Chapter 14, (2003), "International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal," in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, pp. 114-115.

<sup>426</sup>Table 9.9. Distribution of Population Absent from Household by Sex, Age, at Departure and Reason for Absence 2011 in Chapter 9, (2014), "International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal," in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, p. 229.

<sup>427</sup> Seddon, D. et al. (2002), "Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal", *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(1), pp. 301-327.

<sup>428</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (1984), "Indo- Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects", *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, Tribhuvan University, 11(2) 49-69.

<sup>429</sup> Ministry of Labor and Employment (2014), *Labor Migration for Employment: A Status Report for Nepal: 2013/2014*, Department of Foreign Employment, Government of Nepal.

increase in migration towards the Gulf countries with number of destination increased to Qatar, Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain, including China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Australia and other European countries<sup>430</sup>.

**Table III.6: Absentee Population According to Destination**

Year	Total Absent	India		Others		Not Stated	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	402,977	375,196	93.1	27,781	6.9	NA	NA
1991	658,290	587,243	89.2	40,481	12.8	30,566	4.6
2001	762,181	589,050	77.3	173,131	22.7	NA	NA
2011	1,921,494	722,255	37.6	1,178,926	61.4	20,312	1.1

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Monograph 2014, Table 9.4, p. 224.

According to 1961 census a striking feature of the migrations to India is that the migrants do not come from the densely populated Terai plains districts bordering India but from the less densely populated hill districts<sup>431</sup>. Table III.6 shows the absentee population according to destination for period 1981 to 2011. Year 1981 shows an overwhelming percentage of population migrating to India i.e. 93 %. From 2001 onwards there is a drastic fall in population migration to India from 77.3% in 2001 to 37.6% of the absentee population in 2011 though in absolute sense people migrating to India has increased from 589,050 in 2001 to 722,255 in 2011. There is leap in migration to other countries from 27,781 or 6.9% in 1981 to 1,178, 926 or 61.4% in 2011. After 1991 there is a leap in population migrating largely to other than India. In 2001, 589,050 number of Nepalese migrants or 77.3 % of total Nepalese migrants, migrated to India and 110, 826 number of Nepalese migrants or 16% of population of total Nepalese migrants, migrated to Middle East Countries<sup>432</sup>. In 2011, 722,255 number of Nepalese migrants or 37.6% of total Nepalese migrants, migrated to India and 721,791 number of Nepalese migrants or

<sup>430</sup> Sharma, J.R. and Sharma, S. (2011), “Enumerating Migration in Nepal: A Review”, *Working Paper I*, Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility.

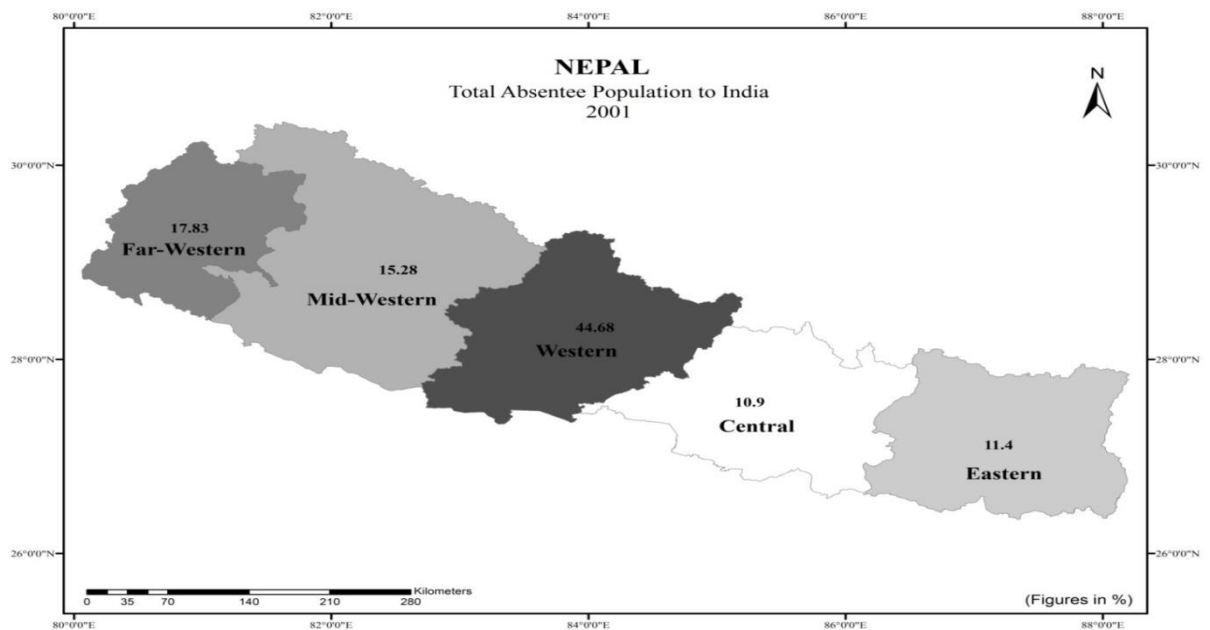
<sup>431</sup> Weiner, M. (1972), “The Political Demography of Nepal” *Asian Survey*, 13(6), June, pp. 617-630.

<sup>432</sup> Calculated by the researcher from Table 14.20. Population Absent from Household by Age, Sex at Departure and Country of Destination in Chapter 14, (2003), “ International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, p.113.

37% of total Nepalese migrants, migrated to Middle East Countries<sup>433</sup>. The 1990s boom of the oil economy and need for cheap labor in the Middle East has to a large extent responsible for this shift in the destination of migrants. This is also partly true in case of destination like South East Asia. This was also accompanied by a slowdown in Indian economic growth in the 1990s.

Long history of migration mainly to British Gurkha regiments was witnessed in the Eastern and Western hill regions and these areas still remain one of the most migration prone regions<sup>434</sup> in Nepal.

**Map III.1: Total Absentee Population to India-2001<sup>435</sup>**



Source: National Population Monograph, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal. Map Prepared by the Researcher.

<sup>433</sup>Table 9.6. Population Absent from Household by Age, Sex at Departure and Country of Destination in Chapter 9, (2014), “International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, p.226.

<sup>434</sup>Seddon, D. et al. (2002), “Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal”.

<sup>435</sup>Table 14.20. Population Absent from Household by Age, Sex at Departure and Country of Destination in Chapter 14, (2003), “International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal,” in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, pp. 111-112.

As per the 2001 census, the highest percentage of absentee population according to the developmental region to India was the Western Developmental region with 44.68% of absentee going to India followed by Far-Western with 17.83% and then Mid-Western with 15.28% as shown in Map III.1. These regions - mainly the four districts of Nepal-coincide with the Maoist dominated locations during insurgency ‘ Gorkha in Western, Sindhuli in Central, and Rolpa and Rukum in Mid-Western Hills’ and Rapti Zone of Mid-Western Region were the focal points of the decade long insurgency<sup>436</sup>. It is therefore largely concluded that political instability and insecurity due to civil war and insurgency had been one of the most important reasons for the increase in absentee population from these regions to India.

### **Nepalese Migrants in India**

The open border makes it completely unique for population in the borders of India and Nepal to go across and attend schools, visit hospitals, buy groceries in common currency and manage the movement without any complications and extended procedures<sup>437</sup>. The primary data of migrants taken in this section to elaborate the study is that of Nepal born population in India<sup>438</sup> since 1971 to 2001 from the census of India<sup>439</sup>. Today Nepalese migrants in India are scattered in various parts of the country. It is important to study whether the nature and magnitude of migration has still been the same as witnessed decades ago or has changed over the time.

It's the poor migrants or households who generally tend to migrate to India and with increase in wealth people there is an increase in proportion of migrants to other destinations which entails visa work and tie ups with recruiting agencies<sup>440</sup>. Migration from Nepal to India is an alternative livelihood strategy to combat difficulties at home.

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<sup>436</sup> Mishra, R. (2004) “India’s Role in Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency”, *Asian Survey*, 44, p.627.

<sup>437</sup> Manchanda, R. (2001), “Whose Nepal-Whose India: of Diasporas and Transnational Identities”, *India International Centre Quarterly*, 28(3), Monsoon, pp. 47-56.

<sup>438</sup> The Census of India reports the data of Nepalese migrants as the Nepal born population in India under the category of Population by Place of Birth in its Migration Tables.

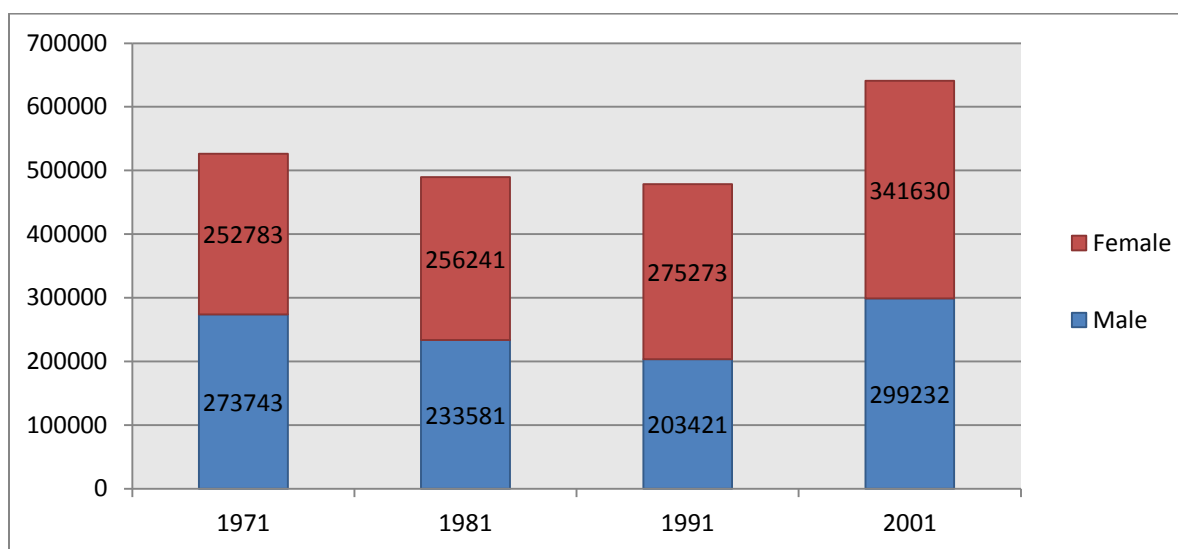
<sup>439</sup> The 2011 data on Migration is not released by the Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Home Ministry as of June 2015.

<sup>440</sup> Sijapati, B and Limbu, A. (2012), *Governing Labor Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*, Center for Labor and Mobility Studies, Himal Books, Kathmandu, Nepal.

For many it is a ‘rites of passage’ where in men migrate to take responsibility as an adult and be the bread winner of the family<sup>441</sup>. Geographical contiguity, socio-cultural affinity, the kinship factor and historical reasons have left the Indo-Nepal borders attractive to migration<sup>442</sup>

Figure III.2 gives the volume of Nepalese migrants in India from 1971 to 2001 with the breakup of both male and female population each decade. The bar graph shows a fall in volume of population migrating to India in 1981 and 1991.

**Figure III.2: Nepalese Migrants in India with Male and Female Distribution**



**Source: Appendix 6; Graph prepared by the Researcher**

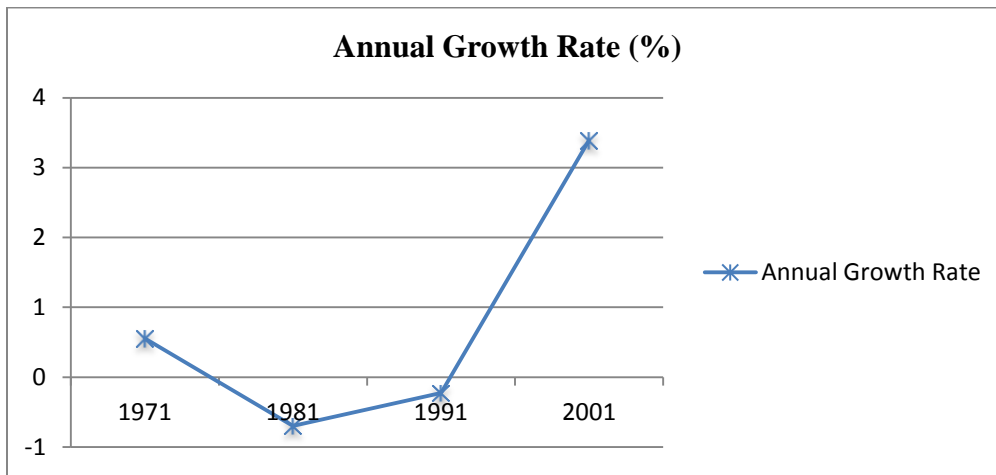
Figure III.3 shows the annual growth rate of Nepal born population in India in percentage. In 1971 annual growth rate is at 0.55 % however 1981 and 1991 gives negative growth rate at -0.69 and -0.22 and 2001 gives a drastic positive leap in the growth rate at 3.38%

<sup>441</sup> Brusle, T. (2007), “The World Upside-Down : Nepalese Migrants in Northern India”, *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, October, Martin Chautari, Kathmandu. p. 174. And Brusle, T. (2008) “Choosing a Destination and Work: Migration Strategies of Nepalese Workers in Uttarakhand, Northern India” *Mountain Research and Development*, 28(3/4), August-November, pp.240-247.

<sup>442</sup> Jha, H.B. (2001) “Open Border and Economic Interdependence among Nepal-India Border Inhabitants: Some Reflections, in Upreti, B.C. and Ramakant. (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi.



**Figure III.3: Annual Growth Rate (%) of Nepalese Migrants in India**



**Source: Appendix 6; Calculated and Graph prepared by the Researcher**

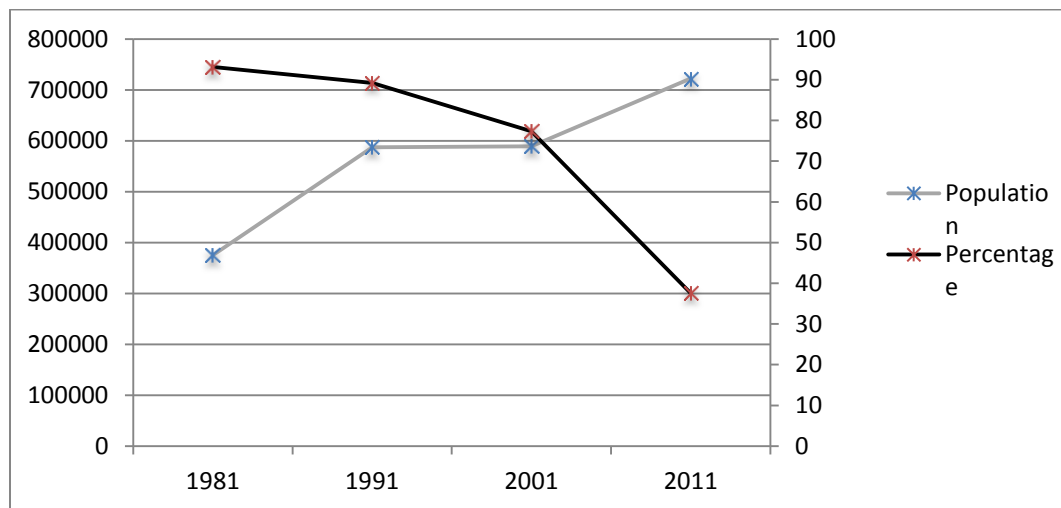
Figure III.3 shows the double sided line graph of the flow of absentee population of Nepal to India from period 1981 to 2011<sup>443</sup> and the percentage of the total absentee population over the decades. The graph shows an increase in the number of population migrating to India across all censuses from 375,196 in 1981; 587,243 in 1991; 589,050 in 2001 to 722,255 in 2011<sup>444</sup>. However, in percentage it shows a fall from 93.1% of total absentee population in 1981 to 37.6 % of total absentee population in 2011. Even with increase in number of absentee population to India, the percentage of absentee population to India show a fall due to the increase in total number of absentee population of Nepal. The total absentee population of Nepal increased from 402,977 in 1981 to 1,921,494 in 2011<sup>445</sup>. And this increase in absentee population corresponds to increase in migration to other destinations than India

<sup>443</sup> In 1971 absentee population was not counted in the Census of Nepal.

<sup>444</sup> Table III.6 of the dissertation.

<sup>445</sup> Table III.5 of the dissertation.

**Figure III.3: Absentee Population from Nepal to India (in Numbers and %)**



Source: Table III.6, Graph prepared by the Researcher

To understand this magnitude and dimension of Nepal born population in India the study elaborates the analysis with the help of the census data for each decade. The Indian census recorded 526,526 number of Nepal born population in India in 1971<sup>446</sup>. Total number of male migrants exceeded the female migrants in 1971. Males accounted for 52% (273,743) of the total Nepal born population and females accounted for 48% (252,783). In 1981<sup>447</sup>, The Indian census recorded 489,822 number of Nepal born population in India. This year shows a dip in volume of Nepalese migrants' population from the year 1971. This census did not record the population of Assam due to political disturbances in the state during the period. Assam has been recorded as one of the top 5 highest Nepalese migrant receiving states in 1971. Hence, one of the reasons for the dip could be the non-recording of the population of the state of Assam or due to missing data in this period or the non-availability of classified data. The number of male migrants this year was at 47.7% (233,581) lower than female at 52.3% (256,241).

478,694 number of Nepal born population was recorded in India in 1991<sup>448</sup>. Even this census recorded the volume of population lower than previous census. In 1991 the Indian

<sup>446</sup> Appendix 2

<sup>447</sup> Appendix 3

<sup>448</sup> Appendix 4

census did not record the population of Jammu and Kashmir due to political situation in the state. Though Nepal born migrants in Jammu and Kashmir hasn't been too large in 1971 and 1981 which were 0.2% and 0.4% respectively, the fall in volume of population migrating to India could not be attributed just to the lack of data of Jammu and Kashmir. It could also be the increase of absentee population from Nepal to other destinations<sup>449</sup> owing to the Nepal Foreign Employment Act of 1985<sup>450</sup> which eased the movement of population to foreign destinations like Middle East and South East Asia. However, the absentee population from Nepal to India in 1991 showed an increase in its volume in the census of Nepal. The other reason for this fall in recorded number of migrants could be either the case of missing data or non-availability of classified data from the Government of India. The numbers of male migrants were recorded at 42.4 % (478694) and females at 57.5 % (275273). This census shows a dip in the males migrating to India compared to the previous census.

The 2001 census recorded an increase in the volume of Nepalese population migrating to India at 640,862<sup>451</sup>. This census added three new states Uttaranchal<sup>452</sup>, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand, which got separated from Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar respectively in 2000. The percentage of male migrants was recorded at 46.7 (299,232) which were lower than the females at 53.3 (341630).

