



MIGRATION, DEVELOPMENT AND CITIZENSHIP: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC
CASE STUDY OF BHOJPUR VDC IN EASTERN HILLS OF NEPAL

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS



Mr Binayak Krishna Thapa for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies presented on August 25, 2017. Title: Migration, Development and Citizenship: An Ethnographic Case Study of Bhojpur VDC in Eastern Hills of Nepal.

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ABSTRACT

The underlying aim of this study is to explore the socio-economic developmental outcomes associated with internal migration. In doing so, this study is situated at the tri-junction of three different phenomenon: a) migration, b) development, and c) citizenship. It involves inter-relation between these using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The overall methodological approach adopted for this study was an ethnographic framework based on field observation, in-depth interviews and census data, and an attempt was made to explore the outcomes at three levels: a) community, b) household, and c) individual. At the community level, this study inquired on the changing landscape of residential patterns of housing across wards of Bhojpur VDC, which in turn helps understand the changing configuration of ethnic/caste settlements across wards. At the household level, the study sheds light on

migrants' household locational strategy and its contribution to their daily livelihood. Lastly, at the individual level, it explored the aspects of and changing state-citizen relationship of the migrants.

The overall aim of this study is to understand the developmental outcomes of internal migration. As consequences of migration are multidimensional in nature, changes pertaining to demographics, culture, economy and society are common affects of the migration phenomenon. In this regard, development outcomes of migration are broad and wide. However, primary development outcomes in this study are related to changing residential patterns of housing across ethnic and caste groups, livelihood diversification in multi-local setting of households, and changing configuration of migrant-state relationship. In order to accomplish the underling aim of this study, a holistic framework engaging migration, development and citizenship studies is chalked out. This framework encompasses three major elements: a) clarity in concepts and conceptualization of migration, development and citizenship, b) understanding development outcomes at all three levels: community, household and individual, and c) analysis of different migration and migrant categories, and migrant profile in order to assess how migration properties (pattern, drivers and magnitude), demography, livelihood diversification differ across migrant categories and the changing civic status of migrant population.

The empirical findings of this research depict that domestic migration is directed to places with higher development outcomes than that of the origin. Domestic migration is a livelihood strategy of the migrant households and is mainly driven by aspirations for job opportunity, income, and availability of basic services of education and health. Markets such as labour, housing and goods are structural forces generating in-migration in the place of destination. These structural factors have generated multi-local householdings, and, household functioning in multi-location arrangements is made possible by different types socio-economic activities entailed with migration. At the individual level, development outcomes pertain to expansion of opportunities at the destination albeit life chances and opportunities depend on the resources in the hands of migrants. However, human development gains from the internal migration are immensely restricted for individuals and families devoid of the migration registration.

PhD in Development Studies



Thesis of Binayak Krishna Thapa Presented to the School of Arts Research Committee on October 8, 2017.

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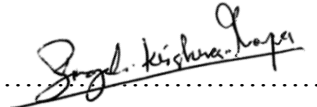
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted for candidature for any other degree.

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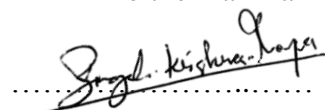
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the people of Bhojpur.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BS	Bikram Sambat (Nepali Calendar Year)
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CDO	Chief District Officer
CFUG:	Community Forest User Group
DDC	District Development Committee
CFUGs	Community Forest User Groups
DADO	District Agriculture Development Office
DFID	Department for International Development of United Kingdoms
DoFE	Department of Foreign Employment
HH	Households
HDI	Human Development Index
IoM	International Organizations for Migration
KII	Key Informant Interview
MoLTM	Ministry of Labour and Transport Management
NLSS	Nepal Living Standard Survey
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee
WB	World Bank

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Migration, Development and Citizenship: An Ethnographic Case Study of Bhojpur VDC in Eastern Hills of Nepal

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

The global migration¹ phenomena and its associated developmental (social, economic, cultural and political) effects has immense role in shaping the twenty-first century (Sutherland, 2013). At this juncture of Post-2015 debate on development agenda for sustainable development, international and internal migration sums up to nearly a billion people (International Organization for Migration, 2011; United Nations Development Program, 2009). This magnitude of migration is considerably large and has gained attention of both academics and policy makers across different field of studies. Amidst many debates within academic circle on the phenomenon of migration, one of the core issues considered is the nexus between migration and development. For many decades in the past, migration was perceived as the outcome of failed development. This perception has changed in the last decade. Here onwards we see a point of departure towards understanding development as an outcome of migration (De Haas, 2005). People around the world have been relying on migration as a pathway to improve their family's income, health and education. Beyond the pathway to improvement, migration as a strategy is taken up to escape poverty, to diversify livelihood of household, and even used as a means to overcome shocks pertaining to economic, environmental and conflict (Sutherland, 2013). All the more, people in migration and their involved roles are of paramount importance. As an agent of change, the roles they play have broader socio-economic implications. Such complexity demands migration studies to involve cross disciplinary investigation; this helps migration to be understood as an intrinsic part of broader socio-economic changes paving the path towards advancing the field of migration research.

This thesis positions at the junction of three broad academic fields: a) migration studies, b) development studies, and c) citizenship studies. Research

¹ The term migration in this thesis refers to human movement across and within the borders of a country, usually measured across country, regional, district, municipal and VDC boundaries. The term international migration refers to movement across national borders and the term internal migration refers to movement within national border.

questions dealt in the thesis situate at the intersection of these fields. Over the last few decades, each of these fields has gained academic interest and has undergone substantial changes. Many researchers are found to deal with the inter-linkages between these fields. Toward this contribution, this thesis makes an attempt to understand migration as a process of socio-economic development. This research aims to find the development outcomes associated with domestic migration in the rural hills of eastern Nepal. It deals with contemporary drivers and patterns of internal migration, explores the demographic dynamics involved and attempts to understand how and what socio-economic transformations (development) influence different migrant categories at the choice of destination. Lastly, the research explores on migrants' connection to the state at local level by examining portability and transferability of civic status, rights and entitlement entailed in the citizenship conferred by the state to its citizens.

1.1 Brief on Global Context of Migration

The phenomenon of 'human movement'² can be marked as old as knowledge of movement with mankind. Irrespective of tightened nation-state boundaries, borders and security, human movement across and within nation-state has never nor will ever cease. Recent decades have been marked by unprecedented number of people involved in 'human movement'. With regards to 'human movement' across nation-state borders or within, this phenomenon is captured in different fields of study, geography, economics, sociology, migration to name a few. In migration studies, the phenomenon of 'human movement' is understood as migration, compartmentalizing migration as international and internal for movement across state borders and within it respectively. The state of migration, both internal and international, is a concern not just to academics across many disciplines but also to policy makers. This concern is attributed to increasing magnitude of migration over the years and its associated causes and consequences.

International Organizations for Migration (IoM) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2011 and 2009 respectively report that a total of

² *Human Development Report 2009, Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development* define human movement as the act of changing one's place of residence.

214 million people have moved across national borders. This accounts to 3 per cent of the world's population on the move. Further, UNDP reports an estimate of 714 million people move internally within borders. These accounts to nearly 12 per cent of the world's population and is four times as large as international migration. This depicts that internal migration is more significant than international migration.

Migration studies have gone beyond understanding just the key features of migration i.e. magnitude, composition and direction. At the core of migration studies lies the study of migrants involved, the economic, social, cultural, and demographic aspects of migration too. According to Mohapatra et al (2011), the total amount of \$325 billion was recorded as remittances in 2010 by the migrants³ (people who moved across borders). Across academic disciplines, many migration literatures state that migration is an important livelihood strategy for many poor groups across the globe. Starting with an example from Asia, Anh (2003) puts forward an argument that migration drives growth, has positive impacts on people's livelihood and well-being in the case study of Bangladesh. On a similar note, Afsar (2003) states that migration in the case of Bangladesh has reduced poverty due to increasing area under cultivation and expanding rural labour markets as a result of remittances. Further, Ping (2003) brings the case of China and draws attention to the overall development of China and the contribution of migrant labours. Lastly, taking the case of Latin America, Andersson (2002) draws attention to the benefits of rural-urban migration in Bolivia, where, service delivery in the rural areas of Bolivia was a big constraint due to low population density, deprivation and mountainous terrain.

1.2 Contextualizing Nepali Migration

In Nepal, internal and international migration is of high significance with regards to its economy. Internal migration is more associated with livelihood diversification outcomes as compared to international migration for employment opportunity and income enhancement. Though this distinction is blurring, both types of migration have become a livelihood strategy for large number of rural population

³ Migrant in this thesis is an individual who has changed her/his place of residence either by crossing an international or national administrative border by moving out of her/his place of origin to another place (region, district, municipality and VDC).

(Poertner et al, 2011). At the macro level, migration is reported to contribute to one fourth of the GDP of Nepal (NIDS, 2009). At the micro level, household pursue migration as means to diversify livelihood. According to Adhikari and Hobley (2013), migration has immensely contributed to reduction of poverty too.

On account of international migration, since the past decades, Nepal has been experiencing steady increase in the magnitude of emigrants for foreign employment. According to the estimations based on the records of Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE)⁴, more than 1,000 Nepali youths migrate everyday to work in foreign countries other than India. While India in the past for many decades had been the main destination for aspirant workers (Seddon et al 2001; MoLTM and IoM 2010; NIDS 2009), these days, the old trend is declining and new avenue have opened up. Migration to the Gulf, Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Lebanon and Israel are new frontiers of international labor migration.

Considering the last fifty years of data presented in Nepali census, one outstanding characteristic that can be noticed with regards to domestic migration is its increasing magnitude. Suwal (2013) notes the steadily increasing magnitude of internal migration shot up after 1991. This surge in increase of internal migration is attributed to expansion of opportunities in different sectors, specially the informal sector, just after the restoration of multi-party democracy. Though domestic economy stagnated in between 1996-2006 as a consequence of armed conflict, Nepal experienced a considerable decrease in poverty. The total number of households living under poverty line decreased from 42 per cent to 31 per cent (CBS et al, 2006) during that decade. From 2006 onwards, poverty has decrease by 6 more percent, which currently stands at 21 per cent (World Bank and NLSS III (2010-11) and CBS, (2011)). This can be attributed to remittances from both internal and international migration.

Adhikari and Hobley (2013) suggest migration to be put at the core of Nepal's development strategy. According to K.C. (2003), gross mobility in Nepal is positively associated with development. He states that districts with better socio-economic

⁴ See: Department of Foreign Employment: - Data on Foreign Labour Migration at (www.dofe.gov.np)

development, women's empowerment, and other development variables attract more in-migration⁵. Further, he explains that inter-district migration is higher among highly developed districts. He argues that non-migration of a district is associated with lower level of development.

Based on analysis of 2011 census, hills of Nepal continue to be the largest area of origin. For many decades hills have been losing population. Urban areas of Tarai and Kathmandu Valley are the destinations for most internal migrants and over the period have gained immense population. Suwal (2014) states that rural-rural migration predominates all other spatial patterns of migration. While male migration is primarily for economic reasons, female migration is driven by marriage. According to him, on an average four out of thousand people migrate regional boundaries and six out of thousand cross district boundaries. It is to be noted here that the bigger the area considered for calculating the magnitude of migration is, the smaller is the value and vice-versa.

Though for many decades migration has been researched in Nepal, researchers have mainly focused on inter zonal and inter district migration. Not much work has focused on inter Village Development Committee (VDC) i.e. intra district or inter village migration. Migration between villages has not been captured by any census so far. According to K.C. (2003) migration data collected for census up till 2001 restricts to district boundaries only. He argues that while people move from rural to urban areas within district or vice-versa, such incidences are not recorded in census, and mobility does not get confined within the district boundary.

I would like to situate myself within this periphery of the context of Nepali migration, and elaborate on the rationale for this thesis.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

For many decades, the lowlands of Nepal (Tarai region) were considered to be the new frontiers for population settlement of the hill population. Government of

⁵ For those places receiving in flow of migrants, in-migration refers to incoming of new people.

Nepal during the 1950s supported resettlement schemes along with malaria eradication programs in the Tarai region. Around this time the Tarai region was less populated and densely forested. Resettlement in this region was aimed at increasing agriculture production and land distribution to the homeless. On the one hand hilly regions suffered from lack of opportunities, difficulties in making a living with subsistence agriculture, limited fertile land for agriculture, and adequate land availability for increasing population due to land fragmentation, and on the other Tarai experienced emerging urban centers, employment opportunities, and availability of health and education services. In last three decades, this trend of internal migration in Nepal had received primary focus of scholars, followed by migration to India and conflicted induced migration in the 2000s. Recently, labour migration has been given more concern.

Amidst these migration phenomenons, other frontier areas are emerging in the hills unlike the Tarai frontiers driven by schemes. In the rural hills of Nepal, considerable urbanization has been taking place in the recent decade. This mainly is noticeable at the district headquarters of the mid hilly districts. Here, roads are being built, old towns are expanding, health facilities are improving, and better educational institutes are being established. These new dynamics has been attracting rural populations or the periphery village population towards urbanizing, emerging towns. This study examines district headquarter of Bhojpur district in eastern Nepal. Over the last decade (2001-2011), despite of the district's negative population growth, the headquarters' population has increased considerably. With the advent of the first green road built by the locals, Bhojpur got connected with its neighboring district Dhankuta. This new road connectivity has brought about increased transportation of goods, human mobility with the introduction to bus facilities to cities, investment in hotels, schools and health sectors.

Contemporary internal migration is directed to these observable frontiers, where rise in settlement is being experienced. This settlement differs from the previous scheme related resettlement in the Tarai region during the 1950s. The contemporary settlement is an outcome of development process and transformations taking place in the hills of rural Nepal in which the people of the hills play an intrinsic part in the frontier areas. This draws ample space in the academic realm to examine

the new emerging patterns of internal migration in the hills, the people involved in the process and the trade-offs they make.

Unequal development across ecological zones and administrative regions has divided Nepalese population into rural and urban population. There exist considerable development contrasts between cities, towns and villages. This structural difference has implication at individual level, too, in regards to the difference in quality of life across cities, towns and villages. In terms of standard of living that includes education, health, income and housing, rural villages are lagging far behind the urban areas. Such unequally distributed access to and opportunity for better well-being has attracted much of rural population to flow towards peri-urban and urban areas. Amid the two opposite poles of rural and urban divide we can see the towns emerging. For those rural populations that cannot make it up to the cities for various reasons, emerging town has been an alternative. In recent decade (2001-2011), towns have seen drastic changes after the armed conflict. These rapidly transforming towns have been experiencing demographic changes, expansion of area, increasing road connectivity and expanding road network, improved means of transportation, increasing human mobility, local construction and improved services and facilities mainly health, education and finance.

Situating myself within this complexity of unprecedented transformation taking place with rapidly growing community such as Bhojpur VDC, I intend to explore the decreasing rural population and emptying rural villages. Population shift from mountainous and hilly region of Nepal to lowland Tarai has been a longstanding trend. The decreasing population growth in mountains and hills has been a major problem characterized by the absence of youth population and leaving the elderly behind. While villages are emptying, emerging towns and cities have gained population at a significant level. This has contributed to demographic changes at the destination areas along with increased demands on basic resources and facilities available to the growing population. This is a challenge to the areas experiencing surge in population growth.

The primary concern of this research is on domestic migration. Here, I mainly concentrate on internal migration taking place within a district i.e. VDC to VDC

migration. The district chosen for this study is Bhojpur, and the study specifically concentrates on the district headquarters of Bhojpur also called Bhojpur VDC during the time of data collection. Recently Bhojpur VDC, whose population increased to more than 7000 from around 5000 in 10 years time, has been converted to municipality since 2014. In this research, I aim to explore multi-dimensions of the living and day to day experiences of rural-urban migrants. In doing so, I examine how their migration plays part in various processes of change in the destination they intend to live. Perception of both male and female are taken into consideration. However, having chosen only in-migrants as respondents, this thesis may be based on restricted perspective. I am aware that out-migrants and their perspective have not been included to its full capacity.

My choice to inquiry on domestic migration in Nepal largely relates to seeking revival of academic interest in the study of internal migration in low-income countries. Migration studies have primarily focused on international dimension since 1980s. This upsurge of scholarly interest in international migration has sidelined internal migration, particularly in developing and underdeveloped countries. We have to be reminded that magnitude of internal migration surpasses the magnitude of international migration by many folds.

According to Skeldon (1990), internal migration in low to middle income countries relates to unequal geography of income, opportunities, employment or just simple survival. The case of eastern Nepal in this research is highly relevant for many reasons. Firstly, rural eastern Nepal is rapidly transforming, the community of the hills are changing in both social and economic dimensions. Secondly, the vast difference between peripheral villages and district headquarters provides a rural-urban setting, making it suitable for case-study of the internal migration phenomenon. Lastly, western Nepal has received primary focus in Nepalese migration studies, completely sidelining the cases of migration in eastern Nepal.

1.4 Current Research Gap

The academic literature on migration studies of Nepal have traditionally focused on different types of migration, particularly emphasizing and focusing on the

several different trends, patterns, and magnitude of migration across time and geographical boundaries. Its only recently, that, the scholars have started inquiring on the consequences and implications of migration. The scholarship in the field of migration studies of Nepal has primarily focused on rural to urban internal migration and international labor migration emphasizing the consequences and implications for the destination side. There is not much research on the consequences and implication at the site that plays a dual role of origin and destination. This gives a good reason and ideal setting to study the effect of both in and out-migration and the associated socio-economic transformation (development) and its dynamics.

Researchers in the field of migration studies have primarily shed light on social and economic impact of migration and this gives me the motivation to focus on the inter-linkages of migration and development at local level, which has not been under investigation in the context of migration studies in Nepal. After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2006, which brought an end to decade-long armed conflict, Nepal has experienced an ever-increasing mobility within the country, and an unprecedented increase in internal and cross border migration. The persistent political transition and political instability, both at local and national level on the one hand, and increasing amount of rural to urban migration, international labor migration and internal and international educational migration on the other give an ideal setting to investigate the linkages between migration, development and citizenship.

1.5 Positioning the Argument: Statement of Problem

In the eastern hills of Nepal, population growth has been significantly low for many decades (Suwal, 2014; K.C, 2003). This longstanding phenomenon is attributed firstly to the low rate of population growth and secondly to the increasing rate of out-migration from the hills (CBS, 2014). The migration is directed to nearby towns, urban centers, lowland (Tarai) and abroad (Poertner et al, 2011; Adhikari and Hogley, 2013). Broadly, the same patter can be seen in other parts of Nepal. The census data 2011 depict that eastern hill districts, including Bhojpur, are the net losers of population.

While the district level situation exemplifies population loss, there are some composite villages of district that have gained population. In the case of Bhojpur district, the villages constituting district headquarter had received influx of migrants, increasing its population over the last decade (2001-2011). These villages have dual role in the context of place of migration. On the one hand they can be regarded as source places of migration and on the other they can also be considered as destination places. The argument is that in the dynamics of migration process, place of migration can be source as well as destination. In the conditions where migrants are predominantly youths, this demands a need to explore demographic changes in areas acting as source as well as destination, which is a point of departure from traditional notion of looking at places strictly on bases of either source or destination and the associated demographic change.

In the hills, people are being less and less dependent on subsistence agriculture. The contemporary migration in the hills is characterized by hilly people moving out of agriculture sector to other non-farm activities. This has resulted in a shortage of agricultural labour, lessening livestock production and labour intensive forms of crops. People are opting for non-farm, non-agriculture means of livelihood. In this context, migration is a pursuit to higher living standards and well-being. The pursuit of migration for better life probabilities is more of a household decision than individual. Households go through many arrangements to make migration successful. At the household level, this thesis explores the location arrangements of household members and the entailed livelihood diversification strategies.

Migrants' aspiration to better life chances has driven migration considerably. Migration for secured paid employment, income generating opportunity, higher education, access to better health facilities and improving living conditions are common aspirations. But, are all the migration thus undertaken successful in achieving their aspirations? This research aims at addressing this concern, at an individual level, and for that it explores the trade-off entailed in migration. To examine the trade-off, migrants' civil status, rights and entitlement associated with the membership of villages are examined.

1.6 Research Questions

This thesis aims to analyze VDC to VDC migration, and in so doing, it examines migration as livelihood diversification strategy at household level and explores the development outcomes of the migratory phenomenon at community level. The underlying macro issues and context for this thesis are the rapidly but unevenly developing rural Nepal and the urbanization taking place there. Therefore, it aims to investigate the role of village to village intra-district migration process in the development of emerging hilly towns of rural Nepal. The overall research question underlying is: What are the development outcomes associated with internal migration in rapidly transforming communities in rural Nepal? And what are the trade-offs faced by migrants accomplishing migration? This main question is broken down into more specific objectives, which connect to the structure of empirical research inquiry outlined in organization of the thesis section of this chapter.

The specific objectives underlying this thesis can be grouped into three

1. To examine the migration processes and changing demography in study site.
 - a. What are the patterns and drivers of migration?
 - b. What are the involved migrant categories? How do these categories differ?
 - c. What are the basic demographic changes taking place at study site?

2. To investigate the socio-economic changes associated with migration and examine the living condition and experience of making a living of migrants across categories at study site.
 - a. How and what are the socio-economic changes associated with migration?
 - b. How is the household arranging its location during migration?
 - c. What are the livelihood diversification opted by migrant households?
 - d. What are the opportunities available at destination and how migrant households have been taking advantage of them?

3. To examine the relationship between migrant status and state at local level, and the differences between migrant and non-migrant with regards to connection with local state.

- a. What is the civil status of the migrants with regards to vital registration at local state office?
- b. How are rights of migrants entailed in citizenship affected during migration?
- c. What rights are accessible or not accessible for migrant at destination? How does it differ from that of non-migrants?

1.7 Organization of the Thesis

To unravel my research objective and entailed research questions, I have framed the research into eight chapters. In *Chapter One* I introduce the research by discussing the global context and national context of migration, followed by the rationale for this research. Then I discuss the research gap I detected and position myself to explore the research problem and the formation of research objective and associated research question.

In *Chapter Two*, I outline the situation and trends of Nepali migration. This includes literatures on Nepali migration with historical context. Here I chart the historical accounts on migration in Nepal, the various migration types and form, its impact and consequences as discussed by important literatures on Nepali migration. In the second part of the chapter, I sketch the history of the research site. In doing so, I bring about the evidences of migration and settlement patterns across ethnic and caste groups of Bhojpur district and discuss it within historical context. I trace out a brief history of Bhojpur district, the early *adibashi* settlers such as Kirats and Tamang, and in-migration of others ethnic and caste groups such as Brahmins, Chhetries, Dalits and Newars. This in-flow of migration is explained along time series. Further, an attempt is made to draw a clear picture of development (socio-economic changes) at the site of research as a result of migration of different caste and ethnic groups. To capture the developments in connection to migration, change in land use, art, architecture, trade and education is discussed. The time series is divided into three major parts: a) early migration in relation to ancient history of Nepal, b) migration trends between 19th to mid-20th century and c) migration after 1950s. Along this time series, settlement of Kirats, Tamang, Brahmin, Chhetri, Dalit and Newar are discussed as regards to migration, land use, art, architecture, trade and education. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the current mixed population and settlement found in Bhojpur district

and the role of migration in changing settlement patterns and general development that too place as a result of historical waves of migration.

In *Chapter Three* conceptual framework, I discuss the concept and conceptualization of migration, development and citizenship and its literature. The literature discussed here are from three broad fields, namely migration, development and citizenship studies. This chapter attempts to discuss development by centering the focus on concept, conceptualization and approaches of development. Subsequently, academic debate on migration and development is chalked out. In doing so, interconnection and inter-linkages between migration and development is elaborated for the argument on the need of heterogeneous model to capture the interrelationship between migration and development. Here, firstly migration is looked upon as a process on its own rights, as a demographic process, as a condition and as a category. This is followed by understanding migration as household livelihood strategy. Within the livelihood strategy, condition of multilocality as multilocal livelihood strategy is discussed. Further, migration is discussed in relation to human development, here, concept of capability and functioning is discussed with human mobility at the center of the discussion. Lastly, citizenship and its composite elements such as common civil identity, rights and participation are brought into debate to portray a nuanced picture on functioning of citizenship as capability.

In *Chapter Four*, methodology of the research is brought into discussion. This chapter starts with the discussion on the appropriateness of the research design which is followed by setting of the research site and the participants of the research. Subsequently, sampling is discussed and then the first pilot field visit. The main focus of the chapter is on field strategies used for the research such as field notes, in-depth interview, observation and participatory observation. Following this is the data analysis and presentation of analytical framework. The chapter ends with the justification of methods used to collect data and their validation, and ethical issues considered during field work.

Chapter Five, comprises of two parts. In the first part, contemporary settlement patterns and migration pathways are presented. It starts with the explanation of three major emic terms related to migration in the study site; these are

basai, *basti*, and *basai-sarai*. The explanation of these local terms in connection to migration helps understand permanent and non-permanent migration and helps identify new settlements. To give a clear picture of contemporary settlements, all nine wards of the Bhojpur VDC are presented. These wards are categorized into composite wards of Bhojpur Bazaar (ward 4, 5, 3), wards disconnected to Bazaar (ward 6, 7, 8, 2) and upcoming, rapidly transforming wards (ward 1, 3, 9). After the presentation of settlements patterns across wards, the focus of the chapter shifts to documented and undocumented migration, the recorded magnitude and direction of migration within and out of Bhojpur VDC. In the context of recorded magnitude of migration, both out and in-migration across wards is presented. Subsequently, direction of migration is presented taking into consideration both district and VDC level migration streams. The second part covers the demographic dynamics associated with the migration phenomenon at the research site.

Chapter Six also comprises of two parts. In the first part, I present the socio-economic factors involved and operating at local community and household level associated with internal migration. Various social and economic factors related to determinants and consequences of internal migration are discussed. In doing so, the chapter primarily focuses on local details that have broader implications. The analysis in this chapter is mainly derived from case study approach and fieldnotes. In the second part, I introduce and offer an assessment of migrant categories, two major groups are migrants and non-migrants represented in the chapter as non-local and local or movers and stayers. Following the categorization, I offer an assessment of livelihood strategies of both migrants and non-migrants. At the core of this chapter, I offer comparison between movers and stayers on the basis of land use, labour investment, occupation and access to basic needs.

In *Chapter Seven*, I attempt to explain relationship between state and citizen. At the center of this chapter is an attempt to understand the state and citizenship at the local level. This chapter deals with local state and local citizens, and it brings into discussion relationship of migrants and non-migrants with local state and their role as local citizens. To grasp the relationship between local state and citizen in the context of mobility, connections, linkages and dependency between citizen and state is brought into discussion. This chapter shows this relationship through the working

mechanism of citizens ward forum, village development committee and its role for development, citizen's charter of village development committee, civil spaces such as user committee and self-help group. Subsequently, the chapter highlights mobile citizens, their attachment, detachment, and delinking with the local state. This chapter also aims to capture civil identification and the importance of migration registration for civil identification. This chapter deals with nexus of civil identification and migration registration which further helps understand mobility and rights. The focus of this chapter is on civil registration in Nepal, and migration registration as one of the vital registrations done at local state bodies (VDC), its implication is on individual level civil status connecting to membership of a community at local level. Here, migration as *basai-sarai* which entails migration registration is discussed and failure to such registration accounts to deprivation of rights and exclusion.

In *Chapter Eight*, I present the conclusion where I offer the final key messages of the research, and future of this research.

CHAPTER TWO

2. HISTORICAL TRAITS

Development of Migration and Research Site

This chapter starts by firstly offering historical aspects of migration in Nepal. It explains the Nepali population structure, history of emigration and different types of migration. The chapter discusses on the migration impact and implication offered by existing national and international migration literatures on Nepal too. Further, the chapter puts focus on historical aspects of the concerned research site (Bhojpur). Here, introduction to Bhojpur, its history, population history, settlement and migration history are discussed.

2.1 Setting the Context

The nature and trend of migration within and across the borders of Nepal has varied along the timeline of its history. Its population structure which is characterized by composition of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan people from the geographical north and south of its current boundaries is the empirical evidence of migration from north and south, and, the historical unification of different nation states to present Nepal is also another evidence of population mobility of the conqueror and the vanquished (Kansakar, 1973). This historical population movement to, from and within Nepal has strong ties with different historical epochs, and has been a contested issue in the books of academics and scholars.

The academic literature on migration studies of Nepal have traditionally focused on different types of migration, particularly emphasizing and focusing on the several trends, patterns, and magnitude of migration across time and geographical boundaries. It's only recently, that the scholars have started inquiring on the consequences and implications of migration. Research and scholarship in the field of migration studies have primarily shed light on social and economic impact of migration with prime focus on rural to urban internal migration and international labor migration, emphasizing on the consequences and implications for the site of destination and origin respectively. The most recent literatures found on migration

have emphasized on migration during the armed conflict which started in 1996 till 2006. These literatures shed light on conflict induced migration and its impact on livelihood of forced migrants.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2006 between the conflicting parties (the state and Maoist), brought an end to the decade long armed conflict. Consequently, many migration research covered conflict induced migration giving new insights into the existing literature on migration. The CPA also marks the beginning of the currently experienced increasing mobility within the country, and, the unprecedented increase in internal and cross border migration. Today, Nepal is going through persistent political transition and political instability, both at local and national level on the one hand, and increasing amount of rural to urban migration, and international labor migration on the other.

This gives an ideal setting to investigate the linkages and interrelationship between migration and its associated developmental outcomes with prime focus on relationship between development and migration at micro level. The developmental outcomes of migration have not been under investigation in the context of migration studies in Nepal which gives a good reason and motivation to research on the interrelationship between migration and development with a focus on both out and in-migration and the socio-economic changes entailed with it.

2.2 Historical Account of Migration in Nepal

2.2.1 Nepali Population Structure: Immigrants from north and south

The multi-ethnic structure that characterizes the population composition of present Nepal has always been explained by academics and scholars as being a result of immigration of Tibeto-Burmans from the north and Indo-Aryans from the south. Kansakar (1973-74) states that the ethnic diversity is the main characteristic of the hills. He further elaborates that hills have been the protective sanctuaries for ethnic groups of the Indian origin fleeing from the powerful enemies and political persecution, and, for the ethnic groups of the Tibetan origin coming from harsh climate.

Through the lens of typology of migration constructed by Petersen in 1958, the migration from the north seems to be of voluntary nature as compared to the migration from the south, which bears the involuntary or forced nature. From Petersen's tool, it can be explained that the migration from the north is characterized by nature and man relationship, where ecological push is the main driver or migration force, whereas, the migration from the south is characterized by state and man relation and the tool categorize such migration type as forced or impelled. Such human movement and subsequent settlement on the north and south is believed to have formed principalities in the course of time. The historical conquest of different principalities by King Prithvi Narayan Shah and the subsequent territorial expansion of the country is characterized by population movement (Kansakar, 1973; Thapa, 1989; Regmi, 1999; Shrestha, 2001). With the expansion of Nepal followed the emigration of the vanquished and immigration of the conquerors, and since then, the population of Nepal has neither been sedentary nor at rest.

2.2.2 History of Emigration: Forms of Emigration and Its Reasons

The history of emigration from Nepal finds its beginning after the Treaty of Sugauli 1816. The historical forms of emigration as put forward by Subedi (1991) are as follows a) movement related to military recruitment, b) movement for agricultural and other economic activities, and c) marriage migration. Nepalese people started to migrate to India to be recruited in the British Indian Army and besides the recruitment in British-Indian Army, new agricultural programmes carried out by the British India in the provinces such as Assam, Darjeeling, Burma attracted many peasants of Nepalese Hills to work and settle there (Gautam,1999). The aspiration to have better living standard, opportunities and enhanced income has always been the driver of emigration from rural hills. Singh (1998) states that many more people continued to migrate to India to work as watchman, hotel boys and lately to new destinations such as Europe, America and Arab for skilled and unskilled jobs.

Besides aspirations, more prominent reason for increasing migration is livelihood. Migration has historically been a significant feature of livelihoods in the fragile socio-economic and environmental context of the Himalayan middle hills (Hitchcock 1961; MacForlane 1976; Whelpton 2005; Sharma 2011). Sharma states

that hardly any areas in the hills of Nepal remain unaffected by the exodus of young men, and increasingly young women, to other parts of the region, across the border to India, and more recently to various global destinations.

The major reasons for emigration can be attributed to the following factors: unemployment, food deficiency, increased expenditure and interest of being economically prosperous. The other reasons include family causes like population pressure and conflict within the family. These factors initiate the desire to go to other places specially India and other countries (Gautam, 1999). Similarly, Thieme and Boker (2010) shed light on poverty, unemployment, scarcity of natural resources, and the recent Maoist insurgency as major reasons for increased international labour migration, which is also the increasingly important source of income for Nepal.

2.2.3 Types of Migration and Its Respective Evidences

2.2.3.1 Military Migration

Sharma writes on *Lahur Jane*, a term commonly used for male migrants whose aspirations led them to join the British and Indian armies, which has been a long practice among the hill ethnic groups such as Magars and Gurungs of the west and Rai and Limbus of the east. He states that the ability to join a foreign army has been a measure of a man's success among certain hill ethnic groups.

Looking back into the history of Nepal, Kansakar (1973-74) describes that during World War I, more than 200,000 Nepalese hill people were recruited in the British Indian army representing nearly twenty percent of the eligible male population of the country. Russell (1992) elaborates on this traditional recruitment for service in the British Gurkhas as economically important, the British Gurkhas were seen as offering the highest salaries and best amenities. He further states that the normal length of service was fifteen years: a minimum of ten years had to be served to receive a pension, and fifteen were required for full pension. The pension was often higher than the regular wage of a soldier in the Indian army. However, Indian army was a more common source of employment than the British Gurkhas, although

financially it was the ‘second best’ to them. Russell writes, it was highly prestigious and lucrative for a family to have a son in the British Gurkha.

2.2.3.2 Migration and Settlement in India

Kansakar’s stance on Nepalese migration to India is that the migration to India began with the military recruitment made easier by establishing Gurkha settlements in India. The largest of the colonies were found in Kangra Valley, Darjeeling, Dehradun and Shillong (Kansakar 1973-74). Kansakar elaborates on the tea garden in Darjeeling and orange plantation or timber working in Sikkim being the most important avenues of employment for the Nepalese. The largest number of Nepali migrants as in 1881 was settled in Bengal with Assam being the second largest catchment area (LokRaj, 2001). Subba (1997) states that the sites such as Sadiya in Assam, Mantripokhori in Manipur, Aizwal in Mizoram and Mokokchuk in Nagaland are as old as 100 years. These are the evidences of Nepalese migrants being scattered throughout north-east India since a long time.

Dutt argues that such settlements are not a part of an insidious scheme but is the outcome of the development process itself, in which the Nepalese as a poor and mobile hill community play a part in frontier areas, where roads are being built, towns are being founded or expanded. Lately, migration to work in Indian cities namely Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Punjab has always been a popular practice among men in the hill villages (Sharma, 2011). Sharma argues that farming is no longer an aspiration among the young men in rural Nepal, because farming is seen as traditional occupation. He states that men generally prefer to go to India in search of work rather than stay in the village to manage their farms or work on others’ land. Going to work in India provides an escape from traditional categories of ploughing the field and carrying weights.

2.2.3.3 Internal Migration: From Hills to Tarai and Rural to Urban

In the context of internal migration, the major migration stream has been identified from the hill region in the north to the plains (*Tarai*) in the south (Tuladhar and Stoeckel, 1982). The evidence to this is the malaria eradication programme

conducted under the tripartite agreement of the Government of Nepal, United States Operation Mission and WHO in the Chitwan Valley for the first time in 1956 and the subsequent rehabilitation of the hill people marked the large scale migration of the hill people in the Inner Tarai for the first time in the country's history (Kansakar 1973-74). The Tarai was a destination for permanent migration with the commencement of malaria eradication in the three eastern most districts of the Nepal Tarai in 1962. The Tarai population grew rapidly, increasing by fifty-nine percent in the decade 1970-80 (Gurung, 1987). Russel (1990) explains how Nepalese government established a Resettlement Department in 1969, the department offered new land in the Tarai at subsidized rates.

Goldstein et al elaborate that the 1981 census shows clearly that during the decade of the 1970s the "*Terai-ization*" of Nepal began an exponential climb which was transferring the country from a hill to a plains state. Shrestha, Velu and Conway writes:

"Given the degree of land hunger that exists in the face of a rapidly growing population, limited technology, and the lack of off-farm jobs, it is not surprising that migration has become a mainstay of agrarian life especially in the hills."

Similarly, Harka Gurung's explanation on the growing out-migration from the hills is largely related to population pressure in the region and in – migration into the Tarai was directly tied to land settlement schemes.

While according to Sharma (2011), the current internal migration is characterized by young men attempting to improve their lives through schooling; he mentions that enthusiasm for formal education has increased dramatically among young men and women across different caste and ethnic backgrounds. Further, he states that migration to Kathmandu and other major cities in Nepal in search of education or salaried employment is a possibility for youth from high-caste and well-off households that have access to finances and social-networks to facilitate study and / or job seeking in the cities.

2.2.3.4 Conflict Induced Migration

In the context of conflict induced movement, the number of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) recorded an approximate number of 2,50,000 (Ghimire, 2009/2010) throughout the country. The cause of the displacement was the armed conflict that started in Nepal from 13 February, 1996 and was brought to end in 2006 by the signing of Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) between the State and Maoist, the two conflicting parties. Further new wave of displacement have been encountered even after the CPA which has made conflict induced forced migration a burning issue in the present context. The displaced people are forced to live in the places of destination without proper legal-institutional framework and socio-economic support. They are deprived of basic fundamental civic rights to food, health, education, and participation in the cultural lives. Relative access to democratic process at the local level had been diminished; with no local election conducted for past 19 years, local level seemed to lack democratic political structure.

2.2.3.5 Foreign Employment: Current Migration Trend

Labour migration is the most common phenomenon across the youths today. During the period between 2006 and 2010/11, the largest number of Nepalese (361,464) had gone to Malaysia followed by Qatar (351,544), Saudi Arabia (246,489) (Nepal year book, 2010). Adhikari describes the features of foreign labour migration as mainly from hills and mountains, 75 percent labour migrants are unskilled and 25 percent are semiskilled. A large majority (80 percent) is from 20-30 years age bracket and 75 percent are high school drop-outs. And, per capita remittances are declining.

The transnational migration to destination outside south Asia has increased dramatically after the reinstallation of democracy in 1990, as it becomes easier to obtain passports and travel documents and since the later part of the 1990s in response to intensified armed conflict between Maoist and the government forces (Adhikari and Gurung, 2009). Over the last two decades, this has opened up new arrays for migration encouraging an increasing number of Nepalese people to go the Middle east (Brusle 2009) and east Asia for unskilled and semi-skilled work (Yamanaka, 2007) as

well as to Europe, north America and Australia for work and education (Adhikari 2009, Sijapati 2009).

2.2.4 Impact and Implications of Migration

One of the earliest studies on the impact of migration as a process on population redistribution in Nepal can be credited to Tuladhar and Stoeckel (1982). For the first time in Nepal, Tuladhar and Stoeckel identified the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants to Tarai and studied the fertility and incidence of family planning. They also compared the characteristics with the receiving population and drew inferences on probable social and demographic impact immigrants have on receiving population. Earlier studies like that of Poonam Thapa (1989) looked in to the socio-economic impact of rural out-migration.

Inter-regional migration in Nepal has positive impact on the overall economy in both the origin and destination regions (Gurung, 1988). Gurung argues that population movement of the more economically active people to less dense areas with greater resource availability led to fuller utilization of those resources which would have far reaching outcomes like enhancement of economic activity, more production and economic development.

Gautam (1999) argues that the life of the people tend to be better economically after emigration only on the basis of food sufficiency, social status, habits and consumption patters but if in future such employment possibilities declines or diminishes, the livelihoods of many will be at risk on the sending side.

Thieme and Boker (2010) shed light on the labour migration between Nepal and India which has led to transnational social network. They argue that such networks help sustain contacts between families in Nepal and migrants in India, the networks are primarily dominated by men and for the women, men are a source of both financial and social capital.

It's not only the international migration that contributed to the rural livelihood; even seasonal migration has its significance in maintaining livelihoods. Rose and

Scholz (1980) state that seasonal migration which is also known as labour circulation has, for a long time, been, a major feature of livelihood in rural Nepal. They argue that seasonal migration contributes to rural livelihood in many ways. It reduces demand on local food supply while simultaneously increasing supply by bring back food from plains on their return, and then by contributing to the cash and non-food items migrants bring back.

Thieme and Wyss (2005) draw attention on the international labour migration and argue that labour migration contributes to sustainable livelihoods. They shed light on the increased financial capital, education of the children, and increased social capital due to migration. Similarly, Gill draws attention to more recent labour migration to the Middle east and south Asia, and states that migration contribution to rural livelihood is considerable and it includes remittances pensions and reduced pressure on scarce resources, particularly land.

Laslty, there are also gender based studies on the impact of migration. Lokshin and Glinskay explores on the impact of male migration on the labour market behavior of women in Nepal. Their study draws attention to the negative impact on the level of the labour market participation by woman in the migrant sending households.

2.3 Historical Sketch of Early Migration and Settlements in Bhojpur

2.3.1 Brief Introduction to Bhojpur District and Human settlement

2.3.2.1 Folk-Tales on the Name Bhojpur

Siddapur was the former name of Bhojpur, a name derived from holy Siddhakali Shiva temple which stands in the hill tops of ward number 9 of Bhojpur municipality. It is believed that during the unification process of Nepal, a big *Bhoj* (party) was given for the successful unification of *Kirat* regions that came under the regime of Prithvi Narayan Shah, and from this time the place was called Bhojpur. According to the second tale, the forest on the high hills of this district predominantly had *Bhojpatra*⁶ trees, and hence the name Bhojpur was given.

⁶ Bhojpatra: *Betula utilis*, also know as Himalayan birch, is a birch tree native to the Himalayas. It primarily grows at elevations of 14,800 feet. The white, paper-like bark of this tree was used in ancient times for writing Sanskrit scriptures and texts.

2.3.2.2 Adivasi⁷ of Bhojpur and ‘Maaj Kirat’

Bhojpur, like other eastern hills of Nepal, is primarily dominated by Kirat population, particularly the Rais in case of Bhojpur. Through out history, the current Bhojpur district was known as *maaj kirat* which means Middle Kirat, and on the west of it fell *wollo kirat* currently the Khotang district and on the east fell *pallo kirat* comprising hilly districts Dhankuta onwards. The Kirat settlement in eastern Nepal is presumed to have migrated from Kathmandu Valley, the three types of Kirati the Shakha, Bantawa, and Limbus settled in the *wollo kirat*, *maaj kirat*, and *pallo kirat* respectively, making the eastern hilly district a Kirat settlement, where the Rais and Limbus till date constitute the major population of eastern hills of Nepal.

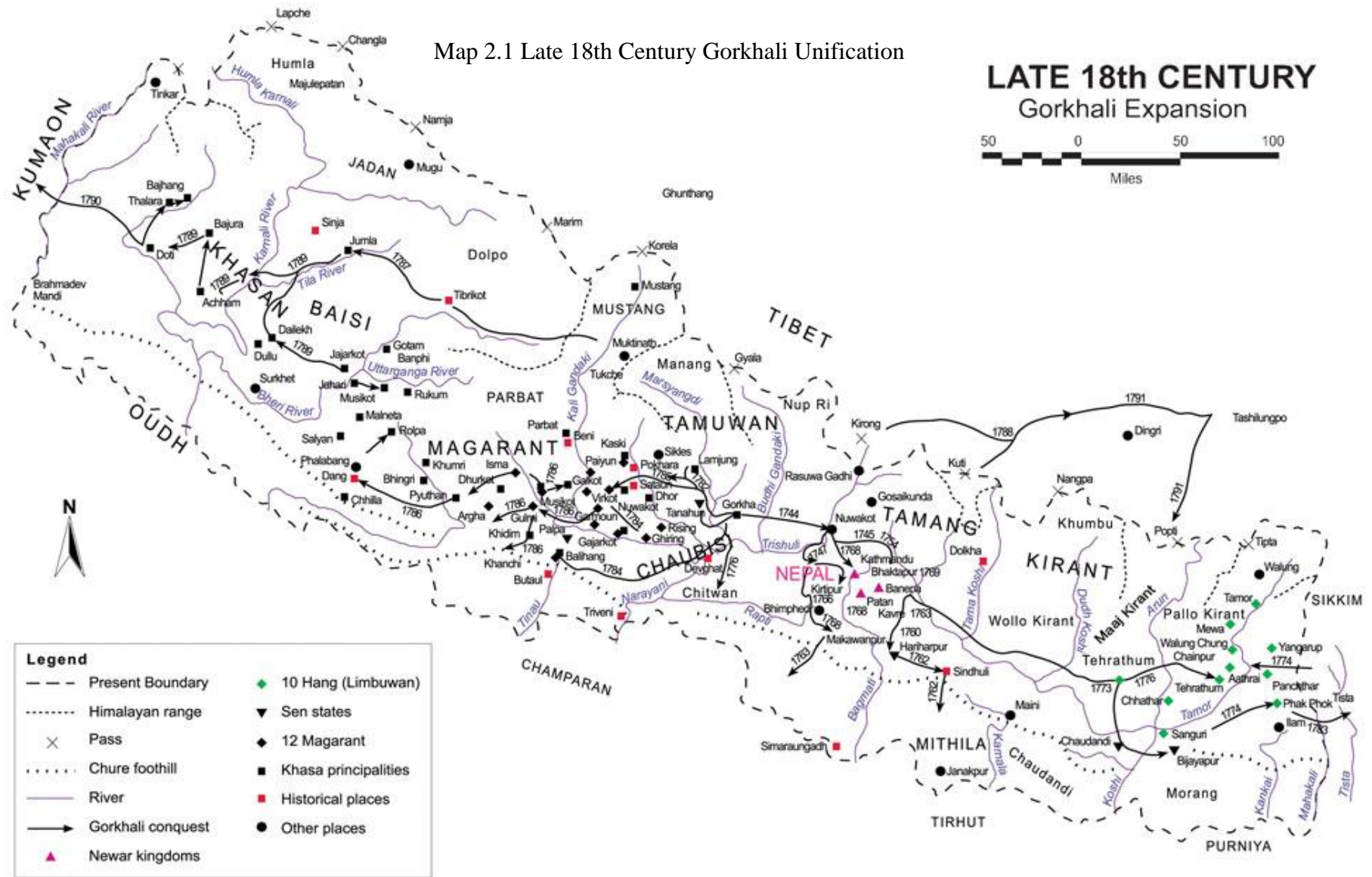
The ancient history of Nepal accounts that Lichievis who took over Kathmandu Valley, forced the vanquished Kirats to eastern parts of Nepal. The modern history of Nepal accounts that before the unification of Nepal by King Prithvi Naryan Shah, the entire eastern region was under the Kingship of King of Pallpa Mukunda Sen. His kingdom later on was divided into three principalities Makanwanpur, Bijayapur, and Chaudandi. Chaudandi fell in current eastern Nepal, and was also called the *Maaj Kirat*, though headquarter of the principality was Chaudandigadi, for the convenience of administration of hilly region of this principality, an administrative headquarter was located at Hattuwagadi. Hattuwagadi is currently in Ranibase VDC of Bhojpur District.

After the process of unification of eastern principality by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the state of Nepal was divided into 12 *iikaies* [units], of which *Maaj Kirat* was recognized as one region out of the twelve. During the Rana period, under the premiership of Junga Bhadur Rana, Nepal was divided into 69 *iikaies*, *Maaj Kirat* was still known as eastern one number *iikai*. Under premiership of Birshamser Rana, Nepal was restructured into thirty-five administrative districts, where *Maaj Kirat* was *iikai* number four. This administrative division was intact till 2007 B.S (1951 A.D).

⁷ The term Adivasi here is used to mean the indigenous nationalities of Bhojpur. The term Adivasi Janajati refers to indigenous nationalities of Nepal. According to 2011 census of Nepal, Nepal officially comprises of 8.4 million, or 37.19 percent Adivasis of the total population.

In 2019 B.S (1963 A.D), Nepal saw another administrative restructuring with 14 zones and 75 districts, where Bhojpur became one of the 75 districts and fell under the Sagarmatha Zone, but from 2032 B.S (1976 A.D) Bhojpur district got new district headquarters as Bhojpur Bazaar, located in Bhojpur VDC, which is recently converted into Bhojpur Municipality since 2014.

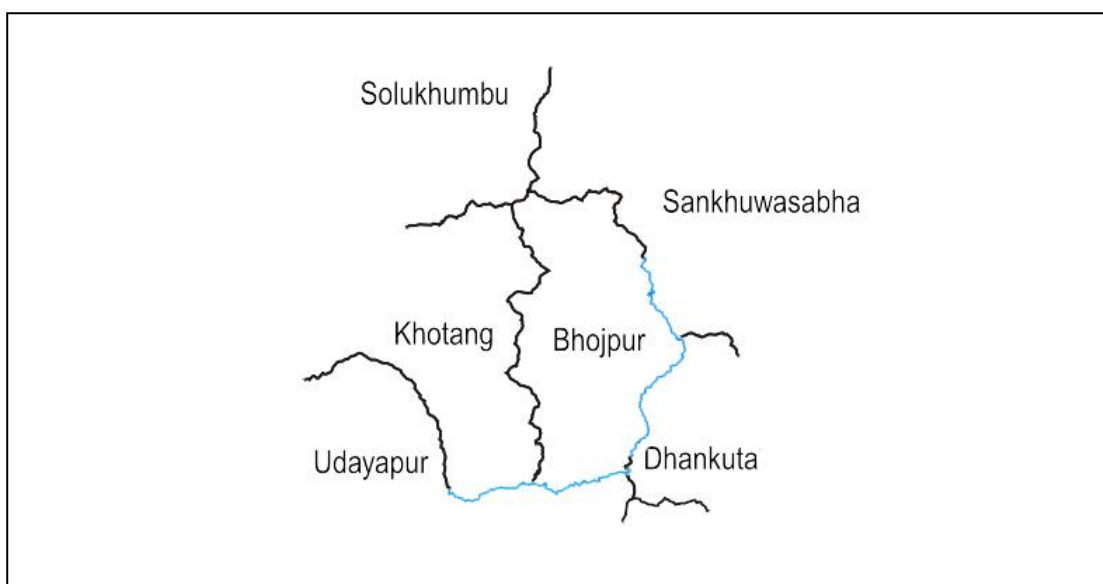
Map 2.1 Late 18th Century Gorkhali Unification



2.3.2.3 Geographical Background

Bhojpur District is located in the Eastern Development Region of Nepal among the five Development regions and falls under the Koshi Zone, one of the fourteen zonal divisions. To its east is the Dhankuta district separated by river Arun in between the two districts, to its west is the Khotang district, towards its north is Solukhumbu district, and to its south is Udaypur district separate by Sunkoshi river. The two big rivers Arun and Sunkoshi make Bhojpur a river locked district, as a result of which, transportation and human mobility is difficult and is major constrain to the development of this district. The varied geographical landscape characterized by varying altitude ranging from five hundred to ten thousand feet above sea level gives this district different climatic and environmental experience. The total width from east to west of the district is thirty-five kilometers and from north to south is ninety-three kilometers. The total size of the district is 1,507 square kilometers.

Map 2.2 Bhojpur and Neighbouring Districts



The highest point of altitude is 4153 meters popularly known as the Tammke hill and lowest point is found at Hassanpur VDC the river bank of Arun and Sunkoshi river with the altitude of just 20 meters above sea level. Bhojpur Bazaar in Bhojpur VDC is headquarters of the district and has altitude of 1540 meters. Out of the total 1,37,637 hectares land only 61,723 hectares is irrigated. The district has limited grazing lands which sum up to 5,439 hectares. Yearly rain fall is recorded on an

average of 110 milliliters. Raw minerals namely iron and copper and stones namely quartz and tourmaline can be found in the district.

2.4 Contemporary Settlement Patterns with Historical Context

2.4.1 The Kirat Settlement

The major Kirat settlements of the contemporary human settlement patterns in Bhojpur can be found in pockets, in the north of Bhojpur district Kulung VDC, to the west Timma and Chhinamakhu VDCs, to the east Sano Dumma and Thulo Dumma, and on the south Ranibas, Homtang, Sindrang, Khairang VDCs. The current population in percentage of the settlement is 31.9 of the total population at the district level, which is the highest among the ethnic and various caste groups.

Before the unification process by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, contemporary Bhojpur was under the rule of Kirat King Karna Sen until its annexation in 1772 B.S. The name of the principality was Chaundandigadi, which had its administration headquarters for mid-hills in Hattuwagadi, now in the south of Bhojpur. The fort of Hattuwagadi today still stands as a historical site, and VDCs periphery of the fort is mostly populated by Rai community till date. Land under Kirat administration followed the Kipat system, like the way *Pallo Kirat* Limbus practiced. The Kipat system corresponds to use of land through popular adage *Rasti Challai Basti Basai*, meaning any households could settle and cultivate the land available but had to give *Rakam* (land tax) to the regime. The regime also protected one of the oldest north – south trade routes which happened to fall in this principality. This trade route is in use for commute to remote villages of the district from Bhojpur Baazar even today. It is seen that the Kirat regime was open to human mobility and settlement of people of different ethnic groups as long as subjects abided by *Rasti Challai Basti Basai*, and hence this district also finds Tamangs, Magars and other ethnic groups today.

2.4.2 The Tamang Settlement

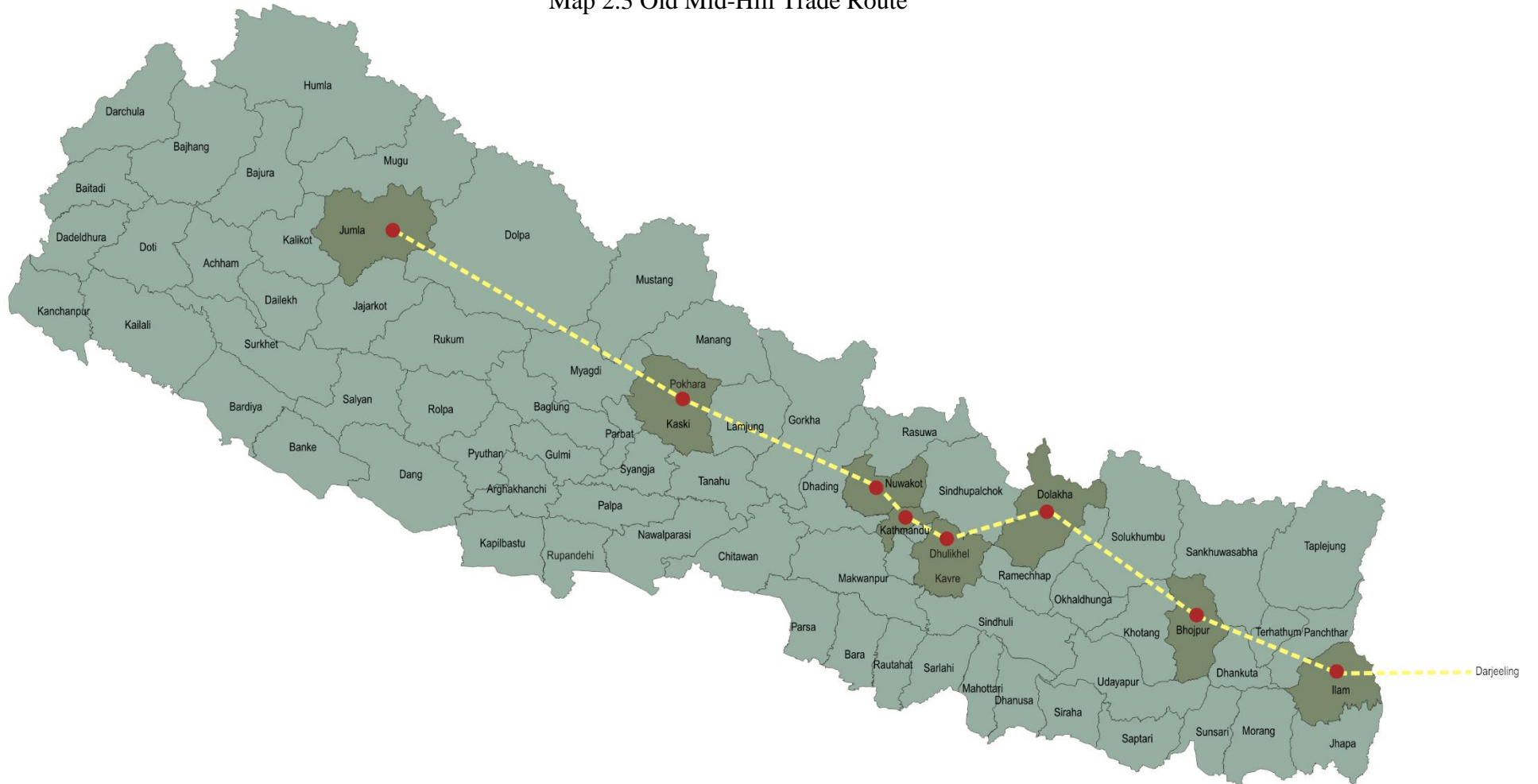
The Tamangs settlement in contemporary Bhojpur district can mainly be seen in and in the periphery VDCs of the district headquarters, namely, Shyamsila, Pauwwa, Kulung. Tamang are also considered as the *adivasi* of Bhojpur because its

believed that through *Rasti Challai Basti Basai*, they settled here before Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars. Currently Tamang comprises of 9.84 percent of the total population, making Tamang ethnic groups population third highest among others. According to a Tamang respondent:

“my grandfather used to give us lessons, he said, never to stay on land on which the Ranas stepped on, as Ranas expanding territory , we have kept shifting, from west to east, my grandfather settled here so I am still here doing trading, my cousins have migrated as far to Nagaland in India, and I am still connected with them, my grandfather never planned to settler here, he was searching for appropriate place to settle, during the journey , a Rai stopped him and advised him not to go further but to settle here and cultivate land available here”

The above excerpt explains the story of Tamangs migrating from west towards east, alike historical Kirat migrating from west to east. During the research, supporting documents were found describing the west and east connection, a very old mid-hill trade route that passed from Jumla to Pokhara, to Nuwakot, and to Kathmandu; and from there to Dhulikhel, Dolakha, Bhojpur, Ilam and Darjeeling. To commute and migrate, this route was being followed across the mid-hills that connected places and settlements from west to east.

