

Chapter Seven

Impact of Nepali migration

International migration has its impacts on the host country as well as on the country of origin. Generally people migrate from their place of origin to other destinations with some economic, social, political, religion hopes. Such migration sometimes benefits them and sometime it becomes the cause of misery. Usually migration benefits the household of migrants with the remittance flow. It also helps to develop the overall economy of their native place as well as the country. Migration also benefits the place of destination. To a large extent economic development of the place depends on the migrant communities, sometimes at the great cost of them. Impact of migration is also significant on the culture, economy, administration, religion and politics of the region. Impacts of Nepali migration in both the host and the destination are not different. With the penetration of colonialism in Asia, political and economic dependency of Nepal on British power was largely witnessed. Even Colonial economy of India was boosted up with the introduction of new commercial corps, infrastructural development in road, railways and other sectors, emergence of military cantonment, commercial hubs, establishment of sanatorium and urban centres by the colonial power. With the emergence of new economy in India opportunity was opened for the citizens of Nepal. Nepalis primarily as soldiers and labourers started to come to India and established their settlements in various parts of Northeast and Eastern India. Nepali migration and settlement in India has its significant impact in host society, politics and economy and as well as in the country of origin. Economically Nepal has been benefited by the migration. But large scale male emigration affected adversely the supply of military power in Royal Nepal Military Force and also manpower to rural agricultural sector. Flow of young migrants from the country has become the cause of misery of the older people. Migration of male persons has improved the capacity of female member to hold the rural economy of the country. On other hand, migration of Nepalis and their settlement in India has its significant impact on Indian society, politics, economy, ethnic relations and other ambits. Nepali migration have changed the demographic conditions of various places of India e.g Sikkim. The process of acculturation has also taken place in Indian society. For the first time Nepali

people outside their motherland identified themselves as Nepalis. Identity consciousness among the Nepali migrants in India clashed with the ethnic identity of indigenous people. As a result there were political violence, displacement and eviction against the Nepalis. Rise of separate identity among the Nepalis has made them demand a separate state in Indian union. Thus Nepali migration has its impact on India as well as in Nepal, which is discussed bellow.

Impact of Migration in host country:

Demographic Impact:

Nepali migration has its impact on the demography of the specific belt of Eastern and Northeastern India. British Colonial policy encouraged Nepali migration into India and with the help of British power a number of Nepali settlements were established in and around of the British administration centres and military headquarters. Settlement was established in the hills of Shillong, Darjeeling, Kohima, Imphal, Tura, Aizawl and in other towns where British Army was stationed. Gorkha ex-soldiers after their retirement also settled around those places. British Colonial Power encouraged the Gorkha ex-soldiers to settle down in the forest fringe areas, foothills and in other strategic points of the frontiers. Throughout the region Nepali settlement was established in the certain compact pockets. The land which was not inhabited earlier was gradually filled up by the Nepali immigrants. Immigrants started their irrigation, grazing and other activities in the places where they settled. Gradually the infrastructure of the place started to change. Many Nepali *Mouzadar* was appointed to collect the tax from the graziers and the settlers of the place. The *Mouzadar* also encouraged new settlers in the place for their benefit of tax collection. Nepalis who were in poverty and misery in their country came to India and settled in those specific places. Nepali settlers in the various locations of Eastern and Northeastern India encouraged Nepali newcomers. The areas where Nepalis settled gradually became over crowded. Nepalis in various locations have become predominant in course of time and the demography of the place has changed. In various locations Nepalis have become majority and local ethnic people have become minority. Thus the demography of the place has changed. Sikkim, which was said to have been the place of the Lepcha people, became predominantly the land of the Nepalis in the late nineteenth or twentieth century. Now-a-day majority of the resident of Sikkim are

Nepalis. There are many pockets in West Bengal where the Nepali people are in majority. Mostly Darjeeling and many areas of Jalpaiguri district are Nepali majority areas at present. Even the town Siliguri which has emerged as commercial hub in North Bengal is preferable destination of Nepalis today. Nepalis from various corners of the Northeast prefer to migrate to Siliguri for better facilities and security purpose. Nepalis are in majority in different areas of Tinsukia, North Cachar Hills, Sonitpur, Karbi Anglong district of Assam now. In Arunachal Pradesh, the districts like Lohit, Dibang Valley, Upper Siang have Nepali settlements. In various corners of those district Nepalis are in majority and have changed the demography of the place. Similarly in Meghalaya in Nongpoh, Bhoi area, Myllem, Shillong U.A., Shillong Municipality, Shillong Cantonment, Mawshynrut, Rongram are the major Nepali concentration areas. In Mizoram there are many places where Nepalis have settled predominantly and changed the demography of the place. In state headquarter Aizawl Nepalis have settled mainly in Zotlang, Zemabawk, Bawngkawn, Khatla lane and Venghlu. Besides Aizawl, Bawngkawn, Kolasib are also the place where Nepalis have settled in a significant number. The state Nagaland and Tripura are not largely populated with Nepalis. There are Nepali settlements in Mon district, Tuensang, Mokokchung and other places. Though in various areas of Northeast India Nepalis are facing problem or the ethnic disturbance but there are areas where they are in majority and almost has transformed the demography and ethnic composition of the places.

Process of Acculturation:

Acculturation is the process whereby the culture and custom of a person or a group of people change due to regular interaction with other cultural groups. Acculturation could take place when people want to change their culture and customs and prefer to adopt the new culture. When a small cultural group comes in contact with a great cultural group acculturation usually takes place among the small groups of people. Even after coexistence of different groups of culture great cultural tradition also adopt new cultural thought from small cultural groups. Co-existence of Nepali migrant community with local inhabitants in the Eastern and Northeastern parts of India for a long time paved the way of acculturation among them. As the Nepali migrant communities are smaller groups they have adopted various customs and culture of the host society. Northeast India is a place where numbers of

cultural groups exists. People of Nepal have settled themselves in various cultural belt of the Northeast India and adopted different cultures maintaining their own cultural belief. Nepalis are not homogeneous in Nepal but as a migrant population in India are maintaining homogeneity and has adopted different cultural traditions according to the needs of the place. In Assam they have represented themselves as Assamese; in Nagaland they have adopted Naga language and culture. Similarly, in Manipur they have adopted Manipuri traditions and so on. Assimilation of Nepalis in Northeast India sometimes are so successful that Nepalis have lost their own cultural identity. They not only have matrimonial relations with local tribes but also embraced the local ethnic languages. Dr. T.B. Subba mentioned that in some places of Assam Nepalis have rejected their forefather's surname and adopted Assamese surname. Even in Meghalaya, children of Nepali father and tribal mother have received the maternal surname. There are many Nepalis in India who cannot even understand or speak Nepali language. Very often adults of the family hesitate to reveal their Nepali identity.¹ It is truly said that Northeastern states is a 'melting pot' where Nepalis have assimilated themselves. Political movements against them has played a great role for the process of acculturation of Nepalis. Sometimes because of political fear and sometimes for their own willingness Nepalis living in Northeast have assimilated in Northeastern society.

Identity conciseness and Search for Indian Identity:

Establishment of Nepali identity is a recent phenomenon. After the unification of the country Nepal emerged as a nation state. But Nepali as unique identity was not established before the twentieth century. Various Nepali ethnic groups till that time were identified as separate entities but not as Nepalis. They were more identified as Kirats, Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Brahmans, Chettri etc. then as unified Nepali. Even when they started to migrate to India they were more recognized as Gorkha or non-Gorkha race rather than Nepalis. Formerly, they used to speak in different dialects but not in one unique Nepali language. Gradually Nepali groups like Newar, Magar, Limbu, Tamang Sherpa, Rai, Gurung, Sunawar and others lost their own dialects and started to use one Nepali language outside their country and became a more homogenous Nepali community. Nepali migrant communities have settled themselves in different parts of India and after staying a long

¹ Subba, T.B., May/June 1922, To Be or Not To Be Nepali: Blurry definitions needlessly target the Nepalis of India Terminology must come to the rescue, *Himal*, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 30.

period in different areas of India they have adopted the culture and custom of the places and their Nepali identity has fallen into crises. But identity consciousness emerged among them in India in twentieth century when they have encountered the questions of citizenship i.e. whether they have come from Nepal or they are the citizens of Nepal. Thus question seriously embarrasses the Nepalis who are born in India and even their parents or grandparents were born in India. Here the identity question has emerged among Indian Nepalis. Practically Nepalis are struggling for recognition as Indian citizens. It is to say that Nepalis living in India are of two categories, i.e. Nepalis of Indian citizenship and Nepalis who are citizens of Nepal but temporarily living in India. It is also argued that there is another section of Nepalis who are enjoying both Indian and Nepali citizenship. A good number of Nepalis on regular basis move across the Indo-Nepal border. For many general people of Nepal, India is not a foreign Nation. People of both the countries can cross the border freely, acquire property, may engage in job, and do other works freely. Passport or visa is not require to cross the border. So it is difficult to make a clear distinction among the second or third generation people of early Nepali migrants with recent migrants residing in India. Thus the belief has generated among one section of people that all Nepalis living in India are foreigners.

