

Chapter-One

Introduction

History has witnessed migration¹ of people from the beginning of human existence. Early Migration of people was for exploring new places in search of food and security. But, with the passage of time, migration has become a common phenomenon around the world. Especially in the developing countries, people are leaving their ancestral home. The major reason that has forced the jobseekers to relocate is: poverty caused by lack of employment opportunities, and the inability to earn enough or produce enough to support oneself or one's family.

Cross-border migration of Nepali speaking people in India is a historical phenomenon. Nepal is such a country where easy movement is difficult because of topographical reasons but constant movement of people has been noticed from ancient times. It has been stated that during the medieval period artisans from Nepal, Kathmandu migrated to Assam to construct pagoda type of temples and palaces for the Koch kings made by wooden structure.² But, the Nepali migration remarkably accelerated in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century. The colonial intervention in the 19th century created conditions spurring large scale exodus of labours and enterprises across the borders. The expatriation of Nepalis from the nineteenth century into the neighbouring areas of Sikkim, Bhutan, West Bengal, Myanmar, Eastern and Northeastern parts of India, is an important phenomenon in history. Nepalis have a long history of migration towards Eastern and Northeastern parts of India. After the treaty of Sugauli of 1816 and Anglo-Burmese war of 1826 and the establishment of British suzerainty over Eastern and Northeast India, the British encouraged outsiders to migrate into the region to perform their acts to suit colonial interests. The Nepali migration to the Northeast was one of reasons for the success of

¹ In short the term migration denotes movement of population with the change of residence. On the basis of the direction of movement the terms Immigrants and Emigrants (out migrants) are used. In the context of an area Immigrants are simply those persons who enter that particular area and Emigrants (out migrants) are those who leave the area.

² Sinha, A.C., 2012, *Colonial Legacy and Environmental Crisis in Northeast India*, EBH Publishers, Guwahati, p. 125.

British Colonial establishment. Nepalis who did not have land; people of lower castes who did not have resource to earn the bread had moved to India for their survival. The only capital they had carried with themselves was pleasant behaviour, hard working personality, their useful *Khukri* and readiness to do any work assigned to them. With this capital they were on their toes to perform their duties as plantation labourers, army men, porters, carpenters, woodcutters, agricultural labourers, dairymen and in almost every sector as manual labourers. For their inherent qualities in nature, they have been, throughout India, recognized as brave, trustworthy, honest, hardworking, martial community. Migrant Nepalis were predominantly male persons. Initially their stay was semi-permanent in nature, but gradually they chose to settle permanently in the Eastern and North-eastern India, as well as other parts of the country.

Migration from Nepal to India was of two types, one was seasonal migration and another was permanent or migration for long period. In the case of seasonal migration, migrants from Nepal came to India for a shorter term to earn money to fulfil their yearly needs. As far as permanent migration or long term migration was concerned, it was the Nepali migrants who came for employment in the British army or other civil sectors. Among them many had settled in India or returned to their homes after their retirement from job. Remittance from them to their counterparts in Nepal had become a good source of income. At present Nepali migration in India are very temporary in nature. Treaty of peace and friendship did not grant citizenship to the persons who entered the country after 1950. A pattern of step-by-step migration is very common in Nepal. In some cases people from rural Nepal first come to Kathmandu and then they link up with certain agencies, and finally, on the lure of better salary move to India.³ It was also very common in past among the migrants of Nepal to migrate from one place to another in India or from Nepal to other foreign countries beyond India and then from that foreign country to India.

As stated earlier, Nepali migration in Eastern and Northeastern India was mainly because of British sponsorship. A British officer Otham, stated how difficult it was to

³ Thieme, Susan, 2006, *Social Networks and Migration: Far west Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi*, Transaction Publishers, U.S.A., p. 23.

prevent the Nepali migrants from settling in the region. In a letter written to the Chief Secretary of Assam on 4th August 1928 he told “*It would, I imagine, be a difficult matter to refuse settlement of land to Nepali—or rather it would be difficult to prevent their cultivating land. They frequently enter jungly land and enter inaccessible areas where enforcement of any restrictive order would be difficult*”⁴ He even added that , if the Nepal Durbar allowed them to recruit the Nepalis for the Assam Rifles, (he meant the recruitment from Nepal itself) British government would promise to pay pension to retired Gorkhas in Nepal. But so long as they were recruited them only from Assam, he was doubtful whether British ought to impose any condition to restrict them to be settled in Assam. For getting people from within Assam for future recruitment, they had to depend on the locally settled Nepalis. On one occasion it had also been stated by British officer Ammond that British authority was debarred from enlisting Gorkhas from Nepal, whom they would like to recruit for Assam Rifles; on the other hands, he felt that they had considerable number of Gorkhas immigrants in the guise of graziers, whom they disliked. On several occasions this group of Nepalis had been recognized as “*faltu Nepalis*” by British officials. It had been pointed out that the Government of India discouraged Nepali subjects to remain in British India instead of returning to Nepal. It also said that no land should be settled with any Gorkha except under the orders of the Commissioner. But the political officer who was not under Commissioner in land settlement matters had the power to grant settlement directly on the principles of Land and Revenue Regulations and the rules there under. On one occasion Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department reported about the correspondence between India and Nepali government in April 1928. He stated in the letter that Indian Government reaffirmed their decision that Gorkhas of Nepalis nationality would not be given any other Government employment except in the army and regular military police battalions. This direction of Nepali employment had been followed because of the wish of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal. The Prime Minister repeatedly expressed his concern over the depletion of manpower of Nepal because of Nepalis leaving for working in the Indian soil. Nepal Government voiced against the tendency of Nepalis to migrate to India for employment and to remain there permanently. For that matter Nepal Government asked the cooperation of Indian

⁴ State Archive of Assam, June 1920, Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, p.1.

Government to counteract the tendency of Nepali people. Worry of the Prime Minister Jang Bahadur in regard to Nepali migration to India was cleared by his order passed to Colonel Krishnadhvaj Kunwar. Order on June 1850 stated, “*We have received reports that Limbus and Yakhas are leaving their kipta (communally owned) lands and homesteads and migrating to Sikkim and Darjeeling. Find out why they are doing so, and keep them satisfied so that they may not do so in the future. Do not allow any inhabitant of that area to go abroad*”.⁵ Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department said that the British Government in India has their own interest in meeting the Prime Minister’s wish as far as possible. British Government understood that continuous drain of the manpower from Nepal might badly affect the recruitment of Gorkhas in the regular army and in the military police battalions in Burma and other parts.⁶ It was also reported that British officer did not mind if Gorkha ex-soldiers got lands and it was the undisciplined immigrants whom they would like to push back to Nepal. But in 1928, one British officer, H.M. Prichard said that District Officers were not in a position to prevent a Gorkha or Nepali squatting and claiming settlement. In October 1928, British officer Pritchard said that the Government of Assam had every desire to meet the wishes of the Government of Nepal, but it seemed to be illogical to discourage the settlement of Gorkhas in the province. He further stated that the Government of Assam would be glad to retain Gorkhas in the province as a source of recruitment for the Assam Rifles. He admitted freely that the Nepalis entered Assam to graze cattle, fell timber or work in the coal mines. Though, he said the latter were very often undesirable settlers as far as the British government was concerned.⁷ So, it could be safely remarked that the intension of the British was to get Gorkha manpower for the British military force and therefore they were agreeable to favour them for settlement in Assam as well as in Northeast India. But they did not like other form of immigrants into Assam as well as the other parts of India and they recognized them as ‘*faltu*’, because they were not much suitable for the material purpose of the British Colonial authority. By the unofficial support of British authority in local or central level many retired Gorkhas were settled in Northeast and Eastern India.