Map 2.3 Old Mid-Hill Trade Route



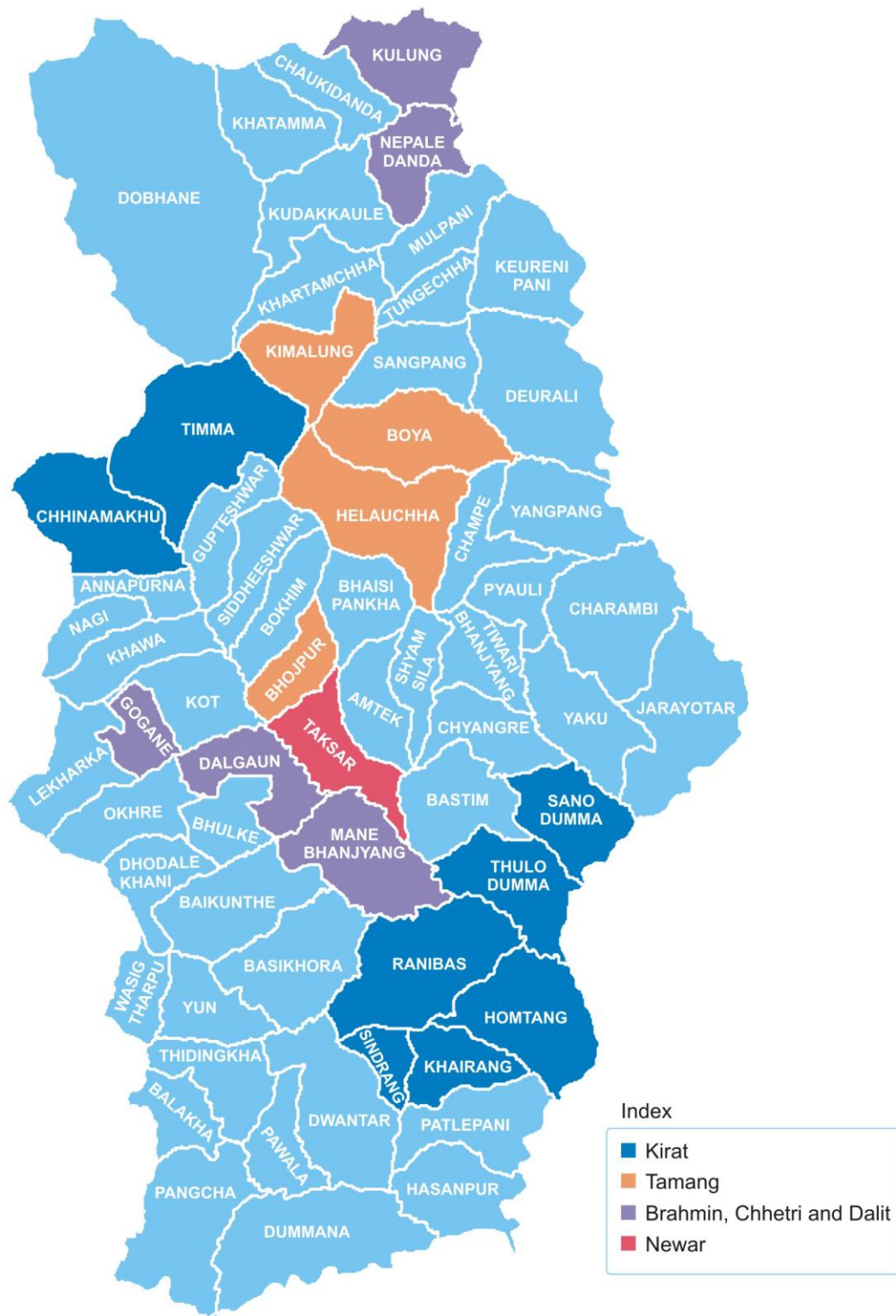
2.4.3 Brahmins and Chhetris and Dalit Settlements

After the unification, *Maaj Kirat* region experiences the penetration of Hindus. This was made possible by the settlements of Brahmins, Chhetris and Dalits with an objective of social and cultural integration with the Kirats. The Kirats were allowed to keep the existing Kipat system of land use, and new settlers were settled in lands under the state, known as the *Raikar* lands (state owned lands). As time passed by the state had greater influence over the region with more Brahmins and Chhetris migrating to settle here acquiring most fertile land of the region. Major settlements that are seen today are in following VDCs, Taksar, Gogane, Dalagaun, Bhojpur, Dingla. These VDCs have very fertile land with high yield of agriculture production, and have comparatively less Kirat inhabitants. The Dalit population is mainly seen around the periphery of Brahmin and Chhetri settlements and the acquired lands have less productivity and still deprived of water. Currently, Chhetri, Brahmin and Dalit comprises of 19.7 percent, 6.19 percent and 9.77 percent of the total population of the district respectively. Chhetri are the second highest, Dalits the fourth highest, and Brahmin sixth in the population ladder.

2.4.4 Newar Settlement

Newars comprise of 8.04 percent of the total population of Bhojpur and are fifth in the population ladder. The major settlement of Newars currently can be seen in the Taksar Bazaar. Taksar which was known as *Khikamacha* under the Kirat and Shah regime got its new name Taksar after a mint was opened (during the rule of King Girvanayuddha Vikram Shah) in 1814 B.S near a copper mine. Newars from Patan of Kathmandu Valley were brought here to manufacture coins. Slowly, this settlement attracted people of nearby hills to get involved in minting coins, and employment was generated in the mines of iron and copper in current Dhodaleghani VDC west of Taksar. Taksar experiences increase population of Newar settlements from Kathmandu and Bhaktapur and developed into Taksar Bazaar which became one of the important towns in the eastern Nepal, where metal vessels were manufactured and regional trade was conducted along both north-south trade route and east- west trade route.

Map 2.4 Early Settlements across Ethnic/Caste Groups



2.4.5 Mixed Population a Result of Historical Waves of Migrations

The current population composition of Bhojpur district is a mixed type comprised of different ethnic groups and castes, speaking different languages and following different religions. The mixed characterization of the population structure can be attributed to different flow of migration during different times in history. All throughout history, Bhojpur has been recognized as *Maaj Kirat* due to Kirati settlements. Before and after the unification and until the Rana regime it was still known as *Maaj Kirat*, the lands under the Kirat settlement was under Kipat system, and rest of the lands were state owned *Raikar* lands, where, the cultivators of state owned lands had to pay tax to the regime, where as in Kipat system, cultivators did not have to pay tax to the regime. It can be examined that the Kirat settlement was the result of the major volume of migration that took place from current Central Nepal to eastern Nepal, the unification process resulted in the penetration of high caste Brahman-Chhetri, and low caste Dalits to the eastern Hills of Nepal. The Brahmin, Chhetri and Dalits originally from the west moved towards the east. During the Rana regime, it can be seen that Newar ethnic group migrated into the district with establishment of mint mines, and metallurgy industry in Taksar VDC of Bhojpur district and other ethnic groups who had their presence earlier to Brahmin-Chhetri namely Tamangs had also traveled along west to east direction. With time, the current Bhojpur became a district of multi-ethnic groups, with multi-languages and religions. And, people's mobility could be seen in the old trade routes of west-east and north-south that made commuting, trading and new settlements possible.

2.5 Early Settlements and Land Use Relations⁸

2.5.1 Land Tenure System

Historically, land ownership can be seen in two forms: a, state-owned lands and, b, communal land (Regmi, 1963; Thapa, 1989) (where ownership was under community, land belonging to particular group in particular location). The state-owned lands were accessible through the rulers who handed down it to anyone they desired. This form of state landlordism was known as *Raikar*. Under *Raikar* system,

⁸ This section is based primarily on the research by Regmi (1963, 1971, 1976 and 1978)

private individuals could cultivate agricultural lands amounting to just subsistence living by virtue of paying tax to the state. Unlike *Raikar* system, *Kipat* system was communal ownership of land, such land ownership pertained to tribal owned lands which were not subjected to tax or individual ownership. *Kipat* system was characterized by communal authority over the land which superseded over state's claim over the land.

In the context of unification process that started from western Nepal towards the east, all lands were brought under state ownership, and put under *Raikar* system. However, the unified eastern principalities were allowed to retain the *Kipat* system practiced there. The *Kipat* system remained in practice until the Rana regime put to end on it in B.S 1999. The *Raikar* and *Kipat* are seen as prime form of land tenure system practiced in history of Nepal. Apart from these primary forms, the secondary form of land tenure system evolved from the *Raikar* and *Kipat* were named as *Birta*, *Guthi* and *Jagir*.

The genesis of private control of land is seen to emerge through the sole act of rulers by distributing state-owned land in the form of *Birta*, *Guthi* and *Jagir*. *Birta*, *Guthi* and *Jagir* can be seen as secondary form to land tenure under primary land tenure forms *Raikar* and *Kipat*. *Birta* was a land ownership right grant given mainly to priests, religious teachers, members of the nobility, royal family members, and soldiers. However, *Birta* rights did not include protection from confiscation by the state. The state as and when required could nullify the *Birta* grants. Unlike *Birta*, *Guthi* grants were made for the establishment and maintenance of religious, educational, and social institutions, this type of grant were not subjected to confiscation on any pretext by the state. The last form of secondary land tenure known was *Jagir* were income of *Raikar* lands assigned to government employees and functionaries.

The above-mentioned land tenure system was the political, social and economic framework of the state. The foundation of the state stood on this framework, and people having access to such land tenures immensely benefited from it. The beneficiaries had the right to land and take control over it, they were not the real tillers of the land, and was put away from any obligation and exempted to tax

payment. The real tillers of the land, the peasantry class, had to till the land and were subjected to state tax and generally half of the produce to the beneficiaries. This put the peasantry class to eking condition as regards to subsistence living.

The land tenure system was brought to an end in 1951 A.D. Till this time, vast inequality in land holding was experienced, though land reforms were demanded and in 1964 the first Land Act was promulgated. The bottom strata had not benefited as promised by the reform, the real tillers were still deprived from access to adequate amount of land for their subsistence living. For the tillers of the land, all throughout the land use history of Nepal, they were subjected to high land taxation, and giving away a portion of the produce as rent to the landholders. In eastern Nepal, the main beneficiaries from the land tenure system were firstly the '*adivasis*' namely the Rais, and Limbus, and then the Tamangs and the high caste Brahmins and Chhetris, however, eventually, high caste Brahmins and Chhetris had acquired more productive land as their influence grew with time. The peasant class across ethnic groups had been searching for new avenues to retain the land they occupied by either taking loans from money lenders or temporally migrating to places where wage-based works were available. The loans made them more indebted, and this led to migrating in search of work just to pay taxes. The *Raikar* lands were subjected to confiscation if tillers or landholders failed to pay the tax.

2.5.2 Kipat, Kirat, and Migration

After the unification of eastern principalities, the *adivasis* namely the kirat (Rais), and Tamangs, were allowed to retain *Kipat* system of land use. As *Kipat* was a form of land tenure where land was under communal authority, state had made no claim on the land taxation. This exempted inhabitants of the region from paying land taxes. The state excluded *Kipat* lands from being distributed as grants and respected the traditional communities. *Kipat* system practiced by Kirats had provided communal sovereignty till the system was ended in 1999 B.S by the then Rana regime. The end of *Kipat* system brings the genesis of state-owned land into practice called the *Raikar* in the eastern mid-hills. Under the *Raikar* system, agricultural land now began to be cultivated by private individuals, however, the individuals did not have right to sell,

mortgage, or bequest the land used by virtue of paying tax. The state was sole owner of all lands, and it alone possessed the rights to sale, mortgage, or bequest lands.

The conversion of *Kipat* lands into taxable lands is seen to have a far-reaching impact on the segment of peasantry class, who earlier were enjoying communal sovereignty, and were exempted from paying pay tax in kind or money. The *Kipat* land occupants who cultivated on freehold tenure (by virtue of his membership in a particular group and its location in particular area) were required to pay rents on the land used and half the produced out of the land. This gradually diminished the status and earning of the Rai community in general. To overcome this constraint, recruitment in British-India army was a new avenue to sustain livelihood and retain occupied land.

2.5.3 Guthis and High – Caste Newars, Brahmins and Chhetris Migrants

To have more political, social and economic influence over the eastern regions, settlement of high caste Brahmins, Chhetris and low caste groups and Newars was under taken as state policy. This was made possible by bringing available lands that were not part of *Kipat* system as *Raikars* and distributed in the form of *Birtas*, *Guthi* and *Jagir*. *Birta* grants were made in favor for priests, religious Brahmin teachers and member of nobility. *Guthi*, a form of landownership to institutionalize religion by making temples and *pathsalas* (traditional school) was favored by the state. The existing major *Guthis* today in Bhojpur are more than 100 years old. These are found in places namely small town of Dingla and Taksar. Others which are comparatively smaller are found in Gogane and Deurali VDCs. These places are also prime locations of Newars, Brahmins and Chhetris today.

The *Guthis* were primarily granted for the establishment of temples and *pathsalas*. Four *pathsalas* are recorded to have been established in Dingla, Taksar, Gogane and Deurali. These *pathsala* taught mainly Sanskrit. The oldest *Guthi* and the biggest of all in the region was established in Dingla in B.S 1932, which is recorded to be the first *pathsala* opened in Nepal. The *pathsala* had the provision of residence and fooding for the students. Students from the west as far as Gullmi and Dhading, and in the east as far as Bhutan used to attend this residential *pathsala*. This had made

Bhojpur's Dingla an educational hub. This *pathsala* today stands as higher secondary school in Dingla, named after its founder Saint Sadananda Adhikary.

2.5.4 Art, Architecture and Trade: The Newars of Taksar

At a walking distance of thirty-five minutes from Bhojpur Bazaar, on the south stands Taksar Bazaar, one of the most famous towns since historical times. Taksar is predominantly a Newar town, the culture, art and architecture here resembles that of the three Newar towns of the Kathmandu valley, namely Patan, Bhaktapur and Kathmandu. The history of Newar settlement here dates back to the regime of King Girvanayuddha Vikram Shah. In 1814 A.D copper, iron and glass mines were established and operated in Bhojpur district, and just after two years after that, Taksar Khani Adda (Mine Office) was established. The mines were established to mint coins for the state, and minting of the coins were done in Taksar by the Taksaris (people skilled on minting coins). The Taksaris were brought to Taksar from Patan, gradually, more Taksaris in search of work arrived here, and relatives of Taksaris too started settling here. Apart from the coins, raw minerals from the mine were use to make metal vessels of different type. These metal vessels were used in day to day life, and were traded along existing north-south and east-west trade route.

2.5.4.1 Art and Architecture

As settlements increased with new inflow of Newar migrants, the permanently settling Newars from the valley started building houses, temples, stupas and *bihars* in resemblance to Newar art and architecture found in all three towns of the Kathmandu Valley. The big bell of Ganeshsthan, Karunamaya temple, Shakyamuni Buddha and Shakyamuni Bhuddha stupa to name a few exemplify the Newari religious beliefs in Buddhism and Hinduism. The images carved on these bells, the statue of Bhuddha, the gajur on the top of the temple and style of stupa are all attributed to the Newari artisans who had permanently migrated here.

2.5.4.2 Trade

One of the major occupations of Newars was trade. The establishment of mines and with it the genesis of metallurgy and metal industry had given opportunity for Newari traders to distribute the metal vessels produced here to other parts of the country and vessels were sold as far as Kalingpung and Shilliguri, towns of India today on the eastern border of Nepal. During winter, many people living around this community took up the opportunity to sell the vessels manufactured here by temporarily migrating to new places and selling them in a house-to-house manner to earn extra income.

2.5.4.3 Education

Apart from land used to build temples, stupas and vihars, a Sanskrit language *pathsala* was established through Guthi grant.

2.6 Brief on 19th to 20th Century Migration Trends in Bhojpur

2.6.1 Hill Ethnic Communities and Migration

After the Treaty of Sugauli (1816), the hill ethnic groups namely Magar and Gurungs from western Nepal and Rais and Limbus from eastern parts of Nepal were recruited in British-Indian Army (Kansakar, 1973) by the British East India Company. In context of Bhojpur, the Rais and Tamangs enrolled in British- India Army, the magnitude of enrollment is significant in the early 1900s till the end of World War II. The high magnitude of recruitment was driven by state policy as well as its economic importance at individual and household level which later turned to be job aspirations for the hill ethnic communities of Bhojpur. Apart from army service, establishment of agricultural programs by the then British East India Company in Assam, Darjeeling, and Burma, attracted peasants of Nepalese eastern hills to work and settle there (Gautam, 1999).

2.6.2 Peasantry Class and Ghum -Phir

The peasantry class⁹ of Bhojpur, who faced immense constraints to pay taxes for the *Raikar* land they used, relied on the opportunity provided in eastern India. After the harvest, when work availability was minimum and people were generally free throughout winter, they would go to work in India which is till date known as *ghum phir*. This set the trend of circular migration which was characterized by leaving the place of origin during the winters and returning during the start of monsoon for sowing rice fields.

The Newar peasantry class were directed by the *Saau* and *Maharjans* (owners of metal industry in Taksar) to deliver the metal vessels to respective customers in different parts of Nepal. During the winters, these peasants would travel long distance selling metal vessels and delivering them to different town centers, and would return just before the time of sowing the landowner's field before the monsoons.

2.6.3 Closure of Mines, Relocation of Mints and Newar Out-migration

With the closure of running mines, the mints in Taksar were relocated to Kathmandu. Since then only the metal industry, art and architecture endured. The closer of mines had negative impact on the metal industry; there was sudden lack of raw material to continue the industry. The merchants then would travel as far as Calcutta to get the required raw materials; this had increased the cost of production and made trading expensive. The problem of transporting raw materials to the place of manufacturing had become a challenge and major constraint in production as a whole. The merchants started to search for more suitable place where transportation of goods was easier. Many merchants relocated themselves in Dharan, Sunsari District. Along with them, the people dependent on them, land tillers as well the vessel makers, also migrated. This was the start of out-migration in Taksar Bazaar of Bhojpur.

⁹ The term peasantry class refers to peasant families in Nepal. These families have landholding less than a hectare in the hills, and meet consumptions needs through borrowing Regmi(1977).

2.7 Late 1940s: Return of Gurkhas, Rise of Education and Displacement of Hill High Castes

After World War II, on the request of Rana government, men serving in British Indian Army were asked to return. The mid-hills of Nepal received army service men who had been serving in army for even 25 years. The returnees were mostly retired and pensioned. They were equipped with lots of experiences related to global happening during their service in the army. Many had experienced the Free India Movement, and had gained a variety of knowledge and skills while travelling and interacting with the British soldiers.

The returned Gurkhas played two important roles that had lasting impacts at the national and the district level. At the district level, particularly in Bhojpur, the late 1940s are seen as the beginning of modern education. The present school, Bhidyodhya Higher Secondary School, was the first established by Naradhmuni Thulung, a returnee ex-British Gurkha, and his friends. For the first time, teaching in English medium was introduced. Just after the establishment of this school, another in Taksar was established on advice of Thulung by the Newar and Chhetri community. The establishment of schools, apart from delivering education, contributed immensely to raising public awareness on the importance of education. It also challenged the traditional mode of *pathsala* education where mainly the high caste Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars were taught. Once again, being the first school in the mid-hills of eastern Nepal, it became the hub for aspirant students for learning. Students from surrounding districts namely Khotang, Dhankuta, and Shankhuwaasabha came to receive the education.

The return of Gurkhas and their contribution does not limit to education alone, but also expands to the the democratic values they brought to Nepal. Influenced by the Free India Movement and success of it, the returned Gurkhas were determined to free Nepal from the autocratic Rana regime. Under the leadership and command of Naradhmuni Thulung, and Ram Prasad Rai, the returned Gurkha soldiers had formed a network, and formed an army called the “*Mukti Sena*” (Freedom Soldiers). The contribution of “*Mukti Sena*” is not much mentioned in history on Nepal 1951 Revolution. However, the “*Mukti Sena*” in the initial days of Revolution started the

major military movement by taking over Bhojpur. After taking over Bhojpur, the military moved towards east and west direction. In the east, Terathum, Taplajung and Dhankuta were captured. On the west, Khotang, Okhaldhunga, Dolakha, Ramachhap, and Kavre were captured by the *Mukti sena*. In the tarai region, they captured Mahotari, Udaypur, Saptari and Morang.

After the revolution became successful, a new government was formed, and Thulung became the minister of Local Self-Development.

Apart from the success of the revolution, during this time lots of wealthy high caste Brahmins and Chhetris were targeted and looted. In Bhojpur, most of the wealthy lots were looted, this had initiated migration of Brahmins and Chhetris to tarai districts of Morang and Sunsari.

2.8 Migration from Bhojpur After 1950s

With the installation of democracy in 1951, magnitude of migration within Nepal scaled up (Kansakar, 1973). The retired pensioned ex-Gurkhas, the Newars of Taksar are seen to have settled in Dharan of Sunsari District. Mainly the Newars of Taksar had started to shift the metal vessel industry in Dharan. Dharan was an upcoming town, a centre for trade for districts namely, Dhankuta, Shankhuwassabha, Bhojpur, Khotang, and Tehrathum. These districts were connected to north-south trade route and east-west trade route. In 1953, the British Gurkha Recruit Center was also established that attracted many Rai and Tamang recruits of Bhojpur to settle in Dharan. Bhojpur and Dharan is a migration corridor even today.

Many wealthy high castes of Bhojpur were targeted during times of revolution, and they became the pioneers of migration to Biratnagar, Morang district. As time passed by, they attracted their immediate near ones to follow the same. Plenty of lands were being acquired by felling trees in the Tarai region of eastern Nepal. This opportunity was taken by the high castes of Bhojpur. These pioneers established yet another corridor of migration Bhojpur to Morang. With the migration of wealthy landlords, the tillers also migrated along with them.

Biratnagar also attracted students from Bhojpur, as higher secondary schooling could be received in Bhojpur, those who had successfully completed it aspired to join college education in Biratnagar. This trend even continues till date with Kathmandu as new destination for students to take up education at all levels.

2.9 Towards Contemporary Context

2.9.1 Post 1990 major Political Accounts

2.9.1.1 The Armed Conflict

The Maoist rebels launched the “people’s war” in 1996 to establish socialist republic in Nepal. The armed conflict started from the mid-western region where police, teachers, government officials, landowners, and political opponents were attacked and hence had to flee for a safer destination. It is widely reported that these people who were targeted were threatened either to join the Maoist or to leave the place where they exercised their profession. This created unwanted migration of the targeted groups at local level and caused a vacuum characterized by the absence of local representative authority at the grass root level. Those who did not support the Maoist ideology experienced unfreedoms characterized by restricted political participation, political expression and mobility which are the basics and core to democracy and civil engagement at grass root level. It is estimated that around 2,50,000 people were displaced during the decade long conflict (Ghimire, 2009/10) whereas unmonitored migration to India was unaccounted.

In 2005, the parliament was suspended and King Gyanendra overtook full executive power. This led the seven major political parties and Maoist to join forces in reestablishing parliamentary democracy by signing a memorandum of agreement. The agreement called Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2006 brought an end to the decade long armed conflict and paved path for the Constituent Assembly elections which was the most democratic step to begin the peace process.

2.9.1.2 The Post-Armed Conflict

The CPA subsequently was followed by Constituent Assembly elections. Citizens of Nepal peacefully elected a Constituent Assembly (CA) which voted into

office a Maoist-dominated government. This new transitional parliament was tasked with drafting a new constitution. It was widely accepted that new constitution will include a federal structure, with a national parliament as well as provincial assemblies and the Indian style reservation system for women and minority groups. However, the reach of these principles is still uncertain as the assembly was dissolved due to its failure of not being able to write the promised constitution in time. The dissolution of CA and unwritten constitution was attributed to a reason that the identity of nation state was being compromised by increasing expression of regional and ethnic identities that were and are still centered on territorial claims. This post armed conflict is characterized by frequent reconfiguration of political power structure and mistrust between the major political parties.

2.9.1.3 Brief on State Transformation and Persistent Multiple Transition

As stated in the Nepal Human Development Report 2009, the state transformation is characterized by political transformation, including state restructuring, the electoral system, and the internal democracy of the political parties involved. The report also chalks the multiple transitions that Nepal is going through. Five different transitions have been noted namely a. From a monarchy into a republic that promises a wide spectrum of freedoms, b. From authoritarianism to a conception of democracy that rests on the realization of human potential as set out in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights c. From hegemonic to participatory governance, d. From a system of national governance derived from one particular religion to the prevalence of a generally secular perspective and lastly e. From a heavily centralized unitary system to one of decentralization and autonomy at varied sub-national levels.

The CPA has foreseen an inclusive, democratic and progressive state restructuring which would ultimately bring an end to the centralized and unitary character of the Nepali state so that the concerns and demands of women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, madhesis and the oppressed and the neglected people of the past regimes will be addressed.

2.9.1.4 Identity Politics in the Midst of Political Transition

Nepal's national identity according to 1990's constitution was based on Hindu religion, a unitary state, and a hereditary monarchy. This does give space for the Dalits, Janajatis including Tharu and Madhesis and women to demand for their inclusion. This demand for their inclusion and equality has helped them organize and mobilize against the exclusionary state. This has always been the root of identity politics in Nepal. Particularly focusing on ethnic based identity politics, the Nepal Human Development report 2009 states that ethnic based movements known as Janajati movements had begun since 1950, and received wider consideration after 1990 with the support of organizations involved in political demands to transform the state to more inclusive and representative of its population as a whole and to make the state more responsive towards the wants of its citizens. With the fall of monarchy in 2006, the Janajati movement has not only called for new constitution and restructuring of the state but also for the establishment of a federal system that is characterized by ethnic autonomy and that reserves positions for members of indigenous groups in the government and other state-sponsored institutions. Along with these demands, Janajati movement has also called for reconsideration of national identity of the state to reflect its cultural diversity. Nepal is preferred to be seen as secular state, and its national dress, national holidays and national anthem are all seen to represent the geographic, social, and cultural diversity.

2.9.1.5 Migration in the Midst of Political Transition

In early 2007, a new movement of unrest and violence had begun in the Tarai regions of the country. The violence was initiated by groups who professed Madhesi identity. These groups targeted both the state and Maoist followers, polarizing the citizens of the Tarai. Moving ahead with a debate of "one Madhesh one Pradesh", this conflict encouraged identity violence that drove conflict induced migration (NRC, 2008). It was reported that 6,000 to 8,000 people were displaced due to inter-communal violence in Kapilvastu, these were mostly *Pahadies* (IDP Working Group 2009, OCHA 2008, NRC 2008). Apart from conflict-induced migration is the foreign labour migration which is increasing every year since the end of armed conflict. As reported by World Bank 2011, nearly half of all the households in Nepal have at least

one member abroad or a returnee. The 2011 census of Nepal shows that 1.92 million Nepalis are abroad, which is comparatively very high as compared to 7,62,181 in 2001 i.e. during the conflict. This is evidence to the rise of migration after the armed conflict. Unchecked migration to India and internal migration from rural to urban centers is on the rise more than ever before but still unaccounted.

According to 2011 census, the population composition of Nepal constitutes of 125 caste/ethnic groups where Chhetri is the largest caste/ethnic group of the total population followed by Brahmin-Hill, Magar, Tharu, Tamang, Newar, Kami, Musalman, Yadav and Rai. The census also reports that Tarai constitutes 50.27 percent of the total population while that of hill and mountain constitutes 43 percent and 6.75 percent respectively. It also states that one in every four households (1.38 million) reported that at least one member of their household are absent or is living out of country. Total number of absent population is found to be 1,921,494 against 762,181 in 2001. This statistical data from the census is evidence to the fact that migration has increased to a considerable level after the armed conflict.

Within this context, on the one hand Nepal is experiencing increasing magnitude of migration, and on the other it is still facing protracted political transition which is attributed to the surge in identity politics and the contentious issue of federalism along ethnic line. This has given an ideal setting to explore the relationship between state at local level, citizens, the phenomenon of migration and associated developments taking place at contemporary time. Acknowledging the fact that hill to tarai has always been the major direction of traditional migration flow in Nepal which also takes the form of rural to urban migration today, it is important to revisit the push/ pull factors of rural-urban-migration and look within it to explore how migration is shaping and is being shaped by developmental (social, economic, political, cultural) outcomes at grassroots.

Summary Remarks

Following the time series of migration trend, it is clearly noticed that earlier Bhojpur was the place of destination for migrants and as time passed by, it became the place of origin as regards to migration. Main forces shaping migration are political and economical in general as compared to social. Since history, with establishment of educational institutions, mines, and mints Bhojpur had once been the hub and place of attraction which faded with time as there were better upcoming towns, whereas Bhojpur remained geographically challenged area with lack of road connectivity, electricity, fuel, and health facilities to name a few till 2005 A.D

CHAPTER THREE

3. CONCEPTS AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

Migration, Development and Citizenship

This chapter attempts to sketch the contours of a conceptual framework by bringing into the discussion migration, livelihood, development and citizenship through the lenses of migration studies, livelihood and development in development studies, and citizenship from citizenship studies. The framework aims to capture the heterogeneous nature of interaction across these fields to get a nuanced picture of migration phenomenon situated at the juncture of these fields. In doing so, an attempt is made to integrate structure and agency perspectives to capture the heterogeneity involved in the intersection of these broad fields by understanding migration as process, condition and category (Bakewell, 2011) and household livelihood strategy (De Haan and Zoomers 2005; Dorfler, Graefe, and Muller-Mahn 2003; Herzing and Thieme 2007; and Thieme 2006, 2008). Further, by placing socio-economic changes as development at the core of migration and development nexus; mobility and movement of people in migration process is viewed as capability and capacity to choose how and where to make living (HDR, 2009) through the lens of livelihood perspectives. Within this conceptual approach, concepts of translocal (Greiner, 2012) and multilocality are used for the understanding of translocal way of living and tracing multi-locational households (Sechmidt-Kallert, 2009, 2012; Dick and Schmidt-Kallert, 2011) and their multi-locational livelihood strategies to the final aim of understanding implication of multilocality of migrant households on the local state-citizen relationship by using concept of social citizenship represented by socio-political rights and entitlements.

3.1 Setting the Context

To contextualize the current debate on migration and development linkages, a brief historical overview of interpretation of migration found in the changing approaches and views on development is provided as this helps to provide a nuanced

picture of a conceptual framework based on interaction between the two fields of studies discussed later in the chapter. The paradigm shift that has occurred over the past half century in both development theory and social theory has deeply influenced interpretation of migration and its impacts. The debate of migration and development issues stands old, and has transformed from optimistic views to pessimistic and back to optimistic views over the six decades. This shift in views has gone parallel with the changing meaning of and approaches taken to development. What were and are the changing meanings associated with development, and how has it influenced the understanding of migration, its determinants and impacts becomes meaningful before understanding the nature of complex debate on migration and development relationship.

3.2 Understanding Development: Concept and Conceptualization

Literature on concepts, meaning and analysis of development has widely been discussed in the field of development studies as compared to discussion of ‘what development is?’ in literatures on migration and development. Naujoks (2013) states that literatures on migration and development have largely neglected the meaning of development and have been limited to the understanding of it, in terms of its driver, like investment and remittances. The concept of development entails multiple dimensions to represent it, different meanings are associated with it, and the meaning varies within different contexts: normative, historical and cultural. This can be assessed at different levels of analysis (De Haas, 2010).

Let us now turn to understanding of the term ‘development’. The concept of development is contested both theoretically and politically and is complex and ambiguous, currently, the meaning is limited to represent the practice of development agencies, particularly aiming to reduce poverty and achieve the targeted Millennium Development Goals (Thomas, 2000; Thomas 2004). Gore (2000) depicts that the vision of development as people and peoples’ liberation during 1950 to 1960 has now been replaced by the vision of liberalization of economics. The development practice that pertained to structural transformation has been transformed to spatial integration, and, development as dynamics of long term transformation of economies and societies is focused on short term growth. According to Hinky and Mohan (2003),

‘development’ seen through the lens of post-modern approach is nothing but socially constructed and embedded within certain economic epistemes which value some assets over others. This approach looks for alternative value systems so that the poor are not stigmatized and their spiritual and cultural ‘assets’ are recognized. Along these lines of arguments over ‘development’, three major conceptualizations of ‘development’ can be summed up in the following ways: a) conceptualizing ‘development’ as a long-term process of structural societal transformation, b) ‘development’ as a short to medium term outcome of desired targets, and lastly c) ‘development’ as a dominant ‘discourse’ of Western Modernity.

Within the contour of development thinking, Pieterse (2010) describes that the modern development thinking conceptualized development as economic growth. This was the core meaning of ‘development’ entailed in both Big Push and Growth Theory. Subsequently, thinking on development from 1950 to 1960 is influenced by Modernization Theory, meaning of development involved growth, political and social modernization. Here development thinking is seen to encompass modernization. After 1960, perspective on development is more influenced by Dependency Theory, where development associates with capital accumulation at its core, and capital accumulation caused development of richer country and ‘development of underdevelopment’ of the poorer ones. Apart from these lines of development perspectives stood the alternative development thinking from 1970s onwards, which focuses on understanding development as social and community development with human flourishing at its core (Pieterse, 2010).

3.3 Debates on Development

The debate on development is dominated by two major understandings. One group of scholars is seen to reject the concept and practice of development while the other group rejoices in it. Group of scholars (such as Sachs, 2010; Illich, 2010; Esteva, 2010; Lummis, 2010; Berthoud, 2010) interpret the notion of development negatively. They are skeptic about it and judge development against its worst cases, focusing only on its dark sides. For this group, the starting point of ‘development’ is the mid-twentieth century. This group’s understanding of development is nothing but

Westernization of the world (Sachs, 2010). According to Esteva (2010), development meant to escape from the condition of underdevelopment, and in this line of argument, Illich (2010) stated that some countries will never escape their underdevelopment condition and declared 'development is dead'. For Lummis (2010) getting at par with the rich through economic activity was impossible and mentioned that catching up to equality was just a myth. Further Berthoud (2010) regarded development as the integration into national and international market, and such integration is considered to be the minimal condition for a region to be considered 'developed'. This pessimistic viewpoint on development is challenged by other group of scholars who stands optimistic. By tracing the idea of development further back in history, scholars (such as Hettner, 2002; Sidaway, 2002; Elliott, 2002; Thirlwall, 2002; Sen, 1999; and Streeten et al, 1981; Streeten, 1981) contributed to development thinking a new content. For Hettner (2002), development thinking is the child of enlightenment. He associates development with increasing capacity to design societies in accordance with rationalist principles. This optimistic group views development as process of ups and down, and with possibilities. According to Sidaway (2002), development is about choices, dilemmas, destruction and creative possibility. Elliott (2002) considers development as human well being that includes individual civil and political liberties and meeting with physical and material needs of human society. Further, Thirlwall (2002) associates development with rights, and suggests focus of development on expansion of peoples 'entitlements' and 'capabilities'. This optimistic conceptualization of development relates to improving human welfare. This interpretation of development lines at par with definition put forward by United Nations: 'development is growth plus change, change in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative.... The key concept must be improved quality of peoples' life' (UN 1962). Others with prime concern on development in relation to 'the people', is Human Development Report by UNDP (HDR: 1990; 2014) puts 'people are the real wealth of a nation'.

3.4 Major Development Approaches: Arguments for Development

Many different approaches have come up with offering theoretical conceptualizations of and framework for development in practice. The major approaches can be listed as development as basic needs, development as freedom and

development as development. I do not intend to go deep into each of this approach, but would like to elaborate on development as freedom, which contributes to the understanding of development for this research.

Drawing on contemporary contribution to the development debate by Sen (1999), his *Development as Freedom* offers philosophical conceptualization of the concept of development. According to Sen, freedom is regarded as ‘capacity’ and interprets development as a holistic term. His understanding of development considers several different aspects of social, political and economic. He writes ‘to investigate the development process in inclusive terms is to integrate economic, social, and political considerations’ (Sen, 1999). Sen’s conceptualization of freedom is both the process of developing as well as ‘the principal ends of development’ (ibid). According to him, end of all development endeavors is freedom; this freedom is understood as ‘positive freedom’ i.e. helps one to be free. Linking development and freedom, Sen argues that freedom is at the core of development for two reasons. Firstly, it is the evaluative reason, where development and its process can be only assessed through the enhancement of freedom people have. Secondly, it is the effectiveness reason, where Sen states, achievement of development is purely dependent on the free agency of the people.

Sen attempts to instrumentalize freedom by advocating five distinct types of freedoms: a) Political freedom, b) economic freedom, c) social opportunity, d) transparency guarantees, and e) productive security. Further, he argues that each of these ‘rights and opportunities helps to advance the general capacity of a person’ (Sen, 1999). It is at this juncture that Sen intertwines freedom and development, individual, her/his capacity, and concludes development as freedom is a person, in her/his capacity, what she/he has reason to value, to do and to be.

Sen’s conceptualization of development is built on the foundation that links individual to development. Such conceptualization rests on arguments that development requires drive and direction and it does not occur in a vacuum. Individual is identified and defined in a society, not outside it. Society can only sustain within a certain socio-economic-political order and procedure. Sen states, ‘given her personal characteristics, social background, economic circumstances and

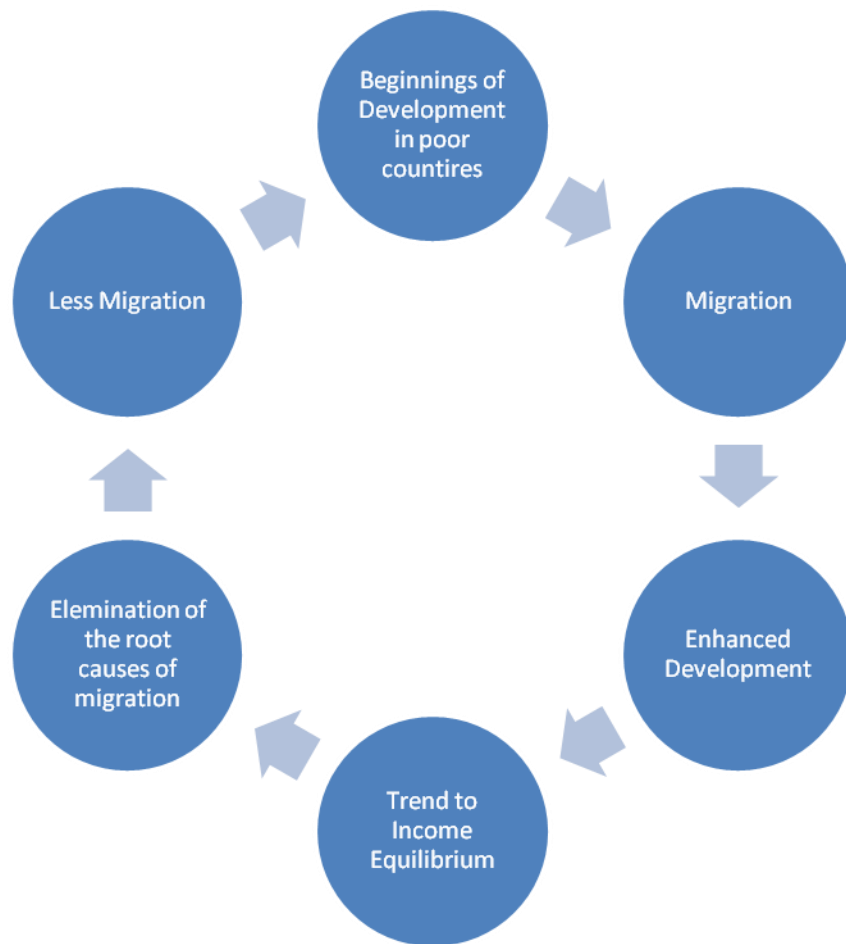
so on, a person has the ability to do (or be) certain things that she has reason to value' (ibid). Sen further argues that state is not the only institution through which individual freedom operates; it demands other institutions, political and social organizations, community based organizations, non-government agencies of various kinds, the media and other means of public understanding and communication market and contractual relations (ibid). Finally, Sen identifies the role of democracy and human rights as core components within development.

Sen's conceptualization of the concept of development is one approach to understand development, which is taken into consideration for this research.

3.5 Migration and Development: An Academic Debate

Scholarly evidences show major debates on migration development link neo-classical economic theory and historical-institutional theory. This controversy is from 1950s to 1980s where it involves particularly the assumptions undertaken by theories in concern. The neo-classical economic theory based its assumption on potential migrants having full knowledge of wage levels and employment opportunities in destination regions, and the decision to migrate was solely based on these economic factors. According to this model, migration was interpreted as a result of disparities between origin and destination. The disparities and differences between the origin and destination were the minimal and sufficient condition to generate migrant flows. This model suggested that in the long run, migration would transform the condition in the underdeveloped origin and the developed destination such that wage differentials between regions equalized resulting towards economic equilibrium. This model gave a positive view in the 1950s and 1960s on the interaction and interconnection between migration and development. This is also termed as 'virtuous circle' (Castles, 2008).

Figure 3.1 Virtuous Circle



Beginnings of development in poor countries -> Migration -> Enhanced development-> Trend to income equilibrium -> and elimination of the root causes of migration-> Less migration.

On the contrary, historical-institutional approach interpreted migration as mobilizing cheap labour for capital. This model argued that migration creates underdevelopment rather than mitigating disparities between underdeveloped origin and developed destination. The roots of such analyses were based on Marxist political economy, especially on the dependency theory. This was the dominant intellectual trend and provided a pessimistic view of interaction and interconnectedness between

migration and development. Castle (2009) terms such conceptualization of linkages between migration and development as a 'vicious circle'.

Figure 3.2 Vicious Circle



Core-periphery division and dependency-> Migration-> Increased dependency of poor countries-> Impoverishment and income gap get worse-> Third world labour freely available for capital in core economies (ibid).

With the subsequent emergence of alternative theoretical models from the 1970s onwards, most models have positive or optimistic view on migration and development linkages. The new models firstly attempted to bridge the old divides, and tried to enhance understanding of migration process. One of such models was transitional theories (Zelinsky, 1971 cited in de Haas 2010). To grasp more comprehensive understanding on migration process and its relations with development, transitional theories attempt to link mobility to the processes of development and economic integration. Migration as interpreted by this model follows these stages: it starts with the phase beginning of the process of modernization and industrialization, during which phase, there is an increase in

emigration pertaining to population growth, decline in rural employment, and low wage levels. This phase is followed by another phase where industrialization proceeds, resulting in decline of labour supply and rise in domestic wage levels, in which stage emigration falls and labour immigration begins to take place (Zelinsky, 1971). Further, Zelinsky argues that this mobility transition parallels the fertility transition as a result of which population growth takes pace with enhanced public health and hygiene and stabilizes as fertility falls in industrial countries. This pattern is also explained by a more recent concept called 'migration hump' (Martin and Taylor, 1996; 2001). The concept is represented by a chart showing emigration represented by a rising line as economic growth takes off, the line then flattens and then is represented by declining curve with the maturation of industrial economy.

The emergence of new migration theory and model is making it possible to move towards a more holistic understanding of migration and development linkages and interconnectedness. However, better concepts are still required to have a nuanced understanding between the linkages of two processes, when development is to be considered in a much broader term, and not just in terms of economic factors.

3.6 Arguments for Heterogeneous Model

Drawing from the above debate on migration and development linkages, it is evident that static and deterministic models as discussed above namely equilibrium (neo classical) and gravity (historical-institutional) approaches taken towards understanding migration as linearly dependent variable on factors such as poverty, income differentials and population growth is misleading. Scholarly evidences that of Zelinsky (1971) on mobility transition, dynamics of shifting global migration and development tires of Skeldon (1997) and migration hump of Martine and Taylor (1996) support that migration is a process integral to process of development, characterized by its own internal features and has its own dynamics which is self-sustaining and self-undermining. This process has several different social, cultural, economic and political impacts on its own right (De Haas, 2010).

While individual and households respond to general changes taking place in broader context of development, migration on its own right tends to cause social,

cultural, economic and institutional changes both at local and national development context. Drawing from De Haas (2010), ‘migration is not an independent variable explaining change, but is an endogenous variable, an integral part of change itself in the same degree as it may enable further change’, it becomes necessary to look at migration development linkages not from one-way perspective i.e. impact of migration on development but by understanding the interconnectedness between it by conceiving the reciprocal relationship between it.

This was made possible by contribution to migration and development thinking from theories such as new economics of labour migration (NELM), livelihood approaches and more recent transnational approaches. These approaches entailed and attempted to harmonize structure and agency, which was essential to deal with heterogeneity of migration impact (De Haas, 2010). Skeldon (1997) depicts that approaches that involve structure and actor interaction allows greater variety of outcomes. These new approaches that involved structure and actor perspectives gave more nuanced understanding on migration and development, and expanded spaces for interpreting the migration and development processes as both reciprocal and heterogeneous.

3.7 Towards Conceptual Framework

For this micro level research, the reciprocal nature of domestic (internal) migration and local development interaction is represented by a) development context at the local level, this includes social, economic and cultural context surrounding population under study, b) the migration process taking place, this includes types, direction and cause, and, lastly, c) the linking mechanisms.

The local development context and its composite elements such as social, economic, cultural and political structure is represented by public infrastructure, social facilities such as health and education, access to market, policies, legislature and taxation. This micro development context is looked upon to determine opportunities to migrate. The opportunity structure is represented by access differential of social, economic, and public facilities between origin and destination areas, demand for labour and land at destination, and better livelihood opportunity at

destination. This affects household arrangements and changes livelihood strategies, and influences category of migration (temporary, permanent, family or individual migration).

The livelihood activities conducted at local level is a function of local development. Drawing from Sen's conceptualization of development, local development is also about people living their lives they have reason to value and how they enhance the substantive choice they have through different livelihood strategies, in which migration plays an important role. To realize or make migration successful, aspiration and capability plays functional roles. In this regards, mobility and propensity to migrate are seen as function of aspiration and capability of members of households.

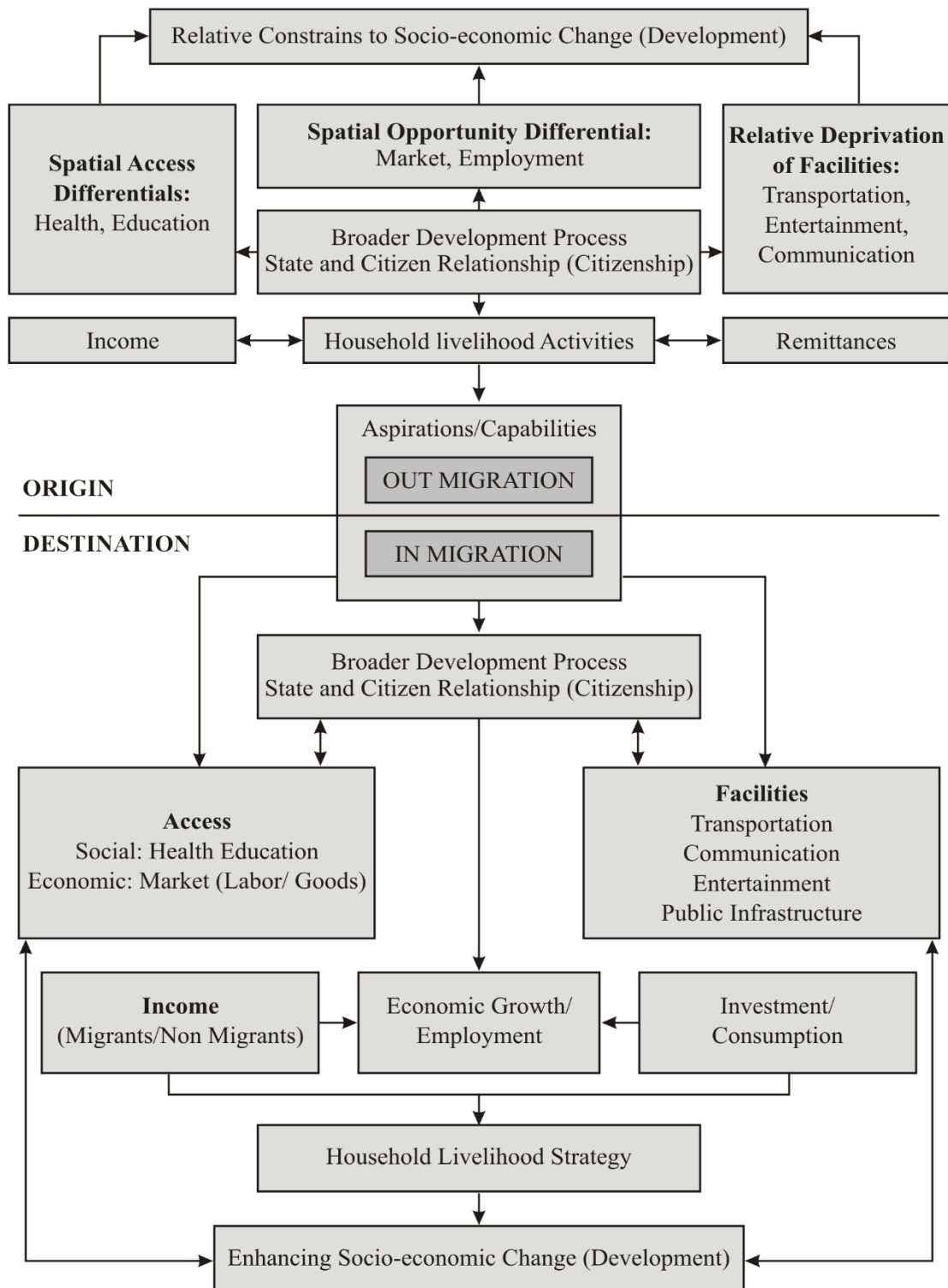
Reciprocally, migration affects local development in terms of availability of labor, investment on land, consumption of imported goods, demand and supply of social services (e.g. health and education), relative deprivation, and so on. This can be seen as migration induced socio-economic changes. Such migration induced changes become part of development induced socio-economic changes. If migration is a socio-economic process and is induced to some extent by development, then migration and the changes brought about by it also affect development.

Drawing from Massey (1990) and Massey et al (1993), the socio-economic changes brought about by migration can in various ways facilitate additional movement. Massey gives example of formation of social capital in the form of migrant network which helps to facilitate migration process. It is in this regards that migration can become a self-sustaining system, but can be self-undermining too because of negative feed backs i.e. constraints on flow of migration by earlier migrants themselves (De Haas, 2010).

While discussing these scholarly debates over issues concerning migration and development, earlier explanations suggest a need of conceptual framework that is chalked by integrating structure and actor perspectives. This includes space for explaining, interpreting heterogeneous and reciprocal relationship between migration and wider development process. In accordance to the suggestion, the framework

introduced here is an attempt to account for role of structure both constraining and enabling features of general social, economic, political and cultural context of development in which migration takes place, and agency as capacity of individual to overcome such constraints and even reshape the structural context by migrating.

Figure 3.3 Conceptual Framework



3.8 Rationale for Conceptual Framework

Living within the social, economic and political constraints that are conditions blanketed by development disequilibria and relative spatial opportunity differentials, aspirant migrants often have tendency to apply human agency to migrant with an aim to improve their livelihood and to overcome such condition of constraints. Human agency is acknowledged in migration as it situates migration as an action taken towards realizing individual and household livelihood goals; this involves an individual or household to move from place of origin to place of destination.

At the origin, it is assumed that prevailing circumstances entail less development activities, relatively less access to social services (such as education and health), economic opportunities (such as better access to market that includes labour, goods, and services) and financial and spatial facility differentials (such as access to transportation, public infrastructure road, electricity, water, communication and entertainment). All of these combine to fuel, social, economic and political constraints in its own right.

Due to these structural disequilibria between origin and destination of which unequal spatial-development process is at the core, aspirant potential migrants undertake migration as a decision made at household level to overcome the constraining conditions within which the household is living. Constraints such as low output of invested labour, insecure income source, limited land availability, limited access to markets and lack of employment opportunities trigger aspiration in potential migrants to pursuit for a place where there is presumably more return to invested labour, a more secured income source and available work, easier access to labour, goods and financial market and further access to better social services, and facilities.

The destination is characterized as the most suitable place where migrants can realize the pursuit of their livelihood goals. At the destination, development process on its own right is taking place. It is a container holding relatively better access to social services, economic opportunities and facilities. It is in this new environment, where different categories of migrants play out their daily livelihood activities towards improved living condition. This is not to say that all constraints are

overcome, and no new constraints are faced at the destination. Migrants face many different constraints at the destination too, but relatively they are better off as they choose to remain in the destination and move on with daily livelihood activities.

3.9 Building Blocks of Conceptual Framework

3.9.1 Migration: A Process, Condition and Category

The term ‘migration’ can be used in three senses: as a process, a condition and a category (Bakewell, 2011). Bakewell further argues that the nature of migration varies according to the sense it is being used in. This study treats migration as a social process, where, migration is understood as a process which results in a change in the migrants’ physical location, which in turn transforms their economic, social and political settings and demography. These changes include different aspects of migration process that involves structural conditions in area of origin, decision-making (when to move and where to go), routes, patterns of settlement and integration.

3.9.2 Migration as a Social Process

The conceptualization of migration as a social process is made operational in this study by exploring different dimensions composing the process, namely: a) level of agency, b) rationales of migration, c) timescale of migration, d) change involved, e) extent of migration, and, lastly, f) level of institutional engagement.

- a. Level of Agency: Migrants are social agents of change; they are free agents, and possess infinite degree of freedom to make choice to migrate or not to migrate. Agency here means to be able to make a decision on migration.
- b. Rationales for migration: Different motivations cause migration, this dimension helps capture the consideration for migration social, economic, human capital or political. It supports to distinguish between migration drivers that in return gives clear picture on stream of migration and migrants stream.
- c. Timescale of migration: This dimension provides information on permanent or temporary settlement. It captures return migration or circular migration.

- d. Degree of change involved: This dimension particularly focuses on distance travelled to boundaries crossed, environmental change, social and cultural changes, economic distances in terms of different livelihood practices and job market and institutional changes moving between different local government regimes and service provided.
- e. Extent of migration: This dimension helps capture who are involved in migration process, across individual and household, gender and generations.
- f. Level of institutional engagement: This helps understand which institutions are involved in peoples' movement from role of household to social network and government institutions.

3.9.3 Migration as Condition

This study sees migration as condition. Migration in this regard is conceptualized as the 'state of being'. Here, being is the condition of having migrated, and it is an outcome of the process of migration. This dimension helps capture social, economic and cultural conditions and experiences of being a migrant household and their daily social, economic experiences of being migrant household. This is operationalized by expressing migration as a household livelihood strategy which is dealt in latter section of the chapter.

3.9.4 Migration as Category

The conceptualization of migration as category helps generate and differentiate groups between study populations in terms of the status of migration. Firstly, it helps categories types of migration namely temporary migration and permanent migration. Next, it helps categorizes the concerned research population into groups of people who share same characteristics i.e. non-migrants, temporary migrants, permanent migrants, and return migrants. This study particularly categorizes permanent migrants and non-permanent migrants in legal sphere.

3.9.5 Migration Process and Demographic Transition

Fertility, mortality, and migration are three demographic processes that potentially can change the size of a population. These demographic processes are associated with birth, death, and population movement that can increment, decrement and increment/decrement concerned population respectively. Unlike the fertility and mortality, migration has added complexities that it affects two sets of population simultaneously, at origin and destination of migration.

The degree to which these three demographic processes contribute to population change is relative to and varies across population and time. It affects and is affected by other changes and processes occurring in the population such as social, economic, cultural and political changes. The demographic transition theory explains that during the course of a population's socio-economic transformation, fertility and mortality of the concerned population also changes (Lee 1966, Coale 1972). However, this theory does not consider migration processes and its affect on population change. 'Theory of Mobility Transition' by Zielinsky (1971) takes migration into consideration unlike demographic transition theory. It explains inter-linkages between migration and socio-economic development in stages. According to it, occurrence of limited migration happens in pre-modern societies; for societies in socio-economic transition, it explains the occurrence of internal migration, particularly the rural to urban and circulation migration. Further, it claims that cross-border and inter-urban migration occurs in modern societies.

Though, the recent times migration patterns do not support these hypotheses, the mobility transition is a step forward in explaining migration trends and its' interlinks with social and economic changes. Within the changing context of social and economic environment, migration may have effect on population growth, age composition and population distribution, which are factors absent in demographic and mobility transition theory. Migration is one of the three demographic processes that contribute to population change. It affects population growth, age composition and population distribution. On the reverse, demography of population (its size, growth and composition) may in turn affect magnitude of internal migration of the concerned population and the characteristics of the migrants too. This study attempts to discuss

the demography of the migration processes; this composes of demographic characteristics of migrants and role of demographic factors that shape the migration process. In this attempt a block of conceptual framework for demographic dynamics of the migration processes is discussed below. This part of framework is used for analysis of demographic transformation and characteristics of population under study in relation to domestic migration in eastern Nepal. In doing so, I attempt to examine a) the demographic dynamics of Bhojpur Village Development Committee between 2001 and 2011, and b) the existing migration trends in the context of given conceptual framework and compares the demographic factors and characteristics of the population under study for a course of a decade.

3.9.5.1 Migration as Demographic process

Literatures on migration processes have primarily focused on drivers and causes of migration. Inclination to this theoretical interest has often left out ‘migration transition’. The earliest of the contribution to understanding ‘theory of migration’ were those of Ravenstein, who in his paper ‘The Law of Migration’, chalks out various driving factors of migration, where, dominance of economic motives are prominent. Lee (1966) quotes Ravenstein to explain that:

“Bad and oppressive laws; heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave, trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to ‘better’ themselves in material aspects”

Further Ravenstein also observes that technological enhancement (transportation and communication) and economic growth can potentially increase magnitude of migration. He notes that *“migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry”*, other observations mentioned were *“each main current of migration produces a compensating counter current”* and included one demographic characteristics of migrants *“females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants”* (Ravenstein 1889) (Quote in Lee 1966).

Later Lee proposes a set of hypotheses, which can be seen as re-articulation and expanded version of Ravenstein's "Laws". The hypotheses chalks out and explains on volume of migration, the development of migration streams and reverse streams and the characteristics of migrants. His explanation includes several factors linked with place of origin and destination of migration. Here, variables such as distance, cost of travel, immigration laws, personal characteristics of migrant and life experiences are hypothesized to affect the magnitude and flow of migration (Lee 1966). These observations are applicable to both internal and international migration.

Later theories on migration are primarily based on labour migration, and they argue for economic reasons, and that economic theories can best explain migration. These theories have been critically reviewed in detail by Massey et al 1993; Castles and Miller 2009. Among these theories, Piore (1979) contributes towards the understanding of demographic factors in the migration process. In his theory about dual labour markets, Piore argues that structural factors in the economy generates dual labour market, where, a need for migrant workers to fill up lower skilled jobs is created. He elaborates on demography of labour supply. He states that two groups in industrialized societies have major contribution to lower skilled work force: a) women, and b) youth. Though the situation Piore refers to is more complex, the discussed theoretical perspectives are concerned with supply and demand of labour.

However, demographic dynamics that are associated with different forms of migration, such as family reunion and marriage have been given less focus. High population growth rates, a young population, ethnic group dynamics are other demographic factors that can affect and can be affected by migration. Therefore, going towards understanding demographic dynamics of migration process, a nuanced understanding of role of demographic factors in the migration process and demographic characteristics of migrants and its implication is necessary (Khoo and McDonald 2011). The next section elaborates on part of conceptual framework for examining the dynamics of migration process in relation to internal migration. The framework attempts to link demographic dynamics at macro and micro level at the destination that are associated with migration processes.

3.9.5.2 Framework for Understanding Migration and Demographic Change

The demographic dynamics associated with the in-migration at the place of destination can have impacts at macro level variables such as population growth, fertility and mortality trends and changes in the structure of age group of the population in concern. The general assumption is that high population growth rates at the origin, with high fertility rates and natural increase in population leads to young population and potential hub for labor supply. A large magnitude of migrants is mobile young adults.

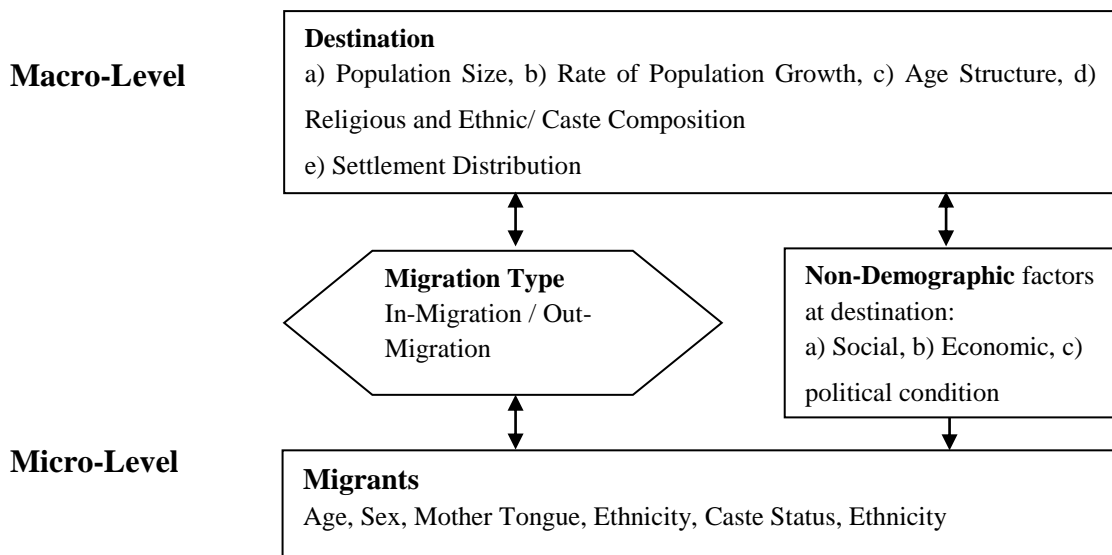
Demographic characteristics such as low population growth rate, stable population or decline of population can affect migration. Fertility decline and slower population growth means fewer young adults in the mobile age group and there would be less tendency for migration. Hence, places can transform from place of out-migration to place of in-migration or both in-and out-migration in relation to demographic changes taking place in it. Population composition transformation can potentially affect migration stream. In cases of sex ratio imbalances, marriages are difficult; this affects magnitude of birth rates, and even formation of new communities. This result in formation of new migration streams.

