Nepali Transnational Migration to India after 1990

A Dissertation

Submitted to

Department of International Relations and Diplomacy (DIRD)

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Tribhuvan University

In Fulfillment of the Requirement for the

Master's Degree

In

International Relations and Diplomacy

By

SUDIP ADHIKARI

Roll No: 182804032

TU Registration No: 6-2-530-75-2014

DIRD, TU

Kathmandu, Nepal

2022

Letter of Recommendation

I certify that this dissertation entitled “Nepali Transnational Migration to India after 1990” was prepared by Mr. Sudip Adhikari under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee, Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER’S IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY.

Keshav Bashyal, PhD.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and does not contain any previously published elements. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other authors' sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Signature:

Name: Sudip Adhikari

Date:

Acknowledgement

Dr. Keshav Bashyal, my supervisor, has provided me with invaluable guidance, mentorship, and constructive ideas, without which it was beyond imagination to bring this thesis in this form.

I would want to express my gratitude to Assistant Professor Prem Khanal, the department coordinator, for inspiring me to accomplish my research project.

Likewise, I would like to acknowledge Tribhuvan University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Department of International Relations and Diplomacy for creating such an academic environment. I am obliged to all the teaching as well as non-teaching staffs for their support and guidance during past two years. I would also like to appreciate my classmates and seniors who have helped me direct my energy and thoughts and provided me invaluable resource materials and response to my queries.

Finally, I must express my deep indebtedness to my family members, especially my parents, who not only encouraged but also provided me with everything possible to pursue higher studies and to materialize my cherished dream.

Thank you!

Sudip Adhikari

Abstract

The flow of people from Nepal to India is pre-historical as the reason for the migration of people have been religious, economic, commercial, and political. The concept of migration has been defined by different scholars and organizations in various ways. However, there has been a different pattern of migration or flow of people from Nepal to India. During different phases, the configuration of Nepali migration to India has been different. According to the regional politics and economy, the Nepali have migrated to other parts of the world. Similarly, the internal political and economic reforms also have aided to the migration of the Nepali. Nevertheless, the root causes and effects of the transnational migration of Nepal to India has been important for the study, and also the link of the aspects of the human security is also significant. Thus, realizing the research gap of the transnational migration to India after 1990 due to different political activism and its connection to human security the research is aimed at investigating the same. Methodologically, the research is qualitative research primarily focusing on both primary and secondary sources.

The research focuses on examining the transnational migration, and investigate the transnational migration in Nepal. Transnational perspective provides a more profound comprehension of several global, social, economic and political phenomena, including the social movements, governance, politics, terrorism, violence, and organised crimes. And, the research assesses the historical, economic and strategic perspectives of the transnational migration in Nepal. The research follows with linking the transnational migration with the human security. The study adheres to the definition adopted in the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1994, and its subsequent development. Moreover, the study deals with the political activism after 1990. Later, the research examines the transnational migration of Nepalese to India after 1990 connecting to the aspects of the human security.

Keywords: Transnational migration, human security, Nepal, India, political activism, 1990.

List of Tables and Figures

List of Tables

Table i) The Official Portal of Government of Nepal……..……17-18

List of Figures

Figure i) World Bank Report on Economic Security……...30

Figure ii) Nepali Migration for Foreign Employment…….32

Figure iii) World Bank Report on Food Security…….……33

Figure iv) Factors that influencing health and well-being of migrants in the migration cycle…….34

List of Abbreviations

ADPC	Asian Disaster Preparedness Center
CA	Constitutional Assembly
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Accord
CPN-M	Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist
DoFE	Department of Foreign Employment
EPG	Eminent Persons' Group
FEB	Foreign Employment Commission
FEPB	Foreign Employment Promotion Board
FY	Fiscal Year
GA	General Assembly
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus/ Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
ILO	International Labour Organization
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Center
IOM	International Organization of Migration
JMCC	Joint Monitoring Coordination

MECC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoLESS	Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security
NC	Nepali Congress
NOC	No Objection Certificate
PLA	People's Liberation Army
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SPA	Seven-Party Alliance
UK	United Kingdom
UML	Unified Marxist-Leninist
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDRR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNMIN	United Nations Mission in Nepal

List of Contents

Chapter I 1

Introduction 1

1.1 Statement of the Problem 3

1.2 Research Questions 4

1.3 Research Objectives 4

1.4 Delimitation of the Research 4

Chapter II 5

Literature Review 5

Chapter III 8

Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology 8

3.1 Conceptual Framework 8

3.2 Research Design 9

3.3 Nature/Sources of Data 9

3.4 Research Methodology 9

Chapter IV 10

Transnationalism and Transnational Migration in Nepal 10

4.1 Transnationalism 10

4.2 Transnational Migration 12

4.3 Transnational Migration Trend from Nepal 15

Chapter V 20

Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its Relation to Human Security 20

5.1 Human Security 20

5.2 Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 22

5.3 Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its Relation to Human Security 26

Chapter VI 29

Transnational Migration Pattern to India after 1990 29

6.1 Analysing the Transnational Migration to India after 1990 through the Human Security Perspective 29

6.1.1. Economic Security 30

6.1.2. Political Security 31

6.1.3. Food Security 32

6.1.4. Health Security 33

6.1.5. Environmental Security 38

6.1.6. Personal and Community Security 40

Chapter VII 41

Summary and Conclusion 41
References 46

Chapter I

Introduction

Migration is a significant phenomenon that has occurred throughout human history, playing a critical role in shaping the world we live in today (International Organization for Migration, 2014). According to International Organization of Migration Glossary, international migration is defined as the movement of persons who leave their homeland, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another destination country (International Organization for Migration, 2014, p. 52). It, therefore, involves crossing the international border. Similarly, against the backdrop of globalization, moving information and people from one location to another has never been easier (Barrientos, 2007). Migration is a tremendous flux of culture, ideas, behaviors, families, information, and, most importantly, money (Barrientos, 2007).

Work relocation and migration have a long history in Nepal. The mid-nineteenth-century admittance of young Nepali people into the provincial British military forces appears to be the most prominent example of the states' inclusion in formalizing employment relocation through agreements between two governments (Bhattarai, 2007). Furthermore, due to India and Nepal's open border and their ancient migration history, Nepalese have been moving to India for employment for a long time, and crossing the border is rarely recognized as migration (Jacob, Chandran, Manmharan, Shekhar, & Mohan, 2008).

A great part of the historical backdrop of work relocation for outside work from Nepal is portrayed by the surge to India, at any rate up to the mid-1980s (Bashyal, 2018). Nepal and India share a long and open border and no documentation or visa is required to cross the border from the both sides (Bashyal, 2018). However, this has room for contest as the term ‘international migration’ suggests, the movement from one country to another is known as such migration and only because there is open border, countries, statistics, and researcher must consider and observe the movement as migration (Bohra-Mishra, 2013).

Transnationalism can be defined as social relations that link together societies of origin and settlement. Moreover, immigrants build multiple social fields that beyond geographical, cultural and political boundaries. They also maintain multiple relationships which could be familial, economic and political with their country of origin (Bhattarai, 2007). In today’s world multiple identities are now possessed by immigrants through global connectedness (A Levitt,

2007). Migrants' numerous affiliations in political activism have been referred to as "homeland politics," "de-territorialized nations," "long-distance nationalism," and "globalization of domestic politics" (A Levitt, 2007; Barrientos, 2007). However, the first wave of labor migration from Nepal occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the government's repressive land and labor policies compelled peasants in the hills to flee their homes and seek work elsewhere, both inside Nepal and over the border into India (Jaque, Shrestha, Kohler, & Schwilch, 2016).

Since the 1990s, the surge in transnational migration from Nepal has been the subject of numerous research (Chaudhary, 2016; Bohra-Mishra, 2013). Meanwhile, official remittances from Nepali migrants climbed to 16.8% of total GDP in 2005-2006 (NRB 2007), while undocumented money flows could push their proportion up to 25% of GDP (Neill, 2007). Nepal's internal politics is affected by transnational migration issues (Neill, 2007). Dating back to the First people's movement to today's time, I have tried to view economic, political and cultural dimensions. The First Political party and prominent leaders then started revolting from India (Nicolaas de Zwager, 2017). Since the late 1800s, military organizations have been recruiting the duly or unduly valorized Gorkha troops, first by British India, then by independent India, and most recently by the governments of Singapore and Brunei (Bhattarai, 2007).

Following the Nepal-British India conflict in 1814-1816, the labor migration began. Following the conflict, a British Gurkha recruited 4,650 Nepali youths into the British military forces, and the Sugauli Treaty was signed in 1816 (KC G. , The Outward Pull, 2011). Similarly, from the 1950s, Nepali people began migrating to India for different jobs, such as working in the tea estates of Darjeeling and the forest of Assam (KC B. K., 2004). As a result, Nepali migration to India has been a continuous phenomenon, with a working diaspora across the country. Article VII of the 'Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950' enables free and reciprocal movement of people across the open border between Nepal and India (Chaudhary, 2016). Mostly, Nepali migrants find works in India effortlessly and are employed primarily in restaurant and bars and also work as watchmen, house servants or as seasonal laborers, factory workers. (Bhattarai, 2007).

Illegal migration also occurs between India and Nepal. The exodus from Nepal into India was excessive during the period of conflict between government forces and the Maoists but came down drastically after the peace agreement (Jacob, Chandran, Manmharan, Shekhar, & Mohan,

2008). The Indian government introduces a system of identification cards for people who cross the border areas, but this has been far from adequate (Jacob, Chandran, Manmharan, Shekhar, & Mohan, 2008).

One of the most well-known accounts of Nepali migration comes from Nepali youths who fought in the army of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh monarch of Lahore (now in Pakistan). Those who operated as Lahore army was referred to as 'Lahure' in popular language (Barrientos, 2007). This word has gained widespread use and refers to anyone who serves as a soldier in a foreign country. Even now, Nepali troops serving in British and Indian regiments are known by the term 'Lahure' (KC B. K., 2004). Later on, the 'Lahure' culture encompassed almost all kinds of international work. It has become a catchphrase for all migrant laborers (Chaudhary, 2016).

Nepalese people moved to India in pursuit of a job, but they still have strong ties to their homeland, homes, and families. Furthermore, the phrase has an underlying temporal dimension. A "Pravasi Nepali" is a Nepalese citizen who spends more time in other nations (Bahira desh) than in Nepal (Valentin, 2011).

Roughly 30 per cent of Nepal's GDP comes through remittances, with the largest share of such funds coming from India, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates (Jaque, Shrestha, Kohler, & Schwilch, 2016). The ethnolinguistic closeness between Nepal and India, as well as the affordable cost of migration, drew many Nepali migrants to India. Nepal maintains an open border with India, allowing citizens from both countries to freely cross without any restrictions, paperwork, or permissions at any time (Barrientos, 2007). It invites workers from both countries to take advantage of the other's economic potential. Due to long-term migration to India, well-established migration links between a district in Nepal and Indian cities help fresh migrants find work (Nicolaas de Zwager, 2017).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Nepal and India enjoy exceptional bilateral ties. It was founded on the age-old connection of history, tradition, and religion; these relations are close, comprehensive, and multidimensional, more in political, social, cultural, religious, and economic engagements. The unwavering commitment to the principles of peaceful coexistence, sovereign equality, and understanding of each other's aspirations and sensitivities has been the firm foundation on which our bilateral relations have been growing further.

This research aimed to identify Nepali transnational migration to India. This research visualised the significant challenges of Nepal and the adverse effects of transnationalism in the homeland politics of Nepal.

1.2 Research Questions

The research focused on Nepali transnational migration to India after 1990.

i. What is transnationalism and transnational migration of Nepal?

ii. Discuss "Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its relation to Human Security".

iii. How was the Nepali transnational migration pattern to India after 1990?

1.3 Research Objectives

The primary objectives of this research is to provide an insight briefly into the historical pattern and give detailed insight into modern-day cases that visualize transnational migration issues of Nepal in the context of India.

The prime objectives of the study are given below:

i. To study transnationalism and transnational migration of Nepal.

ii. Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its Relation to Human Security

iii. To identify the Nepali transnational migration pattern to India after 1990.

1.4 Delimitation of the Research

The study's degree of boundaries and limitations are as follows:

The site of the study limited to the researcher's access to works of literature and reports available, in which the variables of the study of transnational migration issues of Nepal. It is subject to change under the explanation of different scholars and political environments. The study mostly relied on knowledge transferability and the combination of pieces of literature through the limited literary works of scholars and experts. The explanation and analysis of the study's objectives is limited to the time frame of the completion of the study, and the research will not accommodate future developments in the study.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Migration scholarship has undergone more than two decades (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002). Most scholars now recognize that much of the researches preciously done were not sufficient (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002; Alba & Nee, 2003). Migration has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl, but rather a process in which migrants are embedded in the numerous sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live to varying degrees (An-Na'im, 2005). Since its inception, sociology has been in the service of the nation-state (An-Na'im, 2005). Transnational migration scholars contributed a new perspective to these discussions in the 1990s. They contended that some migrants remained active in their home countries after being accepted into the countries that received them (An-Na'im, 2005). They described how migrants and their descendants engage in familial, social, religious, economic, political, and cultural processes that cross borders while becoming a part of the communities in which they settle (An-Na'im, 2005).