⁵ Subba, T.B., 2007, *Nepal and the Indian Nepalis* in ‘State of Nepal’ by Kanak Mani Dixit and Shastri Rama Chandaram (eds), Himal Books, Kathmandu, p. 121.

⁶ State Archive of Assam, June 1920, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp.2-3.

With the Gorkhas many other Nepalis came to Eastern and Northeastern parts of India as graziers, farmers or as coolies. British authority admitted them into the land. British officer, Bentinok, reported in 1928 that “*The ‘faltu’ Nepalis generally keep up a connection with Nepal; it would be difficult to point to individuals as permanent settlers, as the members of each party of ‘faltus’ are constantly changing, some returning for a spell to Nepal while others come along and take their place—ownership of herds is continually changing.*”⁸ He said for any measures of restriction or improvement they needed a special staff, and that would be difficult for them. So, on the basis of their accounts it may be concluded that there was no way for the British to control such Nepali migration and settlement into Indian land. Even the Nepalis primarily were not permanent settlers and frequently went back to Nepal and fresh migrations used to take place many a time with new faces. On the other hands, they did not have manpower to control such settlements that were placed in the interior. Gradually the socio-economic structure of the place accepted them as a hard-working laboring people. Colonial economy, administration also worked with the helping hand of those Nepali people. So it could be understood that a good number of Nepali migrants to India were temporary migrants and gradually they were settled permanently in the area. As the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 allowed easy movement of people across the border, there is a large number of Nepali speaking people who are mainly Nepali citizens living in India. Those people have owned their property, even immovable assets in India. They have their regular contacts with their relatives at home in Nepal and they actively participate in the events of both the countries and preserve the interest. Even a good number of migrants from Nepal who are working in India frequently visit their country Nepal and come back to their place of work in India. On the other hands there are good numbers of Nepali speaking people who are actually Indian citizens and have adopted Indian identity and are very much different from the Nepalis of Nepal. Mainly the well-off Indian Nepali families have their link with Nepal, but a majority of Indian Nepalis do not have their link with Nepal and have never visited the country. They have a mythical view about the country Nepal, and have heard the stories, legends, events of joy and sorrow in Nepali lives from their ancestors. For them Nepal is a foreign country like other countries viz. Bhutan, Myanmar or Bangladesh. The Nepali people living in India have adopted the

⁸ *ibid.* p. 4.

culture of the region. They have learned the local languages where they live, have adopted the local diet, clothing, local customs and rituals. Nepalis who permanently live in India have become Indian Nepalis by the processes of acculturation and have made themselves different from the Nepalis of Nepal. Drawing a line between Indian Nepalis and the Nepalis of Nepal or establishment of complete separate identity is difficult because of continuous migration from Nepal to India and the existence of 1950 Treaty. Side by side an age old linkage between Nepalis of Nepal and Indian Nepalis are very deep-rooted and could not be easily overthrown. On the other hands, in the pre-colonial time the inflows of people movement across the border was smaller and the people 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. Feeling of hatred among some majority ethnic people to the minor Nepali groups has deteriorated the condition of peaceful living and vitiated the Indian culture of coexistence. Nepali people are facing cruel nature of ethnic violence in many parts of Northeast India and on many occasions have evicted to other places. The Nepalis who have made the country India their home land will be recognized as refugees by the country Nepal if they are evicted from India and forced to go to Nepal. Nepal as a country does not have an effective foreign policy and their apathy was seen when Bhutanese Nepali or *Lhotsampa* people were evicted from Bhutan. So for Indian Nepalis it had become a challenge to establish their identity. This identity consciousness has forced them to launch identity movement. Identity consciousness and the establishment of a separate Indian Nepali identity had become the necessity in changing political scenario. The Indian Nepalis formed their own organization to demand a State in Darjeeling.

In colonial India identity consciousness among the Indian communities emerged along with Indian nationalist consciousness. the identity consciousness among the Nepalis emerged after their migration to India. Outside their home they identified themselves for the first time as “Nepalis.” To discuss the ethnic history of the Nepalis, T.B. Subba showed that only towards the beginning of the twentieth century “Nepalis” as one ethnic group emerged in Darjeeling. Subba stated, “Nepalis” constitute over nineteen endogamous groups professing different religions, speaking different languages, and holding different

positions in the social hierarchy. Till 1920s, they had separate identities. They identified themselves as Limbus, Rais, Mangars, Tamangs, etc. and the only people who identified themselves as Nepalis until then were the Bahuns, Thakuris, Chhetris, Kamis, Sarkis, and the Damais. Subba said that only after 1920s all other groups too began to identify themselves as “Nepalis”. 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” are not the people of Nepali origin. So the term Nepali immigrant is not at all appropriate for the Limbus and Mangars.⁹ This study is on the Nepali migrant community but not on the Nepalis who have settled in the eastern or northeastern India before the establishment of British suzerainty and adopted Nepali identity at a later date. On the other hand, Nepalis who are living in India from generations have adopted the identity of Indian Nepalis. But Nepalis from Nepal have their own National identity. In post colonial era these two identities have clashed with each other. To separate these two identities various nomenclatures are being used i.e., Nepalese, Nepalis, Gorkha etc. The word Nepalese is used for identifying the citizens of Nepal; whereas Nepali, Gorkha, Nepamul are used to identify the Indians of the Nepalese Origin or the Indian Nepalis.

