

**NEPALI IMMIGRANTS IN INDIA :
AN ANALYSIS OF TRENDS
AND PATTERN, 1951-1961.**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

KOSHAL RAJ REGMI

**CENTRE FOR SOUTH, CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST
ASIAN AND SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067**

1987




जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067


SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation on entitled :
NEPALI IMMIGRANTS IN INDIA : AN ANALYSIS OF
TRENDS AND PATTERN, 1951-1961, submitted by
KOSHAL RAJ REGMI in partial fulfilment for the
award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
has not been submitted for any other degree
in this or any other university. To the best
of our knowledge this is a bonafide work.

We recommend this dissertation be placed
before the examiners for evaluation.


(I.N. MUKHERJI)
Supervisor


(URMILA PHADNIS)
(Chairperson)

CONTENTS

	<u>Page No.</u>
PREFACE	i
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II THEORIES OF MIGRATION	18
CHAPTER III NEPALESE IMMIGRANTS: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE 1816-1941	36
CHAPTER IV THE PATTERN AND TRENDS OF IMMIGRANTS: 1951-1961	85
CHAPTER V SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY	141

PREFACE

The study and analysis of migration and its implications, is vital in comprehending the multi-dimensional problems of migrants, particularly in politico-economic terms. This is precisely what the present study modestly aims to do. In the early quarter of nineteenth century, a constant and unabated flow of migrants from Nepal to India has been observed. The present work strives to find out such problems - the dispersion of immigrants to different areas and spatial distribution, the magnitude, the sex ratio, the ethnic composition and the consequent political implication of this immigration process. Accordingly, the first chapter 'Introduction' briefly puts forwards the thematic texture of the present analysis. The second chapter deals with various theories of migration to provide theoretical orientation to the present study. The third chapter traces the evolution of Nepalese immigration from 1815 to 1941. The penultimate chapter examines the trends and pattern of these immigrants in the period between 1951 to 1961. The final chapter gives an overview of the present work and also provides the research findings thereof.

In the due course of the present work my teacher and supervisor, Prof. I.N. Mukherji, who has been immaculate in the tasks of guiding and steadfast revision of meandering research efforts of mine. I would like to earnestly place on record my sincere gratefulness to him for acquainting me with the rigours of research work.

I express my heart felt thanks for my intelligent but very simple classmate Venkateswara Rao for his association with me during the period of my study here. I also extend my thanks to Om Prakash Chhettri for his efficient typing.

It goes without saying but needs to be mentioned that my sons, Nalakosh and Ashok, who continuously stood by me and partook the pains and troubles in seeing the completion of the present ^{work} despite their tender age. Words fail me to express their contribution during my stay. Finally, but not the least, I am highly indebted to my better-half, Sushila, for her consistent encouragement, sharing my burdens happily and for being a valuable source of stimulation in innumerable ways.

Koshal Raj Regmi

KOSHAL RAJ REGMI

New Delhi,
21st July, 1987.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The movement of people from one country to another individually or in groups has been a phenomenon for generations. Individual's desire of attaining better things in life consequently lead one to bear adversaries of any kind and gravity. This adversary bearing quality in migrants itself is a property that virtually instals him amidst the problems of a new society different from his own. But the problems the immigrants will have to face and how its society will be affected by the newly entered aliens equipped with all zeal and enthusiasm is an important matter for further enquiry. The Nepalese migrated either with the compulsion of livelihood or the British allurement of recruitment. They had found themselves installed in a society different from their own. The early recruits of 1816 A.D. to British Indian Army not only had opened new opportunities for their employment, but also had found agricultural land in India as a new long lasting area for the earning of their livelihood after their retirement.

The demographic impact is bound to be there on the society the immigrants have lived in at the initial stage of migration. This change in the demographic

feature in the society of destination leads the native traits gradually towards a state where some sort of convulsion is sure to take place. The economy gets the thrust of immigrants though the impact could be both of positive or negative in nature. In a gradual way, the native politics also might come under the influence of migrants if they live in a cluster with a considerable number of their population.

The unrestrictedly migrated Nepalese people across the open international border to India have been living in various parts of the country. But, the place of living and their settlement and the kind of work they are engaged in are important issues for further research. Similarly the pattern and the trend of the population growth of migrants are things to be brought into light. As the number of foreign immigrants increases, its ripples in the form of ethnic conflict, and political resistance and protest are reflected so long as their total assimilation with the native socio-culture and the mainstream politics has not taken place.

Demographic change brought about by the immigrant population has direct bearing upon the political decision making body particularly in countries like India having representative government where the very

norm of politics is based upon the individual sovereignty of each adult.

The living of immigrants in a cluster might take relatively longer period of time to be acculturated with native society in the process of assimilation. This is clearly visualised in the case of the north-eastern part of the state of West Bengal where the people of Nepalese origin have strongly staged protest and given pressure for the demand of a separate state of their own within the Indian Union for the preservation of their own socio-culture identity. Educationally and financially the condition of these people is better off than the average people of India. Even the district within the state of West Bengal is a developed one. A large number of Indian people of Nepalese origin also live in cluster in other states of Northeastern part of India, but such demands have not been raised by them so far. But the density of Nepalese population seems to be higher than others in the District of Darjeeling. Possibly that could be one of the prominent reasons why that demand of a separate state has been raised.

OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES:

The primary objectives of the subject under study is to get the numerical strength of the people of Nepalese origin on the basis of data provided by the censuses of India. Besides that, the numerical strength of the people speaking Nepali as mother tongue, the India resident Nepali national, and the people born in Nepal are intended to be highlighted in this study.

The sex composition of the immigrants will also be looked into so as to ascertain a change in the sex ratio, if any, over the preceding decades. One of the primary objectives of the study will be to examine whether diversification in patterns of both the occupations and spatial distribution of the immigrants have taken place.

In the earlier censuses the immigrants returned were not classified in terms of rural and urban settlement. Since 1961 census, they were classified accordingly. This will enable us to highlight the rural-urban distribution pattern.

Another objective of the study will be to highlight the ratio of workers to non-workers among Nepali born immigrants. This information became available since 1961 census. The people of ethnic tribes of Nepalese origin who were neither born in Nepal nor were Nepali

speakers would be presented here. The numerical strength of scheduled caste people of Nepalese origin would also be ascertained. Such information would help us to estimate the total numerical strength of the people of Nepalese origin.

In this study it is hypothesised that (a) the migration of Nepalese people to India is steadily increasing, but at a reduced pace; (b) the number of Nepali speaking people is increasing; (c) diversification of immigrants distribution pattern in terms of both occupations and spatial change is occurring continuously.

SCOPE:

The settlement of Nepalese people in India began since the time Gorkha rulers had extended their territory across the Mechi river to the east and the Kali to the West. With the signing of the Sugauli Treaty in 1816 A.D., the Gorkha' administration from over the areas of land stated above was withdrawn. However, quite a large number of Nepalese people involved in the move of territorial expansion with Gurkha army preferred to stay than to return back to the area the treaty had demarcated. They claimed themselves Indian by nationality but at the same time called themselves Nepalese by origin. However, they all are Nepalese immigrants

on the basis of having their racial origin in Nepal from where their ancestors had once migrated to India.

There is continual migration of Nepalese population to India. Some of the migrants stay permanently while others return soon. Floating migrants came every year and many of them return home after working for sometime. Such short period migrants also get enumerated as immigrants in census. Persons present at the place where enumeration is taking place are entitled to be counted in census. The persons enumerated under the headings of language (Nepali), place of birth (Nepal) and nationality (Nepali) would be brought as 'Nepalese immigrants' in the purview of the subject under study.

Moreover, there are people belonging to some different tribes who were neither born in Nepal nor had held their nationality nor even speak Nepali language but their progenitor had once migrated to India and whose tribes men are still living in Nepal. Such people were not included in Indian censuses as those who fall into the category of Nepalese immigrants. They have been treated as Nepalese immigrants in our study.

Thus, the word 'Nepalese immigrants' in the present study has intended to cover the entire population of

Nepalese origin living permanently for generations or settled temporarily for a short period in India, provided they are enumerated in the Indian census.

Period Coverage:

For a background study of the immigrants, the whole period right from the later part of the first quarter of nineteenth century till 1941 would be taken for enquiry. Thus, the time for the study generally covers the entire period from the early part of the second quarter of nineteenth century to 1961, though attention would be focussed over the decade of 1951-1961. This would enable us to compare the nature of Nepalese immigration both in pre and post-independent India. Though the whole decade (1951-61) under study comes within the years of independence, the 1951 Census covers the whole information since the time subsequently after the 1941 Census. Above all, particularly in regard to elaborate information on migrant population, the 1941 census had not provided it as much elaborately as it used to be earlier owing to the World War II. So the 1951 Census more or less, covers the period from the early 1930's onwards.

DEFINITION OF NEPALI:

For the subject under study, it is intended to present the entire population of Nepalese origin.

'Nepali' is understood as the person holding nationality or right of becoming national of the independent, sovereign Hindu Kingdom of Nepal. The word 'Nepali' also denotes the language spoken as mother tongue by over 60.00 per cent of the people in Nepal, and also used as lingua franca by almost 90.00 per cent of the population.¹ The word 'Nepali' therefore indicates the people living in Nepal with its nationality and the language they speak, simultaneously. But the same definition is not applicable in the case of the present study. The study being mainly based on census data of India, many procedures and definitions that were adopted by the same census schedule should be followed here too.

In the first census of 1872, Nepalese were counted on the basis of their Nepalese nationality and were identified as migrants from Nepal. Later in 1881 and 1891 they were counted under the headings of their

1. 'Statistical Pocket Book: Nepal 1984' His Majesty's Government (Kathmandu, 1984), p.28.

mother tongues and birth-place.² People maintaining nationality of Nepal and born in the same country were identified as Nepali. Besides that, the Nepalese language speakers were also named as Nepali in the census of India.

There had been many tribal people consistently returning under their own tribal dialects who were originally from Nepal, but due to the lack of sufficient supporting linguistic and anthropological facts, they were not considered as Nepalese immigrant for a long time. After the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) many tribes such as Rai, Tamang, Limbu, Gurung, Mangar, Newar, Sunwar, Thami, Kagatey, Dhimal, Khambu, Sherpa Bhotia were identified as migrants originally from Nepal.³ Apart from Nepalese language, sixteen other dialects were indicated as spoken language of persons belonging to the different tribals of Nepalese origin.⁴ They should be included in the number of Nepali speaking people as to get the overall numerical and socio-ethnic

-
2. P.R. Desai, The Survey of Research in Demography (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975) First Edn., p.31.
 3. G.A. Grierson, Census of India 1901, vol.I, Part I, Report.
 4. Ibid.

picture of Indian Nepalese origin on the basis of their common place of origin before migration.

The Linguistic Survey of India had identified the Nepali language with Gorkha, Khas-Kura, Naipali, Khas which were responded by different enumerates at the enumeration. All these languages were represented by 'Nepali language' alone. This Nepali language was identified as 'Eastern-Pahari' according to the LSI.

In all, the whole number of persons returned under the heading of the different tribes and languages as stated above should be counted as 'Nepalese' immigrants in the study in order to find the wider picture of the population of Nepalese origin in India. The only thing that differs 'Nepalese of India' from 'Nepalese of Nepal' is their nationality and the place they reside in. So accordingly they should be named. The Nepalese migrant who has already become citizen of India could be called 'Indian Nepali' and non-citizen 'Nepali domiciled in India'. Regardless of nationality tribes, castes and languages the word 'Nepali' is used here to identify all having their origin in Nepal before the migration took place.

METHODOLOGY:

The study is primarily empirical based on the primary data, on the analysis of which the trend and

the patterns of migration will be shown. Simultaneously descriptive method is also used to present the historical scenario of migration process. Experiences regarding the condition of immigrants gathered by the researcher through personal contact would also be presented. The personal observations of the researcher of the subject under study in the places of origin and destination of immigrants are also used in the study.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE:

In the areas of Nepalese migrants to India, very few writers have paid adequate attention to it. Existing studies on the subject have elucidated only a partial picture of the immigrants.

Myron Weiner had presented some of the causes that forced Nepali to go across the border in India. He had predicted that continuous flow of Nepalese immigrants to India would not stop until the economy of Nepal improves its strength. On the other hand, the newly established industrial set up in Assam has been working as a pull factor to the Nepalese people. His article "The Political Demography of Nepal" has presented the characteristics of Nepali born population of 1961 as reported in the Indian census of that year.⁵

5. Myron Weiner, "The Political Demography of Nepal", Asian Survey, June, 1973, vol.XIII, No.6.

Nirmala Das's article on "The Nepalese of North-east India and their Politics" gives information on the numerical position of various ethnic groups of Nepalese origin residing in Sikkim and Darjeeling areas up to 1971. Though the total figure of Nepali born immigrants as returned in the Indian census of 1961 is presented here, the writer's main thrust was on the political gravity of the Indian community of Nepalese origin living particularly in the Darjeeling District and the state of Sikkim in India.⁶ The information regarding educational condition percentage of people speaking different mother tongues are presented in her article. This article, therefore, is important in getting information of ethnic groups and their languages in Darjeeling and Sikkim where a large percentage of people was of Nepalese origin and speak Nepali as mother tongue.

Kingsley Davis had presented the overall population of Nepali-born immigrants right from 1891 to 1931. His study presented the male-female ratio of Nepalese immigrants particularly of those residing in the districts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, bordering Nepal, in his

6. Nirmala Das, "The Nepalese of Northeast India and Their Politics", ISDA Journal, vol.XV, No.3 (New Delhi) Jan.-March, 1983 .

monumental work on "The population of India and Pakistan".⁷ This is the only book in which the whole Nepali-born population is studied comparatively with the immigrants population of countries other than Nepal. This could be taken as an authoritative book for the study of Nepali born immigrants in India, especially for the period covering 1891-1931. However, this study fails to analyse the total Nepalese population returned under different headings such as "Nepali as mother tongue," "people of Nepalese origin" and the "Non-Indian national Nepali". A report on "Inter-Regional Migration in Nepal: Problem and Prospects" submitted to National Commission on population, Nepal, elucidates the final consequences of the continuous emigration of Nepalese into India. This report has not however given any accurate picture of Nepalese people living in India. Rather, it has devoted its thrust mainly on how to prevent the open, unregulated border system existing between Nepal and India.

Few other writers who have written books on Demography of Assam and Sikkim have also presented some information regarding the nature of Nepalese

7. Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (New Jersey: Princeton, 1951).

immigrants and their number. However these studies give only a partial picture of the process of Nepalese immigration in India. These writers stated above are the main secondary sources of the subject under study. In view of the inadequacies of various studies discussed above, considerable emphasis has been placed on collecting data from primary sources, such as district Gazetteers published occasionally, and Indian censuses published first in 1872 and thereafter decennially from 1881 onwards.

The early information of immigrants since the second decade of nineteenth century were recorded in Gazetteers, first published in 1815 A.D. It was "East India Gazetteer" of Walter Hamilton. Some information regarding Nepalese tribal people and their settlement in Nepal, particularly in the region of bordering states, are highlighted in it. In "The Imperial Gazetteer of India", W.W. Hunter provided information about the number of the immigrants settled in the Champaran district of Bihar, Darjeeling district of West Bengal and the Lakhimpur district of Assam.

Edward Thornton's "Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of the East India Company" brought forth facts about the nature and life style of Nepalese

both in Nepal and India. It was first published in 1854. In subsequent years many other Gazetteers were published at the personal initiative of different intellectuals. The Government itself took initiative in preparing and publishing Gazetteers by 1882. Moreover, the occasionally published Gazetteers such as the "District Statistics Accounts" and "District Gazetteers" present useful facts about the Nepalese immigrants living in some districts.

In all, the Gazetteers published at different times in India present good and authentic sources of materials for researchers working on Nepalese immigration in India. Since independence, the government publication "The Gazetteer of India: Indian Union" has been providing information on Nepalese immigrants living in some districts of northeastern states of India.

Above all, the main primary sources of the data regarding Nepalese immigrants in India have been the censuses enumerated in every decennial year since 1881 A.D. Every census consists of two parts: Part I presents reports and Part II presents the census tables. The Part II census provides detailed information on immigrants, since 1951. Mainly for the subject under study the Table C(ii) and C(iii) of Part II are important in the 1951 and 1961 censuses.

The Table C(ii) of the Part II census provides the information and numerical strength of the people speaking Nepali as mother tongue. Particularly the migration table from D-1 to D-111 are of greater importance that give an overall picture of migrants born outside India. For Scheduled Caste study the Part V of the 1961 census is a main source.

In early period prior to 1951, the data was not collected coherently. Moreover, the inclusion and exclusion of land mass and population due to reorganisation of administrative divisions has created problem of comparability of time series data. But that drawback has lessened to a certain extent since 1951.

CHAPTERISATION:

The whole study will be divided into five chapters on different headings dealing with different parts and aspects of the subject under study.

The second chapter constitutes a framework of theoretical model on the study of migration. Some models that are appropriate to the study are also referred.

The third chapter deals with the history of migration since it began in a formal way with the recruitment of Nepalese youths in British army since 1816. On the basis of data of immigrants obtained, the distribution

pattern is attempted to be highlighted. The ethnic composition of the immigrants has also been presented on the basis of their numbers returned in different periods.

The fourth chapter examines the trend and pattern of Nepalese immigration over the period 1951-61. Also it will look into the rural and urban distribution pattern of the Nepali born population including those grouped under the time duration of their stay in India. The people of Nepalese origin including the Scheduled Castes will be identified and their numerical position be described. Moreover, some implications of spatial and occupational change of immigrants upon politics and the socio-cultural milieu at the place the immigrants resided will be identified for the further study.

The fifth and final chapter will deal basically with the causes that result in migration. In this context the "push" and "pull" factors in relation to the intervening factors will be highlighted. And the major conclusions of the study will be presented.

CHAPTER II
THEORIES OF MIGRATION

The Concept of Migration:

Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the movement or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act and no distinction is made between internal and external migration. However, not all kind of movements such as that of eskimo, nomads and migratory workers, for whom there is no long time movement but movement to a fixed area every time, are included in the definition.¹

But William Peterson differs on distance and movement. According to him, movement should be 'permanent' and distance 'significant' to make the movement of a person, 'migration'.² Difficulty arises, however, to determine what is 'significant distance' and the movement which is 'permanent'. But this could be

-
1. Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration" in J.A. Jackson (ed.), Migration (Great Britain: Sociological Studies 2, 1969), p.285.
 2. William Peterson, "Migration" in David L. Sills (ed.), International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (USA: Macmillan Company, 1968), vol.10.

determined according to time, nature, situation in which migration takes place. Distance involves an important factor in migration. The US Bureau of the census defined short distance traveller 'a mover' and the long distance, 'migrant'.³ In general, the word 'migration' these days is used to connote change one's community. Thus migration involves three dimensions: (1) residence shift, (2) spatial difference, and (3) a different community from the one of the origin.⁴ So in migration, there should be a change in the residence with a considerable change in distance while shifting place. The community also should be different in the place where one migrates. But the essential part in migration is to have a change in residence, that is what the word 'migrare' means. In Greek language that means to change one's residence.⁵

But what is international migration? Is it different from intra-national migration? There is much similarity in the two types of migration; what differs is the crossing of an international border in international migration. But in intra-national

3. Ibid., p.287.

4. Ibid., p.287.

5. Ibid., p.287.

migration, the movement is confined within the country. About the characteristics of international migration, Paul Singer states: "The distinction between International and intra-national migration is, to some extent, a formal one. International migrations are subjected to a stricter surveillance and regulated by the governments of both the sending and receiving countries, than internal migrants generally are."⁶ He further said that such difference became important only after the first World War. International migration from the early decade of this century till World War I was a common thing. From Europe quite a large number of agricultural migrants had shifted to the west viz. USA. But during the period between the two World Wars, the countries - USA, Canada, and some Latin American ones - once well-known as the countries of immigrants, gradually imposed restriction upon the entry of aliens. By 1945, the capital transfer for investment in foreign countries and migration almost ceased to operate⁷ because the labour saving processes were already devised in countries importing more migrants. In underdeveloped countries

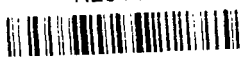
6. Paul Singer, "International Migration and Development", Demography India (India) 1973, vol.3, p.14.

