

land and migration in far-western nepal

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PREFACE

Migration has become one of the most challenging issues in the overall context of the economic planning and development of Nepal today. The large-scale movements of local populations in Nepal from their homesteads in the hills in search of land or for wage-earning is the distinct feature of this problem. The problem has its roots in the rapidly diminishing man-land ratio in the hills of Nepal, which supports two-thirds of Nepal's total population. Population growth in the hills has already reached a breaking point and the capacity of the hills to provide increased cultivable acreage remains acutely limited. The encroachment on forest land, which has followed as a natural corollary to the population increase, has begun to produce adverse effects as it has already upset the delicate ecological balance of most of the hill regions of Nepal. Soil erosion has had a crippling effect on agriculture and the need for new crop lands has severely limited the amount of animal husbandry, a vital support to agricultural subsistence. The problem gets even more difficult as one learns the fact that the hill economy of Nepal is a subsistence economy based on highly resourceful, yet primitive traditional farming techniques which are unable to cope with the population increase. Land fragmentation is inherent in the social system of the Hindus of Nepal and when property is divided among the sons in each passing generation, the amount of land per owner begins to get alarmingly small. The exploitative system of Nepal's land tenure has been responsible for rampant rural indebtedness. These two social factors compound with an overall shortage of land has for many years driven some people to a total state of near destitution in the hills of Nepal.

This situation has been at the roots of the high rate of out-migration from Nepal into India. Migrants to India are either of a seasonal kind, going to earn just enough cash to meet basic yearly needs for food and clothing or a long-term type, serving in the Indian or the British army. In the case of the latter type, they help support their family back at home through regular remittances.

Before the Terai of Nepal was opened for resettlement, through the eradication of malaria, very few families were able to settle there. In the recent years, however, this deadly disease has been overcome, and has resulted in a population movement from the hill to the Terai on an unprecedented scale. The response of HMG has been to adopt a policy of a planned and systematic resettlement of hill people through the agency of the Nepal Resettlement Company.

The question of resettlement has already been studied and published by this Institute in a separate report (See Elder, J.W. et al. Planned Resettlement in Nepal's Terai; A Social Analysis of the Khajura/Bardia Punarvas Projects, INAS , 1976).

It has been argued that the capacity of the Terai to absorb people coming down to settle in it is not, clearly, inexhaustible. The economic viability of the Terai lies in keeping it a low density, high-productive zone. If this balance is lost, the potentiality of the Terai as Nepal's vital economic zone will also be lost forever. There is, therefore, a plea in some quarters to preserve the Terai as a 'buffer zone' in an economic sense, between the high-density settlement areas in the hills and those across the border in India.

The problem of migration in Nepal will not be permanently resolved merely by perpetuating the old economy as the Nepal Resettlement Company has been trying to do. The resettlement of people on small plots of land in the Terai has no doubt given the landless people a sense of possession, but this is merely a temporary solution. The landholdings of individual farmers on the resettlement sites are by no means large enough to bring about a desired prosperity in their lives. The internal process of land-fragmentation in the family is not eliminated in these resettlement sites. Therefore, the solution to the growing agrarian poverty does not lie in the redistribution of inadequate landholdings. An alternative economy in which there is opportunity for employment away from the land has to be urgently created to check this problem in time. New means for utilizing the resources of the hills as well will have to be found to help absorb surplus people and the pressure of migrants on the Terai will have to be gradually reduced.

As a widely occurring phenomenon throughout the hills of Nepal and one that has deeply affected the socio-economic life of the rural Nepal of the present day, migration quite naturally is getting much attention from researchers in the socio-economic field at this moment. This Institute's selection of migration in the hills for study has been dictated by this common concern shared with everyone else in Nepal. Another reason for selection has been the prospects of attempting to use anthropological field methods for the first time in such a study. Most previous migration studies have been based on statistical survey methods collected from census data. Such methods can cover extended areas, but consequently produce results of an impersonal nature. It is not our intention to deny

the value of survey studies, but rather to produce complementary data, taken on a much smaller scale, to expand the understanding of the human factors of migration. Anthropologists use their own techniques of close observation of the life of the people they are studying, and the intimate interaction with these people during the study-period adds insights and brings out problems unseen in general surveys. The present report is a preliminary attempt at this kind of research. It has been done in two village panchayats in Darchula district.

In this study one finds a refreshing shift from the usual stress placed on the problem. In addition to studying the economic reasons for migration, there is an attempt to bring out the effects of migration in the hills once the migrants have left their villages. The social aspects of migration are no less important for study as social reasons can be equally compelling in the decision in favour or against migrating by villagers.

There was no pressing reason for selecting Darchula for this study at the time of finalizing the planning for this project. The Institute felt that as the Far-Western Development Region was one of the least developed regions of Nepal, it would be desirable to locate its study there, if only to increase the general knowledge of the area. It was found that Darchula's net annual migration rate approached the general average for any region in the hills having out-migration. One further considered it possible that Darchula's proximity to the Indian border to some extent would indicate certain migratory patterns more easily. Some months ago, a new situation developed in this border region, after the study team had departed from the area. The restrictions put on the Nepalese crossing the border into India by the Indian Government disturbed the rhythm of the patterns of life of those people dependent on migration for making a living in the region. Although the present report does not directly discuss effects arising from this new problem, one can nevertheless, assume that it will have much material relevant to this new problem.

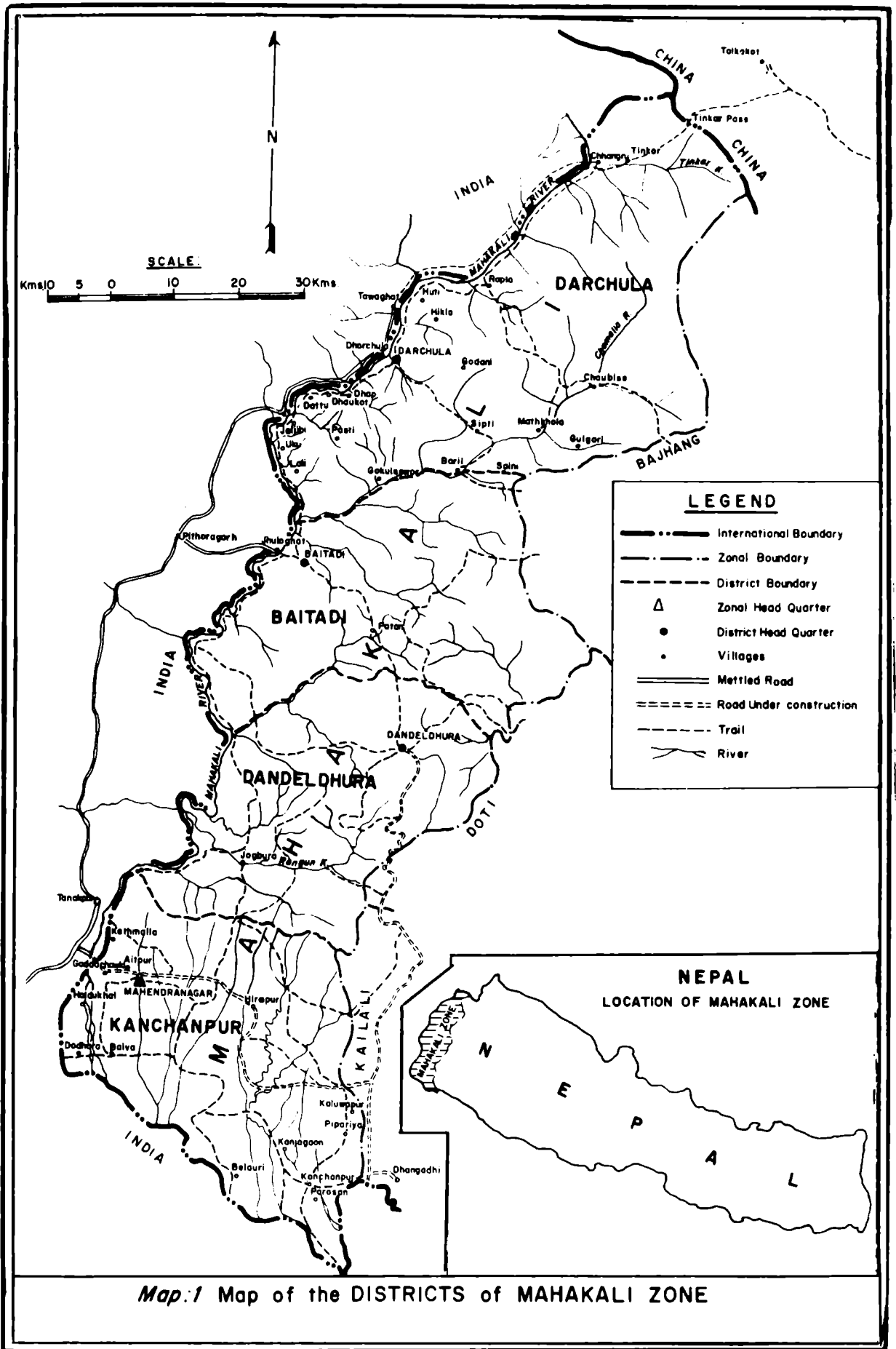
In the proposal for the study of hill-migration, it has been outlined that the migration studies done in small areas like the present one will be carried out in other regions of Nepal as well. Only then would such small-scale studies present a fairly reliable picture of the problem for Nepal as a whole. The Institute has followed up this project in the current year and is working on the

problem in yet another sector of the Far-Western Development Region. Again, the problem is being studied within a broader context as well and the related problem of the migration of Indian Nationals into Nepal in the recent years therefore has also been started this year. All of this is expected to enable us to understand the problem much more clearly and arrive at an agreeable solution.

Baisakh 1, 2034.

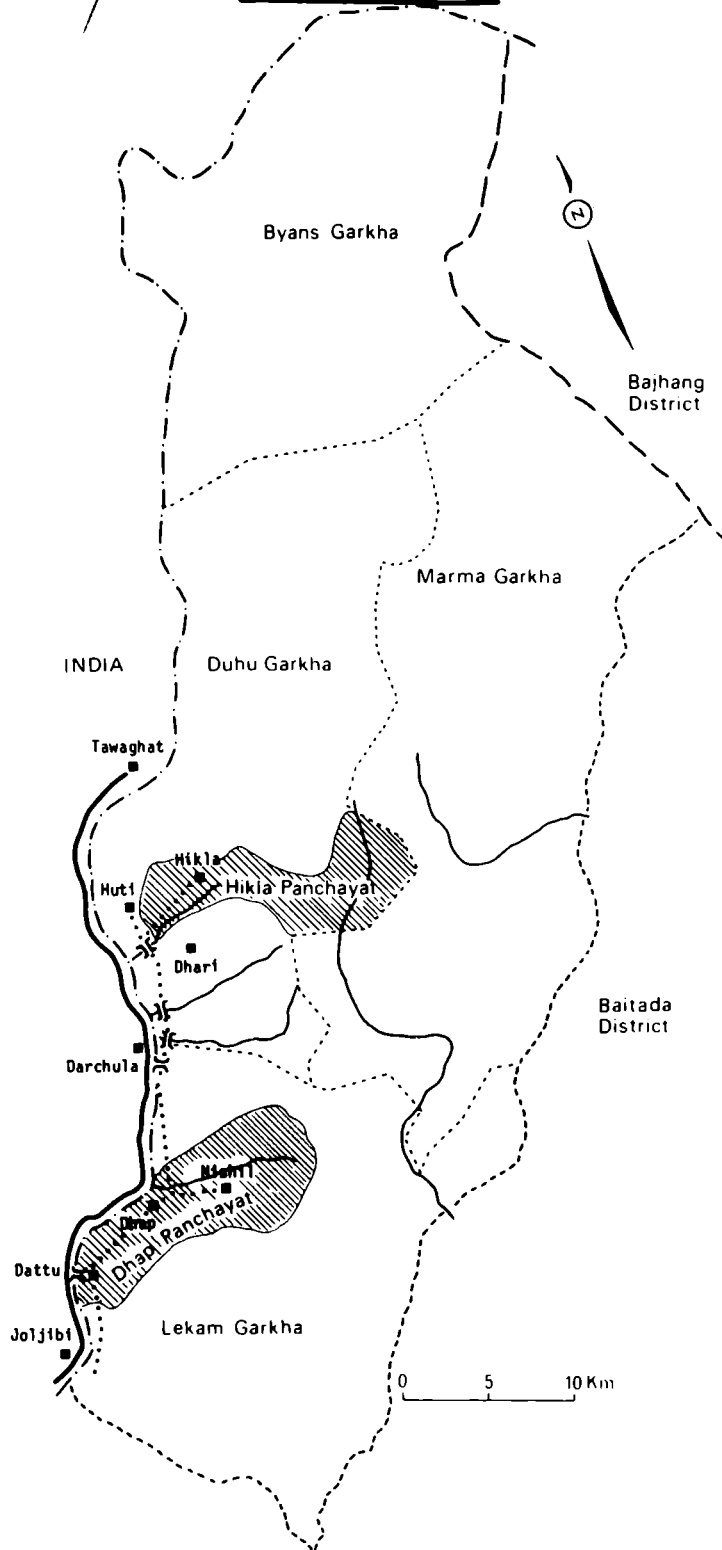
Prayag Raj Sharma
Dean, INAS





Map:1 Map of the DISTRICTS of MAHAKALI ZONE

Map: 2 DARCHULA / LOCATION OF DHAP AND HIKLA PANCHAYATS
District



Chapter 1

Introduction

In the last few years, a great many studies have been done concerning the redistribution of populations within various sections of Nepal. Nepal is a country where movement is difficult, yet surprisingly, the constant movement of people through out the Himalayas seems always to have been a common feature of the history of the area. The movement of peoples from the regions north of the Himalayas into Nepal can be easily deduced from the linguistic evidence, indicating that these populations entered as early as 10th century B.C. Subsequent migrations into Nepal are part of the historical record and indicate movements which have continued until quite recently (notably the movements of Kumain Brahmins from the far west of Nepal as recently as 300 years ago, see Uprety: 1975). Malaria eradication projects in the Terai and the subsequent movement into the area have recently brought a great deal of attention to migratory phenomena in Nepal. Rana and Thapa indicate that in the last twenty years the population of the Terai has increased by almost 75 percent, while the population has remained more or less stable in the hills (1975:43). The stability of population in the hills, however, seems more apparent than real. Some areas have had drops in population, some as high as 35 percent, but Darchula, the main area of focus in this report has had a population increase of 62.8 percent in the period between 1961 and 1971 according to the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (Gurung, 1975:41). This could hardly be termed a stable population, but compared to a population growth of 293.5 percent in the same ten year period for Kanchanpur, the main area fed by migrants from Darchula, the growth seems less significant. We are therefore dealing not with stable populations, but with a very large population growth rate in both

places and if one takes into account the problems of the diminishing fertility of the soil in the hills, as well as the loss of land due either directly to landslides, or indirectly by loss of water supply due to landslides changing a course of water supplies, we are dealing with a very serious problem of increased population with fixed or diminishing resources.

Recent migrations have certainly been influenced by changes brought about by the government of Nepal and its development projects, but the effects are felt primarily in directing migration to a particular area and are not the cause of the phenomenon of migration itself. Migration can take many forms, but in general it is the movement of people brought about by environmental pressures which make movement necessary for sufficient food production. These pressures may be land scarcity, over population, or they may be the affects of climatic factors which bring about cyclical movements throughout the year. These cyclical movements can be a feature of the adaptation to the hill and mountain environments and are practised in many places throughout Nepal. From an ecological point of view, the movements of traders must be viewed as a form of migration brought about by an attempt to offset scarcities in their home areas. The movements of transhumant agro-pastoralists must likewise be considered in as a form of migratory movement, for these groups must move through a series of ecological zones which become utilizable in different periods of the year, abandoning others as the climatic changes make them unexploitable for limited periods within the yearly cycle. The habitat of these agro-pastoralists must be seen as a range of various ecozones and not a single area which is exploited. Both of these forms are types of migration necessary in living in rather marginal economic areas, regardless of popula-

tion. Without radical technical change (such as irrigation projects and new types of agricultural plants) these areas could not be exploited without either the external incomes of the traders or without the utilization of the range of environments exploited by the agro-pastoralists.

When the population rises, however, and the needs of one type of land use begin to impinge upon another, that is for example, when pasture land begins to have to be cultivated, or when carrying capacity is reached, the carefully balanced system begins to run down and an external solution becomes necessary. In order to avoid a breakdown in the system, it is necessary to bring down the population through one means or another. In some societies where resources are limited or reaching their limits, infanticide or the killing of elders is used. This is not permissible under the moral code of peoples in Nepal. In Thakkhola and other areas under Tibetan influence, the juma system (the system whereby the second son and second daughter become part of the Buddhist clergy and hence are taken out of the breeding population) helped to keep the population within manageable proportions. Where these are not practised, migration of a more permanent nature is the line of least resistance. In the period following the conquest of Kathmandu Valley, migration from one region of the hills to another was quite common, but Nepal's population grew and the hills in most regions are now fully exploited. Fortunately, malaria eradication projects opened up a new geographic area to exploitation and thus temporarily postponed serious difficulties. The outside world also intervened in other fortunate ways, making it possible for surplus population to be absorbed in the British and Indian armies, which also brought cash to the hills. In addition, short-term jobs could be obtained in projects of development in both India and Nepal. These both provided a way of avoiding permanent migration, yet these by our defi-

dition are forms of migration in and of themselves, since they involve movement for the sake of supporting shortages in the local systems.

It is our purpose, then, to present a study of migration as it is presently occurring in the district of Darchula and its "diadic" paired district of Kanchanpur, which receives most of the out-migrants from Darchula. We will present migration in terms of the conditions which lead to it and the effects it is having in human terms, based on anthropological field-work done by the researchers in both areas. Our goal is to present various types of migration as decisions of increasing severity, strategies for offsetting shortages and undertaken because of conditions which prevent other intervening solutions from taking place. We will also report on the effect on the hills of ten years of migration to the Terai, notably presenting data as to whether this migration has served in any way to alleviate the problems of land scarcity in the hills. We will proceed in terms of the typology presented in Hill Migration in Nepal: the Effects of Out-migration in a Hill Village in Far-Western Nepal (A Project Proposal). It should be noted that our typology does not, for the time being, take into account the destination of the hill villager; that is to say we are not here studying whether migration is rural-urban or rural-rural in nature in our typology. Our typology treats destination as if it were unnecessary information, although our case studies carefully explore the destination of migrants. In our typology our primary concern is the relation of the villager to his village of origin, his reason for leaving and the quality of his continuing relationship to his village of origin is under scrutiny, not his destination.

In 1973, the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, in producing its Handbook, discussed the nature of research to be undertaken by what was then called the Sociology section. In the Handbook, it was stated that:

The section is particularly interested in doing research concerned with development and social change which will be useful to HMG. Projects for the study of the social and economic consequences of the large southward movements of population in Western Nepal are being elaborated and will be executed in the next two years (p. 14).

A year went by at the Institute, where senior research staff were engaged in individual projects in village ethnographic studies. After the completion of the reports from these individual field studies, members of Sociology section met and decided to work as a research team concentrating on development related projects. We decided to return to the earlier stated aim of working on the problem of migration in Nepal.

The problem was obviously a difficult one and due to the geographic distances and the complexity of the multiple factors involved in migration, both ecological and sociological, it was decided that the problem would best lend itself to a team approach. A team composed of two Nepalese anthropologists and one American anthropologist was put together and is now undertaking this research.

A pilot project was outlined which would allow the researchers to assess the problems of using a methodology based on anthropological observation to study the migration situation in the hills, first-hand, without having to hire addition personnel. Population figures for Nepal were studied to locate a site from which there was a strong possibility of sufficient out-migration to warrant our attention. At the same time, it was necessary to find an area where the numbers

migrating would not be so excessively large that they could not be analysed by three field-workers. The term "social panchayat" was devised as the research site to be delineated,¹ but the necessities of relying on government figures, because of the short term of field work in this pilot project, made it necessary to drop the term "social panchayat" for the sake of the initial project and to utilize government figures for some data, organized by political panchayat boundaries. These population figures were supported by information received from former residents of the target areas under question now living in Kathmandu. This technique allowed us to evaluate statistics given by both Zevering (1974) and figures from the Central Bureau of Statistics, HMG. Without these additional interviews, statistical information would have been difficult to evaluate, first because of the district boundary changes initiated between the 1961 and 1971 censuses and secondly, the actual boundaries for some of the data, especially data presented in Zevering were unclear since they involved grouped districts, often including unspecified fragments of districts in these grouped regions. Interviews indicated that there was migration of all kinds remembered in the target areas.

Darchula district in the northwest corner of the Far-Western Development Area was selected primarily because of the lack of data on the area. Darchula, being close to India and the Tibetan autonomous region of the Peoples Republic of China was felt to provide a large variety of choices to potential migrants. Since the choices were there, it was felt that all types of migration behaviour would be found in the area. The recent growth of the Terai in this region (particularly Kanchanpur already noted to have had a growth rate over ten years of 293.5 percent) indicated that sufficient

numbers of people were migrating out of the western hills to warrant attention, but whether they were leaving Darchula or not was problematic. Also if they were leaving Darchula, which section of Darchula would have the greatest migration. Zevering's figures indicated a yearly out-migration of about 0.86 percent in the region. The mean net out-migration for areas having out-migration in Nepal is about 0.70 percent per year. Therefore, the migration rate in Darchula and surrounding districts was quite close to the mean of areas having out-migration. For these reasons, Darchula seemed to be both interesting and manageable. A final reason for choosing the area was the lack of specific ethnographic data on the region. The anthropologists felt, therefore, that their own academic goals could be furthered, in addition to producing data of immediate value to planners. Since the southern third of Darchula is most densely populated and contained the district headquarters, it was felt that this would be the most likely area to find land shortage and hence migratory behaviour. We were fortunate in that a group of traders, the Byanshi² were living in the district headquarters at the time of our study. In addition, therefore, to our survey of the southern third of Darchula, we were also able to add relevant data on the northern third of the district as well.

We held off deciding which panchayat to select for detailed study until we arrived in the area. We decided to approach Darchula from Dhangarhi, to enable us to survey the general economic situation throughout this area. The research team travelled along the right-of-way of the as yet uncompleted Dhangarhi-Dandeldhura highway, utilizing transport supplied by cooperating roadway officials for the first part of the journey. We questioned road labourers as to the location of their homes in the hills and it was determined, al-

most immediately, that these labourers did not come from our target area, but rather were made up in large part of populations of Sherpas from eastern Nepal, Magars from districts such as Palpa, Piu-
than and Salyan, as well as small numbers of Rais, Gurungs, and Tamangs from the Darjeeling area (See Appendix I). Travelling north, the researchers noted a sparse population in the area north of Godavari to Dandeldhura Bazar. It was also noted that contractors found local labourers difficult to find and that food and lodging could only be obtained in official housing on the roadway itself. Interviews with the Chief District Officer and other district officials in Dandeldhura impressed upon us that there was much migration from Dandeldhura, particularly seasonal labourers. It was suggested, however, that little migration of any kind occurred either from Baitadi or Darchula districts. We were later to find, however, that this was not actually the case. We found that between Dandeldhura and Patan in Baitadi district, the road travels over a 7,758 foot pass at Pilkot Danda. After Patan, it is again necessary to climb over another 7,000 foot pass to descend into Baitadi Bazar. The presence of these passes made it easier to transport goods and people via the roads in India, and as a consequence there was little traffic from the Baitadi-Darchula area through Dandeldhura. Because of this, the local estimates of migration were low. The C.D.O. in Baitadi, however, also indicated a low level of migration and indicated that Dandeldhura was the point from which highest migration took place. Considerably uneasy, yet fairly convinced that migration had to be taking place, the researchers travelled along the valley of Mahakali river (on the Nepal side) travelling to Khalanga-Darchula, the district headquarters of Darchula district. After discussing local conditions with government

officials, who again minimized local migration, the researchers split up for the purpose of visiting several panchayats each with varying geographic conditions, to assess which areas had sufficient migration to warrant our attention. Migrants in adequate numbers were found in all areas, but the types of migration varied in emphasis from panchayat to panchayat. It was decided to study two panchayats of differing geographic configuration to try to assess which factors, in particular, caused differences in emphasis in varying panchayats between one type of migration and another. In other words, we tried to assess which ecological factors caused the difference in frequencies between migratory types in one area compared to another.³

In both panchayats, life histories of both migrants and those remaining were obtained. All cases of migration were studied and data about land holdings, economic conditions and social factors which led to particular migrations were obtained, second-hand, from the remaining relatives of migrants. Information about the nature of continuing ties between the migrant and his village of origin were also obtained. After a period of time, the researchers switched villages and data was checked again, while additional data was obtained. Careful study of population figures and land records was undertaken and particular attention was paid to the nature of errors in those records, so that if any consistency in those errors were found they could be noted and included in the data.

It was the purpose of this study to look at migration from the point of view of the hills, utilizing data found in the hills. It was discovered, however, that as we questioned villagers on the conditions of people who had left, in spite of the fact that their information was generally accurate (as found on subsequent checking),

and that much information could be indirectly gathered on their attitudes towards migration, there was much information missing. It was difficult as well to assess the accuracy of the data at that time without checking on it. Therefore, as we discovered that villagers in this area moved to the Terai in a kind of "diadic" pattern (that is to say they settled in clusters in villages next to their former neighbours from the hills, so that a village in the hills had a corresponding sister village or "diad" in the Terai), it would be very easy to find and interview the migrants themselves. Therefore, the researchers travelled to the Terai and studied the "diad" villages corresponding to the hill panchayats in question, in order to verify information gathered in the hills. This diadic pattern, was found to be tremendously strong and leads us to say that for this region at least, the village of origin of hill migrants in the Terai is more important in resettlement patterns than the caste standing of the villager in question. The study in the hills was thus duplicated in the Terai and all cases were carefully verified. The fact that data was remarkably consistent leads us to conclude that what we found was accurate. In all cases, the researchers utilized techniques of data gathering traditionally used by anthropologists.

Setting

The region covered in our study stressed two major areas, as well as a tour and a general economic survey of the regions which connect them. In the north, the survey centred around two political panchayats (the term "social panchayat" had to be dropped for reasons explained above). These two panchayats Hikla and Dhap differed from each other in both mean altitude and in the focus of the local economy. In addition, a survey was made of a more traditional

migratory group, the Byanshi traders who spent their winters centred around Khalanga panchayat in Darchula. With these three populations, all migratory options were approached and it was to study the implications of utilizing these options that our stress was placed.

Dhap panchayat in Lekam garkha,⁴ is the third largest panchayat by population in Darchula district. Located on the Mahakali river, the border between India and Nepal, it is in the southern third of the district, the area with greatest population density. Access to India exists in the panchayat via a bridge across the Mahakali in the village of Dattu, across from a small Indian village with access to a motorable road. There have been repeated attempts by the villagers in Dhap gaun to get permission to build another bridge or replace the Dattu bridge with a bridge from Dhap to India. Since there is no village across from Dhap on the Indian side, there is little economic advantage to having such a bridge except for the convenience of the villagers in Dhap who could then take the bus to Khalanga eliminating the present three hour walk.

The population of Dhap is made up of Brahmins (Pantha, Bista, Joshi, Bhat, Awasthi), Thakuri (Pal, Singh, Chand), Khasya Chhetri (Mahar, Thagunna, Raikhola, Airi), Matwali Chhetri (Dhami, Kunwar), Lohar (Blacksmiths), Tamta (Coppersmith), Koli (Oil presser), Parki (reed worker), Doli (tailor), Badi (musicians and clay workers) and Thakur.⁵

The majority of the population lives at relatively low altitude (between 3,000 and 3,600 feet). There is sufficient water for irrigated agriculture supplied mainly from the Nimbu Kheda. This river is noted for the large number of water powered rice mills quite

densely grouped at its mouth. Of the total claimed land holdings in Dhap, roughly 42 percent are in the form of irrigated land. Of 508 households having land claims in Dhap roughly 63 percent own some quantity of irrigated land. Holdings range from 0.049 acres (0.375 ropanis) to 7.898 acres (60.75 ropanis).⁶ The remainder of the lands are in the form of non-irrigated holdings as well as land devoted to the production of animal fodder from the jungle. This jungle land, however, is privately owned in this area.

The geographical distribution of the land in Dhap is atypical for this area, since there is a flat rocky plateau between the river level and the first irrigated fields. This area is too rocky for most agricultural purposes and so it is utilized primarily for grazing cattle. Since the trail between Dattu and Khalanga runs across this plateau, new stores and panchayat buildings and many houses have been located on this level close to the commercially active area below the irrigated fields. Dattu has a more typical village form for this altitude, where irrigated fields at lower altitudes lead to gharbari fields (a type of unirrigated land) at an altitude of about 3,300 feet. In these more typical villages, houses are built entirely in this gharbari area. Houses are located at this altitude in Dhap as well, though the village center is shifted to the lower altitude. At about 3,600 feet, in both villages the fodder gathering area (kharbari) begins. It is from this zone that firewood (both for local consumption and for sale in Khalanga-Darchula) and pirul (leaves gathered to fertilize fields) are gathered. At 4,500 feet the lekh lands start, utilized in cultivation. Above 5,000 feet begins another level of kharbari, used for grazing goats in the rainy season and for gathering animal fodder for rest of the year. The utilization of these various ecological strata and the maintenance

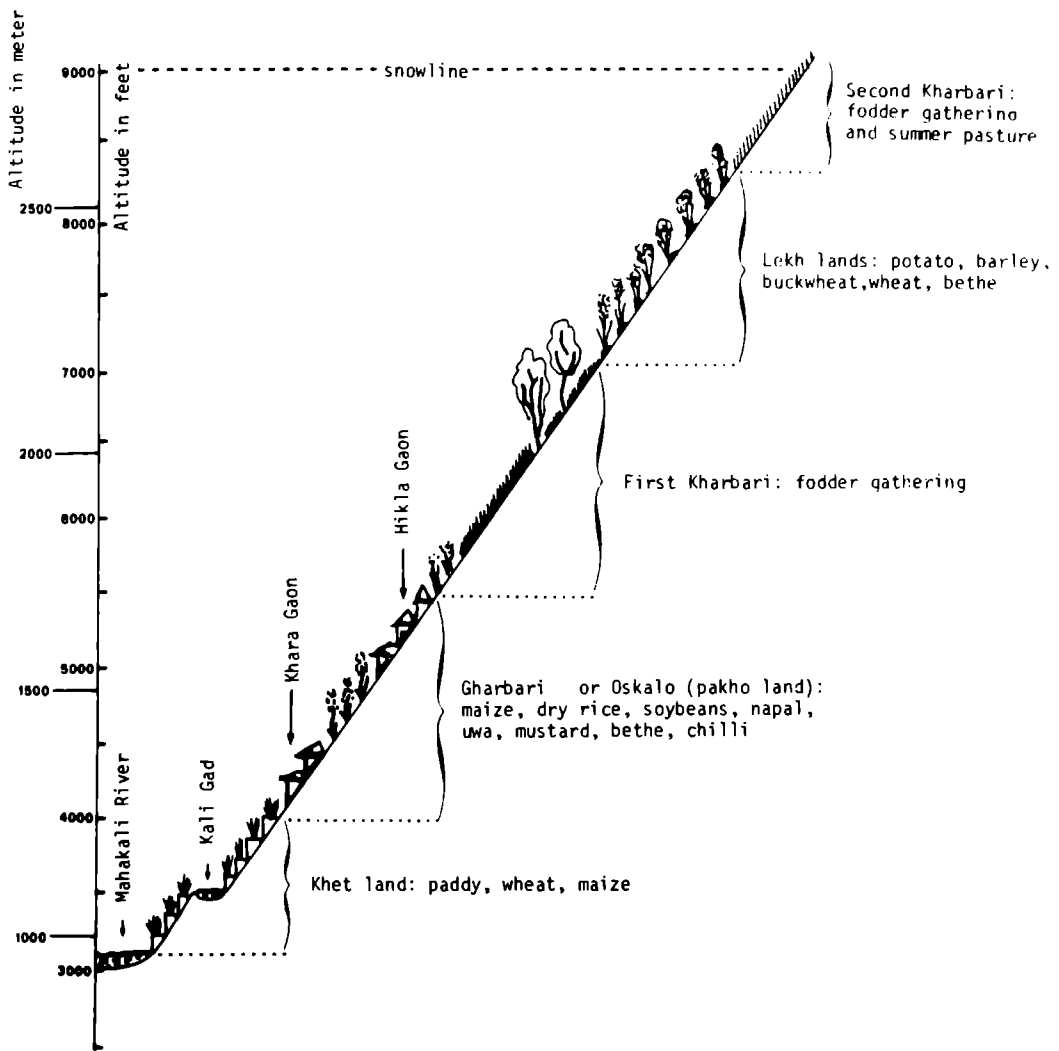


Fig. 1. - Hikla Transect (schematic)

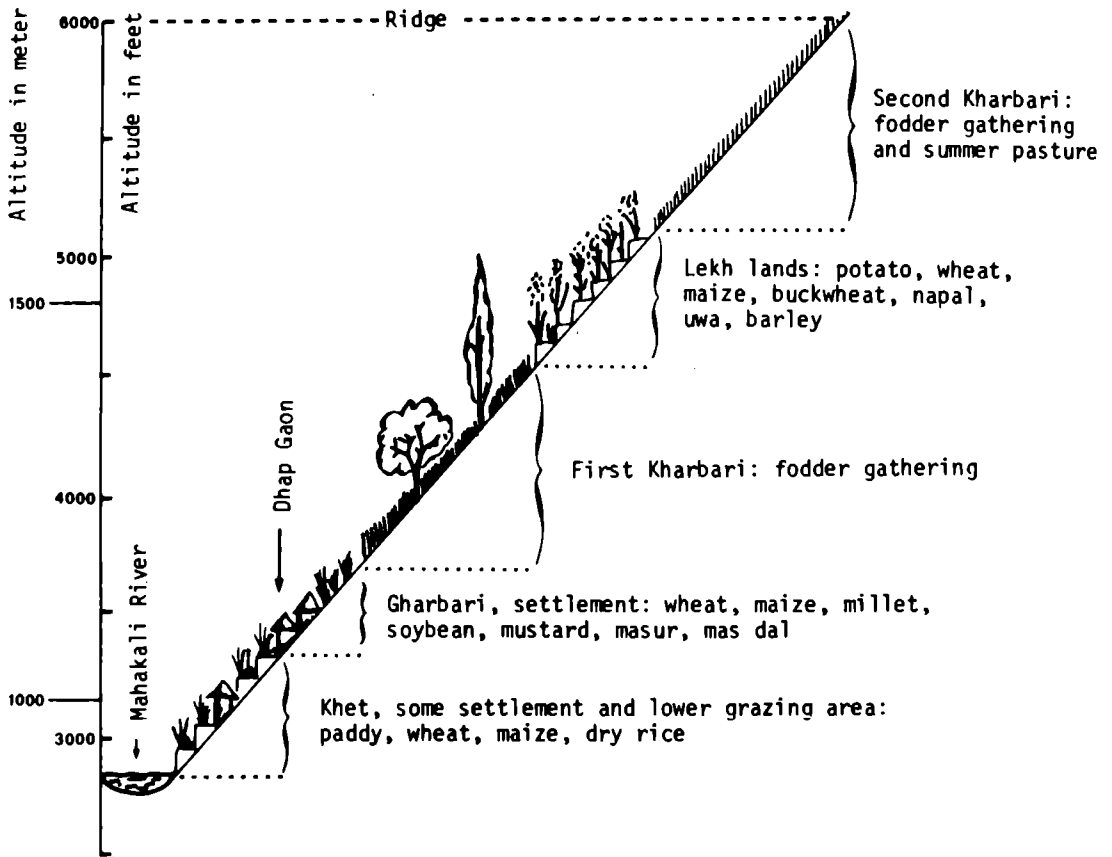


Fig.2. - Dhap Transect (schematic)

of marked boundaries of utilization, gives the farmers of Dhap a great deal of variety in crop strategies and reasonable certainty of good crops, even if there is crop failure in any one zone. But in these lower altitude villages, reliance on irrigated agriculture is the main feature.

