

Nepali Migration in Eastern and Northeastern India (1816-2001)

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(Abstract)

History has witnessed migration of people from the beginning of human existence. Earlier migration was only for the sake of food and seared settlements. But gradually migration has become a common phenomenon around the world. Especially in the developing countries, people are leaving their ancestral homes either on their own or forced. Lack of employment opportunities, poverty and the inability to earn enough or produce enough to support oneself or family are the major reasons behind the movements of work seekers from one place to another.

Cross-border migration of Nepali speaking people to India is a historical phenomenon. Colonial intervention in the 19th century created conditions, which generated large scale movements of labour and enterprising people across borders. Movement of Nepalis into the neighboring areas of Sikkim, Bhutan, West Bengal, Myanmar, Northeastern parts of India, since the nineteenth century has become an important theme in the study of migration. Nepalis have a long history of migration towards Eastern and Northeastern parts of India. In the pre-colonial times the inflow of people across the border was smaller and the people got assimilated imperceptibly into the host society. In the colonial time, however, the flow of Nepalis to that area was larger and assimilation was much more complex. The flow has, however, continued right up to the present times in the post-colonial era, adding to the complexities of the situation.

Migration has taken place in India from various adjacent countries, but Nepali migration is exceptional in that case. Sometimes it has changed the demography of certain places of the country e.g. Sikkim, which once was sparsely populated, has come to be dominated by the Nepalis. By the middle of the 20th century the Nepali population of Sikkim rose to 60 percent and the demographic feature of the state changed. With the passing of time the local ruling elites Lepcha-Bhutias have become minority and the Nepalis turned majority. According to Banerji's *West Bengal District Gazetteers* in 1941, 61 percent of the residents were of

Nepalis origin in Darjeeling district. Volume of migration that had taken place from Nepal is much larger than migration from any other state or district. While in the case of Manipur, the British did not permit other outsiders except Nepalis to be settled. They exempted the Nepalis to be settled in *Khas* and forest grazing land not previously under cultivation¹. It is a reality that Nepalis have become predominant in the various belts of Eastern and Northeastern India. In the Colonial period, retired Gorkha soldiers were encouraged to settle in Northeastern India rather than to return to their homeland. After independence, Indian government also favoured the Nepalis to be settled in the Eastern and Northeastern India. Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950 legalized this. In 1951 there were 1,01,338 Nepali population in Assam, which increased to 4,32,519 in 1991². Thus the growth of Nepali population changed the demographic composition in various parts of the Eastern and Northeastern India. The growth was largely because of the Nepali migration. Therefore, there is a need to study the phenomenon of Nepali migration in Eastern and Northeastern India in its totality: the causes and push factor in the Nepali migration, the migratory routes and favoured destination, the politics of migration, the settlement and conflict over resource sharing in the host area and the overall impact of such migration.

Objectives of the Research Study:

The aim of the present study is to find out the historical facts of Nepali migration into Eastern and Northeastern parts of India and its impact. To fulfill this basic aim, the following objectives have been framed.

- To study the phenomenon of Nepali migration into the Eastern and Northeastern India.
- To study the Push and Pull factors behind the Nepali migration.
- To study the impact of Nepali migration.

Summary of the Chapters:

The research work has been organized under the following chapters:

¹ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, *op.cit.*

² Nath, Lopita., 2003, *The Nepalis in Assam: Ethnicity and cross border movements in the north-east*, Maulana Abulkalamazad Institute of Asian studies, Kolkata.

Chapter-I

Introduction:

Chapter-I, has discussed the theme of the study, Statement of problem, Review of literature, Research objectives, Research questions, Research methodology and short statement of the chapters etc. Study area, study period even the concept of Nepali has also been discussed in the chapter.

Study has been conducted on the seven states of Northeast India, commonly known as the “seven sisters” and Sikkim. The seven states are Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland. On the other hand, West Bengal of eastern India is also the study area. Major migration of Nepalis has been witnessed in this part of the region. The study has discussed the event of Nepali migration from the period between 1816 to 2001. The Treaty of Sugauli between East India Company and Gorkhas was signed in the year 1816. Since then British encouraged Nepali migration into India. The census report of 2001 has records large number of Nepali migration into India.