Demographic characteristics of individual at the place of destination such as age and sex, marital or family status and ethnicity of individuals contribute to the decision on receiving marriage partners from other places and even welcoming extended family members. As demography affects the volume and characteristics of migration, migration as a demographic process also affects the demography of the place of destination. Migration adds to population growth and increase the size of population at the destination. In case of selective migration taking place, particular age group or ethnic group, this affects the age structure and ethnic composition of the population at the destination. Demographic changes can also affect the volume of migration between origin and destination and can contribute to the formation of migration system too.

The outcomes of migration are at the core of migration processes, this involves outcome at origin and destination. One of the outcomes is often related to

migrant settlements. It is in this context; this conceptual framework includes demographic dynamics related to settlement as a crucial part of understanding demographics associated with in-migration at the destination. Studies of the demographic changes related with migration has particularly focused on geographic / residential concentration, in this case magnitude of residential concentration across wards of the VDC is done. As migrants are of different ethnic, racial, religious or social groups, the changing population across these dimensions are used to get a nuanced picture of changing composition of population.

Figure 3.4 Framework: Migration Process and Demographic Change



3.9.6 Migration and Livelihood Approach

This study looks upon migration also as a household livelihood strategy. Being a micro-research concerning internal migration, it is important to discuss migration from the perspective of livelihood approach. In this approach, migration is undertaken by migrants to actively improve their household livelihoods, where migration is a means to overcome constraining conditions faced at the origin.

3.9.6.1 Livelihood Approach

People make a living in diverse and complex ways, and to understand this diversity and complexity livelihood approach has been very influential. This approach is said to address the living conditions of deprived lots, their available opportunities for well-being, their capacity to be resilient against uncertainty and shocks, and their assets which include social and material resources (Chambers and Conway, 1992). As such this approach is useful in understanding migration and the migrants' livelihood in the process of migration. This approach finds its application not just in academic research, but has extended to be used as tools to analyze development problems and designing policies (Thieme, 2008). Development agencies namely, UK Department for International Development (DFID), CARE International, Oxfam, World Bank and UNDP have endorsed this approach (Rakodi and Lloyed-Jones, 2002). This approach finds its relevance both in rural and urban settings, and has especial relevance in the issue pertaining to rural-rural, and rural to urban migration.

At the core of livelihood approach are the livelihood assets or capitals which include social, human, financial, natural and physical capital (DFID, 2002). Livelihood strategies undertaken by households are linked to these livelihood assets. While households could be deprived of some but not all of these assets, it is assumed that they could be in possession of some form of combination of these assets. Rakodi (2002) and Thieme (2008) state that to understand these different forms of assets, it is necessary to identify both the opportunity these assets or combination of them provide and the constraint that can exist in the absence of the same.

The desired livelihoods, determined choices and strategies opted by households depend on context in which the households live in. In the livelihood approach, the context includes overall structural context, organization and institutions including rules, norms, policies, legislation that shape livelihood and vulnerability (DFID, 2002). Rakodi (2002) elaborates on vulnerability as insecurity of people's well being in the face of changing ecological, social, political or economic environment.

Other composite elements of this approach are the livelihood strategies which are looked upon as a continuum that encapsulates struggling to survival livelihood, security and growth. The achievement of these strategies is the livelihood outcomes. As stated by DFID (2002), outcomes could range from material to non-material well-being such as health, access to services and food security. This study considers migration as one of the livelihood strategies undertaken for enhancing material to non-material well-beings by the households.

3.9.6.2 Migration as Livelihood Strategy

According to Carney (1998, 2002) and Carney et al (1999), livelihood constitutes of assets that include both material and non-material resources, capabilities, and activities required for making a living. Within this line of understanding, Ellis (1998) states that livelihood is not just limited to income generation activities, but it also encompasses intra-household relations, social institutions and mechanisms of access to resources through the life cycle. It is within this understanding that migration can be conceptualized as livelihood strategy, where migration is one of the activities undertaken by households or their individual members to maintain, enhance and secure their way of making living.

As stated by De Haas (2010), livelihood strategy is based on assets in hand, perceptions of opportunity, and aspirations of actors. Strategic choice would differ from household to household, from individual to individual making livelihood strategies heterogeneous. This demands migration to be captured through more empirical approaches which can be done involving concept of livelihood and looking upon migration as a household livelihood strategy (De Haas 2010). In situations of social, economic, and environmental hardship and uncertainty, McDowell and De Haan (1997) argue that livelihoods are not organized individually but much wider social contexts are considered such as households and village communities. This makes household a recognized and most appropriate unit of analysis. It is within this context that McDowell and De Haan (1997); Bebbington (1999); Ellis (2000) and De Haas (2010) recognize migration to be prime element among the choices and strategies household undertake to diversify, secure, and all the more improve their

livelihoods by combining other strategies like agriculture intensification and local non-farm activities.

Underpinned by these reasonings, this study attempts to recognize migration not as a survival strategy but as a choice to improved livelihood and enabled investment as suggested by Bebbington (1997), as a means to mitigate family income fluctuation (McDowell and De Haan, 1997, De Haan et al 2000), and as means to acquire wider range of assets that help households to be resilient against shocks and stress (De Haan et al, 2000). This understanding of migration is mainly applied for internal migration (De Haas, 2010), which is most suitable for the current study as it is focused on rural to urban internal migration.

3.9.6.3 Multi-Locational Household Arrangements and Multi-Local livelihood

Within the context of non-permanent migration, multi-locational household arrangements and multi-locational livelihood strategies have been widely discussed (Schmidt-Kallet, 2009; Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009; Dick and Schmidt-Kallet, 2011). Making living in two locations which sometimes could be far away from each other and gaining livelihood opportunities at two or more places characterizes multi-local livelihood strategy (Schmidt-Kallet, 2012). Thieme (2008) writes that migration to diversify source of household income results in decomposition of households and multiple locations of families' sources of income.

Often, arrangements pertaining to multi-locality involve rural and urban location of household members though not always. Such arrangements may not always result in higher income generation as compared to single location household arrangement but helps spread risks and gains advantage of rural-urban exchange. Schmit-Kallet (2009) has argued that multi-local livelihood is not confined to economic resilience but that rurally located household members have equal role in contributing to social functions like taking care of sick and elderly, as compared to the responsibility fulfilled by urban located members in economic terms.

Dick and Schmidt-Kallet (2012) put emphasis on social network among family/village for successful multi-locational livelihood. They argue that migration

and multi-locational livelihood strategies are only possible with the support of migrant network. Such network provides vital linkage between multi-located household parts. Multilocality can possess intergenerational features (Subei, 1993), such intergenerational multi-local network states Poertner et al (2011) arising from internal household relocation and successive and reversible migration practices.

Multi-locality through the lens of livelihood approach has been used to identify the impact of migration on people's means of subsistence (De Haan and Rogaly, 2002). In this context, putting people at centre, multi-locality can also be related to development by understanding rooted and dispersed livelihood strategy. Decomposition of household for diversification of income, and subsequent emergence of multi-local livelihood and social networks as a result of migration are acknowledged as three major consequences of globalization of local development and livelihood by de Haan and Zoomers (2003). It is the linkages set by these networks of multilocality that connect peripheral local to global space which then results in better livelihood opportunities later on (ibidi).

3.9.7 Migration and Human Development

Migration as household livelihood strategy can be related to human development by virtue of its potential to promote living conditions, access to better health and education, and opportunity to generate income. While debate on migration and development has mainly focused on magnitude of remittances and its relevance to economic development on the one hand, and brain and unskilled labour drain on the other (De Haas, 2010), the debate stands old and has shortcoming with its one-sided emphasis on remittances and economic impact of migration, brain drain and loss of unskilled labour for origin countries. Further, such debate on migration and development is primarily focused on international migration studies and has less relevance on internal migration. For the suitability of this study, and acknowledging the shortcomings on conceptualization of the nexus of migration and development, this study conceptualizes development through the lens of capability approach. While doing so, the conceptual framework for this study attempts to generate a fusion between livelihood approach and capability approach to get a nuanced understanding

of development value of migration and human mobility which has significant role in enhancement of human development and livelihood of people in concern.

3.9.7.1 Conceptualizing Human Development

Development as conceptualized by Sen (1999) is the process of expanding freedoms people enjoy. Sen operationalized freedom by using the concept of human capability. Here capability is understood as the ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance choices they have. These ideas are central to the capabilities approach where concept of human development relates to the expansion of people's freedoms to live their lives as they choose (HDR, 2009). Within this context, this study attempts to understand the implications of migration for human development.

3.9.7.2 Human Mobility and Movement as Capability and Functioning

De Haas (2009) states that human mobility can be interpreted as an integral part of human development within the framework of capability approach. In so doing, he states that people can only move if they have capability to do so. He explains human mobility in terms of capability to decide where to live and migration (human movement) in terms of the associated functioning. He argues that expansion in human mobility is expansion in capability i.e. to chose where to live and where not to, where to go and where not to. This expansion in capability is expansion of the choices open to an individual which is expansion of freedom. On a similar line, migration (human movement) which is associated with the functioning of mobility as stated by De Haas (2009) enables people to improve other dimensions relevant to their capabilities such as capacity to earn, have access to better health and education for themselves and children, and to gain self-respect.

Staying within this approach and fusing it with livelihood framework, this study attempts to capture the development values of mobility and implication of migration on livelihoods of the study population.

3.9.8 Migration and Citizenship

Research on migration and migrant integration has focused on the importance of citizenship since the 1980s. Prior to this, migration research had little connection between political theories and sociological analysis of citizenship in a wider sense (Baubock, 2006). Citizenship has been a major issue in migration studies concerning transnationalism. Researches on transnational experiences and relations have explored citizenship, urbanization and networks over transnational spaces. The underlying issue of citizenship in migration studies in particular transnational spaces as argued by Desforges et al (2005) is that citizenship is being rescaled upwards, i.e. beyond citizen of nation-state, world has become increasingly cosmopolitan and globalized, new kinds of citizenship based on ethnic, cultural or religious identities are emerging which are being promoted by diasporic communities or faith groups. Acknowledging the issue of migration and citizenship in transnational spaces, Ehrkamp and Leitner (2006) attempt to find how diversity and differences among migrants mediate migrants' transnational ties and their understanding and practices of citizenship, and, addresses the material and metaphorical spaces of transnational citizenship and belonging (cited in Blunt, 2007). On a similar note, recent research has focused on the significance of attachments, belonging, and practices of citizenship, within particular place and over transnational spaces. Preston et al (2006) explores the citizenship experiences of migrant families within places of settlement where conceptualization of citizenship is expanded to accommodate the idea of citizenship as both status (formal definition of citizenship defined by the laws and regulations) and practices or exercise which deals with participatory aspects of citizenship, lived practices, and identities that shape and are shaped by norms and values in both sending and receiving places.

This opens up a space where migration and citizenship nexus can be explored. Although attempts of exploring this nexus have been made at transnational space and across international boundaries, with a point of departure I intend in this study to focus at a national scale, and explore how migration within national territory, across intra-national boundaries reconfigures spaces, places, status and practice of citizenship. As citizenship is particularly seen as status across international boundaries, its both status and practice within national boundaries is comparatively

less focused. A citizen having the right to move freely within the territorial realm of her/his country of citizenship, has also the duties abided by virtue of being citizen, has rights, and exercises citizenship within the territorial realm. The major concern here is that as citizens are mobile entities, especially in societies where migration is socio-economic strategy of livelihood, this comes in clash with the practice of citizenship which is anchored to a territorial unit and beyond which the status and active citizenship get blurred.

It's my attempt to explore this phenomenon of re-configuring of citizenship within study site, where migration has become a livelihood strategy embedded in daily life.

3.9.8.1 Conceptualizing Citizenship

Drawing from Sen's Capability Approach, this research attempts to conceptualize citizenship as capability. This conceptualization is made possible by deconstructing citizenship into necessary and contextual components which can indicate and represent citizenship as capability. Alkire (2002) states that capability of citizenship falls within a dimension of capabilities that covers the capacity for self-direction. To operationalize this definition, citizenship is looked upon as a social position the people occupy vis-a-vis others in a democratic structure, for Tilly (2001) truly democratic structure is characterized by a) citizens enjoy "broad and equal access" to state agents, b) the state is responsive to the "binding consultation" of citizens, and c) citizens are protected against arbitrary action by state agents. This structure provides necessary mechanisms that influence citizenship practices. The mechanisms are of two types: situational and agential. Situational mechanism is provided by the democratic structure and agential mechanism emerges by virtue of individual's position as citizen (Smith and Seward, 2010). The combination of these two mechanisms provides further concepts that represent citizenship.

Drawing from Smith and Seward (2010), situational mechanisms of common identity, rights and obligation are activities that maintain and strengthen citizenship towards common good, while agential mechanisms include individual personal

capacity to occupy the position and fulfill, to an acceptable extent, the related responsibilities as citizen.

3.9.8.2 Key Concepts Representing Citizenship

a) Common Identity

Common Identity is an intrinsic value to citizenship. Stewart (1995) states that common identity to citizenship is an unambiguous political activity, where people who are equal address common and general concerns. In other words, common identity represents being an equal member of the political community. Such membership provides citizens material reasons to cooperate with one another; they share similar life chances and hold stake in the political process. According to Held, (1989, 1995, 1997, 1999) and Kymlicka and Norman, (1995) common identity aids in establishing a “community of fate,” where people belong to and care about each other.

b) Rights and Obligations

Rights and obligations are at the heart of citizenship discourse. Heater (1999) and Isin and Wood (1999) state that citizenship understood as a formal status that entails rights conferred and protected by law has its roots from liberal school of thoughts, while, citizenship understood as obligation has its roots in civic republican thoughts (Lister, 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Heater, 1999; and Ellison 1997).

Drawing from Marshall (1950) and Plant (1991; 1992), in this study, rights as components of citizenship are conceptualized as social rights. These rights pertain to welfare and resources, such as right to health, education and a dignified level of socio-economic wellbeing. According to Marshall, access to such basic social welfare and resources was right in itself which were essential for people to participate in social and political life. The understanding of rights as social rights helps capture right as capability which has intrinsic value by virtue of being substantive rights, which makes social rights bring about conditions that enable calming of other rights. Gould (1988; 1996) states that social rights enable self-development, they provide citizens to socio-economic conditions necessary for the realization of personal goals and access to education and health. While social rights enable citizens to realize their political and

civil rights, it is participation as right that can enable citizen to realize their social right (Ferguson 1999; DFID 2000; Voet 1998; Lister 1997).

c) Participation

In this section I will discuss different concepts of participation and its intersection with citizenship, followed by elaborating on understanding of participation as citizenship and its linkage with development and local governance.

In development discourse concept of participation is widely discussed. Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) state that initially the concept was mostly used in the social arena for understanding participation in community or development project but now it has been increasingly related to rights of citizenship and democratic governance. The interconnection between concepts of community participation and citizenship shapes the concept of citizen participation. Before unfolding these complex concepts mentioned above, I will first discuss the approaches to understanding participation. The existing literatures depict that participation was mainly understood as community or social participation particularly in sphere of civil society, and implied that citizens were the ‘beneficiaries’ of government programs (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999). Participation was also understood as political participation which particularly focused on citizens’ engagement in different forms of political involvement. These two traditionally different notions of participation are being linked to a broader notion of participation as citizenship.

d) Understanding Social Participation

As mentioned earlier, I will attempt here to explain and elaborate the term ‘participation’ as a concept within the development discourse. Participation was defined as ‘the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control’ (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994). This definition illustrates that participation was dominantly related to ‘community’ or social sector, and it did not include involving with the state. The forms participation took were like social movements and self-help groups. Similar to this understanding of participation, World Bank Learning Group on Participation defined participation as a ‘process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the

decision and resources which affect them' (World Bank, 1995). This definition of participation found itself located in development projects and programmes where participation was seen as an engagement in decision making in all phases of project cycle. This aimed at direct participation of primary stakeholders in the decision-making process that influences their lives.

e) Understanding Political Participation

Contrary to the understanding of social participation which did not involve participants with the state, political participation was more about interaction of individuals or groups with the state, and took the form of indirect participation (Richardson, 1983; Cunill, 1991) and its mechanism. Nie and Vebra (1972), define it as 'those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take'. This narrowly defined concept was broadly defined as 'taking part in the process of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies' (Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992). Both these definitions of political participation point to action by citizens aimed at influencing decision taken mainly by public representatives and officials (Gavent and Valerrama, 1999).

f) Citizenship as Agency

Lister (1998) argues that human agency is represented in citizenship as participation by defining 'citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents'. Conceptualization of human agency in this study is drawn from Lister (1997) where individuals are 'autonomous, purposive actors, capable of choice' and their actions and choices are directed to self-development oriented towards their personal plan and needs. In this regard, linking participation and rights, Lister asserts the idea of human agency to be central to social structures as simple agency and embedded in social relations as citizenship agency.

g) Citizenship, Participation and Development

Current development discourse has given immense importance to governance or good governance as both its prerequisite as well as the goal of development. And

in the context of state-citizen partnership, citizens are no more treated as subjects but as actors, whose active engagement is considered desirable for making development and governance equitable and inclusive (Mohanty, 2006). It is upon this linkage of citizenship, participation and development, I intend to explore the experiences on exercise of citizenship by migrants in the destination, and how they are included or excluded in the developmental mechanism at the destination. This also provides a new pathway to understand migration-development nexus.

Summary Remarks

The conceptual framework is drawn from four large fields of research – migration, livelihood, citizenship and development. The research questions will situate at the intersection of these large fields. Putting migration and development at the contextual foundation of the framework, the concepts representing migration, livelihood and citizenship tripartite are brought into discussion through the fusion of livelihood approach and capability approach. The framework pictures migration as process, condition and category through migration studies. This helps capture different dimensions of migration patterns, directions and flows. The understanding of migration as functioning towards better livelihood helps grasp how people involved in migration are making living at destination and origin alike, and what are the different livelihood strategies and changing trends in the same. This is done by looking at migration as functioning through capability approach and strategy through the lens of livelihood approach. This helps capture how mobility as capability is exercised towards better life chances, i.e. overcoming access differentials and spatial opportunity differentials. This further captures human development at individual level and household livelihood arrangements practiced during migration. It is in this context, an attempt is made to understand implication of mobility and changing household locational arrangements during migration on daily citizenship experiences by discussing identity, social rights, participation and agency.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I put forth the methodological framework employed to collect and analyze the data for this thesis. Firstly, I begin with the context of conducting research in the chosen field site, and then I give the reasoning in support of the employed methods. The methods used in this research are by and large ethnography or ethnographic framework. The compositions of methods used are both quantitative and qualitative. The underlying methods of this thesis are as follows:

- A literature review, including use of secondary data (Census of Nepal, Statistical Reports of district and village level)
- Attending meetings and conversations with respondents.
- In-depth Interview
- Participant and non-participation observation.
- Field Notes

In the section that follows, I briefly describe the context of conducting research, followed by location of the field, ie. describing the places in which the fieldwork took place, and then, I discuss the advantage and limitations of methods used and argue for the use of multiple methods and its relevance for this research.

4.1 Three Issues: Context of Conducting Research

Conducting research among different migrants in rural hills of Nepal is filled with difficulties. The first issue encountered was to get along with rural settings and get comfortable with rural people who have uneasiness with outsiders interested in their lives. In this case and like many others, it was not unreasonable for villagers to doubt the researcher. It was difficult for an outsider like me to expect villagers to provide information as according to what I need. I had to overcome this constraint by winning their trust and confidence. This took me considerable amount of time. Initial days on field mainly involved informal discussions, interviews and observations (non-participatory). A month-long pre-field visit was conducted to gain idea about the

general settlement and geography of the field site and gain few acquaintances with local people. This initial visit paved the path towards 'entering the field'; this period also yielded interesting insight that guided me for main formal interviews that were conducted later on.

The second issue was related to the choice of appropriateness of research techniques. Given the choice of available possible techniques, most appropriate tools to the circumstances had to be employed. I was not convinced by the textbook prescriptions: the possibility of its application was minimal. Many of my potential interviewees had declined for interview even after making appointments. Even re-scheduled interviews were avoided in some cases. In the case of rural setting, assurance to respondents of me being bone fide student of Kathmandu University was accomplished. This was done by providing my respondent with letter of recommendation for field purposes from the University. Many interviews, almost half are taped with permission, remaining were noted down on note book, these cases of noting down on note book were refusal cases of recording interviews. To my support, I received constant help from local colleagues and was assisted on arranging interviews, and finding location of respondents. The data collection period comprised of two phases, firstly a pre-field visit in the month of February 2013, and second phase was conducted from October 2013 to February 2014.

The third and last issue was the location of study-site and locating study group. The research fieldwork took place in a defined bounded area and among clearly defined group of people namely non-migrants, temporary migrants and permanent migrants and returnees. Though this research fieldwork took place in a particular spatially and territorially bounded area, a defined administrative Village Development Committee unit. The prime objective was to observe phenomenon that would resemble elsewhere in other parts of Nepal. The migrant, non-migrant and returnee groups characterized a mix of local and non-localized elements. The life experience across these groups involved constant movement across boundaries (village, district, national), which related to creating of livelihood. As regards to this scenario, crossing physical boundaries were just a part of observation of undertaken movement, the other part relates to the crossing of symbolic boundaries both cultural

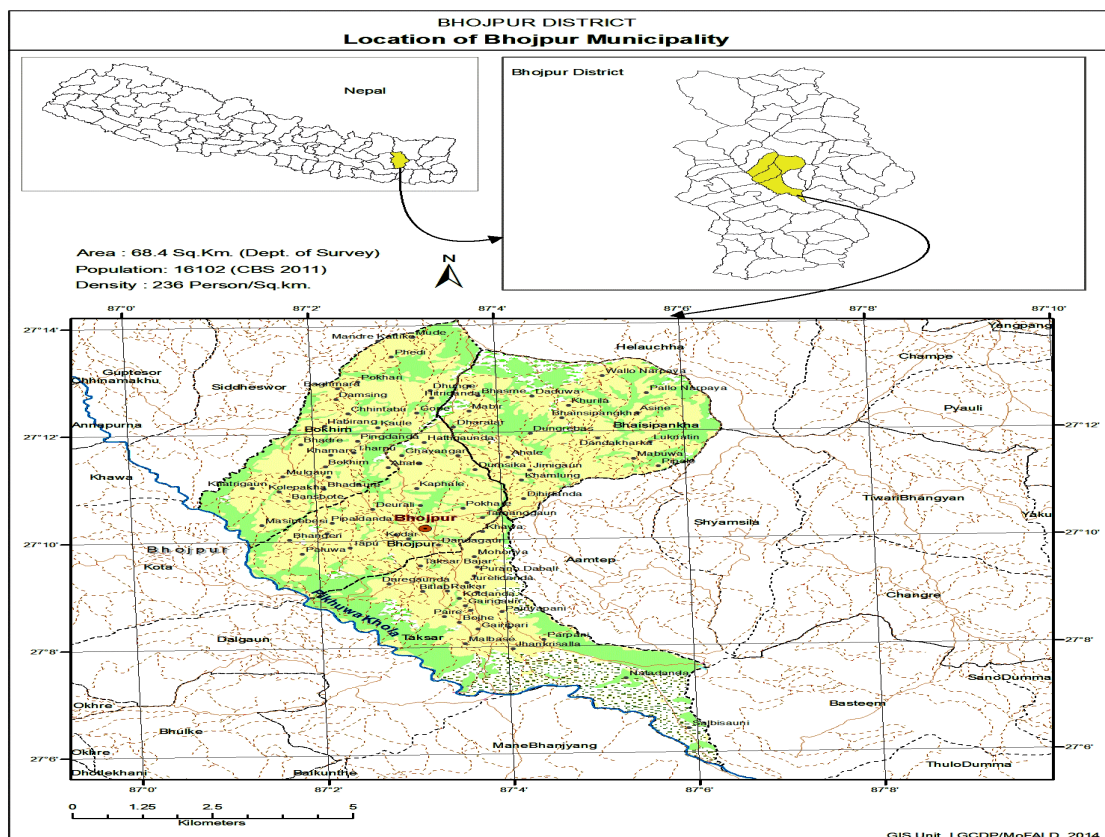
and social. Here I would draw on comments of Appadurai about the problem of ethnographic fieldwork in globalized world.

“As groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories and reconfigure their ethnic projects, the ethno in ethnography takes on a slippery, non-localized quality. The landscapes of group identity-the ethnospaces – around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as group are no longer tightly controlled territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous” (1996: 44)

Positioning myself along with the above stated view, the research on internal migrants was located in a single village development committee name Bhojpur and its composite nine wards. This research methodologically uses variety of research methods to capture different types of migrant groups and their pursued livelihood strategies in the destination VDC.

4.2 Field Site of Research

Map 4.1 Research Site: Bhojpur VDC (Municipality since 2014)



4.2.1 Choice of the Field Site

Much of the migration studies conducted in Nepal deal with western parts of the country. Acknowledging the limited conduct of migration research in the eastern parts is the foremost reason to conduct this research in the mid hills of eastern Nepal. My second reason is the failure to address issues of migration in Master thesis which was also based on the same study site for this research. Lastly, the chosen district is an interesting case on its own rights. It's a district with depleting population, has small emerging town recently connected to comparatively developed hill towns namely Dhankuta. Different dynamics are being played out in this emerging district headquarters in social service and business sector. This is the dynamics I intended to capture and the role of migration within the development process taking place in emerging towns.

Selection of research site Bhojpur District and in particular Bhojpur VDC (Village Development Committee) was based on the facts that during the time of research (currently), urbanization is increasing rapidly in this district and people from rural villages were migrating to this growing town in search of better opportunities and access to basic social needs namely education for children, health services and better security. This is a general phenomenon seen in Nepal, Adhikari and Hobely (2013) state that urbanization in Nepal is increasing rapidly though most of the part of Nepal is rural. Other reasons of selecting this hilly study site are that migration is a historical phenomenon in Bhojpur, and has been livelihood strategy for different types of migrants. Different migration practices were noticed, in earlier past, ethnic groups such as Rais opted for recruitment in British and Indian armies, this practice continues till today, people here went to India, in particular Shillong and Gujrat to work in coal mines and cotton mills respectively. Current migration trend has been labour-migration to countries like Malaysia and the Gulf countries. In the midst of these migration practices are short distance village to village migration which this research intends to capture.

4.2.2 Field Site

Bhojpur V.D.C. is one of the fastest growing villages in Bhojpur District. This can be attributed to developmental projects concentrated in district headquarters, influx of wealthy households from rural villages during the 'armed conflict', increasing investments of individuals in small enterprise, and investment in construction of new homesteads for permanent migration and renting and leasing. The population of the VDC has considerably changed between two census (2001-2011). Approximately 7,500 people are currently living in more than 2,080 households in the VDC as compared to 5000 people in 1150 households. The VDC is a single administrative unit, which is one of the 63 VDCs comprising the entire district. This VDC is divided or sub-territorialized into nine wards, and each wards constituted of one or more toles.

Like most settlements in rural hills of Nepal, two or more houses form a tole. Settlements of more than five separate houses were in local terms called *basti*. In some wards the settlement was dense, particularly in the bazaar area. In wards which were located further away from bazaar, scattered settlements could be observed. Most of the houses here were thatched with mud-coated. Only countable five to six houses were constructed using concrete cement and bricks. Apart from the bazaar area, almost all houses had garden yards and homesteads were surrounded by paddy fields.

The community of VDC is heterogeneous. Each ward had its own ethnic and caste composition. To start with Bhojpur bazaar comprising of ward 3,4, and 5, the settlement was dominated by Newar ethnic group. Wards 1 and 2 were predominantly mixture of Rais, Chhetri and Dalits. Ward 6 and 7 were mixture of Brahmins and Tamangs and Ward 8 were overall Chhetri.

The heterogeneous community could also be categorized into cross generational groups. Across generations, I observed four clearly defined generations. The first generation came under the 70 and above age group. This generation included the grand parents, the group was more sedentary and comprised of left-behinds and stayers in terms of migration terminologies. The second generation was a mixture of mobile and sedentary members of community. The age group for this group was 50-

69 years of age. Most of the members of this group had prior migration experiences. This group was combination of permanent out-migration from the village and permanently in-migration to the village. The left behinds or stayers who belong to this age group were either engaged in local jobs in government and education sector or had small enterprise of themselves. The third generation was of the age group below 18 to 49 or more. This group was the most complex group, as it consisted of adults and married couples. Most of the temporary migrants fell under this group. There were very few permanent migrants in this category. The last age group was below 18 years, this comprised mainly of school going children, and young lads going to higher secondary school and college.

4.3 Reality and Knowledge Construction

The epistemological positioning taken in this research is that of social constructivist. Epistemologically, I believe that knowledge is socially constructed. Here I would refer to Dahler-Larsen (2002) who states that knowledge and research data are purposefully produced in the process of social interaction between the researcher and the research participants. Its on this understanding that all participants of this research engaged with repeatedly reflecting and defining the research object. In this research, I used quantitative method with the aim of making statistical reasoning about the population understudy and I also make use of qualitative reflexive method, with the help of which inferences are made to understand and make interpretatio of the concerned reality.

4.4 Qualitative and Quantitative Research: An argument

Using a number of research methods, this research adopts what Burgees (1984) formally termed ‘multiple research methods’ and later Bryman advocated ‘triangulation’ for the same. Bryman states that research problem in question can be dealt with the use of more than on approach, in so doing, the researcher enhances the confidence level of the ensued finding of the research. He argues that much of social research is founded on the use of single approach and such research could suffer the

limitation entailed in that adopted method. In this regard, multimethod research boosts confidence of research findings.

This research uses data collected within both qualitative and quantitative methodological frameworks. Though these are two distinct approaches to social research, this research falls within the intersection of these two approaches. Qualitative data in this research relates to formal and informal in-depth interviews, participant and non-participant observation and field notes. These were the ethnography methods used. With regards to quantitative data, this research made use of official statistics, 2001 and 2011 census of Nepal, district and VDC level statistic reports.

4.5 Research Approach: Ethnography

The fieldwork for this research involves both people and institution. The resident both temporary and permanent of Bhojpur VDC and Village Development Committee of Bhojpur were the subject under direct observation and participation over a period of six months. This fieldwork was conducted in two phases. The initial phase was one month long, and the next phase was about five months long. The conducted fieldwork involved living and working in a rural setting dissimilar from my own urban city centered living. In the first phase of fieldwork, I was more involved with observation and taking field note. This led me in a week's time to build conversation and interview with key informants. At this stage, I did deskwork which included uses of available documents and vernacular texts on study site, its people and history. In the second phase, I focused primarily on data collection through in-depth interview among migrants, non-migrants and returnee, government officials of district and VDC level. Along with the interviews, extensive field notes and diary was maintained and observation both participant and non-participant was conducted.

4.6 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis at community level is wards, at household level is household and at individual level is individual. This research engages three level of analysis at community, household and individual

4.7 Sample Selection

Two-steps were undertaken for appropriate sample selection. Firstly, I scanned through key socio-economic characteristics of potential interviewees. This database was collected from Village Development Committee office. Access to this office database was provided by the village secretary. Second step was the analysis of twelve interviews conducted and field observations made in the pilot study. These initial interviewees involved headmaster of the local school, social mobilizer of the VDC, a student, local media person, and six local representatives. The questions involved in these interviews related to local settlements, situation after the peace process, status of out-migration of local people and in-migration occurring in the locality. The analysis of these preliminary interviews and observations formed the basis for sample selection.

The overarching criteria for the selection of interviewees for the sample was firstly to choose households that had permanent residence before, during, and after the 'armed conflict' (1990-2013). This group of households was identified as non-migrant households, and such households were selected from all nine wards. The selection of these households was made possible under the direction of ward representatives and social mobilizer. Secondly, after the identification of permanently residing households, another group of permanently residing households were selected on the criteria that such households were residing permanently only after 2001 to the time of data collection for this research. These households were grouped as permanently migrated households. Subsequently, after the selection of permanently residing households, temporarily residing households were selected. The criteria for selecting such households were households renting house, room, homestead and land during the time of data collection. Last group considered for the research were the households

having at least one member having migration experience and had returned during the time of data collection. There were the returnees.

The research draws main focus on two compartmentalized groups, namely permanently residing and temporarily residing households. Within these compartmentalized groups, sub groups were chalked out with the criteria that the selected households were non-migrant, permanent migrants, temporary migrants and returnees.

The non-migrant residents were the key stakeholders of the community; they have major decision-making power in local development process. They have control of natural resources available in the VDC, and provide space for permanent and temporary migrants. The group also helps identify temporary migrants. This group shed light on changing community settlements, provides information about past and compares past and present. The temporary migrant group helps explain differences of the place of origin and destination and explains the daily lived experiences as migrant. The returnee group gives information on perceived change, the new ways of making living and the constraints faced as a returnee.

The prime objective of sampling process was to capture diversity in sample. Main concern was consideration of variations in age, gender, status of migration, migration history, civic status, community involvement and activities concerning village development. Along with this, interviewees were selected according to ethnic and caste they belong to, socio-economic characteristics, generation, regional origin and occupational activities.

4.8 Research Process

4.8.1 First Phase of Fieldwork: The Pilot Visit

A pre-field visit was conducted in early month of March 2013. The duration of this pre-field visit was 4 weeks. During this visit, I had made initial contacts with Village Development Committee that made me available current and past records.

The most important of it was Village Development Profile, which includes statistics giving me base idea of the demographic structure of the population, the composition of the settlement and in-out-migration recorded in the Village Development Committee. I also consulted various government and non-government agencies and media persons who would help me acquire more information on migration. The establishment of these links further helped me in my main course of fieldwork. In this pilot visit I had conducted 12 in-depth interviews. The first pilot visit helped in the process of reviewing the research question which resulted in change of theme of the research.

4.8.2 Second Phase of Fieldwork: Fieldwork strategies

The fieldwork was planned to start by establishing contacts with non-migrants, non-migrants were assumed to have most of the information about the history of the place, the people, culture and tradition and changes. The non-migrants were the main guides to identify the migrants. To conduct a good open-ended interview, I had used interview guide as a tool to guide me throughout the open-ended interview. The questions varied for non-migrants, migrants and returnee according the status of migration, however, most of the questions that concerned about the perception of social, political and economic spaces was similar.

The interview guide was divided into four parts, first part constituted of general information, the name, age, ethnicity, sex, and migration status. Second part contained questions on reason of migration, different migration practices, and general issues of migration. The third part contained on their social and political participation, and fourth contained questions on participation in local governance.

Elaborating on the in-depth interviews taken, I had conducted twenty-seven in-depth interviews of non-migrants. All of my respondents were from nine different wards that constitute Bhojpur VDC; these interviews were face-to-face interviews with the help of interview guide. These interviews were recorded interviews. All of these respondents were comfortable on having the interview being recorded. These interviews have time duration of one hour to one hour forty-five minutes.

Directed by the non-migrants, I had gained access to temporary migrants, who did not have permanent residence in Bhojpur VDC. I have eighteen in-depth interviews conducted, and these interviews were not recorded but notes were taken, the reason being that initially many migrants felt scared and uncomfortable on interview being recorded.

During the fieldwork, I could track many people who had returned and had migration experiences, however, there is overlap too, many of my internal migrants on temporary basis and permanent basis have had migration experiences to India and Arab. Apart from overlaps, I have exclusively five in-depth interviews of people whom I categorized as returnees and potential migrants to migrate again. Out of them, two have experiences of migrating to capital Kathmandu, and other three have experiences of being to Malaysia and Arab.

Among the in-depth interview are the ten key informant interviews that include different government officials (Local Development Officer, Statistical Officer, Village Secretary), civil society president, non- government organization members specially woman based organization, student, lawyer, and teacher.

Apart from methods like in-depth interview, field notes were extensively taken and observations done made were noted. Observation was strong component of fieldwork, the settings of observation was mainly in leisure places where temporary migrants usually go out in public to socialize, such as the local hotels and tea shops. Other possible places were agriculture fields, grazing cows and construction sites and local brick kiln. The observations done in fieldwork helped me to locate the places where temporary migrants were involved. In many cases I also visited homes of temporary migrants; this gave me idea of their housing and living status too. Participatory observation was conducted in village development committee meetings. I attended four different meetings of village development committee, this also helped me to know diverse people, and widened by contact points. Few of my respondents were also found during the meeting and I followed them as per the time given by them.

During all time of fieldwork, ethical issues were also taken into consideration. It was clearly explained to them that the information given by them would only be used for the research work and nothing beyond that, confidentiality was assured to the respondents. Similarly, respondents comfort zone was taken into consideration, and accordingly interviews were conducted. Lastly, because there were some questions concerning political participation and civic engagement, which are more sensitive topics, respondents were not asked to answer questions that seemed harmful for them.

4.8.3 Entering the Field

Traveling to Bhojpur is not easy, one who is keen on getting to this district from the capital has two choices, firstly, a traveler can take a flight, and other is by road which is a longer journey. I had taken up first option for the pre-field visit, and the second option for the second phase of field work; the first option was not available during the second phase as it was peak of festive season, during which to get hold of a flight ticket is extremely difficult. My journey was from Kathmandu to Biratnagar on the first day of the travel, on the second day, from Biratnagar to Dhankuta, and on the third day from Dhankuta to Bhojpur. I started on the 8th of October, 2013, and reached Bhojpur on the 10th of October, 2013.

4.8.4 Ethnographic Sketch of the Field Site

Bhojpur district, which lies in the mid-eastern part of Nepal, is popularly known as *Maaj Kirat*. As one of the districts of Eastern Development Region, Bhojpur, in the map of Nepal can be located almost at the middle of the Eastern Development Region. The landscape of this district can be characterized as mainly hills. The district is separated from Dhankuta by river Arun on the east and on the south, the district separates from Udaypur by river Sun Koshi. Due to this geographical structure, this district can be looked upon as river locked.

Picture 4.1 Ariel View of Bhojpur Bazaar

I arrived in the district headquarters Bhojpur on the 10th of October, 2013. The initial days of my field work was spent on walking around the locality, the bazaar area, and knowing local residents there. As it was during the Dashain time, most of the non-local residents had left for their homes to celebrate Dashain. By non-local residents, I mean those people who have come to district headquarters from other parts of the district and taken up rooms on rent and have established some small



Source: Field Work, 2014

business. The absence of this group of people left the bazaar area quite, and most of the shopping outlets closed. It was not just the business houses that were closed, but, all government offices, and banks were also closed. This description is during the time of dashain, when I took a casual walk through the bazaar area. These were the first indications, a kind of heuristic to know that there exists inflow of migration stream towards the district headquarters.

Here in the headquarters, the main government offices are located, the security agencies namely army barracks and district police office headquarters had their presence. As the district administration office and district development office is located here, the district headquarters becomes the core centre of the district where all facilities and services from government to private are available. Any person who has legal work to accomplish will need to come up here. Apart of this most schools from

public to private all is situated here and a campus for school graduates affiliated to Tribhuvan University is also located here. Hence, this makes Bhojpur the educational hub. District headquarters are always the places where major facilities and services are provided by the government as well as private sector. In the context health facilities is provided by the government in headquarters. The district becomes the center for health also. There is a single hospital owned by government, and another one is a small size private hospital, but located in district headquarters. In the other areas of district, health posts are made available for first aid, and other minor health facilities. So, the population of bhojpur will have to depend on a single hospital located at district headquarters. This makes district headquarters hub for education, health, and government service facilities. For person living in and around this area, life becomes much easier, where the facilities are available as and when needed, and security is felt. This is the major attraction for non-residents or people out of the VDC to aspire to get into district headquarters even though not owning a property but renting a property.

It has not been many years since people have access to road in Bhojpur. The houses which were built decades back have thatched roofs and are built from mud or mud bricks. These days lots of *puccka* houses have been coming up, some mason types and some built from bricks or even cemented walls. The major activity for the people living here is agriculture, and for some it is trading of consumer goods. Let's talk about the bazaar area: this area is mainly occupied by shops where consumer goods are available, from clothing lines to electronic good. The major chunk of such business houses are of Newars, followed by few Tamangs (Moktan) where also the first shop owners, popularly known as Bhotte Passal near Chaar Bhanjyang. In the bazaar area is located the district court, district administration office, police and army district quarters, and other offices which are district level ministerial offices linked to central ministry. All the financial institutions are also located here, banks and remit centers. Hence, most of the time the bazaar is filled, with lots of people walking around most of the time; it is in this area that all political party offices are also located. So, people come to the bazaar for a variety of reasons.

Other parts of the VDC of Bhojpur are not densely populated as compared to bazaar. The bazaar is located on the top of the hill and it's around 15-20 minutes walk

from the place of my temporary stay during the fieldwork. People doing business in bazaar are mainly newars, they trade goods here, and these goods are mainly consumer goods ranging from cloths to electronic good. These Newars are identified as Dhulikhela. It is believed that these newars were originally from Dhulikhel, near Kathmandu Valley. During the time of conflict, many of these Dhulikhela newars sold their property and migrated permanently to Kathmandu. The vacuum created in Bazaar area was then filled in by few trusted Newars from Taksar VDC. During that time, the price of the property sold was considerably low as compared to the very high price currently. So, these Newars are involved in Business, they are also member of FNCCI, and this Business Organization is headed by Dambar Shrestha. The settlement that I am writing here is mainly very old residents. Now, the second generation is taking over the business that is running currently. The main old bazaar starts from Chaar Bhanjyang to District police office. These lines of settlements are totally Dhulikhela Newars, they do not sell their property to any other person, and retain their property, but, few old resident Moktan Tamangs also have their house here. The property value of this place is very high. When searching for new migrants in this area, there were few permanent in-migrants but had migrated decades ago here. Currently, due to relative better security, and peace, no out-migration has been noticed, i.e. no one has sold their property to move to new place or destination.

4.8.5 Access

“We learn what we can in advance about the relatively unknown territory, but once we are there, the first requirement is to gain some initial familiarity with the local scene and establish a social base from which we can continue our exploration until we are able to study some part of that territory systematically” (Whyte 1984).

In becoming part of social scene and participating in the field site, I had multiple access points. Firstly, the most advantageous of all things was my stay at my ancestral house located in Bhojpur VDC. This was one entry point to participate observation of the locality. Second entry point relates to ward level data collection by connecting with VDC level officials, in particular a social mobilizer, who connected me to all nine ward representatives. Through the ward representatives, I got access to village and tole people within the respective ward locality. VDC was the single most

important entry point where I got acquainted with persons from various walks of life. Actively engaging in VDC meeting and activities helped me meet appropriate interviewees. Entry into government offices, District Development Committee and Village Development Committee was done by fixing appointments with Local Development Officer and Village Secretary. Adding to these appointments, meeting with district statistic officer was useful for collecting district and VDC level statistics.

This provided me the accessibility to social setting and data required to conduct the field work successfully.

4.8.6 Sample Selection

Two-steps were undertaken for appropriate sample selection. Firstly, I scanned through key socio-economic characteristics of potential interviewees. This database was collected from Village Development Committee office. Access to this office database was provided by the village secretary. Second step was the analysis of twelve interviews conducted and field observations made in the pilot study. These initial interviewees involved headmaster of the local school, social mobilizer of the VDC, a student, local media person, and six local representatives. The questions involved in these interviews related to local settlements, situation after the peace process, status of out-migration of local people and in-migration occurring in the locality. The analysis of these preliminary interviews and observations formed the basis for sample selection.

The overarching criteria for the selection of interviewees for the sample was firstly to choose households that had permanent residence before, during, and after the 'armed conflict' (1990-2013). This group of households was identified as non-migrant households, and such households were selected from all nine wards. The selection of these households was made possible under the direction of ward representatives and social mobilizer. Secondly, after the identification of permanently residing households, another group of permanently residing households were selected on the criteria that such households were residing permanently only after 2001 to the time of data collection for this research. These households were grouped as permanently migrated households. Subsequently, after the selection of permanently residing

households, temporarily residing households were selected. The criteria for selecting such households were households renting house, room, homestead and land during the time of data collection. Last group considered for the research were the households having at least one member having migration experience and had returned during the time of data collection. There were the returnees.

The research draws main focus on two compartmentalized groups, namely permanently residing and temporarily residing households. Within these compartmentalized groups, sub groups were chalked out with the criteria that the selected households were non-migrant, permanent migrants, temporary migrants and returnees.

The non-migrant residents were the key stakeholders of the community; they have major decision-making power in local development process. They have control of natural resources available in the VDC, and provide space for permanent and temporary migrants. The group also helps identify temporary migrants. This group shed light on changing community settlements, provides information about past and compares past and present. The temporary migrant group helps explain differences of the place of origin and destination and explains the daily lived experiences as migrant. The returnee group gives information on perceived change, the new ways of making living and the constraints faced as a returnee.

The prime objective of sampling process was to capture diversity in sample. Main concern was consideration of variations in age, gender, status of migration, migration history, civic status, community involvement and activities concerning village development. Along with this, interviewees were selected according to ethnic and caste they belong to, socio-economic characteristics, generation, regional origin and occupational activities.

4.9 Data Collection: Justifications for use of multiple research methods

This research involves different studies a) migration, b) development, and c) citizenship, this demands collaboration among these different disciplines and the methodologies associated with it. One single most important issue related to the

collaboration is the integration between methods for data collection used in the respective disciplines. Here I would mention Castle (2011a, 2011b) who makes a clear distinction between methods and methodologies. According to him methods are ‘specific techniques used to collect and analyze information or data’ and methodologies are ‘underlying logic of the research... It deals with the principles of the methods, concepts and procedural rules employed by a scientific discipline. Each discipline has its own methodology’. Research involving migration, if situated within just a single discipline’s methodology tends to generate and reproduce only partial knowledge of migration (De Haas, 2011a, 2011b; Castagnone, 2011; Kurekova, 2011). Adding on to this, Castagnone (2011) states that methodologies used in migration studies restrict it to a singular level of analysis. He argues that migration studied within political science and economic methodologies often tend to focus on the macro level, those within sociology on the meso-level and anthropology on the micro level. However, adopting methodological interdisciplinarity entails challenges; the foremost challenge is the various definitions on what constitutes knowledge and the assumption on how to obtain it across disciplines.

As conceptualization and analyses of various different dimensions of migration varies across disciplines and methodologies, the challenge of integrating qualitative and quantitative methods can be overcome by developing a methodological framework which aligns the goals of the research to the designed methodology, has and retains comparable units of analysis, and takes into consideration the sequencing of methods (Collyer 2011, Curran 2011).

As mentioned in the earlier section, the methods employed in this research are driven by the demand of prevailing circumstances on the field site. Social, economic, cultural and political context of non-migrants/migrants daily lives and research problem per se were the conditions taken into consideration for choosing and adopting research methods and techniques. Here I would like to cite an excerpt from Burgees quoting Wax:

“Strict and rigid adherence to any methods technique or doctrinaire position may, for the fieldworker become like confinement in a cage. If he is lucky or a very cautious, a fieldworker may formulate a research problem so that he will find all the

answers he needs within his cage. But if he finds himself in a field situated where he is limited by a particular method, theory or technique he will do well to slip through the bars and try to find out what is really going on” (Wax, 1971, quoted in Burgees, 1984).

This research is similar to the case in the excerpt. I used variety of techniques to collect data; I considered and was cautious about systematically using the techniques. My firm conviction that data collected should be systematic such that, the information from composite data pertains to the investigated research problem. The primary techniques used in this research were literature review, including documents of Acts and Regulations, use of interviews (in-depth formal and informal) of migrants, non- migrants, and returnees, participatory and non-participatory observations and lastly extensive use of official statistics of national, district and village level. This research project used both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

4.10 Observation, Conversations and Informal Interviews

It begins with the issue of entering into the field. Entry in the field was a difficult process. As a researcher, I had to have the patience, one single virtue which many a times becomes handy before gaining ‘access’ into the field. This gap between my physical presence in the field and getting involved in the field, gave me considerable amount of time to observe the local people, hear them in their every day settings. Initially, days were spent on just noting events, local peoples’ actions including social interactions among themselves, at work and at accommodation. During this period, I allowed myself to make conversations and informal interviews on the basis of the initial observations. Most of these initial observations, conversations, and informal interviews formed the foundation for later formal in-depth interview.

As an ethnographer, my observations entailed firstly the physical setting of the VDC, the social interaction of people, their day to day activities as individuals and groups, at work and at accommodation. The initial observations were then discussed with the subjects of the study. This provided me with initial information on what I

should look for in future? Most parts of the observation and informal interviews were conducted in first phase of field work, not that it was not conducted in the second phase. My emphasis primarily was on gathering information through dialogue. On this basis, I framed the interview for key informants.

4.11 Field Notes

For this research, field notes as an instrument was used to capture, record, analyze the story of this research. This instrument has been used by researchers in many disciplines with the aim of recording daily observations in the field. Two examples that I would like to mention here is of Malinowski (1967) for ethnographic research and DeVore (1970) for zoological field research, both their work used field notes extensively. Adding on to this example, Whyte (1955) makes intensive use of field notes as means to record data from participant observation and from conversations with key informants (individual or group).

During the fieldwork, I wrote field notes to gather data on the conducted observations, informal and formal interviews, and conversations. The notes, in addition, were used to write my reflection on research fieldwork and methods used. I also jotted down ideas, examples and plans for next step to conduct during field work. The field notes I maintained as a part of database for this research included miscellaneous entries, which if not recorded would have been lost. While this instrument was used to note occasional observations, interpretative ideas and reflections about research issues, this documentation was a companion to me throughout the research.

4.12 In-Depth-Interview

As mentioned earlier, informal interviews, conversations and observations were conducted in first and second phase of fieldwork. The data gathered using these tools were compliments to the entire database used for this research. These data were firstly tested against more formal interviews; this was necessary for verification. This was done by questioning the collected data such that it constitutes relevant information and is meaningful for the research. As regards to this, in-depth interviews

were conducted on the basis of initial data collected through observation, informal interviews and conversations.

During the second phase of the fieldwork, sixty formal interviews were conducted among the different types of migrants residing in the field site. These also included interviews with key informants. Selection of key informants was made on the basis of insights, understanding and knowledge potential informants possessed about the topic under study. Key informants for this research range from ordinary local people to those who have special knowledge or people in government and power.

The formal and key informant interviews on the average lasted for between one and two hours. The open-endedness of the interviews allowed inquiring into the issues and problem in greater depth and length. In many cases follow up interviews were conducted, on an average of two months gap. These interviews reveal the complex nature of topic under research. Primarily the content of the interview explains decision to migrate, who migrate, why migrate, experiences on inserting oneself or household in new society, problem in finding accommodation, the available livelihood opportunities and the pathways towards enhancing better well-being, family matters such as marriage, involvement of family members in self employment or work for others, and daily activities and engagement with local state, connecting to local state and constraints faces in day to day living.

4.13 Interview Structure and Transcription Process

The structure of interviews was open and to a considerable extent taken with the help of interview guide. The purpose of the interview was to openly understand non-migrant, migrant, and returnees' general living condition, livelihood strategies, their engagement with local state and involvement in the local development processes, their interaction with the local state, as well as the position of household in the local community along with occupational, migration status, educational, and access to natural resource lines.

Digital recorder was used to record interviews on permission, for those interviews that was not allowed to be recorded, extensive notes were taken, which were later elaborated in length. Conducting interview was subsequently followed by transcription of the interview. The gap between conducting and transcribing interview was minimal (few hours). This adds as an advantage to allow researcher to collect and note all nitty-gritty data and allowed less data loss.

While new interviews were conducted, information which had already been obtained before was analyzed, field notes were written, memoranda were jotted, and all new thoughts and opinion were included to make subsequent interview better. All the interviews were taken in Nepali language. The recorded interview was translated and transcribed in parallel. In every transcription, every utterance is captured in with as much details as possible and meaning attached to it are in accordance to the perception of the interviewee without ignoring the context in concern.

4.14 Interview Characteristics

Total interviews apart from informal conversation sum up to seventy-two. In the pilot study twelve interviews were conducted, and in the main phase of data collection total of sixty interviews were collected. The pilot study was conducted between mid-February and mid-March 2013. Venue and timing of the interviews were chosen by the interviewee as per their comfort and convenience. These interviews were conducted in different locations within the vicinity of VDC namely offices, schools, and homes of interviewees.

In the second phase of data collection, which was conducted between mid-October to early March, most of the valuable interviews were conducted. These interviews mainly were conducted at homes of interviewee and quiet area in the workplace. The average length or duration of interviews taken formally were one hour to one hour and thirty minutes. Conversations and informal interviews were as short as ten minutes to half an hour. The interviewees were explained about the privacy and secure use of the data collected from interviewing. Not all interviewee gave permission on taping the interviews. Out of the seventy-two, thirty-two interviews

were not given permission to be taped. All the interviews were conducted in Nepali language.

4.15 Data Analysis

In this research, data analysis embeds in the process of data collection. This means that the process of data collection and analysis were interactive and interlinked with each other. The interactivity and interlinkages between data collection and analysis demanded frequent adjustments in interview questions and strategies used for observations. With the emergence of new data and information already obtained earlier, frequent revisions were employed on questions such that subsequent new interviews would capture more information. This relates to Erlandson et al (1993) mentioning the inseparable relations between data collection and data analysis.

To analyze the data in the database, coding categories were developed. After the development of coding categories constant comparative method was employed so that identification and comparing similarities and differences between the categories could be carved out till distinct patterns were evident (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003; Merriam, 1998). Selections of themes were initially based on initial observation and interviews conducted in the pilot field study. These themes were refined as and when demanded by the emerging patterns of themes that could be generalized. This was followed by triangulation of different data sources used for the collection of data in this research. The process of examination of data involving triangulation pertains to (Creswell, 2003) on “building a coherent justification” for the categories and themes.

Collection and analysis of data was not the end to itself, but involved constant reflection on it. More data were collected and further analysis were conducted with even more reflection. Within this process, my role as a researcher was to find better heuristics that guided me to more concrete results. This technique of using heuristics towards refined and better data collection and analysis can be related with five phase heuristics approach of Moustakis (1990): a) immersion in the setting, b) incubation of thoughts, c) illumination of awareness and understanding and explication of participants’ experiences through description and explanation finally creative synthesis of the whole.

In order to check the reliability of data, this research also involved analysis of statistical data. The research takes into consideration 2001 as baseline year and 2011 and endline year for quantitative data analysis. The analysis involved are demographic change in population structure between these years across wards. Change in ethnic, language, and age composition of the concerned population is also done. Other quantitative data used as empirical evidences are that of change in wages, remittances received and cost of lands as a difference between the mentioned years (2001-2011).

4.16 Ethical Considerations

The interviewees were clearly explained on the purpose of the interview; their consent was the first priority. They were given the choice to drop out of the interview process if they no longer wanted to continue. I assured all the interviewees of confidentiality, and explained the names used in the research would be pseudonyms, such that their privacy is maintained. These measures were employed to assure interviewees on privacy and confidentiality so that they feel comfortable on sharing their stories. However, I do not mean that all interviewees immediately confirmed their willingness to be interviewed, nor were all of them readily comfortable on first request. I took time to explain and convince them to participate. I was concerned about the issue of imposition on people in the course of data collection. All the selected potential interviewee approached by me to be interviewed were given as much time as possible to consider whether they wanted to be involved in the research. In this regard, I faced few selected potential interviewees' declination to interview.

All interviewees did not mind being followed up for further questions. Most of the interviewees still are in touch after the data collection phase.

4.17 Limitations of the Study

The research is subjected to certain limitations particularly because it is small scaled qualitative research. In this section, reflect upon and address some of the limitations of the approach take up for this study.

As mentioned earlier, the choice of single VDC for study, and remaining confined to this study site entailed consequences for generalizing the findings. First is the difficulty of tracking permanently out-migrated population. The entire cases of out-migration were based on the evidence provided by the non-migrant participants. These stories from the field were confined to the evidences given by those present in the field at the time of data collection. This limits the understanding of the perceptions of out-migrants. Secondly, the entire information about places of origins is based on the information provided by the in-migrants. I, the researcher, did not visit places of origins of in-migrants due to limited time, and less possibility to visit different places of origin. Third limitation is that the migrant groups were not mutually exclusive groups. There exists overlap in migrants identified as temporary migrant but is also a returnee. A non-migrant household often had one generation in migration. This means defining a household was challenging. This gave fuzzy characteristics on exclusively defining households and migrant groups.

4.18 Interviewee Characteristics

As the result generated in the research primarily depends on data collected through interviews, to understand the composition and characteristics of the interviewees help assess and grasp the generated results. For this purpose, socio-economic profile of the interviewee is presented in this section. This involves presentation of statistical indicators, such as average age, identity based on ethnicity and caste, education, generation and occupation of the interviewees. Firstly, an overview of demographic characteristics of the interviewees is presented. As regards to this, ten people out of sixty people interviewed were women. The youngest female interviewee was seventeen years old at the time of data collection. The oldest aged female interviewee was sixty-three years. Among the fifty men interviewed, youngest man was aged 19 years, and the old was seventy-seven. The average age of all the

interviewees was forty-six. On the marital status of the interviewees, four individuals were unmarried, and the rest fifty-six were married.

The ethnicity and caste of the interviewees were very diverse. On the line of caste composition, eight interviewees were high caste hill Brahmins, thirteen were hill caste hill Chhetris, four were lower caste Dalits. Along the ethnic line, ten were Tamangs, eleven Rais, six were Newars, two Gurung and Sherpa each, one Magar and two high caste Tarai Brahmines.

Interviewees were grouped according to type of migrant status. Twenty-five of the sixty interviews had been permanently residing in the VDC; ten interviews along with family had permanently migrated in the VDC since 2001. Twenty-one were residing in the VDC with temporary status, and four interviews were identified to have previous migration experience and were put as return migrants.

Interviewees were grouped according to generation. Those whose age were above seventy-five belonged to first generation, those whose age were between fifty and seventy were second generation, and those between twenty and forty-nine belonged to third generation and those less the twenty years were fourth generation.

Table 4.1 Number of Interviewees Across Generation

Type of Generation	Number of Interviewees
First Generation	2
Second Generation	28
Third Generation	28
Fourth Generation	2
Total	60

Source: Fieldnotes, 2014

Education level of the interviewees was also diverse. Highest attended degree was Masters and lowest level of education qualification was secondary level. Many of the interviewee did not have chance to attend formal schooling, not even primary level.

Table 4.2 Number of Interviewees Across Educational Qualification

Level of Education Qualification	Number of Interviewees
Masters	9
Bachelors	15
Higher Secondary	15
Secondary	11
No Education qualification	10
Total	60

Source: Fieldnotes, 2014

The interviewees had diverse occupational background. The common groups of occupations that could be identified were farming and unskilled labor, non-farming and unskilled labor, skilled labor and farming, skilled labor and non-farming, government jobs, teachers, students, self employed in micro enterprises, housewives, and pensioners with no occupation.

