

Dissonance Between Internal Migration and Citizenship Rights in Nepal

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This paper discusses the issues pertaining to internal migration and citizenship regulations for people in Nepal, especially those concerning the vital registration rights of the citizens and their free movement across administrative boundaries. The data for this purpose is based on field work conducted in the district headquarters of Bhojpur in Eastern Nepal, where temporary migrants that had come from remote villages were interviewed. The authors delve into exploring how temporary migrants are facing exclusion from membership to self-help group and user committees which is looked upon as lack of citizenship rights conferred to them by the state. It is seen that free mobility does not always amount to extension and enhancement of citizenship rights, and, through the practice of free movement, migrants without migration registrations have been getting lesser access to social rights and civil and political entitlements.

Keywords: Migration, mobility, state, rights, citizenship

Introduction

This paper discusses the issues pertaining to internal migration and citizenship regulations for people in Nepal, especially those concerning the vital registration rights of the citizens and their free movement across administrative boundaries. Let us first explain what a vital registration means. Vital registration is a basic

means to acquire native belongingness for a person at the local level which may be in rural Municipality or Municipality in Nepal. Vital registration involves birth registration, marriage registration, divorce registration, death registration, and migration registration, all of which are essential to have for citizens of Nepal. Civic status in Nepal, as in many other countries, is ascribed and inherited which starts from birth registration. An individual's access to welfare services is determined on the basis of where this registration is done. Where a person is born does have a major impact upon his life chances, and a localized registration is not subject to change by the individual's will or desire.

In Nepal's case, an individual's civic status is regulated by the Personal Event Act (1976), according to which, civic status of an individual remains assigned at birth, and is inherited. The rights and entitlements devolving from such civic status are linked to the location and place of birth of a person at the time of registration. However, upon migration, only when a person acquires a 'migration registration certificate' - does he get the entailed rights and entitlements due to her/him transferable in her/his new destination. In the absence of this certificate these rights are anchored and bound to the location and place of her/his birth registration.

The civic status discussed here is consistent with the generally accepted understanding of the concept of national citizenship. Carens (1992) defines national citizenship as "a lot like feudal status in the medieval world. It is assigned at birth, for the most part it is not subject to change by the individual's will and effort; and it has a major impact upon that person's life chances". In this regard, citizenship is an affiliation anchored to a particular boundary and entails substantial rights (social, economic, political) within the concerned boundary. In Nepal, municipalities are administrative boundaries. Free movement across these boundaries is practiced by citizens without any barriers. Within this context, understanding of

located registration affiliation entailed social rights and entitlement, and its transferability upon mobility is meaningful and will offer new and interesting perspectives on internal migration and citizenship issues in Nepal.

In this paper, we examine the implication of local affiliation on the social rights of internal migrants. For this purpose, we consider affiliation to the administrative unit of a municipality and limit our analysis to social rights and social citizenship dimensions. We argue that although social rights have inter-linkages with civil and political rights in complex ways, free mobility does not always amount to extension and enhancement of citizenship rights. The cases and examples studies in this paper show that through the practice of free movement across municipality borders, migrants without migration registration have been getting lesser access to social rights and civil and political entitlements.

Conceptualizing Internal Migration and Citizenship

We follow the conceptualization by Kovacheva et. al.(2012), who categorizes migration of people across the political borders of a nation-state as international migration and migration of people within the administrative boundaries of a nation-state as internal migration. In consistency with the existing literature, we see the relation between a nation-state and an individual to be defined by citizenship and conceptualize citizenship as the legal affiliation of the individual with the state (Baubock, 2009; Naujoks, 2009; Kovacheva et al., 2012). In doing so we attempt to unpack and disintegrate citizenship in order to understand the concept of ‘universal citizen’ better with rights to participate in institutions of governance or those of state for an individual (Chatterjee, 2010). This relationship between the nation-state and an individual was also recognized by Marshall in 1950, who defined it as the ‘status bestowed on those who are full members of a community [...] all who possess the status

are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed'. Thus, citizenship, defined as a relationship or affiliation between the state and the citizen, entails rights and responsibilities, with membership conferred on every member of the concerned nation-state. It is this membership element of citizenship that carries immense constraints to practice full citizenship rights for mobile people during migration across local, national and international borders and territories in Nepal.