7. Ibid., p.19.

international migration took place at a low pace. There were streams of migrants from less productive agricultural areas to more fertile lands within a country. But across the country such movements were very few. In a few places of India the entry of Nepalese was prohibited in case entry was made without prior due permission of the government of India. Such entrants were to be expatriated straight away from there.

The liberal theory of emigration attempted to explain movement on the basis of two proposition that individuals free migration is determined by the economic self-interests of the migrants i.e. (i) 'economic man always acts to maximise his real income, and (ii) the economic self-interest of the individual coincides with the general interest'.⁸ But migration of persons in group or under the leadership of a particular person would not necessarily be caused by economic reasons. Jews' concentrated in Israel migrating from countries of affluent economy leaving their fortunes behind since Israel was granted as a state. There the cause behind migration was rather sentimental than economic one.

8. R.T. Appleyard, "Economic and Non-economic Factors in the Dynamics of International Migration", Demography India (1979), vol.3, p.46.



TH-2251



Besides these various causes, there are many socio-cultural and climatic factors that virtually compel people to leave their place of origin for a new destination. Many scholars have studied this subject, but an universally acceptable theory which could cover the area, by and large, of the subject and its multidimensional aspects such as, cause, consequence, and its relation with different variables has not yet been advanced. Therefore, whatever studies were conducted on migration, the scholars were seen trying to present only abstractions on the matter.⁹

Some Early Theories:

Ravenstein came up as pioneer in this subject with a set of laws on migration in 1885 as he studied the 1881 census data of Britain. Out of these data, he deduced theories on migration. One of these identifies that the volume of migration and the distance travelled have inverse relation. He also found that the people from the surrounding areas of a growing town migrate into it. The gap it creates is filled in with other migrants coming from outer place of that surrounding

9. Rudolf Heberle, "Theories der Wander ungen" in David L. Sills (ed.), International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science (USA: Macmillan Company, 1968), vol.10, p.289.

area. Thus from the remotest area to the growing town, migrants flow step by step filling up the gap created by the movers to towns and cities. Regarding dispersion of migration, he says it is totally related to the strength of absorption of place. A place having more absorptive power to persons, attracts many to live in clusters. Similarly, migrants once settled in a place, would not disperse themselves so far a quality of absorbing immigrants is present. Thus, an inverse relation between the absorptive quality of a place and the dispersion of immigrants living in it was identified by Ravenstein.

Later in his second article published in 1889, Ravenstein discovered a positive co-relation of migration flow with (1) the development of transport and (2) modern technology. Places advanced in industrial development and areas of rapid economic activities attract many more people from outside. Transport and its expansion help to increase the volume of immigrants and also to diversify its spatial distribution. Whatever might be the motive that inspires or compels one to migrate, economy, Ravenstein felt, was the predominant one behind these. Hard economic conditions often generates the flow of migration. Heavy taxation, oppressive laws and economic exploitation in the form of slave trade,

and many other hard social traditions all eventually result in population migration. Even the unattractive climatic condition and incongenial social surroundings sometime turn to be a fundamental factor causing migration.¹⁰

These various laws on migration as Ravenstein advanced, were undoubtedly the pioneering ones, but have not successfully interpreted and analysed all migratory movements that have taken place at different times and at different places.

There were many other scholars such as Lee, Zipf, Stouffer who had come up with new ideas on migration. Lee used Ravenstein's distance theory together with his newly developed 'intervening' factor that has direct relation with the volume of migration. The greater the intervening obstacles, lesser is the flow of migration.¹¹

10. E.G. Ravenstein, "The laws of Migration" in J.A. Jackson (ed.), Migration (Great Britain: Sociological Studies 2, 1969), pp.282-84. The afore-stated theories are of Ravenstein published in his two articles in 1885 and 1889.

11. Everett S. Lee, "A theory of Migration" in J.A. Jackson (ed.), Migration (Great Britain: 1969), p.282.

Spatial and Human Interaction Models:

As it is known, distance in migration study has always played an important role in order to determine the volume of migration and the characteristics of migrants travelling shorter and longer distances. Stouffer, Zipf and Stewart used the distance theory according to the way they developed in the study of migration flow. Zipf was of the opinion that the volume of migration depends on the availability of employment and income at the places of origin and destination. If levels of unemployment and income are uniformly distributed among people at both places of origin and destination, the number of migrants are directly related with the product of the number of population of the two places (origin and destination) at a given distance. Mathematically this could be presented as $Y = K \frac{P_1 P_2}{d}$. Here 'Y' stands for the number of migrants, $P_1 P_2$ are the population at origin and destination placed at a distance 'd'. Here 'K', the constant factor indicates the uniform distribution of unemployment and income at both the places of origin and destination.¹²

12. Zipf G.K. " $P_1 P_2 / D$ Hypothesis in the Inter-city Movement", American Sociological Review (1946), xi, 19, pp. 677-86.

Stouffer views that the number of persons going a given distance, has directly proportional relation to the number of opportunities at the place of that distance and inversely proportional to the intervening opportunities.¹³ This theory makes it clear that at a given distance, the number of immigrants is increased if the opportunities that satisfies them are more. But if the intervening obstacles increase, the number of immigrants decrease. This is presented mathematically in the form: $Y_1 = K \frac{X}{IX_1}$. Here 'Y₁' stands for the number of migrants, 'K₁', a constant factor, 'x', number of opportunities, and 'x₁', for intervening obstacles.

But Lee summarises all these models in the framework of 'push-pull-obstacles' model. According to his interpretation, the migration is a result of 'attractions' and 'repulsions' at both places of origin and destination.¹⁴ In between these 'push' and 'pull' factors, there are many obstacles such as distance, cost of transport and others of a similar kind that cause decline in migration. Distance in migration

13. Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance", American Sociological Review, V (USA) Dec. 1940, p.855.

14. Everett S. Lee, n.1, ch.II p.285.

thus studied is now taking a new turn in its definition; according to which linear 'distance' matters less. Instead, what is more important is the use of functional and perceived distance.¹⁵ For better jobs, migrants travel a long distance; or if opportunities are there in some distant places, migrants prefer to go there than stick to close by areas having less opportunities. Generally the higher-status persons seeking better jobs move a greater distance. Whatever may be the distance the prospect of improving the living standard plays a crucial role in inducing migration.

Migration and Economic Model:

From an economic point of view, migration is the response of a person to economic opportunities available at a distance. Migration played a catalytic role in intensifying growth in industrial output in Europe particularly during industrialization. A large mass migration of peasants from the rural areas to cities, where employment opportunities were opened, had accelerated the pace of industrialization. On the one hand, low income migrants benefitted from more productive

15. L.A. Brown and F.E. Horton, "Functional Distance: An Operational Approach", Geographical Analysis, Jan. 2, 1970, p.79.

employment. This provided industries with sufficient labour force at relatively low cost which resulted in mass production of goods at a cheaper rate.

Migration from underdeveloped places to relatively developed ones provides cheap labour force which could generally be used for building up infrastructure for economic development. When migration takes place from a developed to more developed areas or countries, it increases not only the man-hours, but also helps to transfer special skills, provide entrepreneurship, and induce technological innovation. It fructifies the capital flow invested in multidimensional development projects with a large employment generating capacity. Migrants, as a prime mover of greater economic development brought about an unexpected increase in the productivity of land and the per capita income in the country and people of the USA. Similar impact of migrants was observed in Canada, Australia and New Zealand too.¹⁶ In these countries the flow of incoming migrants particularly from Europe had attracted many investors to

16. Howard S. Ellis, "Are there Preferable Alternatives to International Migration as an Aid to Economic Development" in Thomas Brinley (ed.), Economics of International Migration (London: 1958), p.359.

invest money in the new industries. The combination of sufficient capital investment with ample supply of labour through migration brought about a state of economic boom in these countries. Migration of people, therefore, remains a cardinal crux of industrialization and economic development that may be seen to-day in the western countries. Both the internal and external investors intensified their investments as immigrants increased.¹⁷ But the fast change in demographic growth, the trade interdependence among countries and the invention of human labour saving technological devices induced legislative enactments designed to check the inflow of immigrants.¹⁸

Migration and Social Integration Model:

Sometime, migration phenomenon is perceived as a shift of one's presence from one place to another. Its causes are often rooted in the cultural and social system at origin and some within the personality system of human organization. Some similar aspects are present in the society where migrants go to live in. Migration

17. R.T. Appleyard, "Economic and Non-economic Factors in the Dynamics of International Migration", Demography India, 1974, vol.3, p.47.

18. Paul Singer, n.6, ch.ii, pp.19, 23.

studies have focussed attention on residential location and consequent social change at the places of origin and destination.¹⁹

Persons who migrate as individuals or in a group to a place for settlement, might observe new changes both in the culture of the native people as well as in himself. Some multidimensional changes occur in societies at both the origin and destination with the migration. For assimilation to take place in the culture and life pattern of the aliens with the natives, many stages the former has to go through.

The immediate problem that is faced generally by immigrants upon their arrival at destination is of settlement. It involves housing, adoption, employment and permanent accommodation. Particularly, immigrants need houses for shelter as soon as they arrive. The local climate of the new place may not suit the newly come aliens. What migrants need very badly is jobs. Unless the immigrants are employed, their stay becomes unstable. On the other hand, a kind of mistrust from

19. J. Wolper, "Behavioral Aspects of the Decision to Migrate" Papers, Regional Science Association, 15 (1965), pp. 159-69, cited in the report Inter-Regional Migration in Nepal: Problem and Prospects (Kathmandu: 1984), p.2.

the native people is always there over the immigrants. Once the basic needs and problems are solved, immigrants start coming closer to the native people. Some sort of isolation and inferiority among the newly immigrants gets gradually eased out and once they start learning the native language, it helps them to get better adjusted to the socio-cultural environment. Gradually, the gap that existed between each other primarily because of differences in culture, language, behaviour and in many other things gets narrowed down. Language makes conversation easier with native people. That helps them to perceive better, culture, tradition, temperament and the history of the native peoples. This consequently leads the people of the two different cultures to a state of integration. In case there is difficulty in assimilation, the individual prefers return migration. In case migrants came in a group, their assimilation is not possible easily with the native people. They being in a group, their culture does not get diluted easily by the one which they now live in. Their original language and cultural environment are maintained. That also gradually comes under the influence of the native socio-cultural pattern over time. A new process starts for cultural co-ordination of the two native and alien people, in case, overall assimilation is not achieved.

That is possible only when both the people agree to adopt a new resultant culture, different from their respective ones.

In case of its failure in attaining even the state of co-existence, the migrants return home. Otherwise, such immigrants who are neither assimilated nor co-existing with native socio-cultural life, turn permanently to be a group creating conflict. This model of social integration between the immigrants and the native people is elucidated by Alfred Sauvy in a chart given below.²⁰

Individual adaptation to the new surrounding		Individual adaptation through the reconstitution of the original surrounding		Non-adaptation	
Assimilation	Non-assimilation	Co-existence of two population	Overall assimilation	Returnees	Permanent conflict

To avoid the possible failure in attaining assimilation, or co-existence of migrants, Sauvy recommends that the settlement of immigrants is essentially to be

20. Alfred Sauvy, "Psycho-Social Aspects of Migration" in Brinley Thomas (ed.), Economics of International Migration (London: 1958), p. 302.

diversified spatially. When situation for immigrants is incongenial to maintain its original language, culture and tradition, being in a larger community different from its own, the former easily gets acculturated with the later. Similar thing is applicable in the case of foreign students if they are to be absorbed in the culture of the country they live in. Dispersion of such foreign students in several educational institutions located in different areas help creating peaceful atmosphere in the country of destination. Marriage between the members of immigrants' families and the native ones is another effective means of getting people of two different cultures, united in a common bond. Particularly the children of such parents easily get themselves assimilated. It has been observed that often it is very difficult for the persons immigrated under a certain leadership to get acculturated to the natives. It is because of their living in a cluster that their socio-cultural legacy brought with them is maintained. Maintenance of such culture and language of aliens is detrimental to the socio-cultural integration and assimilation between or among the people belonging to different socio-cultural heritage.

Politico-Demographic Model:

Politics being a product of collective human effort, it is highly influenced by the frequently changing volume of demography. Besides the two components of demographic change, viz., birth and death of persons, the migration of people from outside brings about an effective change in the demographic composition as well as volume. It comes directly to influence politics. Many instances could be produced where immigrants had potential role to influence national politics. For instance, the Jews in the United States or Tamils in Sri Lanka play crucial roles in determining the outcomes of electoral politics in both these countries. The politico-demographic model assumes considerable significance in countries where sovereignty lies in people or where the decisions are made through the representatives elected directly by people. The rate of growth of population, its distribution and composition directly and indirectly influence politics²³ either directly by exercise of franchise, or by demonstrations. A small well knit, homogenous migrant population does considerably influence the outcome of competitive politics one way or the other.

23. Myron Weiner, "The Political Demography of Nepal", Asian Survey, June 1973, vol.xiii, no.6, p.617.

In developing countries due to the fast changing size, rate of growth, distribution and composition of population, the number of man power exceeds employment opportunities. Man-land ratio is fast increasing. Demands from rising number of population upon government for social services such as health, housing, schooling, water supply are increasing. National growth does not regularly exceed the rate of population growth which causes decrease in per capita income with degrading economic eventualities. Consequently chaos, destabilization of domestic politics and lack of faith in institutions come to be the result of unbalanced demographic change. Migration, as a component of demography, could exacerbate the aforementioned tensions.

CHAPTER III

NEPALI IMMIGRANTS:
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
1816-1941

The origin of Nepalese migration to India may be traced since the formalization of Gorkha recruitments with the conclusion of "Sugauli Treaty" following the "Anglo-Nepali" war in 1816. The first Gorkha recruits were taken from those persons who fled from Palpa, a district of Nepal, to assist the British during the war of 1814-16. And some persons were taken from those who had fled from Kumaon and Garhwal to the Tarai. The British had mobilised them from the very beginning. Three battalions, constituting 5,000 Gorkhas formed for the first time in 1815, were drawn from the two aforementioned streams.¹ The three battalions thus raised was augmented to five Gorkha regiments by 1858.² Until that time, the British had realized the martial quality of Gorkhas following their successful resistance in Bharatpur war of 1826 and the Sikh war of 1845. The

1. Piera Blaikie, et al, Nepal in Crisis (Delhi: 1980), p.37.

2. Kanchanmoy Mojumdar, Political Relations between India and Nepal: 1877-1923 (Delhi: 1971), p.43.

British had interest to recruit more Gorkhas in their army, but their effort in collecting Gorkha youths for enlistment was slowed down if not foiled by the Nepal Durbar.³

Trends in Nepalese Immigration 1881-1941:

There was regular migration of Nepalese to India even before 1872 A.D., when census was counted for the first time on a relatively wider scale. That early migration was mainly confined within the army where Nepalese youths were enlisted. Simultaneously, the other stream of agricultural migrants was also in its continuous flow particularly since the settlement of the first batch of retired Gorkha army took place.

Two criteria are mainly employed for identifying Nepalese immigrants in the censuses between 1881-1941. The first criterion pertains to Nepal born immigrants and the second to Nepali speaking population. The censuses further identified a number of people of Nepalese origin who were counted separately under their own tribal dialects. The present study is concerned with all the three categories so as to get a total picture of population of Nepalese origin.

3. Asad Husain, British India's Relation with the Kingdom of Nepal: 1857-1947 (London: 1970).

The Nepal-born immigrants had been regularly reported by the Censuses from 1881 to 1961 except the 1941. Due to the World War II the 1941 census was not elaborately counted. Therefore the necessary information is not available.⁴

Table 3.1 presents the numerical strength and the trend of the growth rate of immigrants. There were 1,34,282 Nepal-born persons in India during the

Table 3.1: Nepal-born Population and its Growth (1881-1951)

Year	Population	Difference in each decade	Growth Index (1881=100)
1881	1,34,282	-	100.00
1891	2,34,260	99,978	174.45
1901	2,39,127	4,867	178.08
1911	2,72,574	33,447	202.99
1921	2,57,765	14,809	191.96
1931	2,99,271	41,506	222.87
1951	2,78,972	20,299 ^a	207.75

Note: a = This difference is of twenty years period between 1931-1951.

Source: From the Censuses of respective years, and the 1891 and 1901 figures presented are quoted from Kingsley Davis, Population Study of India and Pakistan.

4. Neelufar Ahmad, Migration from Eastern Bengal to Assam, Unpublished Dissertation (New Delhi: CSRD, JNU, 1979), p.10.

early eighties of the nineteenth century. After sixty years the population had more than doubled to 2,78,972 in 1951 A.D. The total growth over that 60 year period was 107.75 per cent. The highest growth rate is witnessed over the decade 1881 to 1891. Nepali-born immigrants increased by as much as 99,978 (74.45 per cent) during this period. Only 4,867 persons increased over the decade 1891-1901 which was the smallest increment recorded over each decade. Again 33,447 Nepali-born migrants were reported in the 1911 census. But just at the end of the next decade (1911-1921) the immigrants number declined, and thereafter there was again an increase in the number of immigrants between 1921-1931. Over the next two decades (1931-1951) the number of Nepal born population recorded a decline.

The overall scenario of the population migrated from Nepal to India suggests that the rate of growth of immigrants, in later decades since 1911 was quite insignificant as compared to the early three decades (1881-1911).

The main cause behind the increase of the Nepali-born immigrants in 1891 was the policy of Gorkha recruitment adopted by the newly ascended Rana which permitted British-India to legally recruit Nepalese youths in their army. As a result, the number of Gorkha Battalions

had reached thirteen with 11,000 Gorkhas newly enlisted. Besides, a substantial number of Gorkhas were recruited in army and military police such as in Kashmir Infantry, Naga Hill Force, Surma Valley Military Police and also Burma Police by the year 1891.⁵

By the turn of the present century, another bloodless coup in 1902 successfully installed a new leadership in power which proved a blessing to the British who were interested in having more Gorkhas recruited in their army. Until 1904, the number of Gorkha recruits taken particularly from the Central and Western parts of Nepal swelled to 27,428 exclusive of those Magar, Gurung and Khas tribes already recruited from the western part of Nepal.⁶ This had a direct causal impact upon the increase of immigrants in 1901. The reality was that around World War I, an unprecedented 2,00,000 number of Nepalese people, constituting 20 per cent male youths of the country's total population, were involved in the army and in other services necessary for the war efforts.⁷ The youths particularly of the

5. Kanchanmoy Mojumdar, n.2, ch.III, p.59.

6. New Era, 1981 Studies on Inter-Regional Migration in Nepal (Kathmandu: 1981), p.42.

7. R.N.W. Bishop, Unknown Nepal (London: 1952), pp.101-103.

Gurung, Mangar, Rai and Limbu tribes were hardly found in their native villages during the time of the World War I.⁸ How much open hearted cooperation Nepal had extended to the British in World War I could be judged with these words stated in a report submitted to the British Parliament: "Special mention must be made of the assistance rendered to the Empire by our ally Nepal. More than one-sixth of the total population belonging to the martial classes between the ages of 18 and 35 has been given to the colours."⁹

Despite the presence of so many Nepalese people in the army, the 1921 census reports decline in the population of Nepalese migrants in 1921 as against 1911. Such paradox might have existed either by non-inclusion of persons involved in the war in census or their absence caused by return migration and natural death. Whatever may have been the factors, the general belief is that the census of 1921 had not correctly presented the figure of the Nepalese as well as other tribal population residing in India.¹⁰

-
8. Perceval London, Nepal (London: 1928), vol. I, p. 141.
9. L.F. Rushbrook Williams, India in the Years: 1917-18 (Calcutta: 1919), p. 12. This was a report prepared to be presented in the parliament.
10. In a talk, this view was expressed by Prof. Ashis Bose, Delhi University.