There is a linkage between the Nepalis of India and Nepal in cultural, historical, geographical, political and linguistic aspects but it cannot be true that all the Nepalis living in India are migrant people from Nepal. Such wrong understanding among the groups of general people regarding Indian Nepalis has created problem. In pre-colonial period present boundary of Nepal and India was overlapping in some places and movement from Nepal to India was quite natural and was not seen as migration of foreigners. But in the colonial period when the British promoted migration of Nepalis to India it was a migration of foreigners to India. Common perception among the Europeans and people of India was that Nepalis are foreigners. British authorities also levied foreigner's tax on them. But fear of eviction among the Nepalis was not there. Even British helped them to settle in the specific places of India understanding the needs of time. Though, sporadic clashes because of conflicting interest between Nepalis and indigenous people like Khasis, Nagas were mentioned in the British official records no largescale confrontation was reported. But in the

recent days after independence of India and establishment of it as nation of diversified population, foreigner tag has not gone from Nepalis living in the country. On the other hand, discontent among the general people was that Nepalis acted as agent of British Colonial power to suppress the Indian Independence Movement. As Gorkha army on various occasions participated in the suppression of Independence Movements for British colonial power various political parties of India have not been much sympathetic to them. A popular saying against the Gorkhas in nineteenth and early twentieth century in Bengal was: *Hindustan for the Hindus, Pakistan for the Muslims and Kabaristan (graveyard) for the Gorkhas.*² it was due to the role of the Gorkhas in British army in suppressing Indian national movements. Even increasing population, pressure on resource sharing has aggravated the conflicts of interest among the inhabitant. Many Nepalis are being treated as foreigner by some groups of people and fear of eviction among them has created a volatile situation.

Gradually identity consciousness has emerged among some politically concerned Nepalis of Darjeeling, Benaras and other areas. Realization has come about their poor status, political, social, linguistics inferiority, and joblessness among young Indian Nepalis. They have become aware of the feeling of otherness to Nepalis in Indian society because of their involvement in low grade jobs, poor political and bureaucratic participation. Urge for social, political and linguistic rights have stirred the movement among Nepalis living in India. B. C. Uprety has argued that Nepali retired army personnel have emerged as Indian Nepali intelligentsia. Those intellectuals have worked for the upliftment of Nepali society. Benaras based intellectuals had started to publish first newspaper in Nepali language in 1907. In their writing they accused the King of Nepal, Chandra Shumsher for not taking any development measure in the country. Growthless economy had adversely affected Nepal. In that desperate economic situation Nepalis emigrated from Nepal and took shelter in India.³ Intellectual movements lead to ethnic consciousness among the Nepalis. Needs of establishment of political institutions to maintain unity among the Nepalis was realized. Awareness of Nepali identity and nationalism among them in India has been generated through various literary

² Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *Migration, Security and Livelihoods: A case of Migration between Nepal & India*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies, Nepal, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.* p. 71.

writing and with use of one Nepali elite speech as literary language. Writing on legendary Gorkhas has come up. Literary work on past heritage has brought about the feeling of unity among the Nepalis residing in India. Thus spread of education and progress of one and unique Nepali or Gorkha language helped the nationality or *jati* formation among Nepalis in India. Kumar Pradhan has argued that Nepali language in India especially in Darjeeling helped to integrate various Nepali ethnic groups. He mentions: “*It will not be amiss to mention that in India the Nepali language has helped to bring about a closer integration of the Kirats, Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Brahmans, Chettris and others. The Nepali language is spoken there as the first language or the mother tongue*”⁴ Recognition of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution has also worked for Nepali unity. Thus language identity outside Nepal helped them to unify as Nepali people. Indian Nepalis to protect their identity in India have demanded the closure of the open border. Issue of separate identity card or work permit has been in demand for present day migrant Nepalis who are coming from Nepal to India for work.

Formation of Organizations and Course of Political Movement for Separate Land:

Movement for separate entity for the Gorkhas is a saga of hundred years. Indian Nepalis since twentieth century started to float various organizations to safeguard their interest. Various institutions and organizations were founded. One of the important organizations set up by the migrant Nepalis in India was ‘All India Nepali Unity Society’ (AINUS). AINUS emerged soon as a largest organization. Unity Society effectively put their pressure on Indian bureaucracy to ensure social justice to the migrants. The organization also demanded protection of the migrant communities from Nepal. Other strong political organization established by the Indian Nepalis was ‘*Akhil Bharat Prabasi Nepali Kalyankari Sangh*’ or ‘All India Emigrant Nepali Welfare Association’. ‘*Akhil Bharat Prabasi Nepali Kalyankari Sangh*’ was formed in the year of 1959 by D. Ale, an associate of Comrade Pushpa Lal.⁵ This organization mainly concentrated their activities in Uttar Pradesh and Calcutta. The other association which became very prominent at that period was ‘Emigrant Nepali Association’ (ENA). Membership of this association was given mainly to the Nepalis from Nepal. The organization largely participated in cultural activities,

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 58.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 73.

responded to illegal police action to the Nepalis, solved various disputes associated with Nepalis, fought against employers who harassed Nepalis; compensated the needy people, provided help to the pilgrims and preformed other social activities.⁶ Another important organization was 'Napali Samparka Samiti' (NSS). The activity of NSS was largely concentrated in the cities. Thus, at the ground level many organizations worked for political development of Nepalis living in India and have created a base for strong political movement.

In course of political movements demand for separation got momentum. Not only Indian Nepalis but Nepali rulers of Nepal also demanded for the separation of Nepalis living in India. Significant attempt had been taken in this regard by 'Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana' in the year of 1907. He went to London, met British authority and demanded the creation of a separate state with Darjeeling and Dooars of Bengal.⁷ His objective was to create a buffer between India and Nepal for political reasons. More importantly he wanted to isolate the migrant tea garden Nepali labourers residing in Darjeeling and Dooars from the people of Bengal. He did it because there was a danger of Nepalis in those places being enlightened by Bengali intellectuals and of instigating their counterparts in Nepal for the propagation of the spirit of rebellion against Rana oligarchy. It is to say here that the period 1905-07 was the period of spirit of nationalism in the name of *Swadeshi* Movement in Bengal. This effort did not materialize. Afterwards joint forum of European Association and Planter's Association demanded for a separate state in Darjeeling. From the year 1917 onwards, organization namely **Hillman's Association** created by Ex-army officers and other people urged for separate state in Darjeeling and in the year of 1917, 1930 and in 1934 submitted memorandums in this connection.⁸ In their memorandum of 1917 they stated "*...For the great mass of our population are Mongolian and akin to the peoples beyond the Himalayas rather than those of India...*" They also demanded a separate state in their memoranda of 25th October 1930. In which they stated "*...These are minimum requirements for the preservation of the Gorkhas as a nation within British India and Gorkhas most emphatically urge that in view of their past service and sacrifice for the Empire this request*

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 73.