Many argue that transnational migration is not a new phenomenon, retelling the story of the United States' immigrant population through a transnational lens (Andrade-Ekhoff & Silva-Avalos, 2003). Between 1900 and 1906, the total value of money orders sent from American immigrant colonies to Russia, Italy, and Austria-Hungary was $90 million (Caglar, 2002). Many migration scholars now agree that transnational practices and attachments were and continue to be prevalent among the first generation, but far fewer believe these ties persist among subsequent generations (A Levitt, 2007; Caglar, 2002). They point to falling language proficiency as well as survey results showing that immigrant children have little desire to return to their ancestral homes (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002).

In much literature, transnational migration has been incorporated into the ideas of human security (An-Na'im, 2005; Casanova, 1994). The aspects of economics, society, and politics have been related to migration's causes and effects. Some scholars regard transnational migration as a result of late capitalism, which makes large industrialized countries reliant on cheap labour and small, developing countries reliant on remittances immigrants send home (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). Electoral participation (as voters or candidates), membership in political associations, parties, or campaigns in two different countries, lobbying the authorities of one country to influence its policies toward another, and nation-building itself are all

examples of migrant political transnational practices (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). Transnational migration research has also discovered significant shifts in social life, such as changes in kinship and family structure and how these affect notions of class, gender, and race. Studies of transnational kinship show how gendered inequalities in power and position characterize family networks across boundaries (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Casanova, 1994). A rising number of scholars are working on conceptual frameworks for thinking about migration, nationalism, and culture. Religion is frequently lumped in with the culture, partially because thinkers projected that it would become less relevant in "modern" Western countries (Caglar, 2002).

When looking at the history of Nepalese outmigration, it was due to the crossroads of trade between Tibet and India. Around 500 B.C., Trans-Himalayan Trade was a significant factor in Nepali people migrating from one location to another (Bashyal, 2018). During the reigns of the 'Lichhavi' and 'Malla,' the Kathmandu valley served as a crossroads for trade between India, Tibet, Nepal, and China between the 2nd and 15th centuries (Bhattarai, 2007). Trade and trade have always been key reasons for Nepalese people to travel to different regions of the globe. For economic migration, Nepalese have been limited to China and Tibet. Also, to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Central Asia (Bohra-Mishra, 2013).

The contemporary migration pattern of Nepalese to India can be related to the physical configuration of India and Nepal's border, which does not provide any natural barriers, is the source of people moving between the two countries (Bhattarai, 2007). The mobility of people was aided by similarities in the two countries' socio-cultural identities (Bhattarai, 2007). The demarcation of borders between the two countries did not halt population mobility, which persisted due to economic and socio-cultural ties (Chaudhary, 2016). The free movement of people between India and Nepal is due to the physical configuration of their border, which lacks natural impediments (Bhattarai, 2007).

The Sugauli Treaty, signed between Nepal and British India in 1816, was essential in the formation of the Gurkha regiments in the British Indian army. The Nepali government opposed Nepali joining the British army in 1885, and Nepali attitudes regarding the Gurkha regiment were changed (KC B. K., 2004). However, after Prime Minister Bir Shumsher Rana took control, the Nepalese government publicly backed the British by hiring Nepali as Gurkha soldiers (Thieme, 2006).

Although the 1950 treaty does not offer an open border system between Nepal and India, it does contain migration provisions that address reciprocity (Chaudhary, 2016). Article VII does not explicitly mention equal treatment or employment opportunities for Nepali workers but instead discusses rights in residency, property ownership, trade participation, and people migrations. Other advantages of a similar type are not clarified. Because of this textual ambiguity, implementation has been complicated, particularly in the case of Nepali migrant laborers' relationship with the Indian state (Prasain, 2010).

In India, identity-based Nepali non-government groups have a nearly century-long tradition. They operate in Nepal's politics, customs, and economy (Regmi M. , 1978)The All-India Gurkha League, formed by Thakur Chandan Singh, was one of the most prominent organizations. Similarly, Chhabilal Upadhyay, an Assamese tea grazer who speaks Nepali, fought for grazers' rights against tax hikes and the eviction of Nepali grazers from some reserves (Prasain, 2010). Among the Nepali speakers was Dalbir Singh Lohar, a significant leader of the Indian National Congress. He was a member of Assam's legislative parliament from 1946 until 1952 (Prasain, 2010).

Most Indian politicians were educated in Britain and brought liberal democratic concepts to India during the Quit India Movement (QIM) at the turn of the nineteenth century (Regmi M. , 1978; Manchanda, 2001). Aside from them, several Nepali teenagers took part in the QIM and received a wealth of political knowledge, preparing them to take action against Nepal's despotic Rana regime (Bashyal, 2018). The background of senior leaders in contemporary Nepali politics provided dramatic examples of this. The bulk of the influential leaders of the major political parties was influenced or active in the Indian Independence Movement (Bashyal, 2018).

The primary motivation for Nepalese migration to India is to find work, whether in the army or the public service or to obtain an education. It has resulted in the infusion of new cultural, political, and economic principles into Nepal (Bohra-Mishra, 2013). "The primary danger," writes Thieme (2006), "is that returning army troops will carry revolutionary ideas back into Nepal." They were initially introduced to India's liberation struggle, and they played a crucial role in toppling the Rana rulers' despotic authority (Thieme, 2006). Several Gurkha soldiers joined Subash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army after leaving the British Army. Nepali intellectuals and those studying and working in India joined the anti-'British Raj movement. Two well-known Nepalese politicians, Man Mohan Adhikari and B.P. Koirala, did join the

QIM. Despite Nepal's vital contribution to India's independence campaign, the Nepali population in India was denied minority rights because it was not recognized as a separate entity in India (Regmi M. , 1978). Despite this, they were one of India's largest minority groups and had lived in the country for generations (Bhattarai, 2007). Despite this, they were one of India's largest minority groups and had lived in the country for generations (Manchanda, 2001). Gurkhas serving in other countries' armies depleted Nepal's youthful human resources, particularly during times of conflict. Furthermore, the Gurkha community has emerged as a leader in promoting the Pan-Nepali identity while also contributing to the blooming of western lifestyles and values in Nepali culture (Regmi M. , 1978; Low, 2015).

A thorough literature review pointed out that comprehensive research on transnational migration to India from Nepal after the 1990s has lacked academia. The research on political activism has been relatively done but the link to the human security and the transnational migration; however, the political activism has been barely touched by the other researches. Therefore, identifying the research gap, the study is focused on researching transnational migration to India after 1990.

Chapter III

Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology

3.1 Conceptual Framework

The research's conceptual framework is built around the concepts of transnational migration, human security, and political activism. The link has been created among the three aspects where the human security aspects are the cause and effect for the transnational migration of the Nepali. The flow of Nepali to India has been taken as a framework confining the research to only one country, and the timeframe has also limited the study of the migration pattern of the Nepali only after 1990. Remarkably, the research also conceptualizes the flow of Nepali to India because of the political activism, especially the Maoist initiated People’s War after the given date. However, it also somewhat focuses on the post-war period and Nepal's constitution-making period. However, political activism has been taken as both the cause and effect of the transnational migration of the Nepalese to India after the 1990s.

3.2 Research Design

The nature of the data is qualitative. To fulfill the research objectives, a methodical, subjective, and holistic approach was taken into consideration, primarily through an inductive process of organizing data into categories and discovering the pattern among the categories.

3.3 Nature/Sources of Data

The primary and secondary data were both taken into account. The data is collected from books, periodicals, scholarly journals, reports of the government of Nepal (Population Survey, economic survey etc.), annual report of "The Official Portal of Government of Nepal", 'International Organization for Migration", 'Human Development Report', "Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security", "Ministry of Health", "Ministry of Home Affairs", "Department of Foreign Employment", "Ministry of Population and Environment", etc.) Similarly, historical treaties signed between Nepal and India is brought to the context. The focal point of this research is based on available books and journals related to transnational migration and political activism. It also attempts to analyse various types of transnational migration.

3.4 Research Methodology

In the research, descriptive, critical and analytical methods were employed. The methods included tracing, congruence testing and counterfactual to create an empirical and interpretive study of transnational migration, human security and political activism in Nepal. Aspects of the Case Study Research Methodology were used in the study, which used Transnational Migration to India after 1990 as a case study to interpret migration patterns and their influence on human security issues. As a historical analysis of the transnational migration was done, *retrospective and diachronic* case study methods were applied to the research and linked to the theoretical perspective of human security and transnationalism for a detailed qualitative account.

Ideas, assumptions, and analyses from array of International Relations theories were included in the study's comparative, evaluative, and analytical approaches. The theoretical pillars of the methods in the study have included constructivist ideas, liberalist approach and cultural theory claims.

Chapter IV

Transnationalism and Transnational Migration in Nepal

4.1 Transnationalism

Simply put, transnationalism refers to the spread and dissemination of economic, political, and cultural dimensions beyond national borders. It is the exchange of human beings and their political, cultural and economic activities (Clavin, 2005). As a multidisciplinary theory, it is applied to politics, sociology, economics and migration, and generally referred not only to the movement of people alone but also the ideas, technology, cultures, and money between the states (Eleftheriadis, 2018). This term was used by an American writer Randolph Bourne in 1916 in his paper "Trans-National America", explaining what today is understood as "multiculturalism" (Pence & Zimmerman, 2012). The term "transnationalism" came into the scholarly writings in the 1990s as a means to explain the causes and effects of migrant diasporic movements, explicate the complex economic relations induced by the interdependences among states, and describe the creation of "melting pot" or multiculturalism due to the interaction between the different cultural communities in the world (Eleftheriadis, 2018).

This transnationalism shifts the unit of analysis from an individual state to a global system and diverse form of the object of inquiry at the same time (Clavin, 2005). As the international processes are increasing day by day, transnationalism can be seen boosted by the interactions amongst the non-state actors and international organizations (Guarnizo, 2003). This phenomenon enhanced the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence among the states, have created opportunities and challenges for the states, leaders and policymakers. Moreover, the study of transnationalism provides an outlook towards economic globalization, international migration, change in the political processes, and economic integration (Eleftheriadis, 2018). In contrast to the joyous prospect of transnationalism, the transnational phenomena also bring the challenges of transnational crimes, smugglings, and others. As states by Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, transnationalism also affects international governance areas as it brings challenges to the interstate politics, values, foreign policy, and international organizations' conduct (Pence & Zimmerman, 2012).

Transnational perspective provides a more profound comprehension of several global, social, economic and political phenomena, including the social movements, governance, politics, terrorism, violence, and organized crimes (Tudor, 2017). This transnational outlook examines society's institutions, migration policies, and role of discrimination, the emergence of civil society, state and non-state actors. Furthermore, because it subverts public resistance from

below, transnationalism is regarded as celebratory. It can be interpreted as a social structure that makes socially aware and successful efforts to escape the capital's or state's control and dominance "from above." (Ziyanak, 2016). As a result of globalization, transnationalism emerges as a result of forces from below confronting globalization's upper forces, such as capitalism and cosmopolitanism (Tudor, 2017).

The idea of transnationalism develops by dissolving national cultural and territorial boundaries and criticizing the local-global binaries (Kearney, 1995). The construction of transnational space's political organizations creating and replicating transnational networks through the material, cultural, and symbolic exchanges is the source of this subversion, which occurs and is dependent on it (Kearney, 1995). Transnationalism is also related to discerning the power relations, cultural constructions, economic interactions and social organization at the locality level (Lie, 1995). Transnationalism blurs the local-global duality, removing the ground from under the feet of nationalism and thereby defying cultural and territorial bounds. All power creation and development of national systems should be determined by focusing on such systems' opposition from below (Guarnizo, 2003).

However, transnationalism is a complex phenomenon creating a complex structure. Transnationalism is the quick kind of change in people living throughout the world that differs from territorial and national culture-bound existence. One group might differ from the other in the context of their tendency to be a transnational group. Transnationalism has its approach for comprehending the various places of activity, such as concrete/material, abstract, and cultural. In other words, it can be referred to as multi-sited ethnography, and it provides an insightful area for academics to investigate transnationalism (Nájera, 2009). According to George E. Marcus in "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," these methods include "tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity by way of methods' designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations" (Guarnizo, 2003). This strategy uses many characteristics of national morphologies, such as chains, routes, threads, and conjunctions, to further complicate the nation's cultural and territorial places (Eleftheriadis, 2018).

While discussing in a broad sense, transnationalism is termed to the fact that are socially relevant phenomena which processes extend across the boundaries of nations and nation-states, making them transnational. Transnational relationships are eminent from inter-state and inter-governmental ones in the sense of international relations in political science. It means the

intensification of the social interaction not of states or big business actors but average persons, such as migrants, and also collective actors, such as Greenpeace. In this broader sense, both the terms "transnational" and "cross-border" are compatible (Yeoh, Willis, & Fakhri, 2003). Transnationalism is "globalization from below," instead of corporate and state means "globalization from above." While comparing in an even narrower way, transnationalism refers to the addition and strengthening of social entities, in general treated as nested univocally in nations, which mostly span across the state. Transnational Organizations, transnational families, and transnational labour markets includes examples of transnational social units that last pluri-locally across nation-states without having its clear centre (Guarnizo, 2003). These social units are not only just brief encounters but also dense and durable social entanglements. They are social networks or social spaces. Hence, "transnationalism" is used to differentiate this specific concept from other systems of cross-border phenomena and processes like 'globalization', 'cosmopolitanism', 'mondialization', 'supranationlization','diasporization', and 'glocalization" (Yeoh, Willis, & Fakhri, 2003).

