

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Bhutan is a small, landlocked, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multilingual, multi-religions society. However, the government argues that "pluralism is only practical for a large country where a diversity of customs, traditions and culture enriches that nation. A small country like Bhutan cannot afford the luxury of such diversity which may impede the growth of social harmony and unity among its people."

In the name of national integration the government implemented various racial and discriminatory policies aimed at forceful homogenization of multi-ethnic society. This 'Drukponization' policy was designed to annihilate the culture, religion and language of Lhotshampas, Sharchhops and other minority ethnic, religions and linguistic groups. Under this policy all other ethnic and minority groups are required to assimilate their social and cultural identity as distinct ethnic groups with the society dominated by politically and economically dominant Ngolung or Drukpa ethnic group. The state could not evolve a modus vividness. To the state 'Bhutanese national identity meant the forceful assimilation of cultures. Forced national integration, through eviction, through depriving the Lhotshampas and dissidents of their nationality, or through brutal intimidation and use of force have been the hallmarks of state policy.

Without assimilation also political unity of population can be achieved. Examples ground as USA, Switzerland and Great Britain where the Scottish and Wales enjoy their cultural identity. The government's policies of national integration however, received stubborn resistance from the Lhotshampas, first, and now by the Sharchhop and other minority groups.

Buddhism has been used as a political tool by the state. Buddhism has been defined to suit the interests of the ruling community. Bhutanese polity is increasingly communalism by the ruling elite. Politics is practised on ethnic lines that the politics became the monopoly of the single ethnic group, the Ngalung. The rule of state becomes problematic when it seeks to represent one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic society. There is a constant feeling of insecurity among all the minorities against the government as a result of frequent changes in the laws, rules and policies and their interpretation by the Thimphu government to suit the regime largely affecting the Lhotshampas, Sharchops and other minority groups.

The government, instead of taking lessons from these devastating events in the region and pursuing a realistic policy of integrating different ethnic groups and nationalities in Bhutan, started working for the 'ethnic cleansing' of Lhotshampas. This shows government's lack of vision and immaturity of its statecraft and cultural intolerance. Its national integration policy was also fake. One cannot construct a national integration policy by offering monetary compensation. National integration is a gradual process.

Bhutanese refugees are the victims of racial policy of their government who are genuine citizens of Bhutan. Without taking back the Bhutanese refugees, it will not be possible to achieve integration of the Bhutanese society. They must be repatriated with dignity and honour. Until the Bhutanese refugee's problem is solved and human rights are guaranteed, there can be no peace in Bhutan. Given the current situation, the repatriation of refugees seems not possible without effecting a change in existing laws. These laws declare a citizen anti-national, if one is found to be in contact with any dissident against the government and are subjected to the confiscation of citizenship. These laws also declare several thousand refugees as voluntarily emigrated and are not allowed to return to the country. Several thousand

citizens have been intimidated to flee and asked to fill up voluntary migration forms under duress.

Today, the demands for establishment of human rights, end of racism and discrimination, creation of participatory and political institutions, establishment of a secular political and social order, rule of law, balanced economic growth, repatriation of Bhutanese are the focal points around, with which the resolution of Bhutanese refugees and the political crisis revolves.

Bhutan possesses has 48,000 sq. km of land area and population is about 7 lacs (till 1990). Bhutan is bordered by Tibet and China in the north and by Indian State Sikkim, West Bengal, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh in the west, south and east respectively. It can be divided into three zones, Northern, Eastern and Southern. The Black Mountain range separates the valley from those of the west. Southern Bhutan consists of foothill covered with tropical forest. The capital of Bhutan, Thimpu, is located in western Bhutan. The three main ethnic groups are geographically separated as;

- 1) Ngaluns (Bhutanese of Tibetan origin) settled in the north
- 2) Sharchops (Bhutanese of Tibet Burman) in the east
- 3) Lhotshompas (Bhutanese of Nepali Origin) in the south

The Origin of Bhutanese Refugees and Bhutan's Political Crisis

Various ethnic groups and peoples have lived in perfect communal, religious and ethnic harmony for centuries in Bhutan. Never before, any instance of ethnic conflict, communal or religious clash at the peoples level has occurred in Bhutan, which has become the hallmark of many South Asian nations and destroyed the very basic fabric of democracy in these countries. Tolerance, co-cooperation and compromise had been the basic values of

Bhutanese society. But, since 1980s the present government has started sowing the racial seeds among its people. It has formulated and implemented a number of racist policies and programmes to depopulate and evict the Lhotshampa citizens of southern Bhutan. It is a medieval, autocratic and despotic government that has nurtured racist and discriminatory practices and attitudes to perpetuate in power. It has destroyed a basis of existence of Bhutan as a peaceful nation.

More than 1,25,000 Nepali-speaking Lhotshampas of Southern Bhutan, nearly one sixth of the kingdom's total population had been forced to become refugees by the government. This has made Bhutan as one of the highest per capita refugee generator in the world. As on March 2001, 98,886 Bhutanese refugees were living in seven refugee camps in eastern Nepal managed by the UNHCR. Rest lives scattered in other parts of Nepal. About 25,000 Bhutanese refugees are living in Indian territories without any help of the government.

The root of the current political crisis in Bhutan and the refugees lies in Bhutan's geopolitics and population politics. A study of various policies of the Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB) in the last two decades reflects the Ngalung/Drukpa dominated government's motive to uproot Nepali speaking Lhotshampa population from Bhutan and reduce their number representation by all means. Be it Drukpanization or Bhutanization programme, citizenship and Marriage Acts or all are directed against Lhotshampas of the south. It was a long standing and intrinsic ruling elites' security perception that the domestic demand for political change (democracy) would come from the Lhotshampas in the south. The democratic India borders the south. Moreover, the Lhotshampas are economically well off and more educated than their brethren in the north and east. The northern borders with China are closed. In order to pre-empt the demand for democracy, the government devised a

clever strategy to depopulate the Lhotshampas from southern Bhutan. Hence, the Lhotshampas suddenly became the geopolitical scapegoats and security threat to the absolute monarchy in Bhutan.

In context of the research about the Bhutanese refugee, it is important to know, who the refugees are? According to the Oxford Dictionary it is defined as "person who has been forced to leave his country, home etc and seek refugees, especially from political or religion prosecution". In the illustration of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the word 'refugees' refers to uproot homeless, involuntary migrants who have crossed a frontier and no longer possess the protection of their former government.

According to the UN official definition, refugee is a person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social/ ethnic or political opinion leaves the country of his nationality. This person is unable or owing to such focus is unwilling to avail himself of protection of that country.

In Nepal, the history of refugees begins with the flow of Tibetan refugees through the Himalayan boarder from China to Nepal when Dalai Lama left Lhasa for asylum to India in 1959. The influx of refugees into Nepal continued for several years and the estimated Tibetan refugees to Nepal have reached more than 20,000 (HMG Ministry of Home, 1996). Now some of them are staying in various camps and most of them are scattered over 20 districts of the kingdom. Armed action initiated by Tibetan refugees against the Republic of China from the territory of Nepal in 1973 popularly known as 'Khampa Movement' was considered as a serious threat to Nepal's national sovereignty and integrity. Most of the Tibetan refugees and their family members have been able to receive Nepalese citizenship due to unstable political situation and weak bureaucratic system in Nepal.

Actually, the activities run by Tibetan refugees and its impact on Nepal was not taken as a serious issue by the government authorities and different political parties. HMG of Nepal had decided to close down the office of Tibetan refugees. But they had already flourished their livelihood activities and developed their network in Nepal. At though the decision taken by the Nepalese government, was criticized by various national and international human rights organizations, the issues concerning the Tibetan refugees were settled down long back.

Historical records of Nepalese immigration into Bhutan dates back to 1624 A.D. That evidence suggested that settlement of ethnic Nepalese in Bhutan began earlier, possibly from the 17th century onwards. The first batch of 50 families went to Bhutan as a gesture of friendship by King Ram Shah of Gorkha after signing a friendship with Shabbrung Nawang Namgual (the spiritual Ruler of Bhutan) in 1624. Sixteen years later, Nepalese artisans and skilled workers were recruited to work in the Dzongs (fortresses that are now used as administrative offices) and monasteries in Bhutan. During the British rule of India, the British encouraged Nepalese to migrate to Sikkim in order to arrest the revival of Tibetan influence in Sikkim. Ethnic Nepalese were continuously encouraged by the British to migrate to neighboring areas in Southern Bhutan (AHURA Bhutan, 1994).

In Nepal, The refugee's problem was started since 1991. They set up making shift camps and hoped for the situation in Bhutan worsened and the refugees were not permitted to set up permanent camps in India. A small group of refugees crossed into Nepal and establish the first camp by the banks of Mai River in July 1991, which housed only 235 refugees. From August 1991 the influx of refugees increased at the rate of 1000 a month. The flow of refugees leaped in February 1992 to a massive 10,000 per month. From February to March 1992, the refugee population rose to 48,000. It became

impossible to manage, many of them died and hundreds suffered from malnutrition and diseases.

The UNHCR, which has been trying to get the refugees repatriation to Bhutan or assimilate in the host, country Nepal is now also working on third country resettlement. For the refugees, this can be a good option but not the best one. The UNHCR blames mainly Nepal for opposing resettlement in third countries. Nepal's argument is that Bhutan needs to take back some of its people as per the bilateral agreement. The refugee leader agrees this bilateral agreement.

Obviously, the issue of refugees is closely linked to the protection of human rights and democracy movement in Bhutan. A royal dictatorship can perhaps heap injustices on a minority for some time. But ultimately the people will be victorious, and this has been proved by the recent events in the refugees host country. Unfortunately the lack of an organized pro-democracy movement has bolstered the harsh crackdowns by the Bhutani regime. Neighboring democratic country India and the UN have been indirectly helping the anti-human rights and anti-democratic crack downs by the Bhutani king against his own minority peoples.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has been running the camps but has been criticized by a group of human rights organization for not pushing repatriation hard enough. Lately, Bhutani leaders in exile pointed out that the UNHCR is cutting back on aid to the refugee camps.

Relief support like food, shelter, health, education and other basic needs have been significantly cut back, says Bhutan human rights activist Ratan Gazmere. UNHCR'S executive committee decided in 2003 to phase out

activities in the camps in favor of promoting assimilation in Nepal and third country settlement for refugees.

The rate of populations growth has also the additional implication in the total size of the refugee population

Arrival of Bhutanese refugees (since 1990)

Year	Numbers
1993	85,334
1994	103,265
1995	104,740
1996	106,801
1997	108,674
1998	105,681
1999	107,571
2000	108,897
2001	110,780
2002	112,263
2008	1,80,000

Note: Lutheran world federation (LWF) Annual report, 2000 and till December 2001.

Source: LWF Ministry of Home Affairs/ HMG Nepal

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Refugee is a global phenomena and it has become an important issue in this modern era. It has become subject matter of daily digest for news media. Most of the time we come across with the very painful and shocking news about the refugees, today hunger, murder, rape, torture. Socio depression and similar other kind of behaviors are becoming the synonyms of refugees. It is

our misfortune to bear such kind of problems that are being created by man for any reason.

Nepalese economy is basically dualistic (urban/rural) on the one hand small newly emerging modern economic sector based on organized trade, industry and service coexisting on the other with the vast hinterland of unorganized rural economic sector with rudimentary methods of production and traditional feudal economic relations and exploitations. The vast rural economy is conscious by low saving, low investment and hence low production and low productivity. As a subsistence economy, a good deal of output is for self-consumption without many marketable surpluses. The rural people (85%) have few opportunities and few choices, poverty is acute and unemployment and underemployment wide spread. (Shrestha, B.P., Mirmire Baisakh, 2002)

Similarly, the ethnic Nepali Bhutanese were also victimized as refugees and are compelled to spend their miserable life in Bhutanese refugee camps of Jhapa and Morang districts is about 1,80,000 Bhutanese refugees. When the government of Bhutan implemented the policy of 'One Nation one People.' The multi-ethnic, multi-culture, multi-religion people of Bhutan couldn't face the government policy because the policy applied by the government was against the culture and tradition of southern Bhutanese viz, dress policy, language policy, marriage policy, religion policy etc. The southern people of Bhutan refused to adopt such policies of the government. The RGoB identified them as anti-nation and terrorists, as a result they became the victims of refugees. In Dec 12 1990, the first group of refugee people entered into the Nepali border in a small number. This process continued and till 1993, the total population of refugees reached nearly 1 Lakh. After the settlement of refugees in the bank of Kankai, River, NRCS provided the basic food and shelter. After some days when the influx of refugees was very high, UNHCR

paid attention towards them and provided the basic need and health facilities. After establishing seven different camps in Jhapa and Morang districts, NGO and INGO were working to support the refugee's under UNHCR.

Since 1993, several ministerial and secretarial level bilateral meeting between Nepal and Bhutan have been held in order to solve the refugee problem but any bilateral talks have not progressed to repatriate the refugee back to Bhutan. To solve this problem Nepal government and many other agencies like UNHCR, human rights organization have been still exercising. Due to the arrival of refugees from cross the border, the local people is facing many social, economical and environment crises. Strong political will is required to solve the Bhutani refugee problem at the existing social level if not the political one.

Some of the problems faced are alcoholism, gambling, thefts, murdering, deforesting, decrease in local labor's livelihood, involvement of refugees in private jobs, business and trade has brought negative impacts on the local people's income. Thus, the people living near the refugee camps of Jhapa and Morang districts have to face many such problems in day to day livelihood earning.

1.3 The Objective of the Study

The proposed research objective of the study is of two types:

1. General objective
2. Specific objective

The general objective of the study is to find out socio-economic and environment impact of Bhutanese refugees of Beldangi Camps.

The specific objectives are:

1. To assess the social-economic and environmental condition of the host community before and after the arrival of the Bhutanese refugee.
2. To study the investigative causes of negative impacts on the local community due to the presence of Bhutanese refugees e.g. social economic and environment conditions.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Above 17 million people are recognized as refugees all over the world. Including Nepal forty-four countries directly bear the burden of unnecessary load of the refugees. Now a day's several kind of high magnitude problems are arising in global perspective. Among them the refugee problem has also become a major problem. From the view of humanitarian ground it is a miserable and dreadful in problem of the mankind. First of all refugees are evicted from their homeland because they couldn't bear the violence and many kinds of tortures, therefore it forces the victim to flee to other countries. They have to face many kinds of problem such as basic needs of human to survive in strange and new country site. Thus they have to survive with certain limitations and also with fear and crisis. Refugee problem in itself is a temporary phenomenon, which should have been solved. However, it takes a longer time frame like the Bhutanese refugee problem to get its amiable solution. Thus, while they are in the host country they interact with locals and try to adjust and adopt in the host situation. This in turn certainly influences the local community in their social activities and undertakings.

After the settlement of refugees in different camps, the social and environmental crises such as sanitation, deforestation and many other social ill events are increasing day by day. Thus, such events do not seem to be in decreasing order but are increasing at a very high rate. Identifying such problems the "socio-economic and environment impact of Bhutanese refugee

of Beldangi Camps in Damak municipality" for the detail study of the Bhutanese refugee in Nepal will make a sensible field study.

