

Nepalese Foreign Migration  
in Relation with the Consequences of Armed Conflict

by

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## Abstract

The global migration of people is a dynamic process. Migration from developing countries to developed countries is much higher. It is mainly because of the war, conflict, natural disasters, unfavorable environmental casualties and poor economy of the developing countries. Nepal is one of the highest migrant-sending countries of more than 6 million Nepalese migrants. Most of the previous studies focus on the causes and impacts of the Nepalese migration and less concerning or ignoring its relation with the casualties of the ten years armed conflict (1996-2006). This study tries to fulfill the gap by analyzing the contemporary Nepalese migration scenario and the armed conflict-related issues together. This research used both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Quantitative method used to find the general perceptions of 40 Nepalese migrants through an online survey. Qualitative method used to find individual opinions by conducting semi-structured interviews and a workshop among 52 respondents.

The four key findings emerge. First, Nepalese migration is the result of the poor economy, fragile political instability and socio-cultural practices of Nepal. Second, Nepalese migration is the mixed result of the compulsion and opportunities-based volunteer decision of Nepalese people. Foreign migration is a compulsion for many Nepalese people because of the immediate solution to existing unemployment and poverty. In contrast, opportunities-based volunteer migration of Nepalese people is the result of weak economic and political situation of the country. Third, the deterioration of the economy and destruction of socio-political structures of the country due to the armed conflict contributes to increasing the number of Nepalese migrants. Fourth, the incomplete peace process, post-conflict dilemmas and delays in the development progress of the country lead the slugging down of the national economy. This situation further contributes to increasing the number of migrants.

In post-conflict time, Nepalese politics and the economy have undergone dilemmas that left behind the people's expectations of justice, welfare and equality. The priorities of the

national budget shifted for post-conflict management, which could not invest in development projects, social welfare and employment generation activities. As a result, the critical post-conflict situation of the country lead to the fragile uncertainty of better living condition of Nepalese people. The essential features of functional democracy and good governance have not been practically implemented in the country, which adds fuel to increase unemployment, poverty and inequality. Therefore, people are imprudently migrating in foreign countries that recover their economic needs to support family, community and state through sending remittance. However, there is no augury of ending the migration cycle, and thus many Nepalese migrants repeatedly migrated to foreign countries. The advocacy of sustainable peace, development and prosperity of the country are yet in volatile condition.



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## Lists of abbreviations

ACHR	Asian Centre for Human Rights
ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CPN/M	Communist Party Nepal/Maoist
CVICT	Centre for Victims of Torture
DoFE	Department of Foreign Employment
EMS	Employment Permit System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICIMOD	International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
ILO	International Labor Organization
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoLE	Ministry of Labour and Employment
MoPR	Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction
NHRC	National Human Rights Council
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SoE	State of Emergency
TJC	Transitional Justice Commissions
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VDC	Village Development Committee
WB	World Bank

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Migration is not a new phenomenon for Nepal, but its dimension, the purposes, and the destinations are changing along with different consequences of socio-cultural transformation and political events. It has more than a 200 years long history, and it began when Nepalese people were recruited as British Military Soldiers in 1815. It became diverse with seasonal or temporary migrants in India after 1951 and semi and unskilled workers in Middle East countries after the oil boom of the 1970s. Despite having a long history of migration, only 3,605 Nepalese migrants were officially recorded until the mid-1990s. The migration paradigm, including the number of migrants and destinations, completely changed after the late 1990s. The number of migrants increased from 3,605 in 1994 to 27,796 in 1999 as an alternative to reduce poverty and as a refuge of the civil war (MoLE, 2014). The armed conflict also called civil war or people's war launched by the Communist Party of Nepal Maoist (CPN/M) in 1996 and continued till 2006. Economic downturn and political instability extended during the armed conflict period. There has been a steady increase in the number of migrants during the conflict time and the number reached to more than 200 thousand at the end of the armed conflict in 2006. It raises concerns about the relation between the increasing number of migrants and the armed conflict. In the meantime, the number of migrants continually increase even after the end of the armed conflict and the number reached to more than 6 million in 2018. The tremendously rising migrants' figures within the last 25 years, particularly after 1996, raised many questions about the economic, political and socio-cultural patterns of the country. It was thus necessary to analyze how the establishment of a multiparty democratic system in 1990, 10 years armed conflict (1996-2006) and 13 years of post-conflict are interrelating with the contemporary migration scenarios of the country. Therefore, this study tries to find out the deeply rooted causes of migration and its relation to the armed conflict.

## **A. Background of migration of Nepal**

The trends of Nepalese migration diversified along with the political and other events. The Anglo-British War (1813-1815) led the military-based migration, and the establishment of democracy in 1951 led the seasonal migration in the tea farm of Darjeeling, India, until 1970. The oil-boom in the Middle East after the 1970s contributed for unskilled and semi-skilled labor migration. Similarly, migration in foreign countries was recognized as conflict-induced migration during the armed conflict period (1996-2006). The number of migrants has been continually increasing even after the end of the armed conflict. All these diversified trends of migration still exists and is expanding in different ways.

### **1. Military recruitment and seasonal migration from 1815 to 1995**

Nepal has a long history of migration, which started as military-based migration and gradually shifted towards seasonal migration after the end of national isolation under the Rana regime in 1951. Later, the establishment of the first democracy in 1951 and the establishment of a multi-party democratic system in 1990 contributed to change the dimension of migration. Besides, the wave of globalization and adaptation of liberation in 1993 also contributed to change the dimension of migration.

#### **a. Migration trends from 1815 to 1950**

First, Nepalese migration began with the British military from 1815 to 1950. Luni Piya and Niraj Prakash Joshi (2016) state the history of migration for Nepal was institutionalized through the recruitment of Nepalese youth, also called Gurkhas soldiers into the Anglo-British War (War between the British East India Company and Nepal) in 1815. After Nepal suffered heavy casualties, the British East India Company signed the “Sugauli Treaty” in 1815 that allows recruiting Gurkhas in British military service. More than 210,000 Gurkhas were recruited by British military force in the First World War and the Second World War. As a result, more than 20,000- 43,000 Gurkhas lost their lives in these two wars (The Gorkha Brigade Association, 2018). They also involved in several wars such as the Falklands War, the

Iraq War and the Afghanistan War (Deutsche Welle, 2014). After India's independence from British colonization in 1947, the "Sugauli Treaty" was revised in 1950. Since then, Nepalese youth has been officially recruited in different military forces; for example, the British Army, the Indian Army, the Singapore Contingent and Brunei Reserve.

#### b. Migration trends from 1951 to 1995

Second, the paradigm of migration shifted along with different political changes in Nepal after the establishment of democracy in 1951. Political awakening and democratic movements ended the national isolation of 103 years of the Rana Dynasty that existed from 1846 to 1951. This movement allowed Nepalese people to migrate for seasonal or temporary work in India, where they worked as laborers in tea farms and different factories, and as domestic workers. This trend of migration topped out until 1970. The oil boom of the 1970s in the Middle East created a considerable demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor (Kanhaiya Sapkota, 2018). Therefore, the dimension of migration inclined towards the Middle East, particularly into Gulf countries. The Foreign Employment Act, 1985, launched by the government of Nepal, institutionalized foreign migration in a proper way. Later, Nepal successively re-established democracy in 1990 and welcomed liberalization in 1993. These two political and economic changes added fuel in the migration patterns of Nepal (Prakash Bhattarai, 2005). For example, formalize labor migrants, opened doors for recruitment and remitting agencies to operate in the country and solicit workers for jobs in other countries.

#### 2. Armed conflict-related migration from 1996 to 2006

The ten years armed conflict (1996-2006) directly and indirectly led to both internal and international migration. During the conflict time, more than 350,000 to 400,000 Nepalese people internally displaced from remote areas and villages (Caritas, Nepal, 2015 and Padma Prasad Khatiwada, 2012). Some of them moved to the nearest cities, district headquarters and capital city, Kathmandu. Some others moved in foreign countries (ACHR, 2005). The field survey of L.V. Duijin (2003) shows that about 1,200 Nepalese were crossing the national

border at Nepalgunj per day at peak time of the armed conflict. Many industries, agricultural and small enterprises were forced to close during the conflict period where thousands of workers lost their jobs. For example, Mallika Shakya (2018) argues that 90,000 garment factories workers became jobless when most of the garment factories are closed because of the armed conflict. In this way, the number of Nepalese migrants reached more than 200,000 in 2006 (MoLE, 2009). Besides, some high-class and middle-class people migrated to foreign countries as political asylum seekers or refugees and later settled down as permanent residents of those countries.

### 3. Migration in the post-conflict period after 2006

The armed conflict ended in 2006. However, Nepalese politics and the economy have undergone many dilemmas that highly influenced the patterns of migration. The number of migrants increase continually after the end of the armed conflict. According to the DoFE, 3,509,633 Nepalese people received labor permits to migrate for foreign employment within the nine years from the fiscal year 2008/09 to 2017/18. The stakeholders and the government of Nepal thus faced new challenges in regulating migration by ensuring the well-being and rights of all migrants because of the tremendously increasing number of migrants. As a result, the MoLE launched the Foreign Employment Act, 2007 and Foreign Employment Policy, 2012, to address various issues related to foreign migration. Since then, there have been several amendments and revisions on these acts and policies from time to time.

### **B. Background of the armed conflict of Nepal**

The ten-year armed conflict also called Maoist insurgency and its consequences are responsible for the different political and socio-economic changes of Nepal. The conflict has been characterized by executions, massacres, purges, kidnapping and other war crimes against humanity. The main reasons for this conflict are the existing socio-economic and political problems of the Nepalese society, such as injustice, inequalities, discriminations (class-based, gender-based and ethnicity-based), exploitation, power-biased and corrupted governing

system (Bishnu Raj Upreti, 2006).

### 1. During the armed conflict

Nepal faced a decade long armed conflict from 1996 to 2006. It is the dispute between the government and the Communist Party of Nepal Maoist (CPN/M). The armed conflict began in 1996, after six years of the 1990's democratic movement. In 1990, Nepal launched a multi-party democratic system also called constitutional monarchy that transited a decade long centralized and undemocratic "Panchayat system" (Subedi, D.B. 2018, p.71). The 10 years armed conflict successfully overthrows a 240-year-old Hindu Monarchy system of Nepal. Royal Massacre of June 1, 2001, supported conflict escalation that led to extreme violation and critical security situations. The national military was not involved in direct fighting until June 25, 2001, as it was regarded as a political matter (ICG, 2003). Later, the government announced the State of Emergency (SoE), the first ceasefire and the second ceasefire after the failure of different negotiations and peace talks with the CPN/M. Those incidents accelerated the violation of human rights and crossed its limit. Many innocent people were killed, extremely tortured and threatened by both military forces. From the rebellion group, thousands of people, mainly from poor rural areas, were forcefully and voluntarily involved in the armed conflict. Youth and even children were compelled or manipulated to join the Maoist force during the armed conflict. Therefore, many children could not complete their school education (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Hundreds of others forcibly recruited by the party were mobilized for attacks at military posts and to blow up telephone towers and bridges (Deepak Adhikari, 2017). At the same time, the government responded by banning anti-monarchy statements, imprisoning journalists and shutting down newspapers accused of siding with the insurgents. As a result, more than 17,000 people lost their lives, more than 75,000 people injured and about 3 million to 4 million people internally displaced from their home town. (Padma Raj Khatiwada, 2012 and NHRC, 2016)



## 2. After the armed conflict

The ten years armed conflict ended in 2006, along with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The anti-government CPN/M came to the mainstream of politics and formulated the new government with the large majority. Firstly, the post-conflict management was itself a great challenge for the newly formulated government after the end of the armed conflict. The management of weapons and combaters, providing the true information that enforced to disappear during the conflict time are the primal challenges for Nepal in post-conflict time. Similarly, rehabilitation of injured people and reconciliation of directly and indirectly conflict-affected families, providing support for orphans and widows were some other challenges. Secondly, reconstruction of collapsed infrastructure and provision of the basic facilities along with the revitalization of the Nepalese economy were the other challenges for Nepal. On the other hand, it took a decade to promulgate and formulate the new constitution even the political system drastically changed from the constitutional monarchy to the federal democratic republic system in 2006. The reconciliation and rehabilitation of the process delayed and the dissatisfaction of people increased day by day. The bureaucracy and legitimacy became weaker because of less functioning interim constitutions. Serious human rights-related abuse and destruction of infrastructures were ignored by pointing the limitation of constitutions, laws and acts. Therefore, Nepalese economy and politics has been turmoiled with dilemmas and uncertainty. This situation added a fuel to support the migration of youth in a foreign country.

### **C. Significance and motivation of the study**

Migration is a multi-disciplinary field of study. It draws attention to sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, human rights activists and many other academicians. In recent years, migration influences various aspects of Nepal, where more than half of the total household are directly affected, which brings structural changes in the socio-economic and cultural aspects of Nepal. The migration figure of Nepal shows that the number of migrants

began to increase from 1998 and tremendously increase after 2007, which is coincide with the 10 years of armed conflict of Nepal. In this context, a comprehensive study about the interconnected issues of migration and the armed conflict is an urge to provide further guidelines and understand the reasons for increasing the number of Nepalese migrants. Furthermore, my personal childhood experiences of the armed conflict, teenage experiences of the critical post-conflict situation and my experiences as a foreign migrant for academic purpose induced me to conduct this research.

#### **D. Organization of the study**

This study consists of eleven chapters, which are further divided into different sections and subsections. Chapter 1 provides the general introduction, overview and background of the study. Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature and theories related to migration and conflict. This chapter also reviews the current ideas of the causes of migration and different approaches related to migration and conflict. Chapter 3 consists of the research questions, which are the main objectives of this thesis. Chapter 4 provides information about the methodologies of research, including sample size and methods of data collection. Chapter 5 is the beginning of the discussion, which provides some ground information about the current trends of migration and tries to explain statistical facts of purposes, destinations, and other relevant facts of migration. Chapter 6 is about case studies and analysis. Chapter 7 is about causes of migration, which discuss the economic, political and socio-cultural aspects of migration. Chapter 8 is about the consequences of the armed conflict, which has been described under economic stagnation, human casualties and forced displacement. Chapter 9 is about the relationship between migration and the armed conflict. This chapter analyzes how the causes of migration became more complicated with the consequences of the armed conflict. Chapter 10 deals with the positive and negative outcomes of migration. This chapter also provides some information about the impact of migration in Nepalese society. Finally, Chapter 11 is the summary, conclusion and limitations of this study.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

Migration is a movement of people from one place to another, which is a complex and multidimensional global issues. The manifestation of globalization and economic interdependence, people began to move throughout the world. The academicians, the policymakers and the human rights activists are showing their interest in migration and its consequences. The possible reasons of their interest are increasing the flow of remittance and transferring ideas and technologies beyond the geographical and other boundaries.

### **A. Theories of migration**

There are various theories proposed by different scholars to explain the consequences of migration. Scholars like Christina Boswell (2002) divide migration theories into three main types' macro, meso, and micro theories. The macro theory is about push and pull factors of migration. The push factors are mainly war, conflict and the weak economy of the home country, and the pull factors are the demand for labor, better employment opportunities and the easy immigration policies of migrant-receiving countries. The concept of push and pull factors are similar to the "Laws of Migration" derived by the earliest migration theorist Ravenstein Ernest in 1889. The meso theory is related to the system and networks where people want to migrate in those countries linked with similar economic, political and cultural patterns of their home countries. The micro theory deals with the factors influencing individual decisions to migrate, such as the cost and benefits of migration, the purpose and process to migrate.

There are other scholars, such as Douglas S. Massey et al. (1993) who explain different types of international migration theories. The Neo-classical (macroeconomic) theory argues that migration caused by wage differences in labor-abundant or capital-poor and labor-scarce or capital-rich countries. After their migration, the labor wage increases in capital-poor countries and the wage decreases in capital-rich countries. It leads towards the equilibrium in wages and thus migrants intend to return in the home country. However, this wage equilibrium

does not affect the skilled migrants, for example, technician and manager.