The domestic animal population is relatively small, when compared to that of panchayats at higher altitudes and seems to be limited by the amount of kharbari land available in the area. Only 51 families (10 percent) own kharbari land and the proportion of kharbari to other land types is small. Reliance on animal husbandry is clearly subordinate to agriculture and for the most part husbandry is utilized in relation to agricultural production. Although ghee is sold to India and goats are sometimes slaughtered for meat (to be sold to both the Indian and Nepali military in the area) production is small and secondary to the use of oxen for ploughing and cattle, buffalo, and goats for manure production. Goats are never used for the transport of goods and because of the high temperature and limited pasturage, sheep are not raised.

Hikla panchayat, the second major focus of our study, lies at the middle altitudes of Duhu garkha. The bulk of cultivated land falls between altitudes of 4,500 and 6,000 feet, although there is some land (roughly 2.7 percent) below 4,500 feet. Hikla is located about four hours walk to the northeast of Khalanga in the hills above the Mahakali valley. There is no year around crossing point into India in this area, although the motorable road in India goes this far north. Villagers must cross at Khalanga-Darchula in the rainy season, but in the dry season, however, the Mahakali river may be forded at several points or crossed by means of temporary wooden bridges present only at the time of use, since this is an

illegal act.

The population of Hikla is similar to the population of Dhap except for differences in thar (lineage) names. There are Khak-kela (Jaisi) Brahmins⁷ (Joshi, Bhat, Bista), Thakuri (Bom), Khasya Chhetri (Badal, Karki, Dhami, Sahu, Samal, Kunwar), Matwali Chhetri (Dadal) as well as Lohar, Tamta, Bhul (leather workers) and Parki.

The majority of Hikla's population lives at the higher altitudes and only 6 percent own irrigated land in the panchayat (one-tenth of the number of families owning irrigated land in Dhap). Most families own unirrigated land, and roughly 84.6 percent of the families own unirrigated land and kharbari. The geographical pattern of land holdings in this area is therefore quite different from Dhap. Khara, the first major settlement lies at 4,500 feet. Hikla is located 500 feet above Khara. All houses have been built between 4,500 and 5,500 feet. Although an irrigation project was started in the village planned to draw water from the Kaligad, it was not completed, so all land above 4,500 feet presently is unirrigated, although a satisfactory water supply exists. Hikla panchayat is surrounded on three sides by mountains, with the western side open. The southern side of the panchayat, i.e. a north facing slope, has been severely scarred by land slides and much agricultural land has been lost. In addition, the slides have made the access routes to the village hazardous. The land utilization is the same as in Dhap (that is, irrigated land followed by gharbari, followed by kharbari, followed by lekh lands, followed by a second level of kharbari as one ascends the hillside), but the proportions of these land types, however, differ greatly, especially the amount of kharbari land available to the villagers and the number of families holding khar-

bari, which is much greater (400 families in Hikla own kharbari land).

The greater amount of kharbari holdings allow a very large animal population and therefore one finds a much greater reliance on animal husbandry related activities in Hikla. In addition, the panchayat's larger and higher pastures allows families with sufficient investable capital to take part in trade, utilizing animal transport. Sheep are raised and owned by 30 families in Hikla panchayat and are used in transport for trade. Cottage industry is beginning to flourish in the village, centering mainly on the spinning and weaving of locally grown wool into suiting materials which are sold either in Khalanga or brought down to the Terai for distribution by the traders themselves. Salt is still being brought from Tibet and traded in the middle hill region, while grain, raw sugar, tobacco, and sundry goods are taken to Tibet. There is also still a wool trade with Tibet and the finest quality cloth is said to be made from this wool, but the local people for the most part wear cloth made from local wool. These traders are Hindus and work in competition with the Byanshi who will be discussed below.

The reliance on animal husbandry may be noted in a comparison of animal populations between Dhap and Hikla panchayats. (see Table 1 below). Although the absolute numbers of animals in Hikla may have been overestimated, the large numbers of people bringing down animal fodder from the kharbari areas was immediately noted during our stay. Huge stacks of fodder were carried down by the women and sometimes if more was gathered than one could carry, the stacks were bound and simply rolled down the hill. This large amount of fodder is contrasted with areas along the Mahakali around the route to Hikla, where women could be seen gathering nettles to feed the animals,

Table 1 Comparison of Animal Populations in Dhap and Hikla.

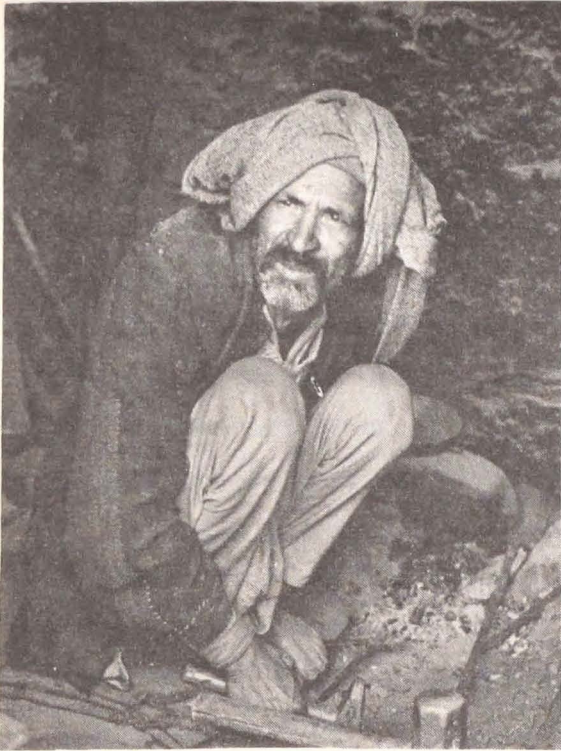
	Dhap	Hikla	
Cattle	2,500	9,000	4,000 male ¹ 5,000 female
Buffalo	2,000	3,000	
Goats	1,200 ²	1,000 ²	
Sheep	0	4,000	

1. Local dialectical terms are: balda for oxen, goru for female, in other parts of Nepal goru means bullock.
2. Goats in both villages are bakhara type.

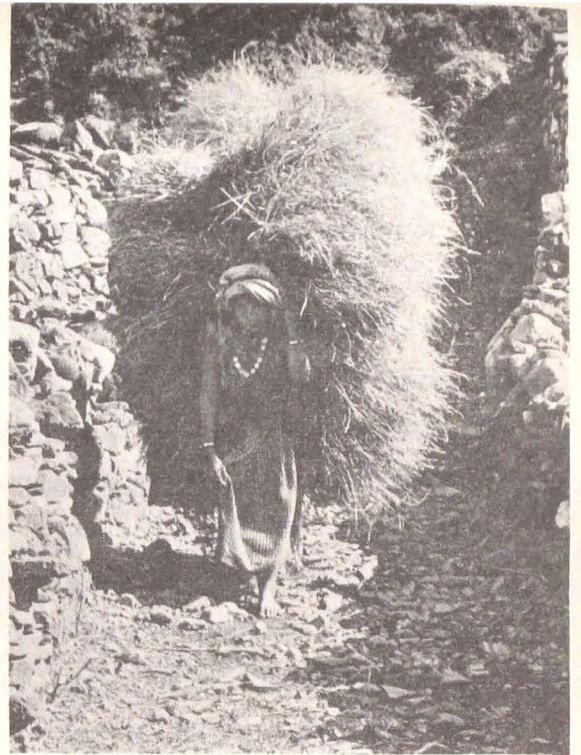
a slow, difficult and often painful task. The large kharbari resources in Hikla made this task unnecessary and large stacks of collected fodder (ghajo) could be seen in front of virtually every house even in front of the local temple. The reliance on husbandry was further under-scored by the constant activity of every male above childhood in the village, who were constantly spinning wool even as they spoke to the anthropologists. This was not seen in Dhap, but was noted among the Byanshi traders as well. Cows and buffalo are used for milk and manure production and this economic stress on animal husbandry was further noted in the fact that fodder is sold within the village for cash.

The third site of our study was Khalanga-Darchula, the district headquarters itself. Khalanga-Darchula contains two totally independent populations during the winter months (we remained in the

area for the months of January and February). The base population of Khalanga-Darchula is similar to the population of Dhap and Hikka, made up of Hindu castes such as Brahmins, Thakuris, Chhetris as well as all service castes including Thakurs from India. This population functions both as agriculturalists and as commercial operators, maintaining a small agricultural bazar town. The commercial facilities of the town are for the most part run by Awasthi Brahmins, who have dry goods stores and small tea shops, in addition to running several government sponsored stores such as the National Trading outlet and a government seed and fertilizer store. The commercial economy in the area seems for the most part to be depressed, since small quantities of almost any item can be purchased without having to pay duty, more cheaply, simply by crossing the Mahakali river and buying them in the bazar in India. A shop-keeper in Nepal, however, would have to pay duty on sufficient quantities of most goods. To make a profit, therefore, his prices would automatically be higher than those in India. Some goods are sent directly from Mahendranagar in sealed trucks and therefore duty need not be paid, since the goods go from Nepal to Nepal via the Indian road. These goods (such as rice, dal, cigarettes, soap and matches) are therefore cheap and plentiful, but it is difficult to base an entire business on those goods alone (although a few stores manage to do so, successfully) and for the most part the stores in Nepal do a minimal business, with both Indian and Nepalese currency used as a medium of exchange. In addition, there is a fairly large and fairly rich agricultural area in the panchayat, which is utilized for the most part by the Hindu population. The geographical land distribution is similar to that of Dhap with the commercial area below the irrigated fields. We did not take land



Blacksmith in his shop
in Darchula-Khalanga.



Woman bringing
fodder to be sold
in Darchula-Khalanga.

Banga Bagar Bazar in Darchula-Khalanga,
the winter home of the Byanshi of Chhangru.





Chhetri man in Dharpur



Landless Chhetris on the road between Hikla and Dharchula-Khalanga.

a village: non-irrigated fields.



figures for the area, since they did not seem to differ sufficiently from Dhap in the agricultural sphere to warrant attention within our limited time.

Khalanga-Darchula is the district headquarters of Darchula district and lies at an altitude of 3,000 feet next to the Mahakali river which is the border between India and Nepal. A steel suspension bridge connects the bazar with Dharchula, a fairly large hill town in India whose major function seems to be support for a large military garrison in the area. In addition, Dharchula in India is connected by motorable road to Askot, Pithoragarh and other major cities in northern India, as well as to the railhead at Tanakpur. Dharchula is a town with electricity, movie theaters for the army and a junior college, and as a consequence Dharchula generates a strong attraction to Nepalese to cross over for shopping, as well as for short term jobs and access to larger cities.

The second main population of Darchula-Khalanga comes only in the winter months. In this period the entire population of Byans panchayat migrates with panchayat offices, schools and most of the population to Darchula-Khalanga. This population is made up of entirely of Tibeto-Burman speaking Hindus of a group locally known as Sauka. The Sauka, in addition, live throughout the hills of Garhwal and Kumaon, but here we are concerned primarily with the Nepalese population, whose homeland is in Byans panchayat in the northernmost section of Darchula district. We will use the term Byanshi to refer the strictly Nepalese populations of the Sauka.

The Byanshi live into two major sections of Darchula-Khalanga. The northernmost section is called Banga Bagar and contains the population of the Byanshi village of Chhangru as well as the panchayat offices and one of the schools. On the southern side of the

bazar is another community called Tinkari Kheda, made up of the people of Tinkar, the second major village of Byans panchayat. Both groups now live in finished permanent stone houses of a quite large size. Prior to 1964, however, the Byanshi lived in small cattle shed-like structures (goths) in which the Byanshi families lived with their livestock. It was from these small structures that trading expeditions were launched. In the late 1800's, there was a dispute between the Byanshi and the high Nepali castes over land in the present Dethala, Dhuligada and Khalanga panchayats. The Byanshi claimed that since they came from the high altitude northern regions, they needed land on which to spend the winter. Since this land had been the traditional winter home of the Byanshi, they felt they should continue to spend their winters here. The high Nepali castes, however, felt that since they had been cultivating the land and since the Byanshi came only in the winter, the Nepali castes should have the right to the lands throughout the year. This conflict between differing needs for the utilization of the same land continued until 1904 A.D., when the then Prime Minister, Chandra Shumshere sent a sanad to the Byanshi saying that for the six months the Byanshi lived in the region they would be allowed to live on and utilize the land, while for the remaining six months the Nepalese high castes could raise their crops. Tax would be paid by the Nepalese high castes. But this did not end the dispute, since when a Byanshi arrived, he had to fence in areas to contain his livestock. In addition, the small goth-like structures and courtyards were built. When the Byanshi returned to Byans in the summer, the courtyard was ploughed with the rest of the land in the compound and irrigation ditches were often run so close to houses that they had to be repaired each year. Feeling got so high that a min-

ister was sent on special deputation (daudaha) to settle the dispute. It was decided that the land under dispute would be given to the Byanshi in return for cash payment and the Byanshi would then take over payment of the land tax. Once this was settled, the Byanshi began to built permanent houses, although agriculture continues to be practised in the summer months by the high Nepali castes on a share-cropping basis. In the winter months, the land under question is utilized as living space and as place for animals. This does not create any economic hardship, however, since the land in question is only very small proportion of the agricultural land available in these panchayats, mostly below the primary irrigated fields. In addition, the land under question becomes quite fertile as it is utilized as sheep pens and corrals for other livestock in the winter and much manure is produced. When the high castes utilize it during the summer months, therefore, the yields are quite high.

In addition to the Byanshi and the local Nepali populations, there are some government officials living in this area. Many of these officials come from regions adjoining Darchula to the south such as Baitadi, although there are people from the Terai and even some Newars from Kathmandu. These groups are for the most part are treated as outsiders and see their stay as being temporary.

The bulk of our study concentrates on populations from these three panchayats. Specifically under consideration are the populations of Dhap, Hikla and the Byanshi groups living in Khalanga-Darchula. It has been mentioned that the researchers have also worked in the "diad" villages of the Terai as well, that is, villages in which migrants from specific places from the hills always

seem to settle in groups. The diadic villages corresponding to Hikla and Dhap were studied. These villages are as follows: for Dhap panchayat, the corresponding diadic villages are Gauji, Amthala, Musepani and Barakunda all in Suda gaun panchayat, Haldukhal in Mahendranagar panchayat and Tilkani in Bhujela panchayat; for Hikla, Jimuwa and Tilkani in Bhujela panchayat, Haldukhal and Tilachaur in Mahendranagar panchayat and Amthala, Barakunda and Gauji in Suda panchayat. It must be noted that there is some overlap, that is to say, there are migrants from both Dhap and Hikla in several villages. For the most part, however, there is a clear dominance of one group or another in each of these villages. Of the 20 panchayats in Kanchanpur district, six are dominated by hill migrants, the other fourteen are politically and socially dominated by Rana Tharus who are the people native to the area. These Rana Tharus are Pradhan panchas and ward members for these fourteen non-Pahadi panchayats. There are also Dangaura Tharus in the area, who are themselves fairly recent migrants from the Dang valley. Of the six remaining panchayats only Suda, Mahendranagar and Bhujela panchayats have migrants from the area under study and these live only in the villages listed above.

Kanchanpur is an area, which has experienced tremendous growth in the last ten years. Harka Gurung notes for this period the population of Kanchanpur has grown by 293.5 percent. This phenomenal growth had been due for the most part to in-migration from several major points. The first point has been the migration of Tharus from the Dang valley mentioned above, but this migration is a little concern to us for if local sources are correct the migration took place over a century ago and hence does not account for the recent growth of population. Looking however more carefully at the structure of

the three panchayats under question, we get a good example of the tremendous variety of migrants now living in these panchayats. Tila-chaur village in Mahendranagar panchayat, for example, is a single ward of this panchayat. Within this single ward are several sections, which we might call tols (neighbourhoods), each made up of populations from totally different areas of western Nepal. This ward contains populations from Dailekh, Surkhet, Dang, Salyan, Baitadi and Bajhang, in addition to those from Darchula district. Other wards in each of these six panchayats have similar structures, so that a tremendous variety is found within very small political areas. In addition to these migrants from all over western Nepal, are also many migrants made up of Nepalese populations formally living in Burma and India. These populations began arriving in the area around 1961 from areas such as Dehradun, Manipur, Dharamsala, Delhi, Assam, Rangoon, Machina and most importantly the village of Myu in Burma. This tremendously varied population is, of course, the basis of a totally separate study in and of itself, we will therefore confine ourselves to Darchula migrants at this time.

The three panchayats under study are located for the most part north of the east-west highway of Nepal and north and northwest of Mahendranagar bazar in Kanchanpur district within a three hour's radius by foot. None of this area is presently under the Punarvas resettlement program and with the exception of one case involving the Burmese, the land has all been illegally settled. The land in the panchayat under question is all Terai land, that is to say flat land at an evaluation of below 1,000 feet. This land is particularly dry and irrigation is a tremendous problem. Agriculture is the typical three crop per year pattern described in Bista (1975), two paddy crops per year and one crop of wheat.

In addition to the panchayats mentioned above, the researchers also travelled between Dhangarhi and Darchula on foot via Dandel-dhura and Baitadi. During this travel period questions were asked concerning labour and migration patterns (see Appendix 1) and comments on the findings from this area will be made as they apply throughout the paper. As this study was not systematic in these regions, the data will only be used to support data systematically gathered, to suggest further areas for research and to enlarge the scope of the available data.

Chapter II

Migration Typology

The definition of any migrant typology is always problematic, especially in a country where there are many kinds of constant movement. There are always numerous alternatives for ways to group individuals at any moment as they move from a variety of points of origin to a variety of destinations for a great many individual purposes. Studies in migration thus far presented portray these movements as being due to regional imbalances, that is differences in opportunities or resources available in one area over another. We, of course, agree that migration always has an economic bases, but economic imbalances between regions can be often more perceived than real. Although this study concentrates on relationships centering on only one area, we have tried to provide a holistic picture based not only on hard data of production and shortages, but also based on the limited knowledge of villagers, which is the basis for their own decision making. This information is certainly more limited than information available to economic planners, but this information vitally effects the outcomes of the policies of these planners and must be taken into account particularly when those policies are based on trying to change human behaviour.

So far, no systematic definition of a typology of migration exists as it relates to Nepal. There have been attempts, however, and each can be criticized for inadequacies. The CEDA/SFIT study (1973), for example, categorizes four types of migratory movements: i) seasonal migration ii) traditional settlers iii) former shuttlers and iv) permanent settlers. In this typology it is difficult to differentiate between traditional settlers and permanent settlers, since only an arbitrary time period separates the two. These

categories create no useful differences between settler's intentions in the two categories nor does it establish differences in their relationships to their villages of origin. These definitions have a Terai based point of reference, regardless of the settler's point of origin, and fails to establish an economic hierarchy involving more and more serious or permanent dissolution of ties to the villagers point of origin.

CEDA (1973), on the other hand, produces three categories of migratory movements: 1) seasonal 2) recurrent and 3) permanent. Although these categories are quite clearly defined and do establish the relationship between the point of origin and the point of destination, they are not exhaustive in describing all possible patterns of migration in Nepal. Especially missing are migrations which do not involve movement into the Terai, that is to say intra-hill migrations and again it is unclear as to what changes in relationships are involved when a seasonal migrant becomes a recurrent migrant. Again it seems that the two terms are divided purely by arbitrary time factors.

A typology of migration must exhaustively describe and allow for all possible points of origin, to all possible points of destination, whether they be in the hills or the Terai. These categories must also be based on some sort of comparable unit, defined in such a way that the differences between the types of migration are clearly placed on a single axis, so that they can be seen as solutions to economic problems of varying magnitude. We have stated that we feel migration is due to the economic factors, particularly those perceived by villagers themselves. For this reason, in creating our own migration typology we have keyed this typology to the major economic resource in the village, that is, land. It

is the relationship of the migrant to land in the village of origin that will become the single axis on which categories of migration can be orientated. In light of our criticism of the typologies presented above as well as those presented in Manzardo, Rai and Dahal: 1975, we have tried to produce a typology of migration which we feel to be more adequate to describe the situation in Nepal as a whole. In this typology, we have tried to avoid the setting up of categories which only apply to a single geographic point of reference and yet at the same time relate the subject's point of origin to his point of destination in terms of a single concept, that is the migrant's relation to his land. We have tried to avoid arbitrary time factors as the main points of differentiation and utilize rather differences in social factors which will become evident as we discuss our typology. The comparability factor will be relationship to land in the place of origin and the social factors which are necessarily entailed as a consequence of that ownership.

As long as a man maintains rights to land in a village, he must as a result of owning that land maintain a galaxy of social relationships to the members of that village wherever he chooses to reside. As long as these relationships are maintained, he must be considered to be a part of that village. In our study, we have noted that all migrants still owning land in the village were known to the villagers remaining in the hills, and details of their present life, regardless of residence, were kept track of and easily recalled. In the Nepali context, the land owner wants to be considered a part of his village and as long as these ties are maintained, the permanence of his migration must be called into question.

Most reports stress that migration is caused by the hardship brought about by either a lack of sufficient land or by hostile climate which leads to insufficient food production. This is so pervasive an explanation as to become meaningless by itself, for it fails to explain the situation in sufficient detail to provide any clues to the solution of the problems. In the chapters which follow, we intend to describe the various forms of migration as they presently exist in the hills of far-western Nepal and will produce specific case studies involving land shortage and insufficient food production as well as the detailed steps which villagers take to remedy their problems. The assumption is, for the most part, that migration is a step taken only reluctantly. The social and economic hardship caused by leaving a village, which is of course the basic social world of a villager, is undertaken only as a last resort. This is indicated by the Nepali word for migration, basain, which has negative connotations of the villager leaving his village due to total economic failure. It is only when economic conditions in the hills are hopeless, that a villager will cut his last ties and permanently migrate.

In some cases, however, temporary migration may take place for the purposes of investment. Such cases will be described below; but they lead us to state that migration is a phenomenon for both the rich and the poor, the middle group stays where they are. Forms of temporary migration which might come out of a temporary or permanent need to supplement the year's income, may or may not lead to a chain of events which can lead a villager to permanently leave his place of origin. The economic decisions which lead to this chain of events is unfortunately very difficult to extrapolate from the typologies which have been presented in this field thus far. By

emphasizing land ownership and its concomitant social ties, we automatically compare reversible migrants (those who leave themselves the option of returning to their village of origin by maintaining their rights to a place in that village by maintaining their rights to land in the village) to non-reversible migrants (those who no longer have the option of returning since their place in the village has disappeared with their loss of land in the village). It is by recognizing that villagers understand that there are these options and that each of these options has both costs and benefits that we can put our study of migration into perspective. By assessing each of these options and the conditions which lead up to the need to abandon one solution and take up an alternative one, that we can greatly expand our model of migration behaviour. If we can reconstruct to some extent the social and economic realities of the village decision maker, we can perhaps present a set of possible options for the planner himself, so that solutions can be made with a minimum of social distress.

a) Non-Migrants

The non-migrant is, in effect, the man in the middle. For the purposes of this initial characterization, one might simplify by saying that this group is of a middle income level, living in a mild climate area. The effects of mild climate enter, for example, in the case of some Byanshi, where the majority of population lives above 10,000 feet for a least part of the year, and who are forced as a result of climate to cyclical migration. There are, however, some populations of Byanshi living at 7,000 feet, in places such as Rapla panchayat of Darchula district. This group can raise crops on their land throughout the year and as a result are a sedentary, only minimally trading community of the same ethnic group. This indicates

some of the effect that climatic factors have in inducing migration. It is therefore the land poor, with no options; the wealthy with many options created by capital and education and those whose climate is not suitable to make a living throughout the year that must migrate. Those in the middle, those with sufficient land and suitable climate to maintain themselves throughout the year do not migrate, except in usual circumstances involving severe social disturbance. These cases are exceptions to the rule and will be covered in the more detailed description which follows below. The option of leaving (i.e. migrating) is potentially there, but the non-migrant owns no land outside of his social milieu nor does he earn money through labour outside his own village, except in the sale of certain surplus commodities or in occasional labour. Occasional labour differs from temporary labour migration in its irregularity, since the temporary labour migrant sets out, once the year during a predictable season to earn money. Occasional labourers go at irregular intervals and only for very short periods.

Those who do not own land, but work as retainers or sharecroppers may belong to this group of non-migrants, but almost all have to seek work during slack seasons. Some retainers are attached to wealthy landowners who after purchasing land in another ecozone for the purposes of investment might send these retainers to the new farms to work on the new investment land, thus even if settled, this group of poor non-migrants may be forced to migrate at any time and thus lead a tenuous existence.

Non-migrants therefore make up a group which is neither greatly prospering nor caught in a downward spiral and are for the most part landowners who earn a comfortable living from their present holdings. If there is a surplus, investment is made in either

capital improvements or the purchase of land in their own village area.

b) Migrants

b. 1 Reversible migrants

The reversible migrant continues to maintain access to land in the village of origin regardless of his present place of residence and mode of employment. The ownership of this land continues to provide him the option of returning to his village of origin, either during part of the year when conditions permit cultivation (as in the case of those areas where harsh climate prevents cultivation at some part of the year), or if his economic condition improves (such as sufficient cash is earned to pay off outstanding loans), or if the conditions in his present place of residence become undesirable. He may also shuttle between his village of origin either seasonally or as time permits (home leave etc.), or for specific social purposes (such as attendance at weddings, ancestor worship etc.). The reasons for the migrant's leaving his village of origin are usually due to either climate, insufficient food production (due to either harsh climate, poor land, insufficient land, temporary set-backs in financial condition) or the desire to profit either by commerce or by investment in additional land to produce cash crops. Any of these migrating individuals, by necessity, continue to maintain their social ties with the village of origin. Reversible migration can only be stable if outside opportunities (particularly outside employment) continue to remain available. Reversible migration can of course be a transitional or temporary state, indicative of a more permanent migration to come if no steady employment can be found and if conditions don't improve. If conditions do improve, such as through the purchase of more land,

reversible migrants can once again become non-migrants by returning to their village of origin in a position to earn their total income there. If conditions continue to deteriorate, however, the reversible migrants may find themselves having to sell their entire holdings in the village of origin thus becoming non-reversible migrants, using the proceeds of the sale either to purchase land in another area, or by becoming part of a government resettlement scheme or by being absorbed into labouring classes. The category of reversible migrant can be further subdivided according to the strategy used for maintaining the ownership of land in the village of origin.

A. Trading and Transhumance

These two groups are taken here as a single unit because both trading and transhumant agro-pastoralism are traditional means of dealing with insufficient food production in an area due to poor soil or harsh climatic conditions. What unifies the two groups is their reliance on animal husbandry to augment deficient a cultivation system. Both groups own land in what we might often have to arbitrarily term as a point of origin (since these groups tend to move in a regular yearly cycle), yet both groups may also own land or have rights to land in several subsidiary regions in differing ecozones as well.

In the case of trade, animal husbandry is utilized for the production of some trade goods, usually of a limited quantity, but this does not usually account for the major bulk of the trade flow. Instead, animal husbandry does give these traders a transport advantage allowing sufficient quantities of trade goods to be carried to create sufficient profit at the very least to make up for food insufficiencies. The flexibility of these trading groups has already been noted in the literature, particularly in groups such as

the Sherpa, Thakali, Khamba and in this region the Byanshi.¹ What separates the trading groups from the other agro-pastoral transhumant groups is access, for some period, to one of the trans-Himalayan trade routes. These trade routes are quite limited in number and without access to such a route trade is impossible. Access to these routes permit the groups to take advantage of the long standing differential of production brought about by differences of climate and adaptation between the Tibetan plateau and the middle hills of Nepal. The Tibetan plateau has long emphasized husbandry, hence produces a large surplus of animal products such as wool, yet is grain deficient (particularly in wheat because of the high altitude). The middle hills produces a grain surplus, but has always had a shortage of animal products due to lack of pasturage, particularly at low altitudes and has always been short of salt which is found in abundance on the Tibetan plateau. This means that groups with sufficient animal transport conditioned to crossing the high passes of the Himalaya have access to profits created by the differences in supply and demand between the north and the south.

Where such trade routes are absent or monopolized by other groups, local people must survive by utilizing a series of ecological zones in a regular cycle throughout the year. To some extent this characterizes the agriculture of much of Nepal's hills, but a heavy reliance on animal products and the utilization of high pasture, often at some distance away, characterize these groups which are here termed agro-pastoral transhumant groups. The literature of this adaption is only now starting to grow, but some good descriptions are beginning to be produced.²

As population increases or when there are external changes in the political climate, it is the trading groups which are usually the first to respond and most successful in dealing with this change. Since traders often accumulate capital (and today this means cash), the closing of a trade route or the increase of population beyond the carrying capacity of the village of origin leads not to chaos, but to the group migrating or better expanding, resettling primarily along what were once the way-stations of their former trade routes and creating new businesses to take advantage of new opportunities which have occurred as a result of change.³ These groups also have the cash to send their young to be educated and thus the groups change to reflect new ways.