The above illustrated given unsociable events are very important part of the study and it helps the NGOs, INGOs, government, individuals and every interested persons of this field. This study about the Bhutanese refugee's camp would help us to come up with the suggestions for mitigation, to the police maker and implementing authorities of the communities near the refugee camps. It would help us to focus the refugee's problems within the nation throughout the world and help to make proper decisions by their respective authorities.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

The proposed study is limited to the "Socio-economic and environment impact of Bhutani refugees on local community of Beldangi Camps situated in north part of Damak municipality ward 3 and 5.

Due to the limitation of time frame and other resource the data collected is based on the 10% of the universe sample size of the specified study area.

Beldangi Refugees Camps is the largest camps among the seven camps of refugee, where the research study had been carried out to conduct the intensive study of "The socio-economic and environmental impact on local community." The similarly geographical range also influences the remaining camps being situated in Jhapa and Morang district of Nepal. Where social and environment factors as that of Beldangi camps may have parallel impacts. So the findings of this research might be generalized in the rest of the camps in similar study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The available literature review is most important in such research. The main aim of the literature review is to gain familiarity with the subject matter. The literature on Bhutan, Bhutanese and the refugee's case have been written in limited numbers keeping this in mind available literatures have been reviewed as far as possible.

Review of literature means to review the available literature or materials with the possibilities of developing hypothesis from it. Problems of refugee have raised from time to time in the world Nepal is also involved in the problem but there are very few journals, reports, books and magazines etc. that mention about the refugees. The available literature published till date is very useful for the researcher.

It is difficult to know the country what number of the refugees entered Nepal because there is no reliable data or documents published after 1990. Before 1990, a small number of Tibetans refugees entered Kathmandu valley and Latitpur area but these refugees have been living in Nepal for many years without any significant problems. So, these refugees are not seriously viewed but are regard as the first refugee in the history of refugees in Nepal. But the above description is controversial. Begal refugees were considered as the first refugees, then the Burmese entered and then the Tibetan come and lastly Bhutanese refugee came which is the recent problem. Due to religion conflict in Bangladesh. Bengali refugees entered and scattered in different places of Nepal. Similarly Burmese refugees entered due to the government's suppression and lack of human rights. They settled at Kakarvitta, Bhairahawa and other parts of Nepal. Tibetan refugees are living in Kathmandu and

Bhutanese refugees are recently living in Jhapa and Morang districts in seven different camps in miserable condition. Not only this, many other asylum seekers of different countries are living in Nepal but also they are regarded as illegal immigrants. (Poudyal, Oct. 2000)

The problems of refugees are increasing day by day in the world. To solve this problem UNHCR is involved but has not achieved its final goal yet. Refugees are legally defined as people who are outside their countries because of a well founded fear of persecution based on their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group, and who cannot or do not want to return home as a humanitarian not political organization. UNHCR has two basic and closely related aims to protect refugees and to seek ways to help them restart their lives in a normal environment. International protection is the cornerstone of the agency's work. In practice this means insuring resort for a refugees, basic human rights and ensuring that no person will be returned involuntarily to a country where he or she has reasons to fear persecution, a process as refoulement.

UNHCR promotes international refugee agreements and governance compliance with international refugee law. The total number of refugees in the world reached 171 millions. Millions of people in Asia have been driven from their home become refugees or internally displaced due to ethnic conflicts, civil war and human rights violations.

Table 1: Number of Refugee by Region at 2003

Countries	Population
Africa	4285100
Asia	6187800
Europe	4242300
Latin America	1316400
North America	978100
Occasion	74400
Total	17084100

Source: Helping Refugees, UNHCR, Sep, 2004.

A large number of them have crossed the borders and the rest have been either unable or unwilling to cross the international border and are displaced within their own country. Today about 6.2 million refugees are in Asia (helping refugees, UNHCR 2004)

Increasing conflicts and human rights violations causing the plight of people are adding to the refugee crisis in Asia. Also refugee crisis erupted in Asia due to super power rivalry in the post. For example the war in southeast Asia create some of the regions largest refugee movements, involving people from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia but today the refugee crisis in Asia is mainly due to ethnic conflict and political oppression and also due to civil war. The presence of vast majority of refugee in Asia who are seeking safety from persecution and violence or longing for a peaceful life in their own land expose the reality of level of respect of human rights. An analysis on the refugee situation in different Asian country will be an eye opener as to understand the seriousness of the problem.

Prarmananda (1991) has explained the history of Bhutan and analyzed the political development that had taken place in Bhutan. Favoring the policies of royal government of Bhutan he justified the attitude of Bhutanese government towards the southerners. According to him, policies and legislation implemented by the government brought drift between ethnic Nepal of southern Bhutan and ruling Drukpa elites of north.

Phuyal (1993)¹³ has outlined about the changing concepts of refugees and its historical development. He also discussed internally displaced, Fugitives, asylum-seekers, and statelessness, economic migrates as a refugees like situation besides. There is a mention of south Asian refugees and special Nepal as a host country for the Tibetan and Bhutanese refugees and response towards them.

Dhakal and Strawn (1995)¹⁵ examine the current refugees and political crisis of Bhutan investigating the history, the situation in Bhutan and in the refugee camps, and the facts and politics of crisis. They conclude that Bhutanese refugee crisis must be viewed in its historical place, the political crisis extends beyond the Nepal presence in the southern Bhutan. The complexity of the crisis is out of proportion to Bhutan's small size and lack of international attention. Bhutanese politics are far from simple and the influence of tangled Bhutanese and regional politics, most notably the interests and influence of India.

Giri (1996) has concluded the Bhutanese refugee problem as a result of the victims of political genocide over the people of ethnic Nepal. Away from the native land, refugees are facing number of problems. They are frustrated with their hopeless future. During his overall research he highlighted many positive and negative impacts of refugees on affected area. He warned about

the situation and emphasized the immediate solution. If necessary steps are not taken immediately in near future the present socio-economic condition of refugees will further deteriorate. It not only affects the local area negatively, but also a whole Nepali society negatively.

Aryal (1998) has analyzed the Bhutanese refugee crisis as a multi dimensional problem produced by presenting the royal government of Bhutan (RGB) as impose of medieval type of Bhutanisation and integration policies. The problem has remained unresolved yet due to the diplomatic weakness of Nepal and not taking seriously by the related parties.

Jhoseph (1999) ²⁴ explains that scenario behind the ethnic conflict in Bhutan and the resultant refugee crisis. He focuses his entire attention on analyzing the ethnic background and composition of Bhutan before addressing the refugee problem. He discusses the British colonial policy towards Bhutan and offers a critical examination of the structure of the Bhutanese society and policy. He also points the emergence a sense of paranoia among the ruling elite Bhutan because of the role of Nepali origin people in Sikkim played in that kingdom accession to the India union. He also underscores the effects of the struggle waged in Darjeeling for separate Nepali speaking states of India. A long harmonious relation among the people of Bhutan was in disrupted by following 1990 decision of the Bhutanese government to expel the Lhothasampas (BONOS). As soon as the ruling Ngalong saw the growing population of Nepalese origin in the south as a long-term threat to Bhutan, they started to impose rules and regulations in order to harass them.

Paudyal, (2001) has highlighted the Bhutanese history and ups and down in political arena to control political power Bhutan is a nation of

immigrates and hence a multi ethnic, multi lingual and multi religious country. Explaining about the people's movement in Bhutan and formation of different political and human right organization all over Bhutan he showed the evidences of human right violation and presented the royal government as anti-democratic and despotic one.

Phuyal (2002) has analyzed the adaptation of Bhutanese refugee in foreign environment. According to him initial adjustment in the new environment was always not easy but slowly they are adapting inside foreign environment. He says, refugees have strong ethno-national concept, which is the point to preserve their Bhutanese identified. Even though refugees seem to be well adapted in foreign environment, they never forget their precious happy life of the past days instead of bitter situations of the last..

Chhetri (2003) has outlined the fact of refugee categorization and analyze the drawback lying in categorization, which may prove a blunder of Nepal. The provision that who do not wish to return Bhutan will be given the option to apply for Nepalese citizenship in accordance with the laws of the kingdom of Nepal was a crucial point of diplomatic defeat by Nepal. He concluded that Bhutan is discouraging the return of refugees and looking at absolute numbers and wants to take back less than 5000 refugees.

Rizal (2004) has portrayed the historical fact lying behind Nepali settlement in southern Bhutan since early 17th century and their close affinity and strong influence over Bhutan. He also highlighted different policies of government to marginalize the southerners. When the discrimination and unequal treatment crossed their limits, people organized themselves to form their political platform the 'Bhutan state congress'. Government defined the

attempt illegal and anti-national and gagged it to make their attempt unsuccessful.

Bhutanese Refugee's Issue in Different Theoretical Perspective

Different theories define and see the problem in different manner. The idealist emphasize on creative power of human being which is guided by mental power and knowledge, humans create elaborate network of ideas and ideals and use these mental construct to guide their pattern of behavior. In idealistic calculation Bhutanese refugee problem emerged out from the farsighted vision of Drukpa ruling elites. They calculated the future threat of BONO in power balance and before the perceived danger could knock the door they implemented various measures to clear up the obstacles from their way.

Likewise, pragmatism is a theory of knowledge experience and reality that maintains that thought and knowledge are biologically and social evolved models of adaptation and a control over experience. Reality knowledge is thus achieved only through experience and a trial and error process of activity based upon attitudes and belief as we search for the truth (Kitchen and Tate, 2004).

Thus linking the refugee problem of Bhutan in pragmatist approach, it suggests that initially ruling elite's of Bhutan try to unify the people through cultural and religious unification. As a result they adopted policies which emphasizes the inter-cast marriage and also bond the Christian religion in Bhutan to do away the heterogeneous element from the society. When their efforts could not meet the desirable aims they reacted in quite radical and harsh manner to uproot the basic hold of BONO.

In the same way, Realism seeks to find out the underlying fact that makes the things to happen. Realist explains of whole procedure rather than understanding. When we try to see the Bhutanese refuge problem in realistic prospective, it needs to explain all sequential events and polices undertaken by the Bhutanese government since the decade of 1980s. All the policies implemented by the RGOB targeting against the Lhotshampa citizens are the root of the conflict that resulted in a mass exodus of ethnic Nepali from Bhutan.

On the other hand, phenomenologists suggest that one should gain in – depth knowledge about the issue and think to analyze it perfectly. It emphasizes an understanding rather than explaining the world. Phenomenologist also suggests on independent analysis and understanding without drawing upon supposed theories.

From the eyes of phenomenologist, Bhutanese refugee problem is the result of the conflict between the rulers and ruled to safeguard their interest in different aspects of their activities. One can justify the peaceful agitation and demand of Lhotshampas as they were the suppressed section of the society and it can also be justified the attempt of the ruling elite's who were farsightedly avoiding the possible threat to the eight decades old hereditary monarchy.

Based on the 'social conflict' theory Marx has given emphasis on the material life of the people. As the opinion of the conflict is existing in every where the society, he considers the result of this conflict is a struggle that causes social change. He says struggle is the main basis of all social change'. So, his theory is said to be dialectical materialism. He added up the world materialism because he has given the main emphasis on the materialistic part

of life. He opines economic structure is the main foundation of society and the rest like social political and ideological structure depend upon the economic structure of the society, i.e. production for the life is must. So model of production is the basic foundation of evolution. While linking the Bhutanese refugee issue in Marxist approach, it seems problem risen form social conflict between the Drukpas, the dominant class and the Lhotshampas, the mass who were exploited by the ruling class. As all the economic and political power vested in the hands of handful ruling class (Drukpas) they had been depriving the mass of southern Bhutanese people from various basic rights. When the discriminating and inequalities touched its height, the mass rose agonist it to defy and bring the social change, which gave birth to the present crisis of Bhutan. Unlike the Marxist assumption, the revolution failed to bring any social change instead dominant class (masters) displaced the exploited mass (serf) from their native places and competed to become a refugee.

According to cultural and religious explanation refugee problem is the result of conflict between the Buddhism of the ruling Drukpa versus the Hinduism of the Lhoshampas (Subedi, 2002). In Bhutan there have been the Mahayana Buddhism based feudal systems of hereditary monarchy where religion plays a vital role in shaping the policies and programmes of government.

The Lhotshampas were Hindu and they practiced Hinduism based lifestyle and culture. The religions and culture practices were not similar to those of the ruling groups. In course of time when the populations of Lhotshampas were fast growing they realized the possible threat of growing population religious and cultural dominance of Lhotshampas. To reduce their prominence and to check the spreading influence of Hinduism, they

counterattacked the religion and culture of the southerners through the implementation of various policies and acts such e.g. as "one people one nation" policy. Thus, conflict arose from the religion and cultural rivalry led the Lhotshampas in to the refugee status.

Perspectives Research on Refugees

For more than 400 years, the Nepalese have been living in Bhutan. They were initially welcome to settled in the southern region of Bhutan and given permission to use the inaccessible forested lands of southern foothills to fulfill various economic and political interest of the political boss and titular head of the region. History changed the situation and it in turn changed political system. Hereditary monarchy was established in Bhutan crowning up on wangchuk as the first king of Bhutan in 1907. Due to the prosperous and abundant agricultural land in southern Bhutan there had been continuous inflow of Nepali settler from Nepal and elsewhere India. When Drukpa elites came to know Bhutanese of Nepalese origin (B.N.) people as majority population in south perceived fear of future power balance led the Drukpas to think over the development seriously. Thus, political demographic perspective is justifiable to explain the reason of B.N.s to be refugee from their home.

It is also interesting mention that in the course of establishment of the present hereditary monarchy in Bhutan in 1907, a number of southern Bhutanese played important and significant role (Druk Losel, 1982).

Thus the claim of Drukpa rulers that Bhutan is only the home land of the Drukpa of the north-west region and their attempt to portray southern Bhutanese as economic migrates and recent settlers is not only a serious distortion of the fact. But is also a denial of the existence of a longer district

ethnic group in the kingdom who have made equal contributions and sacrifice to building modern bay of Bhutan. The attempt of the Drukpa rulers throughout past decades has been to expose only the Drukpa culture and traditions to the outside world and never tell the existence of other diverse culture and traditions in the kingdom. As carol Hobson rightly notes in the article, "The sorry side of Shangri-La" (The royal geographical society magazine 'geographical' London Jan. 1993, "Traditionally, the fertile south, populated mostly by Lhotshampas (Nepali speaking people), has scarcely rated a mention in the travel books. Conveniently, it is off the tourist map and as the major center of agriculture (producing 46% of gross domestic product in 1990) and other economic activities; it has been of little significance to those interested Bhutan's Buddhist cultures. Things have changed it has become impossible to ignore the plight of at least one lakh Lhotshampas who have quietly fled the south" since 1990. More important than the historical fact are the geographical realities, which have kept southern Bhutanese, confined to the large districts in southern region. Which has taken centuries-hard toil and sweat to reach the present stage of development and prosperity in which neither Drukpas of the northwest or the Sharchhops of the east have any share of contributions? (NINHURED, 1993)

Until the mid of the 17th century, Bhutan was under the political jurisdiction of India. However, the Indian ended with the invasion of Bhutan by a bond of Tibetan soldiers until the first quarter of the 17th century, Bhutan existed as an agglomeration of numerous independent pity kingdoms. In 1616 Shabdrung Ngwang Namgyel, a famous Tibetan monk of Drukpa rulssing in Tibet entered Bhutan and unified the country. He established a theocracy and became its Supreme heads. But the government Ugen Wanchock of tongs province affected the Shabdrung institution and established absolute hereditary monarch in Bhutan. Sir Ugen Wanchock who established the

Wanchuck dynasty is still present in Bhutan. The present king is the 4th hereditary monarch of the Wanchock dynasty.