This section focuses on internal administrative boundaries of a nation- state that will be generally porous to internal movement of people. This raises the question regarding the 'equal rights for all members' in conditions when migrants are at a separate destination while their first membership is anchored in the administrative boundary of their origin. It is to be noted that all types of conceptualization concerning citizenship have the nation-state as a reference point that entails legal affiliation to that administrative boundary as well as the bundle of rights associated with it that follows it (Baubock, 2006). As a legal affiliation to a defined administrative territory it ascribes civic identity to such a person that commences at birth and ceases at his death. Through this definition, a person may have a relationship with the state at different levels. For example, in Nepal, one can have this relationship defined at a higher level, i.e. citizenship at the national level, and at a lower level, i.e. at the administrative unit level (Municipality) as well. The vital registration system of Nepal requires that every Nepali citizen gets registered with the concerned municipal authority at birth. With this birth registration, he inherits his permanent resident location status through the head of his household to which he belongs. This provides a civic status to the person that we call as ascribed and inherited. During migration, such a person takes this affiliation with him. However, once the migrants settle in a new administrative territorial unit of the state, several questions arise; for example, a)

How can these migrants reacquire their affiliation in a new place? b) What happens to their old affiliation? c) And what implication does it have for their other vital registrations? To answer these questions we have used the concept of ‘local citizenship’ as an analytical term corresponding to the idea of affiliation at the lower level of the administrative territorial unit for these migrants.

The significance of citizenship affiliation relates to rights that are entailed with it. Nepali citizenship at both national and local levels provides a specific set of rights to each person within the concerned territory. The general rights common to both levels are the rights to move, to reside and to work. To better understand these rights, particularly the rights associated with lower level affiliation, it is important to discuss the social dimension of citizenship, i.e., social citizenship, which, as Marshal (1950) mentions it, is such a citizen’s right to a share in the economic wealth of a political unit. The institutions most closely related with social citizenship for the Nepalese citizens are the municipalities. The social dimensions of it imply the social services and welfare benefits provided to them through these institutions. This dimension of citizenship is particularly relevant when migrants move from lower-benefit to higher-benefit administrative units, more generally from rural to urban administrative units. As we discuss below, for those who move from one place to another, migration registration is important, as this affects that person’s social entitlements. In this context, what one needs to remember is that those who move and exercise their right to free movement may stand to endanger their other social rights.

Civic Status and Citizenship

With the possession of citizenship of a nation-state, individuals are conferred juridical status and a political identity. Citizenship entails acquiring of different civil, social and political rights. With these rights and given entitlements, it enables citizens to

be members of a nation-state where they can actively participate in all meaningful matters governing their lives (Pant and Standing, 2011). In Nepal too, citizenship is a relationship between an individual and the State. Citizenship certificate is an identity document that proves a person to be a member of the nation-state, and hence a proof of his being a Nepali citizen. It means that the possession of a citizenship certificate for a citizen lies in his exercising various rights, claims and social benefits.

In the Nepalese context, the concept of citizenship was introduced in 1952 after the enactment of the Nepal Citizenship Act (FWLD, 2014). Since then, the government has been issuing citizenship certificates as a formal document to all those who have reached the age 16 or above. The citizenship certificate not only grants a person his legal identity but also provides him access to a number of rights, opportunities and services that includes formal sector employment, micro-credit schemes and banking facilities for him. It gets him his birth registration, marriage and death certificates, secures him his proof of migration, property transaction, government benefits and allowances, and similar other provisions. For obtaining the citizenship certificate, the official process is that the applicant must produce documents relating to the land registration or citizenship certificate already held by members of his immediate family, given to them by their municipality secretary. The person eligible for membership of the municipality will first have to approach his/her concerned Municipality with the required documents to get recommendation for citizenship certificate (FWLD, 2014). This recommendation, along with other required documentation, is then submitted to the District Coordination Office (DCO) and on the basis of it the Chief District Office (CDO) makes the final decision to grant or reject the application for citizenship.

Granting of citizenship currently prevalent in Nepal is static in model, and makes it paradoxical in character and quality. For

example, a person from a rural area possessing citizenship cannot actualize the same level of citizenship rights upon migration to a town or city different from his origin. His / her citizenship is primarily affiliated to the Municipality where he originally belongs and it is within the administrative boundary of this Municipality that she/he can actualize the full potential of his/her citizenship rights due to a member of the state.