The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) theory of Edward J. Taylor (1999) criticizes the conclusion of the neoclassical theory. The wage differences in capital-rich and capital-poor countries and an individual decision is not the main factor to decide to migrate. There are many other factors, such as families and households collectively play the role of the decision of migration. He explores the different socio-economic factors in developing countries such as risk-bearing insecurity, lack of governmental and other support for insurance, credit and loans.

The Segmented labor-market theory (Michael J. Piore, 1979) argues that the causes of migration are permanent demand for labor, which supports the economic structure of developing nations. He further explains that the migration is not an outcome of push-factors such as low wages and high unemployment of the developing countries, but it is the outcome of pull-factors of the destination countries facing a massive shortage of labor. This theory suggests that migrants-receiving-countries' economies are dualistic; they have a primary market of secure, well-salaried work and a secondary market of blue-collar or low-wage work. Also, the immigrants are recruited to fill these jobs that are necessary for the overall economy to function but are avoided by the native-born population because of the poor working conditions associated with the secondary labor market.

The World system theory (Saskira Sassen, 1988) advocates that international migration is the result of the consequences of globalization and capitalism and it is natural. In the World system theory, capitalism expands towards peripheral regions of capital-rich countries. The raw materials, lands and labors were influenced under the control of the market and people begin to move from those regions.

The Network theory (Ivan Light et al., 1989) emphasizes the frequent communication of migrants with friends, relatives and family who are in their home countries support for further migration. Migrants share the information, availability of opportunities and the situation of the

destination countries, which reduces the risk and the cost of migration for their relatives and friends.

The institutional theory R. P. W. Jennissen (2004) argues that profit-based recruiting agencies and private entrepreneurs arise when there is an imbalance between the vast numbers of people from capital-poor countries, who wanted to migrate and the limited immigration visa to enter in capital-rich countries. Those recruiting agencies and private entrepreneurs provide services related to laborers and employer's contract, arranged marriages between migrants and legal residents, and smuggling and support for international transport. This argument is relevant in the current case of illegal immigrants' problems of the United States of America and the increasing refugee application of Japan.

## **B. Causes and motive of migration**

Previous research shows that there are various causes of migration both in migrant's home countries and destination countries. Russell King simply state that "people migrate in the hope of improving their lives through access to better-paid and more secure work."(2010, p.39). He further explains that the geographical inequality and industrial development are other causes of migration. David Coleman (2015) argues that chronic political instability, rapid population growth and economic and environmental fragility are significant reasons for migration. Massy et al. (1989) state that migration occurs because of the individual desire for income and market penetration within the peripheral region. Similarly, ILO also emphasizes the causes of migration from the developing world are globalization and the integration of regional economies (ILO, 2003). The OHCHR argues that poverty and the inability to earn enough or produce enough to support oneself or a family are the primary reasons behind the movement of work seekers from one place to another (OHCHR, 2004).

King (2010) states that there are three major elements of economic opportunities-based migration, labor, capital and the state. Each of these elements are related with their respective actors migrants, employers and politicians. The positive views argue that all the actors are

benefited by migration. For example, employers benefit from supplies of workers, migrants receive higher wages and the remittance sending by migrants support the development of their communities and national economics of migrant sending countries. In the meantime, migrant receiving countries benefit by cultural diversity. In this way, there is a “win-win” situation among the migrants, the host country and the sending country. However, the negative views criticize that the migrant sending countries are losing their most energetic and highly trained workers where the welfare system of their country paid for their education and upbringing. The receiving countries see foreign migrants as causing unemployment, cultural and other conflict and terrorism. They are using different terms, such as illegal immigrants and political asylum seekers. Therefore, international migration introduces racism, religious and cultural differences and spreads the exercise of discrimination in host countries.

Boswell (2002) points out that there are four different causes of migration, which are root causes, proximate causes, enabling conditions-related causes and sustaining factors-related causes. Root causes is related to the weak state, and social and other structural requirements, and proximate causes is associated with immediate conditions to cope with the situation mostly because of conflict and war. Enabling conditions-related causes is included travel possibilities and network in destination countries, and sustaining factors-related migration support chain migration. The causes of migration in the context of Nepal are related to the root causes and proximate causes, for example, the socio-economic transition after different political changes and the ten-year armed conflict.

Keshav Prasad Bhattarai (2006) explains that there is either voluntary or forced migration. Voluntary migration is entirely people’s individual choice. Globalization, the demand for labor and the availability of different opportunities are also supporting factors of voluntary migration. Migrants choose any country to migrate based on their knowledge and available information. They also compare opportunities, wage differences, security and facilities of both destination and home countries before migration.

In contrast, forced migration is a compulsion for people. The insecurity and risk of human life compel them to migrate to any places where they can migrate. The civil war, genocide, military force and political instability led to poverty, unemployment and violence. Therefore, many people compelled to migrate. They simply want to escape from such a critical situation.

Rishi Pokhrel (2017) points out brain drain is another cause of migration. Brain drain means migration of qualified and skilled people mainly from developing countries to developed countries. The motives for brain drain are high-paid salaries and social securities of developed countries. In contrast, the adverse socio-economic and political situation of developing countries are push factors of migration. Similarly, Kritika Paudel (2010) argues that the massive demand for skilled labor in developed countries is one of the significant causes of brain drain. She researches the brain drain tendency among Nepalese medical nurses. She encounters many problems in the medical profession of Nepal, such as job insecurity, workloads, professional disempowerment, low pay, exploitation in a job setting, lack of attractive policies, lack of government monitoring, insufficient in-service education and so on.

People from different parts of the world have different purposes and motivations to move from their place. Prakash Bhattarai (2005) argues that there are three different motives for migration among Nepalese people. First, people from a lower-class and middle-class family migrated in either gulf countries or Asian countries for money and the general expectation of those migrants is paying debts, enrolling their children in private school, affording general medical expenses for their families and improving their lives. Second, the motives of high-class people's migration are to buy a house or land in the capital city or other major cities of Nepal. The last motives of middle-class people are running small enterprises after returning from abroad and investing in expanding their family business.

On the other hand, , Nisha Arunatilake et al. (2010) point out that the families of

migrant workers tend to become more extravagant than before on remittance income, such as, their daily subsistence giving up income-generating activities, abuse of such income and other behavioral changes. Furthermore, remittances have a limited impact on long-term growth because it is used mostly for daily consumption purposes by the recipient households.

Migration has both positive and negative effects on migrant-sending countries and their families. Saodat Olimova (2010) states that the most significant positive impact of migration is the availability of additional resources to spend on education in those families receiving remittances.

Similarly, ICIMOD, through the case study report states that the positive impacts of labor migration include the financial benefits, acquisition of skills, increased entrepreneurship, exposure and awareness. In some cases, it supports women's empowerment (ICIMOD, 2010). In contrast, the same case study argues that labor migration can also have negative impacts such as increased workload for women and exposure to health risks. It can lead to several social malpractices. At the same time, Dechenla Sherpa (2010) explains that

Labor migrants brought back newly acquired skills and ideas in house construction, carpentry, and electrical work, which could be useful in the villages and provided the seeds of entrepreneurship.

In the context of Nepal, some of the migrants return back to home and start their small businesses and often provide employment opportunities in their communities. However, there are less opportunities offered by their communities and returned migrants also cannot explore new opportunities by themselves.

### **C. Migration and conflict**

Migration is one of the consequences of conflict. It is not always happening for positive gain. The existing problems of global crisis, refugees and displacement of a large number of people are the different forms of migration. Somalia, Rwanda, Congo, Afghanistan and Syria are some of the examples of sending a vast number of migrants in various ways.



Many previous studies find that there is a secure connection in-between conflict and migration. Jean-Marie Guéhenno (2016) argue that more than half of total migrants are migrating because of conflict, war and global crisis of displacement. Besides, The UNHCR states that more than 68.8 million individuals were forcefully displaced from their place of origins because of the persecution, conflict or violence (UNHCR, 2019). The civil war, genocide, violence and state repression are the main determinants of forced migration (Malender Erik and Magnus Öberg, 2004). After the Second World War, civil war and armed conflict of several developing countries become an apparent cause of forced migration (Bhattarai, 2006).

It is not necessary that the end of the armed conflict support to reduce the internal and international migration. Once people start to migrate, it is difficult to control the flows of migrants and support them to return back. Lindsey Felix et al. (2016) argue that it is impossible to return all migrants or refugees in home countries after the end of civil war. Post-war violence and exclusion from economic opportunities are the supporting factors of increasing the number of migrants even after the end of civil war. Besides, people who migrated in conflict time provide information about the available opportunities in foreign countries. Therefore, people continually migrate or intended to relocate because of low cost and risk because of friends and relatives network.

The critical post-conflict situation and social transformation are also responsible for the increasing number of migrants. For example, Theodore W. Schultz (1971) argues that social transformation contributes to the movement of agriculture farmers into the manufacturing industries. This movement or migration is necessary for economic progress, which promotes the development of human capital, such as skill development and child education. He also states that the puzzled of Germany's post-conflict recovery led many people to migrate into other countries. There are many other hidden factors related to the armed conflict, which supports to increase the number of migrants even after the end of the

armed conflict. Bhattarai (2006) states that unemployment, insecurity, social discrimination and the feudal structure of the state that dominated the socio-economically poor people are the causes of conflict. Marginalized and socio-economically exploited groups of people participate in conflict movement with the hope of establishing a new state with equal participation and discrimination-less society. Similarly, Haaß Felix et al. (2016) explain that “Cross-nationally, postwar violence, and repression, as well as exclusion from economic opportunities, are the major drivers of outward migration after the civil war.”

The economy inflation continues in post-conflict recovery, which could not address the massive unemployment and poverty situation of the conflict-affected countries. Therefore, many people intended to migrate in post-conflict time. Therefore, it can be justified the consequences of the armed conflict and critical post-conflict situation are interrelated with the increasing number of migrants. However, it is unclear in which degree conflict effect to decide to migrate.

#### **D. Migration and conflict of Nepal**

The historical and socio-economic process of the ten-year armed conflict of Nepal shows that there are many hidden and neglected factors that fostered the contemporary flow of migrants. David Sedan and Karim Hussein argue that the failure of good governance during the armed conflict time has been created pre-conditions such as poverty, inequality, social discrimination and lack of social justice and democracy. (Sedan and Hussein, 2002, p. 8). There are other social-economic and political reasons of the armed conflict of Nepal, such as the joblessness, insecurity and feudal structure that dominated the socio-economically poor people (Bhattarai, 2006, p.11)

However, Khatiwada (2012) argues that the migration patterns of Nepal are a mixed of the voluntary and the forced dichotomy, particularly in the post-conflict period. Some people are migrating for seeking better economic opportunities and some others are migrating because of the aftermath of the armed conflict. He further explains that internal conflict-

induced migrants who forced to migrate from rural areas could not return in their home town in post-conflict time. They lost their previous job and struggled to find new jobs in newly settled areas. It is because of the weak management of post-conflict reintegration processes of the government of Nepal. The armed conflict of Nepal is the result of a mismatched process of development that gave a foundation for social and economic inequality and exclusion of a large portion of the population, particularly from remote and rural areas wherefrom the conflict originated (Bhattarai, 2006)

Previous studies explain the causes of the armed conflict of Nepal and migration independently. However, those causes are interrelated and closely associated with each other in several ways. The rooted initiations of the armed conflict are also the causes of migration. Upreti, Bishnu Raj et al. (2006) summarize that the economic and political reasons for the armed conflict of Nepal are the subsisting poverty, widespread unemployment and power-biased corrupt governing system. The abandon to have an access over the production of resources such as agriculture lands and forest, and essential services to poor and remote people are other minor causes of the armed conflict. These causes of the armed conflict are closely similar to the roots of contemporary migration. Prakash Bhattarai (2005) explains that the causes of migration of Nepalese people are poverty, unemployment, political instability and insecurity. In this regard, the causes of the armed conflict and the causes of migration are similar.

Now, Nepal is at relative peace, but economy, politics and development progress of the country are influencing continuously by the outcomes of the conflict even in post-conflict time. It took six years to manage combaters who fought in the armed conflict and nine years to formulate a new constitution. This slow process of post-conflict does not address people's expectations. It created many tensions and marginalized groups are fighting to have more equal rights at a practical level, which has been already included in the new constitution. Therefore, the transitional post-conflict status of the country has been continually ignoring the

voice of marginalized people. This situation led to the several political demos and strikes inside the country even after the end of the armed conflict, for example, “*Madesh Movement*” launched by ethnic people of the southern part of Nepal.

### **Chapter 3: Research questions**

Previous research argues that internal and international migration is common during the conflict period because of exploitation, abuse, inhuman killing and violence. However, previous studies do not explain in detail why Nepalese people are continually migrating even after the end of the armed conflict. Most of the available earlier studies focus on the facts, flows of migrants, sending remittance and economic impacts of migration. The insufficient secondary information and lack of credible shreds of evidence concerning the migration and the armed conflict together create dilemmas to discuss the rooted causes of the Nepalese migration. It is necessary to analyze the interrelation of the depth-rooted causes of migration and the political and socio-economic changes of Nepal. Most of the earlier research ignores the coincidence of the rapidly increasing number of migrants and the consequences of the 10 years armed conflict of Nepal. Earlier studies also explicate that the weak economy and fragile politics are the notable causes of migration of developing countries like Nepal. However, these studies do not comprehensively explain the root causes of the weak economy and fragile politics. This study tries to find out the rooted causes of migration concerning the armed conflict of Nepal, which are relatively missing in previous literature. This study will also address the causes of migration concerning the armed conflict by finding the answers to the following three research questions.

1. What are the causes of migration?
2. What are the consequences of the armed conflict?
3. How are migration and the armed conflict interrelated?

## **Chapter 4: Research methodology and data collection**

This chapter includes research methodologies, data collections, sample size and data analysis procedures. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. Data is collected from all relevant sources.

### **A. Methodologies**

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The quantitative method used to conduct online survey to understand the ideas of large number of people. The qualitative methods used to conduct field study, semi-structured interviews and workshop to understand how individuals think about migration and its influence on their personal lives.

#### **1. Field study**

The field survey was conducted in three different places inside Nepal. It carefully analyze the migration scenario, economic and social changes among migrants, their families and prospective migrants. The first fieldwork was led through observation and informal interactions with migrants at the terminal of Tribhuvan International Airport, where every day 1,600 Nepalese youth, on average, are ready to migrate for foreign employment (Subina Shrestha, Aljazeera, 2018). It provides the basic contemporary scenarios of migration. The second observation was done at the DoFE, where 2,000 foreign work permits issue within a day on average (DoFE, 2017). The last observation was conducted at the MoE, where 400 to 1,000 No Objection Letter is being issued within a day on average (MoE, 2018).

#### **2. Semi-structured interview**

The majority of data was collected through interviews with migrants, their families, returned migrants and key informants. Since migrants are the principal respondent of this research and they are living in more than 140 countries. It is impossible to collect data from all migrants who are in different countries. Therefore, two types of interview was conducted with migrants. One is face to face interviews with those migrants returning to visit their

families during holidays and other one is telephone-based interview with migrants who are in foreign countries. Besides, the informal interactions and interviews with migrants, repeated migrants and prospective migrants were conducted at the field work sites.

### 3. A workshop

During the fieldwork, a workshop was conducted to collect university student opinions about migration trends, social and economic aspects of migration and their potential plans to migrate or not. 16 students, who internally migrated from different provinces of the country to the capital city Kathmandu for study were participated in the workshop. Most of them are from the age group of 23-35, where 9 participants were male, and 7 were female. They were further divided into four small groups to have in-depth discussion and to share their ideas with all participants.

### **B. Data collection and sample size selection**

Data is collected by using descriptive and exploratory research design. It is because it aims to know more about the causes of migration and its relation to the armed conflict. This research uses both primary and secondary data from different resources. The sample size for quantitative research (online survey) was 40 and quantitative research was 52. For the quantitative research, the online questionnaire randomly sent through the email and social medias, and it was responded by 40 migrants. The snow balling and convenience sampling method were used for online survey. For qualitative research semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 migrants, 10 migrant families, 5 returned migrants, 5 key informants (knowledgeable people) and 1 prospective migrant. Similarly, a workshop was conducted among 16 prospective migrants (see Table 1).