It has been discussed in the chapter that Nepali emerged as one ethnic group in the beginning of the twentieth century in India beside their separate Limbus, Rais, Mangars, Tamangs, Chhetris identities. To differentiate the people of Nepal and India born Nepali various nomenclatures like Nepalese, Nepalis, Gorkha etc are very much in use. The word Nepalese is used to identify the citizen of Nepal; whereas Nepalis, Gorkha, *Nepamul* are used to identify the Indians of the Nepalese Origin or the Indian Nepalis. But to eliminate the confusion the nomenclature ‘Nepalis’ has been used throughout the study. This study is on the Nepali migrant community but not on the people who have settled in the eastern or northeastern India before 1816 and who has come under Nepali identity in later date. Subba has mentioned in his book, “*Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*” that, Limbus and Mangars who are recognized as “Nepalis” at present are not the people of Nepali origin. So the term Nepali immigrant is not at all appropriate for of the Limbus and Mangars.³

³ Subba, T. B., 1992, *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, p. 41.

In the chapter two different natures of migration, seasonal and permanent, has been discussed. Even it has been shown that British colonial administration mainly encouraged the martial race to migrate to India, not those who came as graziers, wood cutters and other form of people, whom they recognized as “*faltu Nepalis*”. As part of colonial strategy the British power accepted the desire of the Government of Nepal for the return of Nepali nationals after the retirement from job. But in reality it has not been possible for them. To fulfill the future needs British power needed the Nepali men to be settled in Indian lands. On the other hand the British did not have sufficient manpower to restrict the Nepali settlement into interior places.

Chapter-II

Concept of Migration and the Nepalis:

The chapter has discussed the four kinds of migration in history, i.e., Barbarian invasion and migration, Conquest and migration, Colonization and migration and General emigration. In Barbarian invasion one cultural group established their supremacy over other cultural group. In Conquest a higher cultural section have established rule on a lower cultural section. Here a small number of members of superior culture have transplanted themselves to new lands and often enjoyed privilege in conquered land. In the colonization a large number of foreign nationals organized a movement out of the country and settled them in other parts of the world which was sparsely populated and established hegemony over people of the area and enjoy all types of privilege. Migration from Nepal to India is a historical phenomenon as well as an issue of present day.

For proper understanding of migration various terminologies, topology related to migration has been discussed. Definition of migration, the term migrant, potential migrant, return migrant, internal and external or international migration, immigration, emigration, area of origin, destination area has been discussed in the chapter. The term migration stream or migration current, voluntary migration and forced migration, innovative migrant and conservative migrant, permanent migration and temporary migration, long distance migration and short distance migration, sponsored and free migration, individual and mass migration has also been discussed in the chapter.

Migration motivation conditions pull factors and push factors of migration has been discussed in the chapter. Physical condition of the place, economic condition of

the area, social customs, practice, demographic structure, population pressure, political conditions, social prejudice and many other factors influenced migration.

Event of Nepal migration to Eastern and Northeastern India has been discussed under the push and pull conceptual frame. Various economic, socio-political pull and push conditions, historical and political legacies, open border and treaty of peace and friendship of 1950 between Nepal and India facilitated such migration.

Chapter-III

Push Factor-Condition of Nepal and Other Place of Origin of Migrant:

The chapter has discussed the push factors of Nepali migration. It has discussed the geographical, social, political, economical conditions of Nepal which induced Nepalis to leave their homeland. Nearly 83 percent of landscape of the country is under hill and mountain areas and rest 17 percent of the land is plain area. High man-land ratio and shortage of cultivable land has affected the livelihood of the hill people. Traditional method of agriculture, land fragmentation according to Hindu law because of property division among the sons, soil erosion because of harsh topography affected the agriculture in the hills. 'Central Bureau of Statistics' in a report has told that in the year of 1941, 98.63 percent of foreign Nepali emigrants were from hill and mountains of Nepal. Migration from Nepal to India has basically taken place from far-western region and mid-western region. Nearly 99 percent of migrants from far-west and 95 percent of migrants from mid-west have migrated to India in the year 2002.