The agro-pastoral transhumant groups are only marginally affected by closing of trade routes (since small localized trade often continue to serve them after a major route has closed), but overpopulation does effect these groups very seriously when the separation of functions between various ecozones break down as a result of pressures on the group to extend the utilization of one zone into a neighbouring zone. This is potentially a dangerous situation, since a shift in the utilization of these zones to alleviate problems brought about by population growth can lead to a permanent break down in the total cycle and lead to the degradation of the environment itself, through landslides and the resulting loss of water supply.

The Byanshi are the local group of traders in the Darchula area and present us with an almost classic Himalayan trading group. There are some transhumant elements in Hikla panchayat as well, but this is by no means as good an example as can be found elsewhere in Nepal, such as in the Ganesh or Manaslu regions, or perhaps in

other places in Darchula. Since these regions were not studied, however, we will present the data we have, noting some of the differences with more classic cases of transhumance.

B. Labour Migration

The second category of reversible migration is the labour migrant. These migrants, although all land-owners, fall into two categories. The first is the short-term seasonal labour migrant who works for a short time at the same period of each year normally for cash wages. The purpose behind this form of migration is the earning of addition income to make up for shortages in food due to insufficiency of land during the agricultural slack season. The second form of labour migration is long-term in nature. Such migration is usually brought about by local labour surpluses, that is to say where there is insufficient land to provide work for all members of the extended family making it necessary for one or more male members of the family to go outside the local village and seek work for extended periods elsewhere. The usual situation indicates that labour surplus is more important than land shortage in the case of long term migration, since the wives and economically inactive children for the most part continue to live in the village supported by the local agriculture, with only a small added income from those working outside. The money which is sent back by these migrants usually goes towards the improvement of household capital goods (such as houses) or the purchase of new land either in the village or in the Terai toward the repayment of debts.

B.1. Short Term-Seasonal Labour Migration

In the Darchula area, many cases of such short term migration were found. In Hikla panchayat, for example, because of the reliance on unirrigated land and the climate there is a slack season

in agricultural work, between the months of Poush and Phagun (December through March), where labour requirements in agriculture are only minimal. In addition, there is considerable snowfall in Hikla in the months of Magh and Phagun. Therefore, aside from the collection of firewood and fodder (women's work) there is little local work to be done. Since most of the land is not irrigated and therefore the irrigation of wheat (necessary at lower altitudes) is minimized, males can be easily spared for outside work during this three month period. In the case of short-term labour migration there is therefore a temporary surplus of labour related to the yearly agricultural cycle. In Hikla, 560 short-term labour migrants were found. In Dhap panchayat, where there is a greater reliance on irrigated agriculture and a milder climate with no snowfall, there is less short term labour migration with only 200 cases reported. Since there is more local work to be done at the lower altitudes during this period, fewer men are able to spare time to work in other areas.

Short-term labour migration usually takes the form of migrants going either to India or less commonly to other places in Nepal for short-term work, either at public works projects, such as construction gangs in road building or irrigation works construction, building of retaining walls and other labour intensive engineering programs. Migrants leave their villages in late Mangsir and return in the first week of Chait. The daily wage ranges from four to nine rupees (Indian currency) or roughly one U.S. dollar per day. After paying for food and lodging a villager can save roughly 70/- rupees per month, part of which is brought back in cash and the rest in the form of cloth or food.

B.2. Long Term Migration

Long-term labour migration involves leaving the village for extended periods of time, usually through signing some form of contract to work outside of the village area. Such labour involves work in the army or police forces of either India or Nepal, work as chowkidars or private industrial guards or work as lower grade civil servants in India. This labour involves the removal of the migrant from the village for an extended period of time and therefore is in no way related to the yearly agricultural cycle. A villager signing up for the Indian army will remain there from one to fifteen years of his life. Fifteen years is the goal of most of these migrants, since a pension is given at this time and ensures a small but steady income to the villager even after he ceases to work outside the village. This pension can tide him through difficult periods and can be invested during prosperous years, since it is given in the form of cash. Likewise, members of Nepal's police force strive to work at least 18 years in order to receive their pensions. Although these migrants are removed from the village labour force for long periods of time, they are not removed from the economy of the village, since many regularly sent back cash and bring cloth and food when they return to their villages during leaves.

Both short-term and long-term migrants maintain strong ties to the village of origin. For long-term migrants, the presence of wives and children in the households of the migrants relatives act as a marker of the migrants continued membership in the village and mark the retention of their share of their patrimony. Since the bulk of the daily agricultural work in these villages is done by

women and men's work is usually of a seasonal and generally short-term nature in areas where there are extended families with many male members, yet no large quantities of land, the males are more easily expended, while the women who must daily go out and collect fodder for the animals are not. In such cases, then, the families of the long-term migrants contribute to the necessary forms of labour, while the migrants are removed from their own redundant positions inside the village. After the long-term migrant permanently returns his savings can be utilized in the enlargement or improvement of the family house or in the purchase of land from local sellers (such as permanent migrants) or in the purchase of land for investment in the Terai.

The return of the short-term migrants in the month of Chait (signaled by certain festivals, discussed below) ensures his continued participation in the life of the village. Both forms of labour migration, as in the case of trading and transhumance, are ways of dealing with minimal shortages or population imbalances, short of total migration, the difference being that, for the most part, labour migration relies on the availability of jobs for the migrants which for the most part are related to development related activities (in this case technical development) usually created by either the Indian or Nepalese government or jobs related to the functioning of government itself (army, police or civil service), while trade and transhumance is related strictly to climatic factors or accessibility to separated regions suffering from reciprocal imbalances in availability of needed goods.

C. Extended Farms

Extended farms are brought about not by poverty, shortages or overpopulation, they are brought about rather by wealth and the desire to invest. We have mentioned that migration is something which involves either the rich or the poor; the extended farm is rich men's migration. Extended farm owners are farmers who have sufficient cash to purchase land outside of their home area for the purpose of investment through the production of cash crops. In Hill Migration in Nepal the authors have defined the extended farm owners as:

farmers who have sufficient capital to purchase land outside their home area for the purpose of investment and cash crop production. This investment land is purchased in addition to subsistence land in the village of origin and is usually purchased in an ecological zone different than that of the village of origin. A member of the extended family usually will shuttle between the various land holdings. Sufficient labour can be obtained to simultaneously maintain both farms, although different seasons might cause one farm or the other to be emphasized. This group might show up as migrants in census records (p. 30).

Since the extended farm is a rich man's strategy for investment, one would assume that the numbers involved in such investment in any one panchayat would be small. This has been substantiated by the figures obtained in Dhap and Hikla panchayats. There are altogether only eight households which fit our minimal criteria for extended farms with only thirty-eight persons involved.⁴ These figures were much smaller than expected, indicating that the conditions in the far-western hills leave little surplus for investment.

Case studies taken in both Dhap and in the Mahendranagar area indicate that the source of this investment capital is often savings and pensions from long-term labour migration experience. Hence there is a strong relationship between long-term labour migration and the capital base necessary for beginning of an extended farm. Salaries from long-term labour migration are by no means the only way of getting this capital together, since wealthy farmers and jimmawals already exist in the Darchula area. The phenomenon of the extended farm is probably more common in other areas of Nepal, however, particularly in those sections of the Terai which have settled for longer periods of time and have higher quality agricultural land. The key here is that the land in Mahendranagar is of a too poor quality to encourage any large-scale investment (see Chapter V, below).

Another phenomenon closely related to the extended farm are types of reversible and non-reversible migration brought about by the extended farm holder bringing down traditional labourers from the areas surrounding his hill land holdings to work on his newly acquired Terai land. This type of situation is more common in places like Bajhang, according to several informants, but uncommon in Darchula. A more common situation is where a farm village leader might take over land in the Terai and after establishing himself on a rather large tract of land, invites other neighbours down as more or less permanent migrants (non-reversible migrants) to take over the excess land which he is unable to cultivate. In this way, the important villager is able to recruit members from his old social milieu to enable him to recreate his high social position in the hills in the new physical milieu. This pattern can be found with both extended farmers and non-reversible migrants, but is more com-

mon with the latter for reasons to be discussed below.

D. Non-reversible Migrants

Non-reversible migration takes place when the ties of land and social interaction with the village of origin are completely severed. This may occur for various reasons but comes about when for one reason or another land owned in the village of origin is lost, sold or otherwise disposed of. Along with the loss of land eventually comes the concomitant loss of social relations with the village of origin. Since his land is now in different hands, social ties cannot be reinstated, even if the villager finds his new conditions to be unsatisfying or even if his financial condition is changing for the better. A seasonal migrant who does not return to the village might lose his land to a creditor or he may remain in the new area after attaining good employment or a satisfactory marriage and give up his land in the hills. A villager might sell his land to pay off creditors for loans received to pay for marriage or funeral rites or after having reached the point of insufficiency brought about by the selling of small quantities of land, piece by piece, to pay off creditors. In some cases family fights, social stigma, personal or political disputes might cause an individual to sell out his share in a village outright, causing him to sever ties which cannot be reinstated even if the cause for conflict or stigma disappears. Ultimately most of these disputes can be traced to the shortage of land, overpopulation, or other economic causes, though social friction may cause some one to sell out before the actual financial problems become acute. Disasters such as landslides or loss of water supply due to landslides or other ecologi-

cal shifts might cause one to permanently abandon land. Permanent migration, however, is the ultimate step and it is our feeling that most, if not all forms of migration discussed above are strategies to avoid taking this step. At the same time, it is felt that the history of Nepal and the Himalayan area in general demonstrates that migration is the traditional way of coping with insoluble local problems brought about by overpopulation or over-utilization of ecological resources. The migrations of Tibeto-Burman populations from the north, of the Nepali castes from west to east and of the 'Madeshi' populations from the south repeatedly demonstrate the recurring utilization of this temporary solution of permanent migration.⁵ Recent advances, particularly the eradication of malaria in the Terai have made certain new areas (particularly the Terai and the Inner Terai) available to migrants. We must, however, stress the obvious and state that malaria eradication did not bring about permanent migration, nor did any government program bring about migration. Migration is an old solution and perhaps the only solution available to hill dwellers given their problems and level of technical development and resettlement has acted merely to channel the direction in which these populations have moved. Without these programs, movement and perhaps conflict would have arisen, since the amounts of land available for migration within the hills have been severely depleted in the last two hundred years and the available "frontier" is nearly non-existent. This solution is always temporary, for the problems of over-utilization always return as the population again begins to grow. It must be stressed that movements, particularly those of agricultural groups are made with regret and are avoided if other strategies can be followed. If nothing else, the forms

of migration discussed above demonstrate the lengths people will go in adapting to avoid a permanent migratory movement.

Movement to the Terai involves a radical change in environment for the hill villager. This radical change, particularly now when there is little choice of where to migrate, is a painful thing, since it involves a total change of the shape of the perceptual world for the migrant. In order to deal with this radical perceptual change the migrant tries to maintain the objective social world of the village of origin as often as possible when they migrate. In order to maintain the structure of this social world, the migrant moves wherever possible in a diadic pattern, that is to say he tries to live among migrants from the same village of origin. In the section on extended farms above, we mentioned the case of village notables who after settling in the Terai consciously set out to recreate their own farmer social position in the village of origin, by inviting and encouraging members of their own village of origin to settle in the new area. Very often these former village notables retain their old social positions and are found as Pradhan Panchas or sadasyas in these new Terai villages and although many of these migrants are 'illegal settlers', and as such not officially recognized by the government, they vote in panchayat elections and have recreated all the institutions of a normal hill village. The former village notable, who is now a pahadi Pradhan Pancha in a Terai panchayat, acts as a symbol of the old village social structure and as a central organizing principle for the new migrants, while at the same time reconstructing his own familiar social role and place in the world in these new and alien surroundings.

Wherever, possible ties with the village of origin are maintained, preferably by maintaining ties to the land in the village of origin as well as through attendance at religious rites and other social obligations. Informants state that the major factor for going to these functions is the chance to return to the terrain and climate preferred, but once rights to the land in the village of origin are lost this becomes less and less likely to occur. Children growing up in the new area soon cease to see the hills as their home, unless they have land in the hills.

We have presented a general typology of migration for the chapter above. Below (see Fig. 3) is a schematic representation of the various types of migration presented. In the chapters which follow, we will discuss the various forms of migration as they are presently practised in the hills of our target area, as well as in the Terai villages which have come under study.

NON-MIGRANTS

1. Remain in village
2. Own land in village
3. Options: my reside in village or migrate

REVERSIBLE-MIGRANTS

1. Leave village; to make up deficit or to make extra income
2. Own land in village (may own land outside village)
2. Options: may reside in village, or may reside in new area, or may shuttle between village and new area

NON-REVERSIBLE MIGRANTS

1. Leave village: to make up deficit or to make extra income
2. Own no village land
3. Options: must reside in new area

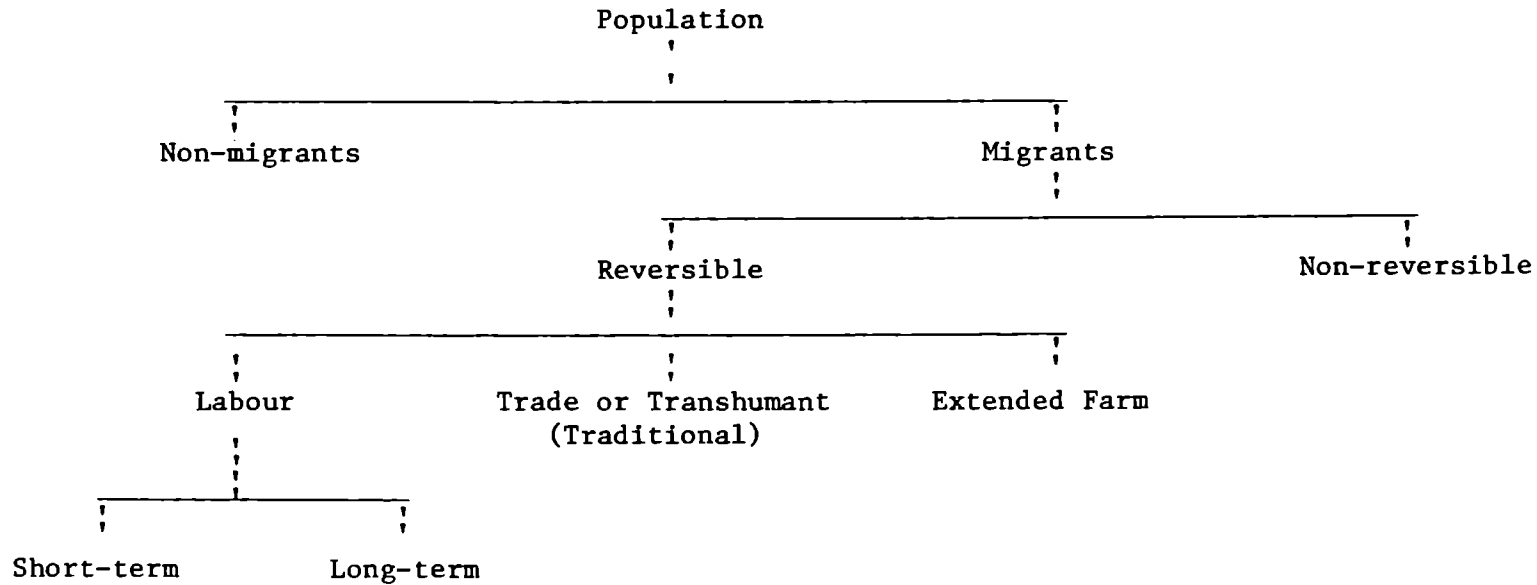


Fig. 3. Inter-relations Between Migration Types.

Chapter III

TRADITIONAL FORMS OF MIGRATION: TRADE AND TRANSHUMANCE

As we have mentioned in Chapter II, both trading and transhumant agro-pastoral groups are taken as a single unit in this paper, since both types are here considered to be traditional strategies for dealing with insufficient food production due either to poor soil or harsh climatic conditions or both. What unifies the two groups is the reliance on animal husbandry to make up for deficiencies in cultivation. Trade and transhumance represents a fixed category for the study of Nepal as a whole, but we do not mean that the two forms occur together. These forms represent slightly different patterns of adaptation involving differences in economic opportunities to be exploited. In the Darchula area, transhumant agricultural patterns do not exist unless one greatly stretches the definition. Instead the opportunities permit a heavy reliance on trade in areas where marginal agriculture exists, to avoid the necessity of migration of a more permanent nature in order to undertake full scale agriculture.

In the case of these traders, animal husbandry is utilized for the production of some trade goods, in addition to supplementing the diet of the traders. These goods are most often of a limited quantity and in no way account for the major bulk of trade goods. Instead, husbandry here gives a tremendous advantage to the traders through the utilization of the animals for transport purposes. It is through the transport of goods utilizing animals rather than human beings that groups begin to be able to move sufficient quantities of goods to make this adaptation both efficient enough to allow enough cash or barter input (most importantly in the form of

grain to make up for food insufficiencies due to inadequacies in local cultivation brought about by climatic or soil difficulties) and perhaps to create tremendous profits as well.

Groups involved in the agro-pastoral adaptation utilize a series of ecological zones, created by differences in exposure, hydrographic features, and altitude in the neighbourhood of the settlement. The utilization of these different ecozones in a pattern following a regular yearly cycle allows sufficient crop yields as well as allowing the raising of animals whose products can then be utilized to improve agriculture and supplement the diet. This pattern requires a good deal of ingenuity both in zootechnical usage and mastery of agricultural techniques of a great variety, ranging from irrigated agriculture in the lowest wet valley floors to the growing of potatoes in the cold and arid higher altitude regions. In fact, there are features of this multi-levelled agriculture in nearly all sections of Nepal outside of the Terai, but what defines the agro-pastoral group, is the reliance on animal husbandry for the survival of the group as well as the yearly transhumant cycle, moving flocks or herds over changes in altitude throughout the year, often over great distances, as well as the assignment of some portion of the male population of the village to the overseeing and management of the flocks during some portion of the year. Examples of this kind of adaptation have been discussed and exemplified in Messerschmidt (1974) and Alirol (1976) in writings about Gurungs in the Ganesh and Lamjung Himal regions. Two of the panchayats studies in the Darchula region (as well as many other areas in Nepal) share some of the features of the Gurung groups. Both panchayats utilize several ecological zones for agriculture. Both groups rely to some extent on husbandry and the utilization of

animal products. What is missing, however, in the area studied in Darchula is the yearly organized movement of flocks to high mountain pastures in the summer and their return to the environs of the village in winter. Instead, flocks in the higher altitude Nepali caste villages are utilized in trade expeditions and the reliance of flocks for agricultural purposes is secondary, even though the production of animal goods (such as wool) is of great importance to the local economy, while in the low altitude villages, usage of husbandry is merely peripheral.

What allows the transhumant pattern to become a trading pattern is simply the proximity to one of a limited number of trans-Himalayan trade routes and a local ecology suitable to the raising of animals proper to transporting that trade. An economic differential exists between the economy of the Tibetan plateau and the economies of the lower middle hills of Nepal. The Tibetan plateau is traditionally short of grain, particularly the luxury grains such as rice, which cannot be grown at high altitudes. The middle hills are traditionally short of salt and animal products because of a shortage of pasturage. In recent years, Furer-Haimendorf among others has noted the influx of salt from India has to some extent lessened the demand of salt in much of the middle hills (Haimendorf 1975: passim) but in the more remote regions, however, the traditional salt trade from Tibet still continues. With transport costs included, the Tibetan salt is often cheaper in these locations and it is considered to be of higher quality. Problems in transport often keep the Indian salt from filtering up this far. This trade, however, remains for the most part viable only for those who are willing to barter on a small scale in localized areas. In addition to trade in salt and grain, there is often a demand for high quality Tibetan

wool (said to be the best locally available) as well as for specialty items such as yak tails used in religious ceremonies throughout India and Nepal. Bخرax, and sundry goods are also taken from Tibet. Manufactured goods, medicine, cloth, as well as grain are taken to Tibet. These items are all fairly compact and continue to be traded in the Darchula area in spite of the fact that restrictions have recently arisen for political reasons, as well as increases in supplies of Indian manufactured goods which have taken place as a result of the building of roads in some of the areas under question. Much has been written about trading groups in Nepal. Haimendorf (1975), most notably, presents a good general account of the trans-Himalayan trade in Nepal. Many more localised ethnographic studies (such as Messerschmidt and Gurung, 1972; Goldstein, 1975; Furer-Haimendorf 1963; Bista 1967 and 1971; Manzardo, 1976, Fisher 1974, Jest, 1975, to name a few) have been presented as well. Many of these studies indirectly indicate the importance of monopolistic control of trade routes caused either by strategic or political factors, in maintaining a regular and profitable income from these ventures. The flexibility of these groups in relating to change in circumstance imposed from the outside and the reliance on education as well as the culturally dictated following of risk taking behaviour in these groups have been noted as well.

The key factor in whether or not a group will rely on trade or transhumance seems to be related directly to access to an easy and profitable trade route. Success depends on the ability of the group or individuals in the group to maintain monopolistic or nearly monopolistic control over the route and good relations in the markets, keeping close touch with other ephemeral demands. If these factors are all present, a group relying on animal husbandry can then

transfer their basic adaptation from one based on agriculture and husbandry to one based on trade. A notable example is found among the Byanshi, a trading group living in our target area. The Byanshis' major form of agricultural production is bitter buckwheat, yet their staple consumption grains are wheat and rice, which are not grown in the local area, which lies at 10,000 ft. or higher. Wheat and rice are obtained entirely through barter or cash purchases (cash coming from the sale of rakshi and cottage industry products in Darchula-Khalanga). This situation has been noted for the Sherpas as well, who need rice for particular ceremonies yet produce none themselves, even though a total reliance on these traded grains was never noted except for the richest families (Furer Haimendorf, 1963). The Thakalis, as well, were high altitude dwellers who consumed rice, in spite of the fact that they do not grow any themselves. This is also the case among Humla Tibetans (see Haimendorf: 1975).

Traders are basically temporary migrators who move to avoid permanent migration. Not all traders make high profits, in fact, if the trade route is not of high potential, the adaptation can be only a marginal one, which production provides high enough grain input to make up for the agricultural deficit. Incomplete routes, that is routes which do not involve a trans-Himalayan circuit but merely involve the bringing of certain commodities from a market to a relatively poor "cul de sac " can provide only added income, that is only enough to enhance the traders own insufficient grain production, but produce no large profits which allow capital accumulation (notable examples can be found in the Jumla and Dailakh regions discussed in CEDA SFIT/1973). Because there is no exchange between high production areas with differential needs, creating a situations where trade is exponential¹ and the customers of the traders are relatively poor, the profits remain minimal. Here,

however, the migration of traders to prevent permanent migration is more clearly outlined since it is this marginal trade which make survival in an otherwise impossible climate feasible.

There are two groups of traders in our target area. The first group is the Byanshi which has been discussed in Manzardo, Dahal and Rai (1976), but the salient points will be reviewed here. The second group are 30 households, all of high Nepali caste living in Hikla panchayat in Darchula district.

The Byanshi live in two totally separate areas during the course of the year. During the summer this group lives in Byans panchayat in the northernmost section of Darchula district, close to the border between Nepal and the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. This area is in the rainshadow of the Himalayas and thus it is free from the monsoon present further south. The villages of these Byanshi lie at an average altitude of around 12,000 ft, thus agriculture is limited to high altitude crops such as buckwheat, barley and species of small grained wheat, in addition to potatoes. Winter brings heavy snows and as a consequence agriculture is not possible during these months. Since the yearly agriculture of Byans panchayat is not sufficient for the year's needs, the group has had to find a way of making up for this grain insufficiency. In order to comfortably survive the winter months, the Byanshi migrate to areas surrounding the district headquarters of Darchula and take up residence there.² Darchula-Khalanga is a town of about 2,800 inhabitants excluding the Byanshis. The migrating Byanshi number around 2,000. As a consequence Darchula-Khalanga nearly doubles in size during the winter months. Darchula-Khalanga is at an altitude of about 3,000 ft. in the semi-tropical valley of the Mahakali River. Here irrigated agriculture

is normally practised with rice, maize and wheat as staple crops. The Byanshi own land in this area, yet do not practice agriculture. Instead, they rent out what agricultural land they have and devote their time primarily to trade purposes.³ Women weave various wool products, while otherwise unoccupied males spin wool into yarn. Other males distill and sell liquor in small bhattis, but the bulk of the men are off on trading expeditions throughout the winter. The fact that this group relies on trade rather than cultivation or husbandry (except as it relates to trade), takes this group out of a transhumant migratory pattern into what might be termed a seasonally based trade pattern. In many ways this pattern represents the same kind of situation found with the Thakalis,⁴ where trade moves north in the summer and south in the winter with the opposite roads being impassable in the offseason. A central area, notably Tukuhe acted as an entrepot for storage, anticipating the change in trade directions. No such clear entrepot exists for the Byanshi, where both Darchula-Khalanga and Byans act as temporary entrepots in the stressed seasons. Hence, Byanshi trade is more mobile and less profitable than the warehouse based Thakali Trade.

The Byanshis trade cycle therefore is divided into two seasonal segments: the summer segment is between Byans and the most important remaining Tibetan market, Taklakot (Purang) and the winter segment in the middle. Until recently, there were two major routes to Taklakot, the first through Lipu La (pass) and the second through the more difficult Tinkar La, which necessitates traversing a 20,000 ft. pass. Lipu La which runs through Indian Territory is now closed to trans-Himalayan traffic and so all trans-Himalayan trade must go through the Tinkar pass route. After the crops have been planted in Baisakh⁵ (April-May), the traders begin their movement toward

Taklakot. The Byanshis in both Nepal and the Indian "Byanshis" (which we have referred to elsewhere as Sauka) used to trade all over western Tibet (as far as the headquarters of western Tibet in Gartok) prior to the coming of the Chinese in 1959. As of 1962 (the time of Sino-Indian War) the Sauka (Indian Byanshi populations) were no longer allowed to enter into trade with Tibet. The Nepali Byanshi, however, continue to trade and can travel as far north as Taklakot. Prior to these restrictions, Byanshi and Sauka traders monopolised trade, operating out of Taklakot and shuttled for six months out of the year between Taklakot, Gutak and Thokar. After the coming of the Chinese, however, two of these sub-centers were closed and only Taklakot remained. Trade, however, was no longer between individuals. Instead the Byanshi had to trade with state agents, except in the case of certain foodstuffs (such as dried raddish) which still can be individually traded and certain forms of black-market trade. Byanshis living in this area built houses each year with four-stone walls and a wooden frame over which tent cloth is stretched as a roof. Permanent houses (i.e. houses with a permanent roof) were not allowed, since a man with a roofed house, under Tibetan custom, could claim Tibetan citizenship.

The house is both a store and a dwelling area. After this six month period is over, the house is dismantled and the wooden frame stored either with Tibetan friends or placed in a cave. In spite of shortage of wood in the area, there has never been a case of these frameworks being stolen. In the next season the framework is again erected and the shop again begins operations.

Since the Sauka were excluded in 1962, the Nepali Byanshi have come to totally monopolise this trade, bringing food grains from Bajhang, Darchula and Baitadi district as well as cloth, sundry

goods (bishatakhana), purchased in India and dried radishes and other local produce from Byans. These were bartered against salt, wool, goats (chyangra), sheep (chhyanglu) and yak. Since Chinese currency is needed to purchase goods in Tibet and such currency is not legally available to outsiders. The barter system for the most part is therefore still used, though black marketing is known to exist. When trading with Tibet, the Byanshi always used trade routes which go through Nepal.

No fixed member of the family necessarily heads a trading expedition. Any clever family member, be he an elderly man or a young son can be the family trade representative. Except for a few members who remain to look after the agriculture (most agricultural labour is done by hired workers). The whole family goes to Taklakot and settles in a kheda (neighbourhood) with other members usually of the same lineage. Byanshi traders emphasize the nuclear family, but often brothers will pool their resources (such as livestock or investment cash). When cash investments are made, after the expedition is finished, individual families will retrieve their initial investment and profits will be equally shared regardless of the initial investment size.

In the winter, after the Byanshi have returned to Darchula-Khalanga, they begin trade throughout the middle hills and the Terai. At this point, salt is traded for the grain which has begun to be harvested in Bajhang, Darchula and Baitadi for later trade with Tibet and internal consumption. Both short-distance trade and long-distance trade are practised. Wool is either converted to useful items or brought raw down to the Terai. Short-distance trade involves the bringing salt, gur (unrefined sugar), cloth and sundry goods from villages, even in very remote areas. Sheep that have returned even from the longest journeys are seldom kept idle when short-term trade is possible.

Long-distance trade utilizing mules as well as sheep is practised, first by making long hauls of goods down to the Terai, followed by a series of shuttles between the Mahendranagar or Dhangadi areas and several markets within the hills such as Doti, Bajhang, and Bajura. The Byanshi transport goods for others as well. For example, goods may be shipped from Mahendranagar to Dandeldhura, a journey which takes six days for the loaded flocks, and costs a shop-keeper 50 rupees per maund (37.37 kg.) for transport. Goods are transported to Doti and Bajhang as well. In addition, Jest (1974) has noted that there is a permanent settlement of Nepali Byanshi running retail establishments in Chainpur in Bajhang as well. In this way, the Byanshi are beginning to unify their trade, handling whole-saling, retailing as well as the transport of goods throughout the year. Figure 4 below, presents a schematic diagram of the trade patterns of the Byanshi throughout the year.

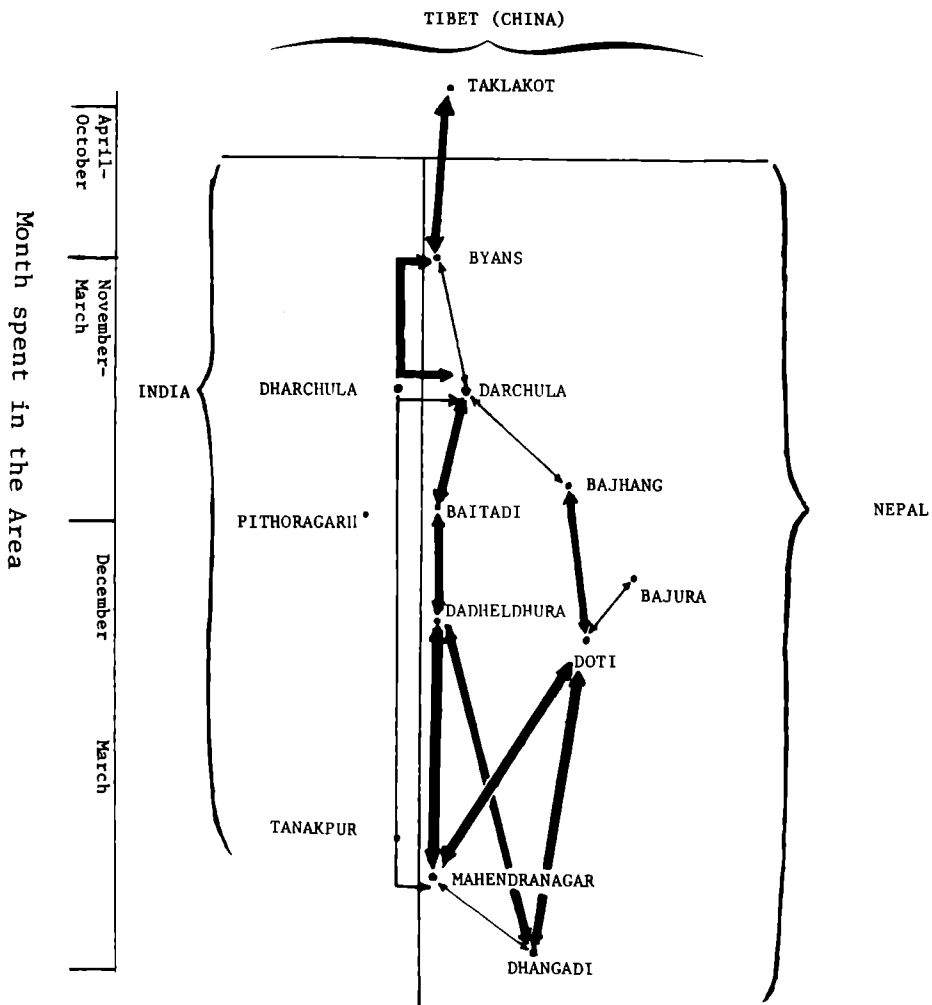


Fig. 4. SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF BYANSHI TRADE ROUTES

It must be noted that in the case of a Byanshi, there is tremendous reliance on animal husbandry to transport sufficient goods to make trade profitable. Without knowledge of the proper methods of zoo-technology and an ecologically satisfactory area of habitation, with a high enough altitude and sufficient fodder production for pasturage, this type of adaptation would not be possible. Hence, there are seldom long-distance traders in the lower hills of Nepal, since the use of large areas of land for irrigated and non-irrigated agriculture cuts off the possibility of utilizing the land for pasturage, even for animals which can live at lower altitudes. For this reason, animal populations, particularly populations of animals useful for transport tend to be low. The prevalence of disease make sheep production impossible at lower altitudes, given present patterns of disease in the species of Nepal. At higher altitudes, however, less land can be utilized for agricultural purposes and the environment is more conducive to the raising of certain species of animals due either to the greater abundance of fodder growing areas, freedom from disease or in the case of yak or dzoba, the suitability of the high altitudes to the animals built in biological needs. Table 2 below gives a census of the domestic animal population of Byans panchayat.