The Present study of Nepali migration has dealt with the migration of the Nepali people to India, primarily from Nepal. Frequent uses of the words Nepalese, Nepalis, Gorkha or Nepamul in the text to clear the nationality of Nepali people could confuse the reader. Therefore, the nomenclature ‘Nepalis’ has been used throughout the study. Even the term Gorkha was very popularly used in the British correspondence. British colonial power was mainly interested on the Gorkha martial race for fulfilling the British military needs. British were very fond of Gorkhas because of their courage and bravery. So, the nomenclature Gorkha was marked with awe and respect, and with the passage of time, became the synonym of valour. Indian Nepalis irrespective of all groups and castes have been very enthusiastically using the term Gorkha to identify themselves. But all Nepali castes living in India could not be recognized as Gorkha. ‘Gorkha’ was originally the name

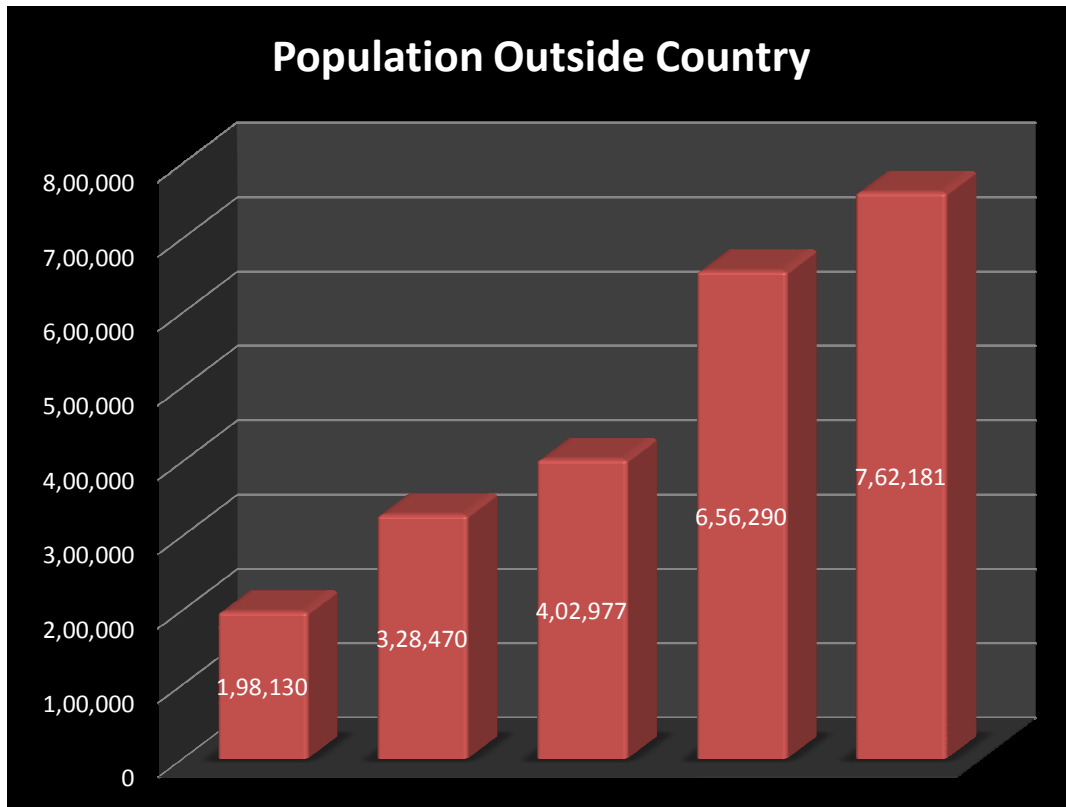
⁹ Subba, T. B., 1992, *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, p. 41.

of a principality located on the west, about 48 mile from Kathmandu. In 1559 Dravya Shah founded the Gorkha dynasty, later on under Prithivi Narayan Shah Gorkhas became the master of the whole valley. Gorkha was composed of racial and ethnic groups like Bahun, Thakuri of middle hills. The people of Gorkha, subject of Hindu Shah Kings were jointly known as “Gorkhali”. The term Gorkha has been used only to represent the Nepali fighting caste who were recruited in British Gorkha military force.

Trends of Migration from Nepal:

People of Nepal are largely dependent on migration for their livelihood. In fact, most of the rural households in Nepal now have at least one member in foreign employment. Government records indicate that more than 2 lakhs of people yearly move to foreign countries other than India from Nepal with prior official permission and the Government of Nepal has permitted Nepali migrants to go for job to 107 countries since 2009. Large numbers of migrants are going abroad without having their permission from the Government. Records indicate that Nepal has a very strong youth population among which 18.7 per cent of the youth forces are working in foreign countries. The 75 per cent of migrant labourers are unskilled and only 25 per cent are semi-skilled people. Out of a total population of 23 million, 762,181 were absent from the country in 2001. Absent population estimated nearly 3.3 per cent. The males contributed to 89 per cent of this figure. The 1952/54 Census enumerated 198,130 persons, nearly 2.3 per cent of the total population being absent from the country and were living abroad. The flow of emigration increased to 328,470 (3.4 per cent) in 1961, 402,977 (2.7 per cent) in 1981, 656,292 (3.7 per cent) in 1991. The following Chart-1 shows the increase of Nepali migration to foreign countries.

Chart-1
Volume of Worldwide Migration from Nepal



Source: K.C. Bal, Kumar., 2003, *Migration Poverty and Development in Nepal*, Economy And Social Commission For Asia and The Pacific, Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Migration and Development, Bangkok, p. 13. (<http://www.unescap.org>) (Retrieve on. 12/07/2009)

There is a pattern in the migration and the selection of destination. A significant volume of migration have taken place to the Gulf States, United States of America or Europe in recent time. People of Nepal, who are literate and skilled and also have enough resources, are migrating to the countries of Europe, America, and Far East Asia for better earnings. On the contrary, those who are not skilled and who do not have the resource are migrating to South East Asian Countries, mainly to Malaysia, and also to Middle East Countries. Although, large number of illiterate or low literate, unskilled or semi-skilled marginal population from rural Nepal prefer to migrate to India.

Previously India was the most preferred destination. People of Nepal have largely migrated to India from the historical times. There was connection between the two countries from the period of Maurya emperor Asoka. Cross border movement between two countries is common even today. In addition to India, other countries, viz. Bangladesh, Bhutan, Pakistan, the Maldives, Sri Lanka also host migratory people from Nepal. As said above, nearly 78 per cent of the total Nepali migrants are in South Asia, India hosts almost the full figure. The trend of migration from Nepal to India can be identified properly with numerical figure of the Census of Nepal from 1950s onwards. Absentee populations from Nepal were concentrated to India constituted 79.4 per cent in 1952/54. The proportion of migration from Nepal to India increased to 92 per cent in 1961. In accordance with 1981 Census, the number of human migration from Nepal to India constituted 93.1 per cent. The 1991 Census recorded, out of the total missing population from the country of Nepal, 89.2 per cent had migrated to India. The trend changed in 2001, when a percentage of 77 was recorded to have migrated to India. Thus the migration to India has shown a decreasing trend till the latest available data, whereas the migration to other countries has increased.