Poor economy is one of the major causes of Nepali migration. Over 90 percent of the economically active labour force is engaged in subsistence agriculture. Very few people are engaged in business and industrial work. Vast area of cultivated land in Nepal has been held by a very few persons and rest of the population are landless or small area holders from very earlier times. Unequal arrangements of land ownership have forced the people to go for work elsewhere. Major foreign trade of Nepal was controlled by the persons of the royal family and the aristocracy. The artisans who produced the goods for export were only the wage earners and the

foreign trade had nothing to do with the economic development of the common mass of the country.

Caste and tribal hierarchy in Nepal has worked behind the migration of commoners out of the country. Gurung and Magars were recognized as martial race in Nepal but because of their low caste they were not recruited into the high ranks and were poorer section of the society. These Gurung and Magars when got opportunities to be recruited in the British Military force in long term military service just entered into it and migration of such caste took place from Nepal to India. In Nepal landless tribal groups had nothing but their labour to sell and preferred to migrate to India for their livelihood. Land grant system of the state to elite was also cause of poverty of common people. In the eighteenth century monitorial system was not largely established in Nepal and *Jagirdari* system had developed. Pressure of *Jagirdar* forced the common tenants to move from the country. System of force and free labour prevalent in the country was also the cause of misery of the lower caste common people.

Population of the country started to increase rapidly from the middle of the eighteenth century. Population pressure on land was also cause for migration.

The chapter also has discussed the migration of Nepali people in postcolonial period. Nepali migration to India from Bhutan and Burma has also been witnessed. Nepalis settled into Bhutan in nineteenth century mostly in the southern part of the country. The British at the time of war started to recruit Gurkhas from Bhutan and thus Nepali migration took place. Even in postcolonial period, in twentieth century Nepali migration has largely been witnessed from Bhutan. Stringent citizenship law executed by the Bhutan government, harassment by the police forced the *Lhotshampas* or Bhutanese Nepalis to flee from Bhutan in the twentieth century. Many of them entered Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal and also in Assam. Similarly, the British for their colonial needs sent Gurkhas to Bruma. Process of Nepali settlement started after the Anglo-Burmese war. Many Nepalis also went to Burma as labourar in mining sectors, oil refinery and other sectors. But with the end of colonialism and after the independence of Burma process of political consolidation started in Burma. Independent Burma focused on Nationalization, Burmanization and Industrialization. Because of the political change in Burma in 1951 large number of

Nepalis migrated to Indian land and settled there. In the year of 1964 when new citizenship Act was enacted in Burma another wave of migration took place in India.

Chapter-IV

Pull Factor-Condition of Host Country and the Sector of Nepali Employment:

The chapter has discussed the conditions of the host society; its social, economic and others settings which acted for migration. The Colonial and the Independent India's policy which induced the Nepalis to migrate to Northeast and Eastern India has also been discussed in this chapter. In the past, Nepali migration took place in Sikkim with the conquest of the place. But it is to be said that Limbu and other ethnic people were the original inhabitants of Sikkim and its surrounding places. This people are presently recognized as Nepalis and cannot be treated as migrants. Major migration from Nepal took place in the colonial period. With the friendship treaties between the two countries way of migration widened. After the signing of Treaty of Sugauli in 1816 Gurkha force of Nepal was allowed to join British colonial Army. After the Sepoy Mutiny, the British realized the need of Nepali fighting caste for colonial force and signed the Treaty of 1860. Gurkha battalion was established. Cordial relation between the countries accelerated Nepali migration. Gradually Nepalis were also recruited in Jammu and Kashmir Rifles, the Gharwal regiments, the Kumaon regiments, Assam Rifles, Naga force, the Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police force, Bihar Military Police and the Territorial Army. This military men significantly settled in the empty land of Northeast India and West Bengal.