	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Data collection methodologies</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
Five migrants were selected for the individual case study.	Migrants	Semi-structured interviews	15
Among them, 4 migrants were chosen for interviews and the remaining one was selected through secondary information. Repeated in-	Migrant's families	Semi-structured interviews	10
depth semi-structured	Returned migrants	Semi-structured interviews	5
interviews were conducted through telephones with those 4 migrants.	Migration experts	Semi-structured interviews	5
	Prospective migrant	Semi-structured interviews	1
	Prospective migrants	A workshop	16
			<b>52</b>

Table 1: Sample size and data collection methodologies

### **C. Secondary data**

Secondary data and information were collected from various sources such as books, articles, journals, and research papers published by different organizations and scholars. Similarly, research reports, statistical data and annual publications by ILO, DoFE, MoF and CBS are the major sources of secondary data.

### **D. Data Analysis**

Collected data is analysed through the interpretations of fieldwork observation, information collected through semi-structured interviews, a workshop and informal interactions. The major part of data analysis includes the description of the story of migrants for case studies. Various types of secondary data also interpreted and analyzed to explore the relation of the armed conflict and migration.



## Chapter 5: Overview status of migration in Nepal

This chapter provides an outline of the overall scenario of Nepalese migration. It includes the migrants' figure, the purposes of migration and major destination countries of Nepalese migrants. This chapter also explores the cost and process of migration, the remittance income and the figure of potential migrants.

### A. Increasing number of migrants

The total number of Nepalese migrants is 6 million in 2017. CBS household survey (2017) shows that 20 percent of the total population is absent from the country, and the majority of that absent population belongs to the working ages (18-58 years old). This survey also explains that over the half of the working-age population (54 percent) are outside of the country. In this way, 64 percent of Nepalese households have at least one family member migrated in a foreign country.

The graph in figure 1 indicates that the number of migrants began to increase from 1998, and the number tremendously increased after 2004. It shows that, the intensified armed conflict, violence and crisis caused to increase in the number of forceful internal displacement and foreign migration during the conflict time (1996 to 2006). Also, the number of migrants continually increases even after the end of the armed conflict. The upsurge in Nepalese migrant's flow over the past couple of years is the mixed result of several causes, which will be explained in detail in Chapter 8.

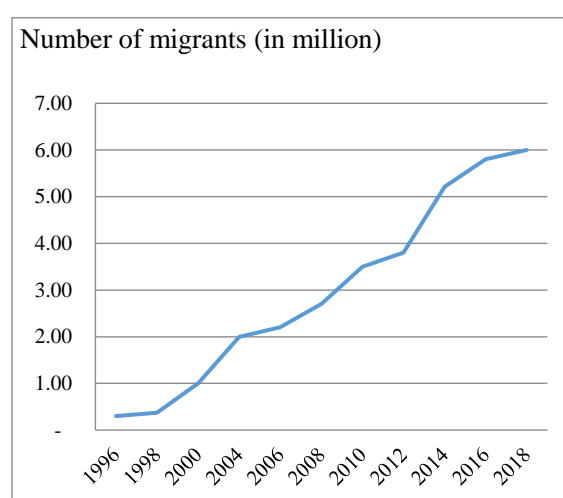


Figure 2: Increasing number of Nepalese migrants  
Source: Author's compilation based on secondary data from CBS (2017), DoFE (2017), Bhattarai (2005), Kanhaiya Sapkota (2018) and MoE(2018)

### B. Purposes and destination countries

The majority of Nepalese people are migrating either for work particularly in the

Middle East countries or to study in European and Western countries. Some other people also migrated in search of better opportunities in foreign countries for a secure future through permanent residency programs. Few Nepalese people having extraordinary intelligence and high profile person such as singers, actors, and journalists are also migrating in foreign countries under specific criteria of pursuing a permanent residency in developed countries.

#### 1. Purposes of migration

The number of migrants for foreign employment is higher than the number of migrants for study and other purposes. The government of Nepal officially records the number of migrants who either migrate or want to migrate for foreign employment or study abroad. The Department of Foreign Employment of MoLE, Nepal, officially records the number of migrants who migrated for foreign work by issuing foreign employment permits (*Baideshik rojgari anumatri*). MoE, Nepal officially records the number of migrants who migrated for abroad study by issuing No Objection Letters. The number of seasonal or temporary migrants is recorded by Non-governmental organizations voluntarily working for the rights of seasonal migrants. There is no such official record of migrants who migrated in search of permanent residency or other purposes. However, there are some news report that claims the number of receiving permanent residency is notable.

##### a. Migration for work and study

The majority of migrants migrated either for work or study purposes. Figure 2 shows that more than 3.5 million people migrated to foreign countries for work purpose, 0.8 million people migrated for the study abroad purpose (DoFE, 2017 and MoE, 2018). Most unskilled, semi-skilled and relatively less educated people migrated for work as they could not afford the

high cost of to migrate in developed countries.

Meanwhile, those who migrated for study have to complete at least 12 years of education before migration. They are the significant component of migration that flow to Europe and other developed countries and they are planning to stay for work or get married to settle down after completion of their study.

#### b. Seasonal migration

Nepalese people also migrate for

seasonal or temporary work and the number of seasonal migrants is decreasing year by year.

In general, low-level income, unskilled and relatively less educated or uneducated people are migrating for seasonal-based or low-level work in India after the establishment of the first democracy in 1951. The number of migrants for seasonal work is about 1.5 million in 2017 (Sapkota, 2018). The decreasing number of seasonal migrants as illustrates in figure 2 indicates that the flow of migrants is gradually changing from temporary migration to long term foreign migration, where most of people are migrating in Middle East and Gulf countries.

#### c. Other types of migration

Very few people also migrate through different migration schemes, for example, a permanent residency of USA through a lottery program, also called Electronic Diversity Visa (EDV). There are more than 31,000 Nepalese people were migrated as a permanent resident of the USA under EDV program until 2005. 900,000 Nepalese people, which covers about 3.1 percent of the country's population applied for EDV lottery program in 2017 and the chance of winning lottery was 0.35 in the same year (Mukesh Baral, My Republica, 2017). Similarly, few other people migrate after marriage with Nepalese migrants, who is living in foreign

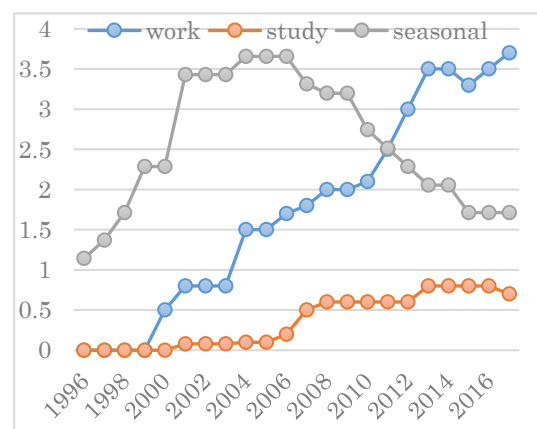


Figure 2: Purpose based migration

Source: Author's compilation based on secondary data from CBS (2017), DoFE (2017), Bhattarai (2005), Sapkota (2018) and MoE (2018)

countries. There is no recorded data for this kind of migration.

## 2. Major destination countries

The majority of Nepalese people are migrate to Malaysia and other Middle East countries for work. It is because of the enormous demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers in those countries and the poor economic conditions of Nepal. Most of migrants had

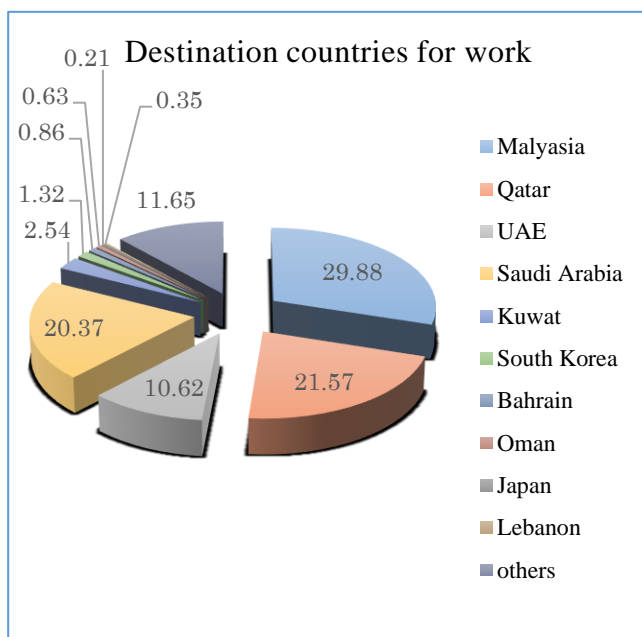


Figure 3: Major destination countries for work

Source: MoLE, Nepal, 2017

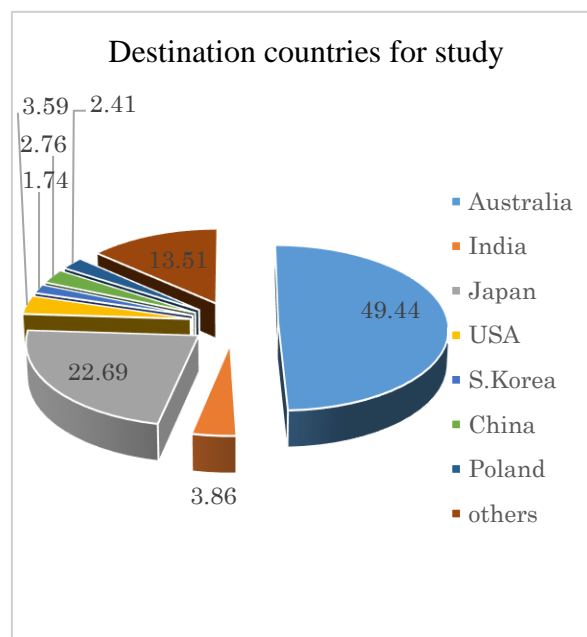


Figure 4: Major destination countries for study

Source: MoE, Nepal, 2018

to leave their families in Nepal. Therefore, they are economically and emotionally tied with their families and communities. Figure 3 illustrates that the highest number of migrants are in Malaysia that covered 29.8 percent of total migrants in 2017. However, some recent news reports show that the number of migrants in Malaysia decreased last year because of the suspension of issuing work permits by the government of Nepal (Mandal, The Kathmandu Post, 2017). The number of migrants in Qatar is 21.57 percent, followed by 10.62 percent in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), 20.37 in Saudi Arabia in 2017. The number of Nepalese migrants in South Korea is also remarkably increasing in recent years because of the bilateral agreement to recruit Nepalese workers under EPS in 2007. Figure 3 shows that 1.32 percent of total migrants are in South Korea in 2017.

Nepalese people prefer to migrate in European, western and some Northeast Asian countries to pursue higher studies, for example, Australia, the USA, Japan, and Canada. Australia has emerged as a number one abroad study destination among Nepalese people, covered almost half of the total number of abroad study-related migrants in 2017 (Figure 4). It is because of the easy immigration policy, pleasant climatic condition and quality education of Australia (Nandi Doodle, 2018). Figure 4 shows that the second destination country for the abroad study of Nepalese people is Japan, which covers 22.69 percent. The number of Nepalese migrants in Japan is increasing, and it is because of the easy immigration policy of Japan for international students. The study abroad process for Nepalese People to migrate to Japan is also less time consuming and low risk for Nepalese people. Similarly, another abroad study destination country is India, which include 13.51 percent.

### **C. Cost and process of migration**

The average cost for Nepalese people to migrate for work in foreign countries is 700 USD and to study abroad is 8,600 USD (Personal interview-1, 2019). Generally, the migration process for work takes about two weeks to three months which is comparatively shorter than the migration process to study abroad, which takes six months to two years on average. However, the majority of migrants have to pay a considerable amount to recruiting agencies and brokers while preparing to migrate to foreign countries even there is a legal rhetoric way to migrate. They are also facing different difficulties during the process of migration. For example, recruiting agencies and foreign employers demand extra charge for document preparation and coordination.

#### **1. Free visa and ticket policy of the government of Nepal**

The government of Nepal enforced a new provision of the free visa and free ticket scheme in 2015 for those who want to migrate for work in seven countries including Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman, which are the major destination of Nepalese migrants for work (Mandal, The Kathmandu Post, 2017).

This provision aimed to reduce the cost of migration and promote safe and secure foreign employment. However, this provision could not be in fully practice due to the objection from a few employers of international companies and many migrant recruiting agencies of Nepal.

## 2. Loan from banks, friends and relatives

Few commercial banks of Nepal are providing easy abroad study loans, which are very convenient for Nepalese people who want to migrate for study. This kind of banking loan is a reliable and profitable business for Nepalese commercial banks. It also supports to reduce the falsification of documentation during the migration process. However, this kind of loan is not easily acceptable for non-degree International studies in some countries, for example, Japan. It is because of the MoE, Nepal is not considering Japanese language study as an academic degree (Personal interviewee-2, 2019). Taking a loan from friends and relatives is another prevalent practice among Nepalese migrants. Family and friends are initiating to give loans to prospective migrants because of they can charge high interest rate and it is easier for migrants to take loan from friends and relatives.

### **D. The new business of migration**

The business-related to recruiting migrants through formal and informal channels is one of profitable business in Nepal. The cities and towns of Nepal are almost hooding with thousands of migrants recruiting advertisements. This kind of advertisement is also broadcasting through the mass media, newspapers and person to person-based networks. According to the survey conducted by *Shramik Sanjal* in 2019, many migrant workers are hiring through brokers and recruitment agencies that take advantage of their dreams by making false promises and engaging in unethical practices, such as fake contracts and charging massive recruitment fees. These unethical recruitment agencies also confiscate passports and other essential documents from potential migrant workers as well as charge additional hefty fees. These practices leave workers trapped in debt and turn demands for work into a business predicated on abuse. Hence, the higher the need for work, the higher the

fees are charged to migrants. The higher the payments, the higher the profit for the recruiters, and the higher the interest rate charged by money lenders. In the end, workers are trapped in poverty and debt. This situation reveals that the entire recruitment system works in a vicious cycle that needs to be broken down to create better outcomes for Nepalese migrants.

## E. Remittance

Remittance is a common feature and attracts the attention of foreign migration, which is also an essential resource for developing countries. Remittance received by low and middle-income countries reached 529 USD billion in 2018 (WB, 2018) and projected to reach 551 billion USD in 2019 (WB, 2019). The World Bank also predicted the remittance will increase by 4.7 percent in 2019 compared to 2018 (WB, 2019). Various data and research show that migration through sending remittance somehow supports economic growth, while on the other hand, some research shows that migration is not beneficial for developing countries in long terms. For example, Byanjana Sharma (2015) suggests that it is necessary to rethink youth migration from Nepal. The lack of youth reflects its adverse effects in the labor market of local industries and agricultural system.

The amount of remittance received by Nepal is getting remarkably more significant within the last decades. It shows that remittance covers one-third of the primary source of income of the country. According to WB, Nepal received about 8.06 billion USD in 2016 (Figure 5). Remittance has a defining role in the Nepalese economy and social fabric. Remittance influences are visible across Nepal. For example, remote villages have turned into towns and private schools, clinics

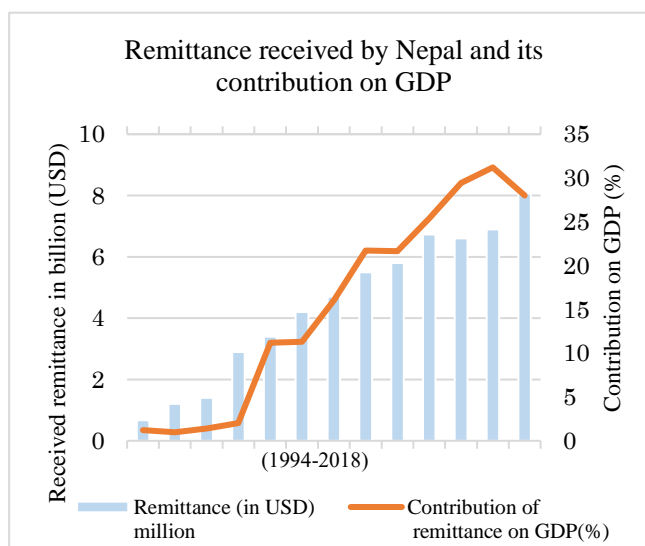


Figure 5: Remittance received by Nepal and its contribution on GDP

Source: Author's compilation based on secondary data of World Bank (2019)

and many shops (Subina Shrestha, Aljazeera News Report, 2018). Migrants' families have access to communication and information technologies, quality education and better living condition. Therefore, it has vast influences in the socio-economic structure of Nepalese society. The graph in figure 5 shows that remittance contributes about 31 percent in GDP, which is about one-third of the total GDP of the country in 2016. In contrast, remittance only contributes 2.8 percent in GDP of India, the largest remittance-receiving country, received 62.7 billion USD in 2017 (WB, 2018). The received remittance by India is eight times higher than the remittance received by Nepal. It shows that the over-dependency of remittance for Nepal hugely influences the economic and other development aspects of the country.

