

**FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BIRUWA RURAL  
MUNICIPALITY AT SYANGJA DISTRICT**

**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science of  
Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**In  
SOCIOLOGY**

**BY**

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**July 2024**

## LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that Ms. Laxmi Thapa has completed her dissertation entitled '**Foreign Employment and Social Change in Biruwa Rural Municipality at Syangja District**' under our supervision and guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for the final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, in fulfillment of the requirement for the **DEGREE of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in SOCIOLOGY**.

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Date: March, 2024

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation, entitled '**Foreign Employment and Social Change in Biruwa Rural Municipality at Syangja District**' is purely original work prepared under the supervision of Prof. Surendra Mishra, PhD and Prof. Menuka K.C., PhD. The ideas and information from different scholars that I have taken in the course of research are acknowledged with due respect. I also assure that I have not used the results and materials of this thesis for any other degree. I take sole responsibility if any evidence is found against my declaration.

.....

Laxmi Thapa

Date: March

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my sincere gratitude and acknowledges to those individuals who always inspired and supported me, and even sometimes propelled me to prepare this dissertation.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Surendra Mishra, PhD, from the Department of Sociology at Tribhuvan University. Completing this dissertation would not have been possible without his close mentoring, proper guidance, and unwavering support. Similarly, my heartfelt thanks go to my co-supervisor, Prof. Menuka K. C., PhD, for her consistent dedication, effort, and valuable guidance throughout the preparation of this dissertation.

And equally, I am thankful to Prof. Tulsi Ram Pandey, PhD and Assoc. Prof. Tikaram Gautam, PhD, Tribhuvan University, Department of Sociology, who supported me at the initial stage of my studies and while preparing official documents to be submitted to the University Grant Commission.

I am also grateful to the University Grant Commission for the financial support which has been invaluable for pursuant of my PhD Support from such a prestigious organization has also been a driving force for me to complete and refine my studies.

Likewise, I must acknowledge the efforts of Ms. Tara Thapa, who continuously supported me to carry out the field survey, managing the respondents for group discussion and interview, and also provide the required relevant information throughout my dissertation period in a meaningful way. I would also like to thank Ms. Bhima Thapa, Head of Siddha Mandali School, Upper Khali, and Mr. Chok Bahadur Chhetri, who gave kind cooperation during my field survey.

I offer my special thanks to my spouse for his continuous support in furthering my academic career. I am profoundly grateful to my dear son, Prashant Thapa, and my cherished daughter, Yukta, for their meticulous work in preparing, editing, and perfecting the language and layout of this thesis. I also extend my sincere gratitude to my father, Captain Tek Bahadur Thapa, and to my late mother, Naukala Thapa, for their unwavering encouragement and aspirations for my success.

Finally, my honest gratitude goes to close relatives and friends who directly and indirectly supported me during the preparation of this thesis.

Laxmi Thapa

July, 2024

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the social change occurring in Biruwa Rural Municipality Syangja District where members from 76 percent of total population households are engaged in foreign employment. Formally, they are involved as Gurkha soldiers and police who are recruited by Indian, British and Singapore Government after World War II and still they are continuing. The other groups of foreign employed non-Gurkha migrants are working in different parts of the world for economic benefits. The working opportunities in international labor market even for unskilled human resource and dearth of opportunities at origin has increased the significant number of migrants and inflow of remittances at origin.

When analyzing the sources of living for the peoples in the study area, it was found that while traditional sources such as agricultural and animal husbandry were sustainable in the past, over time, it has become more lucrative for the people to migrate abroad for work and send money back home. As a result, overseas employment has been replaced traditional agriculture as a primary and most lucrative source of income. This shift from home-based agricultural practices to international employment has significantly altered various facets of society and social structure.

In this evolving social context, people from the study area are encountering both economic benefits and social challenges as a result of foreign employment. To comprehend the prevailing social phenomenon, including its background, inevitability, sustainability, consistency and role in social change, as well as the challenges faced by migrants and left-behind at origin, the research has a great space to offer the critical perspective on why people go abroad and how they compromise their social bonds. To understand and analyze this social phenomenon from sociological perspective, I have developed three research issues: the determinants of push factors, the influence of migrants and remittances on social change, and difficulties faced by migrants and those they leave behind in their home country.

This study is framed under the neoclassical theory of migration, which discusses expected income differential, and the new economics theory of migration, which focuses on the collective decision to migrate in order to reduce survival risk. Additionally, it incorporates theories of social change which emphasize the evolutionary nature of society and the economy as prime mover of social change.

Methodology here is guided by both positivist and interpretive philosophies. I believe that the realities related to my research exist in both objective and subjective forms. The positivist philosophy provides a framework to describe the objective reality that already exists, while the interpretive philosophy helps understand subjective or multiple realities, which I have analyzed and interpreted from the textual data. So, information related to determinants of push factors such as production status, social hierarchy, and employment opportunities, aligns with the positivist approach. In contrast, data on opinion, attitudes, norms and values are closer to the interpretive approach. Moreover, information concerning the difficulties faced by migrants and their left-behind encompasses both types of data.

Thus, grounded in both positivist and interpretive philosophical foundation, I have conducted my research on a sample of 102 households drawn from a total population of 560 households. These 102 sample households were purposively selected after dividing the population in different strata based on the heterogeneous characteristics of the study population, such as destination countries of employment, nature of work, duration of employment, and monthly income. The tools used to collect relevant data included survey questionnaire, observation and semi-structured interviews.

The finding reveals that the three research questions are interconnected. The analysis of the first research question indicates that poor socio-political status is prevalent, with 88.2 percent of study population belonging to ethnic groups classified as disadvantaged. Current data show that there has not been a single individual from these groups involved in national-level politics in a decision-making capacity.

Similarly, factors such as small area of land holding, infertile land, underproduction, and inadequate agricultural output to meet the needs of a growing population are identified as crucial determinants of push factors leading to employment abroad. This conclusion is drawn from analyzing three variables: production status, employment opportunities, income status, and their position within the socio-political hierarchy.

In analyzing the second issue, the data indicates that following the influx of remittances and the absence of male household members, there have been significant

changes in household dynamics. These changes were examined across various dimensions including income, expenditure, family structure, internal migration, children's education, norms, values, and cultural practices. The analysis reveals notable changes in migrant's families, such as increased income and expenditure, a decline in joint family structure and a considerable increment in nuclear families, 16 percent of sample household following dual resident and a significant increase in the number of children attending private boarding schools, which constitutes 56 percent from the total sample households.

Moreover, a noble finding from the text data analysis was a shift in perception regarding buyer culture. Initially, buyers were often referred to as *Besaha bokne* indicating peoples typically from lower social strata during a time when the economy was largely self-sustaining. However, as remittances made buying culture more feasible, the perception shifted. Now, there is a sense of respect for those who can manage their needs effectively, often expressed by the phrase they managed timely *Bandobasta garisake*. In addition, the major obstacles were; financial constraints, the sacrifice of social bonds, and administrative difficulties. Frequent trips to the ward office, rural municipality office, and district headquarters to obtain the official documents such as citizenship, passport and police report are noted as the most time-consuming and difficult process for them. The remittance-based communities face hidden and unseen experiences that are rarely mentioned as matter of confidentiality on the part of officials.

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## ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CCASG	Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf
CCVI	Certificate for Confirmation of Visa Issuance
CDO	Chief District Officer
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CESLAM	Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility
DOFE	Department of Labour and Employment Promotion
DOLEP	Department of Foreign Employment
EPS	Employment Permit System
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEFONT	General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions GoN Government of Nepal HRD Korea Human Resource Development Service of Korea
ICMW	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JTA	Junior Technical Assistance
MOL	Ministry of Labour
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
VDC	Village Development Committee

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of Study

Mobility of the people while crossing the border to engage temporarily or semi-temporarily in a remunerated activity is known as migration. People, who are engaged, are to be engaged or have been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national is defined as migrant workers (United Nations, 1990). If we go through the beginning of human migration, then we can connect it with mobility of mankind, the early human migration that had begun around 2 million years ago. Homo erectus moving from Africa to Eurasia was a move of necessity and also an adaptive strategy for survival. The mass migration of the Middle Ages from the Volga River region of Russia to the Western Roman Empire by the Visigoths was caused by the invasion of their homeland by Huns was tribal rivalry (Bailey, 2010). Scholars also claimed that the mobility was to flee invasion by other tribes.

In this regards, survey reports on World Economic and Social Survey by UN (2004) reports, about fifty two million Europeans had left their home between 1820 and 1932 and immigrated to America, the reason being freer international movement of goods, capital and labor. Similarly, the reports indicate that an estimated 50 million out of 175 million migrant were of Asian descent, comprising approximately 1.4 percent of the total Asian population. Thus, history shows human mobility is everlasting phenomenon and the reason for mobility seems contextual.

In the context of Nepal, both internal and international migration is a prevailing social phenomenon. Out of the total migrant workers, 41 percent were in India, 38 percent were in Gulf countries, 12 percent were in Malaysia, and 8.7 percent were in developed countries. In the case of Malaysia, Nepal stood as the second-largest labor supply country after Indonesia that represents almost 14 percent of the current population (Limbu & Sinjapati, 2017a).

The increment in the outflow of migrant workers has increased the inflow of remittances accordingly. The national data from fiscal year 2074/075 shows NPR 755.06 billion as an inflow of remittances, which increased by 16.5 percent in 2075/076

and reached NPR 879.27 billion (NRB, 2019). The Neo-classical theory of Harris and Todaro (1970, p. 126) elucidated rural-urban migration as being influenced by the expected income.

The new economic theory of migration (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p. 173-178) describes migration as caused by the collective decision to reduce the survival risks. Moreover, dual market theory explains pull factors for migration that stem from industrial society (Piore, 1979). All these leading concepts of migration show an evolutionary attribute of causative factors in human migration. However, an unfavorable situation of earning for living can be considered as a common factor that has steered people to cross the border voluntarily.

This widespread phenomenon has economic and social consequences in household structures and agricultural systems (Axinn, et al., 2020). The dissertation here delves into the examination of foreign employment within ten *Gautole of Biruwa* Rural Municipality, where over 88.2 percent of the population is primarily composed of ethnic groups. Individuals from this area have a long tradition of seeking employment abroad, both as Gurkhas and non-Gurkhas. Both Gurkha and non-Gurkha migrants are identified as foreign employed or economic migrants in this study.

The findings, in Nepalese social context, especially within the territory of Biruwa Rural Municipality are induced by foreign employment and expected to create a new perception on determinants of push factors, role of remittances and migrants role to social change and to give knowledge on the shaded part of foreign employment along with the untold stories of remittance-based society from a sociological perspective.

## **1.2 Foreign Employment**

Foreign employment is the mobility of people to get employment abroad. It is a part of migration where people move from origin to destination to engage temporarily in a remunerated activity. For the study here, either Gurkha soldiers serve formally in British army, Indian army and Singapore police or non-Gurkha migrants working in different part of the world, all are collectively referred as migrant workers.

Initially, only Gurkha soldiers were employed abroad in the study area, having been recruited by British colonial government following the war between Gurkha and the British East India Company in 1814. Later, with the rise of the oil economy in Arabian countries opened up for unskilled workers as well (Gurung, 2013a). This opportunity expansion of

international labor market has led to a significant influx of migrants from labor-abundant countries to industrialized nations. Consequently, not only have remittances and employment number increased, but rural areas of Nepal are also experiencing depopulation.

Demographic characteristics, customary practices, family structure, norms, and values are changing rapidly. This historic mobility of people from the study area raises many questions: Is this mobility inevitable? What will happen to the sustainability of these migrants if the global labor market becomes saturated? How do the determinants of push factors consistently influence foreign employment, and can this be analyzed from a sociological perspective rather than solely an economic one? What are the current practices regarding production, local employment opportunities, and socio political condition of the study population?

Furthermore, how can migrant workers and their remittances be vital for the social change of their respective communities? The movement of energetic manpower from households and their remittances has a multidimensional impact on household operations. In addition to that there are various determinants of push factors that drive social change for people living in specific territory.

The social contexts induced by foreign employment are expected to generate new knowledge through the determinants of push factors. This can provide insights into the often-overlooked aspects of foreign employment from a sociological perspective. For my research, a mixed-method is central. In-depth interviews with respondents serve as the primary tool to understand people's perspective, while surveys are used to collect numerical data. This mixed approach aims to provide a thorough understanding of foreign employment from sociological perspective.

### **1.3 Sociology of Migration**

Migration is mobility of human from place of origin to the destination, and they have been constantly on the move for thousands of years. This phenomenon has multidimensional determinants and implications that has always been an integral part of society and it has been constantly evolving (ILO, 2016). In sociology this mobility is dealt in a different way unlike the physical crossing of territorial border of nation-state, rather sociologists investigate processes beyond this aspect such as changes in local and global orders of inequality, sociocultural construction of two boundaries that structure migration, and political conflict

linked to different forms of human mobility (Amelina & Horvath, 2017). Specifically, in migration phenomenon sociologists focus on substantial economic, social and psychological cost incurred along with family and gender relationships of migrants. In addition, they show their interest to study about the intergroup relation between local residents and migrants as well as the transnational linkages between home and host countries among migrants.

In this regard, Startin (1971) talked about the elements to incorporate in definition of sociology of migration. He has pointed out the structural change, class of physical movement of individual or group which has consequences either for relationship between individuals or for the social structure of the group to which they belong. Moreover, Jackson (1969) also talked about the various types and implications to embrace in sociological model for the study of migration.

Thus, sociology of migration is all about description of social processes which emphasize on driving forces and consequences of migration that may occur in any instance of geographical movement of the individual or group relative to another that has consequences for the group structure in society.

#### **1.4 Types of Migration**

Migration is a broad concept. It comprises many different forms of migration flows and distinct types of migrants. There are two types of migration; Voluntary and involuntary. In voluntary migration, migrants' moves according to their need and desire, whereas involuntary migration is forced or unwanted migration resulted from natural disaster or manmade socio-cultural and political complexities. Hence the reason for mobility is always contextual such as poor geography, socio-economic condition, and political chaos etc., whichever the stronger push factors compels people to move towards the destination. Labor migration falls on, voluntary types of migration. It is also known as economic migration because objectives of migrants is focused on better earning opportunity.

All the Nepalese labor migrants are voluntarily migrated to the different parts of the world. For the last couple of years, Nepal has become a hot spot for exporting workers as fourteen percent of the total population is employed abroad (Limbu & Sinjapati, 2017). This mobility has a notable feedback effect on the place of origin as the migrants are mostly energetic men. Their absence in the household chores and earnings send back to origin plays

a significance role in changing the model of household operations and population character along with composition of human settlement.

### **1.5 Remittances and its Uses**

The global remittances were expected to sum total of \$702 billion in 2020, down from \$719 billion in 2019 (World Bank 2020). The top three remittance recipient countries in the world were India (83 percent), China (59 percent), and Mexico (42 percent), with the Philippines ranking fourth (ILO, 2020). However, in terms of the share of remittances in GDP for the year 2020, it includes many smaller economies such as Tonga (38 percent), Samoa 19 percent, and Marshall Islands 13 percent (World Bank, 2021). For these countries, remittances are often seen as a savior, especially for workers from developing countries where problems such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, and conflict are prevalent and the remittance is supporting for the fulfillment of basic needs like food, clothes, shelter, etc.

In the context of Nepal, remittance is not only the lifeline for rural economy rather it is the main source of foreign currency for the nation. Precisely, Nepal is receiving remittances from two different nature of foreign employment practice; Gurkhas and Non-Gurkha migrants. Form Gurkhas, in the form of pension and salary from three different countries; India, Britain and Singapore where Nepalese young man are serving as soldiers and police and, Non-Gurkhas are generating their income from the different parts of the world where most of them are working in international labor market. The number of Non-Gurkha migrants seems surging from 1990s onwards. However, total number of Gurkhas are in reducing trend as Britain has reduced the number of recruits significantly after 1997 (Thapa, 2020a). In this regard, attaché JC Upadhaya informed that about 1 lakh 27 thousand pensioners are drawing pension and almost 36 thousand Gurkha soldiers are drawing salary from their existing service. About British Gurkhas, sum total of 3000 soldiers and 2000 Singapore police including more than 21 thousand retired soldiers are receiving pensions from Britain (Thapa, 2020b). Altogether, the total annual amount of Pension drawn by Indian soldiers is INR. 4,800 Crore per annum and NPR 2,400 Crore per annum from Britain (Thapa, 2020c).

About the Non-Gurkha migrant's data shows, in 1993/94 the number of labor approval issued by the Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE) was just 3605. A decade later in 2003/04, it reached 106,660 and in 2013/14 it peaked at 519,638. Since 2013,

however, the volume of annual out migration has been decreasing and reached to 354,098 in the year 2017/18 and 236,208 in the year 2018/19. The age of the migrant workers was mostly between 18-35 years (Nepal labor migration report, 2020).

With the increment in outflow of migrant worker, the inflow of remittances has increased accordingly. In the year 2003-04 A.D it was NPR 58.6 billion that then increased to NPR 589.5 billion in the year 2014-15 A.D, contributing to a 10.9 percent share of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2003-04 and 27.7 percent in 2014-015 (Statistics report, 2015). In the year 2017, remittances contributed to 27.2 percent of the GDP of Nepal and the country became a hot spot for exporting workers, with 14 percent of its total population employed abroad (Limbu & Sinjapati, 2017c).

In the year 2015, Nepal has become one of the world's top five remittance-receiving countries, with a total of UD \$6.6 billion in remittances, or 29 percent of Nepal's GDP in 2015 (World Bank, 2016). "This swelled from 1.5percent of GDP in 1993 to 32.2 percent in 2015 (Acharya&Thapa,2017)". Remittances are received by 56 percent of Nepalese families on average, accounting for 31 percent of their household income (CBS, 2012). This high remittance dependency induces changes (Axinn, et al., 2020). In the year 2018, "Nepal received remittances worth NPR 699 billion (USD 6.56 billion) from its residents abroad, more than one-fourth of the national GDP the fourth-most noteworthy extent in the world (Baruah & Arjal, 2018)". The latest data shows, remittance inflows totaled \$8.2 billion in 2021, close to the level achieved in 2020 and this flat trend is expected to continue in 2022 (World Bank, 2022).

Regarding the consumption pattern, the extensive literature shows that remittances are utilized in part to improve the material well-being of the sending household and family (Hear, 2010). Besides that, "remittances are utilized to enhance their status, prestige, and social capital (Rahman & Lian, 2009)". In this regard, Kibria (2013) discovered that the utilization of remittances in non-material things also. She states, that the investment of remittances in such realms of non-material things has changed the social status as well as perception of people towards migrants and their left-behind, which has provided a socio-psychological boost to them. For example, migrants and their families in rural Bangladesh utilized remittances to build mosques'.

Likewise, Erdal (2012) described the utilization of some amounts of remittances in social and religious belief. He states, "Among Pakistani migrants, they contributed to ritual and religious festival obligations to increase the migrant's or family's social capital." Moreover, the study by Elmhirst (2002) described how remittances were also utilized to enhance the marriageable status of migrant or family members through the purchase of jewelry and furniture. In this regard, King's (2005) study of Albanian emigrants described the expenses of remittance on Mercedes-Benz cars, and their income was evaluated on the basis of the car they bought. If migrants do not purchase Mercedes, it is understood that they are not earning a good amount in foreign land. Similarly, Rahmatullaevich (2012) found that 59 percent of migrants in Uzbekistan invested their remittances in wedding ceremonies.

In Nepal, the data from CBS (2011) states that only 2.4 percent of remittance in productive investment is not supportive of capital formation, and without capital formation, there is no chance whatsoever for tottering Nepal's economy to firmly stand on its own feet. For study population, remittances are lifeline. It is used to fulfill their basic needs like food, clothes and to construct new houses whether it is in the urban area or in the village according to the amount they received. Thus, "the resilience of remittance flows is remarkable and it is helping to meet families' increased need for livelihood support, (Ratha, 2021)".

## **1.6 Foreign Employment as a Part of Migration**

Many scholars have defined migration in their own ways. According to Donald (1979), migration is a rationally planned action which is the result of a conscious decision taken after a consideration or calculation of the advantages and disadvantages of moving and staying. For Lee (1966), "migration is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". Similarly, Caplow (1975) states, "Migration is, strictly speaking, a change of residence and need not necessarily involve any change of occupation, but it is closely associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another."

Thus, from the definitions above, it can be said that foreign employment is a part of migration as people move from origin to destination. In this process, migrants are more focused on getting employment than fulfilling any other purposes. In this dissertation, the study populations are incorporated into two types of foreign employment. The first type is the

‘Gurkhas’<sup>1</sup> who are working as soldiers recruited formally by the United Kingdom, India, and Singapore. They are considered to have a more secure source of income with regular monthly salaries and pensions after their retirement. They are getting good compensation in cases of demise or being physically challenged while they are inservice, and even the spouse is entitled to the pension amount after his death. The other category includes the foreign-employed non-gurkhas. They are employed in different countries of the world, like Malaysia, the Middle East, South Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, etc. They are migrant workers. This group of foreign employees is vulnerable in terms of their income as they do not have assurance of regular salary and pension from their respective employer companies while they are in service or after retirement.

All foreign employees work abroad temporarily, so they are all short-term migrants. However, very few of them settle in foreign lands after their retirement. Gorakhpur, Andaman Island, and Silong in India are their destination places for settlement. Recently, a few retired British Gurkhas are also going to Britain as they have been given the opportunity for permanent settlement by the British Government. It was announced in 2004 by the Home Secretary, Jacqui Smith, on behalf of the British Government, that ‘for the eligibility of Gurkhas for the settlement in Britain if they served on or after 1 July 1997’ (British Gurkha Pension Office, Kathmandu 2019-20). Then after, the door for permanent settlement has been opened for Gurkhas, and they are entering Britain for settlement. Thus, the practice of earning abroad seems like a part of migration, whether it is temporal or permanent.

## 1.7 Social Change

Change is a natural and everlasting phenomenon in both the organic and inorganic worlds. Rao (1989a) defines, “change is ever-present in the world because change is the law of nature”. It can be said that any alteration, difference, or modification that takes place in a situation or an object through time can be called "change". If such an alteration occurs in human interactions and interrelations, it is termed social change. For social interaction and relations, human beings have structured society into several social components. Those

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<sup>1</sup> Gurkhas are the soldiers recruited by the Indian and British Army and Singapore Police. Adapted from International Migration Law No. 25 - Glossary on Migration, 2nd Edition (2011).

components include social organizations, institutions, norms, values, culture, religions, political systems, economic systems, education systems, etc. They all have the potential to change society, individually or collectively, although the degree and intensity may vary.

When we apply the word 'change' to the human society, then, the term becomes 'social change' and it indicates the change that takes place in human interactions and interrelation. In this regard, Rao (1989b) states, 'human interactions and interrelations are changes in ceaseless flux and flow. It has occurred in all societies and at all times. According to Kingsley Davis (1949, pp.23-24), "social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organizations that is the structure and function of the society", MacIver (1950) defines "social change simply refers to a change in the human relationships". Likewise, Merrill's understanding is, "Social change means that a large number of persons are engaging in activities that differ from those in which they or their parents engaged sometime before". Thus, from the above definitions given by different scholars, it can be concluded that social change is an alteration in human relations and their institutions that has been changing throughout human history.

### **1.8 Sources of Social Change**

Rao (1989c) also talked about the diffusionist and inventionist perceptions of the sources of social change. Diffusionists are those scholars who believe in the dissemination of knowledge and ideas from one group of people to another. They argue that 'since inventions do not take place all the time and in all societies in the same manner, every society borrows the cultural elements of another society for its progress, directly or indirectly.' This practice of borrowing cultural elements in the course of progress has ultimately changed society. They give the example of the Maori people from New Zealand, who became civilized within a hundred years by borrowing many cultural elements from others. The British scholar Grafton Elliot Smith (1927) was one of the leading founders of this idea who had done fieldwork in Egypt. They believed in the diffusion process of social change.

The second groups of philosophers are the inventionists. According to them, the source of social change is to be found in 'the inherent capacity of the people to make inventions'. They have said, "Inventions constitute the major source of social change." It may be in the field of social organization or the cultural framework, material or non-material that has led to profound social changes. They explained "electricity" as an example of outstanding

changes in the material aspects of society, like industry, agriculture, communication, transportation, and so on. Rao describes both diffusionist and inventionist perceptions as sources of social change.

In this context, MacIver and Page (1962) talk about the four conditions of social change that are; physical environment, biological condition, technological order, and cultural order. In the physical environment, they talk about the surface of our planet which is never at rest. In this process, geographical changes, as well as occasional convulsions of nature in storm, earthquake, and flood have changed the society in many ways which are regarded as an adaptation response in discussion. Whereas exhaustion of natural resources that led to desiccation and soil impoverishment in southern Italy, Greece, Egypt and ebb of human society are described as the changes caused by human activities. The increase, decrease, and perpetuation of population along with gene variation in successive generations are taken as biological factors for social change. In this context, they describe 'even where it is a replica of what the old once was, it starts with new energies in an altered world'. Thus, with variation in a number of populations and traits of humans, social change is induced.

Likewise, about the innovation of the machine they describe, when only a few generations ago (17<sup>th</sup> century) the steam engine was made to work for man, neither the inventors nor the users realized that they were precipitating great social changes which would overturn old customs and institutions, old political systems and even old faiths. Every change in the processes of production, every new attempt to utilize means either for private or for public gains, involves a new alignment of the human beings engaged in it; technology is a powerful source of social change. The last one is the cultural factors for social change. In this topic, they talked about the great diversity of cultural interests. The valuation, the motivations, the more of its constituent groups large and small families, classes occupational groups, religious groups, and so forth- are at variance and often in conflict each seeks to influence, prestige, control partly at the expense of others.

## **1.9 Nature of Social Change**

By nature, social change is a continuous process and cannot be stopped or preserved in a museum to save it therefore, it is a dynamic and universal process that occurs in all human societies (Rao, 1989d). He also talks about the nature and characteristics of social

change. He described the continuous and temporal nature of social change as it goes through endless changes and cannot be saved from the ravages of time. As the geographical and cultural context have an impact on social change, so it is also environmental. Moreover, he also mentions, "Social change is human change because people affect change and they are affected by it." However, the direction of social change may be planned or unplanned. That is, social change may happen in both planned and unplanned ways.

In a planned way, it can be conditioned by human engineering in which programs like development projects can be catalysts for positive change, whereas natural calamities like earthquakes, floods, and volcanic eruptions can also cause social change naturally. Therefore, the nature of social change is that it is temporal, continuous, and environmental, and thus, it is the result of the interactions of so many factors, like physical, biological, technological, cultural, and so on.

Additionally, Rao (1989e) argues that social change is a complex phenomenon in which the cause-and-effect relationship is not always clear. Furthermore, the causes of social change are of three types: first, they are inherent either in a social system in general or in particular kinds of social systems. Second, the change could be the result of an impact from the reference social system's social environment. Finally, change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment.

Among the economic factors that are assumed to be vital factors for social change and hence being an economic factor, remittances and production status at origin are the main focus for analysis of social change in the study area.

Throughout history, the shifts in the economy have gone hand in hand with the subsequent changes in society. Different types of production systems have developed different types of social relations, systems, structures, kinship, and cultural practices. So, it can be said that the social structure is influenced by the livelihood practices that one follows in their lives. Even today, this change is continuing throughout the world. Nepali society is no exception, and while it may be a small landmass, accounting for 0.3 percent of Asia and 0.03 percent of the world, it contains a surprising range of geographical and cultural diversity. While the abundance of resources and diversity should have been a boon for Nepal, studies show that the incompetence in state politics, along with the complex topography and socio-cultural complexities, has become obstacles to the development of the state.

Thus, underdevelopment status and a high level of unemployment have created a favorable situation for people to leave their country for employment opportunities abroad. In this national scenario, foreign employment is the most popular alternative for earning economic benefits and reducing poverty and survival risk. Nowadays, foreign employment for work has become customary practice in Nepal. The economy has always been an important element in human society, as it is through the economy that people can utilize resources to fulfill their needs. It has been changing with the innovation and development of technology, which is used to produce livelihoods.

### **1.10 Statement of Problem**

Is human mobility an inevitable social phenomenon? Some of the leading theories like Neoclassical, New Economics of Migration, Dual Market theories, and Network theory have described the various reasons behind the human mobility. Neoclassical theory (Todaro, 1969) has described the job opportunities and the expected income differential as influencing factors for migration whereas, new economics of migration theory (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Massey et al., 1993; Tylor 1999) talks about the collective decision of family for migration rather than neoclassical concept of individual's role in decision-making. It focuses on labor as a pooled resource of a household when compared to the individual's role played in migration (Wimalaratana, 2016a).

Likewise, dual market theory (Piore, 1979) believes in pull factors in receiving countries, which are essential and unavoidable needs expected to be fulfilled by foreign workers in receiving countries (Wimalaratana, 2016b). This theory points out the permanent demand from industrialized and developed nations to facilitate their development propaganda as the cause of international migration. It believes on low wages and high unemployment rate as push factors, while pull factors are essential and unavoidable needs.

Regarding the research here, the main idea is to carry out an analysis of foreign employment and social change in the rural society of Nepal. Initially, only Gurkha soldiers were foreign employees in the study areas who were inducted by the British colonial government after the Second World War. Later on, with the boom of the oil economy in Arabian countries and East Asian countries like Malaysia and Korea, the labor market was opened even for unskilled human resources (Gurung, 2013). This opportunity in the

international labor market has led to a surge in the influx of migrants from labor-abundant countries to industrialized nations.

The continuation in the mobility of people from the study area has certainly great impact on the household operation. In order to find out, to what extent foreign employment is inevitable? What about the sustainability if labor market becomes saturated? How do the determinants of push factors consistently influence foreign employment, can it be analyzed from the sociological perspective rather than economic? What about the existing practices on; production, local employment opportunities, and socio-political condition of the study population? Furthermore, can migrant worker and their remittances be vital for social change? What about the challenges of that community after the migration of energetic manpower from the household?

Moreover, besides the leading theories of labor migration, can it be analyzed from the sociological perspective that can include the relationship of migrants with sources of production and socio-political construction of the study population? In this context, the following are the research questions to examine in this dissertation.

### **1.11 Research Questions**

- (a) What are the determinants of foreign employment in relation to household economy of labor migrants?
- (b) How migrants and remittances are playing a role in social change at the household level?
- (c) What are the difficulties of migrants and their relatives that evolved in course of foreign employment?

### **1.12 Objectives**

The general objective of the study is to describe and analyze the contribution of foreign employment in bringing social change in Biruwa Rural Municipality. It is a description because the social phenomenon is happening and being analyzed as the study grows with the interpretation of collected information about the occurring phenomenon. It

also aims to trace the role of foreign employment as an important factor in social change. However, the following specific objectives are set to be studied and analyzed:

- (a) To examine the determinants of push factors of foreign employment.
- (b) To analyze the role of migrants and their remittances in socio-economic change at origin.
- (c) To study the difficulties of migrants and their left-behind at origin.

### **1.13 Significance of the Study**

Many theories, ideas, and perceptions have been developed and are still being developed regarding the historic mobility of humans. Each of them is unique and contextual. Ravenstein (1885), Lee (1966), and Wallerstein (1974), all have discussed this process by emphasizing the economic vantage point. Ravenstein (1885) has described and analyzed human mobility by using British census from 1881–1889 A.D, Wallerstein (1974) talks about the European world economy, and Lee (1966) from the push-pull model. Likewise, Shrestha (2017), Gartaula and Niehof (2012) described labor migration in Nepal. Besides them, some organizations like the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Centre for the Study of Labor and Mobility (CESLAM), the Ministry of Labor, and the Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS), along with the department of foreign employment (DoFE), are conducting migration research focusing on the economic benefits rather than socio-cultural aspects.

This dissertation contributes to the literature on foreign employment and social change in three important respects. Theoretically, beside push pull factors, network of migrants, international labor market and hierarchical division of world economy, this research has put forward socio-political structure of the state as an important element to determine push factors for labor migration. As the study population belongs to ethnic community who are historically marginalized in exercising political power even though the ethnic group is dominant in population. This dearth in political power exercise at national level has resulted in deprivation of national budget for infrastructure development even for good school and colleges.

Beside this, the ethnic position in caste hierarchy has made them inferior in social structure which is playing crucial role in evolution of incompetency. For example; speaking efficient Nepali language is difficult for them because of their mother language which deteriorates their performance in the school level and even leads to them being ostracized by their teachers and classmates. This language barrier has impacted in two important sides of ethnic community; educational performance and elimination of their mother language. As a result, the foundation of their academic performance become shaky and incompetent in its initial stage and becomes poor performer due to which they rarely become able to obtain the limited opportunity in government service. Thus, such a socio-political context has become an important element to determine push factors.

Empirically, it helps us to comprehend the production status of their living and utilization of remittances in relation to foreign employment as an inevitable opportunity to meet the needs and to manage survival risk of their growing population. On top of that the structural changes in characteristics of community at a household level, relationships within family, along with the internal migration evolving the practice of dual residence are the typical strength of this dissertation for reading scholars.

Finally, the dissertation has attempted to depict the problems of migrants' and their left-behind which they are facing while pursuing foreign employment as a lucrative source of their earning. Thus, I believe this dissertation can contribute as a unit of knowledge about the remittance based society to a wide spectrum of foreign employment studies. Specifically, the study of Gurkhas as foreign employed and their remittance as a factor for social change is a unique context which is rarely discussed in social research. So, the study of foreign employment from socio-cultural premises, I see a great space to describe the phenomenon as a representative of the remittance-based social unit.

#### **1.14 Structure of the Thesis**

In terms of structure, the research is divided into eight chapters. The introductory chapter provides a background on foreign employment in Nepal, including a brief discussion of historical and current foreign employment patterns. The next chapter is a literature review. In this chapter, the relevant theories and concepts are discussed. Moreover, a theoretical framework for the study has been developed. The third chapter is about methodology. In this

chapter, the philosophical ground, population, sample, and the tools and techniques for data collection are discussed in detail. The subsequent chapter four is about the description of the study location and population characteristics. Chapters five, six, and seven are analytical chapters developed according to the research objectives. The last chapter is about the summary and conclusion.

### **1.15 Chapter Summary**

The first chapter is about the systematic introduction of the thesis title, Foreign Employment Remittance and Social Change in Biruwa Rural Municipality Syangja. It starts with the background information of the research topic, which entices the researcher to dig out the reasons behind employment abroad. Then after, the chapter grows with the description of research questions and objectives set out for analysis ahead. These research questions and objectives have provided a controlled path onward for the research procedure. The discussion on the causes of foreign employment has highlighted the existing situation, which is determining the push factors for mobility. Moreover, the conceptual framework developed here has attempted to express the understanding modality of existing social phenomena. Lastly, the organizational structure of dissertation has briefly informed about the contents of different chapters that has developed to complete the research work.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

The reviews here are based on the four different aspects of knowledge. The first is knowledge of prevailing social phenomenon, which can be observed and learned from direct field visits and in-communication with the study population. The second is relevant journals, books, and articles found in authentic print versions. The third is an empirical review, and the last one is a methodological review. So, it is divided into four sections.

The first part deals with an attempt to understand migration as a general phenomenon. Besides this, the review has enriched the understanding of the research title from different dimensions as it asserts the concepts, premises, and history of migration in general and foreign employment as a particular occurrence. Furthermore, it has aided in the understanding of the relationship between foreign employees and remittances to social change in their respective countries of origin.

Second, the review is about relevant theories that have evolved and developed with the historic mobility of the human race. This segment has helped to comprehend migration as a historical phenomenon throughout the world, and it grows with the description of migration's motive and role of economic benefit to social change at the place of origin.

The third part of the review consists of a policy review. In this section, the review has enriched the dissertation by providing the evolution of policy formation and implementation regarding the foreign employment process. The research has familiarized itself with government policies formulated and modified in different times and spaces of labor-sending countries. Besides, this part is also accountable to present the important role of religion and cultural values in policy formation.

The final segment is all about the methodological review and its processes. It gives an idea that how different methods are deployed by scholars while doing their researches. The theoretical framework for the study is formulated on the basis of these available review methods mostly in practice of today's academic arena.

##### 2.1.1 Historical Context: Why do People Go Abroad?

On the historical mobility of mankind, philosophers and the scholars have taken various stances to contextualize their studies that have encouraged people to migrate. However, due to the unfavorable condition of earning for a living can be generalized as a common ground that has steered people to cross the border either voluntarily or involuntarily.

Bailey (2010) states, "The early human migration had begun around 2 million years ago with *Homo erectus* moving from North Africa to Eurasia. These were the moves of necessity taken as an adaptive strategy for survival. The mass migration of the Middle Ages from the Volga river region of Russia to the Western Roman Empire was made from the side of Visigoths due to the invasion of their homeland by the Huns. The Huns were pastoral nomads from central Asia. The reason behind that was tribal rivalry, because the nomadic pastoral life of Indo-European tribes needed grazing land for their cattle, sheep, and goats". Scholars also claimed that the mobility was forced by the invasions from other migrant tribes.

