

Chapter Two

Concept and Theories of Migration

Migration in history has been categorized in four types, e.g Barbarian invasion and migration, Conquest and migration, Colonization and migration and General emigration.¹ In Barbarian invasion one cultural group established their supremacy over the other cultural group. In Conquest a higher cultural group established rule over a lower cultural group. Here a small group of superior culture transplanted themselves in a new land and often enjoyed a privileged status in the conquered land.² In the process of colonization a group of people organized a movement out of their country and settled themselves in other parts of the world which was sparsely populated. They established hegemony over the people of colonized area and enjoyed all types of privileges. In the case of emigration people from an area moved to other places on their own. Emigration is also a contemporary event. Here individuals move to other places in search of a better standard of living. This type of migration takes place between the similar cultures and between the same climatic regions. Migration from Nepal to India is a historical phenomenon which continues to the present day. In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the migration from Nepal to India on various contemporary theoretical perspectives.

Terminologies used

One of the most important areas of contemporary research in historical studies is migration and its impact on the socio-economic sphere. To understand the history of migration we will come across some terminologies, definitions, concepts, theories, and methods of analysis. There is a need to clarify those definitions, terminologies and concepts. The term migration denotes movement of population with the change of residence. The change of residence may occur from a village or town to another village or town or from town to village, within the district or commune, within the country, or outside the country in a period of one month, two months, or more. However the operational

¹ Datta, Amal., 2003, Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon, New Delhi. P. 12.

² *ibid.*

definitions of migration require both temporal and locational criteria. The term 'migrant' denotes a person who moves from one administrative unit to another administrative unit. In the Indian context these administrative units generally mean the village in rural areas, and town in urban areas. Thus a person who moves out from one village or town to another village or town is termed as migrant. Movement may even take place from one country to another. Sometimes migrants are called movers. The term 'Potential Migrant' is also important in the study of migration. A potential migrant is a person who is willing to migrate but because of certain reasons like – lack of money, guidance or lack of information about job opportunities in the other places, remains in his native place but does not migrate. In the discussion of migration the term 'Return Migrant' is also frequently used. Return migrant is a person who moves from his native place to another place as a migrant and after certain time of staying there in the new place comes back to his native place. On the other hand a migrant who returns to his native place with the intention of spending holidays or meeting friends and relatives is called visiting migrant. The term 'Internal' or 'External' or 'International Migration' is also frequently used in the case of migration. Internal migration is the movement of population within the national boundary. External or international migration is the movement of population outside the national boundary. On the basis of the direction of movement the terms immigrants and out-migrants (emigrants) are used. In the context of an area immigrants are simply those persons who enter that particular area and out-migrants (emigrants) are those who leave the area. Migration takes place from an area of origin (departure) to another area of destination (arrival) and here the term used is migration stream or migration current. A group of migrants with the common origin and destination is called migration stream or migration current. The term 'Gross-migration' denotes the balance between immigration and out-migration.

Definitions of Migration:

There are various definitions of migration. Scholars have tried to define migration in different ways. Variations in the definition are due to the difference in the nature, scope and purpose of the study. Geographers have emphasized on time and space and the significance of mobility in their definition. Sociologists have laid stress on social

consequence of mobility. While an Economist gives importance to the economic aspect of migration on the definition of migration. In the definition of migration, Historians emphasize on the historical aspect of migration.

Literally the word migration refers to settlement or shifting of an individual or a group of individual from one cultural area or physical residence to another more or less permanently. A few definitions of migration have been discussed in the following column. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English defined migration as - "move [ment] from one place to another (to live there)". Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines the term migration as "the act or an instance of moving from one country, region or place to settle in another..."³ Eisentadt defined migration as "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and permanent one."⁴ Lee defines migration as "broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. Here no restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary and involuntary nature of the act, and distinction is made between external and internal migration."⁵ Kammeyer stated that "Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity called migrants from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrant on the basis of hierarchically ordered set of value ends and resulting in changes in the inter-actional system of the migrants."⁶ Safa is of opinion that 'migration is normally viewed as an economic phenomenon though non-economic factors obviously have some bearing.' Most studies concur that migrants leave their area of origin primarily because of lack of employment opportunities and with the hope of finding better opportunities elsewhere.⁷

³ Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1966, Massachusetts, vol. II p.1432.

⁴ Eisentadt, S.N., 1954, *The Absorption of Immigrants: A comparative study based mainly on the Jewish community in Palestine and the state of Israel*, London p.1, In Sinha, V.N.P & Ataullah., 1987, *Migration: An International Approach*, Seema Publication, Delhi.