Because of the open and tenuous border between India and Nepal, it is the easiest to move towards India than to any other country of the South Asia or for that matter, to any other country of the world. But, a new trend has emerged in the course of time and the preference of destination also underwent a change. From the 1980s onwards, migrants were also moving out eastwards to South-East Asia and the Far-East in considerable volume. From the mid-1990s onwards, they became attracted by the job opportunities of the Gulf countries and started to move westwards. The Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS) for the United Nation Women's Fund (UNIFEM), revealed that in 2002, approximately 170,000 people from Nepal are settled in East and South Asia, approximately 36,000 in Europe and over 10,000 in North America. However, at present, Gulf countries are one of the major destinations of the work-seekers of Nepal. Over 4,65,000 people from Nepal have settled there in the Gulf countries. Out of these 4,65,000 people, 42 per cent have migrated to Saudi Arabia and 11 per cent to Qatar.

Migration of women from Nepal is also significant. According to the study conducted by 'NIDS' and 'UNIFEM' there are 70,000 women migrant workers from Nepal working in various foreign labour markets. Like their male counterparts majority of these women migrants from Nepal are working, in the Middle East, East Asia, and Southeast Asia and of course, in India. We have the following figures regarding their distribution. Country wise, Hong Kong's share is 44 per cent and Japan's 9 per cent. On the other hand, U.K shares 12 per cent, U.S.A. 9 per cent, Australia 6 per cent, and Bahrain 4 per cent of the female migrants. The following Table-1 shows the country wise distribution of migrants from Nepal. Overall, it has been noted that India has become the most attractive place for Nepali migrants. Available authentic records show that since 1952/54 Census till 2001 more or less 80-90 per cent of Nepali migrants have preferred to go to India.

Table-1
Region wise Distribution of Nepali Migrants as per Census 2001

Region of Destination	Number	Proportion
<u>South Asia:</u> India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Pakistan, the Maldives, Sri Lanka	591,741	77.6%
<u>Middle East:</u> Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab, Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain	110,826	14.5%
<u>East/South-East Asia:</u> Hong Kong, Malaysia, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, China, other Asian countries, Russia, and other countries	34,532	4.5%
<u>Europe, America, Australia:</u> United Kingdom, Germany, France, other European countries, United States, Canada, Mexico, Australia	23,205	3.1%
<u>Other</u>	1,877	0.3%
<u>Total</u>	762,181	100%

Source: HMG*** et al., 2002; in Thieme, Susan and Simone, Wyss., 2005, *Migration Patterns and Remittance Transfer in Nepal: A Case Study of Sainik Basti in Western Nepal*, UK. P. 62. (***) His Majesty's Government of Nepal)

Migration Overview of Nepalis to India:

India is one of the most favourite destinations of the Nepali migrant and cross border movement between the two countries has been going on from the ancient period. In ancient period the valley of Nepal was not regarded as outside India's Influence and the country was deeply influenced by the culture, religion and politics of India. Physically and economically, the track was so close to India that relation between the two was very common. One comes across many instances of Nepali migration to India in the ancient period. During the period of unification of Nepal by the Gorkhas in the late 18th century, several members of the Nepal royalty, nobles and elites continued their political exile to India and the majority of them went to the holy city of Banaras¹⁰. Even in the late 18th and early 19th centuries- i.e. at the time of expansion of the Gorkhas many Nepalis moved to India¹¹. In spite of several such instances this can be considered sporadic and not a regular feature. But in the modern period Nepali migration to India has become a regular feature from the 19th century onwards. In the early nineteenth century, Nepali migration to India was common when the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh recruited them for his army in Lahore (presently Pakistan).¹² This was the beginning of the trend of India bound migration of the Nepalis. Afterwards, Nepalis were also recruited in British army. In addition, huge number of labourers migrated to India for better employment opportunities in tea plantation, construction works, coal mining, land reclamation etc especially in Assam, West Bengal, U.P, Uttaranchal, Bihar and Sikkim. Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship and Maoist insurgency in Nepal also created an impetus for Nepali migration. With the passage of time they spread all over the country and took up diverse occupations like those of watchmen, porters, gatemen etc. Not only that, many Nepali girls are also migrating or trafficked to India and many of them are presently working in oppressive situations as sex workers in Indian cities like Mumbai, New Delhi and Kolkata¹³.

¹⁰ Kansakar, Vidya, Bir, Singh., April 1984, "Indo-Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects", *CNAS Journal*, Vol-11, No-2, p. 50.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Seddon, David with Jagannath, Adhikari and Ganesh, Gurung., 2002, 'Foreign Labor Migration And The Remittance Economy Of Nepal,' *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 34, No.1, Routledge, p.19.

¹³ SAHRDC and HRDC, 2001, *Nepal to India: Ending the Trafficker's Paradise*, Asia- Pacific Human Rights Network, New Delhi, p. 1. (Retrieved from: <http://www.hrdc.net/sahrdc/HRF/32/01>) (Date: 16/09/2008)

Migration of people of Nepal to India or specifically Eastern and Northeastern parts of India is an age old phenomenon. The whole migration issue may be classified into three kinds. (i) Nepali people of Indian citizenship, (ii) Nepali people living in India without having Indian citizenship and (iii) Seasonal and Temporary Nepali migration. In the first section of migration people of Nepal have migrated since early nineteenth century and believed to be migrated till 1950. According to decree people of Nepal who have come into India and settled themselves in the Indian Territory prior to 1950 have given citizenship right. Huge numbers of people have come for the colonial enterprise before 1950 which estimated some 7 million people.¹⁴ A good number of people who have migrated to India and earning their livelihood for a longer period but don't have citizenship right in India fall in the second category migration. Nearly one million has been estimated in this category.¹⁵ Third group of migrant are temporary or seasonal migrant who used to come to India for extra earning for a particular period or seasonally. Record shows that people of Nepal basically from western or far western Nepal are coming to various parts of India for earning ample money from long past. Data shows that they used to come in the winter season in Darjeeling and Sikkim area. Even later date they started to come in Northeastern parts of India. They usually came for the work as wood cutter, forest work, load carrier, and other work seasonally and went back to Nepal before rain comes. This trend is still continuing. There is no proper estimation of such type of migration but mostly agreed number is approximately 2 to 3 million.¹⁶ these migrants are not confined to the Border States but they had spread to distance place in the cities of India for better earning. Kanskar remarked that around 1951, 70 per cent of migrant of Nepal used to live in the border states of India but gradually scenario has changed and concentration of migrant in the border place has declined to 59.2 per cent.¹⁷ Census figures provide us some information about the volume of Nepali migration to India. Table-2 below depicts the figure of Nepali migration to India over a period from 1891 to 2001.

¹⁴ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *Migration, Security and Livelihoods: A case of Migration between Nepal & India*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies, Nepal, p. 54.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Kanskar, V.B.S., 1984, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Table-2
Nepal Born Population in India

Year	Persons	Variation	Percentage Variation
1891	234,260	-	-
1901	239,127	4867	2.07
1911	274,251	35124	14.69
1921	260,220	-140341	-5.12
1931	303,139	429129	16.49
1951	278,972	-24167	-7.97
1961	498,836	219864	78.81
1971	526,526	27690	5.55
1981	501,292	-25234	-4.79
1991	478,694	-22598	-4.50
2001	596,696	118002	24.65

Source: Census of India.