Table 2

Domestic Animals in Byans Panchayat

Yak (♂)	-	8
Dromu (♀)	-	2
Jopu (♂)	-	125
Jomu (♀)	-	30
Tolba (♂)	-	90
Tolbini (♀)	-	30

Cattle (♂ ♀)	-	200
Horses	-	40
Mules	-	150
Sheep	-	1500
<u>Chyangra</u> (goat)	-	400

Pure breeds and jopu (dzoba, the first cross: usually between a male yak and a female Bos taurus?). A cross between a male Bos taurus? and a female yak is also possible, but is considered unhealthy and does not live long) are used for transport of goods across the Himalayas. Tolba (a local name for the second cross, i.e. that between a jopu and a Bos taurus) is not used for long-distance transport, as it is not considered strong enough for this work.⁶ Horses, mules, sheep and chyangra (goat) are used for transport both in the higher and lower altitudes. Jopu are used at lower altitudes as well and have been spotted by the researchers south of Darchula-Khalanga, below an altitude of 3,000 ft. Sheep and goats are particularly useful, since they can be used on small, more difficult trails where the larger animals cannot pass. It has been estimated by the researchers that a flock of 200 sheep can carry as much as 2.23 metric tons carried in small bags (karkha: Bys.) harnessed in pairs to the backs of the sheep or goats. Mules are even more valuable, since a single mule can earn as much as 2,000.00 Rs. (N. C.) in a season for its master, since it can carry more than 2 maunds (74.64 kg.) at a time with relative ease. Without these animals and the environment necessary to raise them, such trade would be impossible. This explains why those people living in proximity to a trade route and at a high enough altitude to allow sufficient pasturage, control trade. Therefore, a double monopoly is

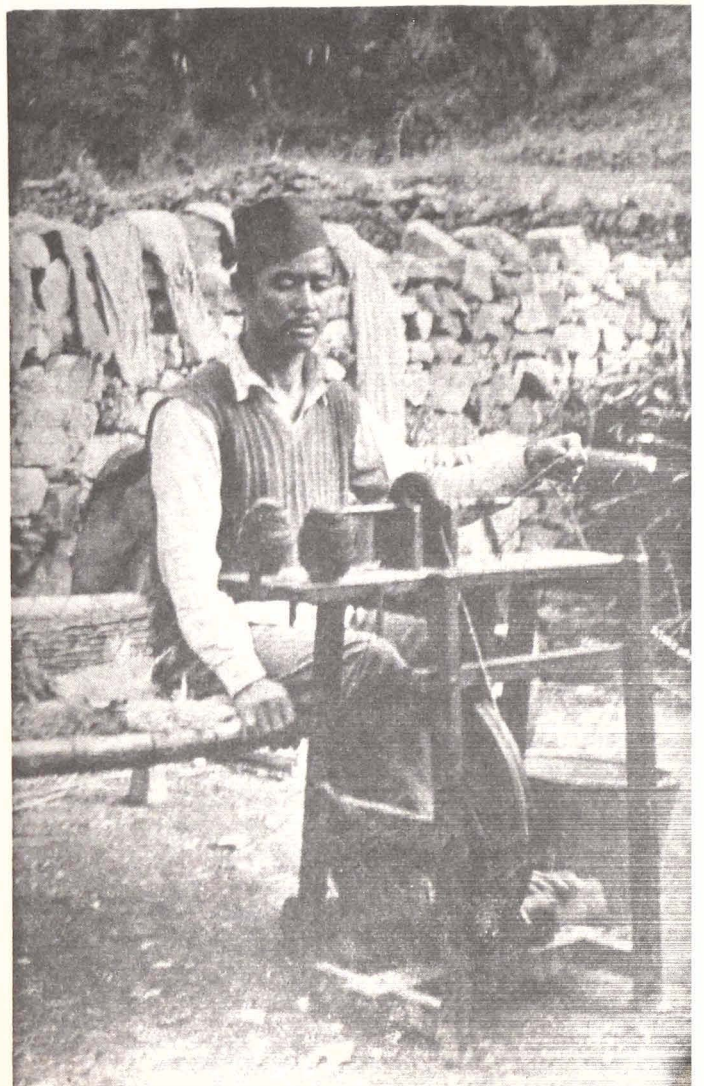
necessary to create a strong trading group; first the control over the trade route itself and second, control of summer pasturage sufficient to raise transport animals.

A second trading group in our area consists of 30 households of high caste Nepalese living Hikla panchayat in Darchula district. This is by no means the only such group of high caste traders in the area, but the groups in which these traders are found have the same characteristic features discussed above, which make trade possible. These features conform to the general rule about what features are necessary for a trading adaptation. In Rai, Manzardo, Dahal (1976) we compared the ecological features of two panchayats (Dhap and Hikla) to assess reasons for the differences in migratory patterns for the two areas. It was noted that Dhap panchayat had a greater reliance on irrigated agriculture, since the habitational area of the panchayat was located at a low altitude and thus had more irrigatable land available to it. Because of this low altitude, sheep were not raised in the area and goats were raised only for meat and manure production. Since irrigated agriculture demanded a good deal of labour, there was not enough spare time to organize trading expeditions. There was also no large labour surplus. Animal husbandry was limited to the raising of cattle and buffalo. Hikla, on the other hand, was located at a higher altitude and thus had much less irrigated land, yet there was much more pasturage available and fodder production in the village was heavily stressed. The higher altitude allowed the raising of sheep and the panchayat area had nearly four thousand head (owned by these 30 families) in addition to large numbers of buffalo and cattle. Goats were used for transport rather than meat production in this village. At the same time, roughly 137 landless people were present in the panchayat and

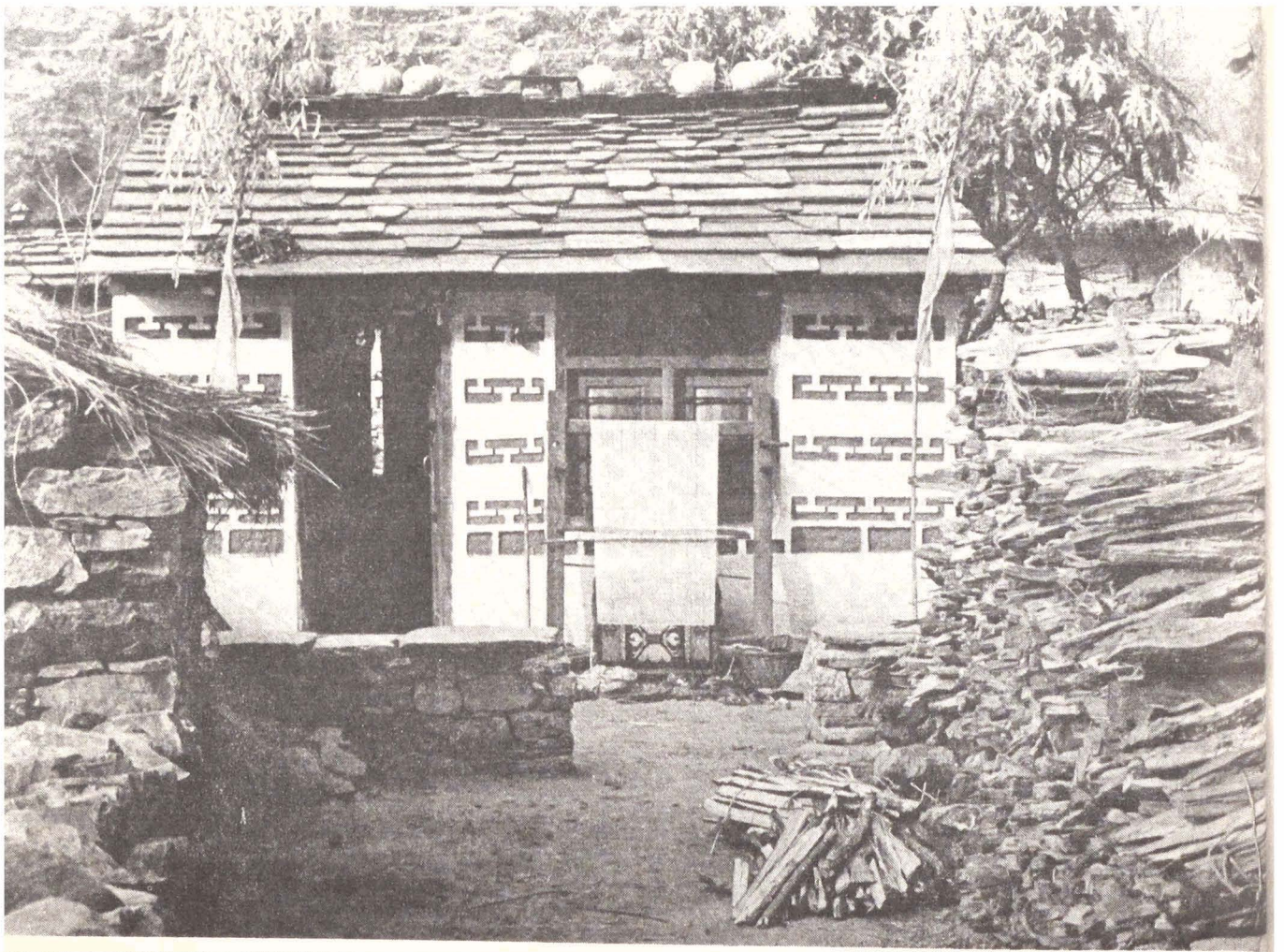
available to do agricultural labour. We have estimated that a minimum of at least sixty people (two from each household) were working as traders, yet the actual number is probably much higher, if one were to include local employees who are utilized in driving the flocks. The added income from trade in the form of grain permits (as in the case of the Byanshi) the payment of both hired agricultural labourer and hired husbandry labour, as well as sufficient free time for the high caste families to go out on the trade expeditions. Again, both the people of Dhap and the people of Hikla have access to a viable trade route, but only the people of Hikla have sufficient fodder and enough high altitude pasturage to raise sufficient numbers of transport animals to make trade viable. This trade is on a smaller scale than that of Byanshi, partly because of the stronger relations established between the Byanshi and the Tibetans (due primarily to the linguistic and cultural factors), but mainly because the Byanshi have the larger transport animals (such as yak, jopu and mules), which can carry greater quantities of goods in relation to food consumption and hence are more economical. The closer proximity to Tibet also allows a greater number of shuttles within the given season, between market and entrepot. For the most part, however, the people of Hikla follow very much the same trade route and trade the same commodities as the Byanshi. Prior to 1962, the people of Hikla owned mules as well, but after the Sino-Indian war they were no longer allowed to follow the route to Tibet through India. Horses and mules cannot travel via the road between Rapla and Byans on the Nepali side and since the people of Hikla could no longer use the Indian route the mules became disfunctional. Since the Byanshis live in Byans panchayat, the Indians allow them to travel to their homes via the Indian route, stipulating that the route is not to be used for trade with Tibet. Since the Byanshis



A couple from Sipti village in Marma garkha, one of the poorest sections of Darchula.



Byanshi using an improved spinning machine for cottage industry in Darchula-Khalanga.



Two Byanshi houses in Dharchula-Khalanga.

are allowed to bring their own property via this route, this stipulation is in effect very difficult to enforce. Hence the Byanshi gain an additional trade advantage through this technicality. Since the road through Nepal is exceedingly difficult, it also cuts down tremendously on the number of times these high Nepali castes can shuttle between market and entrepot, and cuts down on how much can be carried. The Nepali government's Local Area Development Department has been involved in a project to widen and improve this road, and if this work is successfully completed, it will greatly improve the condition of the high caste traders and increase the amount of trade in the area, while helping to balance the Byanshi's advantage in the present situation.

The Hikla traders, however, own more than twice as many sheep as the Byanshi and therefore the production of wool (sometimes sold to the Byanshi) and woolen cloth is more greatly emphasized in Hikla. Various cottage industry programs have been established in the panchayat, notably two such factories for the manufacture of woolen suiting material started by Brahmins and Thakuris since 1974. This cloth or raw wool is usually sold locally. In the season when wool is not available (sheep are sheared in October and April) cotton thread is purchased from India and the looms are used to manufacture dhaka cloth.

Both groups of traders must be looked at as part of an even larger network, particularly in the more southerly regions of the Far-West. In addition to the Byanshi and the people of Hikla (emblematic of high caste traders throughout these more northerly regions) are also Thakuri groups from places like Humla (noted by (Haimendorf: 1975) and Jumla (see Shrestha, 1973), who for the most part use only sheep for transport, as well as groups such as the

Dangali Khambas (see Rai, 1973) and many other groups who ply the trade routes of the Far-West often in direct competition with one another. Some are like the Byanshi (including the Indian Sauka), who are engaged in what we have called exponential trade, while others must be satisfied with poorer profits because of their trade routes are part of a more localised system of bartering salt from the Terai against whatever local produce fairly impoverished villagers can spare.

It has been noted that there has been a shift in the salt trade in the more easterly areas of Far-Western Nepal. This situation is one where salt was traditionally brought from Tibet has been replaced by salt from India. In our area, the proximity of a motorable road has made Indian salt available in the area for some time, yet because Tibetan salt is said to taste better, there is still a market for this salt in this region. In areas, where the difference in cost outweighs the difference in taste, however, Indian salt has made inroads in the local markets and has changed patterns of trade, but this example (even though it is out of our target area), verifies certain aspects of the relationship of transhumance to trade. Before the change in markets, groups such as the Khampa and traders in Humla brought salt down from Tibet in the summer months and in the winter brought their sheep down to the middle hills for pasturage, where they remained for the most part idle. After the market shifted, however, the situation was reversed and most trade took place in the winter months. Here these populations moved further south, trading for salt in the Terai and in the summer moved north and continued to some extent their trade with Tibet, bringing Tibetan salt to more localised markets. Given the distances involved and the amount of salt the sheep can carry, the availability of the salt, both in the north and the south has increased the trade

potential of these groups, making it possible for these people to trade in both phases of the pastoral cycle. The needs of the animals are fixed, they must move south in the winter and north in the summer to avoid the dangers of the monsoon. If markets can be obtained in both areas, the limited carrying capacity of the animals can be overcome and separate trade networks formed, each a self contained seasonal "cul de sac" type of trade (cf. Haimendorf 1975)

Chapter IV
REVERSIBLE MIGRATION: PART I

In Chapter II, we divided the category of reversible migrants into three general types: labour migrants, trade or transhumant migrants and extended farmers. In Chapter III, we discussed the trade or transhumant category of migration in terms of its being one of the traditional means of coping with insufficient food production related to either climatic or geomorphic factors. In the following chapter, we will discuss the extended farm and its relation to migratory phenomena. This chapter is specifically concerned with the two types of labour migration and examples of their causation and functioning in our target area.

We have divided labour migration into two general types. The first form is the short-term or seasonal migration which involves leaving the village of origin for short periods of time (usually only three months out of the year - maximum) at certain points at the agricultural cycle each year. Unlike trade or transhumance, which requires many individuals both on the trade expeditions and at home to supervise agriculture, short-term seasonal migration is an adaptation of agriculturists who can be spared for periods of time during an agricultural slack season and have access to employment outside the village.

Long-term migration is of a totally different nature. This migratory form is outside of the yearly agricultural-cycle, since it involves the removal of the villagers from the village itself for extended periods of time. This kind of migration seems to occur most frequently in villages relying on irrigated agriculture or both irrigated and non-irrigated agriculture, with little or no

reliance on husbandry except as in adjunct to agriculture (such as in ploughing or manure production). In these villages, where land is limited (that is to say new land is unavailable to be placed under cultivation as the population rises), yet where the land already under cultivation is sufficient or nearly sufficient for the year's production, is where such labour migration is most likely to occur. In such villages there is usually enough to eat, but not enough work to keep all villagers occupied or a situation where the addition of labour cannot increase food production, so some prefer to take the opportunity to work outside the home area rather than remaining idle. In this way, the yearly income of the migrant's family can be supplemented and either brought up to or beyond sufficiency for the year (as in the case of short-term labourers). Additional capital which can be accumulated through savings, either for investment in land made available in the village or in other areas, for the improvement of capital on one's own farm can be brought in by long-term migrants as well. Long-term labour migration often produces a continuing income as well in the form of a pension if pursued for a long enough time. Such pensions can act as a continuing supplement or as a source for investment cash, even after the period of work is finished, although many long term labourers do not work for a long enough period to earn pension rights. Long-term labourers can work as little as a year, but if they are absent for an entire agricultural cycle, they clearly belong to this category.

Short-Term Labour Migration

Short-term seasonal labour migrants were found in both Dhap and Hikla panchayats. There were, however, no such seasonal labourers found among the Byanshi. This is because the Byanshi are heavily involved in trade or cottage industry if there is a slump

in market activity. The trade keeps the Byanshi so busy that local labour is hired for agricultural work in Byans panchayat (Tibetan refugees) and for caring for the livestock in Darchula-Khalanga. In Dhap, the lower altitude irrigation agriculture centred site, we found that out of an active population of 2,598,¹ two hundred males were found to be short-term labour migrants. In Hikla panchayat, a higher altitude non-irrigated agriculture site, 560 out of a total active population of 2,041, were short-term labourers. The reason in the difference in the frequency was related to climatic and cultivation factors. Since Hikla has a two month snow-fall (where there is little or no agriculture practised) there is a clearly demarcated agricultural slack season where the only work which has to be done is traditionally done by the women. This leaves the men free to travel out of the panchayat and work as seasonal labourers. In Dhap panchayat, repair of irrigation facilities and the continued agricultural activity (since there is no snowfall) means that there is a continual demand on local labour throughout the year and the slack season is not so clearly defined. Both villages send only males to do short-term labour, and if roughly half the population can be assumed to be female, it means that half the active males in Hikla panchayat leave each year as short-term labour migrants, while only about a tenth of the active males in Dhap are able to leave. Of the males that remain in Hikla, at least sixty are involved in trade and the remainder work in spinning wool for cottage industry programs during the slack season. There are no traders in Dhap, and those who remain work in agriculture or collect and sell wood in Darchula-Khalanga if there is a free moment.

Short-term labour begins as early as Mangsir, but begins to intensify in the months of Poush, Magh and Phagun (roughly late November to the beginning of March). Although men may go as individuals, most go in organized groups. In Hikla and in Dhap most labourers merely cross the bridge at Darchula-Khalanga and work directly across the border in projects in India.

When the migration season begins, a man called met (usually a member of the village itself) collects the labourers and takes them as a group to India, acting as the intermediary between the contractors and labourers. During the field work period, migrants from Hikla were going mostly to Didihat or Dharchula. When they arrive, they find lodging in small huts (:chhapro) or in caves. The villagers might take their own bedding or purchase it after earning some money on the job. Villagers may stay anywhere from ten days to two months, but from time to time, if there is surplus labour in a family, a migrant might stay as long as five months.

There are presently seven met in Hikla panchayat. These met act as foremen on the job as well as being hired by the contractors to bring down the labourers. Each contractor has a limited number of met and as a consequence some villages do not have their own met.² This means that when an individual from a village without a met tries to find work, he often will have difficulty. A labourer earns anywhere from 4/00 to 7/00 rupees (I.C.) per day and, after expenses, might earn a surplus of 70.00 rupees per month if he lives carefully.

Some short-term labour migrants work on the Nepal side as well, either as carpenters, stone masons or as manure carriers. The major employers in this area are the Nepalese government and the Byan-

shi, who as we noted normally hire outside labour for agriculture and husbandry. Labourers work as coolies, mostly carrying stones on road construction sites and other building programs.

Earnings are used to purchase rice, cloth, gur (unrefined sugar), salt, mustard oil, soap and shoes.

Dhap migrants claim to work as far away as Pithoragarh, but never go farther from home than this. Presently, however, the majority of the labourers from Dhap are working either in Dharchula or Didihat in India. For the Dhap people, short-term labour migration is a relatively new phenomenon. Migration of this type has begun to have taken place only since opening of road construction sites north of Pithoragarh (after 1962).

The availability of capital for this work comes through government spending, either in India or in Nepal, or capital improvement on the part of wealthy local people from outside the village. Therefore, these jobs are never self-generated by the villagers or the local economy and allow villagers to make up local shortages in their agricultural production only so long as these outside generated projects continue. Local informants state that:

since there is no work in the village and this work gives us certain items we need for household use, we go out to work. Besides, while we were out working, we are getting food and saving the household grain.

This underscores the supplementary nature of the salaries for this work and so long as the outside generated spending continues, people need not migrate and can maintain themselves in the villages for most of the year. Dhap produces more grain than Hikla. They produce income from selling ghee and meat to the Indians as well as

this surplus grain. In Hikla, there is less agricultural production and a greater reliance on animal based industries on the one hand trade and on the other to cottage industry. Those who have a hand in neither must supplement their income by working outside the village at least part of the year, since there is little agricultural surplus to sell. Dhap's agriculture allows less free time, but produces more surplus grain hence there is less short-term migration.

Short-term labour migration also creates increased demands on the part of the villagers. An informant in Dhap mentioned that before 1962, farmers had no demand for soap, shoes, kerosene or spices. With migration and the beginning of a small cash income for the workers as well as, for many, the first sight of a market town created these new demands, as well as an increased ability to buy these new commodities. Perhaps the new demands have eaten up much of the newly earned incomes and helped to some extent in keeping the income purely supplementary, rather than producing even a small savings component for the villagers for use in improving their own conditions. Many villagers have complained that they have been cheated by the Indian contractors, particularly in the contractor's use of a sort of 'company store' where items are bought on credit before the salary is paid. People relate that after three months of work, they might be deeply in debt by the time they are ready to leave for home.

Bisamas is the biggest festival celebrated by the people of Duhu Garkha (in which Hikla is located), though this is celebrated with less pomp by the people of Lekam Garkha (where Dhap is located). The festival is celebrated at the end of Chait (early April) and there is tremendous pressure exerted on all villagers to return at that time. This is, in fact, the signal for short-

term labour migrants to return to their home villages. If it is possible, however, the migrants return home in time to celebrate Maghe Sankranti (:locally known as Narahari Tihar) celebrated earlier (in mid-January).

Long-Term Labour Migration

The principle difference between short-term and long-term labour migration is the removal of the labour from the yearly agricultural cycle in long-term migration. We define long-term labour migration as labour done outside the village of origin for a period which keeps the migrant out of the village for at least one entire yearly agricultural cycle. The most obvious example of long-term labour migration is the mercenary soldier. In our target area, service with the Indian army is most commonly encountered, although in other parts of Nepal one might find migrants serving with the British army as well. One signs up with the Indian army for at least a year, but as a pension can only be obtained after 15 years of service, longer terms are usually found. Attaining one's pension is the ideal and one tries to serve in the army as long as possible. Services outside the village for 7 to 15 years are common.³ Another form of long-term migration is with the Nepalese army, or more commonly with the Nepalese police force. Here one must work 18 years to receive a pension, both these forms remove a villager from a local village labour force for extended periods of time and are no way related to slack seasons in a yearly agricultural cycle, as in the case of the short-term migrants.

In addition to long-term work in the army and police forces, villagers may also seek work as lower grade civil servants in either the Indian or Nepali civil service. These villagers often

work much more closely to the village of origin and can return at least once a year during annual leave periods.

In spite of the fact that these villagers are effectively outside the labour pool of the village, they are by no means outside the economy of the village. Long-term migrants regularly send back cash to their families and bring back food and cloth when they return on leave. In Dhap panchayat, 46 villagers are considered as long-term migrants, while in Hikla 53 are long-term migrants. The percentage of long-term migrants to total active population in these two panchayats are fairly close, with a slightly higher percentage of long-term migrants in Hikla panchayat. (see appendix). It should be noted, however, that Hikla has a higher percentage of landless, hence Hikla has a higher labour surplus. This however does not imply that it is the landless who go for long-term migration types of employment. The rather stringent requirements for obtaining a place in the army or the civil service makes it more likely that educated sons of land holders would be more in a position to be retained in such positions, while the poorer landless in the village would be hired to take the migrant's place in the village economy doing necessary agricultural labour in their absence. There is no relationship between the frequency of villagers acting as short-term migrants and those acting as long-term migrants. The frequency of short-term labour migration is directly related to seasonal labour surpluses due to an agricultural slack season, while long-term labour migration patterns are related to absolute agricultural labour surpluses and degree of education, hence both Dhap and Hikla panchayats can be assumed to have a roughly equal absolute labour surplus, with a slightly larger surplus in Hikla due to the larger number of landless in the village. Much of this surplus, however, is taken

up in animal husbandry related activities, since many of these activities do not have to be done by the animal owners themselves. A pattern emerges where the wealthier yet more educated second and third sons migrate leaving much of the local labour to the local poor. This is more economical in the sense that those who are in a position to earn a better living outside are free to do so, and thus by accumulating capital improve the lot of their family in the village. Whereas, if they remained in the village, they would serve at worst little function at all and at best would be doing agricultural labour which doesn't utilize their learned skills and which would be more economically done by poor hired labourers, particularly when their earning capacity outside is taken into account.

The Byansni and the local Brahmin and Thakuri traders never undertake long-term labour contracts, as first of all family labour is needed for the trade and hence there is no labour surplus, and secondly (even if one were to take the pensions into account) the salaries of long-term labour migrants are nowhere near as high as the profits from trade. The advantage of long-term labour migration, however, is that aside from the investment in education required for most of these posts, unlike trade, no additional capital is needed to earn money. This migration form has the extra advantage of allowing an educated villager a life outside of the village and a glimpse of the world.

A long-term labour migrant can if he so desires accumulate substantial savings, allowing him to make capital purchases. There are several strategies. One quite common strategy is for the cash which is sent back to the village to be used to purchase land within the village. This is important because it gives other villagers interest-

ed in either permanent migration to the Terai or extended farming a purchaser for their land in the hills and a source of capital for their own purchases in the Terai. Another strategy is using savings to make capital improvements within the village, such as house construction, enlargements or repairs or the purchase of items to make technical improvements on their local agriculture. Direct investment in land in the Terai is seldom done while the migrant is working outside and is usually done on his return from the job because of the difficulties in supervision and getting the labour necessary to initially clear new land in the Terai.

Nepalis serving in the Indian army get two months paid leave each year, thus return initially to find a wife and later to work with the family on improvements in the village holdings. The minimum expected from a sepoy returning from a year's service in the army is Rs. 2,000 I.C., in addition to cloth, mustard oil, gur and other supplementary foodstuffs. We must emphasize that this is the minimum expectation for the lowest grade soldier and as his service continues a higher return is expected, so the financial contribution of these long-term migrants is substantial.

An example of long-term migration is in the case of a young Brahmin boy, now serving as a driver in the Indian army. This boy returns each year for his two month leave. The anthropologists encountered the boy and discovered him to be well dressed, with a wrist watch. In addition to speaking Hindi, Nepali and the local dialect, he was also able to carry on a conversation in English and was eager to improve his command of that language. On this leave he brought with him Rs. 2,000.00 cash (I.C.) in addition to clothes for each member of his family (10 members) as well as mustard oil for family consumption. The cash in this case was to be

spent on paying a debt which the family had incurred and the payment served to lower this debt to the point that by his next leave the family would be totally free of debt. Since the boy was just 20 years old, his expectations for earning a considerable amount of cash in the remainder of his career were quite high. He stated that only the poor send people to India as unskilled labourers, thus implied that those with education expect to go into the more profitable forms of labour. In the case of this family, the landholding was not sufficiently large enough to feed the entire family and therefore to prevent the necessity of going deeper into debt and eventually having to sell off land to pay back debts, thus putting this Dhap family into more difficult straits. The family decided to take advantage of the traditional Brahmin emphasis on education and sent their educated son to earn money outside the village.

As in the case of many researchers who go out to work in remote villages, our function was not entirely understood by the villagers. At one point, it was decided by the villagers that the researchers had the power to assign land in the Terai to potential migrants. It is interesting to note that this young Brahmin requested that we assign him such land and implied that he would leave the army if he could get it. To us, this indicated that he was not particularly happy in his army career and had a good impression of the Terai. His family, however, seemed anxious to have him continue in the army, as this was the solution which allowed them to continue living in the hills.

A second more anomalous example is the case of the family of Narayan Singh of Dhap, a Matwali Chhetri family. Narayan Singh had three sons. When he died, the land was not partitioned and the oldest son remained in control of about 5 ropanis (0.65 acres) of

irrigated land and one ropani (0.13 acres) of non-irrigated land. The second brother went to work for the army road construction company in Simla in 1968. The third brother lived with the oldest brother until 1970, when he abducted another's wife and left for Mahendranagar, leaving his own first wife and children in the hills. He worked for a while in the police and then gave it up going to work as a coolie. His second wife died in 1973 and he then returned to the hills and brought his first wife and daughter with him down to the Terai. In addition, the second brother's wife went down to Mahendranagar to live with the family of the third brother. For the period from 1968 to 1974, the second brother sent money to support his own wife and make improvements on the family land holding to the family of the oldest brother. After his wife moved to Mahendranagar to live with his younger brother, the money went to the Terai family to help support his landless wife. Although the second brother still has rights to the land in Dhap, it is unclear what he would do if he decided to return to Nepal. He is no longer sending money to the village of origin, although he maintains rights to the land in that village. This example demonstrates a major difficulty for the long-term migrants, for even though the second brother is certain to have had a hand in many of the decisions leading to the fragmentation of this family, in his absence things can fall apart and the villager might return to a greatly changed situation after his work is finished. One must balance the cost and the profits. In the first example, the long-term migration served to unite the family and keep it in the hills, in the second example, the family has been fragmented and the ties of village of origin are tenuous.

The phenomena of long-term migration presents a villager with many threats. It is the source of both possible adventure and possible tragedy. There is much anxiety on the part of relatives who remain in the village for those who migrate outside. One story was related to us by a reliable source, but its truth is irrelevant in the sense that it can be taken as piece of local folklore demonstrating some of the possibilities of good men turning bad and the fear of the villagers toward the outsiders migrants have to live among.

A young man, so it was told, went to India (supposedly from Dhap) looking for work. He met a seth (businessman), who was involved in black marketing. In that first year, the migrant supposedly earned Rs. 50,000.00 and brought it back home where he bought land in the village. This sudden wealth attracted his cousin who returned to India with him. This time when they returned they brought back about Rs. 10,000.00, thus attracting another cousin and three of them went to India together the following year. A fourth man, jealous of the good fortune of the others also went to India that year and told the seth that the three young men were stealing his money. The seth discharged them and hired the fourth man. Eventually the fourth man was killed on a business trip carrying Rs. 70,000.00 in cash and nobody ever found the murderer, but the three boys had been arrested and were now being held for the murder.

This story presents the magical elements going outside and earning huge amounts of cash, money the likes of which had never been seen in the village before. If a man can go out and earn Rs. 2,000.00 in cash in a year through army service, why not Rs. 10,000.00, Rs. 50,000.00 or even Rs. 70,000.00 from the mysterious businessman from the outside. But the story tells of the dangers as well: a man can lose his respectability mixing with

thieves and becoming one himself and even lose his life. For these long-term migrants, the stakes are relatively high, but the dangers are thought to be equally great.

Aside from soldiers and the members of the police force whose work by its nature can take them far from their homes, long-term migrants from our target area, like the short-term migrants, seldom go far from their homes to work. Nainital seems to be the limit of distance travelled for long-term migration aside from the Indian army. The location of work for long-term migrants, however, tends to be related to regional factors. Even though people from Darchula seldom migrate beyond Nainital, people from other areas (notably Bajhang, Doti, Bajura, and even some people from Jumla) migrate as far south as Bombay or even Bangalore where they might work in factories for up to four years without returning to the village of origin. On their return they might bring back radios, pressure lamps and large amounts of cash. These people have been called Dotelis or in this region lahures (taken from the term for Gorkha soldiers in other areas). While the anthropologists were travelling via road from Pithoragarh to the Terai, bus drivers were discussing preparations for the return of at least 70 busloads of these 'lahures'. This occurs at the beginning of March and at this time many small bhattis are opened to take care of these returning migrants, the general expectation being that for these returning migrants money is no object and any price can be charged them.