## **F. Prospective and repeated migrants**

There has been a significant increase in the number of potential migrants or new and repeated migrants. For many Nepalese people, foreign migration is a compulsion because of high unemployment and lack of economic opportunities within the country. However, the flipside of the coin is that international migration is a dream for few people because of the availability of plenty of opportunities and facilities in destination countries.

### **1. Prospective migrants**

Many Nepalese people are either visiting recruiting agencies and going through competitive foreign employment recruitment processes to migrate for work. Similarly, many others are preparing a language proficiency test and skill development test to migrate for international study.

#### **a. A long queue and struggles to migrate**

Hundreds of thousands of youth are in a queue to apply for an examination to work in South Korea. The first encounter of author with applicants during the fieldwork heightens the curiosities to find the reasons behind a long queue. There are 92,376 applicants aged between 18 to 35 years, who applied for 10,050 South Korean jobs (Chandan Kumar Mandal, 2019). Some of them travel a long distance to apply and stand in a queue from midnight to early



morning. Few others were working in some private companies under low salaries, studying at university. They were not satisfied with their current salary and study. There were a few married female applicants with small children in queue. They were planning to go to South Korea, leaving their children under the care of their old-aged parents. Many of them revealed that they want to migrate just because of the contemporary unemployment problems, low salary and lack of economic opportunities inside the country (Fieldwork observation and informal discussion with applicants, 2019). One applicant ironically explained the reason of so many young people being in the queue:

Foreign migration is a compulsion rather than our choice. No one wants to migrate to other countries by keeping their land bare, being physically detached from their family and friends. However, the bitter truth is that we do not have any alternative jobs inside the country. (Personal interview-3, translated by author).

The statement, as mentioned earlier, is similar to the article of the ILO, “Stay or go: should be choice”, published in 2017. In this way, migrants are ready to leave their family and children, and migrate because they want to give a better life to their family and quality education to their children.

b. Forgone uncertainty among academic career seekers

University students also want to migrate to a foreign country either for work and study. Some of them prepare to take an English proficiency test and a language test to migrate either for foreign work or study abroad (A workshop, 2019). It is very difficult to find better employment opportunities inside the country after graduation because of the existing poor economic and political situation of the country. The participants of a workshop point out the contemporary issues related to migration, such as the social stigma of migration, lack of working human resources inside the country, decreasing local production and trade deficit are the major causes of migration. Besides, political favoritism or nepotism, corruption, injustice, failure to provide security, welfare and protection to needy people are the core causes of

migration. They also reveal their perception and plan of migration at the end of a workshop. They strongly show their frustrations to the weak governance and security system of Nepal. For example, one student says,

I know that sometimes foreign migration is not safe as I heard the exploitations and abused cases to Nepalese migrants in foreign countries. But, it is far better to escape from this critical situation (Participant of a workshop, 2019, translated by author).

In the meantime, another participant emphasizes the fragile political and administrative situation of the country, for example, weak bureaucracy, slow and biased judiciary system, such as court and police.

## 2. Repeated migrants

The number of repeated migrants are also not ignorable. Another confrontation of author with repeated migrants and potential migrants at the work permit section of DoFE, Nepal during the fieldwork observation. DoFE issues a foreign work permit to everyone who is planning to leave the country for foreign employment. This work permit should be renewed every two years if migrants want to continue their foreign job. The data shows that 3,509,633 foreign work permits were already issued from 2008/2009 to 2016/2017. In the past consecutive years, DoFE issued 786,564 work permits, among those work permits, more than 70 percent of was issued for repeated migrants (DoFE, 2017).

## **G. Social cost of migration**

Nepalese society is paying the immense but unmeasurable social cost for foreign migration. The compulsion of migration because of existing poverty, lack of education and awareness and manipulation of brokers for illegal migration are the initiative of the social cost of migration. A large number of migrants have been separated from their families for foreign migration. Many others are exploited and violated during foreign migration. In contrast, a few people are seeking asylum in foreign countries. The better truth of Nepalese migration is that there are often few people sacrifice their life during foreign work.

## 1. Family separation

There is no measurement and discussion about the mental sufferings and emotions of a physical detachment of migrants and their families. The household or working-aged family member has to take responsibility to provide a better living for the rest of the family. Migrant children are grown up without proper parenting. Many of them are boarded at a private school hostel and some others are under the care of old aged grandparents. There are some rare cases where migrants send their children to orphanage centers and migrate to foreign countries. After migration, the migrant became isolated and disconnected from his society, and it thus limits to share his or her joy and happiness with family, friends and relatives. One of migrant's mother says,

My son is in a foreign country and he frequently sends money and calls me. He decided to migrate to a foreign country because of extreme poverty. He married and left his wife with me before migration so that, I won't be alone at home. But he has never returned back to home in the past nine years. Now, I feel so sorry to my daughter-in-law, who is continually taking care of me and eagerly waiting for her spouse [my son]. (Personal interview-4, 2019, translated by author).

It is very difficult to explain the reasons of not to return back to home. However, it takes a long time for migrants to adjust to a new community with a different culture, language and system of a foreign country.

## 2. Grievance and human rights violation

The exploitation and human rights violation are critical issues for Nepalese migrants in foreign countries. The majority of the migrants are not educated and unaware of the state mechanisms and resources related to fundamental human rights. Due to the unethical recruitment practices and inadequate inspection by the state, significant factors are leading to violations of the human rights of migrant workers. The number of illegal Nepalese immigrants both in Gulf countries and European countries cannot be ignored. Similarly, migrants reached

foreign countries by using a tourist visa with the help of brokers and later they became an illegal foreign worker. Therefore, their return process is complicated and few of them are often locked in prison. On the other hand, many youths travel a long journey to reach in European countries. In some cases, their passports are confiscated by their employers or agents, so that they cannot escape from the unsafe working condition. Similarly, news report also shows that many Nepalese migrants are under unsafe working condition, particularly in Gulf countries, South Korea and Malaysia too. For example, BBC News report explains:

Living and working conditions for some migrants in Qatar are appalling. Long hours in the blazing heat, low pay and squalid dormitories are a daily ordeal for thousands, and they cannot leave without an exit visa. (BBC news, 2015).

Similarly, other daily newspaper reports that in some construction sites of foreign countries, Nepalese migrants' workers have to share a toilet among 200 workers, and eight workers live together in one small and dark room. It shows the poor working condition and exploitations of Nepalese workers in foreign land. However, it does not mean all Nepalese migrants are being treated in the same way. Besides that, many Nepalese girls are trapped in human trafficking and few are physically and sexually abused in the name of foreign employment. Innocent and illiterate migrants, mainly from rural areas, are manipulated to migration through illegal ways.

### 3. Political asylum seekers and refugees

There are a couple of issues related to Nepalese migrants who are seeking either political asylum or want to be a refuge in foreign countries. Nepalese migrants, who are staying under a special visa status such as work and study applied for political asylum and potential refugee when they could not extend their visa furthermore. Similarly, Nepalese people migrate to western countries and claim that they are asylum seekers or refugees. It is because of the availability of different opportunities, and often they were threatening inside the country. The author found some typical cases in which Nepalese people negotiate with the brokers to use an illegal route to reach USA and upon reaching there, they apply and live

under political asylum. The interviewee says,

I entered USA through Mexico, spending more than three months to reach here from Nepal 9 years ago. I am taking shelter as a political asylum in the USA and never returned back to Nepal. The states finally approve my residence application after nine years of struggle. I feel so sorry to my parents that I could not be with them in their last hour and could not even attend their funeral last year. (Personal interview-5, 2019, translated by author).

His explanation shows that the political asylum seekers are facing several problems until they recognized as a political asylum seekers. It is an urge that a profound and sensitive study is necessary to deal with these issues.

#### 4. Return home in a coffin

Nepalese migrants are not always sending remittance, often returned home close inside the coffin. MoLE state that at least 7,000 Nepalese migrants died on average during the foreign employment during the previous ten years' time period. Most of them worked under unsafe conditions like heat, cozy and dirty places with low salaries, which are the major causes of their sudden death. Another report shows that there are two dead bodies of migrants on average per day at the International Airport of Nepal (MoFE 2017).

## Chapter 6: Case studies and analysis

This chapter consists of case studies, its summaries and analysis. Each case study includes migrant's story, reasons of migration in a foreign country. This section is also tries to find out the changes in their own life, their families and communities after migration.

### A. Case studies

There are five case studies in total. The information for four case studies was collected through fieldwork interviews, whereas the information for one case was collected through secondary information such as television interviews and newspaper articles.

#### 1. Poor economy-related migration

The first case is related to poverty, which is the primary cause of migration of the majority of Nepalese people. After migration, migrant is able to send remittance that contributes to the better living of the migrant's family, for example, for child education and income generation activities. The rationale for choosing this case is that it manifests the majority of labor migrant's situations. Most of them are sending remittance, which has a defining role in improving household and national economy.

##### a. A brief story of a migrant

Mr. A is spending ten years in UAE, Dubai, as a foreign migrant worker. He was a school teacher before and his nuclear family were engaged in substantial agriculture farming with limited land. Neither agriculture production was sufficient to feed his family, nor could the low salary from teaching cover the household expenditures. Therefore, he decided to migrate to a foreign country. After migration, he continually send remittance to his family, which bought several changes in his own and family's living conditions. At first, they purchased the rice field where they can produce sufficient crops. They reformed their old house. After a few years, they migrated to the nearest city where they can send their children to a private school. Later, they used remittance to purchase houses in town. Again, his family purchased another house in a big city and planned to migrate there. They are earning money

from land lease and house rent as they give their agriculture farm in lease and house for rental purposes. After arranging alternative sources of income inside the country, he has planned to return back home after two years (Personal interview-6, 2019).

#### b. Analysis and a macro perspective of poor economy-related migration

In the first case, poverty and underemployment are the two major economic causes of migration. Besides, limited sources of income and surplus labor of substantial agricultural farming are other minor causes of migration. In the meantime, remittance is a supportive tool to overcome the existing poor economic condition of migrant families. However, there are at least two drawbacks of remittance found in this case. First, migrant families are gradually depending on remittance income rather than investing in productive means. Large portions of received remittance is being used for daily expenses and purchased fixed properties such as houses and electronic equipment. Second, remittance is contributing towards rural-urban migration, which is making the urban areas overcrowded and increase in the price of daily commodities exported from outside the country. In this case, migrant families becoming less productive and their living conditions, income patterns are changing after receiving remittance. However, the positive aspect of this individual case is that the migration cycle is going to end, as the migrant is planning to return back in the host country. Here, the question arises whether the majority of migrants are planning to return back after a particular time or not. It might be different depending on an individual case. However, there is no provision to remain in foreign countries after retirement as a foreign employer in the Middle East and South Asian countries.

#### 2. Social trends and repeated migration

Nepalese migrants repeatedly migrate, typically for employment. It represents an established pattern of Nepalese migration because of the existing poor economic situation of the country. Remittance supports to overcome the poor economy and if it is utilized appropriately, it can stimulate the development of community and national economic through

investment in productive areas. However, the existing Nepalese migration pattern shows that foreign employment is a quick remedy of poverty and unemployment rather than the tools for generating other economic opportunities inside the country.

a. A brief story of a migrant

Mr. B migrated to Israel, as a foreign migrant work. He was a university student at the time of migration. He decided to migrate because most of his friends and relatives were in foreign countries. After migration, he worked in agricultural farms for three years, where he learned new technologies and skills. He also saved money from his salary. Then, he decided to return back to Nepal with a plan of doing agriculture business. He started a small agriculture farms upon his return. However, it was not successful. It is because he faced many difficulties while running agriculture farm, such as lack of seeds and fertilizers in the market, financial support through soft loans and insurance. He claims that the national policies regarding community-based programs are not people-friendly to run a business inside the country. After the failure of the agriculture farm, he get migrated again for the same work. His willingness to return and do his own agriculture business might indicate a substantial willingness of young migrants. However, the policy and the contemporary situations are not supportive of them (Personal interview-7, 2019)

b. Analysis and a macro perspective of repeated migration

Many Nepalese people are migrated as their family, friends and relatives are in a foreign country who facilitate to provide information and support during migration process. This pattern of migration can be explained under “Cumulatively caused” of Network theory of migration proposed by Douglas Massey. He argues that people migrate based on interpersonal ties with former migrants through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin (Massey, 1988 p. 396). Nepalese migrants often follow the new trends of migration instead of searching for any employment opportunities inside the country. On the other hand, there are several difficulties to utilize remittance and migrant’s skills gained from



foreign migration in a productive ways. Therefore, repeated migration became the best alternative rather than finding or creating other possibilities inside the country. However, we cannot deny foreign employment is one of the easiest way to overcome common problems such as poverty and unemployment.

In many cases, people's perception of giving admiration to foreign employment contributes to repeated migration. This kind of admiration is not allowing young people to think about the possibilities other than foreign employment. It seems that migration trends establish the concept to judge people's success in terms of their income not in terms of education by society. This social stigma and wrong perceptions of foreign migration has created dilemmas among young people. As seen, when Nepalese youth want to do something inside the country, there is no support system and a favorable environment for them. Therefore, they migrate repeatedly. The lack of supportive programs such as insurance and entrepreneurship training for returned migrants and utilizing remittance for productive means are some of the significant challenges for Nepal. As a result, those challenges lead to the continuation of the migration cycle.

### 3. Insecurity during the armed conflict and forgone uncertainty

The third case represents the conflict-induced migration of Nepalese people during the ten-year armed conflict. In this case, the existed violation and insecurity had been created uncertainty and frustration among young people. The education, welfare, security and many other institutions are profoundly affected by the armed conflict. Therefore, it is obvious that the career seeking young people are willing to escape from conflict-affected countries.

#### a. A brief story of a migrant

Ms. C decided to migrate to Australia for study purposes during the peak time of the armed conflict in 2005. She was a university student at the time of migration. She stated that the irregularity of classes, postpone of the examinations date and result publishing date of the university hugely influenced because of the escalation of violation during the armed conflict.

She claims that she had to spend two extra years to complete her university study due to the armed conflict. Now, she has already spent 14 years in Australia and is not willing to return back to Nepal. She ironically points out the existing fragile situation of the country, saying that “It is nonsense to showing affection towards the motherland and returned back to Nepal, where some young people are still struggling to explore their potentiality” (Personal interview-8, 2019)

b. Analysis and macro prospective of insecurity-based migration

This case emphasizes how the conflict lead to tragic consequences to decide migration. Many students, journalists and political leaders migrated to foreign countries due to the violated situation of the country during the conflict time. However, it seems only a few people migrated who could afford the cost of migration during the conflict time and even after that. Notably, Nepalese foreign migration is also related to the conflict-induced migration among those who are not directly influenced by the violation. This pattern of migration is continuing in different forms in the post-conflict time. For example, qualified professors and medical officers are migrating to foreign countries with permanent residency status. There are several reasons for that, but one example is that the educational and other organizations could not well functioning due to unstable politics and post-conflict dilemmas.