As indicated by the figures, up to 1951 the rate of increase was stable with an exception to the 1921 Census when a decline in the population was recorded as a result of the casualties suffered by the Gorkha army in the World War I as well as the epidemic of influenza in 1917. Another sharp decline was observed in the 1951 Census. While we have no figure for 1941, most probably the decline in the Nepali born population in India during the period of 1931-1951 was also due to the casualties of the Gorkhas in the World War II. The famines of Bengal, the Partition of India, the communal violence before and after the Independence were also responsible for the cause of the decline. However, a drastic increase was witnessed in the period between 1951-1961. There was an increase from 278,972 persons to 498, 836 persons which meant a growth of 78.8 per cent within one decade after the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. The “Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950” between India and Nepal which allowed peoples of both Nepal and India to cross freely their respective boundaries and enter into the other, encouraged the migration. At the same time Nepalis were recruited in the Indian army at a larger scale. All this facilitated

migration and the inflow rose. The increase between the years 1961 and 1971 was 27,690 or only 5.6 percentage. Statistics show that in the 1911 Census there were 274,251 Nepal born persons in India and according to the 1971 Census the figure rose to 252,275 – i.e. an increase of 92 per cent over a period of 60 years. The fact that before 1980s the migration towards India has increased might be because of demand of labour force in India and the attraction of the Indian job market among the people of Nepal and even because of people's revolution in Nepal in 1951 for democracy. The trend of migration towards India has declined after 1980s because of the ethnic violence and the demand of exclusion of the illegal migrants in the Northeastern states of India. Even though in 1990s and 2000s the migration from Nepal has increased, most probably this is due to the rise in the Maoist insurgency and the overall atmosphere of insecurity in Nepal that has pushed them to expatriate. It has been observed that the concentration of the migrants has, however, increased in the urban belts of India.

Though Nepalis are spread over many places in India but there are certain parts of the country where they are mostly concentrated. Darjeeling and Dooars of the West Bengal of Eastern India and the whole of the Northeast India together with Sikkim constitute a region where the people of Nepal has migrated largely and settled themselves. The migration of the Nepalis to those places was mostly because of colonial sponsorship. In the subsequent chapters we will discuss Nepali migration to the Eastern and Northeastern India specifically.

Statement of the Problem

Migration of people between India and Nepal has become a cultural-political issue. Absence of any restriction on the movement along a 500 mile long, free and open border between the two countries encouraged the migration. Dr Vincent Smith believes in the tradition that Nepal formed an integral part of the Mauryan Empire under King Asoka. Nepal is mentioned in the two great Indian epics, the *Ramayana*, and the *Mahabharata*, in the *Puranas*, also in the Buddhist and Jain literature. The more authentic history of the Nepalis in the Eastern and Northeastern parts of India seems to have started from the middle of the nineteenth century. Here, the Nepali implies Newar, Rai, Tamang, Limbu,

Mangar, Gurung, Chhetri, Bahun and other ethnic groups of Nepal, who are inhabitants of Nepal and speak Nepali language- collectively known as Nepalis for the outer world. Population movement or more specifically migration from Nepal to Eastern and Northeastern parts of India in vast number started when the East India Company rose to power. In the late 18th century under the chieftainship of Prithivi Narayan Shah the Nepal valley was unified where Gorkhalis became the dominant community. Further, they had overrun Sikkim, Bhutan, and invaded Tibet in the East and Kumaon, Garhwal and Simla hill state in the west were annexed by them. However, the Gorkhali expansion brought them into border disputes with East India Company. British colonial power for the protection of the Indian territory, became worried by this Gorkha aggression all through the length of their northern border of their Indian possession. Finally, it led to the outbreak of war with the Company. The Gorkhas were defeated and the war ended with the Treaty of Sugauli in March 1816. By this Treaty, Nepal surrendered some of the areas like Darjeeling, Sikkim, Simla, Nainital, Kumaon and Garwal to the British Company. Nepalis residing in those areas automatically became the subjects of the British India. Annexation of Darjeeling by the British and its emergence as a health resort was followed by the tea plantation, infrastructure development etc. acted as pull factors of Nepali migration towards Darjeeling district during the colonial period. As in Darjeeling, British encouraged the Nepalis to settle in the relatively vacant lands of Sikkim. Their main motive was to keep out the influence of China and Tibet on Sikkim. Scholars pointed out other reasons like British colonial intention, acceleration of economic growth, counteract the supremacy of the Sikkimese royal family and councilors as behind British encouragement to Nepali settlement. T.B. Subba argued that in the middle of the eighteenth century when Prithivi Narayan Shah sieged the Newar kingdom in the Kathmandu Valley for the consolidation of Nepal, many Newars were compelled to flee over to Sikkim and Darjeeling. Magars, even before the arrival of the Newars were invited by the king of Sikkim for copper and Zinc mining. Thus the Nepalis started to migrate to the Eastern parts of India. Being attracted by the courage of Gorkha soldiers in the warfare, British appointed them in large numbers as warriors. After their retirement from service most of them have settled in various parts of India including Eastern and Northeastern India. Furthermore, the Nepali migrants engaged themselves in the job of porters, herdsmen, marginal farmers and also as rubber cutters,

sugarcane cultivators, dairy farmers, coal mine labourers, in the various parts of Northeastern India and settled themselves of those thinly inhabited areas. The Nepalis hailed primarily from Nepal and, to some extent from Darjeeling and Sikkim have migrated to the Northeastern India. In the post colonial era ‘Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950’ between India and Nepal has acted as another pull factor for the Nepali migration in the vast area of Eastern and Northeastern India. In Nepal, heavy pressure on land and resultant impoverishment of the peasants acted as push factors for the migration of Nepalis.

The migration to India has taken place from various adjacent countries, but Nepali migration is exceptional. Some time it changed the demography of the certain places of the country. Sikkim, which once was scantily populated, has become predominant by the Nepalis. By the middle of the 20th century the Nepali population of Sikkim rose to 60 per cent and there was a change in the demographic structure of the state. With the passage of time the local ruling elites Lepcha-Bhutias became minority and the Nepalis became majority. *West Bengal District Gazetteers* stated that in 1941, 61 per cent of the residents in Darjeeling district were of Nepalis origin. The volume of migration that had taken place from Nepal is much bigger than migration from any other state or district. While in the case of Manipur British did not permit other outsiders except Nepalis to settle there. They exempted the Nepalis from settling in Khas and the forest grazing lands that were not previously under cultivation. It is the reality that Nepalis became 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 to return to their homeland. After independence, Indian government also favoured the Nepalis to settle 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 1991. Thus the growth of Nepali population changed the demographic composition in various parts of the Eastern and Northeastern India. The demographic change 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 the push factors in the Nepali migration, the migratory roots and favoured destination, the politics of migration,

the settlement and conflict over resource showering in the host area and the overall impact of such migration.