⁵ Everett, Lee., 2003, *A Theory of Migration*. In Datta, Amal., *Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon*, New Delhi.

⁶ Kammeyer, K.C.W., 1975, *Population studies: Selected Essays and Research Rond*, McNally College Publishing Company, Chicago, p. 175, In Sinha, V.N.P & Ataullah. *op.cit.*

⁷ Safa, H.I and Dutoit, B.M., 1975, *Migration and Development*, Mouton publishers, The Haguse, p .1, In Sinha, V.N.P & Ataullah., *op.cit.*

On the basis of these various definitions we can state that migration as the movement of a people or a group of people from one permanent residence to other temporary or permanent residence for a considerable period of time by abandoning one social and cultural setting and entering another socio-cultural setting. In their definition of migration most of the scholars have stressed upon time and space but not put equal emphasis on the socio-economic implication of it. So, to consider the socio-economic consequences of migration, we can define migration as a movement of people from one place to another permanently or semi permanently resulting in cultural diffusion and economic and social integration.

Typology of Migration:

Migration may be classified into two different types: (a) Forced Migration, i.e. involuntary migration; and (b) Voluntary Migration, i.e. migration based on choice. Fairchild classified migration into invasion, conquest, colonization, and immigration.⁸ Another typology has been presented by Kant,⁹ which is based on circular movement (pastoral, nomadic, transhumance) and areal unit between which migration takes place (inter-local or inter-regional and intra-local or intraregional). Peterson¹⁰ classifies migration into two types, such as (a) Innovating migrants: Who move in order to achieve the new. (b) Conservative migrants: Who move in response to a change in their circumstances, hoping by migrating to retain their way of life in another locus. W. Peterson, on the basis of the type of interaction expressed by migration force, recognized five broad classes of migration,-- Primitive, forced, impelled, free, mass.¹¹ Kosinski's multi dimensional schemes of types of migration are: time (temporary/permanent); distance (long/short); boundaries crossed (internal/ external/areal units); decision-making (voluntary/impelled/forced); member involved (individual/mass); social organisation of

⁸ Fairchild, H.P., 1925, *Immigration: A world movement and its American Significance*, New York; in Khan, Najma., 1983, *Studies in Human Migration*, Delhi.

⁹ Kant, K., *Classification and Problems of Migration*; in Khan, Najma., *op.cit.* pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ W., Peterson., 1964, *The Politics of Population*, In Datta, Amal., *op.cit.*

¹¹ W., Peterson., 1958, "A General Typology of Migration", *American Sociological Review*, Vol-23, pp.256-6. In Datta, Amal., *op.cit.*

migration (family/clan/individual); political organisation of migration (sponsored/free); cause (economic/non-economic); and aims (conservative /in narration).¹²

Theories and Laws of Migration:

Migration as a phenomenon has been studied by social scientists and thinkers over time, yet social scientists think that the theoretical and empirical knowledge of migration has not developed to a considerable extent and the study needs, stronger theoretical basis. In the 19th century Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), William Farr (1807-1883), and Ernest George Ravenste in (1834-1913) made their important contributions to population theory. Ravenste in, was the pioneer to formulate laws concerning migration stream in his papers entitled “The Laws of Migration.”¹³ Stated laws of migration or hypotheses of Ravenste in are: (a) Migrants usually move a short distance. So, population shifts mostly to neighboring areas and distant places affects little. Special cases like specialized job, technical education, adventure, etc encourage distance migration. (b) The volume of migration boosts with the progress of industry and commerce. (c) The route of migration is primarily from agricultural to industrial area. Rural area dominated by primary sectors having less job opportunities, low per capita income, low standard of living and less developed infra-structure motivate people to migrate towards towns or industrial centers, where because of secondary or tertiary occupational scopes, the job opportunity, income source, infrastructure are quite better. (d) Chief industrial and commercial centers require highly skilled labourers and professionals. So, most of the long distance migration occurs in the major industrial and commercial centers. (e) Each migration current outflow has a counter current. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current. (f) Adult males usually migrate over long distance. In short distance females are more migratory. (g) In internal migration females are predominant and males are predominating in international migration. (h) In most of the developing countries migrants are more likely to have rural origins than urban. (i) Economy is the major factor of migration.