⁷ Kar, D.P., 2009, *Gorkhaland Movement a Clandestine Invasion*, Janachetana, p. 44.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 44.

should be granted by parliament and thus earn the eternal gratitude of the comrades in arm”

⁹ Such appeal by a section of people was in their own interest. Hillman Association demanded separation but did not say about the misery of the Nepali plantation labourers in the Darjeeling hills. Rather they wanted to protect their interest in tea business snapping the political link of Bengal. Similarly a political outfit a section of people under the name of ‘All India Gorkha League’ (A.I.G.L.), which was formed in the year of 1923 in Dehradun also demanded a separate state for Darjeeling outside Indian Territory in the year of 1934.¹⁰ Even in 1946 Sikkim *Darbar* prepared a memorandum with the help of advocate D.M. Sen and demanded the re-merger of Darjeeling with the Sikkim. The proposal was ignored by the British Government. After the independence of India, Article 5 of the constitution included all the communities having their or one of their parents birth right in India or domiciled in India as Indian citizen.¹¹ Thus Nepalis living in India got official sanction to be a permanent citizen of India. In an enquiry conducted by the Chief Secretary of the Government of Assam regarding interests in and loyalty of Nepalis to Assam and India in the year 1955 it was shown that Nepalis had been working effectively for the development of economy, society, culture, politics and for the transformation of India. It also was revealed from the interview taken by the officer that social and matrimonial purposes of Nepalis were also being fulfilled in their locality. But most of the Nepalis felt a great deal of attraction towards Nepal and were enthusiastic about ‘pan-Nepali movements. It was also revealed that Nepalis who once migrated or were the descendents of migrants in Sikkim, Bhutan, parts of Bengal and Bihar had their desire to establish separate unit or a separate State for themselves. In their views their traditions, their life style could be better maintained if they could gain their own unit of administrative social and economic setup. It was also maintained that the desire for separate existence expressed by this people time to time was not very strong. Even, many Nepalis were there who did not favour separation. Indian Nepali representatives in the Congress, Manean and Chetri expressed that they had no aspiration for separate state and they said they all were part and parcel of India itself.¹² With the passing of time Movement for separate state from India had changed to separation within India. In the meantime in the year of 1952

⁹ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 46.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 47.

¹² Mizoram State Archive, Confidential Department, Confidential Branch, Sl. No. 1078, Doc/No. G-6.

'All India Gorkha League' shifted their office to Darjeeling from Dehradun. A.I.G.L. in 1961 significantly demanded for recognition of Nepali language. In the course of identity movement there were needs to search for new term for Nepalis of Indian nationality. A.I.G.L. made their attempt to promote the term Gorkha instead of Nepalis to identify the Indian Nepalis differently from Nepalis of Nepal. But the term Nepali has not been replaced significantly with Gorkha to identify Indian Nepalis. Gorkha is the name of a principality located in the west of Kathmandu valley of Nepal and British authorities also recruited the so called brave Gorkha people like Gurung, Mugar. Britishers also used the term Gorkha to identify the Nepalis and they only promoted migration of those Gorkha people to India and encouraged them to settle. Gradually the identity of Gorkha became prominent in India. In the course of political movement several meeting and demonstration started. On one occasion, a large number of Nepalis from various corners gathered in Darjeeling town, many were with their *khukris* chanted slogan for language recognition. It was also contended that Nepali people, who are the speaker of Nepali language, are residing in Bengali medium state. It was felt when Indian states have been recognized on the basis of language, Nepali speaking people had been discriminated, which was thought to be humiliating. Even on this issue, sporadic violence had taken place with anti Bengali propaganda and riot in the year 1970. Attack on private residences and property and other atrocities with apathetic attitude of government made the situation worse. It has also been argued that many Bengali and others people who were mainly educated officials and administrator left the place.¹³ In the year of 1983 with the formation of G.N.L.F. (Gorkha National Liberation Front) in Darjeeling Subhas Ghising emerged as a powerful leader. He submitted memorandum to the King of Nepal, U.N.O. for intervening in the matter of the Nepali migrant issue. He made the demand to abrogate the article 7th of the 'Peace and Friendship Treaty' of 1950. In the press statement he said regarding this treaty that "...It has mixed up the citizens of Nepal and the Indian Gorkhas in a single basket of illusion..." On 13th March 1986, Subhas Ghising in favour of G.N.L.F. formulated 'eleven point programmes' for Gorkhaland Movement. In his programme, the party observed Black Flag Day on 13th April of 1986 in protest against atrocities faced by Indian Nepalis in Meghalaya and organized 72 hours strike. The State Re-organization Report of 1955, by which the area of West Bengal was increased by taking the

¹³ Kar, D.P., 2009, *op. cit.* p. 51.

areas of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong, Mirik, Doars and Siliguri and the article 7 of 1950 Treaty had been burned. Ghising also called to boycott elections, Independence Day, Republic Days etc and chanted slogan that “*We will not stay in other people’s state of West Bengal*”. Even he appealed to stop paying taxes, loans and other government demands.¹⁴ Ghising’s focal point of the movement was for the separate state of Gorkhaland for the Gorkha people living in India. He wrote to the then Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on 5th July 1986 that “*...The whole victimized Gorkhas of more than six million in India...if the Gorkhas came to India with their historic land territories then the whole settled Gorkhas have every legal right to claim citizenship of India on the basis of incorporation of territory as mentioned in the Citizenship Act of 1955, and also they have got every legal right to demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland within the Indian union for the sake of their clear Indian identity, homeland and destiny*”¹⁵ With the demand of Gorkhaland, G.N.L.F. continued their movement, sometimes of violent nature till 1988. In an estimate government property worth not less than two hundred crores was destroyed in that period. In the protest against Gorkhaland Movement and the atrocities committed by G.N.L.F, ‘Bangiyo Jubo Kalyan Parishd, ‘Bangiyo Adhikar Mancha’ of North Bengal sent memorandum to all the concerned central and state governmental institutions.¹⁶ In the year of 1988 after discussion between G.N.L.F. chief and the Home Minister of India (Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council) D.G.H.C. was formed in Darjeeling and Ghising took all the power in his hand. Ghising demanded an autonomous Hill Council in Darjeeling under the provision of 6th schedule of the Constitution of India.¹⁷ But it was not sanctioned. With all this, the main issue of development of the hills or the Nepalis living in the region was ignored. Some upper strata in the administration only gained from the system. It was very obvious that another sequel of movement was waiting. Mr. Bimal Gurung, a new leader came into action and rose his voice again for separate Gorkhaland state under Indian Constitution. In the course of movement road was blocked, link was cut from plain land, government officials, ministers were debarred from going to the hills, tourists were told to return, schools were stopped, indefinite period of strike was called. Organization namely G.J.M.M. (Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha) was

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 54.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 61.

formed by new leader Gurung. New organization for their demand staged demonstrations, hunger strike and other activities in the selected plains area of Siliguri subdivision and Dooars of North Bengal. They also frequently started to block the National Highway way NH31C and NH31. G.J.M.M. forced to put 'G.L.' (Gorkha Land) in the number plate of motor vehicles, in the display board of shops and private buildings. They stopped to paid government taxes, electricity bills, telephone bills and other dues. Dress code was imposed forcefully for the people of Darjeeling hills. Salaried volunteers groups were formed and arrangement of training made under professional retired army personnel. Protest movement against Gorkhland got momentum. Various right wing associations like *Amra Bangali* were active. Those organizations blamed G.J.M.M., for disturbing the rule of law of the place, democratic culture of India. Even Government of West Bengal for some time took strong action against the unlawful activities of the movement. Political movement to establish identity for Nepalis living in India is still a burning issue.

Contribution of Nepalis in Indian economy, Politics, Society and Culture:

After working long time for British colonial power Nepalis realized that they have earned hatred from common Indian people because of their supporting nature to British. Migrated Nepalis once became the protector of British colonialism in India. But gradually they became Indian and extended their hand to indigenous Indians people in national movement against the British power. All India Gorkha League in course of time became an antagonist to British power and actively participated in the Indian independence Movement against the British. In Northeast India Nepali community took active part in the freedom movement from 1920 onwards. At the time of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Assam 'Chabilal Upadhyaya', who led the Assam Association actively participated in the national movement. Chabilal Upadhyaya worked as leader to mobilize the Noncooperation movement among the Nepali communities in Assam. He formed '*Swayam Sevak Dal*' in Tezpur Town Hall under his presidentship. For his activities he was imprisoned in Tezpur jail in 1921. Hari Prasad Upadhyaya, his elder brother was also arrested for anti-British movement and imprisoned in Tezpur jail for 3 month. Like him, Dalbir Singh Lohar was also imprisoned for one year during his active participation in Civil Disobedience Movement. 'Bir Bahadur Chettri', one Nepali gentleman of Rangjuli, Barpeta was also arrested in 1913 for participation in the