In this regard, Malthusian theory posits the view that the overpopulation creates pressure them to emigrate. His theory asserts that there is negative correlation between production and population growth and shows overpopulation as a causing factor for migration. Likewise, the first scholarly contribution to migration consisted of two articles in the nineteenth century was by Ravenstein (1885). He formulated the 'laws of migration'. In this theory, he has described migration as an inseparable part of development and also asserted that economic factors are the major cause for migration (Hass, 2007). In a similar way, a study made by the United Nations Department of Economics and Social Survey (2004) reports that 52 million Europeans left their home countries for America, Australia, and New Zealand during 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The reasons for such mobility included the free international movement of goods, capital, and labor, and it was possible due to innovations in both transoceanic shipping and transcontinental railways. Regarding the motivating factors for migration, they grew out from human needs and the desires to achieve a better quality of life.

Migration from Europe to America, Australia, and New Zealand was also a part of colonization. In that process, different kinds of resources were the pull-factors for migration. However, the migration of people from developing countries to developed countries like Asia Minor and Latin America and Europe is a good opportunity. In this context, Alba (2013)

studied about the Mexican history of migration, which dates back to World War II, when U.S. officials approached the Mexican government for temporary agricultural labor. The program was known as the "Bracero program" and was implemented from 1942-1964 and about 4.5 million workers were supplied by Mexico. Since then, the mindset of 'go north for the opportunity' has been persisted, and Mexicans are migrating incessantly toward the North.

At recent, Labor migration from Mexico and Latin America to North America is mostly for economic benefits because migrants did not get a chance of equal earnings for similar types of jobs in their homeland. Moreover, the level of economic prosperity found in the American agricultural industry did not match the economic status of their country of origin, Alba (2013). It shows that how the formal labor migration process occurred in two different geographical regions, with the origin having abundant labor and they strives toward the developed and economically strong countries.

Likewise, Adepoju (2003), a researcher from South Africa attempted to show nature of migration from Botswana and Swaziland to South Africa. The reason behind that process was economic benefits. In the case of African migration, sixty percent of Ghanaian doctors emigrated to Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The South Africans' migration, "thousands of white South African doctors who emigrated to these countries and Australia, the only reason were fear of being suppressed by black ruler after movement. In addition, he described the migration of three-quarters of Zimbabwean doctors to Botswana and South Africa, and the reason behind that migration was the economic collapse of their countries. Ratha(2007) describes that inappropriate climate, low income, proximity, and networks as the major drivers of foreign employment from developing to industrial countries. Likewise, Winkels (2015) describes that the migration of Vietnam, for which the sources of foreign employment emerged as external shocks in the form of varying climatic conditions, often floods or droughts in both lowland and highland, commodity price fluctuations, and poorly functioning input and output markets and changes in pricing policies.

Regarding the motivation for migration from Bangladesh, Black at el. (2013) identified five macro factors that influence the migration decision. However, subsequent research by Martin (2014) discovered that the economic factor was the most important motivator for households to migrate.

Thus, the historical context of migration shows an evolutionary attribute of causative factors in human migration. Starting from the basic needs for living, tribal rivalry, and unequal industrial developments have become the most common factors for volunteer labor mobility and to add with other circumstances do have very less impact on it. Moreover, there is a wide gap in income generating jobs available to the developed countries than to the developing countries. Accordingly, the UN report shows that trained nurse in Uganda, for example, earns US\$38 per month and a doctor earns US\$67 per month, whereas their colleagues in the United States may earn \$3,000 and \$10,000, respectively (UN, 2005).

### **2.1.2 Foreign Employment in Nepal**

Broadly speaking, the Trans-Himalayan trade between India, Nepal, Tibet, and China, the origins of which can be traced as far back as 500 BC, is identified as the earliest form of movement to and from Nepal. The arrival of the people from the north speaking Tibeto-Burman languages between the 5th and 10th centuries, and of Indo-Aryan groups, especially Brahmins and Kshatriyas, from the south from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, into what is present-day Nepal was a much more significant instance of migration (Adhikari, et al. 2002). They emphasized that the links between Nepal and the north and the south were equally strong.

In this context, Seddon (1998) writes about the nature of migration in the form of traders. He states, Nepal's engagement in the trade between India and Tibet, the circulation of Nepali coinage in Tibet, and the extraterritorial rights awarded to Nepali merchants in Lhasa in the past led to semi-permanent as well as seasonal movements of traders and porters across the northern border. However, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, labor movement from Nepal was mainly directed towards the south. As a matter of fact, most parts of Nepal had greater economic ties and closer cultural affinities with Tibet until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century than with any other countries. There were more Nepali in Tibet than anywhere else outside Nepal, and more people of Tibetan origins than of Indian origins were known to be living in Nepal at that time.

Since then, Nepal has experienced significant internal migration as well as emigration from and immigration into the country. Informally, in terms of migration in India, it was started from Darjeeling and in the forest of Assam during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the migration of Nepalese people were immigrated for employment purposes, such as working in the tea estates of Darjeeling and the forests of Assam.

However, the history of formal migration began only after the Anglo-Nepal war in 1814–1816. It was the first instance of the state's involvement in formalizing foreign employment through treaties between two governments' representatives, Amar Singh Thapa and David Ochterlony, in 1815. This historic treaty opened the door for the enrollment of Nepali youths not only for the colonial British but also for India after it got independence in 1947 from the British regime. A total of 4,650 Nepalese youngsters were recruited to the British armed forces as a part of British-Gurkha regiment to suppress the voices of Indians regiment and to conclude the war and the signing of the Treaty of Sugauli in 1816, (Upreti, 2010). Brawn et al. (2012) states that some one hundred thousand Nepali men served the British in the First World War, a sacrifice that was recognized by the signing of the British-Nepal Treaty of Friendship in 1923.

The ratio of migrants still continues to the present day, with nearly 45 thousand Nepali youths are serving as soldiers in the Indian army, 3500 in the British army, and 2000 in the Singapore police (Thapa, 2020). After the induction, Gurkhas will perform as soldiers in India, Britain, and Singapore. In today's context, altogether, more than 50 thousand Nepalese youths are serving as Gurkhas in these three countries: India, the United Kingdom, and Singapore. These groups of migrants are known as Gurkha soldiers.

Other groups of migrants are non-Gurkhas or labor migrants who are migrating to different parts of the world for economic purposes. They are not formally inducted; however, they are working in the international labor market as a significant laborer; especially in the Middle East, Malaysia, and Korea. For this reason, Gurung (2013b) states that economic migration to the Middle East from South Asia and other parts of the world was spurred on by the oil boom in the early 1970s and it was surged in number since 1990s. Likewise, Sharma (2011) describes the reasons behind the growth rate of immigrants, the accessibility of labor recruitment agencies and the decentralization of passport issuance in Nepal contributed to the outmigration of unskilled and semi-skilled Nepalese to the Gulf States, particularly to the construction and service sectors. The research by Gurung (2013) and Sharma (2011) indicates the rapid growth of the oil economy as well as the tumultuous political environment of their birth country encouraged the people to seek employment abroad.

In a similar vein, the Department of Foreign Employment Nepal (DoFEN), 2014 states that international labor migration of our country mostly tends to go to the Gulf States, Malaysia, and other Southeast Asian countries, is a new phenomenon of migration in the Nepali context in about a 30 year history, and unexpectedly, foreign labor migration has developed in such a way that it has shifted the agricultural-based Nepali economy towards a remittance-based economy'. Thus, historical process of foreign employment inform us that there are two different types of Nepalese migrants; Gurkhas and non-Gurkhas, though the process of employment abroad is a historic and still continuous process.

### **2.1.3 Social Change**

The term social change denotes the changes occurring in human interactions and interrelationships, characterized by a constant state flux. This phenomenon has been present in all societies throughout history (Rao,1989f).According to Davis and Hilda (1994), social change involves a society abandoning an existing practice in favor of a new one.Merrill (1952) defines it as a situation where a significant number of people engage in different activities than those of their predecessors. Based on these definitions it can be inferred that social change introduces dynamics in human interactions.

### **2.1.4 Is foreign Employment a Factor for Social Change?**

Numerous factors such as demography, politics, and technology are the most discussed factors for social change. In technological factors, we know about new innovations that facilitate humans' fast performance or reduce their effort to work. By using this tool, humans have developed the idea of mass production and specialization in production, resulting in a large number of workers being required to conduct the production process. In this whole process, the infrastructure, capital, and raw materials, along with the labor force, are not easily available. Therefore, the country with most capital needs a large labor force due to the mobility of labor from workforce abundant to capital abundant. People get employed by crossing the border. Employed people then begin to send their paychecks to their relatives, resulting in an increase in remittances. This inflow of remittances and employment abroad are both important for the sending family as the household operates differently before and after employment. Therefore, employment abroad is an important factor for social change.

Studies from India by Desai and Banerji (2008) found that women living with the extended family of migrants experienced smaller shifts in decision-making compared to women living in nuclear families of migrants. Gartaula et al. (2012) found that among left-behind Nepali women, those who were living with in-laws experienced lower autonomy than those who were de facto heads of households. Likewise, a study of left-behind women in Morocco by Haas & Rooij (2010) found that the autonomy of wives in extended family households initially had a negative impact of outmigration. However, over time, conflicts in these households and larger demographic changes in Morocco have led to the nucleation of family life. Hadi (2001) and Rashid (2013) from Bangladesh found the role of migration in triggering the nucleation of the family and its role in allowing left-behind wives in nuclear families or units to exercise greater autonomy.

Adhikari and Hobley (2015) from Nepal, Sinha et al. (2012) from India, Siegman (2010) from North Pakistan, Rashid (2013) from Bangladesh, and Haas and Rooji (2010) from Morocco have shown that male migration may expand the roles and decision-making power of women. However, these changes may be experienced as problematic rather than emancipating.

These studies suggest how socialization of gender roles in the family and social regulation of women's behavior, through gossip and potential social exclusion, as well as the periodic return of the husband, may mean that women may experience these shifts as temporary, unwanted, painful, and conflict-ridden. For example, in the study of Iranian left-behind women, Aghahanian et al. (2014) found that women perceive their increased responsibilities and being the de facto head of household as neither burdensome nor liberating. They argue that the view of the 'inevitability' of male migration implies that changes in family life are regarded as expected, as part of a livelihood strategy, and therefore not challenging gender relations in the family.

The apparent preference for normal gender roles can be understood in relation to entrenched patriarchal gender ideologies which shape women's sense of security and acceptance (Haas & Rooij, 2010). Moreover, literature also shows the changing processes and outcomes were mediated by other power structures in the sending community. For example, Hadi (2001), in his study on rural Bangladeshi left-behind women, and Hoodfar (1996), in

her study of Egyptian urban left-behind women found that upper-class women faced greater constraints in leveraging resources from migration and expanded roles for greater autonomy and changed roles as compared to women from poorer households. Generational differences also seem to matter but are linked to larger societal shifts. Thus, while in India, Banerji and Desai (2008) found that younger women are more likely to be in extended families of migrant households, in Morocco, Haas and Rooij (2010) found that as a result of a larger societal dynamic of nucleation of the family in the country, younger left-behind women live in nuclear households and experience greater autonomy while the migrant is away. Hadi (2001) also found that younger women were more likely to benefit from the autonomy-related opportunities provided by migrant husbands.

Moreover, foreign employment in relation to social change is stated as, "the receipt of remittances back home induces changes in household structure and agricultural system (Adams, 2011)". In labor extensive agriculture, the loss of family labor negatively affects household agricultural production (Adhikari, 2001). In addition, when migrants send remittances at their home, research shows that a large portion of this money is spent for consumption rather than productive investments, leading to economic dependency and stunted development in migrant sending areas (Ecer & Tompkins 2013).

### **2.1.5 Foreign Employment and Economic Change**

Foreign employment and economic change go hand in hand as employment generates income and household change with the inflow of remittances. Social scientists have focused on the fundamental links between evolving social and economic conditions and the social organization of people living through those changes (Durkheim, 1984; Marx, 1981). Marx's idea described economic change as a change in infrastructure due to superstructure change. According to him, "infrastructure constitutes means of production like natural resources, land, labor, etc., and mode of production means; techniques of production, mental and moral habits of human beings both, and their level of development determine the social relations." Simultaneously, the shift from a farm to a non-farm economy, social change occurs as the superstructure begins to change following the inflow of remittances.

Employment abroad mostly increases the income of the households. However, sometimes it might be detrimental when migrants face challenges like no remuneration after work or they lose their lives in the destination country. Otherwise, remittances have increased the economic status of the family at origin. When left behind to receive the remittances, they utilize them for the material as well as non-material well-being of their family. The regular income from abroad has had a great impact on a traditional economic system where agriculture was the backbone of living.

In other words, employees are often the most dynamic and robust members of the household. Their movement impacts the household in two significant ways. Firstly, the responsibilities they held before leaving must be taken on by those who remain behind. Secondly, the traditional means of earning a livelihood begin to shift as the family starts receiving remittances from abroad. Consequently, changes become evident in the areas where these remittances are primarily spent.

Thus, the literature indicates that foreign employment and remittances, as well as the individuals working abroad, are crucial drivers of social change. These factors have not only improved the material well-being of those left-behind but have also altered the non-material aspect of the migrant families. However, the impact of remittances on economic sustainability depends on whether they are utilized for enhancing infrastructure quality or merely for smoothing daily consumption expenditures.

## **2.2 Theoretical Review**

Theoretical review consists of three different domains of discussion. The first part of review attempts to comprehend the causes of foreign employment, why people go for abroad? The second domain of review is to shed light on level of understanding of the respective family members for the social change process and the role of foreign employees and their remittances. The third part helps to comprehend the interrelationship between social change and remittances.

So, the first part deals with Lee's concept of push-pull model to comprehend the push factors of foreign employment. The second concept is the rural-urban migration theory by Todaro (1970), where he states, Rural-urban migration proceeds primarily due to differences

in expected urban and rural real income. However, his idea is partially used. The idea suggests that the mobility of people is based on the expectation of more income. This idea of expectation for more income is appropriate to understand the initial thoughts of youth in the context of the study population before they go abroad for employment. The concept of the new economic theory of migration is to frame the "collective decision-making" nature of the study population. Moreover, a brief review of classical and world system theory is necessary to understand the evolutionary nature of social change. These theories have helped to understand the hierarchical division of the world economy in relation to the concept of core and peripheral countries, which are capital-intensive and labor-intensive in nature in a global context. These laws are largely derived from empirical observations of internal migration in the United Kingdom. They are quite descriptive in nature and can hardly claim universality and applicability.

### **2.2.1 Historical Development of Migration Theory**

As migration is a historical and ongoing phenomenon, its nature and occurrence vary in many ways, and studies and generalizations of migration have shown its evolutionary nature. After a review of different theories and concepts, I have segmented the theoretical premises into three parts, from which my study is derived. The first section of the theoretical review attempts to comprehend the causes of foreign employment. Second part of the review acknowledges the understanding of how social change occurs in human society and the role of foreign employees and their remittances in changing society. The third part helps to comprehend the challenges of foreign employment. Based on these theoretical premises, the dissertation has been structured.

Before mentioning the different theoretical perspectives on migration, we have to be familiar with the categorization of three levels of analysis on migration phenomenon. Hammar et al. (1997) and Faist (2000) classify migration theories in three main categories. They are: micro-level, meso-level, and macro-level. According to them, micro-level theories consider migration decisions from an individual's perspective; macro-level from an aggregate point of view that is the economic structure of the country, whereas at meso-level migration, decisions lie in-between the two former theories, that is, family bonds, social networks, and peer groups.

In this dissertation, in order to understand the reason why people go abroad, I have taken three perspectives; Lee's (1966) push-pull model, neoclassical theory by Todaro (1970) and new economics of migration by Stark and Bloom (1984). These three theories explain the migration phenomenon at micro-level. Likewise, world system theory by Wallestein has complimented to clarify the migration phenomenon at macro-level. Moreover, network and peer group perspectives lie in meso-level explanation has helped to understand the chain relationship among migrants.

In addition, for the understanding of social change, I have briefly reviewed the classical theory to modern sociological theories and migration system theory. The review of classical to modern theory has enlightened me to comprehend the evolutionary nature of social change where different influencing factors of social change are described in different time and space. In regards of migration system theory, it has helped me to be clearer on social change at the place of origin that is influenced by migration as its core assumptions describe that migration contributes to change the economic, social, cultural and institutional condition in both the receiving and sending country (Wimalaratana, 1917)

### **2.2.2 Neoclassical and New Economic Theory of Labor Migration**

According to Neoclassical theory of migration, migration is caused by expected income differential between rural-urban areas (Harris & Todaro, 1970). The new economic theory of labor migration (NELM) was introduced continuing the tradition of neoclassical theory, which is based on economic factors. The theoretical construction proceeds from the fact that the decision to migrate is taken at the micro-level, and not individually, but collectively to manage risk for survival (Stark & Bloom, 1985). That is, not a migrant is at the forefront, but a household or family. The incentive for migration here, is first, the desire to minimize the risks of the household, and then to achieve the maximum income.

This theory focuses on migration decision from the micro individual level to meso units such as families, households or other culturally defined units. In other words, a key insight of this new approach is that the decision to migrate is not merely an individual decision, but is a collective decision of households or families where their aim is not only to increase income, but is also a risk management strategy in the context of market failures (Tylor, 1999). In this way, the scholars come to know about the collective decision of family

to send their member household. So, to frame the nature and practices of study population at the place of origin, new economic theory of migration is deployed.

### **2.2.3 Lee's Theory**

According to King (2012), push-pull models on migration were dominant during the mid-twentieth century. Everett Lee's (1966) idea becomes another pioneering theory where he studied about the factors associated with the origin, which he called "push factors," and the factors associated with the destination, which he called "pull factors." In his theory, besides the push-pull factors, he also talked about the intervening variables like distance, transportation expenses, and difficulties while crossing the border that influenced migration. And migration can occur if the reason for emigrating has a solution in the pull by destination. However, the volume of migration can also be affected by the intervening variables such as geographical distance, cost and network etc. This theory has supported various kinds of influencing factors for migrants and migration. In this theory, Lee points out the influence of various forces on migrants, such as economic, political, cultural, and natural forces that have direct impact on migration decisions. It is an important guideline for analysis in regards to existing practices of the study population because all the influencing factors except natural factors are more or less accountable for the foreign employment phenomenon in the study area.

Thus, Lee's model, which has given great importance to a subjective assessment of the various circumstances, is deployed to understand the notion of various kinds of influencing factors from the side of migrants while making decisions for foreign employment. From the review of neoclassical (Todaro, 1970), new economic theory by Stark and Bloom (1985) and Lee (1966), it has become clear that wage inequality between two geographical regions and expected income; collective decisions to increase income and for the reduction of survival risk; and the push-pull factors are important factors that play a pivotal role for the labor migrants' mobility in the global phenomenon. These notions have helped me to connect, understand and shape with my first research question that why people go for foreign employment.

Besides the above discussed theories, the review of mobility transition theory by Zelinsky (1971) and world system theory by Wallerstein(1974) helped me to understand migration as an inevitable global phenomenon. In general, Zelinsky has focused on kinship

ties and ethnic networks as determinants of migration. He suggested the existence of society in five basic states; they are: core, peripheral, semi-peripheral, and external countries. According to the concept, the population of peripheral countries moves to the core countries due to globalization and development. Similarly, Wallerstein (1976) discusses the core, peripheral, and semi-peripheral hierarchical divisions of the world economy in the world system theory, where a core country with intensive capital exploits labor and raw materials from peripheral countries. This concept clearly describes the global circumstances in which foreign employment is inevitable.

#### **2.2.4 Theories of Social Change**

If we overview the social change from the beginning of human civilization, it shows a continuous change throughout history to this date. However, the causes of change show variation with time and space. For the study of this changing phenomenon, different ideas and perspectives have developed from many scholars, and it shows the gradual development starting with the evolutionary idea of social change as propounded in the cyclical theory, and the world system theory of Wallenstein. From these perspectives, we can understand social change as a gradual and continuous process from similar to dissimilar, homo to heterogeneous and simple to complex, where various factors can contribute to the structural change of society belonging to a particular geography.

Most of the classical theories of social change are based on the evolutionary process and mass migration. Accordingly, evolutionary theories are based on the assumptions that societies gradually evolve from simple beginnings to increasingly complex forms (Rao, 1989g). From the view point of evolution theory, Comte (1798-1857), the founder of sociology, a French philosopher, believed that human societies evolve in a nonlinear way—that is, one line of development (Rao, 1989h). He suggests the law of three stages for social evolution. The three stages consists of theological, metaphysical, and positivistic or scientific stages that govern the social world. In theological stage, all theoretical conceptions, whether they are general or special bear a supernatural impression. At the metaphysical stage that is known as more improved stage of human society where abstract power is assumed as a determinant and guidance of social event. Likewise, the most developed state of social evolution is scientific stage in which stage observation predominates over imagination

because empirical method is used to analyze human societies that have changed from superstitious to modern logical societies.

Similarly, social evolutionist Hebert Spenser's evolutionary view of social change was highly influenced by Charles Darwin's theory of 'Organic Evolution' (Robert, 1976). He suggests a similar perspective to Darwin for social evolution, where he argues that the evolution of human societies is from simple to complex, which is similar to the organic evolutionary perspective. It shows a change from a state of relatively indefinite, coherent, homogeneity to a state of relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity." i.e. when a society grows in size, its parts are differentiated and made special to function differently, and society changes gradually.

Morgan, (1877) introduces the stages of social development; savagery, barbaric, and civilized society, whereas multi-linear evolutionists like L. White and Julian Steward assert that there are multiple ways of social evolution and reject the obligatory three stages of social change. Tonnies (1955) describes the theory of social evolution from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. "*Gemeinschaft* is a community in which people are bound together by common tradition and ties of affection and solidarity. In *Gesellschaft*, social relations had become contractual, rational, and non-emotional.

Durkheim (1964) viewed societies as changing in the direction of greater differentiation, interdependence, and formal control under the pressure of increasing moral density. He advocated that societies have evolved from a relatively undifferentiated social structure with a minimum of division of labor and with a kind of solidarity called "mechanical solidarity" to a more differentiated social structure with a maximum division of labor, giving rise to a kind of solidarity called "organic solidarity" (Rao,1989i). However, critics (mainly conflict theorists) argue that functionalists have no adequate explanation of social change, as if the system is in equilibrium with its various parts contributing toward order and stability, it is difficult to see how it changes.

Likewise, cyclical theories of social change focus on the rise and fall of civilizations, attempting to discover and account for these patterns of growth and decay. Spengler (1974) in his seminal work, 'The Decline of the West,' pointed out that the fate of civilizations was a matter of destiny. For him, the cycle of rise, decline, and fall of society was just as individual people are born, mature, grow, and die. Society, after passing through all these stages of the

life cycle, returns to the original stage and thus the cycle begins again. However, Rao (1989j) departs from Spengler and argues that his biological analogy is too unrealistic and his work is too mystical and speculative.

Moreover, Parson (1966) describes his evolutionary paradigm shifts being differentiated and yet it needs a balanced, more evolved system, each newly differentiated substructure must have increased adaptive capacity for performing its primary function, as compared to the performance of that function in the previous, more diffused structure. We may call this process as the adaptive upgrading aspect of the evolutionary change cycle. As a result, they all believe that society will gradually evolve from simple to complex, homogeneous to heterogeneous, and similar to dissimilar, more adaptive, and specialized human society.

The development of many theories shows inadequacies while studying and analyzing a continuously developing society. The inadequacies in evolutionary theories that describe social change through diffusionism, Smith (1927) suggests that the process of diffusion through the different means of communication, from which innovations spread out and then society starts to change. He assumed Egypt as a cultural cradle where culture originated due to the favorable conditions. Then, it was diffused throughout the world and then society developed. He further argues that societies where Egyptian culture was not spread remained underdeveloped.

Likewise, White (1975) in his contribution paid attention to the development of technology in harnessing energy to serve survival. In this model, he argued that the development of society depends upon the technology people use to exploit the available resources from the environment. If society exploits the resources with sharp technology, then energy produced will be more and society will be developed. Similarly, the exploitation of resources with blunt technology produces less energy and society remains backward as they have less energy to consume. It implies that the positive change in society is directly proportional to the technology they use to consume energy. To some extent, his theory helps us to understand the development and structural change of society. However, there are many more factors that have been vital for social change.

In contrast to evolutionism and diffusionism, functionalists describe how social order is maintained through the balance system of institutions of social structure. However, this theory does not talk much more about social change. Nevertheless, it describes the adjustment of social equilibrium through continuous functions of the elements of social structure. Likewise, Marx's (1818) theory suggests that the changes in economic factors are the prime movers of social change.

For him, an economy that consists of forces of production and proportional to the production of infrastructure, and the feature of a social system developed according to economic activities is super-structure. However, a traditional community is seen to be primarily characterized by a communal sharing of the relations that are sharing of resources regardless of status or power. As referred to the modernization theory, it describes the processes that increase the amount of specialization and differentiation of structure in societies, resulting in the move from an undeveloped society to a developed, technologically driven society (Irwin, 1975). Social change is development, and in other words it is the modification of society from farm to non-farm, rural to urban, similar to dissimilar, simple to complex, and also homogeneous to heterogeneous. In this process, social relations, structures, and social institutions become more complex and specialized as compared to the prior theories.. Globalization is another strong concept for social change, which places emphasis on globalization and market penetration for change and migration across the global boundaries.

Later, Giddings (1990) asserts that globalization is the intensification of worldwide social relations which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. It is defined as the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments world-wide. In other words, globalization leads to greater interaction among various populations.

In conclusion, all theories of social change agree on a single truth that human society is constantly changing. However, scholars' perspectives on analyzing the causes of social change differ. The study here focuses on social change in relation to foreign employment in a country where the majority of young men are either joining the army as Gurkhas in India, the United Kingdom, and Singapore or going abroad for labor work. The studies focused on the

changes in social structure and social phenomenon along with the challenges faced by the left-behind at origin, which are induced by the remittances sent back to the migrant's family. It is unique and contextual and has not been extensively discussed before.

### **2.2.5 Decisions to be a Foreign Employment**

Decisions related to voluntary migration are determined by two levels of economic status, firstly, the country's economy without industrialization and secondly, the household economy with surplus manpower. However, Gregory et al. (2009) states that it has been migrants and their employers, not governments that have determined the magnitude and destination of migration flows in most parts of the world. Further, she adds that the government's role is to facilitate or impede population movement rather not to stop it. Nonetheless, political decisions, government-to-government relations between countries with sufficient labor and countries with a labor shortage at the macro level, and individual's desire to gain economic benefit and to reduce the survival risk at micro level are two commonly held factors in voluntary migration.

If we go through the most intriguing factors about foreign employment in the world, like foreign employment from Mexico to the US as they have started to migrate since the 1970s. The leaders seem to be agreed on importing labor for agriculture or farming. At that time, the number of labors who were migrated to the US was 4.5 million. Since then, Mexicans have continued till date and now their total population, after the Irish and Germany, is third in position. In this case, decisions were made by leaders, one from abundant labor and another from a shortage of manpower for farming.

The micro-level decisions about who moves, where he/she moves, and where s/he invests the remittances are all relative to the circumstances backed by compulsion and intention. In Mexico, migration decisions are typically made by men with little or no input from women, and the resulting movement is almost always men-led, with women following later for purposes of family reunification (Cerrutti & Massey 2001). Similarly, Sana and Massey (2005) found that patriarchal families are cohesive and male migration is often temporary, families receive remittances from migrants abroad and often devote themselves to productive activities. In contrast, migration decisions in the Dominican Republic are made by

women and independent from men, and movement is typically set by economic reasons rather than family reunification (Massey et al., 2006).

In the context of South Asian countries, including Nepal, migration decisions for labor are initiated by men but decided collectively. In this regards De Jong and Gardner (1981) emphasize that migration decisions are typically made by families rather than the individuals. However, in the case of females, consent from family and government policy is almost mandatory. Parental influence can deter children from permanently migrating, especially in small families or when the eldest child is involved, to ensure family land is occupied and the elderly are supported. While economic reasons are significant, social factors like having supportive relatives at the destination can play a crucial role, fostering family-based chain migration. Conversely, families might choose not to migrate to stay united and support one another, regardless of economic conditions (Hugo, 1982).

### **2.3 Empirical Review**

From the description of historical context, it is clear that people's mobility from Nepal started from the year 500 B.C., though the prior mobility was confined to neighboring countries like India and Tibet (Adhikari & Gurung, 2009). Since then, the migration has been mounting and going on continuously till date. According to the Nepal economic survey (2019), about 43, 65,415 youths have migrated for foreign employment. Skilled workers account for 1.5 percent, semi-skilled workers for 24.0 percent, and unskilled workers account for 74.5 percent. It shows the majority of migrants are un-skilled (Economic Survey 2018/19).

In spite of being socio-historic phenomenon, there is not sufficient academic research on this topic by Nepalese scholars. Most of the early studies on it were done by foreign scholars who started lately. In this regards, Kansakar (1984) notes that some scholars who received their education abroad have undertaken academic research on migration since the 1970s. The following review of this title will be beneficial in understanding the current mobility.

Prior to this study, Gurung (2001a) explains that the two different reasons for internal and international migration. For internal migration, agricultural production due to fertile land was the strong pull factor for hill to Terai migration so that they could solve the scarcity of

food they had been facing in the highlands. In the case of international migration, Gurung (2001b) states that mountain and hill migrants 64 percent emigrated for service reasons. This also demonstrates the trend of internal-migration in Terai accounting for 78.4 percent, Hill accounting for 18.8 percent, and Mountain accounting for 2.8 percent of total in-migrants in 1991. The eastern and central Terai were the most popular destinations, accounting for 49.6 percent of all in-migrants (Gurung 2001:21). Additionally, the reason behind in-migration, he adds that the control of endemic malaria from the 1950s onward, the low density of the population and, of course, the arable land of Terai.

Likewise, a study was made by Poudel and William (2014). They analyzed foreign employment from an economic perspective only entitled 'Push and Pull Factors Associated with Migration in Nepal'. They concluded that the number of extended family members that a migrant had in the destination country, was positively associated with the decision to migrate.

Similarly, Kharel (2016) conducted research entitled 'From Lahures to Global Cook' from a network perspective on migration. He discovered that the village network was an important factor in migration from rural Malma to Japan, where 1800 of the village's total population of 6,400 had left to work in Japanese restaurants.

In this pertinent study based on the secondary data from Nepal's living standards survey (NLSS) 2010–11 and the data from the Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE, 2010–16). The researchers looked at migration from rural to urban areas as well as migration to other countries, taking into account gender and caste differences. They highlighted the fact that the background of migrant workers was mostly from agricultural families, as they are more deprived of employment opportunities compared to urban youth and more. The study by Mishra (2007) highlighted the high and widening income inequality between rural and urban areas for migration.

In this regard, Lawoti and Hangen (2012) gives a different perspective on the causes of migration. His study emphasized various forms of inequality as a reason for the dominant numbers of rural migrants. He states, "As a major part of the development process in Nepal has been confined to the Kathmandu valley, some areas of East and Central Terai, Hetauda, Pokhara, and Bhairahawa. The fruits of development have been achieved mainly by big and middle-class businessmen, landowners, and contractors for construction and supply. These

facts indicate that rural areas are not only poorer, but they are evaded and ignored for the chance to create opportunity for local employment.

Moreover, using survey data from a rural agricultural setting, Bhandari (2004) from the Chitwan Valley finds that households with less access to cultivated land were more likely to migrate. Furthermore, K.C. (2014) suggests that earnings differentials between home and destination have influenced people's migration decisions based on qualitative research in a village in Kathmandu District. Gautam (2005) studies on the causes and impacts of migration at Kandebash Baglung and highlights that unemployment, food deficiency, and increased expenditures were causes of migration. For the fulfillment of their needs, many men migrated to India for a better source of income, and as an impact of such migration, he concluded that there were changes in sex ratio and a lack of male workers to participate in local development activities. He also highlighted the impact of foreign employment on elderly people living in native villages whose children had migrated for labor work. From his studies on migration and the problem of old age people in Nepal (2008) he concluded that anxiety, helplessness, loneliness, and social and cultural burdens were the socio-psychological problems in Galkot, the western part of Baglung district. Research conducted based on qualitative research in a village in Kathmandu District, Gaurab (2014) suggests that earning differentials between home and destination influence the decision to migrate.

Thus, empirical studies on employment abroad have helped me to understand the diverse nature of migration's push-pull factors. From this review, it is also clear that the majority of foreign employees are unskilled from farming backgrounds. The key factors for employment abroad are a lack of opportunities at home and wage disparities between two geographical regions.

Moreover, reviews indicate positive as well as negative impacts of employment abroad. However, it is found that most of the studies have kept the economy as a vantage point for analysis rather than social aspects. Moreover, if we observe the history of foreign employment over the past decade, there has been a surge in out-migration and a significant volume of unemployed youth are still seeking foreign employment opportunities. It also shows both neighboring countries, Tibet and India, as destination countries. However, the internal migration from the mountainous highlands to the low lands shows the eastern Terai as a destination. The pattern of such internal migration concentrating on the eastern Terai

compared to the western Terai is due to more fertile land and the monsoon is more bountiful in the eastern Terai compared to the west (Gurung, 2013).

### **2.3.1 Employment Destinations**

The Nepalese were originally planning to travel to India and the autonomous Tibet. It is because these two countries are neighboring countries and connected by an open border. Tibet was also known as Bhot at that time. Later on, with the boom of the oil economy in the Middle East and rapid developing East Asian countries like Malaysia, Singapore, and South Korea, the labor market was opened and the flow of migrants from labor-abundant countries like Nepal to these industrializing countries started (Gurung, 2013). The latest trend of employment abroad shows a rapidly growing number of destination countries. In today's context, Nepalese are migrating and are found in well over 100 different countries around the world (IOM, 2009).

If we talk about the emigrants and their history, studies by Gurung (2001) show the increasing trend of migrants, starting from 1.7 percent of the total population in 1941 to 3.5 percent of the total population in 1981, and India as the main destination for migrants. However, data started to change from 1981 onwards, although the volume was small (Gurung, 1989). After the 80s, new destinations became those countries which were industrializing rapidly.

In this relevance, data from Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 1991) identifies Europe and America as the new destinations for Nepalese migrants. Additionally, a census in 2001 identified the Middle East as a new destination for migrants (Limbu & Sinjapati, 2017). India, the United Kingdom, and Singapore are found as traditional destinations for Gurkhas. In the case of non-Gurkhas, Korea, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan, the Middle East and many more developed and developing countries are found as the new destinations.

The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in its various reports defines the national occurrence. In this reference, the Economic Survey (2018/19) states, "Institutionally, 110 countries have been opened up for foreign employment." However, more than 167 countries have opened their doors for foreign employment on an individual basis. However, most of the migrants are still unskilled.

King (2012) describes the working conditions of unskilled migrants as follows: "most of the migrants were working in restaurants and hotels, cleaning offices and houses, taking care of children and the elderly; these are the low-end jobs mainly undertaken by immigrants from poor countries." It indicates the nature of work is dangerous, dirty, and difficult for migrant workers.

### **2.3.2 Remittances, their Importance and Utilization**

The World Bank (2020) revealed that global expected remittances would total \$702 billion. It shows the significant amount of remittance inflow in labor-sending countries. About the receiver and labor source countries, Ratha et al. (2021) states, "the top five remittance recipient countries were India, China, Mexico, the Philippines, and the Arab Republic of Egypt." India, as the topmost country, had received USD 83.3 billion and China had received USD 59.5 billion, whereas the top three source countries for remittance outflows were the United States (68 billion), the United Arab Emirates (43 billion) and Saudi Arabia (35 billion). Through this process, more than 169 million migrant workers are earning their living. In the destination countries, they account for 4.9 percent of the global labor force (ILO, 2021).

In the last fiscal year alone, Nepal received remittances worth NPR 699 billion (USD 6.56 billion) from its citizens employed overseas, more than a quarter of the national GDP and the fourth highest position in the world (Statistic report, 2018). If we observe earlier data, the World Bank in 2009 stated that "a total of 2.1 million people are working abroad, including India." Out of them, 41 percent of the workers are in India, 38 percent are in Gulf countries, 12 percent of them are in Malaysia, and 8.7 percent are in developed countries. In the case of Malaysia, Nepal is the second largest labor supplier country after Indonesia, which represents almost 14 percent of the current population (Limbu & Sinjapati, 2017). The inflow of remittances increased from 58.6 billion rupees (NPR) in 2003-04 to NPR 589.5 billion in 2014-15, accounting for 10.9 percent of GDP in 2003/04 and 27.7 percent in 2014-015. (Statistic Report, 2015).

Currently, Nepal is in third position with a per capita income of \$1090, amongst the countries which receive the highest proportion of remittances in terms of GDP (World Bank Report, 2020). The annual report 2075/076 shows, "NPR 879.27 billion as remittances, which is an increase of 16.5 percent and it was NPR 755.06 billion in fiscal year 2074/075" (Nepal

Rastra Bank, Sep 02, 2019). In 2018, Nepal occupied 157<sup>th</sup> position in the human development index, which shows poor status at macro level.

Thus, information about the inflow of remittances shows that developed and developing countries of the world are receiving remittances in a substantial amount, and their contribution to GDP indicates that they have great value in the national economies of all recipient countries.