4. Torture and pressure to leave country

Some Nepalese people were compelled to migrate to foreign countries due to human rights violation during the armed conflict time and it is continue after the end of the armed conflict. The nature of violation includes the abduction of teachers, singers, journalists, government officers and ordinary citizens. The bitter truth is the violation continued from rebel group in post-conflict time too. This situation eventually forced to leave the country.

a. A brief story of a migrant

Mr. D was a high profile person (a journalist and folk singer) who migrated to the USA after being abducted by the wing group of the political party just after the end of the armed

conflict in 2007. He argues that he never had any plan to migrate or will to migrate to a foreign country in any situation. However, he decided or was compelled to migrate immediately after the abduction because of threats and insecurity. He also points out how an aware citizen or a journalist could support the violence and inhumane activities of the Maoist group during conflict time who were responsible for the destruction of development parameters and more than 17,000 lives. Also, he ironically points out the comprehensive peace process could not secure people's underlying security, many journalists, singers and human rights activists were continually being abducted even after the end of armed conflict. The Maoist fighters returned to their society as heroes of the war and later they became political leaders. However, they are continually abusing and threatening people in the same way that they did in the conflict time. (Television interviews of Mr. D).

b. Analysis and a macro prospective of torture and pressure

The fourth case study is a paradigmatic type of conflict-induced migration that happened in the post-conflict time. The end of the armed conflict of Nepal is a political negotiation among the existing seven political parties and rebel group, Maoist party. Therefore, the Maoist group became a leading political party and they expand their political activities at the grass-root level through the mobilization of political wing called Youth Communist League (YCL) after the end of the armed conflict. The YCL group expands its member including former Maoist fighters under the supervision of the CPN/M. This group often involved in conducting inhumane activities in several ways, such as abduction and threaten of people. This critical post-conflict situation leads to the displacement of professional and ordinary people from the country. From this case, it is arguable that the confrontation of the post-conflict dilemmas is responsible for contemporary migration scenarios.

5. Frustration among professionals and young people

The fifth case represents the contemporary migration tendency of Nepalese

professionals, academicians and young people. It seems reasonable to mention that all Nepalese migrants do not migrate in foreign countries only because of poverty and unemployment. There are other groups of people who migrate in foreign countries because of the political instability, weak welfare and facilities of the country. They are blaming the political instability is an immediate drawback of post-conflict and continuation of political power-sharing among political parties.

a. A brief story of a migrant

Mr. E, who is a professional medical doctor and prospective migrant, is planning to migrate to the USA to pursue higher medical education. He decided to migrate because of the existing weak welfare system and the frustration from the political and the socio-cultural situation of the country. He argues that the existing weak bureaucracy and transitional legitimacy of Nepal led poor management of resources. This situation abandon ordinary people to have an access in basic welfares facilities for people. His work as a medical doctor in rural Nepal has been crucial where many poor and rural people could not have access to essential medical treatment. He shows frustration about existing political favoritism and corruption in any sectors, particularly concerning human lives. He decides to migrate to a foreign country but he queries, why any professionals, particularly medical person cannot work freely and why the government is not accountable and responsible for people's lives (Personal interview-9, 2019).

b. Analysis and a macro prospective of brain-drain

Educated and skilled Nepalese people want to migrate to foreign countries, considered as a brain drain tendency of a developing country. They want to live and work in another country by blaming the contemporary fragile economic and political situations not to be favorable for them. In general, the better standard of living quality life, higher salaries, access to advanced technologies and more stable political conditions are the pull factors of brain drain-related migration. In contrast, the ambiguity of the brain drain is sharply interconnecting

with existing politics, economy and the development prosperity of the home country.

## **B. Summary and overall analysis of the case studies**

The overall findings of case studies indicate that the political, economic and development parameters of the country are playing a significant role in the decision-making process of migration. On the individual level, migrant's socio-economic conditions and education level also matters. There are at least two majority groups of migrants categorized on the base of causes, motivation and purposes of migration. The first group of people migrate in foreign countries because of the weak household economy and unemployment problems of the country. About 60 percent of migrants are working as unskilled and semi-skilled workers in Middle East countries. They are less concerned about the political and other matters of the country because they need immediate solutions for poverty and unemployment. Also, their level of education, political awareness and economic status are relatively low. The optimistic view of this group of migrant consider their migration as a contributing factor for development of an individual and national economy through remittance. It is also significantly contributes to poverty reduction and minimizing unemployment problems. Many of them are repeatedly migrating until they find some reliable source of income inside the country. In the opposite interpretation, this group of migrants will ultimately return back to Nepal after their retirement from foreign employment that will create a burden to the government and communities to provide old-aged welfare facilities later.

The second group of people is migrating to western countries. They are comparatively educated and could afford the high cost of migration. They are planning to remain in foreign countries for the long term. This type of migration includes skilled migration, study migration, migration for marriage and migration for seeking asylum. The causes and motivation of migration for this group of migrants are not only due to the weak economy and unemployment but they are more concerned about the welfare facilities, stable politics, responsible government, firm policy to establish industries and implementation of law and order. The

positive aspect of this group of migrants is that they can contribute to technology transformation, policymaking, development plan formulation, investment and entrepreneurship development. However, they are less responsible once they became diasporas and received permanent residency in the host countries.

It shows that, Nepalese people are migrated because of multiple reasons. At surface level, the major causes are the weak economy and fragile political situation of the country. The poor economy is the characteristic feature of the developing country like Nepal. However, it is necessary to analyze what the deeply-rooted causes of the poor economy are and how the fragile political situation support foreign migration. In this regard, we cannot deny the upshot and aftermath of the armed conflict that has been influencing the political, socio-economic paradigms of Nepal within the past 25 years. In the meantime, we cannot ignore the two-century long history of Nepalese migration, although the number of migrants was relatively low until the end of the 1990s. Here, the contemporary debatable issue is the rapidly increasing number of migrants coincided with the armed conflict and its aftermath. The causes of migration for each individual cases are summarize below. The general causes of migration will be further explained in detail in chapter 7.

<b>Cases</b>	<b>Particular causes of migration (from case studies)</b>	<b>General causes of migration (will be further explained in Chapter 7)</b>	
Mr. A	Poverty, low salary and insufficient production	Economic causes	
Mr. B	Following social trend and lack of risk bearing (repeat migration)	Socio-economic causes	
Mr. C	Escape from violation and uncertainty of the armed conflict	Conflict-induced migration (indirect)	
Mr. D	Abduction and seeking political asylum	Conflict-induced migration (direct)	Political causes
Mr. E	Seeking better opportunities and frustration of career seekers	Political and weak facilities	Political instability

Table 2: Summary of the causes of migration from case studies

## Chapter 7: Causes of migration

There are many cumulative causes of migration integrated with a deeply rooted weak economy, fragile politics and socio-cultural structure of the Nepalese society. As already explained in Chapter 6, unemployment and poverty are the vital economic causes of migration, whereas political instability, corruption and lack of good governance are the major political causes of migration. There are some social practices which also support to migrate in foreign countries.

### A. Economic causes of migration

The poor economy of Nepal is a significant initiative of foreign migration. Poor economy means relatively low income, which does not cover the essential living expenditures.

It is related to less availability of income generation opportunities, including agriculture farming and ordinary factory works and high-level skilled jobs. The poor economy mainly consists of four elements: low agriculture production, limited industrial expansion, unemployment and poverty. These are closely associated with each other. Figure 6 illustrates that limited agriculture production contributes to limits the availability of raw materials for industries. As a result, the expansion of industries is being halted. This situation led existing unemployment of the country. Less the availability of employment opportunities ultimately support existing poverty. In addition, low agriculture production create a surplus labor in agricultural farms which contribute for unemployment and underemployment. This situation also contribute for poverty.

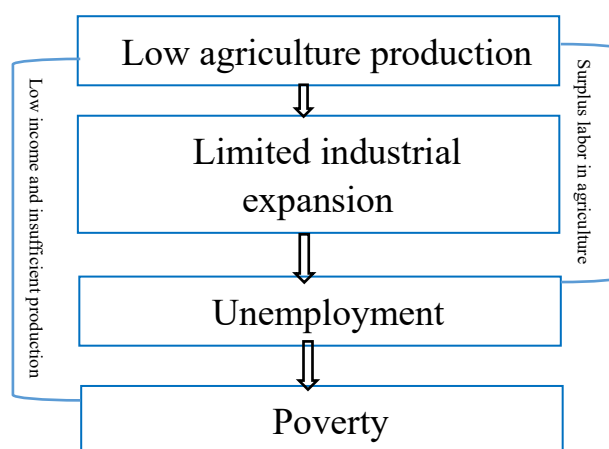


Figure 6: Economic causes of migration

As a result, the expansion of industries is

being halted. This situation led existing unemployment of the country. Less the availability of employment opportunities ultimately support existing poverty. In addition, low agriculture production create a surplus labor in agricultural farms which contribute for unemployment and underemployment. This situation also contribute for poverty.

#### 1. Low agricultural productivity

Nepal is an agricultural country where more than 80 percent of the total population is

directly engaged in agriculture farming until the end of 1990s. The number engaged in agriculture has been decreasing and reached 66 percent in 2018 (Food and Agriculture Organization Nepal, 2019), whereas 76 percent in 2011 (CBS, Nepal, 2011), and 88 percent in 1995 (CBS, 1996). Agriculture farming is subsistent and relies on nature rather than modern farming tools and fertilizers. In recent years, the Nepalese economy is changing from agriculture-based into a remittance-based economy. Although remittance income shows an optimistic improvement in poverty reduction and unemployment ratio, the domestic production is decreasing every year. As a result, there is a large number of surplus labor in substantial agriculture farming, which is even not sufficient to feed their families. The alternative for surplus labor is to migrate in foreign employment. However, we cannot deny other factors of decreasing agriculture production, such as the lack of the availability of fertilizers and modern technologies in agriculture farms. Similarly, a large number of population has been forcefully displaced from rural areas during the armed conflict, which ultimately contribute to reduce the agriculture production. This issue will be explored in details in Chapter 8.

## 2. Limited industrial expansion

Nepalese economy and industrial expansion has significantly slowed down within the last 25 years. Nepal has been adopted industrialization and economic liberalization policies at the beginning of the 1990s. The government devises new plans and policies to increase local productivity, the employment pattern along with poverty alleviation and inclusive development. Therefore, the government established 63 public enterprises at the end of the seventh national plan (1985 to 1990) to accelerate domestic production and national economy (Fatta Bahadur K.C., 2003). Those public enterprises worked to enhance financial, industrial and public service growth inside the country. In the meantime, private manufacturing industries, mainly garment, tobacco, leather and other local production-based factories established and began to export their productions outside the country in the late 1990s. The



garment manufacturing industry provides considerable employment and contributed one-fourth of national exports in the late 1990s. Its production had a good market in Europe and USA at that time. This industry's exports reached more than 200 million USD in 1999 and provide employment opportunities for more than 90,000 laborers (Shakya, 2018). It gives hope for fostering and further expansion of the industrialization of the country.

However, the industrial expansion and economic boom were very short and began downtown at the beginning of the 21st century that coincided with the armed conflict (Shakya, 2018). The dream of achieving high economic growth through industrialization was turmoil with political interference and the ten-year-armed conflict. The insufficient negotiation and bilateral trade agreement with global institutions, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) member country in 2004 were some trajectory actions besides the armed conflict-based unfavorable situation. The overcome of critical trajectory played a significant role in slowing down the industrial expansion and economic growth of the country.

### 3. Unemployment

Unemployment is another crucial cause of migration. According to the Labour Force Survey, the current unemployment rate of Nepal is 11.4 percent of the total working population in 2017. This unemployment ratio is high compared to the global scenario of unemployment. In the global context, only 5 percent of the total working population is unemployed in 2018 (ILO, 2019).

Besides, annually 500 thousand to 600 thousand Nepalese young people are ready to enter the labor market (MoF, 2018, p 44 and CBS, 2017). Most of them are underemployed or unemployed for a particular time. In the meantime, it is a challenging task to employ those people in the Nepalese labor market. Therefore, it is arguable where and how those new laborers find a job. The most appropriate explanation can be drawn from foreign employment data. The MoLE data shows that 382,871 Nepalese people received a work permit to go to foreign employments in 2017. The number of work permit receivers is higher as 519,638 in

2013 (MoLE, 2017). It shows that every year about 64 percent of available workers from the Nepalese labor market are migrating in foreign countries. In this way, the new laborers, underemployed workers and surplus laborers of substantial agricultural farming prefer to migrate for foreign employment.

However, the recent unemployment data shows that the unemployment rate of Nepal is decreasing by 0.2 percentage on average (CBS, 2019). It is because of the foreign employment opportunities. In this sense, unemployment is the cause of foreign migration and later it contributes to reducing the unemployment rate of Nepal.

#### 4. Poverty

Poverty is one of the critical causes of migration. Poverty causes migration and later migration contributes to reduce poverty through remittance. The majority of people migrate to foreign countries because of the poor economic household conditions where they cannot fulfill their own and family's primary need. They have less access to quality education, medical facilities and have no means to generate income-earning assets. Therefore, they are often ready to live their life in uncertainties due to the lack of education and awareness. On the national level, poverty alleviation and improving the socio-economic status of people are significant challenges. The government's plans and policies cannot generate an income opportunities through entrepreneurship development and creating jobs through industrialization. UNDP states

Underdeveloped trade and industry, low agricultural productivity and lack of access to affordable credit are among the key factors contributing to high unemployment rates and the relative weakness of Nepal's economy.

Besides, poverty has been recognized as one of the causes of the armed conflict of Nepal. The extreme poverty and unequal income ratio are the initiatives to involve rural people in the armed conflict. In some cases, rural people were recruited or manipulated to join the Maoist group by offering relatively low amounts per month (3,000 Nepalese rupees),

which is closely associated with the low education status, lack of opportunities and extremely rural poverty (Ume Kievelitz and Tara Polzer, 2002).

However, in recent year's poverty has decline in an unusual way, driven by the continuous inflow of remittance by Nepalese migrants working in foreign countries. Now, about 21.6 percent of the population is below the poverty line (ADB, 2018), which remarkably declines from 25.2 percent in 2010 and 42 percent in 1995 (CBS Nepal, 2018).

## B. Political causes

The unending political instability of Nepal always overshadowed the national priorities of the economic and development progress. Political instability consists of the frequent government change, the incidence of political upheaval and violence through demonstrations and instabilities in the underlying policies of the country. The political causes of migration consist four major elements: political instability, corruption, malfunctioning law and order and lack of good governance. These elements are interrelated with each other as shown in Figure

7. Political instability contributes to corruption. Due to the corruption bureaucracy, law and order of the country are not well functioning. As a result, the government, the civil society and other organizations of the governance system are less accountable and transparent for their activities. Thus the overall governance system of the country

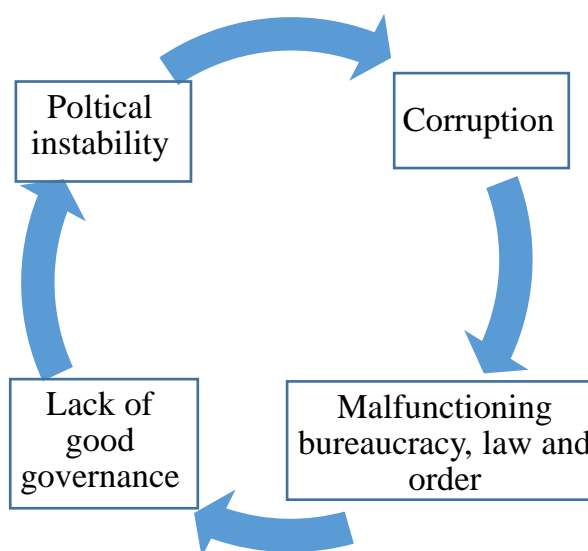


Figure 7: Political causes of migration

became weaker, which further contribute to political instability. In this regard, individual citizens neither wait until the situations become favorable or contribute to change the situation. Therefore, they ultimately prefer to migrate to other countries.