A human rights record in Bhutan is extremely poor. The government does not recognize the citizen's fundamental freedoms and civil liberties. The people are not allowed to wear even the dresses of their choice, right to enjoy own cultures, right to speech and expression, no right of publication and press, no right to form association's union's organizations etc. The disposed royal advisory councilor Mr. Teknath Rijal went into exile to work for the attainment of human rights of the Bhutanese people under his chairmanship, the people's forum for Human Rights of the Bhutanese people. Under his chairmanship, the people's forum for human rights, in Bhutan were forced to exile in Nepal. Unfortunately Mr. Rizal along with his fellow activists, were abducted from Nepal in 16 Nov. 1989 and incarcerated in Bhutanese persons on 19 Nov. 1993, the High Court of Bhutan sentenced to life imprisonment on the charge of violating the national security act adopted in 1992. However, on 19 Nov. 1993 the king repealed the life sentence and said that Mr. Rijal would be released after a solution to the Bhutanese problem is found. After ten years of rigorous imprisonment, Mr. Rizal, along with 200 other prisoners including 40 political prisoners were released on notational day of Bhutan from the prison on 17 Dec 1999.

After the incarceration of many human rights activist, the human rights problem in Bhutan intensified further. On 2 June 1990 the Bhutan's people party was formed in exile in India to work for political reforms in Bhutan. The party submitted its demand charter to his majesty the king Jigme Shngye Wanchock on 26 August 1990, demanding constitutional monarchy with multi party democracy and many other reforms. In an interview with an Indian journalist Ms. Antra Dev Sen. the king said " I am not opposed to

democracy or any political changes..... The political system of Bhutan will never be safe in the hands of one individual..... I believe that every problems-political, economic or social.....can be resolved through sincere dialogue. I am ready for it as long as their demands do not jeopardize with security and well being of Bhutan". His majesty's view however do not appear to have changed life in Bhutan. The BPP, frustrated with kind words and in action, organized a mass rally throughout southern Bhutan and some parts of eastern Bhutan to press their demands at the end of 1990.

As people thronged the streets demanding human rights and democracy, the Royal Government branding all activist and the supporters of the movement as anti-nationals, sent the Royal Bhutan army to cross the movement. Being given carte blanche, (complete authority) the RBA had field day. The consequences were appalling arbitrary arrests, torture, rape, intimidation, harassment, arson, loot demolition of houses and confiscation of citizenship cards by the RGoB. The royal government also imposed economic sanctions in southern Bhutan depriving the people of basic day to day necessities.

The minority Buddhist monarchy has sought harassment to the ethnic population living in southern Bhutan under the slogan "One nation one people" in 1988. But this slogan was unbearable for the 49% of the Nepali ethnic Bhutanese people. The multi ethnic, multi cultural, Nepal ethnic Bhutanese could not follow the "one nation one people" policy of Bhutan government. Under this policy every people of Bhutan should follow the same culture, religion, language, dress etc. This means that they didn't have any liberty and human rights of celebrating festival customs, religions, wearing dresses, marriage system etc. Nepali ethnic Bhutanese people protested the government policy and the government evicted the people from

Bhutan by using military force thinking it as an anti national task and terrorism. (AHURA, 1995)

The first mass exodus of Bhutanese refugee began after the crack down of 1990 peace protests. They took asylum in neighboring west Bengal and Assam State of India. Repeated requests to the government of west-Bengal, Assam, Central government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Office in New Delhi failed to produce any positive humanitarian response. The central government of Indian refused to recognize the Bhutanese asylum seekers as refugees. Throughout 1990 and beginning of 1991, the refugees lived on the Indian soil without any help from anywhere. Finally, when it became difficult to survive in India due to the lack of any relief assistance, the first batch of refugee entered Nepal in the first quarters of 1991. The refugee's influx to Nepal rose rapidly after they were forcibly evicted from Assam by the Indian forces in July 1991. The small number of refugees of about 450 in July 1991 rose at an alarming rate to reach 20,000 by January 1992 that continued increasing throughout 1992 to reach a figure of 80,000. The influx continued throughout 1993 and 1994 in small numbers. Between January to March 1995 about 500 Bhutanese asylum seekers have entered Nepal. Though exact figure on refugee population in the India is not available, it is estimated that between 15,000 to 20,000 refugees are in Indian soil.

Ever since the presence of the large number of the Bhutanese refugee in Jhapa and Morong districts, the host-community have been negatively affected. Here are basically deal with negative impacts, viz, social, economics, environmental, hygienic and psychological, on the local community. One of the greatest negative impacts that the local people have experienced is the continual loss of employment opportunities of agricultural

and construction laborers. By and large, unemployment has been a serious problem due to the presence of a large number of Bhutanese refugees.

Sanitation around the refugee campus is deteriorating due to the widespread open defecation on the grazing land, degraded forest, irrigation canals and riverbanks. Such pollution of the local environment has contributed to the increment of mosquito population and there exists a possibility of the spread of epidemic diseases such as measles, cholera, dysentery, diarrhea, encephalitis, and meningitis. They are dropping off the water table and deforestation/forest degradation. At Beldangi and Khudunabari locations, local people reported that their wells and shallow tube have been gradually drying up and they attribute this dropping of the water table to the deep brotels that have been made for the distribution of water to the refugees. The wells and shallow wells have a depth between 15 and 20 feet. Therefore, the local people have surmised that sinking the deep boreholes has contributed to the dropping of the water table because the source of the water at the camps and adjoining villages is the same.

In terms of psychological health, local people living in the vicinity of the refugee camps have been negatively affected. Key informants and even ordinary farmers and women unanimously reported that daily they fear social insecurity. Prior to the presence of the refugees, they did not have these sorts of fear. They could close the doors of their houses and work in their kitchen garden and paddy fields. They could go the local bazaar but now one member of the family always has to be in the house to prevent the possibility of being robbed. During the night, they have to more watchful and alert than before. Similarly women formerly could go to the forest to find fuel wood and take care of their animals without any sense of insecurity or fear now the situation has changed. One can see a group of the refugees' men and women roaming

in the forest to collect fuel wood for sale and consumption. Local Nepalese women have difficulty going to the forest in-groups because they have their one domestic chore and farming activities to perform. Now they feel that if they go alone, they may be robbed or even sexually harassed. (New ERA, 1993)

To solve the refugee problem first joint ministerial level meeting held in Oct. 1993 in Kathmandu. The refugees were placed into 4 categories namely Bhutanese citizen, forcibly evicted, Bhutanese who have voluntarily immigrated, non-Bhutanese. The talk held in Kathmandu from 27 Feb to March 2nd 1995 ended without reaching any agreement. The sixth round of talks held in Thimpu from April 17 to 20 recently ended without reaching any agreement on refugee repatriation.

The main politics behind categorization is two folds, one to prolong the repatriating issue and second to accept back only a few of them. Since the southern Bhutanese are of the same origin as people in Nepal who speak the same language and practice. The same culture, the Bhutanese side's expectations is, if the issue is prolonged for a long time then, the refugees would opt for assimilation into Nepali society out of frustration and disappear. The Bhutanese citizenship and immigrations laws prescribe that while a Bhutanese has the right to leave the county, once he does so. He forfeits Bhutanese citizenship and cannot return. Since bulk of refugees fall under the second category of the so called voluntary emigrants the Bhutan regime expects to accept back only a few of them by outright rejections to take back the people in the second category. The stand of the Bhutan regime has been to accept only those falling under first category of forcibly evicted people. (PFHRB)

Though 9th bilateral talks were held between Nepal and Bhutan, it did not achieve any improvement except categorization of the refugees in four categories during the first talk in 1993. There was no improvement in this problem. Ninth bilateral talk spent ten years period to fix the data and time for the next meeting without any achievements and progress. Bhutan government has not approached to solve this problem; instead Bhutan was lingering and presented only its own problem. It was clear that the Bhutan government was not interested to solve the problem. After 9th bilateral talk the representatives of International Human Rights Organizations and assistant foreign minister of USA visited the refugee camp of Jhapa and Morang. They studied the actual condition of refugees and they were identified globally. The Human Rights Organization and former president of USA Mr. Bill Clinton suggested the Bhutanese king and government to solve the problem as soon as possible. In accordance with the advice of US president and human rights organization, the Royal Government of Bhutan showed interest to solve this problem on time. To solve the refugee problem the 10th bilateral talk has been held on 27th December 2000 in Kathmandu deciding to form the joint verification committee to identify the refugees. In the Nepalese committee Mrs. Usha Nepal, the joint secretary of home ministry has been leading the five members committee. DR. Sonam Tensing has been already visited all the seven camps of Jhapa and Morang. The joint Nepal-Bhutan verification teams have decided to start the verification of almost one Lakh Bhutanese refugees from the last week of February 2001. The 10th round talk between Nepal and Bhutan made the refugees very hopeful for repatriation to their homeland Bhutan. So, we can conclude that 10th round bilateral talk between Bhutan and Nepal have become very hopeful than other past nine bilateral talks to solve the present Bhutanese refugee problem.

In conclusions, the refugee issue remains inconclusive despite many rounds of high level talks. The refugees actually want to return to their native land but there are no effective solutions. Repatriation is not possible until there is multi lateral talk. Indian could play an important role of repatriate the refugees staying in Nepal but India is not taking the issue seriously until data. Rehabilitation is also not a permanent solution. Nepal is not in the condition to bear the burden of about one-lakh refugees since there is an internal problem of displaced people.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodology in Research

This part has been clarified the methodological approaches applied in the study and contain a description on how data were collected and analyzed. It is a critical review of what was done and what could have been done differently to enhance the reliability and the validity of the data and analysis. The methodological approach of a study and is related to the theoretical approach and also influenced by the personal views of the researcher, as well as the nature of the research problem and of the context in which data are to be collected.

This chapter had also described techniques and procedure adopted by the researcher to complete the total research work. The study entitled "The Socio-Economic and Environmental Impact of Bhutanese Refugee of Beldangi Camps in Damak Municipality of Jhapa District.

3.2 Research Design

This research had been carried out on the basis of exploratory and descriptive research designs because the study was focused on the investigation of the socio economic and environmental impact of Bhutanese refugees of Beldangi camps in Damak Jhapa.

The exploratory research design explored the socio-economic and environment impacts of Bhutanese refugees on the local community. Similarly, the descriptive research described the causes of influx in the host community.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data Collection

i) Primary Data

The primary data had been collected directed directly from the surrounding people selected by simple random selection method.

ii) Secondary Data

Secondary data had agglomerated through various journal, bulletin, book and web sites etc. Basically secondary data were derived from different authorized sources that are given below:

- a. Tribhuvan University Library, Kirtipur
- b. Refugee Coordination Unit, Chandragadi, Jhapa
- c. United Nation High Commission for Refugee. Maharajganj
- d. World Food Program, Damak, Jhapa
- e. Nepal Red Cross, Society Damak, Jhapa
- f. Caritas Nepal, Damak, Jhapa
- g. Lutheran World Federation Damak, Jhapa
- h. AMISA Birtamode, Jhapa
- i. VDC Report

3.4 Sampling Procedure

Beldangi refugee camps are adjoined with 3 and 5 wards of Damak municipality of Jhapa district, there, the people of ward No. 3 and 5 mostly interact with refugees all the time. There are 899 households for the universe in ward No. 3 and 5. These wards are inhabited by different religion followers, cast and ethnic groups such as Bramin, Chhetri, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Dhimal, Newar, Magar. The researcher has selected 10% of total households for the sample size, which is sufficient for the representation of the community.

The table given below shows the number of households and population of ward no.3 and 5. The researcher has selected 90 households for sampling from these wards.

Table 1
Household Number and Population by Wards

S.N.	Ward No.	Household	Sample Size 10%	Population
1.	3	342	34.2	1925
2.	5	556	56.6	3377
Total		899	89.8	5302

Source: Damak Mumicipality-2065

Since, the researcher has selected the Beldangi refugee camps as research area, 8857 households of refugee have been living since the year of 2008. It is difficult to include 10% refugees for sampling size, which goes more than 895 households of sample size. So the researcher has selected only 45 patches of houses from the three different camps.

The table shows the number of households and populations of refugee at Beldangi camps where 45 refugee households were selected for sampling.

Table 2
Number of Households and Population in Beldangi Camps

S.N.	Camps	Household	Population
1.	Beldangi I		
2.	Beldangi II		
3.	Beldangi III Ext.		
	Total		

Source: Damak Mumicipality-2065

3.5 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

Specially, this research was done as a partial fulfillment of master degree requirement of rural development department. The various sociological tools and techniques were used to collect the data during the fieldwork of three months. The tools and techniques used were as follows:

3.5.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was used to obtain the data of refugee's impact on local communities refugees and local people. They were used to collect some personal identification like, population structure i.e. age, sex, occupation, family size teary rate and various impacts of refugees, like social, economic, health and sanitation and life standard.

3.5.2 Key Informants Interview

The structural and unstructured interview was conducted with both refugees and local people with the help of checklist. These people were rich, poor, farmers, schoolteachers, leaders, shopkeepers and knowledgeable people. The checklist was used to get the information on the impact of refugees on local community and how to solve these problems. Refugees were interviewed to know their condition in camps, how they were evicted and what is their aim. Checklist was also used to collect information from agencies, which are involved to help and support refugees, to get information of refugee's impacts, mitigation and their activities for refugees and local people.

3.5.3 Field Visit and Observation

Each selected group in sample have visited randomly and observed the socio-economic and environmental impact of Bhutanese refugee of Beldangi camps in Damak municipality at Jhapa district. Finally the collected data will be shown by pie chart.

3.5.4 Focused Group Discussion

Focused group meeting were conducted with both, the refugees and the local people. The topic discussed with how refugees were evicted from their land, what kind of torture were given to them by RGoB, how is their condition at present and conflict with local people. And local people were asked to give more points on the impacts of refugees on their natural resources, social activities, economic condition health and sanitation, market price etc. The participants were wage laborers, school teachers, farmers, leaders, shopkeepers and knowledgeable people. In total, four group meetings were held with group size of 10 to 15 respondents in each discussion.

3.5.5 Classification of Data and Editing

The collected data from study area were classified according to the nature and characteristics, unnecessary data were a voided while editing collected data.

3.5.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data, which were collected through various methods, were analyzed technically with both qualitatively and quantitatively. Basically, qualitative data were analyzed and interpreted descriptively. The quantitative data were processed by relevant tabulation and tables to make the study more meaningful, attached the interview had taken in appendix from the side of refugee which will be sufficient to reflect the condition. The collected data were analyzed with the help of simple hand tabulation. The chart groups and data tables were formed with the help of computer program.