The reason behind the growth of migrant population during 1921-31 was that agricultural prosperity of the north-eastern region had attracted many of the economically hard hit hill tract Nepalese during the twenties of the present century. The migrants who had returned home soon after World War I started to migrate again in search of an easy and better life financially in Bihar, NWFA and Assam. This could have contributed to an increase in the number of immigrants recorded in 1931.

Again in 1951, the migrant population decreased. Here also, almost the same situation of 1911 to 1921 had prevailed. A large number of Nepalese were sent to meet the needs of British Gorkha army. Every effort was made by the Nepal court to get as many male youths as possible to meet the British demand. Once the country had suffered a situation where it was rare to get a male youth. Even the fugitives, absconders, deserters and declared offenders of law in Nepal were called for joining in the British army. A government order issued had promised to waive them of their criminal charges, to have their job restored, and to permit the period they lived out of office to be counted as service if they got recruited in the British-Indian army. Even male prisoners from prison were taken to the recruiting camps for enlistment. Such all out support of Nepal had enabled British to raise Gorkha army to 45 battalions

from 25 that existed at the end of the first World War.¹¹ However, such an increase of Nepalese immigrants during World War II was not indicated in the census of 1951. A large number of the retired army men were sent back home immediately after the war to meet the demand for manpower in agriculture. The youths of Nepal educated in India had mobilized the retired Indian-Gorkha army against the Rana regime in Nepal. Following the overthrow of Rana rule, in 1950 a large number of Nepalese residing in India had returned to Nepal. Possibly this could have contributed to a decline in the immigrant population in 1951.

Spatial Distribution of Nepalese Immigrants:

We now turn to examine the spatial distribution of Nepalese immigrants in India. The distribution pattern of Nepalese immigrants shows, that in 1881, the largest number of the immigrant population (85,011) was concentrated in Bengal out of the total 1,34,282 immigrants as may be seen in Table 3.2. The North-Eastern province was the second largest catchment region providing shelter to 39,490 immigrants. It was followed by Assam and Punjab which hosted 6,395 and 2,660 immigrants respectively. It is obvious that

11. Asaf Husain, n.3, ch.III, pp.252-53.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Nepali-born population
1881

	Place	Total	Male	Female
1.	Ajmer	17	15	2
2.	Assam	6,395	4,137	2,258
3.	Bengal	85,011	44,965	40,046
4.	Berar	5	4	1
5.	Bombay British Territory	105	81	24
6.	Bombay Feudatory State	74	59	15
7.	Central Provinces	66	51	15
8.	Coorg	1	1	-
9.	Madras	330	318	12
10.	North Eastern Province	39,490	23,165	16,325
11.	Punjab	2,660	2,073	587
12.	Baroda	88	49	39
13.	Central India	26	18	8
14.	Hyderabad	8	4	4
15.	Mysore	6	4	2
	Total	1,34,282	74,944	59,338

Source: Census of India 1881;
Statistics of Population, vol.II
(Calcutta: 1883), p.153.

the northern hill belt of India had become the most important place for the Nepali-born people to reside in. Although the distribution of the immigrants was scattered all over India, the number of immigrants decreased as the distance extended.

Table 3.3: Distribution of Nepali-born Population - 1901

States	Total Population
1. Ajmer	9
2. Andaman & Nicobar	9
3. Assam	21347
4. Bengal	161495
5. Bihar & Orissa	
6. Bombay	213
7. Central Province & Bārer	87
8. Coorg	3
9. Madras	77
10. Punjab (including Agency)	7711
11. United Provinces of Agra & Oudh	46585
12. Baroda State	14
13. Central Indian Agency	73
14. Gwalior State	-
15. Cochine State	10
16. Hyderabad State	25
17. Jammu & Kashmir	1384
18. Mysore State	9
19. Rajputna Agency	56
20. Travancore State	15
India total	239127

Source: J.H. Hutton, 'Census of India, 1931', Vol I, India Part 1, Report (Delhi: 1933)

Until 1901 Sikkim was not separately counted, it was included in the whole of India. Only from 1911, record was separately maintained.

Almost the same manner as in 1881, the distribution pattern of the migrants in 1901 was confined to three regions - Bengal, United Province of Agra and Oudh, and Punjab as may be seen in Table 3.3. The state of Bengal alone had 1,61,495 immigrants. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh stood second, harbouring 46,585 immigrants. Assam had 21,347 Nepali-born population. Punjab also had 7,711 immigrants. Besides, the state of Jammu and Kashmir had 1,384 immigrants. Even though migration to distant regions in India was limited, this number was increasing over time.

In 1911, a substantial number of Nepali-born immigrants was reported scattered in the usual places Bengal, Assam, United Province, and Bihar and Orissa where always they were in a predominant position as may be seen in Table 3.4. That year Bengal had only 1,06,132 immigrants which was a little less than the number reported in the census of 1901. This was due to the split of the United Bengal into Bengal and Bihar and Orissa states, the latter recording 35,944 immigrants in 1911. If this figure had been included in Bengal, a considerable growth of Nepalese immigrants would have been observed that year. The state of Assam had a larger inflow of immigrants that placed it in the second position among the states having a large number

Table 3.4: Distribution of Nepali-born Population - 1911

	Place (1)	Total (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)
1.	Ajmer	17	13	4
2.	Andaman & Nicobar	14	14	-
3.	Assam	46491	31151	15340
4.	Bengal	106132	59697	46435
5.	Bihar & Orissa	35944	11932	24012
6.	Bombay	304	249	55
7.	C.P. & Berar	218	147	71
8.	Madras	17	14	3
9.	N.W.F. Province (State)	4911	4093	818
10.	Punjab	4821	4012	809
11.	United Province	43320	25722	17598
12.	Assam States (Manipur)	1163	769	394
13.	Baroda State	49	29	20
14.	Bengal States	595	533	62
15.	Bihar & Orissa State	10	10	-
16.	Bombay States	210	164	46
17.	Central India Agency	88	58	30
18.	Central Province States	35	9	26
19.	Hyderabad state	19	12	7
20.	Kashmir State	1077	926	151
21.	Madras States	1	1	-
22.	Mysore State	9	7	2
23.	N.W.P. Province	742	741	1
24.	Punjab States	609	466	143
25.	Rajputana Agency	140	63	77
26.	Sikkim	25610	13903	11707
27.	Travancore State	1	1	-
28.	United Province State	27	16	11
	India	272574	154752	117822

Source: Census of India 1911, India, Part II-Tables (Calcutta: 1913).

of Nepalese immigrants. The United Province having 43,320 immigrants, had the third largest number even though in this year it reported 3,000 persons less as compared to that of 1901. From 1911 Sikkim also was counted separately and had 25,610 migrants in the total. But in other states and agencies the number of immigrants had increased. Manipur, which in the census of 1901 had been reported together with Assam, reported 1,163 immigrants, in 1911. The migrants, thus, were seen settled right from the far western region down to the area in the extreme south such as Trivandrum and Travancore.

The allurements of urban settlement could be one of the possible reasons for Nepalese immigration. In the areas of Central and North western Frontier Province, the presence of Gorkha army could have increased the number of immigrants.

Table 3.5 shows a sharp decline in the number of immigrants in Bengal in 1921 as against 1911, though Assam had gained considerably during the same period. Even Bihar and Orissa had experienced a loss of almost 5,000 immigrants. The United Province also had a declining trend. In both Sikkim and Punjab a sharp fall in the immigrant population was reported. In the rest of the states and agencies the number of immigrants had increased. On the whole, among the states holding

Table 3.5: Distribution of Nepali-born Population - 1921

	States (1)	Total (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)
1.	Ajmer	34	25	9
2.	Andaman & Nicobar	10	10	-
3.	Assam	68541	45205	23336
4.	Bengal	86353	47990	38363
5.	Bihar & Orissa	30414	8271	22143
6.	Bombay	1322	1237	85
7.	Central Province and Bihar	87	57	30
8.	Delhi	133	102	31
9.	Madras	61	47	14
10.	NWF Province (State)	3879	3769	110
11.	Punjab	3945	2538	1407
12.	U.P. of Agra & Oudh	34498	20124	14374
13.	Assam State (Manipur)	1803	1303	500
14.	Barado State	28	20	8
15.	Bengal States	930	708	222
16.	Bihar & Orissa States	40	32	8
17.	Bombay States	252	186	66
18.	Central India (Agency)	191	150	41
19.	Central Province State	1	1	-
20.	Gwalior States	19	16	3
21.	Hyderabad State	47	25	22
22.	Kashmir State	1157	885	272
23.	Mysore State	12	7	5
24.	NWF Province Agency and Tribal area	1998	1998	-
25.	Punjab States	835	635	200
26.	Rajputana (Agency)	170	106	64
27.	Sikkim	20876	12771	8105
28.	United Province (State)	129	96	33
	India	257765	148314	109451

Source: J.T. Marten, Census of India - 1921, India, Part II-
Tables (Calcutta: 1923).

larger immigrants, only the state of Assam had been able to attract more migrants in 1921 in comparison to 1911.

In North Western Frontier Province the population of Nepalese origin had almost doubled in 1921. It had been so because of the deployment of Gorkha army in that region. This could be understood by the overwhelming male to female ratio. The overall pattern of the distribution of migrants in 1921, was that the growth of the Nepali-born population, in totality, was decreasing. In other major states holding a large number of Nepalese immigrants, a similar declining trend may be observed. But on the other hand a diversification of spatial distribution had been taking place.

Table 3.6 discloses that in 1931, Sikkim had sharply lost its Nepali-born population. The other states having more Nepalese migrants continued to have the same trend even in 1931. Migrants to Assam increased faster than to Bengal, though the latter state had more immigrants in number. It will be further observed that the distribution of migrants was quite widespread right from Kashmir to Andaman and Nicobar. Due to the lack of data in 1941 census, the distribution of immigrants of that year is not presented here.

Table 3.6: Distribution of Nepali-born Population - 1931 .

	States (1)	Total (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)
1.	Ajmer	49	27	22
2.	Andaman & Nicobar	3	3	x
3.	Assam (including Khasi)	86897	57599	29298
4.	Bengal	97631	58201	39430
5.	Bihar & Orissa	36410	11846	24564
6.	Bombay(including Edn)	1138	935	203
7.	Central Province & Berar	427	289	138
8.	Delhi	427	315	112
9.	Madras	216	181	35
10.	NWF Provinces	4540	3686	854
11.	Punjab	5216	3919	1297
12.	UP of Agra & Oudh	43387	27373	16014
13.	Assam State (Manipur)	1409	1001	408
14.	Baroda State	239	190	49
15.	Bengal States	989	657	332
16.	Bihar and Orissa State	176	135	41
17.	Bombay States	185	170	15
18.	Central India Agency	266	210	56
19.	Central Provinces States	256	71	185
20.	Cochin State	2	1	1
21.	Gwalior State	56	44	12
22.	Hyderabad State	14	8	6
23.	Jammu & Kashmir State	974	765	209
24.	Madras States	1	x	1
25.	Mysore State	25	18	7
26.	NWFP (Agency & Tribal Area)	3511	3511	-
27.	Punjab State (Punjab State agency)	1706	1445	261
28.	Rajaputana Agency	230	139	91
29.	Sikkim	12571	6563	6008
30.	United Province States	107	58	49
31.	Western India State Agency	212	197	15
	Total India	299271	179558	119713

Source : J.H. Hutton Census of India- 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Imperial Table (Delhi: 1933).

It will be noticed that ever since 1881, over 90 per cent of the total immigrants settled in the five political divisions, viz., Bengal, Assam, United Province, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim. The rest of the immigrants have been scattered all over the country.

In 1881, over 97.00 per cent of the total immigrants were living only in the three political Divisions - Assam, Bengal and the North Eastern Frontier Province. Rest of the migrants were settled in the other states. After two decades in 1901, the census of the same year reported that only the three political divisions, viz., Assam, Bengal and United Province accounted for 96 per cent of the total migrants born in Nepal. The remaining 4 per cent was scattered in rest of the states. Between 1911-1931 the administrative boundaries of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Province and Sikkim had remained unaltered. This helps us to analyse the spatial distribution pattern of Nepali-born immigrants on a comparable basis during this period.

The 1911 census reported that over 94 per cent Nepali-born immigrants were concentrated in the aforementioned five divisions. But gradually this percentage of immigrants declined to 93.00 and a little over 91 per cent respectively in 1921 and 1931. This reveals the fact that over passing decades there took place some

spatial diversification of Nepali-born immigrants in India. While the north-western region in India continues to be the predominant region for the settlement of Nepali-born immigrants, increasing numbers of fresh migrants are selecting new areas for settlement.

Regarding the growth of immigration in each of the divisions, it will be seen that Assam had experienced the highest growth rate. If 1881 is considered as base year for growth measurement of the migrant population, Assam had experienced 1,258.83 per cent growth over 50 years (1881-1931). The state of Bengal had only a marginal increase of 15 per cent over the period of 1921-31 time. Orissa and Bihar had just maintained in 1931 about the same number of migrants it had in 1911. Thus Assam has provided shelter to the largest number of Nepali-born immigrants since 1881.

In Table 3.7 a summary of the spatial distribution of Nepali-born population has been presented.

Distribution Pattern of India Resident
Nepali speaking population:

In order to get the total picture of immigrants of Nepalese origin, we propose to examine in this section the numbers returned in Indian censuses under Nepali language and their spatial distribution. The Indian censuses do not identify Nepali speaking

Table 3.7: Distribution of Nepali-born Population by Major Political Divisions

Political Division	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931
Assam	6395	21347	46491	68541	86897
Bengal	85011	161495	106132	86353	97631
Bihar & Orissa			35944	30414	36410
United Province	a	46585	43320	34498	43387
Sikkim	a	a	25610	20876	12571
North East Province	39490	a	a	a	a
Total	130896	229427	257497	240682	276896
All India	134282	239127	272574	257765	299271

Note : a - Not available on a comparable basis

Source: Based on Table 3.2 - 3.6 above.

population with Nepalese immigrants. Accepting the importance of birth place to be the only criteria for migration, the Census of India reports:

If a person was born at a place other than the place of enumeration, he was treated as a migrant in census return.¹²

Nepali speakers are not identified as migrants from Nepal so far they were not born there. Persons born in Nepal is taken as immigrants and shown separately under the birth place heading even if he returns as a Nepali language speaker, under the "Nepali language" heading. It means the same person is counted under two different headings of "Nepali-born" and "Nepali language" speaker. To find the numerical strength and distribution pattern of the Nepali language speakers, the available data since 1881 are placed here and analysed till 1941.

Nepali speaking population were returned first from 1881 and under the same headings data were available in all the subsequent censuses except in 1891. Growth index in subsequent decades has been presented in Table 3.8. It will be seen that the population speaking

12. Census of India 1971, Migration Table, Part II-D(ii), Table D-v to D-vi, in General.

Table 3.8: Population of Nepali Language Speakers and Growth Index (1881=100)

Years	Total Population	Difference in Each Decade	Growth Index 1881=100
1881	1,06,227	-	100.00
1901 ^a	1,43,721	37,494	135.29
1911	2,03,006	59,285	191.10
1921	2,76,766	73,760	260.54
1931	3,69,917	93,151	348.23
1951 ^b	4,84,261	1,14,344	455.87

Note: a = a difference of over two decades (1881-1901).

b = a difference of over two decades (1931-1951).

Source: From Tables Presented above

Nepali language increased rapidly between 1881-1951. With 1881 as base year, the index of Nepali speaking population increased about four fold during this period.

It will be noticed in Table 3.9 that in 1881, a large number of the Nepali speakers were confined in Assam and Bengal. The British territories and Punjab also had a good number of Nepali language speaking population. Rest of the Nepali speaking population were distributed in other areas over India.

Table 3.9: Distribution of Nepali Speaking Population
1881

	Place	Total	Male	Female
1.	Ajmer	18	14	4
2.	Assam	4,485	3,065	1,420
3.	Bengal	89,855	51,303	38,552
4.	Bombay	13	13	-
5.	Central Province	3	3	-
6.	Madras	293	292	1
7.	British Territory	8,723	6,154	2,569
8.	Feudatory States	76	59	17
9.	Punjab	2,748	1,907	841
10.	Baroda	13	10	3
	Total	1,06,227	62,820	43,407

Source: Census of India 1881;
Statistics of Population, vol.II (Calcutta:
1883), p.125.

In 1911, the Nepali speakers were mainly concentrated in Bengal, Assam, United Province and Sikkim as will be seen in Table 3.10. Other few states such as Punjab and N.W.F. Province had also considerable number of the people speaking Nepali language as their mother tongue. Punjab had 7,356 while N.W.F. Province reported 5,179 Nepali speakers. Wherever they resided, they always lived, more or less in clusters. However there was more concentration in the northern areas of India where they had been living in a highly clustered manner.

Table 3.10: Distribution of Population Speaking Nepali as Mother tongue - 1911

Eastern Pahari, Khas Kura, Naipali = Nepali.

Place	Total	Male	Female
1. Assam	45,214	28,513	16,701
2. Bengal	90,388	50,907	39,481
3. Bihar & Orissa	2,623	1,372	1,251
4. N.W.F. Province	5,179	4,359	820
5. Punjab	7,356	5,379	1,977
6. United Provinces	18,266	13,512	4,754
7. Assam States (Manipur)	1,844	-	-
8. Bengal States	456	357	99
9. Kashmir State	1,844	1,534	310
10. Punjab States	1,297	800	497
11. Sikkim State	28,078	14,324	13,754
12. Other Provinces	409	189	220
Total	2,03,006	1,22,409	80,592

Source: Census of India - 1911
India, Table II (Calcutta: 1913).

In 1921, it was observed that the number of persons speaking Nepali was increasing in every political division of India wherever the population was returned, as will be seen in Table 3.11. A substantial growth of Nepali speaking population was observed in the political divisions of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Province and Sikkim, where they were already there in a large number. In N.W.F. Province 1,743

Table 3.11: Distribution of Population Speaking Nepali as
Mother Tongue - 1921 (Eastern Pahari, Khas Kura,
Naipali)

States	Total	Male	Female
1. Assam	92519	57573	34946
2. Bengal	922 91	49044	43247
3. Bihar & Orissa	4495	2628	1867
4. C.P. & Berar	129	81	48
5. N.W.F. Province	4149	2595	1554
6. Punjab	8108	5338	2770
7. United Province of Agra & Oudh	18392	12928	5464
8. Assam State (Manipur)	2290	1455	835
9. Bengal State	769	470	299
10. Central India Agency	233	158	75
11. N.W.F.P. (Agencies & Tribal Areas)	1743	1743	-
12. Punjab States	1135	794	341
13. Rajputana (Agency)	235	172	63
14. Sikkim (State)	26887	13531	13356
15. Kashmir State	1220	849	371
India	276766	164768	111998

Source: J.T. Marten, Census of India- 1921, Vol. I, Part II,
Tables

persons were returned as Nepali speakers; all of them were males. The presence of male alone indicates that they must have been army men deputed there.