Methods

This study used open-ended interviews and participant observation methods for gathering primary data. A case study approach was adopted to acquire in detail the actual experiences undergone by a migrant in exercise of her/his citizenship privileges in public domains, namely the ward citizen forums, the self-help groups and the municipality- the principal local institution in which local people participate in their day to day activities. We held interviews of permanent and temporary migrant residents, municipality officials and local leaders in diverse sectors like education, health, and business. Regular observations were also made of the workings of the municipality office during the working hours of the municipality. In total 34 in-depth interviews were taken of migrant households, and two cases out of ten generated themes were selected. The field work was conducted during 16th of September, 2017 to 27th of Feb, 2018. The unit of analysis for the two cases present is household.

Introducing the Study Site: Bhojpur Municipality

Bhojpur district falls in the eastern development region of Nepal. This middle-hill district located almost in the middle of the development region is river-locked between two large rivers, Arun River to the east, and Sunkoshi River in the south. Bhojpur's score of 0.479 on the Human Development Index was lower to the

national average of 0.490 in 2014 (UNDP, 2014). Compared to the surrounding districts of the region, Bhojpur's infrastructure (such as roads, electricity, schools and medical facilities) is less developed.

The district population is multi-ethnic and varied, ranging across different caste groups. The majority of its inhabitants belong to the Rai ethnic group, followed by different 'hill castes' and other minor ethnic groups, such as the Newars and the Tamangs. They all share a patrilineal and patrilocal family structure in common. As in other parts of Nepal as mentioned in Poertner et al (2011), Thieme and Muller Böker (2010) and , Thieme, Kollmair and Muller- Böker, (2003), it is woman who leaves her native home called 'maiti' after marriage and goes to settle in her in-law's house known as 'ghar' permanently, discharging all domestic and agricultural work of her new household. All ethnic and caste groups are also characterized by a tight relational and kinship network structures that provide a supportive backdrop for them during migration.

Bhojpur municipality, the headquarters of the Bhojpur district, is our primary research site for this study. On May 16, 2014, Bhojpur and the four surrounding Village Development Committee (VDC) were formally upgraded to a Municipality, which came into operation on July 17 the same year. In this study we use the term 'Municipality' as an analytical unity and our study area. In the last decade, considering 2001 as the baseline, Bhojpur Municipality has become a popular destination for migrants coming from other VDCs of the district. So, the municipality has seen a remarkable growth in its population and in the number of its households. As per the census of 2001, the total population of Bhojpur municipality was 5,881 people, living in 1428 households, whereas in the census of 2011 population growth in it was seen to be 7,446, spread over 2070 households. As this district has recorded the lowest population growth rate in comparison to other districts of Nepal in the last two decades, its population growth in the 2011 census certainly is to be attributed to in-migration.

Scenario of Internal Migration in Bhojpur Municipality

The internal migration from Bhojpur to other parts of Nepal has a longstanding history. The main determinants of migration for people of lower economic status have mainly been unemployment, lack of natural resources, impoverishment, and personal indebtedness. Whereas for the upper economic strata, the principal drivers of migration have been the lack of facilities and opportunities for investment and wealth accumulation. The decade-long armed conflict and political instability have also triggered out-migration from Bhojpur. In recent years, Bhojpur has experienced a flux of in-migration from its surrounding municipality. Since the construction of a road in 2006 connecting it with Dhankuta district, Bhojpur municipality has witnessed enhanced transportation facilities, access to market for both goods and labour, increase in investment in the housing sector, in the network of roads, and an increase in the number of private schools and hospitals.

These changes in external economic structures have converted Bhojpur municipality from being a place of origin to a destination for migration. Determinants of migration have also changed from those of personal destitution to a greater accessibility to opportunities at the point of destination. The current trend in internal migration has changed from strategies of coping with life to one of actualizing improved livelihood and well-being for the migrant.

Analysis

This section presents the two actual cases of migrant households faced by them in the exercise of their legitimate citizenship status. The first relates to the story of an out-migrant household whose enjoyment of citizenship rights at destination was impeded, because their citizenship status remained anchored to the municipality of their origin, and the second case describes an

in-migrant household whose members experienced an exclusion at their current place of destination.