## 1. Political instability

Nepalese politics remains unstable and critical for a long time availing to migrate many Nepalese people. Establishment of multiparty democracy in 1990, 10 years armed conflict and transitional post-conflict dilemmas are the major political transformations of Nepal. Those transformation caused changing government frequent because of the over-inclusive ideas and demands of different political parties. Political instability persisted through various ups and down within the past 25 years. Similarly, the formulation and implementation of development policies have been seriously influenced by the frequently changing government (25 governments in 25 years). The existence of political nepotism (*afnomanche*) in job replacement and other administrative work also led the corruption and political hegemony. Many administrative institutions and ministries were led by a person closed with a political group who can work in favor of them. Therefore, many unqualified, incapable and non-professionals were reached in decision making positions under the political pressure. As a result, the overall politics and administrative system turmoiled with several dilemmas.

Due to political favoritism, many qualified and skillful people migrated from Nepal, which led to the existing brain-drain problem. The impractical policies, plans and development strategies could not address the ever-remained problem of poverty and unemployment. People, particularly from remote areas, continually suffered from poverty and unemployment. They have less access to basic human rights stuffs like food, shelter, access in education and medical treatment. Similarly, the gap between the poor and the rich increased year by year in the name of political changes, for example the 10 percent rich Nepalese of the total population earn and possess own property 26 times more than the 40 percent poorest (Ramesh Kumar, Nepali Times, 2019). In this way, many employment-based strategies of government, industrial expansion and infrastructure development were suspended.

Development projects were incomplete because of the direct and indirect political conflict of interest.

## 2. Corruption

Corruption is a prime problem of underdevelopment of Nepal, which is covered by political patronage. Many political events of Nepal initiate to break the persistence of the vicious cycle of corruption but failed to do so. Unfortunately, corruption grinded along with those events and cross its limit during the post-conflict time. Recent data of Transparency International (2018) shows that Nepal is the 51st corrupted nation out of 175 countries. Furthermore, there are more than 60,000 corruption related complaints were registered in National Investigation Department of Ministry of Home Affairs, Nepal, in 2016. The government attempt to halt the country's high corruption inched forward but were stalled by a lack of political will and buy-in across government ministries.

It seems corruption is omnipresent in development projects, ministries, bureaucracy, local governments, educational institutions and medical services. Therefore, these institutions are not well functioning to provide easy access to a large number of ordinary people who are seeking employment opportunities inside the country. Furthermore, the administrative institutions are not much supportive to generate income sources among local people. Private sectors and multinational companies working in Nepal are also influenced by pervasive corruption. They are not accountable in tax payments and often engaged in promoting black markets, substandard quality goods and organized crimes. It has reduced competitiveness and accountability in business sectors and investment, which could not catch the fast-grown development and economy of the 21st century.

## 3. Malfunctioning bureaucracy, law and order

Nepalese bureaucracies, legitimacy, courts, police administration and other institutions are slow or not functioning well. Therefore, people are far beyond the instinctive and accessible service from those institutions as they lost their trust upon them. The courts are

often plagued by corruption and political favoritism, which could not provide justice to all people. As a result, many institutions, lawmakers and decision-making bodies of the country are not adequately regulating with particular legal law and rules. The tussle between political leadership, bureaucracy and government ministries is going on. Political leadership blaming incompetent bureaucracy are the main actors malfunctioning law and orders. In contrast, bureaucrats also blame the visionless political leaders and unnecessary political pressures as the major causes. Bureaucracy, political leadership and decision-making strategies are not merit-based and result-oriented, which needs an overhaul and the incumbent government should take an initiative to do this. In this way, the bureaucracy, legislative institutions of Nepal are beholden to party politics and fragmented along the partisan lines.

#### 4. Lack of good governance

Despite frequent political movements and progressive provisions through the establishment of democracy, the government of Nepal could not assure their commitment of good governance. According to Government Pro good governance includes eight elements: participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It is responsive to the present and future needs of the state and its citizens, un-biased exercises in policy-setting and decision-making process (Governance Pro, 2018). Similarly, it includes the government (state actors and institutions), the civil Society (civil alliances and non-governmental organizations) and the private sectors (households and companies). Therefore, the good governance will not just depend on rejoice or disappointment of one actor but a collective success or failure of all three actors. These actors of governance are correlated with each other. In the context of Nepal, the poor performances of these three actors and weak status of eight elements of governance led the country's system in a very weak and low performed stage. Good governance became a daydream for Nepal as we see collective failure of different actors, structures and indicators. This situation could not assure the availability of employment and other welfare facilities

through which citizens can entertain their basic human rights.

### **C. Socio-cultural causes**

Nepalese society is inbound with inclusive cultures, ethnicities and religions, which were evolved over the centuries. However, there are some discriminatory and dominating social practices, such as class division, which often led to migration. There are a few ethnic groups in which migration was established as a part of the culture. Similarly, most Nepalese people live in an extended family depending upon substantial agriculture and its production is not enough for them. Therefore, energetic household member of family is migrate for foreign employment.

#### **1. Cultural practice and extended family**

The discriminatory social practice is another cause of migration. People want to migrate because of the existing class hierarchy, social practice of untouchability and discrimination. People from marginalized ethnic groups believe that, once they migrated to a foreign country and earn money, high-class people cannot discriminate against them. They believe that they will not be identified while remaining in a foreign country (Personal interview-10, 2019). In this sense, the existing discrimination and social practices at a certain level induce to migrate in foreign countries. However, it is controversial with the contemporary constitutional provision of preservation and priority for a minority group. This provision gave especial priorities to enter university, provide public jobs and other provisions for the ethnic minority group. On the other hand, migration culture for military purposes (*lahure*) in Gurkha tribes is one of the continuous cultural practices in Nepalese society. Gurkha tribes has been dominated by four ethnic groups, the Gurungs and Magars from central Nepal, the Rais and Limbus from east Nepal (BBC News, 2010). In these ethnic groups a young man of family should join foreign military force either British, Indian, or others military force to maintain social prestige and secure a reliable source of income. Besides, the migration paradigm after the 1950s shows that only poor Nepalese people who do

not possess plenty of fertile lands and uneducated has been migrated to foreign countries, particularly migrated to India (Personal Interview-10, 2019). There are some Nepalese phrases, such as *lahore jane* (foreign soldiers), *muglan jane* (migrate to East Asia) and *bhot jane* (migrate in Tibet) are some evidence that shows the migration practice became a culture that has been existed from many years in Nepalese society. This historical paradigm of migration is somehow providing a shred of supportive evidence for the contemporary tremendous increase in the number of migrants.

Most of the Nepalese people live in extended families. The average Nepalese family size is 4.6 (CBS, 2017). One person of the family has to take the financial responsibilities of the remaining family members. Some of them have to take the financial responsibilities of their parents, spouse, younger siblings and children. Therefore, it is impossible to fulfill household expenditures from the limited income from substantial agriculture farming. As a result, they are willing to migrate to foreign countries to work temporarily.

## 2. Social status and manipulation to migrate

Migration became a matter of social status and pride. The misguided illusion of migration in Nepalese society has established foreign migration like a money tree. It means foreign migration is the best income source compare to other professions. There is a joke running among Nepalese youth that it is hard to find a marriage partner if they are not foreign migrants. Furthermore, author found a notable response from the fieldwork interviewee. Respondent said, “When people know that, my two sons are in foreign countries, they give me respect and believe that I am a rich person” (Personal interview-11, 2019, translated by author). His statement ironically shows the contemporary social perception about giving respect to foreign migrants and their families.

Similarly, Nepalese Diasporas and migrants are scattered all around the world. They are still connected with their relatives and friends who are in Nepal. The network of friends and relatives support to reduce the risk and cost of migration for those who want to migrate to



the same country. The process of migration also became easier for them because of the network with migrants, which supports repeated migration. However, some migrants are brokers or representatives of migrant recruiting agencies, and they manipulate their relatives and friends to migrate by providing fake information.

#### **D. Summary and analysis of causes of migration**

Poor economy, fragile political situation and socio-cultural boundaries morphed together to constitute a migration has been trend as a healthy and familiar feature of Nepalese society. It is not easy to say that the causes are purely economic, political and social-cultural as these all are interconnected and interdependent with each other. Similar type of findings can be drawn from a workshop conducted by author during the fieldwork. A similar type of findings can be drawn from a workshop conducted by the author during the fieldwork. The social stigma of giving admiration to foreign migration creates a lack of working human resources inside the country. The local production is gradually decreasing, and trade deficits are more likely continue and unemployment may increase significantly (A workshop, fieldwork, 2019). After examining the surface level causes of migration, the question arises to what are the other economic and political aspects of the country? Why the country was left far beyond the economic prosperity even there are plenty of possibilities? Despite the continuous efforts to bring political change through the establishment of democracy, people's movement and the civil war the process of industrial expansion, economic growth and development progress are slugging in ridiculous ways. In this regard, it is necessary to examine the political events, particularly a decade-long-armed conflict and its aftermath, and its relations with the economic, political and socio-cultural causes of migration.

## **Chapter 8: Consequences of the armed conflict**

There are numerous emergences of the armed conflict of Nepal. This chapter deals with three significant consequences of the armed conflict, namely economic stagnation, human casualties and conflict-induced force-displacement. Despite the difficulties of calculating the financial loss of the country due to the armed conflict, the estimated economic loss of the country is about 119.07 billion NPR. Furthermore, the armed conflict caused 17,000 human deaths, including both civilians and armed forces, 1,500 disappeared and 75,000 people were injured (NHRC, 2016). Similarly, three to five million people were internally displaced from their home towns (Upreti, 2006; Duijn, 2003 and Khatiwada, 2012). As a result, there are several outcomes, dilemmas and unsolved issues of the armed conflict that continue in post-conflict time.

### **A. Economic stagnation**

An armed conflict contributes to poor economy and economic loss of the country in various ways. The estimate of economic loss of Nepal due to the armed conflict goes beyond billions of rupees, as development, welfare and infrastructure projects have been destroyed. The Table 3 shows that the overall loss due to the conflict is about 119.07 billion Nepalese Rupees (NPR), which is equal to 1.09 billion USD. This amount is significant when compared with the national budget of the fiscal year 2005/2006, which is about 8.9 billion USD (MoF, Nepal, 2006). Similarly, the significant portions of the development budget shifted into the national security budget. The Table 3 shows that the government of Nepal invested about 39.63 billion NPR (10 percent of the GDP including foreign security aid) for security purposes during the conflict time. Security-related expenditures from the CPN/M are relatively low, which covered about 1.94 billion to 2.13 billion NPR. The probable reasons for low expenditures from CPN/M sides are the lack of proper records and most of their security funds were collected through forceful donation and extorted cash from local elites and government employees (Salim, 2018, p. 83). Similarly, the physical and infrastructure

damages covered 25 billion NPR. In the meantime, the indirect loss was 52.44 billion NPR included the average inclined industrial and local production. The armed conflict caused economic losses in several sectors, some significant sectors which were severely affected by the armed conflict has been describe below.

<b>Estimated loss of the armed conflict</b>	<b>Amounts (Nepalese Rupees)</b>
Direct loss	
Security expenditures by government	39.63 Billion
Security expenditures by CPN/M	1.94 - 2.13 Billion
Infrastructures and physical damages (including banks)	25 Billion
Sub-total of direct cost	66.63 Billion
Indirect loss	
Loss in business due to strike and demos(Banda)	1 Billion
Loss in tourism industries	11.05 Billion
Loss in income due to damage in human resources	14.04 Billion
Loss in income due to displacement (agriculture and cottage industries)	8 Billion
Loss due to shift of development expenditure for defense	12.30 Billion
Impact on direct foreign investment	6.05 Billion
Sub-total	52.44 Billion
<b>Total</b>	<b>119.07 Billion (=1.09 Billion USD)</b>

Table 3: Estimate economy loss of the armed conflict of Nepal

Source: Upreti (2006); , R. S. Rana. & S. Sharma (2004) and D. Kumar (2004)

#### 1. Local industries collapsed and destruction of infrastructures

The Nepalese economy was triggered by an economic boom in the early 1990s with the establishment of more than 63 public enterprises and many other private industries. As mentioned earlier in chapter 7, the economic boom of the late 1990s was very short for Nepal. The 10 years armed conflict weep out all the industrial expansion and steadily boomed economy within a short time. Firstly, many public and private industries were shut down, and it led to a large number of workers to lose their means of income generation and struggle to find alternatives. It is estimated that more than 90,000 workers were displaced only from

garment industries (Shakya, 2018, p 93). Furthermore, the estimated loss from agriculture and cottage industries due to the forceful displacement is about 8 billion NPR (see Table 3).

Secondly, the decreasing number of foreign tourists, business losses due to strike, displacement of a large number of people from remote areas, centralization of development projects, reduction of foreign investment and closure of industries negatively impacts on the national economy (Upreti, 2006). The Table 3 shows that 11.05 billion NPR loss in tourism industries and 14.04 billion NPR loss due to the damage in human resources. In this way, many entrepreneurs and private business owner has been suffered from business loss and hefty loans, for example, the Surya Nepal, the Coca Cola factories and Tea factories. There were frequent news reports about Maoists taxing to tourists, which affected the tourism industries that forced many hotels and restaurant to close. Besides, there were more than 155 private manufacturing industries forced to close because of the continuous demand for donations from the Maoist group to support their activities during the conflict time. As a result, the forceful and manipulated pull back of a large number of factory workers, and demanding the large amounts of donation by the Maoist group reduced the agriculture production and shutting down of industries.

On the other hand, more than eight thousand infrastructures collapsed during the armed conflict time. Table 4 shows that school buildings and government office buildings were the main target of the rebel group for destruction. The data show that 2,149 schools were destroyed due to the armed conflict. Similarly, 2,072 VDC buildings, 986 District Headquarters buildings and 1,047 local government's buildings, 130 buildings

<b>Infrastructures</b>	<b>Numbers</b>
Schools	2,149
VDC offices	2,072
Gov. offices at district HQ	986
Govt. offices at local level	1,047
DDC, municipalities	130
Suspension bridge	101
others	2,032
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,517</b>

Table 4: Physical destructions during the armed conflict

Source: Binod Ghimire, The Kathmandu Post, 2013

of the District Development Committee (DDC) and municipalities' buildings were destroyed during the conflict time. Moreover, 101 suspension bridges collapsed, which disconnect the remote areas from transportation. The number of destruction of infrastructures might have been higher than the figure mentioned above. It is because there was no any records of destruction of private properties. In total, table 3 shows that the estimated loss of the destruction is about 25 billion NPR, which is a significant amount for the impoverished country like Nepal.

## 2. National budget for security purpose rather than development projects

The national security budget of Nepal and foreign security assistance has been invariably increased during the armed conflict time. The national expenditure pattern of the

state at that time indicates

the large amount of

“development budget”

shifted to the “security

budget.” As a result, many

development projects and

social welfare activities

were halted. Figure 8 shows

the crucial reality of the

budget allocation of Nepal

during the armed conflict time. The security budget, also includes administrative expenses increased from 4.21 percent (29,714 million) in 1996 to 7.02 percent (74,342 million) in 2003.

However, the development budget was drastically decreased from 56.6 percent (32,581 million) in 1996 to 40.86 percent (41,845 million) in 2003. The graph in Figure 8 also

illustrates that the security budget in 2003 was nearly doubled to the development budget of the same year. It affected the social welfare sectors, several development projects and foreign

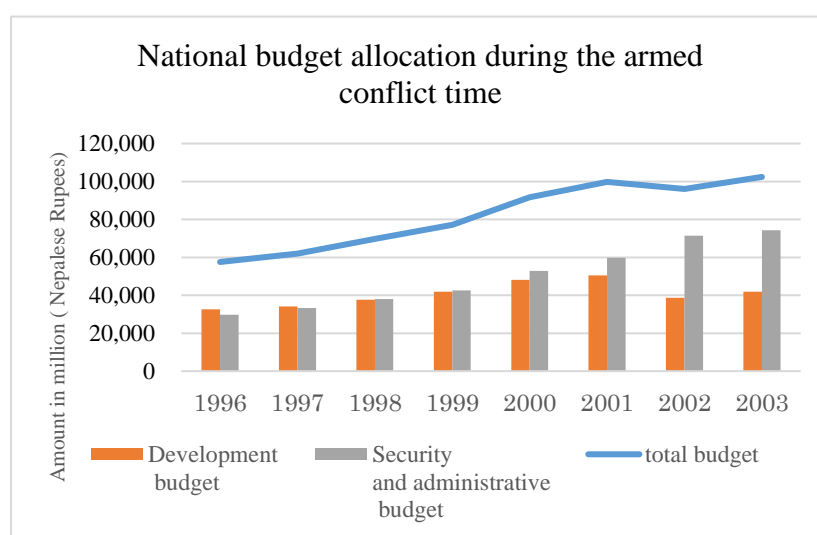


Figure 8: National budget allocation during the armed conflict time

Source: Author's compilation from secondary data of Pokharel (2004) and Upreti (2006)

assistance-related projects. There are many hydro power projects, drinking projects were withdrawn and incomplete because of the conflict. Besides that, the government allocated emergency budget (around 7 percent of the total budget) after the announcement of the State of Emergency (SoE) in 2003. In the meantime, Nepal also directly and indirectly received several foreign security assistance and military equipment from different countries. Many other foreign donors cut off their financial assistance because of the insecurity and human rights abuses.