The present study has been conducted on the Eastern and Northeastern parts of India. The Northeastern India comprises seven states, commonly known as the “seven sisters”, and Sikkim. The seven states are Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland. Since time immemorial the Northeast has been the meeting point of many communities, faiths and cultures. This part of India is the home for more than 166 separate tribes, speaking wide range of languages and retaining their culture. Some groups of people from foreign region like Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar have immigrated over the centuries to the Northeastern India. On the other hand, East India or more properly Eastern India consists of the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa. By understanding the substantial number of Nepali migration and ethnic identity movement among the Nepalis in Northeastern India and West Bengal, proposed study will be conducted on whole of the Northeastern India and eastern Indian Indo-Nepal border state, West Bengal.

The time span the present study has been covered is from the year 1816 to 2001. The Treaty of Sugauli between Eastern India Company and Gorkhas was signed in the year 1816. Since then British encouraged Nepali migration into India. And the Census report of 2001 witnessed large number of Nepali migration into India. Although the period covered is 1816-2001 in the study, the data of the later period have also been used for a proper and comparative understanding of the history of migration and its impact.

Objectives of the Research

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.

1. To study the phenomenon of Nepali migration into the Eastern and Northeastern India.

2. To study the Push and Pull factors behind the Nepali migration.
3. To study the impact of Nepali migration.

Review of Literature

Research studies on Nepalis in India are negligible and almost inadequate. The existing studies basically are focused on the ethnic maladjustment in the region concerned, political violence and security questions of Northeastern India. Reviews of some important studies on Nepalis are noted below.

The book, *The Nepalis in Northeast India: A Community in Search of Indian Identity* (2003) edited by A.C. Sinha and T.B. Subba contains 21 articles and divided into three parts, deals basically with the various aspects of life of Nepalis in India. Their identity issues, Gorkhas' recruitment and their contribution into the security of the country, Nepalis' participation in politics, Literary activities of Nepalis in Northeastern India, lack of historiographical discussion on them, their ethnicity and aspirations have been discussed in the book.

Another book entitled *Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspectives* (2009) also edited by T.B. Subba, A.C. Sinha, with G.S. Nepal and D.R. Nepal is the compendium of 25 papers presented at the national seminar, organized by the Indian Nepalis Study and Research Forum. It discusses the problems of nationality of Indian Nepalis, the Nepali ethnic identity crisis, Nationality question, Nepali settlement in various parts of Northeastern India, linkage between India and Nepal, nature of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship (1950). The book has also dealt with the trafficking of Nepali women in India, origin and growth of the Nepali language, herbal medicinal culture of the Nepalis and food habits.

One of the works which was found useful is *The Nepalis in Assam: Ethnicity and Cross Border Movements in the North-East* (2003) by Lopita Nath. Chapter II of the book deals with the short history of Nepali homeland and looks at the relations between India and Nepal since the early times. Chapter III discusses very little about crises of Nepal, Nepalis' recruitment as Gorkha soldiers, their settlement in Northeastern, their

engagements as construction workers, Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950 and influx of Nepalis into Assam. The remaining chapters deal with the Nepali assimilation, identity consciousness and identity movement. Though the study of the book focuses on Assam, very little discussion has been made on the migration. Another article by the same author is “Migrants in Flight: Conflict-Induced Internal Displacement of Nepalis in Northeast India” in *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, Volume 1, Number 1, (January 2005) gives the picture of how ethnic violence in the post colonial Northeastern India targeted the population of Nepali migrants. The work of Lopita Nath is basically about the Northeastern states and very few words have been said about the Gorkha soldiers’ recruitment on the Indo-Nepal border of the present states of Bihar, Darjeeling and also about the Nepali labour migration as a work force in Darjeeling, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Vidya Bir Singh Kansakar in his article, “Indo-Nepal ‘Migration: Problems and Prospects” in the *Journal of CNAS*” Vol. 11, No. 2, (April 1984) discusses the Indian migration to Nepal as well as Nepali migration to India and the problems faced by the migratory people in both the countries. In the context of Nepali migration to India he has given a picture of Gorkha recruitment in British army after the Treaty of Sugauli in 1816 and in the period of the World Wars and also their settlement in the hill resorts of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Dehradun, Mussoorie, Simla and other places. In the article he has also discussed a little bit about the tea plantation and migration and the treaty of 1950.

David Seddon in the article, “Nepal’s Dependence on Exporting Labour” published from *Migration Policy Institute* (January 2005) discusses the Nepalis recruitment in Ranjit Singh’s army, and also about the attraction of Nepali migratory population in the tea estate of Darjeeling, their recruitment in the army in the colonial period, Nepali migration in the time of Maoist movement and the recruitment of the Nepali migrants in the public sector are also discussed here.

One reason of Nepali migration was the recruitment for Gorkha regiment. “Ties That Bind: Gorkhas in History” by Anup Pahari in *Himal Journal, Nepalis in Foreign*

Union” Vol. 4, No. 3, (July/August 1991) gives an account of Gorkha recruitment and their settlement in India and other foreign countries.

“An Increasing Wave Migration of Nepalese Children to India in the Context of Nepal’s Armed Conflict” (2005) Research Report prepared by Central Child Welfare Board, Nepal is about the flight of children because of insecurity due to the Maoist movement in Nepal. A quantitative study has been done in this research paper. The number of children, their age, their status of education, the caste group of the children, outgoing children from the district of origin and checkpoints are also discussed in the report.

“A Study of Trafficked Nepalese Girls and Women in Mumbai and Kolkata, India” conducted by the Terre des homes foundation in the main deals with the Nepali women in the Indian cities because of trafficking. How the Nepali girls enter into slavery or debt bondage and engage in the brothel-based prostitution has been discussed in the study.

Some basic statistical information regarding Nepali migration are provided by Pranati Datta in her several articles. Her articles include “Nepali migration to Darjeeling: An Indian experience” (2003) in the *Oriental Anthropol*, Vol. 3, No. 2. “Nepali Migration to India” (June 2002) paper presented at the IUSSP Conference on ‘Southeast Asia’s Population in a changing Asian context’ in Bangkok; “Feminisation of Nepali Migration to India”, (2005) paper submitted in IUSSP XXV International conference, Tours, France, in; “Population Movement from Nepal to West Bengal”, in *Indian Journal of Regional Science*, (2005); Vol. 36, No. 1, etc. An official in the Population Studies Unit, Indian Statistical institute; has access to all kinds of Census data and is expert in handling those. The articles are informative but these are quantitative in character and do not analyse the causes of either the migration as a whole or the trend in the rise or fall of it. In fact, these articles basically deal with some data of migration on the basis of Census figures.