As the notion and process of transnationalism are comprehensive, transnationalism has been divided into several categories regarding its changes and effects. The flow of money, people, goods, technology, and human capital across national borders can be defined as economic transnationalism. Through this process, the states, both senders and receivers, advantage from the businesses involved (Guarnizo, 2003). Socio-economic transnationalism is another sort of transnationalism that refers to the numerous interconnections of social and cultural ideas and meanings that are regularly shared across national borders by foreign-born residents. This leads to the transfer of the cultures and social values of one society to another through various actions of the people or the group of people (Eleftheriadis, 2018). Moreover, *political transnationalism* ranges from active political participation by immigrants to the securing of political rights for themselves in the foreign land. In addition to the economic, political, and socio-cultural transnationalism, transnationalism can be traced to the religious realm because people's flow through the boundaries and religion also flow with them combined with the culture (Nájera, 2009).

4.2 Transnational Migration

One-way streets do not exist in the world of migration. They commence in unsafe places and lead to (slightly) more secure regions and locations lacking work and living options in areas where greater political, cultural, economic, and/or social prospects were looked for (Clavin, 2005).

According to the ideology of transnationalism, transnational migration emerged as a research area in the 1990s, when some migrants continued to work in their home countries while settling in new countries (Lie, 1995). The social spaces in which transnational migration occurs and the social structures it creates, the variations in its dimensions and forms, the relationship between incorporation processes and long-term transnational involvements, how contemporary cross-border memberships compare to earlier incarnations, and their durability (Nájera, 2009). More recent scholarship understands transnational migration as taking place within fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society. Transnational migration involves three "modes of transformation" in these key domains: The first one perceptual, or migrants' "orientational 'bifocality' in the socio-cultural domain which includes conceptual the second domain which largely affecting the "meaning of the analytical triad, 'identities-orders-borders' in the political domain" and third one which is institutional, affecting forms of financial transfer, public-private relationships and development in the economic domain can be seen" (Pence & Zimmerman, 2012).

Some see transnational migration as a by-product of late capitalism, which makes large industrialized countries reliant on cheap labour and smaller, developing countries reliant on remittances sent home by workers (Eleftheriadis, 2018). The money sent by migrants has doubled over the past decades. The global remittances market has been highly driven by the migrants sending money to their home. States also actively encourage emigrant investment. Transnational migration networks and remittances flow, once established, usually reach such a level of stability and durability that not only families but even governments could rely on them. They get a long-term economic and political character (Kasun, 2017).

Electoral engagement (as voters or candidates), membership in political associations, parties, or campaigns in two distinct countries, lobbying one country's authorities to influence its policies toward another, and nation-building is all examples of political transnational migratory behaviours. The first type of transnational migration politics is homeland politics, which consists of migrant political involvement in the host country focused on home country issues, and may include expatriate voting, electoral campaigns, and the political office runs (Kivisto, 2001). Another such is immigrant politics, that refers to a community's political activities aimed at improving its social position in the host country, such as measures to improve access to services, combat prejudice, or increase the groups' recognition and rights; it can also incorporate homeland resources. Trans local politics, on the other hand, varies from the other two categories of political activism in that it does not usually include the governments of the

host or home countries. It encompasses the activities that migrants engage in to help specific communities in their native country (Levitt P. &., 2004).

Furthermore, Transnational Migration literature has documented dramatic changes in social life, including changes in kinship and family structure, as well as how they shape class, gender, and race. One of the controversies surrounding transnational migration is the relationship between migration, nationalism, and culture (Kasun, 2017). A similar dispute concerns the age-old structure vs. agency debate, which sees a large "culture business" manipulating weak customer's vs a view of post-colonial subjects liberated by culture's expressive potential at its extremes. Religion is frequently lumped into the broader category of "culture" (Kearney, 1995). Religious affiliation binds migrants not only to co-religionists in their home and host countries; global religious movements bring people together with fellow believers all over the world, no matter where they live (Eleftheriadis, 2018). It's tricky to evaluate migration's overall net earnings in terms of education and cultural capital because international migration patterns are complicated and not one-time-one-direction structured (Guarnizo, 2003).

As the importance of international migration grows, the social, legal, economic, and political repercussions must be carefully evaluated. The traditional understanding of international migration, whether it takes the form of immigration, return migration, or Diaspora movement, incorporates the idea of state control over migration flows (Vertovec, 2004). There are undocumented or illegal migrants in all of these examples of the three ideal sorts of immigrants: return-migrants, Diaspora-migrants, and Diaspora-migrants. One prime assumption in migration theory and politics is that nations can regulate their borders and monitor cross-border migration flows, but contemporary transnational migration has gotten out of hand (Waldinger, 2013).

An unclear mix of identification references to the location of origin and destination defines transnational migrants. Whereas in the past, such uncertainty was limited to the second generation of migrants, in the age of globalization, the case of transnational migrants has become more complicated. Even in the third or fourth generation, a small percentage of migrants do not fully integrate and 'smelt' in the region and society of their arrival but maintain significant cultural, social, economic, and/or political ties with the region of their ancestor's origin (Kivisto, 2001). These ongoing ties to the country of origin nearly always persisted but faded with time — the location where the forefathers came from remained a historical memory and an abstract category of identification. However, thanks to modern communication and

transportation technology, maintaining direct and quasi-face-to-face relationships with people in different locations far away from one's physical domicile is now very straightforward (Levitt P. &., 2004). In recent conflicts, transnational or dual identities have also played a role. In this way, the role and understanding of traditional nation-states are challenged by transnational migrants' dual identities and commitments. While the obstacles and opportunities for migrants and nations may be fairly balanced in the examples outlined above, transnational migration creates important opportunity for criminal and terrorist networks as well as significant challenges for states, organizations, and the majority of migrants (Kasun, 2017).

4.3 Transnational Migration Trend from Nepal

When looking at Nepal's transnational migration, it's crucial to consider the country's geopolitical situation and how it affects the country's political and social elements. People began to leave Nepal approximately 500 BC as a result of trade between Tibet and India (Bashyal, 2016). The Kathmandu valley was the nexus of trading during the Lichchhavi and Malla dynasty's rule between the 2nd to 15th century between India, Nepal and Tibet. However, the Nepalese people's migration started in the early 18th and 19th century to cross the border to India (Schrader, 1988). In the seventeenth century, some Newar (a Nepalese ethnic group) artisans who were encouraged to reside in the valley began to engage in trade-related activities and journeyed to Tibet, where they settled as artisans and traders in Xigatse, Gyantse, and Lhasa. Thus, before 1850, any mention of a Nepali diaspora could only have referred to the Newars, the valley's residents (Regmi M. C., 1978). Some Nepalese, on the other hand, perceived the Newars as a mercantile diaspora, even though many of them are artisans, peasants, and labourers rather than shopkeepers and merchants (Regmi M. C., 1978).

Many Nepali Brahmans are said to have settled in Kashi, Banaras, India in the seventeenth century. Initially, the Nepali settlement in Banaras was tied to Kashi's function as a learning centre. Many hill Brahmans came to learn Sanskrit and stayed there (Schrader, 1988).

The Treaty of Sugauli, signed in 1816 between Nepal and the East India Company, leads to the formal migration of Nepalese youths to India to join the British Gurkha battalions. The Treaty of Sugauli, signed in 1816 between Nepal and the East India Company, led to the formal migration of Nepalese youths to India to join the British Gurkha battalions (Sharma, 2021). Though there was opposition to Nepalese youth's recruitment into the foreign army, then Prime Minister Bir Shumsher openly supported this process. This recruitment of the Nepalese youth continues not only to the United Kingdom and India but also to Singapore and Brunei (Bashyal, 2016). These are some of the primary employment opportunities for the youths outside the

country. The Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 between Nepal and India facilitates Nepalese people's work on Indian soil (Bashyal, 2016).

Before establishing independent India, Nepali youths also served the Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Lahore; later, people working there were termed "Lahure". This word became well-known and was used to describe anyone who served as a soldier in a foreign country. Even now, Nepali troops serving in British and Indian regiments as 'Gorkhas' are known as 'Lahure.' Later on, the 'Lahure' culture encompassed virtually all types of professions performed overseas. It has become a catchphrase for all migrant labourers (Bashyal, 2016). Similarly, in the second part of the nineteenth century, Nepalese people began migrating to India for different jobs, such as labouring in the tea estates of Darjeeling and the forest of Assam. The oil boom in the early 1970s prompted economic migration from South Asia and other regions of the world to the Middle East (Sharma, 2021).

Furthermore, following the restoration of democracy in 1990, Nepal began issuing travel documents and passports to Nepalese, opening up new chances for Nepalese to work outside of the country. The tendency of young Nepalese generations to migrate abroad to work has been noted primarily for two reasons: one, to meet fundamental requirements, and the other, to improve living standards (Sharma, 2021). Work opportunities in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries acted as a powerful pull factor for teenagers in cyclic poverty, notably after the 1970s. Similarly, some economically developing East Asian countries, such as Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore, have adopted this trend as an alternate job destination for Nepalese youngsters (Adhikari D. S., 2019). Traditional labor destinations such as India and its territories were broken by the shifting flow of transnational migration of job seekers (Bashyal, 2016).

Only 3,605 labor permissions were granted by the Department of Foreign Employment (DOFE) in 1993/94. It peaked at 519,638 in 2013/14, a decade later, when it touched 106,660 in 2003/04 (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security, 2020). Since then, annual outmigration volumes have been declining, reaching 354,098 in 2017/18 and 236,208 in 2018/19, respectively. The male population make up the majority of labor migrants from Nepal, with more than 80% of the total labor migration population between the ages of 18 and 35 in 2017/18 and 2018/19 (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security, 2020). The percentage of workers who take low-skilled jobs is high, at 59% in 2018/19 and 64% in 2017/18. Financial remittances have climbed dramatically in recent years, from USD 2.54 billion in 2010/11 to USD 8.79 billion in 2018/19 (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security, 2020).

The highest transfer, however, comes from the United States of America, and it consists primarily of students, permanent residents, and highly qualified professionals. It is also crucial to consider that remittance inflows from the United States may have been re-routed from another third nation through United States-based remittance businesses, which the Nepal Rastra Bank is presently investigating (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security, 2020).

Students are another type of transnational migration from Nepal to another country. According to the Ministry of Education, 67,226 students received a No Objection Certificate (NOC) in 2074 BS (Sharma, 2021). 323,972 Nepali students applied for permission to study abroad until August 2019 (International Organization for Migration, 2019). This temporary transnational migration in the year 2019 outflowed around Rs 40 billion to the foreign state, which is 19.7 percent more than the previous year (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Australia, Canada, China, Cyprus, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States of America are among the most popular destinations. However, because no no-objection certifications are required for students heading to India, India's percentage is likely to be more. According to records, Nepali students studied in 69 countries, even those with lower educational standards than Nepal. Antigua and Barbuda, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Kyrgyzstan, Malta, and Slovenia are among the lesser-known countries (Nepalisansar.com, 2019).

The Nepalese diaspora has settled in numerous parts of the world as a result of transnational migration. Non-resident Nepalese, foreign nationals of Nepali descent, and Nepali citizens residing in countries outside the SAARC region are all part of the Nepali Diaspora, as are all Nepalese and persons of Nepali heritage and their communities around the world (Sharma, 2021). The estimated diaspora community in several countries, according to the Government of Nepal and International Fellowship Nepal, are below:

Table: i) The Official Portal of Government of Nepal

Name of Countries	Estimated Nepalese Diaspora
India	600,000
Myanmar	400,000
Saudi Arabia	215,000
Malaysia	125,000
South Korea	80,000

Hong Kong	73,000
Qatar	70,000
United Arab Emirates	70,000
Thailand	20,000
Japan	12,000
Kuwait	12,000
USA/Canada/Mexico	10,000
Australia	8,000
United Kingdom	7,000
Singapore	5,000
Oman	5,000
Germany	4,000
Bahrain	3,000
France	2,000
Belgium	2,000
South Africa	2,000
China	2,000
Bangladesh	1,000
Russia	1,000
Bhutan	1,000
Pakistan	1,000
Netherlands	1,000
Portugal	1,000
Philippines	1,000
Spain	500
Maldives	400
Sri Lanka	200

Source: The Official Portal of Government of Nepal, http://nepal.gov.np:8080/NationalPortal/view-page?id=132

According to the International Migration Report, 2019, Nepal was in the top 9 states with the highest level of migration from 2000 to 2010. It is now in the top 7 states with the highest level

of migration from 2010 to 2020 (Sharma, 2021). Nepali students and their families make up a sizable portion of the Nepali Diaspora in various countries (Nepalisansar.com, 2019).

The Nepalese diaspora has played a significant influence in social development and the economy of Nepal as a result of transnational migration. Transnational migration has aided in socio-economic transformation as well as the transfer of social norms and values, ideas, culture, skills, and civilization from one country to the next (Adhikari D. S., 2019). Cultural ambassadors are Nepali who live in different countries and have contributed to the development of Nepali culture, literature, art and music, traditions, food, festivals, and identity. They have contributed to the country's image as the land of the tallest mountain and the birthplace of Buddha. People-to-people interactions have also improved as a result of increased Nepali Diaspora interaction with people in host nations (KC G. , 2011). In faraway nations, we frequently see numerous foreigners celebrating Nepali festivals with Nepali families. This has aided the global absorption of Nepalese culture and tradition, as well as public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy (Sharma, 2021).