Within Darchula, there are also radical differences in labour migrational patterns, but many of these are outside of our target area. Lali panchayat (one day's walk south of Dhap) is said to have large population of long-term labour migrants, particularly, those serving in the Indian Army. We were not able to verify this,

but the lesser availability of land in that panchayat has created surplus labour in that panchayat to much greater extent than in either Dhap or Hikla. In addition, the population is largely made up of Thakuris and Brahmins who have a fairly adequate education. As a consequence, this excess population can be absorbed as soldiers meeting the greater educational demands required for this form of migrant labour. Therefore, close attention must be paid to the factors of scarcity of land, ethnicity variables and proximity of the road before predictions of both the type and amount of migration can be made for an area.

Ironically, the proximity of the road accounts in a large extent for those short distances travelled by the Darchula migrants in comparison to migrants from Bajhang, Doti and so on. Since the target area of our study is directly across the river from an Indian motorable road, short-term migration is probably more common than in places like Bajhang or Doti where the entire agricultural slack season might be taken up in travel to a place where employment might be obtained. On the other hand, long-term migrants from Darchula are more likely to work close by, in order that they might frequently return to their wives and families utilizing the cheap and fast local transport. More work has to be done in hill areas further to the east of our target area with different configurations of roads and availability of labour in order that these patterns can be further clarified.

A final note, during our stay in the field the Nepalese army held their first recruitment drive in Darchula district. Nearly 60 people applied, including school teachers and those appearing in the S.L.C. examination being given at that time. Brahmins, Chhetris and Thakuris all applied mainly because of difficulties

with the S.L.C. and the new demands on teachers brought about by the New Education Plan then being introduced. This situation, however, also reflects the phenomenon discussed in Upreti (1976) in Limbuwan, where the number of highly educated locals far outstrips the local demand for such educated young people, hence the tendency is to look to the outside to find jobs which are both financially rewarding and challenging enough to be in line with their own self-images due to their education. More and more in the future, such educated hill dwellers will probably turn to forms of long-term migration, which may become permanent migrations with time. Certainly our experience with the Brahmin driver noted above shows that to some extent educated villagers are looking to the outside as a place to fulfill their dreams.

Chapter V

REVERSIBLE MIGRATION: PART II

Extended farms are the least common form of migration in this target area. In Dhap panchayat only three households (involving ten individuals) have been determined by our criteria to be classifiable as extended farms. In Hikla, five households (28 individuals) are involved in the extended farm type operation. This is easily understandable since as we have defined extended farms above, this is clearly a form of migration utilized only by those who have surplus cash which can be used for investment and either surplus labour or enough excess labour to man farms both in their home area and in the new area, usually in an ecological zone different than that of the village of origin, most often in the Terai. This form of migration is perhaps more common in other sections of Nepal where migration has been going on for longer period of time.

A case study should present the general outline of the extended farm type of migration in this area. A Thakuri man had six sons. The two oldest brothers along with the fifth brother remained in the hills while the third, fourth and sixth sons moved down to Kanchanpur district in 1966 where they cleared six bighas of unregistered (ailani) land. All labour utilized in clearing of the land was done by the brothers themselves. In the case of this family, migration was due to land shortage, since the family in the hills had only small plots of land (about 1.3 acres). Their's was roughly one half the average land holding in Hikla panchayat and considering that there were six brothers, each claiming a share of this land it is apparent that there was land shortage involved. 1960 is claimed by informant (and supported by the high frequencies in all forms of migration for that and the following year, see appendix) to have

been a period of near famine and so it was necessary for these brothers to find some land in which they could raise food. After applying and being turned down by the resettlement program, these Thakuris cut down jungle and began to farm. The informant noted that for the first four years, he was unable to return to the village because he had neither the time nor the money. The informant also noted that his family has never returned to the village of origin since they had originally left the place. Since his Terai land is not completely cleared as of yet, and since there is no irrigation and the yield of the land is poor (10-12 maunds per crop is the total yield for the six bighas, and only two crops per year), he has been unable to send money or food to the hills. This example seems more like a case of permanent migration at first sight, but all of the brothers have maintained their right to the land in the hills, plus money is being sent from the hills to the Terai whenever possible for the purpose of improvement of the Terai holding. What differentiated this pattern from the more common pattern of extended farm found in the east of Nepal and described in our definition is that in this case the extended farmer is not a wealthy man investing, but rather a poor man escaping scarcity. Because of the poor quality of the land in western Terai and the lack of irrigation facilities, this land is less likely to be bought for the purpose of investment than the better quality land further east. Therefore, our examples are neither numerous nor are they the classic cases we hoped to find, nor are they the kind of cases that we know to exist in other sections of Nepal. The scarcity of examples and the inability for us to clearly fit them into our definition does not mean the extended farm does not exist in Nepal. Rather, it causes us to search for the reasons for its non-existence in this

region. Clearly our example established the links between the migrants and the brothers remaining in the hill village and if the hill villagers were wealthier and the Terai land better, the close ties of the joint family would certainly be strong enough to link the two. Instead, we find two sets of brothers, three in the hills and three in the Terai, each living as corporate units, but in separate economic groups one in the hills, the other in the Terai with strong sentimental ties yet without the economic means to link the units. In this way we have something which is neither an extended farm in the pure sense of the term, nor a completely permanent migration with the severance of ties to the land and the concomitant loss of social ties with the village of origin. Instead, we have a case where either a permanent break or an extended farm can evolve, a transitional phase unable to be turned into a single unit because of lack of money, yet showing an unwillingness to give up the ties and security of the village.

Two cases from Hikla (see Appendix II) show another similar situation in this area which points to the extended farm being a sort of transitional phase for this area. In both cases there were two brothers and their families each sharing a single plot of land. The land, however, was found to be insufficient to support both families, particularly as the families had begun to grow in size. One brother migrated to the Terai, leaving his family in the hills with the remaining brother. This migrating brother got a job in the Terai, usually as an unskilled labourer and began to clear the jungle on a plot of unregistered land. While he was clearing this land, the brother in the hills either borrowed money, sold some livestock or invested cash either from pensions (if he had been in the army or was some other form of long-term migrant, though cash

from short-term labour can be invested as well) and sent it to the brother who was then building up the Terai farm. This operation usually takes several years, since the Terai brother must also work for his living at an outside job. Once the initial crop was harvested, the brother sent for his family in the hills and immediately severed ties with his brother. Depending on which phase of this evolution the farm is studied, the relationship might show up as either an extended farm or a permanent migration, for while the investment from the hills goes on and rights to the land in the hills is retained, there is in fact an extended farm, according to our definition. Once these ties are severed, however, the Terai migrant gives up his right to the land and except for sending a muri or two of rice to the hills once a year, claims to have repaid the hill brother's investment in the Terai by giving him his rights to the ancestral land in the hills. Because neither farm can maintain both brothers and because neither farm is particularly rich and thus a good return on investment, there is little point in maintaining links between the two, except for sentimental or religious purposes such as ancestor worship. The examples from Hikla were still found to be in a linked phase, thus were counted as extended farms, but again the classic pattern described in Chapter II was not found in the target area.

In the far-west, in our target area, no clear cut examples of the extended farms were found and those included in the statistical data were, as in the above cases, only technical examples. More clearcut examples of this kind of system has been noted by the researchers in places like Chitwan and Jhapa districts, where the land in this Terai is a much of higher quality than the land found in the far-western Terai and the number of wealthier hill dwellers i.e.

those who are capable of large investments are more numerous in the hills. A nearly classic example of this kind of situation has been noted in the far-east where one hill family, for example, had 260 ropanis of land in the hills. In 1960, the only son and head of the family went down to the Terai and for about Rs.6,000.00 purchased ten bighas of relatively high quality land. The money was obtained by selling a parcel of land to a British soldier (: lahure, a long-term migrant). While the husband was in the Terai, his wife took care of the family and managed all the land in the hills, utilizing hired labour, then available, for the bulk of the agricultural labour. When land reform was implemented and malaria eradication was underway, labour became scarcer in the hills and so it was necessary for the family to sell off all but 190 ropanis of the hill land. At present the wife cultivates 15 ropanis by herself and the rest is given on a share-cropping basis, while the father manages the land in the Terai, returning to the village of origin only when there is a land dispute or during festivals or socially important events. During the slack season from Magh to Phagun, a herdsman is hired to watch the cattle and buffalo, and a member of the family, usually a daughter, watches over the house while the rest of the family will go down to the Terai to spend their winter months, thus avoiding the harsh climate of the hills. On their return in the spring, they bring dal and rice from the Terai, thus supplementing their production in the hills, selling off the rest of the crop for cash. Again, this classic example comes from the eastern hills and Terai and no examples of this situation were found in Darchula area.

This type of extended farm is quite clearcut and is usually a type of migration for wealthier individuals who are able to be

entrepreneurs. But the quality of the land in Far-Western Terai does not warrant much investment and many of the wealthy land holders in the Far-Western Hills are content to continue buying additional land in the hills from the poor who sell their land and move permanently down to the Terai, as it becomes available.

One example of such entrepreneurship, however, can be found with the Byanshi. Three families have purchased land in Banjarai and have organized farms down there to produce cash crops while maintaining their links with the Byanshi trade network. Since they continue to interact within the social and economic structure of the Byanshi, these migrants can be termed extended farmers. Petitions have been filed with the government on behalf of 180 Byanshi households for resettlement in the Terai. The Byanshi claim that since they have been dependent on trade and cottage industry and since the Chinese have come to Tibet they claim this trade has slackened and since their agriculture can only support them for three months out of the year, they feel they are suffering hardship.¹ They wish to be resettled in the Terai as a group, yet once they are resettled one feels that they will give up neither their land in Byans, nor in Darchula Khalanga nor their trade. Instead as classic entrepreneurs, the Byanshi are trying to gain access to land in the Terai in addition to the land and trade they already possess in the hills.

There are, of course, other entrepreneurs in the hills in our target areas and these are, of course, wealthy enough to invest when the opportunities arise. In Dhap, however, where there are only three households involved in what we might call extended arms (by stretching the definition and conforming to this spirit of the movement rather than the actual economic shape of the movement) a

more common pattern for the wealthy is to invest in land in the hills themselves. Since the land in the Terai directly south of Darchula is only of marginal quality, it is not regularly invested in. Rather, a poor farmer who does not have enough land for food sufficiency and who is unable to spare the time to migrate for short periods will eventually find himself in a situation where it is necessary to sell his small quantity of hill land, even though it is of a higher quality and opt for a larger quantity of lower quality land in the Terai. Most often, this farmer will take over unregistered land and set up a farm there. Even though the land for the most part has no price, since it is illegally gained, the farmer will need money to support himself and his family before the first crop comes in. He, therefore, must sell what little land he has left in the hills and start again as a permanent migrant to the Terai. The need to sell the land in the hills of course prevents the poor man from being able to form an extended farm. In addition, since he has not cash to hire labour either in the hills or Terai, he is unable to work both farms even if he did not have to sell. As a consequence selling one's land in the hills is simply a rational decision of a man of limited means to put all his energy into a single venture. The wealthy man comes in and purchases the land in the hills, giving the poorer man capital to begin again on his unregistered land in the Terai. Therefore, there is a class of people who invest in hill land and accumulate various small plots of land around the village of origin in our target area rather than moving down to the Terai. Five families have over 60 ropanis (7.8 acres) of land in Dhap panchayat. These people clearly are representative of this type of investor. Hikla, which the reader might recall, is a panchayat located at an average higher altitude, there

are six families that have more than 60 ropanis of land in the hills, but an informant working for the Rastriya Banijya Bank informed us that in Hutl panchayat, the panchayat immediately to the north of Hikla, the bank has been unable to sell land, not because nobody is in position to buy it, but the prices are so low as to be unacceptable to the bank. This indicates to us that there are many willing to sell their land and few able to buy, a perfect situation for one investing in land, for the investor can select the best available land and get it for a reasonable price. There is no reason to expect that Hikla, with a similar environment and land holding pattern should be different. The reason for the differences between Dhap and Hikla or Hutl is that in Dhap almost all the land is valuable, since a large proportion of it is irrigated, while in Hikla, there is less irrigated land and more land which can be used only for raising of animal fodder (kharbari).

Therefore, the absence of extended farmers in the region can be accounted for by: first the poor quality of land in the Terai and therefore, the lack of wealthy entrepreneurs who are willing to invest in this land, second the availability of poorer farmers in the hills with insufficient holdings who are willing to sell small amounts of higher quality lands in the hills in return for larger amounts of lower quality lands in the Terai and third, the availability of markets for surpluses in the hills due to the Indian motor road and the presence of troops and government officials in large quantity in the area who must purchase their food supplies. These factors, therefore, make it desirable for entrepreneurs to invest in hill land rather than bother with the improvement of poor quality Terai land.

The presence of a local market leads to an additional factor, that is the distance between Darchula and the Terai. Informants mention that there are extended farms in the far-western Terai, but the investors are from Dandeldhura. This may be true (and preliminary investigations indicate that this may in fact be the case), but here the factors are slightly different. First, much of the land in Dandeldhura is not utilized and claimed to be unutilizable, so land in general is scarce. Second, there is no market for surpluses in the hills (as there is in Darchula) since there is no road, no troops and few government officials, hence little demand and nothing to pay for it with. Surplus grain is bartered for salt and other commodities with traders, hence there is a limit on how much land is economical. Third, the close proximity to the Terai allows farmers to shuttle back and forth easily, hence they find it easier to work both farms. The distance to Darchula is great and a marginal farmer would find it difficult and expensive to travel back and forth by bus between his holdings, while a farmer in Dandeldhura can move back and forth much like the farmers discussed in Elder 1976, CEDA, etc. This situation allows farmers to utilize even marginal land to their benefit. Hence there are extended farmers in Kanchanpur, but few if any from Darchula.

Chapter VI

NON-REVERSIBLE MIGRATION

In the discussion of non-reversible migration our interest shifts to the Terai, for the non-reversible migrant is one who has given up his claim to land rights in the village of origin and taken up residence in a new area. Since the migrant's land in the village of origin is now in different hands, his social ties with the village have been severed and cannot be reinstated, even if he finds his new conditions to be unsatisfying or even if he finds his financial condition changing for the better. The migrant may have lost land to a creditor or have sold it because he was unable to find another solution for survival, short of permanent migration. He was perhaps unable to leave the village of origin during the agricultural slack season (if there was a slack season in his village), or he might have been unable to find employment due to poor relations with the met of his village. The permanent migrant may have suffered at the hands of an unscrupulous employer and lost his salary, or even gone into debt. The permanent migrant was perhaps a victim of the situation where a large family has divided a small property, or he may have had difficulties with the family or other villagers and decided on a social change. He is perhaps too poor to be well educated and so long-term migration of the more profitable type was closed to him, or perhaps there is no one who could run his farm and care for his family while he was gone. His land is insufficient and he does not have the capital or the knowledge of the markets to become a trader, nor does he have the capital or the pasturage to raise animals. Perhaps he has borrowed money to pay the cost of a wedding or a funeral and is now caught in the downward spiral of ever increasing interest changes and needs to

sell off his land to pay his debts.

All of the hypothetical situations mentioned above are examples of inability to take advantage of strategies short of permanent migration and discussions with informants usually point to a situation where one of the methods of coping with shortages have failed and either for social or economic reasons and the migrant has been left with movement to the Terai as his only alternative.

Since 1964, 73 individuals (eleven households) from Dhap and 211 individuals (thirty-six households) from Hikla have moved permanently out of the area, that is to say where non-reversible migrants. We have suggested in Rai, Manzardo and Dahal: 1976 that the difference between the numbers of families permanently migrating from Dhap and Hikla are suggestive of this "last resort" concept of migration. Dhap, it will be recalled, is a panchayat at a relatively low altitude with a large proportion of irrigated land. Hikla is at a higher altitude with a very small portion of irrigated land. Since the quality of land in Dhap is higher, a farmer in Dhap can sell small quantities of his land, a little at time and still survive on these diminishing quantities, while the Hikla villager will reach the point of insufficiency at a much quicker rate and will be forced to sell his remaining holdings sooner, since he requires larger amounts of land to survive since he is dependent on dry agriculture and animal husbandry each requiring greater holdings.

Table 3 shows the amount of cash brought down to the Terai by the migrants from two panchayats between 1962 to 1975. It should be noted that a higher proportion of Dhap people, nearly all the migrants, brought down less than Rs. 2,000.00 (11 out of 14 migrants)

and 9 migrants brought down less than Rs. 500.00. In Hikla, however, although eleven out of forty-one households brought down less than Rs. 500.00 and 29 households brought less than Rs 2,000.00, 12 families brought over Rs. 2,000.00 to the Terai at the time of migration, indicating that people are selling more land in Hikla when they migrate than the people in Dhap, and indicating that people from Dhap tend to migrate at a higher level of indebtedness. If one looks at the frequencies of land holdings at any level in the two panchayats, the two panchayats seem otherwise to be fairly evenly matched economically¹ (see Appendix III).

Table 3

Cash brought down to Terai by Migrants of two panchayats in Darchu-
la between
1964-1975²

<u>Amount of cash in Rs.</u>	<u>Dhap panchayat</u>	<u>Hikla panchayat</u>
0	4	3
500	5	8
1000	-	10
2500	1	5
2000	1	3
2500	-	6
3000	-	1
3500	1	1
3500 ⁺	2	4
Total families	14	41

We have divided the causes of migration into both economic and social factors, for not all migration has purely economic causes. Poverty or more specifically the inability of a farmer to grow enough of grain for the year's needs from his lands and who does not have other means of making up these deficiencies through trade, short or long-term migration is probably the most common cause of permanent migration. This takes into account the preference of most hill villagers of staying in the hills, if at all possible. Yet some cases have been found where men move to the Terai by choice, usually because of political or social disagreements in the village. Avoiding social stigmas brought about by what is considered to be improper behaviour within the village is another cause for migration. These are both purely socially motivated causes for movement and although they might ultimately be caused by economic factors (e.g. disputes over resources or fights with economic rivals) no specific economic improvements in the hills can really effect these socially motivated migrations. A final type has been discussed in the preceding chapter which involves both social and economic factors. These are the uncompleted "extended farms" which either through economic causes or social disagreement within the family or both are unable to be linked and are rapidly turned into separate economic entities. It should also be noted that not all permanent migrants have land in the Terai, and that some are merely absorbed into a landless "proletariat" in the rapidly developing Terai. It should also be noted that some migrants find themselves unable to live in the Terai and thus return to the hills. Since they have sold their land, however, they find themselves relegated to an economic and social limbo on their return. In addition not all permanent migrants move to the Terai. There is some movement on a permanent basis between hill villages

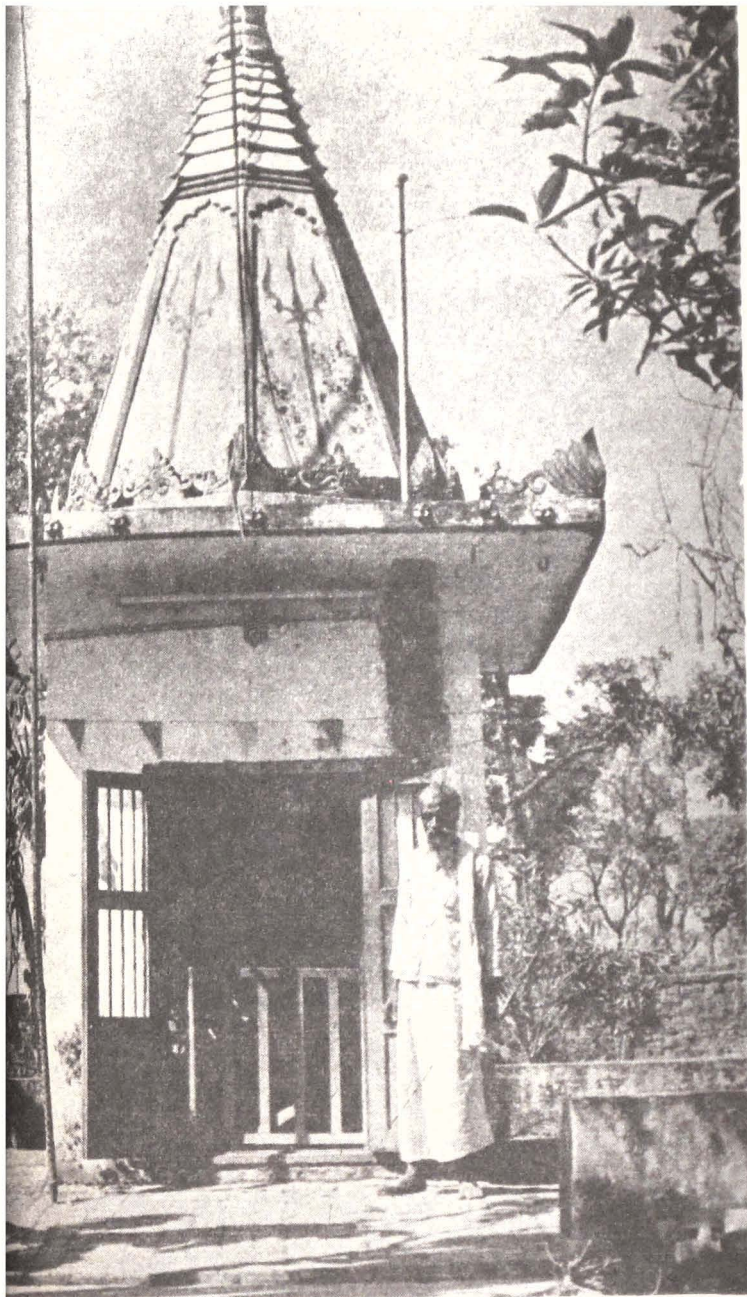
within Darchula, between Darchula and the hills in India, as well as to other hill districts in Nepal. In order to clarify some of these patterns, we will note the number of cases found of each type of permanent migration in each panchayat and we will present examples of each type in the form of case studies.

Insufficient Land as a Cause for Migration

In our study area we have found seven cases of poverty related migration in Dhap from 1964 to 1975, and twenty-five cases in Hikla. Of the seven cases in Dhap, five have sold their land and two have mortgaged it. A case in point occurred in the year 1966, when a tremendous amount of migration occurred in the whole of the present Darchula region. At that time, a series of three events took place which had disastrous effects on the villagers and caused a great deal of permanent migration. The first of these events was an earthquake followed by series of landslides which damaged houses, destroyed much arable land and closed water supplies through blockage. This followed by a second and related event, namely a famine causing a great deal of local starvation. The third event was the inactment of Land Reform, making it no longer possible for starving farmers to borrow money from their former landlords. These three events caused the first large-scale permanent migration out of this region (at a frequency which has never again been matched). These people for the most part migrated to sites in the Terai, since fortunately 1965 was the year in which malaria eradication reached this far-western Terai area. By 1966 the news of malaria eradication had travelled to Darchula, and so with the famine a "carrot and stick" situation was created for the migrants, meaning that the attraction for the Terai was heightened by the malaria eradication and by the disasters taking place in the hill regions. During this period 30

households migrated to the Terai because of the poverty directly related to these disasters.

Poverty in more recent years continues to be a major cause for permanent migration to the Terai in our target area. Let us for example take the case a Thakuri family from Hikla. This Thakuri had five brothers and one sister. In this family, there was about 1.3 acres of land shared between all six brothers and a father who is still living. This amount of land is roughly half of the average holding in Hikla panchayat and there was no way for the entire family to survive on that amount of land, particularly since the brothers already had seven children of their own. In 1965, the famine in the hills forced three of the brothers to take over six bighas of unregistered land and begin to farm it. Later, the father also moved down to the Terai once the farm began to produce crops. Only the informant, who was the third brother (sahila), had returned to the village of origin and made his first trip only after living in the Terai for four years. The rest of the family living in the Terai has yet not returned to the village of origin, hence this is clearly a permanent migration. The two oldest brothers and the fifth brother have remained in the hills, while the informant, the fourth brother and the youngest brother live in the Terai. The youngest daughter remains in the hills, she is as yet unmarried. For the family in the Terai, the situation is not easy for their land produces very little, since there is no irrigation and soil is poor. This six bighas of land hardly yields 60-72 maunds per crop³ (i.e. 10-12 maunds per bigha) and there are only two crops per year and the wheat crop has even lower yields than the figures given for paddy above.



New patterns of religion
are found in the Terai
when ancestor dieties
are given up. Here
is a Terai temple
used by hill migrants.

New house of hill migrants
from Darchula, near Mahendra-
nagar.





tris in Sipti village in Marma, Darchula.

Hill migrants in a Terai village near Mahendranagar.



The informant noted that even though the climate in the Terai is unpleasant, he feels that it is better than the hills because here at least enough food can be produced to feed the family, the women need to do less hard work and the children can go to school. He also noted that the medical facilities in the area are better. The fourth brother maintains greater contact with the family in the hills, because he is involved in the trade noted for Hikla panchayat. He is involved, therefore, moving the sheep between the hill and Terai sites and uses both farms as a base of trade operations. In the sense this family can be said to be in some ways involved in extended farm activities (and accordingly this family has been discussed under extended farms as well).

Poor Yield as a Cause for Migration

In addition to insufficient land, poor yield can also be caused by poor quality land. A good example of this situation is an untouchable farmer with the family of five, who has 0.975 acres of unirrigated land. This would be an adequate amount of land if it were of high quality, but it is not enough to support the family and so this villager migrated six years ago and took over about two bighas of land in Musepani in Kanchabpur district. The land in the Terai is still not enough to support his family and so this migrant joined with two other migrants from the same village of origin and are working as carpenters and cartwrights in order to supplement their income. This family is of the Koli caste, traditionally untouchable oil pressors in the hills; thus their move to the Terai has opened new labour opportunities to them as carpenters.

Debt as a Cause for Migration

The third source of migration related to poverty is when debt forces a man to sell his land in the hills and thus he has to move to the Terai for a living. An example of this is the case of a Khasya Chhetri family from Dhap who owned 1.63 acres of land in the hills. One of the brothers in the family was a compulsive gambler and heavy drinker and managed to run up a debt around Rs. 10,000.00. His brother repaid the debt, but in order to prevent a recurrence of this situation, they made him a present of Rs. 1,500.00 in 1965 and sent him to the Terai to begin a new life. He bought a bigha of unregistered land (ailani land) with this money and he and his son worked as coolies to supplement their income until the farm was self supporting. In this case, as is mostly typical in this situation, this man's share of the land in the hills was sold to the brothers. This at times acts as an insurance policy for the migrant, for if things do not work out in the Terai it is possible to appeal to the brothers in the hills once again for the return of his share. In the case of a permanent migrant, even though his hopes for a new life in the Terai are high, he is still unwilling to entirely give up his land ties and therefore his ties to the hills. The sentimental ties to and the security of the village of origin continue to remain strong, even in the case of clearly defined permanent migrant. The term basain (: literally meaning permanent migrant) is considered derogatory in many places of Nepal, including the target area, for it implies an impoverished person with no control over his own life. Selling land to one's brothers, enables the migrant to keep his actual landlessness a secret until it is necessary to reveal the fact to register land. If a man has no brothers, he will try to sell the land to a more distant relative, but usually the

attempt is to keep the transaction as close as possible to the immediate family. The purchase of land by local entrepreneurs, however, shows that these transactions some times go beyond the family.

Disputes over land can sometimes lead to borrowing of money to allow the dispute to continue long enough to have the case completely settled. We have no specific examples of this for the target area, but it may be noted that such cases are likely to be common in other areas. Another, sort of dispute which may cause migration arises out of the Thakuri custom of bride price in this area. A man wishing to marry a suitable Thakuri girl might have to pay Rs. 6,000.00 to her family. In order to get this money, a young man might have to borrow and in order to pay back the money, he might have to become either a short or long-term migrant. While he is away, however, the girl sometimes runs away leaving him only the debt for the bride price. The bride price is forfeit and the husband can only collect the jari payment (payment given to the cuckolded husband by the wife's lover) roughly Rs. 60 to 500.00. In order to pay his creditor, the husband, in one case, was forced to sell his land and migrate to the Terai.

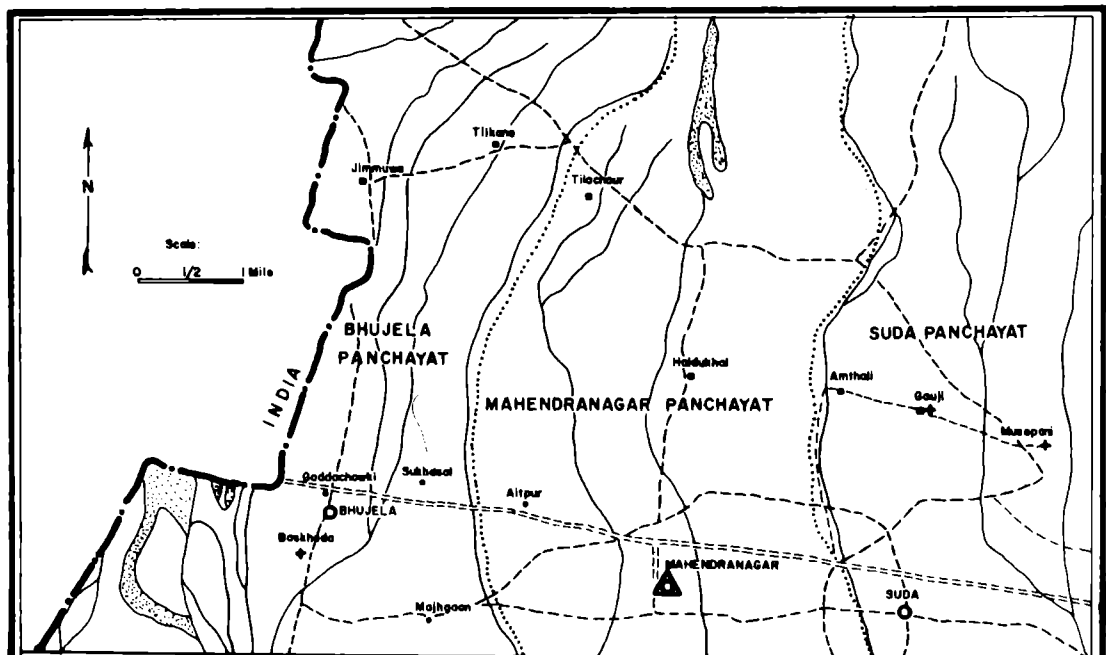
Social Stigma as a Cause for Migration

Exploitation by village landlords is also a common cause for permanent migration, but here is an interesting case where the situation has been reversed in a panchayat close to the target area. A certain Brahmin was the richest man in this panchayat. His eldest son is presently the Pradhan Panch and is a graduate of a college in Kathmandu, the youngest son is presently studying in Pithoragarh. This Brahmin had 35 ropanis of top quality land, as well as a small cloth shop in the area. All villagers felt that

he was an exploiter of the poor villagers and he came to be hated by all members of the village, including members of his own lineage. Eventually, things became so difficult for him, that he left the village and moved to the Terai, where he purchased six bighas of registered (raikar) land, pledging a few ropanis of hill land for credit. He now has a rickshaw and a shop in Mahendranagar, with five members of his family living in the hills and five members in the Terai. His family, in effect, forms a perfect extended farm pattern, except that the old man refuses to return to the hills, in fact, he won't even drink water from his hill village. His son, the Pradhan Pancha of the Panchayat claims that when his term is over he too will go to the Terai never to return. This example, although a perfect extended farm, is motivated not by the desire to invest in the Terai, but rather by political and social disputes (economically motivated) which had made life impossible in the village for the Brahmin. In spite of the fact that many of the villagers maintain strong sentimental ties to their village of origin and try to maintain a foothold in the village through retaining at least some sort of even fictionalized claim to the land in the village, there are some who for political or social reasons choose to migrate even though there is no apparent economic reason for doing so. A clearcut case of this situation involves the former Pradhan Pancha of one of our target panchayats. This Thakuri had been defeated in a panchayat election by a Khasya Chhetri and after his defeat he sold his sheep and bought land near Mahendranagar. Because of a dispute with the seller of the Terai land, the Thakuri returned the first land he purchased and instead began to clear the jungle on a piece of unregistered land. Another brother joined him in the Terai and helped in clearing the land. Up to this point, the Thakuri

retained his land in the hills, selling only 30 heads of sheep to the Darchula Byanshi (for Rs. 2,400.00) using the money to make his initial Terai land purchase. It is clear that this is an unusual case, since the Thakuri's initial move into the Terai came as early as 1964, before malaria eradication took place. He didn't bring his family down until several years later when he moved with the six members of his immediate family to join his brother who had already completed the clearing of the land in the Terai. The two brothers now share five bighas of land, while the rest of the extended family continues to live in the hills with complete economic independence. From the point at which this Thakuri was defeated as Pradhan Pancha, he has not taken part in any local hill politics. His presence in the hills from the point of his defeat was only temporary and only for the purpose of arranging his economic affairs in the hills. From the point at which he withdrew from the village arena, his intention to migrate was clear and he insists that there was no economic cause for his migration. According to the informant, the Terai at the point of his migration was a dangerous place, particularly in the illegal settlement areas. Many died because of food scarcity and malaria. This Thakuri was in fact the man who introduced the idea of permanent migration to his area, for in spite of the fact that he left his Panchayat for the political reasons, he was able to get many of his own political allies to come and join him in the Terai in the period which followed. At present, this Thakuri is economically quite well off, as he was one of the first in the area and chose his land well. But more importantly, although he does not hold any political office at present, he still acts as a power broker and influential man in the new area, particularly among the other Darchula migrants from his own panchayat.