freedom movement. Anantalal Sarmah, a brave Nepali was sentenced for trying to enlist local Gorkha soldiers in the Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1939 Bhakta Bahadur Pradhan for his participation in the strike in Digboi lost his service of Motor Machinist cum Fitter.¹⁸ Many others from Nepali communities had actively participated in Non-cooperation movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit Indian Movement and other Indian freedom movements. Nepali activist like, Jay Narayan Upadhyaya, Bishnual Upadhyaya, Narapati Upadhyaya, Ram Lal Upadhyaya, Narapati Upadhyaya, Kumud Chandra Sharma, Jay Narayan Upadhyaya, Kashi Nath Luitel, Homnath Guragain, Bishnual Upadhyaya and many others were imprisoned during the Quit India Movement. During the freedom struggle more than three hundred Nepali volunteers were recruited from various corners of the Brahmaputra valley in the organization like Mrityu Bahini and Shanti Sena.¹⁹ It is also a well known fact that Gorkhas had actively participated in INA (Indian National Army). From Northeast region many Nepalis had joined the army. Krishna Bahadur Chettri, Sabitri and Indrini joined from Nagaland. Nar Bahadur Gurung joined from Meghalaya. Suman Thapa and Mohan Singh Chettri participated from Manipur in INA. In Singapore in 1942, nearly fifteen thousand Gorkhas joined INA. In 1946, at the time of Royal Indian Naval Mutiny, from Assam, Maligaon, Chandra Kumar Sharma actively took the leading role. Even, Communist leader of Assam, Tuttu Thapa, worked for the formation of Assam Railway and Trading Company Labour Union at Margherita, Assam. He was accused of labour mobilization against the coal mine owners.²⁰ Records said Gorkha Martyr Subedar Niranjana Singh Chhetry who fought for the sovereignty of Manipur against the British was hanged at the Western gate of the Kangla on 8th June 1891.²¹ There is plenty of evidence that Indian Gorkha force fought for the suzerainty of country. They fought in Ladakh and protected Wagah border. During Chinese aggression in 1962, many Indian Gorkhas sacrificed their life while defending Indian border in NEFA. In various front of Kashmir, even in Kargil war they have actively participated. They also are working to maintain internal peace of the country in recent times. Nepali community played a great role in the electoral politics of

¹⁸ Nath, Lopita, 2003, Conflict-Afflicted Nepalis of Assam: The Reality. In Sinha, A.C., & T. B. Subba, (Ed.) *The Nepalis in Northeast India*, Indus Publication, p. 110.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 110.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 111.

²¹ Chapagain, RB., March 16, 2011, The truth about Gorkhas in Manipur, *The Sangai Express*, Vol. XII/171, Imphal.

Assam. In pre- Independence period Dalbir Singh Lohar, a veteran Congressman was a member of the Assam Legislative Assembly during 1946-52. He worked for the labour wing 'Cha Mazdoor Sangha' of Congress Party. Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, nominated Dalbir Singh as Congress candidate from Dibrugarh constituency in 1952 election. Many other Nepalis were nominated as independent candidates in 1952 election. Dhruvanath Joshi from Shillong, Bhakta Bahadur Pradhan from Digboi, Bhawani Prasad Upadhyaya from Gahpur, Prasad Sing Subba from Tezpur were nominated. In 1962 general elections Bishnulal Upadhyaya was nominated from The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee and won from Gohpur constituency. Chandra Bahadur Chhetri contested on Pradesh Congress ticket from Margherita constituency and won. Even, Ram Chandra Sarmah, a leader of Proja Socialist Party also won a seat from the Gohpur Constituency. Likewise, Swarup Upadhyaya, Jay Narayan Luitel, Tanka Prasad Rai from Congress, BJP and NAGP respectively contested in the Lok Sabha election of 1991 from Tezpur constituency. Among them Swarup Upadhyaya was the first Nepali person elected to the Lok Sabha.²² In 2001 election many Nepali candidates contested from different assembly constituencies of Assam. Thus many Nepalis worked for the Indian democracy and provided their helping hand for the welfare of their constituencies and for the state. With the passing of time various social, political, religious, literary and educational organizations also formed under the umbrella of Nepali communities. One of the important social organizations of Gorkhas of Shillong was '*The Gorkha Public Panchayat*'. This organization played a great role for Nepali society and religion. Gorkha Association was formed which got its formal recognition in 1928. Separate wings like, library wing, social service wings, cultural wings, games and sports wings formed under this association. Many other associations like, Nepali Sangeet Kala Samity, Nepali Sahitya Parishad, Nepali Srijan Sahitya Parishad, Nepali Mahila Samity, All Shillong Nepali Students' Union were formed.²³ These organizations actively worked for the spread of education, sports, cultural activities, religion performance for the society.

²² Upadhyaya, Kripa, Prasad, 2003, Nepali Participation in the Electoral Politics of Assam, In Sinha, A.C., & T. B. Subba, (Ed.) *The Nepalis in Northeast India*, Indus Publication, pp. 252-259.

²³ Rana, Sanjay, 2003, Gorkha Institutions of Shillong, In Sinha, A.C., & T. B. Subba, (Ed.) *The Nepalis in Northeast India*, Indus Publication, pp. 262-269.

Indian Nepalis played a great role for the development of Indian literature. Various poems, fictions, reviews, essays, criticisms, plays were written in Nepali language. Many wrote about Northeast India. Tula Chand Ale, composed '*Manipur ko Sawai*', where bravery of the Gorkha battalion has been discussed. Dhanvir Bhandari, a Nepali resident of Shillong composed '*Abbar Pahad ko Sawai*' and '*Bhuichalo ko Sawai*'. In '*Abbar Pahad ko Sawai*', he stated about the bravery of the Gorkhas and their forward march to '*Abbar Pahad*' in Nagaland. In '*Bhuichalo ko Sawai*', the incident of devastation earthquake of 1898 in Shillong has been described. Nagannath Upadhaya, wrote two popular poems namely *Guna Ratnamala* and *Namra Niveden*. His poems tell about the value and significance of education, importance of trade and industry, diplomacy, policy and programmes. Gopal Prasad Joshi of Shillong, wrote poems on oppression, injustice, suppression and inequality. Like them, Krishna Prasad Gewali worked for the development of language and literature. Hari Bhakta Katwal, renowned poet of the Northeast has worked for modern poetry and wrote about the bitter realities of life, rebellion, pessimistic feelings. Likewise Prem Singh Subedi, D.R. Subba, Dhruva Nath Joshi and other contributed a lot to the development of Nepali literature. Stories have been written on various historical incidents and on other issues. Among the story writers, Sahitya Academy winner Bikram Bir Thapa wrote the story namely *Binsau Satabdiki Monalisha*. Many writers like Babur Bahadur Rana, Dhan Bahadur Rai and others wrote good novels.²⁴ Thus many poems, dramas, essays, stories were written by the Nepalis.

Nepalis settled in the various belt of East and Northeast India in the colonial period did a good job for the economic development of the region. Compared to the local tribes, they were efficient in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and other laborious works. With the support of the Nepalis British power maintained their colonial economy with the establishment of plantation in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri Dooars in Eastern India. In Northeast agricultural development, grazing and milk and coal industry grew depending upon Nepalis. It is said that Nepalis efficiently worked for the wet-rice cultivation and terrace cultivation in

²⁴ Upadhaya, Tek Narayan and Roma Adhikari, 2003, Contribution of the Nepalis of Northeast India to the Development of Nepali Literature. In Sinha, A.C., & T. B. Subba, (Ed.) *The Nepalis in Northeast India*, pp. 149-168.

Northeast India. As labour force they helped road construction and other infrastructural development of the place.

Colonial Issues and Post Colonial Identity Politics and the Displacement of Nepalis from Northeast:

Nepalis migrated largely into Northeast India in colonial and postcolonial period. With Gorkha Army personnel many other Nepali immigrant groups have settled themselves into various corners of the area with British official support. Vast wasteland land, grazing grounds were allotted to Nepalis. Land allotted to grazers was in the nearby place of grazing grounds. But in the year of 1903-04 several plots of land where Nepalis were settled for grazing purpose declared as reserve forest. Nepalis who were settled in those places were evicted forcefully without compensation. British government from late 1920s took adverse policies towards Nepali settlers in the Northeast. Nepalis were considered as land grabbers and permission was not granted for settlement.²⁵ Even, displacement of Nepalis had taken place when colonial masters evicted them from *Char* (mid-Stream sand bars land) and from the *Chapari* areas (grazing reserve areas) and in the year 1920 from the Kaziranga Reserve Forests area.²⁶ Even, after independence indigenous movement for eviction of Nepalis got momentum. Assam Movement, the movement by the native people to evict illegal foreigners sprang up in 1979. Many Nepalis under compulsions left Assam and went to other places of Northeast India. Nepalis who came to the Northeast more than one century ago, made Assam and other Northeastern places their home, and contributed a lot for the development of the places recognized as illegal immigrants. Several Nepalis did not have their settlement record with them and even other residential proofs to justify their legitimate citizenship rights. So, it was very difficult for them to prove their citizenship before 1950. After hard work and their good effort a number of Nepalis accumulated wealth for them and settled themselves in the Northeast. Those people under compulsion left their home in the Northeast and moved again to Nepal, Darjeeling and other places where they felt comfortable. Many of them were tortured, killed; property looted and burnt. Nearly 15,000 Nepali settlers were forcefully evicted from their homes in the Northeast.