The relation between Nepal and India is very old existing even in the ancient period. The nature of this relationship during this age-old period has been discussed in the following books. The ancient relation between India and Nepal and the subsequent

movement of people between the two countries is the theme of the work of Radhagovinda Basak “*The History of Northeastern India- Extending from the Foundation of the Gupta Empire to the Rise of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal (C.A.D. 320-760)*” (1934). Though the book deals with the history of Northeastern India, Chapter-XI of the book discussed the ancient Nepal-India relation. Similarly, the book, “*Ancient India*” (1952) by R.C. Majumdar published from Delhi, has a chapter that deals with the early history of Nepal and the contact of Indian rulers with the Nepal territory.

Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya’s book *Migration between India and Nepal: A socio-cultural study* (1996) published from ‘Firma KLM private limited’ is equally valuable. The author has discussed the early political connection of Nepal with India under the ancient Indian sovereigns. The author also has given an outline of the migration of the people from India into Nepal and vice versa. In addition, a dialogue over the Gorkhaland movement has been included in the concluding parts of the book.

Valuable discussion about the growth of Gorkhaland movement has been included in the introductory parts of the edited book, *Social And Political Tensions in North Bengal (since 1947)*; Rajat Ganguly’s works, “Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical Mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gorkhaland Agitation in India” in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* (January 2005) 11:4, T.B. Subba’s works, “*Ethnicity, States And Development: A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*” deals with the origin of the Gorkha nationalism in West Bengal, demand of separate Gorkhaland, the formation of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and about the prospects in future.

One result of migration is remittance from abroad. This is one subject matter of some of the works on migration and migrant labourers. Ganesh Gurung’s works, “*Patterns in Foreign Employment and Vulnerability of Migrant Workers*” under Nepal Institute of Development Studies, discussed the poor economic condition of Nepal and the Government recognition on the overseas employment of Nepali citizens, countrywise distribution of the Nepali workers, the amount of remittances and choice of destination country. Similar data have been placed by David Seddon, Jagannath Adhikari and Ganesh

Gurung in their writings “Foreign Labour Migration and the Remittance Economy of Nepal”, *Critical Asian Studies*, (2002) 34:1. They have given the official statistics of Nepali migrant workers in abroad and both the volume and value of remittances flowing back into Nepal from those workers. The author suggests that, many migrant workers abroad are working illegally and unofficially and their remittance to Nepal which is also illegal is contributing to the inequalities between social classes and between regions. “Migration Pattern and Remittance Transfer in Nepal: A Case Study of Sainik Basti in Western Nepal”, by Susan Thieme and Simone Wyss in “*International Migration*”, (2005) Vol. 43 No. 5 is about international labour migration as a main livelihood strategy for many people in Nepal. Though the study was conducted in Sainik Basti of western Nepal, it is applicable to Nepal as a whole.

One of the pioneering works on migration was conducted by the Central Department of Population Studies, Tribhuvan University, Nepal; under Yogendra Bahadur Gurung under the title of *Migration from Rural Nepal. A Social Exclusion Framework*. It has listed the communities of people that migrated and their destination. The study has argued that economic assets and human, cultural, social and geographical capitals are related to the decision on migration and the choice of destination. The paper, “Migration, Poverty and Development in Nepal” prepared by Bal Kumar KC, Central Department of Population Studies, Tribhuvan University, Nepal has given the quantitative data of internal and international migration from Nepal and analysed the reasons behind that.

An overall study of Nepali migration both in qualitative and the quantitative terms has been conducted by Prakash Bhattarai. His work, *Migration of Nepalese Youth for Foreign Employment: Problems and Prospects (A Review of Existing Government Policies and Programmes)* discussed the government’s policies and programmes related to the regulation and management of foreign employment profession in Nepal. The study also identified the issues and challenges of foreign employment, nature of labour migration trend and the number of socio-economic and demographic aspects related to migration of Nepali workers. It also discussed the policies and programmes to protect the right of the migrant workers.

Studies on Nepalis in India are rather scanty. As is clear from the preceding review, the existing literature in the field of Nepali migration in India has the following significant limitations.

None of the studies has discussed Nepali migration in detail and sequential form. Existing studies have given fragmented ideas on the subject. Major studies have dealt with the political tension because of Nepali influx to India in general and the Northeast in particular. No study has made the theoretical analysis of Nepali migration in India. Furthermore, hardly any study has dealt elaborately with the condition of Nepal, which acted as the real force of Nepali migration in India. This vacuum of the literature on Nepali migration has provided the basic impetus for conducting the present research. Therefore, the proposed study will definitely fill up the research gap in this area and generate information for a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Research Questions

1. What were the social, political and economic conditions of Nepal that induced Nepalis to move out of their home land?
2. What were the pull factors of Nepali migration into the Eastern and Northeastern India?
3. What were the phases of Nepali migration into the Eastern and Northeastern India?

Methodology

The research study has followed the method of Historical Empiricism (Archival research method). Historical Empiricism is the most common method used in the research of modern history. It involves collection of contemporary documents from the State Archives, either National or Regional or provincial followed by its evaluation by method of internal and external criticism. Data for the work has been collected from the primary and secondary sources. Archive has been used as source of data.

Various reports, fills and letters related to Nepali migration, Nepali employment in military and civil job, migration of grazier communities, labour recruitment policy, Settlement of Nepalis in various location of eastern and northeastern India, bilateral relationship between Nepal and India etc has been collected from National Archives of India, Delhi; State Archives of West Bengal, Kolkata; Assam State Archives, Dispur, Manipur State Archives, Nagaland State Archive, Mizoram State Archive and other regional archives. Data has also been collected from Tribal Research Institutes, other official sources.

Various migration data on Nepali migration has been collected from Census office of India, Delhi; Director of Census Operation, West Bengal, Assam, other regional Census office of Northeastern India.

Various District Gazetteers of Bengal, Sikkim, Assam; Hunter's statistical account of Bengal, Hooker's Himalayan Journal, etc has also been studied.

Documents produced by His Majesty's Governments in Nepal, information of Non Government Organization have been collected.

As Secondary sources data has been consulted from published books, articles, various reports, international and national research projects, newspaper articles available in the electronic resource, unpublished material etc.

Data collected from various sources has been analysed systematically. Qualitative information has also been studied on the basis of systematic and analytical description. Numerical data has been presented with the help of table, charts. Pie chart has also been used to show the percentage of various figures. The diagrams, charts and graphs make a visual presentation of the data and make it easy to understand the phenomenon. Computer has also been used for those purposes and for the data recording and tabulation.

Plan of the Research Study

The research work has been framed under the following eight chapters:

Chapter-I, has discussed the theme of the study, statement of problem, review of literature, research objectives, research questions, research methodology etc. Study area, study period even the concept of Nepali has also been discussed in the chapter.