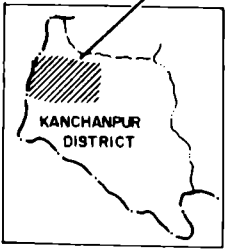
In a way, this points out the source of a very interesting pattern which we have discovered in the Terai. We have noted that all of our target areas in the hills have corresponding settlement areas in the Terai. Although these settlement areas may overlap in places, on the whole, they tend to be distinct from each other. We call this a "diadic" pattern of settlement. Within these settlement areas, one finds one village with people from Hikla, while another village in another area is inhabited by people from Dhap. Within wards in these Terai panchayats, neighbourhoods (tol), or to some extent migrant ghettos are formed. One neighbourhood within a ward might contain Dhap people, while another neighbourhood contains people from Bajhang or Dailekh or some other far-western district. These neighbourhoods are likewise limited to migrants coming from a single panchayat of those districts as well. One of the reasons for this clustering is the attempt to maintain a familiar social environment in the midst of a new physical environment. In the case of the Thakuri described above, the actual mechanics of how



Map 3. Map of Settlement Patterns of DHAP and HKLA Migrants in Kanchanpur District. (NEPAL)

LEGEND

- International Boundary
- Panchayat Boundary
- △ District Head Quarter
- Panchayat Office
- ◆ Village Settled by Dhap Migrants
- Village Settled by Hikla Migrants
- Village
- ==== Road Under construction
- - - - - Trail
- ~~~~~ River



this takes place becomes evident. A man, a former power broker and entrepreneur leaves his village of origin and sets himself up in a new area of unregistered jungle. He then has his brother work at clearing the land, while shuttling between the Terai holdings and the hill village to take care of his economic affairs, but also passing the news of the new land available in the Terai. At first, his stories are fearful and tell of deaths from malaria and people so hungry that they must eat the bark off of trees. When malaria eradication came, it is this man or men like him who pass the news to the hills, informing villagers and most notably allies that the land is now safe. It is these men who know the mechanics of getting and clearing land in the Terai and it is this kind of man, a man who was powerful in the hills with the information necessary to the new migrants who retains power in the Terai. The migrants from the village of origin, settle in a cluster around the man they trust. This pattern is of course repeated in many other village, each with its own area and its own center around which migrants from each of the hill areas cluster, often too afraid to venture very far from the people they know.

Another wealthy Thakuri (said to be one of the richest men in Darchula) ran for office in the Jilla Panchayat, and was defeated by a member of an inferior caste. At this point this Thakuri left the district and moved to the Terai. It must be noted that in the Darchula area the caste system is especially rigid, and many distinctions which in other areas are of minor importance are here strictly adhered to. Therefore, the defeat of a high caste man by a man of lower caste is a social affront and the severe loss of face often requires escape from the arena. In both of the cases cited above it was not merely political defeat,

which forced migration, but the defeat by a member of a lower caste group which created a stigma which caused a wealthy man to migrate, even though there was no economic need for the move.

Social stigma can also result from various violations or near violations of local moral codes. For example, a Chhetri migrated in 1973 after having left his own wife and daughter to run away with another's wife. He presently has little land in the Terai (all of it ailani land) and has worked as a coolie and as a policeman. His 0.65 acres of land in the village of origin has now been taken over by his elder brother.

Another such case involves the son of a devaki. A devaki is a woman (sometimes acting as a temple prostitute) who has been dedicated to the gods and lives around the temple. The usual process of a woman becoming a devaki occurs, for example, when a person is ill and no regular cure seems to work. The patient makes a vow to one of the gods (or goddesses, usually Mallikarjun, Baijanath, Bhairav or Devi) to dedicate a girl to the god or goddess involved in return for being cured. If he gets well, the sick person has two options. If he is a poor man, he can give one of his own daughters to the temple, or if he is a wealthy man, he can purchase the daughter of another and dedicate her to the god. This type of dedication is common, but the local people are quite reticent to divulge information about this institution. As a consequence it is difficult to accurately assess the numbers of girls involved, either in the past or presently.

As this migrant was the son of a devaki, he was looked down upon by his high caste neighbours in the panchayat. Thinking that he could raise his caste status in the Terai, since no one would

know his background, he migrated and relied on his Chhetri name to give him status. In fact, the informant had run away with a married Chhetri woman from the east. In the meantime, he cleared the forest and now owns two bighas of land which he is working. He claims that he is happy in the Terai and is never bothered about his dubious caste status.³

Untouchables also find relief from traditional social stigma in the Terai. Although they do not lose their untouchable status, they are relieved from having to do certain kinds of jobs associated with their status in the hills, such as manure carrying and removing dead cattle. Instead, there are new opportunities for labour or in government offices in the Terai (such as in the case of carpenters noted above), and a concomitant rise in economic standing coming from their ability to earn cash salaries for their labour. They are allowed to eat in local hotels and can afford good food, as well as liquor and seem to be enjoying their new wealth in many cases. Part of this migration of untouchables has been caused by the rise of the population of these groups in the hills. Family fission has created a necessity for dividing the traditional client families, so that each group of untouchables has fewer clients than in the past and therefore have a more difficult time supporting themselves through their traditional labour patterns. In a way, this is analogous to the fission of land among the landed groups, for in each case, a higher population is trying to live off of fixed amount of resources and eventually the point of insufficiency is reached. By moving to the Terai, an area of rapid economic growth, where new housing must be built and support for new services obtained (witness Gurung's growth figures stated above for the far-western Terai, 1975) high paying labour is easily found for skilled workers and

therefore, the Terai is logical place for permanent migration as traditional sources of income in the hills begin to close off. Hence the migration of the untouchables to the Terai has both economic and social causes.

Another case of social stigma motivating Terai immigration involves the case of a Chhetri family living near our target area in the hills. The family originally had over two acres of land in the hills, shared by only seven family members. The son of the head of the family, however, was charged with having impregnated the daughter of an untouchable. In order to maintain his caste status (again the rigidity of the local caste system must be emphasized), the father immediately sold all his hill lands to his brothers and moved to the Terai where he purchased four bighas of Terai land.

Women play an important role in the decision to migrate. It has been mentioned quite frequently that the role of women in the hills is quite difficult and involves a good deal of physical labour both in agriculture and in housekeeping. Getting water in our target area involves long trips carrying heavy water vessels and the carrying of fodder, manure, firewood and the herding of cattle, in addition to caring for the house and children keeps hill women busy, even when the men have little to do. Pressure is often put on men to migrate down to the Terai where the lives of women are considered easier, where medical care is felt to be more readily available, and schools are more accessible to the children. Few women interviewed expressed desire to return to the hills once they had lived in the Terai, and the women now living in the hills know this. If a man continues to hold land in the hills, the woman pressures him to get rid of it. If a man is living in the hills, his wife pushes him to sell his share and move to where life is easier for her. When

a woman can move to the Terai and yet still live among her former friends in the "diadic" neighbourhood in the Terai, she will have little sentimental attachment to her former hard life in the hills. It is the women who push the family hardest to break the relations with the hills. They often do not want money sent to the hills, nor do they want to maintain village ties. They only want the better life of the Terai.

Not all migrants to the Terai have land there. The case of some untouchables have already been noted, along with the fact that their skills are greatly in demand. Other landless permanent migrants work either as rickshaw pullers, run tea stalls, or work in the few factories or workshops. They work in government offices or quite commonly as share-croppers in other people's land.

We have stated that permanent migrants are migrants who have sold their land and cut their ties with the village of origin. The permanent nature of these permanent migrations is particularly emphasized when one of these non-reversible migrants tries, for one reason or another, to reverse his status and return to the hills. When he returns to the village of origin the marginal nature of his social status is particularly informative. One case of an attempted return to the hills involves an untouchable from Dhap panchayat. The subject's father worked as an agricultural labourer and made bamboo products in the village of origin. When his father died, 30 years ago, the brothers separated. Nine years ago, this untouchable sold his land to a Thakuri receiving Rs. 10,600.00. He migrated to the Terai, leaving behind a small house and a small amount of land with his uncle. He also brought with him eleven other family members and never expected to return. It took three days for him to reach Mahendranagar. They travelled with a havildar, who claimed

to know the area. On the way, the untouchable gave Rs. 600.00 to the havildar for expenses and the havildar spent all but Rs. 15.00 of it on the way. They eventually went to a small village near Mahendranagar and stayed with a relative who had already been established there. The untouchable bought seven bighas of land (the seller claimed it was seven bighas, the actual measurement was never actually known to the buyer) as well as a house that was sitting on the land. The family also erected two more houses, in order to form separate residences for each of the nuclear families involved. At the time of purchase, the land was only half cleared, so paddy and maize were sown on the cleared portion. The family was harassed by forest officials and a bribe had to be paid by the family in order that the problem of forest demarcation would be settled in favour of the family.

One day, six of the members of the untouchable's family began to become ill. Both the havildar and the untouchable's younger brother were dhamis (shamans). Both stated (in possession) that the family must not stay in the Terai, they must return to the hills and satisfy their household divinity. The untouchable finally agreed to return to the hills and the illnesses were cured. The land and the crops of the migrant were sold for Rs. 5,000.00, but only Rs. 1,500.00 was paid to the man, while the remaining money to be paid when the seller returned to the hills. When the untouchable returned, however, he was not paid the rest of the money and instead was given only Rs. 400.00 as interest. The seller soon found that the buyer's younger brother was in fact a dangerous person "with a reputation of being a murderer." The seller was never paid any additional money and he was too scared to try to collect. On his return to the village of origin, he took over a small amount of

land (0.16 acres), but since he no longer had any money, he was unable to repurchase the land he had sold to the Thakuri. Presently, (nine years later) the untouchable runs a mill (:ghatta) from which he earns three to twelve manas of grain per day, depending on the season.⁴ In addition, he also makes various kinds of woven products out of bamboo. This is a marginal existence, particularly since 9 years ago, the untouchable had over Rs. 10,000.00 in cash. Nobody has been able or willing to help him regain his former position. Socially, he does not exist.

Religion and religious changes are obviously of importance, particularly when there is a radical change in location of households. The above example obviously has a strong religious component and certainly brings out the anxiety of the migrant in his new area. It might be interesting to note, that the havildar mentioned in the above example also had trouble with his own ancestral deity and was also forced to sell his land and return to the hills in debt. We were unable to find his present location.

The presence of to what for the hill dwellers are new deities in the Terai, as well as the deities of the migrant's new neighbors who are also migrants from other districts of the hills, create a climate where rapid religious change and absorption is expected. The absence of the familiar ancestral deities (:kuldevata), creates anxieties and at times (as shown) has forced the return of some migrants to the hills, even when there is no apparent economic cause for the return. When asked why it was that hill migrants do not simply build a new temple for their ancestral deities in the new home, the answer was always that this was impossible and that ancestral deities can only be worshipped in the ancestral homes. Some changes in worshipping patterns were also noted, for example hill

migrants had begun worshipping Baijanath and Baram Deu, both Terai deities, not worshipped in the hills. In addition, the migrants also celebrate the festival cycle of the Terai, rather than that of the hills, with the exception of ancestral deity worship which needs to be done in the village of origin. Further work should be encouraged studying factors relating to culture change effected by: a) the contact between cultures from the hills and cultures in the Terai, b) the close proximity of cultures from different parts of the hills to education, health and other forms of development. The contacts with other cultures and the changes brought about by development will certainly effect more aspects of culture than religion, but the religious aspects are immediately visible and will give researchers access to other more hidden changes.⁵

Hill to Hill Migration

All migration from our target area is not hill to Terai migration. There are many cases of migration from one area of the hills to another area within the hills. Here, we will consider three types of migration within the hills. The first type of migration is migration from one section of Darchula district to another, usually involving movement from a higher altitude area to a lower altitude area, that is from an area where land is primarily of non-irrigated variety to the area where the land is irrigated. The second type of migration is movement across the border into India and in this section we will consider how important the border between India and Nepal is in constraining movements of people into India. Finally, we will consider the movement of Indian nationals into the hill regions of our target area, mainly to determine what types of people can move into an area which so far has been pictured as a system which is filling up, and one whose movement pattern is primarily outward.

In considering migration between areas inside of our target district, we present the case of a Brahmin who has moved from Huti panchayat to Dhap panchayat. This Brahmin has four brothers, who shared a very small amount of arable land and as a consequence, the brothers families were unable to live off this land. In 1944, it became necessary for the brothers to find a way to survive. As malaria eradication had not yet taken place, movement to the Terai was not yet possible, and so it was necessary to find a place to move and acquire land within the hills. This is a difficult proposition, for the different regions (garkhas) of the present Darchula have a marked antipathy for each other, and the people of one garkha are suspicious of those from another. As one informant says, "Lekam and Duhu (two of the four garkhas of the present Darchula) are like India and Pakistan". The informant had a wealthy a paternal uncle in Dhap, who was heirless at the time. The informant asked his uncle if he would adopt him as a son and the uncle agreed. Without taking a share of his own family's holdings, the informant moved to Dhap along with his wife. He lived with his uncle for two years, and then things became difficult. His uncle married a new wife and had a son. When the son was born, the informant was forced to leave the house of his uncle and found himself homeless and landless, in a basically hostile area. He and his wife were forced to work as haliyas (ploughman), a very unusual circumstance for a Brahmin in this area of rigid caste hierarchy, where Brahmins must never plough fields. He worked on the land of another Brahmin who gave him some land. In addition, he earned money working as a porter and bought additional land on which to build a house in the area. The hostility of the village, however, remained and in a dispute, without relatives to take his side, he was forced off of his land and left the village, migrating to India

in 1954. At that point, there was a bridge connecting Dhap village with the Indian side. Here the Brahmin was given land and here he built a small shop. After running the shop for six months, he accumulated enough money to again return to Nepal and start a shop in Dhap itself. He began selling goods, house to house, and within two years had accumulated enough money to purchase land in the lower section of Dhap panchayat, close to the Mahakali. He built a house there and lived off of this poor and as yet still unregistered land, continuing to sell goods door to door. By 1963, he was able to build another more permanent house. A dispute arose over his new land, made possible by the fact that his land was still unregistered, and he was forced to pay the purchase price of his land a second time in order to get the deed. It was not until 1970 that his legal status in the village was assured, but he continues to feel unsafe, since some of his land is still not registered and he knows that nobody will come to his defence if he has trouble. This life in a village which is hostile to him has coloured his attitude toward life and he is a very negative person. Recently, his son, a police officer in the Terai was killed in the line of duty. He tells whoever will listen, that his son was killed by the father's enemies. He now lends money in the village, but says he is seldom repaid and feels he is no position to try to collect.

The situation of mutual hostility between garkhas still continues. There is the case of a young Chhetri, who acted as a porter for one of the researchers. This boy comes from Marma, the garkha making up the eastern portion of Darchula, and is presently living in Dhap. This boy was landless in Marma and he and his family are landless in Dhap. They too feel the hostility of the local people to outsiders, and the boy is forced to do jobs which others

in the panchayat find distasteful. Although this boy's movement, in fact, repeats in many ways the experience of the Brahmin a generation earlier, this movement is becoming less and less common in the hills. This type of movement demonstrates, however, how long migration has been taking place and stresses the idea that we have expressed above, that migration is, in effect, the traditional means of dealing with shortages of land brought about by overpopulation or loss of land due to other causes. Three generations ago, 150 households from Hikla migrated to Chhapre panchayat, the panchayat just north of Darchula-Khalanga. Many of these families continue to hold land in Hikla, and either let it out on a share-cropping basis or a few families still return to cultivate their own land. The remaining families have sold their land. Sixteen other families migrated from Hikla panchayat and now live in Rapla. The reason given for both these movements was the scarcity of land in Hikla, so that the time depth of both land scarcity and migration to solve the shortage brought about by land scarcity can be seen to extend at least three generations back. Through this, some notion of the pre-Terai migration pattern can be reconstructed. The formation of Dhap itself is said to have taken place in around 1852 A.D., when landlords and their skilled workmen migrated to the area from Baitadi and areas presently in India. In a little over a hundred years, this area went from land on which migrants settled, to an area producing its own emigrants. Historically, movement from one area of the hills to another has been the most viable solution to land scarcity, but the hills are now filling up, and the example of Dhap and Hikla show how quickly this process has taken place, even with the reduced population of three generations ago. A general assessment of the situation brings us to conclude that the present population of these two panchayats are at a maximum and that the hosti-

lity of one group towards in-migrants from a neighbouring garkha demonstrates this to be the local assessment of the situation as well.

All of the target areas in Darchula are located within a close walking distance to the Mahakali river, which is the border between Nepal and India. To some extent, the Indian area has great attractions for Nepalese. Ethnically, the hills just across the river are made up of a population which is exactly the same, both culturally and linguistically as the populations within Nepal. The Indian side, however, has roads, access to large market towns, hospitals, schools, and colleges and in many places, electricity. The border is permeable for the purposes of marriage, though most of these movements involve only the female populations of villages, and create little net change in population size. We have discussed the attraction of India for reversible migrants, but the number of cases of permanent migrants moving to India are surprisingly small. This is due partly to the fact that the section of Uttar Pradesh directly across the border from Darchula is presently a notified area, requiring passes and papers for everyone travelling in the area regardless of nationality. This makes it very difficult to acquire land illegally and India's own population in the hills is every bit as dense as that in Nepal's hills, so that legal land is very difficult and expensive to acquire. In spite of the difficulties, migration does take place between Nepal and India. One case is a Brahmin from Hikla who had only 0.17 acres of unirrigated land with which he had to support five people. Since he was unable to support his family from this quantity of land, he used to supplement his income by working as a short-term labourer in India and in addition sold firewood and animal fodder. In 1961, he sold his

land to a Thakuri and moved with his mother and the rest of his family to a village near Darchula-Khalanga, where he worked as a share cropper on a Jaishi Brahmin's land. Two years later, he bought a piece of land in Dhap panchayat, but this was still not enough to support his family and he continued as a temporary labourer in India. He also got a job watching over jopu for the Byanshi (a job called bhudya). Two years ago, he sold his land in Dhap and moved to India, just across the river from Dhap. His sister married a man from the India side and his links became established. It was important, however, for this man to have an initial link within India in order that his presence be legitimized. In the case of this migrant, his link was his paternal uncle, a long-term labour migrant with the postal system of India who was then retired, living on a pension after having chosen to remain in India, thus becoming a permanent migrant. With his uncle's help, the informant was able to get a job as a share cropper on about 0.5 acres of land. Now he earns his living in a combination of agricultural work and selling fodder and firewood, but he is now unable to get a job as a coolie, because he no longer lives in a village with a met (local labour contractor). He is not much better off in India, and will not get citizenship for three more years, but he has nothing in Nepal and therefore feels he cannot return. He would like to move down to Nepal's Terai, but he has no relatives or other links there and he feels he cannot afford the Terai on his own. It must be noted that the informant tried as far as possible to stay in Nepal (as demonstrated by his initial move to the Khalanga and Dhap areas), but he was not able to make a living in Nepal and so moved to India as a kind of fall-back position.

A more successful case is that of Chhetri from Hikla, who in 1966 (the year of highest migration from Hikla) purchased about 0.5 acres of land in India, after mortgaging his own land in Nepal. Both he and his son are presently working as chowkidars for the irrigation department in India and make a good living. He claims he left Nepal because he was unable to make a living on his land there, particularly since the year he left was a year of famine and disaster in the area.

Another migrant to India was a Chhetri without sufficient land, who migrated after his daughter married an Indian. She helped him get set up on the Indian side.

About 35 years ago, nearly 60 families left Hikla panchayat and moved to the Chaudans area of India. Although some of these families still own land in Hikla panchayat, and though some let it out on a share cropping basis, most of the lands have been mortgaged to relatives. In spite of the heavy outflow of migrants from Hikla panchayat (226 families have been counted in our examples over three generations), the population pressure on Hikla panchayat has not decreased. The area still has a high birth rate and within two or three generations, eighty ropanis of land can suddenly become very little.

The third type of hill to hill migration, involves Indian nationals moving into Nepal. This is certainly a more important problem in the Terai, where land which might be used to drain off excess population from the hills is instead being utilized by migrants from the equally densely populated areas of India directly to the south of Nepal. This movement into Nepal's Terai will certainly limit

the usefulness of this land for Nepal's hills in the future. In addition, the skilled workers coming from India make it difficult for less skilled Nepalis to get employment when they move to the Terai. The general situation both in the hills and in the Terai is that less skilled workers leave Nepal while more highly skilled workers enter Nepal.⁶ In the hills, the situation is similar to that in the Terai, but due to the high density population and limited resources in the hills the numbers of migrants entering Nepal are notably quite small. Still migration involves populations of more highly skilled workers. The only example of in-migration from India to Dhap is that of the village's only barber. There are no Indian in-migrants in Hikla, while in Darchula-Khalanga aside from the Sauka (Indian Byanshi who enter Nepal for trade, some having permanent houses and others who come seasonally to run shops as Nepali Byanshi do in India), there are three barbers and one radio repairman.

The problem with Byanshi, Sauka, and those high Nepali castes living in India with land in Nepal and those living in Nepal with land in India, bring out the perennial problem of citizenship and national loyalty and certainly there are irregularities which come up at panchayat election time and at tax time and with the disposition of resources between India and Nepal. These problems are so complex that they would require a lawyer to handle. These cases are a source of worry to the local people and everyone is quite interested in the situation. As we have said, ethnically and culturally both the Nepali castes and the Byanshi are the same on both sides of the border. Both groups are linked to corresponding groups on the opposite side of the river both through marriage, as well as through religious practices. To a certain extent, the bor-

der does not exist and yet when legal questions come up it may be the crucial factor.

Chapter VIITHE EFFECTS OF OUT MIGRATION ON THE HILLS AND TERAJ OF FAR-WESTERN
NEPAL AND POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE

Trying to draw conclusions in a field as complex as migratory phenomena is very difficult, particularly when our own survey included only a limited number of sites and could only remain in the field a short time. This project has been considered to be a preliminary study from the very beginning and without further research, can only be taken as indicative of the regions particularly under scrutiny. We can however bring in certain data taken from our own personal experience as researchers sharing about eleven years professional experience in the various regions of Nepal's hills. Wherever possible, we have indicated where data in our target area does or does not conform to our experience of migratory behaviour in other areas in Nepal. Certainly this kind of information is of a more impressionistic nature, but it is at the same time valuable and puts our target area into the context of Nepal as a whole. This impressionistic data has been gained for the most part from studies where often attention was focussed elsewhere and can be only a weak substitute for strongly directed research, such as we have attempted in the target area. In order to fit our study into a total picture of migratory phenomena in Nepal, it will be necessary to faithfully study other sample areas, in other regions, where conditions in the hills and in the Terai present other advantages, as well as other shortcomings. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the data of other researchers who have studied or may soon study migratory phenomena in Nepal.

Migratory phenomena, first of all, is a prime indicator of economic and demographic conditions in the hills. This is particularly important in a subsistence village setting, where more "scientific" economic indicators and other reliable statistics are difficult, if not impossible to collect. We have demonstrated in the discussion above, that there are several kinds of migratory phenomena in the hills of Nepal and that these migratory phenomena are closely related to sets of recognizable economic factors. Migratory behaviour is above all rational behaviour. We have also shown that there is a social component to migratory behaviour, where occurrence is related to caste standing and not especially to economic standing, which can also be prime motivators of migratory behaviour. These cases are less common than economically motivated migration. Permanent migration is a final step brought about by the total failure of the individual to be integrated into either the economic or social systems. Before permanent migration takes place, however, there are intermediate steps which may or may not be taken, depending on certain economic activities in the hills. Trade cannot take place without markets, trade routes and profitable forms of transport. Short-term labour migration cannot take place without the availability of unskilled jobs, in the case of Nepal, brought about by outside financed development and construction projects. Self-motivated construction projects and development projects have not yet been prevalent in Nepal, as in the case of other countries and as a consequence the amount of short-term labour migration is an indicator of the amount of development construction going on in a region. Long-term labour migration also requires outside financing and is related to the demand for mostly skill or semi-skilled workers. Therefore, if permanent migration is high, and short or long-

term migration is low, it is a sign that there is land scarcity in a region and either little demand for unskilled or skilled labour, or few labourers in the region possessing the skills or education in demand. If there is little migration of any kind, one can assume that there is agricultural self-sufficiency in a region. If there is little permanent migration, yet much reversible migration, one can assume that there is land scarcity, but opportunities are present in other sectors. For the most part, therefore, migratory behaviour indicates agricultural insufficiency brought about by land scarcity, caused either by over population or recent loss of land due to landslides, or lost water supplies, or due to inadequate land brought about by poverty of the soil with no available techniques to improve local agriculture. All of these amount to insufficient food supply and the necessity to either supplement the supply or to find a new system, in which the supply will be sufficient.

The social causes of migration are of course of great interest to anthropologists, but no techniques have yet been developed to remedy socially caused problems. Since these cases are few, we have mentioned them, first to stress that they do exist, and second to demonstrate the workings of the local social systems. Improvement in the economic sphere is the only solution we can offer for alleviating the problems of migration.

The major problem of migration is repeatedly demonstrated in the history of Nepal and in that our target area. In the preceding chapter we briefly discussed population growth in Hikla panchayat, and the history of the settlement of Dhap. The fact that both of these panchayats now are a source of migrants and particularly of permanent migrants to the Terai, demonstrates most of all that migration is only a temporary solution to the problems of the hills.

We have shown that within three generations, well over 200 families have permanently migrated from Hikla and yet land still remains scarce. As the Terai fills up, both because of migrants from the hills and migrants from India, the problem of the hills in the pre-malaria eradication period will again become pronounced. Prior to malaria eradication, hill dwellers had to find new places to live within the hills. These small colonies of hill to hill migrants have now had their own population growths and have sent colonies out themselves. As a consequence, regions which were available to potential migrants within the hills are now filled with their own populations and are no longer available for migration without the kind of conflict noted in Dhap. Migration to the Terai has temporarily alleviated the problem, and there is some indication that the population growth in the hills was to some extent drained off to the Terai. It must be emphasized, however, that nobody in our target area moved to the Terai unless he had to, for either economic or social reasons (and an argument can be made that many of these socially motivated migrations may have had an ultimate economic cause). Nobody moved unless there was no other solution, hence the hills in our target area have been kept at a critical population level, that is, the level just at which families were subsisting, except for the few wealthy who were financially able to purchase land not sold to the immediate family of the migrant (for we have stated that whenever possible land was sold to a member of the extended family or if not, a near-agnate). The situation in our target area and we suspect in much of rest of Nepal, is that there was never enough population drained out of the hills to move from the critical phase to a more comfortable population density where there could be development. As the Terai is now filling up as demonstrated by the difficulties, for example, in dividing scarce resources between

the Forest Office, the Resettlement Project (Purnavas Company) and the Timber Corporation (see Elder et al; 1976), this critical phase in the hills will again move toward insufficiency. Migration therefore must be taken as a symptom and not a cure.

There are many possible alternatives to permanent migration present in the hills, with very little support from the Nepal Government. All forms of migration aside from permanent migration, are self-motivated means of avoiding the necessity of a permanent migration. Support of these temporary migrants, as well support in trade and transhumant categories are certainly indicated. Improvements in internal communication, particularly in roads and animal husbandry can increase the movement of trade within Nepal and increase the number of families which can be absorbed within trade related activities. The improved breeding of transport animals and the improvement of pasture areas, as well as the allocation of new areas for pasturage is certainly of potential value, even if motor roads are planned for certain major routes. The improvement of agricultural techniques in the village area can improve the yields on a given amount of land and begin to stem the deterioration of the local ecologies brought about by the necessity of having to borrow land from a different ecological zone, in the long run more suitable for its original purpose (for example the bringing of high jungle lands under cultivation, which is thought to ultimately exacerbate the already potentially serious problem of landslides). Temporary migrants demonstrate that a merely supplemental income is enough to keep many families on their land in the hills. Perhaps local projects to improve irrigation facilities, correct loss of water supply brought about by landslides and other projects requiring more than the work of a single household could be undertaken, either paying