It will be observed in Table 3.12 that the areas of political divisions indicated in earlier censuses had been split up into smaller divisions in the 1931 census. This has made comparability of census data difficult over each decade. The Nepali speakers were seen returned in each division but a large number of them were concentrated in the five main political divisions. A substantial increase of population was observed in Bengal and Sikkim in the year 1931. The other three divisions Assam, United Province and, Bihar and Orissa also had reported substantial Nepali speaking population. In totality, the number returned in Assam was 1,23,788 which is conspicuously higher than those returned in the states of United Province and Bihar, and Orissa even though the latter states are contiguous to Nepal. Instead of migrating to regions in closer destination, Nepalese had migrated to Assam, a place away from Nepal. However, the distribution seems mainly clustered in the same five places stated above. But the Nepali speakers had spread themselves almost everywhere, though their number was marginal in distant places. Often the people living scattered were observed to have

Table 3.12: Distribution of Population Speaking Nepali as
Mother Tongue - 1931

State	Total	Male	Female
1. Ajmer	84	51	33
2. Andaman & Nicobar	2	2	x
3. Assam	123788	75093	48695
4. Bengal	133151	71533	61618
5. Bombay (including Eden)	1413	1024	389
6. Bihar & Orissa	7411	4982	2429
7. Central Provinces & Berar	476	324	152
8. Delhi	146	72	74
9. Madras	190	130	60
10. NWFP (District & State)	5140	3934	1206
11. Punjab	5765	4328	1437
12. UP of Agra & Oudh	31020	24297	6723
13. Assam States	12318	8356	3962
14. Baroda State	152	125	27
15. Bengal States	996	574	422
16. Bihar & Orissa States	82	58	24
17. Bombay States	200	134	66
18. Centtal India Agency	224	172	52
19. Central Province States	159	76	83
20. Gwalior States	53	39	14
21. Jammu & Kashmir State	1120	810	310
22. NWFP	4591	4591	x
23. Madras State Agency	1	1	x
24. Punjab State	217	187	30
25. Punjab State Agency	2043	1494	549
26. Rajputana Agency	245	120	125
27. Sikkim State	38866	19693	19173
28. United Province States	47	25	22
29. Western India State Agency	20	8	12

accepted the native language by abandoning their own mother tongue. But in areas where the Nepalese lived in a cluster, the language had flourished and the percentage of Nepali speaking population had increased consistently.

In Table 3.13 we present a summary of Nepali speaking population living in the five main political divisions over the period 1881-1951. In 1881, only

Table 3.13: Distribution Pattern of Nepali speaking Population

Political Divisions	1881	1911	1921	1931	1951
Assam	4,485	45,214	92,519	1,23,788	1,25,320
Bengal	89,855	90,388	92,291	1,33,151	1,74,020
Bihar and Orissa	-	5,179	4,495	7,411	12,221
United Province	-	18,266	18,392	31,020	53,445
Sikkim	-	28,078	26,887	38,866	38,542
Total	94,340	1,87,125	2,34,584	3,34,236	4,03,548

Source: Drawn from the Tables presented in this chapter.

the two states, Assam and Bengal had constituted over 88.00 per cent to the total Nepali speaking population. The five political divisions had 92.18, 84.76, 90.35 and 95.68 per cent of the total Nepali speaking population in 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951 respectively. The remaining

Nepali speaking population was scattered in rest of the country. The table clearly reveals that the five political divisions remained the dominant areas where Nepali speaking population lived in clusters. Unlike the trend in settlement of Nepal born population, no diversification in the settlement of Nepali speaking population is to be noticed. They continued to live in clusters mainly in the northern hill areas of India.

Sex ratio (Female to Male): 1881-1931

The female to male ratio of Nepali-born immigrants varied in every decade. Table 3.14 shows that the ratio, during 1891 and 1931 period, remained at a range of 0.67 to 0.79 in all India level.

Table 3.14: The Number of India Resident Nepali-born females for each 100 males

Year	Number of female per 100 males
1881	79
1911	76
1921	74
1931	67

Source: Derived from the population tables presented above in this chapter.

In other words, for each 100 males 79 females were there in 1881. But in 1911, that figure went down to 76 females for each 100 males. The ratio further followed the same decreasing trend upto 1931. There were only 74 females in 1921 for 100 males, but it further again declined to 67 in 1931. The overall picture presents a uniform declining trend in female to male ratio among the Nepali-born immigrants at all India level.

In a few political divisions where the India resident Nepali-born population lived in a large scale, the ratio was found quite different varying from 0.51 to 2.07. Among the five most populous divisions

Table 3.15: Number of Females per 100 Males Among the Nepali-born People

Political Divisions	1881	1911	1921	1931
Assam	55	49	52	51
Bengal	89	78	80	68
North Eastern Province	70	-	-	-
Bihar and Orissa	-	201	268	207
United Province	-	68	71	58
Sikkim	-	84	63	92

Source: Derived from the population tables presented above in this chapter.

presented here, the state of Assam had the least ratio (0.55) and Bengal the highest (0.89) in 1881. Assam had 45 females for each 100 males in 1911 and 52 in 1921. The number of females for every 100 males varied from 49-55 over the fifty year period.

A declining female to male sex ratio is also to be observed in case of United Province. The ratio was just 0.68 in 1911 but increased to 0.71 in 1921. Again it declined considerably to 0.59 in 1931. In contrast, Bihar had observed high female to male ratio. The reason behind the increase of female ratio in 1921 could be said to the flow of more Nepalese female migrants. The main objective of the female migrants was to get wedded to Indian grooms. The socio-cultural similarity on either side of the border caused every year marriage of Indian males with Nepalese females. Moreover, a large number of male youths' involvement in the World War I had resulted in a scarcity of male youths in Nepal. It had caused migration of females in a large number to India in search of grooms, which contributed to a striking decline in immigrant population by 1.2 per cent in Nepal in 1921.

The female to male ratio in Bengal was higher in 1881 and was observed to be gradually declining over

the decades except in 1921 when 80 females for each 100 males was recorded. Sikkim was another State of India where the female to male ratio was 0.84 in 1911 but was reduced to 0.63 after a decade in 1921. But in 1931, the sex ratio mounted high to 0.92. It shows that the difference in number of female and male was strikingly marginal as compared to previous decades. Unlike the other states, Sikkim had an increasing trend of females among the migrants from Nepal. Socially and demographically clustered society of Sikkim, culturally homogenous to Nepalese society, had provided the female migrants a congenial atmosphere for settlement in Sikkim. In table 3.15 a summary of Nepalese female population for every 100 Nepalese male population in the major Nepali speaking states has been presented. It will be observed that a high number of female to male ratio was found in Bihar and Orissa where for every 100 males there were over two hundred females. This ratio reached to 268 female in 1921 in the overall in-migrant Nepali population that states. In the bordering districts of Bihar the ratio was even higher than those of non-bordering ones. In the latter districts the ratio was only 33 females for each 100 males.¹³ Many of them

13. Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (USA: New Jersey, 1951), p.94.

had come there from the other side of the border and taken up land.¹⁴

The number of females for every 100 Nepali speaking males covering the period 1881-1931 has been presented in Table 3.16. Among the Nepali speaking

Table 3.16: Number of Females per 100 Males among the Nepali speakers

Year	No. of females per 100 males
1881	69
1911	67
1921	68
1931	86

Source: Drawn from the tables presented above in this chapter.

population in India, it will be seen that there were 69 females for each 100 males in 1881. This ratio decreased further in 1911 to 67. Since 1911 however, the ratio has been increasing steadily, reaching 86 in 1931.

The number of females for every 100 Nepali speaking males in the five major political divisions has been presented in Table 3.17. Among the major five

14. Ibid., p.95.

Table 3.17: Number of Females per 100 Males among the Nepali speakers in five Political Divisions

Political Division	1881	1911	1921	1931
Assam	46	59	60	65
Bengal	75	78	88	86
Bihar and Orissa	-	91	71	49
United Province	-	35	42	28
Sikkim	-	96	99	97

Source: Drawn from the tables presented above in this chapter.

Political Divisions, it will be observed that United Province and, Bihar and Oudh had a declining trend of female population, while the other three states had an increasing trend. Of the divisions having positive trend, Sikkim had the highest number of females to males ranging from 96 to 97. The state of Bengal came next, the ratio increasing from 75 in 1881 to 86 in 1931. In Assam the female to male ratio was the lowest. However this ratio increased steadily from 46 in 1881 to 65 in 1931. In Bihar and United Province the female to male ratio declined steadily between 1881-1931. Among the Nepali speakers living in Bihar in 1911, only 91 females were there for each 100 males. This ratio went down to 71 in 1921 and 49 in 1931. In the case of the United Provinces there the ratio

increased from 35 in 1911 to 42 in 1921, but declined significantly to 28 in 1931.

To sum up, the general trend of female migrants particularly in states contiguous to Nepal except Bengal had been declining ratio of Nepali speaking female population. On the contrary, the female to male ratio was strikingly increasing among Nepali-born population in Bihar. In districts contiguous to Nepal the female population was almost three times higher than male. Such discrepancy might have been caused due to Nepali language being abandoned by the female migrants, generally married with local men. Marriage generally intensified the process of cultural assimilation of aliens with the native one. The original language is easily shifted over the one spoken in the family married. But in the other three states the number of females was consistently increasing closer to the number of male population. This is so because at the initial stage of migration the males take the initiative, female relations and spouses follow up once males are settled.

The narrowing of difference between the numbers of male and female migrants symbolises migration to have been institutionalised. Under such a condition

both the males and females migrate at ease. Further, the similarity of culture, at both the places of origin and destination is another strong factor that brings a situation in which without any sex selection the flow of migration takes place. The migration to Sikkim may be viewed in this context. Hardly any socio-cultural difference exists between the Nepalese of Nepal and Sikkim which could visibly be identified. The same reality brought the number of both male and female closer to equality in Sikkim.

The Ethnic Composition of People from Nepalese Origin:

At the outset, the ethnic community that migrated to India were enlisted in the British Army since almost its inception in the late twenties of nineteenth century. British had termed them as the martial race; their numerical position in earlier published Gazetteers was not indicated. This information becomes available in India in 1872. They were indicated as an ethnic community but not as the descendants of those progenitor who had once migrated from Nepal. There was no criteria for their inclusion into the groups of Nepali either by language or by place of birth so far the person from the communities lacks both the features in him. As per census counting, person born in Nepal and speaking

Nepali as mother tongue has been indicated under these two headings separately. Many of the tribal population of Nepalese origin living for generations in India come under neither category.

Since their origin was traced out in 1901 following the research of ethnic groups by Linguistic Survey of India (LSI), they were treated more as Nepali but the counting pattern in the census has remained the same. So to get the correct numerical strength of people from Nepalese origin, the inclusion of these tribal people in the group of Nepali speaker is essential. The persons of Nepalese descent were substantial in numbers.¹⁵

For the first time the Tamang community with its population of 6,557 was reported in Indian census conducted in 1872.¹⁶ Other three tribal communities of Nepalese origin such as the Murmy (656), Limbu (277), and Newar (1) were returned in the census of 1881.¹⁷

15. Census of India 1931, vol.5 (Bengal and Sikkim, Part I), p.103.

16. Arthur Jules Das, Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling (Bengal: 1947), p.76.

17. Census of India 1881, 'Statistic of Population?' vol.II (Calcutta: 1883), pp.135-37.

In 1891, the tribals of Nepalese origin were recorded only in Assam. There were sixteen different tribes with a total 8,158 population. (Table 3.18) Since 1901, many of the tribes returned earlier were categorised in a few groups made on the basis of linguistic and anthropological parity they carried with them. The same year of 1901 ten tribal communities were reported having a strength of 1,41,614 persons. There were only eight tribes with a population of 1,49,922 in 1911; the eight tribes in 1921 had accounted for 1,57,585 persons in total whereas, in 1931, the total population of the five different tribes was 1,60,423. The overall scenario presents an increasing trend of tribal population. On the other hand the number of

Table 3.18: Number of Tribes of Nepalese origin and Their Total Population (1872-1941)

Year	Persons	No. of Tribes
1872 ^a	6,557	1
1881	930	3
1891 ^b	8,165	16
1901	1,41,614	10
1911	1,49,922	8
1921	1,57,585	8
1931	1,60,423	5
1941	1,20,344	6

Note: a = that was returned in Darjeeling area.
b = returned only in Assam.

Source: From the respective censuses given in the chapter III.

tribal races is observed declining. This was due to the ordering of similar tribes in one group as is stated above. The 1941 census had shown discrepancy in the usual increasing trend of tribal population since 1881. The main reason behind this could be that the tribal population shown in 1941 was of Bengal and Sikkim alone. If the total of India had been counted, and had World War II not caused irregularity in getting elaborate data, possibly the 1941 census also would have followed the preceding increasing trend.

The tribes reported in 1881 census were not that many but its striking feature is that the female to male ratio was 81. (Table 3.19) This implies that they must have been resident of India for a long time by then. Such narrow margin in the number of female and male is not often possible among the new migrants.

Table 3.19: Tribal Population of Nepalese Origin - 1881

Tribe	Total	Male	Female
Murmi	652	356	296
Limbu	277	157	120
Newar	1	1	-
Total	930	514	416

Source: Census of India - 1881, Statistical Population, vol.II (Calcutta: 1883),

The tribal population in 1891, was not reported in all India basis. (Table 3.20) In Assam, some tribals such as the Gharti, Gurung, Kami, Khambu, Kiranti, Lama, Lepcha, Limbu, Kangar, Murmy, Newar, Sarki, Sunwar, Thapa, and Yakha were reported to have returned under

Table 3.20: Number of Tribal Population in Assam in 1891

Sr. No.	Tribe	Persons
1.	Gurung	1,193
2.	Kami	120
3.	Khambu	117
4.	Lama	3
5.	Limbu	1,044
6.	Mangar	3,404
7.	Murmi	42
8.	Newar	560
9.	Sunwar	54
10.	Thapa	1,515
11.	Yakha	5
	Total	8,057

Source: B.C. Allen, Census of Assam 1901, vol.I, Report, Second edn., 1984,

their respective heading. However, not all of them were considered as tribal race, later on. The Damai, Kami, Sarki were just the names of professional groups belonging to Hindu community's sub-caste of untouchable class. The Gharti and Thapa also belonged to Hindu sub-caste. The Kirati, Khamu and Yakha were, later on, identified as "Rai" having linguistic similarity in the language they spoke.

It will be seen in Table 3.21 that a large number of people belonging to the various tribes were reported in 1901. Among the various tribes, the Limbu, Murmi, Mangar and Rai were living in India in large numbers.

Table 3.21: Number of Tribal population of Nepalese Origin in India - 1901

Tribe	No. of Population
Dhimal	611
Gurung	7,481
Limbu	23,200
Murmi	32,167
Mangar	18,476
Manjhi	902
Newar	7,873
Rai (Kirati)	45,320
Sunar	5,265
Thami	319
Total	1,41,614

Source: G.A. Grierson, "Languages", Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.I (Calcutta: 1907-1909),

The community such as Gurung, Newar, and Sunwar also had substantial numerical strength. From 1911 onwards, more or less, the tribal population had been returned until 1941. The 1941 census reported figures for tribals living in Sikkim and Bengal only.

The distribution of tribal population of Nepalese origin for each decade since 1911-1941 has been presented in Tables 3.22-3.25 below. Table 3.22 shows

Table 3.22: Distribution of Tribal Population by States - 1911

	Assam			Bengal			Bihar & Orissa			Sikkim State			Other Provinces			India		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Gurung	1001	723	278	1030	599	431	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	13	10	2054	1335	719
Limbu	1874	1298	576	13944	7255	6689	—	—	—	8445	4154	4291	—	—	—	24263	12707	11556
Newari	831	509	322	5590	3035	2555	—	—	—	1270	685	585	21	18	3	7712	4247	3465
Rai or Jimdar	—	—	—	39260	18518	20742	—	—	—	15803	7963	7840	—	—	—	55111	26519	28592
Murni	1615	1030	585	28599	14523	14006	—	—	—	7355	3683	3672	—	—	—	37569	19306	18263
Mangar	2745	1817	928	13521	8162	5359	26	13	13	3026	1545	1481	—	—	—	19318	11537	7781
Kiranti (Khambo)	1320	1058	262	823	509	314	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	2	25	2170	1569	601
Kiranti (Yakha)	390	336	54	1311	634	677	—	—	—	24	7	17	—	—	—	1725	977	748
India	9776	6771	3005	104078	53305	50773	26	13	13	35923	18029	17894	71	33	38	149922	78197	71725

Source : Census of India- 1911, India, Part II, Tables (Calcutta: 1913)

that in 1911 out of the eight different tribes the Rai (Jimdar) had the highest number of persons followed by the Murmi, Limbu and Mangar in order of their numerical strength. There were 5,511 Rai (Jimdar), 37,569 Murmi, 24,263 Limbu and 19,318 Mangars. A large number of these tribes lived in the states of Bengal and Sikkim alone. Only a marginal percentage of their population resided in Assam. The remaining other tribals such as the Newar, Kiranti (Khambu), Gurung and Kirati (Yakha) were concentrated mainly in Bengal and Assam. Not a single person of Gurung community was returned in Sikkim. The tribal population was virtually absent in Bihar and Orissa.

In Table 3.23 we notice a significant increase in Nepalese tribal population in 1921 as compared to 1911. The Rai (Jimdar) were then concentrated only in Sikkim and the Kirati in Andaman and Nicobar Island. The presence of the Rai was possibly due to the Gorkha army deployment in that area. Regarding the Gurungs, their population was still nil in Sikkim. They were returned in Assam in larger numbers than in Bengal unlike the census for 1911. The remaining other tribal communities accounting for quite a significant population, had chosen the state of Bengal and Sikkim as a major place of residence. Assam and Manipur also had some

Tribal Language	Andaman & Nicobar			Assam			Bihar			Assam State (Manipur)			Sikkim			India		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Gurang	-	-	-	3000	2312	1688	715	467	248	215	118	-	-	-	311	311	210	-
Newari	-	-	-	324	205	119	3137	4448	3789	123	121	25	1447	738	713	10134	5488	4646
Limbu	-	-	-	1451	970	481	14597	7326	7271	-	-	-	7258	3466	3792	23402	11838	11564
Khambu	-	-	-	498	362	136	328	151	177	189	125	64	2006	1011	995	3066	1675	1391
Kirati	283	278	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	333	278	5
Rajor Jimdar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14958	7777	7181	56342	28190	28152
Magari	-	-	-	1611	875	736	15579	8412	7167	372	3	127	2960	1584	1376	20536	11116	9420
Muzmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	32233	16354	15879	-	-	-	6068	3013	3055	38512	19510	19002

Source : J.T. Marten, Census of India-1921, Vol. I, Part II, Tables.

tribal settlement of marginal importance. It is clear that the distribution pattern of tribal population was confined mainly to the three states of India, viz., Bengal, Sikkim and Assam.