Emergence of one ethnic Nepali group in the beginning of the twentieth century in India beside their separate Limbus, Rais, Mangars, Tamangs, Chhetris identities has been discussed in the chapter. It has been mentioned that various nomenclatures like Nepalese, Nepalis, Gorkha etc are very much in use to identify Nepalis. To eliminate the confusion the nomenclature 'Nepalis' has been used throughout the study. It has been told that the present study is on the Nepali migrant community but not on the people who have settled in the eastern or northeastern India before the establishment of British suzerainty and have come under Nepali identity at a later date.

In the chapter two deferent nature 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 grazer, wood cutters and other form of people, whom they recognized as "*faltu Nepalis*". As part of colonial strategy British power accepted the desire of the Government of Nepal to return of Nepali national after the retirement from job. But in reality it was not been possible for them. To fulfill the future needs British power needed the Nepali men to be settled in Indian lands. On other hands British did not have sufficient manpower to restrict the Nepali settlement into interior places.

Chapter-II has discussed about the four kind of migration in history, i.e., Barbarian invasion and migration, Conquest and migration, Colonization and migration and General emigration. For proper understanding of migration various terminologies, topology related to migration has been discussed. Definition of migration, tram migrant, potential migrant, return migrant, internal and external or international migration, immigration, emigration, area of origin, destination area has been discussed in the chapter. Term migration stream or

migration current, voluntary migration and forced migration, innovating migrant and conservative migrant, permanent migration and temporary migration, long distance migration and short distance migration, sponsor 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. Theoretical analysis of Nepali migration over Eastern and Northeastern parts of India has also been discussed in the chapter.

Chapter-III has delineated the push factors of Nepali migration. It has discussed the geographical, social, political, economical conditions of Nepal which induced Nepalis to leave their home land. 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. It has also been told that migration from Nepal to India has basically taken place from far-western region and mid-western region. Nearly 99 per cent of migrant from far-west and 95 per cent of migrant from mid-west have migrated to India in the year 2002.

Poor economy is one of the major causes of Nepali migration. Over 90 per cent of the economically active labour force is engaged in subsistence agriculture. Very few people are engage in business and industrial work. Unequal arrangements of land ownership have forced the people to go for work elsewhere. Caste and tribal hierarchy in Nepal has worked behind the migration of commoners out of the country. Population presser on land, land grant system of the state to elites, system of force and free labour prevalent in the country was also the cause of Nepali migration. Chapter also has discussed the migration of Nepalis in postcolonial period. Nepali migration has also been witnessed to India from Bhutan and Burma.

Chapter-IV has discussed the pull factors of Nepali migration. The conditions of the host society; it's social, economical and others settings which acted for migration has been discussed in detail. The Colonial and the Independent India's policy which induced the

Nepali migrant have also been discussed in the chapter. In the past, Nepali migration had taken place in Sikkim with the conquest of the place. Major migration from Nepal has been taken place in the colonial period. After the signing of treaty of Sugauli in 1816 Gorkha force of Nepal was allowed to join in British colonial army. Gurkkha battalion was established. Cordial relation between the countries accelerated Nepali migration.

With the Gorkha army men many Nepalis entered into India and started doing other civil job like dairy farming and as worker in coal mine, construction work, wood cutter etc. With the settlement of Nepalis agricultural activities has taken place in various corners of east and northeast India. British power also granted vast waste land for the cultivation. After the signing of the treaty of peace and friendship of 1950, people from both the country get 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 have migrated to Northeast and Eastern India as labourer in coalmine sectors, as load bearer, as security guards and many other sectors. Trafficking and illegal migration has accelerated in the present days because of open border.

Chapter-V has discussed the phases of Nepali migration and there settlement into the Eastern India in the Colonial and Post-colonial period. Nepali migrant in Eastern India has concentrated mainly in Darjeeling district and in the Jalpaiguri doars of West Bengal. Chapter has discussed about the event of Nepali migration and settlement in the area of Darjeeling and Duars. Gorkha migration to the area has taken place with the conquest of area. The trend of migration has continued and large volume of it has taken 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 of migration to the place was witnessed from Nepal.

With the development tea plantation in the region large number of tea estates were setup in the area. As the tea industry is labour oriented industry huge number of labour was needed for the growth of the industry. Nepalis from Nepal started to come to the place for supply of labour 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 to Duars of West Bengal was an important event. Even illegal trafficking and migration has significantly witnessed. Though, the year 2001 has witnessed large scale migration from Nepal to India but Darjeeling and Dooars has not been the main concentration area.

Chapter-VI has discussed the phases of Nepali migration and their settlement into the Northeastern India in the 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 their migration were taken place in the area. Beside military personnel large number of migration was seen as porters, plantation labourer, manual labourer, mine worker and as grazers. They were also engaged as worker in forests, sugarcane cultivation, construction of roads, oil refineries, saw mills and as porter. Nepali hardworking migrants were easily fitted for the British colonial needs.

After the Anglo-Burmese war Gorkhas were taken into Assam Rifles or Assam Light infantry and posted to the front. In that period good numbers of people from Gorkha race were recruited in the recruiting depots and sent to Assam. After the retirement many Gorkha soldiers were settled in the land. This retired soldier had encouraged others Nepalis to migrate to Northeast India. With the passing of time industry like tea, coal, oil and other sectors were grown up and migrants from Nepal had accommodated themselves in those sectors. Many Nepalis had taken the profession of cattle grazing, dairy farming; became a *gwala* or *khuntiwallah* (owner of cow shed) in Northeast India. Thus Nepalis in large volume migrated to whole Northeast India.

Nepali migration into Northeast primarily was the colonial sponsorship migration but in postcolonial period it was continued in greater volume after the treaty of 1950. After 1950 Nepali population increased rapidly in Northeastern states. Open border agreement, Maoist insurgency in Nepal, trafficking, even for jobs Nepalis have migrated to Northeast in postcolonial period.

Chapter-VII 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 sometime it has become the cause of misery of migrant. 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. Cultural exchange, acculturation has been seen among the Nepalis and local people. Nepalis in India for the first time gets the united Nepali identity. Identity consciousness emerges among them leads to the movement for separate state demand and demand for getting Indian identity. Nepali language, literature has enriched with the writing of Nepalis scholar born in India. Migrant people have extended their helping hand for the economic enrichment of the country. Migrant Nepalis have contributed a lot for the Indian freedom movement.

Impact of migration has also seen in Nepal. Nepal has been benefitted by the remittance flow of migrant. On other hand country has faced difficulties due to the migration of able male persons. Older people have suffered for migration even female has got the opportunity to lead the family in absence of male person. Migration has differentiated the migrant with non migrant in the society.

Chapter-VIII is the last chapter of the thesis. This chapter presents the summary and the concluding observation on the topic. The British colonial power had begun the migration process of the Nepalis for their colonial interest. They in the process had 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 year the Nepalis are still considered as migrants.