Chapter V

Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its Relation to Human Security

5.1 Human Security

The study follows the definition of human security set by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the 1994 Human Development Report and its development (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). The concept of human security arose from former Pakistani Finance Minister Mahbub-ul Haq's holistic paradigm of human development at the UNDP, with robust support from economist Amartya Sen (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). The General Assembly (GA) of the United Nations established a standard description of the idea in 2012. From territorial security to human security, the human security concept broadens the scope of security research and policy (Martin & Owen, 2014). The significance of "Member States in identifying and tackling widespread and cross-cutting threats to their people's survival, livelihood, and dignity" is highlighted in the 2012 GA Resolution (Holliday & Howe, 2011). In other words, a human security report's important beginning point is the threat(s) to – and standards under threat in – people's lives (Holliday & Howe, 2011).

Two important aspects of human security were stressed in the 1994 HDR: 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear' (Martin & Owen, 2014). These liberties are part of the four basic freedoms listed prominently in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). The 1994 HDR was more specific, identifying seven key aspects of human security:

- Economic
- Food
- Health
- Environmental
- Personal
- Community
- Political

This list is not exhaustive nor definitive, and the UN Charter uses the term "basic freedoms" more loosely (Martin & Owen, 2014). The human security approach can be used in studying the issues by national and regional HDRs directing to handle various types of threats and values (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). Previous reports based on the human security approach, for example, avoided societal elimination, transformation, and climate change; they utilized examples of the state being a threat, or they uncovered potential future threats (Martin & Owen, 2014). Human security is a pliable technique that may be customized to many settings and themes depending on the specific circumstance (Martin & Owen, 2014). Regardless of the topic, a fundamental concept of the human security approach necessitates a grasp of the specific hazards faced by certain groups of people, as well as their participation in the analytic process (Singh, 2019). Human security threats can exist at any stage of development. They can appear slowly and quietly or suddenly and dramatically (Singh, 2019). People have "the right to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair [...] with an equal opportunity to enjoy all of their rights and fully develop their human potential," based on this approach (Goodin & Tilly, 2006).

In an ideal world, each of the UNDP's seven threat classes (and possible others as a result of a broader discussion) would receive appropriate global attention and resources. Attempts to put this human security agenda into action, however, have resulted in the formation of two major schools of thought on how to best exercise human security: "Freedom from Fear" and "Freedom from Want" (Goodin & Tilly, 2006). While the UNDP 1994 report argued that human security necessitates attention to both freedoms from fear and freedom from want, disagreements have emerged over the proper scope of that protection (i.e., what threats should people be protected from) and the appropriate mechanisms for responding to these set of threat (Holliday & Howe, 2011).

In terms of expanding human development thinking by including 'freedom from fear' alongside 'freedom from want,' at least the addition of personal physical security, involves at least the inclusion of personal physical security, in the sense of freedom from violence, to the list of constituent objectives within 'human development' (Goodin & Tilly, 2006). The 'Freedom from Fear' school aims to minimize the use of Human Security to protect individuals from violent conflicts, while also recognizing that such risks are inextricably linked to poverty, a lack of state capacity, and other forms of inequity. Limiting the focus on violence, according to this strategy, is a practical and achievable approach to Human Security (Adhikari D. , 2013). The main concerns of this strategy are emergency relief, conflict prevention and resolution, and peace-building. Similarly, the 'freedom from want' school promotes a holistic approach to achieving human security, arguing that the threat agenda should be expanded to include hunger, disease, and natural disasters. Such threats are inseparable concepts in addressing the root of human insecurity and kill far more people than war, genocide, and terrorism combined. Unlike "Freedom from Fear," it focuses on the development and security goals rather than just violence (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007).

5.2 Political Activism in Nepal after 1990

Political activism is seen as part of the new state's or restructuring's progress, modernization, and development. It is a never-ending process of change through which the political system evolves (Lamsal, 2019). Political activism is defined in two ways by the Encyclopaedia of Political Science: the first definition assumes it to be synonymous with democracy (Goodin & Tilly, 2006). Samuel P. Huntington, a political scientist who specializes on institutional development, offers the second perspective on political activism (Goodin & Tilly, 2006). He claims that the more developed political systems with formal institutions are, the more equipped they are to face the difficulties of newly mobilized societies. Political activism necessitates a high level of governance and responsibility from those in positions of power and economic actors (Lamsal, 2019). Material progress is not a goal in and of itself but rather the establishment of conditions that enable the full realization of society and individual potential (Goodin & Tilly, 2006).

After Jung Bahadur Rana gained power in a coup in 1846, the monarch of Nepal was reduced to a largely insignificant role, ushering in a long period of Rana Prime Ministers ruling by hereditary

authority (Baral, 2017). A century later, the Rana government was deposed by an armed revolt led by the newly created Nepali Congress (NC) political party (Baral, 2017). The 1951 Interim Constitution, on the other hand, acknowledged the monarchy's right to restore itself (Baral, 2017). Following a brief period of democratic governance in 1959–60, King Mahendra ascended to the throne and outlawed all political parties (Gupta, 1993). Mahendra's new constitution of 1962 introduced the party-less 'Panchayat' political system, ostensibly a 'Nepali' version of democracy that concentrated power in the palace (Gupta, 1993). A populist uprising in 1990 reintroduced multiparty democracy and a new constitution. The NC and the 'greater left movement' launched the first 'People's Movement,' which was led by an alliance of political groups (Gupta, 1993). Nonetheless, some elements of the radical left were disturbed by the failure to enact more fundamental reforms.

In terms of political activism, Nepal can be linked to the start of the People's War in 1990. The Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist (CPN-M) declared the "People's War" on February 13, 1996, in response to widespread unhappiness with the pace, scope, and direction of social and political transformation (Zharkevich, 2019). Baburam Bhattarai, a senior Maoist leader, declared that the goal was to "establish a new socio-economic system and state" (Zharkevich, 2019). In the run-up to the conflict, the Maoists' 40-Point Demands called for an end to discrimination against women, as well as all forms of class exploitation and prejudice – including the Hindu system of 'untouchability' (Zharkevich, 2019).

Many underprivileged people in the outer highlands and mountainous areas backed the Maoists' social reform program and armed insurgency methods. Fighting remained relatively low until the late 1990s, and the government's response was first limited to deploying police officers rather than armed forces (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012). The insurrection was sparked by a growing consciousness of ethnic injustice and prejudice. With the arrival of the Royal Nepali Army in late 2001, there was a significant increase in violence. Both the 2001 and 2003 ceasefires failed (Zharkevich, 2019). King Gyanendra deposed the elected government in 2002 and took direct control of the country's politics before claiming total power in February 2005 (Zharkevich, 2019). As a result, Nepali political groups from all sides banded together to establish the Seven-Party Alliance (SPA), and they began serious talks with the insurgent CPN-M. The Maoists and the SPA reached an agreement in November 2005, with the help of New Delhi, on a 12-Point Understanding

that recognized portions of the Maoist agenda of social justice and state reform (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012).

In the spring of 2006, a major mobilization — the second People's Movement – brought together a varied range of social and political players. For 19 days, there were daily marches and demonstrations around the country until King Gyanendra reinstalled the parliament (Aryal, 2021). The end of all royal prerogatives, the declaration of Nepal as a secular country, the adoption of a ceasefire, the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) between the SPA-led government and the Maoists, the adoption of the Interim Constitution, and the entry of the CPN-M into the newly renamed Legislature-Parliament were all triggered by the SPA's return to power (Aryal, 2021). The CPA addressed social and political transformation as well as concerns of inclusiveness, in addition to officially ending violence. Clause 3.5, in particular, states that: 'In order to end discrimination based on class, ethnicity, language, gender, culture, religion, and region, and to address the problems of women, Dalits, indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities (Janajatis), Tarai communities (Madhesis), oppressed, neglected, and minority communities, and backward areas by deconstructing the current centralized and unitary structure, the state shall be restructured in an inclusive (Zharkevich, 2019). The UN Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) was established in 2007 with the mandate to 'monitor the management of arms and armies' (the Nepali Army and the Maoist army) and to provide electoral observation for the first CA election after the UN appointed first a special envoy and then an Office of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012).

Secularism and republicanism were mentioned in the Interim Constitution issued in January 2007, but not federalism (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012). As a result, Nepali political groups from all sides banded together to establish the Seven-Party Alliance (SPA), and they began serious talks with the insurgent CPN-M. The Maoists and the SPA reached an agreement in November 2005, with the help of New Delhi, on a 12-Point Understanding that recognized portions of the Maoist agenda of social justice and state reform. The Madhes Movement, a major protest led by parties representing Madhesi populations in Nepal's southern Tarai plains, erupted almost immediately, culminating to the modification of the Interim Constitution, which restructured Nepal along federal lines (Baral, 2017). Federalism was linked to power devolution and improved political representation for marginalized groups. After the second Madhes Movement a year later, the

election system was changed to provide for a more proportionate image. (Wagle, 2013). The Maoists appeared as the largest party in the election to the first Constituent Assembly (CA) in April 2008. They formed a government with the Communist Party of Nepal–Unified Marxist-Leninist (UML), typically one of Nepal's two largest parties, along with the NC and the new Madhes-based parties (Zharkevich, 2019). Struggles followed over the fate of the Maoist army, and then the failed attempt by Maoist Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal to assert authority over the Nepali Army, which led to his resignation in May 2009 (INSEC, 2012). The Unified Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (UCPN-M give another name after the CPN-M's merger with another Maoist party in 2009) was eventually not able to push for approval of its broader political agenda: a distinguished transition for its fighters, civilian control of the army, a share of power in government, and social and political presence for marginalized groups (INSEC, 2012). Nor could it change the balance of power that would help achieve this.

UNMIN officially exited Nepal in January 2011 under rising confrontation from the Nepali Army, the bureaucracy, and the NC and the UML, with the fate of the Maoist fighters in cantonments still unsettled (Baral, 2017). Nevertheless, the Joint Monitoring Coordination Committee (JMCC) that UNMIN headed helped build trust between representatives of all sides involved in supervising the armies (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012). In early 2012, the Maoist People's Liberation Army was confined to cantonments for over six years and was finally disbanded. Fewer than 10 per cent of the registered initially 19,602 fighters were incorporated into the Nepali Army, a far cry from the 'integration' process intended by the Maoist leadership (Aryal, 2021). Nevertheless, the UCPN-M had steadily negotiated away its demands for PLA fighters as part of various power plays over the years. The parties were eventually unable to agree on a constitution, and the first CA was allowed to lapse in May 2012 (Wagle, 2013). A period of constitutionally doubtful political arrangements followed, including the appointment of the sitting chief justice as Prime Minister (Wagle, 2013). The UCPN-M experienced a vertical split following the failure of the first CA, although many conventional leaders remained in the parent party (Baral, 2017). The Maoists and Madhes-based parties performed poorly in the election to the second CA in November 2013 as the more recognized parties' regained ascendancy (Aryal, 2021). The UCPN-M came in a distant third, while the newly formed Janajati-based parties only (Aryal, 2021).

Following the shocking earthquakes of April and May 2015, the three major political parties – the NC, the UML and the UCPN-M – and the major Madhesi party in the second CA, the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum-Democratic (MJF-D), decided to fast-track the constitution. July to September 2015 saw significant protests by dominant social groups as the new constitution began to take shape (Aryal, 2021). Women's groups protested citizenship laws (Baral, 2017). Madhesi, Tharu and Janajati groups variously necessitated the demarcation of states. Then the delineation arrangement challenged the exclusivist nature of the decision-making process disputed the removal of provisions from the Interim Constitution connecting to greater inclusion and relative representation (Zharkevich, 2019). The constitution was eventually promulgated in September 2015 amongst mass protests in the Tarai and endangered shutdowns in eastern Nepal and other places. At least 46 people were killed in five weeks of discontent in August and September 2015 (Aryal, 2021).

The constitution was amended in January 2016 to safeguard a higher degree of presence. The government announced a second constitutional amendment proposal in November 2016 that sought to allay some of the concerns relating to provincial demarcation. However, protests erupted almost immediately in affected districts, and at the time of writing, the amendment had yet to be passed.

5.3 Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its Relation to Human Security

Nepal has long been fronting a high occurrence of poverty, a low level of human development and weak human security propelled by the decade long armed conflict and political transition. After the political activism since 1990, like the ousting of the monarchy and the evolution of the nation into a federal democratic republic, human security has been highly impacted (Khatiwada, 2013). These changes reflect the Nepali people's untiring struggle for democracy with the expectation that a new political regime will make people free from fear and want, deliver development to people and empower them (Khatiwada, 2013). Still, many aspirations for development are yet to be achieved.