¹² L., Kodindki and M.Prothero, (Eds.), 1975, *Population on Move: studies on International Migration*, pp.7-9. In Datta, Amal., *op.cit.*

¹³ Revenstein, E.G., 1881, “The Laws of Migration”, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol, 52, pp.241-301. In Sinha, V.N.P & Ataullah., *op.cit.*

Greenwood has formulated theory on migration. He stated that in the case of migration in Indian cities from both rural urban areas migrant usually has come from nearby areas.¹⁴ Stouffer in the year of 1960 introduced a variable of “Competing migrants,” according to which the number of migrants from city A to city B, is a direct function of number of opportunities in city B, and inverse function of number of opportunities intervening between A and B, as well as the number of other migrants competing for opportunities in city B.¹⁵ Zipf in his hypothesis (P_1P_2/D)says that “migration is directly proportional to the products of population of the place of origin and destination and inversely proportional to distance between them.”¹⁶

Pull and Push Theories of Migration:

The laws, models and hypotheses discussed by the various social scientists are mainly concerned with size and direction of migration, but the important aspects of migration are motivation and mechanism. So the neoclassical theory of push and pull has developed. Bagne recognized the push and pull characteristic of places of origin and destination for migration respectively.¹⁷ He suggested that there are some positive and negative aspects which provoke migration. Migration may occur as a hunt for opportunity to improve one’s lot in life. Therefore, in this case destination exerts a pull on migration. However, migration may also occur as a flight from unwanted social and economic situation. These situations constitute expulsive push of the community. Migration generally takes place when the positive Pull factors at the place of destination are outnumbered by negative Push factors at the place of origin. Scholar like Myrdal considers only the push factor as an effective cause behind the migration. Many other scholars like Sovani, Base, Trewartha assert that migration happens due to a complex interaction of Push and Pull factors. International Labour Organisation (ILO) proved this on the report of census of migration, that: “Though the Push factors of falling income and underdevelopment in

¹⁴ Greenwood, M., 1971, Migration in Urban Areas: The case study of India”, *Journal of Regional Science*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 261 In Khan, Najma., *op.cit.* p.4.

¹⁵ Stouffer, S., 1960, “Intervening opportunities and Competing Migrants”, *journal of Regional Science*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp.85-92 . Iin Datta, Amal., *op.cit.*

¹⁶ Zipf, G.K., “The P_1P_2/D hypothesis on the intercity movement of person,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. II, pp. 677-86 In Khan, Najma., *op.cit.* p. 5.

¹⁷ Bagne,D.J., 1969, *principles of Demography*, Chapter 19 p.753, New York. In Khan, Najma., *op.cit.* p.7.

agriculture in most of the less developed countries are now very strong, they do not in the absence of strong Pull factors suffice to cause large shift in manpower between occupation.”¹⁸

The main reason of voluntary migration is economic. So migration flows generally take place from the economically backward and stagnating areas to the prosperous or vibrant areas. Almost all the studies on international and internal migration have proved that generally migrants have moved in search of better economic opportunities or better livelihood though, non economic factors too have some importance. Though the Pull and Push factors of migration always vary according to the variation of area or regions, the following Push and Pull factors might be the general causative factors of migration.

Push Factors of Migration:

In migration push factors refer to the poor economic condition and lack of scope for development that has driven the people out of the area for searching a better livelihood and opportunity. More specifically, push factors of migration are: (a) Decline of the national resources; (b) Less opportunities of employment; (c) Oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment to the section of people; (d) Alienation of a person from a society because one no longer subscribes to existing belief, customs or mode of behavior within the community; (e) Few or no opportunity for personal development, employment, marriage etc. (f) Social outcry (g) Natural disasters like flood, drought, earth-quake, epidemic, etc.

Pull Factors of Migration:

The positive factors like better economic opportunities, better livelihood encourage people to migrate. These are the pull factors. Pull factors of migration are: (a) Better opportunities for employment in one's occupation (b) Scope of higher income. (c) Opportunities to obtain desired specialized education or training. (d) Preferable environment and living conditions, i.e. topography, site, climate, environment persuade

¹⁸ ILO, 1960, *Why labour leaves the land, a comparative study of movement of labour out of Agriculture*, Studies and Reports, New Series, No,5, Geneva, p.209. In Khan, Najma., *op.cit.* p. 8.

people to settle in a place. (d) Dependency movement such as migration of the bride to join her husband. (e) Lure of new or different activities and better environment.