²⁵ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *op. cit*, p. 58.

²⁶ Nath, Lopita, 2005, Migrants in Flight: Conflict-Induced Internal Displacement of Nepalis in Northeast India, *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 66.

During the late twentieth century, movement of the indigenous people was witnessed in various parts of the Northeast India against illegal immigration. In the post-colonial phase, development of the regions was not addressed effectively and aspiration of the people had not been fulfilled. Disappointment has been seen among the indigenous people and they blamed migrant communities for the scarcity of resources and jobs. A section of indigenous community has started identifying migrants as a threat to the identity and culture of indigenous people. In terms of movement Monirul Hussain, writes regarding the Nepalis that '*...irrespective of their length of stay in Assam virtually became dangerous unwanted foreigners, who were threatening the socio-cultural and political identity of the Asamiyas in their traditional homeland.*'²⁷ Ethnic violence took place as part of movement. People who were not aboriginals or whose forefather once came to the place were recognized as illegal immigrants. Those people were threatened and evicted from the land of Northeast India. In this period almost every state of Northeast India experienced discrimination and harassment against the Nepalis. The Northeast region had received inflow of migration as refugees, economic migrants and ecological migrants from the neighbouring lands of Bangladesh, Nepal, Myanmar and Chins.²⁸ In the colonial regime this immigrant people were easily welcomed because of shortage of manpower in the area. But with the change of time population of the place rose, which led to competition for resource sharing and for jobs. Scarcities in the society led to movement for ejection of foreigners. In the process of anti-foreigner movement triggered violence by so called 'son of soil' resulting in massive internal displacement of Nepalis from Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Assam, Mizoram. In the period of Assam Movement of 1979-85 there was demands for eviction of foreign nationals from the land of Assam.²⁹ Anti-democratic and violent nature of the movement against the migrant communities have compelled Nepalis to move from Northeast to various other places and even to their respective countries of origin. Anti foreigner movement made the Nepali community vulnerable, who were mainly colonial settlers and who integrated themselves with the local language, culture and other aspects of indigenous society. Nepali migrants who migrated after 1950 are recognized as foreigners. According to friendship

²⁷ Nath, Lopita, 2005, *op. cit*, p. 65.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 60.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 60.

treaty those people had their right to settle in India. On the other hand those who migrated with colonial enterprise and recognised as Indian. In the anti-foreigner movement all the Nepalis in the Northeast suffered. During the Assam Movement for the first time anti-Nepali feeling was observed strongly. In this movement of 1979-85, unprecedented aggression, threats, assaults towards Nepalis were very common in various places of Northeast India. Though, in the movement main target group was illegal Bangladeshi migrants, Nepalis also suffered. About 500 families from the various places like Nellie, Chowl Khowa Chapari and other areas were evicted in that period.³⁰

Bodo Movement since 1986 organized by All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) for the establishment of separate Bodoland disturbed the peaceful living of Nepalis. Violent character of the movement of ABSU for separate state evicted the Nepalis who lived in the Bodo Autonomous Council (BAC) areas in Western Assam. In order to create majority of Bodos and to hold the power in all the northern Brahmaputra valley ethnic cleansing process was conducted by them. ABSU very intelligently started to evict the oppressed and marginalised Nepalis from the territory and also killed many of them. In this process Nepalis who lived in villages like Amteka (Betini), Patabari, Malivita, Koila were evicted. It was reported that in the violent attack on the Amteka Betini village of Kokrajhar district around 15 to 20 Nepali families were ejected and shifted to nearby areas and from the Khalasi forest villages about 20 to 25 families were displaced in the ethnic cleansing process. Though, it is said that in the ethnic cleansing event Nepalis were not harmed directly but were caught in the crossfire. After the publication of the report by 'Regional Centre for Strategic Studies' about the escape/expulsion of 20 to 30 thousand Lhotshampa refugees from Bhutan and their migration to Northeast, specifically Kokrajhar and Darrang district of Assam and the Doars of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Hill Councils area of West Bengal, movement for Nepali foreigner evection accelerated. Activities of Bodo militant and United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) forced Nepalis to leave the land and even to move to Nepal and to be settled as refuge at the camps of Jhapa. Many of them also settled in the border areas of Kankarbhitra, Birtanagar, Dhulabari, Dharan and some shifted to Jhapa, Rupandehi,

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 66.

Kathmandu, Pokhara and other parts of Terai in Nepal.³¹ Even many Nepalis were also settled in Kadamtala, Salbari, Bagdogra, Salugara and other adjacent areas of Siliguri after their eviction.³² Many evicted Nepalis with few thousand Rabhas, Bodos people started to live in relief camps.³³ Anti foreigner movement in Assam encouraged other indigenous people of various Northeastern states to launch similar movements in their respective areas. In the state of Manipur anti foreigner movement was so strong in the year of 1980 that a large number of Nepalis who settled in the area were compelled to migrate to safer places. In Meghalaya also indigenous people started to feel a threat to the identity, job and other issues because of existence of non indigenous people in the province in large volume. State government policies to restrict Nepali immigration in the state also boosted the sentiment of anti foreigner movement. In the state anti foreigner movement and strong violence on Nepalis in this regard was seen in the year 1987. Conflict between indigenous Khasis people with outsider Nepalis was seen since the colonial period. Evidence shows that since the colonial time conflict between Khasis and Nepalis was due to the damage of crops done by buffaloes belonging to Nepali dairy farmers and also because of arbitrarily cutting down of forests by them for khutis and house making. Violence of 1987 in Shillong mainly targeted over 150,000 Nepalis living in Shillong, Jowai and other places of Meghalaya. Nepalis in Jowai of Meghalaya were targeted first and it spread to other parts of the state. In a weekly magazine it was said that “*Dozens of innocent children of Nepalese working in Jowai coal-mines died of hunger because their parents did not return to their home even weeks after the incident*”³⁴ In the violent events Nepalis were killed, their houses, villages, schools were burned and even many of them were forced to leave from the area. Many people from Nepali community who were majorly engaged in the business of dairy farming stopped their activities and escaped from the place. Similar anti-foreigner movement was also witnessed in the state Mizoram and Nagaland and the Nepalis who lived in those places since long time suffered and were evicted from their settlements. Table bellow is showing the displacement of Nepalis from Northeast India.

³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 66-67.

³² Sharma, Khemraj, 2012, ‘The Nepalis of North Eastern Frontier of India’, Abhijeet Publications, New Delhi, p. 66.

³³ Hussain, Monirul, 2000, State, Identity Movements and Internal Displacement in the North-East, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 51, pp. 4520-4522.

³⁴ Nath, Lopita, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Table-30

Nepali Displaced people from Northeast India from 1947 to 2001

State	Year	Cause of Displacement	No. of Displaced Persons	Ethnic People
Assam	1984	Choulkhowa Chapori (Darrang), Silapathar (Lakhimpur), Gohpur (Darrang)	Unknown	Bengali Hindus, Ex-refugee/displaced East Pakistan, Ethnic Nepali people
	1995 (October)	Massacre at relief camp at Bansbari in Barpeta	70,000	Na-Asamiya Muslim, Hindu, Bengalis, Santhals, Nepalis
	1996 (May to June)	Ethnic Cleansing (Bodoland Movement)	2,50,000	Ethnic Santhals, Bodos, and Nepalis
	1998	Ethnic Cleansing (Bodoland Movement)	82,000	Santhals, Bengalis, Bodos, and Nepalis
Manipur	1980	Anti-foreigner Movement	60-100 families	Nepalis
Mizoram	1999	Anti-foreigner Movement	Unknown	Nepali
	2001	Anti-foreigner Movement	1466	Burmese and Nepalis
Nagaland	1980	Anti foreigner/ Extortion Movement	Unknown	Nepalis
	1980	Border/Clashes, Merapani, Bokajan Movement	Unknown	Nepalis

Meghalaya	1980	Movement against Foreign National	7,000-10,000	Nepalis and Bengalis
	1987	Movement against Foreign National		Nepalis and Bengalis
	1991	Movement against Foreign National		Nepalis and Bengalis

Source: Nath, Lopita, "Migrants in Flight: Conflict-Induced Internal Displacement of Nepalis in Northeast India", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2005, p. 62.