With the Gurkha army men many Nepalis entered into India and started doing civil jobs like dairy farming and as labourer in coal mine, construction work, wood cutting etc. In northeast India many *Khuties* were established. With the supply of milk and milk products to the British force the profession has become a booming sector in the region. Many Nepalis after their retirement from British military force took up this profession. Even many newcomers also joined this profession. The British were benefited by the cattle tax, foreigner tax paid by the Nepali graziers. In the colonial period various enterprises like tea plantations, were setup in various places of eastern and northeast India. These enterprises attracted the Nepali labourer in the country.

Migration into Darjeeling was mainly for the supply of labour in tea plantation. Even very small migration in this sector has been seen in Assam.

With the settlement of Nepalis in various areas agricultural activities began. The British power granted vast wasteland for the cultivation. In Nagaon, Lakhimpur, Darrang and Barpeta sub-divisions of Kamrup wasteland was granted to Nepali migrants.

After the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950, people from both the countries got the authority to move across the border without passport. Large scale migration is also the cause of this postcolonial Treaty. In postcolonial period many Nepalis migrated to Northeast and Eastern India to seek job in coalmine sectors, as load bearer, as security guards and in many other sectors. Trafficking and illegal migration have accelerated in the present days because of open border.

Chapter-V

Nepali migration and settlement into Eastern India in Colonial and Post-Colonial phase:

Nepali migrants in Eastern India has concentrated mainly in Darjeeling district and in the Jalpaiguri Duars of West Bengal. The chapter has discussed the event of Nepali migration and settlement in the area of Darjeeling and Duars. Gorkha migration to the area took place with the conquest of the area. The trend of migration has continued and large volume of it took place in nineteenth century with the efforts of British. With the development of the region and with growth of construction work in Darjeeling and Duars area, bulk migration to the place was witnessed from Nepal. Temporary works like construction of road, woodcutting, carrying of load, seasonal agriculture etc attracted the Nepalis to the area. Nepalis in huge number started to migrate to the area and took the jobs of those temporary natures.

Geographical location of the place attracted the Nepali migrants largely into the area. Whenever there was necessity, Nepalis crossed the boundary and migrated to Darjeeling area.

With the development tea plantation in the region large number of tea estates were setup in the area. As the tea industry is labour intensive industry huge number of

labour was needed for the growth of the industry. Nepalis from Nepal started to come to the place to work in tea plantation. In addition to it agriculture, domestication of animals, and related economic activities encouraged Nepalis to migrate to the area. Plantation industry and agricultural development in hilly area proved to be the strongest pull factors of Nepali migration. Nepalis who came into the land also involved themselves in the construction of buildings, roadways and railway track.

In the post-Colonial period Nepali migration has been witnessed largely after the treaty of 1950. Migration of Bhutanese Nepali mainly in Duars of West Bengal was an important event. Even illegal trafficking and migration has significantly been witnessed. Though 2001 has witnessed large scale migration from Nepal to India Darjeeling and Duars have not been the main concentration areas.

It has been seen that in 1921 there were 143,044 Nepali people in Darjeeling and in 1931 there were 157,944 of which, 59016 were born in Nepal and mainly concentrated in Rangli-Rangliot, Jore Bunglow, Kalimpong, and Kurseong. In Jalpaiguri there were 28,878 Nepali speaking people in 1931 and they were mainly concentrated in Kalchini, Madarihat, Mitiali, Kumargram and Nagrakata.⁴ In Jalpaiguri district Nepali migrants were mainly involved in tea plantation. In 2001, 40,140 Nepal born population migrated to West Bengal. Out of the figure Darjeeling district received 16,454 and Jalpaiguri received 9959 Nepali migrants.