CHAPTER-IV

STUDY AREA DESCRIPTION

4.1 Study Location and Local Community

Damak municipality lies in the eastern part of Nepal and western part of Jhapa district. Ratuwa and Mawa River in border it east and west respectively. There are 19 wards in Damak municipality and total population is 75068 (source Damak municipality). Refugee's camp of Beldangi is adjoining with 3 and 5 wards of Damak municipality. It lies in the lap of the churia hills, which was covered with thick jungle of Sisow and Sakhuwa and small bushes before the arrival of the refugees. Local people used to graze the cattle, collect firewood and grass from the jungle.

Beldangi is about 8 km north from the Mahendra Highway of Damak. There are three camps in Beldangi. They are Beldangi 1, Beldangi 2, and Beldangi 2 extension. The total population of this camp is 57081. The added population of refugee's 57081 so the total population of Damak is more than one lakh, which has, created many problems in these areas.

The total number of males and females in Damak municipality is presented in table below.

The Total Population of Damak Municipality

Table 1

Male population	Female population	Total
37983	37085	75068

Source: Damak Municipality-2065

4.2 Climate

Beldangi refugee camp is situated at northern part of Damak municipality of Jhapa district, which is 300 meters high from the sea level. It has sub tropical climate. The average temperature of Jhapa in summer season is 36 degree Celsius and the average temperature of winter season is 15 degree Celsius, and average rainfall of Jhapa districts is 2300mm. The above average temperature shows that Jhapa district is very hot in summer and very cold in winter season. The Beldangi refugee camp has same climatic condition as mentioned above.

4.3 Study of the Characteristics of Local Community Surface with the Refugee

It is important to mention that Terai districts are highly infected by malaria and Jhapa is not an exception from it. Being frightened by malaria people did not dare to migrate Jhapa, after eradication of malaria in Jhapa in 1950, the influx of people from hilly region of Nepal and different states of India became very high. The population of Damak is composed by different ethnic groups like Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, Rai, Limbu, Dhimal, Kumal, Bhujel, Tamang etc. Different occupations like agriculture government service, business, labour is occupied by the people of Damak etc. the religions followed by the community people are Hindu, Bhddha, Christ, Muslim, Kirat etc.

4.4 Demographic Structure of the Study Area

The researcher has chosen the refugee camp of Jhapa, which is situated in the northern part of Damak municipality. Although the refugee occupy various zone of Damak. The researcher has chosen only ward 3 and ward 5 of Damak. These adjoining wards are highly affected by refugee camps.

The total population of male and female in the ward chosen is presented below.

The Total Population of Research Community is given below

Table 2

Ward No.	No. of H.H	Male population	Female population	Total Population
3	342	994	931	1925
5	557	1747	1630	3377
Total	899	2741	2561	5302

Source: Damak municipality-2065

The above table 2 shows the total population of community under research. They are directly facing many problems created by the refugees. According to the above table refugee of Beldangi camp directly affects a total population of 5302 from 899 households.

CHAPTER V

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The agglomerated data were analyzed by various methods as already described already in chapter on.

5.1 Demographic and Socio-Economic characteristics or respondent outside the Beldangi Camp (local people)

5.1.1 A Distribution of Community People by Ethnicity and Caste is presented below

Table 3

S.N.	Caste groups	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Brahman	32	35.5
2.	Chhetri	21	23.3
3.	Tamang	7	7.8
4.	Limbu /Subba	13	14.4
6.	Magar	3	3.3
7.	Rajbansi	9	10
8.	Satar	5	5.5
Total		90	100

Source: Field Survey 2065

Different ethnic groups compose the community of the research area. Most of the people of Beldangi have migrated form hilly region of eastern part of Nepal and from Assam too. Table 1 shows that the highest participant is form Brahman, which is 35.5% of total population.

5.1.2 A Distribution of Population According to Religion Belief is presented below

Table 4

S.N.	Religion	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Hindu	65	72.2
2.	Buddhist	15	16.7
3.	Kirat	5	5.5
4.	Christ	5	5.5
Total		90	100

Source: Field Survey 2065

Being a multi-culture, multi-religions and multilingual society. Neplai people have been following different religion in Nepal. It is clearly seen from the table 4 that about 72.2% of total population follow Hindu culture, 16.7% believe in Buddhist, 5.5% in kirat and about 5.5% in Christian's culture.

5.1.3 A Distribution of Respondent According to Educational Status in as shown bellows

Table 5

S.N.	Education	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Primary	35	38.9
2.	Secondary	26	28.9
3.	Inter	14	15.5
4.	Bachelor	11	12.2
5.	Master	4	4.4
Total		90	100

Source: Field Survey 2065

Education plays a vital role on the development of a country. Educated citizen of a country can lead the country to the path of progress. So it is considered as a backbone of a country.

It is clearly seen that about 38.9% of respondents are of primary educational level, 28.9% are of secondary level, 15.5% are of intermediate level, 12.2% are of Bachelor's level and about 4.4% are of master's level.

5.1.4 A Distribution of Respondent According to their Occupation in as shown bellows

Table 6

S.N.	Occupation	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Farmer	42	46.7
2.	Student	20	22.2
3.	Job	8	8.9
4.	Business	14	15.5
5.	Labour	6	6.7
Total		90	100

Source: Field Survey 2065

It is seen the highest percentages of respondent are farmer and the least are labour.

5.1.5 A Distribution of Respondent According to their Condition of Security Before and After Establishment Refugees Camp is presented below

Table 7

S.N.	Security	No. of Household		Percentage	
		Before	After	Before	After
1.	Good	55	18	61.1	20
2.	Normal	28	46	31.1	51.1
3.	Bad	7	26	7.8	28.9
Total		90	90	100	100

Source: field survey, 2065

Table 7 shows the security condition was better before establishment of camp. Now a days they were explain that situation of security is not good enough.

5.1.6 A Distribution of Respondent According to Un-social Activities after the Establishment of Camp in as shown bellows

Table 8

S.N.	Sex Activities	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Sex trade	8	8.9
2.	Smuggling	13	14.4
3.	Thieves	37	41.1
4.	Quarreling	6	6.7
5.	Other	26	28.8
Total		90	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Table 8 provides the information that all of un-social activities like sex trade, smuggling, thieves quarreling etc are happening in the neighboring area. Moreover 41-1 percent are thieves in this area.

5.1.7 Distribution of Respondent According to the Changes Experiences in Agriculture Sector after the Arrival of Refugees

Table 9

S.N.	Experience	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Agriculture field works	38	42.2
2.	Post harvest work	13	14.4
3.	Livestock farming	18	20
4.	Market for production	14	15.5
5.	Other	7	7.8
Total		90	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

It is clearly seen from the table 9 that the agricultural production has increased after the arrival of refugee. As a result, people enjoy double benefit of increased production with low labour cost.

5.1.8 A Distribution of Respondent According to Manages Household Cooking Fuel after the Establishment of the Refugee Camp in as shown bellows

Table 10

S.N.	Cooking fuel	No. of Household		Percentage	
		Before	After	Before	After
1.	Kerosene	20	14	22.2	15.5
2.	Forest	26	12	28.9	13.3
3.	Gobar Gas	9	13	10	14.4
4.	Solar	6	12	6.7	12.2
5.	L.P. Gas	7	11	7.8	13.3
6.	Bio-briquettes	12	20	13.3	22.2
7.	Other	10	8	11.1	8.9
Total		90	90	100	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

The table 10 refers the consumption of every commodity before and after the refugee camps were established. It shows that energy the than used in this area had significantly. This also indicates forest resources were divided to refugee also.

5.1.9 A Distribution of Respondent According to Environmental Problem have been appeared after the Establishment of Refugee Camps is presented in table bellow

Table 11

S.N.	Environmental problems	No. of Household		Percentage	
		Before	After	Before	After
1.	Wind Pollution	13	7	14.4	7.8
2.	Water Pollution	14	25	15.5	27.8
3.	Sound Pollution	9	9	10	10
4.	Soil Pollution	8	12	8.9	13.3
5.	Air Pollution	5	10	16.7	11.1
6.	Smoke Pollution	14	8	15.5	8.9
7.	Sewage Pollution	17	19	18.9	21.1
Total		90	90	100	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

This table 11 indicates the environmental problems in this area based on household's survey. It shows that environmental condition is deteriorating day by day.

5.2 Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents inside the Beldangi Refugee Camp

5.2.1 A Distribution of Respondent According to Caste/Ethnicity in Beldangi Refugee Camp is presented bellow

Table 12

S.N.	Caste/ Ethnicity	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Brahman	23	51.1
2.	Chhetri	8	17.8
3.	Rai	4	8.9
4.	Limbu	3	6.7
5.	Kami	3	6.7
6.	Gurung	2	4.4
7.	Subba	1	2.2
8.	Magar	1	2.2
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Bhutan is a country of heterogeneous society like Nepal. Sixteen different ethnic groups were living peace and harmony but the policy of RGOB 'one nation one people' suppressed the feeling.

Table 12 shows that the highest proportion of respondents from Brahman with 51.1 percent which is followed b Chhetri 17.8 percent and Rai, Limbu, kami with 8.9 percent 6.7 percent, 6.7 percent respectively of total respondents.

5.2.2 Distribution of Respondent Population According to Causes of Entering into Nepal

Table 13

S.N.	Causes	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Social	2	4.4
2.	Economic	1	2.2
3.	Political	35	77.8
4.	All	7	15.5
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Above mention table 13 reflects us political issue is main cause of entering Nepal, however other factors also are supportable.

5.2.3 A Distribution of Respondent According Religions in Beldangi Refugee Camp is presented bellow

Table 14

S.N.	Religion	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Hindu	27	60
2.	Buddhist	8	17.8
3.	Kirat	6	13.3
4.	Christ	4	8.9
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Refugee people are following different religions, there is religion variation in the camps but they seem liberal. Table 14 shows 60 percent of the total households adhered to Hinduism. 17.8 percent was Buddhist, 13.3 percent Kirat and rest 8.9 percent is Christ.

5.2.4 A Distribution of Respondent According to their Education Status in Bhutanese Refugee Camps is presented bellow

Table 15

S.N.	Educational	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Primary	15	33.3
2.	Secondary	13	28.9
3.	Inter	10	22.2
4.	Bachelor	6	13.3
5.	Master	1	2.2
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Table 13 shows the educational status of respondents among the respondents only 13.3 percent studies Bachelor level where as 33.3 percent study primary level. There is 2.2 percent in M.A. level. It indicates improving condition of educational status.

5.2.5 Distribution of Respondent According to their Occupation had you Adopted in Bhutan

Table 16

S.N.	Occupation	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Farmer	30	66.7
2.	Business	6	13.3
3.	Government Job	5	11.1
4.	Labour	4	8.9
5.	Other	0	0
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Table 16 shows the information about occupational status of respondents. It revealed from the table, those 66.7 percent of respondents an involved in Farmer similarly 13.3 percent, 11.1 percent and 8.9 percent an in Business, Government Job and Labour sector respectively.

5.2.6 Distribution of Respondent According to Fulfillment of Family Needs by Doing Assistant Work

Table 17

S.N.	Assistant Work	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Private Job	8	17.8
2.	Camps Service	17	37.8
3.	Business	5	11.1
4.	Labour	12	26.6
5.	Other	3	6.6
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Table 17 shows the information about the respondents fulfill the needs of family by doing assistant works in the camp which reflects 37.8 percent are involved in Camp Service 26.6 percent are involved in Labour works. Where as 17.8 percent, 11.1 percent, 6.6 percent respondent has involved in Private Job, Business and other works respectively.

5.2.7 Distribution of Respondent Population Spending Feeling within the Camp is presented bellow

Table 18

S.N.	Feeling	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	Studying	22	48.9
2.	Working	13	28.9
3.	Doing nothing	2	4.4
4.	Working outside the camp	8	17.8
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

Table 18 shows that a majority of 48.9 percent of respondents are spending time by studying 28.9 percent participant reported that they spent their time by working at home. Similarly 17.8 percent and 4.4 percent respondent respectively spend their time by working outside the camp and doing nothing.

5.2.8 Distribution of Respondent According to Economic Status in Bhutan and now in the Refugee Camp

Table 19

S.N.	Economic Status	No. of H.H	Percentage
1.	High Sufficient	9	20
2.	Middle Manageable	19	42.2
3.	Low Insufficient	7	15.5
4.	Subsistent Difficult to Survival	10	22.2
Total		45	100

Source: Field Survey, 2065

According to the economic status refugees are classified into four groups, high, middle, low and subsistent. Table 19 shows that 42.2 percent respondents are in middle class. Similarly 22.2 percent, 20 percent have seen subsistent and high economic status on before in Bhutan.

5.3 Living Status and The Common Activities of the Refugee Community

Bhutanese refugees are living in small huts constructed by UNHCR and they get their daily meals by ration provided by world food programme (WFP). They are spanning their lives in compact and crowd settlement, huts.

Basic Ration Provided to Refugees

S.N.	Items	Quantity (gram/person)	Duration
1.	Rice	400	Per day
2.	Pulses	40	Per day
3.	Chana	20	Per day
4.	Vegetable oil	25	Per day
5.	Sugar	75	Per day
6.	Onion	100	Per week
7.	Potato	300	Per week
8.	Ginger	80	Per month
9.	Soap	2 washing, 1 bathing (1.5 member)	Per month
10.	Soap	3 washing, 2 bathing (6.11 member)	Per month
11.	Soap	4 washing, 3 bathing (12.17 member)	Per month
12.	Soap	5 washing, 4 bathing (18 above)	Per month
13.	Kerosene	1 litre (for head of family)	Per week
14.	Kerosene	½ litre (for all other member)	Per week
15.	Salt	7.5	Per day

Source: NRCS, Damak 2005

Every time there is a threat of ration deduction. As the population is increasing, family size and feeding members are also increasing. Consequently, burden rises to meet the requirements. Among the sampled household, about 84% said, ration is not sufficient to them and remaining 161, family said they hardly manage their two times meal given by ration. Those families whose requirements are not fulfill by the given ration are compelled to meet their requirements by purchasing from the market outside

the camp. There is no special provision for old, sick and pregnant women. They eat what the general mass is provided. A kind of nutritious powder food has been distributed to babies aged below one year and unalterable mothers.

5.3.1 Food Habits:

The main Bhutanese diet comprises of rice, dried beef or pork and chillies sometimes cooked with Dasthi. The preference of chillies on the part of Bhutanese dish is quite well known Sooja (Ghee mixed salt tea) is the most popular beverage in the Drukpa community where as sugar tea is the tradition of Nepalese.

The food habit of the Lhothampas, however, differs from the central, western and eastern Bhutanese. Lhothasampas food habits generally resemble those of the Nepalese in Nepal, Sikkim and Darjeeling. They generally prefer rice, mutton curry and the meat of goats and buffalo. But after the integration policy in Bhutan some government officials and students who were mixed to the north, became familiar in Emadasthi culture, beef and sooja to some extent. But there was restriction in Hindu culture on the south. However, the national curry Emadasthi and Sooja were also to be tasted except beef which was normally adopted even in the Hindu culture.