These pull and push factors have been used to explain many cross border population movement. The 'push' and 'pull' theories are concerned mostly with rural-urban migration. Usually it has been seen that facilities, amenities and glamour of city life usually attract migrants to urban life and usually there is a mass departure of population to the city where rapid growths of industry and commerce have taken place. Labour mobility occurs in a particular area because of job opportunity and for wage difference between the place of origin and destination. This kind of movement towards a particular region with better economic opportunities and urban facilities can be explained in terms of pull factors. The 'push' and 'pull' factors of migration are mainly concerned with rural-urban migration, though 'push' and 'pull' factors also helps in respect of other types of internal as well as international migration.

Migration Motivating Conditions:

Migration can also be explained in terms of migration motivating conditions. In general, people do not leave the place of birth, friends and kin unless absolutely necessary. The factors that inspire people to leave their place of origin are the migration motivating conditions. Several scholars have suggested several migration motivating conditions though this is just another way of explaining the push and pull factors of migration. Clarke in his book '*Population Geography*' lists marriage, migratory work, special skills, transfer of employment, low wage, retirement, death of relative, military service, medical care, imprisonment, political, cultural or religious oppression, natural disaster, invasion or penetration by outsiders, inheritance, male adjustment of community, social rejection and forced movement, etc. as the important stimulating conditions.¹⁹ Sinha says that factors that motivate a person to move include cost of movement, presence of relative and friends in the place of destination, employment offer, physical environment, facilities, population composition, social facilities, familiarity with or knowledge about the place of destination,

¹⁹ Clark, J.I., 1972, *Population Geography*, Oxford. In Sinha, V.N.P & Atallah., *op.cit.* p.76.

special assistance, subsidies, information, reputation, lack of alternative destination.²⁰ Kulischer says that migratory movement happens not only for the economic facility but also social opportunities. Socio-economic conditions affecting mobility are major capital investment, business, recessions or fluctuations, technological changes, changes in economic organisation, provisions for social welfare, migration propaganda facilities, migration regulations, living conditions and levels, tolerance of minorities etc. Migration motivating conditions may be grouped into: Physical, economical, social, demographical, political etc.

Physical Condition:

Physical conditions of a region play an important role for migration from one region to another. Physical disasters like volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, landslides, soil erosion, climatic variation, flood, drought etc influenced migration time to time. When on earth people face these types of troubles, they prefer to move to better areas. This has been an important factor behind migration from the early age.

Economic Condition:

Most important motivating condition of migration is the economic condition. In search of better opportunity for occupation, a large number of people have migrated from rural areas to urban, from mountainous region to the comparatively fertile land. In the pre-industrial stage shortage of cultivated land was the most important migration motivating factor. With the passage of time population growth and the per capita share of land has reduced. So it has become difficult for the rural people to maintain their family members with insufficient agricultural land. These motivate people to migrate towards areas with better opportunities. Prior to industrialization, village cottage industries were providing job opportunities to few persons. When large scale industrialization started, it created ample opportunities of employment. People from neighboring areas started to move towards industrial centres. Thus began migration and shift from primary activities to non-agricultural activities. Earlier, because of less developed transport system migration was

²⁰ Sinha, V.N.P., 1980, Migration: an inter-disciplinary topic, *Geographical Review of India*, Vol. 42, No.2, p. 108; In Sinha, V.N.P & Ataullah., *op.cit.* p. 76-77.

confined to short distance but with development of transport network long distance migration started. Mining activities also influenced migration. Earlier Europeans preferred to move to those areas where precious minerals were available. Even today most of the mineralized areas have been attracting people from different areas. Trade and commerce have also encouraged human migration. In historical periods different trading classes moved from one part to another. This trend also exists nowadays.

Social Condition:

Social condition is no less important for migration. Social customs, practice, social prejudice, etc., also persuade people to migrate from one place to another. In rural areas social settings are more traditional. Rural places bear old and traditional social customs which are not always liked by the younger generation. Inspired by new ideas, this young generation often tries to get rid of the traditional customs. Very often, this is not approved by their parents and elders and this friction in value system motivates them to move out. Because of orthodox customs and social rigidity sometimes people, who break the social barriers are stigmatized as social outcasts and it becomes difficult for them to exist in the area. In due course those people leave the place for some other destination where they can enjoy social liberty.

According to custom almost all the girls in the Indian society move to their in-law's place of residence normally located in another place. Sometimes people break out from the joint families and move out for some other areas where they maintain nuclear family and lead independent life. Sometimes people also migrate in order to enjoy better condition for social development, to get healthy environment for education or better health facilities. Developed areas offer better recreational facilities like clubs, theaters etc. and thereby attract people from areas where such facilities are not available.