After a decade in 1931, a declining trend in the numerical strength of tribal population is to be noticed, as may be seen in Table 3.24. Their number had declined except that of the Kirati community who were only 283 persons in 1921 but unexpectedly their strength had gone up to 86,994. This unprecedented increase was on account of the fact that under the 1931 census the other tribals such as Khambu, Limbu, Rai, Jimdar were all counted together with Kirati. An increase in the strength of Murmi was also recorded. As in case of the previous census, the distribution pattern of the tribals was concentrated mainly in Bengal, Sikkim and Assam in order of the numbers.

Table 3.25 highlights the total number of the tribal population in Sikkim and Bengal. As stated earlier, World War II had prevented comprehensive collection of data. So the number of tribal population of Sikkim and Bengal alone could be collected in the 1941 census. However, on the basis of past trends in the pattern of tribal distribution the numbers returned in the two states could have accounted for

Table 3.24: Distribution of Population by States - 1931

	Assam			Total	Bengal		Total	Sikkim		Assam State (Manipur)			Jammu & Kashmir			Bengal State			India		
	Total	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Gurung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3509	1861	1748
Newar	144	84	60	717	3927	3270	2258	1262	996	32	20	12	-	-	-	-	-	9666	5325	4341	
Magar	2207	1403	704	11216	5556	6660	2780	1518	1262	247	173	74	-	-	-	-	-	17478	8683	8795	
Murmi	28	16	12	34053	17365	16688	6982	3564	3418	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1607	979	628	
Kirati	1289	700	589	56714	28012	28701	28645	14350	14295	167	119	48	179	118	61	-	-	-	86994	43299	43696

Source: J.H. Hutton, Census of India - 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Imperial Tables (Delhi: 1933)

as much as 90 per cent of the total tribal population of Nepalese origin in India.

It will be noticed in Table 3.25 that the population of Gurung had increased strikingly in 1941 to 25,158 as against 3,609 in 1931. Earlier the state of Sikkim had always witnessed an absence of the Gurung population. But unexpectedly 8,493 persons of the Gurung community came to settle in Sikkim in 1941 whereas its population in 1931 was nil.

It is surprising how the female and male population of newly migrants could be almost in equal number as observed in the case of Sikkim. In normal case, migration is always dominated by male in its early phase. The fundamental reason behind the sudden rise of population might be because of the language shift from one over another. The Gurung being liberal in language could have accepted Nepali language until 1931 and shifted in block back again to their own tribal one. The census officials involved in census count were keen to see people of different tribes to have been strictly enumerated under their own mother tongue than in others. Whatever language besides the mother tongue was spoken, that was taken as 'subsidiary language'. Information about other language in common use was also

Table 3.25: Distribution of Tribal Population by States 1941

	Bengal			Total	Sikkim		Total	Total	
	Total	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Gurung	16665	8556	8109	8493	4339	4154	25158	12895	12263
Limbu	19201	9808	9393	12819	6790	6029	32020	16598	15422
Magar	24513	12934	11579	3648	1889	1759	28161	14823	13338
Newar	14529	7708	6821	4186	2201	1986	18715	9909	8806
Sunwar	5373	2994	2379	596	308	288	5969	3302	2667

Source : Census of India, 1941, Vol. I, Part II, Tables India Part I.

collected since 1941.¹⁸ Under the same rule the Gurung had to return under their own mother tongue from the Nepali adopted earlier. Persons belonging to tribal population of Nepalese origin were seen thus counted on the basis of their tribal language. It is because of that whenever tribal people had shifted their loyalty to Nepali language were counted as Nepali speakers but not under their tribal name. In 1931, there were 12,571 Nepali born persons in Sikkim but the Nepali language speakers were 38,866 or 10.5 per cent of the total population speaking Nepali language in India.¹⁹

The Newar also increased in population by more than double. The Mangar also stood around the same proportion in its population growth. The Murmi and the Kirati were the two other tribes which had been returned with a significant number of population in 1931 but this time they did not return. Instead, the two other tribes Limbu and Sunwar, were recorded in 1941. Where did the Kirati returned from in 1931 with

18. P. Natarajan, Indian Census Through a Hundred Years (New Delhi: 1972), p.608. Also see S.C. Srivastava's "Inter Census in Perspective" (New Delhi: 1971).

19. Census of India 1931, vol.5 (Bengal, Sikkim), Part I, p.103.

its almost 80,000 population in Sikkim and Bengal and Murmi with 42,676 population disappear in 1941? The same language shifting phenomenon among the tribal communities had brought about their elimination on the return of their population in the census of 1941.

On the whole, the trend of the tribal population in terms of spatial distribution and its numerical strength shows that their concentration was mainly confined in the state of Bengal and Sikkim. Only a few of them trickled to the state of Assam. Secondly the number of tribal population always showed an increasing trend until 1941 since the seventies of nineteenth century. The virtual elimination of some tribes in 1941 census is to be seen in the light of shifting over to Nepali from tribal languages as their mother tongue.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERN AND TRENDS OF IMMIGRANTS:
1951-1961

Just as the preceding chapter dealt with the historical process of migrants and their changing pattern in spatial distribution, this chapter also concentrates on the distribution of Nepalese recorded as 'Nepali born', 'Nepalese language speaking' and the 'Indian domiciled Nepalese citizens'. Some changes both in the name and areas of certain states and Union Territory were observed in 1961, as against those of 1951. Only some major states holding substantial percentage of immigrants e.g. Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Sikkim are examined in this chapter. However the others also would be discussed so far a comparative study is possible.

A comparative study is possible of the figures returned under the above stated three headings, for finding the trend of migrants over the decade 1951-1961. In 1961, few more details were added such as: (1) the categorisation of immigrants on the basis of duration of stay, (2) industrial distribution of workers and non-workers, (3) rural and urban distribution, (4) distribution of Scheduled Castes for Indian people of Nepalese

descent, e.g., Damai, Kami and Sarki.

Distribution Pattern of India Resident
Nepalese Nationals and its Trend:

As a means of identifying foreign immigrants in the country, the British had introduced the question of nationality in its first census conducted in 1872. However, this was struck off from the census schedule since the census of 1881 until 1941.

India resident Nepalese nationals do not, in fact, provide a picture of immigrants since very person born in Nepal but residing in India need not take up Indian nationality. In turn, persons born in India from Nepalese parents could also have maintained Nepalese nationality. Here the number of India resident Nepalese nationals and their distribution pattern, is examined so as to get a picture as to how many of the Nepalese had maintained their nationality.

Table 4.1 has presented the distribution pattern of Nepalese national in India in the very early part of the fifties of this century. A total of 82,069 persons maintaining their Nepalese nationality were residing scattered all over India. Females accounted for 31.49 per cent to the total population. The highest per cent (30.44) of the total population lived in the

Table 4.1: Distribution Pattern of India Resident Nepali Nationals - 1951

States	No. of Population			Per cent to the total population	No. of Female per 100 male
	Total	Male	Female		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. U.P.	24979	19364	5615	30.44	29
2. Bihar	12600	5279	7324	15.4	139
3. Orissa	54	191	63	0.31	33
4. West Bengal	14117	10333	4284	18.00	42
5. Assam	18214	11855	6359	22.20	54
6. Manipur	168	129	39	0.20	30
7. Tripura	83	59	24	0.10	41
8. Sikkim	2894	2326	568	3.53	25
9. Madras	195	179	16	0.24	9
10. Mysore	98	80	18	0.12	23
11. Bombay	1430	1272	158	1.74	12
12. Swarashtra	2	2	x	0.003	x
13. Madhya Pradesh	339	270	69	0.41	26
14. Mahabharat	869	695	174	1.10	25
15. Hyderabad	1284	1076	208	1.60	19
16. Vindhya Pradesh	7	5	2	0.01	40
17. Bhopal	27	27	x	0.03	x
18. Rajasthan	78	144	34	0.22	24
19. Punjab	2461	1675	786	3.00	47
20. PEPSU	68	66	2	0.08	3
21. Delhi	1228	1140	88	1.50	8
22. Ajmer	1	1	-	-	-
23. Andaman & Nicobar	74	58	16	0.10	27
India	82069	56224	25845	100.00	46

Source: Census of India 1951.

state of Uttar Pradesh alone. Assam had the second largest percentage (22.00) immediately followed by West Bengal holding 18.00 per cent. Bihar, though being contiguous to Nepal, had not drawn more just 15.40 per cent. Sikkim, inspite of its size being small, had attracted 2,894 Nepalese nationals, being 3.53 per cent of the total. Mainly due to having congenial climatic and socio-cultural environment. Nepalese had preferred Sikkim to be a place for their residence.

The above mentioned five states together had 90.00 per cent share in the total, the remaining 10.00 per cent was distributed scattered in rest of the nineteen States and Union Territories of India. This evidently shows the northern part of India as a place of abode for the vast majority of Nepalese migrants. Many people from Nepal come to Uttar Pradesh for religious as well as educational purposes. Varanasi had been a centre for both religion and education. The people coming under this category maintain their nationality in general. That may be one of the reasons of increasing Nepalese immigrants in U.P. Agricultural prosperity of Assam always played a prime role of attracting a large number of immigrants for seasonal work. But such migration had become a usual phenomenon. West Bengal

and Sikkim being close to Nepal and having a similar socio-cultural life of people in certain areas of these states, Nepalese migrants flowed in there. Bihar was always ahead of getting more female migrants from just across the border where the people of the same community Maithili, Yadav, Rajput - live and marry with people of Indian side.

The same five states had leading position in sheltering 93.43 per cent of the total female population. The remaining, less than seven per cent females were scattered in other places. The female to male ratio (number of females per 100 males) was also higher in the same five states. Bihar alone accounted 159 females for 100 males. Assam had 54 females per every 100 males. Bengal had 42 females, Uttar Pradesh 29 and Sikkim 25 for each 100 Nepalese national male population. The distant states hosted only a marginal number of migrants and the female to male ratio was lower.

The distribution pattern of Nepalese nationals in India during the early sixties of the present century is shown in Table 4.2. Of a total of 1,33,524 returned, 76.44 per cent were males and 23.56 per cent were females. Uttar Pradesh hosted 32.00 per cent of the total while the state of Assam

Table 4.2: Distribution Pattern of India Resident Nepali-national-1961

State	Total	Male	Female	Female per 100 male	Percentage to the total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Andhra Pradesh	617	522	95	18	0.45
2. Assam	21944	15510	6434	41	16.43
3. Bihar	13611	8454	5157	61	10.19
4. Gujarat	568	427	141	33	0.43
5. Jammu & Kashmir	18	13	5	38	0.01
6. Kerala	254	238	16	7	0.20
7. Madhya Pradesh	973	742	231	31	0.72
8. Madras	754	653	101	15	0.56
9. Maharashtra	4449	3875	574	15	3.33
10. Mysore	308	279	29	10	0.23
11. Orissa	1007	815	383	47	0.89
12. Punjab	7357	5933	1424	24	5.51
13. Rajasthan	573	538	35	7	0.43
14. Uttar Pradesh	43028	35194	7834	22	32.00
15. West Bengal	11462	7800	3662	47	8.58
16. Andaman & Nicobar	15	11	4	36	0.01
17. Delhi	1671	1345	326	24	1.25
18. Himachal Pradesh	7972	7270	702	10	6.00
19. Manipur	2426	937	1489	159	1.81
20. Tripura	360	290	70	24	0.26
21. Dadara Nagar Hardi	1	1	-	0	-
22. Goa, Daman & Dwe	7	7	-	0	-
23. Pondicherry	3	3	-	0	-
24. NEFA	6127	5318	809	15	4.39
25. Nagaland	2809	1691	608	36	1.72
26. Sikkim	5529	4205	1324	31	4.14
27. India	133524	102071	31453	31	100.00

Source: Census of India 1961, Vol. I, India, Part II-C(iii) Migration Tables Table D.

hosted 16.00 per cent. Bihar and West Bengal had provided shelter to 10.19 and 8.58 per cent respectively of the total migrants. Sikkim hosted 4.14 per cent only. Besides these five states, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and NEFA had also hosted a considerable number of the immigrants. Himachal Pradesh alone hosted 6.00 per cent and Punjab 5.51 per cent. The North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) hosted 4.59 per cent of the total Nepalese national migrants. In all these three places, the number of immigrants had been high because of the presence of Gorkha Army. In such regions the female to male ratio is generally quite low. The same is likely to prevail in places where especially the road construction works were going on. Temporary migrants were observed to have been employed in such construction works particularly in the area of higher altitude.

The female to male ratio reported in the 1961 census was very low compared to this ratio a decade earlier. Just 31 females were observed for each 100 males at the all India level. West Bengal had the second highest ratio immediately followed by Assam. Bihar, however, had 61 females for each 100 males, which is the highest female to male ratio. Uttar Pradesh had only 22 while Sikkim had 31 females.

A summary of the distribution pattern of Indian resident Nepalese in 1951 and 1961 in the five major host states has been presented in Table 4.3. It will be noticed whereas in 1951 nearly 90 per cent of the Nepalese nationals resided in the five major host states, this percentage was reduced to about 71 per cent

Table 4.3: Distribution of India Resident Nepalese National in Per Cent to the Total Population, and Their Growth Rates, 1951-1961

States	Per cent of total		Percentage Increase 1951-61
	1951	1961	
1. Uttar Pradesh	30.44	32.00	72.26
2. Bihar	15.40	10.19	8.02
3. Assam	22.20	16.43	20.43
4. West Bengal	18.00	8.58	-21.58
5. Sikkim	3.53	4.14	91.05
Total	89.57	71.44	30.38
Total India	100.00	100.00	62.70

Source: Derived from Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

in 1961. The rest of the immigrants were scattered in the remaining states and union territories of India. These figures are indicative of increased spatial diversification of Nepalese immigrants over the decade 1951-1961.

Regarding the increase of Nepalese nationals residing in India over decade 1951-61, it increased in absolute numbers by 51,449 (62.59%). Table 4.3 reveals the per cent of growth of population in the five states by 30.38 per cent over the decade to the total population of the base year, 1951. Among these states, the highest growth rate was 72.26 per cent in U.P. Assam had a growth of 20.47 per cent and Bihar had a marginal growth of 8.02 per cent. In West Bengal a decline in the number of immigrants by 21.58 per cent was observed over the decade. In 1951, out of 73,299 Nepali-born migrants residing in West Bengal, 58,682 had claimed nationality of India, only 14,617 of them had retained nationality of Nepal.¹ The reason for decline in Nepalese nationals in India in number could be either the renouncement of Nepalese nationality or return migration of Nepalese nationals. However, Sikkim had observed over 90 per cent increase over the decade.

With respect to the number of females for every 100 males a decline is observed from 46 in 1951 to

1. Census of India - 1951, vol.VI, West Bengal, Sikkim and Chander Nagar, Part IA - Report (Calcutta: 1953), p.322.

31 in 1961. Table 4.4 presents a trend of declining female population in the five states. A sharp fall in

Table 4.4: Sex Composition of the India Resident Nepalese Nationals and Female Distribution

States	1951		1961	
	No. of Females for each 100 Males	% of Females to total Population	No. of Females for each 100 Males	% of Females to total Population
1. Uttar Pradesh	29	6.84	22	5.87
2. Bihar	139	8.92	61	3.86
3. Assam	54	7.75	41	4.82
4. West Bengal	42	5.22	47	2.74
5. Sikkim	25	0.69	31	0.99
Total of above	-	29.42	-	18.26
Total India	46	31.49	31	23.59

Source: Derived from Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

female to male composition is to be observed in the state of Bihar. It had declined from 139 females in 1951 to 61 for each 100 males in 1961. A decline by 7 and 13 females for each 100 males in Uttar Pradesh and Assam respectively, is also to be observed for the two states in 1961 as compared to 1951. In both the states of West Bengal and Sikkim the ratio had improved. In 1951 out of the total females which accounted for 31.47 per cent of the total population, 29.42 per cent lived only in these five states and the

remaining about 2 per cent was distributed all over the remaining 18 states. But in 1961, the share of female population in the five states declined to 18.26 per cent. The remaining 5.33 per cent was distributed in the rest of Indian states. This implied some diversification in female spatial distribution even though the per cent of females to total population declined.

Distribution Pattern and Trends of Nepali Speaking Population: 1951-1961

In Table 4.5 the distribution of population speaking Nepali language as mother tongue in 1951 has been presented. The total Nepali speaking population was 4,21,688 constituting 2,42,732 (50%) males and 1,78,956 (48%) females in 1951. Their distribution pattern shows that West Bengal alone had 41.27 per cent share of the total Nepali speaking population. The second largest share was accounted by Assam at 29.72 per cent of the total. Uttar Pradesh, Sikkim and Bihar accounted for 12.67, 9.14 and 2.69 per cent respectively, of the total Nepali speaking population.

The distribution of population speaking Nepali language as mother tongue in 1961 has been presented in Table 4.6. It will be seen that in 1961, there were 10,21,102 Nepali speakers constituting, 5,95,408 (58.29%) males and 4,25,294 (41.68%) females. West Bengal alone had over 51 per cent of the total population and Assam

Table 4.5: Distribution of Population Speaking Nepali Language as Mother Tongue-1951

States	Total	Male	Female	Female per 100 male	Percentage of total population
1. Uttar Pradesh	53445	37562	15883	42	12.67
2. Bihar	11357	8032	3325	41	2.69
3. Orissa	864	523	341	65	0.20
4. West Bengal	174020	90011	84009	93	41.27
5. Sikkim	38542	19930	18612	93	9.14
6. Assam, Manipur, Tripura	12510	73272	52048	71	29.72
7. Madras, Coorg		775	80	10	0.20
8. Mysore	325	240	85	35	0.08
9. Bombay, Saurashtra & Kutch	6334	5328	1006	19	1.50
10. Madhya Pradesh ^a	7099	4198	2901	69	2.00
11. Madhya Bharat & Bhopal	1168	921	247	27	0.28
12. Hyderabad ^b	2312	1905	407	21	1.00
13. Andaman & Nicobar	65	53	12	23	0.02
India	421688	242732	173956	74	100.00

Source: Census of India, Paper No. 1, 1954, Language - 1951 Census (Page quoted from each chapter of states and territory)

Note: (a) Population separately returned under 'Gorkhali' (2495 male and 2326 female) and 'Naipali' (1703 males and 675 female) were together counted as 'Nepali'.

(b) Similarly the population returned under 'Gorkhali' (1337 male and 322 female) and 'Naipali' language (568 male and 86 female) separately were counted as 'Nepali' language and were placed under it.