The discrepancy in numbers of migrants shown in Indian census and absentee population to India in Nepal census clearly indicates the nature of Nepalese migrants in India which is undocumented and non-monitored due to the privileges of the Treaty of 1950. Works of researchers on the migration between Nepal and India like by Kansakar, Sheddon, Weiner, Gurung also highlight that the difference is due to lack of proper definition, differences in the methods and approaches to record migrants, reach and coverage of migration related institutions particularly in the 1751 km long open border, varied and wide scale of both origin and destination and recognition of Nepalese migrants in the part of Indian census as India has both Nepalese nationals and Indians of Nepali origin. The

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<sup>449</sup>Table III.6 of the dissertation.

<sup>450</sup>Sijapati, B and Limbu, A. (2012), *Governing Labor Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*.

<sup>451</sup>Appendix 5.

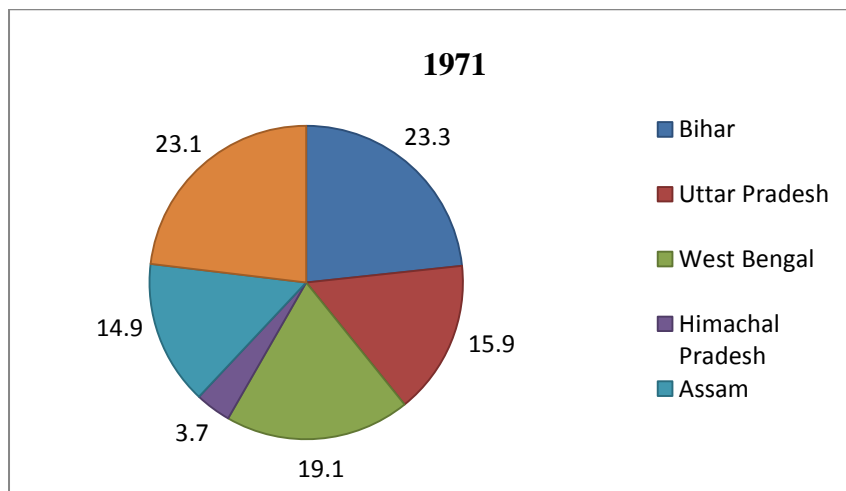
<sup>452</sup>Also called as Uttarakhand.

nuances of open border makes it difficult to record the entire tale of the migrant and migration from the origin of movement till their stay in the host country like the accounts of the number of migrants pouring in, why they leave, where they go and how they survive<sup>453</sup>. Due to the open border agreement between India and Nepal, there is only sparse knowledge about the numbers of Nepalese in India<sup>454</sup>.

### Nepalese Migrants in India: State Level

Nepalese migrants are distributed all over India; large concentration is seen in the northern regions and the concentration is moving towards western sides to Maharashtra and Karnataka. The pie charts below show the top 5 states in each decade receiving maximum Nepalese migrants in India:

**Figure III.4: Top 5 Nepalese Migrants Receiving States in 1971 (%)**

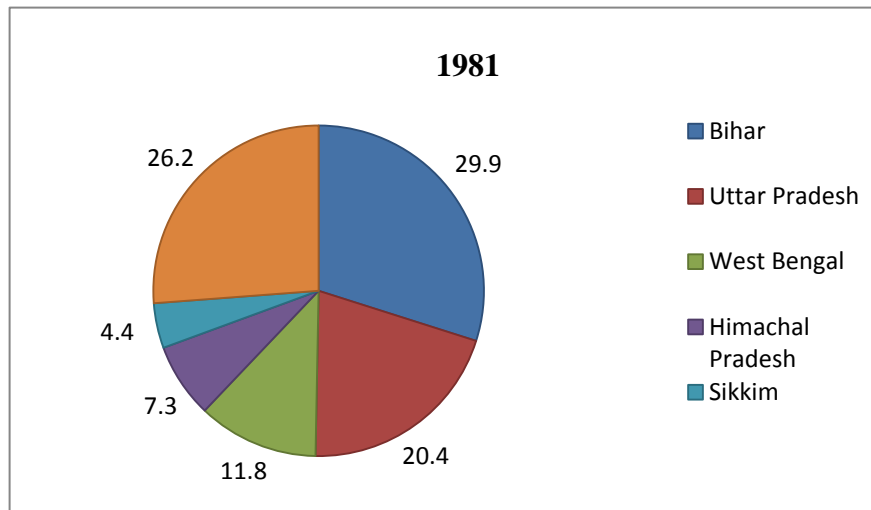


**Source: Government of India (1971), *Census of India 1971, Population by Place of Birth Migration Tables, Series 1, Part II, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home. Pie chart prepared by the Researcher***

<sup>453</sup> Bhattarai, R. (2007a), “Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi”.

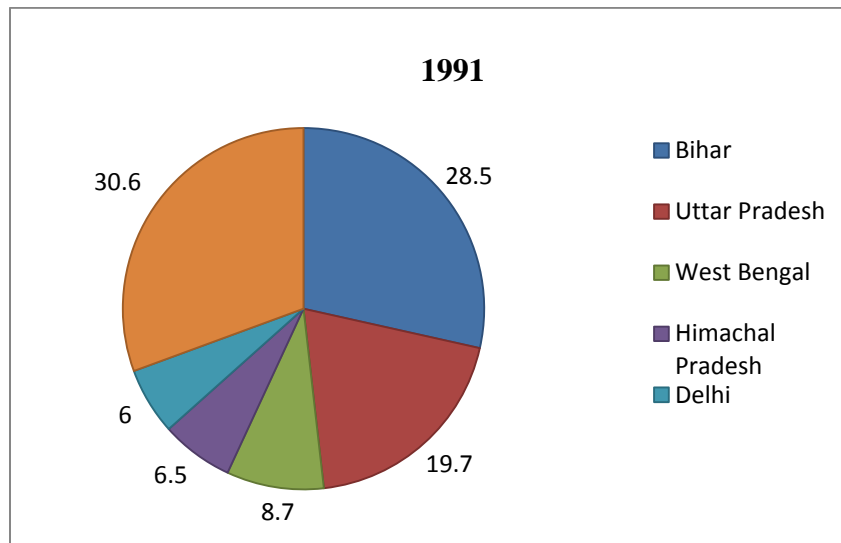
<sup>454</sup> Thieme, S. et.al. (2005), “Addresssing the Needs of Nepalese Migrants Workers in Nepal and Delhi, India” *Mountain Research and Development* ,25 ( 2), May, pp.109-114.

**Figure III.5: Top 5 Nepalese Migrants Receiving States in 1981(%)**



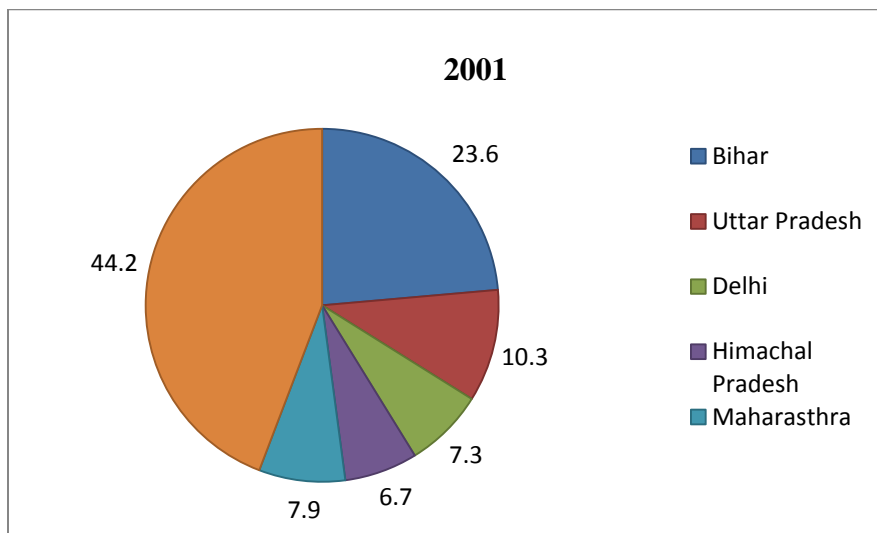
Source: Government of India (1991), *Census of India 1991, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home*. Pie chart prepared by the Researcher.

**Figure III.7: Top 5 Nepalese Migrants Receiving States in 1991(%)**



Source: Government of India (1991), *Census of India 1991, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home*. Pie chart prepared by the Researcher.

**Figure III.6: Top 5 Nepalese Migrants Receiving States in 2001 (%)**



**Source: Government of India (2001), *Census of India 2001*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home. Pie chart prepared by the Researcher.**

The Pie Charts show that the top 5 states which received maximum Nepal born population or Nepalese migrants are changing in each census however large concentration has been witnessed in the northern states of India. In all the four censuses Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has remained the maximum migrant receiving states and these are also the bordering States of Nepal. For instance, it is rather interesting to note that the distribution of Nepalese migrants across India, do broadly show that there is a correlation of the extent of open border of a particular state and the ingress and presence of Nepalese migrants. Bihar has the highest open border of 729 km (42 percent of the total open border with Nepal) of open border with Nepal and its share of migrants is one of the highest i.e. over 23 percent in 1971, 30 percent in 1981 and 28 percent in 1991 and 23 percent in 2001.

Over the decades there is an area diversification of Nepalese migrants in India as percentage of migrants moving to the rest of India is increasing and migrants are moving to states like Punjab, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Area

diversification could be due to move towards commercial hubs like Mumbai in Maharashtra and Bangalore in Karnataka. Also, with increase in the number of Bangladeshi migrants who are relatively cheaper than Nepalese migrants in the North Indian states Nepalese migrants could be moving farther. Also the less proximate states show lower similarity with the home country and higher level of acceptance from the locals which could attract these Nepalese migrants to spread out of the north Indian region that borders Nepal.

In 1971 Bihar recorded the highest percentage of Nepalese Migrants at 23.3% (122528), West Bengal at 19.1 (100365) %, Uttar Pradesh at 15.9 % (83459), Assam at 14.9% (78268), Himachal Pradesh 3.7% (19718), Delhi 1.8 % (9670) and Sikkim 1.1% (5569). Out of these, 4 states are bordering Nepal. About 80% Nepalese migrants were concentrated in the northern hills and the remaining 20% were scattered across India with 3.5% (18422) in Maharashtra and 3% (15551) in Arunachal Pradesh. Besides the northern states the rest of India accounted for very negligible percentage of Nepalese migrants. Laccadiv, Minocoy Amindivi didn't record any Nepal born population in 1971.

In 1981 as well the maximum migrant population was distributed across northern India. Bihar 29.9 % (146539), Uttar Pradesh 20.4% (99792), West Bengal 11.8% (57744), Himachal Pradesh 7.3% (35766), Sikkim 4.4 % (21627) and Delhi 4.1% (19846). 77% of population was concentrated in the same areas as 1971 with Assam as an exception. Maharashtra accounted for 4.3% (21244) migrant population an increase from 1971 and Lakshadweep recorded 16 Nepalese migrants which are about 0.003% of the total migrant population. This year showed an increase in population migrating to Sikkim, Delhi and further to Maharashtra.

Like in the previous census, in the 1991 census also the population distribution of the migrants were concentrated mostly in the northern region with Bihar at 28.5% (136291), Uttar Pradesh 19.7% (94336), West Bengal 8.7% (41736), Himachal Pradesh 6.5% (30884), Delhi 6 % (28768) and Sikkim 3.5% (16612). Around 75% of the migrant population was located in the northern region. Maharashtra recorded 4.5% (21700) of the Nepalese migrants and Punjab recorded 2.4% (11350) Nepal born migrants. Census of Assam recorded 4.7% (22433) of Nepal born population which was a drastic dip from

14.9% in 1971. This census only recorded 1 Nepalese migrant in Laskswadeep. 1991 census showed a fall in volume of Nepalese migrants though they were seen moving further towards Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.

In 2001, migrants from Nepal were again concentrated in Bihar 23.6% (151057), Uttar Pradesh 10.3 % (65811), Maharashtra 7.9 % (50781), Delhi 7.3% (46517), Uttaranchal 6.8% (43228), Himachal Pradesh 6.7% (43080) , West Bengal 6.3% (40140) and Sikkim 3.2 % (20455). This census showed Maharashtra among the top 5 states in 2001 to receive Nepalese migrants and Punjab recorded 4.2%. The concentration of migrants was still largely towards the northern states those bordering Nepal although migrants were moving to states like Gujarat, Haryana and Karnataka.

Nepalese migrants come from the hills and mountains to work in the lowlands of India mainly by crossing the Terai borders. Geographical variance could also result in generating a push factor. It's the interaction of the movement from highland to lowland<sup>455</sup>. Further the physical proximity of two countries and the ease to move across owing to the treaty signed has become as much a factor for pushing the population<sup>456</sup> to these neighboring states of India. Moreover, India is considered to have much more capacity to absorb emigrants because of its large size, more resources and more employment opportunities<sup>457</sup>. Hence, Weiner (1972) writes outlet to Nepal's increasing population growth could be India<sup>458</sup>.

### **Rural and Urban Concentration of Nepalese Migrants:**

Figure III.8 shows that the Indian census of 1971 recorded 72.9% of Nepalese migrants in the rural areas of India and this percentage in rural areas is decreasing over the decades as it recorded 59.1 % in 2001. The concentration of the Nepalese migrants in the urban

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<sup>455</sup>Thieme, S. et.al. (2005), "Addresssing the Needs of Nepalese Migrants Workers in Nepal and Delhi, India" *Mountain Research and Development*, 25 ( 2), May, pp.109-114.

<sup>456</sup> Baral, L.R. (1990), *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

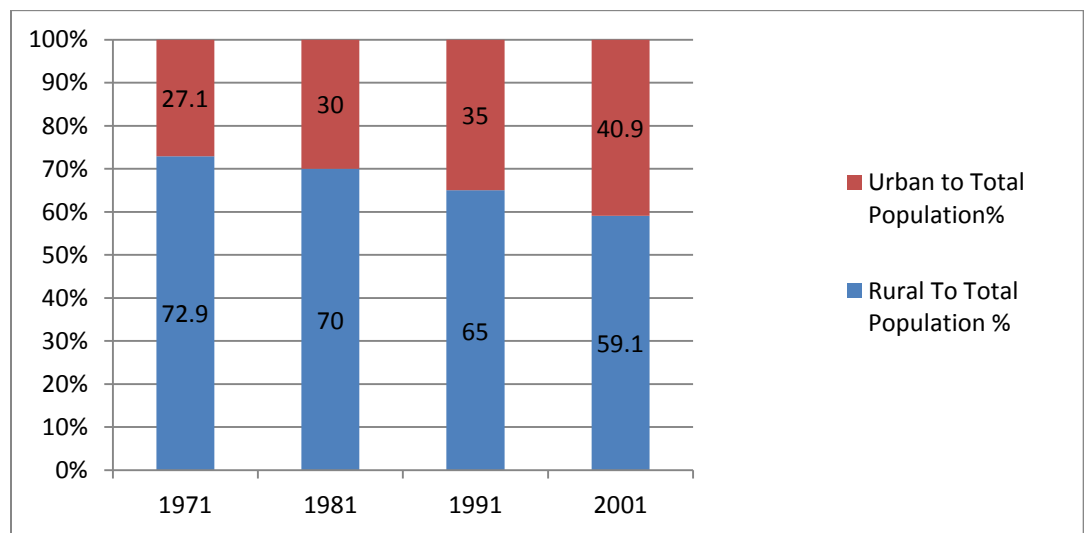
<sup>457</sup>Adhikari, J. (2006), "Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India", *Working Paper Series*.

<sup>458</sup> Weiner, M. ( 1972), " The Political Demography of Nepal" *Asian Survey*,13( 6), June, pp. 617-630.



setting has increased from 27.1% in 1971 to 40.9% in 2001. The rural to urban ratio<sup>459</sup> in Figure III.9 also show a declining trend from 1971 to 2001 from 2.69 to 1.44 respectively. This means that approximately for every 3 Nepalese migrant in rural area there is one migrant in the urban area in 1971, and in 2001 the ratio has reduced to 3:2. Thus, the trend shows that Nepal born populations are now moving towards urban centers in India.

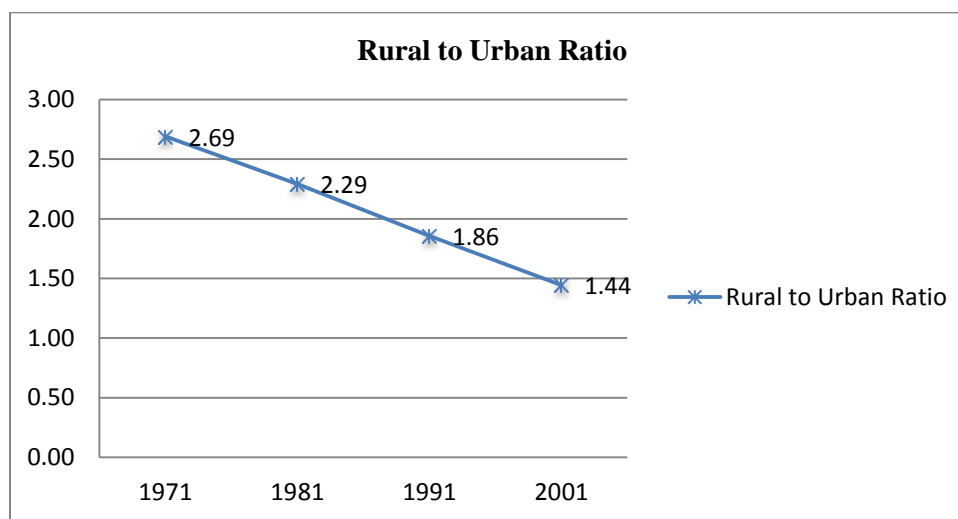
**Figure III.7: Nepalese Migrants in India (in Rural and Urban Centers) (%)**



Source: Appendix 2.2, 3.2, 4.2, 5.2; Graph prepared by the Researcher

<sup>459</sup>Rural Population (R)/ Urban Population (U).

**Figure III.8: Rural to Urban Ratio of Nepalese Migrants in India**



Source: Appendix 2.2, 3.2, 4.2, 5.2; Graph prepared by the Researcher

In 2001<sup>460</sup>, similar to previous census reports maximum concentration of population in rural centers were in Bihar 21.8 % and Uttar Pradesh 7.3% however in case of urban centers migrants were located mostly in Delhi 6.8% and Maharashtra 6.8% followed by Punjab 3% and Uttar Pradesh 2.9%. The highest rural to urban ration this census recorded was of Daman and Diu and Bihar at 12.

The state wise concentration of migrants in urban and rural centers reveals that most of the states with highest concentration of the Nepal born migrants also resulted in highest concentration in both rural and urban spaces as the total volume of migrants in these states were high. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh recorded high percentage of Nepal born population in both its urban spaces and rural spaces. Maximum rural concentration of the migrant population is among the states which are adjoining Nepal like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal . However in case of urban concentration migrants move further to Maharashtra, Punjab and Delhi. The concentration in urban space by Nepalese migrants shows a promising increase in 2001.