Attack to the Nepali villages, destruction of property, massacre of residents, burning of houses, threat and even death was the common character of the anti foreigner movement. Issue of eviction of Nepalis from Northeast did not get much attention because of their small number in the whole area, nature of mobility of the Nepali community and unavailability of the real number of evection.³⁵ State and Central governments did not take strong measure to handle the issue of internal displacement of these people. Government took some temporary measures, provided essential commodities, blankets, ex-gratia payment and set up camps etc but did not understand ground realities and rehabilitate the displaced people permanently. Nepalis who were victimised in the anti-foreigner movement were sheltered in the Patgaon Relief Camp in Kokrajhar, Telipara Relief Camp near Gossaigaon, Saralpara Relief Camp near Sarfunguri and other places. In Patgaon Relief Camp in Kokrajhar about 134 Nepali families got shelter with 581 population. But other record indicates the presence of 158 families in the camp. It has been said by group leader K.B. Rana of Patgaon camp that they have been receiving rice, salt, oil, lentils and other assistance. Deputy Commissioner has said that they only can assistant temporarily. Even State Government also supported with relief at Telipara and Saralpara Relief Camp, which was very negligible. Proper rehabilitation issue has remained questionable. Most of the Nepalis of Patgaon camp was from forest villages and encroached areas. It has not been possible to rehabilitate these people to their earlier places.³⁶ Identity movement is so strong that now all Nepalis entering into Assam or Northeast are suspected to be illegal migrants and are being harassed and searched in the entry points.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 58.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 68.

Impact of Migration into the country of origin:

Remittance and Poverty Elevation:

Remittance economy has been one of the causes of poverty elevation of Nepal. Record shows that in the recent days 23 percent of all remittance received are from within the country and rest of 77 percent remittance comes from foreign countries.³⁷ So, it is clear that remittances from foreign countries are important in the economy of Nepal. India is the main destination of migrants since nineteenth century onward and remittance from India has significant impact on Nepal. Huge employment of Nepalis in British enterprises opened the way of remittance transfer to Nepal in big volume. Military personnel from Nepal employed in the British Indian Army or Nepalis recruited in other sectors used to send money to their home in Nepal. But scenario has changed in the recent days when large number of people from Nepal are migrating into Gulf countries, Singapur, Malaysia and other foreign nations. Though India still receive major migratory population of the country, flow of remittance from other foreign nations are increasing compared to India. Latest record shows that in Nepal amount of remittance received vary from Rs 35 billion to Rs 161 billion and which contribute near about 13 to 27 percent of GDP of the country. It has been seen from a report that yearly 31 billion rupees enter into Nepal from India as remittance. Study also has assumed that 48,000 people from Nepal earn their money by working in Indian Army and 105,000 people are receiving their pension for their service in Indian Army. It also shows that Nepal receives nearly 8 billion rupees as remittance from India.³⁸ Though recent data regarding remittance is more or less possible to estimate because of accessibility of various governmental sources but past record in this regard is not available. In colonial period migration and employment of Nepalis to India was major livelihood strategy of the country. So, it could be assumed that remittance played a greater role at that time for the economy of Nepal. In the past it was *hundi* system by which migrant used to send remittance to Nepal or by personal carrying. But presently banks play a great role in remittance transfer. We can get remittance transfer data from government official figure but it is difficult to get actual figure

³⁷ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *op. cit*, p. 44.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 44.

because a good chunk of money are being transferred personally. Report shows that 92 percent of cases of remittance from India are transfer by personal carriage. In other case, it has been seen that in the household economy the contribution of remittance has been increasing. But remittance contribution from India is decreasing consistently. Bellow table shows the remittance transfer to Nepal from India and other foreign countries.

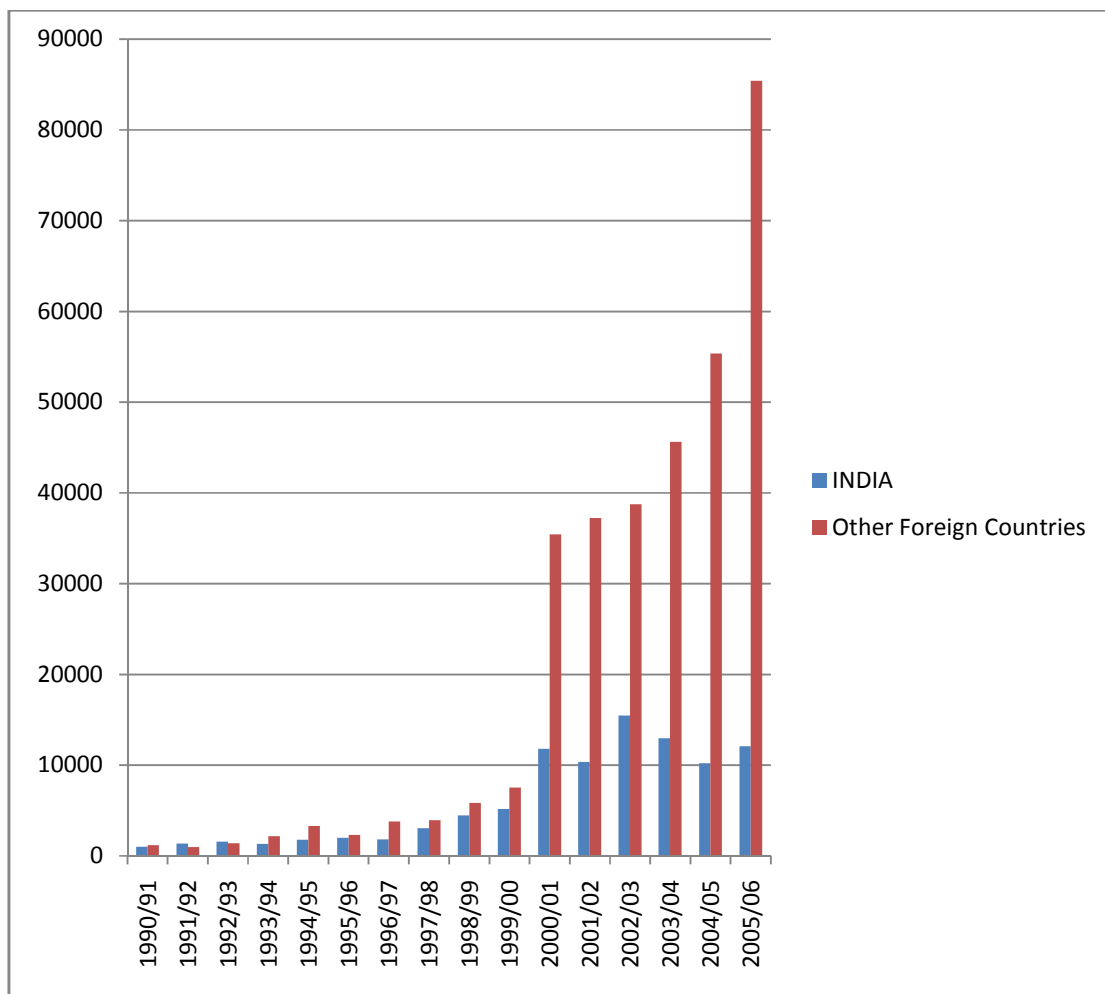
Table-31
Remittance Transfer to Nepal from India and Other Foreign Countries

Year	India		Other Foreign Country	
	NRs. in Million	Percentage of Remittance	NRs. in Million	Percentage of Remittance
1990/91	986.7	45.5%	1,159.6	54.5%
1991/92	1,355.0	58.5%	961.5	41.5%
1992/93	1,585.3	52.9%	1,409.0	47.1%
1993/94	1,317.8	38.0%	2,151.3	62.0%
1994/95	1,779.1	35.1%	3,284.5	64.9%
1995/96	1,977.1	46.2%	2,306.5	53.8%
1996/97	1,828.3	32.7%	3,766.7	67.3%
1997/98	3,057.0	43.7%	3,930.8	56.3%
1998/99	4,469.9	43.3%	5,844.7	56.7%
1999/00	5,136.2	40.6%	7,526.1	59.4%
2000/01	11,795.7	25.0%	35,420.4	75.0%
2001/02	10,326.2	21.7%	37,210.1	78.3%
2002/03	15,458.0	28.5%	38,745.3	71.5%
2003/04	12,964.1	22.1%	45,623.5	77.9%
2004/05	10,181.3	15.5%	55,359.9	84.5%
2005/06	12,099.9	12.4%	85,436.3	87.6%

Source: Nepal Rastra Bank, 2007 c. In Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, *Migration, Security and Livelihoods: A case of Migration between Nepal & India*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies, Nepal, 2009, p. 45.