Chapter-VI

Nepali Migration and Settlement into Northeast India in Colonial and Post-Colonial Phase:

The chapter has discussed the migration of Nepalis in various states of Northeast India and their settlement in colonial and post-colonial period. Nepali migration into Northeast India was primarily as soldier in British Colonial Army. At the time of expeditions against the wild tribes of Northeast, Nepalis were used and thus their migration were took place in the area. Besides military personnel, large number of migration was seen as porters, plantation labourers, manual labourers, mine workers and as graziers. They were also engaged as workers in forests, sugarcane cultivation, construction of roads, oil refineries, saw mills and as porters. Nepali hardworking

⁴ Census of India, 1931, Vol. 5, Part-1, Bengal and Sikkim.

migrants were easily fitted for the British colonial needs. The British also understood that these Nepalis as strong hill cultivators could constitute an ideal strategic buffer in the Northeast and if as a result of Nepali settlement the demography of the place changed it would be in the interest of the British⁵. Nepali migration into Northeast primarily was the colonial sponsorship migration but in postcolonial period it was continued in great volume after the treaty of 1950.

At the time of Sylhet operation to drive out the Burmese British power introduced Gurkha soldiers. In the year of 1817, there were 1000 Hindusthani and Gurkha soldiers in the British force, 'Cuttack Legion', played a great role in Sylhet operation to drive out the Burmese.⁶ After the Anglo-Burmese War the British wanted to control the area in 1826 and for that matter Gurkhas were taken into Assam Rifles or Assam Light Infantry and posted to the front. In the period a good number of people from Gurkha race were recruited in the recruiting depots and were sent to Assam. After retirement many Gorkha soldiers were settled in the land. This retired soldiers encouraged others from Nepal to migrate to Northeast India as well as Assam. With the passing of time industries like tea, coal, oil and other sectors grew up in Assam and migrants from Nepal accommodated themselves in those sectors. British capitalist enterprise got the opportunity in the area to invest their capital and migrant communities as labour force extended their helping hand to help flourish the newly established enterprise. Nepalis had become very attractive in this regard. Many Nepalis took the profession of cattle grazing, dairy farming, became a *gwala* or *khuntiwallah* (owner of cow shed) in Assam and Northeast India. British Government granted special grazing land for them and arranged certain places for their settlement nearby the grazing grounds. Grazing tax, cattle tax, foreigner tax were imposed on them. This taxation increased progressively because of fresh migration from Nepal to this sector and became a good source of revenue for the British. This heavy taxation helped British colonial power to be benefited by the migration to the place.

Penetration of Nepalis in Arunachal Pradesh was a parallel event of their migration to other Northeastern parts of India. It has also been argued that Gorkha Ex-soldiers settled significantly in Itangar, the Sadiya and Khonsa in NEFA at first in the

⁵ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, *op.cit.*

⁶ Gurung, Tejimala, "Human Movement and Colonial State: A Study of the Nepalis in North-East India under the British Empire", *NEIHA Proceedings*, 22nd Session, Shillong, 2001, P. 405.

year 1826.⁷ After the expulsion of Burmese from the place British wanted to protect this strategic location and a good numbers of Gorkha forces were deployed to the buffer zones adjacent to Burma. Even to pacify the ferocious hilly tribal population of the place, colonial power deployed Nepali ethnics to the place, who were very much loyal to British authority. Nepali population in Arunachal Pradesh increased in the district like West Kameng, Upper Siang, Dibang Valley, Lohit, and Changlang in according to 2001 census.

Nepali migration into Meghalaya was also the result of British colonial strategy. After the treaty of Yandabu with the Burmese in the 1826 British colonial power annexed Garo Hills and Khasi-Jaintia Hills. With the colonial intervention new administration was setup, new business houses, military cantonment were boosted up and migration from outside to the place started. Many regimental Nepalis after their retirement settled themselves in the state of Meghalaya in Mawprem, Barapathar, Jhalupara Cantonment, Lalchand Basti, Happy Valley near regimental quarters.

Mizoram, formerly known as Lushai Hills District under Assam, also witnessed Nepali migration. Gorkha migration and settlement into Mizoram was officially recognized in 1891, when permanent forts were constructed at Lunglei and Aizawl area. To counteract the raid of Lushais in the plains or frontiers location British colonial power built these forts. Colonial Lewin, a British official once strongly advocated that government should set up series of Gorkha villages along the frontiers between the plain area and hills for the proper demarcation of the boundary.⁸ With the development of the place and for the performance of effective governance migrants from outside were encouraged to the place. Nepalis started to come to the place and were employed for the emerging jobs. Nepali settlements were established in Khagdiya, Bawngkawn, Kolasib and other areas. Even Aizawl, North Vanlaiphai, Sairang, Demagiri, Lunglei, Demagiri became the prominent place of Nepali settlement.