Demographic Condition:

Demographic factors also go a long way to motivate people to move from one region to another. People move from that place where density of population is high and per capita land share is less. Thus, migration can be described as the process of equalization of

the uneven distribution of people. People, with higher education, better technical knowledge, and work experience, move to new areas for better earning. Birth rate and death rate also influence human migration. Areas, where the birth rate is low and death rate is high experience labour shortage. Such types of areas witness migrants from other areas for better job opportunities. Most of the developed nations control high birth rate, and in the process the country faces inadequate labour supply. Rural areas usually witness relatively higher birth rate as the rural people are usually less educated, more orthodox and less receptive of family planning measures. This causes unbalanced growth of population leading to the increase in labour force. Usually the surplus labour from rural areas migrates to the urban areas for better livelihood.

Political Condition:

Sometimes political condition of an area motivates people to migrate from that region to another. Various accounts show that from the historical past different countries have witnessed migration based on political motivation. International wars and treaties have time to time enforced people to shift from one area to another in the form of refugee, Diaspora population, political asylum seekers, etc. The World War I and II, and their aftermath caused a large scale migration in Europe. Formation of a new State, sometimes force the people to move. The population movement between India and Pakistan after the partition is an ideal example of the influence of political factor of migration. At the time of emergence of Bangladesh as a State large scale migration took place from Bangladesh to India. When a country invades other places the people of that place are forced to move. Many Tibetans were forced to move towards India because of Chinese invasion.

Impact of Migration:

Migration leaves its impact on many aspects of human civilisation. Due to migration, physical, economic, social and political transformation take place in both the regions- from where the people move out as well as the new region where they settle down. Out migration release the pressure of population. When male migration takes place on a large scale it increases the proportion of female, children, and old persons; decrease the number of working force. When young, energetic, and qualified working group migrate

from any region, shortage of labour is witnessed and the progress of region becomes sluggish. However, when out-migrants start to send money into their area of origin, the economic conditions of the region improves. Migrants coming from different cultural regions lead to the cultural syncretism of the host society. Sometimes different political ideologies inherent in these migrants change the thoughts of the original residents. Immigration increases the pressure on the population, working force, ratio of male, literacy etc. So the effect of migration in the society, politics and economy on both the areas – that of origin as well as that of destination have been observed.

Nepali migration in Eastern and Northeastern India is a historical phenomenon. It has been taking place over a long period of time and due to many reasons, i.e. there are both pull and push factors and migration motivating conditions. The impact of this has been profound on both the regions – Nepal as well as India. We will discuss such causes and effects in the following chapters. This chapter will provide the theoretical background of the Nepali migration.

Theoretical Analyses of Nepali Migration:

Migration from Nepal to Eastern and Northeastern India on the basis of pull and push factors has majorly been discussed in the subsequent chapter, but for the better understanding of the theme an attempt has been made to analyze it on the basis of various existing migration theories. It is true that no single theoretical analysis of migration is satisfactory to interpret all the issues related to migration. Instead of a single theory, a number of theories or hypotheses have been developed to analyze different issues related to migration. Migration of Nepalis towards Eastern and Northeastern India is a complex phenomenon and it is difficult to explain within a single theoretical set-up. Beside 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.

In the process of conquest and migration, the Gorkha ruler after consolidation of power in Kathmandu valley and other adjacent areas marched to Sikkim princely states and

conquered a large area of it. Legend of superior culture Gorkhas walked to the place of conquest and settled in the area. After independence and merger of the Sikkim state with Indian federal structure, population of the area who arrived at the time of conquest of the country and settled themselves there, became the citizen of the Indian Nation. This was also a process of migration. Presently most of the populations of Sikkim are Nepalis. Many scholars have argued the hypothesis of conquest and migration of the Nepalis to India as well as Sikkim. Though, it is not possible to prove with proper statistical data.

Historical-structural approach deals with the model of migration on the basis of wage and price differentiation, and migration flows to market where labour power is sold. In this model free labour exists for sale as a commodity. This system is applicable in the capitalist mode of production, which can be better understood with the Marxist analysis. In the Marxist tradition migration has been analyzed on the basis of social structure rather than as the issue of individual approach or motivation of the migrants. Study represents the migration as an issue of continuity and integral effort of the total society. Individual issues, society's internal contradictions, societal change over time; formal organizational factor like little groups, clan, Kin factor, ideological factor has not been addressed. Study assumes the act of overall societal activities as identical. Study has discussed the societies on the basis of different modes of production and the contradiction between capitalist sectors versus domestic sector i.e. the rural sectors. The ways of production or reproduction or mode of production takes place in the different society and contradiction and conflict rotating around the control of production and reproduction and the alienation or expropriation of products has been discussed in the theory. Theory analyzes that in a rural society producers shift from their means of production where mode of production is pre-capitalist in nature. Flow of rural producers and their entry takes place in capitalist production more or less as free proletarians and thus migration takes place. Here non-capitalist country acts as continuous source of labour for the capitalist country. Capitalism has emerged in the modern society with specific mode of production where separation has established between individual producers and their means of production. The mode of production gets its commodity nature with the utilization of labour force and other means of production. Here the commodity could be bought and sold for production including the