At present, the food habit of the refugees has been changed. They are provided dal, rice and curry as in their culture. The ingredients and quality is different i.e. boiled rice back to there home and the local host situation just to meet their livelihood. In hygienic point of view, it is more digestive but does not match with their traditional culture.

The refugees are deeply tied up on their traditional culture, which had influenced their way of life and their food habits and condition. Begging by the outsiders in the refugee's camps was the chronic issue, which directly

reduced the given stock of food material. Due to this, the refugees have to either cut off their daily routine or to move to collect more food. More than 60 percent refugees household complained that the given food materials are always deficient except young child on the family. The food items are always the same i.e. Dal, Bhat, Tarkari very few people who can earn more money, can substitute their food varieties. The food habits is similar to the local Nepalese, however, they are more similar among the groups. Some mongoloids families were taking alcohol in their huts that were easily observable.

5.3.2 Dress

Members of different ethnic groups insisted emphatically and repeatedly the application of the code of national dress (gho and kira) in Bhutan after the introduction of Driglam Namza for all in Bhutan, they had started to adapt this gradually except some condition of objection. Before this the dress code was free and they used to be Daura-suruwal for men and sadi-cholo for women as their interest. When they became refugees, they became free to choose their dress and now they are visible to adapt new host society as their own interest. They are now more modernized and tip top in fit-right modern fashions in neat and clean appearances. At present, it is very difficult to identify either refugees or local people looking at their dresses. The ornaments used by the are also changed according to the host society but it was one of an indication of refugees to know them in the initial days.

5.3.3 Language

Language is the means of community but sometimes it became more important and prestigious to maintain identity and culture. Nepali language was their own ethnic language for the Lhothasampas in Bhutan. All official works and other activity were performed even in Nepali before the introduction of Driglam Namza in Bhutan and it was also taught in schools of southern Bhutan. But later, Dzongkha became compulsory which because

more difficult for the Lhothasampas. Then they gradually taught English, Dzongkha especially in educated circles. But now in the refugee condition English has become a medium of communication in school curriculum and Dzongkha is also taught and Nepali has become a medium of communication in their daily life and activities.

According to the refugees, they had improved their Nepali language while in Nepal and it is being more refined due to the more interaction with the Nepalese community. They themselves are more interactive than back to Bhutan due to their living in the camps. Nepali has become, a daily way of communication for them. Some of the migrant refugees who are influenced by the other local dialects. Due to contact of with various kinds of Nepalese society. In my course of interview, a very interesting scenario was also observed in relation to the linguistic activity. A sharchop woman (similar to Drukpa) and a man spoke fluently in Nepali in a sweet language putting their deep sense of feeling that they could not speak Nepali back in Bhutan.

They reluctantly said that they learned a lot in other languages but they are going to forget their national language, Dzongkha due to the lack of linguistic contact. The new generations are further deprived of Dzongkha but it has been included and taught in school. In the real sense, it is clearly visible of acculturation or the Bhutanese refugee's community in the host community.

5.3.4 Feasts, Festivals and Rituals

The Bhutanese refugees and the local Nepalese community both in groups and individually show a noticeable degree of culturally integrative capacity even though many of the structures and the institutions which make possible the expression and public manifestation of such integrity are still lacking in the settlement situation.

Feasts, festivals and ritual systems were more of extravagant character with freedom for the Bhutanese refugees back in Bhutan according to their own culture but it was limited in the late 80s due to the mono-cultural policy of the Bhutan government. When they come to Nepal, the situation has changed these feasts, festivals and rituals became more cost effective and adaptive in new society due to the economic and social constraints. They felt cultural freedom in their own culture but now they are changing according to the new society and the local Nepalese society is it being changed in the modernization process.

The feasts and festivals, ceremonies and rituals are functioning for the integration of social association in their respective groups as well as community such rituals and festivals tend to be more extravagant in the local community with some limits of vanity due to their economic liberalism and social freedom. The direct social association and interaction between Bhutanese refugees and the local community exist in the good ceremonies like cultural programmes, games, purar, kirtan (prayer) etc. except the economic transaction between these groups.

5.3.5 Housing Types of Settlement Pattern

Cultural and environmental diversities present in the country are distinctly reflected in pattern, types and forms of rural settlements. The refugee's settlements back in their country in southern Bhutan where the area was characterized by patches of dense population clusters having similar house type of Tarai lower hills in Nepal.

However, being the municipality area of eastern Tarai in Nepal, the Beldangi area has specially mixed rural character of compact settlements. The village is situated in the middle of a vast cultivated area feeder roads inside the village link the camp with the main road of Damak and houses are constructed in a linear pattern. There is only 3 or 4 concrete house of modern types and others are wooden two storied tin roofed houses. Some squatter

houses are bamboo made straw roof thatched types around the refugee's camps on public lands. In between refugee's camps and the local village a temporary market having open spaces of bamboo and wood made houses or shops having plastic or tin or bamboo made carpet on roofs. Most of the houses in village are small. Most of the houses have garden with coconut trees, Betel-nut tree and vegetables, toilets, cowshed and tube-wells roar pump for drinking water.

Bhutanese refugee's camp is a unique type of settlement. Since it is temporary, it is unplanned in the beginning but now it is a planned agglomeration of living units. There are residential character have no industry or the commercial structure. The houses are all hut types made by bamboo materials and thatches. Later the houses /huts were gradually managed in a planned way with narrow lane between the huts. Each lane is linked to the main open space as a way or road. In each hut, there are limited spaces, which are used for kitchen gardening, but it is not found at the beginning. These huts are partitioned for various uses i.e. kitchen, bedrooms, dining room lab some where and some space outside the shade etc. Some of the houses are well decorated by the handicrafts made of bamboo i.e. drawer table, tools and other materials outside the hut there is bamboo made structures used for toilets. The sanitary provisions for waste disposals are well maintain.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES ON LOCAL COMMUNITY

A number of Refugees entered Nepal through the eastern gate of Nepal, Kakarvita since 1990. That they settled in the bank of Kankai River until the number was not very high. But the arrival was continued and the place became inadequate to the increasing number of refugees. Then the government planned to settle the refugees in different seven camps in Jhapa and Morang districts.

A big numbers of Refugees are in Nepal for last seventeen years. Nepal has been facing different kinds of refugee problems from then. Nepal is a poor country, which is not been able to solve its even inner problems. Thus, Bhutanese refugees have become another problem for Nepal. Host communities and whole Nepal has been negatively affected and Nepalese people have been facing lots of negative impacts. These impacts are clearly visible in the economic, environment, health and sanitation sectors. About 50 percent of the total population of Bhutanese refugees are living at Beldangi Camps and they affect Beldangi people.

The researcher has chosen Beldangi refugee camp as his research area to study the socio-economic and environment impacts of Bhutanese refugees on local communities of Damak 3 and 5 wards. Different unsociable activities such as burglary, loot, prostitution, rape, boot legging, illegal trade unemployment problem have been increased in Damak Municipality for seventeen years due to the presence of refugees. The local business, educational institution and agencies are also been affected due to the presence of refugees. Many ecological problems have been appeared since 1991. The

local forests have been cut down firewood are no longer available and grazing grounds are almost occupied. The increases in population have added the problem of pollution. The settlement lacks systematic sewerage. Due to this Sewage over flows in the rainy season and its spreading near by settlement, various diseases such as typhoid, diarrhea, jaundice and others visceral diseases appeared in the society. To cure and control such diseases the only one small hospital of Damak, AMDA cannot give high level service to more than 50,000 local people of Damak.

A large number of refugee students is studying in Damak campus but this campus is unable to provide the desk bench and classroom for the local pupils. So, the added refugee pupils have become a burden for the local campus. As a result, the quality of education of this campus is decreasing day by day. From every angle, the local people of Damak have been bearing many problems created by the refugees.

6.1 Social Impacts of Refugees on Local Community

After the establishment of a refugee camp in Damak at Beldangi, the social impacts have been increasing very rapidly in these areas. Local people of this area state that gambling, prostitution, alcoholism, women trafficking, weapons making and supplying, drug addiction, illegal business are increasing in the last seventeen years. Every night the people of this community have been suffering from robbery and motor cycle, pots, animals, grains are being stolen from the community. The main problem of this is the similarity in face and language between refugees and local people.

Beldangi people have claimed that the thefts have much increased at Beldangi and Damak Bazar, after arrival of Bhutanese refugees than before. Beldangi people left grazing their animals near the jungle after arrival of the Bhutanese refugees. It is very risky to take the cattle's in jungle for grazing.

One farmer of ward no. 5, Bir Bahadur, was very sad because last year his cow died due to long stick, which was inserted through her vagina in the jungle. He claimed that it was done by Bhutanese refugees because they eat beef and he added, Nepali people never do such kind of sins because cow is our goddess. And a leg of a cow was cut few days ago, crops such as paddy and corn are stolen from the field. Similarly, bicycles, motorcycle, clothes, cattle, households goods etc. are stolen very frequently. These days no one keeps the above mentioned things on the ground floor of the house. They are kept on the first floor, where the thieves have relative difficulty in stealing because the entrance gate of the first floor is properly locked or closed. And local people do not dare to go the jungle alone. Most of the females are looted their ornaments. It is very difficult to walk alone on the road when it falls dark.

Most of the village respondents claimed that prostitution was another growing problem at Beldangi. It is clear that large number of young refugee girls have no jobs. They have plenty of time and desire to wear good clothes, cosmetics and watch movies. However, these things are not provided by the agencies to them. To purchase these things and to watch cinema they are engaged in the prostitution, which assist their necessities. For these task hotels, schools building and government offices are being used. To become a prostitute is not their desire, they're supplementary. Now a day it has become a fashion and a mean of relaxation and fulfillment of sexual desires. The local leader of Beldangi states that for the purpose of prostitution, many people of different parts of Jhapa and Morang reach Beldingi camps. They take the Beldangi area as the center of prostitution. An old man of Beldangi bitterly says that people have lost norms and values of the culture. They don't have fear and shame. They become busy in jungle of Beldangi for sexual intercourse even in the daytime.

Beldangi area has become the center of alcoholism. There are no restrictions in making, selling and distribution of alcohol. People of both communities (refugee and local community) are openly distributing, drinking and alcohol at Beldangi. There are many shops that sell home made alcohol i.e. "Jaad and Raksi" along the adjoining roadsides of Bhutanese refugees camps of Beldangi. In this Bazar people drink alcohol, become intoxicated and walk imbalancly from one side to another side of the road. For this reason it is known as "Bange Bazar". Before the settlements of the refugees, there were only a few shops that sold "Jaad and Raksi". When the refugee camp was established the shop number of selling alcohol also increased by more than ten times. Intoxicated with alcohol, the drunkards start to quarrel among themselves. Sometimes quarrel taken place between the community people and refugee. Sometimes the drunkards are arrested by the police and punished well, but the numbers of such people have not reduced.

The refugee people have always-free time. They come to the market and play cards with the local people. The refugees as well as local children that surround them to watch their gambling are imitating their bad habits, which inspire them to play cards. The educated people, teachers, leaders and gentlemen are worried to save their children and students from these bad habits, which is a major path to lead there to darkness. The police report shows that the refugees have been engaged in different illegal and unsociable tasks. They have been engaged in the preparation of home made weapons. Murder, supply of duplicate money in the market, beating the duty police etc have cleared impacts of the refugees on local community.

6.2 Economic Impacts of Refugees on Local Community

The Beldangi people are severely affected by negative economic impacts due to the influx of Bhutanese refugees. Bhutanese refugees affect

most of the farmers and wage labourers. There are not any rules and regulations and strictness for Bhutanese refugees. They can do, whatever they like, and there is great difficulties to distinguish between Nepalese and Bhutanese because their dress, language, caste, appreance, tradition, habits are some as of Nepali. And they can do all kinds of job. So, unemployment is the big problem at Beldangi and Damak Bazar. The daily wage laborers are highly exploited by Bhutanese refugees. One time the local labours got angry and did strike at Damak Bazar but it wasn't effective.

According to key informants of refugees and local labours it was reported that the rate of Bhutanese was 50 percent less than that of local labourers. So, the local people use only Bhutanese refugees. The standard daily wage is Rs. 50 of local laborers but refugees work for Rs. 20 at Beldangi and Damak Bazar. And local labourers wage rate hasn't raised above Rs. 50 since last three years. In cropping time, there has been seen many groups of Bhutanese refugees workers in the field. Similarly, they also work on many sectors like, construction of road and buildings. Teaching in private boarding school, rickshaw pulling etc. consequently the local laborers are in very pitiable condition, their hands to mouth source has been grabbed by Bhutanese refugees. Bhutanese refugees have been provided food commodities by agencies but local labourers have to buy everything for livelihood. Thus, the poor local labourers have to complete with the foreigners. Seeking out their livelihood is their own country. If this problem is not seriously acknowledged, it might contribute to unwanted incident between the local people and the refugees.

Another economic involvement of the refugees is as a teacher in the private boarding which has exploited the local educated people because the refugee people work in very little salary. Refugee technician has been working in driving and other technical field. They have also exploited the

local technician. The main economic impact of the refugees on the local community is the high market price due to the presence of the refugees. The price of the local production increased very rapidly after the presence of refugees. The price of daily needed things like vegetables, milk, card, butter, fruits, meat, fire wood and is highly increased.

The local farmers claimed that the grain production is getting lower and lower since five years. From the every angle, the local people are affected economically by the refugees. The rich refugees have been conducting big business and trade in Jhapa and Morang. They have also been engaged in conducting night buses and trucks. They have reached everywhere of Nepal to conduct their business. In local community some refugees have been conducting language and computer institute. The refugees are even conducting hotels and lodges in Damak chowk. The refugee doctors and nurses are not only working as a physician and nurse in AMDA hospital but also conducting private clinics in Damak. The refugee supporting agencies employs the refugee drivers and technicians. The all above stated description clears that refugee's people exploited the local people in every field.

6.3 Environmental Impact of Refugees on Local Community

The local people reported that there is a serious environmental impact after the arrival of refugees. Local people are facing both visible and invisible environmental impacts.

The invisible environmental problems of Beldangi have appeared since 1991. Local people of village community have claimed that the wells, shallow tube wells, agricultural and non agricultural land have been drying up day by day due to the deep bore holes of drinking water supplied for refugees local people state that their agricultural production has been decreasing yearly. If the water is supplied all day for the refugees, the level of water in the well

and the dryness of the land would increase. The community people added that they had not faced such type of environmental crises before the presence of refugees. They accused that the causes of dryness is deep bore holes of drinking water supplied for the refugees, which soaked all the water sources of that area.

The major environmental impact on local community is deforestation. The forest degradation problem became very high when the refugees were shifted from Maidhar to Beldangi. In the beginning of settlement of refugee camp in Beldangi, the agencies cleared all the plants of Sal and Sissow. The wild animals and birds also disappeared. The regularly agencies did not supply the fuel regularly and the refugees were compelled to bring the firewood from the local jungle even though there is restriction to enter and cut the trees for fire wood. Sometimes the refugees entered in the local jungle and cut the trees and wooden items to sell and for domestic use. Especially they cut firewood to save the kerosene, which they could sell in the local market for supplementary income. The president of "Hangse Dhumse" community forest says that there is no restriction for the refugees to enter the jungle and there is no compound boundary and fence in the refugee camp. About 50,000 refugee could not be inspected at a time, says forest guard. The president of community forest said that the forest of the local area was very big and thick in the beginning of the settlement of the refugees. Both now it has been deforested by the refugees. The deforestation has not only increased landslide but also converted fertile land into sandy and rocky.