## 2.4 Policy Review

Globally, almost all countries have formulated laws to manage immigrants and internal migrants in their own ways. Moreover, bilateral and multilateral agreements and memorandums of understanding have also been signed based on their laws of the land. Studying the literature related to migration policies, I acknowledge that the cause of increasing pace of migration, the formulation of migration policies has become a challenge. As scholars (Benton et al., 2015) elaborated that migration policy is challenging profession for policy-makers since the migration decisions of people are unpredictable. On an ad-hoc basis, the Government of Nepal (GoN) has often gone against the commitments for ending gender discrimination in labour migration practices, by implementing several bans on foreign employment for women. Such bans are "entirely inconsistent with Nepal's obligations under CEDAW-47<sup>2</sup>. These bans add to discriminatory restrictions on women's right to movement and create more confusion regarding the process and legality of migration for women. A timeline of these bans is as follows: (a) Ban on foreign employment in the unorganized sector for women in Gulf countries following the mysterious death of Kani Sherpa in Kuwait: 1998. (b) Ban lied in Gulf countries on the basis of full security guarantee of the migrant worker, duly certified by Nepalese Embassy or Consulate in Gulf countries: January 2003. Conditions imposed for female migrants to get re-approval from the government for continuation of foreign employment after returning home for the holidays or other reasons are:

- (a) March 2003, conditions imposed for getting prior approval from local Government and family,

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<sup>2</sup> CEDAW-47 (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) is the only internationally binding treaty on preventing discrimination against women

- (b) May 2003, four conditions imposed on female migrant workers seeking to travel to Malaysia.
- (c) May 2005, conditions imposed on female migrant domestic workers:
- (d) Jan 2007, conditions lifted for female migrant domestic workers.
- (e) Sep 2007, stopped issuing Labour Permits to Lebanon.
- (f) Nov 2009. Ban on women less than 30 years of age traveling to work in the informal sector in the KSA, UAE, Kuwait, and Qatar.
- (g) 2012, The government has not made efforts to inform the general public of the changes that have taken place regarding bans, creating a lack of awareness and raising the risk of trafficking for women.

Furthermore, unofficial "discouragement" is still an important factor in perceptions of women's migration from Nepal. This is apparent in the hassling experienced at airports, government reluctance to approve women's migration requests, and the aforementioned increase in confusion about the legality of foreign employment for women. The ad-hoc bans began after the mysterious death of the Nepalese domestic worker Kani Sherpa in Kuwait in 1998, when public outcry and street protests led the Ministry of Labour and Employment to issue a ban on women's employment in the unorganized sector in Gulf countries. The "unorganized sector" comprises all firms with less than nine employees, but the ban was really aimed at preventing women from taking up domestic work abroad. As previously mentioned, this constitutes the majority of the work that female migrant workers do. The Nepalese government later rescinded the ban in January 2003, but the issue of safety for migrant women workers remained an important topic of debate in Nepal. In 2012, the government decided to implement a new ban, preventing women under 30 years of age from working in the informal sector in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait, and Qatar. Like the original ban, this has become an issue of debate between various actors from the government, NGOs, and the private sector. Some arguments for and against the new ban are considered.

In the past, the mobility of human beings was not much of a concern due to the lower population and the natural flow of people in search of better survival, but in recent trends, people are moving massively from one place to another. The reasons behind voluntary migration are many more, such as the vast differences in individual freedom, multiple choices in opportunity and earnings differential between developed and underdeveloped countries etc., due to which people are trying their best to migrate for their better future. As a result,

both origin and destination countries are facing different types of challenges. In order to tackle the emerging challenges of considerable migration, origin as well as destination countries have introduced different policies to combat the difficulties they have been facing.

With the variation in challenges, migration policies are formulated and modified accordingly. Castles (2004) distinguishes between three types of reasons for migration policy failure; "factors arising from the social dynamics of the migratory process; factors linked to globalization; and factors arising within political systems." He concludes that migration policies might be more successful if they were explicitly linked to long-term political agendas concerned with trade, development, and conflict prevention. Reducing inequality is then the real key to effective migration management. Castle's argument indicates that for the formation of a successful long term effective migration policy, three important factors are connected; the globalization process, social dynamics, and political system.

In regards to European migration policies, the increased number of people who are willing to be immigrants in the UK has led to stricter procedures and the overall rules. The willing number of people has surged recently, even more than that of the United States (measured as a proportion to the total population). For example, in 2004, the UK alone had a net migration of around 300,000 and the very next year, it rose rapidly to around 470,000 (Boeri & Van 2008). Likewise, some of the new member countries (NMC-new member countries) of the European Union faced a significant emigration wave during a long and painful era of economic transition from the centrally planned economy to a fully functioning market economy of the Western type (Romania and Castles, 2004). In addition, if we refer to the very recent steps to discourage migration, US President Donald Trump's policy to construct a border between the US and Mexico shows that the migration policy of developed countries has become more and more stringent for immigrants. Regardless of the barriers and strict policies, migration has been and will continue to be an important part of the global economy.

In recent years, most of the labors sending home countries do have emphasized safe and legal migration. However, they have developed new laws according to the problems faced by the migrants in the destination. For example, due to the lack of child care centers, the Sri Lankan government has banned female migrants who have children below the age of 5 years from accepting overseas jobs in the capacity of housemaids (Wimalaratana, 2017).

Before 1997, Bangladesh had restricted women from immigrating to foreign countries for labor work (Kibria, 2013).

When it comes to the policy of foreign employment in Nepal, Limbu and Sinjapati (2017) write, "This phenomenon has seen rapid acceleration in the past couple of decades. However, the government was slow to recognize the potential value of foreign employment." To systematize such accelerating foreign employment, "the Nepal government introduced the first foreign employment act only in 1985, and it took nearly a decade and a half to introduce the first foreign employment rules in 1999. Prior to 1985, the government did not have any policies on foreign employment, and had only provisioned for sending individuals abroad to gain technical skills, mainly in the fields of agriculture and engineering (Limbu & Sinjapati 2017).

Now, with the massive increment in number of migrant labors, Nepal government has modified the foreign employment policy. So, presently, foreign employment is governed by national, bilateral, and international policy instruments. It is regulated directly by the Foreign Employment Act, 2007<sup>3</sup>. and the Foreign Employment Rules, 2008, and there have been a number of other national laws, bilateral labor agreements, and memorandums of understanding (MoUs), treaties, and international conventions to regulate it. For example, bilateral agreements with the United Arab Emirates were signed on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2007 A.D.; an agreement with the Kingdom of Bahrain on April 29<sup>th</sup> and with Qatar on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2005 (Gurung, 2013). Likewise, the Nepalese government has also signed MoUs with Korea and Japan. The MoU that has been signed with the government of Qatar seems to be stronger than other MoUs since it contains a standard contract as it has mentioned the rights and responsibilities of the workers.

Foreign Employment Policy of Nepal(2012) has expressed its commitment for sustainable development goals at international level and for safe and secured employment through International Labor Organization (ILO) convention. The policy also promotes for the abolition of forced foreign employment (Economic Survey 2019), and addresses the different challenges of foreign employment business and process. The Government has also introduced number of laws, policies and directives aimed at regulating foreign employment, and seeking to minimize the risk of exploitation and protect the rights of migrant workers. There are

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<sup>3</sup> Foreign Employment Act, identified the number of countries to which Nepalese were encouraged to migrate for employment.

numerous instances of exploitation and abuse of migrant workers as well as concern that the Government's capacity to implement the laws needs to be further strengthened. The Government has sought to reflect increased protections for Nepali labour migrants into bilateral agreements with countries of destination. It has taken several practical measures also to support migrant worker, such as establishing a call center which is able to provide prompt assistance to migrant workers in Nepal or in destination countries. The Government of Nepal has also made legislative changes designed to offer protections, including in the regulation of recruiting companies as well as instituting a "free visa free ticket" scheme whereby employers are to bear the visa and air travel expenses for workers going for employment in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar.

## **2.5 Methodological Review**

There are four types of research philosophy: epistemology, ontology, axiology, and logic. Methodological decisions are implicitly ontological and epistemological and it is concerned to know kind of things exist in the world and what our warrant to know them is (William, 1996). Ontology is the nature of reality, and epistemology can be defined as the relationship between the researcher and reality (Gregory, et al., 2009). Research philosophy is determined according to issues intended for analysis that provide guidelines throughout the whole research process.

If research philosophy is quantitative, then it tends to assume that research knowledge relates to data which are objective or they are observable and measurable. In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research tends to assume that knowledge is largely socially constructed, that is, reality is multiple and textual data is interpreted by the researcher. By following this basic epistemological division, the research process assumes a different shape and meaning in every approach. For example, quantitative approaches are well-placed to ask what questions, whereas why questions are placed in qualitative approaches. Quantitative research utilizes statistical generalization and qualitative research tends to utilize theoretical generalization on the basis of an underlying explanatory framework.

As migration is a contextual social phenomenon, the methodology followed by different scholars for the study differs from one another. The first migration theory, "Laws of migration" by Ravenstein (1885), was developed based on the census data from the Kingdom

of England and Wales, along with Scotland and Ireland in the 1840s. For his study, Ravenstein compared census data gathered in 1871 to 1885. Haas (2010) studied 'Remittances, Migration, and Development,' concentrating on 'Policy Option and Policy Illusion'. In his study, he followed analytical methodology based on household and group-level impact assessment. In 1979, Haris and Michel Todaro studied 'unemployment and development' by following relationship analysis. In their analysis, they focused on the relationship between wage-price and rural-urban migration.

The famous World System theory by Wallenstein (1976) has studied the "European World Economy" based on the survey method. He had contributed to the interpretation of the 'world system theory'. The analysis was based on land, raw materials, labour, material links, and ideological links. In his study, he analyzed the model of labor control. World-system research is largely qualitative, although early on Wallerstein (1976a) rejected the distinction between monotheist and idiographic methodologies to understand the world. Furthermore, for Wallerstein (1976b), there is an objective world which can be quantitatively understood, but it is, no matter how long it has existed, a product of history. But for the most part, his methods are associated with history and with interpretive sociology.

Lee(1966), developed the push-pull model of migration in which he places emphasis on multiple factors of the migration phenomenon rather than a single cause. In his model, he has discussed intervening obstacles like 'distance' to be considered while talking about migration. For labor migration in Maharastra, India, Rai (2018) has conducted research in five villages by following participant observation and focus group discussion. In his research, agro-ecological factors and empirical inquiry were done for the description of labor migration.

A Study on International Labor Migration and social change in rural Shindh, Pakistan by Zubair et al. (2017) followed an exploratory research design based on qualitative methodology. He had conducted 41 interviews with migrant household members, primarily the women left behind. From the research, they found that migration had a positive impact on the material condition of individual migrants and their families, and they also found that male migrants are leveraging their new status in the family to exercise more choice in marriage. Research by Haris, and Todar, in 1979 was conducted based on the relationship of urban wage, wage price, and rural-urban migration along with the domain of production and

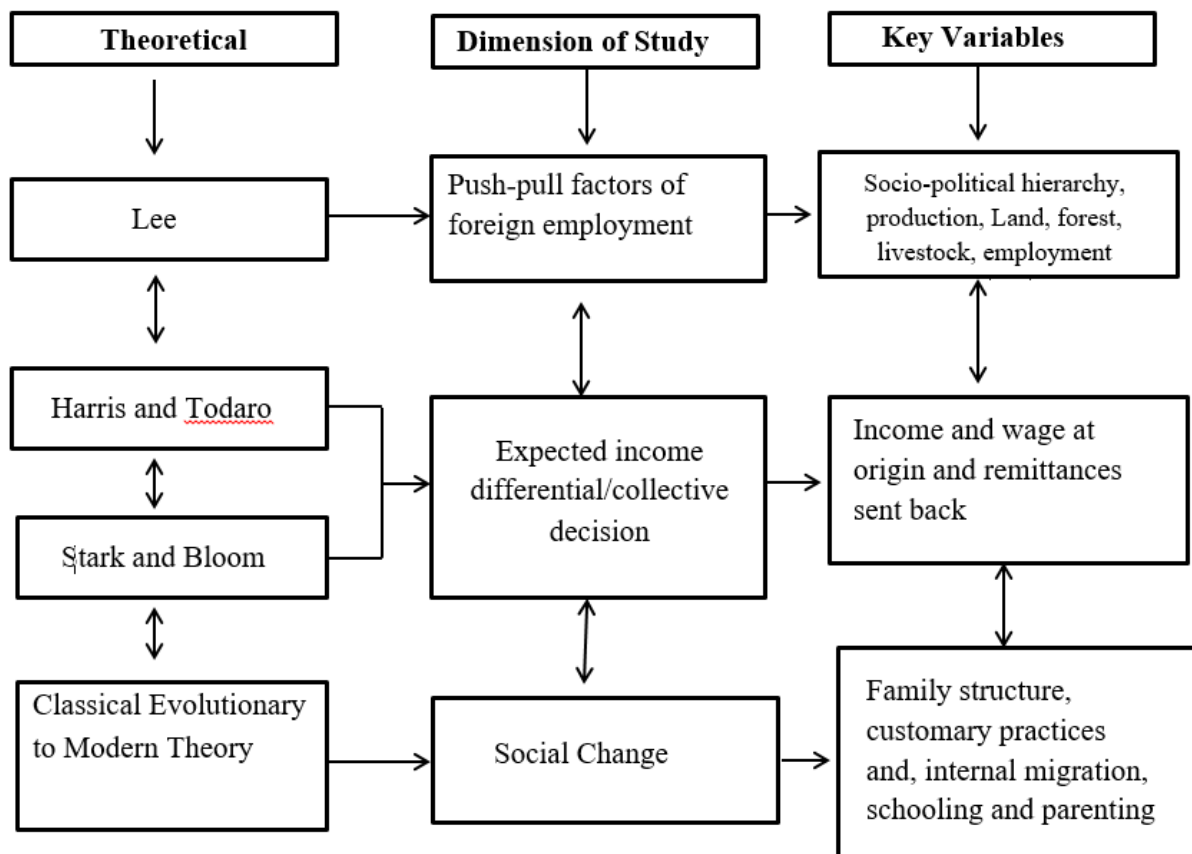
income. Likewise, the study about social change was conducted in the Chitwan Valley where researchers Bhandari et al. applied a survey method to collect the data by the Chitwan Valley Family Study (CVFS).

Sapkota (2019) studied the impact of women's employment in foreign lands and its impact on the left-behind in Tanahu district. For this purpose, he had conducted the research by deploying 'household survey' in 180 households, which were selected purposively. From his research, both positive as well as negative impacts were observed. He found that remittances supporting to enhance education, poverty alleviation at household level and to improve housing condition were positive impacts and care deficit of children, aggressive behavior and physical abuse were found as negative impacts.

Williams (2009) had conducted a research in Chitwan Valley on; 'The Relationship between Educational Attainment, Enrollment and Migration' in which he discussed the role of gender and how it changes with evolving social contexts. For this purpose, he had followed empirical analysis based in Nepal and it was supplemented by retrospective survey data. And he had concluded that educational attainment had positive effect and enrollment had negative effects on out-migration and including enrolment in the model increases the effect of attainment.

Axinn et al., 2020, p. XX) for the study on social change, out migration and exit from farming in Nepal, Axinn et al. (2020, p. 2-5) has deployed 'survey data' on both household and community level. From the surveyed data, they attempted to find the association between out-migration and agricultural change in rural agrarian settings. The study was inconsistent with the research philosophy and methodology due to the variation of research titles. Therefore, I have attempted to analyze the both qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyze the research issues that I have raised here for study. In order to address the first research question: 'determinant factors of foreign employment', I have assumed that the positivist perspective is appropriate because, 'the positivist ontology believes that the world is external and there is a single objective reality to any research phenomenon or situation regardless of the researcher's perspective or belief' (Somekh & Lewin, 2006). For second and third research questions, I have deployed the qualitative approach as I believe that reality could be multiple when the interaction is with the respondents on issues of social change.

Thus, review on methodology on title 'migration' suggests that survey method is most popularly followed by the scholars. However for my study mix-method is deployed as the information contains both qualitative and quantitative in nature. Mixed method has offered me the opportunity to collect subjective as well as objective data. The survey method is deployed to collect the data related to my first research questions: push pull factors of foreign employment. For second and third research questions, I have followed qualitative methods for data collection in which data were collected from field observation and in-depth interview.

**Figure 2.1***Theoretical Framework***2.6 Research Gap**

The relevant literature was reviewed by developing the topic and sub-topic like historical context, theoretical, empirical and methodological review. From this examination, both in its general sense and specifically as labour migration, was defined as the focal point of research. Previous theories and empirical studies predominantly analyzed voluntary mobility through an economic lens, highlighting its role in alleviating resource constraints. This underscores that migration, as a social phenomenon, is predominantly influenced by factors either compel individuals to leave the origin or attract them to new destination.

Similarly, empirical research by organizations such as the IOM and ILO are often found concentrated their efforts on the study of labor and refugees because this issue has become a threat around the globe and their safety and settlement has become a major concern for them (Majidi et al., 2020). Thus, the reviews of theories, methods, and empirical research

on migration have made it clear that the issues I am addressing are distinct from previously discussed national and international topics. For example, reasons for historic consistency for being Gurkhas, inevitability of becoming economic migrants, socio-political context of migrants and the evolving narrow perspectives on remittances as a lucrative source of living are significant issues that require more academic attention.

Additionally, a sociological analysis of foreign employment is essential to understand the current situation in Nepal. To address this gap, I have set off this academic passage as a part of my research for a Doctor of Philosophy.

## **2.7 Issues at Origin**

In science, Newton's third law of motion states that for every action, there is always an equal but opposite reaction. However in social science, it may not have equal reaction, but still, every social phenomenon has shown positive as well as negative reactions in society. Regarding the issues at origin, I have divided them into three aspects of social change that we can observe and analyze. The foremost is absence of energetic manpower, which arises in national as well as in household level because; about 14 percent of total population is migrants which the country is losing. So, at the macro-level, foreign employment is not a good sign for the economic health of the country as migrants move at the most productive age of their lives, and at the micro-level, there is always a dearth of energetic manpower in household management.

Second is the rapid change in traditional practices of livelihood earning because of a hard-working and independent economy or a dependent remittances-based economy, whichever is good for human life, has yet to be discussed. In this connection, Winkle (2015) that scholars in several sending countries report that young people increasingly mark time through adolescence, while waiting for their opportunity to move and live abroad. Haan (2000) introduces the negative aspects of migration as it tends to be seen as problematic in academic and policy debates. It is often seen as the consequence of ruptures, of environmental disasters, economic exploitation, political or civil tensions and violence. And it is often perceived to be a cause of problems, like environmental degradation, health problems, brain drain, political or social instability, declining law and order, and unraveled social fabric and support system.

However, he had conducted his research focusing on the positive assessment of population mobility for better livelihoods and understanding migration as a social process. He argues that the migrants were not only the agent of social change economically and technologically but also socially and politically that may reinforce traditional structures.

The third is the conversion of cultivable land into barren land. As the most energetic population is absent from household chores, the traditional activities of earning livelihood, social norms, and values are changing. The sex ratio has changed and its impact on farming is vulnerable. Before the 1990s, agriculture was the reliable and most practiced source of income that has less value in today's context compared to foreign employment. Seddon (1998) states again that agriculture is the most crucial for the development of the national economy in Nepal, but it has failed so far to experience the progressive transformation that in other countries has heralded the beginning of the transition from agrarian to industrial economy and society. He further added that agriculture has been for many years a sector of slow growth; some would say stagnation while other sectors have experienced relatively rapid growth. This traditional and slow production or underproduction encourages the locals to migrate from their homeland.

In addition, the physical disability and loss of life of employees are also important issues. A statistical survey shows the significant number of 'returnees' in a difficult situation. According to the survey, during the first eight months of the Fiscal Year 2018/19, Nepalese workers became disabled by injuries and mutilation during foreign employment. The number of people who were injured and disabled in FY 2017/18 was 361. The number of people who died, injured or disfigured in destination countries during foreign employment has been increasing every year. In FY 2017/18, a total of 821 Nepali workers, including 801 men and 21 females, died in foreign employment destinations. This sort of problem is also verified as 15 dead bodies were brought even in the time of strict lockdown due to Covid-19 on 28 August, 2020 A.D. from Malaysia (Relatives from airport).

## **2.8 Chapter Summary**

The reviews here are categorized into theoretical, empirical, policy, and methodological reviews. Theoretical review has provided an insightful perspective on migration as a complex social phenomenon determined by a variety of push and pull factors. The review has given a clear idea that human mobility is historic and always contextual. The empirical review has supported my understanding of the practice of foreign employment in

different parts of the world in general and particular in Nepal, where the mobility motive matches with my study population. The review of policy has given the idea of the protocol developed and followed while going abroad for employment purposes. It has informed employees about the national and international political and legal environments. Policies are formulated and reviewed according to the challenges they are facing by individual at destination the countries.

Moreover, the methodological review has helped me to ‘substantiate methodological repertoire’ (Wright, 2016). It has provided ideas about the different methods and procedures followed by former researchers whose titles are more or less similar to my research. From a theoretical perspective, I have tried to understand the research issues that I have raised here. In reviews, I have discussed different theories and perspectives related to labor migration and social change. I have reviewed theories of social change and labor migration as the topic demands two different domains of perspectives. In the first part, I have started to review evolutionary theory and modernization theory to understand how society is changing. These reviews have helped me to understand social change as an evolutionary process. However, amongst all, the economic factor is most often mentioned as a prime mover for social change.

In the second part, I have reviewed the perspectives related to labor migration or foreign employment. In most literature on the subject, foreign employment is described as the most obvious phenomenon for economic benefit. Theories of human mobility are developed and modified from classical to subsequent theories due to the insufficiency of the former theories to address the new emerging situation. For instance, classical thought for human migration described food and shelter, then, after successive theories, described tribal rivalry as a reason for mobility. Later on, better income and wage differences between two geographical regions are described as the main push factors (neoclassical theory) for human migration. The new economics of migration suggests collective decision and survival strategy as causative factors. Network theory suggests that the connection between former migrants and countrymen increases the flow of migration as the information from earlier workers reduces the migratory cost.

The new economic theory of migration discusses the collective decisions of a family for foreign employment rather than an individual one. Thus, a review of theories gave the idea that foreign employment is the natural flow of unemployed people going abroad where employment opportunities are abundant.

Based on the review, it can be concluded that foreign employment is a universal, multidimensional, and complex phenomenon. It is complex as mobility has multiple reasons and impacts at a personal, familial, communal, and even national level. Reviews provide information on the causes, effects, and challenges of foreign employment at both the micro and macro levels. It is observed that most of the literature is concerned with economic benefit rather than socio-psychological aspects. Remittances from labor migrants are the most discussed and analyzed in literature and are done in the context of origin where remittances are sent back by migrants. The reason behind might be, direct benefit to the employees and their relatives to fulfill their needs and to reduce poverty. In addition, it is considered the source of foreign currency and a contributor to the national GDP at the origin. Besides these, the cheap labor force and the rapid growth in the pace of development are the positive aspects of immigrants that are mostly discussed at the destination.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the methodology that I followed in this study. The objectives of this chapter are twofold. At first, I have talked about the philosophical ground and rationale for choosing this particular topic then after I have justified the methods and techniques how and why I have adopted this method. Mixed method is central in this dissertation. 560 listed households of Gurkhas and Non-Gurkhs migrants are selected purposively as a study population. I had stayed for more than six months in the field and conducted in-depth interviews with 12 respondents and 8 key informants. Field visit was conducted in 10 Gautoles of Biruwa Rural Municipalities. The details of methods are discussed below. In addition, the delimitations and limitations of research, along with ethical considerations and definitions of key terms are explained.

#### 3.2 Philosophical Ground

**Epistemology:** The epistemology to be discovered is why and how foreign employment is historic and consistent, driving significant changes on rural society. As the nature of data is in numeral and text form; survey, observation and in-depth interviews are followed to gather information from the field visit.

**Ontological stance:** Study is aligning with both positivist and interpretivist philosophy. Positivist philosophy guided for the collection and analysis of objective realities that already existed while interpretivist philosophy has guided for the collection and analysis of multiple reality that can be derive from in-depth interviews.

**Axiology:** The value orientation of this study lies in elucidating foreign employment, encompassing both *Gurkhas and non-gurkhas*, through a sociological lens rather than economic. As I outlined in the first chapter, my aim in this research is to examine the interrelationship among the three variables: determinants of push factors, social change influencing by migrants and their remittances, and the difficulties of foreign employment in rural society.

Three research questions are developed accordingly. For the first question, the available resources are earned for livelihood; production, employment, and income are assumed as parameters to be measured. For this query, the information already exists, which I have to collect. So I believe that the relationship with the respondents should be objective. However, during the interview process, I have required to discuss the reason for the occurrence and interpret the information at both an individual and household level. So my philosophy is both positivist and interpretivist. This philosophy has guided me not only to understand the existed reality rather it has helped me to construct the new reality critically and has helped to understand that the truth can be drawn only imperfectly.

Secondly, my attempt is to observe and analyze the social change brought about by the inflow of remittances sent back and the absence of migrant workers themselves. These two factors are more focused here as remittances and earners have a great influence in society at both the household and community level. For the understanding of these changes influenced by them, I believe in in-depth interviews and interactions so that I would be able to collect the information through the respondents' experiences and opinions. So the information will be in subjective with multiple realities that I have to dig out through an in-depth interview. Therefore, I believe that my relationship with my respondent should be as unstructured as possible. So I have adopted an interpretivist ontology, as the interpretivist epistemology entails an understanding of the subjective meaning of people's actions and seeks to understand social reality (Killam, 2013).

Moreover, the contributions of social change to the human development index are measured in educational attainment by the members of the household, income, and health status of respondents. Thus, in order to address the two-fold concept of this thesis, "understanding" and "knowing objective reality" of remittance-based society, I believe in both qualitative and quantitative methods as my information are in both numeral and text form.

The quantitative or positivist method is a value-free method that focuses on understanding the existing reality. It is deployed here to analyze variables like income, production, and employment status of the study population. On the other hand, qualitative or interpretative methods are primarily concerned with the qualities of a given phenomenon and less with their quantities. So, to understand the perceptions and behavior of the research subject and to help understand the socio-cultural and historical context of the study, an

interpretative approach is adopted. It is frequently defined as being concerned with people's actions and the meanings they attach to their environments and relationships (William 1996b). Furthermore, it frequently reveals aspects of the study that would not have been easily identified by reading the literature. The qualitative method is used to understand the perception, opinion, and experience about prevailing social phenomena.

### 3.3 Rationale of Field Selection

When choosing a research site, four main criteria are considered: first, a large proportion of households should be involved in foreign employment, and even better, if this is an increasing trend. Second, as soon as possible, the study population should have a long history of foreign employment tradition. Third, there has been observable change in both the social and physical environment. Fourth, a field visit must be at an appropriate location so that there might not be difficulties in case of a revisit, and the visit must be supported by allocated time and budget. To meet all these criteria, I assumed, seven *Gautoles* of Biruwa Rural Municipality and three *Gautoles* of Putalibazar municipality is the most appropriate site, from where most of the residing household consists of one or more foreign employees.

Out of eight wards<sup>4</sup> of Biruwa Rural Municipality, seven *Gautoles*<sup>5</sup> and three *Gautoles* from Putalibazar Municipality are selected for the study. These seven *Gautoles* are; Khang Rang *Gautole* with 77 households, Rang Bhang 58, Upper 67 and Lower Khali 97, Dhobadis 93, Bhorle 41 and Lalang 53. Out of ten *Gautoles*, prior three wards of Rang Bhang VDC, Jymire (78), Bhaishegauda (79) and Chiruwa (101) are now included in Putali Bazar Municipality. The total population consists of 744 total households (HHs) and the total population is 3619, where the male population is 1654 and the total number of females is 1965, according to the HHs survey, 2075 B.S conducted by Biruwa Rural Municipality.

Out of the 744 households, 560 households (75.26 percent) are receiving remittances from foreign employment. Migrants from this population are heavily involved in foreign employment either as Gurkha<sup>6</sup> soldiers or Non-Gurkhas<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, these communities have

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<sup>4</sup>Ward is similar to Village Development Committee before introducing federal system 2072.

<sup>5</sup> Gauntole is similar to ward under village development committee before introducing 2072.

<sup>6</sup> Gurkhas: Gurkhas are soldiers recruited by the Indian and the British government and still they are serving as a part of the British and Indian Army. In the case of Singapore, they are recruited by the Singapore government for the police force and known as Singapore Police.

a long history of foreign employment as the employed Gurkhas are not only participated in world war but also lost their lives and some had been imprisoned in Malaysian jail. Later on in 2060 BS they were compensated with NPR 13 lakh by the British government.

In this area Magar and Gurung communities are dominant in population composition which is followed by a small number of *Brahmins*, *Chhetries* and some occupational caste groups like *Kami*, *Damai*, *Sarki*, and *Sunar*. Youth from all caste groups even from *Brahmin* and *Chhetries* caste shows their keen interest to join in Gurkhas<sup>7</sup> forces or to be labor migrants rather than to study to be entrepreneurs at homeland due to which employment abroad is continuing. Therefore, the community with its long history of foreign employment and its surge in number after 1990 onwards has a dynamic and significant impact on socio-economic conditions of left-behind. So, to study and analyze the foreign employment in relation to social change, the Biruwa Rural Municipality is chosen for this study.

### 3.4 Universe, Household Survey and Sample Size

Universe for the study is 560 listed households from which at least one or more family members are drawing remittances. They are also called as economic migrants or labor migrants for the study. Based on the countries they are employed, nature of their job, time duration they involved and amount they draw per month shows the heterogeneous nature in its composition. However, I have divided the population households into two categories: households of Gurkhas and Non-Gurkha migrants. Gurkhas are all those migrants' households whose members are retired or in-service in Britain, Singapore and India whereas Non-Gurkhas' households consist of all migrants who are employed in different parts of the world.

Out of 560 listed households, the total number of households consisting of foreign employed either retired or in service in Britain and Singapore are 76 HHs whereas households involved in Indian Gurkhas' both pensioners and in-service are 267 HHs. So altogether Gurkhas' households become 343 HHs (61.30 %) and the total numbers of non-Gurkha are 217 HHs (38.70%) which is lesser than Gurkhas' households. Moreover, the selected ten Gautes are not in same size in terms of household numbers they consist and they are heterogeneous in population composition. The largest Gaute is Chiruwa with

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<sup>7</sup> People who are engaged in international labor market but not inducted formally by British, India and Singapore government as soldiers.

hundred one(101) households followed by Dhobadi with 93 households and the smallest Gautole is Bhorle with 41 households. Therefore, the sample HHs is selected in proportion. Therefore,from four (4) larger Gautoles consisting of more than 60 households, 15 HHs and 7 sample households from six Gautoles consisting of less than 60 household numbers are drawn as representatives.

Thus, 60 sample households from bigger Gautole and 42 samples from smaller Gautole all together 102 sample households is the unit for the analysis. In addition, four (4) school teachers and two (2) local leaders and two (2) Leaders from Women Group (Aama Samuha) are taken as key informants.

### **3.5 Sampling Procedure**

Sampling is the process of drawing a sample or units from the whole. To draw the sample from 744 HHs, household survey was conducted before sampling. So, of the total population households of 744 residing in the study area, 560 HHs were listed as migrant households, whose members were involved in foreign employment in different parts of the world. As the nature of job, destination, income and time duration they involve differ with one another, the number of sample households are selected purposively. The remaining 184 households (HHs) are non-migrants' householdsthat are not considered in this study though they might have an influencing role in social change.

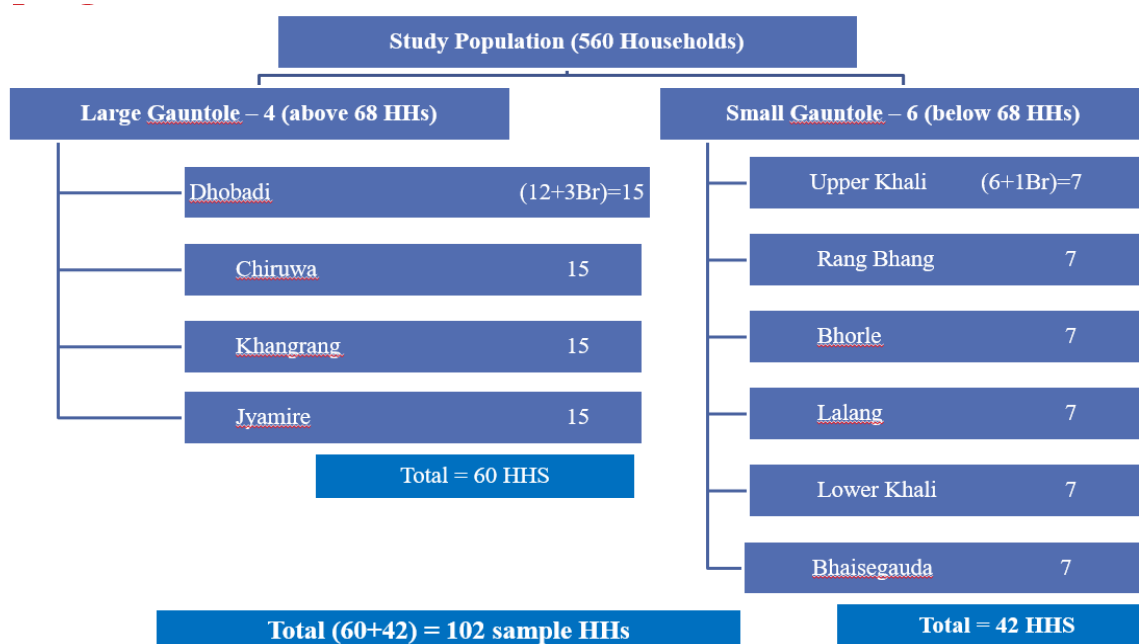
As the 10 Gautoles consist of different numbers of HHs ranging from 41 HHs in Bhorle to 101 HHs in Chiruwa Gautole, the sample HHs were selected in proportion. From four (4) larger Gautoles, fifteen (15) HHs were selected and seven (7) HHs were selected from six Gautoles because the larger Gautole were found to be more heterogeneous in its composition in comparison to smaller Gautole. So to make the sample more representatives, numbers of sample households are drawn according to total population consisted by Gautoles.

Moreover, among the listed 560 households of migrants, Gurkhas are of three types; British Gurkhas, Singapore Police and Indian Gurkhas. Households of Indian Gurkhas are greater in number than British Gurkhas and Singapore Police. Therefore keeping both of the British and Singapore migrants in one group and Non-Gurkha migrants in another group I have chosen the sample households for the study. So, from eight Gautole, each 2 households and one each from smaller Gautole Bhorle (41) and Lalang; altogether 18 households of

British Gurkhas were drawn as representative. Likewise, from Indian Gurkhas, 6 households each from four (4) larger Gauntole, and three (3) households each from six Gauntole all together 42 households of Gurkhas (18 British and 42 Indian) were selected. Again from 217 households of non-Gurkhas, 42 households (6 households from 4 Gauntole and 3 households from 6 Gauntole) were selected in proportion according to the size of Gauntole as mentioned above. So altogether, 102 HHs is the sample unit for analysis. All the Gurkhas and non-Gurkhas who are involved in foreign employment are commonly addressed here as economic migrants.

**Figure 3.1**

*Sampling Procedure*



### 3.5.1 Unit of Analysis and Variable Definition

As I have mentioned in universe and sampling procedure, my unit of analysis is composed of the Gurkhas and Non-Gurkhas migrants' households. Households, having Gurkhas migrants are more settled economically as they get regular salary or pensions throughout their lives and even after the death of husband, wives are receiving the salary from the respective countries where they were enrolled. In the other hand, Non-Gurkha migrants' households have their members working in international labor market. They are economically, socially and psychologically insecure as compare to Gurkhas as they are not assured for regular salary, pension, gratuity and compensations etc. However, some of them are drawing lucrative salary than Gurkhas.

Out of the the total sample 102 Households are drawn purposively from 560 total population households. Respondents over the age of 40 are classified as household heads. They are both male and female and the head members of the household. Since my research is centered on knowing about the existing earning sources playing as a push factor for foreign employment, agricultural production, income, and employment status are assumed as independent variables, whereas change in norms, values, and cultural practices are assumed as dependent variables. Day-to-day life after getting remittances is significantly different than before getting employment. The changing phenomenon is supposed to be dependent on variables. Data related to independent variables is quantitative in nature, so information is collected through a survey questionnaire. Then after, it is analyzed by using simple statistics and tabulation.

Changes in norms, values, and cultural practices are assumed as dependent variables which are influenced by the inflow of remittances along with the absence of youth employees in foreign countries. To explain the changing phenomenon, a qualitative method is deployed by utilizing depth interviews with migrant household members and key informants which include wives and mothers between the ages of 20 and 75. I also conducted a group discussion with 7–15 participants. The participants were male and female, both members of migrant households aged 20–75 years. The interview and group discussion focused on the issues related to economic change, shifts in educational practices, and cultural change in customs and traditions of rural life, along with the change in indigenous knowledge, skills, and cultural traditions.

Social aspects are more focused here as, after employment, a household starts to operate with a new situation and multidimensional change like; children's schooling, parenting, expenditure, decision making, and traditional son preferring social norms and values start to change.

### **3.6 Techniques of Data Collection**

The techniques of data collection vary with the nature of the information to be collected. As the information required for the analysis of my research issues is both numerical and opinion in nature, survey questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and

observation, along with some narratives, are techniques followed here to collect data. These techniques are discussed below.