The poverty rate in Nepal was very significant in the 1990s (Khatiwada, 2013). After the political activism in Nepal after 1990, conflict and political instability have become both the cause and the consequence of poverty (Khatiwada, 2013). Along with many other factors, poverty, weak human

rights conditions, and low economic empowerment have undermined human security in Nepal. One of the causes of this increase in poverty and slow improvement has been the political instability in Nepal (Adhikari D. , 2013). The People's War and the delayed constitution-making process characterized by political struggle and instability have led the country towards this grave threat to human security (Singh, 2019). Between 1990 and 2019, Nepal's HDI value increased from 0.387 to 0.602, an increase of 55.6 per cent (UNDP, 2020). Between 1990 and 2019, Nepal's life expectancy at birth increased by 16.4 years, mean years of schooling increased by 3.0 years and expected years of schooling increased by 5.2 years (UNDP, 2020). Nepal's GNI per capita increased by 151.9 per cent between 1990 and 2019 (Kharel A. B., 2021). The numbers indicate the increase in the elements of human security, but the reality, due to the political activism and instability in the country, has directly affected the Nepalese people. The quality of life and their fear of want have not been relived but summed up.

Furthermore, the human security concerning the political activism after 1990 can be observed through at least two channels which would ensure income and security at the household level in Nepal to ensure 'freedom from want' irrespective of the state's presence for ensuring 'freedom of fear': agriculture, and remittances (Adhikari D. , 2013). The households in Nepal most vulnerable to food insecurity have insufficient livelihood assets (human, social, natural, physical and financial) to produce enough food and/or earn sufficient income to purchase food and manage shocks in this period from 1990 (Singh, 2019). Similarly, there are some evidences that proves international migration rates rose when there was an increment in the intensity of the conflict in the country (Wagle, 2013). There was also increment Nepalese leaving for foreign employment, as revealed by the number of labour permits issued at that period of time. Only 3,000 labour permits were issued at the beginning of the insurgency, whereas this figure rose dramatically to 165,103 by the end of the insurgency in 2005/2006 (Wagle, 2013). Furthermore, the upward trend of foreign labour migration continued even after the conflict ended in the state. The Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE) issued 4,099,926 labour permits between 2008/2009 and 2018/2019, comprised of 3,888,035 males and 211,891 females (International Organization for Migration, 2019). In FY 2018/2019, DoFE issued 236,211 labour permits which shows sharp decline from FY 2017/2018 when 354,082 labour permits were issued which could be due to various reasons (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Child and maternal deaths are of global importance from a health security perspective, particularly in developing countries.

Important health indicators such as life expectancy, infant and child mortality and maternal mortality show slow improvements. In the health sector of Nepal, key human security issues are related to maternal health and child health, nutrition and HIV/AIDS (Adhikari D. , 2013). Though health security has improved in Nepal after 1990, political activism has severely affected the country.

Along with the socio-economic indicators, in the People's War, the political insecurity increased in Nepal, affecting the human security of the country. The Maoist insurgency (1996- 2006) in Nepal was the cause behind the internal displacement of substantial numbers of Nepalese (Wagle, 2013). The conflict became increasingly violent, with the irreversible loss of ever more casualties. Extra-judicial killings, arrests, torture, disappearances and human rights violations were regular activities of the security agencies and the CPN (Maoist) cadres during the emergency, with the numbers of abuses reaching a peak between 2002 and 2004 (Wagle, 2013). 13,347 Nepali people lost their lives during the insurgency (13 February 1996 to 21 November 2006) (Wagle, 2013). According to INSEC, 8,393 Nepali people were killed by the state, and 4,954 Nepali people, including security personnel, were killed by the CPN (Maoist). In addition, there was a massive loss of public property and infrastructure (INSEC, 2012).

For Nepal, the issue of migration and human security will become necessary as the country is recovering from the decade-long conflict (Kharel A. B., 2021). So the changes currently taking place in Nepal are due on the one hand to the experience of conflict; and on the other, the phenomenon of globalization and technological outreach has induced significant changes in the day-to-day physical activity as well as the psyche of the people of Nepal (Wagle, 2013). Given the existing conditions of the working-age population and the lack of employment opportunities in Nepal, it is no shock that the number of migrants going abroad for foreign employment has increased significantly. The primary human insecurity concern of these labour migrants is their labour employment prospects. Most labour migration from Nepal depends on the demand from Gulf countries, so when there is a financial crisis in those countries, Nepalese have to bear the brunt in two ways (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Prospective migrants will find it harder to migrate, and those migrants already there will face uncertainties and may have to take more significant risks to get jobs, thus compromising their human security (International

Organization for Migration, 2019). For the families left behind, it may result in less remittance, affecting their lives here.

Chapter VI

Transnational Migration Pattern to India after 1990

Facing much political activism in Nepal after 1990, especially the decade long People's War led by the Maoist group, initiated a considerable flow of people towards India. India became one of the essential destinations for the people to migrate for work, either escaping the human security challenges or countering the human security challenges (Singh, 2019). For the Nepali, both were the ends to migrate to India. Many political activists and revolutionists also made India their favourite destination in hiding themselves covertly (Khatiwada, 2013). Taking political asylum was also one of the reasons for the migration to India. However, the labour work by the Nepalese people became quite familiar among them to migrate to India. After 1990, labour and political migration became a pattern of migration for Nepalese people; human trafficking also became one of the ways the Nepalese people, especially females, were taken (Singh, 2019). Therefore, these aspects are also essential to consider while studying the movement of Nepalese people to India.

The open borders essentially guide the transnational migration to India. The open borders between the two countries make people easy to cross the borders for various tasks. Other than the migration pattern induced through the open borders, the homogeneity among the Nepalese and the Indian. They share a similar culture, and the Hindi language is easy to understand and learn for Nepalese citizens. The political ties between both countries have also facilitated migration from either of the countries to the other. The Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 between the two countries provides similar rights to the country's citizens in its land as is available to the citizen of that country, except voting rights.

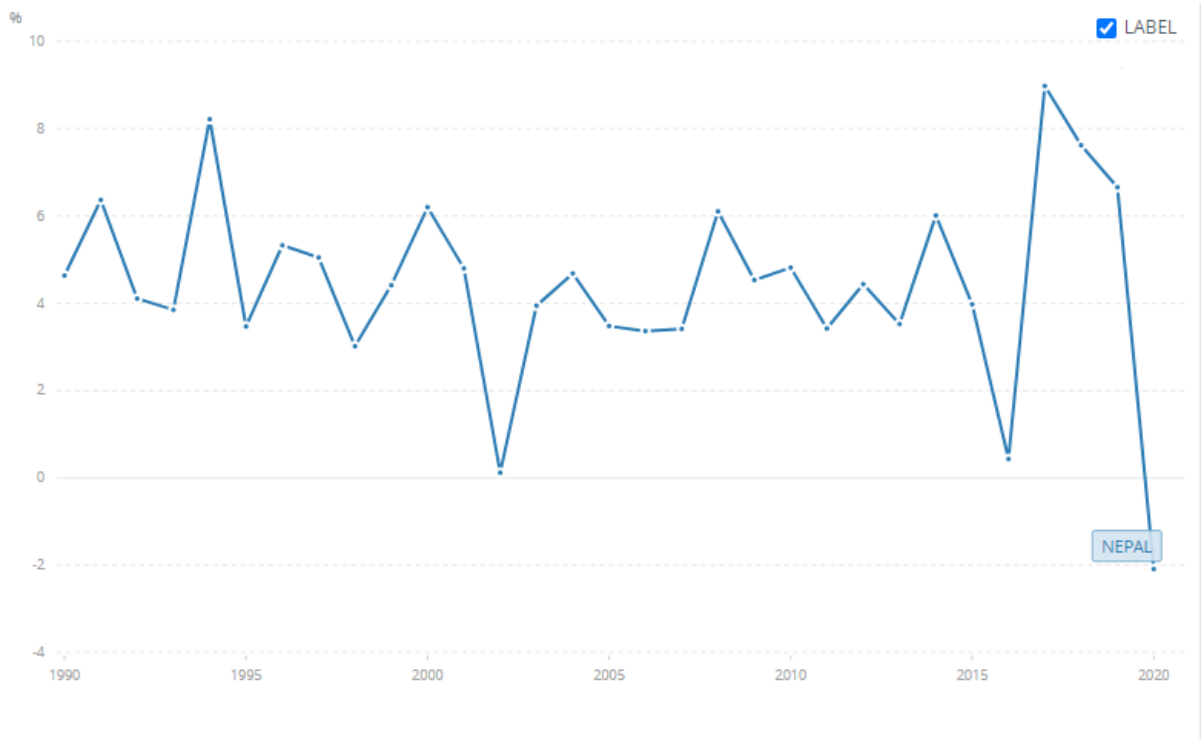
6.1 Analysing the Transnational Migration to India after 1990 through the Human Security Perspective

The pattern of migration of Nepalese to India after 1990 can be analysed through the human security perspective. Therefore, the study focuses on the dimensions of human security provided by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the 1994 *Human Development Report* and its development for analysing the causes and effects of the transnational migration to India.

6.1.1. Economic Security

One of the reasons Nepalese migrated to India is because of the economic problems. After the 1990 and start of the People's War, the country plummeted to a substantial economic security threat (Gartaula, 2013). The romanticism of the Maoist ideology and the assurance it gave to the typical Nepalese to establish a society free from exploitation and the class bias has attracted people mainly from the poor and socially marginalised class (Gartaula, 2013). According to the Maoist ideology, the mobilisation of this class is necessary to bring about revolution (Wagle, 2013). Funding for their operations comes from various taxes imposed by the Maoists on the area under their control, private donation and extortion (Wagle, 2013).

Figure i) World Bank Report on Economic Security



Source: World Bank, 2020

From the above graph, we can focus that after 1990, several political changes in Nepal have led the people to migrate (Shrestha, 2017). The economic conditions of the Nepalese people deteriorated. The violence and conflict in Nepal after 1990 led many Nepalese people to lose their jobs and averted all the opportunities to get new employment opportunities (Shrestha, 2017). The factories and industries were destroyed by the violence and political instability in the country

(Bashyal, 2016). The threat environment posed by the violent political activism also led to the country where the production level of the human workforce became very low (Singh, 2019).

Therefore, people started migrating to many Gulf countries and Malaysia, but those who could not afford to travel to Gulf countries and Malaysia travelled to India to work accordingly (Shrestha, 2017). Many were exploited with significantly less pay, and similarly, the human rights violations were critical aspects to look at after the 1990 and growing political activism in Nepal (Shrestha, 2017).

6.1.2. Political Security

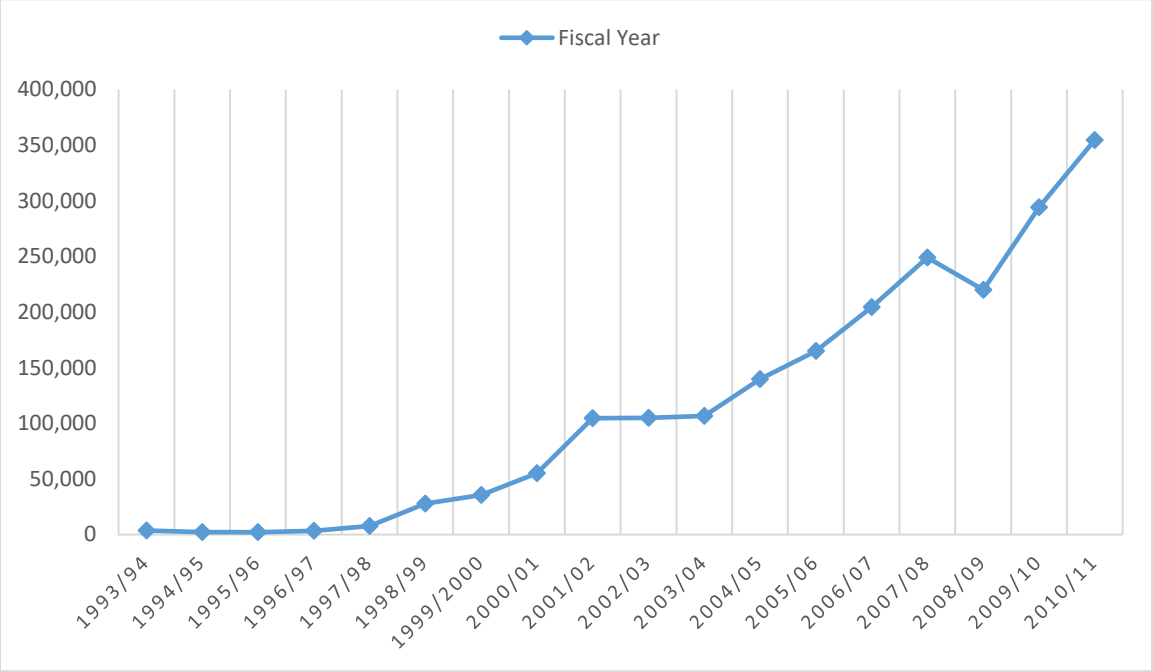
Conflict is a major actor and factor behind the both internal and international migration and displacement of people worldwide (Bashyal, 2016). This brought considerable argument concerning whether violence has a significant impact on migration, whether economic disruption and limited livelihood possibilities caused by conflict are the more immediate drivers (Bashyal, 2016).