The water pollution has also increased after the settlement of refugee camps in Beldangi. The canal and paini follows from the central part of the refugee camp. It has become the drain for the refugees. They use the canal to clean their clothes, pots and they mix the outlet of the septic tank stool of the children, which spreads many kind of transmitted diseases. The people used

to drink water from those canals before the presence of the refugees. Now it has become filthy and dirt even to use in the farm. Before the black topping of the road linking Damak and Beldangi, it was graveled. During the graveled period, trucks carrying gravel at a time producing more dust was the main cause of health hazard of the local people. After establishment of the gravel road, frequently moving vehicles blew the dust and polluted the atmosphere on the both side of the road. If the vehicle arrived while having a meal, it would be impossible to eat the meal due to dust. The local people suffered from the allergy, chest infection, infection in the respiratory system, skin infection, eye infection etc.

After the settlement of about 50,000 Bhutanese refugee in Damak the sound pollution has been increased. The film producer, businessmen, big trading companies have been focusing the refugee camps to announce their production. They came to the camps blowing their mike in big sound, which polluted the environment. The noise from frequently running heavy vehicles and different means of sound producing agents also contributes to the sound pollution.

6.4 Impacts on Sanitation and Health

People of Beldangi are offended to impacts on sanitation and health key informants have reported that, Beldangi is much polluted than before.

The refugees have opened pig farming in the host communities.

The outsiders (from other districts) and host communities are also involved in pig farming and selling alcohol. There are so many small cages the left side of camps and community.

There is an unmanageable settlement of people in Beldangi Bazar. A lots of problems such as: garbage pollution, crowded society, unsystematic

pig farming, problem of pure drinking water, etc are the emerging issue in the local community. Because of dense population of mosquito, a chance of spreading epidemic disease is very high.

CHAPTER VII

THE CAUSES OF BEING REFUGEE

7.1 Influx of Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal

Bhutanese refugees are spending their miserable and pity life in the seven different camps of Jhapa and Morang districts since 12 December 1990. Bhutanese people when began to struggle to establish democracy and Human rights in Bhutan, the RGoB identified the Nepalese people as a anti national and terrorists and exiled them from their homeland Bhutan. Nepali-ethnic Bhutanese people of southern Bhutan fled to India leaving their properties, home, land, cattle etc. But Indian government did not identified them as refugees and did not provide shelter for them and brought them to the Indo Nepal boarder in the eastern part of Nepal. i.e. Mechi river being a Nepali origin, there was no alternative for them except to enter Nepal. The refugee entered Nepal through Kakarvita and settled in the bank of holy river Kankai. They regarded Nepal as a safe shelter.

The local people of Jhapa also paid sympathy and helped them by giving small units of grains. After some months the influx of refugees reached in high number and the government could not control the high influx of refugees and requested UNHCR for help. The presence of large number of Bhutanese refugees in Jhapa and Morang district has created socio-economic, environmental and many other unsociable problems., prior to the presence of refugee, the above mentioned crises and unsociable activities are not as high as present, but such problems are increasing very rapidly for the past seventeen years and HMG also requested UNHCR to extend the assistance program for the relief to the local people. The land for camps provided by

HMG and other managerial services have been undertaken by UNHCR in cooperation with LWF, SCF, AMDA, CAEIMS, NRCS, OXFAM etc.

7.2 Cause of Present Bhutanese Refugee Crises

Inherited absolute monarch governs Bhutan "Land of Peaceful Dragon" since 1970. The kingdom is sandwiched between the two unclear states, China in the north and India to the south, east and west. It is a small landlocked country that nestles in the southern slopes of the eastern Himalayas banded by rugged mountains. It is a Buddhist country with multi culture and diverse ethnic communities. Bhutan is the only south Asian country that is governed without a written constitution. The successive kings have been the final court of appeal and the head of the state and the government. It became the member of UNO in 1971 with the help of India. Bhutan has been following a pro-Indian policy with no diplomatic ties with her northern neighbor China. The economy of Bhutanese government is based on of Indian government. About 80% of national budget of Bhutanese government is granted by Indian government.

Different ethnic groups are living in different parts of Bhutan.

Ngalongs (Tibetan stock) are the ruling high class inhabiting western part of county.

Sharchops (Indo-Burmese stock) inhabit in eastern part.

Nepalese (Indo-Aryan and Mongolian) are living in southern part of Bhutan.

Demographically the highest population in Bhutan is from Nepalese ethnic background. They occupy 52 percent of the total population. The population is 32 percent and they occupy second position, Sharecrops. The population of ruling class Ngalongs or Drukpas is about 16%. They occupy

third position. The rest 1 percent population includes the others. The ruling class Drukpa speak Dzongkha, the national language, sharecrops speak sharecrop and Nepalese speak Nepali. The southern people follow the Hindu religion but the northern people practice Buddhism. The other minor communities who occupy 1 percent of total population are Dravidian, Adhiovasies, Brukpas, Khengpas, Kurteopas, Mangdipus, Sikkimiese, Tibetain, Tota etc. So the above-mentioned ethnic composition show that Bhutan is the homeland of heterogeneous society. (AHURA, 1993)

According to the history to Nepal, the first batch of Nepalese settlers had been taken to Bhutan in 1624. The first ruler of Bhutan Sabdrung Namgual visited Gorkha in 1624 and requested to King Ram Shah to establish a relationship between two countries. In order to establish the friendship relation, King Ram Shah and Sabdrung Namgyal Signed the friendship treaty King Ram Shah sent 50 families of Gorkha to Bhutan. It shows that Nepalese did not go to Bhutan without permission of Bhutan. Bhutan king and government requested to king Ram Shah and they jointly signed the treaty. Then King Ram Saha sent Nepalese to Bhutan. This process continued till the regime of King Tribhuwan. (INHURED, 1993)

From the very beginning Bhutanese people had been living with peace, harmony and brotherhood. Till the 1970s, the royal government was not obsessive about cultural pluralism in Bhutan but RGOB had dominated to others. There was no right to speech and expression. Anyone who speaks against TSA-WA-SUM (The King Country and the Government) is liable to punishment for treason, i.e. capital punishment as per the law of Bhutan (Thrimshung cheenopo chapter-17). This law empowered the King and the government to punish anyone who opposes them. No rights to publication and press, publication of newspaper, journals and magazines other than the government owned ones are strictly forbidden. There is no newspaper or

magazines privately published in Bhutan. The Bhutanese citizens exercise no equal political right. Family government under a feudalistic set rules Bhutan up. Politics is considered a property of the ruling family, political activities and political protest are strictly banned in the kingdom. Electorate system and adult Franchise are non existent. No right to form association, unions and organizations formation of associations, unions, organizations other than the government ones is forbidden. There are no human rights organizations, NGOs and INGOs and Red Cross in Bhutan. Few such organizations are functioning from exile for human rights and democracy in Bhutan. No right to speak justice in the absence of a written constitution, there is any safe guard to protect the individual rights. The people cannot speak justice against authorities of the government. There is no social and cultural right. Bhutanese citizens have been denied social cultural rights. Only the practice of Drukpa culture and tradition is permitted. Non Drukpa is persecuted for non-compliance to the cultural edict and dress. Citizens are not allowed to watch the television. Only practice of Bhuddhism is allowed. To establish democracy and human rights in Bhutan, the Nepali ethnic Bhutanese people formed the state congress and struggled in 1950 to 1969. The submission of appeal to His Majesty the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck by Teknath Rizal and B.P. Bhandari on 9th April 1988, formation of Bhutan people's party on 2nd June 1990, mass demonstration within all the southern districts demanding democracy and human rights were against the law of Bhutan. The RGOB took it seriously and implemented hard laws and rules against the southern Lhotampas. The government slowly introduces many policies in 1988, which violated human rights and fundamental freedom of Bhutanese people. The Royal government did not amend the policies desired by the Bhutanese people, instead the government suppressed those who opposed the policies forwarded by RGoB. At last, Bhutanese people unified and protested against the government. (Bhutan Today, 1993)

As the people thronged the streets demanding democracy and human rights, the Bhutan government branding all the peaceful activities and supporters of the movement as anti nationals sent the RBA quash the movement. Being given carte blanche, the RBA had a field day. The consequences were appalling arbitrary arrest, torture, rape, intimidation, harassment, arson, loot, demolition of houses and confiscation of citizenship cards by the RBA. The government also imposed economic sanction in southern Bhutan depriving the people of their basic day to day necessities. The demonstrators were forced to sign the voluntary migration forms and compelled them to leave the country. The continued repression and army rule compelled the people to flee from the country. In Garganda BPP managed camps for refugees where they remained for some months but when the Indian authorities began loading these innocent people into trucks and carrying them up to Indo-Nepal border Panitanki, the BPP couldn't continue its activities. Thus from Panitanki they entered Nepal from panitanki.

The policies given below are the major causes of Bhutanese refugee problems.

- i. Policies of citizenship and nationality
- ii. Policies of "Driglam Namza"
- iii. policy derss
- iv. policy Language
- v. Forceful implementation of marriage act
- vi. Policy of Green Belt
- vii. Taxation and force labor and so on

7.3 Charges Over Southern Bhutanese

From the very beginning of the current political crises in the kingdom of Bhutan, RGoB has labeled a number of charges against the democratic

process fighting the absolute regime through prepared media publicity. The government has enchased handsomely on its charges. In the course of winning over few of the media people in India, the Bhutan regime paid as much as ten lacs of rupees as bribery. The usual approach by such media people have been to visit thump and interview the government authorities and published their one sided view. The most acceptable media report would be to publish the view of both the government and opposition people. The researcher has presented some views against the charges over refugees as follows:

7.3.1 Illegal Immigration

Behind this charge of the Royal Government is the ill-conceived design to reduce southern population, which has a political majority over the ruling Drukpas. Since there is no constitution guaranteeing citizen's rights, no independent court to hear public grievances and no public accountability of the government, since it is not elected, they in acted arbitrary laws and implemented them in an arbitrary and discriminatory manner. The citizenship act 1985 was given a retroactive data of implementation from 1985 during a census in 1988, which was carried out only in southern Bhutan. If a rigorous census done in the same manner as in southern Bhutan is implemented in northwest, half of Drukpas will be listed as non-citizens. This bogey of illegal immigrants has been created to hide the illegal acts and anti human rights policies of the Bhutan regime.

7.3.2 Terrorism

The most frequently used charges are the so-called terrorism and cessation in southern Bhutan. The allegation of cessation is baseless as the people are neither fighting for a separate, state nor are they demanding the right to self-determination. The demands are straightforward i.e. human rights

and democracy. To prove the charge of terrorism, the government has distributed a number of books documenting gruesome murder and act of so called terrorism. It would be interesting to quote Amnesty International in this regard which in its reports on Bhutan published in Dec 1992, While, attacks on civilians in southern Bhutan are consistently attributed to "anti-nationals," it is not always clear that evidence exists to indicate political motivation behind the act of the regime continued reporting on the so-called terrorism in southern Bhutan throughout 1990 and 1994." Kuense" the official mouthpiece of the regime continued reporting on terrorism in southern Bhutan. "Kuensel" could never differentiate between acts of terrorism and petty crimes. In its issue 6th February 1993 under the heading "Terrorists raid houses in Gaylegphug" According to reports from the security forces it states, "Armed anti nationals terrorists attacked and robbed three houses in Gaylegphug, according to reports from the security forces. The terrorists took Nu 15000, two gold nose rings, three pairs of gold earring and two pairs of silver bangles weighing 10 tolas "Reporting on another incident under the heading "Terrorists killed by village volunteers, kuensel in its issue of Nov 6th 1993 wrote. "According to reports the two men had come into the interior parts of Dorona Gewog, about two days walk from Dagapela and were holding meetings with the public to gain support for anti-Bhutan movement. Anti national pamphlets were also distributed to the public who attended meetings." Apparently robbery, thefts, holding public meetings, distributing leaflets etc. are also termed as acts of terrorism by the Bhutan regime. The reality is Bhutan today suffers from state terrorism, which is bent upon liquidating all its political opponents.

7.3.3 Voluntary Emigration

The Drukpa regime would have no answer as to why only after 1990 southern Bhutanese choose to emigrate voluntarily? The answer is simple.

Normal life in southern Bhutan was turned so difficult by that people had no choice but to flee with whatever things they could grab on. There are living testimonies in the camps that people were forced to sign voluntary migration forms and leave the country. Amnesty international believes that many people in the camps in Nepal have been forced out of Bhutan as a result of measures taken by the Bhutanese authorities. It believes that many of those in the camps in Nepal have been forcibly exiled from Bhutan on account of their ethnic origin or political beliefs." The findings of the Amnesty internationals are corroborated by the office orders issued by the Bhutan government authorities.

7.3.4 Free Food and Shelter

The government versions that people are emigrating from Bhutan because they get free food and shelter in Nepal is a total distortion. The people who are in the camps are not poor laborers or home less destitute as claimed by the Bhutanese authorities. Back in Bhutan, they have been well-established farmers with homes, lands and properties. While most of the refugees are farmers others are former civil servants, doctors, engineers, clerks, nurse, health assistants village headman, national assembly members and personnel of RBA, police and bodyguards. Moreover, all of them possess valid documents issued by the competent authorities in Bhutan. The claim that these documents are forged in Calcutta is simply not true as all these documents bears the seal and signature of issuing authorities in Bhutan. The refusal of the Bhutanese regime to go ahead with verification of the refugees proves its guilt and wrongdoing committed against its citizens. The office orders issued by the Bhutan regime are the testimonies to the blatant lie resorted to by the regime on why people are leaving Bhutan.

7.3.5 Threat to Drukpa Culture

The constant rhetoric of the Bhutan regime that due to democratic movement their culture is in danger is another lie. With democracy, people will have more freedom to profess and practice their culture. Does the Bhutanese authority mean that due to democracy in India, India culture is in danger? Moreover, those fighting for democracy and human rights are against the absolute rule, which allow practice of only one culture in a multi-cultural society Drukpa and Nepalese in Bhutan have lived in perfect peace and harmony for centuries, which continues even today. The fight is not against people or culture but against the absolute regime. The reality is that it is not the Drukpa culture but their hegemony and the absolute regime.

7.3.6 Threat to Security of Bhutan

How could a democratic struggle pose threat to the security of a nation? The democratic forces of Bhutan are not fighting against the Bhutanese nation but are fighting against the autocratic regime. How could this regime talk of national security and sovereignty when it has already sold its sovereignty by signing the treaty of 1949, which places its foreign policy in the hands of India? How could they talk of national security when they have allowed Indian troops for so many years on Bhutanese soil? It is not Bhutan's security but the security of the ruling elite, which is in real danger.