<sup>460</sup> Appendix 5.2

Higher rural concentration is shown in the bordering states. Proximity, similarity in terms of ethnic groups, culture and traditions and easier adaptability attract large proportion of migrants. Rural areas also attract seasonal migrants, mainly agricultural laborers, looking for daily wage jobs during the off season, thus, choosing destinations which are closer to make a circular migration to and fro and also easier for adaptability. These areas also ensure high requirements in the market for informal and menial jobs like porters, stone pickers, constructions workers, which then get taken up by seasonal migrants. However, in case of urban centres, the increase in service sectors and improved job market in destinations like Delhi, Maharashtra and Karnataka, attract immigrants. Urban spaces which demands domestic workers and waiters/waitress for home, restaurant and hotels, make a lucrative opportunity for Nepalese migrants to concentrate in urban settings.

### **Sex Ratio<sup>461</sup> of the Nepalese Migrants**

Figure III.11 shows that the sex ratio of Nepalese migrants in 1971 was 923. There has been an increase in the sex ratio to 1095 in 1981 and 1353 in 1991 however in 2001 it fell marginally to 1142. The volume of the Nepalese female migrants to male has been consistently increasing in India over the decade, as shown in Figure III.2. In terms of states the highest sex ratio amongst the migrants is noted in Bihar across all the decades. In 1971<sup>462</sup> Bihar and Uttar Pradesh recorded highest sex ratio at 5758 and 1024 respectively. Of the 48% female migrants in 1971, 20% of the total female migrants were in Bihar, 8% in Uttar Pradesh and 7% in West Bengal. The rest 13% were scattered across the rest of the states in India. In 1981<sup>463</sup> the total female migrants were at 52.3 % and Bihar received 26.6% of the total Nepali born female migrants. The sex ratio was the highest in Bihar amongst all the states at 8111 followed by Uttar Pradesh at 1297 which housed 11.5% of the total Nepalese female migrants in India. Even this census recorded the maximum female migrants in the two adjoining states of Nepal.

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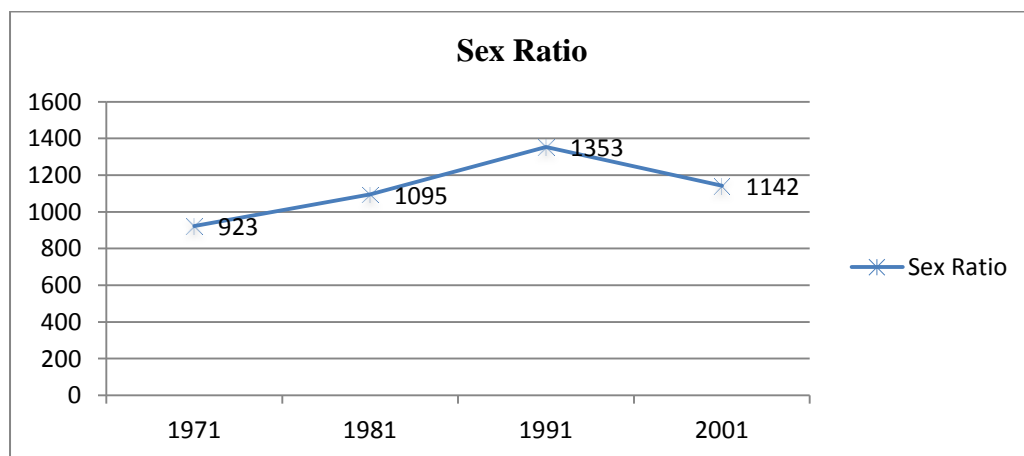
<sup>461</sup>Number of females per 1000 males.As per the census of India.

<sup>462</sup> Appendix 2.1

<sup>463</sup> Appendix 3.1

The 1991<sup>464</sup> census also showed similar results with highest sex ratio in Bihar with a drastic leap from previous decades at 15148 and housed 26.7 % of the total Nepalese female population in India and Uttar Pradesh received 12.8 % of the total Nepal born female population in India with sex ratio at 1833. This census recorded total Nepalese female migrant population in India with sex ratio at 1833. This census recorded total Nepalese female migrant population in India at 57.5%. Thus, shows both the increase in volume and percentage of Nepal born female population in India. The 2001<sup>465</sup> census shows an increase in the number of female migrants in India however shows a fall in the total percentage of females as the total Nepalese migrants increased in India in 2001. The Percentage of female migrant population was at 53.3% and the sex ratio was 1142. Like all the previous decades this census also showed the highest sex ratio in Bihar at 24950 check and of the total Nepal born female population in India, 22.7% were in Bihar followed by Uttar Pradesh at 8.1% with sex ratio of 3841.

**Figure III.9: Sex Ratio of the Nepalese Migrants in India**



**Source: Appendix 6; Calculated and Graph prepared by the Researcher**

Maximum Nepalese male population is also concentrated in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. 1971 shows highest male migrants in West Bengal at 11.7%, Uttar Pradesh 7.8% and Bihar 3.4%. The total percentage of Nepal born male migrants in 1981 and 1991 fell however the maximum migrant receiving states remained amongst the northern regions of India like Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Delhi. In 2001

<sup>464</sup> Appendix 4.1

<sup>465</sup> Appendix 5.1

there is an increase in total male migrant percentage in India at 46.69% of which maximum migrant receiving states scattered from northern states like Himachal 4.53% and Delhi 4.9% further to Maharashtra at 5.65%.

Figure III.2 shows that out of the total migrants from Nepal to India, the share of women migrants show a steady rise from 48 % in 1971, 52.31 in 1981 to 57.50 in 1991. However, it recorded a decline to 53.30 in 2001. Women are active migrants and could trash the hegemonic discourse that the men are the only bread earners as large proportion of women are largely engaged as domestic workers and helpers in small hotels and restaurants of India mainly to states bordering Nepal<sup>466</sup>. Besides, one of the important socio-cultural aspects of migration between Nepal and India is marriage migration and largely prevalent amongst the bordering states<sup>467</sup>. Marriage could be one of the reasons for large number of females to be concentrated in these adjoining states like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The data on absentee population in Census of Nepal 2001 also largely reflected marriage as a reason for migration to India. Besides, Gautam (2005) on his sociological study charts out that maximum respondent opt for India for migration as it accounts for easy availability of unskilled work and easy accessibility due to easier transport services<sup>468</sup>. Most of the females would opt for these unskilled works and to states which are proximate to Nepal. The close proximity to these bordering states and ease due to open border would trigger large numbers of females to cross border to these adjoining states in search of work and settlements however males are seen moving to farther distance to states like Delhi and Maharashtra.

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<sup>466</sup> Women Migrants Workers of Nepal, WMW. Accessed 25 July 2015, URL: [www.unwomen.np/wmw/gender](http://www.unwomen.np/wmw/gender).

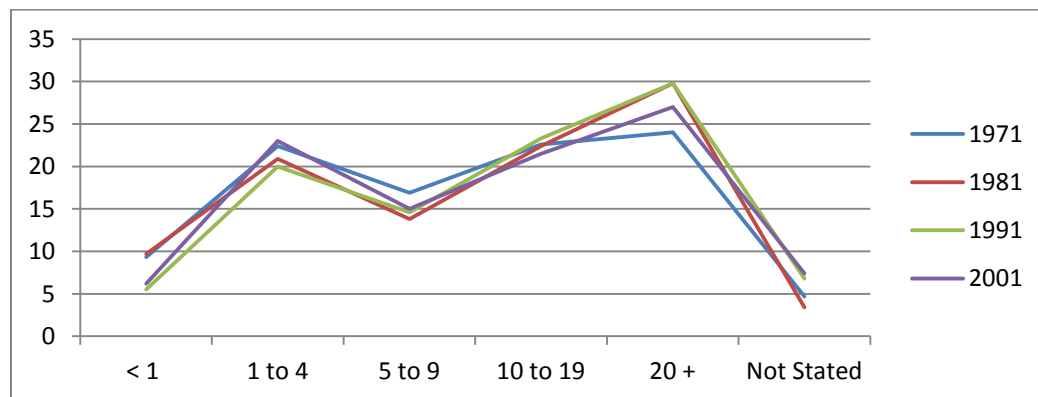
<sup>467</sup> Kansakar, V.B.S. (2001), "Nepal- India Open Border: Nature, Pattern and Socio-Cultural Implications" in B.C. Upreti and Ramakant (ed.) *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi, p.10.

<sup>468</sup> Gautam, T.R. (2005), *Causes and Impact of Migration: A Sociological Study of Emigration from Kande bash, Baglung, Nepal*.

## Duration of Nepalese Migrants in India

The line graph gives the duration of residence of the Nepal born population in the place of enumeration in India. It doesn't show much diversification as lines do not diverge drastically. The Nepal born population in India show more or less similar trend in all the census either as seasonal, temporary, permanent migrants or permanent settlers.

**Figure III.10: Duration of Nepalese Migrants in India (%) (Classified by Place of Last Residence)**



Source: Appendix 2.3, 3.3, 4.3, 5.3; Graph prepared by the Researcher

In 1971 and 1981, 9.3 % and 9.7 % of Nepali born migrants resided in India for less than a year and this percentage decreased in 1991 to 5.5% and 4.5 % in 2001. Migrants who stay for less than a year could be attributed to ones who are in India for travelling, pilgrimage, education and as health tourists. Besides these they are also seasonal labors or migrants. Migrants mostly from Far-Western and Mid-Western Nepal are engaged in such seasonal migration during the slack season and return back for harvesting season in order to meet economic and food deficit at the household level<sup>469</sup>. Seasonal migration is one of the main features of Nepalese migration to India<sup>470</sup>. Though ethnographic studies reveal large movement of seasonal migrants from Nepal, the numbers in the Indian

<sup>469</sup> Sherpa, D. (2010), "Labor Migration and Remittances in Nepal: Case Study Report", in B. Hoermann et al. (2010) *Labor Migration for Development in the Western Hindu Kush Himalayas*, ICIMOD.

<sup>470</sup> Thieme, S. (2006), "Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi: NCCR", Ghimire, A. et al. (2010), *Nepal Migration Year Book 2009*. and Seddon, D. et al. (2002), "Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal".

census do not match with these conclusions. This could be that the stay of seasonal migrants and survey for census report do not coincide or these migrants do not disclose their identities as they come only for short period to work during non-harvesting season to make income from alternate work scenarios.

A good percentage of Nepal born population resided in India for 1 to 4 years. These migrants can be categorized as temporary migrants. In 1971, 22.4% of the total migrants' population resided as temporary migrants. 20.9% in 1981, 20% in 1991 and 23 % in 2001. This category of migrants also had higher percentage of male than female across the years. Jha (2001) states that every household along the borders in the Terai have atleast one member in India either as seasonal or temporary migrants<sup>471</sup>. Brusle's (2007) state that temporary migration to India can date back to the 1960s with the growth of population in Nepal and economic development in India<sup>472</sup>.

Migrants residing for the duration 5 to 9 years are the newly settled permanent migrants. These migrants varied from 13 to 17% of the total population across 1971 to 2001 however those residing for 10 to 19 years and 20 + years could be permanent settlers. These permanent settlers also showed high percentage of Nepal born population. They varied from 20 to 30 % of total Nepalese migrants across all the decades. Such high percentage of permanent settlers could be those Indians of Nepali origins as classified by Nepal Migration Year Book<sup>473</sup>. They could also be the Gurkhas who having joined the Indian armies later settled in India and such settlements develop a chain of network for aspiring migrants. These permanent migrants in India showed high percentage of females than males.

Nepalese are spread all over India with larger concentrations in Northern regions. Therefore from working in the British army to workers in the tea plantation in Sikkim, West Bengal and Assam, to watchmen in workplaces and houses of West Bengal and metropolis of India, to road side vendors and shopkeepers in UP, Uttarakhand and Delhi,

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<sup>471</sup> Jha, H.B. (2001), "Open Border and Economic Interdependence among Nepal-India Border Inhabitants: Some Reflections.

<sup>472</sup> Brusle, T. (2007), "The World Upside-Down: Nepalese Migrants in Northern India", *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, October, Martin Chautari, Kathmandu

<sup>473</sup> Ghimire, A. et al. (2010), *Nepal Migration Year Book 2009*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS).

to domestic help in major metropolis<sup>474</sup>. Bhattra (2007), Gautam (2005), Sheddon. et.al.,(2002), Thiem (2006) and Brusle (2007) have delineated sectors where Nepalese migrants are mainly spotted in India: 'Agricultural sectors', 'Restaurants', 'Factories' and 'Coalmines' as 'Guards', 'Drivers', 'House Servants', 'Porters', 'Stone Pullers', 'Rickshaw Puller', and 'Indian Government Servants'<sup>475</sup>. Districts like Ilam, Pachthar and Jhapa in the Eastern Development Region of Nepal bordering West Bengal and Sikkim see movement of people to India mainly for family reunions, education, marriages as well as work<sup>476</sup>. Thiem's (2006) study on the migrants of Banjang and Bajura two districts in the Far Western developmental region with lowest human development Index and high human insecurities saw migrants mainly leaving for urban centers of Delhi in search of work<sup>477</sup>. The states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal mainly attract migrants due to its requirements for unskilled jobs, easy accessibility and marriages.

Shrestha states that internal absentee populations are mainly migrants, who can easily move to and fro and can also maintain circular migration with the home and destination<sup>478</sup>. These internal migrants however do not cross international boundaries and move within the countries without any restrictions. With such distinctions one can abstract that the Nepal-India migration could also be categorized as a special case internal migration where movements are seasonal, temporary as well as permanent across international boundaries due to the provisions and privileges bestowed by the treaty, the close proximity and easy accessibility, and the historical, geographical and cultural milieu of the two countries. Similarly, Thiem states that the open border and the provisions of the treaty disregard migration between the both as international

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<sup>474</sup> Weiner, M. (1972), "The Political Demography of Nepal" *Asian Survey* 13( 6), pp. 617-630, Barbora, S. et al. (2008), "Migration Matters in South Asia: Commonalities and Critique" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(24), pp.57-65. And Thieme, S. et.al. (2005), "Addressing the Needs of Nepalese Migrants Workers in Nepal and Delhi, India" *Mountain Research and Development*, 25(2), pp.109-114.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid.

<sup>476</sup> Behera, S. (2011), "Trans-Border Identities: A Study on the Impact of Bangladeshi and Nepali Migration to India", *ICRIER Policy Series*.

<sup>477</sup> Thieme, S. (2006) "Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi: NCCR"

<sup>478</sup> N.R.Shrestha (2001), *The Political Economy of Land, Landlessness and Migration in Nepal*, Nirala Publication, p.61.



movement<sup>479</sup>. Kansakar ,however writes that it is a unique international migration which cannot be compared to any other international migrations that takes place in India either from Sri Lanka or Bangladesh<sup>480</sup>.

## **Nepal Government**

*Labor Migration for Employment: A Status Report for Nepal(2013/14)* writes that the changing governments, political situations and economic developments have shaped the country's relations with the global environment which in turn influenced the flow of out-migrants<sup>481</sup>. With the era of globalization, liberalization and privatization increase in the demand for low paid workers in booming economies were met by Asian migrants and Nepal was foremost in the category. This period also saw a boom in agencies recruiting labor migrants or manpower agencies in Nepal. These are the major players in foreign employment process in Nepal, who build networks and connections in the destination regarding jobs as well as with the government to ease the process of departure with regards to visa and recruiting papers<sup>482</sup>. 769 privately owned man power agencies have been registered in Nepal as of April 2013<sup>483</sup>.

At the same time, the outflow of migrants from Nepal rapidly increased with the advent of Maoist insurgency which was followed by the *Jana Andolan II*<sup>484</sup>. Political conflicts and economic vulnerabilities have led to maximum migration to India. Today with a new variety of political dynamism that the country is experiencing migration is still steady with newer and distant destinations.

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<sup>479</sup> Thieme , S. (2006) "Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi: NCCR"

<sup>480</sup> Kansakar, V. V. (2003), "International Migration and Citizenship in Nepal," in *National Population Monograph*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Nepal, Volume One, Nepal Planning Commission Secretariat, Nepal.

<sup>481</sup> Ministry of Labor and Employment (2014), *Labor Migration for Employment: A Status Report for Nepal: 2013/2014*, Department of Foreign Employment, Government of Nepal

<sup>482</sup> Sijapti, B. et al. (2014), "A Risky Business: Accountability of Manpower Agencies in Nepal, *Policy Brief*, Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility,p.1.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid. p.1.

<sup>484</sup> Upreti, B.R. (2006), *Armed Conflict and Peace Process in Nepal : The Maoist Insurgency, Past Negotiations, and Opportunities for Conflict Transformation*.

In Nepal foreign employment for its citizens are guided by policies which are national, bilateral or international made on multilateral platforms<sup>485</sup>. Foreign Employment Act in Nepal was first introduced in 1985 and today the large number of labor migration from Nepal, which takes place across the globe is guided by the amended Foreign Employment Act of 2007. The Foreign Employment Act 2007 gives provision to make bilateral arrangements, treaties, and memorandum of understandings as well as special provisions for women, dalit, indigenous groups and backward classes in order to make the process of migration and foreign employment safe, protected, robust and managed<sup>486</sup>. Foreign Employment and Labor migration in Nepal is supervised by institutions like the Ministry of Labor and Employment, Department of Foreign Employment and Foreign Employment Promotion Board, which function mainly to promote foreign employment and provide security to migrant workers. The Foreign Employment Tribunals and the Labor Attaché are appointed at every host country where 5,000 and more Nepalese labor migrants are present<sup>487</sup>. The Foreign Employment Act of Nepal considers those as migrants who carry passport and requires visa to travel, which is not the condition in the case of India<sup>488</sup>.

The provisions and the institutions sketched in the Foreign Employment Act do not address in the case of migration to India. Labor Attache is an official government institution set up by The Government of Nepal in the destination to assess, manage, protect and rehabilitate the migrant workers<sup>489</sup>. In case of India no such appointment has been made. The only government institute set up in India which caters to the need of the Nepalese nationals is the Embassy of Nepal in New Delhi.

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<sup>485</sup> Sijapati, B and Limbu, A. (2012), *Governing Labor Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*, Center for Labor and Mobility Studies, Himal Books, Kathmandu, Nepal.

<sup>486</sup> Department of Foreign Employment DoFA (2007), *Foreign Employment Act, 2064 (2007)*, 5 September 2007, The Government of Nepal, URL: [www.dofe.gov.np](http://www.dofe.gov.np)

<sup>487</sup> Ministry of Labor and Employment (2014), *Labor Migration for Employment: A Status Report for Nepal: 2013/2014*, Department of Foreign Employment, Government of Nepal. and Department of Foreign Employment DoFA (2007), *Foreign Employment Act, 2064 (2007)*, 5 September 2007, The Government of Nepal, URL: [www.dofe.gov.np](http://www.dofe.gov.np)

<sup>488</sup> Department of Foreign Employment DoFA (2007), *Foreign Employment Act, 2064 (2007)*, 5 September 2007, The Government of Nepal, URL: [www.dofe.gov.np](http://www.dofe.gov.np)

<sup>489</sup> Ibid.