A study of the 10-year Maoist uprising in Nepal found that: Although accurate figures on displacement are not available, many sources suggest that domestic and international migration has increased dramatically due to the civil war. It was the threat of violence also reason behind the decline in agricultural and economic production in the country. As a result of the uprising of the Maoists in Nepal from 1996 to 2006, many Nepalese became internally displaced. The Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction has set up a task force for collecting data on the victims of conflict, including those who were displaced due to the conflict. According to 2011 report, by the Relief and Rehabilitation Department, 89,171 were internally displaced 22,863 families had applied for an Official Development Assistance Package. Some international organisations say the number of refugees is high, ranging from 100,000 to 200,000 (Aryal, 2021).

There are some evidences proves that international migration rates have risen as the intensity of the conflict has increased (Bashyal, 2016). As is clear from the number of work permits issued, the number of Nepalese going abroad is also increasing. Slightly over 3,000 work permits were issued at the start of the uprising, but this number increased intensely to 165,103 by the end of the 2005/2006 uprising (Khatiwada, 2013). Even after the end of the conflict, the movement of foreign

workers continued to increase—work permits issued during and several years after the uprising (Wagle, 2013).

Figure: ii) Nepali Migration for Foreign Employment



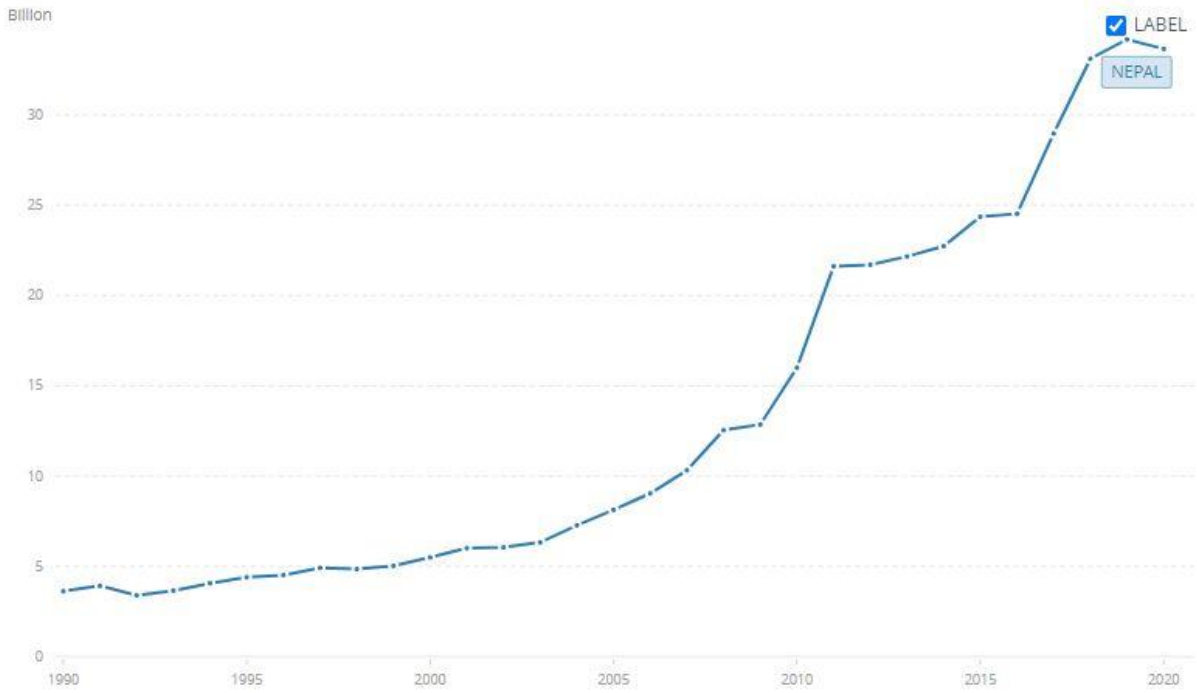
Source: The Relief and Rehabilitation Department, 2011

6.1.3. Food Security

Another aspect of human security to analyse is food security due to increased political activity in Nepal. Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world. Until 1995/96, when there were no signs of poverty reduction, the high population growth rate (2.6% per year) during that period (between 1976/77 and 1995/96) means that the number of poor people in this country was significant (Khatiwada, 2013). It shows that civil war is increasing in a country with a growing population. In the 1990s, the country was in shortage of food. The country started grain self-sufficiency in 2000 and maintained it until 2004/05. The annual growth rate of food grain production during the period is 2.4%, which is lower than the growth rate of food grain demand in Nepal (3.2%) due to political instability in Nepal (Khatiwada, 2013).

The country is heavily dependent on agriculture, with imports growing at a much higher rate than exports and suffering from an ever-growing colossal trade deficit. Decreased productivity on hills and mountains had been a significant cause of domestic production shortages (Singh, 2019).

Figure: World Bank Report on Food Security



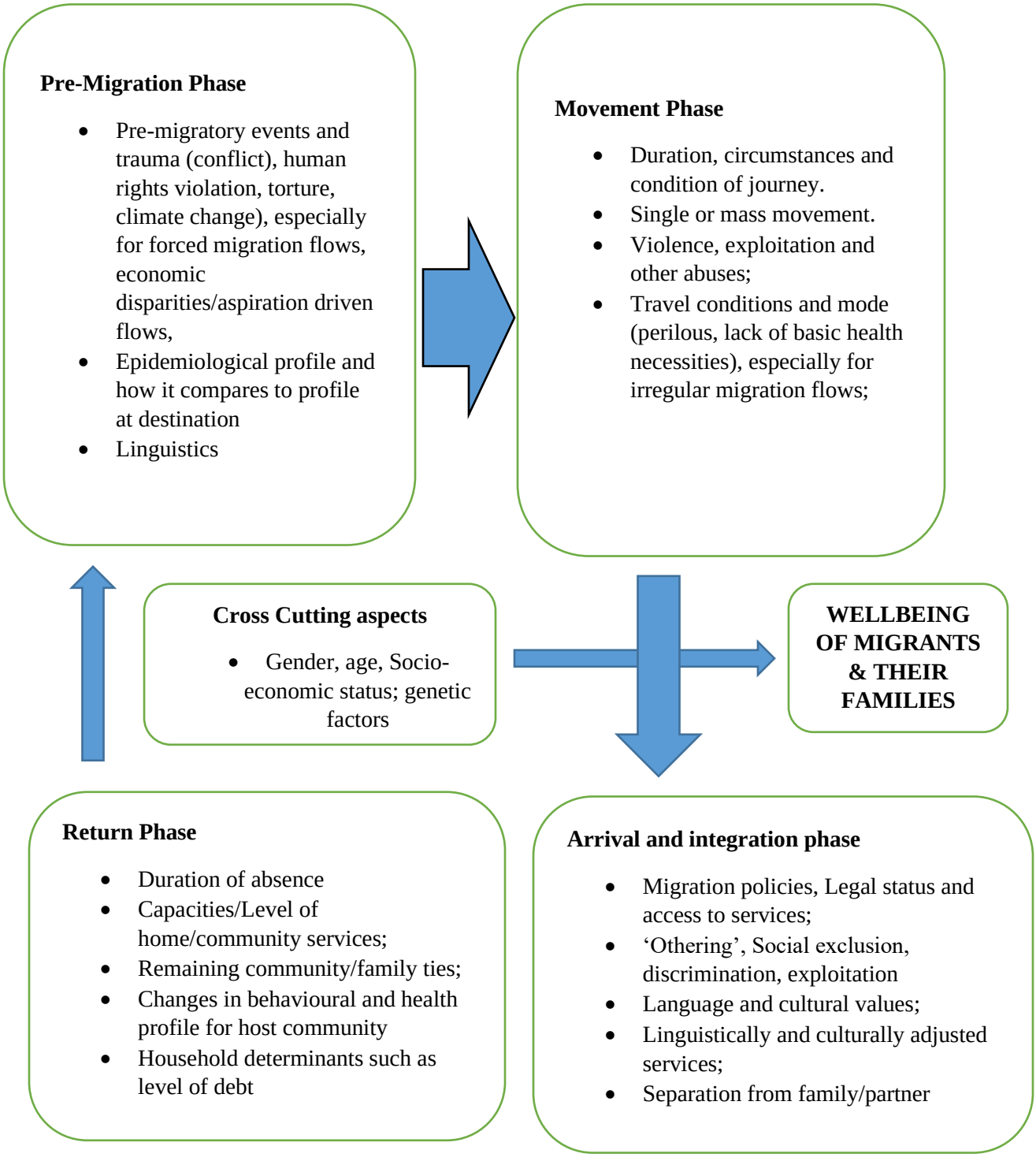
Source: World Bank, 2020

The low GDP income of the country leading towards poverty, increasing maternal death rate. Child death rate, nutrition, and others led the Nepalese to migrate to India after the 1990.

6.1.4. Health Security

There are various dimensions which shows the impacts of migration on health. First of all, migration can affect the health of the people who are involved. It involves many health-related threats throughout the migration cycle which also includes the lack of access to health services in target countries. The migration process can play key role and worsen health vulnerabilities, both physical and mental well-being. The figure below shows the key factors that affect health during the migration process.

Figure iii): Factors influencing the health and well-being of migrants in the migration cycle.



Source: IOM Migration Data Portal, 2019

According to data from the Foreign Employment Commission (FEB) Secretariat, out of 818 migrant workers were compensated for injuries between 2008/2009 and 2016/17, of which 788 were male migrants and three female migrants (International Organization for Migration, 2019). According to FEPB, 5,892 people lost their life in foreign employment during the that period, with 5,765 men and 127 women (International Organization for Migration, 2019). In 2018/2019, 753 Nepali migrant workers lost their life in the destination country during the period of contract. Over 70% of deaths can be traced back to occupational accidents (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Still, the destination country's embassy data revealed more deaths than FEPB records showed. The embassy is also expected to record the deaths of irregular migratory workers, but the FEPB only records workers with work permits. Causes of death fall into the broad orders of "heart attack," "cardiac arrest," "workplace accident," "natural death, murder," "suicide" , and others," and "unknown" (Gartaula, 2013). There is little information about the underpinning causes, similar as heat stress and fatigue. Further than one-third of South Asian settlers in the Middle East allegedly work more than 50 hours a week and frequently have no leaves (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

There are many cases of self-harm and suicide in the destination country by Nepalese immigrants. For example, of the 5,892 deaths between 2008/2009 and 2015/2016, 127 were females, and 33% of these females committed suicide (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Still, there is limited dependable substantiation of which factors caused these situations and whether threat factors for mental illness advanced during or before migration. A study of migrants and returnees conducted in Nepal found that 29-30% of all migrants experienced occupational dangers and psychological problems during their migration (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Likewise, nearly 30% of deaths in numerous destination countries were because of cardiac arrest or heart attack. Immigrants are screened for non-communicable diseases during pre-discharge health assessments, which seems inadequate to identify potential risk factors early (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

These conditions include the conditions experienced during transportation and travel and the conditions in the destination country are included in this category. These include dangers related to with the type and duration of travel, personal legal status, criteria for granting or rejecting access to immigrant-friendly health and social services, and working and housing situations (Shrestha,

2017). Other variables that affect migrants' health include barriers to social and cultural integration, the stress of acculturation, exclusion and discrimination, lifestyle changes, and loss of family and friendship networks (Singh, 2019).

Low-skilled migrant laborers in Nepal are also subjected to hazardous jobs and deplorable living and working circumstances, raising the likelihood of occupational accidents. Infectious disease can also be spread by poor living and working environments (Shrestha, 2017). Migrant workers, primarily trafficked workers, are at particular risk of physical and sexual abuse. According to a 2015 IOM survey, 33% of respondents said health care in their destination country was not affordable, and a quarter said it was difficult to access health care due to language barriers and discrimination (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

Migrants policy disputes have become a major topic on the global development agenda. The health effects on children left behind by migrant workers' parents, on the other hand, have gotten less attention (Limbu, 2017). The evidence regarding the health effects of labour migration on migrants and their families is currently lacking. For most nations where workers are deployed, health implications on left-behind families are primarily to address the overall public health impact of increased migration and its linked bad effects (Limbu, 2017). This is particularly problematic for low- and middle-income countries with limited resources. "Compared to non-immigrant children, left-behind children and adolescents have a 52 percent greater risk of depression and suicide," according to a systematic review and meta-analysis of low- and middle-income nations published in 2014 (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Suicidal ideation's negative consequences are progressively becoming recognized, and national mental health guidelines were amended in 2017 and are currently awaiting approval (Limbu, 2017). Above all, community-based psychiatric treatments should be ensured.

Some migrants may be sick when they return home, according to evidence. According to studies, seasonal migrants working in India are at a greater risk of contracting HIV due to risky behaviour in the country (Ministry of Health, 2017). Male migrant laborers travelling to India are one of the most significant risk groups for HIV, according to the Nepal National HIV Strategic Plan 2016-2021 (Ministry of Health, 2017). According to the Ministry of Labour's 2018 Country Progress Report as a Contribution to the Global AIDS Monitoring Report, the majority of new infections in Nepal are caused by male migrant workers' spouse and/or men who have sex with them (Ministry

of Health, 2017). It's been discovered that it happens to women who are at risk. High levels of male migration, notably in Nepal's far and Midwestern regions, where men seasonally migrate for work in India, has made women vulnerable to HIV infections, according to Nepal's "Rio+20" Status Paper (Ministry of Health, 2017).