In the nineteenth century Nepali migration was witnessed in the state of Nagaland but in a very small volume. As the state Nagaland falls under the Inner line

⁷ Sharma, Khemraj, 'The Nepalis of North Eastern Frontier of India', Abhijeet Publications, New Delhi, p. 7.

⁸ Pradhan, K.L., 'Settlement of Gorkhas' in *Cross Border Migration, Mizoram*, Shipra Publications, 2004, p. 59.

system influx of people from outside is highly restricted and very small migration took place in the state. 1901 census figures out that 94 percent population was indigenous. It has been seen that overall attempt was made to discourage the Nepalis to settle in Naga Hills. Nepalis mainly the *goalas* and graziers wanted to settle in Naga Hills with their buffalos and cows. But to discourage them in the hills, high taxes was imposed on them and even other local taxes like Naga tax was also imposed to discourage the Nepalis to settle in the land.

Princely state Tripura did not witness large scale Nepali migration. Very few migrations from Nepal took place in the state since the rule of monarchies. First administration report of Political Agency in Tripura of 1872 mentioned that in the unorganized Raja's Army there was a company (*bradurie*) of Gorkhas. The British also instructed the Raja to recruit Nepalis in his army. Thus Nepalis were recruited in Royal Force. Even in police force there were few Nepalis. Though, Nepalis in the state were not very significance in number.

As Sikkim is adjacent to Nepal border, migration of Nepalis to the place was in large scale. But the Limbus and other ethnics who accommodated themselves into Nepali caste in present days were the original inhabitants of the region and cannot be identified as migrants into the region. In the eighteenth century at the time of eastwards raiding of Gurkhas, Nepalis like Khas, Thakuris, Chhetris came down to Sikkim and settled there.⁹ Even, when Gorkha power seized the land of Sikkim, a good number of conquerors came and settled in the place. Further, in eighteenth century, at the time of abolition of Newari dynasty in Nepal by the Gorkhas, many Newaris came and settled in Sikkim. Later on, influx of people of Nepal continued and in nineteenth century the flow accelerated. Availability and accessibility of land stimulated the migration into these places. In the year 1861, Sikkim was made a British Indian protectorate.¹⁰ British Colonial power took initiatives for demographic and economic transformation of the place. European enterprises started to invest capital for tea cultivation along with infrastructural development. The British wanted to open up Lhasa, through the shortest route of Sikkim and Sikkim got its strategic importance. Britishers knew that the settled Nepalis in Sikkim would support them

⁹ Sinha, A., C., Sikkim: Feudal and Democratic, Indus Publication, 2008, p.34.

¹⁰ H.G. Joshi (Ed.), Sikkim: Past and Present, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 61.

and serve them as labourers or as porters in tea plantation, forest and construction work and also will work for Indo-Tibetan trade.

Nepali migration to Manipur was significantly witnessed. Nepalis into these areas settled themselves in grazing profession. Gradually they started settled cultivation in the place and established themselves permanently. In the process of colonization real Nepali migration had taken place in Manipur. Scholar argued that first Gorkha person came to Manipur with matrimonial relationship. Major contact of Nepalis with the state of Manipur was established at the time of Burmese war. In 1819 when the Burmese occupied Manipur, the British fully supported the king and defeated the Burmese and Treaty of Yandabu was signed. In the process of British Colonization Gorkha people started to come into the province. With the passage of time British Colonial Power encouraged the retired soldiers from Assam and other parts to settle in the State of Manipur in specific colonies. Settlement colonies were opened in the empty lands of the place. The areas mainly Kanglatombi, Mantripokheri, Kalapahar, Kangpokpi, Pangei, Karong, Maram became the important place of Nepali settlement.¹¹ Nepali settlements were also established at Keithenmanbi, Koirengi, Sapermeina, and other places. A large section of Nepali graziers settled in Manipur due to less tax than the other provinces. With the growth of population, demand of cultivable land increased in the province and large area of grazing land was taken for cultivation.