Sijapati and Limbu write that the 1950 treaty is the only legal provision sustaining the movement of population between India and Nepal. The open border provision of the treaty further accentuated the movement of Nepalese into India though it was already prevalent during the British period with the signing of the Sugauli treaty. The movement to India was so large that before the Foreign Employment Act of 1985, foreign employment from Nepal was always synonymous to migration to India<sup>490</sup>. The treaty however, hasn't charted out the rules and regulations for migrants or migration between countries neither does it hints on the protective mechanisms for the migrants<sup>491</sup>. The treaty was mainly initiated to safeguard the security concerns of India and socio-economic considerations of Nepal. Hence, it was a bilateral treaty befitting mostly the national security concerns of both the nations. The Ministry of External Affairs in 1989 stated that the relationship between Nepal and India due to the treaty is very special and not replicated anywhere else in the region or anywhere else in the world<sup>492</sup>.

Nepalese voluntary migrants to India are undocumented though not irregular. They are outside the purview of migration laws or policies adopted by the home or the host countries for their emigration and immigration which makes it extremely difficult to manage. The Nepalese migrants in India are mostly roped into blue collar jobs and are spread across the nation with large number situated in the northern region. They are migrant workers from the mid-hills of Nepal to the plains of India and sometime migration is recurring to areas where resources and prospects are profuse and develops an interaction of village-town nexus. Migration linkages between the two nations go beyond just economic and political realm to cultural aspects like marriages due to generations of network that is built between the two nations owing to permanent settlements that have cropped up. Thus, the open border, ease of migration, no binding rules and clauses and easy accessibility makes Nepal- India migration a special case of internal migration across international boundaries.

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<sup>490</sup> Sijapati, B and Limbu, A. (2012), *Governing Labor Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*, Center for Labor and Mobility Studies, Himal Books.

<sup>491</sup> Samuels, F and Wagle, S.S. (2011), 'Population mobility and HIV and AIDS: Review of Laws, Policies and Treaties between Bangladesh, Nepal and India'. Quoted in *ibid*, pp 71-72.

<sup>492</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, Volume 1, Siba Exim, Pvt. Ltd, pp. 449-450.

In the recent years Nepal is experiencing huge out migration and instead of population exporting nation as coined by Weiner (1972) it has now become labor exporting nation<sup>493</sup>. After 2001 and with the end of Maoist insurgency in 2006 the trend of migration has become mainly towards irregular and illegal migration to destinations other than India. The political dynamism, absolute monarchy to republic state and unstable and uncertain political and economic environment has resulted in high volume of out migration to destinations like Middle East and South East Asia. Though, the percentage of foreign migrants going to India has declined, the absolute number has increased. Studies of Jha (2001), Sheddon et al (2002), Thieme (2006), Brusle (2008), United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office, Field Bulletin (2013) and Nepal Migration Year Book 2009 (2010) all confirm that crossing border and going to India is visible for every household and every village of mainly Western, Far-Western and Mid-Western region and it is a voluntary phenomenon.

The census of India shows many missing data in case of Nepal born population in India, which leads to migrants being unnoticed and mixed into the Indian populations. The government of Nepal recognizes Nepalese migrants in India as migrant workers however they have always been sidelined and ignored in policy arena says the Prabasi Nepali Coordination Committee (PNCC) General Secretary Som Prasad Lamichhane to *The Himalayan Times*<sup>494</sup>. There is an urgent need for migration scenario between the two nations to be taken up seriously as a policy agenda. The Indian state has time and again taken up Nepalese migration scenario as a concern for their national and state security especially in the 1980s and during the Maoist insurgency resulting in diverse challenges to migrants. The next chapter dwells into the challenges these migrants face in India owing to its national and state security policies and socio-economic adversities that are faced in the foreign land. The human security dynamics does interplay itself in the host country within the realm of politics, society, economy and culture.

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<sup>493</sup>Seddon, D. (2005), "Nepal's Dependence on Exporting Labor", *Migration Information Source*, January.

<sup>494</sup>*The Himalayan Times* (2013), *Stakeholders Urge Government to Manage India bound migrants*, 19 July 2013, Accessed 15 May 2015.

## Chapter IV

# HUMAN SECURITY AND CHALLENGES TO MIGRATIONS: HOST COUNTRY PERSPECTIVE

### Securitization and Human Security

Population mobility constitutes a timeless phenomenon. Numbers of people have moved from one area to another regardless of the asymmetry in numbers, destination and purposes in each particular case. Migration has been discussed extensively in recent years. Migration and Security for Realists and Neo-realists is an insignificant arena and is referred to the analysis of international economics rather than to the exclusive politics of international relations and security<sup>495</sup>. Security concerns regarding migration are found to be highlighted mostly in the post-cold war era where Realist security discourse looked insufficient in combating the diverse and complex threats emanating in the new world order.

Looking through the lens of the host country this chapter delves into the migration and security concern in the destination for the migrants. Immigration leads to settlement of a certain proportion of the migrants in the host country like in the cases of US, Canada, Japan and other Asian labor importing countries<sup>496</sup>. In cases of countries like Australia and New Zealand they promote immigration in order to maintain their resources to population ratio<sup>497</sup>. Castles writes that in many countries borders are open for tourists, students and skilled workers however screening takes place to stop manual workers, family members and asylum seekers. In such cases irregular migration takes place with

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<sup>495</sup> Koslowski, R. (2003), "International Migration and Human Mobility as Security Issues", *The International Studies Association Meeting*, New York City, February 15-18.

<sup>496</sup> Castles, S. (2000), "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty First Century: Global Trends and Issues" *Global Trends and Issues*, UNESCO, Blackwell Publishers, USA.

<sup>497</sup> Teitelbaum, S.M. (2002), "The Role of the State in International Migration" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, VIII (2), pp. 157-167, Winter, pp.161-162

the aid of recruiters, labor brokers and manpower agencies which could be legal or illegal<sup>498</sup>.

National identity is maintained by the state by safeguarding their borders. Migratory phenomenon mainly induces the state to make a move so as to protect, preserve and restore their state identity and capacity from being infiltrated<sup>499</sup>. Weiner and Teitelbaum have largely contributed in the security discussions on migration. They have extensively studied the role of the state and migratory policies, the security of both the home and the host and the larger role these states play in international migration<sup>500</sup>. Teitelbaum have categorized states into those who 'promote or restrain out migration' and other as those 'promoting, and constraining and regulating immigration'<sup>501</sup>. Bigo states that the act of security and migration is political where in migrants transgress and complicate the space of polity. It is mainly the manifestations of the motives of the politicians, bureaucrats and specialist in order to manage the threat against the state security and the political dilemma<sup>502</sup>.

Lama remarked that the colonial legacy in South Asia made one believe that borders are nothing but geometric lines<sup>503</sup>. This led to the importance of borders for national security and undermined the history, culture, tradition, economy, polity, ecology which are shared along the subcontinent, including the importance of borderlands<sup>504</sup>. Migration is grounded into the culture, tradition, rules and norms of the home society and migrants reproduce these in the host society making the equation between the two entities more complex.

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<sup>498</sup>Castles, S. (2000) "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty First Century: Global Trends and Issues".

<sup>499</sup>Adamson, F. B. (2006), "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security", *International Security*, 31(1), Summer, pp.165-199.

<sup>500</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Security, Stability and International Migration" *International Security*, 17(3), Winter, pp.91-126. And Teitelbaum, S.M. (2002), "The Role of the State in International Migration" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, VIII (2), Winter, pp. 157-167.

<sup>501</sup>Ibid.pp. 158.

<sup>502</sup>Bigo, D. (2002), "Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, no. 27, pp. 63-92.

<sup>503</sup> Lama, Mahendra P. (2015), *Valedictory Address*, Presented at the International Conference on 25 March 2015 on India and its Neighbours: Policy Priorities for the New Government, Centre for South Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

Upreti and Ramakant state that “migration is not merely a movement of population from one place to another. It carries with it values, ideologies, traditions, culture and so forth. These values and cultural influences are in turn affected by the socio-cultural milieu of the place of their migration. In this process a ‘transculturalisation’ takes place where in migrants settle and unite into the national mainstream of their new destinations. In course of time, they tend to get assimilated in the broader socio cultural life to an extent that their earlier identity gets subsumed. However, in many cases migrants maintain their separate identity and problems of adjustment in terms of economic security and cultural alienation which lead to tensions between natives and immigrants”<sup>505</sup>.

Weiner’s ‘Macedonian Syndrome’ clearly explains the nature of ethnic groups across borders and explains the concept of trans-culturalisation. The model states that countries which are sharing common borders, the population on the either side of the border could have different nationalities but can have similar ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities<sup>506</sup>. Thus the model elaborates the link that the migrant has with its home country as well as the destination and asserts a sense of identity and solidarity.

The societal security concept introduced by Buzan and Waever is to preserve and protect the societal identities, culture, tradition and language in the host country from being infiltrated by the immigrant population<sup>507</sup>. Such infiltration and threat to the societal security of the nation state has largely been witnessed in the post independent South Asian region, for example between India and Bangladesh and India and Pakistan<sup>508</sup>, also

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<sup>505</sup> Upreti, B.C. and Ramakant. (1999), “ Inter-State Migration, Ethno-Politics and Security in the Himalayas” in Jetly, N. (ed.) *Regional Security in South Asia, the Ethno Sectarian Dimension*, Lancer’s Book, pp.478-479.

<sup>506</sup> Weiner, M. (1971), “The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development”. Quoted in Baral, L.R. (1990) *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, p.12.

<sup>507</sup> Waever, O. et al. (1993), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, New York, St. Martin’s Press. And Buzan, B. ( 1983), *People, States and Fear : The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Wheatsheaf Books, Birghton, Sussex.

<sup>508</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), “ Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia” *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(34), August, pp. 1737-1746.

the population of Nepali speaking migrants (*Lhotsampas*) asserting for their identities and rights in Bhutan is another such example of the contemporary period<sup>509</sup>

Upreti and Ramakant write larger flow of migrants in a country on a long term basis may result in their identification as a separate ethnic group. Further their concentration in a particular geographic region enhances their ethnic identity and makes them conscious about their rights and freedoms<sup>510</sup>. Such nuances are extensively taken up in the security studies discourse within the non-traditional security framework. The post-cold war period increased the rigidity of the security studies as the mono threat concept of militarization couldn't safeguard from the increasing insecurities of the changing world order. It was the concept of securitization which was advocated in the beginning of the 1990s by the theorists of Copenhagen School to look beyond classical security.

Copenhagen school emphasizes on the security of the state as well as societal security which deal with identity. Successful securitization occurs when the securitized issue is shifted from the domain of normal politics to emergency politics, thus forcing the government to take emergency measures<sup>511</sup>. Securitization debate has its own referent object to be secured and has a particular threat agendas either in case of military, political or societal security<sup>512</sup>. Williams cites that economic wellbeing becomes a security issue for Copenhagen school only when it can be brought within the categories of securitization, i.e. when economic deprivation leads to mobilized threat it falls within securitization<sup>513</sup>. When migration is said to be securitized, it means that migration is identified as an existential threat, which requires emergency measures by the state. This enables the state to pursue policies that would try to curb the negatives that arises out of

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<sup>509</sup> Lama, Mahendra.P (2008), "Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal" in Gil Loescher et.al.(eds.), *Protracted Refugee Situations : Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo, pp. 227-302.

<sup>510</sup> Upreti, B.C.and Ramakant. ( 1999) "Inter-State Migration, Ethno-Politics and Security in the Himalayas".

<sup>511</sup> Waever, O. et al. (1993). *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* , New York, St. Martin's Press.

<sup>512</sup> Willaims, M.C. (2003), "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quaterly*, 47, pp. 511-531.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid.



immigration. Bigo writes that the governmentality of the societies limit the movement of immigrants through restrictive border, visa policies and rejections<sup>514</sup>.

In the post-cold war period security no longer can be understood through objectivity. It's now subjective and understood differently in different societies<sup>515</sup>. Upon securitization the goal is who can speak security successfully, upon what issues and how these threats are placed as existential by certain audience<sup>516</sup>. Similar, to Bigo's conception where for an economist immigrants are burden to the existing economic standards of the society, for a health care specialist it's a threat of spread of diseases, for the law and order specialists it become a scare of rising crime, thefts and kidnapping<sup>517</sup>. Also threat of migrants could vary amongst different states according to their subjective preferences example France sees migrants as 'religious fanatics', in Germany migrants are 'revolutionaries' and United Kingdom views them as uncultured 'rioters'<sup>518</sup>. Internationally the terrorist attack of September 11 2001 in the US resulted in being suspicious of the migrants and migration being tagged along terrorism in the developed nations<sup>519</sup>. Hence, securitization takes in the subjective social construct of migration and security. To securitize is to guard the social and cultural identities of the society, which develops through perceptions which place it as an existential threat in different areas according to different actors. Here, securitization is an intertwined mutually, non-exclusive entity between state and society<sup>520</sup>

Weiner states immigrants could be welcomed by some groups in the host country and opposed by some. It could be the vote bank politics of many politicians, sometimes a

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<sup>514</sup> Bigo, D. (2002), "Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, no. 27, pp. 63-92.

<sup>515</sup> Weiner, M. (1993), "Security, Stability and International Migration" *International Security*.

<sup>516</sup> Waever, O. (1995), "Securitization and Desecuritization", *On Security*. Quoted in Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (1996), "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods", *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40, pp. 229-254.

<sup>517</sup> Bigo, D. (2002), "Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, no. 27, p.78.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>519</sup> Collyer, M. (2006), "Migrants, Migration and the Security Paradigm: Constraints and Opportunities", *Mediterranean Politics*, 11(2), pp.255-270.

<sup>520</sup> Theiler, T. (2009), "Societal Security", in Myriam Dunn, et al. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Security*, London: Routledge, pp. 105-113.

need to restore one's culture, tradition of a particular ethnic and cultural group, sometimes it's the need for cheap factory labor which are to replace the native in the menial and dangerous job that capitalists would welcome them. Such diverse reasons could be attributed to the need of immigrants. However, in the other side of the coin it's the language of the state, the elites, and capitalists, certain leaders of the ethnic groups which sees immigrants as racist and instigates fear of xenophobia<sup>521</sup>. This creates paranoia around the existence of immigrant groups in the destination.

As Buzan puts it, "The threat of migration is fundamentally a question of how relative numbers interact with the absorptive and adaptive capacities of society... [T]he fear of being swamped by foreigner is easy to mobilize on the political agenda as a security issue"<sup>522</sup>. In case of identity conflicts it is rarely just mixing of different groups rather it's the projection of the interest of the political elite to stay in power either by supporting the groups or by securitizing such groups as potential threat to power<sup>523</sup>. Hence, political manipulation takes place to generate threats to safeguard power. It's the government in the nation state concept which drives securitization. Such securitization of migration could be beneficial to the state to eradicate communal tensions, xenophobia and ethnic clashes however this solely eliminates the human security of the migrant population in question. The recent case of Rohingya Muslims who are largely concentrated in the western Burma fleeing to South East Asia is a case of ethnic cleansing and identity conflict between minority Muslim population and Buddhist majority state.

Immigrants are marked by legal status either as non-citizens or foreigners<sup>524</sup>. Bigo states, 'migrant as a term, is the way to designate someone as a threat to the core values of a country, a state, and has nothing to do with the legal terminology of foreigners'<sup>525</sup>. The

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<sup>521</sup>Weiner, M. (1993), "Security, Stability and International Migration" *International Security*.

<sup>522</sup> Waever, O. et al. (1993). *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. Quoted in Koslowski, R.(2003), "International Migration and Human Mobility as Security Issues", Presented at The International Studies Association Meeting, New York City, February 15-18.p.2.

<sup>523</sup> Barnett, J. (2001), "Security and Climate Change", *Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research*, Working Paper 7, October.

<sup>524</sup>Castles, S. (2000) "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty First Century: Global Trends and Issues" *Global Trends and Issues*, UNESCO, Blackwell Publishers, USA.

<sup>525</sup> Bigo, D. (2002), "Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Sage Publications, no. 27, p.71.

securitization school which treats societal security in terms of identity and thus migrants as threats to this identity leads to violence against the migrants and increasing extremism in this sense<sup>526</sup>. Threat from population mobility within the securitization school negates the human security of the mobile population. Buzan has claimed individuals to be the ‘irreducible base unit’ however, the object to be secured still remained the state<sup>527</sup>. Securitization is thus largely criticized on the grounds of its failure to secure beyond the state and falling into the categories of traditional realist security discourse.

Migration is also securitized by labeling and shaming migrants through speech, name calling, use of derogatory languages, acts of political leaders and bureaucrats or through images, cartoons and visuals showcased in media and such strategic actions are portrayed with intentionality by the securitizing actors<sup>528</sup>. Waever delineated security as a kind of linguistic approach which pushes an event or course to existential threat- mainly a speech act<sup>529</sup>. McDonald elaborates the importance of images, media, and television beyond language as a form of securitization as they also communicate security<sup>530</sup>. The visual images of September 11 and Iraq in televisions as well as in photographs did reach out to the masses on the securitization and threat perception on terrorism<sup>531</sup>. The recent attack on French satirical newspaper – the Charlie Hebdo, which publishes cartoons and images also communicate securitization by sketching the potential threat perception that hovers in the world today. Lama writes in Japan, Chinese migrants are seen as potential burglars and thieves and posters and fliers portraying the same are scattered in the city<sup>532</sup>. Such actions for moving issues and concerns into existential threat beyond speech act are now

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<sup>526</sup> Huysmans, J.(1995), “Migrants as a Security Problem: Dangers of Securitizing Societal Issues”, *Migration and European Integration*. Quoted in Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (1996), “Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods”, *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40,pp. 229-254.

<sup>527</sup> Waever, O., Buzan, B. and et al. (1993), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, New York, St. Martin’s Press. And Buzan, B. ( 1983), *People, States and Fear : The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Wheatsheaf Books, Birghton, Sussex.

<sup>528</sup>Wæver, O (1995) ‘Securitization and Desecuritization’. Quoted in McDonald,M. (2008),” Securitization and the Construction of Security”,*European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4),pp.1-36.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>530</sup> McDonald,M. (2008),” Securitization and the Construction of Security”,*European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4),pp.1-36.

<sup>531</sup> Willaims, M.C. (2003), “Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics”, *International Studies Quaterly*, 47, pp. 511-531.

<sup>532</sup> Lama, Mahendra .P. (2006), “Irregular Migration from India and Nepal: Nature Dimensions and Policy Issues”, *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, Dhaka.

emerging by these new securitizing actors. Today there is a shift in the tactics from speech act of political leaders to actions like banning and exclusion to images and portraits and giving names and labels in media.

Thus, securitization occurs when threats generated from traditional and non-traditional sources get sensationalized and become a part of popular discourse. This becomes an existential threat to the state. Contrast to human security when the individuals become the centre to be secured from the threats either traditional i.e. military or political (broader concept) or non-traditional (narrow concept). The politics of migration and security today has extended beyond a particular nation-state to global and trans-national levels where human security concerns in migration are a necessary element than national security<sup>533</sup>. Similarly, Ken Booth places human emancipation as the centre of the security studies<sup>534</sup>. The human security approach in the migration story places migrants not as a political actor but as vulnerable victims<sup>535</sup>.