Table 4.6: Distribution of Population Speaking Nepali Language as Mother Tongue-1961

States	Total	Male	Female	Female per 100 male	Percentage to the population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Andhra Pradesh	1726	1351	375	28	0.17
2. Assam	215213	122701	92512	75	21.08
3. Bihar	29747	17231	12516	73	2.91
4. Gujarat	2682	1890	792	42	0.26
5. Jammu & Kashmir	708	423	285	67	0.7
6. Kerala	312	292	20	7	0.03
7. Madhya Pradesh	9544	7026	2518	36	0.93
8. Madras	1348	1101	247	22	0.13
9. Maharashtra	12512	10241	2271	22	1.23
10. Mysore	839	701	138	20	0.08
11. Orissa	1873	1384	494	36	0.18
12. Punjab	13356	10537	2819	27	1.31
13. Rajasthan	1820	1398	422	30	0.18
14. Uttar Pradesh	79355	58387	20968	36	7.77
15. West Bengal	524797	282877	241920	86	51.40
16. Andaman	170	115	55	48	0.02
17. Delhi	3587	2579	1008	39	0.35
18. Himachal Pradesh	10811	9262	1549	17	1.06
19. Manipur	13571	7266	6305	87	1.33
20. Tripura	1696	1136	560	49	0.17
21. Dadra Nagar Naveli	4	3	1	33	-
22. Goa, Daman & Dwe	8	8	x	0	-
23. Pondicherry	52	49	3	6	0.01
24. NEFA	10610	8900	1710	19	1.04
25. Nagaland	10400	8120	2280	28	1.02
26. Assam	74209	40430	33929	84	7.30
27. India	1021102	595408	425694	71	100.00

Source: Census of India-1961, Part II-C(ii), C-V(B)

(including Manipur and Tripura) 22.58 per cent, standing second in population share. Uttar Pradesh (7.77%) and Sikkim (7.30%) had almost equal number of people. Bihar accounted for 2.91 per cent.

In Table 4.7 a summary of the distribution of Nepali language speaking population in the five major host states has been presented for the years 1951 and 1961. It will be seen that over the decade 1951-61

Table 4.7: Per cent Distribution of Nepali Language Speaking Population

States	1951	1961	Per cent Increase 1951-61
1. Uttar Pradesh	12.67	7.77	49.54
2. Bihar	2.69	2.91	162.08
3. Assam, Manipur, Tripura	29.71	22.58	83.94
4. West Bengal	41.27	51.40	201.50
5. Sikkim	9.49	7.30	92.89
Total of above	95.48	91.96	133.09
India	100.00	100.00	142.10

Source: Derived from Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

a substantial increase in the number of Nepali speaking population took place. Some spatial diversification in the population is demonstrated by the fact that whereas in 1951 nearly 96 per cent of this population

was concentrated in the five major host states, this percentage declined to 92 in 1961. Only in West Bengal the percentage of Nepali language speakers increased. In all other states (except Bihar), there was a decline.

The absolute growth of Nepali speaking population during the decade (1951-61) was conspicuously high. A total of 4,21,688 Nepali speakers were living in India as the census reported in 1951. It increased to 10,21,102 after ten years an increase of 142.10 per cent. In the five states a 133.09 per cent increase is to be observed. The largest increase in population took place in West Bengal (201.50%). The main reason was the shift of a large number of tribal people of Nepalese origin over to Nepali language as reported in 1961 census. Due to the amalgamation of other (tribal) language to Nepali, the number of Nepali speaking people increased unexpectedly.² Assam also had an increase of a large population of Nepali language during the decade between 1951-61. It is said that prior to 1951 many Nepalese had indicated Assamese as their mother tongue. In order to demonstrate their strength however, they returned their mother tongue as Nepalese since 1951 to prevent possible threatened

2 Census of India - 1961, vol.I, India, Part II-C(ii), Language Table, (Delhi: 1963), p.xiii.

displacement.³ Bihar and Sikkim had almost a three-fold and double increase in the population respectively. However, Bihar had generally less number of Nepali speakers but she had more number of Nepali-born population. In the state of Uttar Pradesh an increase of nearly 59 per cent Nepali speaking population is to be noticed.

On the whole, a large number of Nepali speaking population were scattered mainly in the same usual five states located in the northern part of India. But it seems that in Darjeeling, Sikkim and the Assam areas the Nepali language could be maintained easily and even other people might come under its influence, because of the people living in clusters. Such a tremendous increase of Nepali speaking population inspite of a slow growth rate of Nepali-born immigration denotes a kind of reorganization for the common identity of the people of Nepali-origin.

The sex composition of Nepali speaking population has been presented in Table 4.8. The table reveals that the percentage of females was 42.43 to the total population. That means in all India level, for each 74 females there were 100 males in 1951. But that

3. Ibid., p.viii.

Table 4.8: Sex Composition of Nepali Speaking Population and Female Distribution in Per cent

States	1951		1961	
	No. of Females per 100 Males	% of Females to total Population	No. of Females per 100 Males	% of Females to total Population
1. Uttar Pradesh	42	3.77	36	2.05
2. Bihar	41	0.79	73	1.23
3. Assam, Manipur and Tripura	71	12.34	76	9.73
4. West Bengal	93	19.92	86	23.68
5. Sikkim	93	4.41	84	3.32
Total of above	-	41.23	-	40.01
India	74	42.43	71	41.68

Source: Derived from Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

ratio had gone down to 71 for 100 males in 1961. The females accounted for 41.68 per cent of the total population in 1961.

Out of the 42.43 per cent females in 1951, 41.23 per cent were living only in the five states and the remaining one per cent seemed to have distributed in the remaining states. But of the 41.68 per cent females reported in the 1961 census, 40.01 per cent, were concentrated only in the five states. The remaining 1.67 per cent females were distributed in rest of the places. In overall the number of females had declined from 74 in 1951 to 71 for each 100 males in 1961. The spatial diversification of female migrants was quite marginal.

Distribution Pattern and Trends of
Nepali-born Population: 1951-61

A large number of Nepali-born population was shown to have entered into India for quite a long time whose record was maintained more or less, since 1882. Actually these people alone had been considered as the foreign (Nepalese) immigrants. The others, recorded as 'Nepali speakers', or 'Indian resident Nepalese national' or 'tribes of Nepalese origin' had not been taken as immigrants.

The distribution of Nepali-born population in 1951 has been presented in Table 4.9. As the distribution pattern is looked into, it is found, that except in Lakshadweep islands, there were Nepalese born in Nepal scattered all over the states and Union Territories including the distant territory of Andaman and Nicobar Island.

In 1951, there were total 2,78,972 Nepali-born people in India consisting of 1,69,153 (60.63%) males and 1,09,817 (39.37%) females. The state of Uttar Pradesh alone accounted for 30.10 per cent share of the total population. The other states of West Bengal, Assam and Bihar had 26.29, 20.30 and 12.53 per cent people respectively born in Nepal. Sikkim sheltered only 1.13 per cent Nepalese immigrants. In totality, these five states shared 90.35 per cent of the total

Table 4.9: Distribution Pattern of Nepali-born Population- 1951

State	Total	Male	Female	Female per 100 male	Percentage of total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Uttar Pradesh	83900	49234	34666	70	30.10
2. Bihar	34942	12257	22689	186	12.53
3. Orissa	836	633	203	32	0.30
4. West Bengal	73299	45869	27438	60	26.29
5. Assam	56572	36350	20222	56	20.30
6. Manipur	424	277	147	53	0.20
7. Tripura	270	192	78	41	0.10
8. Sikkim	3162	2426	736	30	1.13
9. Madras	1421	1202	219	18	0.51
10. Mysore	455	373	82	22	0.16
11. Travancore Cochine	69	68	1	1	0.02
12. Coorg	11	11	x		
13. Bombay	9183	8163	1018	12	3.30
14. Saurashtra	97	79	18	23	0.03
15. Kutch	43	38	5	13	0.01
16. Madhya Pradesh	1491	1128	363	32	0.53
17. Madhya Bharat	1434	1284	150	12	0.51
18. Hyderabad	2155	1835	320	17	0.80
19. Vindhya Pradesh	44	25	19	76	0.02
20. Bhopal	17	9	8	89	
21. Rajasthan	1140	904	236	15	0.41
22. Punjab	3976	3313	658	20	1.43
23. Himachal Pradesh, Bilespur	1854	1661	193	12	0.70
24. PEPSU	602	518	84	16	0.22
25. Delhi	1073	934	139	15	0.38
26. Ajmer	437	232	205	88	0.16
27. Anadman & Nicobar	64	50	14	28	0.02
India	278972	169155	109817	65	100.00

Source: Census of India 1951, Vol-I, India, Part II- A,

Demographic Tables (Delhi: 1955)

immigrants. The rest 9.65 per cent were distributed among the remaining states and territories. Bombay had 3.30 per cent and the Punjab 1.43 per cent people among the remaining states. The table reveals that among the rest 22 states except Bombay and Punjab, there were living only 5.92 per cent of the immigrants. This illustrates that the Nepalese immigrants prefer to stick to the five states located in the northern region of India. Diversified spatial distribution of the immigrants was marginal in percentage.

In Table 4.10 the distribution of Nepali born population in 1961 has been presented. It will be seen that in 1961, the immigrants were 4,98,836 in number with 2,80,609 males and 2,18,227 females. The table reveals that except Lakshadweep island, the immigrants were distributed in every state and territory of India. The largest number of them were present in Uttar Pradesh (1,11,718) and the smallest in Dadra Nagar Haveli where only 9 persons had lived.

A summary of the distribution of Nepali-born population in 1951 and 1961 and their decennial growth rate has been presented in Table 4.11. It will be seen that again the same five states had 83.91 per cent of the total immigrants in 1961. The remaining about 16.00 per cent were distributed in the other

Table 4.10: Distribution Pattern of Nepali-born Population-1961

Places	Total	Male	Female	Female per 100 male	Percentage to the total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Andra Pradesh	1860	1526	334	22	0.37
2. Assam	82624	53189	29435	55	16.56
3. Bihar	108971	24925	84046	337	21.85
4. Gujarat	3352	2629	723	27	0.67
5. Jammu & Kashmir	310	229	81	37	0.06
6. Kerala	424	401	23	6	0.08
7. Madhya Pradesh	7605	5971	1634	27	1.52
8. Madras	2645	2231	414	19	0.53
9. Maharashtra	13704	11812	1892	16	2.75
10. Mysore	1398	1231	167	14	0.28
11. Orissa	2476	1774	702	40	0.50
12. Punjab	11719	9598	2121	22	2.35
13. Rajasthan	2053	1509	544	36	0.41
14. Uttar Pradesh	111700	63661	48037	75	22.40
15. West Bengal	109190	68501	40689	59	22.00
16. Anadaman & Nicobar	129	95	34	36	0.03
17. Delhi	5890	4574	1316	30	1.20
18. Himachal Pradesh	9699	8845	854	10	2.00
19. Manipur	3576	2146	1430	67	0.72
20. Tripura	861	655	206	31	0.17
21. Dadra Nagar Haveli	9	6	3	50	
22. Goa, Daman & Dew	10	10	x	-	
23. Pondicherry	110	96	14	15	0.02
24. NEFA	8223	7542	681	9	1.65
25. Nagaland	4926	4155	771	19	1.00
26. Sikkim	5352	3328	2024	61	1.10
India	498836	280609	218227	78	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1961, Part II-C(111) Migration Tables

Table 4.11: Per Cent Distribution of Nepali-born Population and Growth Rate

States	% of Total Population		Growth Rate 1951- 1961 (%)
	1951	1961	
1. Uttar Pradesh	30.10	22.40	33.15
2. Bihar	12.53	21.85	211.86
3. Assam	20.30	16.56	46.05
4. West Bengal	29.29	22.00	48.96
5. Sikkim	1.13	1.10	69.25
Total of above	90.35	83.91	60.17
India	100.00	100.00	78.81

Source: Derived from Tables 4.11 and 4.12.

states. In 1951 over 90 per cent of the Nepali-born population were concentrated in the five states. The remaining 9.65 per cent of the population were scattered in the rest of the states. Thus the spatial distribution of immigrants became more diversified in 1961 as compared to 1951. The share of all the major host states, excluding Bihar declined over the decade. The highest decennial growth rate of 211.83 per cent was recorded in Bihar. In the five major host states the growth rate recorded was 65.85 per cent. The all-India growth rate was 78.81 per cent. The principal reason for very high growth rate for immigrants in Bihar was the common culture of people living on either side of the border that often

led females from Nepal to fall into marriage with males in Bihar.

In Table 4.12 we present the sex ratio of Nepali-born population and their spatial distribution in the five major host states in 1961 as compared to 1951. It will be seen that the female to male ratio increased during the decade 1951-61 from 65 to 78 females for each 100 males in the total immigrant population. Out of the total population of 1951, female percentage was 39.35 which increased to 43.73 per cent of the total population in 1961. Thus both in percentage and absolute numbers the female population increased in 1961. Very sharp rise of female population may be observed in Bihar both in per cent (8.13 to 16.84 per cent) and its ratio. It was 186 females for each 100 males in 1951, and that went up to 337 for each 100 males in 1961.

In 1951 females were mainly concentrated on Uttar Pradesh followed by West Bengal, Bihar and Assam in order of their importance. Sikkim had marginal share. The five major host states accounted for 39.35 per cent of the Nepali-born female immigrants in 1951. The remaining 1.46 per cent of the females were distributed in rest of the states of India in 1951. This shows that females were confined mainly in the five states. But some changes in the distribution pattern and sex

Table 4.12: Sex Composition of the Nepali-born Population and Female Distribution in Per Cent 1951

States	1951		1961	
	No. of Females per 100 Males	Female % to total population	No. of Females per 100 Males	Female % to Total population
1. Uttar Pradesh	70	12.42	75	9.63
2. Bihar	186	8.13	337	16.84
3. Assam	56	7.25	55	5.90
4. West Bengal	60	9.83	59	8.15
5. Sikkim	30	0.26	61	0.40
Total	72	37.86	27	40.92
India	65	39.35	78	43.73

Source: Derived from Table 4.11 and 4.12.

ratio took place in 1961. Out of 43.73 per cent of females to the total female population of 1961, 40.73 per cent of them lived only in the same five states. Only 2.81 per cent of the female immigrants were scattered in all rest of the states. Hence more females were scattered in the other states in comparison to 1951. Besides that the number of female immigrants had also increased by 1,08,410 (198.72%) over the decade 1951-61. This growth rate is higher than that of males which increased by 165.87 per cent during the same period. Hence we notice that over the decade 1951-61 not only the spatial diversification of Nepali-born immigrants became marginally more diversified, but the sex ratio also became more balanced.

Rural and Urban Distribution Pattern
of Nepali-born Immigrants, 1961:

In Table 4.13 the spatial distribution of rural-urban Nepali-born population in 1961 has been presented. It will be seen that of the total immigrants (3,58,814), 71.93 per cent lived in rural areas and 1,40,022 (28.07%) in urban centres. The urban population of Nepali-born immigrants was much higher in percentage to the urban percentage (18.00%) of India.⁴ The states of Assam,

4. Census of India, 1961: vol.I, Part II-A(1), General Population Table, pp.54-56.

Table 4.13: Distribution Pattern of Rural and Urban Nepali-born Population in per-cent to Total Population of Respective Group Including Female to Male Ratio - 1961

States	Total Population	Rural Population	Urban Population	Rural Population to total (R) population(%)	Urban population to total(U) population(%)	Rural/Urban Ratio (R/U)	Rural Female (RF)/Rural Male per (100) Male	Urban Female (UF)/Urban Male (UM) per (100) male
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Andhra	1860	370	1490	0.10	1.06	0.25	17	23
2. Assam	82624	66292	16332	18.47	11.66	4.06	51	37
3. Bihar	1089971	94674	14297	26.38	10.21	6.62	508	52
4. Gujarat	3352	744	2608	0.21	1.86	0.29	15	30
5. Jammu & Kashmir	310	167	143	0.05	0.17	1.17	18	64
6. Kerala	424	185	239	0.05	0.17	0.77	4	7
7. M.P.	7605	1454	6171	0.40	4.41	0.23	17	30
8. Madras	2645	476	2169	0.13	1.55	0.22	19	27
9. Maharashtra	13704	1092	12612	0.30	9.01	0.09	16	16
10. Mysore	1398	349	1049	0.10	0.75	0.33	10	15
11. Orissa	2476	977	1499	0.27	1.07	0.65	45	36
12. Punjab	11719	4121	7598	1.15	5.43	0.54	23	21
13. Rajasthan	2053	691	1362	0.19	0.97	0.51	18	47
14. U.P.	111718	81892	29826	27.62	21.30	2.75	93	40
15. West Bengal	109190	74229	34961	20.68	24.97	2.12	74	35
16. Andaman & Nicobar	129	82	47	0.02	0.03	1.74	26	57
17. Delhi	5890	168	5724	0.05	4.09	0.03	37	29
18. H.P.	9699	9373	326	2.61	0.23	28.75	9	42
19. Manipur	3576	2841	735	0.79	0.52	3.87	79	31
20. Tripura	861	795	66	0.22	0.05	12.05	29	65
21. Dadara Nagar haveli	9	9	N.A.		-	0.2	50	-
22. Goa	10	2	8		0.01	0.25		
23. Pondicherry	110	87	23	0.01	0.02	3.78	13	21
24. NEFA	8232	8232		2.29			9	
25. Nagaland	4926	4533	393	1.26	0.28	11.53	17	37
26. Sikkim	5352	5008	344	1.40	0.25	14.56	63	34
India	498836	358814	140022	99.97	99.99	2.56	104	34

Source: Census of India 1961, Migration Table D-111, 1961

Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal together and 63.59 per cent share in the total rural population living in rural areas and the urban percentage was 19.12. It means 88.35 per cent to the total rural resident immigrants were concentrated only in the above given four states and the rest 11.59 per cent were in rural areas of other states. Out of the total urban population of the immigrants, 68.14 per cent lived in the same four states. The remaining immigrants accounting for about 32.00 per cent of the total were scattered in rest of the 22 states and union territories.

It is clear that the immigrants interested in rural settlement were more confined to a few states in the northern part of India especially these contiguous with Nepal besides Assam. The other states located in far distant areas attracted immigrants in their urban centres. Immigrants settled in urban centres, therefore, seemed more scattered in distribution than those in rural ones.

The highest rural to urban ratio in population was in Himachal Pradesh where it was 28.75 per cent. Some other states such as Sikkim, Nagaland, Tripura, Bihar also had considerably high ratio of rural to urban immigrant population within a range of 7 to 14. The states in the south and other few states of north-

west part of India had provided shelter to immigrants relatively more in urban centres.

Table 4.13 shows that there was female predominance in the rural immigrants. Out of the total rural immigrants, 50.91 per cent were females. Out of the total rural female immigrants, 95.88 per cent were settled only in the four states of Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Only about 4.12 per cent females was settled in rural areas in other states. Females preferred to settle mainly in rural areas particularly in states where Nepalese had already been settled in large numbers. But the reverse trend is shown by the same table in regard to the urban distribution. Out of the total urban settled immigrants that accounted for 28.07 per cent of the total population, 7.13 per cent were females. That means 25.40 per cent of the total urban population was accounted by females. The four states of Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal alone had 19.31 per cent females residing in urban centres. Rest of the other states had only 6 per cent of the females in the total urban females in their urban centres. The rural settlements had higher female to male ratio than urban ones. It was 104 females for 100 males in rural areas and only 34 females for 100 males in urban centres. The places where the females have

settled more in numbers are located just across the border to India.