7.3.7 Ethnic Issues of a Political Causes

The Bhutanese issue is not an ethnic issue but a real political issue, which need to be resolved politically. The ethnic color to a democratic struggle is given by the Bhutanese regime to hide the real issue of human rights and democracy. All the political forces including the Druk National congress formed by ethnic Drukpa and sharecrops are demanding human rights, political pluralism and rule of law and democracy. If the Bhutanese regime is sincere, then it should allow the democratic forces to function inside

Bhutan and call for general elections where every Bhutanese will freely cast their votes

7.4 An Overview of Refugee Population at Beldangi Camp Group

The Beldangi refugee camps are the largest camps among other camps. About 50 percent of the total refugee population are living in these camps. Three camps are situated in this place i.e. Beldangi I, Beldangi II and Beldangi II extension. It lies 8 km North from the Mahendra highway of Damak. The east and north part is bordered by Illam and west part by Morang. All these three camps are situated north west of Ratua River. Despite multi-cultural, multi-religions, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual, refugees of Beldangi are living with peace and harmony. The population of refugees has become the extra additional population for 75,068 of Damak. It is creating negative impacts upon the local community. To support and assist the refugees many agencies, NGOs and INGOs have been working since 1991.

7.4.1 Distribution of Refugees by Caste and Ethnicity

Like Nepal, Bhutan is a country of heterogeneous society. Sixteen different ethnic groups have been living with peace and harmony but the policy of AGOBs "One Nation one people" suppressed the ethnic feelings. The government destroyed the peace and harmony of different ethnic groups of Bhutan. After the suppression of RGoB the refugees of Bhutan entered Nepal in 1990. Since the establishment of refugee camps in Beldangi, the heterogeneous society of refugees have been living in peace. There is no religious conflict in the camps though they have been living heterogeneously. The Brahmins and Chhetris are the dominant caste group and Rai, Limbu, Magar, Gurung, Kami, Damai, Majhi etc are minor groups.

7.4.2 Distribution of Refugees by Religion

Refugees following different religions make up Beldangi camp. There does not exist religious discriminations and conflict. Hindu is the dominant religion, Buddhist, Christ and Kirat are the minor religious groups.

7.4.3 Classification of Refugee According to the Economic Status when they were in Bhutan

According to the economic status, refugees are classified into three groups. They are rich, middle and poor. The people, who had big irrigated land, cemented house and who owned means of transport and business were identified as rich. The middle class people had small land, small trade and wooden or stoned and muddy houses with tin roof and in poor group they had no land, no cattle but had only a small thatched house and were laborers.

7.4.4 The Number of Students and Teacher of the Refugee Camps

To provide the formal education for the refugee children, CARITAS is conducting formal school education affiliated to the board of Nepal. Before CARITAS started the educational program, refugees volunteer used to conduct it. Now the CARITAS and INGO conducting all educational program. According to CARITAS, there are forty-five schools being conducted in seven different camps. The total number of students is 17,986

The given bellow table shoes the total number of refugees, students, teachers and other staff involve in Beldangi Refugees Camps.

	Students				Total	Teacher	Other staff
	Boys	%	Girls	%			
Beldangi I	3560	50.85	3440	49.14	7,000	180	36
Beldangi II	3355	50.64	3270	49.35	6,625	199	32
Beldangi III	2221	50.92	2140	49.07	4361	130	26
Total	9136		8850		17,986	506	94

Source: Caritas Jhapa 2065

7.5 Involvement of Organizations to Provide the Basic Needs for the Refugees

After high influx of the Bhutanese refugees in eastern part of Nepal in 12th December 1990, Nepal government provided shelter area for them. When the number of refugees was few they settled randomly in the bank of kankai river of Jhapa district. When the influx of the refugees was very high it created many problems on the local community. So, Nepal government could not control the influx of Bhutanese refugees and requested to UNHCR to identify the Bhutanese people as refugee and to support them.

Though, UNHCR and other agencies have been providing the food and a non-food commodity for refugees but it is not enough for them. To maintain their basic needs they would have been engaged in different income able tasks. If the agencies stop supplying food and non-food commodities that they have been getting, they would easily loot the local people and would create a serious problem. So, to prevent from such incidents RCU, UNHCR, AMDA, UNICEF, CARTAS etc. have been playing vital role.

To support the refugees, the agencies given below have been playing important role.

Nepal HMG/MOH has its wing. RCU at field level under the directorship of chief district officer of Jhapa. The deputy director/RCU is responsible for day to day work of RCU. In each camp there is an office of RUC called camp supervision post. Camp in-charge is the chief executive for camp who will be as section officer supported by an assistant.

RUC/CSP is responsible for maintaining law-and order in camp, co-ordination of assistance and registration of the refugee. Each camp has a

police post comprising of 6 police cadres heading with junior police officer, head constable and four constables. There is a camp rule formed by RCU and UNHCR for smooth running of camps. It contains some principal social orders to be obeyed by the concerns. The camp rule has banned refugees to go outside without out pass and to go to the forest for collecting firewood. If they go outside without permission they shall be punished. HMG and UNHCR has set up an office at the entry point to the last boarder of eastern Nepal at kakarvitta which is called screening post where asylum are screened whether they are to be accepted as refugee or not. This post was set up in the mid of 1993.

Agencies involved in Refugee assistance program

United nations high commission for refugees:

UNHCR acts as the donor agency and co-ordinates all the protectoral and assistance activities to the refugees at the request of and in close consultation with the Nepal. The Nepal as the counterpart ministry responsible for leasing with UNHCR has entrusted the home ministry for the implementation and supervision of assistance to Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. It has its sub-office in Bhadrapur, Jhapa.

World Food Program

WFP makes available all food commodities, which are distributed by NRCS. Moreover, WFP is providing fund for supplementary income generation to the refugees through RWF and assisting to the CARITAS Nepal for vocational training activities to the refugees and the people of refugee affected area. Moreover, it has given assistance on the home gardening and nutrition education program in the camp. The field office of WFP is located in Damak.

CARITAS

CARITAS is responsible for running school for refugee children and operation of vocational training. This training contains the training of house wiring, welding, automobile, radio/TV repairing.

Nepal Bar association, Jhapa unit

AMDA Hospital

ADMA is operating referral health center for refugees and local people as well.

AMDA Primary Health Care Project

AMDA (PHCP) has taken responsibility of primary health care in camps from January, 2001

Nepal Red Cross Society

Nepal Red Cross society is one of the first organizations to provide services to the refugees when they first started arriving Nepal. At first the refugees were temporarily settled at the bank of Kankai River of Maidher, Jhapa. NRCS phased out when LWF moved in as implementing partner of UNHCR to provide necessary assistance to the refugees. NRCS restarted the refugees assistance program in November 1992 with running ambulance services, distribution of blankets, mosquito nets and clothes for the entire population of the refugees. With the funds generously contributed by different sister societies and the governments towards the global appeal launched by the ICRC in favor of the Bhutanese refugees at the request and initiation of Nepal Red Cross Society.

In early part of 1993 NRCS started expending her activities with organizing training programs for the refugees with introduction of fire prevention the afforestation program. After series of discussions, an agreement reached there upon among UNHCR, WFP, NRCS and LWS at various levels. NRCS took over entire distribution activities in all the camps since 1 January 1995. The distribution of kerosene was taken over by the NRCS from UNHCR since 1st January 1995. The criterion for kerosene distribution is each person unto 3 members receives one liter each and subsequent increment gets ½ liter pr week/person. NRCS is responsible for distribution of food and non-food items, vegetables, and kerosene. It is responsible for fire prevention and fighting program, daily operation of ambulance for medical emergency, environmental protection and afforestation program and home gardening and nutrition education program..

Lutheran World Federation

LWF is responsible for development of infrastructure, shelter, water supply and sanitation in camp. LWF had launched it program in Nepal in 1985. LWF Nepal implements the program through the implementing partners NGOs, CBOs, groups and user committees or LWF is directly involved implementing some of the activities through its field based project office of Jhapa. LWF Nepal country program office is located in Kathmandu and the development program office is in Nepalgunj (Western Region Center Unit).

The strategic priority of LWF Nepal lies in the area of Nepal Development Program (Empowerment Projects), Relief and rehabilitation, advocacy and networking and organization development.

a. BRP (Bhutanese Refugee Project) is one of the Projects of LWF Nepal.

In 1991, thousand of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese living in the southern Bhutan were forced to leave their homes and flee to become refugees in Nepal after Royal Government of Bhutan implemented harsh rules as per its depopulation and ethnic cleansing policy. LWF Nepal was the first INGO to respond the needs of the Bhutanese refugees after their arrival in Nepal, naming Bhutanese refugees project (BRP). It has been playing a major role in assisting over 104000 Bhutanese refugees living in 7 camps in Nepal for over 17 years. The implementing partners of are UNHCR and WFP.

b. LWF/BRP is Mainly Focusing on Following Activities.

1. Refugee care and maintenance
2. Refugee Host Community Support Project (RHSCP)
3. Risk management/disaster
4. Advocacy and Networking
5. HIV/AIDS awareness
6. Empowerment
7. Relief operation
8. Organizational development

There are now well over 180000 Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. (LWF 2008) This figure is equal to roughly 15 percent of the total population of Bhutan. These refugees are living in camps, which have been created in the Jhapa and Morang district of eastern Nepal since 1991.

The influx of Bhutanese refugees increased very rapidly and the Nepal government could not control the problem and requested to UNHCR and other agencies for help. Agencies managed the refugees to live in seven different camps under the supervision and financial support of UNHCR. Now the total population of refugees has reached more than one lakh. The

population pressure of the refugees in Beldangi have created many negative impacts which the host communities are facing. The major impacts faced by the local people are social, economic, environmental, health and sanitation. Their impacts have caused a loss of employment opportunities, exploitation of laborer technicians. A high market price of daily needs has negative economic impacts. Similarly deforestation, loss of grazing land, landslide, flood, disappearance of wild animals, getting dry land, filthy and polluted water resources are the major environmental impacts. Except this, spread of the diseases due to the lack of good sanitation, fear of social insecurity etc. these problems are not only of local communities. It is a problem of all Nepalese people. So it should be solved as soon as possible in a right way.

The country Nepal itself is facing a problem of high population growth but providing asylum for refugees. No any serious study on long-term impacts of refugees in Nepal have not been conducted and analyzed. But due to lack of common vision on nationality, democracy and national development agenda among political forces in Nepal, the country is being internally weaker. As a result, country's weak diplomatic performances are being reflected at international level. If Bhutanese refugee's problems remain unsolved no doubt, it will follow the way like Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Therefore, Nepal should be internally strong by resolving its internal conflicts and then after it can prepare basic ground to tackle refugee's problem properly. Nepal is undermined mainly due to unstable and conflicting political environment of Nepal in addition there is lack of proper homework at political and administrative level for solving refugee's problems. It is a time to set up common goal of bright Nepal mainly by all political forces giving more development to nation and its overall development.

Over 17th year old Bhutanese refugee imbroglio has reached a most complex stage in its history. As and when the issue gets some momentum either by its own or through the concerns expressed by the international bodies or by some activates of the refugees themselves. It is derailed for no justification. There are several factors contributing to the Bhutanese role in prolonging the Bhutanese refugee crisis. In fact, finding early and amicable solution to this crisis is not only in the interest of the refugees alone but also in the interests of Bhutanese regime and for regional peace and progress. It is crystal clear for anyone that Bhutan is still not ready to take the refugees back. Any effort by the government of Nepal or any pressure from the international level has failed to yield any positive results for the refugees.

Ironically, all efforts made by Nepal during the 15th round of bilateral negotiations starting form 1993 remained futile. Nepal has always been reluctant to internationalize the issue while the Bhutanese government has never been sincere in its policy. The observers are unable to assess the negotiations between the two governments due to their cynical attitude persisting on both sides.

According to the Bhutan there were four categories of refugees in Nepal. Just before the 1993 world Vienna conference and human rights and fearing the internationalization of the Bhutanese refugee issue. The Royal Government of Bhutan invited the Government of Nepal to and a ministerial level delegation to begin bilateral negotiation on resolving the crises. The two sides than, decided to discuss the refugee issue bilaterally. Bhutan invited Nepalese delegation for talks to Thimphu on July 15, 1993 and were agreed to the formed a six-member Nepal Bhutan MJC (ministerial joint committee meeting) comprising three members from each country. The committee was entrusted with the following mandates.

-) To determine the different categories of people claiming to have come from Bhutan in the refugee camps in eastern Nepal.
-) To specify the positions of the two governments on each of these categories:
-) To arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement on each of these categories, which will provide the basis for the resolution of the problem Nepal created blunder by accepting of Bhutan's proposal.

The First MJC Meeting was held in Kathmandu on October 4-7, 1993.

The two sides agreed to place the Bhutanese refugees into four categories:

Bonafide Bhutanese if they have been evicted forcefully;

Bhutanese who emigrated

Non- Bhutan people and

Bhutanese who have committed criminal acts.

A joint statement on completion of the verification of refugees said that they would specify their positions on each category and reach a mutually acceptable agreement, which would provide the basis for the resolution of the problem. Nepal created another blunder by accepting to categorization.

The Second MJC Meeting held in Thimphu on February 21-24, 1994 discussed the "mechanism for verification of the four agreed categories of people in the refugee camps in Nepal" Nepal proposed the involvement of a third party, which was rejected by Bhutan.

The Third MJC Meeting held on April 4-9, 1994 in Kathmandu also did not go beyond deciding to determine a mechanism for verification of the

four categories of the people in refugee camps in eastern Nepal. Both sides again failed to harmonize their position on four categories of refugees.

The fourth MJC held in Timphu in June 1994 which was failed to reach the agreement.

The Fifth MJC Meeting held in Kathmandu on February to 27 march 1, 1995 also failed to reach an agreement to harmonize two sides on the categorization of refugee.

The Sixth MJC Meeting held in Thimphu on April 20, 1995 received the same fate as earlier talks.

Seventh MJC Meeting held at the Foreign Ministers level in Kathmandu on April, 4-8 1996 ended in a statement. Prakash Chandra Lohani and Dawa Tsering led their countries at the talks.

The Eight Talk held in Kathmandu on September 13-16, 1999. This also concluded in disagreement on verification process. Bhutan proposed to start verification on a dubious list of 3000 refugees prepared by the UNHCR. Nepal rejecting Bhutan's proposal rightly proposed that the verification should be started from one of the refugee camps.

The Ninth MJC Meeting of talk held may 22-25, 2000 at Thimphu, also ended without any breakthrough.....Both sides had agreed on naming the verification team within 15 days and starting the verification process with is two months.

The tenth round of mhc meeting was held on December 25-28, 2000 in Kathmandu. The tenth talk was able to break ice. It decided to from Nepal. Bhutan refugee joint verification team (JVT). The JVT was created and stared

its work of interviewing and verifying 120, 000 Bhutanese refugees from Khudunabair refugee camp in Jhapa on march 26, 2001. After trying since 1993 to solve the Bhutanese refugee question the 10th round of the Nepal-Bhutan joint ministerial level committee held on 25-28 December 2000 has finally made some progress. It is quite apparent that the 10th talk was due to mounting international pressure, which compelled Bhutan to search for a compromise. This is evident from the resolution, of the European parliament is September, concern expressed by donors on refugee issue at the round table meeting of the Bhutan aid consortium help in Bhutan from 7-9 November 2000 and the interest shown by the untied states in saving the refugee problem.