labour. Gradually economy has started to determine all the aspects of social life. This system has been penetrated into every society as well as in the case of Nepal and Indian society. It can be interpreted that capitalism has always been an instrument of migration. Whenever the capitalist mode of production penetrates into the society, migration takes place. The capitalist sectors are always dependent on domestic sectors for their need of labour. The capitalism takes the benefits from domestic economy in a peculiar way. Migrants leave the domestic economy and move to capitalist sectors. Migrant workers are not only used as producers under capitalism but the surplus value of production also is generated through their exploited labour. Even over-exploitation of labour in the capitalist economy hampers the production of the domestic economy. Capitalist employers confine to pay the migrant workers only a subsistence wage for day to day survival during the period of capitalist employment. Domestic communities carry the burden of producing labour force for capitalism and bear the non-productive childhood of future labour and keep him alive as soon as he leaves for capitalist employment. Here not only the migrant labour, the domestic communities also play their role to promote migration for capitalist production. In the capitalist employment sector the migrant labour gets a unique identity and emerge as a distinct social class and lose their domestic identity and become excluded from their rural counterpart. We can interpret the migration of the people from Nepal to Indian Eastern and Northeaster part on Marxist theoretical angle.

To interpret the migration from Nepal to Eastern and Northeastern India Marxian analysis of colonization and alienation theory is important. In the capitalist mode of production colonization took place in the parts of Eastern and Northeastern India and our study area Darjeeling region of Eastern India and whole of the northeast India has been severely affected for colonization. In the process of colonization of the place various colonial enterprises have been established in the area which acted as the pull of migration of people from Nepal to India. Nepal was pre-capitalist state at that time. And migration has been witnessed from pre-capitalist Nepal to capitalist British India. In the contradiction between non-capitalist domestic economy of Nepal and contemporary British capitalist economy in India, rural producers of Nepal shifted from their means of production where mode of production was pre-capitalist in nature. Migrants had become the free proletarians

in the place of destination where they became the tools for the capitalist production in plantation economy, mining, forest and other sectors; and also became an agent of imperialist power as police and military force. Even Colonial masters had encouraged this migration to ensure the security of them and to counteract the aboriginal people and their de-colonial movement by inflowing the others. The non-capitalist country Nepal got its commodity nature and became the source of labour force for British capitalist India, and thus the people of the country started to be sold. Migrants had become exploited by the British power by using the surplus value of production generated through their labour. Migration of the Nepalis to Colonial economy of Eastern and Northeast India hampered the production of the country of origin, i.e. Nepal. Nepal started to suffer because of the shortage of manpower. Authentic proof of the shortage of able man power for the military has been witnessed because of the flow of people from Nepal to India. Even Nepal carried the burden of producing labour force for the capitalist power, reared them during the non productive childhood and prepared them for the future ready labour force to be migrated to the Eastern and Northeastern parts of the colonial India. It has been seen that for the imperialist need in the period of World Wars the least able male people from Nepal had been recruited. Even after the migration and staying in a new socio-cultural set-up a distinct identity had been developed among the migrants. They became segregated from their destination country and were not properly accepted by the host society. The process of migration due to colonization generated the feeling of hatred, conflict among the migrants and the aboriginal people of the eastern and northeastern parts of India. The outcome of it was felt when the movement for exclusion of the foreigner from the Northeast and East India started and in opposition to this the identity consciousness movements emerged among the Nepalis in India.