### **3.6.1 Survey Questionnaire**

As surveys are conducted in the case of descriptive research studies in which variables that exist or have already occurred are selected and observed (Lawrence, (1997). My research design is descriptive, so I have designed a survey questionnaire as a tool according to the three research questions. These three research questions are interrelated and a survey is only concerned with conditions and relations that exist. The survey is appropriate to collect and interpret the data for the first research question, 'resources for production', for which I do not have to manipulate data for events to happen, which include relations with the sources of livelihood earning, social change in household operation with the inflow of remittances. The questionnaire developed for the study is attached here in appendix. The questionnaires are semi-structured so that I can conduct the research in a flexible way if needed. The semi-structured and open-ended nature of survey questionnaires has helped to conduct in-depth interviews for qualitative data collection. From this household survey, both individual and household level data are collected. From individual interviews, information about personal characteristics like male, female, occupation, and age was collected, whereas information about agriculture production, employment, income, and change in cultural practices was collected at the household level.

It is segmented into three parts; the first part consists of those questions which give general information about the respondents and help to build rapport. Later on, questions focuses on sources of earning which they are practicing. Second part of the survey question is designed in order to know the social change at household level, which is changing with the inflow of remittances and without energetic male members in household chores. For this purpose, the question here is more focused on the title; income, production, norms, values, and cultural practices, etc. The last part is related to the attitudes and experiences of foreign employees and the contribution of foreign employment to their daily lives. From this questionnaire, both qualitative and numerical data were collected. The conversation was successfully conducted with the help of assistant researcher Tara Thapa, who was already appointed for support.

### **3.6.2 Observation**

Observation was done during the field visit and conversation was conducted with the respondents in their residential area. In this process, the general setting of residences, four schools, and some deserted houses were observed. The following pictures are a few samples of them.

The respondents involved during this process were school teachers, some students, and household heads. The four schools were: Araniko Higher Secondary School at Rang Bhag, Shree Baraha Janashram Siddha Mandali School, Upper Khali, and Lower Secondary School in Dhobadi. The office of Rural Biruwa Rural Municipality was also visited. This direct observation has revealed some awful situations regarding the number of students' enrollment and distance between residences and the working places of teachers.

Conversation was done with the help of open-ended questions till the data was saturated. The objectives of observation were for those queries related to the production field, forest, livestock, and household setting and the day-to-day activities. Social functions like marriage ceremonies (two) were also observed. Moreover, changes in material culture, such as house construction, schools, roads, and materials used in day-to-day life style, have been observed. In addition, many uninhabited houses were directly observed.

### **3.6.3 Interview**

Semi-structured interviews are taken as the primary technique for data collection during conversation. For a number of reasons, it is decided that it offers the most suitable approach to understand the change in traditional cultural values through verbal interaction. In addition, semi-structured interviews give the interviewer flexibility and room for creativity in the course of conversation with the interviewee (Bogdan et al., 2016). The field studies have been undertaken at 10 Gautoles and four school premises. Interaction has been done, till the data was not saturated. It was done with 102 sample household heads and four school teachers and two local leaders as key informants.

Before conducting interviews, interviewees were pre-informed and requested voluntary participation. The interview guidelines were structured into three sections. The questions in the first section were aimed at establishing a rapport, a level of trust and

openness with the respondents. So the questions have focused on simple background information of informants, such as age, employment history, destination of migrants and number of individuals employed in a foreign country. Section 2 focused on informants' relations with resources. Section 3 of the interview guide aimed to elicit the thick description from respondents in relation to the study research questions. It focused on the respondent's ideas, feelings, and experiences and during this time, in-depth semi-structured interviews have shown themselves to be a highly useful method of gathering data on attitude and opinion.

However, it was more precise in subsequent conversations and more focused on local income, production, livestock, and daily life. The second section concentrated on remittances, destination countries, investment, and the role of income in household operations. Section 3 of the interview guide aimed to elicit the thickest description of the respondent's ideas, feelings, and experiences in relation to the change, whether that has contributed to their quality of life or not.

#### **3.6.4 Narratives**

Narrative refers to a type of qualitative data, a form of inquiry and data gathering techniques about how people organize their every-day practices (Neumann, 1997). The purpose of the narratives here is to construct social reality and help the reader understand why and how social change has happened in the course of their everyday practices in relation to foreign employment.

In this regard, I have presented the narratives of twelve respondents recorded in diaries through in-depth interviews. It was conducted for the collection of information related to the social change and challenges caused by the foreign employment process. Out of twelve, six households with members working and six households with members who have already worked abroad are taken. During the interview, I took quick notes and the personal stories that are recorded in a word file.

They each had their own story and perception of the changing social phenomenon, which made the conversation interesting and insightful. Among six respondents, three were male and another three were female. The men were returnees from Bombay, South Korea, and the Middle East, whereas in the case of the females, three of them were wives of migrant

workers who were working in Kuwait, Malaysia, and Korea. Four of them were in-service Gurkhas, and two were widow pensioners.

As key informants, local teachers and the leader of a women's group (*Aama Samuha*) accompanied me throughout the interview. A successful interview was carried out with the local teacher and leader. They gave honest and full answers to the questions. The information they shared is collected in text form.

### **3.7 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents**

The families who joined the narratives had 5.4 members on average, though one family size was exceptional, having nine family members with two foreign employees. Both of them were male members, and one was a young son, at the age of 28, in Japan, and the father, at the age of 58 in India. The young man who was employed in Japan, has recently obtained skilled labor status (caretaker), and receives more than one lakh yen per month whereas his father barely makes \$15,000 per month but has been working for the same company for 17 years. The detailed characteristics of respondents are discussed below.

#### **3.7.1 Age**

The average age of the respondents is 54.5 years old. The mean value is a good representative of the distribution as most of the employees are young, energetic both male and female members of the households. However, the most senior respondent is at the age of 89 years old and she is a widow pensioner. She is still living an active life by doing all household chores, including farming and rearing buffalo and goats. There are 9 respondents above the age of 70 with them I have conducted a long conversation about their changing patterns of socio-economic setting. The youngest is at the age of 28, and he is an employee of Biruwa Rural municipality.

#### **3.7.2 Gender**

Most of the respondents are males because they are the heads of sample households. It is so because the community exercises the patriarchal system. Out of 102 respondents, 79 are male respondents, whereas only 23 are female respondents. In the community, the other gender was not included as they are not found in that community.

#### **3.7.3 Marital Status**

Out of the 102 respondents, ninety-three (93) respondents are married and living together, though most of the husbands are random visitors as they are employed in foreign lands. Four (4) female respondents are unmarried. Out of four, two (2) are employed as teachers or peon level staff and two are farmers. Five (5) are widow pensioners, and they are the most senior among all. Out of five, one is a man's widow and four are women.

### 3.7.4 Educational Status

For educational status, I have divided the 102 respondents into five different categories. They are literate, illiterate, and educated up to and above SLC level. Literate respondents are those who can read and write but did not receive formal education from an academic institution and were instead taught during their service time. They are retired Gurkhas and their total number is 12. Among them 25 respondents are illiterate. They are male pensioners, widow pensioners, and fathers of non-Gurkha employees who have sent their children to foreign lands for employment. Only six (6) respondents have obtained educations above the IA and BA level. The rest of the others are educated up to SLC level.

### 3.7.5 Occupation

The traditional occupation of all respondents is agriculture. However, the cultivation area has substantially decreased because of remittances. 95 of the 102 respondents rely on farming, pensions, and remittances to make ends meet. Seven respondents, on the other hand, are completely reliant on remittances and make a living by growing only vegetables near their home. For them, buying up to nine sacks of rice annually is a normal amount, and the amount of rice per sack is 50 kilograms.

**Table 3.1**

*Respondents' Profile who were Participated in In-depth Interview*

S.N.	Name of Respondents	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation
1.	Anu Thapa	49	Male	Married	B.A.	K. Returnee
2.	Arani Pokhrel	53	Male	Married	B.A.	Teacher
3.	Bheme Thapa	58	Male	Married	Literate	Returnee

S.N.	Name of Respondents	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation
4.	Chab Thapa	49	Male	Married	B.A.	Teacher
5.	Dhadu Thapa	77	Male	Married	Literate	Pensioner
6.	Jhapu Thapa	42	Female	Married	SLC	Gur-wife
7.	Kala Thapa	55	Female	Married	Illiterate	Migra-wife
8.	Malgale Thapa	59	Male	Married	I.A.	Farmer
9.	Riuta Thapa	76	Female	Widow	Illiterate	Pensioner
10.	Taru Thapa	44	Female	Unmarried	B.A.	Farmer
11.	Thale Thapa	63	Male	Married	Literate	Pensioner
12.	Vim Thapa	46	Female	Unmarried	Literate	Gurkha Daughter

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

### 3.7.6 Field Work Description

The primary objective of field work is to collect information related to research issues and to observe the socio-economic and cultural practices of a study population in a natural setting. It is the core area of my research that I have discussed in chapter two. Moreover, from field visits, I can collect information about household operations with and without remittances in the absence of energetic male members. Therefore, fieldwork was carried out from January 5<sup>th</sup> to June 17, 2020. It was instrumental in understanding the norms, values, and cultural practices they were continuing before and after they got remittances. From field visits, primary as well as secondary data are collected from respective respondents and offices.

### 3.7.7 Rapport Building

Rapport building became the most challenging part of my dissertation. I had a preconceived notion that it would not be that much more difficult to conduct fieldwork as I was a resident of that locality before 2043 B.S. and I was revisiting my natal community after 35 years. However, I used to go there occasionally for a very short period of time. So I planned to take support from Taru so that the meeting with the household head would be

scheduled according to their time. Taru is a graduated teacher at Siddha Mandali Lower Secondary School in Upper Khali.

I took the consent for the conversation and then informed all the respondents about my objectives and the contents of the conversation. For this purpose, I requested Taru for further clarification about the visit. When a meeting was scheduled and I went to visit at the given time, I frequently got the answer from other members of the family by saying, "Wait for some time; she/he is coming from cattle and goat grazing/fodder collection and returning from the field." Even in Dhobadi Gautole, I got the answer, "I am in a hurry because I am going to attend the community meeting on the drinking water project." The events I have described here are to explain the difference between reality and my preconceived thoughts, which has helped me to understand the theory of expectation versus reality.

Because of the frequent unavailability of respondents, I realized that the community was not the same as I had imagined when I was groomed before 35 years. I mean, gathering for some time and sharing daily activities was not only social networking time in the past; rather, it was refreshment time after hard work for the village dwellers. Moreover, while I was heading for a meeting with the staff in Ward Office, I got the chance to observe two ladies resting their big load of firewood in Chautari. The encounter with them in Chautari provided me with an opportunity to observe new behaviors of doing rest as they were watching their mobiles rather than talking to each other. It was new behavior that I saw in village people. Their way of relaxation without interruption by our presence indicated that the culture of interrogation with strangers and sharing and caring of emotions in leisure time might be changed.

The behavior was not a big deal, but in earlier times, if a stranger or even a person from a neighboring village entered, all the villages knew details about him or her, such as; who/where/why and how long does he stay? All of the information about strangers has been blown out, but the way I was accompanied by the same job working colleague and their reluctance to engage in direct conversation with strangers made me very concerned about completing my field work objective. This event taught me to become more cautious while meetings were scheduled, and I adapted to the situation with the help of Taru, and fieldwork was conducted. Thus, the most important challenge to building trust before conversation had become more challenging due to the difference between my expectations and field reality.

During the field visit, household heads were visited in their houses, whereas the local leaders and teachers as key informants were visited in the Siddha Mandali Secondary School at Upper Khali, Jana Baraha Shram Higher Secondary School at Khangrang, and Araniko Plus Two School at Rang Bhang, and the leaders of the women's group were visited in the leaders' house. On top of that, municipality administrators were visited in Biruwa Rural Municipality, Syangja. Officials from Biruwa helped me to provide recorded data from the village profile. This book was published on the basis of the Household Survey 2076 B.S. The visit to the school was very fruitful as the teachers were not just locals but a few of them were also from neighboring villages. Information about schools as educational institutions, along with overall social phenomenon was shared by them. A majority of the teachers had common concern about the nominal enrollment of new students as seniors were leaving the school after SLC and most children were going to private English schools.

### **3.7.9 Key Informants**

The objective of choosing key informants is to know the overall information about prevailing social phenomenon that may not be collected from household heads, as the key informants are assumed to be more knowledgeable and they also represent civil society in a village context. For this purpose, four (4) school teachers, two (2) local leaders, and two (2) leaders from the Women's Group (Aama Samuha) are taken as key informants. The venues for key informants were the school and Municipality Office Biruwa, whereas household heads were visited at houses by key informants.

## **3.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

It is a continuous process of research in which classification, verification, coding, and tabulation are the procedures followed to draw a conclusion. As the study followed mixed methods, both simple statistics and interpretative methods were followed to make the data meaningful. First, the quantitative data collected from the household survey is recorded in excel. The listed data were then presented using simple statistics generated by a pivot table and analyzed thematically. Based on the analysis, the conclusion was drawn.

Qualitative data were collected in the form of narratives or in text form. For the analysis of narratives collected from open-ended interview techniques, coding, categorization, and synthesis are the procedures followed to draw conclusions. First,

narratives were organized and categorized based on themes, concepts, or similar features, and then, after examining the relationships among concepts. Those categories of concepts developed were economic aspects, social and challenges of employment, which are guided by research questions.

The conversation focused on the changing patterns of norms, values, and cultural practices such as family size, marriage, feasts, and festivals, as well as their daily household chores. The number of respondents is not of a large size, as the conversation was halted when the data was saturated. Then the information collected is presented systematically and logically.

### 3.8.1 Variable Definitions

- Production** : Production is output they obtained by using available resources like land, forest and domesticated animal.
- Income** : Monetary value they gain either by doing job or by exchanging their products.
- Employment** : Get employ within the origin or in foreign land. They may be Gurkhas or non-Gurkhas.
- Education** : Level of education attainment, from government school or private school.
- Norms and values** : Norms is accepted rule by the society and value is cultural standard to evaluate social behavior of an individual. Decision making power, headship in household chores.
- Cultural Practices** : Ceremonies that follow in both happy and sorrow moment.
- Experiences** : Opinion and experiences about the traditional practice of livelihood and foreign employment.

### 3.9 Limitation

People's mobility within the study area shows a heterogeneous character in terms of time duration, destination country, and income, etc. Therefore, the multi-dimensional aspect of migrants' character is not easy to discuss in a single dissertation, so some issues, despite their importance, are excluded. For example, academic migrants who are going abroad on a student visa are not included here. The number is very nominal. Apart from that, all kinds of connections, challenges, and working life related to the employees in the destination countries are detached here in the discussion, and the study is totally confined to the limited population having resembling characteristics.

This study is concentrated in a particular area of Syangja District, focusing on foreign employment opportunities as a factor for social change. It is based on the hill migrant community, which is dominated by the ethnic groups Magar and Gurung, and cannot claim to represent the entire migrant community because they may have several specific locational characteristics. Moreover, only foreign employees and remittances are taken as influencing factors for social change, and all other intervening factors like technology, politics, and demographical factors are less discussed or delimited in my study. It does not mean that they are not prime factors for social change. In addition, to make the research output most representatives and contextual, an isomorphic population is chosen; that is, Magar and Gurung dominated *Gautole* are selected for study. So the study here may not be generalized for all migrant families with different contexts and ecology at a national level.

For the study of social change in households' operations with the inflow of remittances and without energetic male members is focused for analysis. Apart from that, other factors for social change that could influence change are excluded from the discussion.

### **3.10 Ethical Consideration**

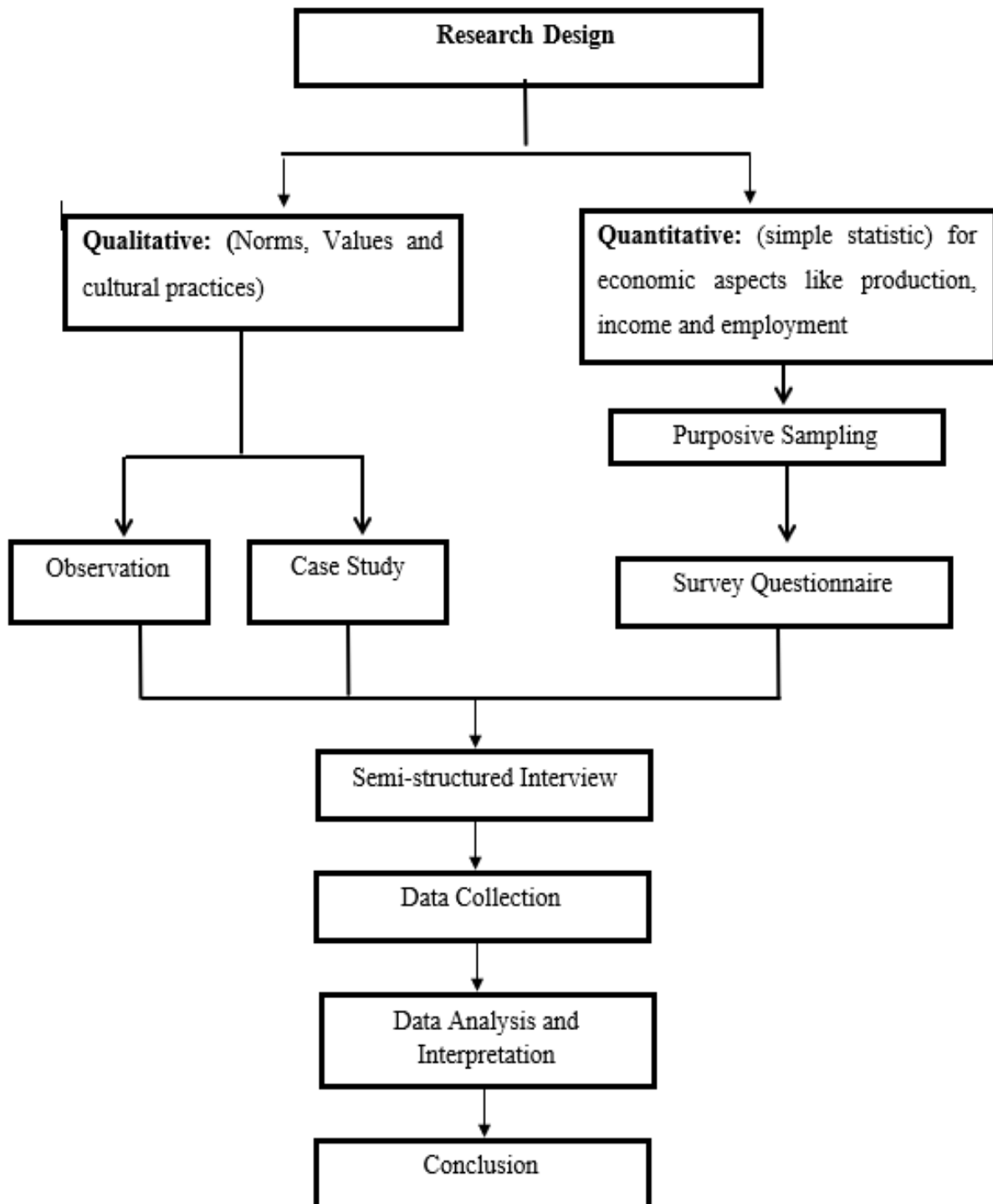
Research output here would contribute to the greater good of society as it would give information and create awareness about the amplified impact of foreign employment. Research has been conducted in a healthy environment by convincing and taking consensus from each respondent. The privacy and confidentiality of respondents has been maintained. They were pre-informed about the conversation and requested cooperation voluntarily.

Human subjects were considered when they asked for it and negation was also accepted when they were busy for the interview.

### 3.11 Research Framework

**Figure 3.2**

*Research Framework*



### 3.12 Definitions of key Terms

- Migration** : Migration is mobility of human being from one place to another within the country or by crossing boarder for their benefit.
- Foreign employment** : Employment is to be engaged for remuneration.
- Social change** : Social change is a term used to describe variations in, or modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, and social interaction of social organization M. E. Jones. (Rao, 1989:543).
- Remittances** : Amount sent back to the family of migrants' from destination country to origin.
- Resources** : All biotic and abiotic substances around is known as resources.
- HDI** : Human Development Index (HDI) is a statistical tool composed of three aspects; education, life expectancy and per capita income and is used to measure a country's overall achievement in its social and economic dimensions.
- Gurkhas** : Youths from Nepal who are inducted in Britain, India and Singapore as soldiers and police are commonly called Gurkhas.

## CHAPTER FOUR

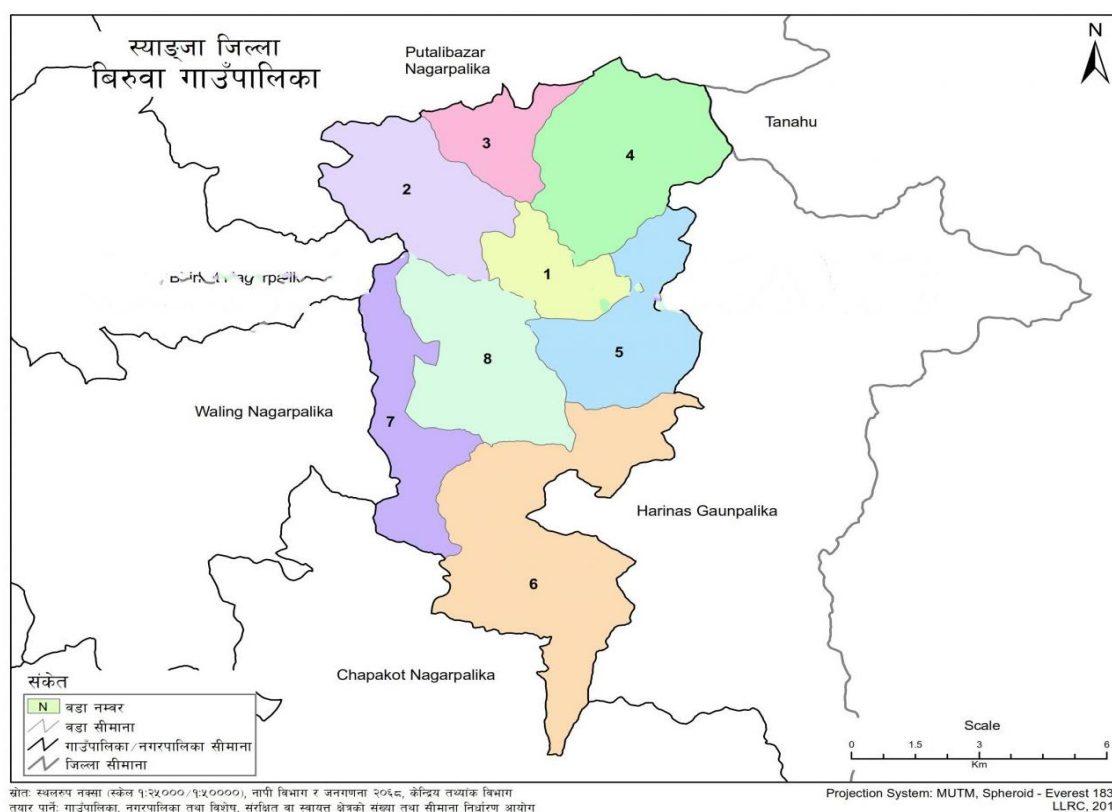
### THE SETTING

#### 4.1 Biruwa Rural Municipality: An Introduction

This chapter gives details about the study area and population. More specifically, I have talked about population composition, geography, sociocultural construction, and production pattern of the study area. Moreover, I have introduced existing educational institutions and some famous social institutions that are active in the study area.

#### Figure 4.1

*Political Division of Biruwa Village Municipality*



Among all eleven (11) districts of Province-4, Syangja is one, famous for the largest hydro power plant in the nation. The ‘Kaligandaki Hydro Power Plant’ located in Krishna Gandaki Rural Municipality at Mirmi. The district covers an area of 1,164 km<sup>2</sup> and lies in the hilly region at an altitude ranging from 300 meters along the banks of the Kaligandaki River. Syangja has eleven (11) local units, among which five (5) are municipalities and six (6) are

rural municipalities. Among six, Biruwa is one ethnically Magar dominated rural municipality surrounded by Putalibazar on the northern side, Harinas and Tanahun district from the east, Chapakot on the south, Bhirkot and Walling from the west, and Syangja Bazaar, the administrative headquarter which is connected with the Siddhartha Highway.

## 4.2 General Overview

Before the 1990s, foreign employment was not a prevalent social phenomenon as compared to its current occurrence. Indeed, agriculture and animal was primary sources of livelihood for people throughout the year. Land, forest and livestock they owned had a great value to get social respect however, surge in practice of foreign employment have lessen the value of traditional practices of livelihood earning. It was started to surge after 1990s onwards, with the economic boom of newly developed countries like South Korea, Malasiya, the Middle East, Singapore, etc. and labor market was opened even for unskilled human resource and large number of people has become labor migrants (Gurung, 2017). In this global context, the following data shows the involvement of population in foreign employment from the study area.

Table 4.1 below indicates, before foreign employment, the number of households with regular income was significantly lower. Out of total households, 744 reported only twenty-one percent (21%) of households having regular income. These households were mostly Indian and British Gurkha households, which were drawing a pension/salary from the respective countries. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the other households had no easy access to generate regular income other than occasional income from the local market. The local market means the selling of their own products like buffalo, pigs, goats, and milky products (ghee) sometimes. On top of that, labor selling was another way to earn their livelihood.

**Table 4.1**

*Ward-Wise Distribution of Households Based on Regular Income (Before Foreign Employment)*

<b>S.N.</b>	<b>Wards</b>	<b>Total No. of HHs.</b>	<b>HHs with Monthly Salary</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>	<b>HHs without Monthly Salary</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
1	Rang bhang	58	14	24	44	76
2	Khang rang	77	36	47	41	53
3	Chiruwa	101	29	29	72	71
4	Jymere	78	15	19	63	81
5	Khali	79	8	10	71	90
6	Dhobadi	97	13	13	84	87
7	Bhaisegauda	93	16	17	77	83
8	Lower Khali	67	10	15	57	85
9	Lalang	53	9	17	44	83
10	Bhorle	41	7	17	34	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>744</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>79</b>

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

As table 4.1 indicates, before foreign employment, the number of households with regular income was significantly lower. Out of total households, 744 reported that only twenty-one percent (21%) of households having regular income. These households were mostly Indian and British Gurkha households, which were drawing a pension/salary from the respective countries. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the other households had no easy access to generate regular income other than occasional income from the local market. The local market means the selling of their own products like buffalo, pigs, goats, and milky products (ghee) sometimes. On top of that, labor selling was another way to earn their livelihood.

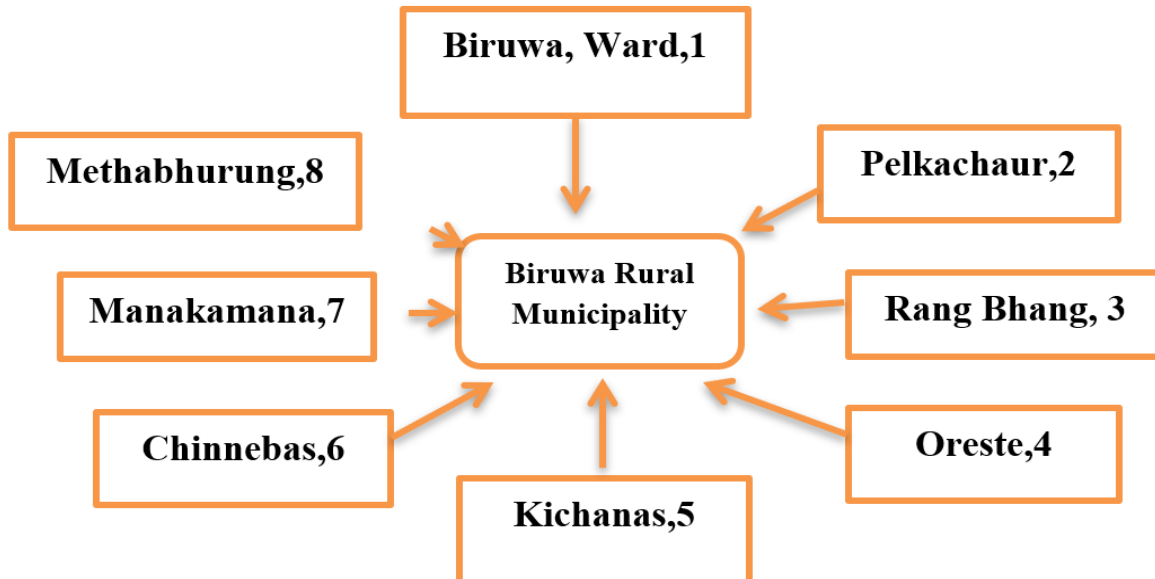
This was the time period in which all the available land was cultivated for agricultural production, and the land had great value. At this time, people used to cultivate others' land even for a half-portion of their production (*Adhiya*).

### 4.3 Political and Administrative Division

On 12 March 2017, the government of Nepal introduced a new local administrative body consisting of 753 local units in total. In this new structure, old village development committees (VDCs) and their nine wards are merged and parted into the new administrative structure of municipalities and rural municipalities. In this process, a few VDCs are solely merged with their nine wards, whereas most of them are partially merged. Biruwa is one of these 753 local units. It consists of eight (8) wards by merging and unraveling the old Village Development Committee of Syangja District. The following figure presents the newly structured Biruwa Rural Municipality with its eight wards.

**Figure 4.2**

*Composition of Biruwa Rural Municipality by Wards*



Three VDCs, Biruwa Archale, Manakamana, and Oreste, are completely merged with its nine wards in its formation, while four VDCs, Rang Bhang, Pelka Chour, Chinnebas, and Kichanas, are partially merged. From Rang Bhang VDC, (4-8) Wards, from VDCs, (3-9) Wards of Pelkachour, Oreste, Manakamana, (1-6) Wards of Chinnebas VDCs, and one to five and seven wards (1–5, 7) of Kichanas. Biruwa Rural Municipality is surrounded by

Putalibazar on the north, Harinas and Tanahun districts from the east, Chapakot on the south, and Bhirkot and Walling from the west.

Biruwa Rural Municipality belongs to Gandaki Province four (4), Syangja District. The capital city of this province is Pokhara, and the district headquarters is Putali Bazar, Syangja. Biruwa Bazar is the administrative center of Biruwa Rural Municipality. There are eight (8) ward-level administrative offices located near the heart of Gautole. Office is an important local body of government which performs important roles for the citizens, such as birth, marriage, and death registration, and the registration of senior citizens for old age allowances. It also produces legal documents for migration.

In Biruwa Rural Municipality, there is a police station, a forest office, an agriculture service center, and a veterinary center. Besides these, there are six health posts and three health care units (Local Household Survey, 2075).

#### **4.4 Demographic Composition**

In 2075 B.S., Biruwa Rural Municipality conducted a survey to collect different kinds of data to get information about its new administrative formation. For the study here, I have relied on that local household survey (from 2075 B.S.). According to the survey 2075 B.S., the total population is 25,179 where the male population is 12,232 and the female population is 12,947, whereas, CBS 2068 B.S. reported the total population were 18,413. The total area of the municipality is 95.79 square kmand the population density was 262.85 in the year 2075 and 192.2 in the year 2068 B.S. Average the average size of a family is 4.3. The following table shows the household distribution of eight wards in Biruwa Rural Municipality.

Table 4.2 shows that Oreste ward - 4 is the largest out of the eight wards, consisting of 845 households, whereas Pelkachour is the smallest ward, with 317 households. The total households are 3736, having a total population of 25,179. The sex ratio is 1.05, meaning one male is equal to 1.05 females in the population. According to a local household survey, (2075 B.S.), the mean family size is 6, i.e. a family consists of 6 members on an average.

#### **Table4.2**

*Population Distribution of Biruwa Rural Municipality by Wards*

S.N.	Eight Wards	Number of Households	Female	Male	Ratio	Total	Average Family Size
1	Biruwa, Archale	339	932	998	1.07	1,930	5
2	Pelkachour	317	1,214	1,307	1.07	2,521	8
3	Rangbhang	394	1,165	1,197	1.02	2,362	6
4	Oreste	845	2,826	2,911	1.03	5,737	6
5	Kichanas	504	1,596	1,686	1.05	3,282	6
6	Chinnebas	454	1,399	1,542	1.10	2,941	6
7	Manakamana	432	1,497	1,586	1.05	3,083	7
8	Methabhurung	451	1,603	1,720	1.07	3,323	7
Total		3736	12,232	12,947	1.05	25,179	6

*Source: Local Household Survey 2019.*

*(Note: the average family size has been rounded down to 0 decimal places)*

Table 4.2 shows that Oreste ward - 4 is the largest out of the eight wards, consisting of 845 households, whereas Pelkachour is the smallest ward, with 317 households. The total households are 3736, having a total population of 25,179. The sex ratio is 1.05, meaning one male is equal to 1.05 females in the population. According to a local household survey, (2075 B.S.), the mean family size is 6, i.e. a family consists of 6 members on an average.

#### **4.5 Population Composition by Caste**

Biruwa Rural Municipality is heterogeneous in its population composition. However, ethnic groups like Magars and Gurungs are dominated in number. They have long history of migration for economic purpose. However, most of them were serving as Gurkhas in three different countries such as Britain, Singapore and India. When we talk about the population composition of units or Gautoles, they show homogeneous characteristics such as Magar Gautole, Gurung Gautole, Brahmin and Bhujel Gautole etc., though occupational groups are found almost in all Gautoles or wards. Table 4.3 presents the population distribution by caste.

**Table: 4.3**

*Demographic Composition of Biruwa Rural Municipality*

<b>S.N.</b>	<b>Caste</b>	<b>Population</b>
1.	Brahmin	5,512
2.	Chhetri	1,304
3.	Kami	1,840
4.	Sarki	562
5.	Damai	419
6.	Magar	9,791
7.	Gurung	4,605
8.	Gharti	519
9.	Newar	132
10.	Kunwar	214
11.	Thakuri	244
12.	Muslim	37
<b>Total</b>		<b>25,179</b>

*Source: Local Household Survey 2019.*

As per table 4.3, Biruwa Rural Municipality exhibits national demographic characteristics in these twelve (12) different ethnic and caste groups residing in Rural Municipality though the size of their populations varies. In total population Magar ethnic group has the highest population (9,791), followed by Brahmin (with 5512), and Gurungs have remained in third place since. Muslims have also resided in this area. They are traders and are known as "Churaute" in the local language. From the very beginning, this population is well known about the lucrative salary drawn by employment abroad. So even other caste group except Magars and Gurung are found to be foreign employed though the number of employed was not significant.

#### **4.6 Geographical Setting**

Biruwa is a rural area of Syangja district. It lies at latitude 28°15' north and longitude 83°53'36" east and is located 1564 meters above sea level. It covers an area of 95.79 square km (household survey 2076 BS). The study area is a hilly region with a temperate climate. Most of the land is sloped, consisting of forest and less fertile land. All kinds of flora and fauna are found, except extreme tropical and tundra vegetation.

The low land (Khet) of this area is used for paddy production as these fields get irrigation facilities through local water management during the monsoon, whereas the major part of the land is used for millet and maize production. Buffalo, oxen, goats, pigs, and chickens are the most popular animals for domestication. Rivers and rivulets are used only for drinking water, and use of water for irrigation is seasonal for paddy production.

#### **4.7 Socio-cultural Construction**

Hindu domination can be observed in socio-cultural construction. Of the total population of the municipality (25,179), 20,346 are Hindu, 3806 are Buddhist followers, and the rest are Christian, Islam, and others. The majority population (74.4%) spoke Nepali and Magar language speakers occupied the second position with more than fifteen percent (15.1%) of the population in this area. Gurung is third with 7.8 percent, and Newari is spoken by 1.7 percent of the population (Local Household survey 2075). Rate for males is 86.05 percent and the literacy rate for females is 69.6 percent (Household Survey, 2075).

Dashain, Tihar, and Teej are commonly celebrated in this area. However, Maghe Shakranti and Buddha Jayanti for the Magar community and Poush Fifteen for the Gurung community are special festivals for the study population. Buddha Purnima is celebrated with traditional dance (Ghatu Nach) by the Magar community. Apart from that, Sorathi dance and Jhyaure are also famous traditional practices for entertainment. Worship to God and Goddesses such as Baraha Pooja by Magar, Devi Pooja, and Kul Pooja are popular in this area.

#### **4.8 Educational Institutions in Biruwa Rural Municipality**

Both private and government schools and colleges are conducting education, though private schools are newly operating. The Bachelor level is the highest level of education that

can be obtained in Biruwa Rural Municipality. This is a government campus named Biruwa Bahumukhi Campus located at the Biruwa Ward. The details about the total educational institutions are presented in the following table.