Because of the high number of infections among migrants, it is critical to evaluate and enhance current programs in order to prevent HIV transmission among migrants and other mobile populations. It's also critical to encourage testing of high-risk people's intimate sexual partners and to evaluate whether pre-exposure prophylactic settings could be a good idea.

Women and girls who have been trafficked into the sex business are at an increased risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. According to a 2007 research, 38% of returned Nepalese sex-trafficked girls tested positive for HIV (Ministry of Health, 2017). The social shame connected to returning victims, on the other hand, results in reduced health-seeking behaviour. Another important disease in Nepal that crosses border with migrants is tuberculosis(TB) (Ministry of Health, 2017). Migrants are particularly prone to tuberculosis, according to the IOM, because of their lower socio-economic position and poor living and working conditions (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Their mobility also makes diagnosis and treatment more accessible, as well as adherence to the TB control approach (Ministry of Health, 2017). Another aspect of migration's impact on health is the probable depletion of health-care employees who seek work elsewhere. The brain drain of healthcare personnel, particularly doctors and nurses, is increasing in Nepal. In most of the country, this results in a significant scarcity of health-care employees. According to an ILO survey, Nepal's population ratio for doctors and nurses is currently 0.67 per 1,000 people, considerably below the WHO's recommended 2.3 doctors, nurses, and midwives per 1,000 people (International Organization for Migration, 2019). They also revealed that 50 percent of the medical and nursing student's polled intend to work in another country due to the quality and opportunities of their education (Limbu, 2017). . It's also worth noting that many Nepalese, particularly those living near the border, migrate to India for medical treatment. Nepalese patients, for example, obtain cancer care at Bharatpur Hospital and New Delhi's Rajiv Gandhi Hospital, eye therapy at Lahan Hospital, and other medical facilities in border towns. According to the 1950 Friendship Treaty between the two countries, national treatment will be offered to the citizens of the other country. Health care has a

quantitative and qualitative impact on health-care employee immigration (Bashyal, 2016). This means that border inhabitants will be charged the same as Native Americans for medical care. There is also evidence that as Nepal's hospital service improves, more Indians living close the border are seeking medical treatment in the basin.

Nonetheless, the 1950 Nepal-India Peace and Friendship Treaty is the bedrock of these two country relations, which have a considerable impact on Nepalese immigration (Bashyal, 2016). Meanwhile, the governments of India and Nepal formed the Celebrity Group (EPG) on Nepalese Indian Relations in 2016 (Bashyal, 2016). The EPG session was held in 9 rounds, and the final session was held in Kathmandu on June 29, 2018 (Himalayan News Service, 2018). The EPG is looking forward to producing a report and resolving the immigration status of India and Nepal.

6.1.5. Environmental Security

Nexus Migration, Climate, and Environment (MECC) is defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as a continuum in which migration is "neither entirely compulsory nor completely voluntary, but in the grey zones in between (International Organization for Migration, 2014). Individuals, homes, and communities are affected directly and indirectly by environmental factors, particularly those connected to climate change and natural catastrophes, which can lead to migration. Apart from major earthquakes, landslides, and floods, establishing a direct relationship between environmental conditions and migration decisions is difficult. Rather, the cumulative impact of climate change and environmental deterioration on livelihood sustainability could be the culprit (International Organization for Migration, 2014).

Climate change is thought to have increased the frequency and intensity of Nepal's disasters, such as floods and landslides. Nepal is the fourth most vulnerable country to climate change, the 30th most vulnerable to floods, and the 11th most vulnerable to earthquakes in the world (ADPC & UNDRR, 2019). Natural disasters such as floods, landslides, storms, hailstorms, fires, and glacial lake eruptions threaten more than 80% of Nepal's population, according to the 2017 National Disaster Report (ADPC & UNDRR, 2019).

Nepal is likewise situated in a seismically active area. Landslides also result in the loss of water supplies and an increase in water shortages as a result of climate change, according to the paper. Internal migration ensued as a result of this, which had disastrous impacts on several villages. Due to water problems in the Upper Himalayan, a Cross-Himalayan. Due to water problems in the

Upper Himalayan, a Cross-Himalayan region with an annual rainfall of less than 200 mm, people in Dhey village relocated to Thanchung in 2009 (ADPC & UNDRR, 2019). Similarly, due to a severe drought in 2016, 18 residents in Samjeong village migrating owing to a severe drought (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2017). Some agricultural households have been compensated for seasonal changes, reduced rainfall, and protracted hot seasons, according to a 2016 IOM survey on the link between climate change, environmental degradation, and migration in South Asia (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Recognizing Nepal's vulnerability to disasters, the government has prepared national disaster risk reduction and management policies and strategic action plans for the years 2018-2030 (ADPC & UNDRR, 2019). The Ministry of Home Affairs has also created a national disaster risk mitigation platform that will provide real-time information on a wide range of disasters, including fires, storms, animal bites, sinkholes, droughts, and heat waves (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2017).

Furthermore, the Nepalese government has made efforts to adapt to climate change a priority in recent years. At the national and municipal levels, we've produced a number of adaption plans. The government recognised the impact of climate change on livelihoods when it adopted a climate policy in 2011. This instruction, however, makes no mention of migrations, moves, or relocations. (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2017). The Ministry of Forestry and Environment has focused on strategies for adaptation methods, but there has been no significant cross-cutting study on the nexus between climate change and migration within the government (Ministry of Population and Environment, 2017). This link must be recognized and taken into account in future development strategies, which the government recognizes. According to a 2016 IOM survey, there is a critical need to enhance political, legal, and institutional frameworks to prevent climate change-induced migration, as well as better cooperation amongst government agencies to address climate change in the environment. Addressing issues of deterioration and migration has proven to be crucial. Develop appropriate MECC nexus management strategies (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Over the last five years, the MoLESS has incorporated climate change into the National Strategic Work Plan for Safer Foreign Labour (2015-2019) and supports labor migration as a strategy for climate change adaptation (International Organization for Migration, 2019). It attempts to create better collaboration-regional cooperation-regional cooperation-through more research and stakeholder involvement.

6.1.6. Personal and Community Security

The individual's final migratory decision is also influenced by the meso and micro-levels. Ethnicity, economic and social support from family, degree of education, and financial means are all factors that impact migration decisions (Limbu, 2017). There is evidence that the number of extended family accompanying with migrants at their destination may be actively linked to migration decisions. According to one study, the recruits of Nepalese migrant workers through "network-based" groups of migrant workers from the same areas and social networks in Nepal. In addition, the village network played an important role in the migration to Japan (Kharel D. , 2016). About 1,800 people left Malma to work in Japanese restaurants, out of a total population of 6,400 (Kharel D. , 2016). Ethnicity has a factor as well; according to one study, Muslim workers are more likely to travel to Gulf countries, while Hildarit people are more likely to migrate to India (Kharel D. , 2016).

When it comes to household wealth, ethnicity, for example, might have a role. Some ethnic groups are able to cover the costs of migration; such as travel documents. It is also suggested that among young people in Nepal. It is also suggested that among young people in Nepal, migration has become a "transitional ritual" linked to changes in status, renown, and culture. Economic benefits are frequently highlighted as an influence of migration and one of the causes for movement, but the experience and concept of modernity on the broader consumer world is frequently the concept of youth migration, adds Sharma. It is the driving force and what they bring to the table. This especially true when it comes to immigrants, youth migration, adds Sharma. It is the driving force and what they bring to the table. This is especially true when it comes to immigrants coming home. Far carried tape recorders back from Mumbai to Kuwait.

Chapter VII

Summary and Conclusion

Nepali migration to India has been practiced from the ancient times. Nepali transnational migration to India has been affected by different political, economic, social reason. The root causes and effects of the transnational migration of Nepal to India has been important for the study, and also the link of the aspects of the human security is also significant. Therefore, realising the research gap of the transnational migration to India after 1990 due to different political activism and its connection to human security the researched is aimed at investigating the same. Methodologically, the research is qualitative research primarily focusing on both primary and secondary sources.

The research focuses on examining the transnational migration, and explore the transnational migration in Nepal. Transnational perspective provides a more profound comprehension of several global, social, economic and political phenomena, including the social movements, governance, politics, terrorism, violence, and organised crimes. And, the research assesses the historical, economic and strategic perspectives of the transnational migration in Nepal. The research follows with linking the transnational migration with the human security.

The research aimed to answer the three specific questions. Firstly, the study aimed to answer transnationalism and transnational migration in Nepal meant. Secondly, the research focused on discussion on "Political Activism in Nepal after 1990 and its relation to Human Security." Lastly, the study was emphasized answering how was the Nepali transnational migration pattern to India after 1990. Similarly, the ultimate objectives of the research were to discuss the transnational migration to India after 1990 and its connection to human security.

A qualitative research approach was utilized to complete the study's objectives and answer the research questions. To fulfil the research objectives, a methodical, subjective, and holistic approach was taken into consideration, largely through an inductive process of organising data into categories and discovering the pattern among the categories. Both the primary and secondary data were taken into consideration. The data is collected from books, periodicals, scholarly journals, reports of the government and semi-government publications were considered for the data purpose. In the research, descriptive, critical and analytical methods were employed. The methods included tracing, congruence testing and counterfactual to create an empirical and

interpretive study of transnational migration, human security and political activism in Nepal. The aspects of the Case Study Research Methodology have been used in the research where Transnational Migration to India after 1990 was a case to interpret the pattern of migration and its impact on human security aspects. As a historical analysis of the transnational migration was done, *retrospective and diachronic* case study methods were applied to the research and linked to the theoretical perspective of human security and transnationalism for a detailed qualitative account.

Ideas, assumptions, and analyses from many International Relations theories were included in the study's comparative, evaluative, and analytical approaches. The theoretical pillars of the methods in the study have included constructivist ideas, liberalist approach and cultural theory claims.

After the Nepal-British conflict of 1814-1816, Nepalese began migrating to India. Following the battle, around 4,650 Nepalese youth were recruited into the British-Gurkha regiments, and the way for Nepal-India migration. Another reason for migration was that Nepalese people began working in Darjeeling's tea farms and Assam's forests. The free and reciprocal movement of people across the open border is supported by Article VII of the 'Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950' between Nepal and India, which sparked the movement of people even more. Most Nepali migrants readily find work in India, primarily as waiters and bartenders, security guards, and manufacturing employees, home servants, or seasonal labourers.

The primary motivation for Nepalese migration to India is to find work, whether in the army or public service, or to obtain an education, which has resulted in the importation of new political, cultural and economic principles into Nepal. Several Gurkha soldiers joined Subash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army after leaving the British Army. Nepali intellectuals and those studying and working in India, on the other hand, joined the anti- 'British Raj' movement. Two well-known Nepali politicians, Man Mohan Adhikari and B.P. Koirala, have joined the QIM. Despite Nepal's vital support for India's independence fight, the Nepali population in India was denied minority rights because it was not recognised as a separate entity in India. Despite this, they were one of India's major minority groups with a long history in the country. Despite this, they were one of India's most populous minorities, having lived in the country for millennia. Gurkhas serving in other countries' armies depleted Nepal's youthful human resources, particularly during times of conflict. Furthermore, the Gurkha community has emerged as a leader in promoting the

Pan-Nepalese identity while also contributing to the blooming of western lifestyles and values in Nepali culture.

A thorough literature review pointed out that comprehensive research on transnational migration to India from Nepal after the 1990s has lacked academia. The research on political activism has been relatively done but the link to the human security and the transnational migration; however, the political activism has been barely touched by the other researches. Therefore, identifying the research gap, the study is focused on researching transnational migration to India after 1990.

The Nepali diaspora has played a significant influence in social development and the economy of Nepal as a result of transnational migration. Transnational migration has aided in socio-economic transformation as well as the transfer of social norms and values, skills, and ideas, culture, and civilisation from one country to the next. Cultural ambassadors are Nepali who live in different countries and have contributed to the development of Nepali culture, literature, art and music, traditions, food, festivals, and identity. They have contributed to the country's image as the land of the tallest mountain and the birthplace of Buddha. Increased interaction between Nepali in the Diaspora and people in host countries has helped to improve people-to-people ties. In faraway nations, we frequently see numerous foreigners celebrating Nepali festivals with Nepali families. As a result, Nepali culture and heritage have been better and assimilated abroad, contributing to public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy.

Nepal has historically struggled with high poverty, low human development, and weak human security, all of which have been exacerbated by the country's decade-long armed conflict and political change. Human security has been severely harmed as a result of political activities since 1990, such as the overthrow of the monarchy and the transformation of the country into federal democratic republic. Furthermore, these developments reflect the Nepali people's unwavering fight for democracy, with the hope that a new political system will liberate people from fear and want, provide growth, and empower them. Many development goals have remained unfulfilled to this day.

Furthermore, human security in relation to political participation after 1990 can be observed through at least two channels: agriculture and remittances, which would ensure income and security at the household level in Nepal irrespective of the state's presence for ensuring 'freedom and fear'. In this time from 1990, the most vulnerable households in Nepal have insufficient

livelihood assets (human, social, natural, physical, and financial) to produce enough food and/or earn enough revenue to purchase food and handle shocks. Similarly, there is evidence that foreign migration rates increased as the intensity of the conflict increased.