Records of remittance transfer to Nepal from foreign countries are not available in statistical figure before 1990. So we can interpret the impact of remittance flow on Nepal economy on the basis of above mention data. It has been seen that in percentage remittance flow from India is decreasing and from other foreign countries remittance flow is increasing day after day. Chart-6 bellow shows graphically the decline of remittance transfer to Nepal from India.

Chart-6
Comparative Decline of Remittance Transfer to Nepal from India



Source: Prepare on the basis of above table.

The above table and chart shows that remittance transfer from India to Nepal is increasing in amount but it is decreasing day after day in percentage compared to other foreign countries. Large number of unskilled labours are migrating to India and the people who migrate beyond India are comparatively skilled and educated. Those skilled and educated people send remittance through banking system. But, large number of migrant Nepalis in India even now a days apply *hundi* system or personal money transfer to their home country. These records are not counted in the above figure. Even in the earlier days when India was more or less the only destination of Nepalis almost the full remittance flowed to Nepali from India.

Remittance always has been a contributing factor for the economy of Nepal. Nepal is still an agrarian country with low growth rate and industrial development and international trade balance is in deficit. Large sections of Nepalis migrate to other foreign nations for their livelihood and send money to their family and others for their survival. Foreign remittance has contributed a lot for the poverty reduction of poor Nepalis since long. Table bellow shows the amount of remittance flow from pensions and other works and share of it in the GDP of the country.

Table-32
Remittance Flow into Nepal and Share of it in GDP in 1999-2008

Year	Remittance's Contribution on GDP	Remittance in Rs Billion	
		Workers' Remittance	Pensions Remittance
1999-2000	11.67	36.81	5.94
2000-2001	13.60	47.22	6.31
2001-2002	13.74	47.54	8.27
2002-2003	14.06	54.20	7.32
2003-2004	13.78	58.59	7.90
2004-2005	15.34	65.54	12.50

2005-2006	17.97	97.70	12.10
2006-2007	16.73	100.10	12.90
2007-2008	21.02	142.70	18.80

Source: Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, Migration, Security and Livelihoods: A case of Migration between Nepal & India, Nepal Institute of Development Studies, Nepal, 2009, p. 47.

Above table-32 shows that in the remittance contribution pensions has played a good role. Though we do not have previous statistical figure but we can safely assume that in the colonial period and after independence pensions of Nepalis working people in India has played significant role in the economy of Nepal. The table also shows that remittance is playing a good role in the GDP of the country. In the year of 1999-00 contribution of remittance was near about 12 percent, but it rose to 21 percent in the year of 2007-08. Past records of remittance contribution in the economy of Nepal is unknown because until recent past remittance basically used to come to the country through informal channels like *Hundi* or *Hawala* or by personal carrying. We can say that remittance economy has played a significant role for the rural hill Nepalis in the past. Nepal Rastra Bank has reported that in the year range of 2005-06, 22 percent of remittance entered Nepal through banks, 44 percent of remittance came to country through remittance transfer companies, 29 percent came through *Hundi* and 5 percent through other means. In comparison to urban areas rural areas of Nepal mainly receive remittance through informal manner. Before 1997 *Hundi* was the main source of remittance transfer, nearly 80 percent of remittance came through this process.³⁹ Even today large amount of remittance from India comes to Nepal through hand carrying system. Migration of Nepalis and remittance transfer has its significant at household level. Statistics shows that poverty level in Nepal got reduced from 41.76 to 30.85 percent from the year 1995-96 to 2003-04.⁴⁰ Contribution of remittance for the overall economy of the country is significant. Remittance comes from the migrants directly benefits the families back home. Study conducted by Nepal Rastra Bank in 2005-06 revealed that in rural areas 21 percent and in urban areas 13 percent of income comes from remittance transfer.⁴¹ In the year of 1995-96 it has been seen that 23.4 percent of household of Nepal are receiving

³⁹ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *op. cit*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 52.

remittance and it increased to 31.9 percent in the year of 2003-04.⁴² So, it is clear that dependence on remittances is increasing in Nepal. Even it has also been seen that average amount of remittance received by recipient household has been doubled from Rs. 15,160 in 1995/96 to Rs. 34,698 in 2003/04 and after five years in 2008 it gone up to Rs 65,755.⁴³ Trend of migration from Nepal to overseas i.e. the Gulf countries, Malaysia, USA, UK and other countries has increased in the recent days and comparative decrease has been witnessed in the case of India. On the other hand, income in the Gulf state, Malaysia and other foreign nations rather than India is very high. So, remittance received to Nepal is increasing day after day. Various belts of Nepal has been facing food deficits at household level form early days of nineteenth century and to meet this needs migration has taken place to the foreign countries from Nepal. Seasonal migration for some months from Nepal has been a very common phenomenon at the time when agriculture and other work faced deficit in the country. Temporary and seasonal migration to India has been very common event from far and mid western Nepal since long. Studies show that 70 to 90 percent Nepalis migrate temporarily or seasonally to Indian states in Eastern and Northeastern India. For more income generation and savings purpose migrants from west-central Nepal usually used to migrate to the countries like Gulf States, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan and other Europeans countries. Study shows that there are 105,000 men in Nepal who are receiving pensions from foreign countries and around Rs. 8 billion they receive annually.⁴⁴

Disparity Generate in the Host Country:

Income varies in the rural society of Nepal because of huge flow of money as remittance from foreign countries to a certain section of household whose counterparts are migrants. Income differentiation in household level generates inequalities in the society. Study shows that due to shortage of resource and social contact 20 percent of poorest households of Nepal are not able to move to foreign country for employment. Economic condition of those people is not good at all. To migrate to foreign countries like Gulf States or Malaysia from Nepal an aspirant migrant needs nearly Rs 100,000 for expense and other costs. Poor people of Nepal who do not have such money don't manage to go for foreign

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 66.

employment. Migrant communities who earn a good amount of money from foreign countries invest such money in their home country to establish new business, to build house and to accumulate other resource and shift to urban areas and leave the rural areas. Thus in the village level income differentiation among the households generates disparity.

Drain of manpower and problem of State:

Migration from Nepal has become a problem for the country in regard to manpower drain, manpower shortage and other issues. Nepal government has deep concern on the issue of huge migration of Nepalis to the states like India and involvement of migrants in dreadful jobs. Huge migration for military jobs and jobs in civil sectors from Nepal has affected the country badly since the beginning of nineteenth century with shortage of manpower in agriculture, food supply and other labour oriented sectors, military force, etc. Kansakar argued that *“The drain of manpower led to the deterioration of agriculture and food supply in the hills as well as loss of government revenue from the land. Moreover there was difficulty of getting back the Gorkhas discharged from the army service, because most of them stayed back in India to work either as watchmen, or even to work in the police under the government, or in other positions available to them. Also many Indian merchants relied on the Gorkhas as honest and loyal servants”*.⁴⁵ Nepal was not directly involved in the First World War although the country witnessed heavy casualties in the war. Young Nepalis were recruited largely by the British authority of India at the time of the World War. Those Nepalis were sent to the battle fields of European countries. Heavy casualties were witnessed among Nepalis in the World War. Among the troops of all countries involved in the World War Nepal suffered highest percentage of death. The Country with 5.5 million people had suffered by devastating casualties of human life. Many other returned with disabilities and injuries, which badly affected the poor country. One among ten returned Gorkha soldiers from War fields was injured. Those injured people were not beneficial for the household economy. Though retired and injured soldiers had received pensions, as the pension used to come through Nepal government a good portion of it was being exploited by Nepal government. Only one of ten rupees of the earning was being delivered to the relevant persons and in local currency. Francis Tukar mentioned that *“The war was over and*

⁴⁵ Kansakar, Vidya, Bir, Singh, April 1984, Indo-Nepal Migration: Problems and prospects, *CNAS journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 52.