**Table 4.4**

*Educational Institution in Biruwa Rural Municipality*

S.N.	Description	Government	Community	Private	Total
1	Basic Level[Grade 1-8]	25	-	2	27
2	Lower Sec Level[Grade 1-8]	8	-	1	9
3	Secondary Level [ Grade 1 – 12]	9	-	-	9
4	Campus [Bachelor's Degree]	-	1	-	1
5	Madrasa <sup>8</sup>	-	-	-	-
6	Vocational Education	-	-	-	-
7	Training Center	-	-	-	-
8	Community Child Development Center	-	-	-	-
Total		34	1	2	37

*Source: Local House Survey 2019.*

As per the information specified in table 4.4, mostly government schools provide education, and there are a few private schools. Currently, there is only one campus within the municipality. Other institutions for vocational training and developing skills are not established, and hence the villagers are completely out of reach of such training. The education facilities for primary schools within the area were abundant, but the attendance of children was significantly low and the schools were not able to utilize their maximum potential. The following table presents the educational status of the total population residing in Biruwa Rural Municipality.

<sup>8</sup> Madrasa is an educational institution offering instruction in Islamic subjects including, but not limited to, the Quran.

**Table 4.5***Literacy Rate of Biruwa Rural Municipality*

<b>S.N.</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>CBS 2068</b>	<b>Local Municipality Survey 2074</b>
1	Literacy Rate [Total Population]	76.60%	94.39%
2	Literacy Rate [Male]	86.05%	96.81%
3	Literacy Rate [Female]	69.60%	91.84%

*Source: Local House Survey 2019.*

Table 4.5 represents the literacy rate of Biruwa Rural Municipality. The overall literacy rate within the municipality is on the higher side. However, it was noted that the male literacy rate was greater than the literacy rate of females.

#### **4.9 Land Holding**

Land is our most reliable and traditional source of living. It is because every person, with or without their special skills, can generate their living. People with a lot of land had a lot of respect in society and a lot of status in their community. The following table shows the land holding pattern of Biruwa Rural Municipality.

**Table 4.6**

*Household Distribution in Biruwa Rural Municipality - Basis of Land Holding (8 Wards)*

<b>Ward Number</b>	<b>Land Holding Area in Ropani</b>					<b>Without Land</b>	<b>Unknown about Landholding</b>
	<b>Less than 2</b>	<b>2 - 5</b>	<b>6 - 10</b>	<b>11 - 20</b>	<b>More than 20</b>		

1	27	72	152	80	5	1	2
2	121	103	77	14	2	0	0
3	87	245	49	11	2	0	0
4	226	282	206	53	60	6	12
5	59	189	218	9	27	2	0
6	56	226	146	20	5	1	0
7	279	111	35	5	2	0	0
8	158	193	79	12	9	0	0
Total HHS	1013	1421	962	204	112	10	14
Percentage	27	38	25.6	5.5	3	0.27	0.37

*Source: Local Household Survey 2019.*

The data presented in table 4.6 shows the poor status of land ownership in all eight wards. More than 27.11 percent of households own land worth less than two ropanis. It is a small area of land because it is not in a flat area and is also not very fertile. On these two ropanis of land, they have their living house and a very small area of land for production. The major population falls on the land ownership of 2-5 ropanis. They account for 38 percent of the total. Land ownership is held by only 3 percent of households. The traditional leaders such as Mukhiya and Jimal and politically appointed people during the Panchayat system are included.

#### **4.10 Occupation**

Agriculture is the main and traditional occupation in Biruwa Rural Municipality. Most of the households are engaged in agricultural production. However, the amount produced and the area cultivated by them differ. Besides agriculture and animal husbandry, the people are also involved in making bamboo baskets, ropes, and selling labor as an alternative occupation. However, nowadays, foreign employment has become a primary occupation in

order to earn a living. All castes of people equally adopt foreign employment and Gurkha service as per their affordability.

#### 4.11 Production Status

Corn, millet, paddy, and wheat are the major cereal products in Biruwa Rural Municipality. Paddy is produced in fewer amounts as compared to millet and corn as its production depends on the availability of irrigation facilities and a plane area of topography. As already discussed about the sloped terrain of Biruwa Rural Municipality, the flat area for paddy production is limited to the base of the mountain and the bank of the small River and rivulet. Moreover, production is totally dependent on the monsoon alone. Therefore, most of the land resources are used only once a year for paddy, millet, and maize production. Beans and green vegetables, along with fruits, are subsidiary products of this area. However, fruit such as oranges are grown as a cash crop in this region. The following table shows the production status of Biruwa Rural Municipality.

Table 4.7 below shows the various kinds of food grains are produced in Biruwa Rural Municipality. Data reports the major portion of the productive land area being used for the three main cereal products; paddy, 1481 hectares, corn, and millet, 1524 hectares, whereas land for bean production is the least in area. However, beans are also planted on the edges with paddy and millet fields. The area for fruit production is 876 hectares, which shows the inclination of farmers toward fruit production. However, the production of remaining grains shows a pathetic condition in spite of its great importance in daily food consumption.

**Table 4.7**

*Distribution of Agriculture Production in Biruwa Rural Municipality*

S.N.	Description of Goods	Fiscal Year 2073/74	
		Production Area [Hectares]	Quantity Produced [Quintal]
1	Paddy	1,481	37,025

<b>Fiscal Year 2073/74</b>			
<b>S.N.</b>	<b>Description of Goods</b>	<b>ProductionArea [Hectares]</b>	<b>Quantity Produced [Quintal]</b>
2	Corn	1,596	31,920
3	Millet	1,524	30,480
4	Wheat	791	15,820
5	Beans	197	2,955
6	Mustard and Sunflower Seeds	223	3,345
7	Vegetables	385	7,700
8	Fruits	876	17,520
Total		2,472	109,740

*Source: Local House Survey 2019.*

#### **4.12 Production Sufficiency of Rural Municipality**

Most of the households buy food grains from the district headquarters in Syangja. As they are less interested in local production and prefer to be labor migrants, there are very few households there who hardly produce sufficient food grain for a year. Otherwise, most households buy all kinds of food grains throughout the year. The following table presents the present status of production sufficiency.

**Table4.8**

*Household Distribution of Rural Municipality on the Basis of Production Sufficiency*

Ward Number	Production Sufficiency of Households for				Surplus Production and Sales
	Less than 3 Months	4-6 months	7-9 Months	10-12 months	
1	23	155	50	110	1
2	26	261	5	25	0
3	187	139	5	63	0
4	155	418	56	212	4
5	110	185	21	178	10
6	50	159	31	200	14
7	205	213	10	4	0
8	48	191	94	115	3
Total HHs	804	1721	272	907	32
Percentage	21.52%	46.07%	7.28%	24.28%	0.86%

*Source: Local House Survey 2019.*

The table 4.8 reflects a poor situation of production sufficiency within Biruwa Rural Municipality, as only 24.28 percent of households have sufficient agricultural products for living. The majority of households with insufficient production import food grains and other additional food items in large quantities (75 percent). Only 0.8 percent of households with sufficient production indicate a significant shift in sources of income. Furthermore, 21.52 percent of households have only been producing for three months, indicating that a significant number of households do not rely on agriculture for a living.

#### **4.13 Forest**

Forest is another important source for human from which they get direct and indirect benefit. It is a source of raw materials of medicine and for the fulfillment of regular requirement for shelter. Indirectly, it is benefited for ecological balance, water conservation and for panoramic views. Nepal is remarkably diverse in flora and fauna due to its climatic

and topographical variation that induce high potential to get various kinds of benefits. Moreover, forest area in Nepal is still existed in reasonable measure. It covers 44.74 percent of the total area of the country which is derived from the mapped area 147,734.23 Sq. Km (Government of Nepal: Ministry of Forests and Soil Conservation, 2018). However, the data from Global Forest Resources Assessment 2020 reports the reducing area of forest from 44.74 to 40.36 percent of total land area. Survey conducted in 2075 B.S. by Rural Municipality shows that a total of 1011.86 Hectore area of land is covered by community forest. Besides that '*Ranikot Danda Forest*' located in Manakamana is the government protected forest (Local Municipality Survey, 2075 B.S.).

Specifically, in vegetation, Sal forest, deciduous forest and grasslands are found in significant portion. However, the bushy plants (*Banmase*) are covering more area now days. Paddy, millet and maize along with varieties of legumes are main production of this area. Moreover, medicinal plant such as *Amala*, *Ritha*, *Haro*, Tumeric and Ginger are also found in this area but the production is not commercialized.

#### **4.14 Chapter Summary**

Biruwa Village Municipality is composed of eight different wards with a diversified population composition. The Magars and Gurungs are the dominant communities for the study. All kinds of flora and fauna are found in this area, except tundra. Land, forests, and animals, along with employment opportunities are sources of livelihood for the population. Most households from this area are involved in foreign employment. They work in various countries around the world, but the majority of them are Gurkha soldiers who serve for India, the United Kingdom, and Singapore. Majority of the people are hindu in this area, but Buddhism and other religions are also followed by the population. Women (*Ama Samuha*) and youth organizations are active functional units of that society which contribute voluntarily to community work.

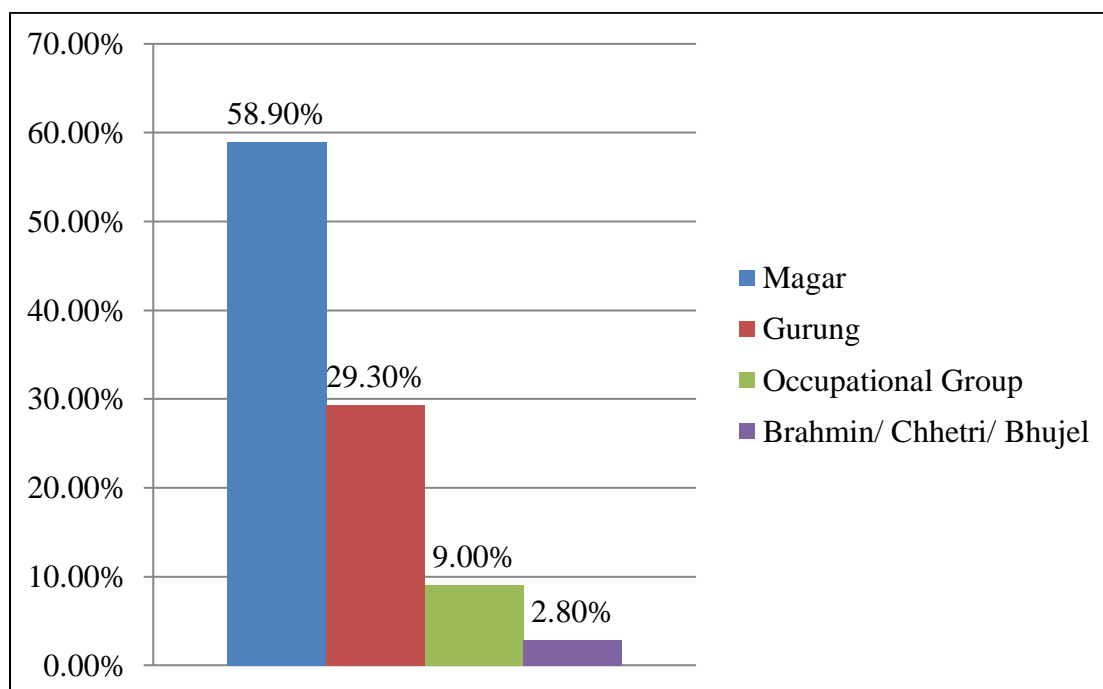
## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CAUSES OF FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT**

This chapter analyzes the available sources of earning that the migrants are practicing. The study related to land, forest, livestock, agricultural products and employment opportunities available in the study area have been taken for discussion. I assumed that there is a close relationship between production status of migrants' household and employment abroad. Therefore, the area of land and its utilization for production, forest products, domestication of animals and employment opportunities and socio-political construction all are focused here for analysis. In production, agricultural practices and yield, animal husbandry, and forest products are taken as sub-topics of production. Moreover, employment opportunities and existing status of employment at local level and income in terms of monetary value are considered important variables for analysis.

#### **5.1 Social Hierarchy**

Social hierarchy is a system of ranking individuals or group within a society based on various factors such as power, caste education etc. In analysis of position in political arena no leader is found involving in national level of politics. Only one leader from the study is found representing the province level and four leaders from sample households are found as ward members. Regarding the position in social hierarchy, the following figure presents the existing status of study population.

**Figure 5.1***Population Composition by Caste*

Source: *Field Survey 2020.*

The data presentation on caste composition of study population shows the majority of population is dominated by Magar community. Magar ethnic group occupies third position in the demographic composition of Nepal however they are rarely found in decision making role of nation. Above data shows all together 88.2 percent of people are from ethnic groups, only 11.8 percent are from other caste groups. In context of Nepal, regardless of their dominant size in population composition, ethnic groups are supposed to be disadvantaged group in terms of education, power exercise and social hierarchy that led them to be incompetent to grab the limited opportunities available in the home country.

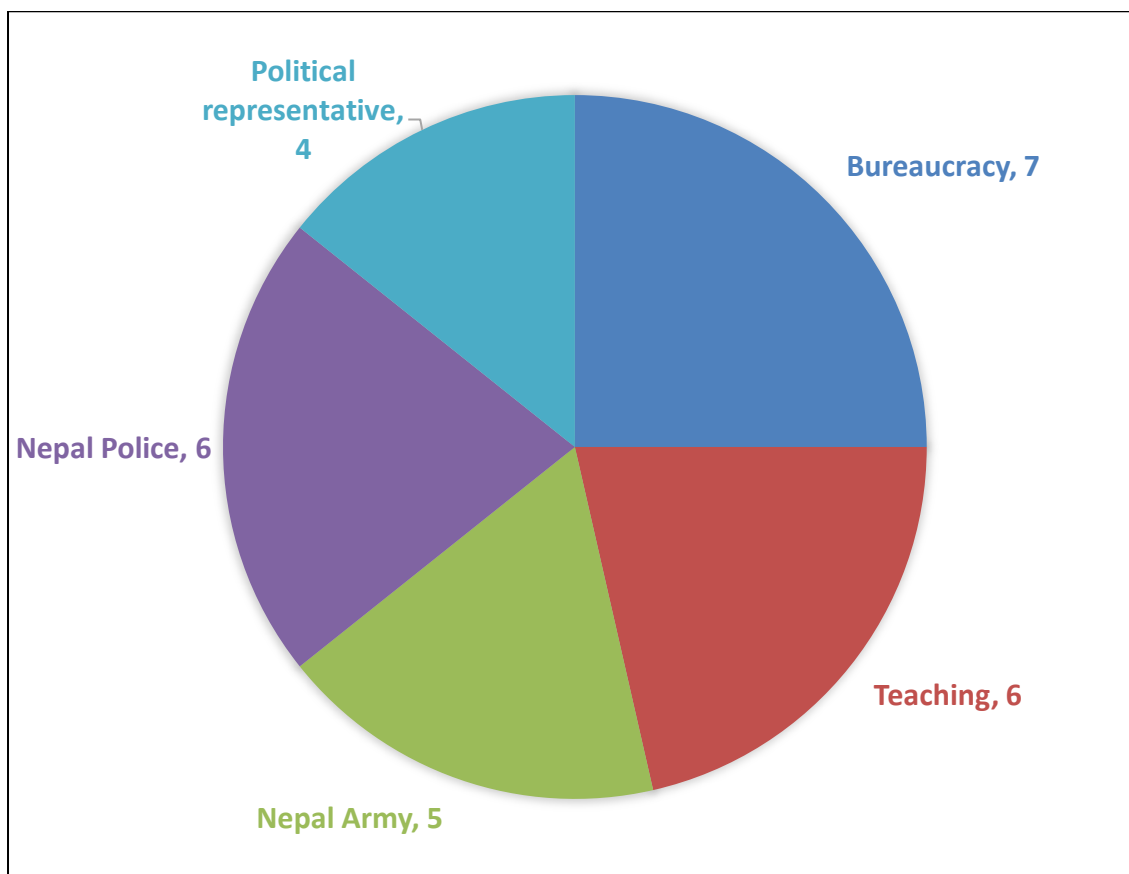
## 5.2 Employment Status

Employment at origin is a very rare opportunity for the study population. The teaching profession, government service as a soldier and bureaucratic professionals are rare area for employment that needs a certain level of education and competency. As the majority of the study population is not well educated and aware of opportunities, it is very difficult for them to be employed in this area. So, very nominal numbers of people from sample

households are found working in low level of positions in local job market. The following figure shows the employment status of sample households

**Figure 5.2**

*Distribution of Locally Employed Individuals*



*Source: Field survey, 2020.*

Above pie chart shows only 28 individuals are involved in local job market. They hold low-level positions in government service and working in a low level position. However, two of them were found retired as officer from Nepal army. This shows very poor working status of study population in the local job market.

### **5.3 LandHolding**

Land is the most valued and reliable resource for livelihood earning throughout the world. It is utilized by all people, regardless of their technological ability, for the cultivation. In the study area, land resources are not that much fertile for production as its topography is

slopy and it lies in hilly region. In addition, there are no irrigation facilities available for production. Nevertheless, small area of low land is utilized for paddy production in support of the monsoon, whereas the rest of the terrain is used for maize and millet and bean production. Corn, millet and paddy are major crops whereas beans, fruits, and vegetables are produced on a small scale for domestic purposes. Oranges and citrus maxima (Bhogate) are cash crops however it remains yet to be commercialized. Therefore, proper utilization of land resources and their output is poor and lacks the ability to stand as a strong backup for survival. Table 5.1 presents about the detail of land resource holds by 102 sample households.

**Table 5.1**

*Area of Land Holdings by 102 Sample Households*

S.N.	Land Holding (in Ropani)	Number of Sample Households	Percent(%)
1	Less than 2	9	8.8
2	2 – 5	14	13.7
3	6 – 10	27	26.5
4	11 – 20	45	44.10
5	More than 20	7	6.9
6	Without Land	-	-
Total HHs		102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Table 5.1 shows the land-holding pattern of the sampled households. The land-holding of the households has been grouped into 6 categories. Table 5.1 shows that, there isn't a single household without land and they have their own residential house and ownership of land regardless of the area it covers. The majority of sample households (44 percent) own 10–20 ropani<sup>9</sup> of land. However, 6.90 percent of sample households own a good amount of land area. This data itself speaks very small number of populations are residing with good production. However, now a day they are facing the shortage of farm labor.

Out of the 102 sample households, 8.8 percent have less than two ropani of land area. By observing the area of land ownership, it can be said that people do not have a sufficient area of land for their living because the topography of land is not flat. The residents and they

<sup>9</sup> Ropani: Ropani is the measuring unit of land area in Nepal

cannot use all their land for cultivation throughout the year; rather it is used for seasonal production. Moreover, land holding below 10 ropani by 48 percent of sample households in context of sloped terrain shows the poor status in ownership.

Agricultural practices are in a declining trend as the output is not significant when compared with the labor work they used to do in the field. Additionally, the cost for buying rice, maize and wheat flour have become similar to the cost of production due to which people are reluctant to opt for physical labor in the fields. Since they are not aware of the importance of organic food grains and long term benefits for longevity, they'd rather prefer the easy way to buy consumables from the market. This has caused a significant decline in the agriculture practices within the study area. This buying culture is evolving in the rural area of Nepal which is resulted from employment abroad and remittances. Therefore, whatever the land area people hold is more or less left barren by all sample households. The following table shows information about the cultivation status of land among sample households.

**Table: 5.2**

*Distribution of Sample Households Based on Land Utilization*

S.N.	Cultivation Status	HHs	Percentage
1	All cultivated	21	21%
2	Half-cultivated	74	73%
3	Very Little nearby house	7	6%
Total		102	100%

*Source: Field Survey, 2020.*

Data from table 5.2 shows a major portion of sample households (72.54 %) are cultivating only 50 percent of the land they hold, and this cultivating area is located near their residence and is the most productive. However, this utilization of land without modern technology is insufficient for self-sustenance for the rest of the year. Therefore, the 74 sample households are in a 50-50 situation of buying food and producing it from their own land. This group of sample households includes pensioners and existing foreign employees who receive a good amount of remittances, allowing them to purchase additional consumable goods

comfortably. Therefore, they are quite safe economically and belong to the lower middle class in a village context. Some of them have also purchased new land in the urban areas (Syangja, Chitwan, Rangkhola and Pokhara).

The second group of sample households, consisting of 20.5 percent are cultivating all land area they owned, shows they are continuing the traditional practice of cultivation. These groups of households are mostly belonging to pensioners. However, they are also shifting their traditional types of farming cereal crops to cash crop farming like orange, ginger, and turmeric production. Though production is traditional and not commercialized, all products are consumed in the local market. The rest of the other population is 6.86 percent of sample households, and practice dual locality. They are the most mobile and economically strong in the village. Parents and grandparents are living at their natal home, and school children with parental guardians are in urban areas. They have a good income and newly constructed houses too in the urban area.

Thus, the information related to the status of land resource shows poor utilization of land for production and reports the significant portion of non-cultivated area is increasing with the surge in the number of foreign employees. Moreover, there is no information about the utilization of modern technology and support for commercial production, so even farmers are not aware of JTA. However, "for the last two years, the local government has distributed some fruit saplings like lemon, orange and raw materials to construct plastic tunnels for vegetable production, but it is in a very early stage of yielding," said the key informants.

#### **5.4 Forest**

People get direct and indirect benefits from the forest. Direct benefits include fuel wood, raw materials for industry, agricultural inputs, support for the tourism industry, job opportunities, and so on, whereas indirect benefits include ecological balance, soil and water conservation, and so on. However, despite its multiple possibilities for benefits, people in the study area are using forest products only for limited domestic purposes. They are using forest products mainly for fuel, fodder, and house construction. The following table presents the existing status of forest consumption patterns.

**Table 5.3**

*Utilization of Forest Product Based on Different Purposes.*

S.N.	Use of Forest Products	Sample HHs	Percentage of Total Sample
1	Fuel (Firewood)	102	100 %
2	Employment	-	-
3	Industry	-	-
4	Medicinal Purpose	5	4.9 %
5	Agricultural Tools	102	100 %

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

According to the data presented in table 5.3, all 102 sample households use the forest product mostly for firewood, fodder and agricultural tools. Data reports, the forest products are not utilized yet for employment and industrial purposes. Only five (5) households are reported for partial use of forest resources for medicinal purposes. Moreover, the forest is used as a source for making agricultural tools like ploughs, sickles, spades, and axes etc. All of the sample households deny using the forest for completely commercial purposes. However, seven (7) sample households informed that they are using forest resources to gain partial employment by producing bamboo products such as rope and baskets (*choya and doko*) and selling them to community members who do not have access to male members to construct for daily use.

Besides that, conversation with respondent informed that in the earlier time, people used to construct most of their daily belongings from the forest products such as bamboo comb, sickle box (*Khurpeto*), fishing basket (*Furlum and Shivring*), small and big Basket to harvest paddy and millet grains and, meat keeping basket (*Piringo*) etc. These types of goods from forest are not only their belongings rather it was the indigenous art of constructing goods from their own surroundings. Especially, the bamboo comb was the typical tools designed to take out louse with its eggs from long hair. It shows forest as a source to fulfill multiple requirements for study population but now days, use of forest is confined in limited items of their daily use.

Though, bamboo is still utilized to construct goods and they are earning. For example, they earn NPR350-500 for one basket (*Doko*), NPR800-1000 for one piece of *Nanglo*, and NPR300 for a single rope. However the production and market are seasonal, said key informant Patali Thapa. This activity supports the needs of both parties seller as an entrepreneur earning their living and buyer as an unskilled needy people fulfilling their daily requirement which they cannot construct by themselves however due to traditional system, people are not as beneficial as they could be.

## **5.5 Livestock**

Animal husbandry is another strong support for earning a livelihood for study population. Animals are a great way not only to fulfill their living requirements such as milk products, meat, eggs and manure for agricultural production rather it is the source of hard cash for this community. Therefore, it has been experimenting with agriculture in a parallel way. Buffalo, goats, pigs, and fowl are the main domesticated animals in this area. However, the current data shows that people are leaving to rare buffalo and cows along with oxen in the study area. The following table shows the existing status of animal rearing for 102 sample households.

**Table: 5.4***Distribution of Sample Households based on Animals/Fowls Rearing*

S.N.	Domesticated animals	Rearing		Not-Rearing		Total
		HHs	%	HHs	%	
1	Buffalo	47	46	55	54	102
2	Cow/Oxen	8	8	94	92	102
3	Goat	64	63	38	37	102
4	Pig	5	5	97	95	102
5	Fowls	95	93	7	7	102

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

The data shown in table 5.4 indicates the domestication of animals has been reduced significantly. The buffalo, cow, oxen, goat, and fowl are the most commonly domesticated animals in this community. However, the number of buffalo-keeping sample households is only forty six percent (46%), which is substantially reduced as compared to the previous practice of keeping buffalo by all households. Goats are reared by sixty-three percent (63%) of households, which is the greater number of sample households in 102 sample households, and fowl, with 93 percent, is the greatest number of sample households. According to key informant Taru Thapa (Respondent No. 19), the number of households with buffalo-rearing is significantly reduced as it is quite difficult to raise compared to other animals. Fowls and goats are the easiest animals to rear in the village locality and anybody can do it with a small scale of investment and no need for special education.

Moreover, out of 102 households, only 6 poultry farms and 4 pig farms with 4–9 pigs were observed. The production was partially consumed in the local market and the remaining portion was sold to Syangja Bazar. From the data, it is also found that the number of households with cows and oxen was only seven percent (7%). This shows that there is no interest or rearing practices among the study population. However, the majority of the sample household is raising goats. The number of goats ranges from 2 to 21, though these goats are local breeds. They are generating a good income from goat farming. For example, from a one-year old Billy goat, about NPR.12,000-25,000, they are earning either by selling it alive to a local vender who goes to Syangja Bazzar to resell it at a high price as the prices vary

between the local market and the city area. In urban areas, they get NPR1,000–1,100 per kg and

NPR700–800 per kg in the local market. So they prefer to sell in the city area rather than the village market. It shows the potential of being a lucrative source of income, but people are not implementing it on a large scale of production.

Pig is another domesticated animal that used rare in study area. It was reared by most of the sample household in the past said key informant. But during field visit only five households were found. However, fowls were found in 93 percent of sample households. It shows, people are now following the easiest work form which they can get good return in less effort.

## 5.6 Agricultural Production

Agriculture is the back bone of traditional economy however it has been changing with time and place. Most of the households are found doing agricultural practices though the area of cultivation is not significant compare to their land ownership. Millet, Maize and Paddy are found as a main cereal production. Cultivation of wheat is not found among sample household, in spite of its consumption in their foodstuff. The following table shows the production status of main cereal production.

**Table: 5.5**

*Distribution of Sample Household Based on Agricultural Production*

S.N.	Agricultural Production	Below 2 Muri		2 - 5 Muri		6 - 17 Muri		Total Sample HHs
		HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	
1.	Millet	62	61	36	35	4	4	102
2.	Maize	44	43	54	53	4	4	102
3.	Paddy	75	74	23	23	4	4	102

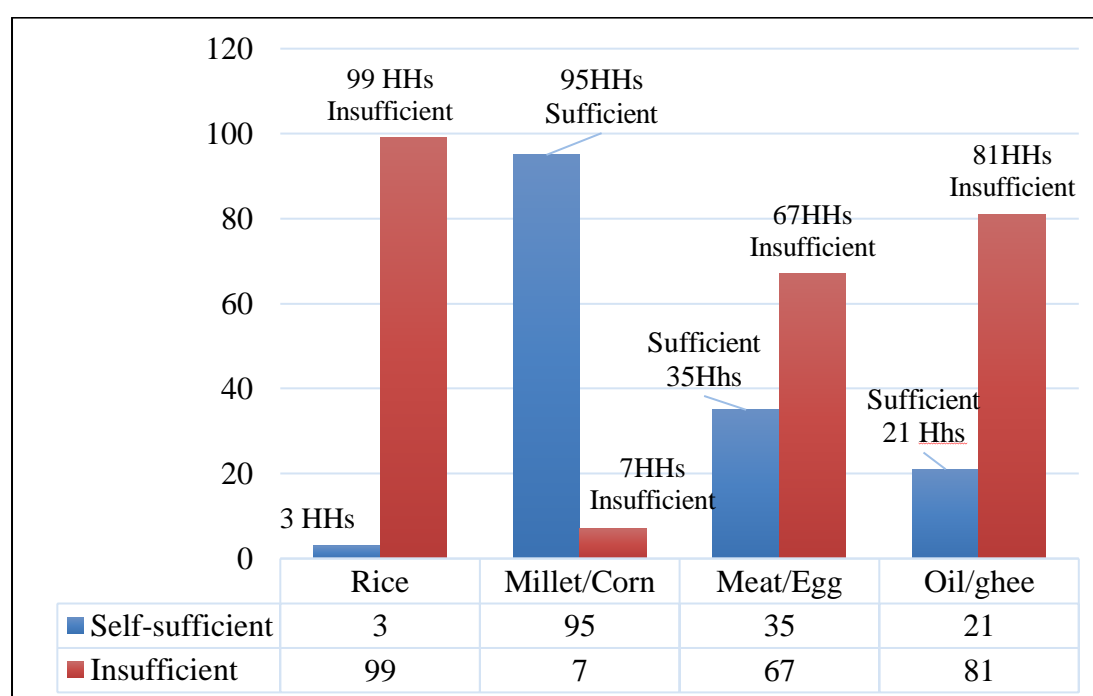
*Source: Field Survey, 2020.*

Table 5.5 shows that 74 and 61 percent of sample households are producing paddy and millet below than 2 muri. This group of sample households is supposed to be in lower level

economically and they are buyers of every kinds of foodstuff throughout the year. The second group of sample household with 2-5 muri production is not also producing sufficient amount of food grains for them. The family members from these sample households are heavily involved in foreign employment. Due to this left-behind are suffering for the male manpower and side by side they are getting remittances for buying required food grains. Only 4 percent household is producing above 6 murifood grains. It means they are holding good amount of land area and continuing their traditional practice of livelihood.

**Figure 5.3**

*Production Sufficiency at Present*



*Source: Field survey, 2020.*

The above diagram shows, almost all types of production required for basic needs are insufficient for study population and rice production is significantly low. However, millet production shows good numbers of household producing rice production is insufficient for 99 percent of sample households. When analyzing all sources of production, it becomes evident that there is insufficient output to sustain livelihoods.

Moreover, employment opportunities and existing status of employment at local level and income in terms of monetary value are considered important variables for analysis. Survey questionnaires were used to collect data from a total of 102 sample households. The

interview is focused to collect data on production, such as farming, forest products they brought from the jungle, animal husbandry, and job opportunities they are engaged in. The collected information is quantitative in nature, so by using simple statistics, the data are presented and analyzed.

### 5.7 Income and Employment Destination

Local employment is a very rare opportunity for the study population. The teaching profession, government service as a soldier, or bureaucracy is all options at the origin. All of these areas need a certain level of education and the number of vacancies is limited due to how competitive it is to get employment. As the majority of the study population is not well educated and aware of opportunities, the chance to get local employment is very difficult for them. On top of that, influencing income by their forefathers' by joining as Gurkha soldiers, encouraged them to seek employment abroad. Therefore, underproduction regardless of hard work and a continuous battle for basic needs has encouraged them to be foreign employees.

**Table 5.6**

*Income Status of Sample Households Based on Employment Destination*

S.N.	Employment Category	Employment Destination	Monthly Income (NPR)
1	Gurkha	Indian Gurkha British Gurkha	45,000 - 300,000
2	Foreign Employment (Non-Gurkhas)	Hong Kong Japan Korea Malaysia Middle East	30,000 - 250,000
3	Locally-employed (member of sample HHs)		10,000 - 45,000

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

The table above shows the distribution of the sample population based on employment destination. In the table, employment is categorized on the basis of its nature and destination. Both Indian and British soldiers are termed as Gurkhas. Non-Gurkhas are those

employees who are working in different parts of the world. The rest are non-foreign employees. They earn money by either working for the government as teachers or bureaucrats or by selling their products on the side.

Table 5.6 shows the monthly income of sample households based on employment destination. Out of total sample households, Gurkhas make up a greater number of non-Gurkha foreign employees. This is because there are a significant number of pensioners who were retired pensioners, widows of Gurkhas, and existing service men in the study population. It implies that the enrollment of Gurkhas is still their priority rather than going abroad to other countries for employment. They receive a monthly salary, a pension, and gratuity from the Indian and British governments, but there is no pension and no guarantee of regular income and gratuity for non-Gurkhas. As a result, thirty-two percent (32%) of HHs are in a vulnerable earning situation. These foreign employees are selling their labor in a precarious environment without any legal protection from their government and employer country.

In the case of non-Gurkhas foreign employees, they are employed in different parts of the world. The largest number of employees are in the Middle East (17 HHs), whereas South Korea and Malaysia are the second and third destination countries for sample households. Employment in Hong Kong is through an ID card, issued by the Hong Kong Government on the basis of a birth registration card. Moreover, Hong Kong and Korean employees are more able than others as some of them are well educated and skilled as compared to others who are employed in the Middle East and Malaysia. Korean and Hong employed earn the highest salaries, while Middle Eastern and Malaysian employees earn the lowest. As shown in the table above, NPR 3.5 lakh is drawn by two households whose members are employed in France.

Locally employed households belong to the third category of employment. Earnings in this group range from NPR6,000 to 45,000. In this group, teachers and government service men are earning a good salary on a monthly basis, but entrepreneurs, occupational groups, and farmers are earning occasionally. For example, Jhaman Thapa (respondent number 117), had sold buffalo for NPR 71,000 in five months and he could not guarantee to continue for next year. Likewise, labor sales are also seasonal. At the time of plantation and harvesting,

individual men's labor gets NPR.800, and ploughmen with oxen get NPR.1,500–2,000 per day. However, they cannot generate income throughout the year. This uncertainty in income generation and the vast difference (up to 2 lakh) in monthly income has influenced the study population to go abroad for employment opportunities.

## 5.8 Occupational Status

Agriculture is the main and traditional occupation for the study population. Majority of the sample households are engaged in agricultural production although the volume of agricultural production and the land area for cultivation may differ. As mentioned already, the sampled households are involved in foreign employment for income generation. Therefore, besides being engaged in agriculture and foreign employment, the members of households are also following other occupation for their income. The following table presents the occupational status of 102 sample households.

**Table 5.7**

*Distribution of Family Members from Sample Households Base on Different Occupation*

S.N.	Other Occupation within the listed sample households	No. of Household
1	Bureaucracy	7
2	Teaching	6
3	Nepal Army	5
4	Nepal Police	6
5	Politics	4
	Total	28

*Source: Field Survey, 2020.*

Table 5.7 shows the distribution of sample households based on different occupations. Out of 102 sample households, Indian Gurkha and Non-Gurkha foreign employed are same in number whereas total number of British Gurkha is only 18. The interesting figure can be observed on other occupation which they have followed. Out of total 102 households, only 32 households are involved in local employment opportunity and these, 32 employed are the members from 102 sample households whose father or siblings are involved either in Gurkha

soldiers or in Non-Gurkha migrants. Moreover, out of 9 teachers only 1 teacher (male) is employed in higher secondary level and another one (female) in upper primary (Nimavi) school at Baraha Janashram Higher secondary and rest of the others are primary school teachers.

Out of 9 bureaucrats, 5 employed are peons and two were assistance level, one engineer and another one is officer level. Thus, the data shows the employment (only 31 percent) in Nepal as an occupation is very poor status. On top of that the employed are working in low post either in army, police or in bureaucracy.

## **5.9 Contextual Factors Influencing for Employment Abroad**

Employment abroad may not be a desire, particularly for employees who are unskilled and work as low-level workers in dangerous environments. Prevailing practices are discussed in relation to foreign employment under the following topic.

### **5.9.1 Under Production**

All those biotic and abiotic substances provided by nature and not man-made are resources. Human beings can only process and consume the existing resources using the technology developed. We cannot generate resources. For example, to have meat and cereal products, we should plant the saplings and domesticate the animals, but we cannot manufacture them to fulfill our needs. In the case of a gap between available production and needs, people seek alternatives for their daily lives.

So a resource available and human mobility is closely related to each other. That is, production is a prerequisite for living. Therefore, in developed countries, the situation of risk to household income is generally minimized through private insurance markets or governmental programs (Massey, 2013). However, underdeveloped countries lack such a mechanism to insure production failure, and people seek alternative means of earning. For them, selling labor in other geographical places, even by crossing the border, has become a common process. However, in the case of involuntary mobility, it contradicts this concept because migrants are forced to leave their home country. In this situation, humans dare to

move in search of resources, even in unknown places, to make their living. The following table shows the existing status of under production

**Table 5.8**

*Distribution of Sample Household Based on Production Sufficiency*

S.N.	Types of Foodstuff	Self-sufficient HHs	% of self-sufficient HHs	Household with insufficient foodstuff	% of HHs purchasing foodstuffs
1	Rice	3	3	99	97
2	Millet and Corn	95	93	7	7
3	Wheat and Flour	92	90	10	10
4	Meat and Egg	35	34	67	66
5	Oil and ghee	21	21	81	79

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

As per Table 5.8, a significant proportion of the sampled households are buying Rice for consumption as 97 percent do not have sufficient foodstuff to sustain their food requirement. However, in case of millet/corn and wheat/flour, more than 90% of the sample households produce sufficiently and do not need to purchase them from the market. For proteins and fats, the production within sampled households is minimal, thus, they tend to depend upon the market to buy meat/egg and oil/ghee.