Proportion of Workers and Non-workers
in the Rural and Urban Areas: 1961

The proportion of Nepali-born workers and non-workers in rural and urban areas has been presented in Table 4.14. Among the Nepali-born population 63 per cent (83.88% males, 36.11% females) were workers. In rural areas 62.27 per cent (83.97% males, 41.34% females) were workers. In urban areas 65.15 per cent (84.11% males, 9.23% females) were workers. The remaining were non-workers. A significantly large percentage of male immigrants were involved as working force both in rural areas and urban centres. Females were seen working more in rural areas than in urban centres. Comparing the percentage of Nepali-born working force as against that of all India level which was, in 1961, 42.98 per cent of total (comprising 57.11 per cent for males and 27.95 for females), the percentage of the Nepalese working immigrants was significantly higher in both males and females.⁵ Of the 2,80,609 male Nepalese in India, 2,35,361 were workers and only 45,248 were non-workers. The non-workers were either retired army

5. Census of India, 1971, Provisional Population Table (New Delhi: 1971), p.160.

Table 4.14: Proportion of Nepali-born Workers and Non-Workers in the Rural and Urban Areas - 1961

Particular of population	Persons/ Male/ Female	Total Number			Proportion(%) of workers and Non workers to total population		
		Total	Rural(R)	Urban(U)	Total	Rural(R)	Urban(U)
	Persons	498836	358814	140022	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total population	Males	280609	176158	104451	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Females	218227	182656	35571	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total Workers	Persons	314156	223434	91221	63.00	62.27	65.15
	Males	235361	147923	87932	83.88	83.97	84.00
	Females	78795	75511	3284	36.11	41.34	9.23
Total non-workers	Persons	184680	135380	49300	37.00	37.73	35.21
	Males	45248	28235	17013	16.12	16.03	16.00
	Females	139432	107145	32287	63.89	58.66	90.77

Source: Census of India - 1961, Vol. I, India,
Part II - D.C (iv)

men, ill persons, unemployed or too young to work. In fact, 'almost all of the male migrants to India joined the labour force'.⁶

The distribution of Nepali-born workers in different occupations has been presented in Table 4.15.⁷ It will be seen that almost 26 per cent of the total workers were engaged in cultivation either on land of their own, or on other's land on crop sharing basis. India had, in 1961, 52.80 per cent of its total working population engaged on the same. In category II (Agriculture Labour) 8.44 per cent of the immigrants were working. In livestock, forestry, plantation and in related activities (category III) 16.65 per cent were employed. Mining and quarrying (category IV) had provided employment to 2.55 per cent of the total immigrants. In manufacturing works (category V) 6.91 per cent were employed. Construction (category VI) and, trade and commerce (category VII) offered jobs to 3.94 and 4.04 per cent of the Nepali-born workers respectively. In transport and communication (category VIII) 2.92 per cent of Nepalese immigrant workers were

6. Myron Weiner, "Political Demography of Nepal", Asian Survey (USA), June 1973, vol.XIII, No.6, p.621.

7. Census of India - 1961, vol.I, India, Part II C-IV.

Table 4.15: Distribution of Working Population by categories of Workers and the Percentage of Workers to Total Working Population

State	Total Workers	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total non-workers	Percentage of workers to total workers
Andhra	1432	8	7	27	3	262	130	136	107	752	428	0.46
Assam	50916	28872	2194	6262	840	1004	397	1366	547	9137	15673	16.21
Bihar	35144	11065	13066	2168	2943	691	168	767	273	4003	59530	11.19
Gujarat	2360	13	20	44	7	732	83	84	155	1222	992	0.75
J & K	232	7	-	58	6	1	2	4	-	154	78	0.07
Kerala	377	1	1	60	-	90	2	75	18	130	47	0.12
Madhya Pradesh	5522	62	20	262	43	891	250	355	298	3341	2083	1.76
Madras	2157	2	3	77	3	830	45	218	78	901	488	0.69
Maharashtra	10998	19	44	147	22	4086	298	759	608	5015	2706	3.50
Mysore	1158	8	4	120	2	258	91	52	17	606	240	0.37
Orissa	1444	33	6	124	23	218	103	58	170	709	1032	0.46
Punjab	9100	166	109	221	17	1325	603	291	209	5769	2619	2.90
Rajasthan	1246	23	5	191	2	47	24	50	42	853	807	0.40
U.P.	68141	22445	6744	10127	2158	2967	4099	2473	2137	15091	44117	21.69
West Bengal	73401	10922	2117	29684	1007	5081	1226	3662	2419	17283	35789	23.36
Andaman & Nicobar	62	5	1	6	-	-	3	-	-	46	20	0.02
Delhi	4267	9	5	14	9	629	82	258	105	3156	1625	1.36
Himachal Pradesh	8946	1110	1575	1061	304	106	3826	35	64	855	753	2.85
Manipur	2173	1363	120	2	13	3	-	19	6	647	1403	0.69
Tripura	678	119	10	29	24	3	8	15	5	465	183	0.22
Dadra Nagar Haveli	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-
Goa, Daman & Dew	10	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	3	4	-	-
Pondicherry	94	-	-	-	-	68	6	2	-	18	16	0.03
NEFA	7445	42	3	105	11	-	528	19	531	6206	778	2.37
Nagaland	3954	147	100	185	5	19	7	55	25	3411	972	1.26
Sikkim	4384	2880	205	12	19	6	185	128	8	941	968	1.40
India	314156	79670	26502	52334	8024	21709	12389	12701	9180	91644	184680	100.00
% Nepali-born	99.99	25.36	8.44	16.66	2.50	6.91	3.94	4.04	2.92	29.17		100.00
% Indians		52.80	16.72	2.77	6.30	4.23	1.09	4.06	1.60	8.47		98.12

Source: Census of India- 1961, Vol. I, India, Part II C-IV.

Note: I - As Cultivator

II - As agricultural Labourer (working in another person's land)

III- In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities

IV - At household industry

V - In manufacturing other than household industry

VI - In construction, construction and maintenance of buildings, roads, railways, waterways, bridges etc.

working. About 30 per cent of these immigrants were either working as servant particularly in households or as guardsman (category IX).

Altogether 53.01 per cent Nepalese manpower was employed under the four categories (I-IV) which is considered as primary sector and the secondary sector (IV-VIII) provided jobs to 17.81 per cent working immigrants whereas the tertiary one (IX), provided jobs to almost 30 per cent of the immigrants. In this sector, India had only 8.47 per cent working force engaged.

A large number of cultivators were in Assam. It affirms the general understanding that Nepalese had migrated to Assam for land occupation and lived there as cultivators. But, the state of Bihar ranks the first position in providing 13,066 immigrants jobs as agricultural labour. In providing jobs to the immigrants in livestock, forestry and plantation, the three states West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Assam come in order of importance. In mining and quarrying Bihar state provided jobs to 2,943 immigrants. But taking into consideration the large number of immigrants living in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, the per cent it had employed in the 'quarrying and mining', was quite insignificant. Nepalese were employed in

manufacturing industries particularly in the southern states of India. Though West Bengal had employed 5,081 immigrants in industries, compared to its large number of 73,401 working force, that figure is quite insignificant. But Maharashtra on the other hand, had 4,086 persons working as industrial workers out of its total 10,998 workers born in Nepal. In general, it could be said that the states in the south had been the industrial employment centres for Nepalese immigrants. Himachal Pradesh had employed 3,826 persons out of its total 8,946 immigrants, in construction work. Uttar Pradesh also had engaged 4,099 persons in the same occupation. But keeping in view the presence of a large number of Nepalese immigrants there, the proportion engaged in construction was quite insignificant.

In trade and commerce, the immigrants seemed scattered in every state almost in an uniform manner in proportion to their strength in the respective places, except in Assam and Bihar where their employment was of marginal significance.

The employment category that had provided jobs to a large percentage of people was the household works such as, household servant, guardsman and white collar jobs (29.17%). Nepalese immigrants being generally uneducated, the chances of getting white collar jobs

were remote. Their unskilled labour and honesty in nature had often attracted them to be servants, popularly called 'Bahadur'. India had only 8.47 per cent of this kind of manpower which was perhaps insufficient to meet the requirement of household servant in India.

From available data it may be said that, Nepalese immigrants in India were living either as agricultural labourers or as servants (Bahadur) serving in private households. Besides that, the worker to non-worker ratio was less, in places contiguous to Nepal such as Bihar (0.59), Uttar Pradesh (1.54) and West Bengal (2.05). As distance increases, the ratio also is seen to increase significantly except in Himachal Pradesh. Being not very far away from Nepal, though not contiguous, it had a ratio of 11.88 of workers to non-workers. It was so because of the employment of a large number of Nepalese workers in road construction works in areas of higher altitude. Another exception was Manipur which even though being away from Nepal, had a ratio of only 1.55. However, in general, a direct relation between the distance travelled and the workers to non-workers ratio was observed. Long distances were probably travelled because job opportunities were more assured.

Distribution of Nepali-born Population
in Relation to Duration of Stay: 1961

In Table 4.16 the distribution of Nepali-born population in relation to their duration of stay in 1961 has been presented. It will be seen that 82,022

Table 4.16: Distribution of Nepali-born Population
by Duration of Stay, Male and Female
Percentage to the Total Population and
Sex Ratio

Duration of Stay	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Male % to total population	Female % to total population	No. of Males per 100 Females
Less than one year	82,022	65,839	16,183	13.20	3.24	25
1-5 years	1,28,974	83,195	45,779	16.68	9.18	55
6-10 years	76,665	40,916	35,749	8.20	7.17	87
11-15 years	66,263	30,705	32,557	6.76	6.53	97
16+above years	1,32,805	49,345	83,460	9.90	16.73	169
Period not stated	12,105	7,598	4,507	1.52	0.90	59
Total	4,98,826	2,80,599	2,18,235	56.25	43.75	78

Source: Census of India - 1961, vol.I, Part II-C(iii) Migration Table (D-III).

Nepalese were residing in India for less than one year. Of these, 65,839 were males and 16,183 were females. A stay of from one to five years was reported for 1,28,974 Nepalese. Another 76,665 had lived in India from six to



ten years and the 66,263 had also lived from 11 to 15 years. As many as 1,32,805 persons lived for more than sixteen years. A large number of annual migrants (2,10,996) left within five years while those staying longer than five years were life-time migrants.

Female to male ratio varied according to the duration of their stay. Among the immigrants living less than one year, there was male predominance. The female to male ratio was just 1 each to four viz. 25 females for each 100 males. That increased to 55 females for each 100 males among the immigrants living from one to five year, 87 for immigrants staying six to ten years, 97 for immigrants staying 11-15 years. And the highest number of females were in the group of immigrants living over sixteen years. In this group for each 100 males there were 169 females.

Every year 65,839 males and 16,183 females entered India. Approximately 10,000 males and 10,000 females remained permanently. But the interesting thing was that they had not married each other. Rather 3,000 women crossed into Bihar and 1,800 into Uttar Pradesh each year for marriage with Indian grooms. Considering the similarities in language, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Awadhi speaking people in either side of the borders, the movement of brides across the border was quite natural.⁸

8. Myron Weiner, n.6, ch.iv, pp.620-21.

Ethnic Composition of People from
Nepalese Origin:

As it has been stated earlier, the people of Nepalese origin living in India constituted two racial branches or sub-families; the Tibeto-Burman sub-family and the Indo-Aryan branch. People belonging to the former sub-family had started migrating with the growing British interest of recruiting them in their army. Many of them, after retirement, settled in some western areas as Kangra, Kumaun, Garhwal, Bhakshu and Dharmasala. Their original cultural traits underwent change due to fast process of cultural assimilation with the native ones as a consequence of which even their caste names were found changed. Sanskritization process of ascending lower class people to upper class brought about many of these tribal population to a level equivalent to the Kshatriya. The culture of the latter caste overshadowed the farmer's original traits. Due to these reasons, they were not returned in census since the early time of the present century in their original name.

Gorkha settlement which took place under British initiative increased the number of tribal people in many regions of northeastern India from the late seventies of the nineteenth century. Over the years people belonging to different tribes of Nepalese origin were scattered mainly in West Bengal and Sikkim. Only a small number

of them had reached up to Assam area as it is shown in the previous chapter of this study. Such tribal population had dialects (mother tongue) of their own. But in religion, many of them, at their place of origin, had adopted Hinduism and only few had followed Buddhism.⁹ The language that was spoken in their family was abandoned at a fast rate to Nepali language.¹⁰ Illiteracy was the main reason that easily phased their mother tongue out to Nepali. Moreover the declaration in 1905, of Nepali language as the only official language to be used in administration and educational institutions, also brought about many of the people speaking Nepali dialects to Nepali language.¹¹ Apparently such universal use of Nepali language as Lingua Franca helped the Nepalese of Nepal to further their national unity. Outside their country, in India, this was further instrumental in helping them to assert their identity. In 1924 the educated and enthusiastic Nepalese youths of India organized a literary organisation, 'Nepali Sahitya Sammelan'. Its objective was to develop the

9. "The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal", Central Bureau of Statistics his Majesty's Government of Nepal (Kathmandu: 1977), pp.39-40.

10. Ibid., p.40.

11. Ibid., p.46.

Nepali language and unite all its speakers. Consequently the language not only developed, but also got recognition as a regional language of West Bengal. In a few universities such as, Calcutta University, North Bengal University and Allahabad University, Nepali language has been accepted as a language to be taught in course. In Varanasi, the Kashi Viswavidyalaya, has been offering students education up to Ph.D. level in the same language.¹²

Under the rubric of the language, the Nepalese of India (Indian Nepalese) seem to have organized as a potential group of people having capacity of influencing the national politics of India too.

However, the other castes of Nepalese origin belonging to Indo-Aryan branch were not separately reported in India. Firstly, they, being similar to the Hindu caste system of India, were counted together with them except the untouchables Kami, Damai, and Sarki. These untouchables were different in name from the Indian ones, so were put under the Scheduled

12. This was stated by Krishna Sahi (Minister) answering a question of D.K. Bhandari (M.P.) in Lok Sabha, India (April 23, 1987). Quoted from the original copy published in Sankar Dev Dhakal (ed.), Bijuwa (Delhi) 2, year of 1987.

Caste status in 1956 in West Bengal. Their socio-cultural and economic traits are widely studied. Since then these people were counted as Nepali speakers in censuses. However the Mongoloids of Nepalese origin were reported, separately and so were not added with Nepali speakers.

The population of Indian tribes of Nepalese origin in 1951 were quite large in number as shown in Table 4.17. These figures of 1951 were only of the states of West Bengal and Sikkim. But these places being the main centres of these tribal settlements, it could be considered that their population there would represent more or less the whole of India. And the figures of 1961 are for the whole of India. But the reality is that in 1951 the number of tribal population was almost fifteen fold higher as against 1961.

Since the tribal people had induced themselves to be identified as Nepali speakers by abandoning their own languages, a correct number of people having origin in Nepal may be more directly estimated.

The population of tribal people of eleven different tribes were 2,54,319 having 1,30,315 (51.24%) males and 1,24,004 (48.76%) females in 1951 as against the 15,549 persons having 6,808 males and 8,750 females

Table 4.17: Tribal Population of Nepali Origin

S.No.	Tribe	1951 ^a			1961 ^b		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1.	Rai	84177	42915	41262	3313	1339	1974
2.	Tamang	58228	29440	28788	4939	1940	2999
3.	Limbu	35583	16979	18604	5418	2443	2975
4.	Gurung	26556	13782	12774	82	62	20
5.	Mangar	23994	12918	11076	1136	616	520
6.	Newar	19368	10474	8894	284	188	96
7.	Sunwer	5426	3256	2170	297	155	142
8.	Thami	474	278	196	-	-	-
9.	Kagatey	380	162	218	44	44	-
10.	Dhimal	124	102	22	11	9	2
11.	Khambu	5	5	x	25	3	22
	India	254316	130311	124005	15549	6799	8760

Source: Census of India 1951, Vol. VI, West Bengal and Sikkim, Part IC-Report (Calcutta 1953), p. 31; Census of India 1951, Vol. VI, West Bengal and Sikkim, Part II-Tables ; Census of India 1961, Vol. I, India, Part II-C(ii), Language table C-V(E)Table

a - The figure presented is of West Bengal and Sikkim

b - This is whole of India

in the 1961. That means there was a sharp decline of tribal population in India in 1961 as against the number of 1951. The main reason was the abandonment of tribal languages or dialects by its speakers accepting Nepali in their places. As a result, the Nepali speaking population in Bengal increased by 124.43 per cent over the decade 1951-1961. A new sense of belonging to a common place and the Nepali as a common language among the tribes adequately contributed to that sharp fall, by shifting over to Nepali, in their numerical position in India. The three Hindu sub-castes Damai, Kami, and Sarki were put under Scheduled Caste provision and enumerated since 1961 census. According to the 1961 census report, the Damai population was 11,486 (5,610 males and 5,876 females). (Table 4.18) The Kami had the largest number of population (26,148)

Table 4.18: Population of Scheduled by Sex - 1961

	Caste	Total	Male	Female	No. of Females per 100 Males
1.	Damai	11,486	5,610	5,876	105
2.	Kami	26,148	13,165	12,983	99
3.	Sarki	5,232	2,794	2,438	87

Source: Census of India 1961, vol.XVI, West Bengal and Sikkim Part V-A(i) Scheduled Castes (Delhi: 1966).

among the three Scheduled Castes. The Sarki, a cobbler by profession, had its population lowest i.e., 5,232 persons in total. In female to male ratio, there were 105 females for each 100 males in the Damai, 99 females in Kami and 87 females for each 100 males in the Sarki. Damai caste being tialor by profession, its males and females are equally engaged in the said job. So Damai females not being a financial burden to male, often migrated to India. They all were predominantly rural people in settlement. Of the total Damai, Kami and Sarki, 74 per cent, 82 per cent and 78 per cent respectively were rural resident. 37 per cent of the Damai population, 40.78 per cent of Kami and 48 per cent Sarki were workers.¹³

13. Census of India - 1961, vol.XVI, West Bengal and Sikkim Part V-A(1), Tables on Scheduled Castes (Delhi: 1966), p.xxiii.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND
CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The present study has sought to highlight the distribution and growth trend of the Nepalese immigrants categorised in four different groups as classified under the different Indian censuses, viz. (i) India resident Nepalese nationals, (ii) Nepali-born immigrants, (iii) Nepali speaking population and (iv) tribals of Nepalese origin.

Trends in Immigration:

The first migration stream started with the British Gorkha recruitment policy. The retired Gorkha ex-servicemen were subsequently offered agricultural land for settlement. This helped to generate the next stream of agricultural migrants who were relatives of those already settled. In overall picture, the number of immigrants categorised in all the groups increased unabatedly right from the year 1881. The number of Nepali-born immigrants was the highest among the persons of each group from 1881 till 1921. But in 1931, the Nepali speaking population outnumbered the Nepali-born immigrants. Nevertheless the Nepali-born immigrants went on increasing its number at a modest rate.

The India resident Nepalese nationals, included the census of 1951, also increased in number over the

decade 1951-61. There are many tribes whose origin may be traced in Nepal. A tribe was recorded for the first time in 1872. Since then they had been returned regularly in every decennial census. The number of tribal population also increased continuously upto 1951. But their numbers declined markedly almost fifteen fold in 1961 mainly owing to a shift of their loyalty over to Nepali language. After that they were counted in the group of Nepali speakers which increased conspicuously in the same year. It seems that among the people of Nepalese origin there has developed a common interest of adopting Nepali language as a bond for their wider unity and a means of attaining their common politico-cultural identity.

In general the distance and the number of immigrants are observed to be related to each other in an inversely proportional manner.

Spatial Distribution:

With respect to the spatial distribution of the immigrants, the trend shows that the migration flow, as a whole, was largely concentrated in the north and northeastern districts of India. Until 1950, over 90 per cent of the total population of each group had settled in the five states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar,

West Bengal, Assam and Sikkim. Only a few per cent of the immigrants had chosen new destination as an alternative to those five states stated above. In fact, that small per cent of immigrants were spread all over the states and Union territories of India except Laccadive island. Even in Andaman and Nicobar island, there were people of Nepalese origin living for quite a long time and were returned frequently in decennial censuses. However, over the decade following 1951, some diversification of spatial distribution in the settlement of immigrants was witnessed in each group of the migrants. The India resident Nepali nationals were more diversified in their settlement which was followed by Nepali-born population. But the Nepali speakers had always reflected their strong preference for the aforesaid five states to be the place for their settlement.