Marxists thus viewed migration in capitalist society but migration to non capitalist nature or the rural communities' migration to other rural areas has not been discussed in Marxist analysis. This theoretical implication could only seem to be applied better in the colonial migration than to post colonial analyses of migration. No internal factors of migration, diverse ethnic social structure, specific communities' interest on migration has been discussed in this theoretical interpretation. Social, political, religious and other

motivating factors have not been discussed in the theory. The issues of migration of women with their husbands and their children, and that of the elderly people to join their relatives who are not capitalist working force, and also the students' migration are not possible to interpret under this theory. Even the theory does not interpret the impact of migration into rural communities of departure and analyze the effect negatively and in exploitative nature. Thus the interpretation of migration from Nepal to India is not possible only through Marxist analysis. People of Nepal as one unique social identity have not been migrated. People of Gorkha community, even high caste *Brahimin* had migrated to India. Migration from western and far western Nepal to India has majorly been witnessed and also the counter migration from India to Nepal Tarai. So Nepal-India migration cannot be explained as a flow from rural sector to capitalist sectors. Beside this, religious affinity, individual choice, and the cultural attachment between countries are important to interpret migration.

Various other theoretical interpretations could be analyzed from the process of migration from Nepal to India. Another approach of migration is Network Theory. The Network of migration is the set of interpersonal ties that connect earlier migrants, potential migrants and non-migrants in the country of origin and the place of destination through ties of their kinship, friendship, shared community origin and others. The theory explicates that migration was mediated when a network developed between the labour sending and receiving countries and when a person established a path of internal and external migration and that is followed by other individuals and communities. Migrant is linked to non-migrants in the source of origin and otherwise encourage others to migrate. These types of linkages are classified into four categories, namely, (i) State to State Relations, (ii) Mass Culture Connections, (iii) Family and Personal Networks, and (iv) Migrant Agency Activities.²¹ The concept of State to State relationship is the political relations and economical connections and the dependency of one nation state on another. This linkage is mainly a natural manifestation of trade relationships, military assistance programme, technical sharing, labour supply and other contacts. It could be the flows of goods among countries, military and technical help to each other. Mass Culture Connections are the

²¹ Fawcett, James T., 1989, *Networks, Linkages and Migration Systems*, International Migration Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 673.

socio-cultural connection of migrants with receiving community. It is primarily societal norms which govern out-migration of communities to a place of similar culture and acceptance of immigrants by similar cultural communities. Similarities in value system, language, education and other issues help the migration. Relations between countries because of colonial relationship, commonwealth connection act for migration. The socio-cultural relationship between immigrant and receiving communities is very powerful which facilitates migration flows. Family and Personal Networks is the relationship between individual and among the relatives which exercise family or chain migration. Relation between the friends, classmates, fellow ethnics, colleague of migrated communities can create network with potential migrants and facilitate fresh migration. Former immigrants sponsor the new migrants where culture based family obligation, ethnic or friendship obligations are established. Hearing about the facility of migration in the destination place from a former migrant motivates for new migration. Successful emigrants always attract aspiring emigrants and become a role model for new migrants and return migration always diminish the flow of migration. Migrant Agency Activities are the contracts or agreements done by an agency with migrants for facilitating migration. These are the rules and regulations or procedures promulgated by agencies for migrants and receiving sectors. Beside the legal issues, Agencies provide various information regarding migration, provide facilities for migrants, and act as the middleman between migrant and employer. Migrant Network plays a vital role in international migration. Migration from Nepal to India could be interpreted on the basis of this theory. Initially in the nineteenth century British played a great role to recruit Nepalis in the British army, and other civil sectors. Migrant population after returning to the native place influenced other people of the place of origin to migrate to India. Better livelihood and other facilities like good income, retirement facilities etc always encouraged them to migrate. Here initial migrant has created a network between the two countries and with new movers. State to State relations, colonial legacy, commonwealth connection always attracted people of Nepal to India. Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Nepal and India, trade relations between countries, facility provided by India to the Nepali citizen in connection to education, health, economy always attracted migrants. Various agency houses take a pivotal role in such migrations. From long past contractors appointed coolies for various Indian enterprise. For the recruitment Nepalis for

the British army, and even for other civil sectors the contractor played a great role. This legacy continued even today where various agencies work for labour migration, female and student migration. Side by side it has been seen that relatives, friends and other family members have followed the earlier migrants of Nepal to India. In the northeast India Grazier has followed the Gorkha army and migrated to this part and settled there. In the present days this network of migration attracted the temporary migrant people from Nepal to India in coal mine sector of the Northeast India and in Darjeeling, Kalingpong and Kurseong area as wage labourers and porters.