salaries from foreign aid credits or by giving relief from land taxes in return for labour, would keep this potentially vast supply of labour working in Nepal on development projects, rather than having them migrate to projects in India. At the same time, the supplementary incomes would allow them to stay in their land on the hills. This would require an expansion of small area projects requiring planners with limited skills (such as the NDS) who could move into an area, engineer small projects and allocate jobs and credits. In addition, improvements in the availability of the local educational facilities would enable more hill dwellers to take advantage of long-term migrational opportunities, or even better to fulfill the local labour input requirements for the planning manpower recommended for the local projects discussed immediately above. Most important is the realisation that the land in the hills is filling up and filling up rapidly. The land in the Terai is also filling up and without major urban centers and the industry to support the growth of these potential urban centers in the Terai, the Terai will not be able to absorb many more people (particularly the dry poor-soiled far-western Terai) on an agricultural base. If these urban centers are encouraged, we have another few years of relief from over-population in the hills, analogous to the period immediately following malaria eradication. All these solutions, however, are temporary and will be shortly swallowed up, without steps taken to stabilising the growth of population in the hills. Below we will discuss some of the more specific effects of hill migration in Nepal, with reference to our target area.

Demographic Effects

The size of the population in the hills has been effected by out migration, but the "last resort" quality of migration has main-

tained population at a critical level. That is to say, that those who can maintain self-sufficiency, remain in the hills while the rest migrate. Therefore, there is little or no excess land presently in the hills. Reversible forms of migration tend to keep the population at this critical level, since families who are marginally supported by their land and have reached the point of insufficiency, can supplement their income with cash and therefore continue to remain on land which otherwise would have to be sold or abandoned. Some wealthy land holders have been able to increase their own holdings for the purposes of investment and either hire local labour or sharecrop their land, often selling their surplus either to reversible migrants or to markets. Local markets exist both in India and Nepal such as: Darchula bazar, which has many government officials who have to purchase their grain, the Indian and Nepali military, as well as the Byanshi, whose agriculture is primarily based on buckwheat, but whose staple grains are purchased rice and wheat. For these large landholders, conditions have improved, particularly since new lands are available due to permanent migration to the Terai. Much of the permanent migrants land is sold, however, to members of their own extended families or to near agnates and are necessary to maintain an adequate subsistence level for the families remaining in the hills.

The rate of permanent migration has slowed down in our target area in recent years, with the peak period of migration having occurred in 1966 and 1967, a particularly bad year, both agriculturally and in terms of landslides. Since that time, as the Terai has filled, there has been a steady but not a particularly large out-migration to the Terai. Dr. Gurung has noted that in the years 1961 to 1971, the District of Kanchanpur has grown by 293.5 percent,

largely by migration from the hills as well as migration from India and Burma. Land prices are going up and Punarvas has lost the credibility of hill dwellers, and so is no longer an attraction to them. There has been a rise in people moving to the Terai, with no immediate intention of purchasing land there. The steady rate of migration must be understood in terms of the attitude of local people, that going to the Terai is a last resort and reflects the number of people in the target area who yearly reach that last resort. Much of the growth of Kanchanpur reflects the desperation of these hill dwellers who have reached the point of insufficiency. Kailali, the district immediately to the east of Kanchanpur and has grown only 33.55 percent in ten years. These percentages are misleading to some extent, because the population of Kailali was roughly 95,500 in 1961, while the much less desirable Kanchanpur had a population of only 17,000, the lowest population of any Terai District. This phenomenal growth is in spite of the fact that the land is hardly productive. As even this land fills, the number of people able to migrate will drop even lower.¹

Reversible migration has increased due to the availability of jobs in India. Although the British army is taking fewer soldiers from Nepal, our target area is unaffected since the British army has seldom been a source of long-term jobs in the area and the Indian army continues to recruit at a high rate. The building of the road from Pithoragarh to Taraghat (north of Dharchula bazar) has with the presence of the Indian military brought much development to the Indian side of the region, giving many opportunities for short-term labour migration in the area.

Economic Effects

As we have said, wealthy non-migrants have been able to purchase the land of some permanent migrants and with the increased markets for grain brought about by the growth of Darchula-Khalanga, the presence of the military, as well as the fairly stable markets provided by the Byanshi have allowed these non-migrant investors to increase their own personal wealth and power in the area. The investors now find it necessary to hire more agricultural labourers, either as sharecroppers or on a hire basis, but these agricultural labourers must seek outside employment during the slack season, hence, this has no effect in bringing down the increase in reversible migration.

The increased reliance on reversible migration of any form to absorb surplus labour and supplement insufficient incomes has led an increased reliance on commodities not produced locally by these migrants. The increase in available cash has allowed the purchase of items such as kerosene, shoes, manufactured cloth, matches, tea (only drunk presently at tea stalls and not consumed in the home), spices, soap, and some medicines, not seen in the local village economy prior to the advent of reversible migration. In some cases, the purchase of these goods has to some extent offset the gains of having cash as a supplement, but normally these items are purchased with care and have increased, to some extent, the well-being of the village. Where cash becomes a serious problem is in the case of heavy drinking and gambling, where the extra income might actually lead to debt, but this requires more study before one can establish a direct link between conditions encountered by the migrants and an increase in alcoholism and gambling. The availability of cash, however, makes gambling for smaller stakes possible, where mortgaging of land to pay gambling debts is not necessary.

Mortgages on land had initially increased after migration to the Terai began, but now have decreased because migrants have either cut their ties with the hills or cash inflow due to reversible migration has enabled many to pay off their debts.

Where part of a family has migrated to the Terai, the remaining sector of the family in the hills has been able to continue on the land and make a reasonable living. No cases of acute malnutrition were found in the area on a casual basis though no specific study was done. In addition to selling out land, some migrants have sold livestock to pay for land in the Terai without the necessity of depriving other members of the extended family of their ancestral property. This and political changes which have resulted in the closing of certain trade routes to traders of the high Nepali castes, have increased the amount of trade in the hands of the Byanshi, who have the cash to purchase this livestock as it becomes available.

The frequency of large farm holders has increased, but the rapid growth of family size, even in these large holdings (see preceding chapter) is bound to negate this growth within the next generation. So far, there has been little change in traditional agricultural techniques, except in wealthy families where there has most probably been contact with the improved varieties of seed being experimented within India. Land which has been abandoned due to loss of water supply, due to landslides remains abandoned. The size of jungle lands and fodder areas are decreasing as these micro-ecological units come under regular cultivation.

Because of the marginal quality of land in the Terai there has been no great investment in Terai land by wealthy entrepreneurs in our target area, although this kind of investment is found in other

regions in Nepal. This is linked with the fact that migrants in the Terai rapidly sever their links with the hills (often at the instigation of their wives) and has resulted in there being very little grain inflow from Terai lands to the hills of the target area, except for retail sales of rice from the Mahendranagar area by the government (Sanjha). In looking at the Terai itself, the native peoples of the area, notably the Tharu have been relegated to a more marginal existence, both economically and politically as a result of the influx of the hill migrants to the area, although the situation here is not as yet as serious as in areas such as Dang, Bardia or other areas of the western Terai. The premigration population of this area was quite small and the 1961 figure of 17,500 can be taken as being largely made up of the indigeneous groups, as this is the pre-malaria eradication period for the area.

Temporary migrants are noticeably more common in those areas with a marked agricultural slack season, that is an area with a snowfall and high dependence on non-irrigated agriculture. Long-term reversible migration is more common in areas with irrigated agriculture and high labour surplus, at least in our target area.

Social Effects

In Nepali, the term basain is in effect the term for migration. A man who migrates is a basain sarnewala. The term has negative connotations, since it is assumed that the man who migrates has migrated due to economic failure (and sometimes social failure) in the home village. The negative connotation in the language itself reflects the reluctance of villagers to leave their home areas. Actually the problem is a little more complicated, since all of the forms

of movement discussed in our classification are not considered basain in the strictest sense of the word. Permanent migration and short-term labour migration are felt by local villagers to have negative connotations, while trade, long-term reversible migration and the extended farms have a more positive connotation and bring prestige to the man who undertakes them. Permanent migration and short-term labour migration are for the most part signs of economic failure, the inability to provide for one's family within the village economy. The long term migrant, the trader and the extended farm owner are seen, however, as entrepreneurs, mobilizing their resources (either educational or financial) to improve the lot of their family. The transhumant agro-pastoralist lives within the village economy, and is not really a migrant at all. He moves, often over great distances, but is seen as utilizing the entire package which makes up the totality of resources in his traditional village economy. This man, in the Nepali sense, is not considered a migrant, nor are what we have called long-term reversible migrants, traders, or extended farmers.

Attitudes towards migration have changed a bit and the impetus for this change in attitude seems to have come in large part from women. We have already mentioned that women tend to encourage movement to the Terai. This is due partially to the traditional pattern of relationships between the mother-in-law and the young wife who has moved into the household of the husband (patrilocal marriage). The relationships between the new wife and the family are often strained, because of pressure put on the new wife to work hard in the house of the in-laws. Her prestige is low in the house and

until a younger brother marries, the girl generally has the lowest status in the household. Relationships with other women in the household are often difficult, particularly since the girl is somewhat off balance after having moved out of a village in which everything is familiar to her to a village where all the members are strangers. As a consequence, much of the traditional pressure for breaking up the extended family comes from the wives of the brothers in the family. Since women do a very large portion of the agricultural work in the hills, as well as housekeeping and the carrying of water and animal fodder, the psychological pressure as well as the physical labour is often difficult to bear. Work in the Terai is much simpler, particularly since a woman does not have to negotiate steep mountain trails in going to the fields and in carrying water and fodder. Water supplies are usually closer to the house in the Terai and so work is less difficult and takes less time. Women have rapidly found out from the wives of migrants, that life is better in the Terai for them. Therefore, in addition to the traditional pressures put on brothers by their wives to break up extended families, additional pressure is now being put on a husband to sell out his share and move the family to the Terai. Simultaneously, intrafamily pressures and many of the difficult chores in the daily life are thus eliminated. Often these pressures outweigh the stigma of economic failure and a family, very close to the line of economic insufficiency, will migrate.

Migration, however, results in a growing trend toward the fragmentation of families, for as a migrant loses his rights to land, he rapidly loses his relationship with his family in the village of origin and once leaving seldom returns. The absence of long-term

migrants also creates family problems. The migrant may begin a liaison in his home away from home, or the wife tiring of the husband's long absence may run off with another man, leaving the returning migrant to find only a jari payment left for him in the village and his entire family restructured.

Unmarried migrants to the Terai reflect their changes in social environment, partially through changes in marriage patterns. In the new settlements, migrants live in contact with people from other sections of the hills. We have mentioned that Pahari settlements in the Terai are made up of wards, with neighbourhoods consisting of villagers from many hill districts living in diadic clusters in close proximity to each other. Young men and women in these clusters intermarry with others in neighbouring clusters, usually within their own caste, but often with people whose customs and language quite different. Intercaste marriage and marriage with people of the same caste with certain social stigmas (such as the son of devaki mentioned above) are more common in the Terai. The caste system of the hill people in general seems to have been considerably relaxed in the Terai, although it continues to remain rigid in the hills. The adekha (purda) system, where women must hide their faces from strangers or members of lower castes, common in the hills of our target area has been abandoned in the Terai. This is one more reason why women wish to go there. In addition, the availability jobs for skilled workers has made it possible for some untouchable groups to have money in their pockets, often for the first time. Hotels and other public places are also open to these untouchables and in some cases they sit at the same tables as members of the higher castes. This relaxation is attractive to many people and

creates a social environment which attracts many hill migrants in spite of the social stigma of being a basain.

Religious changes have also taken place among permanent migrants to the Terai. We have mentioned that worship of Terai deities has begun in the pahari villages of the Terai, although the worship of kuldevatas so far has continued in the village of origin and this worship is one of the prime motivations for Terai migrants to return to their village of origin. These changes in religious patterns have not as yet, however, filtered up to the hills. Returning migrants, particularly those who are economically successful, may begin to effect these changes in the hills over time.

There have been political changes in the hills in the sense that at least two powerful political figures have moved out of the target area as the result of defeat by lower caste members in Panchayat elections. The possibility of migration has therefore turned what may have been only a temporary set-back into a permanent political change, for the opposition leaders moved out and encouraged his political allies to move with him. This created, in effect, two political communities, separated by great distance rather than a continuation of two rival political factions in one panchayat, previously maintained.

The fact that migration is possible, leads to a rise in expectations among members of the village. In the chapter on short and long-term reversible migration, we told the story of the young boys who went out and earned fabulous sums of money. Even if this story may have been a new folk tale, it indicates that the hope of earning money and the hope for mobility exists. This kind of tale encourages people to migrate.

Rising expectations have led to a growth in the demand for education, for the educated man can take advantage of long-term migratory opportunities. The fact that land is still thought to be available in the Terai leads to changes in perception of how much land is adequate for the hill farmer. What may have been sufficient ten years ago or better twenty years ago, may no longer be perceived as sufficient to a farmer who feels that he has the option of moving to a bigger land holding. The reality of the situation in the Terai, however, is again beginning to become apparent to farmers in the hills. According to the Forestry Department, only 38 percent of the land in Kanchanpur remained as jungle in 1971. The fact that nobody seems to get land from the resettlement corporation these days has begun to make it clear that the amount of land available to these farmers is dwindling. The rapid rise in expectations is therefore beginning to disappear, but the hope remains and people are still willing to try if the opportunity arises.

Changes in buying habits have also been noted and seem to indicate a further rise in consumerism. Purchases of kerosene, soap, tea and other commodities indicate a growing desire for manufactured goods. Returning migrants have presented models for change in dress and food habits, and western clothes, watches and shoes are desired and are growing more common.

Changes in language have also taken place, for literary Nepali is becoming more commonly spoken in this area, though the colloquial dialect (more closely related to the western Pahari dialects such as Kumaoni and Garhwali) still remains. Hindi is also becoming more commonly spoken, due to contact with Indians on migratory labour projects.

Hypotheses

In our proposal, Hill Migration in Nepal, we stated a number of hypotheses which were to act as guidelines to our research. Since we specifically presented these hypotheses (see Manzardo, Rai and Dahal: 1975, pp. 32-34) we would like now to specially discuss these hypotheses in the light of our findings.

- A. No land in the hills is abandoned by migrants into the Terai. All land will be utilized either by the remaining population or by migrants from an even more impoverished area.

This hypothesis has been proven to be essentially correct. The bulk of the land given up by permanent migrants is sold either to brothers or near agnates. When land cannot be purchased by people from these categories or when people in these categories do not exist, or when there is conflict in the family, land is most often purchased by wealthy villagers for the purpose of increasing their own holdings, usually for the purposes of investment. We have noted three cases of in-migrants moving to our target area from neighbouring areas in which the land was either of a lesser quality, or where insufficient land was held (one case from Huti Panchayat, one case from Marma garkha both in Darchula, the third case a migrant from India). The expectations of having populations from even farther north moving in to the more southerly areas as they are abandoned, however, was found not to be the case, since the northern Tibeto-Burman population in the area is on the whole more wealthy and better off than those residing farther to the south, because of their successful reliance on trade.

- B. One most common pattern of migration into the Terai is through extended farms.

Although interviews with other researchers and our own experience in other sections of Nepal indicate that this form of migration is common for Nepal as a whole, no strict cases of this form of migration were found in the target area or its diadic paired region. The absence of the extended farm in the Darchula-Kanchanpur sector of Nepal is due, we feel, to the poor quality of land in the Terai and the concomitant lack of investors for this land. We compared the yield of an average holding in Kanchanpur with other areas in the Terai (c.f. Bista, 1975) and found that it yielded less than half of what a comparable unit would yield in the eastern or even central Terai. It was found, however, that wherever possible wealthy entrepreneurs would purchase land in the hills as it became available as a consequence of permanent migrants moving to the Terai. Several cases of extended farms were found (based on stretching the definition slightly), but these extended farms in each case, were owned by one brother who maintained links with his other brothers in the hills. These farms were all in the process breaking up through the severance of links with the hills. This was found to be due first, to pressure from the wives of the migrants and second, to the fact that the yield of neither the farm in the hills nor the Terai was large enough to substantially contribute anything to the other by continued linkage. The link was maintained only to provide support to the migrant brother while he was in the initial stages of setting up his own independent farm. Once the first crops were in and the new farm was self-supporting indications were that the link was to be severed and the initial support of the migrant was to be taken as payment for the migrant's share of the ancestral land in the hills. Therefore, after this initial stage, the two

farms became separate economic and social entities. Therefore, the formation extended farms are thought to be based on the land in the Terai being of sufficiently high quality to warrant investment by producing good yields of cash crops. Without high quality land, investments tend to remain in the hills and extended farms do not come into existence, even with the presence of an entrepreneurial group. Local investors, particularly those in Baitadi, tend to invest in extended farms from Bardia district, where the land is of higher quality indicating that land quality is a primary factor. Another factor which may effect extended farms in the area is the fact that Darchula is a great distance from the Terai and generally it is more common for those living in hill districts immediately adjacent to the Terai to invest in such extended farms. Investment patterns in Dandeldhura should therefore be studied more closely, for a cursory examination found that there was a higher rate of extended farm investment from Dandeldhura, even in Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. The presence of roads in India, however, should negate some of the distance factors, since it is possible to travel from Mahendranagar to Darchula by bus in a day and half. The higher rate of investment in extended farms by people from Dandeldhura as well as the higher rate of migration in general indicates that the system there presents different constraints and opportunities and therefore should be carefully studied.

- C. In most cases we feel that migrants will maintain social ties and more importantly land ownership in the village of origin and thus will not be considered permanent migrants by our criteria.

In our study of two panchayats in Darchula district, we have found that in Dhap Panchayat, out of 329 migrants for the years 1964-1975, 256 were reversible migrants, that is migrants who have maintained land ownership in the village of origin, and 73 were non-reversible migrants, that is those who have given up ties to the land in the village of origin. In Hikla Panchayat, out of 871 migrants for the same period, 671 were reversible migrants. In Dhap, therefore, 78 percent were reversible migrants and in Hikla 77 percent were reversible. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the highest percentage of migrants were reversible migrants, who maintain their ties to the land, and consequently their ties to the village, and the most of these migrants are either short-term or long-term labour migrants (see Appendix IV).

- D. Migration into the Terai tends to increase the wealth of the richer members of the village (those who can afford to buy investment land) and thus the gap between rich and poor is increased.

We have noted that most permanent migrants sell their land to members of their immediate family or close agnates, but a substantial amount of land is purchased by entrepreneurs who acquire local land for the purpose of investment, selling surplus produce to markets in Darchula in India or to the Byanshi traders. Because of the difficulty of dealing with local land records in the short time available to us, it was impossible to get figures for the growth of land holdings among the entrepreneurial group since migration began. It should be noted, however, that in Dhap, a panchayat with 508 land-holding families and 91 landless families, 25 families own 46 ropanis of land or more. Of the 472 land holding families in Hikla, with 137 landless, 36 families hold 46 ropanis or more. Eight fa-

families in both panchayats own over 65 ropanis of land. Therefore, when one compares the frequencies, one sees a tendency for there to be a very high frequency of families owning below 25 ropanis of land and a few families who own a great deal of land. Although it is impossible to determine the dynamics of the situation without the frequencies of holdings ten years ago, we can reconstruct the number of purchases of land from our case studies and have determined for the most part that the hypothesized trend is in fact true.² There is presently, in the middle hills a stable middle level economic group. The best example in our area is found among the Byanshi permanently settled in the Rapla area, or among the members of our target panchayat's land owners holding middle-level holdings (see Appendix V).

These groups tend to remain stable, while families with smaller holdings or the landless tenants tend to migrate, though the landless have difficulty migrating since they have no money with which to start a new life and often remain trapped as agricultural labourers. People with small holdings for the most part tend to sell to relatives also with small holdings. Often enough, however they must sell to those with larger land holders thus there is a tendency for this group to increase the size of their holdings. Thus a little at a time, the gap is widening.

E. Settlements in the Terai then act to increase the overall wealth of the (hill) village, not by opening new resources within a village but by bringing in new income from outside the village.

The discussion above indicated that there was little incidence of extended farms in our target area. For this reason there was little or no income to the village as a result of Terai migration

and settlement of this type. In fact, much of the financial support, at least in the initial period of settlement in the Terai seems to flow from the village in the hills to the migrants in the Terai. In the case of temporary links between the two areas, it is more common to see money (being generated by the temporary mortgaging of land or the sale of livestock) being invested to support sibilings as they go through the initial steps toward starting a new Terai farmstead. As soon as the first crop comes in, the links are severed and except for a little grain sent from time to time, the hill farmer sees little increase in wealth except for taking over the remaining share of the hill patrimony as payment for his initial monetary support. The role of women in encouraging the severing of links between hill and Terai farms was also discussed. In terms of permanent migrants, the poor quality of the land in far-western Terai accounts for an inability to produce enough surplus to increase the food supply in the village of origin either through cash or grain. The movement of people out of the village does, however, allow village farmers to remain just at the level of sufficiency. Since all resources in the village are virtually being used to capacity, our statement that new resources are not being opened has been found to be true only since there are no new exploitable resources, except as resources traditionally used for one purpose (such as pasture land) which are now being gradually shifted over to other purposes (such as agriculture) with the long-term effect of environmental degradation.

More often new income is brought into the village by the high percentage (over 75 percent of migrants from 1964 to 1975) of reversible migrants. These reversible migrants whether by taking out-

side jobs in the agricultural slack season or by taking jobs which remove them from the village labour force for extended periods of time, bring in a substantial cash income as well as new products for the improvement of life in the village.

Although a substantial cash or food inflow from the Terai into the village was not found in the villages of our target area, this type of support is not to be discounted for the hills of Nepal as a whole. We have mentioned that there is some indication of the extended farm phenomena on the part of farmers living closer to the Terai in this area (as in Dandeldhura, where the sparse population indicates a land of even poorer quality than that found in the local Terai) as well as in districts in other areas (such as Gorkha, Chitwan, Ilam and Panchthar as well as in the hills adjacent to the Surkhet valley). If one were to do a similar study in these areas, one would expect to find a greater reliance on extended farms and therefore, a greater inflow of cash into the hill villages as a result of Terai migration. The investment in extended farms is therefore primarily a result of having high quality Terai land available and secondarily a function of distance of the hill village from the Terai. Great distances are of course less of a factor where cheap transportation facilities exist.

F. The resulting gaps between the wealthier land owners and those who own little or no land will effect changes in labour patterns (manpower utilization) and payment patterns in hill villages. For example, as this pattern progresses we expect to find less people in the category of external labour migrants (reversible migrants) as the increased cash within the village allows them to be hired locally.

The example of the extended farm given above for eastern Nepal (see Chapter VII) demonstrates precisely the labour patterns we wished to find in Darchula. In that case, when the Terai land was acquired, the head of the household as well as sons and other members of the immediate family travelled down to the Terai, leaving the hill lands to be managed by the wife of the head of the household and labour in the hands of hired workers drawn from landless or near landless groups. When Land Reform was enacted, however, many of these hired labourers themselves went to the Terai and land had to be sold or placed on a share-cropping or rental basis. Until the availability of the good land in the adjacent Terai, surplus labour was in fact absorbed locally by the entrepreneur as a result of his own increased land ownership. Since there are no extended farms in our target area, the absorption of labour can only be effected by investors in local hill land. In this case, the increased wealth is only indirectly a product of migration since it comes about by the absorption of land sold by some migrants. Presently, there are 91 landless households in Dhap and 137 landless households in Hikka. These households have members working in the village as agricultural labourers for some portion of the year, although like landholding short-term migrants, they must seek outside employment during the agricultural slack season. Since it was impossible to determine the growth in the frequency of large land holdings, as well as to measure the increase of those land holdings, it is only safe to say that the continued presence of a landless group in the village is made possible only by the availability of jobs in the agricultural sphere. Without these jobs this landless class would either have to become permanent migrants, or because of their low

education level, have to take less favourable long-term job opportunities. The presence of this landless group, particularly in areas where there has been a high frequency of permanent migration in the past (see Appendix VI) but where the frequency of permanent migration has tapered off to some extent in recent years, indicates that this hypothesis has been proved to be substantially correct, even when investment is in hill rather than Terai land. The best example of this situation was found in Hikla where the highest migration was found to have taken place in 1966 and 1967. Since then, the panchayat has managed to retain its 137 landless families, primarily in a combination of agricultural labour and short-term migration, but it is most of all the short-term migration which supports the labourers in that slack season that makes the continued presence of landless possible in the villages of the target area.

G. We feel that the role of women in agricultural labour in the hills has been tremendously underestimated and therefore it is possible that the effects of external labour migrants absence has been overestimated in assessing labour shortages in the hills. When men migrate and "most of their productive years" abroad, it is forgotten that the women remain.

This particular hypothesis was badly worded in the sense that it does not give any real estimate the expected role of women in agricultural labour. One must note, however, that women do a major share of agricultural labour in this area, with the exception of ploughing and manure carrying in the higher Hindu castes. There was no labour shortage in the area, and this accounted for the high incidence of long-term labour migration, particularly in those villages with a high reliance on irrigated agriculture. In addition, when short-term labour migrants left the village of origin during

the agricultural slack season, it was the women who took over, or more accurately, continued the necessary agricultural labour during the men's absence. For the most part, much of the day to day labour would continue even if a substantial number of men were not present in the village for a long period of time. Men were often seen idle in the village, but women never were. With the exception of hired labourers, men were able to take on support activities such as collection of firewood and its transport to market. Men, however, seldom did occasional labour and seemed economically well-off enough particularly in Dhap, so that porters were quite difficult to find except at exceptionally high daily wages and even then such labour was only taken by marginal members of the community. The role of women as the backbone of the village labour force is further demonstrated by the expressed desire of women to leave the hills and re-settle in the Terai. The pressure which women put on their husbands and the reluctance of many of the husbands to leave reflect a difference in perception of hill conditions, which demonstrate a difference in activity levels. For this reason the role of women is felt to be instrumental in allowing men to migrate temporarily and yet maintain land in the village of origin.

H. We feel this area (Darchula-Kanchanpur) is developing in a way analogous to the regions of far-eastern Nepal.

The idea of an analogous development has been borne out only in certain ways. Malaria eradication came to Kanchanpur nearly eight years after the eradication in the eastern Terai. For this reason, the growth period of the Terai in this sector is now only getting under way, while the growth of the eastern sectors has stabilized to a certain extent. Many of the features in this area

however, are quite different. The land here is drier and not as fertile and as a consequence will never be able to support as great a population on an agricultural base as that of the eastern Terai. The hills immediately surrounding this area are less fertile than the hills surrounding the eastern Terai. As a consequence there is a belt of low population density between the Terai and Dandeldhura Bazar. This means that the Terai is further from the main population centres in the hills. This distance as well as the poor quality of the land has effected patterns of settlement and migration to the area. There are fewer extended farms and permanent migrants tend to wait until conditions are particularly bad before they move to the Terai. After having done fieldwork in this area, the authors feel that the applicability data gathered in one region to factors in another has to be approached with caution. The strategies are essentially the same throughout Nepal, but differences in local ecological constraints and opportunities lead to different frequencies in migratory types. Along with this, there are differences in economic opportunities for hill dwellers, particularly those which are created by development programs outside of the area in question. In addition, cultural factors, particularly questions of status can mean that a present economic opportunity is not perceived as such and therefore does not exist (such as in the case of local migrants not working on the Dhangadi-Dandeldhura highway project; see Appendix I, for analysis).

Studies of regions in Nepal involves complex interactions of extremely localized cultural and environmental factors and as a consequence data must be gathered in areas which are small and contiguous. Large surveys on the whole produce data which blur