Table 4.3 Number of Interviewees Across Educational Qualification

Type of Occupation	Number of Interviewees involved
Farming + Unskilled Labour	16
Farming + Skilled Labour	4
Non-Farming + Unskilled Labour	11
Small enterprise	15
Student	2
Government jobs	5
Housewives	2
Retired with pensions	5
Total	60

Source: Fieldnotes, 2014

CHAPTER FIVE

5. MIGRATION DYNAMICS

Changing Demography and Settlements

In this chapter, I intend to revisit the conceptualization of migration process. In doing so, I attempt to understand the human movement from an origin to the destination through the incorporation of the local understanding and meaning attached to the human movement in the research site. The significance of this pertains to exploring and understanding local meaning, and grounded reality of the process that shapes the migration phenomenon at large. This conceptualization brings into discussion place of origin, place of destination, out-migrants who leave the place of origin and in-migrants who move into the place of destination, and the dual role played by the research site as origin and destination. Here in-migrants are looked up as transient who comes to work, stay temporarily or makes permanent stay, while out-migrants are defined as one who temporarily or permanently breaks a physical or emotional rupture with place of origin and settles temporarily or permanently in a new place, the chosen destination. This distinction is partly captured by state's understanding of migration as mentioned in the Birth, Death and Other Personal Events Act, 2033 (1976)¹⁰, where those who move out from or move into an administrative territory of Village Development Committee (VDC), municipality or district and have acquired migration registration certificate are identified as permanent in-migrants and those without it are technically not recognized as in-migrants at the destination.

Subsequently this chapter examines the demographic dynamics, and, the impact on demographic factors of domestic migration in Bhojpur Village Development Committee (VDC). It examines different demographic factors of migration processes and explores demographic characteristics of population under study. The focus is on internal migration. Here, the process of internal migration

¹⁰ Act Number 44 of the Year 2033 (1976). An Act made for the registration of the Birth, Death, Marriage, Divorce and Migration. Preamble states that: It is expedient to make a legal provision regarding the registration and the issuance of certificates of birth, death, marriage, divorce and migration (change of residence) of person residing in Nepal.

involves population movement between places of origin and place of destination. As internal migration occurs within the country, and people in most countries have freedom to live where they choose within their own country, high flux of internal migration has significant scope to bring about demographic changes at destination. While internal in-migrants are new addition to the population, internal out-migrant is subtraction to the same. Based on the comparative study on district and Village Development Committee/Municipality level data of Nepal census 2001 and 2011 and VDC profile data 2006 and 2016 available for Bhojpur VDC, this chapter examines the demographic transformation of the population under study across various dimensions namely, age composition, population composition and population distribution. Lastly, it explains the changing ethnic composition of settlements across different wards of the VDC.

5.1 In the Beginning: Being a Temporary Migrant

During the field work in Bhojpur VDC, where I constantly navigated to explore the local realities of migration phenomenon, its aspects and consequences, I was struck by self-realization that I was a temporary migrant. This self-realization did not happen on its own, but was impinged by a local person who asked me, “where is your *basai*¹¹(residence)?” As he was a local person, he had identified me as someone not originally from the locality, and wanted to know where I had come from. My understanding of *basai* was quite simply a residence. I answered by informing him the address of my temporary residence. During the conversation, he explained me that I had really not answered his question, because, the immediate answer I had given was the address of *ghar* (house) that I am temporarily staying, and he wanted to know my *basai* the place where I permanently resided and made my living. The correct answer was Kathmandu. Reflecting on this incident, I realized that I was not just a researcher in exploration on migration and migrants but also a person in new locality, putting up temporarily and being a temporary migrant.

My status of being a migrant or not being a migrant is questionable, and this fuzziness is difficult to grasp when Nepali people are in motion within their own

¹¹ In their paper *Returning home: migrant connections and visions for local development in rural Nepal*. Agergaard and Broegger notes ‘basai’ as settlement.

nation. This is specially the case of mobility across administrative territories namely *jilla* (district) and *gaun* (village) which entails many different reasons, causes and purpose of moving here and there. In the midst of understanding the human movement from here to there, and associating and linking such movements in relation to migration or at large mobility, it is important to reconsider the meaning attached to *basai*, and it requires understanding in broader sense like the fellow villager explained *basai* as permanent residence and making a living.

5.2 Understanding ‘*basai*’: A Permanent Residence and Making a Living

Moving from Kathmandu to Bhojpur or vice versa is very adventurous and difficult if the mode of travel is by road. It takes approximately two days of continuous drive with a night halt for rest. Other option is travel by airplane with an approximate flight time of 45 minutes. Either by driving through the hills on the off-road, or, getting a glimpse of aerial view of the hills through the window of an airplane during the landing and takeoff, a common view for a traveler would be ample stepped terraces with scattered houses, and only cluster of houses to be noticed would be on the hill top, where the Bhojpur Bazaar stands. I had traveled to Bhojpur via road. It was early October, 2013 and the festive season *Dashain* was just around the corner. The time of harvest was arriving; the *khet* (stepped terraces) were full of ripened rice crops. In the midst of the *khet* a thatched hut/ house would stand with a small plot of land, a kitchen garden popularly known as *bari* surrounding it. In the *bari* household members would generally grow seasonal vegetables, maize, and millet, and *khet* was used exclusively for rice. Just adjacent to the house would be a shed where livestock were kept. These sheds were called *goth*. Popular livestock owned by households would be a pair of bullocks, few chicken, a pair of goat, and a buffalo or a cow. This gives the foretaste of the agrarian life of hilly people that characterizes their *basai*. This general picture is chalked out for people who were permanently residing in Bhojpur VDC; such household would have land in possession, a house build on it, and few livestock. The amount of land on hold by a household, the type of house, and livestock possessed would differ across economic stratum, but owning these three primary assets were the foundation of *basai* in Bhojpur like many other mid-hills of eastern Nepal.

5.3 Understanding ‘*basai-sarai*’: A Permanent Resident Migrating Permanently

The ‘*sarai*’ connoted to ‘*basai*’ means shifting. *Basai sarai* is generally understood as shifting, or moving to new place. This involves letting go the current residency and making living activities in one place, and, settling and making living in another place. This process involves a household, acquiring land at the chosen destination, building a house there and to start making a living in the new setup. The process of acquiring land involves buying land at destination one chooses to settle. This depends on availability of land on sale and the price associated to it at the destination. These are the precondition and factors that enables or constraints decisions for permanent move in from place of origin to chosen destination. In practice, many households that choose to permanently migrate out would do so after purchasing land at the destination, staying there temporarily and building a house, and, finally shifting to new set up. At the origin, those who could sell their lands and house would do so as per their needs. If they did not want to sell their land or could not find a potential purchaser, the assets were given under the care of relatives or neighbors. The left behind assets could be rented out by the care taker or taken on rent by him/her self (care taker).

Basai sarai has a legal meaning attached to it apart from the meaning attached to it in daily life locally. It is a legal document called ‘Migration Registration Certificate’ that can be acquired by migrants on permanently migrating across administrative territory i.e. VDC/ Municipality or district. Households or individuals should register for permanent migration by applying to concerned VDC for such certificate after acquiring land at the chosen destination with the intention to migrate there.

The entire process of permanent migration is associated with land availability, land on sale, purchase of land and land exchange, and, purchasing power in hand to buy the land on sale.

5.4 Understanding ‘Basti’: A New Household Unit or Cluster of Household Settlement

The meaning attached to *basti* was fuzzy too, but common understanding of this term literally means settlement. The settlement could be of new single household unit in an area to increasing number of new household units in the same area. In the initial days of field work, while exploring on new permanently migrated household units, a key informant directed me to a cluster of newly built houses locally identified as *naya-basti* (new settlement). Traditionally, *basti* were identified along caste, and ethnicity. The new settlement differed from the traditional one especially in areas which were considered becoming new towns in future, where, different ethnic and caste group households could be located in the same cluster. This was particularly seen in ward number three of Bhojpur VDC. This also indicated the fragmentation of agricultural land, commoditization of it, and sales made to different people as per the needs and understanding between people willing to sell and buy the land among different caste and ethnic group.

A *basti* constituting of more than four household units formed a *tole*. Many *tole* fell within the smallest administrative unit called ward and nine wards made up a village development committee. Bhojpur Village Development Committee was a single administrative unit, comprising of nine wards with total of thirty-five villages distributed in nine wards. These thirty-five village settlements are also called *basti*.

Table 5.1 Number of Basti within Nine Wards of Bhojpur VDC

Ward Number	Number of Bastis
1	4
2	5
3	5
4	4
5	4
6	3
7	3
8	2
9	5
Total	35

Source: Bhojpur VDC Profile, 2006

These thirty-five villages come under the administrative jurisdiction of the Village Development Committee which is the local state organ, and represents the state at local level for rural areas. This is the general case all over rural parts of Nepal. It is in this understanding that in this research, migration is considered as any human movement from one VDC to another and from one district to another; the former is migration at intra-district level and latter is inter-district level. Both levels are considered to give vivid picture to understanding local realities of internal migration in the selected research site.

5.5 Understanding ‘*basai sarai*’ and ‘*ghum-phir*’: Documented and Undocumented Internal Migration

As explained in earlier section, *basai sarai* is permanent migration of household unit or individual out of the village of origin to desired destination that involves purchase of land, building a house and making a living in the desired destination. At the origin, if the property owned by concerned household or individual in movement is retained, this provides economic, as well as social linkages with the place of origin. However, such bond would be untied if entire property is sold out and transferred to destination, and linkage with origin would limit to family relations, neighbor peers and village acquaintances. This characterized *basai sarai* as well-informed move involving change in location of residency with the desire for permanent movement from one place to another. This type of movement is conceptualized as permanent migration in this research.

Other type of migration is *ghum-phir* which literally means roam (*ghum*) and return (*phir*). Such movement was traditionally and is currently practiced by male members of the household, while rest of the family member retained behind at origin. A person in move carried out on journey that entailed different purpose. To list few of the purpose were: visiting far away residing relatives, friends, attending marriage, trade, and in search of waged labour and employment. Return from such journey involved getting gifts, basic goods needed at household level which were not locally available and money that was earned and saved during the duration of *ghum-phir*. The duration varied with the purpose of movement: it would sometimes be short, and at

times long. A visit to friends and family is short in duration, while journey undertaken for trade and employment is long. With changing time and availability of different mode of transports, the traditional practice of *ghum-phir* and time associated has considerably changed. Walking was the only mode of commuting a few decades ago. In such situations, even visiting friends would take weeks. In practice, *ghum-phir* featured to be an adventurous expedition that involved bringing back goods in kind and money. Such movement even took the form of multiple iterations from origin to destination and back and forth, making it a circular movement. With mounting number of nuclear families as compared to traditional joint family, *ghum-phir* as a practice has seen transformation. As compared to only male member of household going on *ghum-phir*, there is increasing number of wives accompanying husbands for better life chances to the desired destination. Journey of such kind has made the duration of movement even longer. Such household units stay on rent in the destination, and, as long as they are making living, enjoying access to better living conditions, and have a source of income at the destination, the return of migrants to their origin remains uncertain. These types of movement are conceptualized as temporary migration in this research.

The distinction between *basai sarai* and *ghum-phir*, apart from the differences between its respective process and practice, relate to former having a legal meaning associated with it while latter ignored. The provision of conferring *basai sarai ko pramanpatra* (migration registration certificate) to households or individuals on permanent migration by process of applying for the certificate at the origin and subsequent registration of acquired certificate at the destination characterize such movement to be recorded and documented. This is not the case for *ghum-phir*, which remains undocumented. The implication of no documentation of *ghum-phir* is that volume of temporary migration is not recorded; this raises an issue of unknown magnitude of temporary internal migration in Nepal.

As *basai sarai* is recorded at VDC and municipalities, the magnitude of permanent migration is available for individual VDCs, municipalities and districts, but such record do not provide nuanced picture on migration as a whole leaving out temporary migration across VDCs/ municipalities. Apart from the issue of recorded, documented permanent migration versus unrecorded, undocumented temporary

migration, other issues are status of membership, civil and legal identity of migrants on question. The issue of status of membership in community, the acquired civil and legal identity being part of the community can be best understood by taking an example. A person by virtue of being born is registered at VDC / municipality to which his/her father belongs to, upon registration; birth certificate is provided that entails civil status, rights, and entitlements to the newly born. It's on these grounds citizenship certificate can be acquired after the 16th birthday. As regards to migration, the place of origin corresponds to the VDC/municipality of birth registration and place of destination corresponds to the destined VDC/ municipality.

In the case of permanent migration, the *basai sarai ko pramanpatra* (Migration Registration Certificate) becomes the legal proof of change in place, that is change in *basai*. The change and transfer of *basai* is not limited to change of physical residency and making a living, but broadly it includes transfer of registration, membership, civic status, and legal identity along with rights, entitlements and access to state provisions to new location. As temporary migration is not captured under such legal provisions, the long staying temporary migrants at destination can be potentially deprived of membership, transfer of rights, entitlements, and state provisions at the destination because temporary migrants are always linked to the place of origin.

5.6 Magnitude of Migration

5.6.1 Recorded out/in-migration: Bhojpur District and Bhojpur VDC

Within a span of ten years from 2001 to 2011, Bhojpur district as a whole has experienced massive decrease in population from 203,018 (CBS, 2001) to 182,459 (CBS, 2011). At the start of the decade, the population growth rate was at the lowest at 0.21 percent among all districts in Nepal compared to national average of 2.25 percent (Population Monograph, 2014). At the end of the decade the population annual growth rate is -1.25 (ibid), with a negative growth rate, Bhojpur still stands to have lowest growth rate among other districts in Nepal. The decrease in population depicts Bhojpur district to be a source of out-migration.

At the district level, total internal migration events recorded accounts to 4,864 (DDC, 2013), out of which 4004 events of migration is recorded as out-migration

from the district, and 860 as in-migration into the district. At the site of research Bhojpur VDC, total of 202 migration events were recorded, out-migration accounted to 117 and in-migration accounted 85. However, as these data are related to certain period of time and fixed, they do not reflect the dynamics of migration events happening on day to day basis. The census of 2011 shows Bhojpur VDC to have 2070 household units; it also shows 822 households to be on rent out of 2070. This can be taken as a proxy to grasp the high volume of in-migration into the VDC which is not accounted.

Apart from internal migration, foreign labour migration at district level accounts to 14,863 in census 2011 as compared to just 6,844 in 2001. (CBS 2001, 2011). At the research site, the census of 2011 shows magnitude of foreign labour migration accounting to 456 (411 males, 45 female). This failure to record the dynamics of migration events relates to available static data which is fixed to particular time i.e. surveys and census, and, this does not change for a long period of time. I argue that migration is event occurring daily, the data on hand does not give nuance picture of magnitude of migration. However, it can be inferred that with low level of population growth rate and decreasing population over time, Bhojpur district can be seen as place of origin as regards to out-migration, but at VDC level, Bhojpur VDC can be seen as place of destination as regards to in-migration.

5.6.2 Out/In-migration into and out of Bhojpur VDC

Among the nine wards in Bhojpur VDC, total *basai sarai* of households accounted to 172 events (VDC, 2013). Out of the 172 events, total number of households on in-migration accounted to 99, and total out-migration was records as 73. Migration events were categorized into within district (across VDC of the district) and across district (to and from Bhojpur district). Within district migration magnitude was 97 households as compared to across district magnitude of migration which was recorded to be 75 households. When we see the category of within district migration, out of total of 97 migration events, 66 events were in-migration events and 31 events were out-migration. Whereas in case of total of 75 across district migration, 33 events were in-migration and 42 were out-migration

Table 5.2 In/Out-migration within and out of Bhojpur District

Categories	Total HH units	Total HH units in migration
In-Migration (into Bhojpur VDC)	99	172
Out-Migration (out of Bhojpur VDC)	73	

Source: VDC Profile ,2013.

Table 5.3 Migration Events within and across district from Bhojpur VDC

Categories	Total HH units	In-Migration to VDC	Out-Migration from VDC
Within District migration events	97	66	31
Across District migration events	75	33	42

Source: VDC Profile, 2013.

Across the wards 1 to 9, out of 172 migration events, 81 events occurred in ward number 5, making it the ward where most migration event is taking place, followed by ward number 9 with 56 migration events and ward 3 with 18 events. Other wards accounted for comparatively less occurrence of migration event, ward 4 and ward 6 had 5 migration events each, ward 1 had 4 events, ward 7 had 3, and ward 8 and 2 had no migration events at all.

Table 5.4 In/Out-migration Events Records Across Wards of Bhojpur VDC

Ward Number	Total Migration Event	In-Migration	Out-Migration
1	4	0	4
2	0	0	0
3	18	16	2
4	5	2	3
5	81	52	29
6	5	3	2
7	3	1	2
8	0	0	0
9	56	25	31
Total	172	99	73

Source: VDC Profile, 2013

The above table depicts that total in-migration to Bhojpur VDC is higher than the total out-migration. Bhojpur VDC with increase in population and number of household units in past decade has been a destination for permanent migration. The high magnitude of household units accounting to almost half of total household units in the VDC (822 out of 2020) on rent in the VDC is an indicator of high magnitude of temporary migrants which statistics at VDC and district level fails to capture.

Ward number 3, 5, and 9 are the wards where migration is centered. In most of the cases concerning these ward, in-migration outnumbers out-migration. And it is in these wards, census 2011 show mounting increase in population.

5.7 Direction of flow of Internal Migration

5.7.1 Direction of District Level Out-Migration

Bhojpur district as a place of origin, the direction of migration is still dominated by hill to tarai at the district level. Sunsari, Morang, and Jhapa are prominent district which has high volume of Bhojpur migrants settled permanently.

Table 5.5 Direction of Out- Migration Stream at District Level

Place of Origin	Place of Destination	Geographical Direction
Bhojpur District	Sunsari District	South-east part of Nepal
	Morang	South-east part of Nepal
	Kathmandu	Central Nepal
	Jhapa	South-east part of Nepal

Source: Fieldnotes, 2013-14

5.7.2 Direction of District Level In-Migration

As destination, Bhojpur district receives permanent and temporary migrants alike from Khotang which falls on the west to Shankhuwasaba, on the east, Solukhumbu and Siraha to its north and south respectively. Bhojpur has also been receiving permanent migrants from as far as Kavre district of Central Nepal.

Table 5.6 Direction of In-Migration at District Level

Place of Origin	Place of Destination	Geographical Direction of Origin
Khotang District	Bhojpur District	West of Bhojpur
Shankhuwasaba District		North east of Bhojpur
Solukhumbu District		North of Bhojpur
Siraha District		North
Kavre District		Central Nepal

Source: Fieldnotes, 2013-14

5.7.3 Direction of VDC Level In-Migration

As regards to direction of flow of migration in the core research site, different wards of Bhojpur VDCs have received in-migrants from different parts of the district. The general pattern shows that, the north part of the VDC namely ward number 9 receives in-migrants from the north part of the district. Similarly, the west parts of the VDC ward 1, 2, and 3 received in-migrants from western parts of the district. Out of the entire wards bazaar is an exception, as it received in-migrants from different parts of the district.

Table 5.7 Direction of In-Migration at VDC Level

Geographical Direction of Bhojpur district	Name of VDC of origin	Destination Wards of Bhojpur VDC
Northern parts of the district	Sangpang, Deurali, Boya, Hellucha	Ward Number 9
Western parts of the district	Timma, Chinamakhu, Nagi, Khawa, Gupteshwar, Siddheshwar, Annapurna	Ward Number 1
Western parts of the district	Gogana, Kot, Lekharka, Pandhare,	Ward Number 3
North and Mid parts of the district	Kimalung, Timma, Taksar	Ward Number 5
North and west part of district	Timma, Chinamakhu, Pandhara,	Ward Number 2

Source: Fieldnotes, 2013-14

5.8 Narrative Sketch: Migration Flow between 2001 -2013

5.8.1 Migration Flow during the Armed Conflict

From 2001 to the days of data collection involved times of armed conflict, times after armed conflict and peace process, and times during first and second election to the constituent assembly. From the narratives of native residents who had been residing in Bhojpur VDC throughout these good and the bad times, majority of them blamed the armed conflict as the main driver of out-migration as well as of in-migration. Out-migration mainly involved people who were the most affluent ones, who sold out their property and migrated to relatively urban centers namely Biratnagar, Kathmandu, Tarara near Dharan. These properties were bought by other set of affluent ones from remote villages heading to district headquarters for more security during the armed conflict. Bhojpur VDC was the origin and destination as regards to direction of migration flow.

“During the conflict time, those people who had "paauch" (connection) and wealth, migrated to Tarai. They even sold it (lands/houses) in very less price, and some even gave it for rent. The situation was such the people could not stay here anymore. Money was extorted; chandda demanded... all political parties were targeted. Threats like "we will blast bombs " was given to targeted persons.....people from here started to go to Tarai, and, those people of remote villages who were more well-off than others, such people migrated to district headquarters.... the population of the VDC increased suddenly.... people who were affected by conflict came here for security, they came to save their lives here.... people from here went to urban places and people of remote village came here in the zilla” (Bidhur Karki, age 46: 2013)

As stated in the excerpt of interview with Bidhur Karki, who is a teacher and has his residency in bazaar, many wealthy businessmen of bazaar who had connections and networks in Tarai, sold their properties in less price and permanently migrated out. Properties being sold out in lower than usual price was an opportunity for well off people from remote areas looking for more secured places to stay during armed conflict times. As the wealthy businessmen of bazaar vacated, the bazaar became a silent zone, and it experienced declining business activities and diminished opportunities for business.

“During 2064 sal (B.S) (2008 A. D¹²), and before, the Baazar was very quiet and fewer activities could be seen. The houses here in Baazar were all shut down.....people at that time had gone to Kathmandu and Biratnagar” (Tej, Pradhan, age 26: 2013)

According to the narratives collected during the fieldwork, the bazaar people who migrated had also taken their wealth with them and invested to buy property at destination they settled in. This caused capital flight from Bhojpur, it also had multidimensional impact on economic life of the people. When the out-migrant households sold the land they possessed, this became an opportunity for the people interested in purchasing land in Bhojpur VDC. These lands were sold for less than the existing market prices. People could buy one Ropani of land for one lakh rupees. This opportunity was grabbed by many wealthy people of remote villages, who at the same time were looking to settle in Bhojpur VDC which was comparatively a safer place in the district during the conflict times.

“Lots of land was sold by owners and bought by clients who wanted to permanently settle in Bhojpur VDC for safety. People during the time of conflict suffered a lot, especially in the remote villages, so, to get security lots of people came to Bhojpur VDC, where the security was tight as the main administration office is located here. Direction of migration was towards district headquarters from surrounding remote village” (Chiranjivi Karki, age 48: 2013)

In the decade between 2001 to 2011, which is also the time span considered for this research, it is evident that Bhojpur VDC experienced high magnitude of out-migration as well as in-migration during the time of conflict. Those who were the stayers were those who had no options but to stay in Bhojpur VDC itself because they did not have enough resources at hand to migrate.

¹² All Nepali years are in Bikram Sambat (B.S), these are converted to Anno Domini (A.D.) with mathematical calculation the correctly converts the dates and years.

5.8.2 Migration Flow after Armed Conflict and Peace Process

“After emergency, lots of new things have happened. Going back to conflict times, those times lots of lands were available and the condition did not favor for people to stay here...but after the peace process, peace agreement, if you have to count the basti around 40 to 50 households have come as basai sarai and settled down from villages just in our locality” (Jaya Tamang, age 42: 2013)

The above excerpt from Jaya’s interview shares the same narratives of selling and purchase of land that took place during the conflict. During the conflict, lots of lands were sold in very cheap price, after the conflict, many new owners of the land started to invest on new houses for their permanent settlement in Bhojpur VDC. After peace process people saw opportunities for investment, most of which was done on housing. Newly constructed houses and construction of more houses of many of different types (mason, mud-brick and wood, and cemented, burned brick and *pukka* houses) were frequently observed during the field work. The old houses needed repair and reconstruction, the new owners and the aspirant new settlers started investing on houses that could also generate suitable income.

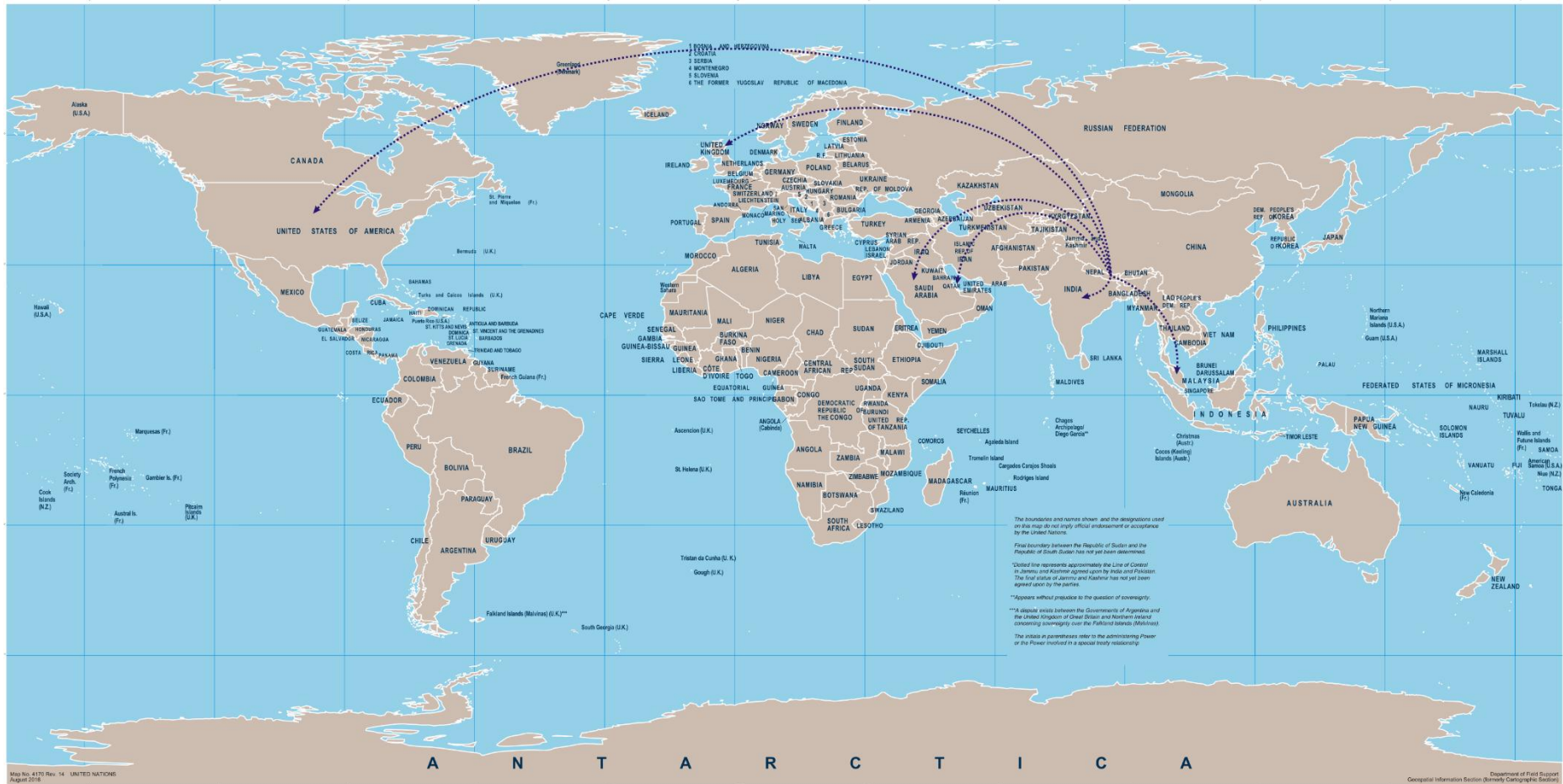
The rise in construction has opened up new opportunities with the increasing demand for unskilled wage labor. This also attracted people without work in remote villages to work in construction sites as wage labourers and earn comparatively more than what they could make at home. Increased number of new houses has made more space for dwelling, attracting people of remote villages to take rent in Bhojpur, with increased population, aspirant people are entering into new ventures and small scale entrepreneurial establishments mainly shops, tea and food providing hotels, beauty parlors, clothing lines, and electronics and mobile phone shops.

“Well, currently the bazaar is doing good; lots of goods can be imported now as per peoples’ demand, and businessmen are doing very well. Now that road is also built, transportation for businessmen has been easier. So, people who are investing in large scale business are doing well, and people who are doing small size business are also doing so well. In case of migration, it is increased in bazaar ... people of different VDCs also rent shops here and do business.” (Tej Pradhan, age 26: 2013)

Along with the peace process, Bhojpur VDC saw itself connected with other VDCs as far as Dhankuta District with the construction of feeder road built with the help of Rural Access Program. The successful construction of this road has paved a clear path for increased transportation of goods. A new mode of transportation in the form of bus services is now available. The transportation business is a new business opportunity now. The flow of goods and people is much easier now than decades earlier. Few decades earlier, porters were used for transfer of goods, and, limited airplane services were available and affordable only to well-off people to travel from one place to another.

In the following section, I offer maps depicting directions of migration at various levels such as out-migration at international level, out-migration and in-migration at inter district level and out and in-migration at intra-district level.

Map 5.1 International Out-migration from Bhojpur VDC



Map 5.2 Out-migration from Bhojpur VDC to India



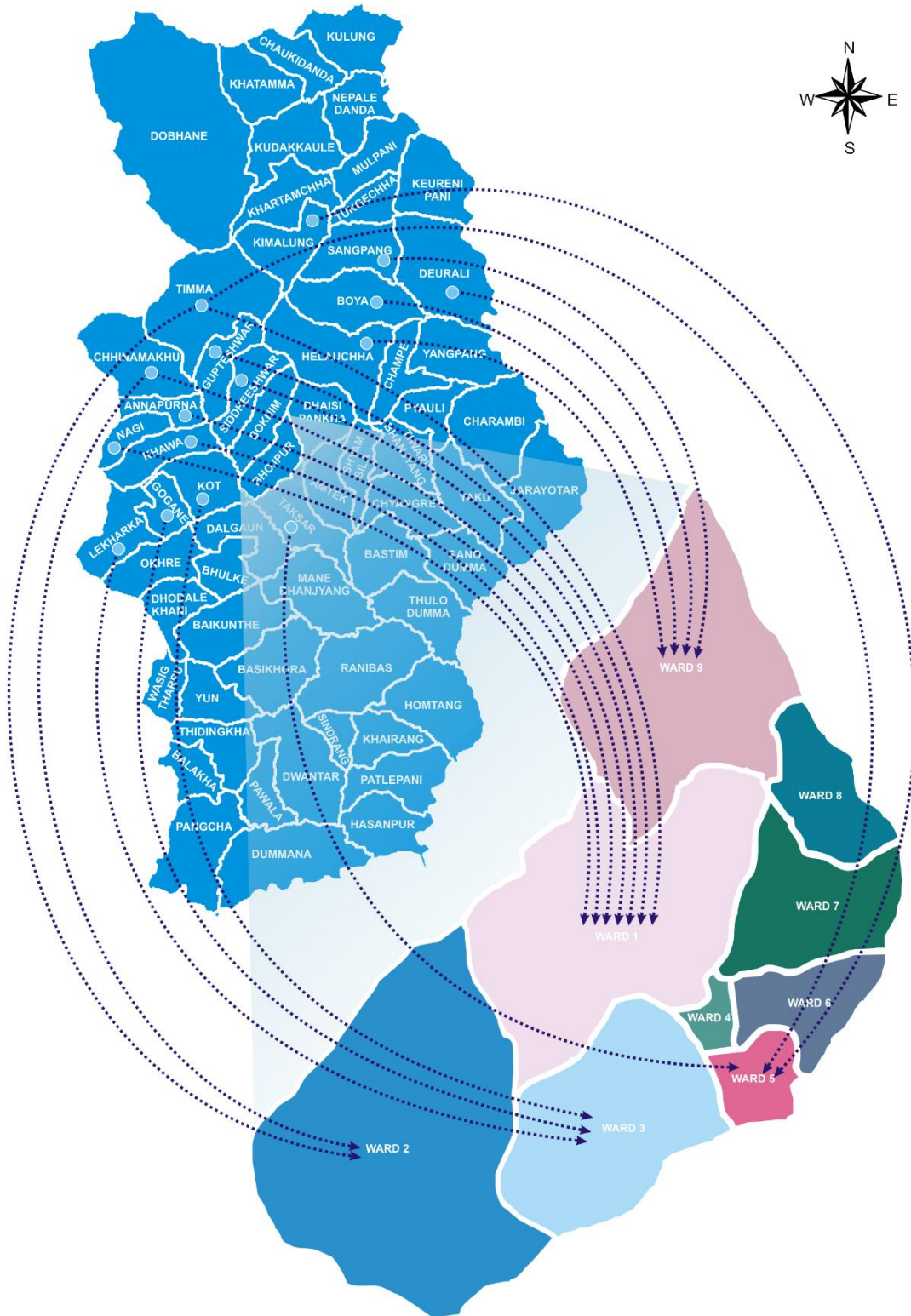
Map 5.3 Inter-District Out-migration from Bhojpur VDC



Map 5.4 Inter-District In-migration to Bhojpur VDC



Map 5.5 Inter-VDC In-migration to Bhojpur VDC Across Wards



5.9 Demographic Dynamics: Population Growth, Age-Structure and Distribution

5.9.1 Population Growth

The population under study has experienced people moving in and out of the population simultaneously. This dynamics of population movement can have three outcomes associated with migration. First, net migration can be positive: here, the magnitude of people moving into the population exceeds the number of people leaving the population. This results in population increment and population growth in the same way as natural increase of birth over death contributes to population growth. Second is the negative net migration: here, the number of people arriving is less than the total number of people moving out, and this results in decrease of population size. Last is the zero-net migration: here, people moving out is equal to people moving in. This has no immediate impact on population size, however, in the long run, if the in-migrant had higher fertility and lower mortality as compared to out-migrant who has lower fertility and higher mortality, even zero net migration can affect the size and growth of the population. While migration affects size and growth of the population, it may also be driven by size and growth of population. Situations where populations have reached a point beyond capacity of available resources, out-migration plays the role of safety valve. For those places where resources are relatively abundant, such cases have supported in-migration. Table 5.8 below gives the total number of household units recorded by the Nepal census in year 2001 and 2011. The figures in the table depict an increment of 842 households. This is 44% rise in number of households in a decade.

Table 5.8 Total Number of Household Units in Bhojpur VDC

Year of Census	Household Units
2001	1428
2011	2070

Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

Increase in household units of this magnitude indicates increase in size of residential settlement. This also indicates that significant in-migration to the VDC is taking place for permanent and long-term residency. It also depicts that the net-

migration is positive. Table 5.9 below gives the total population size and changes between 2001 and 2011. The figures in the table depict an increment of 27 percent in the population size in the concerned decade. Both female and male population has increased. The female population has increased by 29 percent and male by 23 percent. Due to the greater increase in female population, the sex ration has decreased in magnitude from 93 in 2001 to 89 in 2011. This decrease potentially can affect the fertility rate in long run.

Table 5.9 Total Population size of Bhojpur VDC in 2001 and 2011

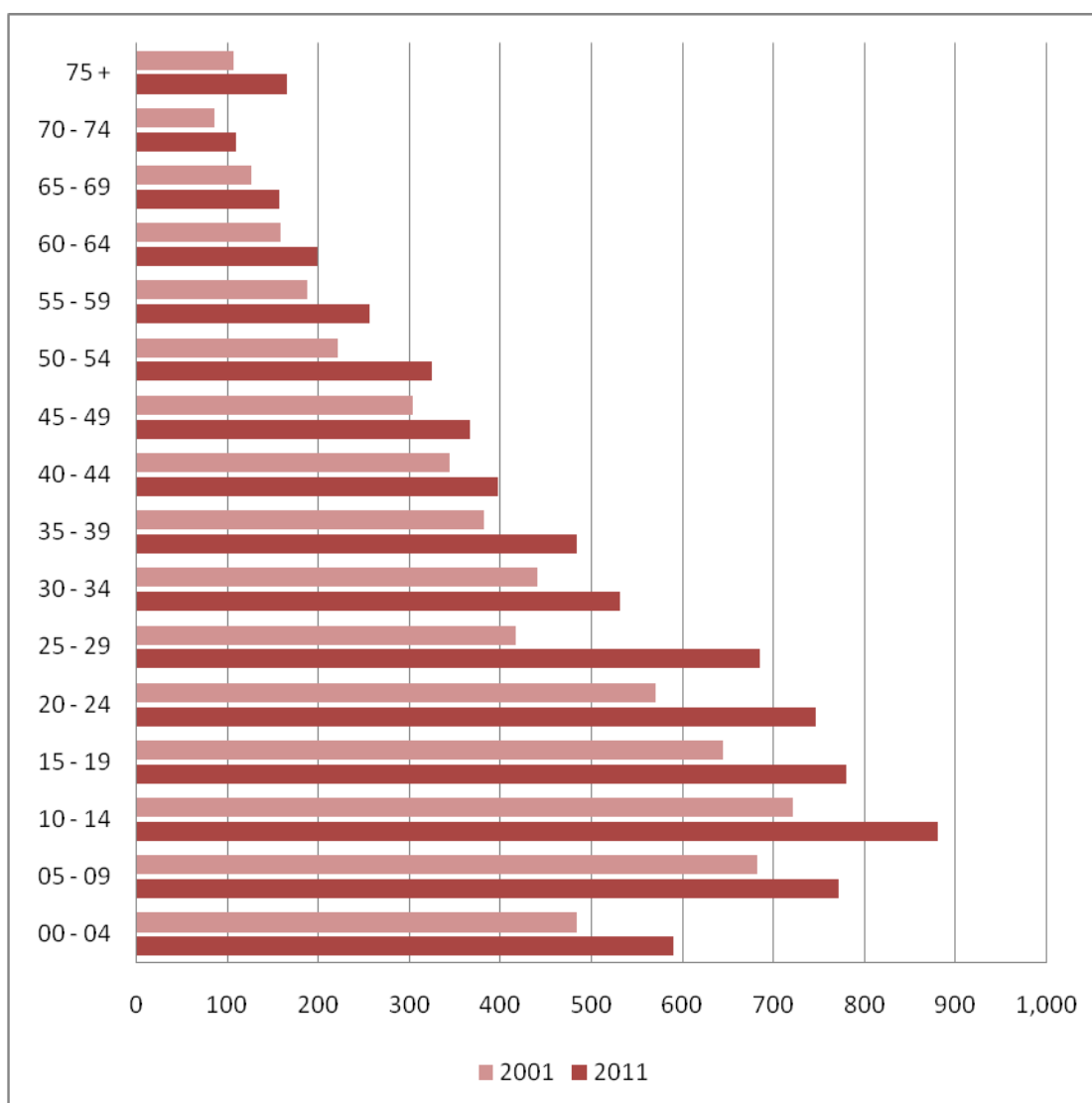
Years	Total Population	
	2001	2011
Both Sex	5881	7,446
Male	2843	3,524
Female	3038	3,922

Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

5.9.2 Age Composition

The effect on the age structure varies according to the level of migration. This takes into consideration the positive or negative net migration, and, the age structure of the migrants. In situations where migrants are young, in-migration makes the population younger and out-migration makes the population older. This effect on the age structure and the total size of the concerned population between 2001 and 2011 is assessed by applying fertility and migration over a decade. Here, 2001 is considered to be starting population. In this case, the stationary population with 2001 initial population size of 5881 means that after a decade the population should have same population age structure and population size. The impact of net migration on age structure depends on level of fertility. Migration has small impact on age structure where fertility is high; in contrast when fertility is low, migration has a large affect on age structure.

Figure 5.1 Age Composition of Bhojpur VDC for 2001 and 2011



Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

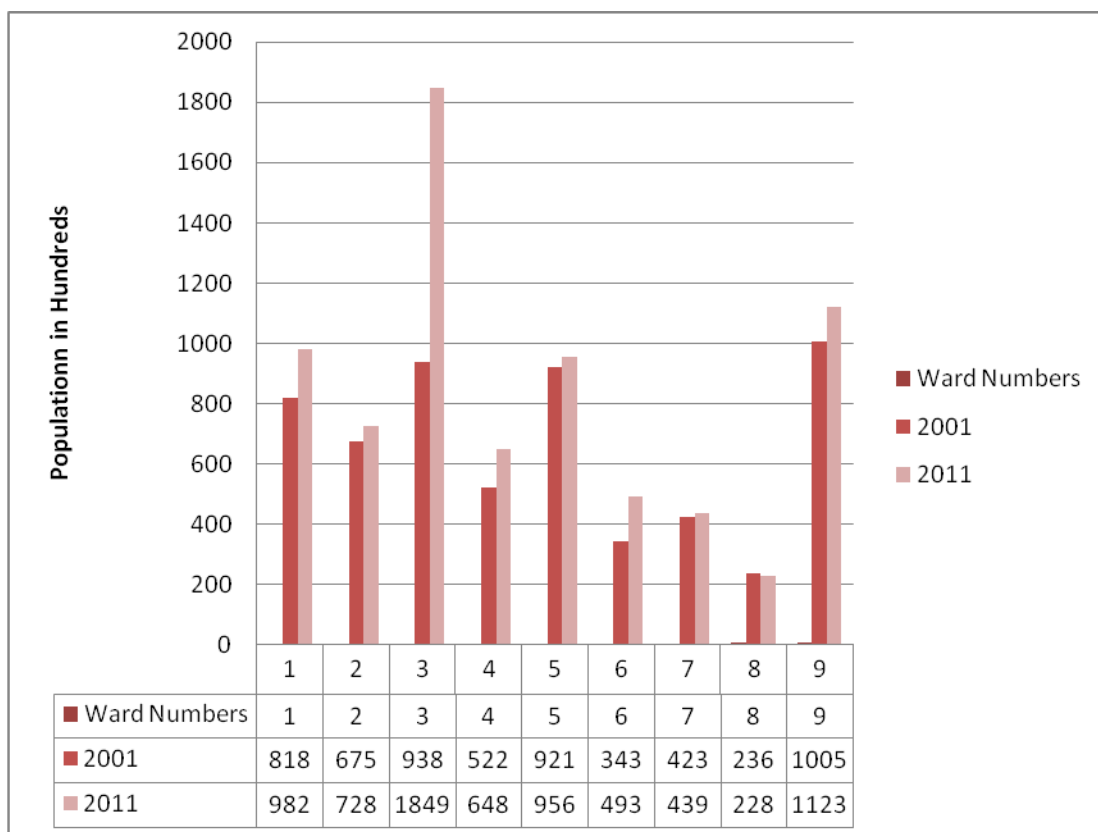
In the baseline year 2001, Bhojpur VDC had fertility rate 0.70, in a decade time, the fertility rate decreases to 0.62. This magnitude of fertility is comparatively low for Nepal's fertility rate of 2.50 births per woman. As mentioned above, migration tends to have higher impact on age structure for population where fertility rate is low. In a decade, an increase in population across each age structure is noticed. Age group between 25-29, 20-24 and 15-19 has higher increase in population than other age group. These age groups are the most mobile age group and represents youth population. The significant increment in these age groups pertains to in-migration of these age groups, and, this is also forming a young population in this VDC. The other important increments noticed in age structure are of 5-9 and 10-14. This increment pertains to children of migrating family, who are of the school

attending age group. To gain access to better education for their children, and health facilities for elderly were two of the prime motivations for migrants interviewed. The in-migration has also increased population size of 60 and above. These age group people migrate to gain better and easy access to health facilities when needed.

5.9.3 Population Distribution

Differential flow of migrants to different ward of the VDC has substantial impact on population distribution within the VDC. The table given below provides the population distribution across wards from year 2001 and 2011.

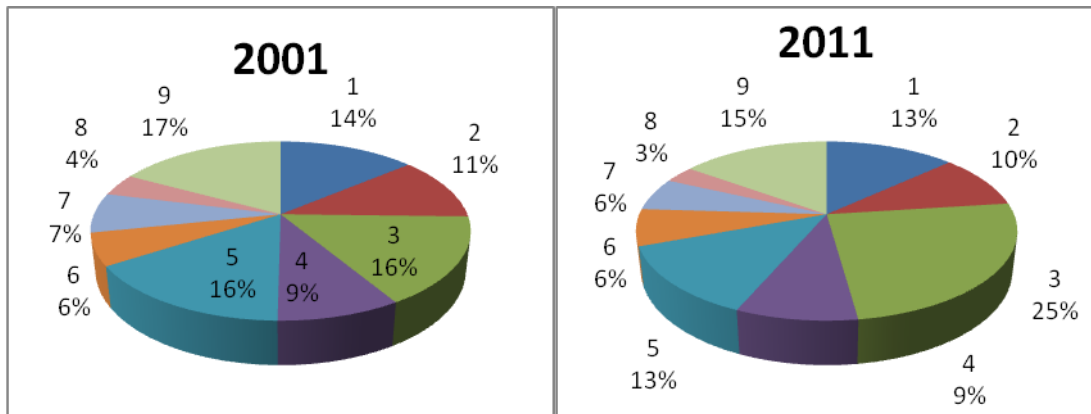
Figure 5.2 Population Distribution across Wards, year 2001 and 2011



Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

As per the data in figure 5.2, the population distribution across nine wards of Bhojpur VDC in the year 2001 and 2011 in percentage is as follows:

Figure 5.3 Population Distribution across Wards in Percentage, year 2001 and 2011



Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

There is a small decrement of one percent population change in ward 1 and 2 respectively. Ward 3 has experiences high magnitude of population change, a nine percent increase in population, is the highest change across all nine wards. Ward number 4 and 6 does not experience any change and is at same level of 9 and 6 percent respectively. Ward number 7 and 8 also experiences percentage increase and decrease respectively. Ward number 5 and 9 experiences decrease in a percentage contribution to the population change. It is to be noted that all wards have experienced population increment in varying degree, but the total percentage contribution across wards to the overall population of VDC has decrease from some wards and significantly increased for others. Magnitude of in-migration is high for ward 3, followed by ward 1 and 9. These are the major wards where settlements have increased. Other wards that experience increasing settlements due to in-migration are ward five and four which are the bazaar area.

5.10 Population Composition: Religion, Mother Tongue, and Ethnic/ Caste group

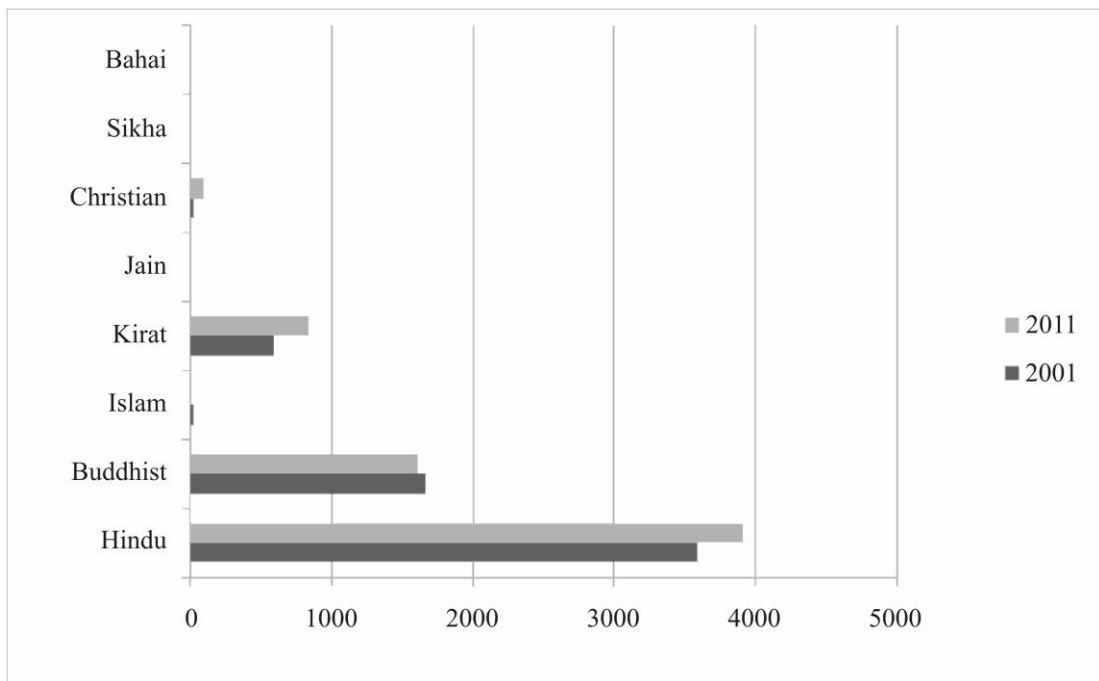
Other possible aspects affected by migration are sex composition, the labour force status, education, ethnic mix and religion. These are population characteristics that shape the demographics of population in concern. As stated earlier, socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants relative to out-migrants can change population characteristics, here even if net migration is zero, migration affect can be significant. For example, where in-migrants are younger on average than out-

migrants, the population's age structure is affected. In cases where more skilled people are out-migrating as compared to in-migrants, the skill profile of the concerned population is affected through size of population and total labour force remains unchanged (McDonwall and Temple 2006). Migration simultaneously affects size, growth and composition of two population sets a) sending and b) receiving localities. Migration effect on composition of sex can play little part in Bhojpur's case. In this section impact of migration on religion, mother tongue, and ethnic composition of population is more readily observed and is discussed below.

5.10.1 Changing Population Composition by Religion

The main religion found in this VDC are Hindu, Buddhist, and Kirat. According to the figure given below, Hindu, Kirat and Christians have experienced increment, while Buddhists has decreased slightly.

Figure 5.4 Population Composition by Religion, year 2001 and 2011



Source Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

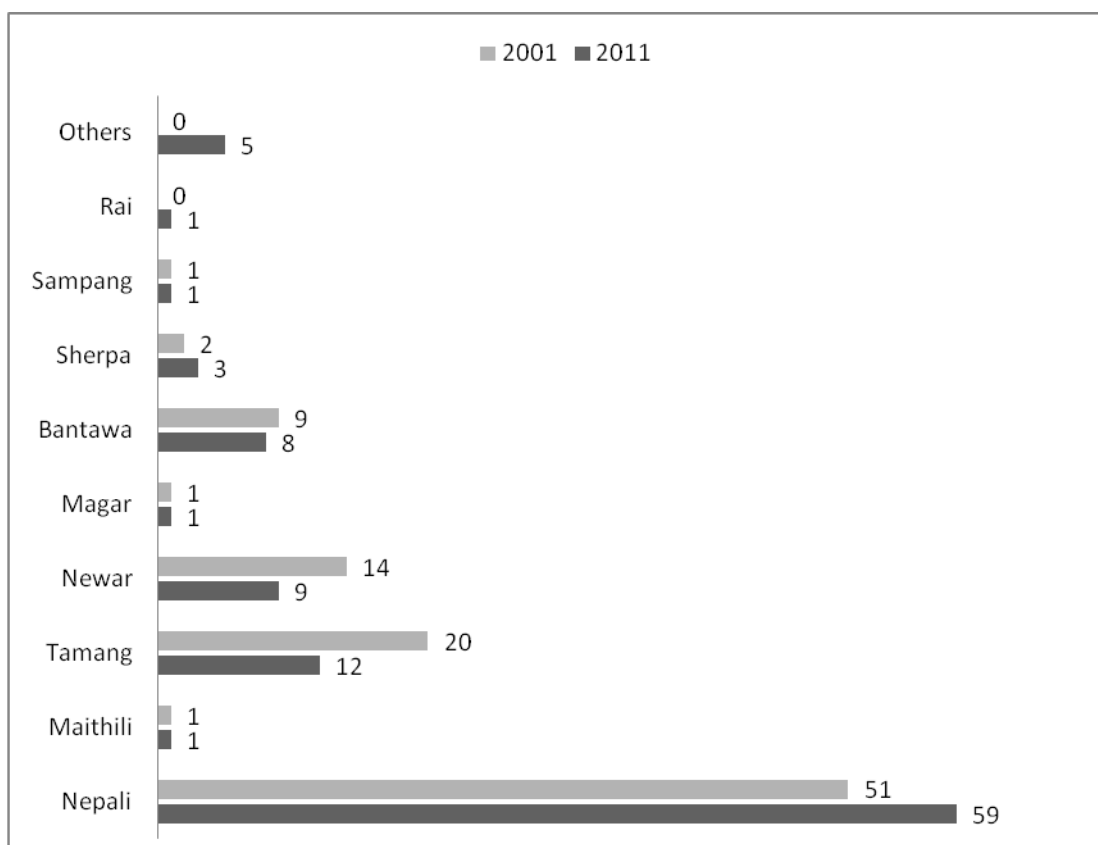
As per the given figures, in 2001 Hindu comprised of 61 percent of the total population of VDC, Buddhists comprised of 28 percent, followed by Kirat 10 percent and Islam 1 percent. In a decade time, the composition has not changed significantly, Hindus still contribute to the total population by 61 percent, Buddhists comprises of

25 percent, which is decrement by 3 percent. Kirat population contribution is 13 percent, this shows an increment of 3 percent. Population of Christians has increased; it contributes 1 percent to the overall population.

5.10.2 Changing Population Composition by Mother Tongue

The figure 5.5 depicts percentage change in population composition across mother tongue. Population speaking Maithili, Magar and Sampang has not changes and stands at 1 percent each for both 2001 and 2011 year of the census. Population speaking Nepali shows increment of 8 percent from 51 percent in 2001 to 59 percent in 2011. Population speaking Tamang language shows decrement by 8 percent from 20 percent in 2001 to 12 percent in 2011. Similarly, Newar speaking population decrement by 5 percent, and Bantawa by 1 percent from 14 percent to 9 percent and 9 percent to 8 percent respectively. Lastly Sherpa speaking population has increased by 1 percent.

Figure 5.5 Population Composition by Mother Tongue for years 2001 and 2011

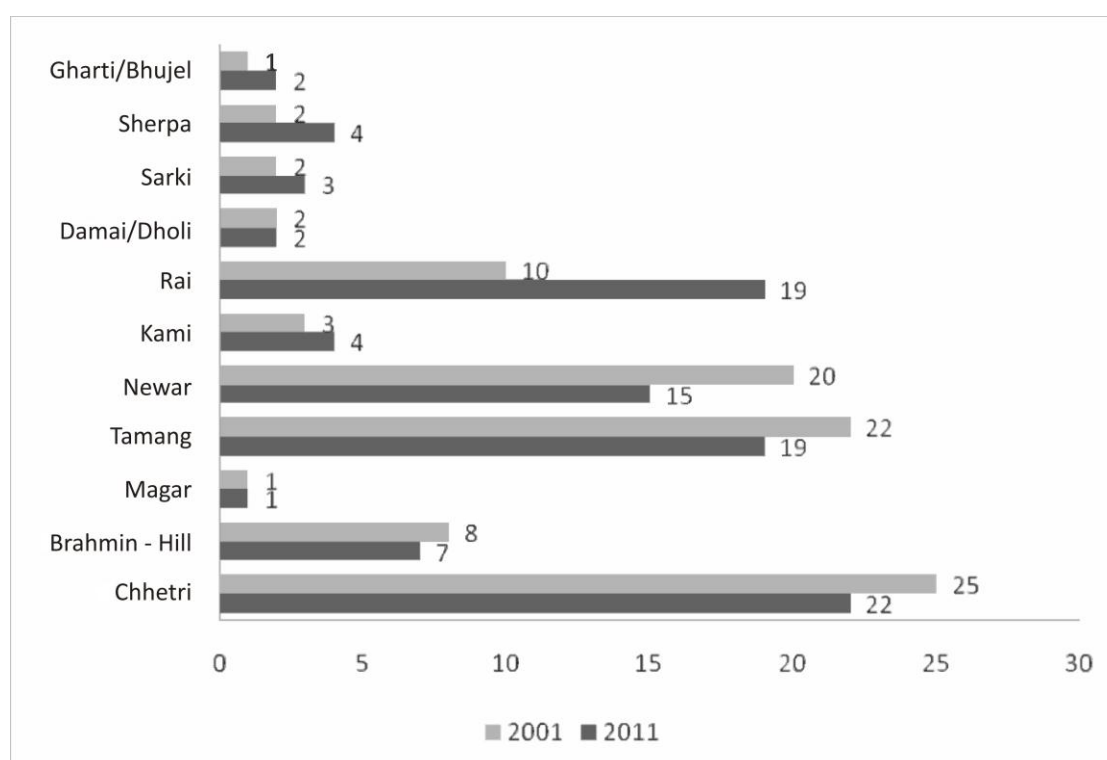


Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

5.10.3 Changing Ethnic Composition

The Ethnic and Caste group composition is also subject to change with in and out-migration happening between 2001 and 2011. Along the caste group, high caste namely Hill-Brahmin and Chhetri are noted to have decreased. Chhetri population is decreased by 3 percent while that of Brahmin by 1 percent. Though this decrease is not of high magnitude, this change indicates out-migration of people belonging to high caste group. The artisan group namely the Sarki (Cobbler) and Kami (Blacksmith) have increased by 1 percent each while Damai/Doli (Tailor) have remained the same. This slight increase is indication of in-migration of artisan class to Bhopjur VDC. Across the ethnic groups, Magars' contribution to total population has remind at 1 percent, Newars' and Tamangs' contribution has decrease by 5 percent and 3 percent respectively, whereas, Gharti/Bhujel, Sherpa and Rais' percentage has increased by 1 and 9 percent respectively. This depicts that people belong to Newar and Tamang of the VDC engage in out-migration while people belonging to Sherpa and particularly Rai ethnic group have been moving into the VDC.

Figure 5.6 Population Composition across Ethnic Groups



Source: Census of Nepal 2001 and 2011

5.11 Changing Ethnic composition of Settlements across Wards in Bhojpur VDC

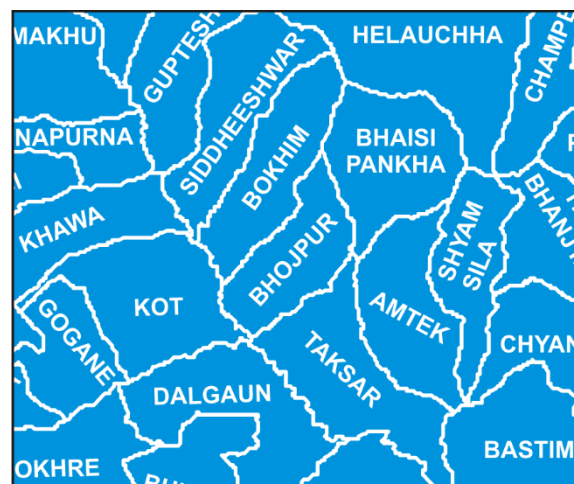
5.11.1 Bhojpur VDC and Its Composite Wards

Similar to all VDCs in Nepal, Bhojpur VDC comprises of nine wards, which come under the administration of Bhojpur VDC. Out of these nine wards, ward 1, 2, 3 and 9 are bigger in size in area than ward 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. All wards are connected through the district road, which are seasonal in nature, and require constant maintenance throughout monsoons. The national high way equivalent feeder road passes through ward number 9 and 1, this connects to the district road network that connects other wards. While entering Bhojpur VDC through road, one first passes through ward number 9 which is situated at the highest-level altitude of the VDC, then slowly coming down towards ward number 1 where the current temporary bus stand is located.

From ward 1 the feeder road gets connected to district road, which connects ward number 3, and ward number 5 of the Bhojpur bazaar area, and other tributaries of the district road connects rest of the wards. The network of roads has implications on housing construction. This is because many new housing units were being built along the side of the road, this observation shows that the newly made road passed through settlements where open *khet* were available and could be converted to road.