Migration as discussed earlier in the initial chapter is one of the most sought after survival strategy to reduce the human insecurities and seek human securities. However, securitization of migration which puts migrants under surveillance, restrictions and barriers demean the very essence of migration and threatens and challenges the human security of individuals in the destination. Hence, security should be defined at the level of both the state and the individual<sup>536</sup>.

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<sup>533</sup>Huysmans, J. and Squire, V. (2009), "Migration and Security" in Myriam Dunn, et al. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Security*, London: Routledge.

<sup>534</sup>Booth, K. (1991), 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*. Quoted in Steve Smith (1999), "The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years", *Contemporary Security Politics*, 20(3), pp. 83-84.

<sup>535</sup>Huysmans, J. and Squire, V. (2009), "Migration and Security" in Myriam Dunn, et al. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Security*.

<sup>536</sup> Adhikari, J. (2006), "Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India".

## Levels of Human Security Challenges: Migration between Nepal and India

Traditional security concerns are given utmost priority between India and Nepal. Indian strategists and policy makers consider Nepal as critical to India's security. In case of migration from Nepal to India Behera in her study on 'Trans-border identities' has stated that migration between Nepal to India is not securitized as it doesn't hamper on the demography or political security of the country since Nepalese migrants are free to cross borders, undocumented and stirred within the population of the country. Unlike migration from Bangladesh to India<sup>537</sup> which involves grave security concerns like demographic changes due to influx of Bangladeshi migrants and the fear of muslim radicalisation in Assam and other North Eastern states<sup>538</sup>.

However, in the scenario when countries declare open borders, they are usually overwhelmed by the massive influx of the immigrants from poor or conflict prone areas<sup>539</sup>. In such a case providing similar status to the immigrants as their own citizens would lead to tension between the migrants and the local population generating questions of native and the other<sup>540</sup>. The case of Nepalese migrants in India is the most suitable in this aspect wherein the open border and historical prominence of culture and tradition merge the migrants well into the society.

The 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between India and Nepal though doesn't elaborately speak of migration and settlement, it ensures Nepalese citizens in India the right to travel freely, look for employment opportunities as well as receive education, health and purchase land and property<sup>541</sup>. The previous chapter showed how the magnitude of migration from Nepal to India hasn't reduced over the years though the absolute number that is migrating is reducing. Castles states that when migrants move outside the legal binding channels either in the case of open borders or in the case of

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<sup>537</sup> Behera, S. (2011), "Trans-Border Identities: A Study on the Impact of Bangladeshi and Nepali Migration to India", *ICRIER Policy Series*.

<sup>538</sup> S.K. Sinha Report on Illegal Migration 1998. Quoted in Ibid. pp.6- 12.

<sup>539</sup> Carens, J.H. (1987), "Aliens and Citizens : The Case for Open Borders", *The Review of Politics*, 49(2) Spring, pp. 251-273.

<sup>540</sup> Weiner, M. (1996), "Ethics, National Sovereignty and the Control of Immigration" *International Migration Review*, 30(1), Spring, pp. 171-197.

<sup>541</sup> Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 in Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal's Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, vol. 1, Siba Exim, Pvt. Ltd, pp. 16-21.

irregular/illegal migrants, these migrants are prone to human rights violations and human insecurity threats<sup>542</sup>. Vietti and Scribner write that amnesty international's study on the migrants movement from Mexico to Canada and between Mexico and the United States show that the migrants are subjected to extortions, kidnapping and other threats. Thus thousands of migrants go missing or killed<sup>543</sup>. Migrants seeking security in the host country are subjected to human security challenges.

Here the concept of 'double burden' used by Marxists could be seen as a metaphor to understand the migration situation, where a survival strategy due insecurity at home leading to migration restores similar insecurities at the host country for migrants who are alien to the society and subjected to securitization by the state<sup>544</sup>.

### **Political Discriminations**

Indian Government policies and state policies have been forefront in securitizing migration as a mechanism for state security. The policies taken by the government mainly catering to migration are in the Foreigners Divisions Acts of the Ministry of Home Affairs of India. They are the Citizenship Act of 1955, Foreigners Act of 1946, The Foreign Regulations Act of 2010, The Passport Act of 1920 and The Registration of Foreigners Act of 1939<sup>545</sup>. The Foreigners Act of November, 1946 clearly defines a foreigner as one who is not a citizen of India and it prohibits, restricts and regulates the movement of non-citizens within the country<sup>546</sup>.

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<sup>542</sup>Castles, S. (2000), "International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty First Century: Global Trends and Issues" *Global Trends and Issues*, UNESCO, Blackwell Publishers, USA. And Castles, S. (2014), "International Migration at a Crossroads", *Citizenship Studies*, 18(2), p.p.190-207.

<sup>543</sup> Vietti, F. and Scribner, T. (2013), "Human Insecurity: Understanding International Migration from a Human Security Perspective", *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Centre for Migration Studies of New York, 1(1), pp. 17-31.

<sup>544</sup>. Engels (in Vogel, 1994: 2) stated that 'the double work and thus double oppression of women was brought about when they enter the factory'. The private/public dichotomy relegates women to private sphere due to their gender roles. Women who choose to move out to the public sphere to work and earn money have to return back home to complete the household chores. The private sphere is not shared and women are subjected to double shift which is referred to as double burden. See, Vogel, L. (1994) 'Domestic Labor Revisited', *Conference of Socialist Economists*, Leeds, England, pp. 1-14.

<sup>545</sup>URL: [www.mha.mic.in/acts](http://www.mha.mic.in/acts).

<sup>546</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs (1946), *The Foreigners Act, 1946*, Act No. 31 of 1946, Government of India, 23 November 1946. URL: [www.mha.mic.in/acts](http://www.mha.mic.in/acts).

India's attitude towards Nepal and Nepalese population is highlighted through its' foreign policies<sup>547</sup>. Like, in 2001 when the talks between the Maoists and the then Nepal government failed, India took a tough stand and called the Maoists group as terrorist wing operating in Nepal<sup>548</sup>. The India-Nepal Joint Press Statement of 23 March 2002 when the Prime Minister of Nepal Sher Bhahadur Deuba visited India stated that Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee showed his grave concerns over the widespread violence of Maoists in Nepal and India's full support to the Government of Nepal in order to overcome the insurgency and bring in peace and security<sup>549</sup>. In September, 2004 Prime Minister Deuba in his another visit to India expressed his gratitude and thanks to the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for the support that India provided to Nepal to deal with the insurgency<sup>550</sup>. India supported the Nepalese government's fight against the Maoists by providing assistance and arms and weapons to the RNA and the Nepalese Police<sup>551</sup>.

Securitization as explained earlier speaks the language of the elite, bureaucrat, the ruling party and favors their interest through its foreign policy in international relations especially when it involves the cross border threats. Securitization of Nepalese migrants saw its peak during the insurgency period; the political instability and insecurity to human life led to increase in fleeing of Nepalese population from the Maoists infested areas. Once the peace talks failed between the Maoist and the political parties in Nepal, the Maoist insurgency became more intensified and was a grave concern for India.<sup>552</sup> For example, movement of people from Nepal to India from bordering areas of Bihar, UP to Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Bengal and Orissa which were hub to Naxalite movement were

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<sup>547</sup> Mishra, R. (2004), "India's Role in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency", *Asian Survey*, 44, pp. 627-646.

<sup>548</sup> Ibid.

<sup>549</sup> Ministry of External Affairs (2002), "India-Nepal Joint Press Statement", Government of India, 23 March 2002, Accessed: 25 April 2015, URL: [http://mea.gov.in/bilateraldocuments.India\\_Nepal\\_Joint\\_Press\\_Statement](http://mea.gov.in/bilateraldocuments.India_Nepal_Joint_Press_Statement).

<sup>550</sup> Ministry of External Affairs (2004), "India-Nepal Joint Press Statement", Government of India, 12 September 2004, Accessed: 25 April 2015, URL: [http://mea.gov.in/bilateraldocuments.India\\_Nepal\\_Joint\\_Press\\_Statement](http://mea.gov.in/bilateraldocuments.India_Nepal_Joint_Press_Statement).

<sup>551</sup> Adhikari, A. (2012), "Revolution by Other Means: The Transformation of Nepal's Maoists in a Time of Peace", in Seabastine.V.Einsiedel (ed.) *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

looked with suspicion<sup>553</sup>. Also, The twenty three year old Akhil Bharatitya Nepali Ekta Samaj (ABNES) for migrant Nepalese also known as Prabasi Nepali Organization or Nepali Welfare Organization, extended across India was banned by the government of India under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA)<sup>554</sup>. The organization was seen by the Indian government as befitting the Maoists in Nepal by providing breeding grounds for fresh Maoists, camping and training across the border<sup>555</sup>.

Such banning of organizations on the grounds of state security scrutinized and put under surveillance the Nepalese population in India. For example, after the banning of the Nepali organization 13 people were abducted by Delhi police including 4 Nepalese. The Indian nationals were left to leave however, 4 Nepalese were given notice to leave India and were deported within hours of being abducted. This deportation of Nepalese were initially made on the grounds that they were wanted by Nepalese authorities however, later Indian government changed its stand and stated they were deported on the ground that they were supporting the Maoists and proposed ideologies which went against the monarchial regime<sup>556</sup>. Nepalese were seen undesirable in India for having a political view point which didn't suffice the existing or the ruling party. In the light of such scenario Nepalese migrants in India were tagged and shamed as Maoists, rebels or terrorists.

Jaganath Adhikari's study stated that the Indian state at the national level viewed Nepalese migrants largely as a mix of both labor migrants and Maoists rebels<sup>557</sup>. The open border between the two countries were seen as contributing in linking between the Nepali Maoists and the Naxalite groups in India like People's War Group (PWG) and Maoist Communist Groups (MCG) and other rebel groups like United Liberation Front of Asom

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<sup>553</sup> South Asia Terrorism Portal, Nepal, Accessed 25 April 2015, Available: [www.satp.org/countries/nepal/terrorism](http://www.satp.org/countries/nepal/terrorism).

<sup>554</sup> Adhikari, J. (2006), "Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India", *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, Dhaka. And Behera, S. (2011), "Trans-Border Identities: A Study on the Impact of Bangladeshi and Nepali Migration to India", *ICRIER Policy Series*, no.1. For details on Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), URL: <https://www.icrc.org>.

<sup>555</sup> Ibid.

<sup>556</sup> *On the Prevention of Terrorism Act*, September 2002, Accessed 25 April 2015, Available: <http://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org/rdv8n2/pota.htm>

<sup>557</sup> Adhikari, J. (2006), "Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India".



(ULFA) and political parties like Gurkha National Liberation Front (GNLF)<sup>558</sup>. For example, the Bihar border witnessed many Nepalese Maoists, including top leaders like Baburam Bhattarai, crossing the forested areas and setting up bases, hide out and training camps for Nepalese insurgents<sup>559</sup>.

In Jammu and Kashmir the state recognized Nepalese migrants as terrorist's outfits benefitting Pakistan and developing association of terror group against India, for example, *The Pioneer* in 2007 reported an arrest of Nepalese agent for ISI in Baramullah, Kashmir. The Nepali migrant who stayed in Delhi disguised as a carpet dealer and visited and stayed in Srinagar three months in a year. He was a mediator between the Nepal Maoists and LeT in Jammu and Kashmir and being helped further by ISI<sup>560</sup>.

Central and the state governments are largely seen as the securitizing actors and such tactics of viewing Nepalese as hostile put them under surveillance and scrutiny of the government. Moving away from the center, states have also promoted policies which restricted the movement of people, especially migrants in the name of security, like the imposition of Restricted Area Permit (RAP)<sup>561</sup> and Inner Line Permits on all foreigners including Nepalese. Areas falling around the borders were mainly the ones requiring permit, affecting many Nepalese living there and those intending in moving to these areas. These restricted areas were the ones which have been the traditional place of peaceful and legitimate business of the Nepalese people<sup>562</sup>. Documents restricting working permit for Nepalese nationals were issued by the Assam Government and such

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<sup>558</sup> Behera, S. (2011), "Trans-Border Identities: A Study on the Impact of Bangladeshi and Nepali Migration to India", *ICRIER Policy Series*, no.1. and South Asia Terrorism Portal, Nepal, Accessed 25 April 2015, Available: [www.satp.org/countries/nepal/terrorism](http://www.satp.org/countries/nepal/terrorism)

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

<sup>560</sup> John, W. (2007), "ISI'S New Strategy", *Pioneer*, Accessed 25 April 2015, URL: [hindunet.org/articles/86.html](http://hindunet.org/articles/86.html).

<sup>561</sup> Appendix-XI, Foreigners (Restricted Areas) Order 1963 was issued by the Government of India after the Chinese aggression restricting entry for foreigners to areas including Assam, Meghalaya and Sikkim. in L.R. Baral, (1990), *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*.

<sup>562</sup> Appendix-II, Guidelines in Connection with Enquires for Determination of Illegal Migrants by Illegal Migrants (D.T. Act) 1982: stated "... Nepali Nationals need special permits for entering into restricted/protected areas from any place outside these areas. The Restricted areas include Northeastern region, Sikkim and five districts of North Bengal..." and Appendix III, Government of Assam Secret Political (A) Department, dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 1984 stated: "... Nepali Nationals has been meant Nationals of Nepal and not Indian Nationals of Nepali origin..." in *ibid*.

restrictions on work permits were then picked up by other north eastern states against the outsiders<sup>563</sup>. For example, In Assam it was the Illegal Migrants Detection by Tribunals Act (IMDT) of 1983 which governed the movement of illegal migrants and deported them focusing mainly on the Bangladeshi migrants<sup>564</sup>. However, the Assam agitation/ anti- foreigners movement resulted in suspicion of the Nepalese and were asked to deport back and names were struck off from the Assam electoral polls following the agitation<sup>565</sup>.

In states like Assam and Meghalaya many Nepalese migrants' workers had to face the fate of being driven out by the indigenous groups like the ethnic movement in Meghalaya in 1987 as well as the unending tension between the Khasis and the Nepalese<sup>566</sup> and also the deportation of more than 1000 Nepalese coal mines workers from Jaintia hills in Meghalaya<sup>567</sup> are some of the examples and the Bodo movement in Assam resulting in ethnic cleansing caused many Nepalese to be displaced, properties were destroyed and caused many deaths<sup>568</sup>. In scenarios like these migrants are becoming more conscious of their identity and solidarity with the Nepalese to safeguard themselves in the host country.

This next section seek to highlight the experiences and challenges of the Nepali migrants in the host country in terms of their social, economic, cultural, personal and psychological challenges. As these non-political insecurities have played one of the crucial roles in triggering out migration to India (as discussed in the second chapter) its imperative one brings forth the nuances of its experiences and challenges at the level of the individuals in the destination as well. This section deals with literature and studies

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<sup>563</sup> Appendix-X, Government of Assam, Political Department Dibrugarh, Dated 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1978, Sub: Restricting Employment of Nepali Nationals stated : "... there has been a huge influx of Nepali nationals into Assam in search of land and employment. This influx needs to be checked immediately...Nepali Nationals should not be employed by the State Government and by Public sector undertakings. Employment of Nepali Nationals by private employers should also be discouraged through administration measures". In *ibid*.

<sup>564</sup> Behera, S. (2011), " Trans-Border Identities: A Study on the Impact of Bangladeshi and Nepali Migration to India", *ICRIER Policy Series*.

<sup>565</sup> Appendix- XII, Government of Assam, Political Department, Dated 11 January 1979, Sub: Checking Influx of Nepali Nationals stated: "...All persons of Nepali origin whose names are not in electoral rolls of 1977 may be asked to establish their claim, if any, they may be deported pending such verification." In Baral, L.R. (1990), *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: the South Asian Case*.

<sup>566</sup> Wagle, D. (2010), "Dakhar Still", *Himal South Asia*, July.

<sup>567</sup> Oppose Indian Neo-Colonial Exploitation of Nepal (1986), Accessed 17 May 2015, URL: [www.sastudycentre.com](http://www.sastudycentre.com)

<sup>568</sup> Wagle, D. (2010), " Dakhar Still", *Himal South Asia*, Cover, July.

done by different organizations, their reports and mostly from blogs and newspapers to have the accounts as narrated by the migrants or sometimes as viewed by the authors themselves. Field based ethnographic work has largely been examined to bring out such complex nuances.

### **Economic Alienations**

Migration to India for work, better livelihood and remittances has always been poverty reduction mechanism for migrants and families. Work related migration to India either seasonally or temporarily seeks to upgrade the lifestyle of the migrants as well as the families left behind in Nepal. ODI (2011) study states over 80% of Nepali migrants interviewed believed that migration to India was beneficial for households due to remittances, better facilities for children in terms of education, food availability and affordability for basic necessities<sup>569</sup>.

With increase in middle class in India through 1950s and 1960s, it also increased the requirement for menial workers at Indian homes and offices especially as watchmen and domestic helpers which were flown in from the neighboring state of Nepal<sup>570</sup>. This was also largely attributed to increasing migrants from neighboring states of Bihar and UP into metropolitans like Delhi and NCR which cornered most of the migrants jobs and diminished the chances of work in organized sectors or offices for the Nepalese migrants.

Susan Thieme (2006) in her ethnographic study of the migrant Nepalese highlights that basic services and access to resources is expensive in Delhi which results in lower access to benefits of education, health and food due to low income. Along with low income, increasing corruption and incapacity of private, public and non-profit institutions in Delhi result in poor resource accessibility to migrants. Most of their income gets subsumed in their living and saving to build house back in Nepal. Enough assets cannot get accumulated in Delhi to make them financially secure and safe. Such vulnerabilities

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<sup>569</sup> A study conducted by Overseas Development Institute (ODI ) UK on the migrants of Nepal and Bangladesh in India interviewed Nepalese workers in Delhi and Mumbai and also in their home districts Kanchanpur and Accham (2011). Samuels, F.et.al. (2011), “ Vulnerabilities of Movement: Cross Border Mobility between India, Nepal and Bangladesh”, *Overseas Development Institute*, November.

<sup>570</sup>Dixit.K.M, et.al.(1997), “Lowly Labor in the Lowlands”, *Himal South Asia*.

results in pushing migrants back into their home situation and insecure for their livelihoods<sup>571</sup>. In urban spaces migrants fall into categories of domestic workers and guards, and income from which does not suffice living in metropolitan cities. For example Nepalese watchmen in Delhi are given ‘Rs 5 to 10 per household in a month’, given that a colony has 20 household they would make 3000 to 6000 in a month<sup>572</sup>.

Adhikari states that Nepalese returnees confirm that Nepalese migrants develop communities in destination one to live together so as to share their living expenses and other to remain in close proximity with Nepalese people<sup>573</sup>. Thus, Nepalese migrants are clustered within their economic spaces and do not maintain any ties with the people of the upper strata<sup>574</sup>. This clustering makes migrants less accessible to resources in the urban spaces which is a pre-requisite for a permanent job position or a better livelihood situation<sup>575</sup>. Such clustering makes these migrants to have limited ‘material resources’ and ‘social capital’<sup>576</sup> and thus they get delineated in job market which are shunned by the natives. For example, Nepalese migrants in Uttarakhand are mostly porters dressed in daura suruwal carrying loads and mostly spotted at godowns and bus stands in menial, low paying jobs<sup>577</sup>.