Along with the socio-economic indicators, political instability intensified in Nepal during the People's War, posing a threat to the country's human security. Between 1996 and 2006, the Maoist insurgency in Nepal resulted in the internal displacement of a large number of Nepali. The nature of battle become increasingly violent, resulting in the unavoidable loss of an increasing number of lives. During the emergency, security forces and CPN (Maoist) cadres engaged in extra-judicial killings, arrests, torture, disappearances, and human rights breaches on a regular basis, with the number of atrocities peaking between 2002 and 2004.

As Nepal recovers from a decade of violence, the question of migration and human security will become increasingly important. As a result, the current changes in Nepal are a result of conflict on the one hand, and the phenomenon of globalization and technical outreach on the other. It has caused substantial changes in Nepali people's daily physical and activities as well as their mind set.

Facing much political activism in Nepal after 1990, especially the decade long People's War led by the Maoist group, initiated a considerable flow of people towards India. India became one of the essential destinations for the people to migrate for work, either escaping the human security challenges or countering the human security challenges. For the Nepalese, both were the ends to migrate to India. Many political activists and revolutionists also made India their favourite destination in hiding themselves covertly. Taking political asylum was also one of the reasons for the migration to India. However, the labour work by the Nepalese people became quite familiar among them to migrate to India. After 1990, labour and political migration became a pattern of migration for Nepalese people; human trafficking also became one of the ways the Nepalese people, especially females, were taken. Therefore, these aspects are also essential to consider while studying the movement of Nepalese people to India.

Transnational migration to India is mostly guided by open borders. People can easily cross the border between the two countries for various tasks due to the open borders between the two countries. Other than the migration pattern induced through the open borders, the homogeneity

among the Nepalese and the Indian. They have a similar culture, and Nepali inhabitants find Hindi to be simple to grasp and master. The political ties that exist between the two countries have also facilitated migration from one to the other. The 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty between the two countries grants inhabitants of each country similar rights in their own country, with the exception of voting rights.

In conclusion, “Nepali transnational migration to India after 1990” analyses major reason behind People’s migration from Nepal to India. This dissertation links Nepali transnational migration to human security challenges how which played crucial role in the migration.

References

A Levitt, P. a. (2007). Transnational Migration Studies:Past and Developments and Future Trends, the Annual Review of Sociology. pp. 129-156.

Adhikari, D. (2013). Health and human security. In B. R. Upreti, R. Bhattarai, & G. S. Wagle (Eds.), *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges* (pp. 119-158). Kathmandu: Nepal Institute for Policy Studies and South Asia Regional Coordination Office of NCCR (North-South).

Adhikari, D. S. (2019). Transnational Work Migration of Nepali Youths: The Changing Phenomena and the Context of Achieving Education. *Journal of Education and Research, 9*(2), 74-92. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.3126/jer.v9i2.30464

ADPC & UNDRR. (2019). *Disaster Risk Reduction in Nepal, Status Report (July 2019).* Asian Disaster Preparedness Center & UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction.

Al-Ali, N., & Koser, K. (2002). *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home.* London: Routledge.

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (2003). *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press3.

Andrade-Ekhoff, K., & Silva-Avalos, C. (2003). *Globalization of the Periphery: The Challenges of Transnational Migration for Local Development in Central America.* El Salvador: FLASCO.

An-Na'im, A. (2005). The interdependence of religion, secularism, and human rights: prospects for Islamic Societies. *Common Knowledge, 11*, 56-80.

Aryal, S. K. (2021). The Interconnectedness between Institutional Quality, Civil War and Institutional Reform: A Case Study of Nepalese Maoist Civil War. *Journal of Geography, Politics and Society, 11*(3), 59-70.

Baral, L. R. (2017). *Nepal Trauma of Political Development and stability Essays on Nepal and South Asia.* New Delhi: Androit Publisher.

Barrientos, P. (2007). Analysis of International Migration and its Impacts on Developing Countries. *Institute For Advanced Development Studies*(12).

Bashyal, K. (2016). NEPALI MIGRANTS POLITICAL ACTIVISMS IN INDIA AND THEIR ENGAGEMENT WITH HOMELAND. *Journal of International Affairs, 1*(1), 31-44.

Bashyal, K. (2018, July). NEPALI MIGRANTS POLITICAL ACTIVISMS IN INDIA AND. *Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 2* (No.1).

Bhattarai, R. (2007). Open Borders, Closed Citizenships: Nepali Labour Migrants in Delhi.

Bohra-Mishra, P. (2013). Labour migration and investments by remaining households in rural Nepal. *Journal of Population Research, 30*(2), 171-192.

Caglar, A. (2002). *Encountering the state in migration-driven social fields: Turkish immigrants in Europe.* Berlin: Free University.

Casanova, J. (1994). *Public Religions in the Modern World.* Chicago: University Chicago Press.

Chaudhary, A. (2016). Impacts of Transnational Labor Migration on Learning Process: A Case Study of Nepalese Children and Women Staying Behid. *Open Journal of Social Siences*, 81-96.

Clavin, P. (2005). Defining Transnationalism. *Contemporary European History, 14*(4), 421-439.

Ebaugh, H., & Chafetz, J. (2000). *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations.* New York: AltaMira.

Einsiedel, S. v., Malone, D. M., & Pradhan, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eleftheriadis, K. (2018). Queering Transnationalism. In *In Queer Festivals* (pp. 143-163). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Gartaula, H. N. (2013). Migration to and from the Nepal terai: shifting movements and motives. *The South Asianist, 2*(2), 29-51.

Goodin, R., & Tilly, C. (Eds.). (2006). *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis.* New York, USA: Oxford University Press.

Guarnizo, L. E. (2003). The Economics of Transnational Living. *The International Migration Review, 37*(3), 633-666.

Gupta, A. (1993). *Politics in Nepal 1950-60.* New Delhi: Kalinga Publications.

Himalayan News Service. (2018, June 30). *Final Nepal-India EPG meeting begins*. Retrieved from The Himalayan Times: https://thehimalayantimes.com/nepal/final-nepal-india-eminent-persons-group-meeting-begins

Holliday, I., & Howe, B. M. (2011). Human Security: A Global Responsibility to Protect and Provide. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis, 23*(1).

INSEC. (2012). *Power Obsession delays peace.* Kathmandu: Informal Sector Service Centre.

International Organization for Migration. (2014). *IOM Outlook on Migration, Environment and Climate Change.* Geneva 19: International Organization for Migration.

International Organization for Migration. (2019). *Migration in Nepal: A country profile.* Kathmandu: IOM. Retrieved from https://publications.iom.int/books/migration-nepal-country-profile-2019

International Organization for Migration. (2019). *Migration in Nepal: A Country Profile 2019.* Kathmandu: International Organization for Migration.

Jacob, D., Chandran, S., Manmharan, N., Shekhar, V., & Mohan, R. (2008). Connecting Inida: A Road Map for New Roads. *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*.

Jaque, S., Shrestha, G., Kohler, T., & Schwilch, G. (2016). *The Effects of Migration on Livelihoods, Land Management, and Vulnerability to Natural Disasters in the Harpen Watershed in Western Nepal* (Vol. 36(4)). Mountain Research and Development.

Kasun, G. S. (2017). Transnationalism: Competing Definitions, Individual Agency in an Age of Globalization, and Research Trends. *Middle and Secondary Education Faculty Publications*.

KC, B. K. (2004). Migration, Poverty and Development in Nepal. *Asian and Pacific Migration Jornal, 13*(2).

KC, G. (2011). The Outward Pull. The Kathmandu Post.

KC, G. (2011, April 13). *The Outward Pull*. Retrieved from The Kathmandu Post: http://www.ekantipur.com/the-kathmandu-post/2011/04/13/oped/

Kearney, M. (1995). The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 547-565.

Kharel, A. B. (2021). Evolving Dimensions of Security and Its Relevance in Nepal. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Management and Social Sciences, 2*(1), 5-17.

Kharel, D. (2016). From Lahures to Global Cooks: Network Migration from the Western Hills of Nepal to Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal, 19*(2), 173-192.

Khatiwada, Y. R. (2013). Poverty: A threat to human security. In B. R. Upreti, R. Bhattarai, & G. S. Wagle (Eds.), *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges* (pp. 33-58). Kathmandu: Nepal Institute for Policy Studies and South Asia Regional Coordination Office of NCCR (North-South).

Kivisto, P. (2001). Theorizaing transnational immigration: A critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 24*(4), 549–577.

Lamsal, C. (2019). Political Development in Nepal: A Perspective of Participation and Inclusion. *Curriculum Development Journal*, 65-77.

Levitt, P. &. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review, 38*(2), 1002-10039.

Levitt, P. (2004). Transnational Migrants: When "Home" Means More Than One Country. *Migration Policy Institute Online Journal*.

Lie, J. (1995). From International Migration to Transnational Diaspora. *Contemporary Sociology, 24*(4), 303-306.

Limbu, A. (2017). Mass exodus: migration and peaceful change in post-war Nepal. *Accord Issue*.

Low, K. E. (2015). Migrant warriors and transnational lives: constructing a Gurkha diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Manchanda, R. (2001). Whose Nepal-Whose Inida: Of diasporas and transnational identities. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 47-56.

Martin, M., & Owen, T. (Eds.). (2014). *Routledge Handbook of Human Security.* London: Routledge.

Ministry of Health. (2017). *National HIV Strategic Plan 2016-2021.* Kathmandu: Government of Nepal.

Ministry of Home Affairs. (2017). *Nepal Disaster Report 2017.* Kathmandu: Government of Nepal.

Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security. (2020). *Nepal Labor Migration Report 2020.* Kathmandu: Government of Nepal.

Ministry of Population and Environment. (2017). *Synthesis of the Stocktaking Report for the National Adaptation Plan (NAP) Formulation Process in Nepal.* Kathmandu: Government of Nepal.

Nájera, L. G. (2009). Transnational Migration, Conflict, And Divergent Ideologies Of Progress. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development, 38*(2/3/4), 269-302.

Neill, T. O. (2007). Our Nepali work is very good: Nepali Domestic Workers as Transnational Subjects. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 16*(3).

Nepalisansar.com. (2019, August 24). *Foreign education*. Retrieved from Nepali Sansar: https://www.nepalisansar.com/education/nepal-foreign-education-department-as-many-as-323972-students-studying-abroad/

Nicolaas de Zwager, R. S. (2017). Maximizing the development Impact of Migration in Nepal.

Non-resident Nepali Organization. (2015). *NRN investment in Nepal: A survey of nine selected districts.* Kathmandu: Society of Economic Journalists- Nepal. Retrieved from https://nrna.org/Portals/0/pdf/%20nrn_investment_research_report.pdf

Pence, K., & Zimmerman, A. (2012). Transnationalism. *German Studies Review, 35*(2), 495-500.

Prasain, D. (2010). Subaltern transnationalism, citizenship and identity: A case study among labor migrants from Nepal in a Delhi neighborhood.

Regmi, M. (1978). Preliminary Notes on the Nature of the Gorkhali State and Administration. *10*(11), 171-174.

Regmi, M. C. (1978). *Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces: Peasants and Landlords in 19th-Century Nepal.* New Delhi: Vikas.

Sarup, M. (1994). *Home and Identity.* (M. M. G. Robertson, Ed.) London: Routledge.

Scharder, H. (1988). Trading Patterns in the Nepal Himalaya. *39*.

Schrader, H. (1988). Trading Patterns in the Nepal Himalaya. *Bielefelder Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie, 39*.

Sharma, P. (2021). Diaspora Diplomacy: Emerging Priority of Nepal's Foreign Policy. *Journal of Political Science, 21*, 86-99. Retrieved from https//:www.ejournal of pncampus.edu.np/journals/ips/

Shrestha, M. (2017). *Push and Pull: A Study of International Migration from Nepal.* New York: World Bank Group.

Singh, A. K. (2019). Human Security in Nepali Perspective. *Journal of APF Command and Staff College*, 60-66.

Tadjbakhsh, S., & Chenoy, A. (2007). *Human Security: Concepts and Implications.* New York: Routledge.

Thieme, S. (2006). Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labor Migrants in Delhi. *Policy Institute Online Journal*.

Tudor, A. (2017). Dimensions of Transnationalism. *Feminist Review*(117), 20-40.

UNDP. (2020). *The Next Frontier: Human Development and the Anthropocene.* United Nations Development Program. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/Country-Profiles/NPL.pdf

Valentin, K. (2011). The Role of Education in Mobile Livelihoods: Social and Geographical Routes of Young Nepalese Migrants in India. *Wiley*.

Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation. *International Migration Review, 38*(3), 970-1001.

Wagle, G. S. (2013). Political insecurity and armed conflict: A threat to human security. In B. R. Upreti, R. Bhattarai, & G. S. Wagle (Eds.), *Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues and Challenges* (pp. 251-278). Kathmandu: Nepal Institute for Policy Studies and South Asia Regional Coordination Office of NCCR (North-South).

Waldinger, R. (2013). Immigrant transnationalism. *Current Sociology, 61*(5-6), 756-777.

Yeoh, B. S., Willis, K. D., & Fakhri, S. M. (2003). Introduction: Transnationalism and its edges. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 207-217.

Zharkevich, I. (2019). *War, Maoism and Everyday Revolution in Nepal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ziyanak, S. (2016). Responding to Transnationalism Phenomena. *Race, Gender & Class, 23*(1-2), 219-222.