The eleventh round of MJC was held in Thimphu, the capital of Bhutan on august 20-23, 2001. However, Nepal's proposal to reduce the categories of the refugees into Bhutanese and non-Bhutanese was not accepted by Bhutan. The verification will go further only after the completion of the process in one camp The verification of over 12000 refugees living in Khudunabair undertaken by the JVT on March 26 2001. Ninety percent of verified Bhutanese refugees could produce documents to prove their origin to Bhutan. Even after a year, Neither the result of verification of refugees was made public the verification in the remaining camps started. The verified refugees lunched an indefinite relay hunger stricke in Khudunabari camp on January 07,2003 demanding the immediate publication of verification results, repatriation of verified refugees and commencement of verification in the remaining six camps. A group of verified refugees visited the diplomatic community based in Nepal and lobbied for internationalization of refugee issue. Then suddenly in the middle of January 2003, Bhutanese ambassador Dago Tshering paid a visit to Nepal, just ahead of Bhutan's donor's meeting in Geneva to impress upon the donors and international community. He met

with the Nepal foreign ministry officials and told the media that Bhutan was interested to hold the twelfth round of Nepal Bhutan MJC meeting.

The twelfth round of Nepal Bhutan MJC meeting was held in Kathmandu for one day on February 06, 2003. Reportedly Nepal and Bhutan agreed to undertake the categorization process of the already verified Bhutanese refugees in Thimphu from February 24. However, the meeting failed to agree on a time frame for the verification and repatriation of refugees. Nepalese foreign minister also admitted that friendly and donor countries had pressured them to resolve the problem as quietly as possible. Foreign ministers said that verification of other camps would begin only after repatriation of Khudunabari was completed both ministers refused to reveal when the repatriation of the verified Bhutan would take place. The 'categorization' remained a stumbling block on the progress of bilateral talk.

The 13th Nepal Bhutan MJC meeting on the repatriation of more than 100000 Bhutanese refugees living in the refugee camps in southeast Nepal was held on March 24-26 2003 in Thimphu.

The 13th meeting of MJC reviewed the progress made by the Nepal. Bhutan JVT a Joint press release said that the MJC had agreed on the modalities for the implementation of the outcome of the joint verification and categorization exercise of Khudunabari camp. The 13th MJC agreed to introduce a voluntary repatriation for the refugees who want to go back to their homeland.

The fourteenth round of Nepal Bhutan MJC meeting was held in Kathmandu, Nepal on May 19-22 2003. It was scheduled to announce the result of nearly 12000 verified refugees from Khuunabari Camp. Withheld the result. This meeting expected offer a breakthrough in the resolution of

Bhutanese refugee imbroglio, instead, yielded enormous legal implication of international and regional dimension. The MJC agreed on their joint stand on our categories and issued a statement on agreed position on the four categories.

The 15th Nepal Bhutan MJC meeting was held in Thimphu Bhutan on October 20-23 2003. The MJC decided to begin the repatriation process of Bhutanese refugees second week of February 2004. "Bhutan has made a written commitment of begin repatriation of the first batch of refugee from the Khudunabari Camp from February 15 and the ministerial committee itself would be monitoring the process of repatriation. The two governments agreed to appeal to their immediate neighbor India for a 'set passage for the repatriation process. The two governments also agreed to begin verification process in the Sanischare camp in Morang, where almost 20000 people are taking refugee.

Internationalization of Bhutanese Refugee Issue

Pursuant to first option it south bilateral initiative it held nine round of bilateral negotiations with Bhutan without any success. Bhutan's recalcitrance and intransigence had pushed the Bhutan Nepal joint ministerial level. Committee (JMC) bilateral talk on repatriation of Bhutan refugees to deadlock in the post. Bhutan instead of co-operating with Nepal for the resolution of refugee issue was deliberately procrastinating the repatriation process through never-ending bilateral talks, while it campaigned among the international for disbanding of refugee camps and assimilation of refugees in Nepal. GG

India said that the refugee issue is technically a bilateral issue and it be resolved through bilateral initiatives. It refused to be involved in the issue.

Since the first two options became almost redundant the only option left was internationalization of the refugee issue the refugee problem persisted too long and the bilateral talk was dawdling demanding an immediate internationalization of the refugee issue. Tired to end less and futile Nepal. Bhutan bilateral talks, Bhutanese refugees started seeking direct intervention of international community to mitigate their suffering. The Bhutanese refugee issue was getting internationalized through the refugees won efforts. Since they knew that only support from the world community would be able to make a difference on the need of international mediation on Bhutanese refugee issue.

Bhutan comes under an increasing pressure from the international community due to its uncooperative and un-accommodative attitude to resolve the refugee impasse. That Bhutan was under increased international pressure was evident from the second resolution of the European parliament (EP). The European parliament passed two resolutions of the refugee issue in March 1996 and September 2000.

European parliament: the European parliament, denouncing the deplorable situation of Bhutanese refugees living in Nepal, called on the governments of Bhutan and Nepal. In co-operation with all other parties involved, speed up the process of repatriation of refugees to their country of origin it urged the Bhutanese authorities to accept the UNHCR compromise for a speedy verification and time-bound repatriation. It recognized the good will of Nepal in accepting the refugees" who are the victims of arbitrary deprivation of nationality and forcible eviction, who came to Nepal through India and also urged Indian authorities not to consider. The Bhutanese

refugee issues as one of the bilateral matters and help resolve the refugee issue.

Us proposal:- The much overdue American attention and concern about the Bhutanese refugee issue came through the proposal of the us State department of South Asia Karl interfaith and the bureau of population, refugees and migration and us government came up with a fresh proposal in an attempt to speed up the never-started process of repatriation.

US suggestion to identify the refugees and the head of unclear family, who would then identify the members of his/her family. Having agreed upon this, they could proceed on with an actual verification process and determine which of the four-categories of the nuclear family identified by the family head are qualified to go home. If Bhutan fails to agree to us proposal the US has said it would urge multilateral donors to divert international aid from Bhutan to the refugee camps through UNHCR. As a result of international pressure Bhutan agree to constitute the JUT on March 26, 2001.

The United States have launched a program through IOM to resettle tens of thousands of Bhutanese refugees from the refugee camps in Nepal. The refugees almost all ethnic Nepali from Southern Bhutan, have been living the Camps in eastern Nepal since they were expelled from their homes in Bhutan more than 16 year ago. The refugees are unable to return to Bhutan or to settle permanently in Nepal.

Of the more than 100000 refugees in Nepali Camps, the United States will consider for resettlement at least 60,000 the first small group of refugees is expected to arrive in the United States before the end of 2007, with larger numbers anticipated by March and April 2008.

This backgrounder provides reception and placement (R and p) agency staff and other assisting refugee new comers with an overview of the Bhutanese refugees to help them prepare for the refugee's arrival and resettlement needs. The backgrounder briefly discusses the courses of the refugee problem explains the need for third- country resettlement and describes the characteristics of the refugees population.

The FWEAN recently has been conducting income-generating activities to the Bhutanese refugee for ameliorating to their condition.

Bheldangi-I

- Mushroom, Vermi-Compost and micro-Credit training is best among all in context of participant's continuity.
- Other Handu-Craft training Bamboo Root and Jute mat is good but Bamboo choya and Banana Fiber is not giving continuity by participants.
- Some participants are not giving continuity tit ho work, because they have selected for the third country resettlement.
- All agency of Beldangi-I is positive to us and they are helping to us.

Beldangi-II

- Mushroom, vermin-compost and micro-credit given continuity by participants.
- Interested participants waiting the training of FWEAN.
- Good relation with camp label agency's representative and good of their regarding FWEAN.

Beldangi-III

- Micro-credit, vermi-compost and Bamboo. Root has good result but mushroom have bad result. Almost 200 pkt of mushroom destroyed there. So, participants are frosted by it. We think that was due to season off of that kind of mushroom.
- Participants of handu-craft are very negative to us after changing 2007's perception FWEAN 'income generating'.

Shanischare

- Man order to it and
- Vermi-compost also good Banana fiber; participants are not giving interest to it because it take long time to produce and lack of market.

Khudunabari

- Bamboo- roots participant has got job on local bamboo
- Participants are waiting to FWEAN's traning

Timai

- Jute mat is best among all participants are selling is on local market. Local business man order to it and
- Vermi-compost also well. Banana fiber; participants are not giving interest to it because it take long time to produce and lock of market.

Meeting with social mobilizes

This meeting was held on 03-04-2008. The meeting conducted between FWEAN project president, project chief, social mobilizes and project's field staff. The meeting agenda was as followings.

1. Reporting of all camps
2. Report of may

Reporting of all camps report

Our social mobilizes had given the information of FWEAN 's activities impression and last years participants report of their camp which as follows.

Goldhap

- There is no good result of FWEAN's activities of 2007 due to fire problems of camp. All instruments had destroyed at that time, which was distributed by FWEAN to the participants. Only vermin-compost is continuing now.
- Frequently co-ordination of social mobilizer with camp labels agency.
- All camp label agency of Goldhap are positive with FWEAN and waiting to its activities of 2008.

Report of April

At the meeting we receive the monthly report of May from social mobilizes.

Camp level co-ordination meeting

Meeting	Date	Participants	Suggestion
Goldhap Camp	13-June 2008	RCU, CMC, LWF, FAVAJRA, AMDA, UNHCR facilitator, ADF/ASN Agri supervisor, NSI, VFN and chalk Project supervisor	The suggestion given by RCU for green plantation if it is possible keeps co-ordination with AMDA regarding health
Timai CAMP	17, June	Form same organization as above	The program should be future oriented so, that it would be useful for future. This would help in marketing latter on.
Bel, II and III	18, June	Same organization's	Showed interest in vermin-compost. Suggested us to conduct that kind of training which help to cleaning the camp. Regarding pit they all were positive and commit us for help
Bel, I	19, June	Same organization	They were impresses in jute craft, micro credit and bamboo root craft, impressed with vermin-compost suggested to put such chemical incense sticks.

The activates of FWEAN staffs

1. A welcome speech was given first to all the participants who had attended at the meeting.
2. Presentation and briefing of the training in 2007.

Explanation was done to the question asked by the camp level officer to the staff of FWEAN.

CHAPTER VIII

MAJOR FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

8.1 Major Findings

This study analyze the socio-economic and environmental Impact of Bhutanese Refugee of Beldangi Camps in Damak Municipality in Jhapa District. This study is based upon the primary data collected from the field survey.

The researcher has chosen only ward 3 and ward 5 of Damak. These adjoining wards are highly affected by refugee camps. The researcher has selected 10% of total households from local community for the sample size. There are 899 households in ward 3 and ward 5. Among them go houses are taken as sample to collect in formation.

There are 8857 households of refugee in Beldangi camp. it is difficult to include 10% refugee for sample size, which goes more than 895 households. So the researcher has selected only 45 patches of house from three different camps.

This study is an attempt to analyze the social-economic and environmental condition of the host community before and after the arrival Bhutanese refugee. This study mainly focuses upon the investigative causes of negative impacts on the local community due to the presence of refugees. The impacts under study are socio-economic and environmental impacts.

- A. Different negative social impacts such as smuggling, quarreling, theft, sex trade etc are found intensified after the arrival of Bhutanese refugee.
- B. The labour wage decreased sharply after arrival of Bhutanese Refugee. This made life of local labour more difficult and even a clash occurred between local labour and Refugee labour.

C. After the arrival of refugee in camp local people have adopted alternate source of energy. The use of L.P gas, biogas solar energy increased abruptly after their arrival.

D. A sharp degradation in environment is noted. Local community suffered a lot epidemic diseases and sanitation problem emerged out. Also boarding of land decreased water table and the fertility of land is lost.

Socio-economic characteristics of respondent outside the Beldangi Camp (local people)

- Ethnicity and caste status of local people highest 35.5% of Brahman and least is 3.3% Magar.
- 72.2% of total population of local community follow by Hindu culture and 5.5% follow by Christian culture.
- Education statuses of respondents among 38.9% are of primary education of local people and 4.4% are of master's level.
- Occupational status of local people Highest of the total 46.7% respondent have the farmer and least is 6.7% labour.
- Most of the experience of local people 42.2% of agriculture field works, 14.4% post harvest work, 20% livestock farming and 15.5% market for production.

8.2 Conclusion

Since 1991 population has reached more than one lakh due to the presence of 47000 refugees at Beldangi ward number 3 and 5 of Damak municipality Prior to the presence of refugee in Beldangi the environment of the local community was peace and calm. But the arrival of refugee in Beldangi has created numbers problem in local community. Local

Community is bearing many negative impacts such as; social, economic environmental health and sanitation.

By the presence of Bhutanese refugees the host community are bearing lots of negative impacts such as social impacts, economic impacts and environmental impact.

Social impacts: theft, alcoholism, smuggling quarreling, sex trade, murder, rape, robbery insecurity, and prostitution.

Economic impacts: highly decreases in income high price of the essential goods, involvement of refugee in private jobs and business and trade.

Environmental impacts: deforestation loss of grazing land, land sliders flood disappearance of wild animals and birds, water pollution, unsystematic sanitation etc.

These problems are not only of local communities, it is a problem of all Nepalese people. So it should be solved as soon as possible in a right way.

8.3 Recommendations

When the Bhutanese refugee's population has reached at the peak of even the Lakh, then it has created numbers of negative impacts to their host communities and it has also become a problem itself. Thus, there are clearly seen the problem to sides. Nepalese people bearing many kinds of impacts of refugees such as: social, economic, environmental impact etc. and Bhutanese refugees also bearing same kinds of problems such as: they are surviving at unknown place, their needs are not sufficient by provided goods and their future is uncertain. Therefore, there is only one good remedy that is repatriation of Bhutanese refugees for the both people. And if it is not possible soon, then the concerned authorities must think of it variously for its mitigation.

First of all, Nepal Government should try to solve Bhutanese refugee problem, talking with Bhutan and India and reach an agreement as soon as possible to return them to Bhutan respectfully. Only bilateral talk with Bhutan is not possible to repatriation of Bhutanese refugees, because most vital role is being played by India. Thus, Nepal Government must include India in this matter. If the talks fail then Nepal should not hesitate to arise this problem internationally. Establishment of democracy and guarantee of human rights in Bhutan is the only permanent solution of the refugee problem. So that human right organizations, political parties and Nepalese government should try to impose international pressure on the Bhutanese people for the establishment of Democracy and human rights.

There are various parties for the establishment of democracy among the Bhutanese refugees' people but there is conflict among them. But Nepal government and agencies should suggest them to get united for a destination to repatriation to Bhutan. To resolve conflict between local people and refugees, government and agencies have to make certain rules and regulation for refugees and agencies have to provide facilities for local people too such as: road construction, toilets, water supply, school, launch, non-for education and skill development programme (about loan, scientific agriculture, sanitation etc). Lastly, all the negative impacts should be minimized as soon as possible. And if it is possible, compensation should be provided to local people.

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