Case One: An Out – Migrant Family With Their Citizenship Anchored to the Place of Their Origin

Chiran¹, a 48-year old man, is originally from Bhojpur municipality ward number one. His village is Daurali and it is from this ward that he has received his national citizenship certificate. This citizenship from Bhojpur municipality ward number one makes Chiran a formal member of the local political community. From this it implies that he is not a member of any other municipality but this. As a citizen it entitles him no doubt to various rights. The citizenship certificate confirms his legal identity and it provides him access to opportunities and services of various kinds, such as employment in formal sectors, eligibility to micro-credit schemes and banking facilities, claim to birth, marriage, death and migration papers and those relating to property transaction, government benefits and allowances, and other rights.

Chiran migrated to Kathmandu in the year 2001. Until then he was a teacher in a government school in Daurali. As a teacher, his social status in the village was high. As representative in ward-level meetings, he was a respected member of the local community

“I used to attend ward-level meetings. I was an advisor to the ward committee. As a teacher I was encouraged and requested by the people to be the advisor, and I actively participated in decision-making processes for the ward-level development programs. But now I have no stake here as I have migrated to Kathmandu. I am not involved in any ward-level activities here or in Kathmandu because I have not been able to establish myself there....”

¹ The names of informants used in this chapter are all pseudonyms.

Chiran's formal membership in the local community had provided him public space to participate in the ward level meetings in exercise of his citizenship rights. Being considered an influential person in the community, he could actively use his agency for the betterment of the local community. In his new destination Chiran has not been able to develop any cultural capital or social network in addition to not being able to exercise his normal citizenship rights.

Since his migration to Kathmandu, he lives detached from the place of his origin, and at the same time, he is unable to establish his agency at the same level at his new destination of choice. With this his participation in local level activities has diminished at the new destination as well as at its origin. It's almost ten years since he has been residing in Kathmandu where he migrated in order to provide better education to his daughter and sons. We² met Chiran at the municipality office at Bhojpur where he and his daughter had come to procure a Relationship Verification Certificate that can be obtained only from the local registrar. The Relationship Verification Certificate is a legal document that certifies familial relationships between individuals of a household. Such a certificate is required by students who aspire to go abroad for further education. Chiran said he was obliged to travel to Bhojpur repeatedly to obtain such legal documents and other social benefits from Bhojpur. His children had also been given citizenship certificates with recommendations from the same municipality, as it was also the place of their father's origin.

From this, we see an individual's citizenship to be a status in recognition of his legal affiliation to a politically defined territory, which in the case of Chiran is the Bhojpur municipality. Although the generally accepted idea of a person's citizenship to a politically defined territory is the nation-state (Naujoks, 2009), Kovacheva et al. (2012) argues that a person may hold citizenship privileges at different territorial levels. In China a person can have his affiliation

2 We in this chapter refers to the authors of this chapter.

both at the central level of the state as well as at lower levels of a particular administrative unit.. In Chiran's case, his citizenship is affiliated at a higher level to the nation-state and at a lower level to the municipality where he was originally registered. Possession of citizenship entails substantial rights, but in Nepal it can be actualized only locally in the concerned administrative unit, never beyond it. Chiran could not obtain a relationship verification certificate from Kathmandu despite the fact that he and his daughter both have citizenship certificates and are entitled to all the rights that citizenship entails. This is where the question arises. Does the free movement practiced by aspirant migrants and mobile people lead to actualizing their fuller set of rights and entitlements due to all citizens, or minimizes it for people who are in migration?

Case Two: An In-Migrant Family With Excluded Experiences of Their Citizenship Rights

Chandra (age 19) and Kamala (age 18) are married to each other and have two sons – the older one two years old, and the younger seven months old. Chandra is originally from Diktel, the district headquarters of Khotang district. It is seven years since Chandra has been residing in Palawa Village in ward no. 2 of Bhojpur municipality. In these seven years Chandra has been engaged in different economic activities in Palawa to sustain himself. He was involved in sharecropping with a landowner named Man Bhadur, and next he worked as a labourer ('jyami') at a local hydro-power construction site. Currently he is working in a local brick kiln. Chandra constantly searches for new work as a wage earner, which is not easily available. He and Kamala have rented a room which costs them Rs. 800 per month. His income from labour work is around Rs. 7000 per month which is just about enough to feed his small family.