## B. Human casualties

The armed conflict directly victimized many civilians, military officers, Maoist fighters, government officers and teachers. Table 5 provides a general figure of human casualties under different categories. In total, 17,886 people including both civilians and armed forces lost their life, where 4,000 Nepalese people killed by Maoists, and over 8,200 Nepalese people killed by government forces from 1996-2005. Another harsh reality is that some people were killed after the end

of the armed conflict. Therefore, it is difficult to find the exact number of people who lost their life caused by the armed conflict.

During the conflict time, human rights abuse was relatively high. The Maoist and the National Army (government) were involved in severe human rights abuse and violations.

According to Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC), about 26,000 people were abducted by Maoist group in

Categories	Number
Deceased persons	17,886
Disappeared person	1,530
Displaced persons	79,571
Abducted persons	3,142
Disabled (injured) persons	8,935
Widows	9,000
Individual property damaged	17,484
Family of martyrs' of people movement	26
Injured during people's movement	4,014
Orphans	620
<b>Total</b>	<b>142,208</b>

Table 5: Human casualties during the armed conflict  
Source: Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (MoPR, 2013)

2004 in Nepal (INSEC, 2004). Both sides have been accused of torture, unlawful killings, arbitrary arrests and abductions. The government used rape as a means of torture as well. The CVICT Nepal claims that about 16,000 people are subject to torture in Nepal every year during the conflict time in 2004 (CVICT, 2016) Similarly, Nepal was home to the most disappearance in the world during the conflict time (NHRC, 2016). Peter Parker claims that 27,323 children were taken from their communities to contribute to the war, possibly as child soldiers by the Maoist group (Parker, 2013). The data on table 5 shows that about 80,000 people were permanently displaced from their place of origin. Similarly, 12,949 people injured including injured people during people's movement. Furthermore, 3,142 people abducted during the armed conflict.

The side effect of conflict remains in both civilians and combaters in different ways. The harms of conflict remain in two forms. The first is death or severe injury, either deliberately or accidentally. The second is physical and mental assaults on their dignity, such as sexual assault and ethnic violation. The breakdown of law and order created a security vacuum in which such violations remain dominated. The armed conflict also devastated social destruction, breakdown of social order and relationships. Traumas and bad memories of the violation led to social fragmentation, political turmoil and hidden mental suffrages. As a result, directly violence-affected were obviously could not return in their healthy life, but also ordinary civilians too. In the context of Nepal, major side effects of the armed conflict were substituted by money-based approach. For example, management of combaters by providing certain amount of retirement money in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process and providing reimbursement to the victims of the conflict.

### **C. Conflict-induced displacement**

During conflict time, more than 3 to 5 million people were internally displaced from their home town (Upreti, 2006; Duijin, 2003 and Khatiwada, 2012). Many other rural people and school students were forcefully recruited to join this war. The Maoist group trained them,

and they formed their own armed forces called People's Army. It was estimated that 1 million Maoist fighters were involved in the armed conflict. Similarly, the government also expanded the national military force with more than 1 million military soldiers and national police officers (Selim, 2018). Many farmers, particularly from rural and remote areas were forced or manipulated to join in the Maoist group and others were forcefully migrated from their home town leaving their agriculture farm barren for a long time (Bhattarai, 2006). They could not return to their agriculture work even after the end of the armed conflict. They left their land barren for a couple of years, and there was no proper encouragement and support from the government and their political parties. Therefore, a large number of people became jobless due to the armed conflict. However, it is notable that the other issues, such as surplus labor in substantial farming, lack of fertilizers or technical and financial assistance from a policy level, which also equally matters for decreasing the agriculture production and existing unemployment. The existing situation ultimately supports to increase the number of foreign migrants.

#### **D. Post-conflict and its dilemmas**

Nepal is still in a critical political and economic transition situation within 13 years post-conflict time. The post-conflict recovery, the institutionalization of outcomes of the conflict and the implementation of the peace agreement are still challenging tasks for Nepal. The peace agreement and ending the armed conflict within a short time compared to other civil war, for example, 26 years' war in Sri Lanka is itself a sophisticated achievement for Nepal. However, there are various issues left behind when it comes to the implementation process. Firstly, structural and administrative changes were incredibly costly and time consuming for Nepal. Some of those changes include two-time Constituent Assembly elections, administrative power decentralization in local governments and the nine years' time to formulate a new constitution. Secondly, the post-conflict management is itself incomplete, time-consuming and costly. It includes the revitalization of the national economy,



reconstruction of destructed infrastructures, reintegration and rehabilitation of conflict-induced people by providing physical and mental care.

#### 1. Peace process and post-conflict management

Nepal's peace process has gained impulsive results after a long standstill. However, several challenges remain, such as the management of outcomes of the armed conflict and implementation of the peace agreement. Several issues took a considerable amount of budget and a relatively long time to settle down. Table 6 shows the total cost of the peace process is about 23 billion NPR. Some of the major tasks of the peace process are the management of cantonments, reimbursement and voluntary retirement of Maoist fighters, a relief fund for victims' families and reintegration of Maoist combatants into the national army. The management of cantonments and voluntary retirement process cost 19.7 million NPR, and it took more than 6 years, which cost more than 6 to 7 times higher than the estimated cost (MoPR, 2013). It is because of the complexity of negotiation for verification, categorization and reintegration of combaters by the United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) and the government of Nepal. However, the process of voluntary retirement of Maoist fighters and the overall reintegration process faced widespread criticism. Similarly, the post-conflict reconstruction cost is about 5.9 billion NPR. The harsh reality is the post-conflict reconstruction is yet not in halfway (Binod Ghimire, 2013). In the meantime, a relief fund for conflict victims is about 3.3 billion NPR, which is relatively low compared to the cost of the management of cantonments and voluntary retirement of Maoist fighters. The social and economic reintegration of Nepalese society remained unclear. After the combaters verification and reintegration process, some Maoist fighters returned to the communities with reimbursement money, and thus they are readily accepted by the community and their families. In contrast, some other fighters returned without any reimbursement and thus their communities and families are reluctant to accept them in a normal way.

On the other hand, the reconstruction, revitalization, rehabilitation, reintegration, recognition (5R) processes in conflict time have been delayed because of the politicization and massive corruption. In this way, the overall efforts in the process of post-conflict management could be seen as an incomplete peace process (Subedi, 2018).

## 2. Costly political and administrative changes

The political and administrative changes after the end of the armed conflict are time-consuming and costly for Nepal. The 9 years of political bickering to the formulation of the new constitution and frequently changing government (6 governments in 8 years) are hugely expensive for the most impoverished country Nepal. For example, the two constituent

<b>Expenditures categorizes</b>	<b>Amount in NPR</b>
Grand total cost of peace process (including management of combaters, weapons and reimbursement to victims)	23 Billion
Reconstruction of damaged infrastructures (less than half reconstruction until the end of 2019)	59 Billion
Drafting and formulation of a new constitution (including administrative cost) and conducting two Constitutional Assembly election (2008 and 2013)	600 Billion (in average)
<b>Total</b>	<b>682 Billion</b> <b>(=68.2 Billion USD)</b>

Table 6: Costs of post-conflict management

Source: Author's compilation from various secondary data, MoPR, 2013; Upreti, 2006; Bhimarjun Acharya, 2019

assemblies election cost, drafting new constitution and other administrative cost reached more than 600 Billion NPR on average (see Table 6). The expenditure data of table 6 shows that most of the national budget in post-conflict time invested in the post-conflict management and administrative reforms. It indicates that the development agendas of the country are on the shadow.

Similarly, the process of decentralization of power and formulation of local

governments are extremely consuming time and money, which led to extreme corruption and misguide the political, administrative and development agendas. The political system and political leaders remain as the reflection of old legacy, inequitable representation, power hegemony prevailing in the hand of a few politicians (Salim, 2018, p. 78). It is tough to figure out the cost of post-conflict management. The reasons are post-conflict management is itself a dynamic and complicated process. The data on table 6 shows that 23 billion NPR has been invested in the peace process, which covers about 10 percent of the GDP of the country (Upreti, 2006). However, the peace process is still incomplete because of the various issues remain unclear. For example, 59,000 human rights abuse of ten-year armed conflict registered in TJC remained unclear and unprocessed because of the lack of clear legal framework (TJC, 2016).

## **Chapter 9: Relation of armed conflict and migration**

This chapter explores how the causes of migration and a tremendously increasing number of migrants are related to the armed conflict. The overview insists that the outcomes of the armed conflict, such as destruction of infrastructure, deterioration of the national economy, human casualties, exploitation and violation are correlated with the contemporary unemployment, poverty, and other political issues that support to increase the tremendous number of migrants.

### **A. Economic stagnation during the armed conflict and causes of migration**

Key findings from Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 indicate that the economic causes of migration are the byproduct of the economic stagnation during the armed conflict. For example, poverty and unemployment are the significant economic causes of migration, and these are also the result of the paralyzed economy, destruction of infrastructures, and diversion of the development budget into security budget during the conflict time. Similarly, the destruction of suspensions bridges, a telephone tower and banks during the conflict time influenced the economic and development parameters of the country. As a result, rural areas were isolated from transportation, communication and banking work. Similarly, local industries collapsed due to the insecurity during the armed conflict. This situation leads to the displacement of a large number of people from rural areas. On the other hand, the nation's priorities during the armed conflict were focused on coping with the immediate necessities, for example, increasing military force and equipment. The welfare sectors and development projects were halted and unfinished for a long time. Furthermore, the significant outcomes or challenges after the end of the armed conflict are how to create employment and income generation means for conflict-affected people and ordinary civilians. The fragile economic condition in post-conflict time led to the high unemployment rate and job scarcities. The poor economy caused fewer economic opportunities inside the country. Therefore, the household economy and the national economy are continually slugging down. This situation led to an

increase in the number of migrants.

### **B. Conflict induced casualties relates with unemployment and insecurity**

Conflict leads to human casualties, such as death, injured, disappeared and displacement of a large number of people from their place of origin. As discussed in Chapter 8, the government of Nepal and communities involved in post-conflict tasks such as the distribution of relief assistance, restoration of physical infrastructure and facilities, the reestablishment of social services and the creation of appropriate conditions for the private sector development, and implementation of essential policies and plan. UN recognizes the employment and income generation are fundamental elements of the post-conflict solution. However, the government of Nepal neither seriously works for post-conflict tasks nor efficiently works to generate employment opportunities inside the country. The state continually ignored or less concerned to support to returned conflict-induced internal migrants, which led many Nepalese people to leave their country to cope with poverty and unemployment opportunities.

On the other hand, once a large number of people who were displaced from their place during the conflict time, they need new means of income generation. In the case of Nepal, a large number of people have been displaced from agriculture, manufacturing industries, small cottage industries and tourism-based industries, and they were migrated to the city and town.

Figure 9 illustrates how conflict-induced casualties are related to foreign migration. Rural people had been forcefully displaced from agriculture, livestock and local industries during the armed conflict time. They were moved to the cities, towns and the capital city Kathmandu, where they needed new income sources. However, the city area was already limited by few jobs and economic opportunities. As a result, finding a job and other employment generation activities in the city area became more complicated for them. In the meantime, a small number of urban people, mainly high-class academicians, government

officers, journalists and students forced or intended to migrate in foreign countries as political asylum seekers or for abroad study when the armed conflict escalated. After the end of the armed conflict, a very few people who displaced from rural occupations returned to their original profession. However, their land, house and income generation means (cottage industries) were destructed and captured by the Maoist group during the conflict time. Some other remains in cities and town and engage in new jobs and economic activities. Majority of people either who displaced from rural areas or urban people continue to migrate in foreign countries after the end of the armed conflict.

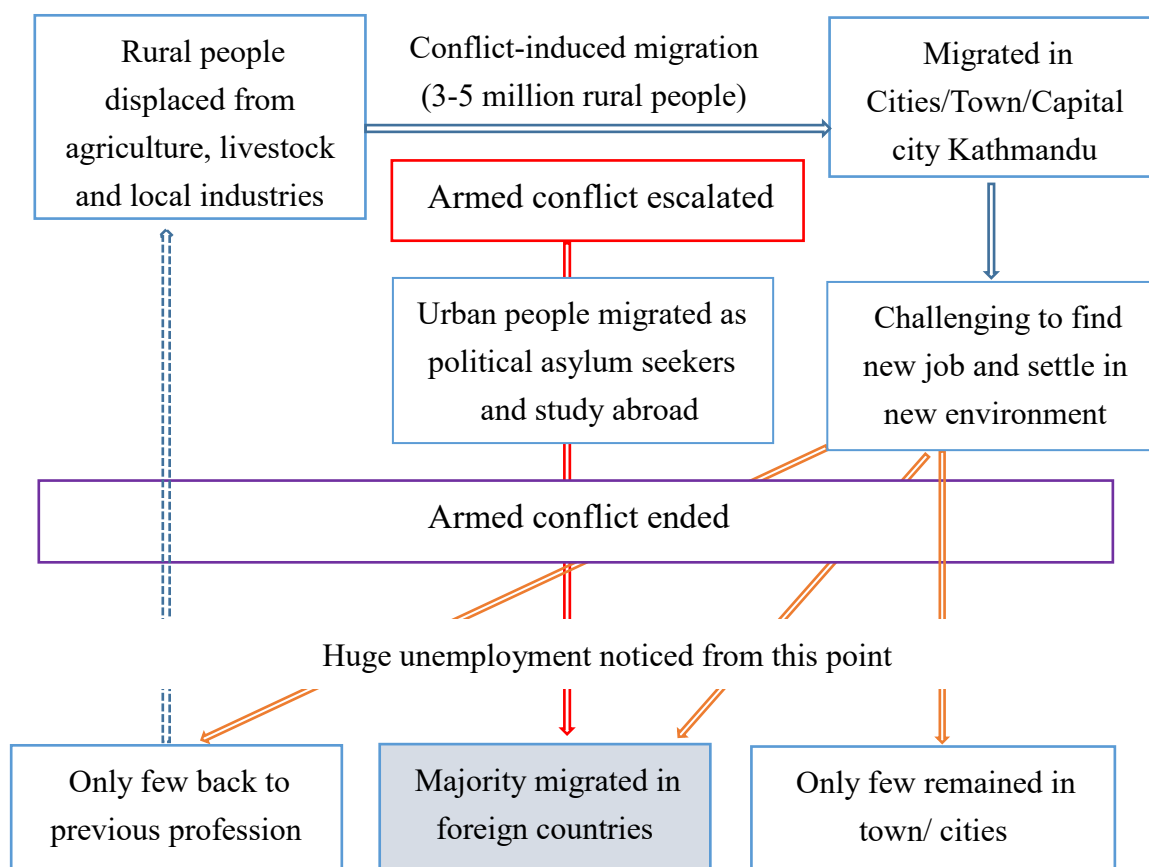


Figure 9: Conflict induced casualties related with the armed conflict

Source: Author's compilation from secondary data, Khatiwada, 2012 and Bhattarai, 2006

### C. Transitional post-conflict, peace process and political instability

The peace process and prolonged transitional phase of the post-conflict situation led the Nepalese economy and politics more complex and fragile. The contemporary transitional condition of Nepal characterized as a neutral situation, neither peace nor conflict situation

(Subedi, 2018). As already been discussed in Chapter 8, the national priorities of development and welfare services have been diverted to conflict management and peacekeeping process. The efforts and budget invested in bringing new political and structural changes are itself beyond the capacity of the weak economy of the country. There are some mismatching agendas to address the transitional post-conflict situation and fragile political and economic situation. For example, the democracy and freedom of individual rights are in priorities rather than uplifting people's living conditions. Similarly, poverty reduction and unemployment were less prioritized during the process of overall administrative and political changes.