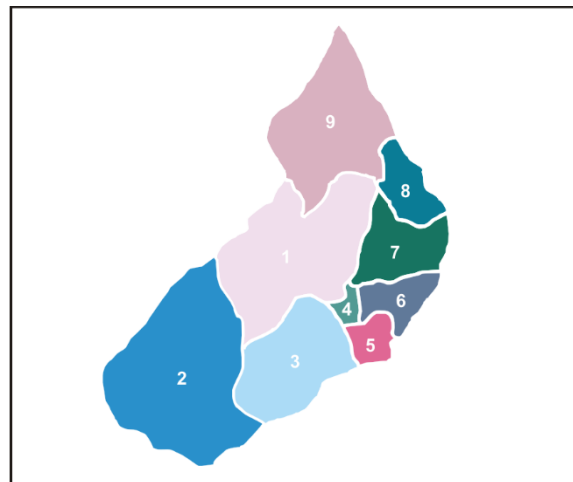
Map 5.6 Bhojpur and Neighbouring VDCs

The map on the right shows Bhojpur VDC. The map shows Bhojpur VDC among other surrounding VDC, Bhokhim, and Bhaisipankha on the north, Koth to the west, Amtek on the east and Taksar to the south. It shows composite nine wards and its location.



Map 5.7 Composite wards of Bhojpur VDC

While ward 9 is on the north, ward 2 is on the south, ward 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 chalks the eastern border and on the west border are the wards 2, 1 and 9. The most convenient till today is the traditional walking paths used to commute between the wards. Maximum time taken to walk from one ward to another would be an hour



and most wards are commutable within fifteen to twenty-five minutes. My stay was in ward number 3, in a village called Kodhar. Each ward from here was at a walking distance of about fifteen minutes in average, especially the main Bhojpur Bazaar that comprised parts of ward number 4, 5, 6, and 3. It would take forty-five-minutes to reach ward number nine, which locates on top of the hill and similarly it takes forty-five minutes walk down the hill to reach ward 2.

5.11.2 Bhojpur Bazaar

Major part of ward 4, 5 and part of ward 3 constitute today's Bhojpur bazaar. Major part of ward 3 is the extended part of the bazaar, whereas the core traditional Bhojpur bazaar constitutes of ward 5 which is called *bich bazaar* (middle bazaar) which is predominantly a Newar settlement. This settlement was identified as migrants from Dhulikhel of Kavre district. In ward 4 lies one of the oldest shop called *bhote-pasal* which is located even till today, which is owned by Tamangs, the first migrant Muktans in this area, who happen to get here through the west-east trade route.

The central point of the bazaar is called Char Bhanjyang, if one faces towards the north of the Char Bhanjyang, on the left side is a road called *bhote-pasal*, and to the right is a road called Pokhareline, just a four-minute walk up the hill is the District Administration Office, and Army district headquarters. Char Bhanjyang is the cross road, connecting middle bazaar, *bhote-pasal*, Pokhareline and road leading to ward

number 9. The main Bhojpur bazaar has its starting point here, and because the administration office is located here, major cultural and political demonstrations started and ended here as a traditional practice.

Picture 5.1 Bhojpur Bazaar



The middle bazaar road passes through old big houses which reflect Newar architecture. The middle bazaar road is almost hundred meters in length, the ground floor of the houses at the edge of the right and left side of the road are mostly retail shops of clothing and electronic goods. The upper floor is used for residency by the owners of the shops. The entire settlement is Newari, and most shops here are owned by Newars, only few household units here were identified as Tamangs within this Newar settlement, and few are rented out to in-migrant traders.

At the end of this hundred meters middle bazaar road stands the district court, district police office and old post office. Adjacent to police office is the open ground called Tudikhel, and just below it lies Swamichock, which is around seventy-five meters length road ending up into a park and District Development Office side by side. The settlement of Swamichock is multi-ethnic and caste, it is also a part of ward number 5, but here household units are identified to be Sherpa, Tamang, Rai, and Dalit. This part of bazaar is different from the middle bazaar, here, the ground floor of the household unit is used for small cooked food shops where alcohol, course meals like *dal bhat*, as well as fast foods like noodles and momos are served. All these small

enterprises are owned by Sherpas, Tamangs and Rais. Among these shops are tailoring service providers which are owned by Dalits.

The last extension of this bazaar finds the inclusion of hill ridge of ward number 5 and 3, which extends from the park to the hospital and college called Bhojpur Multiple campus. This road is called Bank road of ward 5 and extends to connect Dada Gaun of Ward 3, here most of the financial institutions were located, and most of the migrants have invested in small enterprises namely hotels, restaurants, retail grocery shops, to hair dressers and beauty parlor. This is also a mixed settlement comprising of Newar, Brahmins, Chhetris, Rai, Tamang and Sherpas. The point of interest here is that the old settlements are single identity dominated settlements whereas new settlements are multi-ethnic. The middle bazaar and bank road area are two examples, which are the extreme ends on the spectrum of ethnic based settlement, where settlement patterns and implication of new migration stream is played out.

5.11.3 Beyond Bazaar: Disconnected Wards

The wards 2, 6, 7, 8 are the periphery of the main bazaar. These wards apart from some parts of ward 6 are comparatively far away from the bazaar. In area size ward 2 is the largest ward of Bhojpur VDC, most of the areas of this ward constitutes community and private forests. The ward is situated on hill slope, here comparatively less *khet* and more *bari* was observed. This ward is comprised of five *bastis* Deltar, Sano Palluwa, Thulo Palluwa, Gairigaun and Chyandada. The settlements here are segregated; Chhetris, Dalits, few Newars and Tamangs were settled here. The wards extend to the banks of river Pikhuwa, where most of the household units have their *khets*. The *besi* area of Palluwa is very fertile for rice cultivation. This ward is predominantly a Chhetri settlement, but compared to the size of this ward, the population is lower than other wards and the settlement is very sparse. Respondents here informed that Dalit settlement of this ward is increasing and Chhetri settlements were permanently migrating to Sunsari district.

Ward 6 comprises of three *bastis* namely, Pokhera, Baarboot, and Dadagaun. Ward seven also comprises of three *basties* namely, Pokhera, Pokhera Karkitole, and Pokhera Devithan. Ward 8 comprises of two *basties* called Dumsikha and Thapagaun.

As compared to bazaar the settlements here are not clustered but sparsely populated. The household units are settled in segregation. Lands here are mostly *khets*. Water availability and irrigation facility is comparatively better for cultivation as compared to other wards. Respondents of these wards informed that as these wards are not well connected with the bazaar, land of these wards are not highly demanded as compared to bazaar, and other larger wards. On the one hand, potential land buyers do not prefer to buy land of this area, nor do the residents of this area are willing to sell the land, because in future these areas will be well connected to bazaar, and land will be more valuable.

The settlements of ward 6, 7 and 8 are dominated by high caste Brahmins and Chhetris. Though population of Brahmin is much less, Chhetri settlers outnumber other ethnic groups in these areas. As these areas are much further away from the active life of bazaar and its influence, respondents of these areas have informed that people do not take up rents in these areas, and, houses built here are not the type for giving rent. Houses and huts here are not suitable enough for rent. Most of the settlers here are still engaging in subsistence agriculture and would not put land on sale. The increase in household units is more related to family separation and property divide than in-migrants. During the conflict time, many Brahmin households from here are told to have migrated leaving the property in the hands of Newars of bazaar.

5.11.4 Transforming Wards

Wards 1, 3 and 9 were and have remained the most populated wards of Bhojpur VDC. The feeder road passes through ward 9 to ward 1 and ward 3. With the road construction, lots of *khet* of private holdings were given away for road, and lands near the road were converted from agricultural land to commercial land plots. With the advent of road, land as an asset in Bhojpur VDC attracted investments driven by its increasing monetary value. The availability of land in ward 1, 3 and 9 and the recent introduction to road made these areas suitable for potential land purchasers. These wards recently have experienced lots of new in-migrants both permanently settling and staying on rent. During field work, lots of construction of new houses was observed, these wards had many private schools, and a small market place of its own. These wards were upcoming bazaars of the future. This can be attributed firstly to

high population and availability of land. Secondly, to the increased land sales and transaction, commoditization of agricultural land, and, increased investment in enterprise namely hotels, and retail shops. As the main Bhojpur bazaar had expanded and potential new settlers faced constraints on land availability. Ward one, three and nine were the most potential and promising wards for expansion.

Ward number 1 is composed of four *bastis*, these are Ohdare, Deurali, Pipaldara and Bhangari. This ward is adjunction to ward 2, but comparatively has less of community forest and more of *khet*, here most of its land are stepped terraces and used for rice cultivation. As per the narratives of old residents here, this ward was predominantly a Chhetri settlement, with some Dalits. However, in the past one decade, this ward has changed to Rai settlements.

The increase of Rai ethnic group is prominently felt in this ward, especially in Deurali. The ward which is connected to feeder road and well connected to district road has a junction point, where, a bus and taxi stand is located and surrounding it are lots of inns for rest and restaurants serving food. This ward has been an attraction for residence due to less steepness and more flatness of the land. Land availability was high because Chhetris of this area were migrating permanently to Sunsari, and Morang putting their land on sale.

Among the *bastis* Deurali is the most populated followed by Bhangari. There are the two *bastis* where both out-migration and in-migration can be observed. Out-migration of Chhetri households from Deurali, and, subsequent in-migration of Rais, have, out numbered Chhetris settlers, making Deurali predominantly a Rai ethnic *basti*. Bhangari and Pipaldana are also gaining Rai migrants. Though the entire ward looks like a mixed population of ethnic variation and caste groups, the Odhare settlement is primarily a Tamang settlement, Deurali a Rai settlement, Pipaldara a Dalit settlement and Bhangari has equal magnitude of Rais and Chhetris followed by Tamangs. On the whole, the locals and residents here have identified ward number one as Rai settlement.

Ward 3 comprises of five *bastis* namely Jabbaratole, Kodhar, Dabbalitar, Pachghare and Daragaun. In terms of population size, ward 3 has been the most

populated ward of the VDC. The high population rise and household settlements is result of many factors, firstly, this ward is linked with the bazaar. The extension of the main bazaar includes some part of this ward. Secondly, this ward has well developed network of district roads that connect other VDCs and prime destinations namely: airport, hospital, and main bazaar, and bus stand. A new bus stand has been built in this ward. The Village Development Committee has its office in this ward and weekly market has traditionally been held in this ward every Saturday. During the field observation, most of the construction was taking place here as compared to other wards. Many of the construction were seen near the bus stand and its periphery. Most of the *khet* were converted to land plots, many sold out land plots had house construction undertaken, and many had already started dwelling in the newly built houses. The ward currently stands as the most multi-ethnic across village settlements and characterizes entire ward to be mixed population of different ethnic group and caste as compared to other wards particularly one and nine which are predominantly Tamang and Rai settlements respectively.

Ward 9 comprises of five *bastis*, these are Tanki, Tallokafle, Mathlokafle, Hattigauda, and Lekharkabhamse. This ward is predominantly, Tamang settlement. With the Tamangs, old residents of this ward are Chhetris. Very few Newars can be found here, similarly presence of Rais and Dalits are minimum. The ward has been experiencing out-migration of Chhetris and Tamangs, and in-migration of Tamangs and Sherpas. According to field observation in-migration of Sherpas from the northern part of Bhojpur was a new trend and it was on the rise.

Earlier, ward 9 which stands on the north of the VDC, was a disconnected ward to the main bazaar. But currently, this ward is the main entrance to the VDC after the connection to the feeder road. New infrastructures like petrol pumps, health camp build by the British government and small bazaar is located here. One does not have to walk down to main bazaar. This ward has a Tamang and Sherpa monastery locally called ‘Gumba’ and the very old Siddhakali temple of the Hindus.

All *bastis* in this ward are out numbered by Tamang ethnic group, which characterizes ward number 9 to be predominantly a Tamang basti. After the Tamangs are the Chhetris, but local respondents here tell that Chhetris have been moving out

from this ward and are decreasing in number. New comers to this ward are mainly the Tamangs and Sherpas. In last few years, this ward has experienced new Sherpa settlements, mainly in two *bastis*, Tallokafle and Tanki.

5.12 Discussion

This chapter examines local meanings associated with domestic migration at research site and its magnitude, direction and flow. In doing so, an attempt is made to understand the mobility dynamics. I agree with Subedi (2011), who argues for the comparison of concept and categories of migration based on Western societies and domestic migration in Nepal. I explore the local meanings of *basai*, *basti*, *basai-sarai* and *ghum phir*. I argue that these local meanings find its roots in traditional Nepali society. This also helps explain both forms and types of mobility that are found to be integral part of daily life of Nepalis.

I shed light on domestic migration in the eastern hills of Nepal, where over the years domestic migration has been changing along its measurable dimensions (magnitude, direction and flow). Here, increase in magnitude, shifts in patterns and emerging new flow is evident. Firstly, domestic migration is characterized by increasing number of participants which involves both *basai sarai* and *ghum-phir*, former is associated livelihood diversification and asset accumulation, and the later is associated with sustaining and coping livelihood. Secondly, change in migration direction is prominently noticed. Here, dominant hill to tarai, rural to rural patterns is transforming to rural to nearest town, rural to peri-urban and rural to urban migration pattern.

As much of the migration research work in Nepal is shaped by data available from the secondary sources, this research too uses secondary data available at different data sources. Firstly, it uses the decennial census of Nepal 2001 and 2011. These data are available at the national level. Secondly, it uses the VDC profile published and available at the concerned VDC (VDC profile 2006 and 2016). I argue that these data are static in nature, these only provide data fixed in times. I also argue that migration phenomenon is dynamic in nature, and occurs on a daily basis. A dynamic data, records on daily basis, provides clearer picture of migration as compared to static data. In this context, I agree with Subedi (2011) who mentions that

migration studies in Nepal is unlikely to capture the holistic picture of socio-cultural dynamics of the society because of the lack of comprehensive data, and conceptual clarity. This can be considered as the major constrain to understanding mobility dynamics.

In an attempt to overcome the constraints mentioned above, I discuss the demography of the migration processes. In doing so, I like to mention the ‘demographic transition theory’ as explained by (Lee 1966, Coale 1972) and ‘theory of mobility transition’ of Zielinsky (1971), these mobility transition is a step forward in explaining migration trends and its’ interlinks with social and economic changes. I argue that in the changing context of social and economic environment, migration may have effect on population growth, age composition and population distribution, which are factors absent in demographic and mobility transition theory. Migration is one of the three demographic processes that contribute to population change. It affects population growth, age composition and population distribution. On the reverse, demography of population (its size, growth and composition) may in turn affect magnitude of internal migration of the concerned population and the characteristics of the migrants too. In this chapter, I discuss the demography of the migration processes; this composes of demographic characteristics of migrants and role of demographic factors that shape the migration process. In this concerned case, migration has resulted in population growth; particularly female population has increased more than male. This has been one of the reasons of decreasing fertility of Bhojpur, where women outnumber men. The population of Bhojpur and the associated growth due to migration includes contribution of individuals aged between 15 and 35. This has also shaped the VDC’s population to be younger, and much of the population is made up of age-group under 40. There is a clear indication in this study that migration affects demography in population where other demographic elements such as fertility and mortality are low. In the case of Bhojpur, migration has affected the population growth, age-structure, population distribution, and population composition. Having the baseline year 2001 with a low fertility rate of 0.70, migration has affected all age groups, a nuanced increment of all age-group in population structure was noticed. Apart from age-structure, a significant change in population distribution across nine wards was noticed. This was indicator to changing size of settlement and expanding peri-urban VDC.

5.13 Summary

The chapter puts an emphasis on understanding migration phenomenon at large while unfolding the local realities within the domain of the phenomenon. While an attempt is made to understand the process of migration through local terms and practices, it unfolds the setting of the research site by discussing population and settlement patterns with the help of secondary data. Secondary data available within a decade time from different sources namely the census of 2001 and 2011, and a survey at VDC level taken after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement i.e. after 2006 is used.

According to available secondary data and field observation, Bhojpur district is experiencing high volume of out-migration at district level indicated by decrease in population over a decade with very low population growth rate. However, the district headquarters Bhojpur VDC has different experience at micro level. At macro level when the district is facing population decreases, at micro level, a single Bhojpur VDC is experiencing high population increase over a decade time.

The discussion on in-migration and its implication on population and settlement patterns across different wards of the VDC is an attempt to look at how segregated settlement along ethnic and caste line is changing into multi-ethnic settlement through the process of migration.

It is argued in the chapter that statistics available on migration is predominantly related to permanent migration and foreign labour migrations, and have put temporary migration in the shadow. It is also argued that the available statistics is not enough to capture the dynamics of migration that happens as a daily event.

With the elaboration of different dimensions of migration, an attempt is made to discuss magnitude and direction of the flow of both temporary and permanent migration related to the research site. This gives a nuanced picture of volume, different streams, and patterns of migration in the concerned research site.

Further this chapter sheds light on the demographic dynamics in the research site. These dynamics within population composition exemplified changing population composition of religion and mother tongue of Bhojpur VDC. This indicates that migration process and the associated demographic change has been shaping ethnic composition of the Bhojpur VDC. Lastly, the dynamics of demography in Bhojpur contributes to understand migration processes as an integral part of demographic transition. While fertility and mortality are other major elements of demographic processes, high magnitude of migration penetrating a population can potentially change demographic structures of the concerned population.

CHAPTER SIX

6. MIGRATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Development as Socio-Economic change and Livelihoods

In this chapter, I lay out the socio-economic factors involved and operating at local community and household level associated with internal migration. Various social and economic factors related to determinants and consequences of internal migration are discussed. In doing so, the chapter primarily focuses on local details that have broader implications. The analysis in this chapter is mainly derived from case study approach and fieldnotes.

In the earlier part of this chapter, two cases are presented. This involves the perception of the respondents on the daily lived experiences in the research site. The first case is on the '*durgam* Bhojpur' followed by second case on the '*sugam* Bhojpur'. Both these cases exemplify the changes experienced by residents of the research site. The changes primarily include the structural change experienced by the residents, these changes include both social and economic changes that are associated with migration. Though these changes are primarily brought about by internal migration, the role of international migration and, its interlinkages with internal migration is also considered.

The analysis involved here is at community and household level. At community level, broader socio-economic changes are discussed that includes deconstruction of major two cases presented to elaborate on change in agriculture and expanding markets. At household level, changing social household structure is presented that includes analysis on migrant categories, family composition, and migration and its possible effects at household level across generation and gender. This is followed by discussion on role of remittances and household locational arrangements done during migration. Lastly, the chapter includes the daily lived experience of making a living among the migrant and non-migrant households.

6.1 Migration Process and Development as Changing Socio-Economic Structures at Community Level

6.1.1 Then Durgam now Sugam Bhojpur

6.1.1.1 Durgam Bhojpur: A Case of Out-migration and Its Impact on Origin

In the research site, the development strategies instituted by central government of Nepal, through local institutions at district level namely, the District Development Committee and Village Development Committee had influence over in-migration and out-migration. A few decades earlier prior to 2001, Bhojpur VDC was just an administrative centre of the Bhojpur District. It did not have monetary and commercial system and lacked transportation networks and communication system too. It just had a single district hospital, a campus affiliated to Tribhuvan University, and one private and two public schools within the vicinity of the VDC. Bhojpur bazaar was newly established, and goods sold in the bazaar were brought by the traders with the help of porters carrying all the necessary goods through the north-south trade route that connected Tarai (Udhayapur district) to the historical Taksar bazaar and Bhojpur VDC.

Respondents pictured this condition of Bhojpur VDC as *durgam* (remote). The respondents compared Bhojpur with other places they had information of, where, facilities like electricity, communication, transportation, and, medical and education facilities were available. They often compared it with Dharan and Biratnagar Municipalities. These municipalities were identified as *sugam* (urban). During these times Bhojpur VDC was experiencing out-migration. Particularly, out-migration of second generation (current age 40s-60s) of wealthier families. The out-migration can be traced back to almost three decades earlier, during which the second generation of wealthier families moved down to nearby larger town mainly Dharan and Biratnagar and further to Kathmandu city for higher education. The first generation (current age 80 above), the mothers and fathers remained in the village, and continued with agriculture which was then the main source of livelihoods for most. This scenario was mainly noted for high caste wealthy families. For ethnic groups namely, Rai and Tamang, migration of second generation associated with Indian and British *laure*. This form of migration was for a long period up to 5 years, with eventual return. For those involved in trading (Newars), and occupational caste group (*sharki*, *damai*, and

kami) they associated with cyclical migration. Such migration would happen during the winter season during which agricultural work load was minimum and people would be out of work, eventually returning at the start of new agriculture season. During these days, international migration involved only India and was in very small number.

The volume of out-migration and disengagement of second generation with agriculture generated labour need for the wealthy families to continue with agricultural activities. This gave opportunities for less well-off families seeking productive agricultural land, such lands were available on rent. This rent arrangement was done through *adhiya*, *theeka*, or daily wage agreement between the landlords and tenants. Because the wealthy families had space and resources to accommodate entire families for managing their estate, the families taking up *adhiya* were from peripheral villages of the VDC. *Adhiya* and *theeka* land tenure agreement was seen as opportunities by families who possessed less and unproductive land towards subsistence living in the peripheral VDC. While for wealthier families education and moving away from agricultural to other occupation particularly government jobs and other occupation was seen as opportunity.

The occupational change of second generation of wealthier families involved settling down in towns and cities, which, with passage of time, turned into permanently settling in towns and cities, making a family and living. On a similar note, the ethnic caste groups engaged in *laure* on their return would invest on purchase of land and built house in the upcoming towns and permanently migrate too. The wealthy traders would invest their profits in nearby towns and subsequently settle there. Those involved in cyclical migration would continue to do so, till they had accumulated adequate capital to invest for permanent migration, and for those who did not have subsistence resources for livelihood would rent resources namely land, and work for daily wage as porters in the VDC.

For the wealthy families, the left-behind first generation would take care of the existing homestead and other land properties. In case where first generation too had migrated along with second generation, the homestead was given to immediate family member, or neighbor or even renter in *adhiya* and *theeka*. By the time, some

completely sold their property, some sold it partially and few still retain it completely. It is this migration dynamics, which results much of migrant families to live in bi-local/ multi-local household arrangements. I would elaborate this later. But the major consequence of the out-migration discussed above was that the VDC lost its young skilled, educated members of the community. The VDC also lost local investment and experienced huge capital flight. However, the out-migration also invited new settlers of different class, ones who could buy properties of out-going households, and ones who would rent lands of the out-going households. The out-migration perpetuated in-migration. Further, a decade between 1996 and 2006 aggravated these dynamics of out-migration and in-migration.

6.1.1.2 Sugam Bhojpur: A Case of In-migration and Changing Local Structures

The old Bhojpur VDC as remembered by the respondents was very different from the present Bhojpur VDC where I was doing my fieldwork. In the above section, I mention that previous out-migration was one of the factors perpetuating in-migration. In this section I will support as well as elaborate on other factors that have perpetuated in-migration to Bhojpur VDC. During my fieldwork, I was never deprived of electricity; I had come to the research site via road. I could communicate with mobile phone with my family members back in Kathmandu, and all the more I could use computer, internet and have photocopies and prints. This new Bhojpur VDC has gone through many major changes that can be accounted as a) physical infrastructure, b) expanding settlements (explained in Chapter Five), c) changing population structure (explained in Chapter Five) and expanding market of both goods and labour.

The current population movement into Bhojpur VDC in the recent years reflects the structural changes brought about by development strategies instituted by the government of Nepal, through local institutions at district level namely, the line ministry offices, District Development Committee and Village Development Committee. After the peace agreement, Bhojpur VDC had been electrified again, which it had lost during the times of armed conflict. Telecommunication has also been repaired and new mobile telecommunication towers have been placed. One of the major structural developments was feeder road connecting Bhojpur VDC/Bhojpur

District to Hila VDC/Dhankuta District. This entirely developed transport sector, which created other opportunities like bus service, goods carrier services, tractor services, and a new transportation network. Bhojpur is now facilitated with local transportation network too, and here jeeps are used to commute passengers to different locations covered by the district road network. Bus services were provided for long distance travel, this included major cities namely Dharan, Biratnagar and Kathmandu, and near by hill towns namely Dhankuta and Itahari.

The bazaar as explained by a local businessman has been three times bigger in size as compared to the bazaar ten years earlier. The traders here no longer use porters to carry the goods to be traded. These days, Suraj trucks are used for good transportation from Tarai towns and cities to Bhojpur bazaar. With the expansion of good market, restaurants and guest houses/hotels were new established enterprises. Though there were food shops of smaller size earlier, restaurants and guest houses/hotels did not exist in Bhojpur bazaar. Other new institutions included financial institutions namely banks and money transfers.

Bhojpur got three more private schools catering to the increasing demand of educational services and has one more private hospital. Today, Bhojpur is an upcoming urban centre for its district. This change that has taken place with time has reduced the existing spatial-opportunity differentials, and access differentials with other urban centers and nearest town which was repetitively mentioned in the interviews conducted here as major determinants for out-migration. The socio-economic structural changes as described in this section have been the prime determinants of in-migration from rural villages to Bhojpur VDC (currently Bhojpur municipality).

Both types of migration forms *ghum-phir* and *basai-sarai* were noted down. Those involved in *ghum-phir* were from the least well-off economic stratum. This migration period is as long as four months or less. The migration specially takes place during the winters for daily wage in local brick kiln, housing construction site and other manual labor. People of less well-off economic stratum involved in *adhiya* and *theeka*, such households would not have adequate land at possession for subsistence livelihood, and would take land on rent in *adhiya* tenure or *theeka* tenure

arrangements with present or absentee landlords. These members of migrant households would also work off-farm and get involved in informal labour market. This category also included migrant households who are in VDC on rent and had a member of its family migrated out-of district or is abroad on international labour migration. The last category of migrants was the well-off, they would be on rent, would have land and housing in their respective origin, and relied on a fixed income from formal sector employment. These category of migrants were, teachers, government officers, working in financial institutes and taking up rent for long term and others who were engaged in establishing small micro enterprise mainly wholesale shops of variety of goods, and eatery shops.

Those involved in *basai sarai* were the well-off migrants, many have ancestral property in their respective origin, and had invested on new property as asset accumulation in the VDC, others would have sold their ancestral property and would arrive with *basai sarai* in VDC. These were permanent migrant households. They mainly invest on new housings, where they live and let others live by renting out spare rooms of their newly built house on rent to temporary migrants mentioned above. These spare rooms were also occupied by higher secondary and college student migrants. These were the categories of in-migrants. The temporary migrants mainly belonged to third generation (Current age 20s and 30s), while permanent migrant belonged to both second generation and third generations.

6.1.2 Changing Structures of Agricultural Activities

6.1.2.1 Declining traditional farm work arrangements

Over the years, native residents have experienced monetization of general farm work activities (weeding and planting, digging, and ploughing). This had significant impact on traditional practices namely *arma-parma*, which involved exchange of labour between members of houses with similar needs in farm work. This traditional practice concerns exchange labour relationship, where, participating household trade their labour for the labour of others. *Arma-parma* primarily involved men to work collectively for accomplishing farm tasks that could not be done individually. The exchange of labour for labour or for payment in grains is noticed to have considerably declined. Labour is exchanged, but, for money. Households in

shortage of labour employed labourers on daily basis during the agricultural season. Households that were facing labour shortage included those who possessed large amount of *khet* lands (more than 20 ropanies). The issue of labour shortage related to disengagement of first generation with active involvement in agriculture because of their age, and, occupation change of second generation who had migrated. The shortage of labour issues is partly resolved by in-migrants who take up available land of absentee landowner or owners with larger amount of land on *adhiya* and *theeka* land tenure arrangement. These in-migrants are primarily attracted to higher off-farm work which pays higher wages than regular farm work, but working on farm and renting land on *adhiya* and *theeka* are a part of living arrangements in Bhojpur VDC.

6.1.2.2 Monetization of Farm work

During the field observation, it was seen that general farm work activities primarily involved weeding, planting, ploughing, digging, harvesting and storage of grains, maize and wheat. Each of these farm activities had a wage rate attached to it. Monetization of farm work has implication for cost of agricultural production. Respondents informed that cost of agricultural production is increasing due to rise in price of wage labour, and benefit from farming is declining.

Table 6.1 Rate of Wage Labour: Comparison between 2001 and 2011

Activity	Wage labour rate 2001	Wage labour rate 2011
Weeding and Planting	Rs 50 plus 3 meals a day	Rs 300 plus 3 meals a day
Digging	Rs 50	Rs 400 plus 3 meals a day (male) Rs 300 plus 3 meals a day (female)
Ploughing	Rs 200	Rs 800
Mason	Rs 300	Rs 1000

Source: Field Notes, 2013

6.1.2.3 Land Tenure Adhiya and Theeka

During the field work, two basic forms of land tenure relations were observed. These were: a) *Adhiya*, and b) *Theeka*. Other type of arrangements was *Jayala too*. *Adhiya* is sharecropping, where the landowner and tenant share the cost, benefit and

risk equally. In this arrangement half of the produced is given to the owner and other half is retained by the tenant. Further a hut within the vicinity of the rented land would also be provided to the tenants for free of cost. The owner can not change the crop share, and tenant has to cultivate crop of owner's choice (crops were mainly rice, maize and wheat).

The *theeka* is an arrangement associated with fixed rent on the land acquired by tenant for rent. Here, the owner bears no risk and is purely a renter. This type of arrangement is a contract on yearly basis. During the period of contract, it was common understanding that owners would not be allowed to change the rent. Even in conditions of selling the land, the owners should give priority to the renting household.

The *jyala* arrangement involved owner-operator relation. Here, owner hired labour as and when needed on fixed daily wage. In this case the owner beared all risk and reaped all the profit. Workers here generally involved individuals from different households.

Across these three types of arrangment, *adhiya* and *theeka* were taken up by migrant households. Such households comprised of husband, wife and children. *Adhiya* was taken up of rich households who possessed large amount of land. Such household had the old generation members left behind and subsequently next generation been out-migrants. *Theeka* was taken up of those households who retained land at origin but had their entire family members (both generation) out-migrated.

These types of arrangements were part of making a living in the district headquarters for in-migrant households. The benefit of such arrangements is that, such household secures a long-term stay in the district headquarters where access to other facilities and opportunities are available. Health, education, off-farm employment, access to market and even entertainment were prominent advantages for migrant households. Even though return from agriculture is less when compared to off-farm work, in-migrant households involved in such land tenure arrangement.

Landlords engaged in *theeka* arrangement come once in a year to collect the rent or there are others who would assign their relatives or neighborhood friend to collect the rent. Households involved in these tenure arrangements were young (18-35 years). During the fieldwork, informants mentioned that such arrangements were declining due to the increase in price of wage-labour. Increase in wage-labour is making agriculture production costlier, whereas, value of the product is declining due to cheaper gains imported from Tarai.

6.1.2.4 Decline of Cultivation on Far Away Land

Migrant households were not keen on renting lands that were located at a distance of hour walk. Lands taken for rent were around the residence of renter. This resulted in the reduction of the area taken up for farming and farming activities were primarily concentrated in the vicinity of residence. For those households facing constraints of labour shortage for agriculture, the most viable solutions taken were either completely stall cultivation, or rent out lands or sell the land. As these lands were far away from the bazaar center, price of the land was comparatively less.

As farming got concentrated around the residence (exception of main bazaar), this made grazing of large livestock difficult. These days' common issues across wards were lessening grazing fields. For those households under *adihya* and *theeka*, large livestock were profitable. The native residents informed that large livestock were declining due to less grazing fields. In order to keep up with the fodder needed for livestock, and secure fuel for cooking (98 percent of households in the VDC used firewood for cooking), planting trees on private and community initiative is noticeable.

6.1.2.5 Increase in Fallow Land

As described above, the noticeable changes in land use patterns was the unused land. The informants for this research mentioned that fallow lands were increasing. Fallow lands were mostly observed in remote parts of the VDC. Declining involvement in agriculture wage labour is resulting more incidences of fallow land (mainly land far away from residence area). This is also driven by declining interest in

renting low productive land. The observations noted only high quality and high productivity lands were taken up for *adhiya* or *theeka*. Households renting land assured that their invested labour should have satisfactory return.

6.1.2.6 Decrease in Number of Large Livestock

The lessening areas available for grazing, difficulties in collecting sufficient fodder for feeding cattle, and, associated labour and time constraint is making rearing of large livestock difficult. Keeping large livestock is becoming difficult for both native and migrant households. Most of the households interviewed reported decline in livestock. While large livestock is in decline, small livestock (pigs, goats and chickens) are still being reared. The interest in small livestock is for private consumption and a means of quick money for other immediate household consumption. While livestock has been on decline, households have access to milk, whey, yogurt and other meat products in the market. These products are made available from increasing farm enterprises being established by the returned international migrants.

6.1.2.7 Establishment of farm enterprises

Farming enterprise is new in the VDC as explained by the enterprise owners. These enterprises are of medium scale. I visited two such enterprises; these enterprises were established and operated by return international migrants. One enterprise engaged in dairy production and other farmed fish, pigs and chicken. The owners had taken 4-6 *ropanis* of land on lease for a decade and established these enterprises. Such enterprises generated employment too. Dairy farm employed 3 persons and fish, pigs and chicken farm employed one person and a household comprising of husband and wife. Such enterprises are new avenue for investments, where primarily return migrants are seen to be involved.

6.1.3 Market effects

6.1.3.1 Expanding and Thriving goods market

Bhojpur bazaar was set up just 30 years ago. According to a Moktan family, their ancestors were one of the first settlers in the current bazaar; their forefathers were the first to initiate a small shop here. The shop locally was identified as *Bhote pasal*. Today *Bhote pasal* is the name of the tole in which their shop is located. A senior most member of the family mentioned that “*the bazaar had not been established when my grandfather established a small shop to provide goods not available locally*”.

According to the native residents of bazaar, the bazaar started to grow from early 1990s with the establishment of Newar *basti* from Dhulikhel of Kavre district. The first enterprises established were retail shops providing cloths and utensils. However, the growing bazaar stopped to grow during the armed conflict, during which most of the wealthy traders migrated out to safer places. During the fieldwork, I experienced a different bazaar. The bazaar is thriving; it has made available consumer goods of all varieties and kinds. The previous cloths and utensil bazaar has transformed to include goods of modern days namely TVs, refrigerator, computers, and mobiles. This depicts the rise of modern day consumption goods. This change pertained to investments made in bazaar area after the armed conflict.

Today, majority of the shops in the bazaar are wholesale shops, which also provide retail services to their daily customers of the locality. A wholesaler explained that 90 percent of the imported goods are first transported to the bazaar and then distributed to retailers. The retail shops were much smaller and were established at different localities across wards and neighboring VDCs. The wholesale-retail link between two household enterprises established a connection between bazaar and different hamlets in and across VDCs. The bazaar was the central node in this network, and other retail shops were different sub-nodes. This depicts not only connecting shops in VDCs but an established distribution channel of daily consumption goods. According to the president of Business Chamber of Commerce of Bhojpur, Mr. Shrestha (a respondent to this research) said that this network is likely to expand in coming years with the increasing district road network. He also mentioned

that, there were around 700 members in the Chamber of Commerce. The member enterprises ranged from small shop owners to import traders and farm enterprises. He mentioned that back in 2006 they were only 100 members, and during his tenure he aims for 1000 membership. He reported that though the membership is open and inclusive, they were many established businesses who have voluntarily excluded themselves. He said *“my priority during my tenure as president is to bring more businessmen under the umbrella of the Chamber of Commerce”*. For what can be observed in bazaar, and information collected here reveals that business environment is evolving, thriving and expanding.

6.1.3.2 Haat bazaar

Locally known as *sanibare haat*, an open-air market was held every Saturday in Ward number three. This market served as a trading venue for locals as well as people from other adjoining VDCs. Haat in Bhojpur is conducted on a weekly basis. The venue of this bazaar is managed and organized by the Bhojpur VDC, which is seen to support and promote trading by and with local people and people from other VDCs.

Picture 6.1 Haat Bazaar



Source: Field Work, 2014

One of the temporary migrant respondents mentioned:

“Saturday hattiya (haat), people from different vdc’s come and sell their stuff here. Even till now, this is the most important place for trading. Before, from Koth VDC, we

used to get our goods to sell here, rice, beaten rice, kodo, maize. All of these are sold here. Now that vehicle is available, goods are brought and delivered from and to other vdc's too....."

Some of the observations recorded in fieldnotes is as follows:

"Taking advantage of the water availability in Parpani, most of the people here is engaged in tomato cultivation. Most of the household here are busy in cultivation, and the production is good. All these tomatoes are sold in the weekly Haat Bazaar in Bhojpur VDC ward no.3. Tomatoes are in high demand and it fetches good price. Specially during the winters, which is not so favorable season for the fruit, the price is high, it sometimes reaches hundred rupees a kg. The average price is around sixty rupees around the year." (Fieldnotes, 2014).

"Especially during Saturdays, the people here utilize the day by shopping rations in the Haat" (Fieldnotes, 2014).

In weekly holiday, i.e. Saturday, for most of the people in Bhojpur, it's a late rising, but for those who depend on the income generated from haat market, people from very far away VDCs start walking as early as 4 am in the morning to get their goods in Haat Bazaar. Haat Bazaar is the oldest bazaar attended by the buyers to buy their weekly needed rations, and other items that are not really available in Bhojpur bazaar during the week days.

Local markets like haat, is seen to be popular with both residents and non-residents of the Bhojpur VDC. Those engaged in this weekly bazaar are mainly farmers, micro-entrepreneurs, and shoppers. Those who have farm products to sell such as cereals, rice, maize, vegetables, meat, fish, and most importantly locally produced good and even readymade garments are done here. This bazaar gives access to local traders that would have been difficult otherwise because of difficult transportation to other bigger bazaars.

It is observed that the farmers directly meet the consumers in the bazaar; this has financially benefitted farmers directly. Shoppers are attracted to this weekly bazaar because the market provides fresh vegetables and other rations at a

comparatively less price than week day shopping from any retail shops around the wards.

6.1.3.3 Labour market and Increasing wage

Picture 6.2 Construction Workers



Source: Field Work, 2014

While walking through the VDC, one of the most noticeable things is new house construction, road construction, metal roofs replacing traditional straw roofs, and new concrete houses. This indicates the increasing construction activities in VDC. The increasing construction sites generated demand for unskilled and semiskilled labourers. These were wage based works, an

integral part of most of the off-farm works in construction site. The off-farm activities in construction sites involved digging, stone chipping, mason and carpentry. Digging and stone chipping were unskilled category while mason and carpenter were semiskilled. The wage rates associated with unskilled works were lower than wage rate of semiskilled. The unskilled types of construction labourer were highly in demand. Primarily temporary migrants involved in *adhiya* and *theeka* were involved in these activities. While construction activities were at its peak during winter, and, farm demanded less work, migrants from remote village comes to the VDC, rent a room for few months and get involved in the labour market.

There is also increasing demand for semi-skilled labour as a part of rising constructions seen in VDC, these were locally called *mistris* (carpenters and mason). The native residents of Bhojpur were facing constraints of shortage of semiskilled labourers. The wages for both unskilled and semiskilled is negotiable but it had a fixed minimum threshold. In-migration has not been able to fulfill this shortage of labour, and this relates to shortage of local labour due to high out-migration at district level. In the labour market of unskilled labourer, no gender disparities were seen as

regards to the involvement of male and female across activities. But, wage disparities for the same work did exist. However, the wage had increased for both male and female over the ten years.

6.1.3.4 Land and Housing Market

Over the last decade, one of the most significant effects that migration has had in Bhojpur VDC is the increasing land price and the subsequent increase in housing construction. These are contributing to urbanization of Bhojpur VDC. Over the last ten years, land price has increased exponentially. According to a native resident of ward 8, who is a land broker, the price of land (except land of bazaar area) in 2001 was around 1-2 *lakhs* per *ropani*, now the price of land is 2-3 *lakhs* per *ana*.

Currently, price of land in the bazaar area is extremely expensive and very less land transaction is noticed. New migrants who aspire to settle permanently in Bhojpur look for less expensive land. The wards 1, 2, 3 and 9 are the prime areas where land transaction is high, and, settlements are seen to be expanding. These wards as mentioned in Chapter five are taking on new identities with the increasing in-migration of many households from one caste/ethnic groups. Across these wards there has been a rapid increase in land transaction in the last five years. This gives a picture of pressure on land within these wards. Much of the *khets* in these wards are now plotted by the owner and are put on sale through extended family members, village friends, and other acquaintances.

The supply of land is associated with increase of price of land, decreasing agricultural productivity and return from agriculture, and, occupational change of supply-side households. The demand of land is associated with increasing interest and aspiration to invest and live in towns, supported by economic success from foreign employment of migrant member of the demand side household. Purchase of land was subsequently followed by building a house on it. The Bhojpur VDC is experiencing a building boom. Though it's the contractors mainly benefiting from such individual projects, this is generating increase demand for labour.

Over the last ten years, renting rooms has become an emerging phenomenon in the VDC. The building boom is associated with the increase in demand for living space in the VDC. For many permanent migrant households in past 10 years, who invest in building a house are extracting returns by renting rooms on monthly bases to temporary migrants (long and short stay)

6.1.3.5 Financial Market

Land sales and purchase over the last five years has interesting implication for financial market. For the last three decades, Bhojpur VDC had only one government bank (Rastriya Banijya Bank) particularly serving the local traders and civil servants. In these five years prior to fieldwork of this research, Bhojpur has got four private banks. This increase in bank is primarily associated with large amount of money deposited as a result of land sales. Over this same period, five money transfers have been established in Bazaar. These money transfers are primarily associated with receiving remittances and sending money from this VDCs to others VDCs or districts. The increasing money transfer also depicts the volume of monetary remittances¹³ flowing in the VDC.

As financial market is growing, so is the business in the Bhojpur bazaar. The bazaar as explained earlier is becoming a hub for the flow of goods from Tarai to other smaller pocket markets in the district. As financial market is supporting the bazaar businesses, traders now forecasts the business will grow more.

6.1.3.6 Services Sector

Transportation, Healthcare and education were three aspects of service sector that are continuously growing in Bhojpur. Over the ten years, 4 private schools have been newly established, adding to total of 7 schools, including the 2 community based government schools. Likewise, a private hospital has been established to fulfill the increasing demand of health services. Prior to the establishment of private hospital, a

¹³ The VDC profile of 2006 records 111 international labour migrants and total remittances received Rs 1,78,99,000. The 2016 VDC profile records for 223 labour migrants and total volume as Rs 4,89,07,000

government district hospital was the only health service provider catering to the demands of the district.

Similarly, transportation of goods and people is growing within and across the district. With the result of road constructions Bhojpur district is linked to Dhankuta district and Bhojpur VDC is linked to other neighboring VDC. This increase in road network has resulted in investment of traders in transportation business. A total of 16 buses provide transportation service from Bhojpur to different urban centre (Dharan, Itahari, Biratnagar, Kathmandu), similarly jeeps provide transportation service from Bhojpur VDC to remote VDCs of the district reachable by the district road. Transportation of goods was done by 17 tractors.

These services attract people from remote villages to settle within the district headquarters. Over the last five years, transportation sector has created much new off-farm employments. This employment particularly related to management and operation of the transport. Being a driver, a driver's helper (conductor), were new aspirations for those who wanted to work in informal sector. Similarly, tea shops, hotels and food outlets were in demand by the rise of transportation. These were the combination of opportunities made available by the changing service sector.

6.2 Migration and Social Development: Household Level Effects

6.2.1 Family Composition

As discussed in chapter five, the sex ratio in Bhojpur VDC is uneven. This particularly is attributed to men out-migrants and female in-migrants. This has consequences that impact the organization of family. To examine the consequences, three category of family composition is identified for this study: a) nuclear family, b) extended family, and c) multiple family household units.

6.2.1.1 Nuclear Family Household Units

This form of family composition comprises of one married couple with children. This composition is observed in temporary migrant, permanent migrant and non-migrant households. The first type is those migrant household units engaged in

adhiya and *theeka*. As *adhiya* and *theeka* arrangements demand labour, a single man or woman does not engage in such land tenure. It is observed that such a household unit hire labour to manage 10-20 ropani of land. The agricultural work is distributed among family members, where, even children above age of 10 are engaged in task such as watering kitchen garden, grazing small livestock, and collecting twigs from forest.

Another type of temporary migrant households in nuclear composition were engaged in higher income occupation such as government civil jobs, teacher, and small business enterprise such as wholesale, retail shops, tea-food shops. These households do not engage in agriculture at the destination, however, at the origin their homestead is taken care of by the left-behind members of the family. The interviews of the migrant households show that migrants have stake at the origin. Previous generation and those left behind are asked to take care of their lands, properties and assets at the origin. While migrating, the migrants leave back their share of inheritance, if those are formally transferred to them by their parents. While the parents take care, the migrating members derive, as well as give back the left-behind at origin. The left-behind provides migrants with some part of the produced in kind or cash, while, migrants take care of the basic needs of the left-behind members' basic needs particularly clothing, electronic goods, and health. For those left-behind who are living in subsistence and are not in condition to contribute, the migrants at destination do not receive any contribution.

Yet another nuclear family composition was mother with children, and absentee husband. Though temporarily women are the household heads, women with school attending children depend on remittances from the migrant husbands. Such household were temporarily separated from the extended family members to educate their children.

6.2.1.2 Extended Family Household Unit

The composition of this family type is characterized by one couple, and their parents and children. This type of family composition is particularly seen in non-migrants and permanent migrants. A common pattern observed among such families

is that parents were retired, the children were involved in high income generation occupation, particularly trade, and grandchildren were school going kids. Such families have comparatively more durable assets as compared to other family types and property would be transferred to the children in future.

Compared with the non-migrant families of this composition, the permanent migrants had lesser land under their ownership. Permanent migrants were mainly involved in high income generation occupation such as teacher, traders and shop owners. Due to less access to land, permanent migrants would not be engaged in agriculture at destination.

The last kind of composition of extended type family is: son is foreign migrant labour, has left-behind parent and wife. This pattern was common in artisan group (*damai, kami, sarki*). Such family entirely depended on remittance in case of foreign labour migrant husband or return of the male migrant.

6.2.1.3 Multiple Family Household Units

This form of household composition included parents and two married couple. This was uncommon in Bhojpur VDC. This type of condition was seen in few households where both the sons were in migration and their wives were living with the parents. Such family too totally depended in remittances and did not directly involve in agriculture. The shortage of manpower in such households was substituted by hiring wage labour as needed.

6.2.2 Locational Arrangements of Families

The changing household composition as consequences of migration relates to decomposition of families of the household for settlement and making a living at different locations. One way of understanding this issue is to consider a single household unit to comprise of many families i.e. couples belonging to different generation and their children. A common pattern observed in the household is that different generations were making a living at different locations. This in turn

depended on resources available, occupation, social network and livelihood generation.

This dynamics is look upon as multi-locational household arrangements. For example, the left-behind first generation has the subsequent second generation out-migrated and settled in different location. In situations where first and second generation of the household unit was non-migrants, the subsequent third generations were migrating for better education. This resulted in famiy belonging to same household were living at different locations for different reasons.

To analyze this phenomenon, I differentiate migration according to duration of stay at destination. Different migration forms such as *ghum-phir* (seasonal short term), *non basai sarai* (long term temporary), and *basai sarai* (permanent) are taken into consideration for examination. For those engaged in *ghum phir*, this form of migration involved people living in remote villages of far away VDCs. As agricultural work load is minimal during the winter, migrants stay at Bhojpur VDC on rent for 4-5 months and work as wage labourers. At the origin, the left-behind members depend on the production at origin and look forward for migrant's income upon return. The absence of migrant member from the household first reduces consumption of one person at the origin. The migrant at the destination arranges his own living, away from family. Upon return, the migrant adds on to the income of the household by contributing in cash as well as kind (cloths, household utensils, and rations). The left-behind contribute by maintain the house, and management of agricultural production at the origin.

Those engaged in *non basai sarai*, use multi-locational arrangement to have access to facilities and better well-being at the destination. Firstly, they engage in land-tenure which secures their long term (minimum one year) stay at the destination. Those involved in land tenure engage in sharecropping and off-farm work. During agriculture season they work on farm, and during off-season they work as wage labourers. Such families usually have properties particularly land at their origin. At the origin, it's the left-behind who take care of their assets. In such cases, left-behind are family members of the same household unit, i.e. parents and siblings family. The migrated family re-unites with the family at origin during festivals and other rituals,

such as birth, marriage and death. There is constant interaction between left-behind stayers and movers in terms of flow and counter flow of goods in kind and cash.

The *basai sarai* form of migration pertains to permanent migration. In this the entire household or individual can migrate to destination and change settlement. For wealthy lots, the property at origin is retained and is taken care of by renter, relatives, friends or neighbors. In case of *basai-sarai* of only second generation, first generation stays behind and takes care of the left behind assets. There are also cases where properties are completely sold off upon *basai sarai*. In such cases the migrating household completely lets go origin and settles at destination.

6.2.3 Generation and Migration

In this research, I categorize the studied population into four generations. The first generation includes persons of age group 70 and above. The second generation includes persons of age groups in between 40 and 60. The third generation includes persons in between 20 and 30. The fourth generation includes age group under 20. This categorization of the population is done to get a nuanced picture of which generation gets involved in what type of migration. It helps understand who movers are and who stayers are, and what occupational background they are from and which caste and ethnic groups they belong to.

6.2.3.1 First Generation

Very few households have members belonging to this category in the VDC. Among the respondent households participating in this study, only 8 percent belong to this generation. The respondent of this generation are mainly non-migrants and returnees. The subsequent second generation are absent for most of the first generation household members. These members were also dependent on the second generation for management of the housing property, and land they possessed and daily maintenance. They were frequently taken care of by the second generation in terms of running the estate by providing monetary help, and health care by sending medicine, needed clothing and daily consumer goods considered costly or not available locally. Further, members of second generation made visits, especially

during the time of festivals. It is not uncommon for first generations to visit their second-generation family members.

The respondents of this generation informed that they were in the good old days, primarily involved in agriculture. It is mentioned that households who were in need of access to fertile land from other VDCs were involved in sharecropping agreements in their lands. Among this generation, high castes were involved in combination of agriculture and civil jobs, ethnic groups namely Rais and Tamangs were involved in military services in India and Britain. Their lands were given on rent under *adhiya* agreement. During fieldwork, very few of the households in this generation had both husband and wife. 60 percent of the first generation respondents were widows, 20 percent widowers and other 20 percent couple.

The main reasons for staying behind are their want to stay back in village for good air, water and food. They have difficulties in integration in urban settings where they face isolation while other family members are busy involved in their daily activities. The absence of second generation pertains to *basai-sarai* (permanent out-migration) and involvement in different occupation than the first generation. These occupations are formal civil government jobs, business establishment and professional jobs namely doctor, teaching in colleges and media sector. Those second-generation permanent out-migrants still retain assets (land and house) in their place of origin. This is taken care of by the first-generation household members. In cases where no first-generation members are available, the assets are taken care of by non-migrant second generation relatives, neighbors or friends.

Not all second generation of first generation left-behind members have permanently out-migrated. Those second-generation household members having first generation members too belong to same occupation that of the first. This pattern is particularly seen among households involved in trading business. Such business had been established by the first generation and are now continued and expanded by the second generation. It can be inferred that occupation change was not required for the second-generation members as the household were deriving best returns from the enterprise they were engaged in.

The respondents categorized as first generation for this study belonged to high caste Chhetri, and ethnic group Tamangs and Newars.

6.2.3.2 Second Generation

The second generation comprised of persons belonging to age group 40s, 50s and 60s. This generation is further categorized into out-migrant households, in-migrant households, returnees, and non-migrant households.

6.2.3.2.1 Out-migrant Household units

The out-migrant households were not visible; their information could be collected through non-migrants and their first-generation household members present in the research site during the fieldwork. For those out-migrants whose first-generation member is present in the VDC, their contribution to the left-behind members could be noticed in many forms. The contribution pertained to the maintenance of left-behind members through monetary and nonmonetary remittances. Nonmonetary remittances were particularly visible artifacts they possessed e.g. mobile, TV, maintenance of house, managing farm activities through hiring or sharecropping by investing in agriculture and collective decision making. Their maintained health condition and daily consumption were contributed by the migrant members. This depicts a strong connection between out-migrants and left-behind members.

6.2.3.2.2 In-migrant household units

The in-migrant households were further categorized into basai sarai households (permanent migration), *non basai sarai* households (long term temporary migration), *ghum-phir* (seasonal migration), returnees (permanent return migration) and non-migrants.

a. Basai-Sarai

These households were permanent migrant household units who happened to purchase land and built houses between 2001 and date of fieldwork (Nov, 2013).

These households were involved in formal and artisan occupation, retail shops, and also generated extra income by renting rooms to temporary migrants staying on long term or short-term basis. They belonged to mainly ethnic groups Rai, Tamangs and Sherpa, and, artisan group *damai*, *kami* and *sarki*. Very few high caste Brahmins and Chhetris are in this category.

b. Non *Basai-sarai*

These were long term temporary migrant household units comprised of skilled, semi-skilled and un-skilled migrant members, engaged in government jobs, teaching, non-government organization, financial institutes. Those who were semi-skilled had small enterprises concerned with repairing electronic goods, electrician and carpentry workshops. Unskilled were involved in *adhiya* and *theeka* (share cropping).

c. *Ghum-phir*

These were individual migrants and not migrant household units. These individuals were unskilled laborers. They were involved in construction works and earned daily wages. They were in VDC for period of four months and would return back to the origin at the beginning of new agriculture season.

d. Returnees

This generation category also involved returnees of international labour migration. These individuals were involved in farming start-ups, transportation services, and wholesale shops. The investments happening in new enterprises were contribution of the returnees. These returnees were permanently returned migrants, who had made firm decision of not going back for other rounds of labour migration. This mainly involves persons from ethnic groups and even artisan groups.

6.2.3.2.3 Non-migrants

The last categorization of the second generation is non-migrants. To differentiate this group across caste and ethnic group, and occupational spectrum is fuzzy. However, what could be observed during the fieldwork is that the non-migrants were mainly involved in combination of trade and agriculture, formal job and

agriculture, contractors, land sale and purchase, artisan jobs (tailoring, cobbler, blacksmith and goldsmith).

What makes this category non-migrant is an interesting issue on its own rights. The persons belonging to this generation have not been so well educated. They have not ventured out of the families' traditional occupation either. However, they have been satisfied on what their consumption and income levels are. The advantage the non-migrants have and that are seen prominently are durable assets like land and house, investments in already established businesses like trade and wholesale shops. Another notable adding to their advantage is the skills they possess, that particularly relates to the artisan group. Many of the respondents of this category informed that they could do much better here than in other places.

6.2.3.3 Third Generation

This category comprised of persons belonging to age group between 20 and 30. This generation was involved in both out-migration and in-migration. These migrations were related to labour migration abroad, education migration to urban areas, and labour migration to Bhojpur VDC.

6.2.3.3.1 Out-migrants

Those persons of this generation who were children of the second generation non-migrants were currently educational migrants who were not present in the VDC. Those who were of this generation with less than secondary education were engaged in labour migration abroad or India.

6.2.3.3.2 In-migrants

This group comprised of in-migrant household units. These in-migrations were non *basai sarai* types (temporary in-migrant for long term). This group also included women headed household units whose husbands were in international labour migration. The members of long term temporary migrant household units engaged in *adhiya* or *theeka*. They also worked off farm as unskilled labours. The women head

households rented rooms, and were involved in semi-skilled occupations namely tailoring, and retail shops. Apart from household units, individual migrants who were higher secondary and college students rented room and educated themselves in Bhojpur.

6.2.3.3.3 Temporary Returnee Migrants

One of the most interesting categories with this generation is the individual who was identified as temporary returnee from successful foreign labour migration. These returnees still aspired and were making arrangements to migrate again. The second round of foreign labour migration would be to a new destination.

6.2.3.4 Fourth Generation

The last generational category is the fourth generation. This age group included kids, school going children and college going students. The persons engaged in higher secondary schools and colleges were in-migrants from remote villages. They aspired to get better education in Bhojpur. They rented rooms for the duration of study and eventually after completion, they make other decisions about their future.

The school going primary and secondary school children are from different social backgrounds. These were children of temporary migrants involved in wage labour, *adhiya* and *theeka*, they attended public community schools, while, children from wealthy family attended private education. The children belonging to households engaged in *adhiya* and *theeka* were seen to do household works such as grazing cattle during holidays, watering plants of the *bari*, feeding the small livestock.

6.2.4 Gender and Migration

In Bhojpur, male international migration is higher than female migration. Here majority of migrants are males, but to say that women stay in villages with their parents or parent in-laws is contextual. In case of *basai sarai*, the wife is seen to accompany their husbands. Similarly, for those involved in *adhiya* and *theeka* land tenure arrangements, women accompany their husbands during the period of

migration. Apart from these types of migration, significant number of married women with school attending children were temporarily residing on rent and providing education to their children. The husbands of these women were abroad in labour migration. Women in migration also included college student. These were students who had successfully completed higher secondary education and continued education at bachelor's level.

6.2.4.1 Left- Behind Wives

Wives of migrant husbands, particularly of those involved in foreign labour migration stayed with their in-laws. However, wives with school going children were more mobile and stayed away from the in-laws. Those wives who were newly married, or who did not have children were left behind under the care of in-laws. Interviews of migrant women in Bhojpur whose husband were abroad mentioned that staying with in-laws is difficult, mainly because of higher workload and responsibility of being a daughter-in-law. Interview with migrant women also reveals that prime reason of migrating to district headquarters is for educating their children.

For those women newly married staying with parent in laws, migration of husband changed the wife's possibility to exercise mobility in the new environment. A strong attachment with the family of origin is also an issue of emotions. Further to get acquainted with family members and relatives of husband's side takes time. Interviews show that absence of husband, dependency on in-laws, isolation were other social issues for women living with in-laws.

6.2.4.2 Migrant left-behind wives

The situations of women with school attending children and migrant husband (foreign labour) were different. These women were migrant wives, living in district headquarters to educate their children. At the district headquarters, such women rent rooms and become the decision maker. They also involve themselves in small scale enterprises such as tea shop, retail shops, and provide tailoring service. Most of them are dependent on remittances and engage in business for extra income. These women

were not seen working as wage labours, nor were they involved in agricultural activities.

During holidays, and festivals, they return back to in-laws. The in-laws would also make frequent visit to see the grandchildren when time and resources permitted.

6.2.4.3 Migrant Wives with Husbands

Situation of women accompanying their husband on long term temporary migration were different from the above-mentioned ones. These household units engaged in *adhiya* or *theeka*, women of these households engaged in agricultural tasks during all the seasons. They were found to do more tasks than men of their household. They were involved in activities such as domestic work, child caring, agricultural work, collecting firewood, water, fodder and cooking.

During the non-agricultural season, they also got themselves involved in construction site as unskilled wage labourers. Within the space of household decision making, women had influence over issues related to agricultural work, and preferences on food. These women also involved themselves in trade in weekly *haat* bazaar. In case of surpluses of vegetables grown in the rented *bari*, and small livestock raising, these items were traded in *haat* bazaar. This was a quick income for the household.

6.2.5 Remittances

At the household level, remittances are seen to contribute significantly to all households engaged in migration. The remittances were used for daily consumption, education of children, health expenses at time of sickness, investment on small enterprise and investment on land purchases and housing. Different migration types are associated with remittances differently on their own rights. For households engaged in Indian army, money was brought back upon the return of the household member during his break from the services. Money was also sent through the hands of returning friend of the same village. Similar practice was seen with labour migrants working in India. In absence of migrating household member, the left-behind family

members would rely on what they possess and produce, and even take financial help from friends. Upon return, the migrants bring back cash income, and, repay the debt of the left-behind members. Those households' whose member is engaged in foreign labour migration receive remitted cash through money transfer. It is mentioned that the money is received generally on quarterly basis. The cash transfer was done through money transfer agents in the bazaar.