'Two years back when I knew I was eligible to get citizenship, I visited Bhojpur VDC office to inquire about the process

and criteria for getting citizenship certificate. The VDC secretary told me that I had to go to my concerned municipality in Diktel and get the process started from there, not here. Citizenship certificate was very important for me and my wife, because without it we could neither register our marriage, nor have our son's birth registered. Even though I have spent seven years here and I am disconnected with Bhojpur , my work here does not connect me to this VDC office. The government employees of the municipality asked me not to come to the office, but go back to Diktel for all my official works and benefits '

The case of Chandra brings out certain issues glaringly, arising from anchoring citizenship to one's place of origin. Chandra who is originally from Doorpa village in Cheeridana ward no. 3 of Diktel had no other option but to go back to his place of origin to obtain his legal identity. It has been seven years since Chandra dissociated himself from the place he migrated from. He got married in Bhojpur and his sons were born in Bhojpur, still neither his marriage registration certificate nor his children's birth registration can be processed in Bhojpur.

Dissonance Between Internal Migration and Citizenship Rights

These two cases glaringly illustrate how anomalies exist between internal migration and citizenship rights, since people like Chandra and Chiran are denied their citizenship certificates for leaving their place of origin. Chandra and Chiran both had to go to their place of origin in order to get their legal citizenship paper. The need to travel to their place of origin each time for getting these vital papers becomes difficult for migrants who are from lower economic status, as travelling and the process of acquiring such legal documents is rather costly. But these are just the smaller parts of the problem related to obtaining citizenship status. At the community level, Chandra experienced more difficulties.

Chandra elaborated how basic things, such as firewood, the main source of fuel in Bhojpur, was hard to acquire for him as he was not a member of the local forest user group or 'Ban Samuha'. Only the bonafide members of the community and the permanent residents of the municipality can be members and participate in such 'samuha' which gives them access to the village community forest for fodders and firewood for their household use.

"I needed firewood, but I had to be admitted first into the Ban Samuha. This, I was not allowed to do, as - the Secretary of the samuha refused me membership into the group, so I do not get free firewood, nor can I cut wood from the community forest. The only alternative left is to buy it. One bundle ('bitto') of firewood costs me Rs. 200, and it lasts for only 4 days. If I get a chance to enter any of the similar local Samuha, I can have access to other benefits, such as a loan at the time of emergency, or get financial help from the members of the group at the time of my need. Even my wife has not got an entry to Aama Samuha (Mothers Group). For people with low economic status like us, entering a samuha is crucial. Our life is filled with uncertainty therefore, because I am from another district".

Chandra and his wife are thus excluded from membership to the various User Groups, one of the most beneficial local institutions. People from the lower economic status can benefit from membership to these local institutions because such membership confers on them the right to material entitlements, such as firewood, water, agricultural inputs, and even financial benefits from various governmental and non-governmental organizations. To be deprived of this and be excluded from the benefits of such user groups is very hard for the economically poor people like Chandra. It implies, to borrow the terms of Marshals (1950), 'lessened citizenship' status to people like Chandra from the perspective of their social rights. It puts a migrant like Chandra's everyday's living and experience of his

social citizenship in greater jeopardy as he is seen by his community people and the local administration where he has chosen to settle in as a non-member of the municipality.

Territorially Rooted Citizenship

The first case of our analysis depicts that conventional nation-state citizenship granted to the citizens of Nepal is firmly anchored to a municipality to which a citizen originally belongs. Nepali citizenship right is rooted in the municipality he or she is born in, and is territorially bound within it. It makes the municipality a place of absolute importance in the question of obtaining citizenship certificates for everyone. The rights, obligations, provisions and entitlements that a citizenship certificate automatically ensures are unchangeably tied to the municipality one originally belongs to. For example, only a person holding the citizenship from a particular municipality is eligible to enjoy the rights and services a municipality provides. It is such a municipality where records of a person's vital registrations are kept. The most important criterion is that a person is given status of being a formal member only so long as he/she is a permanent resident of that particular municipality. Having a municipality recommended citizenship certificate alone implies him to be a formal member of that municipality.