### 5.9.2 Technological Factors

Technological factors have a significant impact on the production of earning a living. Society with modern technology has a great opportunity to exploit resources and produce more. An old blunt technology cannot help but consume a significant amount of energy. So,

technology has become determinant to facilitate humans' earning energy from the available resources. Traditional technology has led to underproduction for a growing population. As a result, people started to seek alternatives to earn a livelihood when existing production is not sufficient to fulfill the basic needs for survival. In his theory, Leslie White (1900–1975) gives emphasis to the progress of technology in harnessing energy to serve survival. He argued that the development of society depends upon the technology people use to exploit the available resources in the environment. If society exploits the resources with modern sharp technology, then the energy produced will be greater and society will develop. Similarly, the exploitation of resources with blunt technology produces less energy, and society remains backward as they have less energy to consume.

This theory helps to understand the reality of the study area since people living there are using traditional technology in agriculture and production so less output they are getting. For example, out of 102 sample households, none of them use chemical fertilizers, insecticides, or pesticides, and even they do not get technical advisor like junior technical assistants (JTA). Thus, the underdeveloped situation with traditional technology has created the environment for people to seek opportunities abroad.

### **5.9.3 Peer Group**

The most important factor for being an employee in a foreign country is the imitation of peers who have already enrolled in the Indian army, British army, and Singapore police. In the study area, physically smart and healthy youths join the army and draw an attractive salary. In the study area, 15 youths are in the Indian army, 2 in the Singapore police and 5 in the British army. After being a soldier in the Army, they can easily lead their middleclass family life. They can afford good education for their children and health services for their family members. In addition, at least fifteen years of continuous service in the army entitles one to a life-long pension facility, and his spouse is entitled to have a facility upon his death. At the same time, young people who are following farming occupations in their village do not generate such financial income. This kind of current financial security for old age has played an important economic and psychological role in enticing young people to join the army as far as possible. Those who are not physically fit to join the army feel social pressure to seek alternatives and easily conclude they are to be labor migrants.

Gradually, owing to industrialization and capitalism, different consumable commodities started to be introduced into the market, even in the countryside. The mobility of goods and services, along with capital and technology, surged with the establishment of multinational companies throughout the globe. This process caused the company to focus on mass production, which then led to market expansion. This, in turn, requires companies to employ more people in the global context and the labor market is open internationally.

On the other hand, Nepal with its indigenous and traditional technology for production, could not manufacture modern goods and services as offered by giant multinational companies at comparatively lower costs. As a result, a big gap has appeared between the goods and services available in the market and the indigenous economy, where people have a very low budget to fulfill their basic needs. This deficit in income binds people to seek employment in foreign countries where wage rates are relatively better and they can generate more income by doing the same amount of labor.

#### **5.9.4 Weakness of States to Retain Youth**

After the unification in 1825 B.S., Nepal has had a long line of political conflict and instability, starting with Bahadur Shah and Rajendra Laxmi to the present date. Owing to nearly two centuries of political turmoil, our country progressed a little and ended up as an unstable one. The rapidly changing government and bureaucrats as a state apparatus thus avoided their obligation to develop the country blaming the political instability, leading to the current scenario where the needs and expectations of the people have long been in the shadows. The country thus passed crucial decades in vain, and Nepal stayed far behind as underdeveloped. In the 1960s and 70s, Nepal stood as an exporting country, especially for agro-based products, but in the current situation, the country is importing every agro-based item for our daily consumption.

From the end of World War II, 1945 onwards, countries across the globe were growing with stable politics and a modernization principle that emphasizes social development by injecting capital and technology. While countries with skilled and educated citizens progressed rapidly, countries that lacked such human resources staggered in their development. The wave of capitalism brought forth mass produced commodities that greatly

invaded the local culture, which had traditional and adaptive practices from the very beginning. Currently, new consumable goods like noodles, pasta, biscuits, cold drinks, breads, etc. have brought significant changes in the consumption patterns of people.

Moreover, if we talk about the citizens of developed countries, they minimize the risk of their citizens through welfare states and insurance systems. They also have access to the market and have contracts that guarantee an agreed price for selling agricultural products. But in developing countries, there are almost none of these facilities, and all these risks have to be faced by the entrepreneur or household alone. Hence, migration has become a strategy for households to diversify their risks of survival, and the energetic young are leaving their origins massively.

### **5.10 Conclusion**

For the first objective; production, employment, income, and socio-political status were analyzed as key variables. On examination of production status, 99 percent of households were found purchasing up to 9 sacks of rice (50 kg per sac). However, 95 percent of sample households were found to produce a sufficient amount of millet and maize. In regards to oil products, 81 percent of households were found purchasing oil and ghee from the market. Forest products were found for primary use only whereas domestication of animals like buffalos and oxen were found reared by only 46 and 8 sample households respectively. Similarly, NPR 10-45 thousand per month income was found at the origin and it was not on a regular basis. Moreover, 88.2 percent of sample households were found from the ethnic community and, only 4 ward-level and one province-level leader were found working as a political representative.

The findings indicate a lack of resources stemming from socio-political condition, available resources, and inability of local people to create a conducive environment for earning sufficient living. The government has also failed to establish this environment. Despite the available resources or the environment, there remains a significant shortage of earning opportunities. Factors such as challenging geographical terrain, traditional methods of production, the extent of the support from the government, and growing population are

closely linked to the necessity of seeking foreign employment, regardless of their coping ability.

Being a part of a rural area, it is obvious that the opportunity for employment is limited for the study population. Besides this, the population represents an ethnic community, so they hold a lower status in education too. Furthermore, very few seats in government service are available in the study area, such as school teachers, secretary to rural municipality, peon, and so on. Lack of vocational education has limited them to being self-employed and they are not able to do commercial farming or animal husbandry. However, there is lots of potential for commercialization in horticulture, animal husbandry, and agriculture, etc.

Production is always influenced by the fertility of the landscape, area of land owned, technology, and irrigation facility and, of course government policy. As already mentioned, the study area is a hilly region therefore less production is oblivious compared to the flat land with irrigation facility.

The analysis of data primary as well as secondary data shows insufficient amount of land area is owned by the population. Field survey from 102 sample households shows only 6.9 percent owned more than 20 ropani land area whereas 44.10 percent holds 11-20 ropani and remaining 26.5 and 8.8 percent are holding upto 10 ropani and 2 ropani of land area respectively. In addition, only 24.28 percent of total population of Biruwa Rural Municipality has sufficient food production (Table 4.9) whereas in case of sample households only 3 percent are self-sufficient.

Talking to the income local employed are earning ranges from NPR 6,000 to 45,000 whereas foreign employed are earning NPR 30,000-2.5 lakh and NPR 3lakh above is the outlier data and the employed is from France. Thus, the propensity of earnings from domestic production is not seem lucrative for the study population rather poor employment status, poor land ownership status, wage difference between origin and destination and, seasonal opportunity and, underproduction has created the circumstances in which youth are forced to be foreign employed.

As a result, people are giving priority to getting employment in foreign lands rather than their homeland and now, approximately 77 percent of youths (except retired Gurkhas)

from this area are currently employed and receiving remittances from various countries around the world.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ROLE OF MIGRANTS AND REMITTANCES IN SOCIAL CHANGE

#### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I have analyzed the social change influenced by the inflow of remittances and migrants in their society. This is the second objective to analyze. To achieve my target, I believe in a positivistic as well as interpretive approach so that I can get the answer as to how and why the society is changing. So, both positivistic and interpretative philosophies are guiding me to understand multiple realities through stories and opinions, as well as objective realities that already existed in the field. For this purpose, migrants and their remittances sent back were assumed as influencing factors, and the rest of others that might be prompting for social change were excluded in this study. Precisely, change were examined in four aspects such as ecological, economic, social and in customary practices.

#### 6.2 Ecological Change

This section talks about the ecological change in the study area. The discussions was focused to know the relationship between changes in the physical environment and foreign employment, as well as the extent to which migrants and remittances influenced these changes. All respondents acknowledged that significant changes had occurred from the 1990s up to the present. All of them were agreed that the increase in foreign employment and remittances received had a notable impact on their surroundings.

Precisely, the observation was focused on three aspects of environment; the area of land being cultivated, forest area and residing condition of sample households. In observation, drastic changes in physical environment of the study area was found. The plots of irrigated land (*Khet and Bari*) are now transformed into barren land and bushy forests. The older local pathways (*Goreto*) to go to fields and water sources (*Padhero*) were overgrown (with *Bunmase* plant). Moreover, the productive land that was valued in the past are now left to cultivate which has changed into barren land. Only the agricultural fields nearby the residential area of the study area were in cultivation. It was hard to believe that the area that once had great value for farming was now a forest. A member returnee states:

Nowadays, going alone to the jungle for the collection of fodder and firewood has become very difficult due to the encroachment of the wildlife and threats of attack. The attacks by the leopard are unpredictable and I have encountered with leopard when I took my herds of goats to graze in the jungle. Upon questioning about the difficulties, he faced raising his herd, he said, "I have already lost two of my goats within the past two months while grazing. Unlike in the old days, now there are no longer strong men in the village to hunt down intruders. Most males have either enrolled in the army or had flown abroad for employment." (B. B. Thapa, personal communication, February 8, 2020)

Ecological change, encroachment of wild life, and change in the human population are the three main concepts which can be drawn from the above narrative. The statement that "going jungle alone is a threat to life" indicates both the ecological change and the encroachment of wild life. Because he has compared two different times in his story, before his departure for Mumbai and after he returned to the same ecological area. Increased population of flora and fauna shows the ecological change in that area, which also indicates the change in human population by gender. The occupancy of land area for cultivation has changed into forest and bushy forest. It is related to the event of mobility, in which not only a significant number of migrants leave their natal home, rather their left-behind have also become mobile as manpower for cultivation has decreased significantly, resulting in an increase in the area of barren land and forest, and thus wild life.

Moreover, during the field visit, it was observed that several households, still in good condition, had been abandoned by the families who migrated internally. Regarding the schools and school-going children, it was observed that very few children had attended the local village schools. Additionally, mills were now available in every wards of study area, making it convenient for villagers to grind grains without relying on traditional equipment like *Dheki* and *Jhanto*. Thus, from the in-depth interviews and direct field observation, it can be concluded that foreign employment has influenced not only socio-economic change but also it has impacted on ecological change.

### **6.3 Economic Changes in Terms of Income, Investment and Consumption**

This section illustrates the change in earning activities. Issues discussed on, how change in earning activities of study population are related with the foreign employment. During conversations, most of the respondents shared that the majority of the young men

were employed in foreign countries either as Gurkha soldiers or as non-Gurkha migrants. Regarding the prevailing context, the following quotes illustrate,

There is nothing to do here for a living; working in the fields throughout the year barely gives us sustenance for half a year. How can we survive with this inadequate source of living? Thus, there is no option for earning except to join in international labor market. However, in the past, we used to work hard in the field as we had very limited alternatives for our living. (K. Thapa, personal communication, February 3, 2020).

The conversations with respondents show signs of dearth in opportunities at origin and evolving ideas for joining labor market as an ultimate destination for earning. The conversation indicates a significant number of migrants choosing to be a part of the international labor market.

Likewise, table 6.1 presents the comparative data about the change in number of sample households involved in foreign employment. These data is taken by dividing the time period before and after 1990s because opportunities to become a migrant worker before 1990 were not significant before rapid economic development of South East Asian countries and Middle East.

**Table 6.1**

*Distribution of Sample Households on the Basis of Income Source before and after Foreign Employment*

S.N.	Source of Income	Before Surge in Foreign Employment		After Foreign Employment	
		HHs	Percentage (%)	HHs	Percentage (%)
1	Remittances (Existing Gurkhas)	2	2	92	90
2	Pension of Gurkhas	21	21	10	10
3	Locally Employed (no regular income)	79	77	-	-
Total		102	100	102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Furthermore, the table above, shows two contrary data on numbers of sample households and their source of income before and after their employment. In the table, remittances belong to those sample households whose members are currently serving as Gurkhas or employees abroad and drawing income, whereas pensions belong to those households whose members were retired before the 1990s. Only 2 percent of households receive remittances, implying that employment abroad was a very rare occurrence; these two sample households belong to non-Gurkhas employed in Barauda and Kolkata, two different states of India. Figure is that, out of 102 sample households, only twenty-one (21) households are drawing a pension and the rest of the other seventy-seven percent (77%) had local production as a source of income.

In the case of the 1990s onward, ninety percent of the sample households (90%) were drawing remittances. That is, the 92 sample households include both Gurkhas and non-Gurkhas who are currently working abroad and sending remittances home. The remainder consists of only ten (10) households receiving pension remittances. The members of these households are senior citizens and some of them (5 women) are the wives of Gurkhas drawing pensions. These households actively participate in agricultural production and

animal husbandry for their livelihood. Seventy-seven percent (77%) of households earn money from foreign employment.

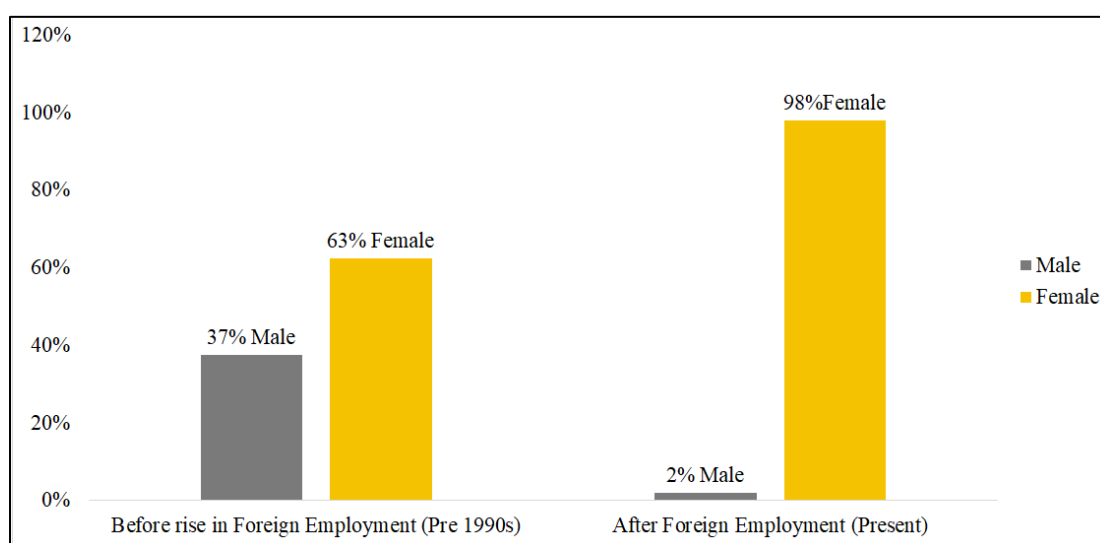
Thus, based on the conversation with respondents, it can be generalized that economic activities to earn livelihood have changed from agriculture to remittances and independent localized economy to remittance economy. However, they did not have an answer when asked about any alternative sources of income if foreign employment was to be obstructed.

#### a. Change in Labor Exchange Pattern

Changing pattern of labor exchange was discussed applying in-depth interview. Conversation was focused on how foreign employment was related with changing pattern of labor exchange process. The majority of the respondents reported shortage of ploughmen and men labor force due to foreign employment. They expressed challenges for traditional agricultural practices that specifically required male labor, particularly during planting and harvesting seasons. Furthermore, they noted nearly equal balance between agricultural output and production costs which was important reason for the declining interest in local farming. The following diagram shows the changing pattern of labor exchange process (*Parma*).

**Figure 6.1**

*Change in Participants' number in Labour Exchange (Parma)*



*Source: Field survey, 2020.*

As seen above, before surge in foreign employment, 37 percent men members were participated in labor exchange with 63 percent of female member which is substantially

reduced to only 2 percent of men's participation in existing scenario. Moreover, if we see the downside of foreign employment at the household level, it reflects the view that the shortage of labor has compelled them to keep barren land that has been converted into barren land. The table below shows the cultivated status of a sample household.

**Table 6.2**

*Distribution of Sample Household on the Basis of Utilization of Land for Agricultural Activities*

S.N.	Utilization of Land for Agricultural Activities	Before Foreign Employment		After Foreign Employment	
		HHs	Percentage	HHs	Percentage
1	All cultivated	98	96	21	21
2	Half-cultivated	2	2	74	73
3	Minimal Cultivation (nearby house)	2	2	7	7
Total		102	100	102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Table 6.2 above shows two different columns before and after foreign employment. The first column shows 96 percent of sample households cultivating their entire land and only 4 percent are cultivating their land partially. Out of these four households, two households do not have their successors, and an aged couple is living in support of their relatives, so they are cultivating their land partially. In the case of the majority of sample households, they are cultivating all the land they hold. However, the technologies they adopted were traditional and did not get any kind of support from the government. They used to work very hard regardless of insufficient production.

The data from the second column shows a drastic change in cultivation status. It shows only 21 percent of sample households are cultivating all the land they hold. The majority of 73 percent cultivates only half of their land holdings. And households cultivating very small areas of their land holding was only 2 percent before surge in number of foreign

employed that has increased to 7 percent at present. The reason for a large portion of sample households cultivating only half of their land holding was remittances that have facilitated them to purchase basic requirement from the Bazar. In this regards, following quote illustrates:

Production has become very challenging. The village's energetic individuals are leaving for employment abroad, resulting in a manpower shortage during plantation and harvesting season. Ploughing the fields costs NPR 1,500 per day for a men with his oxen and NPR 250 per day for women. This cultivation expenses are nearly equal to the returns form harvesting. If the cost of purchasing goods from the market in Syangja is the same as producing food locally, it is more practical to buy from the market rather than exerting effort in the fields. (G. Thapa, personal communication, March 10, 2020)

The above textual data informed that there was no significant cost-savings while producing locally, it implies that the local production is no more lucrative for the natives. Therefore, more people are encouraged to look for employment opportunities in the cities or overseas in order to be capable of affording the basic requirements.

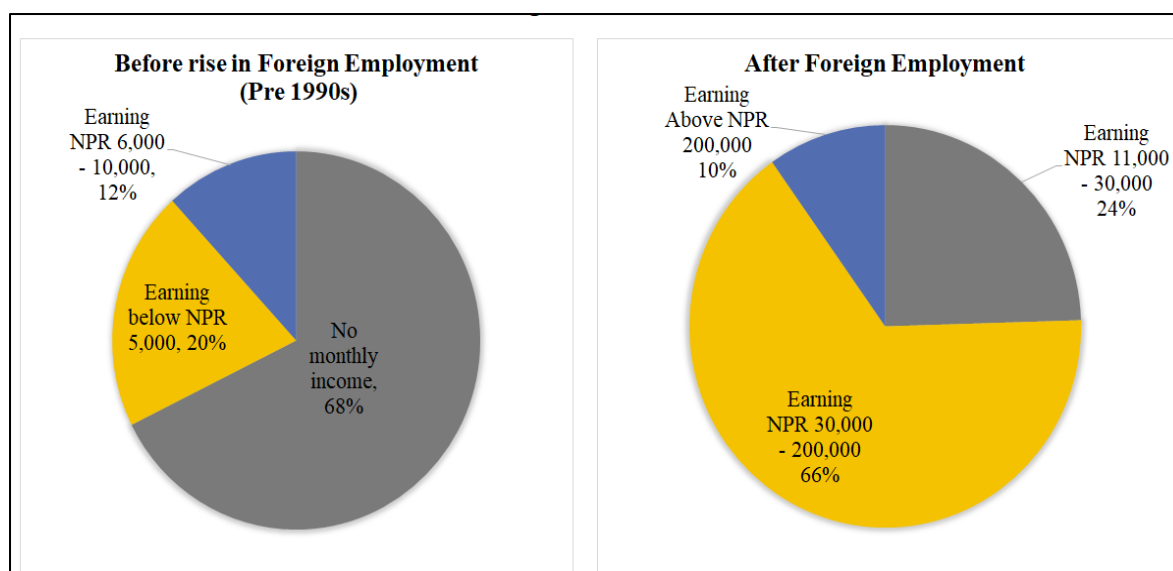
#### **b. Changes in Income**

Before entering the labor market, regular income in hard cash was very rare for people in the study area, except for Gurkha soldiers and small number of households in other occupations. Most of the population was illiterate and had not had the opportunity to be employed in the limited position available, such as teachers and bureaucrats.

So, the only option for regular income was remittance after joining as Gurkha soldiers. The amount they remit at that time was not very lucrative, but still it was the important source of income for them. Otherwise, selling lives stock and labor with two kg of grain was the only source for income during that period. Nowadays, with the significant increase in employment opportunities, most households are involved in foreign employment and earning substantial incomes. The following diagram illustrates the change in income level before and after the surge inemployment.

#### **Figure 6.2**

*Change in Income Before and After Foreign Employment*



Source: Field Survey 2020.

The presentation on pie chart shows that, there was a significant number of households which did not have regular income before being engaged in foreign employment. About sixty-eight households (68) had no regular income before the 1990s, and only thirty-two percent (32%) of households out of 102 sample households had income, but the income ranged below NPR10,000.

The diagram also shows the distribution of sampled households based on the monthly income ranges before and after being engaged in foreign employment. Before being employed in foreign countries, the household income was limited to a minimal amount. The number of households engaged in employment and having a steady flow of income was rare. However, when people started to go abroad, the monthly earnings were on the increasing trend. An individual who was employed in foreign countries drew a minimum of NPR.30,000 per month, but it varies with the variation of destination. For example, the starting salary of an Indian Gurkha is NPR.45,000. British Gurkhas draw 2,000 pounds per month. In the case of Korean labor, they get NPR.1-2 lakh per month. Exceptionally, out of 102 sample households, two households had a member employed in France who earns about NPR.4 lakh per month. So, on an average, sixty-six (66%) percent of foreign employees earn around two lakhs per month.

Thus, after and before being engaged in foreign employment, there was a great difference in the number of households having a steady flow of income as well as the amount of income they were drawing. However, the non-Gurkhas do not have permanent jobs and most of them are not even sure of their right to gratuity.

**c. Change in Investment**

Investment culture, especially for rural people and their economy, was not a familiar term before foreign employment, as they had very limited sources of regular income. The source of regular income for the study population was only teaching in government schools and Gurkha soldiers' remittances. Following teaching profession was very tough and rare as most of them were unqualified and vacant posts of teachers were limited. Therefore, limited households had regular income, which they used to invest in their daily consumption. Some of those who were able to save their income invested their savings either to purchase farming land (Bandaki) from poor farmers or to construct new houses near their locality. The investment culture started when they started to generate income from employment abroad. The numeral data collected from field survey were presented in table6.3. It shows, the comparative picture of investment patterns before and after foreign employment.

**Table 6.3***Investment Pattern of Sample Households (Before and After Foreign Employment)*

S.N	Particulars	Total Households	Before Foreign Employment		After Foreign Employment	
			HHs	(%)	HHs	(%)
1	Investing in purchasing Electronic Gadgets (TV/ Mobile/ Tablets)	102	-	-	99	97
2	Investment in purchasing new land	102	13	13	27	26
3	Investment in purchasing residential homes in urban area	102	4	4	17	17
4	Investment through Bank Savings and Fixed Deposits	102	8	8	51	50
5	Investment in Business – becoming an entrepreneur	102	3	3	7	7
7	No Investment	102	73	71	61	60

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

As per table 6.3, a direct change can be observed in the investing pattern of the sampled households before and after being engaged in foreign employment. Prior to being employed abroad, there were no purchases of electronic gadgets such as mobile phones or televisions, and investment in land and houses in urban areas were also limited. In the earlier days, only four households had invested their income to construct new houses in urban areas, which were located in Syangja Ghumti Bazar (two houses), Pokhara (one house) and Kathmandu (one house). Most households (64%) had no investment as they did not have a regular flow of income and occasional income did not support investment. Only 7 percent of the sampled households had surplus income. The data on land purchasing represents those households also, which had purchased land for a certain period of time and used it for

farming till the indebted person became able to return the amount (*Ujhinde khane*)<sup>10</sup>. Thus, the table from the first column displayed a large number of households with no investment and no savings.

The second column shows reversed data of the same household after being engaged in foreign employment. Almost all households (97%) have access to electronic gadgets such as cell phone, televisions and gaming consoles. Only 3 percent of the sampled households now remain without having an investment in electronic gadgets and those households belong to senior citizens who are living alone. Additionally, a significant number of households also have access to television as most of the foreign employed brought 32" TVs when they returned home for their leave. As the government of Nepal permits tax-free import televisions below 32", the prices are comparatively lower in abroad than in Nepal. So, most of the foreign employees are mostly from the Middle East, and Malaysian bring electronic gadgets especially television while returning back home. Likewise, 17 percent sample household and 26 percent sample household have made of investment in new house construction and land purchasing shows a significant number of households following dual residential practice.

Sixty (60) percent of households reports that they are spending most of their income on regular consumption and there is no investment. So, information about the investment patterns of 102 sample households gives a drastic change between two different time periods, and an increase in income has changed the investment pattern. Moreover, only 7 percent of households involved in entrepreneurship indicate a critical situation for the sustainability of the village economy if foreign employment stopped.

Thus, a self-sustaining localized economy along with a hard-working culture is now changing into a remittance-based economy. Animal breeding, agriculture, and the use of forest resources as primary economic activities for survival are all slowing down. The people in the study area are going abroad in search of employment opportunities in exchange for the potential of being entrepreneurs in their own land. The data shows more than half the sample population is cultivating only half the area of their land holding and the rest of the land is left barren. They are buying insufficient food along with other basic needs through remittances

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<sup>10</sup> Ujhinde Khane: Ujhinde khane it the system of buying land through giving money to the land-owner (normally they are financially poor) and use it for cultivation until the borrower refund that money.

they get from employees abroad. It demonstrates remittances as a detriment to the potential of being an entrepreneur and developing a self-sufficient economy. Furthermore, it has given rise to the so-called notion that "opportunity is alone in abroad." Among the 102 sample households, 47 households have two members drawing remittances; either they are father-son or sibling brothers. This shows foreign employment is going to be rooted in the study population. Earning by one individual and living in a comfortable way by the rest of the other left-behind is the new emerging culture of the study area. As the amount they send home is a lifeline for the fulfillment of basic requirements.

#### **d. Change in Consumption**

This segment illustrates about the change in consumption in relation to migrants and their remittances. The issue was discussed on, to what extent; remittance has changed the Consumption pattern of left-behind. Most of the participant in in-depth interview agreed that remittances were vital influencing factor for changing consumable goods from locally prepared food grains (*Roti, Makai, Satu, Dhedo, Anto, Sinki*) to packet food stuff (Rice, Biscuit, Noodles). They reported that large portion of remittances was used for buying food stuff mainly rice, clothes and electronic equipment like mobile and TV etc.

Thus, the conversation shows investment pattern of remittance is in non-productive area because major portion of remittances are used for daily life consumable goods such as television, mobile, tablet and laptop and also expense on gas energy for cooking. Some of them are purchasing piece of land and constructing the new houses in urban area as investment however their population is not big in number. Moreover, the new culture of financial dependency of left-behind<sup>11</sup> is observed in which they were completely depended on employed for money and shown less effort for doing hard work in their residential area for production.

The following table shows the consumption and investment pattern of remittances among sample households.

#### **Table 6.4**

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<sup>11</sup>Here, left behind are the family members of the foreign-employed migrants.

*Basic Consumption Pattern of Sample Households (Before and After 1990s)*

Ration	Before 1990s				After 1990s			
	Self-sufficient HHs	%	HHs purchasing from market	%	Self-sufficient HHs	%	HHs purchasing from market	%
Rice	75	74	27	26	3	3	99	97
Millet/Corn	100	98	2	2	95	93	7	7
Wheat/Floor	99	97	3	3	92	90	10	10
Meat/Egg	102	100	-	-	35	34	67	66
Oil/ghee	88	86	14	14	21	21	81	79

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Table 6.4. shows, a significant portion (74%) of households consuming their own production of food like rice. In this regard, key informants shared, "The main reason for this was because consuming rice for both lunch and dinner was not in practice before the 1990s." Rice was consumed rarely and a major portion of their food was corn and millet, and they even used it for tea time. Most of them were independent of milk products, and yogurt was distributed to all those neighbors who did not have milk. The buying culture of meat and eggs from the city was not introduced at that time. Therefore, food materials were totally organic, but all the family members used to work very hard and production was insufficient for their living. It shows the potential and challenges that could develop if the situation was seriously handled by the government as well as by the local people for commercialization in production so that they could manage the livelihood for a rapidly growing population.

Later on, when people started to join in foreign employment massively to recover their dearth of income, they started to remit, and food consumption as well as production scenarios have changed. The second column (after the 1990s) in the table shows the reverse data regarding the consumption of food materials. Now, data reported that, out of 102 sample households, buying rice for consumption has increased from 26 percent to 97 percent. In relation to the increasing purchase, the percentage of sample HHs producing rice for consumption has reduced by 71 percent to 3 percent in the post-1990s period. As illustrated

in the table above, oil/ghee, eggs, and meat are purchased by the natives of the village rather than produced on their own. This new culture of remittances and buying basic needs from urban areas has changed the social as well as ecological environment of village life and local resources.

### i) **Rice Consumption Pattern**

The culture of rice consumption is only a feast and festival. It has changed drastically. Consequently, as the main production of this area is corn, millet, and rice, they used to consume their production before 1990s. In this context, 86-year-old key informant Bishnu Thapa stated, "Before 1990s, (*Uhilai Uhilai*) we had to wait for *Dashai, Tihar, Maghe Shakranti* and other feasts and festivals to have meat and rice, but now a days, surprisingly, people eat rice even thrice a day and forget to eat corn and millet (*Dhido, Kodoko Roti and Makai*). She goes on to say that buying rice or any other food grain was once considered a shameful practice (*Besaha bokne*) in society, and households that were able to meet their food needs through their own production were assumed to be "rich and respected people," but the situation has changed. People who manage 6-7 sacks of rice (50kg per sack) in December-January are recognized as financially able because, in this season, the price of rice is comparatively cheaper as compared to June-July and the households without managing rice are struggling for management. The following table shows the rice consumption patterns of sample households.

**Table 6.5**

*Rice consumption Pattern of Sample Population*

S.N.	Quantity (Kgs)	Number of Sample HHs	Number of Family Members (Average)
1.	600	31	5+
2.	400	37	4
3.	300	19	Less than 4
4.	100 – 299	15	3
Total		102	

*Source: Field Survey 2020,*

According to data in table reports, up to six quintals of rice is bought from the Syangja Bazaar. Out of 102 sample households, 31 households are buying 600 kg where 5 family members are living together. However, it is said that 50 kg of rice is sufficient for one month if the family member is only three (3). It implies almost 5 to 6 quintals are required for a year for a nuclear family. In addition, the data in the table informs us that all the sample households are buying rice, though the amount varies. In this regard, I asked key informant Asha (age of 49) if this is true only for the families of foreign employees or is it the same for the rest of non-employed. She responded that buying rice is the same process for local labor or non-employed people because they earn NPR.800-1,500 from local labor or other professions such as teaching or selling their livestock, but hard work for rice production in a remote location is not preferred even by them. These facts imply that the culture of local production is deteriorating day-by-day and the dependency of village people not only for money but even for food grain is rapidly increasing.

When I was 16, entered to my husband's house after arrange marriage. Agriculture and animal husbandry served as the primary livelihood for us, and our family was esteemed as affluent within the village. Our economy was largely self-sustaining, with minimal purchases of food items. Buyers were typically from lower social strata, often referred to as "*Besaha bokne*" in the local context. Consequently, there's a shift in perception, with people acknowledging someone's ability to manage their needs effectively by saying "*bandobasta garisake*". Accessing essentials like rice and lentils has become much simpler (*Daleko Dal Faleko Chamal sajilai khana pauchan*). Even in labor exchange, there has been a transition observed from consuming fried corn or roti and yogurt to rice and tea. Moreover, men are rarely involved in our *hudda/parma* (labor exchange) (D. Thapa, personal communication, February 17, 2020).

The narrative above shows a shift in perception regarding buyer culture. Initially, buyers were often referred to as *Besaha bokne* indicating peoples typically from lower social strata during a time when the economy was largely self-sustaining. Now, there is a sense of respect for those who can manage their needs effectively, often expressed by the phrase they managed timely *Bandobasta garisake*.

Mangale Dai is a household head of five members, consisting of one son as a foreign employee. He is an entrepreneur as he has a grinding mill, some orange trees as a cash crop and a good number of goats raised in his shed for income. Upon asking Mangale Dai about the remaining oranges in the trees, "Why did you leave these oranges in the tree?" he laughed and answered, "I left them for the monkeys!" They not only eat oranges, but they also try to enter the house through the window in search

of other grains such as maize and pumpkin harvested inside the house (N. Darlami, personal communication, March 10, 2020).

From the above story, the most important concept drawn was the encroachment of wild life. "Orange for monkey and attempt for other harvested fruit like pumpkin," says Mangale Dai, indicating many facts behind the events, such as encroachment of wild life and distrust of local entrepreneurship. Encroachment because monkeys are eating their fruits even in their residential area and distrust in entrepreneurship because Mangale Dai is not able to prepare and convince his son to be his successor, rather he has gone for employment abroad.

Thus, from the above three narratives, it can be interpreted that the new established culture of earning from employment abroad (remittance) and the rising cost of labor within the village without a guarantee of production has discouraged the inhabitants from being engaged in the local agriculture production. Additionally, the extensive use of electronic gadgets like televisions, mobiles, tablets, and computers has preoccupied the new generations. As a result, younger generations are less interested in working in the fields of production. Hence, the encroachment of the wild and the area of barren land are on the rise. Encroachment from the wild is on the rise. Cultivating in the far lands is now next to impossible.

#### **6.4 Change in Social Aspect**

From the social perspective, there are several notable aspects to consider. Involvement in foreign employment spans three generations within 12 samples HHs, no group hunting known as Aira, 16 households maintaining dual residences and over 56 percent of school-aged children were in private school. Particularly, interesting finding from the text data is a shift in perception regarding buyer culture. The following sub-topic provides a detailed description of these points.

##### **a. Change in Family Structure**

In the early stages of social evolution, humans lived in larger groups. However, with time and space, the number of family members living together varies. Nowadays, extended, joint, and nuclear family types are the most common family types in the world. Among these three, nuclear families are on an increasing trend. Family structure is analyzed for the study

population based on the number of family members residing, the decision-making role they play, and the gender composition of the family. The following table shows the comparative information about the type of sample household.

**Table 6.6**

*Type of Sample Household*

S.N.	Family Type	Before 1990s		After 1990s	
		HHs	Percentage (%)	HHs	Percentage (%)
1	Joint Family	72	71	40	39
2	Nuclear Family	30	29	62	61
	Total	102	100	102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Out of the total 102 sample households, 71 percent were reported as joint family houses before 1990, and only 29 percent were nuclear families. Based on the information from key informants, the culture of living with all married sons and grandchildren was normal in the past. Nevertheless, the separation of older sons after marriage was a normal phenomenon, said a key respondent. She added, "Parents normally choose the youngest married son to live with in their old age." So, a number of joint family cultures seemed dominant before the 1990s. Data from the 1990s show a significant increase (61%) in the number of nuclear families. It is because most of the daughter-in-laws live separately when their husband becomes independent economically. On top of that, daughter-in-laws are living in their natal home and migrating to urban areas in the name of their children's education.

Thus, the data shows a vast change in the number of family types from joint to nuclear where they are living with their unmarried children. Additionally, foreign employment brought drastic changes in family ties especially within the rural communities. Field survey has shown that members of families separated by long distance and borders are experiencing more stress in their daily lives. As a result, reunion with family has become occasional and social media has become an essential part for communication. Relationship with parents and children has become more formal. And in some instances, it has also

resulted in the elopement of wives/re-marriage of husband and more conflicting situations are evolving within the family. Moreover, submissive relationship of migrants' wives with father-in-laws and mothers in-laws is losing its traditional status as wives are getting access to finances in the form of remittances from their employed husband.

### **b. Changes in Norms and Values**

Norms are society's accepted rules for the regulating of social systems, whereas values are cultural standards for evaluating an individual's expected behavior which is also known as higher order norms. These elements of social structure are changing with the change of their earning pattern. Customs are the socially accepted ways in which people do things together in personal contact. It refers to people's socially recognized and long-established habits and usages (Rao 1989). In some of the important customary practices in relation to foreign employment are discussed below. (Based on the interview with Key informant 67 years old men).

### **c. Change in Customary Practices**

#### **i) Aira Jane (Group Hunting)**

Group hunting known locally as Aira jane<sup>12</sup>, was a traditional practice among the study population to protect their agriculture and livestock from wild animals. Typically, this practice was initiated either when a leopard attacked livestock at night or when a troupe of monkeys was spotted near the agricultural field. In case of leopards, the 'Aira Jane' was organized following an attack at night. Usually, the household affected by the leopard discovered the attack in the morning and informed the rest of the village. The villagers then hold a meeting and agree on a time to conduct group hunting (Aira), usually scheduling it for later that same day, often after lunch.

The hunting parties were composed of 4 to 5 groups, mostly consisting of adult men, with each group comprising 5 to 6 individuals armed with wooden sticks and at least one gunman. The party would then track the leopard, using various clues such as its footprints, the blood trail from dragging the carcass, or its feces. The groups would then spread out to

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<sup>12</sup> Aira Jane: Aira Jane is the local word in which male members of villager used to do group hunting for leopard and monkey.

encircle the suspected area, intending to close in and kill the leopard on sight. If the 'Aira Jane' is successful, then the hunting party returns with the carcass of the leopard. The entire village then celebrates on the successful hunt of the leopard as they parade the carcass of the leopard in the village, perform Sindur jatra and provide rewards to the successful hunters with cash. The village then evenly splits the meat of the leopard for each household which is called "Bilo".