Remittance is seen as an additional income and is also considered to be diversification and securing household income. However, remittance was used differently by households belonging to different economic status. For the households who were near landless, remittance helped them in acquiring daily necessities. These households belonged to artisan group, and had a male member migrating to India. These migrants return home during the time of festivals and again return back to work. The cash income bought back was enough for six months.

Remittance from military migration were used to maintain the family of the migrant, which included the parent generation also. In this case remittances were mainly used for daily consumption. During the short return of the migrant, investment in land and other durable assets were made, such as housing. The remittances are also invested in children's education and maintaining health of family members at time of sickness.

For those in foreign labour migration, initially the remittance is used for debt clearances. After the debt clearances, the money transferred is used for daily consumption, education of children and health. Upon return, the migrants below 40 years of age still have willingness to migrate again. During the gap period, some loan and savings from previous migration is invested on land and housing. For those migrants who have permanently returned, the saving of remittances was invested in small enterprise establishments.

6.2.6 Multi-localtional Social Ties

Families of the same household living in different locations indicated interconnection between origin and destination, kith and kin and most importantly

portrayed the importance of social relations that linked and connected families distance away. A distinct pattern of spatial linkages is observed when kinship relations of the families of household are analyzed. In Bhojpur, such ties were apparent in practices of getting together during festivals (in the home of the eldest family member), mutual support during financial difficulties, and engagement in rituals and celebrations. These practices manifested perpetuation and consolidation of family bonds.

The identification of migrants by their place of origin by the native residents indicated that migrant families received a spatial reference to the place they originally belong. For example, the Newars of bazaar were identified as Dhulikhele; some migrants were called by the name of their place of origin, and, not called by their real names. The migrants too identified themselves with the place of origin and the left-behind household members. Such identification is seen as social and symbolic linkage to their place of origin. All types of migrated families were noticed to have strong ties to the village of origin. The ties are stronger for those families who still retain ancestral home and left-behind family members. Most of the migrant respondents informed about their close relatives in the village of origin. These were usually parents and/or brothers with their families. On the similar line, there were non-migrant respondents informing about their sons and their families, and, daughters and their families residing in town (Dharan) and city (Biratnagar, Kathmandu).

Social and emotional ties to place of origin are close. This is marked through visits and communication with the left-behind members. While husband from his *basai*, goes for *ghum phir* to his *ghar* (at the village of origin), the wife as time permits goes to *maiti* (at her village of origin). Such trips are often made by men than women. This indicates higher mobility of husband than wife with regards to social ties with *ghar* and *maiti*. Visits to place of origin are conducted to meet the elder members of the family. These visits are mainly done couple of times a year, mainly for festival occasions (Dashain, Tihar), rituals (puja), marriages and deaths ceremony, and during emergencies. Other means of keeping ties between relatives, friends and families is by using new means of communications. These days, mobile phones are extensively used to stay in connection with relatives and friends.

Hosting members of extended family is also one of the practices exemplifying the use of the social bond. Children for their study period and, at times of health emergency extended family members were hosted in Bhojpur and other urban centers too. Other hosting is that of friends and relative during *ghum-phir*. This particularly is for a short period of time in comparison to hosting children for studies. While hosting is done for free during *ghum-phir*, hosting children is associated with contribution to hosting family by cash or grains.

It is observed that over generations of migratory practices have been producing socio-spatial network of kinship from place of origin to place of settlement. As these social ties are perpetuated and consolidated, development of intergenerational networks are taking place that includes different localities (village, regional, national and international).

6.3 Migration and Livelihood: Movers and Stayers Differentials

6.3.1 Who are Stayers, Who are Movers? Being and Becoming Local and Non-Local and Ways of Making a Living

A sharp distinction between stayers and movers cannot be done, nor can it be generalized here that those people termed as stayers have always remained stayers throughout, and on the same ground movers will remain as movers always. In this research, time in years is taken as instrument to distinguish stayers and movers. Stayers were those individuals and households registered at Bhojpur VDC and had not and have not migrated during armed conflict and after it, till the day of data collection, and movers were those who migrated from or to Bhojpur VDC during the conflict time or after it till the day of data collection. The time frame between 2001 and 2013 made it possible to make such distinction such that a comparison between movers and stayers was feasible.

This conceptualization of movers and stayers made possible to identify the non-migrant households and migrant households. Here again non-migrant households were those households who had permanent residency registered at Bhojpur VDC and were residing in the VDC before 2001 till date of data collection, and migrant

households were those households who got registered between 2001-2013 and those who were not registered at the Bhojpur VDC.

The population under the study could also be identified with yet another binary of being local and non-local. Those households that were permanent resident registered in Bhojpur and those migrant households who had got registered in Bhojpur VDC were identified as locals, the former as being local and later becoming local, whereas those households who did not have registration at Bhojpur VDC were identified as non-locals. The necessity of identifying the population through the binary of being and becoming local and non-local was to understand and explore who were the out-migrants and who were the in-migrants, who were the insiders and who were the outsiders and how were they making living in a community as migrants and non-migrants.

The statistics on the households permanently moving out and moving in is available for both district and VDC level. The statistics is based on the records kept of the number of migration registration certificate issued by local registrar of the VDC. This record at VDC level of all sixty-three VDCs is provided to district development committee Office of Statistics. The data of 2011 district report records that at district level 4004 households have permanently out-migrated from Bhojpur district and only 860 households have done in-migration registration. At the VDC level, Bhojpur VDC has recorded 117 cases of out-migration and only 85 cases of in-migration. The given data explains that Bhojpur has been experiencing more out-migration than in-migration at both district level, as well as VDC level. However, the statistics is not complete because only permanent migration is taken into consideration here, the migration counted on the basis of registration. A high volume of migration with in Nepal is unrecorded because most internal migration is not captured by registration. The entire phenomenon of temporary migration is not captured by issuance of migration certificated, because such certificate is not issued for temporarily migrating people. It is also the aim of this research to investigate on the issue of unrecorded migration and its consequences on poor registration records and challenges to implement vital registration system in Nepal. The data of census 2011 shows that Bhojpur VDC has 2070 households out of which 822 are rented. The 822 rented households are a good proxy for those households who have migrated into Bhojpur

VDC and have not got migration registration. It is to be understood that in this case of Bhojpur VDC, in last decade, the VDC has experiences increase follow of in-migration in the form of temporary migration which is by records invisible but visible in daily experiences of lives of people living in Bhojpur.

6.4 Stayers as Non-migrants: Ways of Making a Living

Having an ancestral house, memories of childhood and being raised in conditions characterized by deprivation of basic infrastructure electricity, telephone, piped water, road and having been part of the changes that is taking place with less and less deprivation were those people who were between age group 40-50, 50-60 and 60-70. They were the household heads who made decision not to migrate while their fellow folks had made decision to migrate. They were those households who had their sons and daughter in migration for various reasons but themselves from the past had relied on the way of making a living in Bhojpur VDC. Migration for a long period was out of their experience, currently those of age between 60-70 relied on their pensions, and those between 40-50 and 50-60 relied on farm production for daily consumption of food and income, this age group were also having jobs in government agencies and schools, or had retail shops and involved themselves in trade. For those not possessing adequate land relied on daily wages working on farm during the agriculture season and working on housing construction during the winters.

6.5 Well-Being of the Locals

The households who were registered in Bhojpur VDC according to the VDC profile of Bhojpur VDC were categorized into four categories: a. Well-off, b. Moderately Well off, C. Poor, and D. Very Poor. This secondary data shows a number of households that are economically well off and number of those that are not well off.

Table 6.2 Well-Being Categorization of the Non-Migrants

Well –Off	Moderately Well-Off	Poor	Very Poor
579	409	171	118
44.99 %	39.78 %	14.06 %	9.17 %

Source: VDC Profile, 2011

The registration of these households in the VDC means that the household has legal identity, and civic status under the administrative boundaries of the VDC, and, in practice they become formal members of the VDC. The table shows that almost half of the households permanently residing in Bhojpur VDC are economically well off and only twenty-three percent fall under the poor category.

The field observation supports the secondary sources above. The economically well-off category of people firstly possessed adequate amount of land, due to high demand of land, lands near road sides and bazaar were plotted and ready for sale. Those lands away from the vicinity of bazaar and road sides were still used for rice, potato and wheat cultivation. Secondly the well-off involved themselves in trading of good that were imported from the Tarai and distributed to other VDCs. Possessing of housing was an added advantage for economically well off category, many households in Bazaar area provided rooms on rent for people from other VDCs working in Bhojpur, rents were provided to house hotels, banks, clothing and footwear shops, retail shop and electronic good like TV, mobile and computers. Lands on rent was also provided for farming on sharecropping to those people from other VDC and looking to work on land and to live on daily wage labour available in Bhojpur.

6.6 Agriculture for Food Sufficiency

According to the secondary data source ‘village profile of Bhojpur VDC’, families having food sufficiency through their own production were categorized as those having food sufficiency for only 3 months or less, those having food sufficiency for more than 3 months and less than six months, those having food sufficiency more than six months but less than nine months and those having food sufficiency more than 9 months. The table below presents the households according to food sufficiency through their own production:

Table 6.3 Food Suffice of the Non-Migrant households

Less than 3 months	Between 3 to 6 months	Between 6 to 9 months	Between 9 to 12 months	Enough to Trade	Total household units
204	320	314	414	45	1297

Source: Village Profile, 2011

The table shows that most of the households still involve in agricultural farming for their own food consumption. Three-fourth of the households still produce food adequate to feed themselves for more than three months, more than half of the households depended on their own farm production for more than six months. The table also gives information on people of Bhojpur VDC still relying on agriculture for food consumption. This makes clear that the well off possess large land holdings, which are still used for rice production. But they were not the tillers of land, the lands possessed were rented on sharecropping, such that other people from remote villages rented it, and agriculture is still active in Bhojpur VDC. The renting of land and housing has been pull factor for in-migration in Bhojpur VDC.

6.7 Occupation of the Stayers

As per the record in the VDC profile Bhojpur VDC, income generation activities and involvement of people in different sectors were namely: a. agriculture (farming and livestock), b. business, c. formal employment and d. wage labour. The table below shows number of individuals involved in different sectors across gender. The data depicts that number of people involved in agriculture is comparatively more than business, formal employment and wage labour. Involvement of female in agriculture is more than compared with male.

Table 6.4 Occupations of Non-migrants

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	739	885	1624
Business	302	294	596
Formal Employment	342	67	409
Wage Labor	175	127	302

Source: Village Profile, 2011

Apart from agriculture, which is still a sector where female participation is seen more than men, in other sectors especially in formal employment male outnumbered female. According to field observation, people who were involved in wage labour were also involved in agriculture, similarly people involved in business had their excess land rented to people for farming on sharecropping, and those on

formal employment used to hire agriculture labour and have their food production met.

6.8 Stayers: Being Local

Inheritance of ancestral property in Bhojpur VDC, possessing land in adequate amount and having been raised in the community provided social, economic and political advantage to people who were born and raised in the soil of Bhojpur VDC compared to others who had recently settled permanently or migrated temporarily. Access to assets that were put on rent, land and housing, being near or in the main market of the district gave added advantage on economic grounds. Similarly, being known and identified as belonging to the VDC, and long term stay had generated trust among fellow neighbours. The sense of common identity among the stayers and the belonging to *afno gau*, gave the feeling as being local. The membership to the VDC and being formally recognized with legal identity and civil status gave permanent resident households access to all facilities provided by the local state. Currently, people of Bhojpur VDC have access to newly build road connecting the VDC to other VDCs and other district. Electricity and Water has been distributed to almost all households with permanent residency, they have access to health service from the district hospital, and access to transportation through bus services, number of public school and presence of undergraduate college has for long made Bhojpur VDC a hub for education. With all these changes and enhanced accessibility to different basic needs like education, health and better living conditions, being local also meant to open up spaces for other people from surrounding villages to be part of this development, which would not be possible if the outsiders were not involved.

6.9 Movers: Permanent In-Migrants Becoming Local

The identification of settlements within ward number three as *naya basti* was evidence to new settlements that took place between 2001 and 2013.

“But after the peace process, peace agreement, if you have to count the basti around 40 to 50 households have come as Basai Sarai and settled down from villages.” (Jaya Tamang, Age, 42: 2013)

In the excerpt above, it is understood that when a new house is built and people start dwelling there, such household unit was considered as *basti*. The new 40-50 house holds informed by Jaya involved ward number 3, these new settlements were identified as *naya basti* by the people of Kodhar Ward number 3. Jaya a local had been involved himself as contractor to build houses since a decade long time. All his family members have some skills related to house building. His elder brother was a carpenter particularly specialized in making window frames and doors, Jaya himself was skilled on making foundation of house and had skills of mason. This joint family has one of the best houses in Bhojpur today. Most of the new houses build and being build was see to have involvement of Jaya and his family.

“We already have old village, but with new people coming and joining in the village, the old small village in now getting bigger. The basti is getting big, let’s not say it as new village but it’s the same village getting big and it’s growing to be town because new migrants are coming and number of settlements is increasing. At the same time its getting urbanized too.” (Jaya Tamang, Age, 42: 2014)

According to most of the informants ward number 3 was one of the most advanced wards of Bhojpur VDC. Firstly, the ward had a bus stand for the district, this was under construction. Around this bus stand many new construction were taking place for small size hotels. This ward also has district road built through it, which was called ring road, and it connected almost all household units within this ward. It was for these reasons that land around this ward was most in demand, but scarce too. The land price had soared up, during the time of arm conflict the land price was one lakh for a ropani, but now an ana of land was priced as three lakhs.

“These new settlers are from the same jilla or district, there people are mostly from remote areas. Some people also come from other remote places of Khotang, but there are really no people coming here from tarai, its people from remote areas of this district who migrate to the district headquarters” (Sailendra Karki, Age 38: 2013)

The new settlers who are categorized as permanent migrants were people from the remote VDCs of the district, and many were also from adjoining district Khotang

that falls on the west of Bhojur. Permanent migration involved buying land, building a house and living in it. This was a process that took time and included investment. The process of buying land, making a house and then living in it was seen as a process of becoming local. Due to scarce availability of land, and the cost attached to it, land owners who wanted to put their land on sale would fragment land into plots and sell them to potential buyers. This phenomenon of land fragmentation started just after the conflict, when the landholders saw the opportunity of making profit by selling land. This was the main reason for land price to hike up in a very short time.

One of the most important identifications of permanent migrants was that they possessed migration registration certificates. The migration registration certificate, '*basai sarai ko pramanpatra*', was only available from the origin VDC for individual holding land and having a place to dwell in the destination VDC. The households who have permanently settled here have to register themselves at the destination VDC, by the process, such households are legally identified and acquire civil status as households belonging to the VDC. Such households would then start paying house tax to the VDC yearly, and services by the state would be provided to the concerned household. The process of '*basai sari*' is also seen as process of becoming local.

6.9.1 Livelihood Strategies: Occupation, Renting and Entrepreneurship

As compared to locals, the people who had adequate land, the in-migrant who are permanently settled do not have sufficient land for agriculture and livestock. Their involvement was seen completely off-farm, and depended on the initial investment they had made on the house they possessed. Many of the new settlers were seen to have given few rooms of their house on rent. These rents were given to school students who had migrated from remote places to study in district headquarters and rent were given to people who had temporarily migrated for making a living in district headquarters. The house owner themselves would invest on a small retail shop in the tole. The ground floor of the new built house was designed as space for rent, this would be rented as shops, and '*khaja ghar*' (where food for cash is available). The upper floors would be given on rent for dwelling. The cost of room in Bhojpur Bazaar was from Rs. 1400-2000 per month, while out of Bazaar area was Rs. 800-1200 per month.

Occupation varied among the permanent migrants interviewed for this research. They were involved in business and hotels in bazaar area, had rooms on rent, and had been self-employed with profession they were involved in. Among the participants of this research, ten were permanently migrated. Their involvement in different occupations is given in the table below:

Table 6.5 Occupations of Permanent Migrants

Permanent Migrants	Lawyer	1
	Shopkeeper	1
	Small hotels in bazaar	1
	Business	2
	Civil society	1
	Social worker	2
	House on rents	2
Total	10	

Source: Fieldnotes 2013-14

The above table depicts the various occupations and income generation sources of the permanent migrants. The permanent migrants relied on the assets they possessed, making a house was an investment, their making a living in day to day life in a new place involved the entrepreneurial skills they had, like opening a retail shop, small hotels where they made food available to the public and according to capacity permanent migrants were also seen to invest in cloth shops and electronic shops in the Bazaar.

6.10 Movers: Temporary Migrants Considered as Non-locals

The new changes like the ones Jaya mentions were seen in different sectors, alongwith enhanced transportation services, and access to market, access to better education and health facilities attracted people from remote VDCs to dwell in Bhojpur VDC. The increasing demand for wage labour workers for new constructions taking place in the VDC gave another opportunity for people of the remote villages who were deprived of off-farm works. Considerable amount of land available for renting was another attraction for people with less land holding in the periphery VDCs.

The temporary stay in the VDC was characterized by having rented a room for dwelling, or taking land of the local landholders on sharecropping. The rented room and the rented land were temporary that made the renters residency temporary. Their legal identity and civil status was linked to the VDC they belong to. These in-migrants did not possess migration registration certificate because they did not hold possession of land in the destination VDC, but had landholding in the VDC of origin. Not having any assets in terms of land holding and housing characterized their temporariness, and lack of legal identity and civil status for not having migration registration made them non-local legally as well as in practice.

One category of non-locals who rented rooms to have access to education were students whereas teachers and lecturers were another category who took up rooms near the vicinity of schools and college. Government employees were also seen to hold rooms on rent because they belonged to different VDCs, on the similar ground people rented housing and involved themselves in small scale business mainly in bazaar. In contrast to economically well-off category, those who depended on daily wage labour were also taking up rooms on rent, and people without much land holdings at their origin put up by taking landholding for rent on sharecropping.

Among the participants of this research, there were twenty-one temporary in-migrants making a living and coping with by involvement in various occupations and income generation activities.

Table 6.6 Types of Temporary migrants

Temporary Migrants (Temporary resident)	Unskilled laborer	12
	Pensioned Teacher	2
	Government Employee	1
	Housewife	2
	Barber	1
	Tailor	1
	Student	1
	Local Politician	1

Source: Fieldnote, 2013-14

Most of the participants were unskilled labourers who also involved themselves in sharecropping. Few of the participants belonged to households on rent of labour migrant husbands. Government employees, and people belonging to different professions including students, teachers, skilled workers, and politicians participated in informing about the status of being temporary and making a living as non-locals.

6.11 Non-Locals: Managing Living at Destination

Having formal job employment and living in Bhojpur was not a difficult thing. The regular monthly income would suffice to buy food and pay the rent. As market was accessible, fooding and dwelling was made easy for economically well-off on rent. Similarly, students on rent entirely depended on their parents for financial support during their stay in Bhojpur for their education. Many foreign labour migrants' left behind wife and children who lived in rented places so as to have an access to education for the children, access to hospital, communication and transportation. Apart from well-off, this section mainly explains how economically deprived people are making living in the VDC.

“People stay in rent but those who earn land of the owners, they do not have to pay rent... those who earn Zakka Zammin, they do not pay rent, those who do not earn they have to pay rent.” (Natra Bhadur Gurung, Age, 55: 2013)

Natra Bhadur, a temporary migrant had taken up sharecropping, he explains that if one is a sharecropper to a landowner, on return the sharecropper gets free place to dwell, generally a small thatched hut. Rent for dwelling in this hut need not be paid by the sharecropper. Depending on the space provided by the landowner, the sharecropper has the opportunity to keep livestock, as sharecroppers life involves day to day farm work, it was also necessary to keep livestock and a pair of bullocks to plough the land.

Sharecropping was taken in two conditions mainly: locally it was called *Adhiya*, and *Theeka*. Adihay involved sharing half of the total produced on the field with the landowner. Here, the land owner and the tillers equally invest and bear the

risk. The Thekka involved giving a fixed return to the landowner in money. Generally it depended on the size of land on rent and yearly money to be payed to the owner. But working on the farm field was not throughout the year. During the off-season in the winters or after harvest, the households involved in *adihya* and *theeka* would join the wage labour work and make their living on it. The return from wage labour was more than getting involved in agriculture. *Adihya and theeka* can be seen as means to have long term stay in the district headquarters. Involvement in sharecropping also comprised of trust building, mutual understanding and reciprocity between landowners who were either present or had migrated to urban places.

“One can earn around 600-700 rupees a day here.... it’s for who can work, if people get such Hajirs, then earn in an average 500 rs per day. Like mistri works, like putting up walls for newly build houses such persons get, 750 rupees. Even if you take 500 rs as average wage per day, calculate how much it will be...?” (Natra Bhadur Gurung, Age 55: 2013)

As per the above excerpt, a daily wage labour having got hired would receive Rs 600–700 a day. According to the skill possessed, one could even earn maximum of Rs 750 whereas those who were just labourers would be hired for Rs 500-600. Such work on construction site was available during winters, at this time it was dry, transportation of building materials like stone and bricks was smoother. The climate favored making brick. During the monsoon such works decline due to difficulties in transportation because of road blockages and making bricks was difficult, and digging on the hills sides was a risky thing to do. During monsoon, most of the temporary migrants would be involved in agriculture. Even the labour migrants staying on rent during the winter would return to their origin to work on the field during the monsoon.

6.12 Movers and Stayers Alike: Land and Housing for Secured Better Living

In the hills land has always been the most important and valued asset. For a Nepali citizen, land is everything. Common assets possessed by people in the hills are land, a house to live in and livestock.

“People in the hills have assets such as plot of land, a house to live and at least some livestock”. (Dahal, Age 56: 2013).

The main objective behind exploring land as an asset towards livelihood development relates to retaining owned land, selling, buying, and renting or leasing land in the process of migration. For a family dependent on agriculture, the minimum amount of land that needs to be possessed according to one of my respondent is as follow:

“Around 30 ropani in total, 20 ropani khet, and 10 ropani of bari with irrigation facilities is enough for family of 5-7 people.” (Padam, Age 46, 2013).

The *khet* is used for rice cultivation and *bari* is used for seasonal vegetables and other crops like millet and maize.

One of my respondents classified landholdings in line of economic status. I was mentioned three classifications related to possessing land: people with high economic background, people with low economic background, and people who did not possess any property.

“For people from upper economic class, they can have more land than required, but at least for people who are from lower economic class, a household will have a bari and a house. In some cases people earn other peoples’ land and do work or are employed” (Bhojraj, Age 45: 2014).

As mentioned by Bhojraj, in the hills where livelihood still depends on agriculture, people who had excessive land holdings would be letting other people till their land, and when needed the owners also sell land as per their requirement. But for people who do not have adequate land to farm, they would rent land from others with excessive possession.

For permanent migration to take place, selling and buying of land is the prerequisite, on the same note, for temporary migration to be successful renting a

place to dwell is a prerequisite. Selling, buying, and renting pertain to asset building of seller, buyer, and rent giver.

Attual's investment on land and making a house is an example that explains land and house are the most valuable assets to the citizenry of Nepal.

“After my return from Malaysia, I made a house down here in Kodhar village, I first bought land there, and made a house for myself and family. The investment was big, I wanted to make a house that would not be damaged by small earthquake or storms. I have put up pillared foundation and above it the house is made from wood. To buy the land it took me seven lakhs and fourty thousand rupees just for four anas. I was in debt and had to pay the loans I had taken for this investment. I had no options but to return back to Malaysia as labour worker. On my return I have cleared all debts. Currently, up floor I am living and down floor is given on rent.” (Attual, Age 28, 2014)

Investing on house to dwell and renting the extra space in the house has been a common practice in areas receiving in-migrants. Bhojpur VDC in last 10 years has seen huge magnitude of out-migration because of conflict, and at the same time substantial influx of in-migrants after conflict. Returning to Attual's case, I further asked Attual about his migration status and the people who are on rent in his house.

Me: “Have you done *basai sarai*?”

Attual: “Yes”

Me: “Who are the people on rent?”

Attual: “They are my village people, from Choolinti Khawa, they work here and educate their children here”.

Me: “Do they have *basai sarai*?”

Attual: “No, they have not done *basai sarai*, they still possess land in Choolinti, they don't have land here.”

The greatest aspiration for people not having a house is to have one. Making a living without a house is difficult as land and house are primary assets. Deprivation of land and house further deprives people from many more things which will be

discussed later. The list of sixty interviewees could be categorized into four categories on the bases of the status of migration. The following table shows the categorization.

Table 6.7 Migrant Category for this Research

Migration Status Category	households in number
Non-Migrants (Permanent Residency)	25
Temporary Migrants (Temporary Residency)	21
Returnees	4
Permanent Migrants	10
Total	60

Source: Fieldnote, 2013-14

Among the interviewees land and housing ownership across each category are as follow:

Table 6.8 Migration Status and Land Ownership

Migration Status Category	Land Ownership
Non-Migrants (Permanent Residency)	Yes
Temporary Migrants (Temporary Residency)	No (At Destination)
Returnees	Yes
Permanent Migrants	Yes

Source: Fieldnote, 2013-14

The above table depicts that temporary migrants who are living on rent face deprivation of land and housing ownership at destination. Though many of the temporary migrant interviewees said that they had land at origin, the deprivation of land and house asset at the place where they are making living is a constraint for the development of their livelihood.

6.13 Movers and Stayers Alike: Agricultural Land as Source of Food

Land use pattern has changed substantially with the road construction that has taken place in past 10 years. The Rural Access Program (RAP) six years ago constructed road connecting Bhojpur VDC to Dhunkuta District's Laaguwa Ghat VDC. In Bhojpur VDC, considerable arable land became the part of the road, and selling land in small plots has converted agricultural land into land used for house building. While Bhojpur is facing shortage of agricultural labor due to high magnitude

of out-migration, considerable population still depends on agricultural land for food. Rice, wheat and millets are the major crops grown in the cultivable lands. Land dependency for food is shown in the table below across the four categories of interviewee.

Table 6.9 Migrant Status and Dependency on land for Food

Migration Status Category	Households in number	Dependent on Land for food
Non-Migrant (Permanent Residency)	25	17
Temporary Migrant (Temporary Residency)	21	11
Returnees	4	1
Permanent Migrants	10	4
Total	60	33

Source: Fieldnote 2013-14

The above table depicts that more than fifty percent of the interviewees were directly dependent on food produced on the land that is either owned or rented on sharecropping basis. This provides evidence to agricultural land as one of the major assets to making a living in the day to day life of citizenry of Nepal. The table portrays direct involvement of household members on agricultural production and access to land.

6.14 Non-Locals Dependency on Locals:

6.14.1 Being on Rent

Getting land or room for rent involved trust, trustworthiness was the prime concern for owners before coming to an agreement with potential tenants. As trust gradually increased with the passage of time during the initial stage there was always an involvement of third person who was involved in introducing aspirant tenants to the owners. The middle man would have been well known to the owner and would have known the person looking for rent. Rent was collected on monthly basis, and varied from place to place. In the bazaar, rent of a room was Rs 1200, in places other than bazaar, rent of a room was Rs 800–1000.

In many cases, the owners were absent, this was seen in Bazaar and other wards alike, in such situation left-behind relative, or neighbor was given the responsibility to collect the rent on time. The owners would be remitted the collected amount and in other situations owners who were absent would come to collect the rent once in a year time. Here again trust was involved in between owners and staying behind relatives and neighbors.

Trust as an issue of concern here is between insiders and outsiders, the locals and non-locals, and when migration is considered to involve stayers and movers, at the villages people from outside were looked at with doubt and this was mainly concerned with people temporarily migrating here without buying any property.

“Some people get out of a society for his wrong doing and he migrates, such person comes to new VDC or village, then how can he be trusted.... See, such people look around for new village.... People who have resources migrate to good urban place, but other people who have been chased away; he does not have good reputation in his place and migrates to other villages.... some of these people in our village, are of these types in Palwa, and we do tell them.... migration is of also two type, one looking for better opportunity, that facilities good life and other is to migrate from place where they have faced embarrassment.” (Kul Bhadur Karki, Age 56, 2013)

As explained by Kul, not all people coming as temporary migrants can be trusted equally. They do come to have better opportunities but cannot be trusted fully. Many people come here because they were not tolerated at the place of their origin, or have done wrong at there place of origin.

“Those people coming from outside, who come and earn other peoples’ property, are really not honest, and imandar. Because these people come here because of family dukkha, and to earn their livings, but their own habbits are not good.” (Padam Bahadur, Age 48, 2013)

The above two excerpts from different interviews of the participants show that the locals are doubtful about the non-locals. While giving properties on rent, trust has

always been the main concern. For the non-locals, the feeling of being outsider has always been a problem. This difficulty starts from the initial stage of finding room or land for rent to living as people on rent.

“Neighbours here are not cooperative; I do not feel good about neighbourhood in Taksar. The people see me as a new comer and try to dominate me” (Chandra Bardewa, Age 19: 2013)

“I do not have my own house here..... I am considered as an out-sider, local people do not treat us alike as we are looked up as working for someone else, I feel not included in the society, I feel not being not included in the community. Khagendra told, the people feel that we are not from this VDC, and do not consider us for including us in their activities.” (Khagendra Gurung, Age 54: 2013)

The above excerpts of outsider show how insiders do not treat outsiders alike and outsiders feel excluded and stigmatized. However, as outsiders come to have access to better living condition, and access to better opportunity and facilities, the non locals have always depended on locals for space for rent, room for dwelling or land for earning in farming i.e. *adhiya or theeka*.

6.14.2 Differential Access to Basic Needs: Water, Electricity, and Cooking Fuel

Apart from differential access to land and food production between the non-migrants and temporary migrants, a major constraint in access to basic needs such as water, electricity and cooking fuel was noticed in the study site. Availability of water in the study site came from historical water spout called the *saat dhara* (seven taps) and Sillichoung Waters, a water distribution facility owned by the local users community of Bhojpur VDC. The access to electricity was provided by the branch of Nepal Electricity Board, Bhojpur and firewood for cooking was extracted from the community forest as per the rules and regulation of the Community Forest Users' Group. The first and foremost prerequisite was registration of ownership of house and its document. This precondition only gives permanent resident access to these resources by virtue of ownership of a house. Such conditionality has excluded

temporary migrants from having an access to formal piped lined water supply, electricity line and share of firewood distributed to each member of local community forest user group. In practice, the temporary migrants did not get membership to local user community; this deprived them from access to the respective basic resources. This subsequently made the temporary migrants dependent on the landlords and the facilities provided while taking up land or housing for rent. The table below shows the accessibility to water, electricity and cooking fuel for temporary migrants.

Table 6.10 Resources and Accessibility

Type of Rents undertaken	Rooms/ hut	Water	Electricity	Cooking fuel
Rooms on rent on monthly payment basis	Available on monthly payment	Monthly payment on the amount used	Monthly payment on the units of energy used	Owner does not provide
Land on rent for sharecropping	Hut provided free of cost no payments required	Depends on owners capacity and not compelled to provide	Depends on Owners capacity and not compelled to provide	Owner does not provide

Source: Fieldnote 2013-14

The table below shows the source of availability of different basic needs, and household numbers having access and not having access to respective sources.

Table 6.11 Basic Needs and Accessibility

Sources of basic needs	Having access	Not having access
Electricity Board provided electricity	1	20
User community provided water	1	20
User community board provided cooking fuel (wood)	1	20
Owner Provided Electricity	13	8
Owner Provided Water	13	8
Local water spout	21	0
Cooking fuel through user community	0	21
Cooking fuel from market	21	0

Source: Fieldnotes 2013-14

As discussed earlier, the temporary migrants do not have formal channel to get access to basic resources. They entirely depend on the landlord and the type of rent that is acquired. The lack of ownership of land and housing restricts temporary dwellers to certain source of basic needs. The above table gives evidence to the differential access faced by temporary migrants as compared to permanent residents who have ownership to land and housing.

6.15 Discussion

I begin by quoting Seddon (2013) who suggests that village wards studied has its' own history, characteristics and contexts within which migration and its causes and effects take place. In this regard, the dynamics of migration and development microcosm as represented by Bhojpur's case could be similar and dissimilar with other localities considered for migration studies in Nepal. Here, I consider for discussion those factors, processes and mechanisms identified and found specifically for Bhojpur which are similar to other localities too. In this way, I attempt to draw a wider picture of changes occurring in eastern hills of Nepal, keeping in mind that each hill district in the eastern region is different, distinct and can show different patterns and trends as regards to migration and development (socio-economic transformation).

The undertaken investigation and information considered for analysis are specifically from nine wards of Bhojpur VDC. The migration considered here is from the rural VDC of the district to Bhojpur VDC, however, migration from Bhojpur VDC to other urban towns and cities such as Dharan, Biratnagar, Itahari, and Kathmandu is also considered. Hence, the migration considered here includes different forms and types but the prime focus is on relocation and resettlement within Nepal. In this regard, the findings of this study deals with rural exodus and urbanization, as dealt by Adhikari and Hobley (2013) in case of study of Khotang district. Bhojpur which adjoins Khotang shows similar changes taking place at both community and household level. There is a wide change in local economy and society of Bhojpur as Adhikari and Hobley show for Khotang. This change can be seen in terms of improved income and well-being at the migration destination for migrants of all types. However, I do not ignore that trend of old places being abandoned and new ways and places adapted, this can further aggravate socio-economic and spatial

differentiation and inequality as regards to development processes happening in rural, peri-urban and urban places in eastern region of Nepal.

The 2011 census data suggests that eastern hills have experienced net reduction in population as a whole, this includes Bhojpur too. Sharma (2011), Seddon (2013), Adhikari and Hobley (2013), and Population Monograph (2014) state people are literally moving out of hills. They also show that moving out from origin involves moving out of agriculture which is an increasing trend. Seddon exemplifies by showing that agriculture is contributing less and less to local GDP as compared to 40 and 20 years ago. Sharma sheds light on young men exiting out of village to work elsewhere. Such phenomenon is found in Bhojpur too, and I explained it in earlier chapter by presenting the demographic shift and dynamics of migration process. This has resulted in greater proportion of females than males. Older people are left living and working in the hill areas and there is shortage of labour for more labour intensive agriculture activities.

With the shortage of labour, labour wage has increased specially for off-farm employment. This study reveals that employment outside farm contributes more to the household income than employment on-farm. At the same time growing town like Bhojpur generates employment opportunities within the locality in construction sector (road, and housing). However, absence of men in rural origin has decreased the availability of labour for both farming and non-farming sectors.

Another contribution to household income is the remittances. This case of Bhojpur evidently shows that households receiving remittances have increasing household income and well-being. But at the same time there are those households which do not receive remittances and rely wholly on their participation in the labour market and exchange of goods for cash in the Haat bazaar. Remittances are mainly used to repay loans and daily household expenditure. Housing improvement and education are the main expenses covered by remittances. These expenses are regarded as investments by concerned households associating it to improved living conditions, enhanced living standards, and being educated for better life changes.

Trend in landownership is transforming too. While the better-off, particularly the high caste households, are moving away from Bhojpur to the nearby towns and cities, the lands are sold to other ethnic and caste groups including artisan caste. This has covered agricultural land (*khet*) to housing plots. In this regard, central part of Bhojpur VDC (Ward 3) sees decreasing agriculture land, less intensive agriculture, increasing fallow lands at the river valleys (Ward 2 and 1) and decreasing large livestock numbers.

Among the different social groups in the wards studied, the impact of migration on living condition and well-being is prominently seen among the ethnic and artisan groups. At the household level, the concern is that males are absent and women have been taking greater responsibility on daily basis. While this can be considered as the empowerment of the left-behind female members, particularly the wives of migrant, on the daily basis it could also be burden and challenging, making left-behind women members more vulnerable. The case of Bhojpur also reveals the changing structure of family. Families formed of multi-generational households are seen to live in different localities and in different circumstances. The challenge is of enhanced isolation of elderly and demand for greater collaboration and collective activities for households living in multi-location arrangements.

In this case of Bhojpur, double phenomenon of migration is on-going. The out-migration and in-migration will still remain in flow with few cases of returnees too. This has resulted in complex changes in social and economic relations and also in the patterns of livelihoods and lives within the household, village and community as whole. Such changes elaborated here are significant and will continue to transform rural and peri-urban economy in Bhojpur.

6.16 Summary

The empirical evidences presented through case studies and fieldnotes demonstrate that socio-economic transformation is gradually shaping the research site towards progress. As evident the perceptions of native residents as *sugam* Bhojpur from *durgam* Bhojpur, it shows the socio-economic development at community and household level. At the community level, development of public infrastructures

namely road, provision of electricity, telecommunication, transportation has played substantial role on expansion of goods, labour, housing and financial market. While, out-migration perpetuated by occupational changes and educational aspirations of second generation can be looked upon as capital (human and financial) drain, this attraction to in-migration substitutes the then felt labour shortage in agriculture sector.

The evidences presented in the chapter also show a prominent structural change in agriculture and market sector. The consequences of out-migration have resulted in declining traditional farm works, and increasing monetization of farm works. This has attracted in-migrants to fill in the gap of labour shortage. Though returns from farm involvement are relatively low, migrants are attracted to increasing wage level from off-farm works, better opportunities, facilities and accessibilities at the district headquarters. In recent decade, Bhojpur has experienced commoditfication of labour for farm and off-farm works. This has made agriculture activities and production more expensive in terms of capital and labour investments. It is evident that cultivation is on decline too. However, access to land has improved, but, there is an increasing trend in fallow lands and decreasing livestock due to rise in cost of production and low return to invested labour. Migrant households involved in farming continue to work on their rented plots of land and engage in off-farm work to firstly diversify their livelihood and secondly to gain benefits from the accessibilities at the destination.

In terms of livelihood opportunities, local labour demand created as a result of structural change provides income opportunities for less well-off migrant households. Such structural change relates to increasing demand of land and housing, and increasing minimum wage level of labour. Further, well-off, and less well-off migrant households have been benefiting from investment opportunities on small farm enterprises, retail business, and accessibility to financial market and involvement in trade in goods market.

Remittance has been a catalyst by supporting living expenses of migrant households in the district headquarters. Remittance also helps afford private schooling for migrants' children and access to health facilities as needed. Access to good education and health, and making a living in district headquarters relates to social

prestige too. At the household level, it is observed that different generations are involved in migration process differently. Migration has been shaping household composition and location arrangements. Evidences show that different family units belonging to different generations are making living in multi-local settings. This is also one of the ways migrant households are diversifying livelihood and managing resources at hand.

Lastly, for the oldest generation, being non-migrants is about being in community, blanketed by healthy air, clean water and homely surroundings. For the younger generation, migration is about fulfilling their aspiration to earn more, have better access to modernity, education, opportunity, and involvement in urbanizing surrounding. However, migration also comes at a cost, the evidences also show that migration is constraint to assimilate and integrate in host community for temporary migrants. The following chapter discusses these issues in detail.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. STATE, CITIZENS, AND MOBILITY

Development Actors and Migration

In this chapter, I attempt to explain the relationship between state and citizen. I focus on the understanding their relationship at the local level. This is done by examining the interrelationship between state at local level and local citizens. Here state and citizens are looked upon as development actors. Subsequently I bring into discussion relationship of migrants and non-migrants with state at local level and their role as local citizens for development. To grasp the relationship between local state and citizen in context of mobility, connections, linkages and dependency between citizen and state is brought into discussion. This chapter shows this relationship through the working mechanism of a) citizens ward forum, b) village development committee and its role for development, c) citizen's charter of village development committee, and d) civil spaces such as user committee and self help group. Further, the chapter highlights mobile citizens, their attachment, detachment, delinking with local state. This chapter also aims to capture civil identification and the importance of migration registration for civil identification. In doing so, I discuss the nexus of civil identification and migration registration which further helps understand mobility and rights. The focus of this chapter is on civil registration in Nepal, and migration registration as one of the vital registrations done at local state bodies (VDC). Finally, I discuss its implications on individual level civil status connecting to membership of a community at local level. Here, migration as *basai sarai* which entails migration registration is discussed and failure to such registration accounts to deprivation of rights and exclusion.

7.1 Overview of Local Governance since 1951

The genesis of democracy after the end of Rana oligarchy opened door to democratic governance through the Interim Government Act of Nepal 1951. This statute introduced parliamentary governance, put monarch as the head of the state,

recognized political parties in the management of state affairs, and put idea of separation between a legislature, an executive and a judiciary (The Asia Foundation, TAF, 2012). With the advent of this Act, there were changes in the political system and expansion of government roles from protecting national security and law maintenance to providing basic services and advocating development. In 1952, Village Development Board and District Development Board at the center and Village Development and Cooperatives, and Block Advisory Councils were established throughout the country to accelerate development and bring about change (Asian Productivity Organization (APO), 2002).

The Interim Government Act of Nepal 1951 was replaced by the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal in 1959 that promised egalitarian society by vertical decentralization of power and government becoming more responsible towards the people. But by 1960 the parliamentary system was abolished and Panchayat polity was introduced. In 1961, Nepal was demarcated into 14 administrative zones with each zone headed by a zone commissioner. Similarly, 75 district panchayats were established at district level and 4000 village and Nagar (town) panchayats at grassroots level. These local bodies were established to undertake development activities at local level while the central government provided grants. The central institutions controlled the local units, development followed the top-down approach, and accountability bottom- up approach. During the Panchayat regime 1962 to 1990, several Acts were promulgated that formulated the framework for existing local governance and decentralization of planning. The Decentralization Plan 1965, District Administration Plan 1975, Integrated Panchayat Development Plan 1978, Decentralization Act 1982 and Decentralization Working Procedure Rules 1984 (Dahal et al, 2002; TAF, 2012; APO, 2002).

The Panchayat system was characterized by prime focus on state-building, the state controlled the economy, it coordinated the class of people, it promoted cooperative movements and campaign like Back to the Village National Campaign was initiated, it promoted agrarian reform and followed mixed economy. At the local level, the local state bodies were granted taxation rights, social mobilization was done through local bodies, land reforms, and modernization of health, education,

agriculture, industrial and service sector was initiated with focus on transportation and communication (Caplan, 1972; Shrestha, 1999).

The Panchayat regime lasted for 30 years. The 1990s-people's movement ended Panchayat system and restored multiparty parliamentary system. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 was enacted that had extended provisions for decentralization. The power transfer from the all-powerful monarch to the citizens favored the democratic system of governance. Other provisions were multi-party polity, sovereignty, constitutional and human rights to the citizens and constitutional monarch. Four separate Acts were promulgated by the first elected government, and these acts governed the Village Development Committee, District Development Committee and Municipality and Local Bodies election in 1992. This raised more hopes for decentralization. During the nineties more devolution of authority to the local level was realized. This showed the government's increased commitment to deepening grassroots democracy and provision of access to local services. The February 15, 1995, introduction of "Let's Build Our Village Ourselves", a program aimed at local development, mobilization of local labor, local self-reliance and rural development planning at the VDCs by providing central grant and authorizing VDCs to utilize 40 percent of the local land revenue was an initiative towards decentralization (Dahal et al, 2002; TAF, 2012; APO, 2002)

In September 1998, Local Governance Bill was passed by the parliament; this paved the path for the promulgation of the Local Self-Governance Act (LSGA, 1999, and Rules 1999). This Act provides a detailed framework for decentralization that is being referred till date.

7.2 Current Context of Local Governance

Nepal has a two-tiered local government system. The local government system is based on the basis of Local Self-Governance Act (LSGA) 1999. The LSGA envisages representative democracy and decentralization of authority and seeks to promote people's participation in governance through it. It establishes the structure and institutional mechanisms for local self-governance and makes local bodies accountable to the people they serve and represent.

Since May 2002, the local bodies in Nepal have been without elected representatives, as the term of elected representative expired in that year. Successive governments since then have appointed local officials from the center since then. All Party Mechanisms (APMs) was formed in 2008 to make local decisions, this was dismissed in January 2012 because of widespread misuse of local funds. Currently, all local institutions have been under the direction of the Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development.

7.3 Local Self Governance Act 1999

The earlier provisions of the Village Development Committee Act, Municipality Act, and District Development Committee Act of 1991 were replaced by Local Self-Governance Act 1999 and Local Self-Government Rules and Regulation to implement the LSGA. The LSGA is an integrated form of all the three Acts of 1991 and is the existing basis for local governance in Nepal.

The LSGA and Regulation establishes the structure of local government institutions (LGIs) and specifies functions of the local bodies. The local bodies are namely the Village Development Committee (VDC), Municipality, and District Development Committee (DDC). The LSGA specifies 48, 68, and 48 functions to VDC, Municipality and DDC respectively. The LSGA tasks the DDC, municipality and VDCs with socio-economic development within the sphere of their authority, and while carrying out their functions local bodies must abide by the prevailing laws such as the Financial Procedure Act 1998, the Building Act 1999, and Birth, Death and Other Personal Events (Registration) Act 1976, and others.

7.4 Institutional Structure of Local Governance

Nepal has 3,276 VDCs, 191 Municipalities and 75 DDCs. The lowest tier of the government is the VDC. A VDC is divided into nine wards, similarly a municipality can have minimum of nine wards and number of wards can increase according to the size, strength and population of municipality. The municipalities are parallel to VDCs in structure and activities but differ in size of population and annual

income. It is a requirement for a municipality to have population of at least twenty-thousand, and five million rupees in annual income, and should be able to offer minimum basic urban facilities like education, hospital, roads, drinking water, electricity and communication. The second tier is the district. Each district is divided into a minimum of nine to maximum of 17 *Ilakas* (area).

In the structure of local government institutions, the LSGA establishes the council of local bodies as the supreme deliberative body. The Village Council, Municipal Council and District Council are the supreme deliberative bodies that formulate and approve programs and budgets, periodic and annual plans, staffing, audit reports, taxes, fees and service charges. The committee is an executive body, the Ward Committee in Wards, Village Development Committee, the Municipal Committee and District Development Committee govern the local public affairs and officials to the committee are elected periodically (TAF, 2012).

In May 2002, the tenure of the bodies elected in 1998 expired, and no local election could be held at the local level due to the ongoing Maoist conflict then. It's almost been nineteen years since local bodies are without democratically elected representatives at the local level. In this absence, VDC secretaries at VDC, Executive Officers at Municipality, and Local Development Officers at DDC have been serving and acting as Chairpersons of Village Council, Municipal Council and District Council respectively.

The local bodies are the central actors of local development and service delivery in Nepal. The government officials assisted by APMs after 2008 have essentially run the local bodies. Due to rampant corruption in all local bodies, APM faced dissolution in December 2011. Currently, measures taken to create order in local bodies by the government are Citizens' Charter, Citizen Ward Forums and Reflect Centers to improve status of local bodies in the country.

7.5 Role, Responsibilities and Functions of Local Bodies

The LSGA lists the duties and responsibilities of DDCs, municipalities and VDCs. Most of the functions that the central government performs at national level

are performed by local bodies with a local focus: the DDC on the districts, municipalities on urban centers, and VDC on the villages. The DDC, municipalities and VDCs are mainly tasked with socio-economic development, and have some judicial and mediation functions along with facilitating local service delivery. They have significant role in local planning, local decision making and documentation needed for service delivery.

To begin with the Wards, the functions and duties attached with the Wards are related to removal of waste, sewage, maintenance of canals, drains and dams, they also have role in managing health centers and schools and local project supervisions. The VDCs have much wider functions and roles associated with them; they are responsible for agricultural development, arrangement of bazaars, veterinary services and animal disease control, drinking water provision, building and maintaining rural road and bridges, establishment of primary schools its management, electricity generation and distribution, soil erosion control programs, forestation and environment protection, community building, keeping records of population, houses , land and livestock, birth, death, marriage and migration registration and control immoral activities and promote income generation. In areas of social protection, VDCs have the responsibility for helpless orphan and disabled children, and for the upliftment of women within the village.

7.6 What is Local State and who are Local Citizens? Comparison between Native and Migrant Residents

7.6.1 Local State and Local Citizens: Connections, Linkages and Dependency

Getting access to basic public goods, having access to public resources and service deliveries are the basis of daily livelihood of households. Here I aim to examine the interaction between local residents as beneficiaries and local state as resource and public service provider. How is the connection between an individual (or a household) and the local state made? What are the mechanisms that make the connection worthy? How do the local residents benefit from such connections? To explore the above questions, I was guided by the information that a VDC comprised of nine wards, and within ward were toles that comprised of collection of few houses. A tole is cluster of houses, and a ward cluster of toles. It was at this level I intended to

explore how people of different toles in the ward come together for collective actions, and make common decisions as regards to the state's provision of public goods and services.

7.6.2 Citizen Ward Forum: connecting local citizens and local state for local development

The informants informed about '*Nagrik Ward Manch*' (Citizen Ward Forum), a space for public consultation and active participation. Here people of the ward were engaged for deciding on their immediate needs that could be provided with the help of local state. Access to drinking water, electricity, road, fertilizers and maintenance of public goods like health post, public education buildings were the most immediate concerns of the people. The '*Nagrik Ward Manch*' is presided by '*Ward Samyojak*' (Organizer/Facilitator) with the help of a *Sajagta* (Social Mobilizer) from the VDC.

What is *Nagrik Ward Manch*?

To explore the functioning of the *Nagrik Ward Manch* (as in practice amidst its intended objectives) I interviewed most of the *Ward Samyojak* of the nine different wards, *Sajagta* (Social Mobilizer of the VDC), and the local residents.

"The Nagrik Ward Manch is the only platform for citizens to voice their demand" (Jeevan, age 50: 41)

All local residents of the ward could participate in this forum. Jeevan was *Ward Samyojak* of Ward number 2 of the VDC. He happened to permanently migrate from Diktel during the time of conflict. His stay in Bhojpur for more than ten years has made him eligible for the post of *Ward Samyojak*, which is a respectable position with responsibility at the ward level.

One of my informants mentioned that

"Nagrik Ward Manch is in very ward, all people of the ward are called, here, different yearly development program that is needed for the people of the ward is

discussed. The people of the ward discuss on what they are deprived of: water, electricity, health, education, farming, repairing of public utilities and demand for such programs and plans to be implemented in the ward.” (Palman, age 66, 2013)

According to the information I was able to collect, all nine wards in the VDC had *Nagrik Ward Manch*. It was a public space where representatives of all the households in the toles could make their voice on their immediate needs that is most in demand for their common good. *Nagrik Ward Manch* usually held meetings once a month but also as and when needed. The meeting was organized and presided over by *Ward Samyojak*. The forum does not have an institutional building or office. The meetings are held in the community school, which is the nearest available place and provides ample space for the meeting to be conducted.

7.6.3 The Role of Ward Samyojak: Information Dissemination

For each *Nagrik Ward Manch*, one *Ward Samyojaka* was assigned. *Ward Samyojak* facilitated the meetings of *Nagrik Ward Manch* with the help of *Sajagta* (Social Mobilizer). One of my respondents Jaya Tamang is a *Ward Samyojak* of Ward number 3. He has been in this post for the last 4 years. According to Jaya, apart from calling ward level meetings, he gets information for VDC about the availability of training programs for interested people in the ward. Such training programs are conducted by various non-governmental organizations. It's his duty and responsibility to disseminate the message to the people in his ward.

“As a ward samyojak when program from VDC is available, I see what different programs are available in the interest of our ward, and at the same time decide which type of programs to get into the ward” (Jaya, age 41: 2013).

According to Shailendra, a permanent resident of ward no 2, *Ward Samyojak* is a non-political position. The VDC informs the *Samyojak* about the meetings to be held and the *Samyojak* informs the people in his/her ward.

“It is the responsibility of the Samyojak to inform and call the meeting at the ward level” (Sailendra, Age 38: 2013).

The Ward Samyojak is given the responsibility of information dissemination. Each Samyojak of every ward is informed by the officials of the VDC about the schedule of the meetings to be held, and also about the development programs available through the VDC in collaboration with NGOs who are implementing such programs. Apart from the responsibility to conduct the meetings at ward level, Ward Samyojak is also a representative of a particular ward to the VDC. This is the mechanism of connecting and linking ward to the VDC and the prime role is played by the *Samyojak* and the officials at the VDC.

7.6.4 Role of Sajagta: Social Mobilization and Ward Sabha/Parisad

A *Sajagta* is a social mobilizer. Each VDC has one social mobilizer as a VDC official, who is responsible for scheduling and conducting *sabha* (meetings) in the 9 wards. The mobilizer also prepares the schedule for monthly *Nagrik Ward Manch* meeting and yearly *Ward Sabha*, and is responsible for informing all the *Ward Samyojak* about the preparation of the scheduled meetings at ward level.

“The sajagta calls for the meeting in the VDC, he communicates with us. He informs us about the meeting schedule, on our side we prepare for the meeting at ward level” (Jeevan, Age 41: 2013).

In a meeting with Tej Pradhan, the current *Sajagta* of Bhojpur, he told me *“its our responsibility to inform the people well. We do all necessary things to keep the people very well informed about the different programs that they can participate in. Even, while forming the Nagrik Ward Manch, we consider tole by tole representative. As per my experience, sixty percent of the people participate in this mechanism. They speak out their needs and problems and according to priority, and the most urgently needed program is chosen. So, for example, in this ward number 2 of Bhojpur VDC, if there are 50% people demanding road facilities and but 95% demanding water access, then we look at the majority and make the water program available to them.”* (Tej, age 25: 2013).

7.6.5 Ward Parishad

Parishad at ward level is the biggest meeting which is held once in a year. As explained earlier, the social mobilizer takes in the responsibility to fix a schedule for the meeting. Such meeting generally happens before Dashain festival. The main objective of this meeting is to chalk out a list of most demanded development programs needed by the people of the ward. Each of the nine wards has its own ward *Parishad*. The participants of this *Parishad* includes all the people in the ward who are available, the *Nagrik Ward Manch* of the Ward, the *Samyojak* and the *Sajagta*.

According to one of the informant:

“For ward parishad, the notice comes from the VDC office, the venue and time is stated. And they give direction to all user committee to come together for a meeting. Then people like me ward samyojak call other people by phone and inform them. Then we hold such meeting in a school in our ward. So, in the ward, all the people in the ward, specially intellectuals, educationist, social workers, nagarik samaj, are all welcomed to attend this meeting. In this parishad, all ward members and at least 50% of the people of the ward have to be present in the meeting. Then only it becomes legitimate meeting. 50-60 % people of the ward are always present.” (Hari, Age 45: 2013).

This mechanism includes: a) people of the toles selecting representative to *Nagrik Ward Manch* and selecting a *Samyojak* to lead the *Manch* for a ward, b) the engagement of *Manch* in monthly meeting and a yearly *Ward Sabha* (to discuss and choose the development plans and programs that needs immediate implementation in the concerned ward) is a participatory approach to development at the local level. The chosen plans and development programs of all nine wards collectively are considered by the VDC *Parishad* for the final decision making such that all wards get equal share of the grant made available by the State. The importance of this mechanism can be seen through the lens of citizen participation, where members at different levels, tole, ward, and VDC, get a chance to voice their concerns and demands. On a positive note, participatory development is only possible when level of participation of people irrespective of class, caste, gender is high.

The Local State at the micro level is the VDC. The mechanism of *Nagrik Ward Manch* as an instrument for participatory development is also an instrument for individuals and households to get connected indirectly to the State. Here the State is the provider of the grant but the decision made for the needed development projects and its implementation is done by the citizens. Participation in *Nagrik Ward Manch*, *Ward Sabha* and involvement in the process of decision making on issues that impact the people's lives directly has vital significance. This mechanism is seen in all 75 districts in Nepal, which had first been initiated by the Local Governance and Community Development Program (LGCDP) program.

7.6.6 Village Development Committee as Local State for Development

The nine wards that comprise a VDC come under its administration. At the time of this study in 2013, VDC Secretary headed the VDC. The *Sajagta* in consultation with the Secretary takes the responsibility of fixing and conducting meetings at ward levels. The demands made by the people and the plans for all wards are collected by the *Sajagta* and compiled for further

Picture 7.1 Bhojpur VDC



Source: Field Work, 2014

decision making at the VDC meeting. VDC meeting is a separate meeting that involves all nine *Samyojak*, and other representatives of different sector and groups. People from education sector, health sector, and representative of user groups of agriculture, drinking water, ethnic groups and Dalits are also included. The meeting is held to choose the most appropriate programs for each ward from the demand list made at the *Ward Parishad*. The chosen program is finally allocated the required budget for its implementation, and a *Village Parishad* is held for declaring the chosen program and the budget allocated to it.

During the field work, I happened to follow the entire process of the VDC level meeting till the *Village Parishad* was successfully held on the 12th of January, 2014. The purpose of following this entire process was to understand the entire mechanism and the involvement of the participants and the benefit entailed with it. The first meeting held on the 26th of December, 2013 intended to finalize on the decisions to be made for selecting the different development programs for the coming fiscal year 2070-71 and 2071-72. The meeting took place at Janasewa School, where a class room was allocated for the purpose by the head of the school. Firstly, attendance and registration was taken by the VDC officials. The meeting was primarily attended by all ward *Samyojaks*, political party members, people of different organizations. Women's participation was also quite significant.

In the meeting the *Sajagta* distributed two pages of printed sheets of the demands made in the *Ward Parishad* meetings of different wards. The demands had six categorizations: a) programs demanded for drinking water, b) programs demanding road building at different wards, c) programs demanding agricultural inputs and irrigation facilities, d) programs demanding funds to be allocated to the schools, e) programs demanding drainage system, and f) programs for income generation and livelihood enhancement.

The table below shows the number of programs demanded in each of the categories and the total costs associated with it.

Table 7.1 Development Program on Demand and The Associated Budget

Name of the program	Number of demanded programs	Costs associated
Drinking Water	17	Rs 880,000
Road Building	24	Rs 3,350,000
Agriculture and Irrigation	8	Rs 700,000
Education and School	11	Rs 810,000
Drainage System	8	Rs 3,600,000
Income and Livelihood	13	Rs 12,022,500

Source: VDC Records, 2013

The above table depicts that the local population are dependent on the state provision of block grants available for different development programs demanded in the nine wards. The table also shows that road building in different wards is the most demanded program of all, followed by drinking water projects, and income and livelihood programs. The cost associated with income and livelihood program is the highest, followed by the costs of drainage system and road building. The demand for high budget for income and livelihood projects depicts that local population has increasing dependency on local state and the provisions it provides through block grants.

The block grants are limited and cannot meet the demanded amount as stated above. To choose most appropriate programs and allocate adequate budget from the available grant, a committee was formed during the meeting. A 28-member

Picture 7.2 Gaun Parishad



Source: Field Work, 2014

committee was formed that included the 9 ward *Samyojaks*, and the rest were from different organizations that included women organizations, ethnic organizations, representative of the Dalits, business sector, and different user groups. The selections of development

projects were made among the programs demanded from the list distributed in the meeting, however, the categorization and grouping of selected programs were different. The different grouping and categorization related to rules for selections stated in the directive principles of local governance.

The table below gives details on the final allocated budget on various categorical development programs.

Table 7.2 List of Development Programs and Allocated Budget

Name of the Development Program	Number of programs granted	Budget allocated
Child Welfare and Education	9	Rs. 371,000
Women Empowerment	8	Rs. 371,000
Ethnic, Dalit and Old age allowance	1	Rs. 556,500
Animal Husbandry Center	1	Rs. 300,000
User Community	2	Rs. 550,000
Road Construction	4	Rs. 450,000

Source: VDC Records, 2013

The block grant was allocated as shown in the table above. My reflection on such a decision and associated budget allocation was that the block grant is limited to around Rs 2,500,000. Secondly, the allocation should be inclusive such that all wards get benefit from decision made. These funds are given to the organizations, user groups and women groups whose development program has been selected.

The bottom up linkages of tole representatives to *Nagrik Ward Manch* and representative of *Nagrik Ward Manch* to VDC, and the monthly meeting of *Nagrik Ward Manch*, yearly meeting of *Ward Sabha* and *VDC Parishad* and finally distribution of block grants for the development programs to nine wards shows a vertical connection between the local state and local citizenry. The individual citizen and local state connects in spaces which are also instruments of decision making namely *Nagrik Ward Manch*, *Ward Sabha* and *Village Parishad*. This entire mechanism of vertical nature shows citizenry as beneficiaries and local state the providers of resources. And the entire mechanism irrespective of lack of local election, and elected representatives has paved the path towards participatory development through active citizenship.