Preuss (1998) argues that a modern state's principle of territoriality, i.e., the physical attachment of a person to a given territory, is not the only sufficient criterion or evaluation of his or her belonging to a society. He elaborates that mobility is a basic fact of human life and individuals are always looking forward to better their life chances and conditions. In this quest, migration is predictable, and frontier crossing movements will remain as a major human activity. Such territorially rooted citizenship regulations in Nepal have generated ambivalent relations between migrating citizens and the local state, generated by their mobility

Unbecoming Citizens: A Structural Problem

Our second case depicts that Nepali citizenship is linked to the state as underlined by the process for recommending it. Only the recommendation of a municipality can ensure a citizenship certificate to a person. In this arrangement relationship of an individual to the state is vertical in type, i.e. a member of a municipality is automatically also a member of the nation-state. However, since member of a municipality cannot at the same time become a member of another municipality, this can be called a scalar mismatch wherein exercise of membership rights across municipal boundaries are considered separate from the boundary of the nation-state. This challenges the assumption that within the institution of citizenship, all the people of the nation-state are equal citizens. The nation-state is not the only scale basing on which citizenship rights should be constructed or by which its meaning is given (Staeheli, 2003), but it should also take into account those places where an internal migrant is living at a given moment actually.

Aspirations for a better living standard, better opportunities and enhanced income opportunities have been the principal driving force for emigration of people from rural parts of Nepal to towns and cities. Besides aspirations, another reason for an increasing number of migration in Nepal has been a search for better livelihoods. Historically, migration has been a significant feature in the search for better livelihoods for people in the fragile socio-economic and environmental context of the Himalayan middle hills (Hitchcock 1961; MacForlane 1976; Whelpton 2005; and Sharma 2011). Sharma states that hardly any area exists in the hills of Nepal that has remained unaffected by the exodus of young men and women increasingly to regions where comparatively better opportunities are found. Their destinations include areas across the border in India, as well as, in recent decades, various global countries. In this context, the legal status of people in mobility has raised numerous questions in the exercise as well as practice of their citizenship rights. This is because

linking citizenship to an administrative or sub-geopolitical unit puts limitations on these rights that are hard to exercise. The second case too illustrates how a person's primary affiliation to a sub-geopolitical unit can curtail or diminish his/her full citizenship potential.

In this study, we considered both types of Migration, viz. permanent and non-permanent migration. In the records of migration registration at the municipality office of Bhojpur, ninety nine cases of permanent in-migration were registered in comparison to seventy three out-migration (VDC profile, 2011). Out of 2070 number of households in the 2011 census, 822 of them were given out on rent (CBS, 2011). It indicates that the magnitude of non-permanent or temporary migration was much higher in number than that of permanent migration. In permanent migration usually the entire members of the household are seen to migrate, while in temporary migration it could both be individual or entire household migration. The low magnitude in permanent migration was mostly influenced by the fact that it needed to submit such prerequisites as the certificate of ownership of one's plot of land or of the house at the village of origin. For the temporary migrants they could always live in rented houses and land.

Conclusion

Through this paper we have attempted to understand some of the problems underlying migration in Nepal, betraying a disharmony existing between internal migration and his place of birth to which a migrant is permanently tied up. To highlight this we have narrated the actual hurdles faced by the temporary migrants as they sought to exercise it as a national of a country. Being a citizen and his experiences cannot ever be separated from its context (Desforges et al., 2005). To show it, we have explored the cases of how temporary migrants negotiate their rights of belonging and participation in the new destinations they are living in now, and in what manner their

temporary migrants' status affects their lives as citizens. Literature (Siim, 2000, Kaber, 2005, Bellamy et. al., 2004; and Lister et. al., 2007) on migration studies have shown how the practice of citizenship needs to be grounded on and contextualized in the specific national, local, social and political contexts.

The two cases studies done by us here exemplify that internal migration in Nepal involves loosening of ties for migrant families in new destinations with the territory of their origin. Their status as temporary migrants keeps them away from involvement in the community affairs of both their original village and their new destinations. Transition from the place of their origin to a new destination is never a smooth experience for the migrants. Furthermore, they have not been able to realize the universal principle of equality rights that citizenship confers on the people of a nation. In both the cases studied by us, while the host community (destination) does accept the physical presence of the newcomers, it is unwilling to accept them and integrate them as full members in their social, economic and cultural lives. Their irrevocable legal affiliation to the administrative territory of origin is still the single most important criterion to give them individual identity and claims of being migrants in Nepal. As a result, people engaged in migration across the territory of their affiliation are excluded from sharing the basic benefits available to the society at large.

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