local differences and prevent factors vital for development from becoming manifest. Factors such as the time takes for local people to get water are meaningless when sampled from large areas and averaged. These require surveys to again be taken when local work gets underway. Anthropological surveys on the whole should be made as a first step in any area where development is to be undertaken on a large scale in order that the complex issues of local biological, physical and cultural interactions be firmly understood before any charges are attempted. This study, most of all, was an experiment in survey methodology. Any data collected (and the authors feel that much data of significance has been presented) must be taken as secondary, for our own goal was to experiment with a fast way of gathering survey data of value to those charged with enacting social change. In this goal we have learned much and later studies will reflect the streamlining of methods utilized in this study.

NOTES

Chapter 1 Introduction

1. A social panchayat was defined as a cluster of villages with strong social interaction such as intermarriage, which might not coincide with a political panchayat boundary in a local area. If a village in neighbouring political panchayat had closer social relations with villages in the target panchayat, this socially more interactive panchayat would be included in the study and a less socially related village perhaps excluded.
2. See Manzardo, A.E., Dahal, D.R. and Rai, N.K. "The Byanshi: Ethnographic Notes on the Trading Group of Far-Western Nepal" Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 84-118.
3. See Rai, N.K., Manzardo, A.E., and Dahal, D.R. "Ecological Factors in Migration in Two Panchayats of Far-Western Nepal" m.s. presented to the colloque International du Ecologie et Geologie du Himalaya, Paris, 1976.
4. A garkha is a large traditional geographic unit based on watershed. There are four such units in Darchula: Lekam, Duhu, Marma, and Byans. In Karnali and Seti zones a garkha is called a dara, both are roughly equivalent to a thum in eastern Nepal.
5. This Thakur family has come to Dhap Panchayat from India and represents a small in-migration into the area by specialised Indian castes. It must be stressed that this in-migration is miniscule in terms of population, but indicates some local surplus in the village, enough to support such newcomers. This in-migration is centred in Khalanga-Darchula.
6. The source of land figures in both Dhap and Hikla Panchayats are the Land Reform Office Form 7. In this form, multiple claims to land are often recorded. A tenant, a mortgager or an owner may all have filed claims to the same piece of land, therefore, the same land area may have in fact been recorded more than once. For this reason the actual amount of land in use in the area has been inflated and can therefore not be used for assessing food productivity, but for the purposes of comparison, since both villages are subject to the same kinds

of error, these figures are productive. There has been no cadastral survey as yet in the region and subsequent studies from our team will in the future lay more stress on assessing the actual land areas and usage patterns. For the purposes of the pilot project we have deemed it necessary to accept these figures for indicative purposes and call the reader's attention to the caution with which these figures must be used.

7. Brahmins who cannot perform priestly functions. The Brahmins in Hikla are all Jaisi, while the Brahmins in Dhap are Upadhya-ya Brahmins, i.e. those who perform priestly functions. The groups are different, in spite of the similarity of the thar names.

Chapter II Migration Typology

1. See Furer-Haimendorf (1964, 1975), Jest (1966), Rai (1973).
2. See Jest (1976), Alirol (1976), Messerschmidt and Gurung (1974), Goldstein (1974, 1975).
3. Cf. Manzardo: 1976.
4. Of 329 migrants in Dhap Panchayat only 10 (three households) were of the extended farm type. Of 811 migrants in Hikla Panchayat only 28 (five households) were extended farmers.
5. Actually the problem of historical migration is more complicated than stated above. One has to look at population pressures relative to land availability. Certainly, when the the Kumai Brahmins moved into far-western Nepal and began their migration to the east, there was little land pressure, but their movement was more likely motivated by the fact that their was available land of higher quality in the east. For this reason, within a very short period, some groups (skipping the still unsettled, dry, steep slopes around Dandheldhura) moved directly to the east, eventually settling in the Teherathum area within a very few generations. Here they established themselves in this more densely populated region. The populations which remained in the far-west felt no acute land pressure until quite recently, yet the alternatives of better

land in the more easterly hills (east of Darchula and Baitadi) made them perceive crowding at an earlier stage. Hence overpopulation is in many ways a culturally conditioned phenomenon with the features of sufficiency of return and perceived availability of additional land to objectify it.

Chapter III
Traditional Forms of Migration: Trade And
Transhumance

1. An example of exponential trade can be found among the Thakalis where one mana of grain from the middle hills could be traded for eight manas of salt in Tibet. One mana of salt could then be traded for eight manas of grain in the middle hills at one time.
2. The entire population of Byanshis in Nepal is not migratory. Byanshi living in Rapla Panchayat and Sitola Panchayat live at an altitude of about 7,000 ft. in an area receiving monsoon rains. It is therefore possible for this population to remain in these areas all year around. In these villages, there is a greater reliance on agriculture and trading is not as much of a way of life as in the Byans region. The trading situation is more close to the situation in Hikla Panchayat discussed below, with a few families owning sheep and trading, while the bulk of the population relies on agricultural output without migration. This situation, comparing the Byanshi in Chhangru or Tinkar in Byans Panchayat with Byanshi in Rapla or Sitola, presents important evidence for an ecological argument. It was not possible, however, to interview significant numbers of Rapla or Sitola Byanshi and further work in the area is indicated to strengthen this argument.
3. A situation indicative of the growing pressure on the land in Darchula district involves the case of the land owned by the Byanshi in Darchula-Khalanga. Both the local high Nepali castes and the Byanshi state that the Byanshi have been coming to winter in this area from a time predating any pressure on local land. Since there was more land than could be utilized nobody objected when the Byanshi set up their goths there in the winter. As early as 1888 (A.D.) some pressure was already beginning to be felt, since there was a major dispute between

the Byanshi and the high Nepali castes over land in what is now Dethala, Dhuligara and Khalanga Panchayats. It was felt by the Byanshi that the high castes were encroaching on their traditional winter homes, while the high castes felt they needed this land to plant on and since the Byanshis came only in winter the Nepalese who planted rice on this land during monsoon should have rights to it throughout the year. In 1904 (A.D.) Chandra Shamsher, who was then Prime Minister gave a sanad to the Byanshi allowing them to live in the area for the six cold winter months, while for the remaining six months the Nepali castes would be allowed to raise their crops. Tax, however, had to be paid by the Nepali castes. The situation continued until the implementation of land reform. Disputes often arose since the Byanshi would build a small house and courtyard, erecting a stone fence to contain his livestock. During the summer, however, while the Byanshi were living in the north, the Nepali castes would plough the land inside the fenced area, ploughing up the courtyard and running irrigation ditches so close to the houses that repairs were necessary each year. In 1968, a special deputation (daudaha) was sent to the area to settle the dispute. The Minister in-charge decided that the land under dispute would be given to the Byanshi in return for a cash settlement and the Byanshi would then take over responsibility for paying the land tax. After this the Byanshi began to build quite elaborate permanent homes in Darchula-Khalanga. In some ways this situation where migrants displace or come into conflict with indigenous groups is a problem more commonly encountered in migration from the hills to the Terai and conflicts become more acute as land pressures increase. This will be discussed below, but it must be noted as one of the most serious problems to be encountered in migratory phenomena.

See Haimendorf 1975; Manzardo and Sharma 1975

Agricultural labour is done for the most part by Tibetan refugees who are paid out of the buckwheat they themselves produce.

For details on yak/cattle cross-breeding and a terminology in the Dolpo area, see Jest (1976).

Chapter IV
Reversible Migration PT. I

1. Total active population is based on the total population of the Panchayat multiplied by the percentage figure (64.8%) presented as the active population (ages 10-59) for the district as a whole in Mechidekhi Mahakali (1975).
2. The met in Hikla have connections with contractors in Didihat and Dharchula, hence most of their clients presently go there.
3. For more detailed example of this sort of army service and its effects on local villages in another area, see Hitchcock 1961, p. 15-20.

Chapter V
Reversible Migration Part II

1. Recently, the border between the People's Republic of China and Nepal at Tinkar pass has been closed to trade by the Nepal government, hence the hardship claimed at the time research was done has subsequently become more real.

Chapter VI
Non-Reversible Migration

1. See Rai et al. 1976. This data is to be taken with caution. Firstly, migrants never give the exact amount of money brought down from the hills. Secondly, the amount of cash brought is, the migrants depends on various factors such as how the land was sold - a little at a time or all at once (e.g. Tule Koli, who is relatively poor in Dhap, brought down Rs. 6,000 in cash, the highest of our list, because he had sold all his land outright and immediately migrated to the Terai) and how soon after sale the family moves. Otherwise, in normal cases, rich people bring down more cash than poor for investment though the amounts brought down are quite small. Also, it is to be noted that all the cash mentioned above may not have been brought down at one time; it may have been added up in a series of trips to the hills. Data was taken from migrants from Dhap and Hikla now living in the Terai in the vicinity of Mahendranagar.

2. According to Bista 1976 a bigha a first class land in "Padipur" in the Central Terai produces 40 maunds, while a bigha of second class land produces 22 maunds. Third class land produces 20 maunds per bigha. These figures are for the Laji type of paddy. It should therefore be noted that this land in the far-west is less productive than even third class land in other sections of Terai.
3. It might also be noted that these traditional temple prostitutes are seasonal migrants in the Terai and go to Bombay as well. It was noted that they claim that they have few clients in the hills and that their clients do not pay them well. They go to the Terai because they can make more money both to having more clients as well as having wealthier clients, notably among the wealthier long-term migrants such as lahures (in this case meaning chowkidars, coolies, etc.). They of course are hard to distinguish from other prostitutes in the area, particularly noticeable are female immigrants from Burma.
4. Typically a Nepali labourer will eat one mana of grain per meal.
5. See also the section on devakis above.
6. This problem is the subject of one of the parts of phase two of the study of problems of migration in Nepal by INAS.

Chapter VII

The Effects of Out Migration on the Hills and Terai of Far-Western Nepal and Possibilities for the Future

1. The 1961 figure, however, reflects a pre-malaria eradication population in both districts, the differences still hold.
2. The source of land figures in both Dhap and Hikla panchayats are Land Reform Office's form 7. In this form multiple claims to land are often recorded. A tenant, mortgager or owner may all file claims to a single piece of land on one of these forms. Therefore, the same land may be recorded more than once. It should be noted that actual land figures are therefore inflated and therefore are useless in determining over all productivity. With this caution in mind it is suggested since both villagers are subject to the same kinds of error, on the whole these figures should be valid for the sake of comparison of the two panchayats. Since there has been no cadastral survey, these figures came from educated estimates by Land Reform Office personnel based on farmers claims which on the whole tend to be fairly accurate since the purchase, sale and taxation of the land depends on the accuracy of these figures. See appendices II and IV for a complete tabulation and comparison of holding frequencies.

Appendix I
The Dhangadi-Dandeldhura Road and Migration

In this section we would like to comment briefly on the Dhangadi-Dandeldhura road. We have spoken in the previous chapters about short-term labour migrants in Darchula and their propensity to work on major construction projects in India. We have also discussed some of our tentative ideas about the frequency of short-term labour migration as an indicator of the effectiveness of development projects being undertaken within a district. The Dhangadi-Dandeldhura highway lies to some extent within the scope of this study, first of all since it is a potential source of jobs in the area and certainly within the geographic vicinity of our target area. The fact that there have been no cases of short-term migrants from our area working on this project as short-term labourers, or in any other capacity is significant and leads us to explore some of the reasons for this lack of local employment on this project.

The most important reason for there being no migrants from Darchula on this project is quite simply a geographic one. The close proximity to projects in India via a motorable road as well as the short times necessary to travel to these projects by bus, gives a natural edge to Indian projects. To get to the right of way of the Dhangadi-Dandeldhura highway from the Darchula area is a much more arduous journey. From Dhap, it involves a two-day trip to Baitadi, then the crossing of two mountain ranges, which take another two days, and then another day's travel to the south to reach the northernmost limits of work on the road. To compare this with getting on a bus in the morning and arriving at job site by nightfall, as in the case of work in India, makes it obvious that only a tremendously higher rate of pay or other substantial benefits could attract workers from the Darchula area to the D.-D. project work area

We have also mentioned that Indian contractors have paid agents in the villages in question (metes) whose job it is to collect labourers and put them to work on their patron's contracts. It is this system of a villager going to work with a known friend that overcomes much of the natural reticence of villagers to leave their village and work on the outside. As much as the villagers need the income from this outside labour and as much as they are attracted to the cash which they can earn outside, they are still afraid of leaving the village, except on short journeys, to known places. This reticence was particularly noted when the researchers tried

to find porters in the area. These porters were hard to find and ended up to be quite costly. The researchers discovered that the reason for this was first that the villagers feared travelling with strangers and second that they had never travelled the entire road from Darchula-Khalanga to Baitadi via Nepal, a mere two days walk. Thus the met system greatly helps overcome these fears and allows the villagers to be migrants. There is no met system in the area for the D-D project.

It was noticed on the D-D road project that when labourers were questioned as to the location of their homes in the hills, nearly all of them responded that they came from areas outside of far-western Nepal. This indicates that there is more going on in the area than merely problems of distance and unfamiliarity. Workers were found largely to be made up of Sherpas from eastern Nepal and Darjeeling, Magars from west-central Nepal (districts such Palpa, Piuthan and Salyan) as well as a small population of Rais, Gurungs and Tamangs, also from the Darjeeling area. In talking to engineers working on the project they stated that local people will not work for reasons of social prestige. They stated that the stigma of being seen working on such a project by other members of their village would cause them embarrassment. Rather than work in the area, local migrants (that is migrants from Dandeldhura and Doti) preferred to work in India where they are anonymous and would not be branded as basain by members of their own village. In addition, engineers claimed that the workers felt that proper tools were not being provided for work on local projects and that there was no market town in the area (it has already been noted that the D-D right of way runs through a very sparsely inhabited region, in which food is not even available except at road camps). Workers also state that when they go to India they "see new things", and this is an attraction to work outside the local area.

It has been stated above that in order to attract migrants away from -the sources of work in India and their mets, a substantially higher wage would have to be offered. The wages, however, on the D-D road are low in comparison to the wages offered by the Indians,* therefore it is not expected that the local labour will

*The local rate paid by the government per day is Rs. 6/- (N.C.) although some contractors pay 8/- rupees per eight hour day. The Indians pay Rs. 4/- to 9/- per day in I.C. one rupee I.C. equals rupees 1.39 N.C. Therefore, the salaries are higher.

be attracted. The contractors are accused by the workers of not paying regularly and the workers claim that they often have to wait up to six months for their pay. The Nepali contractors, however, do not actually seem to be less honest than the Indian contractors.

Contractors from eastern Nepal have a system similar to the met system outlined above, and therefore bring many of their own clients from their own region. As only a few local people have the capital or the knowledge to be contractors in the far west most of the contractors come from the east.

Local women will not work on the road because they are afraid of the "foreigners".

At the lower end of the road, nearly all the labourers are outsiders, in the upper area (i.e. from Budar northwards) local labourers do work on the project (an estimated 30 percent of the labour force). This is because there are few villages in the area and hence workers are not likely to be seen by their neighbours. Contractors, however, prefer outside labourers because the local villagers are considered to be lazy, smoke ganja and gamble, and many of them migrate in the winter. In spite of the fact that local government officials pay less than contractors (see footnote * above) locals prefer to work for government officials rather than contractors, since with officials there is less work and no supervision. This statement seems to substantiate the engineers' claim.

Along the D-D road there are many Sherpa families. Males work mostly as contractors (although sometimes they work as labourers) while the women have opened small bhattis (tea and liquor shops) for road labourers and government officials. These bhattis serve only the road crews, since the alignment of the road is far from the traditional route from the hills to the Terai, hence little foot traffic is found. Byanshi traders, however, have begun to use this road as a route for their sheep traffic from Baitadi through Dandeldhura to Dhangadi. As a consequence, there is bad feeling between the sheep drivers and truckers using the same route. Since the road is under construction, sheep transport is in high demand particularly to move food and tools to the construction sides. Hence both the Indian Sauka and Nepali Byanshi are concentrated in this region to take advantage of the profit to be made transporting goods for contractors. Once the road is finished, however, the demand for these traders will fall, not only as the demand for construction based transport falls, but also as rice and salt begin

to be carried to the hills by trucks, eating into their traditional markets. The researchers, however, feel this is not a serious problem, for if one takes the example of the Marphalis (mule drivers in the Kali-Gandaki Valley), who when trade began to dry up on their traditional routes, began to buy shares in trucks and now follow their traditional way of life utilizing modern technology along the Bhairawa-Pokhara route. We feel many of the Byanshis have enough capital to follow this example, if they are encouraged with loans from the banks. A system similar to the loan structure of Bhairawa and Pokhara banks can be followed, whereby the bank determines which route the mortgaged truck or bus would utilize.

Contractors come from India as well. Some petty contractors were found to have come from as far south as Kerala and were working high in the hills. Contractors working in the hills bring salt, rice, mustard oil, tobacco and liquor; sending them up by sheep, or in the back of trucks on the constructed part of the road. These supplies are fed to the workers. Some caste differences create problems in the hills. Since many of the labourers come from the east where buffalo meat is commonly eaten, they continue to demand meat in their rations. The local people, however, consider the eating of buffalo to be the act of an untouchable. As a consequence there are ill feelings on both sides over this question.

The problem of effects of this road has been very ably discussed by Dr. Rana (1972) and we will not do more than just mention a few of our own insights into the matter, leaving the reader to consult this work for a more complete analysis. Our feeling is that that road will improve communication in the area particularly for long-term migrants wishing to work in India. For others, however, because of the high fare structure in the area (the first buses went into service about a week after the researchers had travelled through the area) and the local cash scarcity easily discernible in the area, the road will have little short-term effect on temporary migrants, who might not be making enough to avail themselves of these facilities. Numerous small bazars are likely to form to provide food, lodging and a waiting place for those using local buses, particularly since the area is so sparsely settled. This will, however, be an economic change which will have little local economic effect, since the bhatti owners are outsiders purchasing supplies from the Terai and provide services mostly to outsiders. The convenience of travelling with ease in an otherwise difficult area, in the long run, will bring in more outside initiated develop-

ment projects as well as the personnel to man them. One also might expect an immigration into this otherwise sparsely settled area.

One possible resource return is resin collection for turpentine in the area, but the ownership of the forest areas are not known to us and will greatly effect the local picture. Local villagers, however, claim that unless the road is connected to Siligarhi-Doti and or Darchula and Baitadi, it will be meaningless. This has also been confirmed by Rana and encouragement has come from the recent announcement that these extensions are to be undertaken. When these connections are made, Dandeldhura Bazar will grow in importance as the junction of these two extentions, the planned airfield in Patan should also have a positive effect.

Projects such as this road are good way to maintain that available short and long-term migration, demonstrated to be so necessary for the economies of places such as Dhap and Hikla Panchayats in Darchula, be utilized within Nepal, where a great deal labour for these projects is needed. As the suggested extension of the D-D road moves closer to Darchula area, ways must be found to encourage local migrants to work on these Nepal-based road projects. Several means are at our disposal. First, the recognition of existing patterns of migration and labour supplies must be taken into account in planning the road. Secondly, a competitive wage must be paid to labourers to attract them to the Nepal side. Third, the met system should be utilized and either traditional or new mets be encouraged to bring their clients to Nepal building sites. Local contractors should be trained and encouraged, particularly, if they will bring in local labour. Finally, controls must be enstated to encourage that workers be paid on time and protected from unscrupulous contractors. The problem of caste stigma for local labour remains. If these recommendations are followed or if other means are found to encourage the hiring of local labour for the extension of the D-D project, then two favourable things will result. First, local farmers will be able to support themselves in the hills by supplementing their income and therefore will not have to become permanent migrants, thus pressure will be temporarily taken off the already crowded Terai, at least until projects made possible by the presence of a road can be undertaken. Second and most important is that Nepal will not be giving its most important commodity, that is the labour of its people at a bargain price to the Indians and labour necessary to undertake the development of far-west will be available at a price that Nepal can afford to pay.

Presently, the D-D road is too far away to effect Darchula, but as time goes on according to the stated aims of H.M.G., the road will come closer. Until that time the study of migration can have the general effect of acting as an economic indicator of agricultural and other economic health in Darchula as well as any other area in Nepal. In addition, however, the study of migration can have the positive effect of creating opportunity to find sources of labour for projects which will increase the economic health and development in these regions as well as in Nepal as a whole.

Appendix II

Comparative Agricultural Calendar for Dhap and Hikla.

Month	Dhap Panchayat	Hikla Panchayat
<u>Chait</u> (March-April)	The fields (<u>pakho</u> and <u>khet</u>) are manured and ploughed (<u>baunu</u> :local dialect) twice and after this, dry rice (viz. <u>mandhani</u> , <u>choti</u> , <u>banki</u> , <u>tauli</u> , <u>jaula</u> , <u>gaji</u>) and maize are broadcast (<u>benhu</u> :loc.dial.). Harvesting of crops like wheat, barley, potato, pea, gram, <u>musuro</u> (lentil) is started. Sugarcane ripens and its juice is extracted up to the last of the month.	Dry rice (viz. <u>ghargajali</u> , <u>pokhegajali</u> , <u>dhuwarya</u> , <u>bagai</u> , <u>tinmase</u>) is broadcast on <u>oskalo</u> land. In the <u>lekh</u> lands, heavy manuring is done and potato is sown. Collection of fodder and firewood is discontinued. Sheep are sheared.
<u>Baisakh</u> (April - May)	Maize is broadcast in the <u>lekh</u> land; <u>bethya</u> (<u>chuwa</u> ?) is sown; seed beds (<u>bannu</u> :loc.dial.) for the rainy season variety of paddy (viz. <u>raimanwa</u> , <u>hansraj</u> , <u>basmati</u> , <u>rikha</u> , <u>jaula</u>) are prepared. Wheat is ready for harvest in the <u>lekh</u> land.	In the beginning of the month, barley is harvested in the <u>khet</u> lands and cattle are allowed to browse on the stubble. The field is then ploughed twice, manured and maize and dry rice are sown. The seed beds for the rainy season variety of paddy are prepared.
<u>Jeth</u> (May - June)	Paddy seedlings are transplanted in the irrigated and prepared <u>khet</u> or <u>bagar</u> lands; soyabeans are sown on the walls of the paddy field. <u>Ghawals</u> and <u>kalo mass</u> (black pulse), <u>phaphar</u> (buckwheat), <u>palti</u> (small grained wheat), millet, barley, <u>til</u> (sesame) are sown in the <u>pakho</u> land. Ginger, tomato are sown in the <u>gharbari</u> area. Maize grown on the <u>khet</u> land is ready for weeding. Weeding of the dry rice is also started.	Wheat in the <u>gharbari</u> area is harvested and cattle browses on the stubble. Ploughing continues in these fields while the barley of the <u>lekh</u> land grows. Dry rice is weeded in the <u>gharbari</u> area. Maize is sown. Millet and soyabeans are also broadcast.
<u>Asar</u> (June-July)	All rainy season varieties of paddy seedlings are transplanted. Maize is weeded in <u>pakho</u> land. <u>Gahat</u> is also broadcast in <u>pakho</u> land. Millet and soyabeans are sown on the walls of paddy fields.	Maize is weeded; dry rice is weeded for the second time; wheat is harvested in the <u>lekh</u> area. Potato is weeded in the <u>lekh</u> land. If irrigation facilities are present, or there is an early rain, paddy seedlings are transplanted in <u>khet</u> land. Millet and soyabeans are broadcast in land where barley and wheat have been harvested.
<u>Srawan</u> (July-August)	Paddy is weeded, maize grown in the <u>khet</u> land is quickly harvested and the same field is ploughed and irrigated, and paddy seedlings are transplanted; seed-beds for vegetables, such as radish, <u>rayo methi</u> , <u>chamsur</u> , garlic, tomato are prepared.	Maize is weeded a second time; dry rice is weeded for the third time. The rainy season varieties of paddy are planted in the <u>bagar</u> land. The fallow lands in the <u>lekh</u> are ploughed.

Month	Dhap Panchayat	Hikla Panchayat
<u>Bhadau</u> (August-Sept.)	Dry rice and maize grown in the <u>pakho</u> land are ready for harvest. Dry rice is harvested by first cutting off the heads and the stalks are then cut as annual fodder or are left in the field as fertilizer. The walls of the <u>khets</u> are re-arranged and <u>sarson</u> (bigger variety of mustard) is sown. Green fodder and leaves are collected from the jungle and are spread in the cattlesheds. Seed beds of above mentioned vegetables (see <u>Srawan</u>) if not already prepared are prepared up to the last of the month. The seed beds for garlic, cauliflower cabbage, <u>gathkopi</u> are also prepared.	Dry rice (later variety) is weeded for the third time; potato is harvested; the <u>lekh</u> lands are prepared for wheat and barley. Dry rice is harvested. The rainy season variety of paddy is weeded.
<u>Asoj</u> (Sept.-Oct.)	In the <u>lekh</u> lands, maize is harvested. <u>Sama</u> (<u>saun:loc.dial.</u>) is harvested from paddy fields. The remaining rainy season crops such as soyabeans and paddy are harvested. Wheat and mustard are sown in the <u>khet</u> lands and barley potato, pea, <u>gram</u> , <u>musuro</u> are sown either in the <u>pakho</u> or in the <u>lekh</u> land according to availability of surplus land.	Dry rice, potato, maize, millet and soyabeans are harvested. Wheat and barley are sown in the <u>lekh</u> lands.
<u>Kartik</u> (Oct.-Nov.)	Continued harvest and storage of rainy season crops and sowing of winter crops if not completed in <u>Asoj</u> . <u>Gahat</u> , <u>mas</u> , millet (bigger variety) and paddy are threshed. Collection of thatch (<u>gaji: loc.dial.</u>) and firewood. Winter vegetables are ready for harvest.	The rainy season variety of rice is harvested. <u>Khet</u> land is ploughed three times and wheat and barley are sown. In the places where maize and dry rice are harvested, the land is ploughed twice. The places where millet was grown are left fallow for the next season's planting of dry rice. Wheat and barley are sown in the irrigated as well as in the dry lands. Fodder and firewood collection starts. Sheep are sheared.
<u>Mangsir</u> (Nov.-Dec.)	In the <u>bagar</u> land area, wheat is sown. Collection of firewood, leaves (<u>pirul:loc.dial.</u>) and <u>gaji</u> continues. Winter vegetables are ready for market. After mid- <u>Mangsir</u> , there is practically no agricultural work. House construction or repair is started. Short-term labour migrants leave for work in Darchula and India.	Wheat and barley are sown; manure is carried from the <u>khad</u> to the field and spread. House construction and repair is started. Collection of fodder, leaves (<u>patela:loc.dial.</u>) and firewood continues.
<u>Poush</u> (Dec.-Jan.)	Manure is carried from the <u>khad</u> and spread thinly on the field. House construction or repair continues. Collection of leaves, <u>gaji</u> and firewood continues. Migrant labour continues.	Collection of fodder and wood continues, along with house repair and construction.

Month	Dhap Panchayat	Hikla Panchayat
<u>Magh</u> (Jan.-Feb.)	Work :same as in <u>Poush</u>	If irrigation is available, wheat is irrigated. <u>Patela</u> (dry leaves for manuring) is collected. Snowfall starts, cattle are kept on the ground floor of the house. Other activities similar to <u>Poush</u> .
<u>Phaghun</u> (Feb.-March)	In the last of <u>Phaghun</u> , labour migrants begin to return to their village and the cultivation of dry rice is started. In some places sugarcane is planted. In the last of <u>Phaghun</u> mustard and <u>musuro</u> are harvested. Collection of fodder, firewood, construction and repair of houses is still continued. Manuring of the fields is nearly complete by this month. Ploughing in the <u>pakho</u> and <u>khet</u> lands start. Wheat is weeded.	The fallow lands (<u>khet</u>) are ploughed twice manured. Soil is turned three times to prepare the land for paddy. If there is a water channel, the lands are irrigated. Collection of fodder, wood and <u>patela</u> . House construction and repair is continued. Snow starts melting, but in some places it remains to <u>Chait</u> . Wheat, barley are weeded.

Appendix III

	<u>Dhap Panchayat</u>	<u>Hikla Panchayat</u>
1. Total Land:	1280.99 (9853.75)*	1331.34 (10,241.049)*
2. Land owning households:	508	472
3. Voter's list of households	600 ^c	610 ^c
4. Estimated landless:	92	138
5. Average holding for land-owners only:	2.522 (19.397) (\bar{m} = 2.577) (\bar{m} = 19.515)	2.821 (21.697) (\bar{m} = 2.774) (\bar{m} = 21.337)
6. Average holding, landless incl.:	2.135(16.42)	2.179 (16.79)
7. Minimum total holding:	0.065 (0.5)	0.065 (0.5)
8. Maximum total holding:	9.685 (74.5)	11.359 (87.375)
9. Total <u>khet</u> land	539.293 (4,148.404)	35.571 (273.62)
10. Percentage of <u>khet</u> total land.	42.10%	2.67%
11. Number of families with <u>khet</u> :	323	30
12. Land owning families with <u>khet</u> , total:	63.58%	6.356%

*The first figure for all land sizes is in acres; the number in parentheses is in ropanis (1 ropani = 0.13 acres).

^cThe figures on the voter's lists are of dubious value, since it is hard to determine which of landless are actually present. Again these figures are indicative and not to be taken as absolute values.

	<u>Dhap Panchayat</u>	<u>Hikla Panchayat</u>
13. Average holding of <u>khet</u> compared to total land-holding population:	1,062 (8.166)	0.075 (0.58)
14. Average <u>khet</u> holding landless incl.:	0.898 (6.91)	0.059 (0.45)
15. Average <u>khet</u> holding for families holding <u>khet</u> only:	1.669 (12.84)	1.186 (9.12)
16. Highest <u>khet</u> holding:	7.898 (60.75)	3.38 (26)
17. Lowest <u>khet</u> holding:	0.049 (0.375)	0.081 (0.625)
18. Total <u>pakho</u> and kharbari lands:	741.695 (5,705.346)	1295.766 (9,976.429)
19. Percentage of <u>pakho</u> and Kharbari to total land held:	57.90%	97.33%
20. Families with <u>pakho</u> / <u>kharbari</u> lands:	482	472
21. Number of families with <u>pakho</u> only (%)	431 (84.84)	73. (15.43)
22. Percentage of land owning families with <u>pakho</u> / and <u>kharbari</u> :	94.88%	100%
23. Number of families with <u>kharbari</u> (%):	51 (10.04)	400 (84.57)
24. Average holding of <u>pakho</u> and <u>kharbari</u> for land-owners	1.539 (11.84)	2.739 (21.07)

	<u>Dhap Panchayat</u>	<u>Hikla Panchayat</u>
25. Average holding of <u>pakho</u> and <u>kharbari</u> (<u>khet</u> owners incl.):	1.46 (11.23)	2.739 (21.07)
26. Average <u>pakho-kharbari</u> (landless incl.):	1.236 (9.51)	2.124 (16.34)
27. Highest <u>pakho</u> and <u>kharbari</u> :	9.685 (74.5)	9.612 (73.937)
28. Lowest <u>pakho</u> and <u>kharbari</u> :	0.065 (0.5)	0.065 (0.5)
29. Highest <u>kharbari</u> :	2.015 (15.5)	2.145 (16.5)
30. Lowest <u>kharbari</u> :	0.13 (1.0)	0.0403 (0.31)

Appendix IV
Migrants from two Panchayats in Darchula Between 1964 - 1975

Type of Migration	Dhap Panchayat	Hikla Panchayat
a ₁ . Long term: army, Police and Government Service	46	53
<u>b</u>		
b ₂ . Short term: Labour	200	550
A ₁ Labour migrants	246	583
A ₂ Trade or Transhumant	0	60 (30 households) ¹
A ₃ Extended Farm	10 (3 households)	28 (5 households)
A. Reversible migrant	256	671
B. Non-Reversible migrant	73 (11 households)	211 (36 households)
Total migrants	329	882
Total population ²	4,010	3,149
Total active population ³	2,598	2,041

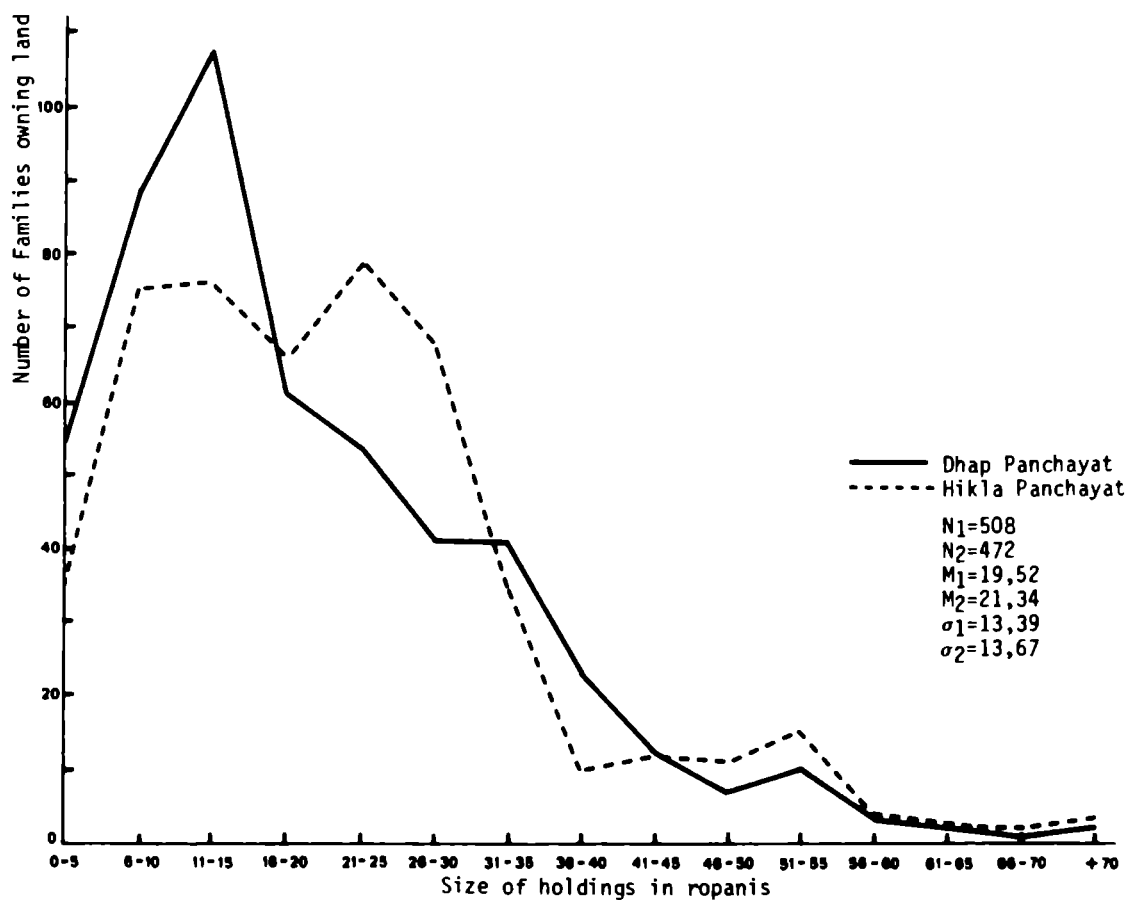
1. Estimate based on at least two people from each of thirty households going out to trade, with local employees the actual number is probably much higher.
2. Based on Census of Nepal: 1971 from Mechidekhi Mahakali, Dept. of Information, HMG, Kathmandu, 1975.
3. Total active population, 64.8% of the district population is considered active (i e. ages 10-59). The figures above are derived from the district percentage presented in Mechidekhi Mahakali.

Appendix V
Frequencies of Land Holding Size in Dhap and Hikla Panchayats
(In Ropanis - 1 Ropani = 0.13 Acres)

<u>Estimated size of holding</u>	<u>Dhap</u>	<u>Hikla</u>
Landless	92	138
0-5	54	35
6-10	89	75
11-15	108	76
16-20	61	66
21-25	54	79
26-30	41	48
31-35	41	35
36-40	23	10
41-45	12	12
46-50	7	11
51-55	10	15
56-60	3	3
61-65	2	2
66-70	1	2
71	2	3
Total households	600	610

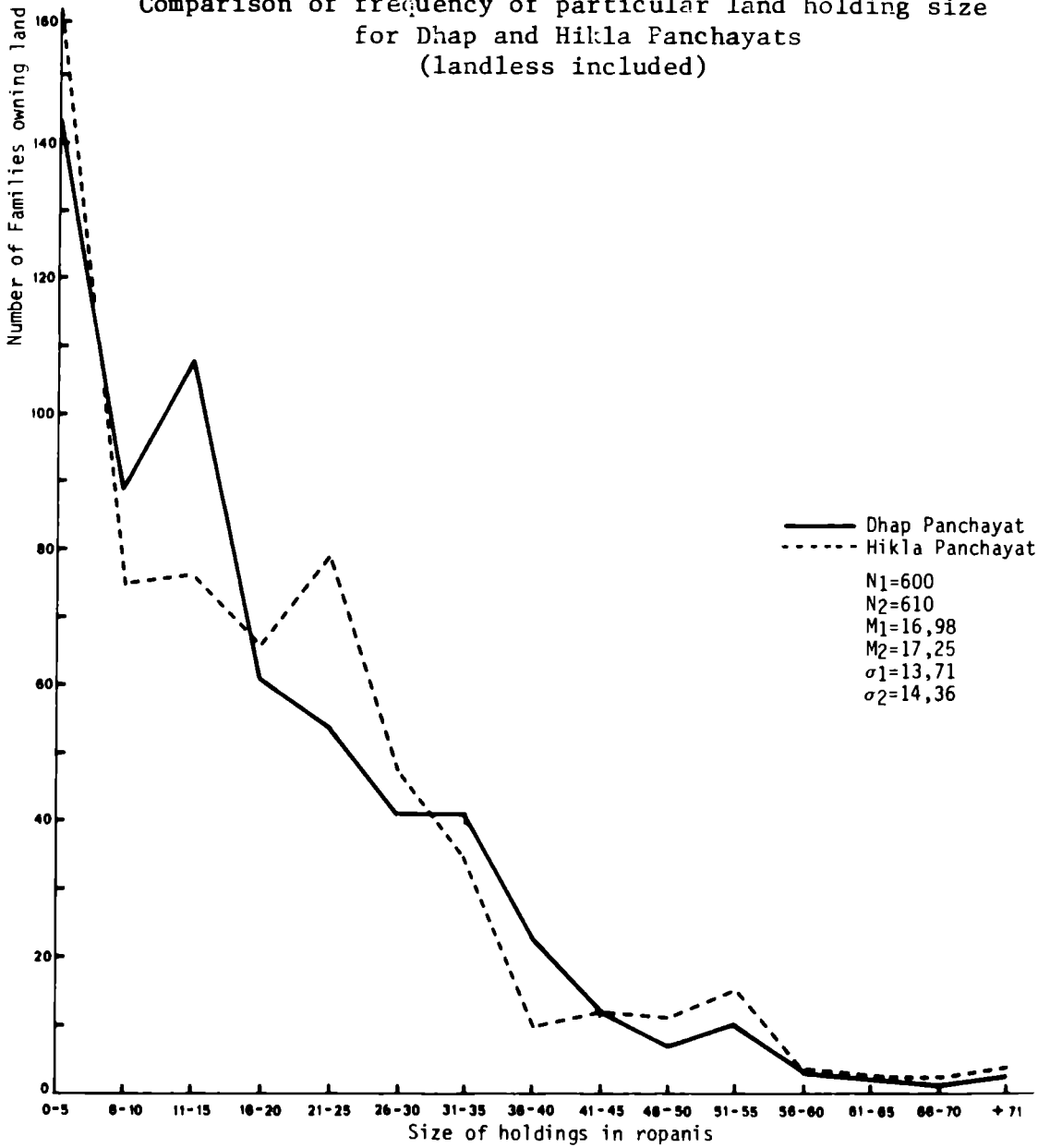
Appendix V a

Comparison of frequency of particular land holding size
for Dhap and Hikla Panchayats.
(for those holding land)



Appendix V b

Comparison of frequency of particular land holding size
for Dhap and Hikla Panchayats
(landless included)



Appendix VI
Number of Households Permanently
Migrating From Dhap And Hikla For
Years 1964 -1975

Year	Dhap	Hikla
1964-65	-	1
1966	1	8
1967	1	20
1968	4	5
1969	-	-
1970	2	-
1971	-	1
1972	-	1
1973	2	-
1974	-	-
1975	1	-
Total	11	36

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