7.7 (Non) Native Residents as (Non) Local Citizens: Citizen Charter (de) linking (Non) local citizens to VDC

In the above section, I showed the vertical linkage between local citizenry and local state, and the dependency of local citizenry on the local state as regards to public good provisions and resource distribution. In this section, I aim to explain about the direct interaction an individual/ household has with the local state. The existence of

direct relationship in the day to day life of individual or household with the VDC was based on civil identification, legal issues, and taxations. I was guided by the information that all government institutions had citizen charter that gave detailed information on the types of services the institution provided. One day on my visit to the VDC- office I looked at the citizen charter, I was told that most of the VDC offices in the country by now have such citizen charter displayed for the local citizenry.

Table 7.3 Points mentioned in the Citizen Charter of a VDC:

1	Recommendation for Citizenship
2	Relationship verification Certificate
3	Recommendation for change in land ownership
4	Collection of Land Tax
5	General Recommendation
6	Verification of Income Source
7	Land Valuation
8	Permission to start business
9	Birth Registration
10	Death Registration
11	Marriage Registration
12	Migration Registration
13	Divorce Registration
14	Development Program Agreement
15	Provision of Funds for Development Programs
16	Other legal works as per the directive principle of local self governance Act 1999

Source: VDC Office, 2013

The table above lists the most important of all services provided by the VDC to individuals as well as households.

“Firstly, when people need any type of reference or recommendation, people come to VDC, another reason is if any event have to be registered like birth, death, marriage, such social event’s registration is also done at village development committee, and the rest is collecting tax of land, renewing of license of shops.” (Tej, Age 26: 2013)

Tej who is a *Sajagta* of the Bhojpur VDC told me this when I was examining the local people and their direct link with the VDC.

“See, we are connected with the Village Development Committee in cases when there are some incidents in our village or tole, that incidence could be like dispute among neighbors or tole people, if such disputes are not resolved among the people, the case is taken to VDC, that is the first step, in VDC there is village seceratery. If there are mild disputes the secretary tries to resolve it. If it is any physical violence, it’s the case to be resolved by police. Otherwise in most vdc’s, people are connected to it in situations when citizenship is required and people of the tole have to be proof, then VDC will recommend it, also to get all facilities at ward level, is from VDC it self, we get fertilizers, we get different programs for the ward, we get involved in ward parishad to decide on the budget for ward and demand the VDC to make that budget available.

Here in VDC all sorts of recording take place such as marriage registration, birth registration, death registration, even to make citizenship, our first step is the VDC. So, a common people and his connection to the state is done through VDC. And our rights as a citizen start from VDC. Because, from our birth, our registration is done there, and then for what ever work we want to do, that involves government, we have to get recommendation from the VDC. So, VDC is the first rug of the ladder from where we get and exercise our basic rights. So, we search for our rights in VDC. So, its from VDC, we get our rights, its from VDC it self we get social safty nets. So, its here where handy capped people get their allowance, even old people allowance is got from VDC.” (Sailendra, Age 42: 2013)

The above excerpt taken from interview with Sailendra indicates how common people depend on VDC. The VDCs involvement to settle small scale disputes at local level also indicates that the institution is concerned with day-to-day life of the people and their lived experiences. From acquiring recommendation for citizenship to registration of social events as regards to civil status and legal identification, and contribution to development programs by allocation of grants makes VDC a vital institution at local level. People’s connection with VDC is legal as well as civil in nature. Firstly, space for involvement in development programs provided by VDC,

and secondly, active involvement of citizens in decision making process enhances inclusion. By inclusion as it is best seen in formation of *Nagrik Ward Manch*, VDC committee in *Village Parishad*, decision making was smooth and less conflict was created among the stakeholders. Moreover, active participation led to shared allocation of limited resource and made available to the public.

7.8 Vital Registration and Local Bodies

The registration of vital events such as birth, death, marriages and divorces has for several years been universally recognized. Almost every country in the world by now has promulgated laws for the establishment of its own national civil registration system to use the data for the vital statistics (IIVRS, 1986). In Nepal, the Birth, Death and other Personal Event (Registration) Act 1976 lays the foundation for vital registration. The registration of birth, death, in-/out-migration, marriage and divorce in VDCs or municipality office falls under vital registration in Nepal (Pathak, 2013/14).

At the national, district and village level, a vital registration system is the foundation for a database; this is of paramount importance to generate statistical information on continuous basis for development (social, economical) planning and for administration of such programs. The document of each vital event for household and individual is needed for legal and administrative purposes in daily lives. Unfortunately, developing countries like Nepal is still struggling to have civil registration and vital statistics systems that could serve the purposes for which they are established. And the problem is more challenging when the magnitude of mobile population is very high.

7.9 Civil Registration in Nepal

In accordance with the first “Birth, Death and other Personal Event (Registration) Act 1976, civil registration which includes birth registration was introduced in 1977. This Act came into effect in 10 districts of Nepal, and gradually covered rest of the 65 districts in the mid-1990. According to the Act, the five life events that are now registered in Nepal are: birth, death, marriage, migration and

divorce. The Vital Events Registration System (VERS) is divided between Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development, DDCs, municipalities and VDCs. The mechanism and process for the maintenance of the VERS is as follows: data gathered in VDC / municipalities are monthly submitted to their respective DDCs, the collected data are routinely analyzed and used for planning. The accumulated data at the DDCs is then monthly sent to Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development. To register an event, a citizen comes to the concerned VDC/municipality and informs the local registrar (Village secretary in case of VDCs) of the occurrence of the vital event. The registration is free of charge within the period of 35 days from the occurrence of the event but a fine of NRs 50 is charged after the stipulated time of 70 days. The local registrar notes down the event as well as provides certificate as proof of the registration of the event.

Box 1: Importance and objectives of Vital Event Registration System (VERS)

1. To maintain the legality of various vital events including the deaths.
2. To develop an updating of the household list by registering the vital events.
3. To develop a reliable basis for the management and distribution of citizenship.
4. To provide reliable information on population statistics.
5. To facilitate on the availability of various demographic statistics on yearly basis instead of having a census to be carried out every ten years.
6. To support an individual's right such as education, health, and other social services through developing the national population policies and strategies

Source: Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development of Nepal

7.10 Brief on Birth, Death and Other Personal (Registration) Act 1976

7.10.1 Name of the Act and Preamble

This is an Act made for the registration of the birth, death, marriage, divorce and migration. This Act has been amended three times. The first amendment took place in 1980, followed by second amendment in 1991, and the last amendment in 2006 where some Nepal Acts were amended to maintain Gender Equality Act 2006. The preamble of this act is as follows: “*Whereas it is expedient to make legal provisions regarding the registration and the issuance of certificates of birth, death,*

marriage, divorce and migration (change of residence) of person residing in Nepal” (Birth, death, and other Personal Event (Registration), Act 1976).

7.10.2 Important definition mentioned in the Act

Some of the important definitions included in this Act are a) Personal Event, b) Migration, c) Registrar, and d) Head of the family. As per the definition in the Act “Personal Event” means birth, death, marriage, divorce and migration (change in residence) of a person. Migration defined in the Act means change of residence from one Village Development Committee or Municipality to another Village Development Committee or Municipality of Nepal, or go abroad or come from abroad for a period of more than six months. “Registrar” means the Registrar appointed or Registrar designated by Government of Nepal by a notification published in the Nepal Gazette, and lastly “Head of the family” means the senior person who makes arrangement in the family or a person who takes care of the family.

7.11 Processes Involved in Registration of Personal Event

7.11.1 Information about occurrence of Event

The process involved in registration of personal event begins by informant who visits the office of Local Registrar to inform about the event. Section Four of the Act states that it’s the duty of the concerned person to give information to the Office of the Local Registrar in the prescribed form for the registration of the following personal event within thirty-five days of the occurring of such event : a) Notice of the birth or death, the head of the family or in his/ her absence the major member of the family, b) Notice of marriage by both the husband and wife, c) Notice of divorce by husband and wife, d) Notice of migration by the head of the family in the case migration of a family and by the person in the case for migration of an individual.

7.11.2 Registration of Personal Event

Section Five of the Act explains that upon receiving information explained in Section Four, local Registrar shall verify the information provided and then register the event immediately in the concerned register. On failure of registration within the

stipulated time of thirty-five days in case of birth and death registration the local registrar shall register the event upon charging Rs. 8. If the time period of seventy days is crossed, the fine is up to Rs. 50.

7.11.3 Provision of Certificate

Section Six of the Act mentions that the local registrar will issue registration certificate free of cost to the concerned person for any registration done in case of timely registration, and charge up to Rs. 50 if stipulated times is crossed.

7.12 Essence of Vital Registration for Civil Status

The documentation of all vital events is a function of civil registration system. Live births, deaths, marriages, divorces and migration are vital events as per the Birth, Death and Other Personal Event (Registration) Act 1976. The registration process and the records of these events track the civil status of individuals and define the relationship between individuals in the family organization, society and with state. Here, I would like to shade more light on the utility of vital records and vital statistics as mentioned in a technical paper by International Institute for Vital Registration and Statistics (IIVRS).

Box 2:

1. The facts of birth from which a person's civil status and other rights and obligations originate.
2. The fact of a death which extinguishes certain rights of the individual, and creates inheritance rights and other obligations.
3. The fact of a marriage, divorce, separation, adoption, legitimation, etc., which create, modify or extinguish civil status or other rights and obligations.

Source: IIVRS

7.12.1 Importance of Vital records at Individual Level

I would like to start by mentioning the United Nations Declaration of Rights of the Child and United Nations Bill of Human Rights, both of which proclaim the right to citizenship, where child is given the right to a name, citizenship and to know of their parentage. In Nepal, the record of birth registration certificate provides proof of family relationship and citizenship of the parent and is a legal document required at the time of application of citizenship. It also provides legal proof of age, dependency status, legitimacy status that entails variety of rights that connects to exercise of civil functions, entitlement to family and state allowances, education, property ownership and inheritance and many more. Similarly, the death record would be an evidence on the claim of inheritance of property, and marriage and divorce records are the basis of claims involving the status of women as dependency or in case of divorce remarry and to receive alimony.

Here I would like to include an excerpt which discusses the birth registration in Nepal in the 1970s:

“In the absence of a compulsory birth registration scheme there is now no clear and reliable method for ascertaining who is a citizen and who is not. The establishment of such a compulsory birth registration scheme at the time, before the citizenship issue has become explosive..... children’s rights as citizens- to buy land, to vote, to obtain educational benefits and to find employment- would be protected. There is thus great incentive for the local population to register their children at birth” (Weiner, 1973).

Weiners’ excerpt depicts that early 1970s Nepal did not see any form of civil registration, even for birth. For Weiner rights of citizen prevalent during his research in Nepal was to have right to buy land, to vote, and to obtain educational benefits and to find employment. He highlights birth registration and its importance prior to application of citizenship which connects birth registration to civil status of an individual. In a study of China, delayed birth registration resulted in lack of legal protection for concerned children lack of access to their rights, to social welfare and basic services (Feldman, Li, and Zhang,2009).

7.12.2 Importance of vital records for the State

The vital events' record which is the composite elements of civil registration system is used as databases by the State. The significance of such database is felt in socioeconomic platforms where information about the individuals and their wellbeing is of prime concern for the planners, decision and policy makers of the State. The plans, decisions and policy are to benefit the people, and this is only possible on a basis of socioeconomic database of the State, region, district, VDC and settlement through proper maintenance and records of vital events. Pathak (2004/05) states that socioeconomic data needs to be periodically collected from each settlement level, because events like birth, death, in-/out-migration, marriage and divorce occurs at any time and date, such frequent occurrence of events results in VDC data to be old and need to be updated such that data reflects local reality.

Szreter (2007) states that in countries where civil registration is poor, vulnerable population groups would have diminishing capacity to exercise and enjoy human rights, their entitlements, functionings or capabilities. Szreter argues that poor civil registration system is an obstacle to fundamental development and hence should be priority among international organization. Delayed registration obstructs administration and long-term planning by both local and national government.

7.13 Civic Status and Citizenship

As members of nation-state, citizens are conferred juridical status and a political identity with the possession of citizenship. Citizenship entails different civil, social and political rights. Along with these rights and given entitlements, the citizens are enabled to be

Picture 7.3 Citizenship Rights



Source: Field Work, 2014

members of a nation-state where they can actively participate in all meaningful matters that govern their lives (Pant and Standing, 2011). In Nepal too, citizenship is a relationship between an individual and the State. Citizenship certificate is an identity document that proves a person to be a member of the nation-state, and hence is considered as a Nepali citizen. The significance of possession of a citizenship certificate for a citizen lies on the possibility of exercising various rights, claims and social benefits.

In the Nepalese context, the concept of citizenship was introduced in 1952 after the enactment of the Nepal Citizenship Act (FWLD, 2014). Since then, the government has been issuing citizenship certificates as formal documents to all those who are of age 16 or above. The citizenship certificate not only confirms the legal identity but also provides access to rights, opportunities and services that includes formal sector employment, micro-credit schemes and banking facilities, registration of births, marriage, death and migration, property transaction, government benefits and allowances and many other similar provisions. To obtain the citizenship certificate, the applicant must possess documentation such as the land registration certificate or citizenship certificate of immediate family, and obtain supporting documentation from their VDC secretary and other citizens with citizenship certificate. The eligible person will first have to approach his/her concerned VDC or Municipality with the required documents to get a recommendation for citizenship certificate (FWLD, 2014). This recommendation, along with other required documentation, is then submitted to the District Administration Office (DAO) and the Chief District Office (CDO) makes the final decision to grant or withhold the application for citizenship.

Citizenship currently prevalent in Nepal is static in model, and makes it paradoxical in character and quality. For example, a person who has citizenship from rural area does not necessarily actualize the same level of citizenship upon migration to town or city other than his origin. His/her citizenship is affiliated to the VDC or Municipality of his/ her origin, and it's within the administrative boundary of the concerned VDC/Municipality that he/she can actualize and realize full potential of citizenship conferred to him/her as a member of the state.

7.14 Local State, Citizen and Vital Registration

On 29 November, 2013, I had the opportunity to meet Sailendra of Paluwa Ward no. 2 in Bhojpur. Sailendra represents the Citizen Ward Forum of Ward no 2, and is a permanent resident of Bhojpur VDC. He was 38 years old and the youngest brother among siblings of Karki family. Because of his involvement in the Citizen Ward Forum, and active involvement in the community, I queried on the registrations done in VDC and connection between citizen and VDC.

He said *“all sorts of recording take place at VDC, marriage registration, birth registration, death registration, even to take citizenship our first step is VDC. Common people and his connection to the state is from VDC, our rights as a citizen starts from VDC, this is because from our birth our registration is done here and from then on what ever work we want to do involving government, we have to get recommendation from the VDC.”*

The above excerpt depicts that VDC is the local state and the office of local registrar where vital registration can be done. In practice, birth registration of a child is done in the office of local registrar where the father is registered. Similarly, in case of marriage, the marriage registration which involves the presence of both husband and wife is done in the local registrar office where the husband is registered on birth. The vital registration of events recorded in a particular VDC connects an individual to the VDC, which also implies that the concerned individual identifies him/herself with the VDC and belonging to it legally. Being registered in a VDC pertains to establishment of legal identity to that particular VDC and such registration is entailed with acquiring social rights and social security as provided by the local state.

Sailendra further said *“VDC is the first rung of ladder where we get and exercise our basic rights. We search for our rights in VDC, it is from VDC we get our rights, it's from VDC we get social safety nets. It is here where handy capped people get their allowance, even old people allowance is go from VDC”*

It is to be noted here that an individual if not registered to a VDC would not be legally identified in case of birth registration. This would imply that he/she would not

be entitled to any social rights and social security or any other provisions provided by the local state. A newly married couples' marital status would not be recognized if marriage registration is not done. On a similar note, an individual or family who migrates to a new VDC or municipality would not be recognized as formal member of that VDC or municipality if migration registration is not done. That individual or family will be legally identified to the VDC or municipality where they are originally registered.

To illustrate the connection of individual to the VDC in the context of vital registration, Deepen and his wife Sunita who have a child of two and a half years old told me that their child who they named Premika was not registered. Deepen who is from Arnnapurna VDC of Bhojpur district is married to Sunita from Sankhuwasabha district, currently both are dwelling in Bhojpur VDC. They married in Bhojpur and Premika was born in Bhojpur. When I asked him why they failed to register their marriage and birth of their child, Deepen explained that registration cannot be done in the VDC office where they are currently dwelling.

He said: *"I am from Annapurna VDC, I and my wife are required to go to Annapurna for registration"*.

Deepen and Sunita have been temporarily residing in Bhojpur VDC, they have rented two rooms and are involved in sharecropping. Not being formally included as members of the local community, Deepen and his wife were unregistered migrants who did not have migration registration at the VDC where they hope to have better life chances. Their daughter is deprived of birth registration, that is deprivation from right to identity, right to legal documentation of her parentage and right to nationality which is the fundamental right of a child as per UN declaration.

This made me as a researcher to explore more about unregistered migrants. What was the reason for not being registered migrant? This opened up the space for exploring how local state treated migration registration of migrants, and to explore on what were the requirements to get migration event registered.

7.15 Local Citizen: Involvement and Engagement

In this section I explain the role and characteristics of participants in decision making processes in the toles, Wards, and VDC meetings. The general characteristics seen across members who were participating as *Ward Samyojaks*, user group representatives, mothers group representatives, ethnic groups was that they belong to one of the nine wards of the VDC, had permanent residency, and for long had been dwelling in the locality. Active involvement in the locality, with long term of residency in the same locality had helped them gain social trust. The decision to make a person a representative without any election process is based on trust and consensus and collective understanding and social solidarity.

“To be a ward samyojak of Nagrik Ward Manch is to be a ward representative; it is a respectable thing. As I am one of the oldest settlers around my area, I have been given the responsibility by the residents of the village. But now I feel I am old to actively participate and from now on Kritika would be taking over.”
(Bhagwati , Age 63:2013)

Bhagwati Tamang of Kafle village Ward number 9 was sixty-three-year-old, and participated as a representative of Ward number 9 during the *Village Parrasid*. She was known as Bhagwati *didi* (sister) in her locality. During the *parishad*, I observed that most of the people attending the meeting respected her as *didi*. Her age, and her contribution to her locality as social worker had generated trust towards her. Similar characteristics were seen on Kritika, who had been social worker for long and was on her late 50s. Both were living in Kafle village since many decades.

When I say decades, the time also includes the armed conflict period. Other *Samyojaks* like Jaya, Hari, and Karna of ward 3, 8 and 5 respectively had their association with their wards for a very long time. Most of the current *Samyojaks* had not left Bhojpur during the peak of conflict time. Their current involvement with the public is the result of staying back, even in difficult situations and gaining trust from the local people.

7.16 Civil Spaces and Local Citizens' Engagement to Development

7.16.1 User Committees and User Groups

Guided by the evidences that VDC offers block grants for local development, and the fact that for development local people's engagement was of paramount importance, I felt it was vital to know how people organized themselves as beneficiaries at local levels. I intended to understand the mechanism of being organized, provision of space for local people to engage as stakeholders to plan and implementation for needed development programs, and sharing of benefits of the outcomes among the people involved.

Picture 7.4 User Committee Meeting



Source: Field Work, 2014

I was informed that at the grassroots level, any development program being implemented was looked after by *Samitee* (Committee).

“if any development program is being implemented, or if such programs comes in VDC, its governments direction that a user committee is formed and through user committee the program will be implemented...if we have to get a program for our ward from VDC, we have to create a user committe, to implement such program user committee is formed at ward level. This is government rule it self. Now, if governement have to distribute program at ward level or VDC level, minimum requirement is to have inclusion of 33% women, a user committee is created...” (Sailendra, age 38: 2014).

According to Sailendra's explanation and what I observed during the fieldwork, at all levels of locality, tole, ward or VDC, fulfilling the people's immediate needs such as access to drinking water, electricity, road, health post and education, and maintenance and development of such public services was the responsibility of people with the support of the local state. A user group or committee was formed for each public good, this on the one hand is seen as sharing of responsibility among the localities and other an approach toward collective action for development and maintenance. I was further explained that a User Committee was an inclusive body, as Sailendra mentioned 33% involvement of women was needed, it had to have a Dalit representative too. The organizational structure of User Committee comprised of a President, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, one of which posts had to be held by a female. Similarly, the committee should have a Dalit representative too in case the concerned locality has Dalit settlements. If the following criteria were not met, the user committee would not be recognized by the VDC officials.

Box: 3 Case of Shillichung Drinking Water Project and User Committee

The people of Bhojpur VDC have limited access to water. One of the main sources of water was the 'Saat Dhara' (Seven Tap), it was natural source of water flowing 24 hours. Other sources were small natural water spouts found in pockets of private land and very few of them were seen on public land. The 'Saat Dhara' was used for daily use, during the field work I observed that people around ward no. 3 regularly used the dhara for drinking, bathing, and washing clothes. Earlier, the water from this source through arrangement of *kulo* (very small size water canals) was used to water the *khets* during the time of rice plantation. The increasing population of Bhojpur demanded access to water at household level distributed to each household through modern piped line distribution. A user committee was formed, and project was planned. The project named it self Shillichung Drinking Water Project and demand for the fund for this project through district development committee was made at central state level. The projects magnitude and high cost demanded financial help from the central government. The source of water came from a stream called Mahhavir. The grant was give by the government and the project was implemented through the active involvement of User Committee that implemented the project. Currently, Shillichung Water Project provides water to three VDCs namely Taksar, Bhojpur and Bhokhim. The successful implementation of this project, the responsibility and accountability taken by the user committee of this project is one vivid example of people's access to scare resources, in this case water. Shillichung water project is also an example of local peoples' basic needs being met through their active participation. The project also exemplifies participatory approach to development.

Source: Fieldnotes, 2013

The empirical evidences collected illustrate that when people realize their immediate needs, and those needs are also common needs for others, local people come together with a common objective, and actualization of their need becomes possible through collective action. User Committee was in this regard seen as a platform of collective action, through which local people could gain access to what they were currently deprived of. This could be seen in all cases such as access to road, electricity, agricultural inputs and irrigation facilities, drainage system and so on.

Another example of user group as platform of collective action was clearly seen in the existing mechanism of Ban Samitee, and the availability of woods made to the people for daily consumption as fire woods. In Bhojpur VDC there were ten community forests, locally known as *Samudayik Ban*. In every ward there was a Samudayik Ban Samitee (Community Forest User group). Below the ward committee, there was another committee called the tole committee.

“Tole committee is a committee to record, which person needs woods, and in their recommendation fire woods are made available.....tole committee will recommend which people need wood, which people need fire wood, and the main ban committee will make the woods available to them”.

I was told that different tole committees had a representative; these representatives formed the ward committee. On the top, there was a separate committee, which would look after all Samudayik Ban, and representative of ward committee formed the top most committee. Apart from getting access to community forest for wood, the members of the user group were also responsible for reforestation and forest conservation.

These examples of User Committees are evidence of the practices of peoples' involvement for their own welfare; to be actively participating in such committees can be seen as willing to take responsibility towards common good of the whole.

7.16.2 Samuhas (Self-help Groups)

Self-help groups were formed by individuals to form a group with common interests. Few households in the toles organized themselves to form self-help group through which they would benefit equally by pooling small amount of capital to form micro-credits and savings. This involved people working in and for different sectors such as forest, agriculture, and mothers' welfare. Each samuha would have its own goals, aims and objectives. According to one of my informants *“to participate in public, first of all people have to get themselves involved in social work of the ward. Every person needs Samaj (Society). In this case, there are tole samuha, where people like to participate”*.

Sammuha is seen as a public space, where every individual in the society could participate for the need of each other. This is also a way of being social at grassroots level. Tole samuha as a group for common benefit can be seen as people of common interest coming together to help one another.

“for local people to participate publically, in very tole we have something like samuha, for example, each tole can have ban samuha (forest group) or for emergency fund people belonging to the tole create a samuha. Sammuhas are always created in the beginning of the month in each tole when needed. They have their meeting one a month. For example, when some one dies, all the people of the tole collect money for the deceased family and help for funeral. Such samuhas are formed as per the need of the people of the tole” (Jaya, age 41:2014).

I found out that there were different sammuhas. The sammuhas involved in agriculture would call themselves 'krisi samuha' (Agro-group), those involved with community forest would call themselves 'ban samuha'. Each samuha had its own motives, objectives and duties. There were also tole sammuhas, groups formed to represent their tole and not involved in *ban* or *krisi* but other activities of the tole. Almost all the sammuhas were seen to be involved in saving money and lending money to those members who are in need of it. In other words, they also worked as micro-credit groups.

The importance of *sammuha* as a micro credit and saving group was significant, as it helped the people at times of financial emergencies. It was a medium to have access to finance at the time of need, and peoples' engagement in such *sammuh*as gave themselves access to more pool of financial capital as compared to access to finance at personal level during the time of utmost need. The minimum number of persons required to register a *samuha* was 5 people with their citizenship. The legally registered *samuha* were those self-help groups that were dependent on themselves as well as other external sources like NGOs, the other type of *samuha* was where people got together and formed a non-registered group. One of the financial benefits of involvement in a *samuha* is to be able to take loan from the *samuha* in an interest rate that is lower than personal loan taken from money lender.

*“We are 18 households in this tole samuha, we collect 100 rupees in every three months. This money will be saved and reinvested by our samuha members itself. The samuha is formed to help people in emergency need and the poor people. This does not have to be registered, but there are sammuh*as that are registerd with non-government organization and work together. Such *sammha* are formed to help those people who are identified as poor people and vulnerable people. They will be given the first priority and financial help” (Jeevan, age 50)

Apart from having the objective of giving micro financials service at tole levels, a *samuha* was also formed to provide house accessories needed during personal gatherings that usually happens in every households such as ceremonies like marriage, and other social event like rice feeding ceremonies and others.

Box: 4 Case of Emergency Fund Group, Village Kodhar

The people of the *gaau* can come together and form a *samuha*, like in Kothar; this was the emergency fund group in which 64 households participate. These households collect Rs 150 per household per year to rent a room. They have lots of things now, like chairs, cutleries, cooking utensils. And all the households who are in the *sammuhha* could use it, and those household who want to use these stuffs have to rent it. Households could rent according to their needs. The chairs can be rented, cooking utensils etc can be rented and so on. Everything could be rented for around Rs 1500, and if any thing is lost or damaged the person who takes it for rent pays for it. But for people who are in the *samuha*, they do not have to pay for rent. Only if materials are lost or damaged the person has to pay for it.

Source: Fieldnotes, 2013

7.16.3 Spaces for Women Participation

This section explores the spaces of involvement for women, and how the participation of women is changing. It also discusses the different types of spaces for participation, the participants, and the mechanism of participation. The main informant on women issues and their participation was Lila Maya, who happened to be present in all VDC meetings representing Women Groups. Lila has her permanent residence in the bazaar that makes her place just ten minutes away from the office she works in.

“Well, I have been in this field of women organization for 3 years now, before that I was never interested in such women issues. But when I entered, I realized that women are also a part of society, and they are strong pillars of the society. And in case of right for woman, I realized that no one will give us right, so we have to demand it. But, in this district, in over all 63 vdcs, during these three years, I have found woman to have enhanced their capacity and capabilities. It was not like this three years before. In case of zilla level, the women are more informed, but in the rural villages, the women are not informed, the women network is not very active

there. What we plan is to develop some training programs and implement at grassroots level, for this we need fund, and hence we look towards the VDC to allocate certain development fund for us. So, what I feel is that I have to make other non-informed women to be vocal about their needs and things that are important in their lives. If we all are successful in doing this no woman would be left behind, or dominated in society. So, my vision is that all women walk together ahead, but still, though I am in zilla, and work for woman, I do not have any salary or bhatta for it, I am a social worker, and this time I actively participated in village parishad, and I am happy about it.”

Lila’s active participation as a representative of *Ama Samuha* (Mothers Group) in the VDC parishad meeting had significant contribution to *Ama Samuha*. Earlier, self-helpers called “*Soyamsavika*” had Rs 500 per day allowance, now which has been increased to Rs 1000. According to Lila, currently there exists two district level women organizations, one was *Mahila Sanjal* (Women’s Network) and other was Paralegal. Paralegal was organization supported by Woman Development and UNICEF. These organizations worked for women’s development and empowerment, and helped victimized women from family violence, rape, and other forms of violence.

She said: “*When women victims come to us and they have no money to even register a complaint, or have any place to stay in zilla during the time of registration, for that a fund is there created in Paralegal, where three top members can recommend for the funding for that person.”*

The Women Network did not get any support from external organization like Woman development or UNICEF; this was self sustained network where, membership was welcomed with certain amount of entry fees. Apart from Women Network, there were various woman *samuha* (groups) belonging to different sector, women’s group in education sector, and *Ama Samuha* coordinated by *Swyamsevika* from *Jana Swastha* (Public Health).

“in every ward, there is Ama Samuha, and very ward has swyamsevika, the ama samuha is run by swyamsevika. However, there is no budget allocation for its

operation; here the fund is generated by the members of Amma Sammuha. Even Ama Samuhasupports the victimized Women. Irrespective of which woman group, Ama Samuhawill always watch to support woman.”

Lila thus exemplifies herself as a leader of the women organization. She has been a true social worker for women. Her explanations are evidence to the growing activities of woman organization at ward as well as district level. Engagement in women organizations can be seen as an opportunity for women of Bhojpur to empowerment and development. While some organizations like Paralegal have been receiving direct support from line minister of Women Development and UNICEF, Women Networks have been self dependent, and *Ama Samuha* and other women self help groups seek the support from VDC. Here the role of VDC can noticed in the daily lives of women. As mentioned earlier, Rs 371,000 was allocated to different woman empowerment and development programs.

The purpose of this section was to elaborate on the connection and linkages between local resident and the concerned VDC. *Ward Nagrik Manch* was discussed as a space to connect Wards with VDC. It indirectly connected individual and households of wards through *Samyojaks* to the VDC. VDC as the local state provided block grants for the development of the wards, this needed active participation of the people of the ward where decision making and implementation was the responsibility of the people of the wards. Individuals and households were also directly connected with the state as regards to certification, identification, recommendation, taxation, application and citizenship. Finally, who participated and represented was discussed including rise of woman participation and increasing space for participation for woman. The empirical evidence given above shows that the participants were all permanent residents, who are familiar to the VDC more than those who have recently settled or residing temporarily there. In the next section I will discuss the situation of participation of those people who are in Bhojpur on temporary basis and have not yet settled permanently.

7.17 Migrants and Local State

7.17.1 Away from Origin: Attachment, Detachment, and Delinking

The absence of an individual or household during migration from the origin tole, ward and VDC has depopulated the area of origin where in-migration is not refilling the origin. This has significantly affected representation of household in tole committees, and *Ward Nagrik Manch* in the rural areas. Similar affects could be seen in formation of user groups. The depopulated rural areas have been a challenge for social mobilization too; this regards to bring about engagement of people of the locality for common benefit and welfare. The depopulation is also felt in situations when collective actions are needed the most, but cannot happen because of less active population.

“In most VDCs, which are remote and have less population, such as Timma VDC, I found that when people of that VDC come to Bhojpur VDC, due to less people in that VDC, no one is available to even carry sick persons to the health post, in a tole there are only two houses to eight houses at the most, and in emergency people from other ward have to come and help, even to carry dead body. This is the difficulty faced in depopulated area..... in remote area, when a person moves out, another person does not fill in. So, this creates problem”.

The above excerpt is taken from an interview with a social mobilizer. The excerpt informs that rural VDCs get depopulated due to migration towards Bhojpur VDCs. At the rural VDCs due to lack of presence of people, peoples’ mobilization for common good becomes difficult.

According to another informant, a migrant from Khawa VDC:

“This is a big problem, this is a sad story of Nepal, firstly, migration has affected us in individual to societal level, if a person of a tole migrates, this is a loss to the ward. When a person with potential and participation leaves his place of origin, a ward or VDC, then the society faces a huge loss in it. There would be no body to represent the place of origin at VDC, or district level, this could even be in demanding development programs for the VDC and ward. In case of my village case,

where there is no person who can speak and talk, development programs have not reached such places”.

The above excerpt depicts that people’s presence in the origin tole, ward and VDC is connected with the need of his/her engagement in the tole, ward and VDC. Presence of many people and subsequent active engagement in the tole, ward and VDC would help in demanding and implementing development programs for that area. The absence of people at rural areas has indirectly impacted the development of rural area, where, demand for (scarce) resources is not felt, resulting in absence of any development activities.

“Development programs are not meant for single person, it’s for tole, for ward, or basti”

When Tej said me about development programs were not just for a person but for tole, or ward, or *basti*, lots of issues started to be clear on understanding the constraints of depopulated rural areas. The depopulated areas were facing a civic engagement crisis. Many constraints were seen at different levels. At the tole level, due to less number of households, self help group was difficult to be formed, formation of user committee for any development programs was a far reach, and block grant from the VDC would not be utilized in the most effective manner. Tej further reasoned that in depopulated areas

“To go from one house to other takes lots of times, hours. Secondly, they do not turn-up for regular meetings, and development process is also slow in these areas. It’s difficult to work in those VDC. Participation is nill because the venue is always far away, people do not participate in meetings. And because of less participation, we do not know the ground level problems they are facing, and it becomes difficult for us to design program needed for them. Because they do not participate nor do they take ownership of the programs they need. The programs we design are difficult to implement. So, people’s participation is less. But according to local governance direction, minimum number of people participating to implement a program is stated as 5 or 7. But due to less participation this rule cannot be implemented. So, programs cannot be implemented also.”

The explanation of less participation at rural areas was clearly seen due to high flow of out-migration from those areas. Many of the informants described the silent rural areas, which lacked youth population and only old people were left in the villages in rural areas. It was the absence of the youth population that made carrying people to health post difficult. The areas as origins faced diminished collective actions due to lack of civic engagement. When talking to migrants at the destination, and understanding their origin, it was the narrations given to me that formed a picture of migrants currently living away from origin, and detached and delinked from the local state at origin (there) while making a living at the place of destination (here).

7.17.2 Migrant's Attachment with the Origin

As explained in chapter six, the attachment with the origin is in the form of social ties, where, migrants were attached with the place of origin through family and neighborhood relationship that mainly involved taking care of their property and social relationship with immediate family members. Another form of attachment is the legal attachment as regard to civic identity, community membership and civic status of individuals and households. One of the informants explained about his linkages to the origin in terms of having a property back at origin that he inherited from his father. This land was given on rent to his neighbor in a *Theeka* contract. Similarly, another informant who had migrated to Kathmandu, still had large area of land back at Bhojpur, his land was also looked after by a neighbor who had been renting it for a long time in *Theeka* contract. This also depicts that migration had given them an opportunity to secure some parts of their income from the place of origin by renting their lands.

Many migrants who were temporarily as well as permanently settled in Bhojpur VDC had their parents back at the origin. In times of sickness of parents and in times of major festivals, the migrants went back to the origin to their families.

“My relatives, my sister their husbands, my nephews. It is not far away from here, when I go I do meet them. I go there in week time. I keep meeting them. I have not lost connections with them.” (Netra, Age 58: 2014).

Netra and his family were staying in *adhiya* rent on the land of the owner who was in Kathmandu. Netra's origin Hellucha which was not very far from the destination allowed him to frequently go to his origin because of the near distance and his son's family there. He said it was just four hours walk away. Visits to origin and getting connected were mainly noticed in case of property and relatives still remaining at origin.

"My family network back home is large. If someone there gets critically ill, I will have to go back. Communication with people at origin is quite frequent." (Padam, Age 40: 2013)

Padam, a temporary migrant, was originally from Diktel which is in Khotange district west of Bhojpur district. He explained to me that he was in communication with his relatives back home, because Diktel is far, he does not get to go there frequently like Netra does, but in case when his relatives are critically ill its his duty to go back there and help. On a similar note, another temporary migrant Pustaraj from Diktel, said he would go to his origin at time of '*marro-parro*' (death and times of need) of relatives and '*bhet-ghat*' (to see his relatives). Both this case shows temporary migrants keeping ties with their relatives back at origin.

For those who migrated permanently, less and less connections as compared to that of temporary migrants were seen. Many of the informants said that at initial stage some connection was there, but as time passes, the connection weakens.

"The connection starts falling apart as time passes. In the initial stage, connection is there, to know about what's old and new about each other. After time passes communication starts to decrease." (Sailendra, Age 38: 2014).

7.17.3 Detached from Local State: Migrants' Exclusion at Destination

In this section, I discuss how temporary migrants do not have their civil status as regards to being member of local state during migration at the destination. As discussed in earlier parts of chapter, people moving should have registered for

migration, and obtained the migration registration certificate. However, as receiving a migration certificate has a prerequisite of owning land at the destination, the consequence faced by temporary migrants at the destination is multifaceted both at individual as well as household level.

7.17.4 Stayers' Perception on Migrants' Civic Involvement and Engagement

My first concern was to understand and verify if *basai sarai* (migration registration certificate) was a compulsion, and if yes why? And what is the significance of 'basai sarai'? I was told by a permanent resident that unless those who have migrated to Bhojpur VDC from other remote VDCs have *basai sarai* they would not be allowed to be part of user groups and *samuhas*. The migrants would not be getting facilities as compared to the native people residing permanently at the destination. In order to get access to such facilities, migrants had to have some property at the destination, primarily housing and land. This clearly showed that deprivation of ownership of land at the place of migrants' choice of destination subsequently results in experiencing of differential membership by the temporary migrants in a community composed of permanent residents and temporary residents.

One of the permanent residents told me about utilization of natural resources in the day-to-day living, he specifically mentioned forest and drinking water. In case of forest, access to forest was free for local residents as per the norms and the rules of user committee to which the localities belonged, whereas, the temporary migrants had to pay for any access and use. To pay for such access while others are having free access depicts unequal allocation of resources. This can be related to land issue: for those who do not have land and housing, they would be deprived of access to natural resources too. The only solution to these problems was to own a land, make a house, get *basai sarai* and be as equal to other local residents.

On the one hand, in practice, temporary migrants were not encouraged to participate in *Sammuha*, and User groups, while on the other, permanent residents look at their minimum participation as being less responsible, and lack of ownership of common good.

“I don’t know people from outside engaging nor participating, when ward parishad takes place they don’t attend the meeting. All village people attend, but they do not turn up to hear social, economic issue...I feel their feeling is that this place does not belong to them, nor they have property “

Saying me this, Padam a permanent resident of Payaapani talked about his neighbors who were temporary migrants. Being Ward representative to *Nagarik Ward Manch*, he expects his neighbors to be engaged in such meeting though which economic and social issues would be dealt. Their constant absence had made him feel that they could have feeling of not belonging at destination because they do not own land and house.

7.17.4.1 Migrants’ and Their Civic Involvement

After exploring what permanent residents said about civic involvement of the temporary migrants, the exploration would be incomplete without knowing how temporary migrants themselves experiences daily civic engagement. I was told by Saroj from Hellucha VDC that he had attended *Ward Parishad* at the destination, but could just quietly attend it and not voice his opinion.

Saroj: “I attended the ward parishad meeting here, but only listened. I cannot put my voice here”

Me: “If you attended here, what about the parishad at Hellucha, don’t you attend that?”

Saroj: “I do not know when the ward parishad back at my place takes place. I do not go there, nor do I know what is happening there”

The above interaction with Saroj informs that firstly even though he participates in ward meeting at the destination, he is not allowed to make any opinion, or talk about any issue. He has been living in Bhojpur VDC for 6 years now, but experiences not being member of the community that he is residing in. His unawareness of the *Ward Parishad* at the origin and not attending it there, and not knowing what is happening at the origin depicts his complete detachment in civic engagement with the local state of his origin. For Saroj, civic engagement is not

possible at origin, and at destination he is not being able to realize actual engagement due to rules and regulations of the state and as well as local practice.

Box: 5 Case of Khagendra

Khagendra, his wife and his mother lived in a small hut, and had rented 8 ropanis of land in thekka. The owner of the land was in Biratnagar and visited Bhojpur once in a year as informed by Khagendra. It has been 20 years since he has been dwelling as a sharecropper. In all these twenty years he had never attended a single ward meeting. He informed me that he was not informed, and never has been informed, never gets information on ward level events. Interestingly he has voted in the ward level, but never participated at ward level meeting. I learned that his wife was not involved in any self-help organization. Khagendra's mother told that "nor her son, nor son's wife are involved or engaged in any such activities, we do not have our own land here, we are considered as out-siders, as we are working for someone else, it is because of this we are not called for meetings." Khagendra informed me he has never been helped by VDC. Khagendra said "I am not included in the society... people here feel that we are not from this VDC and do not consider to include us... renting land is for people who do not have their own land ... there is stigma attached for in-comers",

Source: Fieldnotes, 2013

"We do not have membership to any organization in the community, we do not have property here, no land or a house, we are told we are not allowed to participate in any groups man, dhukhi chha." (Manamaya Magar, Age 34: 2013)

Manamaya said this while I was sitting to have a cup of tea at her tea shop. I was informed by her that Sammuha at community level has its door open only for permanent resident or people who are having property here.

7.18 Migration, Basai Sarai and Migration Registration

The objective of this section is to elaborate how the Nepali State defines migration, the meaning attached to migration and the formal legal work of migration registration. Here, I intend to refer to Birth, Death and Other Personal Events

(Registration) Act 1976 to extract the definition of migration. Section 2 (b) of this Act defines Migration as “the change of residence from one Village Development Committee or Municipality to another Village Development Committee or Municipality of Nepal or go abroad or come from abroad for a period of more than six months.” The Act also specifically mentions that in case of individual and family intending to migrate, the person intending to migrate and the head of the family in case of family intending to migrate has to inform the local registrar for the registration of migration.

Picture 7.5 Migration Registration Certificate

The image shows two versions of a Migration Registration Certificate. The left version is a blank form with Nepali text. It includes a logo at the top left, the title 'बसाई सराई दर्ताको प्रमाण-पत्र' (Migration Registration Certificate), and a table for recording migration details. The right version is a filled-out form with English and Nepali text. It includes a table for recording migration details and a table for recording family members.

क्र.सं.	नाम वर	जन्म मिति	सुरास रोजवारी बनाउ	प्रवास दर्ता गर्ने ठाउँको सुरास रोजवारी	वर्गिकरण

क्र.सं.	नाम वर	जन्म मिति	सुरास रोजवारी बनाउ	प्रवास दर्ता गर्ने ठाउँको सुरास रोजवारी	वर्गिकरण

Source: VDC Office, Bhojpur, 2014

In case of successful application, the registrar provides the migration registration certificate that would state the origin of the emigrant and the destination he/she or family is migrating to. The certificate mentions the name of the tole, ward number and VDC or municipality of the migrants’ origin and similarly mentions the name of the tole, ward number and VDC or municipality that migrant intends to settle in. The migrant needs to first fill in the form for application for migration certificate, and provide legal documents as mentioned in the Citizen Charter of the VDC along with the application. On receiving the certificate, the migrant goes to the destination VDC and again forwards an application for registration. The migrant gets registered as new settler in the destination VDC. To get registered at the destination, the

applicant needs to provide the migration registration certificate provided to him by the local registrar of the origin VDC.

The migration event in local term is called “*Basai Sarai*”. *Basai Sarai* has a requirement which not all aspirant migrants can meet. That requirement is the ownership of land at the destination of migration. To verify this requirement of *Basai Sarai* I interviewed the Local Development Officer (LDO) of Bhojpur district at his office at DDC.

LDO said: “*In the context of basai sarai, firstly a person should have sold his property at place of origin and bought land, a property at the destination, then only such person can apply for basai sarai. Those who do not fulfill this criterion are not eligible for migration certificate. Hence, at local level, the local state does not entertain people without ‘basai sarai. It is just like voting, where a person has to go back to his place of origin to vote’.*”

He further said: “*as long as people do not have basai sarai such people are not entitled to rights and other entitlements locally. But people are free to go here and there, they are free to work and earn, they are free to consume things of their choice, but his rights get limited within a territory to which such person do not belong’.*”

Here I would like to put an excerpt from my field notes taken on 8th of January, 2014.

Box: 6

A person (migrant) can only gain his rights provided he has basai sarai, and to get basai sarai he firstly needs to buy land in the VDC he wants to shift in. It is to be noted here that those people who migrate for a long time but are dwelling in temporary resident do not have access to any facilities from VDC were they work for a livelihood. Firstly, they are deprived from the entitlements they are entitled to from their origin as they are absent at the origin VDC. At the destination by law they can only establish linkage with VDC in case of basai sarai. This has made internal migrants without basai sarai detached from the local state, and barred from his/her entitlements that can be received from the state.

Source: Fieldnotes, 2014.

7.18.1 Exclusion of migrants without ‘*basai sarai*’ from Vital Statistics

The observation on the field, interview with migrants, local permanent residents and government officials provide empirical evidence that ‘*basai sarai*’ is change in permanent residence; this change in permanent residence can be understood as permanent migration. In cases of permanent migration, one of the respondents who had permanently migrated informed me that:

Dibya: “*My place of origin is Gogane VDC in Bhojpur district. My father, grandfather and great grand father are from Gogane, but to come and permanently settle in Bhojpur VDC I had to get a basai sarai.*”

The above excerpt from Dibya’s interview depicts that *basai sarai* is related to permanent settlement from one place to another. He talks about origin, and origin is seen to be place where his ancestor dwelled. Currently, he is migrated to Bhojpur VDC permanently. Another respondent Akal told me the advantage to do *basai sarai*. He said:

Akal: “*To do all government works, it will be easy as I have basai sarai here*” Having a *basai sarai* is also having been registered as formal member of the VDC to which the migrant has migrated, only such cases or events are considered and accounted in records. Such records later are reflected in vital statistics. The argument here is that magnitude of internal migration is high and individuals and families migrated to near by town and urban cities without migration certificate are by large magnitude higher than migrants with registration. This becomes a serious issue in terms of understanding flow, magnitude and direction of migration, because available data on all these dimensions of migration would not give the actual reality.

7.18.2 Deprivation of Rights of Migrants without ‘*basai sarai*’

Vital events and registration are not just recording of birth, death and other events, it is associated with civic status of individuals, shows legal relationship between family members provides legal identity to individuals, connects citizens to

state at local and national level. Lack of *basai sarai* and being unregistered migrant in a VDC results individual and family to be detached with the local state, this causes unwanted consequences in terms of establishing legal identity at the destination VDC because such migrants is legally recognized only in the VDC of origin and not at destination.

One of my respondents Saroj, who is temporarily residing in Bhojpur VDC, originally is from Koth VDC. He is a farmer on sharecropping bases and does wage-labour as time permits him. He informed me about his experiences being in Bhojpur with out *basai sarai*.

Saroj: *“I have to do all official government related work like making citizenship, and other documents in Koth. If I had done basai sarai all official work would be done here..... having been from another VDC is difficult, even when I go there sometimes the Village Secretary is absent, it’s so difficult to get legal work done like my children’s birth registration, even for citizenship recommendation I have to go to Koth... unless we get bassai sarrai, we have no linkage with the VDC here, the officials of VDC here tell us to go to our own concerned VDC.”*

Saroj’s case is evidence to individuals without *basai sarai* having to lose civil status at the destination. Saroj and his family are identified at the destination VDC to belong to another VDC, his legal presence at the destination is not recognized and this results to deprivation of legal identity, rights granted by local state and entitlements from the local state. It can be seen that when person migrates from one VDC to another without *basai sarai*, legal identity, rights and entitlements granted by local state do not transfer from origin to destination.

7.19 Migration and Migrants’ Experiences of Citizenship

This section presents two cases that describe the lived experiences of citizenship of migrant households. The first case describes the household members’ local citizenship as anchored to the place of origin and the second describes the household members’ experiences of exclusion at the place of destination.

7.19.1 An Out-migrant Family and Citizenship Anchored to Place of Origin

Chiran, a 48 years old man, is originally from Bhojpur VDC ward number one. His village of origin is Deurali and he has received the national citizenship certificate from this VDC. The citizenship affiliated to Bhojpur VDC ward number one makes Chiran a formal member of the local political community; this also implies that he is not a member of any other VDC or municipality. As a citizen of Nepal, he is entitled to enjoy various rights that are conferred with the citizenship. The citizenship certificate that confirms the legal identity also provides him access to rights, opportunities and services that include formal sector employment, micro-credit schemes and banking facilities, registration of births, marriage, death and migration, property transaction, government benefits and allowances, and many other rights.

Chiran migrated to Kathmandu in the year 2001, but until then he was a teacher in a government school in Deurali. As a teacher, his social status in village was high. He was respected by the people in the local community, and found himself representing the locals in ward level meetings.

“I used to attend ward level meetings, I was advisor to the ward committee, as a teacher I was encouraged and requested by the people to be the advisor, and I actively participated in decision making processes for the ward level development programs. But now I have no stake here as I have migrated to Kathmandu. I am not involved in any ward level activities here, nor in Kathmandu because I have not been able to establish myself there....”

Chiran’s formal membership to the local political community had provided him public space such as the ward level meetings to participate and exercise his citizenship. Being considered as an influential person in the community, he was able to actively exercise his agency for the betterment of the local community.

However, after his migration to Kathmandu, he is detached from the place of origin and has not been able to establish the same level of agency at the destination of his choice. His participation in local activities seems to have diminished not only at the destination but also at the origin. This exemplifies how his migration to new

destination has endangered his citizenship. It's been almost ten years since he has been residing in Kathmandu. Reasoning that he wanted to deliver better education to his daughter and sons, his family had migrated to Kathmandu. We met Chiran at the VDC office where he and his daughter had returned from Kathmandu to make a Relationship Verification Certificate that can be obtained from the local registrar. The Relationship Verification Certificate is a legal documentation that certifies familial relationship between individuals. Such certificate is required for students who aspire to go abroad for further education. Chiran admitted that he was required to come to Bhojpur VDC repeatedly to obtain various legal documents and social benefits from Bhojpur VDC. His children had also received citizenship certificates recommended from the same VDC, as it was their father's place of origin.

We see, from this analysis, citizenship as the legal affiliation to a politically defined territory, which in his case is the VDC. Although the generally accepted notion of politically defined territory to which the citizenship is affiliated is the nation-state (Naujoks, 2009), Kovacheva et.al. (2012) argue that a person may have citizenship on different territorial levels, such as in the case of China where a person can have affiliation both at the central state level as well as at the lower level where the person is registered at particular administrative unit. In Chiran's case, his citizenship is affiliated to the nation-state at higher level and at lower level it is affiliated to the VDC where he has been registered. Such affiliation entails substantial rights which can only be actualized in the concerned administrative unit but never beyond it. Chiran could not obtain relationship verification certificate from Kathmandu despite the fact that he and his daughter both have citizenship certificates and are entitled to all rights entailed with it. This is where the question arises as to whether free movement practiced by aspirant mobile people represents a road towards actualizing fuller set of rights and entitlements as citizens or if citizenship rights in general are being endangered for people who are in migration?

7.19.2 An In-migrant Family and Excluded Experiences of Citizenship

Picture 7.6 Birth Certificate

स्थानीय पञ्जिकाधिकारीको कार्यालय
विपरीयाँ
स्वदेशी विकास समिति, नगरपालिका
जिल्ला

जन्म दर्ताको प्रमाणपत्र

दर्ता नं. १११

दर्ता मिति २०६०/१२/२६

कारिबारीक सगल फारम नं.

यस कार्यालयमा खडा गरिएको जन्म दर्ता किताब अनुसार प्रमाणित गरिन्छ कि सूचक धी/ धीमती चन्द्र व दर्जा ने
भरेको अनुसूची २ को सूचना फारम बमोजिम धी पद्मे दर्जा को नाती/ नातिनी स्वोलाङ जिल्ला
विपरीयाँ गा.वि.स. वडा नं. ३ मा बस्ने धी चन्द्र व दर्जा तथा धीमती कमला दर्जा को
छोरा/ छोरी धी/ सुधी विजय दर्जा को मिति वि.स. २०६०/१२/२० इ.स. मा जन्म भएको हो।

नागरिकता प्रमाणापत्र लिएको भए :
ना प्र.नं. जारी मिति र जिल्ला
का बाबुको ०११०३६ स्वोलाङ
मा आमाको ११४१

स्थानीय पञ्जिकाधिकारीको
सहि : [Signature]
नाम, घर भैरवराज आचार्य
मिति २०६०/१२/२६

Source: Field Work, 2014

Chandra (age 19) and Kamala (age 18) are married to each other and have two sons, the older one two years old and the younger one seven months old. Chandra is originally from Diktel, the district headquarters of Khotang district. It has been seven years since Chandra has been living in Palawa village in ward no. 2 of Bhojpur VDC. In these seven years, Chandra was engaged in several different economic activities to sustain himself in Palawa. He was involved in sharecropping with a landowner named Man Bhadur, and then he worked as a labourer (*'jyami'*) at a local hydro power construction site, and currently he is working in a local brick kiln. Chandra constantly searches for available work as a wage labourer, which is not easily available. He and Kamala have rented a room which costs them Rs. 800 per month. His income from labour work is around Rs. 7000 per month which is just sufficient to feed his small family and to have subsistence livelihood.

‘Two years back when I knew I was eligible to get a citizenship, I visited Bhojpur VDC office to inquiry about the process and criteria for getting citizenship certificate, the VDC secretary told me that I had to go to my concerned VDC in Diktel and get the process started from there, not here. Citizenship certificate was very important for me and my wife, because without it we could neither register our marriage, nor our son’s birth. Even though I have spent seven years here, I am disconnected with Bhojpur VDC, nor does any work connect me to this VDC office. The government employees of the VDC asked me not to come to the VDC office but to go to Diktel for all official works and benefits’

The case of Chandra illustrates a case of citizenship being anchored to a particular place. Chandra who is originally from Doorpa village in Cheeridana VDC ward no. 3 of Diktel had no other option but to get back to the origin to receive his legal identity. It had been seven years since Chandra disassociated himself from the place he had out-migrated. He had married in Bhojpur, his sons were born in Bhojpur, but neither his marriage nor his children’s birth registration could be done in Bhojpur VDC.

From the above two cases, we can observe that upon migration, people like Chandra and Chiran tend to get detached with the local state (place of origin) where their citizenship is anchored. Chandra and Chiran both had to go to the place of origin to get their legal work done. This need to regularly go to the place of origin becomes difficult for migrants who are from lower economic status, astravelling and the process of making such legal documents could be rather costly. But these are just small parts of the problem related with the citizenship status. At the community level, Chandra apparently experiences more difficulties.

Chandra went on elaborating how a basic thing like firewood, which is the main cooking fuel used in Bhojpur, is not available to him as he is not included in the local forest user group or *Ban Samuha*. All those who are in the community and are permanent residents are allowed in such *Samuha*, the benefit being that people who are members in the ‘*Samuha*’ can have access to fodders and firewood from the forest, where as non-members are not entitled to this access.

“I wanted firewood, but I was required to enter into Ban Samuha. But I was not allowed to enter. The Secretary of the samuha did not allow me to get in to the group, so I do not get free firewood, nor can I cut woods from jungle. The only alternative is to buy it, one bundle, ‘bitto’, of firewood costs me Rs. 200, and it lasts for only 4 days. If I get chance to enter into any Samuha, I can have access to loan at time of emergency, or get financial help from the members of the group at the time of need. Even my wife has not got entry to Ama Samuha (Mothers’ Group). For people with low economic status like us, entering a samuha is really important. Our life is filled with uncertainty, because I am from another district.”

Here, Chandra and his wife are excluded from membership into User Groups, which are one of the most beneficial local institutions. In ideal cases, people with lower economic status benefit from these local institutions on being members because such membership entails right to material entitlements such as firewood, water, agricultural inputs, and even financial benefits from various governmental and non-governmental organizations. This is very unfortunate for economically poor people like Chandra to be excluded from the benefits of such user groups. This reflects on the lessened citizenship particularly in terms of Marshals (1950) social rights, Chandra’s daily lived experience of social citizenship is endangered as he is a migrant and is seen by his community people and local state as being a non-member of the VDC he has chosen to settle in.

7.20 Discussion

This chapter discusses the issues pertaining to internal migration and citizenship in Nepal. The issues dealt here relate to the free movement across administrative boundaries and the regulations regarding vital registrations within these administrative boundaries. Vital registrations are the basic means to acquire civic status at the local levels in Villages Development Committees (VDCs) and Municipalities in Nepal. These vital registrations include, for example, birth registration, marriage registration, death registration, and migration registration, all of which are common vital registrations for citizens of Nepal. Civic status in Nepal, as in many other countries, is ascribed and inherited with birth registration. An individual’s

welfare is determined on the basis of where the registration is done. This located registration is not subject to change by the individual's will or desire. Where the person is born has a major impact upon his life opportunities.

Broadly speaking, from the perspective of the issue of citizenship, internal migration in Nepal has some similar characterizes of the practice of internal migration in its immediate neighbours, viz., China and India. In China, it is the '*Hukou System*' that regulates internal migration and provides *Hukou* status to an individual, a civic status which is ascribed and inherited (Solinger, 1999). In India, there is *Ration Card System* that entails civic status and provides welfare entitlements to an individual. Both these statuses are granted on the basis of where the registration is located and upon migration, the entailed entitlements are not transferable to destination. In Nepal's case, an individual's civic status is regulated by the Personal Event Act (1976), according to which, civic status to an individual is assigned at birth, and this status is inherited. The rights and entitlements entailed in such civic status are bound to the location of place of birth registration. This status is not subject to change. However, upon migration, if and only if a person acquires a 'migration registration certificate', the entailed rights and entitlements are transferable to destination, in the absence of which these are anchored and bound to the location of place of birth registration.

The civic status discussed here is consistent with the generally accepted understanding of the concept of national citizenship. Carens (1992) defines national citizenship as "*a lot like feudal status in the medieval world. It is assigned at birth, for the most part it is not subject to change by the individual's will and effort; and it has a major impact upon that person's life chances.*" In this regard, citizenship is an affiliation anchored to a particular boundary and entails with it substantial rights (social, economic, political) within the concerned boundary. In Nepal, VDCs and municipalities are administrative boundaries. Free movement across these boundaries is practiced by citizens without any barriers. Within this context, understanding located registration affiliation, entailed social rights and entitlement, and its transferability upon mobility is meaningful and will offer new and interesting perspectives with regards to issues on internal migration and citizenship in Nepal.

In this chapter, we examine the implication of local affiliation on the social rights of internal migrants. For the purpose, we consider affiliation to the administrative unit of a VDC. As this affiliation entails several different rights, in this chapter we limit the analysis to social rights and the social citizenship dimension. We argue that although social rights have inter-linkages with civil and political rights in complex ways, free mobility does not always relate to extension and enhancement of citizenship rights in general. The cases and examples in this chapter show that through the practice of free movement across VDC borders, migrants without migration registration have lesser access to social rights as well as civil and political entitlements.

7.20.1 Internal Migration and Citizenship

For the purpose of this chapter, we have conceptualized internal migration as a movement across administrative boundaries within the nation state. This conceptualization is on similar lines as that of Kovacheva et. al. (2012) who categorise migration over the political borders of a Nation-State as international and migration within administrative boundaries of a Nation-State as internal migration. Being consistent with most of international literatures, in this chapter we see the relation between a Nation-State and an individual as represented by citizenship. We conceptualize citizenship as the legal affiliation of an individual with the State (Naujoks, 2009; Kovachen et. al., 2012), and consider citizenship to represent internal aspects of relation between individual and the Nation-State which is regulated by domestic law (Baubock, 2006). In doing so, we attempt to unpack and disintegrate the notion of citizenship to understand the concept better as ‘universal citizen’- an individual with right, who participate in institutions of governance or state in the public sphere (Chatterjee, 2010). This relationship between the Nation-State and an individual was already recognised by Marshall in 1950, who defined it as the ‘*status bestowed on those who are full members of a community..... All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.*’ Thus, citizenship, defined as a relationship or affiliation between the State and an individual, entails rights and responsibilities, and is a membership conferred to every member of the concerned Nation-State. It is this membership element of

citizenship that has immense constraints for mobile people to practice citizenship during migration across local, national and international borders and territories.