### **Social and Cultural Dilemmas**

To assess their social, economic and cultural conditions one has to examine their day to day living conditions in the host country. Delhi which sees large migrant population from within India and outside is a hub for Nepalese migrants. *Himal South Asia* study found that most of the migrant Nepalese live in shanty towns or cheaply available clusters with the entire family in a tiny space in an unorganized fashion<sup>578</sup>.

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<sup>571</sup>Thieme, S. (2006), “Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi: NCCR” *North-South dialogue, NCCR North-South*, Berne.

<sup>572</sup>Bhattra, R. (2007a), “Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi”, p. 12.

<sup>573</sup>Adhikari, J. (2006), “Securitizing Migration between Nepal and India”, *Working Paper Series*, RMMRU, Dhaka: 1-121.

<sup>574</sup> Czarnicka, P.J. Quoted in Dixit. K.M. (1997), “Lowly Labor in the Lowlands”, *Himal South Asia*.

<sup>575</sup> Ibid.

<sup>576</sup>Seddon, D. et al. (2002), “Foreign Labor Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal”.

<sup>577</sup> Brusle, T. (2007), “The World Upside-Down: Nepalese Migrants in Northern India”.

<sup>578</sup>Dixit.K.M. et.al.(1997), “Lowly Labor in the Lowlands”, *Himal South Asia*.

Such vulnerabilities ODI study reveals:

‘... the landlord takes Rs.600 from Indians whereas we have to pay Rs.1000 for the same room. The landlord’s language was familiar with the people from U.P. and Bihar. Our language is very different from theirs – that is why they discriminate against us. We have come from another country therefore we have to be fearful. Sometimes we feel that we should go back to our village but then we remember that our family depends on us.’ Single Male, Delhi<sup>579</sup>

Therefore, migrants are all concentrated within close cluster and live together in cheaper housing and accommodation.

Further, Brusle in her study of the Nepali migrants in India, especially in Uttarakhand in Pittoragadh gives an analysis of the high caste men who move to India. The caste factor plays an interesting role in the Migration scenario and their experience in the host country. The Hindu caste system which places Brahmans on the top makes them the elite and intellectuals. These men when migrate and land up in the low paying jobs of cleaning; collecting stone chips or carrying loads don’t feel dignified in their jobs. For instance- a migrant states that his ‘father is a money lender in Nepal however he works as a loadcarrier in Uttarakhand’<sup>580</sup>. Such sociological nuances play a very important role in the social and personal security context of the migrants.

### **Rights and Benefits Perspectives**

The bilateral treaty which gives similar provisions to Nepali nationals as the Indian however, do not get materialize in acquiring access to livelihood. The treaty allows for privileges in the matter of living, ownership of property, mobility and trading<sup>581</sup>. However, the government of India seeks for valid ID cards either voters or ration card to

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<sup>579</sup> Samuels, F.et.al. (2011), “Vulnerabilities of Movement: Cross Border Mobility between India, Nepal and Bangladesh”,p.3.

<sup>580</sup> Brusle, T. (2007), “The World Upside-Down: Nepalese Migrants in Northern India”, *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, October, Martin Chautari, Kathmandu, p. 173.

<sup>581</sup> Bhasin, A.S. (ed.) (1994), *Nepal’s Relations with India and China: Documents 1947-1992*, vol. 1, Siba Exim, Pvt. Ltd, pp. 16-21.

avail most of the services by Nepalese migrants<sup>582</sup>. For example Bamdev Chettri , Secretary of the All India Nepali Unity Society in Delhi speaking to *Himal South Asia* says that Nepalese are prevented from registering their names at the employment offices and aren't eligible for ration cards<sup>583</sup>. This deprives Nepalese migrants from availability of resources and benefits against their Indian counterparts. At the ground level implementation of the policies stated by the two countries isn't applicable. Bhattraï writes that the ignorance of the migrants in terms of provisions provided by the 1950 Treaty and the rules in the borders result in vulnerable situation of the migrants while crossing the borders<sup>584</sup>. His empirical study has found that 69% respondent faced problems of ill-treatment and harassment by the police and security personals at the borders<sup>585</sup>.

Also, Work place violence, favoring and segregation take place between the natives and the migrants. For example, ODI survey shows that Indian workers at the same workplace were given benefits like membership to trade union, provident funds and health insurances however Nepalese migrants were deprived of these entitlements<sup>586</sup>. Almost half the population of Nepalese migrants in Delhi (50,000 Nepalese migrants are recorded as per the census of India 2001<sup>587</sup>) are estimated to work in Industrial areas of 'Wazirpur, Okhla and Mayapuri as contract less, daily wage unorganized laborers'<sup>588</sup>. Working as watchmen in Delhi, the position mostly flooded with Nepalese migrants, is an unorganized sector which does not involve labor laws or rights in case of any accidents, rights to bonus or provident fund.<sup>589</sup> For example case of Bal Bahadur who

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<sup>582</sup> Samuels, F. et. al. (2011), "Vulnerabilities of Movement: Cross Border Mobility between India, Nepal and Bangladesh", *Overseas Development Institute*, November.

<sup>583</sup> Dixit. K.M. et. al. (1997), "Lowly Labor in the Lowlands", *Himal South Asia*, January.

<sup>584</sup> Bhattraï, R. (2007a), "Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi", Presented on 30 and 31 August 2007 at The International Migration, Multi-Local Livelihoods and Human Security: Perspectives from Europe, Asia and Africa, Panel 5: International Migration, Citizenship, Identities and Cultures, Institute of Social Studies.

<sup>585</sup> Bhattraï, R. (2007a), "Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi", Presented on 30 and 31 August 2007 at The International Migration, Multi-Local Livelihoods and Human Security: Perspectives from Europe, Asia and Africa, Panel 5: International Migration, Citizenship, Identities and Cultures, Institute of Social Studies.

<sup>586</sup> Samuels, F. et. al. (2011), "Vulnerabilities of Movement: Cross Border Mobility between India, Nepal and Bangladesh".

<sup>587</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>588</sup> Dixit. K.M. et. al. (1997), "Lowly Labor in the Lowlands", *Himal South Asia*, January.

<sup>589</sup> Bhattraï, R. (2007a), "Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labor Migrants in Delhi".

came to Delhi in 1971 works as a watchmen and after years of staying he has not been able to possess voters identity card, ration card or passport to ensure his privileges and rights while in India<sup>590</sup>. In such a situation firstly the migrants are unaware of their rights and benefits to claim for any and secondly, those who are aware of their rights remain silent as they fear losing the job they have got. Either way the situation pushes them to become more predisposed than their Indian counterparts.

### **Psychological Distress**

Nepalese migrants are subjected to social labeling by media on newspapers, television shows and movies as brave, hardworking and cheap labor easily available for lowly unqualified jobs as porters, road workers or guards<sup>591</sup>. For example, Nepalese guard Mohan Bahadur Kunwar from Bajhang in Bangalore (of Far-Western Development Region)states “ *Pahilay ijjat thiyo, ahilay chhaina* (Before we had respect, now we do not)”<sup>592</sup> as Nepalese men are either called ‘*Bahadur*’ (meaning brave) or ‘*Kancha*’ (meaning small boy) and relegate them to menial, dirty and dangerous jobs. Such social labeling develops generalized identity for the entire migrant population. The positive connotation of the word ‘brave’ which was attached to the brave Gurkha soldiers has been mediated and now identifies itself as an identity which indicates only Nepalese night guards.

Further, Indian media places Nepalese migrants as social evils like potential burglars, thieves and sometimes murderers. In 1996 Delhi police publicized a notice against Nepalese servants as a case of killing was reported by a Nepalese migrant<sup>593</sup>. It was almost a decade later the Arushi murder case of 2008 in Noida where the initial suspect for the murder of the 16 year old girl was a Nepali domestic help Hemraj, which again made national news. Such tagging puts a social stigma on these migrants thus, ‘many internalize this stigmatization and do not feel capable of achieving higher social

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<sup>590</sup> Woes of Nepali Migrants in India, Accessed 20 June 2015, Accessed 26 July 2015  
URL: [www.youthkawaz.com](http://www.youthkawaz.com)

<sup>591</sup> Brusle, T. (2008) “Choosing a Destination and Work: Migration Strategies of Nepalese Workers in Uttarakhand, Northern India” *Mountain Research and Development*, 28 (3/4) August-November, pp.240-247,

<sup>592</sup> Cover Story (1997),” Bahadur=Kancha=Gorkha”, Himal South Asia.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

position’<sup>594</sup>.Such media coverage’s develop suspicion against Nepalese migrants as domestic help and guards which impact the job market for the migrants due to perceived threat. Thus, tagging them as thieves, and murders shames the entire classes of Nepalese migrants in India. Nepalese migrants are largely seen being linked with crime, murder and other illegal activities in Indian media.

Therefore, similar to the Marx’s conception of capitalist workers these Nepalese migrant workers are cheap laborers who work over-time and are alienated from their socio-cultural life, their aim in life is to earn by working maximum number of hours. The main goal here is to save as much money as possible in order to ease the poverty and improve the livelihood of families back home. Working as porters carrying load, domestic help, guards, helpers and waiters in restaurants and hotels did not actually help in achieving high goals socially or economically. It was a virtual satisfaction of the migrants of going abroad, making money and building socially acceptable place in the home which could not materialize in the real sense in the host country. The job doesn’t give them any respect, security or social position which leads them to be within the lowest strata even after years of toil and hard work. Trying to make way out of the economic hardships within the home country and accepting migration as survival tactics still place them in the low lying dirty jobs with social and economic insecurity in the host country, which clearly explains the metaphor used earlier ‘double burden’.

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<sup>594</sup>Thieme , S. (2006), “Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi: NCCR” *North-South dialogue, NCCR North-South*, Berne.p.44.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The study has taken up the case of Nepalese migration into India as a point of departure to explore the human security nuances of the migrant population; one as a factor which induces migration and creates movement of population and two as a human security challenges to the migrant population in the destination. Human security approach in the study focused on the aspect of vulnerability and instability to the migrants. This interdisciplinary approach in security studies has recognized threats across economic, social, political and ecological front and the referent object here remains the individual. Human security nuances have helped to rightfully view the motives, modes and challenges of migrants that act as push factors, as well as an analysis of the conditions of migrants in their new areas of settlement.

Migration between Nepal to its larger neighbor India is foremost facilitated and eased by the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950. The 1950 treaty is the only legal provision sustaining the movement of population between Nepal and India. Beside the provision of the open border, push to India is induced due to historical legacies, cultural similarity, social adaptability, network linkages and well developed border connectivity. These characteristics for time immemorial have dominated the migratory scenario between Nepal and India, whether it is the recruitment of Gurkhas in the British army, agricultural labor in the fields of Assam and Uttar Pradesh or menial laborers in the streets and factories of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. Today the migration paths still stand strong within these pillars of history and geographical proximity however, the undercurrent of changing political situation, economic vulnerabilities and social turbulence has triggered a movement beyond classical push and pull scenario which was coined by Ravenstein and Lee.

Thus, two dimensions are explored in case of Nepalese Migration to India. One, the human security aspect of migration which acts as both the triggering agent and

challenging factor for the migrants, which builds up newer overarching element in the migration scenario between the two countries. The other aspect dealt with the nature, dimension and content of the Nepalese migrants in India and its changing dynamics over the years.

The United Nations High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development addressed the root cause of international migration today as poverty, conflict, human rights violation, poor governance or lack of employment<sup>595</sup>. Migration as a human security concern has emerged in the recent years with exponential increase in refugees, IDPs and labor migrants in order to cope with increasing human security deficit. Human security is a pre-requisite for socially, politically and culturally just life and human security approach within the policy of the country can help evolve a ‘systematic, holistic, multidimensional’ frame work in advancing social transformation<sup>596</sup>.

Hence, the link between human security and migration re-emerged in recent times, especially after the elaboration of the concept in 1994 by the Human Development Report. This nexus has great relevance given the present scenario of migration from Nepal in the shadow of changing regimes since 1950s and political conflicts, economic imbalance, deteriorating HDI and developmental loopholes. Nepalese migration trends have not remained within the classical frame work of push and pull alone. Today, it is a voluntary migration situation induced due to post conflict deprivation and livelihood strategy mechanism, mainly to fight the increasing insecurities in the country. Thus, ‘Migration in distresses is largely credited to either man-made disasters like political debacle leading to conflicts or natural calamities<sup>597</sup>. In the case of Nepal the study focused on three aspect of human insecurity inducing migration to India: political, economic and environmental.

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<sup>595</sup> UN (2006), *Chairperson’s Summary*, The High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, conducted from 14-15 September 2006, United Nations Headquarters.

<sup>596</sup> Pandey, N. N. (2007), “Nepal: The Political Economy of Turbulence”, p. 61

<sup>597</sup> Nayar, D. (2000), ‘Cross Border Movements of People’. Quoted in UmaKothari (2002), “Migration and Chronic Poverty”, *Institute for Development Policy and Management*, University of Manchester, Working Paper 16, Chronic Poverty Research Centre , :8-9.

Nepal's unstable political situation moving from Rana Regime, *Panchayat* Raj, Constitutional Monarchy and a Federal Republic have resulted in a deep seated layers of instability and incoherence in terms of its international and domestic political, economic, social and cultural facets. These changing regimes and their political manifestations stratified societies, ethnic groups, and tribal population and augmented malpractices of governance and functioning of the society. These instabilities generated human security deficit ranging from breaches of fundamental rights, economic turbulence and developmental failures to conflicts, killings, looting and disappearance, which ran across the entire length and breadth of the country. The period of conflict saw a rise in out migration from Nepal in absolute numbers to India from 589,050 in 2001 to 722,255 in 2011. Ethnographic research of different authors and researchers all confirm that crossing border and going to India is visible for every household and every village mainly of conflict affected Western, Far-Western and Mid-Western regions of Nepal.

Economic insecurity marked with poverty, underemployment or unemployment and lack of access to basic needs resulted in income disparities and non-inclusive growth patterns amongst different development regions and ecological zones in Nepal. This caused a skewed distribution of population out migration from Nepal to India mainly from regions with lower HDI and higher HPI like the Mid-Western and Far-Western regions of Nepal. India is thus seen as a safety net to Nepalese population from hills and bordering states for better and safe livelihood options, employment, access to basic needs and services, standard of living and above all to develop a survival strategy. However, displacement due to natural calamities like floods, soil erosion, landslide, access to water and climate change induced degradation have caused migration to India from flood plains of Terai (village surrounding Kosi flood area) and from higher mountain region (Namche Village due to GLOF). However, it is yet to be made as a sole driver for migration to the India states. Thus, the findings of the secondary research study endorses that political and economic insecurities have been fore runners in inducing large scale out migration from Nepal to India. Migration from Nepal to India is the combination of economic, political, social, cultural factors along with ecology from the hill population of largely Mid and Far-Western development regions of the country.

Thus, Migration, when within the framework of human security, is an intervention to bailout oneself or a larger group from the insecurities that is generated within the different social, political and economic realms of the society. Hence, migration is the result of precautions taken to face the future challenges or reactions to the present turmoil or deficit. Here, migratory movement could be a family decision to counter attack the hardships generated due to human insecurities or an individual rational choice to build the family's income and future endowments.

Nepalese out-migration in the recent period with its political dynamism, economic and environmental condition could be largely attributed to increase in human insecurities combined with the need of cheap labor in India. It is the requirement of the Indian informal and unorganized job market that swamp these Nepalese migrants. Nepalese migrants in metropolitans like Delhi as Domestic helpers or porters and stone pickers in a small town like Pittorgargh in Uttarakhand are an inevitable requirement for the market, one due to their large presence and dominance, as an informal menial workforce and two as local population abstain from the same. Having said the requirement of these migrants in the Indian market, The government of Nepal recognizes Nepalese migrants in India as migrant workers however they have been sidelined and ignored in policy arena as migration to India from Nepal is solely governed under the Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950. These migrants are outside the purview of migration laws or policies adopted by the home or the host countries for their emigration and immigration which makes it extremely difficult to manage, record the number of migrants pouring in, there exact location in destination and their survival condition.

These trivial functioning of the policies causes migration between Nepal and India to be large and undocumented. This has time and again put the Indian state to take up Nepalese migration as a concern for their national and state security within the concept of securitization, like in the 1980s and during the Maoist insurgency. Nepalese migrants fleeing political insecurity in Nepal got embroiled in the Centre and the State government scrutiny in India, either in the case of Anti-Foreigner's Movement in Assam or branding them as rebels and Maoists with linkages with Naxalities. Practice of immigration and

border controls, surveillance and banning which addressed the interests of the securitizing agents like the political parties and government placed migration under existential threat. Securitization of migration undermines the human security of the migrants, and put them at a risk within the political realm of the host country.

Nepalese migrant workers in India, who seek survival solace, also face economic and social backlash due to their working hours, being outside labor laws and alienated from their socio-cultural life. Instances of Nepalese workers being labeled as '*Bahadurs*' and '*Kancha*', recruitment only for dirty and menial jobs and at times seen as agent of social evils like thieves and burglars, place them under scrutiny within local law and governance and stigmatize their social position. Such, social stigmatization has led Nepalese migrant community to cluster within their niches in the destination hence resulting in stunted economic and social growth of migrants in the host country.

These voluntary and undocumented migrants from Nepal are pushed due to human insecurity currents in the home however, it is not safeguarded even in the host country. Voluntariness of movement of these migrants has remained and number of absentee population to India from Nepal is rising from 375,196 in 1971 to 722,255 in 2011. Large concentration of Nepalese migrants can be seen in the northern states of India. In all the four censuses of India, from 1971 to 2001 Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has remained the maximum migrant receiving states, which are also the bordering States of Nepal. Though, over the decades there is an area diversification of Nepalese Migrants in India, as percentage of migrants moving to the rest of India is increasing, and migrants are moving to states like Punjab, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. However, there is a discrepancy in numbers of migrants shown in Indian census and absentee population to India in Nepal census. Such under reporting in the Indian census clearly concretize the nature of Nepalese migrants in India which is undocumented and non-monitored. This also highlights the non-recognition of the large portion of Nepalese migrants in India, making them a larger part of Indian population and at the same time they get marginalized as the 'other' in the political, socio-cultural realm of the destination, which undermine their rights and privileges.

Thus, the open border, ease of migration, no binding rules and clauses and easy accessibility makes Nepal-India migration a special case of internal migration across international boundaries. These Nepalese migrants in India are mostly placed in the blue collar jobs and are spread across the nation with large number situated in the northern region. They are migrant workers from the mid-hills of Nepal to the plains of India. Diverse issues on human security highlight an urgent need for migration scenario, between the two nations to be taken up seriously as a security issue of, greater social, economic and political agenda of the migrants, rather than seeing it just as a privilege of the Treaty of 1950 which safeguards the political agendas both sides.