Furthermore, as already discussed in chapter 8, reconstruction of damaged infrastructures and revitalization of the poor economy are on the halfway even after 13 years of the end of the armed conflict. Conflict paralyzed the economy, welfare system and other necessary facilities of the country. It needs a tremendous amount of budget, proper plan and strategies for reconstruction and revitalization of the economy. The armed conflict victims and their families have been ignored from the government and other institutions while planning and implementing of the peace agreement. As a result, post-conflict management and recovery of the armed conflict are less focused on people's livelihood. Therefore, both practically and ideally, a considerable effort is necessary to deal with the armed conflict-related dilemmas. In such a critical situation of the post-conflict time, Nepalese people are intended or compelled to migrate to foreign countries.

## **Chapter 10: Positive and negative outcomes of migration**

Migration, at least, has two significant outcomes. The first one is remittance, which has significant impacts on the socio-economic situation of migrants, their families and communities. Remittance is the temporary solution to break the vicious circle of existing poverty and unemployment situation. Another concern with remittance is how to invest properly and generate further economic opportunities. The second is the absence of a large number of working-age populations of the country. As the majority of productive people leave their country, it reversely influence the local production and create labor shortage in local markets.

### **A. Economic opportunities and challenges of migration**

Migration through remittance can play a supportive role for economic and development enhancement. As already explained in chapter 5, remittance provides a strong supports for a poor Nepalese economy in the household to the national level. It is considered as a positive outcome of the migration. Remittance through savings, investment, growth, consumption, and income distribution creates a positive contribution to economic growth (IMF, 2009). Similarly, migration through enhancing knowledge, skills, language ability and exchange of ideas contributes to the development, economy by transforming technologies, entrepreneurship development and creating other opportunities inside the countries. Some of those opportunities are listed below. In addition, remittance can provide seed money to start a small business for migrants, their families and communities.

Nepal can replace the overdependence on foreign aid and use as a source of development projects.

However, there are many challenges to the contemporary trend of Nepalese migration. The mobilization of remittance in productive uses and reduce the overdependence are some of the significant challenges for Nepal. Also, remittance is often taken as easy money for migrants' families and remittance-receiving countries.



## **B. Political outcomes of migration**

Strengthening diplomatic relations with destination countries and support of Nepalese diasporas are two major political outcomes of Nepalese migration. Nepalese people migrated in more than 143 countries, majority for work and study purpose. Their work experience and saving can be a tool for creating various economic opportunities in Nepal. Nepalese diasporas and migrants are contributing in several ways, for example, financial support to construct school and hospital. Therefore, there are plenty of possibilities of further engagement of Nepalese diasporas in policy formulation and development activities. For example, they can invest in development projects such as drinking water and hydropower building projects and they can establish a new business in Nepal. The skilled and qualified migrants will be the good human resources for Nepal in different sectors, for example in information technology and medical science. On the other hand, migration also strengthen the diplomatic relations of Nepal and other countries through migration. There are some recruitment of Nepalese workers through bilateral agreement (government level) with Nepal and other countries, such as South Korea, Malaysia and Israel.

However, the government of Nepal showing dual nature while formulating foreign migration related plans and polities. For example, the MoLE launched the free visa and free ticket provision for Nepalese migrants in 2015. This provision can be seen as the government promoting and encouraging Nepal people to migrate. In contrast, the government also trying to work for employment generation activities, such as Prime minister self-employment program and soft loan policy for returned migrants.

## **C. Social impacts of migration**

Migration contributes to the rapid social transformation, which reduces social discrimination based on ethnicity, caste and gender. It also helps to increase the level of awareness of migrants and their families. Migrants act as a bridge of the flow of information and technologies from their destination countries to Nepal.

However, as already explained in chapter 5, long-time family separation during the migration work breaks social harmony. Some newspaper articles, for example, The Himalayan Times (2019) claim that the ratio of the divorce, unsocial and criminal activities are increasing in contemporary Nepalese society. It is because of foreign migration and remittance. The majority of migrants are physically detaching from their family and society. It destroys social harmony and family bonds. Also, old parents are out of the reach of their children in need. Similarly, migrant children are abandon from physical and mental caring and parenting. Many migrants, mainly female migrants, send their children to private boarding schools and migrate for foreign employment. Sometimes their teenage children involved in anti-social activities such as alcoholism and drug addiction. In this case, migrant's physical presence is valuable for their old-aged parents and growing children rather than remittance itself (Personal interview-12, 2019). This social outcome of migration is upsetting, confusing, and yet not deals in detail by academicians.

#### **D. Analysis of the overall outcomes of Nepalese foreign migration**

The growth in remittance flows in Nepal has fed a long-standing debate on their positive and negative consequence. The contemporary migration scenario of Nepal is bound with an incomplete circle of migration. A large number of migrants repeatedly migrate until their own and their families' financial desire will not be fulfilled once they migrated from the country. It is because there is no support system to involve in income generation activities inside the countries after returned. They cannot take the risk of uncertainty to return without any adequate support system. Repeated migration is consistent for many Nepalese migrants with what has been found from the analysis of repeated migration related case study in Chapter 6. In most cases, the migration cycle is not complete until the migrants are not physically retired. Therefore, it is not very easy to figure out why Nepalese migrants are returning by self-motivation and what are the motives to return them. The flow of remittance became easy-money for migrants' families, communities and the country itself.

## **Chapter 10: Conclusions, recommendations and limitations**

Nepal is grappling with many socio-political and economic transitional changes. The contemporary foreign migration is one of the outcomes of those socio-political and economic changes. An analysis of the immediate causes of the migration in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 reveals that the critical concerns are not only mounting with the poor economy of the country. From the armed conflict perspective, the economic stagnation, human casualties and conflict-induced migration are significant consequences of the conflict. It encourages us to think about how the economic stagnation due to the armed conflict led to the poor economy of the country. On the other hand, the increasing migration ratio and the state of extreme violation of the armed conflict have coincided at the same time. It is thus necessary to analyze these two issues together.

### **A. Conclusions**

There are several conclusions and findings drawn from the contemporary migration scenario concerning the armed conflict of Nepal. Firstly, there are many economic, political and socio-cultural reasons for the migration of Nepalese people. Poverty, unemployment, low agricultural productivity and limited industrial expansion are the major economic causes of migration. Low agricultural productivity leads to limited industrial expansion due to the lack of raw materials and advanced technologies. These two causes ultimately led to unemployment and poverty. As a result, Nepalese people are struggling to come out from the vicious circle of poverty, and foreign migration thus became an alternative for them. Similarly, political instability, weak governance system, corruption and malfunctioning bureaucracies and law are the political causes of the migration. At the national level, fragile politics and weak governance systems lead the insecurity and weak welfare systems. It leads the corruption and power hegemony upon the bureaucracy and legislative bodies. As a result, the entire political and economy of the country become less concerned with the fulfillment of basic human needs and the welfare system is halted. Besides, there are specific socio-cultural causes that also contribute to migration, such as the cultural practice of migration.

Secondly, the ten years armed conflict and its results act as fuel to increase poverty and unemployment in several ways. There are historical achievements from this armed conflict, which still contributes a lot to the social and political transformation of Nepal. The outcomes and the consequences of the armed conflict have hugely influenced the socio-economic paradigms of the country. Due to the collapsed industries, human casualties and conflict-induced internal displacement of a large number of people from agriculture and commerce, the economy has been slugged down. The national budget was used in conflict management and post-conflict recovery for a long time.

Thirdly, the post-conflict dilemmas and implementation of the peace agreement are halted because of the political instability and weak governance system. Due to the cash-based reintegration of Maoist fighters and the ignorance of child fighters, the reintegration process is still incomplete. Besides, the politicization of human severe rights abuses conducted by political leaders has been mounted for a long time, which caused the suffrages of many conflict survivors from injustice. The post-conflict society is polarizing in different political ideologies, ethnic identities and religious forms that led the political confrontation and political instability. As a result, the newly established government, formulated plan and procedures could not reach the grass-root level, by which people can enhance their primary livelihood and fulfill their basic requirements. The newly formulated constitution also dissatisfies a few ethnic minority groups, the conflict-involved parties, particularly Maoist fighters. In this situation, Negative peace is still existing, where Nepal is still struggling to maintain political stability and good governance, which are the necessary foundation for economy and development. Unfortunately, the post-conflict transformation failed to change political ideas, behavior, relationship and perceptions among political leaders and elite people, which ignored the post-conflict society to recover their relationships and social harmony in productive and peaceful ways. This situation can develop as a potential to increase the number of migrants in the future. Therefore, the armed conflict continually existed as a negative peace

in the future, which contribute to the emerging of new challenges and obstacles in Nepalese society.

## **B. Recommendations**

There are several thematic issues related to the migration and the armed conflict of Nepal, which deserve further in-depth research. Firstly, migration-related to political asylum seekers and conflict-induced migration of high class people needs further comprehensive study. This issue was not explained in detail in this research in order to generalize the overall migration scenario. Secondly, few migrants served as Maoist fighters during the armed conflict. This study, yet could not have direct access with them. Therefore, this issue worthy of a separate investigation. Thirdly, the positive aspects of migration, such as skill transformation and remittance, should be deals separately, which provide guidelines for policy formulations. Fourthly, this research mainly collects information related to the armed conflict from secondary data and the author's background information, which is not enough to draw a concrete conclusion. A longitudinal study of poor Nepalese economy and political instability concerning contemporary migration could be another issue for further study. Besides, further studies can address the relation of the armed conflict and migration of Nepalese through designing a new conceptual framework that can demonstrate how far the armed conflict and migration are interrelated with each other.

## **C. Limitations**

The findings of this study have to be seen with some limitations. The first is the limitation of sample and research methodology bias. The research used simple random sampling and snowball sampling methods, which could not represent the 6 million Nepalese migrants. Besides, there was a limited ability to gain access to the appropriate type of migrants or geographic scope of participants. In this case, the people who responded by telephone interview may not provide accurate information. Similarly, the one-time encounter with interviewees is not sufficient for depth-analysis. The second is the lack of scientific and

statistical tools to analyze the reciprocal relationship of the increasing number of migrants and the consequence of the armed conflict. The third is conflict-related information included in this research. The issues and outcomes of the conflict are susceptible and critical. Therefore, the findings of this study are limited with the basic ideas of the armed conflict. The fourth is the external factors of migration, such as globalization and immigrant policies. These external factors were not analyzed in this research in order to focus on migration and the armed conflict's relation.

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### Notes

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Personal interview-3, translated by author, March 31, 2019, Kathmandu, Nepal

Participant of a workshop, translated by author, April 4, 2019, Kathmandu, Nepal

Personal interview-4, translated by author, April 16, 2019, Lamjung, Nepal

Personal interview-5, translated by author, November 6, 2019, telephone interview

Personal interview-6, April 17, 2019, Lamjung, Nepal and September 27, 2019 telephone interview

Personal interview-7, April 20, 2019, Chitwan, Nepal and October 12, 2019 telephone interview

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Personal interview-12, April 20, 2019, Chitwan, Nepal

## Appendix- Online Survey Questionnaire

### “नेपालको द्वन्द र यसको बैदेशिक बसाईसराईसंगको संबन्ध”

(Nepalese Foreign Migration in relation with armed conflict )

नमस्ते! मेरो नाम सुस्मिता बास्तोला हो। हाल ओसाका ज्योगाकुइन् विश्वबिद्यालयमा " नेपालको द्वन्द र यसको बैदेशिक बसाईसराईसंगको संबन्ध " भन्ने बिषयमा अनुसन्धान गर्दैछु। बिदेशमा रहनु हुने तपाईंहरूको अनुभव, भोगाई र बिचार, मेरो अनुसन्धानको लागि अत्यन्तै महत्व राख्दछ। यदि तपाईं यो सर्भको दोस्रो फेज (बिस्तृत अन्तर्बाता) मा सहभागि हुन चाहानुहुन्छ भने, कृपया इन्टरनेट मार्फत सम्पर्क गर्न सकिने आफ्नो कुनै ठेगाना तल उल्लेख गर्नु होला। तपाईंले उपलब्ध गराउनु भएका जानकारी र ब्यक्तिगत बिवरणको गोपनियताको प्रत्याभुति दिलाउछु। (Namaste! I am Susmita Bastola, a graduate school student at Osaka Jogakuin University, Osaka, Japan. Currently, I am doing my research titled “Nepalese Foreign Migration in relation with armed conflict” at the same university. I kindly request to all Nepalese living in foreign countries to provide your opinions based on your experience for this survey. Your support is highly valuable to complete my research. If you want to participate in second phase of this survey through interview, please mention any of your internet based contact details at the end of this survey. I will make every effort to maintain the privacy of your personal information.)

1. के तपाईं बिदेशमा बसोबास गर्दै हुनुहुन्छ?(Are you living in a foreign country?)  
हो (Yes) होइन (No)
2. कुन देशमा हुनुहुन्छ?(What country?)
3. बिदेश जानु भन्दा पहिले के गर्नु हुन्थ्यो?(What did you do before going to a foreign country?)  
पढाई (Study) काम (work) कृषि (Agriculture) ब्यवसाय (Your own business)  
अन्य (others)
4. तपाईं कुन उमेर समुहमा पर्नु हुन्छ?(You belong to the age group of)  
18~35 36~50 51~ 64 above 65
5. तपाईं कुन बर्गमा पर्नुहुन्छ?(what is your gender?)  
पुरुष(Male) महिला (Female) अन्य (others)
6. हाल बिदेशमा के गर्दै हुनुहुन्छ? (What are you doing there now?)  
पढाई (Study) काम (Work) पढाई र काम दुबै (both study and work)  
अन्य (Others)
7. कति समय बिदेशमा बिताउनु भयो? (How long have you been there?)
8. सुरुमा बिदेश जादा कुन उदेश्य थियो? (What was your purpose of migration at the beginning?)  
पढ्न (Study) कामको लागि (work) स्थाई बसोबासको लागि (seeing residence in  
foreign country [you got long term residency visa])

बिवाह गरेर (Marriage [your spouse was already in foreign country or foreigner])  
 सबै परिवार एकै ठाउँमा रहन (Family union [your children settled in foreign country and  
 invite you later]) अन्य (others)

9. तपाईंको विचारमा विदेश जाने नेपालीको संख्या बढ्नुको कारण के हो जस्तो लाग्छ? (In your opinion, why many Nepalese people are migrating from Nepal?)

10. तपाईंको विचारमा यति ठूलो संख्यामा नेपालीहरू बिदेशिनुमा नेपालको राजनीतिक परिवर्तनको असर छ कि छैन ? (Do you think, the political changes of the country is responsible for increasing the number of Nepalese migrants?)

छ (Yes)

छैन (No)

11. यदि प्रश्न १० मा तपाईंको उत्तर छ भन्ने हो भने, तपाईंको विचारमा कसरि र किन नेपालको राजनीतिक परिवर्तनको कारणले विदेशिने नेपालीको संख्या बढिरहेको छ? (If Yes in question 10 then, how and why political events are responsible for the migration of Nepalese people?)

12. तपाईं विदेश जानुको प्रमुख कारणहरू के-के हुन् ? (What are the major reasons for your migration to foreign countries?)

13. तपाईं यो सर्भेको अन्तरबार्ता सहभागी हुन चाहनुहुन्छ? (Do you want to participate in an interview after this survey?)

चाहन्छु (Yes)

चाहान्छु (No)

14. यदि प्रश्न ९ मा तपाईंको उत्तर "चाहान्छु" हो भने, कृपया तपाईंलाई इन्टरनेट मार्फत सम्पर्क गर्न सकिने कुनै ठेगाना उल्लेख गर्नुहोला। (If your answer is Yes in Question no. 13, please provide your internet contact details.) (Example of answer : viber- +8107032585478)