This chapter will focus on internal administrative boundaries within a Nation that are generally porous to internal movement of people. Here, we put up questions on the 'equal rights for all members' in conditions when migrants are at destination while their membership is anchored in concerned administrative boundary of origin. It is to be noted that all types of conceptualization of citizenship has nation-state as reference point and entails both legal affiliation to that administrative boundary as well as the associated bundle of rights. For the purpose of our analysis, we also define citizenship first as a legal affiliation, and then consider it as a bundle of social rights. As a legal affiliation to a defined administrative territory, it is the civic identity that is ascribed to a person at birth and ceases at death. Through this definition, a person may have relationship with the State at different levels. For example, in Nepal, one can have this relationship at the higher level, i.e., at the national level citizenship, as well as at the lower level, i.e., at the administrative unit level (VDC/ Municipality). In the Chinese case, the citizenship at the higher level relates to the Central State whereas the relationship at the lower level relates to the *Hukou* status. In the Indian case, it is the Central Government at the higher level and the State Government at the lower level. The vital registration system of Nepal requires that every Nepali citizen registers with the concerned VDC or municipal authority at birth. With the birth registration, the permanent resident location inherited from the head of the household is ascribed. This provides a civic status to an individual that is ascribed and inherited. During migration, such persons take their affiliation with them. However, once the migrants settle in a new administrative territorial unit, several questions arise, for example, a) How can these new migrants acquire new affiliation? b) What happens to the old affiliation? c) And what is the implication for other vital registrations? To get answer to these questions, we found it appropriate to use 'local citizenship' as an analytical term, a term that corresponds to the idea of affiliation at lower level i.e. at administrative territorial unit.

The significance of citizenship as affiliation relates to rights that are entailed with it. If rights are not taken into account for analysis, the issue of changing and inheriting affiliation to a particular administrative unit would be meaningless. Nepali

citizenship at both levels, national and local, provides specific set of rights to each person within the concerned territory. The general rights at both levels are to move, to reside and to work. To better understand these rights, particularly the rights associated with lower level affiliation, we feel it is important to discuss about the social dimension of citizenship, i.e., social citizenship. 'Social Citizenship', as Marshal (1950) mentions, is a right to a share in the economic wealth of a political unit. The institutions most closely related with social citizenship for the Nepalese citizens are the VDCs and the municipalities. The social dimensions account for the social services and welfare benefits provided through these institutions. This dimension of citizenship is particularly relevant when migrants move from lower-benefit to higher-benefit administrative unit, more generally rural to urban administrative unit. For those who move from regions with less opportunity to regions with better opportunities for economic gain, the questions remains on the implication for the development of dimensions of social citizenship. As we discuss below, for those who move from one place to another, migration registration, one of the many important vital registrations, is important, as this affects that person's social entitlements. In this context, those who move and who exercise right to free movement at parallel may endanger their other form of social rights.

7.20.2 Territorially Rooted Citizenship

The first case of our analysis depicts that conventional nation-state citizenship provided to citizens of Nepal is anchored to a VDC or a municipality that a citizen belongs to. Nepali citizenship is rooted in the VDC or the municipality he or she is born in, and is territorially bounded within its premises, making this VDC or municipality a place that influences the substance of this citizenship forever. The rights, obligations, provisions and entitlements all are automatically attached to the VDC or the municipality one belongs to. For example, a person who has a citizenship from a particular VDC or municipality is eligible for all of the rights and services available at the VDC or the municipality. The person is registered as formal member of the VDC or the municipality, where all vital registrations are done. The most important criteria is that a person is given a status of a formal member only so long as he/she is a permanent resident of that particular VDC or municipality. Having a

citizenship certificate recommended from the VDC or the municipality implies being a formal member of that VDC or municipality.

Preuss (1998) argues that a modern state's principle of territoriality, i.e., the physical attachment of a person to a given territory, is not the only sufficient criterion for the evaluation of his or her belonging to a society. He elaborates that mobility is the basic fact of human life and individuals are always looking forward to better life chances and conditions. In this quest, migration is predictable, and frontier crossing movements will remain as major human activity. Such territorially rooted citizenship in Nepal has generated ambivalent relations between migrating citizens and the local state.

7.20.3 Unbecoming Citizens: A Structural Problem

Our second case depicts that a Nepali citizen is linked to the state by the virtue of processing a citizenship certificate upon the recommendation of a VDC or a municipality. This relationship between an individual and the state is of vertical type, i.e. a member of VDC or municipality is also a member of nation-state. However, as a member of one VDC or a municipality cannot be a member of another VDC or municipality, this can be marked as scalar mismatch when exercise of membership across VDC or municipal boundaries are taken into consideration within the boundary of the nation-state. This challenges the assumption that within the institution of citizenship, all the people of the nation-state are citizens. The nation-state is not the only scale at which citizenship is constructed or is given meaning (Staeheli, 2003), but it is also those places where an individual's lived experiences as citizenship counts.

Aspirations of the people to have better living standard, better opportunities and enhanced income have been the principal drivers of emigration from rural parts of Nepal to towns and cities. Besides aspirations, another reason for increasing migration is in search of livelihood opportunities. Migration has historically been a significant feature of livelihoods in the fragile socio-economic and environmental context of the Himalayan middle hills (Hitchcock 1961; MacForlane 1976; Whelpton 2005; and Sharma 2011). Sharma states that hardly any areas in the hills of Nepal

remain unaffected by the exodus of young men, and increasingly young women, to other parts of the region that have comparatively better opportunities. These destinations include areas across the border (India), as well as more recently to various global destinations. In this context, the legal attachment of a person to a given territory has raised numerous problems for people in mobility in regards to the status as well as practice of citizenship. This is because affiliations such as citizenship to an administrative or sub-geopolitical unit entail substantial rights that are related to such affiliations. The second case also illustrates how a person's affiliation to a sub-geopolitical unit can endanger and diminish his/her full potential of actualizing and realizing this/her citizenship.

7.21 Summary

Migration at different levels, international, national or sub-national has received scholarly attention on issues of nationality and citizenship. The cross territorial movements of people at different levels have gained special attention particularly concerning the citizenship issues of migrants. Research on migration and migrant integration finds importance of citizenship (Baubock, 2006) especially when citizenship experiences of migrant families within place of settlement is put into question. The question pertains to understanding and exploring spaces, places, status and practice of citizenship in the context of human mobility across boundaries, territories in all scales i.e. international, national physical territory to sub-national administrative boundaries of provinces or municipalities

Mobility across administrative boundaries within nation state is conventionally understood as internal migration and mobility across political borders of nation state as international migration (Kovacheva et al, 2012). Commonly, internal mobility within nation state is free and not restricted as compared to international movement. Here nationality corresponds to international movement, which acts as legal identity of a person and movement is restricted, whereas citizenship corresponds to legal identity within nation-state and movement is free (Baubock, 2006).

Though we see less and less of nomadic societies, migration is still the prime phenomenon of human history till today (Preuss, 1998). This opens up space for

exploring how physical attachment of a person to a given territory can raise numerous problems for people in mobility in the context of status as well as practice of citizenship. This is because affiliations such as citizenship to a geopolitical unit entail substantial rights that are related to such affiliations.

This chapter describes and argues that people's affiliation to a geopolitical unit can endanger and diminish the full potential of actualizing and realizing their citizenship as status as well as practice. The first part described the governance system and its historical trail, followed by sections elaborated on migration and citizenship in Nepal, followed by how citizenship is acquired in Nepal and how citizenship is territorially rooted to geo-political unit other than nation- state and lastly I discussed on mobile population as problem for citizenship by providing two cases describing how migrant families experience citizenship in their daily lives as citizenship in problem as status and in practice.

This chapter has attempted to contribute to the understanding of temporary migrants' lived experiences within a citizenship framework in migration studies of Nepal. As lived experiences cannot be detached from its context, including the spatial context (Desforges et al., 2005), I have explored how temporary migrants negotiate rights and responsibilities, belonging and participation in the destinations and illustrated how the ways in which migrants' temporary status affect their lives as citizens. As various literatures (Siim, 2000, Kaber, 2005, Bellamy et. al., 2004; and Lister et. al., 2007), have shown that the practice of citizenship needs to have both grounded and contextualized understanding, it is most appropriate to understand citizenship and its experiences within specific national, local, social and political contexts).

The cases presented here exemplify that internal migration in Nepal has involved loosening of the ties linking families to the local territory of their origin and their choice of destination. Their status as temporary migrants has weakened their involvement in their original community as well as in the community at the destination. Though there is no smooth transition from origin to destination, the migrants have not been able to realize the universal principle of equality that is conferred on to them as citizens of a nation. In the cases presented, while the host

community (destination) accepts the physical presence of newcomers, it is unwilling to accept them as full members and integrate them into its social, economic and cultural lives. Legal affiliation to the administrative territory is still the single most important criterion for individual identity and claim of it in Nepal. As a result, people engaged in migration across the territory of affiliation are exposed to exclusion from basic benefits of the society.

8. CONCLUSION

Scholarship on migration in Nepal for the last twenty years has focused on internal, international, and displacement induced migration. Scholars who have engaged in studies on internal migration have primarily paid attention to spatial patterns of migration (rural to rural, hills to tarai, rural to urban migration) and forced migration. They have shed light on multiple dimensions of migration, namely economic, social, cultural, and political and livelihoods. Studies on international migration in Nepal mainly involve understanding labor migration and the impact of remittances, migrants in transnational settings and migrant networks. In this context, among many questions, the underlying research aim of this study was to explore the socio-economic developmental outcomes associated with internal migration. In doing so, this study employed integration of three different disciplines: a) migration, b) development, and c) citizenship. It involved inter-relation between these disciplines using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The overall methodological approach adopted for this study was an ethnographic framework based on field observation, in-depth interviews and census data, and an attempt was made to explore the outcomes in three levels a) community, b) household, and c) individual. At the community level, this study inquired on the changing landscape of residential patterns of housing across wards of Bhojpur VDC, which in turn helped understand the changing configuration of ethnic/caste settlements across wards. At the household level, the study shed light on migrants' household locational strategy and its contribution to their daily livelihood. Lastly, at individual level, it explored the aspects of capability enhancement and changing state-citizen relationship of the migrants.

The aim of this study, as stated earlier, is to understand the developmental outcomes of internal migration. As consequences of migration are multidimensional in nature, changes pertaining to demographics, culture, economy and society are common affects of the migration phenomenon (Naujoks, 2013). In this regard, development outcomes of migration are broad and wide. However, primary development outcomes in this study related to changing residential patterns of housing across ethnic and caste groups, livelihood diversification and capability

enhancement in multi-local setting of households, and changing configuration of migrant-state relationship. In order to accomplish the underling aim of this study, a holistic framework engaging migration, development and citizenship studies was chalked out. This framework encompasses three major elements: a) clarity in concepts and conceptualization of migration, development and citizenship, b) understanding development outcomes at all three levels: community, household and individual, and c) analysis of different migration and migrant categories, and migrant profile in order to assess how capabilities and livelihood diversification differ across migrant categories and the changing civic status of migrant population. I begin the conclusion by first elaborating on notional clarity on migration and development, followed by discussion on the major findings of this study.

8.1 On Development in Migration Studies

The field of development studies has for long engaged in, and, elaborated and discussed on concepts, meaning and tools of analysis of development. Naujoks (2013) argues that literature on migration and development lacks and neglects the central question and discussion on what development is. I am in agreement with De Haas (2009) on the explanation of development as a complex multi-dimensional concept, which can be assessed at different level of analysis and entails different meanings within different historical, cultural, or normative context. Contemporary studies on migration and development give primary attention to investments and remittances as drivers of development. This has become a conventional understanding and a need of a point of departure is sought, in this study, for understanding broader issues related to migration and development. Conventionally, development is conceptualized as economic growth, traditionally measured in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country. On this point of departure, I agree with Stiglitz et al (2009) on conceptualizing development that involves indicators regarding health, education, civil and political freedom, participation, environment, and personal safety of people. While conceptualizing development in these lines, I do not mean that general economic growth and wealth are not of any concern and importance. Wealth and growth are of equal importance as regards to the basis of livelihoods of individuals and households. They can also enable one's quality of life. Moreover, state services also depend on distributional consequences of growth (Naujoks, 2013). However,

breaking away from conventional understanding and conceptualization of development, this study has attempted to investigate on the broader issues of development. In doing so, this study in particular shifts away from purely economic measures and concepts and incorporates understanding changing configuration of settlement patters, livelihoods, capabilities and citizenships.

8.2 On Migration as Development

The study has showed that rural to urban internal migration is mostly directed to places of destination with higher human development outcomes than that of places of origin. The migration patterns examined in the study depicts that expansion of opportunity set and its accessibility are major migration determinants. Aspiration for improved well-being is a key driving factor for permanent as well as temporary internal migration. However, the gains from internal migration are not equally accessible to all. Internal migration entails enormous potential to enhance better life chances, but, relatively wealthy people gain more than poorer lots. As regards to life chances, internal migration is seen to be associated with trade-off, and migrants are seen to gain in some and loose in other dimensions of well-being.

8.3 On Forms of Internal Migration

This study has revealed that the magnitude of non-permanent migration exceeds that of permanent migration. Evidences from Bhojpur suggest that different forms of seasonal, circulatory, short and long stay forms of non-permanent migration have become dominant types of internal migration in that region. While it is generally mentioned that one of every three households have a member in migration, many households in rural villages in the hills take once in a lifetime decision to leave their home village, at least for *ghum phir* (temporary migration) if not for *basai sarai* (permanent migration).

However, non-permanent migration has not gained much scholarly attention in the Nepalese migration research. In this study, I have argued that official statistics, in particular the National Census of Nepal, fail to capture the temporary and seasonal movements. In Nepal, data on temporary or circular migration is not accurately

recorded in household registration and census. Although migration registration system does help capture permanent migration (*basai sarai*), the system does not account for voluntary non-registration and does not have space for temporary migration registration.

8.4 Internal Migration as Integral Part of Livelihood

This study has shown that various types of internal migration, be it seasonal, temporary, permanent or circular, are usually associated with the livelihood strategies of the migrants. Migration is exercised by both the rich and poor for improving livelihood in the eastern hills of Nepal, as seen through the case of Bhojpur VDC. While the phenomenon of migration and its determinants, are complex and diverse, major drivers of migration that have come out of this study are attributed to lack of local employment (farm and non-farm) at places of origin, land fragmentation at origin due to property division, and commoditization of land, and better opportunities in non-farm sector at the destination. It was also revealed that not all households manage to accumulate assets on migration. Some migrant households barely manage to cope at survival level, while some is successful in accumulating assets and wealth with gradual passage of time. By and large, internal migration has become crucial in improving as well as sustaining livelihoods in the eastern hills of Nepal.

Further, this study has shed light on migration as means to diversify out income activities. In doing so, migrants engage in employment, set up their own enterprises and even enter wage labour markets. These are possible due to new openings and improved opportunities available at the destination. The growing economy of the destination provides access to social services, market, and basic facilities such as clean drinking water, sanitation, electricity and transportation all of which attracts in-migration. Diversification of livelihood through migration is often aimed at seizing these expanded opportunity sets at destination. Diversification as shown in this study also helps and supports household's smooth consumption and expenditure as well as manages risk. But, it does not always result in asset accumulation. In this context, I am in agreement with Daines (1996), Scoones (1998) and Fransis (2002) on 'coping' through diversification. In response to failing

agriculture, lack of employment, and lack of access to market, households tend to undergo migration for ‘coping’ to overcome constraints on daily livelihood.

The case of Bhojpur shows that combination of both farm and nonfarm activity contributes to improved livelihood. I argue that both agriculture and non-farm employment are needed to enhance livelihood in the rural hills. In the place of origin, neither agriculture nor nonfarm employment is satisfactorily contributing to the daily livelihood. At the destination however, the in-migrants, particularly the temporary migrant households are engaged in the combination of both farm and off-farm activities. The non-migrant native residents, and the permanently migrated residents were mainly seen to be engaged in small enterprises and government jobs as primary means of livelihood, and their possessed assets commonly land and housing were put on rent and lease for farming and housing, which expanded their means of livelihood.

8.5 Major Development Outcomes

8.5.1 Community Perspective

In Chapter Five, I have shown that the native residents as well as the permanent and temporary out-migrants from the hill town of Bhojpur will continue to play instrumental roles in facilitating in-migration. The prime factor contributing to such facilitation is the availability of land for rent and sale. Investments made on these lands particularly by permanent in-migrants have helped support formulation and accumulation of human and financial capital. In turn, new settlements are seen to be established, that are functioning to attract and facilitate temporary in-migration by providing housing facilities on rent. The housing market, labour market and goods market along with the availability of basic services of education and health are seen to be the major structural forces generating in-migration in the emerging town of Bhojpur.

I have also attempted to show that hill towns are transforming socially, economically and culturally. The emerging hill towns are experiencing both out- and in-migration. As such, these places can be regarded both as places of origin and places of destination. Dynamics of the community of these places can be understood by

examining the host environment, assimilation of different ethnic and caste groups, and existing norms and values. Places like Bhojpur are transforming rapidly. One such prominent transformation is the changing configuration of residential pattern across different wards of Bhojpur. Previously, each ward had a dominant ethnic or caste group. Each *basti* (settlement) belonged to a particular ethnic or caste group. Such arrangements are being diluted with extended settlements transforming single ethnic settlements into multi-ethnic settlements.

On the one hand, in-migrants belonging to different ethnic-caste group create their own lives, assimilate in their own ethnic community and get identified on the same grounds in the host society. On the other, migrants integrate with each other, help create viable multi-ethnic community and provide members with resources that they require for adapting to and functioning-politically, economically and culturally within the host society.

8.5.2 Household Perspective

At the household level, I draw attention to the spatial multi-locational household arrangements. Here a multi-locational household is understood as a household that lives in two locations. This research has revealed that livelihood strategies opted by multi-locational households take advantage of opportunities at both the places, i.e. origin and destination. A common pattern as regards to such settings is a rural place of origin and urban place of destination. This study shows that multi-locational household arrangements helped spread risk better; however, such arrangements do not end up with better income in hand. As argued by Schmidt-Kallert (2009), this study has also depicted that combination of rural and urban locational arrangements is not just about household economics. Such arrangements also entail social functions. The case of Bhojpur reveals that education for children and health services for sick and elderly often result in multi-local arrangements.

As discussed, and drawing from Deshingkar and Farrington (2009), multi-local household arrangements could be differentiated between a) coping and b) accumulative strategies. This study has shown that those households who were renting land for farming and depended on off-farm wage labour were coping at destination

and those households who had invested on permanent purchase on land and were involved in small enterprise, and letting house on rent were accumulating assets at destination.

Other aspects of multi-locational livelihood strategies were remittances and exchanges of goods and services. Beyond such exchanges in money and kind, this research has highlighted the internal household dynamics of migrant households too. The internal household dynamics related to first generation being the elderly lots and left-behinds. The second generations were the migrants in most cases. Among the second-generation siblings, the elder lots were usually the stayers while the younger ones were the movers. Across gender, it was generally seen that the female would be the left-behind. The remittances were generally used for consumption of daily foods. The earnings from seasonal and circular migration were mainly used for consumption purposes. Households that had been involved in long term temporary stay aspired to invest on productive purposes at destination.

8.5.3 Individual Perspective

Other findings of this study have been the development outcomes at individual level pertain to expansion of opportunities at the destination. Destination usually is a better off place. Opportunities available here are comparatively better than the ones at the place of origin. For those who move, potential for better life and gain from opportunities at destination are higher. However, the life chances and opportunities depend on the resources in the hands of migrants. These resources range from skills and money these migrants possess to their engagement within the migrant network. The hope of better access to education for children, health facilities for the sick and elderly, and work opportunities at destination, has been primary motivating factor. This study shows that majority of the migrants were better off as compared to the situation before migration. However, the outcomes are by and large seen to depend on the resources and capabilities that migrant start out with. The gains at the destination are unevenly distributed and migration entails risk, uncertainty and trade-off too.

8.6 Migration Registration and Outcomes Associated with Internal Migration

Migration registration system operates through the Personal Event Act of 1973. In practice, a certificate is handed over to an individual or a household permitting the concerned unit to permanently change residence from one locality to another. This certificate gives access to civic membership in the host community and entails social benefits from the local state. Although movement is liberal in Nepal, and people are permitted to work outside their place of residence, the migrants not holding migration registration certificate face multiple constraints pertaining to engagement with local government. Being far away from their places of origin, temporary migrants face difficulties going back and forth for other vital registrations, namely, birth and death certificates of family members, marriage registration certificate, recommendation for citizenship certificate, and social benefits provided by the concerned local state. This study has provided case-based evidences depicting that human development gains from internal migration is immensely restricted for individuals and families not possessing migration registration.

Some examples of restricted gains for internal migrants due to the complex registration system are limited access to basic services, resources and participation in local institutions. The children of the migrants are denied enrollment to schooling unless birth registration is accomplished at the place of origin. Migrants are not allowed to join local self-help groups and user committee groups, due to which they have limited access to micro finance and access to local resources such as timber from the community forest and piped water services to a rented house. Such migrants remain marginalized in the destination due to then institutional barriers. There is no mechanism yet to include their interests and protect their rights in the destination. Also, long distance between the destination and their places of origin has hindered their local participation at the origin as well.

8.7 Contribution to the Debate on Migration and Development

This study suggests that migration is integral part of development and socio-economic transformation processes at both local and global levels. I agree with De

Haas (2009) who suggests that human mobility is intrinsic part of human development. This study has also shown that mobility has a central role to play in local transformations and processes of social and economic changes. It was seen that internal migration is shaped and helps shape local transformations. Internal migration thus, is part of structural change and has potential to affect the nature and dimensions of structural change, in this case 'development'.

This study primarily draws attention to the structure and agency debate involved in human mobility. With regards to human mobility, the dialectics between structure and agency helps understand how mobility is part of structural change and how it affects development (De Haas 2009). In this study, I have attempted to show that migration cannot be separated from broader process of socio-economic changes. The social, economic and political transformations are constantly changing distribution of opportunity set which in turn influence migration. These are the structural forces influencing migration. However, on understanding these structural causalities of migration, the consideration that migrants are passive reactants to these structural forces is just one part of the story. The other part of the story is that agency is with the people (migrants and potential migrants) possessed at individual level and exercise of such agency to migrate i.e. act of migrating can be seen as expression of choice. To take up this choice, potential migrants need to possess certain resources. Hence, it is appropriate to state that wealthy people of society are more mobile than relatively less well-off members of the same society.

Besides exercise of agency as expression of choice, combination of act of migrating and role of agency has a potential force for structural change. Because people have agency, their migration from the place of origin to place of destination plays vital role in the changing social and economic conditions in both places. This study has shown that the act of moving influences differential access to various kinds economic, social and human resources. But, the study also draws attention to constraints on exercise of agency. The migrants also face structural constraints and the degree of exercising agency is limited, which in turn limits the degree of influence of migrants and migration on structural change.

8.8 Gaps and Challenges

At the end, I feel the appropriateness of mentioning the strengths and weaknesses of this study and, thereby, suggest some areas for future research. To begin with, I would like to state the main achievements of this study. The paramount part of this study is the empirical foundation of detailed and original data collected. The composite database consists of sixty recorded in-depth interviews, extensive field notes of observations and field diary conducted during the six months of field work conducted in Bhojpur district. Based on this data, this study has attempted to answer the research questions formulated at the beginning of this thesis.

Starting with listing of specific achievements, I have described the basic socio-economic characteristics of the respondents of this study. They are categorized as non-migrants, migrants and returnees. The motive behind migrating is associated with expansion of opportunity set related to work, enhanced income, better education and health, and access to facilities. The primary mechanism of such migration relates to circulation or what is known as shuttle migration i.e. moving back and forth between their origin and destination. Such mechanism has resulted in individuals or households living in multi-local settings entailed with multi-locational arrangements. The multi local arrangements is seen to even last for many years, and depends on village and family based social networks, which is at the core of facilitating such arrangements. This study has also documented the lives of temporary migrants, permanent migrants, and non-migrants, their livelihood practices, the variations across each of them.

In this study, I have aimed to document the living conditions of migrants in destination Bhojpur district headquarters, and particularly focus on housing and changing residential patterns. I have provided fairly detailed information on their migration status and the implication for civil status for undocumented migrants and their family members. However, this study has its limitations too. Firstly, it does not provide enough information on remittances and its uses. Secondly, I do not discuss on the migrants' future plans and their return to their origin villages. These aspects can be considered as gaps to fully understanding the migration and development nexus discussed in this research. Following these gaps, a horde of deserving questions still

need in-depth research. Far too little is known about the contribution of permanent out-migrants to the areas of their place of origin. This is the philanthropic aspect of out-migrants in question. With regards to philanthropy, its determinants, magnitude and effects can have lasting results on the development of place of origin, especially at the community level. With regards to remittances, reliable data are not available at the village level. This was another major limitation of this study.

8.9 Future Research

Despite its limitations, this study has highlighted many additional areas for further investigation. To fully understand the migration dynamics and its developmental outcomes, households that have returnees and their contribution to development to the place of origin upon return is one of the many areas that can be further explored. Other areas of further investigation could be the migration determinants at different levels (micro-meso-macro) that are driving young population out of origin and the different career paths undertaken during migration. I agree with de Haas (2011) and Castles (2011), on the significance of migration determinants for comprehensive understanding on impacts of migration in origin and destination places.

In the case of internal migration in Nepal, the issues of migration registration can be further investigated. Sharma (2008) suggests that most of the ethnographic research is limited to concerns and findings related to local socio-cultural dynamics, and should include the policy implications. Further research can be conducted on the issues related to migration registration and internal migration with the aim of understanding internal migration policy and its assessments as regards to migration registration and certification.

Finally, further investigation can be undertaken on understanding the linkages between different patterns of migration. Much has been left to be investigated on these dynamics of migration in Nepal. In-depth studies can be conducted to understand how international migration may drive internal migration, and the changing gender roles associated with this phenomenon.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1. Interview Schedule

Section A: Introduction

1. Introduction and Informed Consent

Namaste: My name is Binayak Krishna Thapa and I am a Ph.D. student at Kathmandu University. I am conducting interviews in selected villages of this district to understand perceptions of people regarding the existing migration practice, history, trend and its cause and consequences, as well as regarding the notion of citizenship and the functioning of the government in the locality. For this purpose, I would like to speak to you and ask you a few questions. The information given by you will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purpose of this research. Can I request you to please spare some time and give me an interview?

2. INTERVIEW DETAILS

Date of interview:

Name of the interviewer.....

Place of interview:

Total Time taken for Interview:

3. HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFICATION

House number:

Name of the Basti:

Ward number:

Name of VDC:

Name of Household Head:

4. IDENTIFICATION OF INTERVIEWEE		
Name of the interviewee:		
Relationship with head of HH head:		
Sex: Male	Female	Third Gender
Age (in completed years):		
Marital Status: Married	Unmarried	Separated

Section B: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENT

Q.No	Questions	Responses
1	Could you tell me which caste you belong to?	
2.	Could you tell me which ethnicity you belong to?	
3.	Could you tell me which religion you follow?	
4.	What is the highest degree/ class of education that you have achieved?	
5.	a. How many members do you have in your family? b. Could you mention who all live in this house?	
6.	What is your primary occupation? What is your secondary occupation (if any)	
7.	Could you please tell me your approximate monthly income from various sources?	Rs 1-15,000 Rs 15,000- 30,000 Rs 30,000-45,000 Above Rs 45,000
8.	Apart from you how many members from you family are currently contributing to a household income?	
9.	a. Is any body from this family living outside at present?	Yes No
	b. Is yes Where?	
10.	If yes, does he contribute to the income of the family	Yes No

11.	Could you tell me the sources of general information that is important to you on daily basis?	
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SECTION C: ON MIGRATION

For Non-Migrant Interviewee:

1. Do you know any persons in your community who have migrated?
2. Is he or she your friend, relatives?
3. Where has he or she migrated?
4. Is migration among your community a common practice?
5. How was migration during the conflict?
6. Has it increased after the conflict?
7. Do you have any idea where most people migrate?
8. Have they migrated permanently or temporarily?
9. Do they reconnect with their friends and relatives back home?
10. What is your understanding on migration?
11. How does it benefit or do not benefit according to you? (probe for examples)
12. Can you elaborate on different kinds of migration practices?
13. How does it differ from one another?
14. Do you aspire to migrate in future? (probe : if yes why, if not why)
15. Do you know any persons or family who has recently settled in your locality?
16. Where is (are) he/she (they) from?
17. What is your say on new people coming and settling down in your locality?
18. Do you have any preferences on who should settle or not settle down here?
(elaborate)

For: Returnee Migrant

1. Where did you migrate?
2. How long were you there?
3. What was the reason for migration?
4. Why did you decide to return back?
5. When did you return?
6. During migration how did you connect with you family, friends back home?

7. During migration how did you contribute your family? (elaborate)
8. Where you keen to know what was happening back home during your migration?
9. How did you get such information?
10. What were your aspirations before migration?
11. Did you meet up with your aspirations? (Elaborate if yes, if not why)?
12. What were your aspirations on returning back home?
13. How are you making your aspiration come true on your return?
14. Do you aspire to migrate again (if so why, if not why)?
15. What is your say on migration to other aspirants?

For New In- Migrants

1. How long have you been living here?
2. Where are you from originally? (Ward, VDC, Illaka)
3. How far the place of origin is, how long does it take to get back there?
4. Do you have relatives or friends at your place of origin?
5. How did you decide to migrate from the place of origin?
6. Who all migrated with you? (Family members, Friends)
7. Did you take the decision to migrate your self or influence my member of family, friends, and relatives?
8. Why did you migrate? (Reason)
9. What made you choose this place specifically, and not other?
10. Did you have any aspiration before you migrated?
11. Please elaborate on your aspirations?
12. Are you aspirations being fulfilled?
13. Do you have any plans to return back? (Why, Why Not)
14. Is your neighbor also a migrant like you?
15. Are you both from same places?
16. Do you get along with each other well?
17. How often do you need his help or vise versa?
18. Do you miss your neighbor back at the place of origin?
19. Are you in contact with people of the origin?
20. How often do you make connection with them?

21. With whom do you make connection the most?
22. What are the difficulties you faced in the process of migration?
23. How did you find this new destination?
24. Did you have any idea about this place earlier?
25. Did you plan prior migration how you will adjust within this destination?
26. How have the native people of this place been treating you?
27. Do you have any difficulties in settling here, or do you feel ok with your present settlement?
28. What are the things that you don't have here but had it at your previous place of origin?
29. What are the things that you have here but did not have it in the place of origin?
30. Do you have to be registered in the government office, after settling here?
31. Please elaborate on the process?
32. Do you have a citizenship card?
33. Are you registered in the new voter list for upcoming election?

SECTION D: ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, CIVIL ENGAGEMENT AND IDENTITY POLITICS

A: On Political Participation

1. Do you have any idea that there is going to be election in future?
2. How did you get this information?
3. Who do you think will win?
4. Do you support any political parties?
5. Whom will you vote for?
6. How interested are you in politics?
7. How aware are you about the political parties and their movements?
8. Do you have interest in any political party and their movement?
9. Do you have any willingness to be involved in the political process?
10. Do you have actual involvement in the political process?
11. Do you have membership of a political party?

12. Have you worked for political party?
13. Have you worked for political candidate?
14. Have you attended an election rally?
15. How often do you discuss politics with friends?
16. Do you participate in political party between election and as well as at election times?
17. Have you ever given money to help party or candidate?
18. Have you taken an active part in a political campaign?
19. How do you join and support a political party?
20. Do you communicate with political leaders?
21. How often do you get contact by local political leaders?
22. Do you send protest message to political leaders when they are doing badly?
23. Has migration enhanced your political participation? (**For Migrants, & Returnee**)
24. What are the changes in your political activities since migration? (**For Migrants, & Returnee**)

B: On Civic Engagement

1. Do you know about any institutions near your locality (Health, Education, Government, Non-Government)
2. You have any involvement in them?
3. What is you believe that you should be involved with them? (Reasons) (Why, Why Not)
4. Do you know any person, friends, family members, relatives who are involved in these institutions?
5. Are you aware of any institutions that you can be a part of?
6. Can you elaborate on any support that you received from any institution?
7. Was deprivation of such support from institution the reason of migration?
8. Has migration widened your choice of available institution?
9. Does availability of support depend on the place that you live in?
10. Can you elaborate on supports you have received and were available after migration?
11. Did you migrate to receive such support?

12. Given a chance would you return back if all the support that you need is given to you where you previously lived?
13. Are you member of any community group?
14. Have you gotten together with others to raise an issue?
15. Have you made any views know to public and public officials?
16. What social activities do you participate in?
17. What joint activities have you participated in?
18. Have you involved yourself in holding informal policy talks?
19. Have you joint groups working to improve community life?
20. Do you inform others in your community about politics?
21. How is your group involved in political process?
22. What are the different means available to your group to participate in the political process?
23. What are the barriers you group face against political participation?
24. How does your social group overcome such barriers?
25. Do you feel your groups' political participation adequate?
26. Mention certain cases when your social group benefited from such participation?
27. Do you feel it is important to participate in local decision making?
28. Do you participate in local decision making?
29. Does migration lessen your participation in decision making? (**For Migrants, & Returnee**)
30. In case of when you migrate how do you make your presence in local decision making? (**For Migrants & Returnee**)

C: On Identity Politics (Inclusion/Exclusion based on caste and ethnicity)

1. Do you feel your level of participation is encouraged or discouraged as a result of your caste, ethnicity or class?
2. Does your caste, ethnic, class or identity favors or demand more participation?
3. Are there any cases when you felt that you had been excluded from participating in politics because of your caste, ethnic, or class identity?
4. Are there any cases when you felt that you had been included to participate politically because of your caste, ethnic, or class identity?
5. Do you feel you are oppressed because you belong to certain social group?

6. Does it matter to you that your immediate neighbor is of your same caste or ethnicity? (Please elaborate)
7. What was the scene like in the area of origin?
8. Does a settlement depend on identity based on caste/ethnicity?
9. What is your perception on caste/ ethnicity?
10. What is your perception on political parties that voice ethnic agendas?
11. Do you have any idea about Nepal going towards Federal State?
12. What is your say on it?
13. What is your say on identity based federalism on ethnic lines?
14. Will you support the Kirat Federal State (Why, Why not Elaborate)
15. Have you faced any kind of political oppression because you belong to certain caste/ethnicity?
16. Was there any kind of support that you could get to overcome such oppression?
17. What were the protection measures that were available to you?
18. Was such oppression the reason of migration?
19. Please elaborate on any protection you got to overcome political oppression?

SECTION E: ON SOCIO-POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF RURAL GOVERNANCE

A. Exercise of Franchise

1. How many years have you been registered as a voter?
2. Did you vote during the last CA election?
3. If no, can you please tell the reason(s) for not having voted?
4. Did you vote during the assembly election before the last one?
5. Have you voted in any local election?
6. During the last assembly elections, were you or any of your household members offered any kind of incentive by any of the political parties?
7. Was there any attempt to threaten you or any of your household members during the last CA election?

B. Conduct of Political Parties and Village level political institutions

1. Do you think that your local leaders are easily accessible to the general public?
2. Do you think that government functionaries in your area are usually accessible to the general public?
3. Do you think that the government functionaries are responsive towards the needs of the general public?
4. In case of grievance which government agencies are available? How is the complaint handling done?
5. What is your opinion about the functioning of wards? How was it before?
6. What is your opinion about the functioning of VDCs? How was it before?

C. Access to Basic Needs

1. Do you have access to : Primary education for children, primary healthcare for the family, safe drinking water, sanitation, electricity, housing, credit, pensions and loans?
2. Has migration enhanced or deprived access to the above mentioned basic needs?

D. Social Dimensions

1. How are the welfare needs of women and children being addressed? In case of inadequacy how do you fulfill it?
2. Is your household covered under any anti-poverty program?
3. Do you feel that there is freedom to practice the religion of your choice?
4. You do not face discrimination in social life due to your religion, social or cultural identity in your locality. Do you agree or disagree? (Please Elaborate)

Annex 2. Field Notes

Daily Observation Record Sheet

Date:	
Time:	
Observation	Observer's Comments

Annex 3. List of Respondents Whose Interviews Were Digital Recorded

S.No.	Respondents name	Age	Date of Interview	Place of Origin	Current Place of Residence	Migration Status	Profession	Caste
1	Hari Mahat	71	3/11/2013	Kodhar	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Retired Teacher	Chhetri
2	Jaya Tamang	41	25/11/2013	Kodhar	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Farmer	Tamang
3	Laxmi Prasad Tamang	77	27/11/2013	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Retired	Tamang
4	Sailendra Karki	38	29/11/2013	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Social worker	Chhetri
5	Jeevan Achraya	50	30/11/2013	Khotang	Bhojpur	P_migrant	Social worker	Bhaun
6	Palman Tamang	66	1/12/2013	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Politician	Tamang
7	Tej Pradhan	28	3/12/2013	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Social Mobilizer	Newar
8	Hari Khadka	46	5/12/2013	Dumsika	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Land broker	Chhetri
9	Netra Gurung	58	8/12/2013	Hellucha	Bhojpur	T_migrant	Tanent Farmer	Gurung
10	Omkar Karki	54	8/12/2013	Taksar	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Teacher	Chhetri
11	Bhojraj Pradhan	45	9/12/2013	Dawwa	Bhojpur	In-migrant	Business	Newar
12	Saroj Tamang	26	10/12/2013	Hellucha	Bhojpur	T_migrant	Farmer	Tamang
13	Kumar Bantwa	40	11/12/2013	Annapurna	Taksar	P_migrant	Social worker	Rai
14	Padam Bhadur Karki	46	11/12/2013	Taksar	Taksar	Non_migrant	Wada Samyojak	Chhetri
15	Lalit Ranapaili	59	13/12/2013	Taksar	Taksar	Non_migrant	Tailor	Dalit
16	Kishore Tamrakar	56	14/12/2013	Taksar	Taksar	Non_migrant	Headteacher	Newar
17	Akkal Raut	28	18-12-2013	Timma	Bhojpur	Returnee	Business	Chhetri
18	Kul Bhadur Karki	48	23/12/2013	Paluwa Bhojpur	Paluwa Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Solisitator	Chhetri
19	Tej Bhadur Moktan	62	24/12/2013	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Businessman	Tamang

20	Dibya Raj Bika	45	27/12/2013	Googane	Bhojpur	Returnee	Labour	Dali
21	Parsuram Tiwari	50	2/1/2014	Khotang	Bhojpur	P_migrant	Civil Society	Bhaun
22	Statistic Officer	40	3/1/2014	Timma	Bhojpur	T_migrant	DDC officer	Rai
23	Lila Maya Tamang	30	3/1/2014	Khotang	Bhojpur	P_migrant	Woman Social Worker	Tamang
24	Jhurendra Prasad Parajuli	66	3/1/2014	Ammtek	Ammtek	T_migrant	Retired Teacher	Bhaun
25	Kritika Karki	52	4/1/2014	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Social worker	Chhetri
26	Bidhur Karki	44	6/1/2014	Bhojpur	Bhojpur	Non_migrant	Teacher	Chhetri
27	Dambar Shrestha	49	6/1/2014	Taksar	Bhojpur	In-migrant	Business	Newar

Annex 4. List of Respondents Whose Interviews for Digital Recording Were Denied

S.No.	Date of Interview	Name	Age	Place of Origin	Place of Destination	Profession	Caste	Family Origin	Migration Status
1	12/11/2013	Bhim Prasad Pokhrel	63	Chinnamakhu	Bhojpur VDC	Labourer	Brahmin	Chinnamakhu	T_Migrant
2	20/11/2013	Padam Prasad Koirala	40	Diktel	Bhojpur VDC	Farmer	Brahmin	Kotang Diktel	T_Migrant
3	17/12/2013	Dahal	55	Ammtek	Bhojpur VDC	Lawyer	Brahmin	Ammtek	P_Migrant
4	18/12/2013	Manbhadur Karki	23	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Student	Chhetri	Chinnamakhu	Non Migrant
5	23/12/2013	Santa Adhikari	17	Bhulke	Bhojpur VDC	Student	Chhetri	Bhulke	T_Migrant
6	28/12/2013	Chiranjavi	46	Bhojpur	Kathmandu	ex-Teacher	Chhetri	Bhojpur	T_Migrant
7	31/12/2013	Kamal Prasad Rai	58	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Headteacher	Rai		Non Migrant
8	1/1/2014	Purna Bhadur Tamang	58	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Head of Janajati Sang	Tamang	Bhojpur	Non Migrant
9	1/1/2014	Rahar Maya Rai	50	Basikhora	Bhojpur VDC	Labourer	Rai	Basikhora	T_Migrant
10	1/1/2014	Gooma Aaji	70	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	tea shop	Tamang	Thulothumbba	Non Migrant
11	6/1/2014	Ratna Rai	28	Koth	Bhojpur VDC	Housewife	Rai	Khotang Diktel	T_Migrant
12	7/1/2014	Chandra Bardewa	19	Diktel	Bhojpur VDC	Labourer	Dalit	Diktel	T_Migrant
13	8/1/2014	Deepan Rai	20	Annapurna	Bhojpur VDC	Labourer	Rai	Khawa	T_Migrant
14	9/1/2014	Khagendra Gurung	52	Hellucha	Taksar VDC	Farmer	Gurung	Hellucha	T_Migrant
15	10/1/2014	Pema Sherpa	70	Diktel	Bhojpur VDC	Farmer	Sherpa	Diktel	P_Migrant
16	10/1/2014	Sabitri Rantel	35	Koth	Bhojpur VDC	Tailor	Dalit	Koth	T_Migrant
17	12/1/2014	Bhagwati Tamang	63	Kafle	N/A	Retired	Tamang	Kafle	Non Migrant
18	13/01/2014	Rajesh Khatiwada	39	Bhojpur	Khawa VDC	Politician	Brahmin	Bhojpur	T_Migrant

19	13/01/2014	Prem Sakya	54	Bhojpur	Taksar VDC	VDC secratery	Newar	Taksar	Non Migrant
20	14/01/2014	Pasang Sherpa	51	Kimalung	Bhojpur VDC	Retired	Sherpa	Kimanung	P_Migrant
21	14/01/2014	Susmita Rai	38	Bhulke	Bhojpur VDC	Housewife	Rai	Bhulke	T_Migrant
22	15/01/2014	Manamaya Magar	35	Tumlingtar	Bhojpur VDC	Housewife	Magar	Dalgau	T_Migrant
23	15/01/2014	Pustaraj Rai	60	Diktel	Bhojpur VDC	Tenent	Rai	Diktel	T_Migrant
24	16/01/2014	Karna Moktan	43	Bhojur	Bhojpur VDC	Business	Tamang	Bhojpur	Migrant Exp
25	17/01/2014	Dibya Rana Magar	60	Dalagu	Bhojpur VDC	Shopkeeper	Magar	Dalgau	P_Migrant
26	18/01/2014	Shivaram	60	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Retired	Chhetri	Bhojpur	Non Migrant
27	19/01/2014	Surendra Rai	41	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Governement	Rai		Non Migrant
28	19/01/2014	LDO	48	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Governement	Brahmin	Bhojpur	Non Migrant
29	19/01/2014	Jay Narayan Thakur	21	Siraha	Bhojpur VDC	Barbar	Brahmin	Siraha	T_Migrant
30	19/01/2014	Govinda Giri	25	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Farmer	Brahmin	Bhojpur	Returnee
31	21/01/2014	Shiva Kumari Rai	50	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Wage labour	Rai	Okhera Bhojpur	T_Migrant
32	22/01/2014	Kumar Shrestha	40	Bhojpur	Bhojpur VDC	Farmer	Newar	Bhojpur	Non Migrant
33	22/01/2014	Ashok Rai	48	Bhojpur	Dalgau VDC	Wage labour	Rai	Bhojpur	T_Migrant

Annex 5. Picture Shots of Data Entry and Analysis in Nvivo Software

Picture shot of field diaries

The screenshot displays the Nvivo software interface for a project named "My Project.nvp - Nvivo". The main window is titled "Diary_Fieldnotes" and shows a search for "hatya" in the "Diary_Fieldnotes" source. The search results are displayed in a table with the following data:

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Dec_2013_Diary	0	0	7/7/2014 7:11 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:46 PM	BKT
Jan_2014_Diary	0	0	7/7/2014 7:12 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:46 PM	BKT
Nov_2013_Diary	33	61	7/7/2014 7:10 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:46 PM	BKT

The interface includes a "Sources" pane on the left with a tree view showing "Internals" and "Diary_Fieldnotes" selected. Below the tree view are buttons for "Sources", "Nodes", "Classifications", "Collections", "Queries", "Reports", "Models", and "Folders". The bottom status bar shows the user "BKT" with 3 items. The Windows taskbar at the bottom includes the Start button and several open applications: Adobe Reader, My Project.nv..., Thesis on MPI a..., Annex, My Pictures, Microsoft Of..., One - Paint, and the system clock showing 10:11 PM.

Picture shot of transcribed interviews

My Project.nvp - NVivo

Look for: halyta Search In: interviews Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Akal Raut	58	115	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:48 PM	BKT
Bhoiraj Pradhan	42	66	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:48 PM	BKT
Bidhur Karki	33	40	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:48 PM	BKT
Dambar Shrestha	21	31	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Dibya Raj Bika	41	74	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Hari Khardka	69	132	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Hari Mahat	31	46	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Jaya Tamang	40	101	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Jeevan Acharya	45	106	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Jhurendra Parajuli	19	28	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Kishore Tamrakar	46	74	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Kritika Karki	55	103	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
kul bhadur karki	63	115	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Kumar Bantawa	61	107	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Lalit Ranapali	42	67	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Laxmi Tamang	42	86	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Lila Maya Tamang	12	31	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Netra Bhadur Gurung	42	88	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Omkar Karki	40	62	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Padam Bhadur Karki	52	110	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Palman Tamang	50	80	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Parsuram Tiwari	47	70	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Sailendra Karki	60	129	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Saroj Tamang	56	136	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Statistic Officer	31	49	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Tej Bhadur Moktan	32	44	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT
Tej Pradhan	77	145	7/7/2014 10:30 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:49 PM	BKT

My Project.nvp - NVivo

Look for: halyta Search In: oral accounts Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
OC_Chiranjivi	27	39	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Dibya	22	24	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Govenda	9	11	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Rajesh	17	20	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Sabitri	16	19	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Ashok	15	20	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Bhagwati	12	12	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Bhim	20	26	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Chandra	30	44	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Dahal	6	6	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Deepen	22	29	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Gomma Aaji	12	15	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Jay Narayan	11	14	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Kamal	15	19	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Karna	37	43	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Khagendra	18	19	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Kumar	20	24	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_LDO	19	19	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_ManalMaya	31	40	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Manbhadur	21	22	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Padam	35	41	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Pasang	30	35	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Pema	17	20	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Prem	11	12	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Purna	14	14	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT
OC_Pustaraj	21	29	7/7/2014 10:34 PM	BKT	7/7/2014 11:50 PM	BKT

Picture shot of thematic coding

My Project.nvp - Nvivo

Look for: halya Search In: Nodes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Sources	Reference	Created On	Created B	Modified On	Modified B
access	0	0	7/9/2014 9:52 PM	BKT	7/9/2014 9:52 PM	BKT
agriculture and farming	18	24	7/13/2014 10:41 A	BKT	10/16/2014 11:23 P	BKT
aspiration of people	40	76	7/9/2014 10:10 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 9:22 PM	BKT
baas uthne	2	2	7/11/2014 2:41 PM	BKT	7/17/2014 3:10 PM	BKT
bassai	5	5	7/14/2014 12:27 P	BKT	10/11/2014 10:21 A	BKT
bassai sarrai	33	55	7/9/2014 9:47 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 10:24 P	BKT
basti	6	10	7/10/2014 10:14 A	BKT	7/15/2014 3:02 PM	BKT
belonging	20	44	7/18/2014 1:23 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 9:55 AM	BKT
Bessi area	2	2	10/11/2014 2:45 P	BKT	10/15/2014 11:28 A	BKT
bhojpur chamber of commerce	1	2	7/23/2014 2:37 PM	BKT	7/23/2014 3:34 PM	BKT
buying and selling of property	31	70	7/10/2014 7:57 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 10:25 P	BKT
citizenship	15	29	7/10/2014 11:34 A	BKT	10/17/2014 9:18 PM	BKT
conflict situations	18	32	7/10/2014 5:05 PM	BKT	10/15/2014 7:01 PM	BKT
connection of migrants and non-migrants	23	34	7/10/2014 9:49 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 9:12 PM	BKT
daily activities of childrens	3	3	10/11/2014 9:37 A	BKT	10/13/2014 3:54 PM	BKT
democracy	1	1	7/9/2014 10:52 PM	BKT	7/9/2014 10:53 PM	BKT
Discription of Taksar	5	8	7/10/2014 10:37 A	BKT	10/15/2014 6:50 PM	BKT
Discription on Bhojpur	2	3	7/9/2014 10:40 AM	BKT	10/16/2014 11:14 P	BKT
dukha and sukha	7	13	7/10/2014 7:35 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 10:34 P	BKT
election	0	0	7/9/2014 11:01 AM	BKT	7/9/2014 11:03 AM	BKT
ghoom fir	4	9	7/18/2014 9:59 AM	BKT	10/17/2014 9:13 PM	BKT
hills	11	17	7/9/2014 10:49 PM	BKT	10/15/2014 10:50 P	BKT
household Properties	0	0	7/13/2014 12:53 P	BKT	10/9/2014 6:33 PM	BKT
Jimwall system	8	15	7/10/2014 4:56 PM	BKT	10/13/2014 6:56 PM	BKT
lekha area	4	5	10/11/2014 9:46 A	BKT	10/15/2014 11:28 A	BKT
local governance	6	20	7/10/2014 11:09 A	BKT	10/16/2014 11:11 P	BKT

My Project.nvp - Nvivo

Look for: halya Search In: Nodes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Sources	Reference	Created On	Created B	Modified On	Modified B
lekha area	4	5	10/11/2014 9:46 A	BKT	10/15/2014 11:28 A	BKT
local governance	6	20	7/10/2014 11:09 A	BKT	10/16/2014 11:11 P	BKT
Migration	0	0	7/9/2014 11:13 AM	BKT	7/9/2014 11:13 AM	BKT
Months	3	3	7/9/2014 10:54 AM	BKT	7/15/2014 3:19 PM	BKT
non_migrants	0	0	7/10/2014 8:58 PM	BKT	7/10/2014 8:58 PM	BKT
occupations undertaken for livelihood	15	23	7/10/2014 11:02 P	BKT	10/17/2014 9:23 PM	BKT
opportunities	30	43	7/9/2014 9:51 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 9:11 PM	BKT
Party Political Activities	1	1	7/9/2014 11:09 AM	BKT	7/9/2014 11:10 AM	BKT
Perception on federalism	17	29	7/9/2014 10:59 PM	BKT	10/16/2014 11:16 P	BKT
Perception on Maaz Kirat	22	48	7/9/2014 11:04 PM	BKT	10/16/2014 11:16 P	BKT
Perception on people's dependance on agricul	11	18	7/10/2014 10:54 P	BKT	7/24/2014 2:39 PM	BKT
permanant migrants	2	2	7/13/2014 10:12 A	BKT	7/16/2014 12:27 PM	BKT
Place of destination	14	25	7/9/2014 10:21 PM	BKT	7/24/2014 2:33 PM	BKT
Place of origin of migration	15	28	7/9/2014 9:54 PM	BKT	10/16/2014 3:24 PM	BKT
political participation	23	31	7/11/2014 1:04 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 9:26 PM	BKT
politics of differences	2	2	7/9/2014 11:20 AM	BKT	10/16/2014 11:16 P	BKT
public participation	29	46	7/10/2014 11:26 A	BKT	10/17/2014 10:45 A	BKT
renters (stayers and migrants)	17	27	7/13/2014 10:16 A	BKT	10/17/2014 9:14 PM	BKT
Returns and Returnees	3	3	7/9/2014 12:24 PM	BKT	10/16/2014 10:38 P	BKT
rural area (durgam)	17	22	7/9/2014 10:26 PM	BKT	10/16/2014 11:03 P	BKT
sammuha	27	49	7/10/2014 11:27 A	BKT	10/17/2014 9:25 PM	BKT
Settlements and residence	1	1	7/9/2014 11:33 AM	BKT	10/16/2014 11:08 P	BKT
social participation	16	29	7/10/2014 11:39 A	BKT	10/16/2014 7:07 PM	BKT
state restructuring	6	7	7/9/2014 2:35 PM	BKT	7/18/2014 1:25 PM	BKT
Tarai	21	33	7/9/2014 10:49 PM	BKT	10/17/2014 10:29 P	BKT
temporaty migrants	1	1	7/13/2014 10:11 A	BKT	7/13/2014 10:14 AM	BKT

Annex 6. Glossary of Key Terms

Adhiya: A system of sharecropping in which the landowner (or the state) appropriated half of the produce as rent (or tax).

Ailani: Agricultural land that farmers regularly cultivate. The land is owned by the Government, but not registered in the name of households.

Bainsi: Valleys in the hills.

Bari: Dry, unirrigated land.

Baali ghare: It is caste based informal institution in Nepal in which the Dalits provide occupational labor to higher caste. In turns, the higher caste gives certain amount of grains to them.

Birta: Land grant made by the ruler (the king) to individuals, usually on an inheritable and tax-exempt basis.

Chanda: Contribution.

Dalit: Communities who by virtue of atrocities of caste-based discrimination and untouchability, are most backward in social, economic, educational, political, and religious fields, and have been deprived of human dignity and social justice (National Dalit Commission, 2010).

Damai: A term denoted to a group of low caste group who prepare clothes.

Ghar: Home, household.

Guthi: Endowments of land made for any religious or philanthropic purpose.

Haat: Regular village fairs or markets.

Jagir: Land tenure institution of Nepal in which the Government used to assigned land to government employee as emoluments.

Janjati: The term Janjati refers to indigenous peoples or nationalities of Nepal who are outside the traditional Hindu *Varna* caste structure (USAID, 2007).

Kachhihouse: House made by mud wall and thatched roof.

Kami: A term denoted to a group of low caste group who prepare iron tools and gold ornaments.

Khet: Irrigated land usually in the hills, on which rice is (or can be) grown.

Kipat: A system of communal landownership prevalent among the Limbus and other Mongoloid communities in the hill regions.

Lekh: Higher hills

Madhesi: Madhesi (**Madheshi**) are a group of people, of Indian origin, living in lower land of Nepal. (USAID, 2007)

Mahatsov: Mahotsav is an annual festival celebrated by people.

Pakho: Non-irrigated land usually used for growing dry crops such as maize and millets.

Pathsala: Religious School.

Raikar: Lands on which taxes are collected from individual landowners, traditionally regarded as state-owned.

Ropani: A measure of land in the hill region. It is equivalent to 5476 sq ft or 0.05 hectare.

Sabha: Assembly of village adults.

Sarki: A term given to a group of low caste group who traditionally make shoes.

Tarai: Plain area in southern belt of Nepal.

Tole: It is a small hamlet usually formed by similar caste in far-western region of Nepal.

Ward: Lowest political unit, 1 VDC = nine wards. There can be many wards in a Municipality.

Annex 7. Conversion Table

S.N.	Unit	Conversion	Remarks
1.	1 khet	4 pathi seed	
2.	4 pathi seed	2 ropani irrigated land	
3.	1 katta	50 kg	
4.	1 bigha	13.31 ropani	
5.	1 kattha	0.665 ropani	
6.	1 ropani	1.5 kattha	
7.	1 quintal	100 kg	
8.	1 Bigha	20 Kattha	
9.	1 Bigha	6,772.63 m ²	
10.	1 Bigha	72,900 sq. ft	
11.	1 Bigha	20 Biswa	
12.	1 Bigha	.677263 hectare	
13.	1 Bigha	1.6735 acre	
14.	1 Bigha	13.31 Ropani	
15.	1 Kattha	20 Dhur	
16.	1 Kattha	338.63 m ²	
17.	1 Kattha	3,645 sq. ft	
18.	1 Dhur	16.93 m ²	
19.	1 Dhur	182.25 sq. ft	
20.	1 Bigha	13.31 Ropani	
21.	1 Ropani	16 aana	
22.	1 Ropani	508.72 m ²	
23.	1 Ropani	5476 sq. ft	
24.	1 Ropani	508.83771 m ²	
25.	1 aana	4 paisa	
26.	1 aana	31.80 m ²	
27.	1 aana	342.25 sq.ft.)	
28.	1 paisa	4 daam	
29.	1 paisa	7.95 m ²)	

30.	1 Hectare	1.5 Bigha	
31.	1 Hectare	19.965 Ropani	
32.	1 Hectare	19.965 Ropani	

Annex 8. English and Botanical Name

SN	Local name	English name	Botanical name
1.	Dhan	Rice	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L.
2.	Gahu	Wheat	<i>Triticum aestivum</i> L.
3.	Makai	Maize	<i>Zea mays</i> L.
4.	Jau	Barley	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>
5.	Kodo	Millet	<i>Paspalum scrobiculatum</i>
6.	Uwa	Naked Barley	<i>Hordeum nudum</i>
7.	Bajra	Pearl Millet	<i>Pennisetum typhoides</i>
8.	Kaguno	Foxtail Millet	<i>Setaria italica</i>
9.	Cheena	hog millet	<i>Panicum miliaceum</i>
10.	Mash	Black gram	Vignamungo
11.	Chana	Chickpea	<i>Cicer arietinum</i>
12.	Masuro	Lentil	<i>Lens culinaris</i>
13.	Matar	Peas	<i>Pisum sativum vararvense</i>
14.	Arhar	Red gram	<i>Cajanus cajan</i>
15.	Soyabean	Soyabean	<i>Glucine max</i>
16.	Rajma	Kidney bean	<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> L.
17.	Mithe Phapar	Buckwheat	<i>Fagopyrum esculentum</i>
18.	Bodi	Cow Pea	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
19.	Gahat	Horse Gram	<i>Dolichos biflorus</i> L
20.	Siyau	Apple	<i>Malus sylvestris</i>
21.	Angur	Grape	<i>Vitis vinifera</i>
22.	Amba	Guvava	<i>Psidium guajava</i>
23.	Katahal	Jackfruit	<i>Artocarpur heterophyllus</i>
24.	Litchi	Litchi	<i>Litchi chinensis</i>
25.	Aam	Mango	<i>Magnifera indica</i>
26.	Suntala	Orange	<i>Citrus reticulata</i>
27.	Naspati	Pear	<i>Pyrus communis</i>
28.	Kera	Banana	<i>Musa paradisiaca</i>
29.	Cauli	Cauliflower	<i>Brassica oleracea</i>

30.	Aaalu	Potato	<i>Solanum tuberosum</i>
31.	Lauki	Bottle gourd	<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i>
32.	Baigan	Brinjal	<i>Lolanum melongena</i>
33.	Bandgobi	Cabbage	<i>rassica oleracca var,</i>
34.	Tamatar	Tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentus</i>
35.	Piyaj	Onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>
36.	Marich	Black peppe	<i>Piper nigrum</i>
37.	Sukmel	Cardamom	<i>Elletaria cardamum</i>
38.	Besar	Turmeric	<i>Curumma Longa L.</i>
39.	Aduwa	Ginger	<i>ingiber officinale</i>
40.	Lasun	Garlic	<i>Allium sativum</i>
41.	Tori	mustard	<i>Brassica juncea</i>