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## APPENDIX

### Appendix 1:

**Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Kathmandu, July 31, 1950.**

**The Government of India and the Government of Nepal**, recognizing the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries;

**DESIRING** still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between two countries;

**HAVE** resolved therefore to enter into a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with each other and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely,

**The Government of India:**

His Excellency Shri Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh,  
Ambassador of India in Nepal.

**The Government of Nepal:**

Maharaja Mohun Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana,  
Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal,

**WHO**, having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form

**HAVE** agreed as follows:

*Article I*

There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.



## *Article II*

The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighboring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

## *Article III*

In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article I the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions.

The representatives and such of their staff as many be agreed upon shall enjoy such diplomatic privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by international law on a reciprocal basis:

Provided that in no case shall these be less than those granted to persons of a similar status of any other State having diplomatic relations with either Government.

## *Article IV*

The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-Generals, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in towns, ports and other places in each other's territory as may be agreed to.

Consuls- General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequaturs or other valid authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible.

The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

## *Article V*

The Government of Nepal shall be free to import, form or through the territory of India, arms, ammunitions or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultations.

*Article VI*

Each Government undertakes in token of the neighborly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

*Article VII*

The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.

*Article VIII*

So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned, this Treaty cancels all previous treaties, agreements and arrangements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

*Article IX*

This treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

*Article X*

This treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice.

DONE in duplicate at Kathmandu this 31<sup>st</sup> day of July, 1950

Sd/-

CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD

NARAIN SINGH

For the Government of India

Sd/-

MOHUN SHAMDHER JANG

BHAHADUR RANA

For The Government of Nepal

## Appendix 2: 1971

**Table 2.1: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India- 1971<sup>598</sup>**

States	Total	Total Migrants (%)	Males (M)	Male to Total Population (%)	Males(%)	Female to Total Population (%)	Females(F)	Females (%)	Sex Ratio F/M*
<b>India</b>	526526	100	273743	52.0	52.0	48.0	252783	48.0	923
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	3535	0.7	2935	0.6	83.0	0.11	600	17.0	204
<b>Assam</b>	78268	14.9	46037	8.7	58.8	6.12	32231	41.2	700
<b>Bihar</b>	122528	23.3	18132	3.4	14.8	19.83	104396	85.2	5758
<b>Gujarat</b>	4315	0.8	3235	0.6	75.0	0.21	1080	25.0	334
<b>Haryana</b>	6885	1.3	6070	1.2	88.2	0.15	815	11.8	134
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	19718	3.7	16069	3.1	81.5	0.69	3649	18.5	227
<b>Jammu and Kashmir</b>	1296	0.2	963	0.2	74.3	0.06	333	25.7	346
<b>Kerala</b>	1280	0.2	1070	0.2	83.6	0.04	210	16.4	196

<sup>598</sup>Government of India (1971), *Census of India 1971*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part II, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

\* Females to 1000 Males

<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	8825	1.7	6255	1.2	70.9		0.49	2570	29.1	411
<b>Maharashtra</b>	18422	3.5	14107	2.7	76.6		0.82	4315	23.4	306
<b>Manipur</b>	6940	1.3	4405	0.8	63.5		0.48	2535	36.5	575
<b>Meghalaya</b>	13397	2.5	8447	1.6	63.1		0.94	4950	36.9	586
<b>Mysore</b>	1705	0.3	1365	0.3	80.1		0.06	340	19.9	249
<b>Nagaland</b>	9278	1.8	7186	1.4	77.5		0.40	2092	22.5	291
<b>Orissa</b>	3555	0.7	2650	0.5	74.5		0.17	905	25.5	342
<b>Punjab</b>	3915	0.7	3055	0.6	78.0		0.16	860	22.0	282
<b>Rajasthan</b>	2626	0.5	2076	0.4	79.1		0.10	550	20.9	265
<b>Sikkim</b>	5569	1.1	3047	0.6	54.7		0.48	2522	45.3	828

<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	3465	0.7	2780	0.5	80.2		0.13	685	19.8	246
<b>Tripura</b>	930	0.2	623	0.1	67.0		0.06	307	33.0	493
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	83459	15.9	41236	7.8	49.4		8.02	42223	50.6	1024
<b>West Bengal</b>	100365	19.1	61460	11.7	61.2		7.39	38905	38.8	633
<b>Andaman and Nicobar Islands</b>	173	0.0	139	0.0	80.3		0.01	34	19.7	245
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	15551	3.0	12347	2.3	79.4		0.61	3204	20.6	259

<b>Chandigarh</b>	366	0.1	280	0.1	76.5		0.02	86	23.5	307
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	4	0.0	4	0.0	100.0		0.00	0	0.0	0
<b>Delhi</b>	9670	1.8	7361	1.4	76.1		0.44	2309	23.9	314
<b>Goa, Daman and Diu</b>	298	0.1	256	0.0	85.9		0.01	42	14.1	164
<b>Laccadiv, Minocoy Amindivi</b>	0	0.0	0	0.0			0.00	0		
<b>Pondicherry</b>	188	0.0	153	0.0	81.4		0.01	35	18.6	229

**Table 2.2: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India (Rural and Urban) -1971<sup>599</sup>**

States	Rural (R)	Rural to Total Population (%)	Rural (%)	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban (U)	Urban to Total Population (%)	Urban %	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural to Urban Ratio (R/U)
<b>India</b>	383871	72.9	72.9	171778	212093	142660	27.1	27.1	101965	40695	2.7
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	520	0.1	14.7	460	60	3015	0.6	85.3	2475	540	0.2
<b>Assam</b>	67550	12.8	86.3	38230	29320	10718	2.0	13.7	7807	2911	6.3
<b>Bihar</b>	108338	20.6	88.4	10172	98166	14195	2.7	11.6	7960	6235	7.6
<b>Gujarat</b>	760	0.1	17.6	600	160	3555	0.7	82.4	2635	920	0.2
<b>Haryana</b>	4960	0.9	72.0	4740	220	1925	0.4	28.0	1330	595	2.6
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	17760	3.4	90.1	14928	2832	1958	0.4	9.9	1141	817	9.1

<sup>599</sup>Government of India (1971), *Census of India 1971*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part II, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

<b>Jammu and Kashmir</b>	909	0.2	70.1	718	191	387	0.1	29.9	245	142	2.3
<b>Kerala</b>	260	0.0	20.3	220	40	1020	0.2	79.7	850	170	0.3
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	1850	0.4	21.0	1240	610	6975	1.3	79.0	5015	1960	0.3
<b>Maharashtra</b>	1350	0.3	7.3	1120	230	17072	3.2	92.7	12987	4085	0.1
<b>Manipur</b>	6200	1.2	89.3	3863	2337	740	0.1	10.7	542	198	8.4
<b>Meghalaya</b>	8936	1.7	66.7	5254	3682	4461	0.8	33.3	3193	1268	2.0
<b>Mysore</b>	600	0.1	35.2	520	80	1105	0.2	64.8	845	260	0.5
<b>Nagaland</b>	6360	1.2	68.5	4883	1477	2918	0.6	31.5	2303	615	2.2
<b>Orissa</b>	270	0.1	7.6	210	60	3285	0.6	92.4	2440	845	0.1
<b>Punjab</b>	600	0.1	15.3	440	160	3315	0.6	84.7	2615	700	0.2
<b>Rajasthan</b>	701	0.1	26.7	601	100	1925	0.4	73.3	1475	450	0.4
<b>Sikkim</b>	4086	0.8	73.4	1970	2116	1483	0.3	26.6	1077	406	2.8
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	560	0.1	16.2	410	150	2905	0.6	83.8	2370	535	0.2
<b>Tripura</b>	581	0.1	62.5	435	146	349	0.1	37.5	188	161	1.7
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	58940	11.2	70.6	24380	34560	24519	4.7	29.4	16856	7663	2.4
<b>West Bengal</b>	77991	14.8	77.7	45361	32630	22374	4.2	22.3	16099	6275	3.5

<b>Andaman and Nicobar Islands</b>	98	0.0	56.6	83	15	75	0.0	43.4	56	19	1.3
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	13195	2.5	84.8	10543	2652	2356	0.4	15.2	1804	552	5.6
<b>Chandigarh</b>	34	0.0	9.3	22	12	332	0.1	90.7	258	74	0.1
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	4	0.0	100.0	4	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	
<b>Delhi</b>	249	0.0	2.6	195	54	9421	1.8	97.4	7166	2255	0.0
<b>Goa, Daman and Diu</b>	134	0.0	45.0	121	13	164	0.0	55.0	135	29	0.8
<b>Laccadiv, Minocoy Amindivi</b>	0	0.0		0	0	0	0.0		0	0	
<b>Pondicherry</b>	75	0.0	39.9	55	20	113	0.0	60.1	98	15	0.7



**Table 2.3: Duration of Residence of Nepalese Migrants in India-1971<sup>600</sup>**

<b>Time Period (Year)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Total Migrants (%)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Male (M)</b>	<b>Female (F)</b>	<b>Rural (R)</b>	<b>Rural Male</b>	<b>Rural Female</b>	<b>Urban (U)</b>	<b>Urban Male</b>	<b>Urban Female</b>
< 1	44897	9.3	6.6	2.8	31566	13331	30705	20648	10057	14192	10918	3274
1 to 4	108043	22.4	12.5	10.0	59966	48077	71598	33735	37863	36445	26231	10214
5 to 9	81226	16.9	8.6	8.3	41194	40032	58926	25809	33117	22300	15385	6915
10 to 19	108927	22.6	9.7	12.9	46911	62016	84092	29844	54248	24835	17067	7768
20 +	115543	24.0	8.3	15.7	39761	75782	98427	28560	69867	17116	11201	5915
Not Stated	22636	4.7	2.7	2.0	12792	9844	12738	6061	6677	9898	6731	3167
<b>Total</b>	481272	100.0	48.2	51.8	232190	249082	356486	144657	211829	124786	87533	37253

<sup>600</sup>Government of India (1971), *Census of India 1971*, Migrants Classified by Place of Last Residence and Duration of Residence in Place of Enumeration, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part II, Table D 2, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

## Appendix 3: 1981

**Table 3.1: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India- 1981<sup>601</sup>**

States	Total	Total Migrant %	Male (M)	Male to Total Population (%)	Male %	Female (F)	Female to Total Population (%)	Female %	Sex Ratio* F/M
<b>India</b>	489822	100.0	233581	47.7	47.7	256241	52.3	52.3	1097
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	1923	0.4	1460	0.3	75.9	463	0.1	24.1	317
<b>Bihar</b>	146539	29.9	16083	3.3	11.0	130456	26.6	89.0	8111
<b>Gujarat</b>	4535	0.9	3104	0.6	68.4	1431	0.3	31.6	461
<b>Haryana</b>	6552	1.3	5010	1.0	76.5	1542	0.3	23.5	308
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	35766	7.3	27714	5.7	77.5	8052	1.6	22.5	291
<b>Jammu and Kashmir</b>	2061	0.4	1447	0.3	70.2	614	0.1	29.8	424
<b>Karnataka</b>	2888	0.6	2213	0.5	76.6	675	0.1	23.4	305

<sup>601</sup>Government of India (1981), *Census of India 1981*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

\* Females to 1000 Males

<b>Kerala</b>	1049	0.2	893	0.2	85.1	156	0.0	14.9	175
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	9072	1.9	6363	1.3	70.1	2709	0.6	29.9	426
<b>Maharashtra</b>	21244	4.3	14782	3.0	69.6	6462	1.3	30.4	437
<b>Manipur</b>	1734	0.4	932	0.2	53.7	802	0.2	46.3	861
<b>Meghalaya</b>	16847	3.4	11474	2.3	68.1	5373	1.1	31.9	468
<b>Nagaland</b>	9234	1.9	6356	1.3	68.8	2878	0.6	31.2	453
<b>Orissa</b>	5126	1.0	3917	0.8	76.4	1209	0.2	23.6	309
<b>Punjab</b>	5901	1.2	4342	0.9	73.6	1559	0.3	26.4	359
<b>Rajasthan</b>	3071	0.6	2173	0.4	70.8	898	0.2	29.2	413
<b>Sikkim</b>	21627	4.4	13527	2.8	62.5	8100	1.7	37.5	599
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	3640	0.7	2615	0.5	71.8	1025	0.2	28.2	392
<b>Tripura</b>	491	0.1	332	0.1	67.6	159	0.0	32.4	479
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	99792	20.4	43442	8.9	43.5	56350	11.5	56.5	1297
<b>West Bengal</b>	57744	11.8	33775	6.9	58.5	23969	4.9	41.5	710
<b>Andaman and Nicobar Island</b>	179	0.0	127	0.0	70.9	52	0.0	29.1	409
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	18144	3.7	12436	2.5	68.5	5708	1.2	31.5	459

<b>Chandigarh</b>	1596	0.3	1245	0.3	78.0	351	0.1	22.0	282
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	33	0.0	22	0.0	66.7	11	0.0	33.3	500
<b>Delhi</b>	19846	4.1	15145	3.1	76.3	4701	1.0	23.7	310
<b>Goa, Daman and Diu</b>	440	0.1	327	0.1	74.3	113	0.0	25.7	346
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	16	0.0	16	0.0	100.0		0.0	0.0	0
<b>Mizoram</b>	1927	0.4	1540	0.3	79.9	387	0.1	20.1	251
<b>Pondicherry</b>	209	0.0	170	0.0	81.3	39	0.0	18.7	229

**Table 3.2: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India (Rural and Urban) -1981<sup>602</sup>**

States	Rural (R)	Rural to Total Population (%)	Rural (%)	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban (U)	Urban to Total Population (%)	Urban (%)	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural to Urban Ratio (R/U)
<b>India</b>	347972	71.1	71.0	131226	216746	151849	31.0	31.0	102355	49494	2.3
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	571	0.1	29.7	449	122	1351	0.3	70.3	1010	341	0.4
<b>Bihar</b>	130484	26.6	89.0	8760	121724	16055	3.3	11.0	7323	8732	8.1

<sup>602</sup>Government of India (1981), *Census of India 1981*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

<b>Gujarat</b>	1022	0.2	22.5	696	326	3512	0.7	77.4	2407	1105	0.3
<b>Haryana</b>	1762	0.4	26.9	1361	401	4791	1.0	73.1	3649	1142	0.4
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	33442	6.8	93.5	26008	7434	2524	0.5	7.1	1706	818	13.2
<b>Jammu and Kashmir</b>	1467	0.3	71.2	1017	450	594	0.1	28.8	430	164	2.5
<b>Karnataka</b>	1006	0.2	34.8	807	199	1882	0.4	65.2	1406	476	0.5
<b>Kerala</b>	596	0.1	56.8	508	88	453	0.1	43.2	386	67	1.3
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	1306	0.3	14.4	937	369	7767	1.6	85.6	5427	2340	0.2
<b>Maharashtra</b>	2550	0.5	12.0	1919	631	18694	3.8	88.0	12863	5831	0.1
<b>Manipur</b>	1195	0.2	68.9	645	550	539	0.1	31.1	287	252	2.2
<b>Meghalaya</b>	11744	2.4	69.7	8025	3719	5102	1.0	30.3	3448	1654	2.3
<b>Nagaland</b>	6528	1.3	70.7	4369	2159	2707	0.6	29.3	1988	719	2.4
<b>Orissa</b>	730	0.1	14.2	558	172	4396	0.9	85.8	3359	1037	0.2
<b>Punjab</b>	1598	0.3	27.1	1095	503	4901	1.0	83.1	3846	1055	0.3
<b>Rajasthan</b>	854	0.2	27.8	616	238	2214	0.5	72.1	1557	657	0.4
<b>Sikkim</b>	18518	3.8	85.6	11395	7123	3110	0.6	14.4	2132	978	6.0
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	598	0.1	16.4	467	131	3042	0.6	83.6	2148	894	0.2

<b>Tripura</b>	406	0.1	82.7	272	134	85	0.0	17.3	60	25	4.8
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	75550	15.4	75.7	28131	47419	24242	4.9	24.3	15311	8931	3.1
<b>West Bengal</b>	38309	7.8	66.3	20575	17734	19436	4.0	33.7	13201	6235	2.0
<b>Andaman and Nicobar Island</b>	75	0.0	41.9	55	20	104	0.0	58.1	72	32	0.7
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	15797	3.2	87.1	10866	4931	2347	0.5	12.9	1570	777	6.7
<b>Chandigarh</b>	85	0.0	5.3	60	25	1511	0.3	94.7	1185	326	0.1
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	28	0.0	84.8	19	9	5	0.0	15.2	3	2	5.6
<b>Delhi</b>	643	0.1	3.2	525	118	19203	3.9	96.8	14620	4583	0.0
<b>Goa, Daman and Diu</b>	214	0.0	48.6	174	40	226	0.0	51.4	153	73	0.9
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	8	0.0	50.0	8		8	0.0	50.0	8		1.0
<b>Mizoram</b>	1043	0.2	54.1	869	174	883	0.2	45.8	671	212	1.2
<b>Pondicherry</b>	43	0.0	20.6	40	3	166	0.0	79.4	130	36	0.3

**Table 3.3: Duration of Residence of Nepalese Migrants in India-1981<sup>603</sup>**

<b>Time Period (Year)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Total Migrants (%)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Male (M)</b>	<b>Female (F)</b>	<b>Rural (R)</b>	<b>Rural Male</b>	<b>Rural Female</b>	<b>Urban (U)</b>	<b>Urban Male</b>	<b>Urban Female</b>
< 1	42948	9.7	7.6	2.1	33613	9335	31015	24341	6674	11933	9272	2661
1 to 4	92729	20.9	11.9	9.0	52900	39829	53728	25568	28160	39001	27332	11669
5 to 9	61105	13.8	5.9	7.9	25975	35130	38272	11288	26984	22815	14669	8146
10 to 19	99124	22.4	8.0	14.3	35535	63589	67961	15538	52423	13162	1997	11165
20 +	132195	29.8	7.8	22.0	34596	97599	106307	18433	87874	25887	16162	9725
Not Stated	15040	3.4	2.0	1.4	8796	6244	8335	4255	4080	6705	4541	2164
<b>Total</b>	443141	100	43.2	56.8	191415	251726	305618	99423	206195	137503	91973	45530

<sup>603</sup>Government of India (1981), *Census of India 1981*, Migrants Classified by Place of Last Residence and Duration of Residence in Place of Enumeration, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D 2, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

## Appendix IV: 1991

**Table 4.1: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India- 1991<sup>604</sup>**

States	Total	Total Migrants ( %)	Male (M)	Male to Total Population (%)	Male (%)	Female (F)	Female to Total Population (%)	Female %	Sex Ratio* (F/M)
<b>India</b>	478694	99.3	203421	42.5	42.5	275273	57.5	57.5	1353
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	3420	0.7	2160	0.5	63.2	1260	0.3	36.8	583
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	12363	2.6	7852	1.6	63.5	4511	0.9	36.5	575
<b>Assam<sup>605</sup></b>	22433	4.7	13793	2.9	61.5	8640	1.8	38.5	626
<b>Bihar</b>	136291	28.5	8440	1.8	6.2	127851	26.7	93.8	15148
<b>Goa</b>	600	0.1	427	0.1	71.2	173	0.0	28.8	405

<sup>604</sup>Government of India (1991), *Census of India 1991*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

\* Females to 1000 Males

<sup>605</sup>1981 census was not conducted in Assam due to disturbed condition. It was included in 1991 census.