Such a practice of "Aira Jane" was an effective deterrent against the attacks of various wild animals and protected the livestock and agrarian products of the villagers. However, due to the increasing foreign employment, the study area currently lacks the manpower to conduct the "Aira Jane" due to which the losses caused by wild animals are in an increasing trend. The current practice of the study area is often limited to an individual level and hence has less effectiveness in protecting the fields and livestock.

#### ii) Mohore Jane and Hot Khane

Among the study population labor exchange (known as *Parma/Hudda*) is a common practice where members of a group take turns working in the field. In this group minimum of 7 to 27 members both male and female are participated. Presence of more male members made strong perma group. It is commonly practiced during the plantation and harvesting time. In this time households who do not have sufficient workforce to plant their own fields called the *parma* group to work in their fields and paid money in return. This is called *Mohore Jane*.

In *hot khane* system, the work is given to the *parma* group in package (*Kutuwa ma dine*). In this system, buyer household offer to *parma* group the tentative amount of money required to finished the work of his/her field. If both parties agreed in amount for work, then *parma* group go to work either very early in the morning before 10:00 AM or after the completion of their work at 6:00 PM of *parma* duty. It is called as *Hot khane* System. *Hot Khane* is more hasty work than *Mohore* because its is time bound.

In both *Mohore* and *Hot khane* system, *parma* group try to exchange their labor with livestock if available with labor buyer so that they will have feast in their work celebration on Poush 15 (*Ohora Khane*). However, currently due to foreign employment, a significant number of men are working abroad. Hence, only few female members are conducting the *Parma/hudda* system and the *Mohore* and *Hot khane* systems have almost disappeared. Thus,

foreign employment has not only changed the structural pattern of *parma*, it has also ended customary practices like *Mohore* and *Hotkhane* system.

#### i. **Change in Marriage Practices**

Marriage is a basic institution of human society, though its form varies according to the culture of people. Arranged marriage and love marriage are the most common. It is normally accepted practice within the same caste. However, inter-caste marriage is also practiced nowadays. As I already mentioned, the study population is Magar and Gurung dominated, so cross-cousin marriage is accepted in these communities. In Magar, children of siblings (son of sister and daughter of brother) are allowed to marry, but in the Gurung community it is an exchange between the children of siblings (brother and sister) even if they show their right to marry with a cousin. However, this traditional culture is not followed by the new generation. Rather, they prefer to marry outside of their blood relations. They do not even hesitate to have inter-caste marriage.

Moreover, elopement and extra-marital affairs of a migrant's wife with other men are also new developing incidences among the study population. The following table is presented on the basis of the marriage practices of seniors and current occurrences among the sample households.

In the study area, key informants informed us that out of 102 sample HHs, 96.07 percent of households were married within the same caste before the 1990s. Viz, Magar with Magar, Gurung with Gurung, and so on. Inter-caste marriage was very rare before the 1990s. Among 102 sample households, only three households were involved in inter-caste marriage, two households of Magar were married to Gurung girls and one Bhujel son was married to a Gurung daughter. Inter-caste marriage with an occupational group was found in only one household, but the married couple were excluded from the whole clan and went to India. Thus, the first column of information in table 6.7 presents marriage status before the 1990s shows marriage was practiced within the same caste group.

#### **Table 6.7**

*Comparative Data Presentation on Marriage Practice*

S.N	Marriage	Before surge in Foreign Employment		After Foreign Employment	
		HHs	Percentage	HHs	Percentage
1	Same Caste	98	96	78	76
2	Different Caste	3	3	17	17
3	Occupational Group	1	1	4	4
4	Elopement of Migrant's Wife	-	-	3	3
Total		102	100	102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

The current data from the same sample households in the second column shows a significant change in the marriage practice of sample households. The majority of sample households are following the traditional pattern of marriage. However, 16 percent of inter-caste marriages and 4 percent of marriages with occupational groups show there is a mentionable change in marriage practice. In this inter-caste marriage, Magar, Gurung, and Bhujel are living in their original places with social acceptance, but in the case of occupational group, the newly married couple have migrated to the city area because the senior members of the family from the upper caste community are reluctant to accept it easily.

Moreover, 3 percent of elopements by a migrant's wife are new incidents for the study population. In these three sample houses, there was a case of marriage with the younger brother of the ex-husband's brother as he had lost his life in a Sri Lankan battle while fighting on behalf of the Indian government. The next two cases were from Korean employees. Since their husbands have been illegally staying in South Korea since the 1990s, wives have married other men. In this changing context, cousin marriage practice in the Magar and Gurung communities is also significantly reduced; they are marrying other castes elsewhere.

## ii. Changes in Festivals and Rituals

The basic food items normally consumed in the study area are rice and bean soup twice a day (Dal and Bhat). For rural life, the staple meal could also be food items prepared from millet and corn (Aanto and Dhedo). Fried corn and roti were snacks of the past, but now the consumption of rice has increased to the point that it is a part of every meal. To learn

about the currently occurring phenomenon, again, open-ended interviews were conducted with sample households along with key informants. They were two local leaders and teachers. In regard to the change in food items, they said, "most of the villagers buy food items throughout the year because they can afford it."

The majority of the sample households buy food grains, as well as meat and eggs, from Syangja bazar. When asked for the reason for purchasing meat, they answered, "People can afford meat, but it is not easily available in the village." So they buy it from the city at a price of NPR. 1,000 per kg of mutton compared to the village's NPR. 600 per kg. This is due to the fact that the owners prefer to sell goats in Syangja rather than in their local village, since it is more profitable for them. This leads to a scarcity in the study area, which is resolved by the people directly buying meat and other items from the Syangja Bazar.

The data also shows a similar change in the festivals celebrated by the population in the study area. While traditional festivals are still being celebrated, the infusion of new culture is visible in celebrations such as birthdays and Christmas, which are gradually being introduced to the locals. The informants also stated that the way the festivals and occasions were practiced also changed. For example, in the past, a marriage ceremony was concluded in two days. On the first evening of marriage day, the groom used to arrive in the evening with the marriage procession, stay overnight, and depart the next day, but nowadays, the marriage ceremony is conducted at noon and they do not stay for the night. According to data reports, most festivals are celebrated as traditions, but new cultures of birth day, Christmas, and New Year celebrations are also being introduced in this population.

#### **d. Change in Decision Making Role**

The decision-making role is the most important task for the prosperity of a family. Normally, roles and responsibilities in household chores are divided based on biological differences. Outdoor activities are assigned to male members, while women are for indoor activities. Digging, plowing, and making investment, loan, and expenditure decisions are major tasks for male members, whereas processing and cooking food, as well as cleaning, are major duties for female members. When a male member moves abroad for employment, all

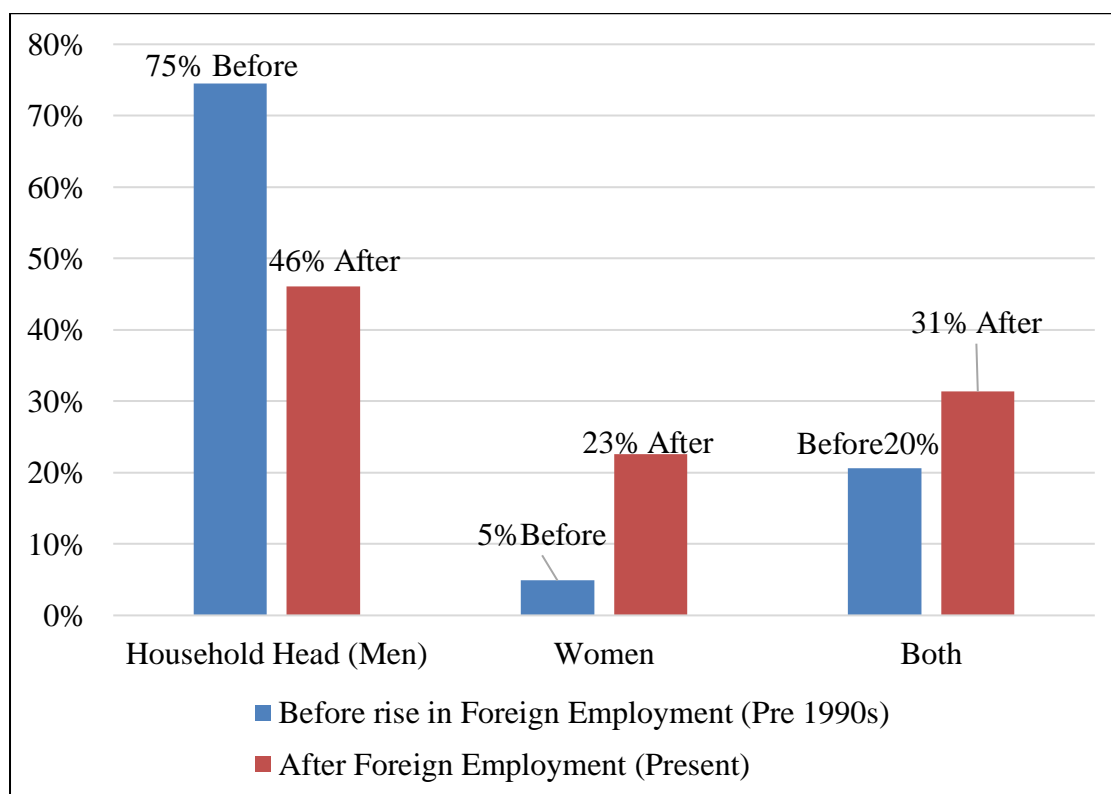
tasks from his side should be performed by a female member of the family and she should change the roles and responsibilities of the remaining family members.

The family immediately misses the male labor force after he leaves for abroad; if he is married and has children, the wife becomes the de-facto husband, and single parenting begins. Data on decision-making roles show that out of 102 sample households, 47 percent of households were headed by a man, 23 percent by a woman, and 32 percent by both. The headship by male members was 76 and only 5 was held by females. For the remaining 21 percent of households, decisions were made jointly by both, which shows good partnership between spouses.

The following bar diagram depicts the glimpse of decision-making status of sample households.

**Figure 6.3**

*Change in Decision Making Role*



Source: Field Survey 2020.

The most important role of a family member in household operation is decision-making. It is decisive for the position he/she holds in the family structure. The comparative figure of information responded by household head is shown in the table above. Prior to the 1990s, 75 percent of the household decisions were made by men. This implied that he had a superior position in the family and the rest of the other members of the family would follow his decisions. The second category, 21 percent, belongs to those households where both men and women are involved in decision-making for household operations. This means that power is equally exercised by the couple and shows the participatory structure of the family. This portion is much more progressive for its time, thirty years ago. Acharya (2017) stated in her research that 'women from ethnic groups enjoy higher status than Brahmin women.' The 5 percent of sample households with women's headship represents those sample households whose male members were out of the house and two women were widowed. It has increased by 18 percent since the 1990s because, after employment abroad, women were forced to take the helm of the household in the absence of their husbands.

From the 1990s onward, the percentage of men in decision-making was reduced by 29 percent. It is because the male members of the household are involved in foreign employment and all the decisions related to household chores are decided alone by the female at origin. On top of that, decision making by both members of the household is increased by 10 percent, which shows the increment of participatory role in decision making. It is possible, thanks to communication facilities, as foreign employees are constantly connected with their families of origin and discuss major decisions about household chores together. Thus, there is a significant change in the number of households before and after employment abroad.

#### **e. Change in Mobility of Household Member**

Basically, people's movement in the study area was rare before the 1990s. It had happened only to those young people who were in service as Gurkhas. They were time-based migrant workers and used to come back after completion of their service. Very few Gurkhas settled in urban cities like Butwal and Bhairahawa after their retirement. But nowadays, many people from foreign-employed households are moving from their origins to urban areas. The community has become mobile as they have many reasons for movement. Most of the member households are moving for the purpose of their children's education. However, young siblings are also moving for different kinds of training, like language, driving, plumbing, etc. The following table presents the domestic mobility of sample households.

Table 6.8 illustrates the increased trend of internal migration of the members from sampled households. One of the most important events impacted by foreign employment is internal migration. Most of the migrants are the wives of foreign employees. They are following dual residences; first, a natal home, and second, either a newly constructed home or a rental home for children's education in a city area. The location varies based on their income. Besides this, young family members of employed households move for skill training, such as learning a foreign language, driving skills, and plumbing skills, etc. District headquarters, Syangja, and the small towns of Rankhola and Pokhara were the destinations. Some of them are migrating to Chitwan. Pokhara and Chitwan were the destinations for Korean migrant people and Gurkhas, whereas Rangkhola and Syangja were the destinations for non-Gurkhas, as Pokhara and Chitwan are more expensive and far away than Syangja and Rangkhola.

**Table 6.8**

*Status of Internal Migration*

S.N.	HHs with Internal Migrant	Number of HHs	Percentage (%)
1	For Educational Purpose	24	24
2	Duel Locality	16	16
3	Training	12	11
4	Non-Migrant	50	49
Total		102	100

Source: *Field Survey 2020*.

According to the data in table 6.9, the majority of internal migrants (24%) are the wives of foreign-employed migrants migrating for their children's education. They are not completely separated from their natal home, but they do spend the majority of the year in a city, except during school vacations. Sixteen percent (16%) of family members are following duel locality as they have newly constructed homes in the city area. In most households, mobile members are schoolchildren and in-laws as guardians. As the figure shows, only 49 percent of households are not involved in internal migration. Thus, internal migration can be

observed as a parallel phenomenon that has emerged with employment abroad. In most households mobile member are schooling children and daughter in-laws as guardians.

#### f. Change in Schooling

After getting the basic needs for survival, education is the next step for all humans. Instill in the successor the unique characteristics of Homo sapiens. They are providing knowledge through formal, informal, non-formal education, etc. to their progeny. Through the informal approach, seniors are transferring knowledge and skills at home at any time and place continuously from birth to the end of life, whereas formal education is provided through schooling at a fixed time and place and special kinds of knowledge and skills are provided through training to all those needy people who desire to get knowledge and skills like driving and language learning etc. Among all the institutions for learning, school is the most prominent.

The following table shows the available educational institutions with the number of students they are teaching. These institutions are all government schools.

**Table 6.9**

*Distribution of Educational Institution with its General Characters*

S. N.	Name of School	Location	Class Running	Total Number	
				Students	Teachers
1	Araniko Higher Secondary School	Rang Bhang	up to 12 <sup>th</sup> Grade	125	19
2	Shree Baraha Janashram High School	Khang Rang	upto 10 <sup>th</sup> Grade	87	17
3	Shiddha Mandali Secondary	Upper Khali	upto 8 <sup>th</sup> Grade	34	8
4	Dhobadi Bhanjang Primari School	Dhobadi	up to 3 <sup>rd</sup> Grade	23	3
5	Baraha Primary School	Chiruwa	up to 5 <sup>th</sup> Grade	24	5

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

During the field visit, the number of students was found to be significantly low. According to the majority of teachers, if all households with a good income send their children to private school, how can there be a good number of students in government schools? However, they are all junior students and the most pathetic presence of students was in primary school. In this context, Vima Thapa from Khali Gautole shared with worry, "senior students are leaving the school with annual SEE pass out and newcomers are not joining school. What will happen after 5-7 years later?" It is true in the case of government schools. So this national issue of our country is also represented by the study population. In spite of government effort and investment, government schools are being deserted by the students.

In the study population, there are five educational institutions altogether. They are all government schools. Out of five, Araniko Higher Secondary at Rang Bhang is conducting the classes up to Grade-XII. The rest are elementary schools. In all these schools, the number of students is significantly low. In this pertinent, local leader from Rang Bhang village shared a story. 'There was not a place for students to sit in the classroom and we, the management committee', managed a log as a bench for temporal sitting, but now a day, the local school is losing its students as junior school children are joining private schools in urban areas. Therefore, most of the students of government schools are very few in numbers and come from poor economic backgrounds who are not able to admit their children to English-medium schools in urban areas. The following quote illustrates the changing pattern of schooling.

We have a very small number of students in school as people who receive remittances are sending their children to boarding school. Moreover, when I asked, why are there only two students in a pre-primary class? She replied, "The number of new students is rapidly decreasing as people send their children to urban areas for private boarding schools as soon as they become able to afford the fee. And the first investment from foreign employees is getting their children to be admitted to a private school, so it is hard to say what will happen to the school when higher class students pass out and leave the school (V. Thapa, personal conversation, Feb 27, 2020).

In this context, math teacher Mr. Rajesh Pokhrel from Araniko School stated that, "We could not convince the students to do hard work in reading. Maybe they do not have a conducive environment for reading at home as most of their parents are ignorant and most of them are

children from single parenting." The same version was shared by a science teacher from Baraha Janashram School Khang Rang. He said, "Parents used to roam from one door to another with a cigarette in hand, in the morning and evening, blaming the teacher for the children's failure in education." It is not fair. The conversation shows the poor economic condition and educational achievement of schoolchildren. The following table shows the comparative educational status of sample households.

**Table 6.10**

*Distribution of Sample Household Based on Educational Institution*

S.N.	Education	Before foreign		After Foreign	
		Employment (Pre-1990s)		employment (Present)	
		Number of HHs	%	Number of HHs	%
1	Private Schooling	3	3%	56	55%
2	Government Schooling	99	97%	46	45%
	Total	102	100%	102	100%

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

The table 6.10 presents more than 51 percent of households sending their schoolchildren to private schools for education. However, the age of children and level of education are mostly primary. It shows the culture of education in private schools is newly introduced in rural communities. They are educated in different boarding schools located in city areas like Rang Kholā, Syangja, and Pokhara. Out of 102 sample households, 42 are educating their children in government schools located near their residences. The figure is considerably lower because it was 100 percent before the surge of foreign employment abroad and boarding culture was not introduced. Children in government schools are from retired Gurkhas and non-Gurkha households who are fewer earners. Illiterate households belong to those households whose family members are old and living alone or who have unmarried foreign employed sons.

**Table 6.11**

*Distribution of Sample Household Based on Educational Achievement*

S.N.	Educational Status	Before surge in foreign employment		After foreign employment	
		HHs	Percentage	HHs	Percentage
1	Literate	12	12	21	21
2	Illiterate	25	24	8	8
3	Under SLC	40	39	28	27
4	SLC	19	19	34	33
5	BA+	6	6	11	11
Total		102	100	102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

School and the learning process have been changing with the change of time, place, and income. The data above shows the improvement of the educational status of sample households with the reduction of the illiterate portion from 24.50 percent to 7.84 percent. These households have senior citizens who cannot read and write. The proportion of SLC pass outs has increased from 18.6 to 33.33 percent, but the number of graduate students has not increased in tandem. In more than three decades, bachelor pass rates have increased by only 5 percent.

Actually, these groups of young people are involved in employment abroad and very few young people are continuing their further education. Therefore, only eleven households have a graduate member in their family. Before and after the 1990s, the figures were 57.8 percent and 60.78 percent, respectively.

For the analysis of educational attainment in relation to foreign employment and remittances, levels of education and the kinds of schooling institutions where they are educating their children are taken as dependent variables. The table below shows the distribution of sample households based on the different types of schools where their children are educated.

**Table 6.12**

*Distribution of Sample Household Based on Educational Institution.*

<b>S.N.</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Number of HHs</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
1	Private Schooling	52	51
2	Government Schooling	42	41
3	Illiterate	8	8
Total		102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Out of the total sample households (102) I interviewed, 54 households are sending their children (51%) to private schools and the rest of the others are in government schools. Private schools are in urban areas, whereas government schools are available in the locality. Sending private schools for education implies that they are investing more money in education as compared to households which are educating their children in government schools. The public schools are less expensive than private schools. In addition, education in private schools indicates the internal mobility of household members with schooling children. However, the average age of children is below ten. 42 households are educating their children in government schools. The greater number of private schools shows that changing livelihoods are promoting better education.

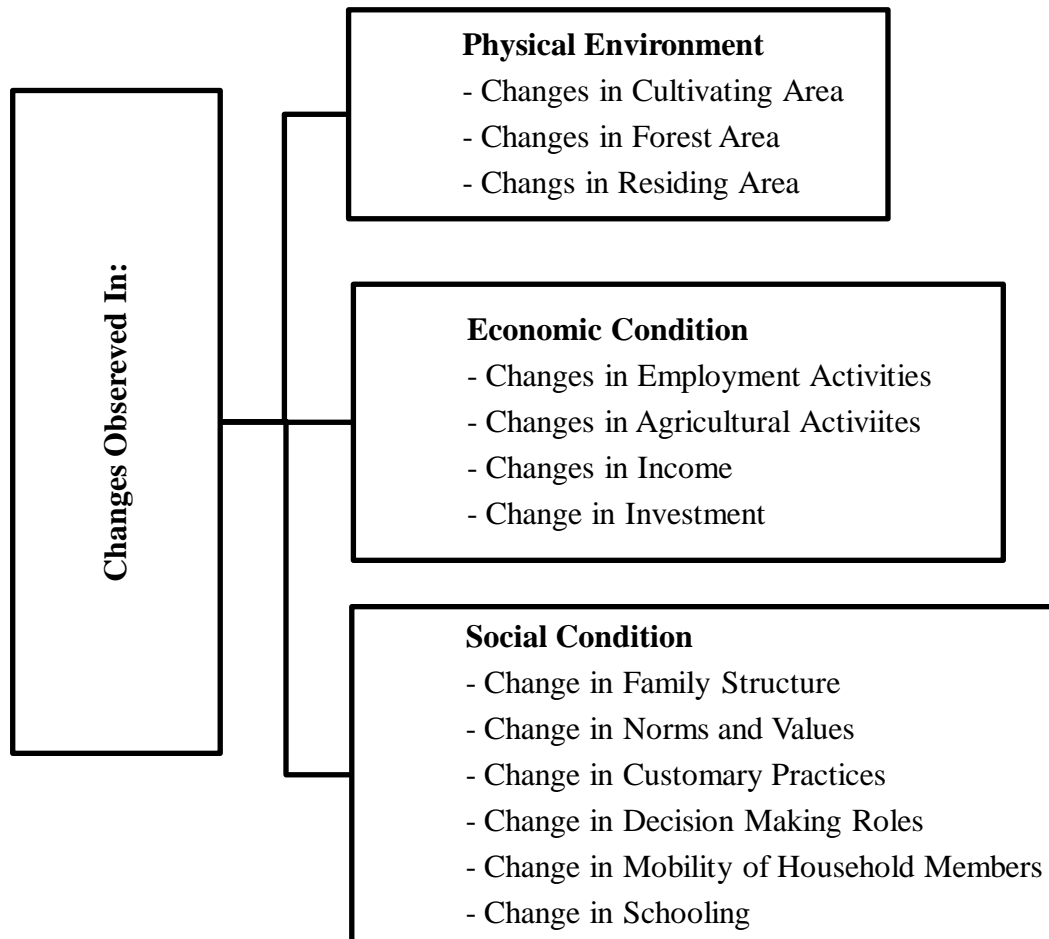
## **6.5 Narratives**

The purpose of the narratives is to understand how foreign employment has influenced the social changes in these localities. Interviews were carried out with fourteen (12) respondents randomly selected. It was conducted for information collection related to the social change caused by foreign employment. For this purpose, seven households with members working and seven households with members who have already worked abroad are selected for conversation. During the interview, quick notes and stories were written in a note book and the collected information was categorized into two groups. The numerical data was entered into an excel file, and the personal stories were written down in a word document.

This whole course, the local teacher and leader of Aama group accompanied me throughout the interview. A successful interview was carried out with the local teacher and leader. They gave honest and full answers to the questions.

### Figure 6.4

#### Chapter Summary



## 6.6 Chapter Conclusion

The analysis of collected data on social change shows all three aspects of change, viz. social, economic, and customary practices are all changing in the study area at origin. Gradually, owing to industrialization and capitalism, different consumable commodities started to be introduced not only in the global market but even in the countryside. As a result, the mobility of goods and services, along with capital and technology, surged with the establishment of multinational companies throughout the globe. This process caused the company to focus on mass production and market expansion. This, in turn, required more people in the global context, and as a result, the labor market was opened.

On the other hand, Nepal, with its indigenous and traditional technology for production, could not be modified to consume more energy from the available resources, nor did the government make a proper plan to implement for the promotion of local production. As a result, a big gap has appeared between the goods and services available in the market and the indigenous economy where rapid growing populations lack income to fulfill even their basic needs. Such a deficit in income encourages people to seek employment in foreign countries where wage rates are better and they can generate more income by doing the same amount of labor, and then start to be economic migrants. Hence, traditional practices of livelihood started to change. On the one hand, it has played an important role in increasing their personal income and thereby improving their standard of living.

In the total sample household 102, only seven households (5%) reported having no regular monthly income. However, it doesn't mean that they do not have a source of income. For this family, the source of income is wages from labor within their community and occasionally selling goats, pigs, hens, and buffaloes, which are domesticated on a small scale. The major portion of the sample household has regular income from foreign employment. As most employees in study area are in the UK, India, Middle East, and Korea, the exchange rate is higher than the Nepalese currency except in Korea, so they earn more than the countries of origin.

This practice of going abroad for employment has not only increased the personal income of households; rather, it has also increased their social prestige and ultimately helped to uplift the economic standard and reduce the poverty level of households. However, there is always a question about its sustainability. Speaking of the impacts of employment abroad, it

has positive as well as negative impacts on the people at its origin. For example, electronic goods they brought at home. It has positive as well as negative impacts on the daily lives of the left-behind. Positively, it has provided the latest information and connected people with each other, even if they are in rural areas, whereas engagement for a long time instead of working in the field has adversely impacted on production.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### DIFFICULTIES OF MIGRANTS AND THEIR LEFT-BEHIND AT ORIGIN

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the analysis of the problems of foreign employment at origin. Here, I have focused on analyzing the issues of migrants and their left-behind related to foreign employment. For this purpose, I have categorized the challenges into three sub-topics for analysis; economic, socio- cultural and administrative issues.

In economic challenges, I have talked about the financial difficulties to fulfill the basic requirements, production and insufficient output from agricultural activities which in turn have changed into push factors of foreign employment. Socio-cultural issues are discussed in relation to modification influenced by migrants and their remittance as the data analysis in the earlier chapter shows the problems arising in many relationships which can be attributable to foreign employment. Finally, I have discussed the administrative snags that the employed people and their relatives face in their home countries.

#### 7.2 Issues on Fund Management

Opportunity and challenges are two sides of the same coin. For the study population, the opportunity for employment abroad has given them a chance to be engaged in earning activities. However, funds for managing such mobility, limited land holdings and lack of academic qualification or technical skills are some of the issues for the study population. Obtaining the required amount of money to go through the application process is even more difficult as obtaining loans from banks often require co-lateral, and the low value of land and properties in the study area lead to the households from the study area to not get enough money by borrowing from banks. This has led to the households being compelled to seek alternatives; by either borrowing from banks by having other assets such as gold as co-lateral, or by borrowing from other private sources such as their neighbors or relatives and paying a steep premium on their loans with upwards of 20 percent interest per annum. Households were also found to obtain the necessary finance by disposing their existing assets. In this

regards the following table presents the existing status of financial support they have taken for foreign employment process

**Table 7.1**

*Financing Foreign-Employment: Initial Funding*

S.N.	Financial Support	Sample HHs	Percentage (%)
1	Personal Borrowings	82	80
2	Bank and Financial Institutions	3	3
3	Disposal of Fixed Assets	17	17
Total		102	100

*Field Survey, 2020.*

Table 7.1. above indicates surprising scenario of financial decisions and financial positions within the study population. Around 82 percent of the households were found to have taken a personal loan to finance their process cost to get employment in foreign countries. This loan is taken with the guarantee that migrants should have to return lender's cash as soon as he gets the salary from the employer's company. If the loan is from closer relatives, then the terms are more lenient and the borrower may not have to pay additional interest if the borrowed amount is returned it within few months. Otherwise the borrower would have to pay 20 to 24 percent of interest to the lender. Very limited number of people was found to have borrowed a loan from financial institutions. It shows that the study population are unable to fully utilize the existing borrowing facilities offered by banking sectors. Moreover, a significant number of the sample households (17 percent) had disposed their fixed assets such as land and traditional ornaments shows the desperation of the people in the study area to be employed abroad. In this regard the following quotes illustrates,

It has been two years since 2018 my son is working in Japan as care taker. For his flight, I had sold my gold chain worth NPR 98 thousand and an impotent buffalo at the price of NPR 40 thousand to local villagers to manage the fund when he got skill visa as a care taker. What else could I do? At that time my son said to me, 'I can earn about NPR 1 lakh 80 thousand per month if I go to Japan in

a skilled visa.' I was ready to send him but managing the finances necessary to send him was very difficult as we do not have a monthly income. The Manpower Company had asked for one lakh ten thousand rupees for ticket and other process for my son to work in Japan'.(T. Thapa, personal conversation, April 21, 2020,)

The textual data indicate lack of knowledge to get access on financial institution and the desperate condition of migrants' to get employment abroad.

### 7.2.1 Issues on Agricultural Production

This section analyzes the issues related to agricultural activities which they are doing traditionally. Generally, production status depends on the nature and area of land they hold along with the technologies they deploy in cultivation. As I have already mentioned in the introduction about study area, the landscape of study area is hilly with a limited plane area, so most of the agricultural land is sloped and infertile. On top of that, the area of land they hold is not sufficient for their household livelihood if they are fully involved in agricultural production. The table below presents the land holding patterns of sample households

Data as per table 7.2 below shows below 6 to below 20 ropani land owners are 70 percent. It is not sufficient since topography is not flat and the lands they hold cannot cultivate throughout the year. Only 7 percent households have good area of land for production. In this group, land lords (like Mukhiya<sup>13</sup>) also belonged who have enough irrigable land and can produce sufficient paddy for them however they also buy rice occasionally. Nine percent (9%) of the sample households with less than 2 ropani lands are poor households from which family members are involved in labor selling throughout the year. The rest of the other sample households, consisting of 14 percent, are poor in terms of land holding at origin, but some of them have land and houses in city areas which they earned from remittances.

**Table 7.2**

*Area of Land Holdings by 102 Sample Households*

S.N.	Land Holding (in Ropani)	Number of Households	Percent (%)
1	Less than 2	9	9

<sup>13</sup> Mukhiya: Mukhiya is the administrative head of the village in traditional system of politics in Nepal.

2	2 – 5	14	14
3	6 – 10	27	26
4	11 – 20	45	44
5	More than 20	7	7
6	Without Land	-	-
Total		102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Thus, the majority of households have a small amount of land area which is not sufficient for their livelihood as it is not the very fertile and flat. On top of that traditional techniques of farming are the main issue for proper utilization of limited land resources. Hence, the output is insufficient to meet the food requirement of growing population.

Furthermore, the following table presents the tool and techniques used by them while conducting production activities:

**Table 7.3**

*Distribution of Sample Household with Technology They Follow in Agricultural Production*

S.N.	Technologies	Sample HHs Following Technology	Total HHs	Percentage (%)
1	Traditional tech. to plough	102	102	100
2	Modern tech. to plough	-	102	0

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

The above data clearly depicts the reliance of the study area on traditional techniques for agricultural production. This requires the men in the village to plough the fields. However, the surge in foreign employment has created scarcity of labour to cultivate. Due to such traditional practices and poor outcome from agriculture, the tendency to engage in agricultural activities for their living has been decreasing regardless of its importance. The following quotes illustrates,

Production has become increasingly challenging. Many energetic individuals from the village are leaving for employment abroad. Hiring men with their oxen for plowing the fields costs NPR 1,500 while hiring them without oxen costs NPR1,000, and hiring women workers costs NPR 250 along with providing two meals a day. The financial comparison between the investment in local production and the cost of purchasing goods from the market (Syangja) shows no significant difference. Since local production does not offer substantial cost savings, utilizing labor for production is no longer profitable for the villagers. As a result, more people are encouraged to seek employment opportunities in cities or overseas to afford their basic needs(D. Ale, personal communication, April 21, 2020).

The above text highlights the impact of foreign employment on household operations. Specifically, the shortage of men available for local production has driven up the cost of hiring labor. In this regards the following table presents the numeral data on production status of a sample household.

**Table 7.4**

*Distribution of Sample Household on the Basis of Cereal Production*

S.N.	Agricultural Production	Below 2 Muri		2 - 5 Muri		6 - 17 Muri		Total Sample HHs
		HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	
1.	Millet	62	61	36	35	4	4	102
2.	Maize	44	43	54	53	4	4	102
3.	Paddy	75	74	23	23	4	4	102

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Data shows millet, maize, and paddy are the main staple foods in this area. It is consumed twice a day at lunch and dinner in the form of the main course. However, the observation reveals a very low level of production. Paddy production is very small or a nominal amount is produced. Among 102 sample households, a significant number of households (74%) are producing very little paddy at local level. Comparatively, millet and maize are both producing more than paddy. It is so because millet and maize production is easier than paddy production. It is easy in the sense that it can be produced by women alone while farming. Out of 102 sample households, 75 households with a nominal amount of rice

indicate that people are purchasing a substantial amount of rice for daily consumption as they have a rice consumption culture on a regular basis. These households purchase a significant amount of rice. The highest amount of food grain (6-17 muri) is produced by only four percent (4%) of the sample households.

The largest group of sample households (75 HHs) are those whose family members are currently involved in Gurkha soldiers and non-Gurkha foreign employees, and they send remittances in a significant amount for their dependents. They are able to buy daily consumable goods comfortably by using remittances. The second group with a moderate level of production, twenty-three percent (23%) in paddy production and thirty-five percent (35%) in millet production, are those households whose members are either retired pensioners or they are earning less from abroad. They make their living through both local production and remittances. Group of tables, only four percent (4%) are producing a good amount of food grain. They are holding the most fertile land found in this area, which had great value in the past. This small portion of the sample group (4%) holds a good amount of land area and they are still cultivating most of their fields for production. They are also drawing remittances, but the family size of this group is bigger than the rest of the others.

Thus, data shows a very poor amount of crop production with the traditional method and indicates no more modification for its improvement. It points out the need for the import of a significant amount of food items to fulfill their requirements.

### **7.2.2 Issues on Regular Source of Income**

For income generation, an individual's capability, opportunity, and means of production are necessary. Without these three elements, getting a regular income is very hard. On top of that, if education status is low, chances for regular income become even narrower. In the case of the study population, the education status is low, which was already discussed in chapter six, due to which the people from the study area are less competent for opportunities in government service. Commercialization in agriculture and hybridization in animal husbandry are also an important boost in the existing system, though these are all

seasonal and subsistence. Therefore it is even more difficult to generate income for rural life. That is why income generation in terms of cash money by engaging in agriculture is very hard. Among 102 sample households, all had remittances as a source of income. However, the amount varies with the variation of the destination country where the household is employed. Moreover, data shows that there are no other remarkable sources of income except remittances and employment abroad.

Commercialization in agriculture, selling forest products such as medicinal plants and animals, scientific method, and so on are potential sources of income generation. All the potential realms, none of them are practicing or attempting to increase production. Therefore, lack of education, technological support, and insurance facilities in case of crop obliteration, all these prerequisite factors for modern farming have created disregard in agricultural production or local production. Moreover, the significant difference in wages between the origin and destination countries is another important factor for foreign employees. Thus, there are innumerable challenges for income generation due to which the study population is forced to seek alternative sources of income. The following table shows the employment, destination, and income where member households are working.

**Table: 7.5**

*Distribution of Sample Household on the Basis of Employment Destination and Income*

S.N.	Employment Category	Employment Destination	Monthly Income (NPR)	Number of HHs	HHS	Percentage (%)
1	Gurkha	Indian Gurkha	19,000 to 300,000	42	60	59
		British Gurkha		18		
2	Foreign Employment (Non-	Hong Kong	30,000 to 250,000	6	42	41
		Japan		2		
		Korea		10		

S.N.	Employment Category	Employment Destination	Monthly Income (NPR)	Number of HHs	HHS	Percentage (%)
	Gurkhas)	Malaysia		7		
		Middle East		17		
		Total		102	102	100

Source: Field Survey 2020.

Information about the regular source of income is categorized into two groups: Gurkhas and Non-Gurkhas. Gurkha soldiers consist of both existing soldiers and retired pensioners, whereas non-Gurkhas are all employed in different countries of the world. Out of a total sample of 102, data shows more than 59 percent of households have regular income from Gurkha service and earn more than NPR19 thousand per month. Nineteen thousand is the lowest pension for a retired pensioner whose enrollment purpose was for participation in World War II but kept as a reserve army. After the end of the war, they were sent home, known as "reserved soldiers," and they got the lowest pension. The upper limit of the amount is drawn by British Gurkha pensioners as well as existing soldiers. However, their number is limited

The table from the second category shows the different employment destinations of non-Gurkhas. Out of 102 sample households, the first destination is the Middle East. Then, after South Korea, Hong Kong and Malaysia are also destinations for some sample households. They are working as they were born in Hong Kong. Only two sample households have two members working in Japan, and they entered into skilled labor status as care givers for five-year duration. The majorities of them are employed on a temporary basis and work in hazardous conditions. In this regards, the following quotes illustrates;

My husband is in Kuwait and comes for around 2-3 months of leave once every two years of working in the company. He is not interested in working overseas but is compelled to do so for the better education of our children. Our children (*two sons*) are currently studying in BA 1<sup>st</sup> year and Grade 12 in Pokhara. My husband is suffering with high blood pressure and diabetes, and since we do not have any other source of income in terms of cash, he has been working in Kuwait for the past 12 years (C. Chhetri, personal conversation April 21, 2020).