The tribal people of Nepalese origin were almost totally concentrated in the states of West Bengal, Sikkim and Assam in order of their importance. Differences in the degree of spatial diversification was mainly due to the nature and level of awareness of the migrants in each group. The group of Indian resident Nepalese nationals constituted mainly the student community, engaged in studies; opposition political activities of Nepal living self existed in India;

businessmen and some others who realised the importance of nationality of the country of his or her origin. Naturally for such self conscious persons destination is determined according to their perception towards place and the need they have. Accordingly, they were relatively more dispersed unlike the Nepali speaking people who preferred to confine their settlement in the five usual states.

The second, relatively more dispersed group was of the Nepali-born people, 90 per cent and 84 per cent of whom were confined only on the five states in 1951 and 1961 respectively. These migrants being innovative in nature and seasonal in their work and stay, chose places for employment regardless of distance and other intervening factors which were not of an acute nature. In general however, the decade 1951-1961 witnessed a diversification of all kinds of Nepalese immigrants in India. The per cent of immigrants that were confined in the five states declined though modestly, and just a reverse trend was witnessed in rest of the states and Union territories of India.

It should be noted that female migrants were more highly concentrated in the five states, particularly those bordering Nepal (e.g. Bihar, U.P.). Even though some spatial diversification among female Nepalese

immigrants may be witnessed over the period 1951-1961, such diversification was even more modest than male diversification.

Sex Ratio:

The trend of female to male ratio of Nepali-born migrants over 70 year period (1881-1951) was in its downward trend recording 79 females for each 100 males in 1881 to 65 females to the same number of males in 1951. It shows that the migrants were getting more seasonal in their jobs and residence. So they wanted their family to stay at home. But that ratio unexpectedly mounted to 78 females per 100 males in 1961. It was mainly because of a large number of female migration to the state of Bihar from just across the border from where every year women are married with the male of India.

Among Nepali speakers, the female to male ratio has been increasing continuously. As it is known, Nepali language is spoken mainly in those places where Nepalese lived in cluster. Such people live mainly with their family. So it is natural to have high ratio of female to male population in a well established settled society.

Every year 82,022 Nepali-born people migrated to India in which 80 per cent of males and 20 per cent females. Of them 10,000 migrants both males and females lived permanently in India. And the remaining 62,022 immigrants left India after having lived from one to five years period. Among the migrants living 16 years or above, the female to male ratio was significantly high. A direct proportional relation may be noticed between the ratio of female to male of Nepali-born migrants and the number of years they lived in India. Thus, the number of female population is higher among these Nepali-born immigrants who lived for longer period.

Rural-Urban Settlement:

In the distribution of rural and urban settlement of the Nepali-born immigrants, there were about 70 per cent rural and 30 per cent urban settlers. 90 per cent of the total rural and 70 per cent of the total urban population were hosted by the same five states. The remaining per cent of rural and urban population were scattered all over India. Even then the remaining rural population was more or less confined to the states located mainly around the main five states. But the states in the south had more immigrants in urban centres than in rural areas. So it has been

revealed that the urban centres of south India attracted relatively more immigrants whereas the north is primarily rural for the immigrants.

With the rapid pace of growth of the service sector in the Indian economy, Urban centres are gradually becoming more effective in providing immigrants with employment as compared to agricultural lands earlier.

In the total rural population the female to male ratio was more balanced. But in the case of urban population the female to male ratio was about one each to three. Females thus had a rural bias. This is because, females by nature are immobile and hence migrate to the close by areas. In India most areas bordering Nepal are rural in nature. So the females willingly or unwillingly get settled in these areas.

Occupational Distribution:

In labour force, over 60 per cent of the total Nepali-born immigrants were engaged in work. In primary sector over half of the total Nepalese working force was employed as against three-fourths in India in 1961. 17.81 per cent of the total Nepalese working force was engaged in secondary (industrial) sector. And in the tertiary sector almost 30 per cent of the Nepalese working manpower was engaged. In India,

there was 10.98 per cent of manpower engaged in secondary and 8.47 per cent in tertiary sectors. The Nepali-born immigrants had contributed their strength more to the service sector employed as "Bahadur", or guardsmen in private as well as official houses and buildings. The per cent of Nepalese manpower engaged in primary sector was almost equal to the total manpower employed in secondary and tertiary sectors. The ratio of the same manpower in India was three-fourths in the primary sector and one-fourth in combined secondary and tertiary sectors.

It is important to note that almost all of the male Nepalese immigrants in India joined the labour force. The non-workers were either retired, ill, unemployed or too young to work. About 83 per cent of the total males of the immigrants were employed as against only 57 per cent working force for the total male population in India. Even the percentage of Nepali-born female employed (36%) is higher than that of India (26%). The ratio of workers to non-workers among the immigrants thus was very high compared to that of India. In totality, the immigrants could be characterised as muscular power, catering to the needs of an expanding economy.

Factors Inducing Migration:

As noted earlier, the factors associated with migration are (i) area of origin (push factors), (ii) area of destination (pull factors), (iii) intervening obstacles, and (iv) personal factors.

Push Factors:

A large proportion of Nepal's geographical area is uncultivable. No more than one-fifth of the country's land area is arable. In relation to population pressure the man-arable land ratio is quite unfavourable.

Superimposed on the natural land deficiency problem is the skewed pattern of land distribution. In 1961 whereas only 0.6 per cent of the households occupied as much as 15 per cent of the total cultivable land, as many as 53 per cent of the total households accounted for merely 10.5 per cent of the total. Thus an overwhelming number of people hold only a marginal amount of land in their possession. A large majority of the cultivators are landless labourers working as wage labourers or on a sharecropping basis. A sharecropper is required to part with as much as two-thirds of his produce to the landlord. Out of his meagre share he is required in addition, to pay several kinds of direct and indirect taxes in the form of free labour, cash

and seasonal fruits to the family of landlords.

In general the pace of Nepal's economic growth has failed to keep pace with population growth or to provide adequate employment opportunities to the growing labour force. \) In addition frequent natural calamities such as floods have only added to the problem. The primacy of economic factors in explaining Nepalese migration to India points to the relevance of economic models on migration in this context.

While accepting the primacy of economic factors in inducing Nepalese migration, one cannot overlook the importance of socio-political factors. Oppressive taxation and legislative enactments have added to the exodus. Dissenting political opponents of the prevailing regime have often had to cross the border of Nepal to seek to refuge in India. In addition alleged social evils such as inter-caste marriage, violation of religious rituals etc. caused migrants to escape the possible punitive action against them.

Pull Factors:

The Gorkha recruitment policy of the rulers in India has been the major pull factor. A more favourable man-land ratio prevailing in India, particularly in Assam and U.P. attracted the Nepalese migrants to

move from high density areas in their homeland to low density areas in states bordering Nepal. Basically the availability of productive land in India had attracted economically down trodden people of Nepal. The sloping uncultivated land of Sikkim attracted many Nepalese there. Besides the British interest of diluting the Tibeto-Buddhist culture in Sikkim by inducing the Hindu Nepalese eventually brought Sikkim under the colonization of Nepalese both culturally and numerically.

The state of Assam was another part of India which attracted Nepalese for cultivation in the virgin valley of Brahmaputra. Together with that Nepalese found the huge wild forest in that region as an important area for cattle farming with the objective of producing dairy products.

Tea plantation brought about a flow of Nepalese labourers all over the tea garden of Darjeeling district right from the very early period.

Since, the man-land ratio increased, ^{with} the flow of migration particularly in Assam area, the new migrants are being increasingly attracted by urban centres which are rapidly expanding.

Religious centres, educational institutions are the other areas of attraction where many immigrants came every year. Quite a number of them stay even for a long time as life-time migrants particularly in religious centres such as Varanasi, Brindaban etc.

An open political environment of India has always provided a sanctuary for all academic and political dissidents to the establishment in Nepal.

As an open sanctuary India is being used by the law violating persons of Nepal.

Intervening Factors:

In the context of Nepalese migration to India no rules and regulations are ever made which could prevent the open flow of people from either country. Even the treaties launched at different times between Nepal and India, have rather intensified the flow of migration. In the post independent period a few intervening factors are surfacing due to the political awareness of the native people who wish to preserve their socio-cultural traits. However these resistances are yet of a sentimental nature confined in particular areas. Even though no legal obstacles have yet been enforced to check the flow of immigration, the sentimental factors are likely to play more positive role in stemming the flow of immigration in the years ahead.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES:

Census of India - 1881, Statistics of Population,
vol.II (Calcutta: 1883).

_____ 1891, Part I, General Report, (London:
1893).

Census of Assam 1901: vol.I, Report first printed in
1902 (Delhi: 1984, second reprint).

Census of India 1921, vol.III, Assam Part one (Shillong:
1923).

_____ 1931, vol.5 (Bengal, Sikkim), Part I.

Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling (Bengal: 1947).

Census of India, - 1951, vol.VI, West Bengal, Sikkim
and Chandernagare, Part IA - Report
(Calcutta: 1953).

_____ 1951, vol.VI, West Bengal and Sikkim,
Part IC - Report (Calcutta: 1953).

_____ 1951, vol:VI, West Bengal and Sikkim,
Part II - Tables.

_____ 1961, vol.I, Part II A(i), General Popula-
tion Table.

_____ 1961, vol.XVI, West Bengal and Sikkim,
Part V-A(i), Table on Scheduled
Caste (Delhi: 1966).

_____ 1961, vol.I, India, Part II-C(iv), Migration
Table.

_____ 1961, vol.I, India Part II-C(ii), Language
Table C-V(E) Tables.

_____ 1961, vol.I, India, Part II-C(ii) Language
Table (Delhi: 1963), p.xiii.

- _____ 1971, Provisional Population Table (New Delhi: 1971).
- _____ 1971, Part II-D(ii), Table (D-V) to (D-VI), Migration Table (Delhi: 1973).
- _____ 1971, Migration Table, Part II-D(ii), Table D-V to D-VI, in general.
- The Assam Revenue Manual, vol.I, CLXII-I, C.R. . December 1935, No.1951-8.
- Encyclopaedia Americana, vol.19, 1983.
- His Majesty's Government of Nepal, The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal (Central Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu, 1977).
- _____, "Nepal Tourism Master Plan" (printed by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Kathmandu, 1972).
- _____, "A Socio-economic bench mark study of the area around the Prithivi Highway" (Economic Analysis Division, Kathmandu, 1979).
- "Inter-Regional Migration in Nepal: Problem and Prospects", a report submitted to His Majesty's Government, National Commission on Population (Nepal, 1984),
- Sikkim Coronation, published by the Coronation Souvenir Book Committee, Gangtok (Sikkim: n.d.).

II. SECONDARY SOURCES:

Books:

- Aryal, I.A. and Ghungel, T.P., A new History of Nepal (Kathmandu: 1975).
- Ahmed, Neelufar, Migration from Eastern Bengal to Assam (Unpublished Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, CSRD, New Delhi, 1979).

- Bishop, R.N.U., Unknown Nepal (London: 1952).
- Blaikie, P. et. al., Nepal in Crisis: Growth & Stagnation at the Periphery (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Caplan, A.P., Priests and Cobblers: A Study of Social Change in a Hindu Village in Western Nepal (Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1972).
- Chaudhuri, T.K., Demographic Trend in Assam (Delhi: 1982).
- Coale, A.J. and Hoover, E.M., Population Growth and Economic Development in Low Income Countries (Princeton University Press, 1958).
- Davis, Kingsley, The Population of India and Pakistan (USA, New Jersey, 1951).
- Delf, George, Asians in East Africa (London: 1963), P.II.
- de Silva, S.B.D., The Political Economy of Underdevelopment (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982).
- Eisenstadt, S.N., The Absorption of Immigrants (London: 1954).
- George, M.V., International Migration in Assam and Bengal 1901-61 (Australia: Australia National University, 1965).
- Ghosal, Samit, "A Transitional Tribe of Sikkim with Peasant Life-style and Mode of Production" in S.B. Chakrabarti, B.R. Ghosh et. al. (ed.), Agrarian Situation in India (Calcutta: 1985), vol.I.
- Goldschuder, Calvin, Population Modernization and Social Structure (Berkeley: 1971).
- Goswami, Homeswar, Population Trends in the Brahmaputra Valley (Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1985).

- Hunter, W.W., The Imperial Gazetteer of India (London: Trubnee and Co., 1981).
- Husain, Asad, British India relation with the Kingdom of Nepal: 1857-1947 (London: 1970).
- Jackson, J.A. (ed.), Migration (Great Britain, 1969), Sociological Study 2.
- Khadka, R.B., Emigration in Nepal (A Micro level study of Bayalpata village Panchayat, Achham (Tribhuvan University Kathmandu, 1979).
- Kohil, Manorama, India and Bhutan: A study in Inter-relations 1772-1910 (New Delhi:1982).
- Kotkuran, George, The Himalayan Gateway (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1983).
- Lall, J.S. (ed.), The Himalayan Aspects of Change (Delhi: 1981).
- London, Perceval, Nepal (London: 1928), vol.I, p.141.
- Majumdar, Kanchanmoy, Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the Ninteenth century (Calcutta: 1973).
- _____, Political Relations between India and Nepal: 1077-1923 (Delhi: 1971).
- Murty, T.S., Assam The Difficult Years: A study of Political Developments in 1979-83 (New Delhi: 1983).
- Natarajan, P., Indian Census Through a Hundred Years (New Delhi: 1972).
- Northey, W.Brook and Morris, C.J., The Gurkhas (Delhi: 1974).
- O, H.M.S., Nepal and the Gurkhas (London: 1965).
- Premi, M.K. et. al., An Introduction to Social Demography (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983).
- _____, Urban Out-migration: A Study of its Causes and Consequences (New Delhi: Sterling Publication, 1980).

- Rajkumar, N.V., Indians outside India: A General Survey (Madras: Commercial Printing and Publishing House, 1951).
- Rana, Netra Rajya Luxmi, The Anglo-Gorkha War (1814-1816) (Kathmandu: 1970).
- Ray, Sunanda K. Datta, Smash and Grab: Annexation of Sikkim (Delhi: 1984).
- Regmi, D.R., Century of Family Autocracy in Nepal (Varanasi: 1950).
- Rose, Leo E., et. al., Democratic Innovation in Nepal (Berkeley, USA: 1964).
- Sarkar, R.L. and et. al. (eds.), Tea Plantation Workers in the Western Himalayas - A study on Wages, Employment and Living standards (Delhi: 1985). Ashra Ram and Sang,
- Sen, Johar, Indo-Nepal Trade: in the nineteenth century (Calcutta: 1977).
- Sharma, Balchandra, Nepal Ko Aitihashik Rup-Rekha (A Historical Glimpse of Nepal), (Varanasi: 2011 B.S.).
- Taft, D. and Robbins, R., International Migration (New York: Ronald, 1955).
- Thomas, Brinley (ed.), Economics of International Migration (London: Macmillan, 1958).
- _____, International Migration and Economic Development: A Trend Report and Bibliography (Paris, UNESCO: 1961).
- Turadle, Michael, Expulsion of a Minority (London: Commonwealth Studies, 1975).
- Weiner, Myron, Sons of the Soil (Delhi: 1978).
- Williams, L.F. Rushbrook, India in the Years: 1917-1918 (Calcutta: 1919). This was a report prepared to present in the Parliament.
- Zaman, M.A., Evaluation of Land Reform in Nepal (Nepal: Ministry of Land Reform, His Majesty's Government, 1973).

Zachariah, K.C., A Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Sub-Continent 1901-1931, Research Monograph No. 1, Demographic Training and Research Centre, Bombay (1964).

_____, International Migration in India 1941-51 (Demographic Training and Research Centre, Bombay, Mimeo., 1971).

Periodicals:

Acharya, Jagannath, "Nepalko Sandharvama Samajbad", Tarun, no. 2 (Varanasi: 1977).

Agrawal, S.N., "Method for Estimating Decade of Internal Migration in Cities from Indian Census Data", Indian Economic Review, 4 (1), Feb. 1958.

Bagai, S.B., "Trends in Rural-Urban Migration in India, 1901-51", Indian Economic Journal, 1956, Conference No. 15-29.

Bose, Ashish, "International Migration in India, Pakistan and Ceylon" Papers by Indian authors to the World Population Conference, Belgrade, Geographical Review of India (New Delhi: 1965).

Clark, W.A.V., "Human Migration", Scientific Geography Series (Beverly Hill, Ca: Saga Publications, 1986), vol. 7.

David, Abraham and Huang CHing-Ju, "Population theory and the concept of Optimum Population", Socio-Economic Planning Sciences (Great Britain: Pergams Press, 1969), vol. 3.

Furadi, F., "The Development of Anti-Asian opinion among Africans in Nakuru District, Kenya", African Affairs (London), vol. 73, no. 292.

Gail, E.A., "Population", The Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. III.

- Gill, Mehar Singh & Singh, Mohan, "Migration to Indian City", Asian Profile (Hongkong), vol.14, No.3, June 1986.
- Gaur, R.S. & Nepal, G.S., "Causes and Consequences of Rural Immigration in East Uttar Pradesh", Social Research (Journal), vol.1, 1962, pp.143-54.
- Gupta, Anirudha, "The Asians in East Africa: Problems and Prospects", International Studies (Bombay), vol.10, No.3, January.
- Joshi, Tulasi R., "Urbanization in Nepal", Demography India, vol.III, No.2, Dec. 1974.
- Kanshakar, Vidyavir Singh, "History of Population Migration in Nepal", The Himalayan Review (Nepal Geographical Society), vol.VI, no.5&6, 1973-74.
- Lee, E.S., "A theory of Migration", Demography 13, 1961.
- Mukherji, Sekhar, "Was there Significant Migration to Eastern India During 1971-81?" Economic and Political Weekly, vol.17, 1982.
- Nepali, Chitta Ranjan, "Nepal ra British Gurkha Rifle", Ruprekha (Kathmandu: Sept. 1964), vol.4.
- Nirmala Das, "The Nepalese of Northeast India and Their Politics", IDSJ Journal (Delhi), n.3, January-March 1983.
- Pradhan, Kumar, Pahilo Prahar (first phase) (India: Shyam Prakashan, Darjeeling, 1982).
- Rose, Arnold, "Distance of Migration and Socio-economic Status of Migrants", American Sociological Review, vol.23, No.1, Feb. 1958.
- Sharma, Nandra R., "The Political Economy of Economic Underdevelopment and international Migration in Nepal", Political Geography Quarterly, vol.4, No.4, Oct. 1985.

Singer, Paul, "International Migration and Development",
Demography India, vol.3, 1973.

Stouffer, Samuel A., "Intervening opportunities: A
Theory Relating to Mobility and
Distance", American Sociological
Review (USA), vol.6, Dec. 1940.

Weiner, Myron, "Assam and its Migrants", Demography
India, vol.2, 1973.

_____, "Political Demography of Nepal", Asian
Survey (California, Berkeley),
vol.XIII, N.6, June 1973.

Newspapers:

Indian Express (Delhi).

India Today.

Janajagriti Sapatahik (Kathmandu, Nepal).

Navabharat Times (Delhi).