<b>Gujarat</b>	6392	1.3	4342	0.9	67.9	2050	0.4	32.1	472
<b>Haryana</b>	8145	1.7	5776	1.2	70.9	2369	0.5	29.1	410
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	30884	6.5	22397	4.7	72.5	8487	1.8	27.5	379
<b>Karnataka</b>	3460	0.7	2420	0.5	69.9	1040	0.2	30.1	430
<b>Kerala</b>	1230	0.3	910	0.2	74.0	320	0.1	26.0	352
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	11050	2.3	6840	1.4	61.9	4210	0.9	38.1	615
<b>Maharashtra</b>	21700	4.5	14940	3.1	68.8	6760	1.4	31.2	452
<b>Manipur</b>	743	0.2	432	0.1	58.1	311	0.1	41.9	720
<b>Meghalaya</b>	5222	1.1	3420	0.7	65.5	1802	0.4	34.5	527
<b>Mizoram</b>	568	0.1	395	0.1	69.5	173	0.0	30.5	438
<b>Nagaland</b>	4245	0.9	2823	0.6	66.5	1422	0.3	33.5	504
<b>Orissa</b>	3620	0.8	2560	0.5	70.7	1060	0.2	29.3	414
<b>Punjab</b>	11350	2.4	8160	1.7	71.9	3190	0.7	28.1	391
<b>Rajasthan</b>	5710	1.2	3910	0.8	68.5	1800	0.4	31.5	460
<b>Sikkim</b>	16612	3.5	9690	2.0	58.3	6922	1.4	41.7	714
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	3600	0.8	2440	0.5	67.8	1160	0.2	32.2	475

<b>Tripura</b>	318	0.1	204	0.0	64.2	114	0.0	35.8	559
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	94336	19.7	33302	7.0	35.3	61034	12.8	64.7	1833
<b>West Bengal</b>	41736	8.7	22358	4.7	53.6	19378	4.0	46.4	867
<b>Andaman and Nicobar Islands</b>	219	0.0	151	0.0	68.9	68	0.0	31.1	450
<b>Chandigarh</b>	3243	0.7	2496	0.5	77.0	747	0.2	23.0	299
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	96	0.0	78	0.0	81.3	18	0.0	18.8	231
<b>Daman and Dui</b>	92	0.0	83	0.0	90.2	9	0.0	9.8	108
<b>Delhi</b>	28768	6.0	20445	4.3	71.1	8323	1.7	28.9	407
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	1	0.0	1	0.0	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	0
<b>Pondicherry</b>	247	0.1	176	0.0	71.3	71	0.0	28.7	403

**Table 4.2: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India (Rural and Urban) -1991<sup>606</sup>**

States	Rural	Rural to Total Population %	Rural to Total Population of State %	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban	Urban to Total Population %	Urban to Total Population of State %	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural to Urban Ratio
<b>India</b>	311190	65.0	65.0	97791	213399	167494	35.0	35.0	105630	61864	1.9
<b>Andra Pradesh</b>	980	0.20	28.7	710	270	2440	0.5	71.3	1450	990	0.4
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	9759	2.04	78.9	6245	3514	2604	0.5	21.1	1607	997	3.7
<b>Assam*</b>	17080	3.57	76.1	9950	7130	5343	1.1	23.8	3843	1500	3.2
<b>Bihar</b>	122038	25.49	89.5	4020	118018	14253	3.0	10.5	4420	9833	8.6
<b>Goa</b>	336	0.07	56.0	252	84	264	0.1	44.0	175	89	1.3
<b>Gujarat</b>	1520	0.32	23.8	1120	400	4872	1.0	76.2	3222	1650	0.3
<b>Haryana</b>	2442	0.51	30.0	1742	700	5703	1.2	70.0	4034	1669	0.4
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	26451	5.53	85.6	19557	6894	4433	0.9	14.4	2840	1593	6.0
<b>Karnataka</b>	1170	0.24	33.8	810	360	2290	0.5	66.2	1610	680	0.5
<b>Kerela</b>	510	0.11	41.5	380	130	720	0.2	58.5	530	190	0.7

<sup>606</sup>Government of India (1991), *Census of India 1991*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	1910	0.40	17.3	1020	890	9140	1.9	82.7	5820	3320	0.2
<b>Maharashtra</b>	1840	0.38	8.5	1540	300	19860	4.1	91.5	13400	6460	0.1
<b>Manipur</b>	615	0.13	82.8	321	294	128	0.0	17.2	111	17	4.8
<b>Meghalaya</b>	2281	0.48	43.7	1690	591	2941	0.6	56.3	1730	1211	0.8
<b>Mizoram</b>	155	0.03	27.3	128	27	413	0.1	72.7	267	146	0.4
<b>Nagaland</b>	2175	0.45	51.2	1405	770	2070	0.4	48.8	1418	652	1.1
<b>Orissa</b>	630	0.13	17.4	520	110	2990	0.6	82.6	2040	950	0.2
<b>Punjab</b>	3470	0.72	30.6	2460	1010	7880	1.6	69.4	5700	2180	0.4
<b>Rajasthan</b>	810	0.17	14.2	540	270	4900	1.0	85.8	3370	1530	0.2
<b>Sikkim</b>	15552	3.25	93.6	8981	6571	1060	0.2	6.4	709	351	14.7
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	970	0.20	26.9	670	300	2630	0.5	73.1	1770	860	0.4
<b>Tripura</b>	210	0.04	66.0	138	72	108	0.0	34.0	66	42	1.9
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	69401	14.50	73.6	18846	50555	24935	5.2	26.4	14456	10479	2.8
<b>West Bengal</b>	26270	5.49	62.9	12880	13390	15466	3.2	37.1	9478	5988	1.7
<b>Andaman and Nicobar Islands</b>	101	0.02	46.1	74	27	118	0.0	53.9	77	41	0.9
<b>Chandigarh</b>	560	0.12	17.3	406	154	2683	0.6	82.7	2090	593	0.2

<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	71	0.01	74.0	57	14	25	0.0	26.0	21	4	2.8
<b>Daman and Dui</b>	74	0.02	80.4	69	5	18	0.0	19.6	14	4	4.1
<b>Delhi</b>	1706	0.36	5.9	1180	526	27062	5.7	94.1	19265	7797	0.1
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	1	0.00	100.0	1	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	
<b>Pondicherry</b>	102	0.02	41.3	79	23	145	0.0	58.7	97	48	0.7

**Table 4.3: Duration of Residence of Nepalese Migrants in India-1991<sup>607</sup>**

<b>Time Period (Year)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Total Migrant %</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Male (M)</b>	<b>Female (F)</b>	<b>Rural (R)</b>	<b>Rural Male</b>	<b>Rural Female</b>	<b>Urban (U)</b>	<b>Urban Male</b>	<b>Urban Female</b>
< 1	24074	5.5	4.1	1.4	17991	6083	14799	11116	3683	9275	6875	2400
1 to 4	87484	20.0	10.5	9.5	45923	41561	44898	17664	27234	42586	28259	14327
5 to 9	63637	14.6	5.9	8.7	25719	37918	37502	9685	27817	26135	16034	10101
10 to 19	101709	23.3	7.4	15.9	32155	69554	67449	12326	55123	34260	19829	14431
20 +	129929	29.8	8.5	21.3	36931	92998	97091	17619	79472	32838	19312	13526
Not Stated	29685	6.8	3.8	3.0	16393	13292	18597	8924	9673	11088	7469	3619
<b>Total</b>	436518	100	40.1	59.9	175112	261406	280336	77334	203002	156182	97778	58404

<sup>607</sup>Government of India (1991), *Census of India 1991*, Migrants Classified by Place of Last Residence and Duration of Residence in Place of Enumeration, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D 2, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

## Appendix 5: 2001

**Table 5.1: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India- 2001<sup>608</sup>**

States	Total	Total Migrants %	Male (M)	Male to Total Population (%)	Male (%)	Female(F)	Female to Total Population (%)	Female (%)	Sex Ratio (F/M)*
<b>India</b>	640862	100.1	299232	46.69	46.7	341630	53.3	53.3	1142
<b>Jammu and Kashmir<sup>609</sup></b>	4072	0.6	2903	0.45	71.3	1169	0.2	28.7	403
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	43080	6.7	29017	4.53	67.4	14063	2.2	32.6	485
<b>Punjab</b>	26957	4.2	19379	3.02	71.9	7578	1.2	28.1	391
<b>Chandigarh</b>	6585	1.0	4710	0.73	71.5	1875	0.3	28.5	398
<b>Uttaranchal<sup>610</sup></b>	43228	6.8	29084	4.54	67.3	14144	2.2	32.7	486

<sup>608</sup>Government of India (2001), *Census of India 2001*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

\* Females to 1000 Males

<sup>609</sup> Jammu and Kashmir was not included in the census of 1991 due to political conflict in the region. It was included in 2001.

<sup>610</sup>Uttaranchal got separated from Uttar Pradesh in November 2000. It was included as a separate state in the census of 2001.

<b>Haryana</b>	25719	4.0	18560	2.90	72.2	7159	1.1	27.8	386
<b>Delhi</b>	46517	7.3	31442	4.91	67.6	15075	2.4	32.4	479
<b>Rajasthan</b>	8792	1.4	5963	0.93	67.8	2829	0.4	32.2	474
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	65811	10.3	13595	2.12	20.7	52216	8.1	79.3	3841
<b>Bihar</b>	151057	23.6	5821	0.91	3.9	145236	22.7	96.1	24950
<b>Sikkim</b>	20455	3.2	11147	1.74	54.5	9308	1.5	45.5	835
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	14504	2.3	9231	1.44	63.6	5273	0.8	36.4	571
<b>Nagaland</b>	5619	0.9	3584	0.56	63.8	2035	0.3	36.2	568
<b>Manipur</b>	781	0.1	463	0.07	59.3	318	0.0	40.7	687
<b>Mizoram</b>	1889	0.3	1426	0.22	75.5	463	0.1	24.5	325
<b>Tripura</b>	385	0.1	228	0.04	59.2	157	0.0	40.8	689
<b>Meghalaya</b>	5545	0.9	3794	0.59	68.4	1751	0.3	31.6	462
<b>Assam</b>	17896	2.8	10608	1.66	59.3	7288	1.1	40.7	687
<b>West Bengal</b>	40140	6.3	20335	3.17	50.7	19805	3.1	49.3	974
<b>Jharkhand<sup>611</sup></b>	4500	0.7	2514	0.39	55.9	1986	0.3	44.1	790

<sup>611</sup>Jharkhand got separated from Bihar in November 2000. It was included as a separate state in the census of 2001.



<b>Orissa</b>	5143	0.8	3465	0.54	67.4	1678	0.3	32.6	484
<b>Chattisgarh<sup>612</sup></b>	2122	0.3	1394	0.22	65.7	728	0.1	34.3	522
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	9534	1.5	6030	0.94	63.2	3504	0.5	36.8	581
<b>Gujarat</b>	15124	2.4	10524	1.64	69.6	4600	0.7	30.4	437
<b>Daman and Dui</b>	1481	0.2	1317	0.21	88.9	164	0.0	11.1	125
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	1133	0.2	971	0.15	85.7	162	0.0	14.3	167
<b>Maharashtra</b>	50781	7.9	36234	5.65	71.4	14547	2.3	28.6	401
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	5473	0.9	3676	0.57	67.2	1797	0.3	32.8	489
<b>Karnataka</b>	8833	1.4	6437	1.00	72.9	2396	0.4	27.1	372
<b>Goa</b>	1757	0.3	1336	0.21	76.0	421	0.1	24.0	315
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	1	0.0	1	0.00	100.0	0	0.0	0.0	0
<b>Kerala</b>	1662	0.3	1115	0.17	67.1	547	0.1	32.9	491
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	3518	0.5	2403	0.37	68.3	1115	0.2	31.7	464
<b>Pondicherry</b>	447	0.1	333	0.05	74.5	114	0.0	25.5	342

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<sup>612</sup> Chattisgarh got separated from Madhya Pradesh in November 2000. It was included as a separate state in the census of 2001.

Andaman and Nicobar Islands	321	0.1	192	0.03	59.8	129	0.0	40.2	672
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**Table 5.2: Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India (Rural and Urban) -2001<sup>613</sup>**

States	Rural(R)	Rural to Total Population (%)	Rural %	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban (U)	Urban to Total Population (%)	Urban (%)	Urban Male	Urban Female	Rural to Urban (R/U)
<b>India</b>	378744	59.1	59.1	131720	247024	262118	40.9	40.9	167512	94606	1.4
<b>Jammu and Kashmir*</b>	1979	0.3	48.6	1372	607	2093	0.3	51.4	1531	562	0.9
<b>Himachal Pradesh</b>	36864	5.8	85.6	24873	11991	6216	1.0	14.4	4144	2072	5.9
<b>Punjab</b>	7922	1.2	29.4	5839	2083	19035	3.0	70.6	13540	5495	0.4
<b>Chandigarh</b>	1242	0.2	18.9	856	386	5343	0.8	81.1	3854	1489	0.2
<b>Uttaranchal**</b>	28507	4.4	65.9	19130	9377	14721	2.3	34.1	9954	4767	1.9

<sup>613</sup>Government of India (2001), *Census of India 2001*, Population by Place of Birth, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D1, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

<b>Haryana</b>	10616	1.7	41.3	8129	2487	15103	2.4	58.7	10431	4672	0.7
<b>Delhi</b>	3141	0.5	6.8	2077	1064	43376	6.8	93.2	29365	14011	0.1
<b>Rajasthan</b>	2694	0.4	30.6	2067	627	6098	1.0	69.4	3896	2202	0.4
<b>Uttar Pradesh</b>	46925	7.3	71.3	4309	42616	18886	2.9	28.7	9286	9600	2.5
<b>Bihar</b>	139492	21.8	92.3	4079	135413	11565	1.8	7.7	1742	9823	12.1
<b>Sikkim</b>	18722	2.9	91.5	10099	8623	1733	0.3	8.5	1048	685	10.8
<b>Arunachal Pradesh</b>	11283	1.8	77.8	7231	4052	3221	0.5	22.2	2000	1221	3.5
<b>Nagaland</b>	3145	0.5	56.0	1985	1160	2474	0.4	44.0	1599	875	1.3
<b>Manipur</b>	573	0.1	73.4	315	258	208	0.0	26.6	148	60	2.8
<b>Mizoram</b>	562	0.1	29.8	510	52	1327	0.2	70.2	916	411	0.4
<b>Tripura</b>	291	0.0	75.6	174	117	94	0.0	24.4	54	40	3.1
<b>Meghalaya</b>	3540	0.6	63.8	2472	1068	2005	0.3	36.2	1322	683	1.8
<b>Assam</b>	12863	2.0	71.9	7264	5599	5033	0.8	28.1	3344	1689	2.6
<b>West Bengal</b>	23497	3.7	58.5	10171	13326	16643	2.6	41.5	10164	6479	1.4
<b>Jharkhand***</b>	802	0.1	17.8	440	362	3698	0.6	82.2	2074	1624	0.2
<b>Orissa</b>	1044	0.2	20.3	677	367	4099	0.6	79.7	2788	1311	0.3

<b>Chattisgarh****</b>	458	0.1	21.6	345	113	1664	0.3	78.4	1049	615	0.3
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>	1124	0.2	11.8	805	319	8410	1.3	88.2	5225	3185	0.1
<b>Gujarat</b>	3454	0.5	22.8	2530	924	11670	1.8	77.2	7994	3676	0.3
<b>Daman and Dui</b>	1371	0.2	92.6	1219	152	110	0.0	7.4	98	12	12.5
<b>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</b>	689	0.1	60.8	588	101	444	0.1	39.2	383	61	1.6
<b>Maharashtra</b>	6941	1.1	13.7	5294	1647	43840	6.8	86.3	30940	12900	0.2
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	2152	0.3	39.3	1527	625	3321	0.5	60.7	2149	1172	0.6
<b>Karnataka</b>	4029	0.6	45.6	3278	751	4804	0.7	54.4	3159	1645	0.8
<b>Goa</b>	764	0.1	43.5	602	162	993	0.2	56.5	734	259	0.8
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	1	0.0	100.0	1	0	0.0
<b>Kerala</b>	821	0.1	49.4	605	216	841	0.1	50.6	510	331	1.0
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	890	0.1	25.3	617	273	2628	0.4	74.7	1786	842	0.3
<b>Pondicherry</b>	207	0.0	46.3	160	47	240	0.0	53.7	173	67	0.9
<b>Andaman and Nicobar Islands</b>	140	0.0	43.6	81	59	181	0.0	56.4	111	70	0.8

**Table 5.3: Duration of Residence of Nepalese Migrants in India-2001<sup>614</sup>**

<b>Time Period (Year)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Total Migrants (%)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Male (M)</b>	<b>Female (F)</b>	<b>Rural (R)</b>	<b>Rural Male</b>	<b>Rural Female</b>	<b>Urban (U)</b>	<b>Urban Male</b>	<b>Urban Female</b>
< 1	36757	6.2	4.5	1.7	26854	9903	24226	18046	6180	12531	8808	3723
1 to 4	137119	23.0	13.2	9.8	78660	58459	66897	31296	35601	70222	47364	22858
5 to 9	89734	15.0	6.9	8.1	41315	48419	47108	13901	33207	42626	27414	15212
10 to 19	128061	21.5	7.8	13.6	46707	81354	76288	15426	60862	51773	31281	20492
20 +	160906	27.0	8.6	18.4	51111	109795	112123	21839	90284	48783	29272	19511
Not Stated	44119	7.4	4.3	3.1	25611	18508	24957	13364	11593	19162	12247	6915
<b>Total</b>	596696	100	45.3	54.7	270258	326438	351599	113872	237727	245097	156386	88711

<sup>614</sup>Government of India (2001), *Census of India 2001*, Migrants Classified by Place of Last Residence and Duration of Residence in Place of Enumeration, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part V, Table D 2, Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home.

## Appendix 6

**Table 6.1: Annual Growth Rate (%) of Nepalese Migrants in India and Sex Ratio<sup>615</sup>**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>Male (M)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female(F)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Annual Growth Rate (%)</b>	<b>Sex Ratio (F/M) *</b>
<b>1971</b>	526526	273743	52	252783	48	0.55	923
<b>1981</b>	489822	233581	47.7	256241	52.3	-0.69	1095
<b>1991</b>	478694	203421	42.4	275273	57.5	-0.22	1353
<b>2001</b>	640862	299232	46.7	341630	53.3	3.38	1142

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<sup>615</sup> Compiled and Calculated by the Researcher from the Census.

\*Females to 100 Males