*Nepal...had bared herself to the bone to send her men to Britain's aid. In the fields were only the women, the children, and the old men; her youth had flown out along the mountain ways into the depots in India and away over the wide seas".*⁴⁶ Nepalis thus served British colonial power sacrificing their life in return for a little money as salary, promise of pension after retirement and other little facilities. Casualties of Nepalis even their permanent migration to foreign country adversely effected the home society. Speech of a Nepali woman, born in 1889 quoted in the writing of Mary des Chene delivered her pain for the death of her father, brother and relatives in the foreign army job. She said "*...now it is different, but in my time everyone who left was lost. They walked out of our Gurung country and got lost. They died there or they got lost. My father, I never knew him. He was coming home, we heard, but then he died too. My elder brother, my younger brother, my sister's son. All died. Many many others too...*"⁴⁷ Even in an interview taken by Jagannath Adhikari a lady named Santi Gurung told "*My father was army man. When I was 2 months old, he died in the war. My mother did not get pension. Then all the burden of work fell upon my mother. She looked after the house, farm and goth (animals)*"⁴⁸ In the year 1915 Nepal government expressed their resentment to the huge recruitment of Nepalis from Nepal in the British Indian Army and tea or other civil employment. Government raised their voice against the recruitment of higher class people except low caste Dalits like Sarki, Damai, Kami and other people from Nepal. Even it was seen that village projects were hampered due to lack of labour force in the country. Issue of male migration out of the country is also alarming at present. Some time male member of the family migrates to India or other countries with their wives and children, which creates more shortage of manpower at the village level.

Change of Social Relations:

Emigration has it social impact. Study shows that among the emigrant families education and the rate of literacy improved significantly. Even emigration changes the belief of people. In the foreign countries emigrant people gets the opportunities to interact with new culture, which change their values and beliefs. Social status of the emigrants also changes. It shows that low caste and lower class people get good treatment from the higher caste and

⁴⁶ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *op. cit*, p. 64.

⁴⁷ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *op. cit*, p. 68.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

class group people with the improvement of economic standard of low caste people. With economic development living standard and even the social status also change. Emigration also helps to change the socio-political thought of the people of the country. All this are equally true to the Nepali emigrants. After emigration Nepalis are taking their decision with more political awareness. They are participating in local politics and taking the political position like ward representatives at local level. It is also witnessed that Nepali emigrant are frequently being affected with venereal disease. Emigration of Nepalis in the foreign country and unprotected sex in absence of female partner is the cause of venereal disease of migrants. Disease of migrants transmits to their wives when they reach to home and make sex with them. Even many emigrants in the foreign country adopt the habit to take drink of alcohol and get involved in gambling. Emigrants generally say that they have adopted the habit of drinking liquor when they pass their leisure time in foreign country. They say as most of them perform heavy work, drinking is used to relax their body and mind. Even absence of emigrants for a long time creates social and psychological anxiety among the family members residing back the home. Migration has also effect in social relationship among the family members and outside the family. Husband-wife relationship, relationship with parents and children deteriorate because of the absence of mail members. It has also been noticed that male member after return to their homes find their wives tired and impatient with them because of continuous absence of them from home. Even sometime wives of emigrants are involved with other male persons in the absence of their husbands. Migrants often also get married in the foreign country and sometime detach their relationship with the wife staying at home and even cut their relationship with their country of origin. Because of emigration relations between other family members, friends and neighbours change. Emigrants after accumulating money often settle themselves in town areas with erecting own houses or staying in rented houses and leave their older counterparts of family in the village to protect their belongings there. Old members stay along in home. Thus the relationship between young earning members who has left to a foreign country and with the old parents deteriorates. Social relations with the friends with whom the emigrant was brought up sometimes become weak when their earning and socio-political thinking get changed with their friends residing in home village. All those general social impacts is equally true to the Nepali emigrants.

Migration has its demographic impact in host society. As mainly male members of the family are migrating into foreign country sex ratio of the place changes rapidly. Male member of 15 to 59 age group largely migrate to other countries which reduces the ratio of male population at village level. Absence of young male members from village of Nepal surely increases the proportion of other groups of people like women, old persons and children. Even young female member due to absence of husband usually move to other nearer urban centre and only old persons live their life in villages. Absence of male workforce at village level also hampers the progressive works in the rural areas. There is also a hypothesis that as the male person stays in foreign country for a longer time and comes on leave to their country they do not produce babies in time or do not want to take responsibility of new born babies. Thus migration has its bad impact on the society of Nepal.

Change of Rural Economy:

Agriculture is the basic economic pillar of rural Nepal. Migrations to India are changing the rural economic structure of Nepal. Because of remittance flow into the village area agricultural economy are replacing with remittance economy. In the hills of Nepal usually agriculture is not in good condition because of loss of fertility of land, soil erosion, landslides and for climatic reasons. Even people are not interested to cultivate their limited land which they have. They are finding an alternative to migrate to India and other countries, which is more lucrative than conducting of agricultural economy at home. Villagers are not taking initiative to improve the fertility of soil and most of the uncultivated fertile land is not seriously cultivated. People are not actively participating in cultivation, rather they prefer to go to foreign country for handsome earning. People do not actively produce local cash crops like ginger, chilly, onion and food grain; rather economically prosperous family buy market goods. But earlier prosperous households used to maintain large-scale agricultural holdings. Some report also indicates that because of emigration livestock has decreased in village area of Nepal. Male member usually emigrate and female, old and child member stay at home. Females, older people and children are not able to maintain cattle in large number. So livestock has decreased which enhanced the dependency of people on manufactured market goods. Thus because of migration villages are gradually depending on imported goods. Earlier it was seen that emigrants were mainly from food deficit family rather than food

surplus family. But nowadays people of all sections are running abroad due to the lack of cash income in home country. Study shows that because of shortage of manpower hard work like agricultural and livestock maintaining work are getting reduced in the villages and thus emigration has its negative impact in pastoral activities as well as rural economy.

Migration of Nepali male members from the country has affected other household specially the females. For Women and children absence of male member from the family has been the cause of *dukha* (suffering) for them. Absence of male member from the village gives extra responsibility to the women member in the management of family, the societal issue and other things. Responsibilities of their own children and the policy making for the development of village have made the female more confident. Female members have come strongly in various political, social and other issues. Thus male migration from the country has made the female members strong in education, even in various professions and made them economically established, socially viable, politically conscious. On the other hand, female members of the emigrant family who are earning money because of remittance flow are usually moving to the cities for better living leaving their older members of family in village.

Political Consciousness in Nepal and Role of Migrants:

Migrant communities of Nepal who worked in India for a long time learned a lot about the new political ideas and the changes which occurred in world politics. Nepal was very much caste and race based and sustained with religious and linguistic differences it was difficult to be recognized as nation state. The Nation building process of Nepal was boosted by the Nepalis in India who irrespective of their different identities have established their unique Nepali identity. Impact of existence of British colonial power over two hundred years in India changed the country radically. Theocratic and monarchical system was abolished from India. But Nepal was still a monarchical and feudal country. After the migration of people of Nepal into India and after living in India, socialisation has taken place among them very differently from Nepal. Various caste, ethnic, and religion based Nepali migrant community in India socialised themselves with more broad ranging equality. Nepali community in India rapidly emerged as egalitarian community and passed their ideological

thought to Nepali society of Nepal. Even Nepali migrant community after migrating to India had fallen in a situation where they were surrounded with dominant endogenous ethnic communities, where the formation of identical Nepali identity was very important for their cultural and linguistic survival. Furthermore, separate linguistic, cultural Nepali groups were so small and scattered in India that it became difficult for them to maintain their identity differently. So, it was very obvious need of time to be united for the Nepalis of India. This feeling of equality among the divergent Nepali groups was passed to Nepal and helped the country to adopt a democratic process in 1990. During the period of their employment in India they had the exposure to Indian freedom movement and many of them also participated in it. Many of the retired military personnel had joined INA and many of them like Man Mohan Adhikari, B.P. Koirala and others joined the Quit India movement.⁴⁹ After the completion of tenure in the service or after staying a long time in India when they returned to Nepal they brought those political values with them. Army personnel and their foreign educated children after returning to Nepal realized the painful conditions of the country due to existence of autocratic rule out there. They started to mobilize the thought of liberalization among the masses and had taken the initiative to overthrow the autocratic government of Ranas. Thus Nepali migration in Eastern and Northeast India had its obvious impact in Nepal as well as India.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 72.