The above text highlights the financial hardships faced by migrants who often sacrifice their health in the process of managing their family's finance. Thus, failure to generate income at origin, the temporal nature of employment in the destination country, and unskilled status are major issues for a regular source of income.

### 7.2.3 Issues on Domestication of Animal

Animals and fowl are another important source of income in the rural economy. The only easy way of earning income for the rural economy is to sell animals and fowls for hard cash. The traditional pattern of animal husbandry is only for household purposes to get meat and milk products. But nowadays, animals have become a very important source of income by commercializing their production. Poultry farming, fish farming, bee keeping, pig farming, goat farming, and vegetable production are the most practiced activities in Nepalese village life for income generation. However, in the case of the study area, there is not a considerable number of households involved in commercial production; rather, they are still following traditional methods and techniques in animal raising. The following table presents the animal husbandry practices of the sample households.

**Table 7.6**

*Sample Household Distribution Based on Animal Rearing*

S.N.	Domesticated Animals	Rearing		Not-Rearing		Total Sample
		HHs	%	HHs	%	
1	Buffalo	47	46	55	54	102
2	Cow	8	8	94	92	102
3	Goat	64	63	38	37	102
4	Pig	5	5	97	95	102
5	Fowls	95	93	7	7	102

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Out of 102 sample households, very few (only eight percent, or eight percent) of households had cows and oxen. However, oxen are still the only means of cultivating fields. In the case of pig farming, it is found in a group ranging from 2–7, and it is a hybrid. The piglets were bought from the city area. The goat farming was intriguing. Out of 102 sample households, 63 percent of households had goats in their shed, with an average of 7-9 goats. Goat farming is easy and the selling price of a male goat is high, so they can earn money easily from goat farming. However, the number of goats in some households is merely 2-3 goats. In fowls, chicken is the most popular, though the number of poultry farms is only seven and they are in their initial phase, but locally almost all households are keeping fowls in a small number. Buffalo domestication is only 46 percent, which indicates a significant number of households are leaving to rear buffalo because before the 1990s, almost every household used to raise buffalo. Thus, the domestication pattern of animals shows that study populations are raising local breeds of everything except chickens, which they are just starting. On top of that, a dearth of knowledge, capital, and government support at policy level have all become issues for large scale production, regardless of its potential in animal husbandry.

### **7.3 Administrative Challenges**

Foreign employment is not as easy for rural people as it requires so many documents and financial support. It starts with citizenship, passports, and visas. The huddle to get citizenship is due to the mistake in the parent's name and age, which was written haphazardly when it was distributed by the government in the year 2046. The second issue is manpower companies that are involved in overcharging and exploitation of would-be migrants. The following narratives will help to understand administrative challenges in more detail. Consider the following quotes:

I have been doing my job as a post man for the last 12 years. I get 8,000 rupees as a monthly salary. Currently, I do not have regular work from the post office, but I am still an employee. However, the administrative head of the village did not provide me with my salary for six months. When I asked for it, he replied that I would not be paid as I did not have any work. I objected to his refusal to pay me and said to him, "Do you not know that I am the daughter of Gurung?" If you don't provide me with my salary, then I'll see you later". A month later, the administrative head called me to visit him at the Syangja District administrative center. I informed my mother and went off to Syangja. There, the

administrative head provided me with my due salary (M. Gurung, personal communication, March 3, 2020)

The above narrative illustrates the difficulties of member from sample household who is facing administrative challenge within their own locality. It shows the glimpse of issues related to administration which the local people are facing in their own territory. Likewise, the following quote illustrates;

I am South Korean returnee after investing five years of my productive age in Korea and now I am teacher in private school. In starting, I believed only in employment abroad as a courier. After completion of my MA in English, in the year 2067, I tried to go Australia for employment however I had tried for student visa. In that process a man-power company located in Thamel Kathmandu had deceived me. In that process he had asked me to submit one lakh rupees as a processing fee along with air ticket and called me for flight at evening 11 PM. When I went to visit that man power office for fly, it was not there and neighbor shopkeeper informed that he had left the office one day before than our flight, and I lost my one lakh rupees. The second attempt was to be Korean labor and I went in EPS visa (K. Thapa, personal communication, April 20, 2020).

The above information from text story highlights the sample of administrative hurdles in their own country and present, how potential migrants are scammed by the manpower company. Thus, the stories and opinion expressed above depicts the suffocating scenario of employed members from sample households. It indicates migrants are suffering in their own origin by administrative personnel who are assigned by the government for public service. These events reveal the fact that due to the lack of education and awareness, migrants from the sample households are cheated from many channels of administration in their homeland.

#### **7.4 Issues on Socio-Cultural Practices**

A healthy and happy family is the basis for a prosperous society. Without prosperity of a family, no society can develop. For an affluent family, one of the most important elements is bonding among the family members. In the case of the foreign employment process, when household members move to foreign lands, the family misses a strong, energetic man of power who is the center of hope for the family and connected by blood. After that, if the migrant is married, then the wife and children miss the care and parenting. It is abstract and difficult to describe, but the family feels continuous psychological pressure

about his uncertain life abroad. In this social context, I have attempted to describe and analyze the social and emotional cost of foreign employees and relatives paid during employment abroad. The following sub-topics would provide deeper insight into the social issues that they are facing personally and collectively.

#### **7.4.1 Single Parenting**

Foreign employment, as a multifaceted phenomenon, has a diverse impact on individuals, families, and society. It has an impact on the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of migrants, as well as those left behind in their countries of origin and those arriving at their destinations. The absence of either one parent or, in some cases, both often hinders social cohesiveness and these children may face a range of social, psychological, and physical/health challenges which may not be counterbalanced by the increased financial security (IOM 2017).

Single parenting of children has become the most important issue of foreign employment in its origin. As Nepalese society is dominated by males, females have to face many challenges in the absence of a male member in the household. It begins with household tasks and ends with his arrival. If the husband does the job for a long period of time, then she has to handle household chores throughout his absence. It is a new emerging social problem in remittance-based families and society as children are not performing expected behaviors similar to their counterparts who are being groomed by their parents. Out of 102 sample households, 12 households are single-parent households. The following quotes illustrates;

My husband is employed as a Gurkha soldier and I have two kids, reading in a private school at class 3 and 5 in Syangja bazaar. I am playing dual role as a father and mother for raising the children. Regardless of my best effort, result has not been good. I have experienced many challenges like; frequent questions about father's arrival, the children defying of my instructions, pretending to not go school etc. However, they obey the instructions from their father more easily as compare to me when he stayed at home during his leave and even the children were reluctant to speak back when their father scolded them regarding the study or discipline. I realized that the socialization of kids formally at school and informally at home demand both father and mothers' role along with relatives' (S. Nepali, personal communication, March 27, 2020).

Three concepts that can be conceptualized from the above narratives are; women's empowerment in decision making; challenges in household chores due to the absence of male members; and the change of cultivating land to barren land. Doing all kinds of duties and responsibilities in household tasks shows that women are exercising the decision-making power in the absence of their husband, which shows the shifting of power from men to women in the course of running household chores. It also shows the change in customary practices of society where women are treated as second-class members in households. Moreover, the narrative also described the lack of male members in cultivation due to the difficulties women are facing, leaving the productive land barren.

#### **7.4.2 Loneliness of Old Parents**

Loneliness among elderly parents is a significant social and emotional cost of remittance-based social life. It is a shadow part of foreign employment and less discussed in the plethora of social research. After becoming employed in a foreign country, the whole household's economy starts to change according to the remittances they receive; mobility starts. The less they get, the farther they migrate, the more they get; in cities, they move for various reasons such as private education, training, or new house construction. In this whole course, senior citizens are the most affected members of the households as they lose energetic manpower for the continuation of their earlier occupation. The following quotes illustrate;

I have four daughters and two sons. They are all living in urban areas, and I live in a village. Sometimes, they used to come to visit me here, and sometimes I have gone to visit them, but I do not enjoy it as much as I enjoy it here in the village, because this is my place where I was born, grew, so I have a good memory of my life here. In urban areas, I do not get proper respect and also cannot talk with other people properly, but here, I have my relatives and neighbors. I can talk to and visit them when I desire. So I am staying here alone. (*Aajkal naya jamana chha sabaijana bazzar bhanchhan, boarding padhne bhanchhann ketaketiko schoolkolagi janai paro k garne aafu eklai yaha*) (L. Thapa, personal communication, February 7, 2020).

It has been 16 years since I last saw my elder son as he has been working in South Korea. He is working on an illegal visa. He has two children, a son and a daughter. They are both reading in private school at inter and bachelor's level. I have recently had open heart surgery at Gangalal Hospital in Kathmandu. During my health difficulties, I felt miserable and kept remembering my child a lot. When

asked about his arrival, she showed his financial difficulties in educating his children if he comes back home. (B.S. Thapa, personal communication, January 7, 2020).

Based on the stories and opinions from senior household heads and key informants, it can be said that senior citizens are morally and psychologically alone. However, they are getting economic and physical support from relatives. They are forced to face the challenges as their working-age children are not getting an earning opportunity at home. Thus, for the sake of their better family life, younger generations are following foreign employment as a survival strategy, and parents are compromising their psychological support with economic benefits.

### 7.4.3 Cultural Issues

Culture is a unique possession of man. It is one of the distinguishing traits of human society and is understood as a great social heritage of all mankind (Rao, 1997, p. 216). Tylor (1871) defines culture as, a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of that society". So, culture is the tool constructed to fulfill the needs of society. It is based on intuitive and experience-based knowledge, but foreign employment and remittances have changed cultural practices in a variety of ways. Most importantly, the continuation of traditional cultural practices such as headship of men in household operation, gathering of fraternity for marriage, birth, and death rituals at the community level are found changed and the practices has become more difficult for study population.

Culture of not moving in following day of *Dashain (Jamaghanta)*, following day of full moon (*Parek*) along with gathering culture of lineage in 11th day of new birth (*Nwaran*) and *Kulpooja* (worship for ancestor) all customs are challenged by the employment process abroad as employees or would be employees are travelling and moving according to routine of employer, air ticket and manpower agencies. This uncertainty in mobility has challenges many traditional and indigenous practices they followed in the past. The following quotes illustrates,

‘Nowadays, all people want to settle in urban area saying that English medium education is essential for children. In the name of school daughter in-laws are leaving our natal home and our reunion and get

together for customary practices like *Kulpooja*, *Nawaran* and to join for death rituals are affected by air tickets and school calendar (O. Gurung, personal communication, February 7, 2020).

Thus, information obtained from the textual data shows the traditional way of life, cultural practices of migrant's and their left behind are impacted by the absence of young men and their remittances.

#### 7.4.5 Issues on Education

Herbert Spencer defines education 'as the development of morality'. John Dewey speaks of education as, 'the development of all those capabilities in the individual which will enable him to control his environment and fulfill his possibilities'. These two definitions view education as a process to make individual capable enough to fulfill needs with morality. However, for the study population, 'education for the children means to get access in private school education' (Sapkota, 2020). The following information about education shows the educational status of study population.

**Table 7.7**

*Household Distribution Based on Educational Level*

S.N.	Level of Education	No. of HHs	Percentage (%)
1	Literate	23	23
2	Illiterate	14	14
3	Under SLC	24	24
4	SLC+	33	32
5	BA+	8	8
Total		102	100

*Source: Field Survey 2020.*

Talking to the educational status of sample household, the important feature is very small number only 11 household, eight percent (8%) of total sample household have family member with bachelor and above level of education. Moreover, most of the household with SLC and under SLC belongs to that group of population who are either servicing in Gurkha

army or employed abroad. However two household is found with graduate son doing job in Korea through EPS visa. Information presented above does not show the pleasant scenario on educational achievement as the major portion of sample households are attaining only high school level of education and most of them are migrant for employment opportunity. Thus, educational status of sample household present the poor condition of educational status of study population and replication of foreign employment. 32 percent of household with two or more foreign employees by successive generation indicate insignificant role of remittances and livelihood change to increase educational level in study population. This poor status of education has limited people to joining even at the secondary level of school teaching.

Moreover, this condition of education affects the employment of local people either at the level of staff or at the lower level of school teachers, where they are mostly teachers of other subjects except English, math, and science. However, 56 percent of households educating their children show that people prioritize English language schools and invest more of their income in education. The remarkable thing is that the children from these sample households are very young or school-starters and the analysis of their output requires more time.

The following quotes illustrate difficulties in educational attainment in relation to foreign employment. Consider the following quotes;

The math teacher from Araniko Higher Secondary School, 'very few students are there who do their homework regularly.' When I asked the reason for not doing homework, they used to say, "I had to work for domestic tasks." He added, "We could not be able to develop learning behavior in students. I think it is because most of their fathers are not at home, and they obey their mother for household tasks rather than reading and writing, so the results are very poor." About classroom tasks, he said, "They seldom bring their complete homework in the class room; otherwise, most of the assignments they used to do hastily in the classroom when I asked for checking (S. Sharma, personal communication, February 7, 2020).

Based on the above story, it can be said that children are growing differently in single parenthood. They are not getting a conducive environment for learning; rather, they are disturbed physically and psychologically and lack the ability to maintain a good wavelength between school education and home environment. In single parenting, mothers are facing different kinds of challenges in the absence of their husbands due to extra duties and

responsibilities. Thus, single parenting is a glimpse of social cost-paying by the family of foreign employees. It has appeared in a small portion of sample households (11) that are receiving a lower amount of remittance. Moreover, single parenting of children, loneliness of elderly parents as well as elopement of employees' wives and after marital affairs have increased significantly.

## **7.5 Chapter Conclusion**

Based on the analysis of four categories of challenges, it can be generalized that challenges are rampant in the study population as all the potential areas of income generation are virgin that are not used commercially. Out of the 102 sample households, only eight percent (8%) of sample households have a member with a university level of education. This is very small and shows a poor level of awareness in education, which in turn resulted in the temptation of youth to join in Gurkha. In the analysis of income, the income of households has increased, but there is a big question for non-Gurkha foreign employees, as some of them are not getting even their salary regularly.

Moreover, most of the income is invested to fulfill immediate needs rather than to invest for long-term output. Furthermore, if a sudden change occurs, such as COVID 2019 or the Gurkha induction process being halted, or if returnees from Afghanistan arrive in the first week of August 2021, they will face an unexpected challenge even for survival. The social, cultural, and administrative challenges, they show a detrimental scenario for quality of life or as social beings. Furthermore, the observation and interview on the quality of food consumption and life of foreign employees' family members reveals unhealthy practices, as family members buy food materials from urban areas where local production is limited and hardworking culture is declining. It has an impact on both physical and mental fitness.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **SUMMARY AND FINDINGS**

The chapter is about the summary, findings and conclusion of the research work. In summary, I have given a brief description of all eight chapters that I have developed in this dissertation, whereas the conclusion is a brief description based on the data analysis that I have collected relevant to my research issues.

#### **8.1 Summary**

This chapter presents a glimpse of the dissertation, starting from the introduction to the end of the dissertation. All the eight chapters developed here are unique and important. It examines foreign employment as a prevailing social phenomenon playing an important role in social change. It is discussed by developing three research issues. (a) what are the determinants of foreign employment playing role for historic and consistency of mobility for study population? (b) an assessment on how migrants and their remittances are playing role as an important factors of social change. And (c), what are the challenges being faced by the community in course of foreign employment?

Mixed method is deployed as a methodological pathway to analyze subjective as well as objective reality that required addressing the research issues. For this purpose, I have selected 10 Gautole of Biruwa Rural Municipality Syangja, having 744 households in total. Of these 744 HHs, 560 HHs were listed consisting of at least one or more family members employed abroad. Since the nature of employed population shows heterogeneous characters in terms of income, destination countries, nature of job along with time duration they work, I have selected sample purposively in weighted proportion according to the population they occupied in total. So, from total population of 267 household of Indian Gurkha 42 sample households, from sum total of 217 Non-Gurkha migrants' household, 42 and from total of 76 Brithish Gurkhas' households 18 households are taken as sample households. Thus, all together 102 households are selected as a unit for analysis. To draw the conclusion systematically, I have developed eight chapters. The first chapter gives an introduction to the research topic, its background, context, and issues that are relevant for research. The second

chapter is about the reviews of relevant literature. It is categorized into five sub-titles; general overview, theoretical review, empirical review, policy review, and lastly, methodological review. Books, journals, and articles, along with field observation and interaction with people, are the sources of knowledge.

Theoretical pathways which I have followed, starts from neoclassical and moves to the new economic theory of migration along with the different theories of social change. These reviews have supported the research to understand issues in a detailed manner and help address the gaps in the past research. Precisely, push-pull model of Lee, neo-classical theory of Haris and Todaro (1970), and new economic theory of Stark and Bloom (1985) have enriched the researcher to comprehend the reasons such as; wage difference, collective decision and dearth of livelihood earning opportunities as push factors and give the premises to understand why they are going abroad? And second, brief discussion on theories of social changes has enlighten to understand the society as a dynamic institution for which varieties of changing factors are influential for social change.

The third chapter discusses the methodology followed to conduct research. This describes the philosophical ground where the research is standing and also describes the population characteristics towards its end. For the analysis of research issues here, I believe in both multiple and single realities existed within study population and their daily life. So I have followed positivist and interpretative ontology. The Positivist philosophy has guided the research to seek the objective reality related to the first research question.

Likewise, the interpretivist ontology has guided the research to understand the subjective reality like, opinions and attitudes of the respondents regarding social changes and their challenges which they are facing in course of foreign employment practice. Moreover, this chapter is also about the logical description of methods and techniques of data collection, the rationale behind the method adopted, and the description of variables taken for analysis. The segment also provides information about the geographical location, climate, flora, and fauna found in the study area. Thus, the third chapter attempts to familiarize the reader with the research procedure followed in order to draw the conclusion. The fourth chapter introduces the study area using different characteristics like topography, demography, and

political and social characteristics. Furthermore, this chapter also describes the current social setting of the study population, which gives the logic behind the area selection for the study.

From chapter five, I have started to analyze the three research questions by developing three different chapters in chapters five, six and seven. Chapter Five is about the analysis of the first research objective. The research examines and analyzes the sources of livelihood earning and the production status of the study area, which are considered as push factors. For this purpose, land holding, income, production, and employment are the main variables considered as determinants of insufficiency for living. The information is collected through the field survey method and complimented by semi-structured interviews techniques. The interview was conducted with the household head and key informants, and data was collected at both individual and household level. Individual-level data has provided information about respondents' identities as well as their opinions and attitudes toward social events. Similarly, the household level data has supported the research to know the overall status of the study area.

The analysis of collected data; primary from field survey and secondary from Biruwa Municipality record (Local Household Survey, 2075 B.S.) shows that lesser amount of land ownership (only 6.9 percent owned 20 ropani of land area table:5.1) and traditional methods of production and hilly terrain have led to underproduction. Moreover, the employment as a source of income has shown very poor status (only 32 sample household, Table 5.5) as the data shows nominal number of local employees in government service who are doing jobs as teachers or employed in low positions as bureaucrats. Moreover, in the teaching profession, most of the local teachers are employed at primary level, and it is also found that teachers at secondary level are not teaching major subjects like math, science, and English. Instead, they are teaching the rest of the other subjects. In the sixth chapter, I have analyzed the changes occurring in study population. It is examined in light of changes in physical environment, economic activities, social relations, and customary practices. Data, related to changes was collected through direct field observation and in-depth interview from which textual data were also collected and interpreted.

Chapter seven is about the challenges of the left-behind and migrants at origin. In this chapter I have described the financial as well as administrative challenges facing by that

community. In addition, through textual data, the sacrifice of social relations along with the issues in other social aspects is described as a social cost paid by the migrant's family. The last chapter is the summary, findings and conclusion of the whole research work. This is followed by references and appendices.

## **8.2 Findings**

The details of the findings are grounded in 102 sample households. The analysis of the first objective from the survey questionnaire and semi-structured interview has been used as the tools to collect the relevant data. Production, employment, income, and socio-political status were analyzed as key variables. While examining the production status of the study area, 99 percent of households have been found purchasing up to 9 sacks of rice (50 kg per sac). However, 95 percent of sample households have produced sufficient amount of millet and maize. With regard to oil products, almost 81 percent of households have purchased oil and ghee from the market. Forest products have been found for primary use only whereas domestication of animals like buffalos and oxen have been reared by only 46 and 8 sample households respectively. Similarly, NPR 10-45 thousands as an average of per month income was found although it was not on a regular basis. Moreover, 88.2 percent of sample households are still based on ethnic community and, only 4 ward-level leaders were found involved in political affairs.

Likewise, the analysis of the second research objective has been carried on the basis of roles that how the migrants and remittances play key role to bring change in their livelihoods. Besides, some ecological changes in terms of flora and fauna, income, investment, and consumption along with the changes in customary practices are analyzed as key variables. The analysis and interpretation of data shows that there is significant change before and after the surge in the number of foreign employees. It is also found that there is significant change in cultivated land which are now changing into barren land and bushy forest. Regarding the cultivating practices of sample households, only 21 percent of households are found cultivating their land for production in contrast of 98 percent before the 1990s (Table 6.3).

Income analysis of the table from the survey shows significant growth from a mere NPR 10 thousand to NPR 200 thousand. However, the sustainability of this increased income remains unanswered. When examining the income of sampled households before and after the 1990s, it is found that 68 percent lacked steady income before the 1990s, while after that period, 66 percent reported incomes ranging from NPR 30 to NPR 200 thousand.

Further, the analysis of the consumption pattern of the households is found to be influenced/ impacted by the inflow of remittance. As a result, different kinds of electronic equipment such as 32-inch TVs have been set off in 67 households, cell phones have been used by all 102 sample households, and similarly, rice cookers have been used by 97 percent of sample households. Users of electric kettles in 4 households, gas burners in 5 households clearly shows the changing pattern of material culture at the household level of study area. And surprisingly, the remarkable thing is that most of the households have bought 32" TV sets, and all equipment have been directly brought from foreign countries when they visited their families back home. Prior to the rise in foreign employment, only 7 households had owned a radio as an electronic device, 26 percentage of sample households had land mass in urban areas and 17 percent household population have been found with new houses in urban area. The ratio of purchasing land mass for "*Ghaderi*" in urban areas has been found increased, for example; 3 sample households have bought land mass in Syangja, 5 in Chitawan and 8 houses in peripheral area of Pokhara (*Nayagaun and Chorepatan*). Likewise, when the data reports are analyzed; many other social aspects have been incurred to impact in the lives of households. The absence of energetic manpower has not only changed the family structure from joint to nuclear, there is increase in female population and gender roles also found to be changed in household operations.

Moreover, the perception towards purchasing culture has been changed. Before the surge in number of foreign employment, purchasing culture was treated as disrespectful practice while the perception customers in the past belonged to lower social strata that were often referred to as buyers, '*Besahabokne*' in the local context. Now, there is shifts in perception and their livelihood are changed and they become buyers or '*BesahaBokne*' to acknowledge them as someone's ability to manage their needs aptly as '*Bandobasta Garisakne*'.

Most importantly, remittances and migrants are found influential to change the independent local economy to turn into a dependent remittance economy and losing the potentiality of the study population to become an entrepreneur. Likewise, a culture that is seeking opportunities abroad is increasing and being followed by their successors which could be vulnerable as they fail to seek or consider any other options or alternatives to make their living when foreign employment is stopped.

Further, the analysis of the third objective is concerned with 'the difficulties of migrants and their families'. The narratives available from the respective immigrant families show that they are suffering morally, psychologically, and emotionally which they have expressed during the interview. Thus, analysis and interpretation clearly show that there is an increase in the number of nuclear families (61 percent nuclear families and 39 percent joint, which was 71 percent and 29 percent respectively before the 1990s) a change in sex ratio; the size of family has become small as joint family culture is reducing, daughter-in-laws are living in urban areas with schooling children; wives have become powerful decision-makers in household chores. The schooling of children in private schools rather than the government schools are perceived as changing scenarios.

Moreover, analysis on change in norms, values, and cultural practices, data from in-depth interviews with household heads and 12 respondents as key informants shows significant change in relation to employment culture. Because of remittance and absence of energetic men members, the visible as well as abstract changes are examined, such as change in headship in decision making role from senior male to employee's wife consist of 23 percent, men 46 percent, and both 31 percent, gathering of fraternity on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of new birth, and band of salt consumption by all members of the clan for 13 days are less valued to observe death rituals. Only one member of a household is following the ritual. Thus, it is claimed that there is significant change even in the non-material culture of the study population.

In addition, more functional youth clubs and women's groups (*AamaSamuha*) have been examined to know about the recent changes of households of study area, These two groups are found rich in capital, their source of income is remittance and occasional cultural festivals. Marriage and death rituals, as well as the arrival of migrants, have become the part

of cultural festival to generate income. When foreign employees come back to home, the youth club and women's group visit their home for entertainment and receive donations as per their income source. Generally, amounts of NPR 2,000-60,000 have been found to be contributed by them. Remittances, thus have become important source to bring the change in their socio-cultural patterns. When the Indian and British Gurkhas return home to spend their leaves they contribute between NPR 10,000 and NPR 60,000 to both clubs. Through this collected amount, they are supporting to community development works. For example, at one time, lunch was provided to labor while constructing the road with a dozer. Moreover, analysis on marriage practice has also shown that, 21 households have preferred/ followed inter-caste marriage; the feast in marriage is noticed as similar to an urban dinner; and a similar type of outfit has been found for young urban dwellers. The educational attainments from the migrant households members have been found eight percent who have earned a graduate degree or above. The major population earned just the SLC, which have shown that there is still lack of formal educational knowledge among the study population. However, 56 percent of households' children learn from private schools although schoolchildren are too young to evaluate achievement.

Analysis of data related to foreign income has shown that there is a significant amount of remittances that is almost 90 percent households immigrant earn 30 thousand to 2 Lakhs per month and 10 percent of households earn more than NPR 2 lakh per month. However, the consistency remains for Gurkhas and local employees. The rest of the non-Gurkhas look in vulnerable condition since they are not getting their salary on a regular basis and even a few of them are not getting their payments in time.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

A move for better opportunities is human nature. The national and international context is circumstantial and may induce the labor market temporarily or semi-temporarily for being a labor migrant but historical and consistency in a move, seeking opportunities certainly have logic and reason. In regards to the study population, their mobility not only connected with the concepts of; the push-pull model of Lee (1966), the collective decision by Stark and Bloom (1984), and, the neoclassical theory of wage differences between two geographical regions by Todaro (1970) rather it shows the connection with their poor root in socio-political condition.

Moreover, socio-cultural change in the study area not only matched with the evolutionary concept of social change that explain change as gradual process from similar to dissimilar, homo to heterogeneous and simple to complex but also the changing phenomenon in the study area resembled with the diffusionist perspective that implies imitation of cultural traits is more easy than creation. Regarding the change in customary practices, Marx's idea suggests that a change in the infrastructure or base economy leads to a change in the superstructure. This aligns with the current social phenomenon, where the agricultural practices that once formed the base economy have shifted to reliance on remittances. Consequently, customary practices, as part of the superstructure have also changed.

Thus, historically disadvantaged socio-political status within the social hierarchy, coupled with limited access to state power and authority are novel findings within this dissertation. Concerning the social change, remittances and migrants along with the change as universal phenomenon are vital for social change. In regards of difficulties, remittance-based families are compromising important values of being social such as social bonding, love, affection, and care of children and elderly citizens. These compromises can be detrimental to the long-term cohesive growth of families, societies, and the nation.

Hence, the three issues that I attempted to analyze are matched with the different theories that I have discussed in literature as theoretical premises. Neoclassical theory is appropriate playing pivotal role holding the wage difference as fundamentals of mobility because the study population's crux of employment abroad is wage differences between origin and destination countries. In addition, briefly discussed theories of social change has provided a foundation to understand 'economy' as a prime mover of social change. Evolutionary perspectives of social change have complimented the understanding of social change as a gradual process as well as an unavoidable global context that human society has been changing restlessly. In conclusion, I have tried to deconstruct the idea of remittances as a purely beneficial to us by signifying that the social cost that society has to pay is greater and would leave long term effect on family, society and to nation for overall sustainable development.

#### **8.4 Discussion**

Several concepts are found generalized related to my topics. More close to my research topic is the research conducted by Rajkarnikar (2017). She used Kabeer's (1999)



4. Total number of households in the *Gautole*:-----
5. Literacy Rate: -----.
6. Caste/ Ethnic composition of the *Gautole*:
  - a. Brahmin                      b. Chhetri                      d. Gurung
  - e. Magar                        g. Dalit                        h. Others
7. Migration status of People:
  - a. Local                        b. Migrated
8. Main languages spoken in the community:
  - a. Nepali                      b. Magar                      c. Gurung                      d. Others
9. Available Facilities:
  - a. Bus service    b. Electricity    c. Health Service
  - d. Education:    e. Communication:            f. Others
10. Main Occupations:
  - a. Agriculture                      b. Employment abroad
  - c. Government job                d. Others (specify)
11. Main Religion
  - a. Hinduism                      b. Buddhism                      c. Islam
  - d. Christianity                    e. Others
12. Historical significance of the study area: -----
13. Cultural attractions of the study area: -----
14. Infrastructure development in the *Gautole*: -----

**B. Household Survey**

1. Full Name of the respondent:-----
2. Sex: -----
3. Age:-----
4. Religion:-----
5. Caste/ethnicity-----
6. Marital Status:-----
7. Educational Status:-----
8. Main occupation:-----
9. Other sources of income:-----
10. Monthly income:-----
11. Family Structure            a. Nuclear                    b. Joint
12. No. of Families:-----
13. Contact Telephone No:

14. Details of the Family Members:

S.N.	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Monthly	Relation with
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							

**C. Resources for Livelihood**

- 1) How long can you sustain yourself with your own local production (Cereal, fruits and meat?)
  - a) Agriculture (.....)
  - b) Animal product (meat, Milk product) (.....)
  - c) Horticulture (.....)
  - d) Forest product (grass) (.....)
  - e) What are the things you get from jungle?
    - Firewood
    - Food and fodder for animal
    - Grazing field
  
- 2) Have you been cultivating the same land as your forefathers had?
  - a) Yes, I do (.....)
  - b) Not all, half (.....)
  - c) Very little (.....)
  
- 3) How many times you harvest grains from your fields?
  - a) Once a year (.....)
  - b) Twice a year (.....)
  - c) More than twice (.....)
  
- 4) Which food grain you buy the most?
  - a) Rice (.....)
  - b) Wheat (.....)
  - c) Corn and Millet (.....)

5) What about water resource, is it easily available for drink and irrigation both?

a) Only for drink (.....)

b) For irrigation (.....)

**D. Relation with State Power**

*Objective: To know about the employment opportunity and status)*

1) Do you have family member involved in politics?

a) Yes (.....)

b) No (.....)

2) Should we be involved in politics?

a) Yes (.....)

b) No (.....)

3) Do you know the elected member, minister and district level leaders from this region?

a) Yes (.....)

b) No (.....)

4) What about female's involvement in politics?

a) Yes, she should (.....)

b) No, she should not (.....)

5) Do your family members serve in bureaucracy?

a) Yes (.....)

b) No (.....)

**E. Relation with Development Actors**

*(Objective: to know about the government and non-government support for their betterment)*

- 1) Have you ever heard about development program by government? (Yes/No.....)
- 2) Have you listen about NGOs AND INGOs if yes who is working and which sector they are contributing? (Date) (Yes/No.....)
- 3) Do you know about new technology for farming? (Yes/No.....)
- 4) Have you ever get support from JTA? (Yes/No.....)
- 5) Do you know about reservation? (Yes/No.....)

**F. To know the Economic Status**

1. What is the main source of income? Service in army in British
  - a) Pension (.....)
  - b) Remittances (.....)
  - c) Service in Indian (.....)
  - d) Service in Nepal government (.....)
  - e) Farming and domesticated animal (.....)
2. How much amount you get as monthly pension or salary?  
.....
3. Did you plough your all field for production?
  - a. Yes (.....)
  - b. If not, then why? (.....)
4. What percent of your land you use to produce? (.....)
5. Agricultural product contributes for.....
6. Source of meat item we get from domesticated animal or market.....

**F. Study change in Culture and Relations**

1. Do you practice dual locality?
  - a. Yes (.....)
  - b. No (.....)
2. Currently who is the household head?
  - a. Father (.....)
  - b. Mother (.....)
  - c. Grandfather (.....)
  - d. Grandmother (.....)
3. Number of Male members (.....)
4. Number of Female members (.....)
5. Were any of your family members married to another caste?
  - a. Yes (.....)
  - b. No (.....)
6. Do you follow all traditions of our culture like pasni, nawaran chewar?
  - a. Yes/No (.....)
  - b. Some important (.....)
  - c. Mention which one (.....)
6. Do you follow noon barne culture of all 13 dine bhai? Yes/ No.....
7. Did you continue kulpooja?
8. In your family do you all gather in nawran and noon khane din?
9. What about baraju pooja and devi pooja?
10. What about Ghatu nach and Jhora dance?
11. What about Nachhari dance?
12. What about poush 15?
13. What about satyanarayan and jhakri pooja?
14. Now a days how people intertanin?

### **G. Education Status**

1. What about academic status?
  - a) Number of illiterate male member (.....)
  - b) Number of illiterate female member (.....)
  - c) Number of literate male member (.....)

- d) Number of literate female member (.....)
- e) Number of educated male member (.....)
- f) Number of educated female member (.....)

2. How much education level do you have completed?

<b>Education</b>	<b>Tick Appropriate level</b>
Illiterate (0)	
Primary Level (1-5)	
Lower Secondary Level (6-8)	
Secondary Level (9-10)	
Higher Secondary Level (11-12)	
Above Higher Secondary Level (12>)	

3. Is there any child in your family who is not going to school? .....
4. What type of schooling have you chosen for your children's education?
- a. Private (.....)
- b. Boarding (.....)
5. What is your opinion on the existing status of women?
- a) Very good (.....)
- b) Acceptable (.....)
- c) Need to be changed (.....)
6. Do you think that the current legal provisions and practices provide equal right to women in comparison to that of men?
- a) Yes (.....)
- b) Yes to some extent (.....)
- c) No (.....)
7. Who is decisive in your family?
- a) Male (.....)
- b) Female (.....)

- c) Jointly (.....)
8. Who does the decision in your family regarding household chore?
- a. Male (.....)
- b. Female (.....)
- c. Jointly (.....)
9. Marriage practice we follow?
- a) Arrange Marriage (.....)
- b) Love Marriage (.....)
- c) Jari Bibaha (.....)
10. In your family, who makes the decision for girl's marriage?
- a. The mother alone
- b. The father alone
- c. Fathers and mothers together
- d. others (specify) .....
11. Where do you go for treatment while you are ill?
- a. Dhama Jhakri (Traditional System of treatment) (-----)
- b. Aurbedic Treatment (Baidhya) (-----)
- c. Allopathic Treatment (Doctor) (-----)
12. What is your opinion about medical check-up while in pregnancy?
- a. Unknown
- b. Should be checked-up
13. If it should be checked-up, how many times do you visit to Hospital?
- .
14. Where do you go for child birth?
- a. At home (-----)
- b. In Hospital (-----)
15. What is your opinion toward the concept of family planning?

- a. Positive (-----)
- b. Negative (-----)
- c. Unknown (-----)
16. If there are educated female members, specify the level of education attained by her.
17. What is your attitude toward the education to daughter?
- a. Positive (-----)
- b. Moderate (-----)
- c. Negative (-----)
18. Mention the land holding pattern in Ropani?
- a. Khet-land (-----)
- b. Bari-land (-----)
19. What is the annual production of food crops in term of Muri?
- a. Paddy (-----)
- b. Maize (-----)
- c. Wheat and Millet (-----)
20. Is that annual production of food crops sufficient for your livelihood?
- a. Yes (-----)
- b. No (-----)
21. How many numbers of cattle do you have?
- a. Buffaloes (-----)
- b. Cow (-----)
- c. Goat (-----)
- d. Bullock (-----)
- e. Pig (-----)
22. Do you have any other source of income?
- a. No (-----)
- b. Yes (-----)

If yes, what are the sources of other income?

#### **H. To know the Challenges of Left-Behind**

1. Did you faced the administrative challenges in the process of foreign employment?
- d. Yes (-----)

- e. No (-----)
2. Did you faced the financial challenges in the process of foreign employment?
- a. Yes (-----)
- b. No (-----)
3. How did you manage the financial require for foreign employment ?
- a. Borrow from relative (-----)
- b. Loan from financial institutions No (-----)
- c. Others Specify (-----)
4. How did you manage the role of your family member after he/she employed in foreign land?
- a. Reducing earlier practice of earning (-----)
- b. Self- manage by taking support from relatives (-----)
5. Did you face the challenges in child education?
- a. Yes (-----)
- b. No (-----)
6. Did your family member elope after joining foreign job by husband?
- a. Yes (-----)
- b. No (-----)
7. Should foreign employment continue even by your next generation?
- a. Yes (-----)
- b. No (-----)

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