Academicians of Neoclassical economics focus on individual choice behind the migration. They generally interpret migration as an individual decision for maximization of income not a group decision or class decision. In this approach individual actors decide to migrate on own choice after assessing the cost-benefit analyses and expect a positive net return. Here migration is conceptualized as a form of human capital investment. That is the human capital approach of migration propounded by Sjaastad in 1962.²² Migrants chose the place where they can earn great amount of return by investing their human capital. This investment includes the traveling cost to the work place, cost for searching a job in the destination, training cost, the effort concerned with learning a new language and culture of the work place, problem evolve to adopt new job culture, physiological cost to detach the attachment from home place and to set up in a new conditions. Migrants here take household decision to reduce risk for his family income or trounce the capital constraints on family production activities. The migrant considers not only the labour market but also variety of factors for migration like differentials in wages, employment conditions between countries, migration costs and other factors. Dual labour market theory and world system theory normally do not put the attention on individual choice or such micro level approaches. The theory discusses migration as natural consequences of globalization of capital and economy where market enters across the national boundary and become an international issue. This theory is recognized as Neoclassical Macro economic theory where labour migration is a process of worldwide economic development. International migration depends on the supply and demand for labour in various geographical locations.

²² Tripathy, S.N., 2005, *Tribal Migration*, Sonali Publication, New Delhi, p. 28.

Countries which have large labour force in relation to capital investment have a low equilibrium market wage but country which are shortage of labour in relation to capital investment are characterized by high market wage. Demand of labour and differential in wages in a different geographical location initiates migration. Workers from low wage country always move to the high wage country.

To interpret migration from Nepal to Eastern and Northeastern parts of India, human capital approach or individual choice for migration is important. After the collapse of economy of Nepal based on imperialism by Gorkhas, various sectors in India attracted the Nepalis. Here individuals for their own choice have come to India for livelihood strategy. Initially it was temporary in nature. Nepalis used to come in Darjeeling, Sikkim and other Eastern and Northeastern parts of India at the time of winter and return to their home country in time of rain. It became a regular practice of migrants in later date. Gradually, a volume of temporary migrants who came for their individual choice and for maximization of income started to settle down in the Indian territory and thus the permanent migration took place. After Independence, the emerging Indian Nation creates a very good job market for the Nepalis. Even in the period of globalization, when India is a developing nation and is maintaining a very good friendship with Nepal, Nepalis have been encouraged to migrate to the Eastern and Northeastern parts of India. Though nowadays permanent citizenship is restricted to the Nepali nationals who migrate to India after 1950, temporary migration continued. Even various associations and scholars argue that by various illegal means migrants nowadays are also getting citizenship in India. Now a days with regular temporary migration sporadic illegal permanent migrations are taking place in the Eastern and Northeastern parts of India. This migration is very difficult to identify.

As discussed earlier distance has played a great role in migration. People in huge number generally migrate short distance. Educated and resourceful persons comparatively move longer distance than poor and uneducated persons. This hypothesis has been proved in the case of migration from Nepal to India. Nepalis always have preferred to migrate to India, particularly to short distance place. Darjeeling district, Sikkim is nearer to Nepal and a huge number of people from Nepal have migrated to those places. States of the

Northeastern India is little farther from Nepal than Darjeeling and Sikkim. But, migration from Nepal in huge number has taken place to Northeast India. Such migration was mainly because of military recruitment by the British.

Apart from all this theoretical analyses we can say that Nepalis always migrated to India for livelihood strategy and to reduce vulnerability to food insecurity in Nepal. Some Scholar considers India as 'safety valve' for Nepal.²³ When the people of the country faced difficulties escaped to India, very often for livelihoods and sometimes for other reasons. During the period of Maoist insurgency in 1996 to 2006 Nepalis searched their land to India. Many scholars opine that the 1950 treaty is the main reason of migration from Nepal to India. Open and unregulated nature of the border, similar identities among the Nepalis of Nepal and Indian Nepalis, similar organization associated with works in both the country, same structural division of labour, easy transferring skills, etc have facilitated the migration.

So, it is clear from the study that no single coherent theory is possible to interpret the issue of migration between Nepal and India. A number of theories have been developed in isolation to interpret such migration. It is difficult to understand migration of people from Nepal to Indian Eastern and Northeastern parts with a single frame. Specific theoretical analyses are needed to interpret a specific flow of migration which could not be appropriate for another set of migration flow. It is a complex and multifaceted issue. The whole issue of migration of people from Nepal to India within a span of nineteenth to twenty-first century is not possible to analyze in a single theoretical dimension. In a different time frame and conditions different theoretical interpretation is needed to analyze the whole migration issue.

²³ Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *Migration, Security and Livelihoods: A case of Migration between Nepal & India*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies, Nepal, p. 18.