Nepali migration into Northeast was also significantly witnessed in the post colonial period. After 1950, population of Nepalis in Northeastern states increased rapidly. In Manipur there were 2,860 Nepalis in 1951 but in 1976 the figure rose to 36,604. After the opening up of Arunachal Pradesh, Nepalis began to settle there and by 1961 their number rose to 25,000 and in 1971 it rose to 85,000. In Meghalaya too the number of Nepali settlers rose from 6,000, in 1961 to at least 10,000 in 1971. In Mizoram because of the insurgency the number remained stable. It was 2,000 in 1961 and 4,000 in 1971. In Nagaland the figure was 10,400 in 1961.¹² After 1950 treaty Nepali migration to Assam also increased

¹¹ Gurung, Tejimala, "Human Movement and Colonial State: A Study of the Nepalis in North-East India under the British Empire", *NEIHA Proceedings*, 22nd Session, Shillong, 2001, P. 406.

¹² Kansakar, Vidya, Bir, Singh., "Indo-Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects", *CNAS Journal*, Vol-11, No-2, April 1984, p. 60.

significantly. In the year 1951 Nepali migration to the state rose to 1,25,320.¹³ Nepali population increased to 3,49,116 in the year of 1971, sharing 2.38 percent of total population of Assam.¹⁴ Open border agreement, Maoist insurgency in Nepal, trafficking, even for jobs Nepalis has migrated to Northeast in postcolonial period.

Chapter-VII

Impact of Nepali migration:

The chapter has dealt with the demographic, economic, social, political impact of Nepali migration in Nepal as well as in Eastern and Northeastern India. In certain cases Nepali migration has benefited the migrant communities and sometimes it has become the cause of misery of migrants. It also helps to develop the overall economy of their native place. Migration also benefits the place of destination mainly with the labour provided by the migrants. Migration has changed the demographic structure of various corners of Eastern and Northeastern India. Vast demographic change has been witnessed in the state Sikkim. Mostly in Darjeeling, many areas of Jalpaiguri district are mainly populated by the Nepalis. In various area of Tinsukia, North Cachher Hills, Somitpur, Karbi Anglong district of Assam Nepalis are in majority now-a-days. In Arunachal Pradesh, the districts like Lohit, Dibang Valley, Upper Siang has attracted Nepali settlement. Likewise other pocket of northeast has also been populated by Nepalis. Cultural exchange, acculturation have been seen among the Nepalis and local people. Nepalis in India for the first time get the united Nepali identity. Identity consciousness that has emerged among them leads to the movement for separate state and demand for getting Indian identity. Nepali language, literature have enriched with the writing of Nepali scholars born in India. Migrant people have extended their helping hand for the economic enrichment of the country. Migrant Nepalis contributed a lot to the Indian Freedom Movement.

Impact of migration has also been seen in Nepal. Nepal has been benefitted by the remittance flow from the migrant living outside the country. On other hand, the country has faced difficulties due to the migration of able male persons. Nepal government several times has shouted against the male migration from the country.

¹³ Devi, Monimala and Devashis Bose, Economic History of Nepali Migration and Socio-Cultural Relationship in Assam, in 'Population Dynamics in North East India, NEICSSR, Shillong, 2008, p. 210.

¹⁴ Devi, Monimala, 'Economic History of Nepali Migration and Settlement in Assam', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No. 29, July 2007. P. 305.

Older people have suffered for migration even female members of the family have got the opportunity to lead the family in absence of male persons. Migration has differentiated the migrants from non migrants in the society. Thus Nepali migration has its effect in every aspect of life of host country and the country of origin.

Conclusion:

Conclusion is the summary of the whole thesis highlighting the major findings of the project. The British colonial power began the migration process of the Nepalis for their colonial interest. They in the process released the common people of Nepal from the oppression of higher castes and classes but transferred them as migrant community in India which became their permanent identity. Despite being in India for more than a hundred years the Nepalis are still considered as migrants.