

Globalization of Livelihood: Weakening of Caste-based Labor Regime of the Musahars

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Doi : <https://doi.org/10.3126/ppj.v2i2.52909>

Abstract

Three central concerns motivated the authors to write this paper: first, to investigate how and why traditional livelihood strategies have been changing among the Musahars; second, to examine the local impacts of the globalization of labor and livelihood; and third, to look at the socio-cultural landscapes of caste-based occupations, and discrimination of the Musahar in central Tarai. The distribution of political-economic power in caste-based society is inherently unequal because caste base livelihood occupations generate unequal access to resources. More specifically, social, cultural, economic, and political relations in everyday life in multi-caste society have been changing. The rapid weakening and demise of pre-capitalist organizations of labor, commodity production, and reinvestment have led to a rapid diversification of modes of generation of livelihood at the household level. The large-scale migration from Tarai to India, from rural to urban areas, and the international labor market maximizes livelihood opportunities of marginalized Musahars. They are broadly free to adopt multiple livelihood strategies but the constraints are again skill, economy, empowerment, and human capital.

The second argument of the paper is globalization process, in the case of the Musahars, not only offers multiple options of livelihood in a trans-national free-market situation but also changes in the nature of the labour regime, such as widening wage disparity, increasing contractualization of work, skill-based segregation of work, the commodification of labor and body. In an era of globalization, the Musahars of Siraha internalized opportunities of migration, cultural campaigning to defend local identity, and changes in traditional occupation and social relations as positive impacts.

Keywords: livelihood, Globalization, Labour, Migration & Musahar

Introduction

Musahars, the second largest Tarai Dalits caste group, scattered in Siraha, Saptari, Dhanusha, Sunsari, Morang, Udayapur, Mahotari, Bara, Parsa, Sarlahi, Rautahat and Nawalparasi districts of eastern and central Tarai Nepal. Historically, their livelihood has been closely attached to land (soil cutting and agricultural labor), forest (hunting-gathering), labour (unfree labour), and migration (semi-nomadic) in India and Nepal (Kumar, 2006). They were landless because they kept on migrating by leaving arable land with a minimum amount of food. Most of them engaged vicious circle of unfree labour (Haruwa-Charuwa) ties before declaration of Haruwa-Charuwa labour as illegal in 2000. From the very

beginning of their settlement in Nepal, they have adopted multiple resource-taping strategies for their survival. Earthwork, agricultural labour, and digging ponds were considered their caste-based traditional livelihood occupations. Fishing, firewood selling, animal husbandry (cows, goats, ducks), and seasonal migration were considered secondary strategies of livelihood of the Musahars.

People living in the border districts migrated to India irrespective of caste ethnicity. But seasonal labour migration to India was traditionally rooted culture as well as alternative livelihood strategy among the *Musahars*. It was practiced circular way in every year: they migrated after paddy plantation and returned in harvesting season and again migrated for next 5-6 months till paddy plantation time.

After the penetration of market, road, and development intervention in the 1990s and afterward, large number of the Musahars ended at brick factories, contractual labour, and third-country migration (Giri,2018). Economic liberalization and intense connectivity of global market not only changed their livelihood strategies but also transformed socio-political and caste based relations in the society. The Musahars felt humiliated on farmland, and uninterested to engage on agrarian works. They preferred migration and market-based contractual labour because they were free from caste-based taboos and humiliation in the market. The use of modern technology like bulldozers and tractors forced them to inter into the global labour market. Their collective hope of economic transformation was successful third country migration. Because of poverty and landlessness, they did not get loans from bank and formal institutions. They were compelled to consult with individuals who charged high-interest rate. Still they were interested third country migration and contractual labour at the global market. Because of changes on politico-economic labour policies and application of uncertain heterogeneous off-farm livelihood strategies dragged them in the world of semi-proletariat globalization. Globalization is defined as the mobility of capital, labour, goods and services across the world (Nathan,2007). In other words, globalization can be interpreted as hybridization, localization, homogenization and intermixed between global and the local culture and people. Globalization-localization results in various intended and unintended consequences for the livelihood of marginalized communities. Livelihood of a person will become increasingly interconnected with the world.

Before labour migration, the Musahar were agro-labour. The agro-labour did not feel respect and the occupation was considered the main cause for the perpetual domination of local elites for centuries. Rapid growth of the market and urbanization of road head settlements the large number of brick factories and construction have boomed at central Tarai. Factories and construction managers govern varieties of labours through the contractualization of work and the contractualization of labours through agents. This is an example of change in labor relations at the margin.

Research Question and Objectives

The traditional caste-based labour regime has been weakening. The main research question was: how and why traditional livelihood strategies have been changing among the

Musahars? Therefore, the main objective of the paper is: to examine the local impacts of the globalization of labor and livelihood. I am interested to look at the socio-cultural landscapes of caste-based occupations, and discrimination of the Musahar in central Tarai. The processes of globalization have both positive and negative impacts on the Musahars. What are the opportunities and constraints faced by the Musahars in this globalized livelihood?

Research Methodology

Methodologically, anthropologists generally rely on qualitative ethnography, entailing not just interviewing, and other conventional qualitative research methods, but also, participant observation-long term residence in the research community during which the ethnographer observes people in their daily life activities in their own time and space. I have carried out extensive fieldwork, observations of different contexts, and collection of data in different years from 2013 to 2018. I stayed in the Musahar community at Lahan and Jamdaha during his PhD fieldwork in 2013 and 2017. I have observed and collectively participated in trajectory migration processes. Many of them stayed in my apartment when they travel to Kathmandu for third-country migration. Besides observation and interaction, I employed key informants' interviews, case studies, and informal talking as tools of data collection. School teachers, social workers, politicians, and old people of the Musahar, Tamang, and Madhesi castes people were informants in the field. Educated and returnee migrants, youths, and leaders of the Musahar community were key informants.

Different Dimensions of Globalization

The primary ethos of the interconnectedness of the local-global on globalization process is an unequal interchange of economic, social, cultural, political, and technological attributes that takes place between and among societies. Anthony Giddens (2000) depicted globalization as an intensification of worldwide social relations, through which faraway places are linked together in such a way that events in one place are affected by a process taking place many miles away and vice versa (Giddens 2000). For Richard O'Brian (1992) globalization essentially refers to a mixture of international, multinational, offshore, and global activities and involves general progression from the domestic to the global. His phrase 'the borderless world' captures the sense of radical expansion of modernity and of life beyond the constraints of the traditional nation-state, which results in the process of de-territorialisation (O'Brian, 1992). Focusing on the de-territorialization effect of globalization of place, labour population, media technology, finance and culture, Arjun Appadurai (1996) argued, "globalization does not necessarily or even frequently imply homogenization or Americanization (but involves varieties of instruments of homogenization- armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, clothing styles etc.), and to the extent that different societies appropriate or domesticate the materials of modernity differently" (Appadurai 1996:17). Two apparently opposite processes of universalization and localization involves in the process of globalization. Appadurai further concluded that the central feature of "global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thereby proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular"

(Appadurai 1996:43). Therefore, globalization is itself a deeply historical, uneven, and even localizing process. The untold story was opportunities for marginalized people in the processes of globalization. The globalization from below indicates semi-legal or illegal flows of small amounts of capital, people, and goods without legal processes and a state database system (Mathews & Vega, 2012, p.1). They argued that the marginalized people benefited from the process of globalization from below. To understand the economic, social, and cultural impact of the globalization process among the Musahars, it is essential to look at continuity and change in their life. On the one hand, the Musahars were connected with the global market through labour migration, use of mobile phones, consumer culture, and affiliation with NGO, political parties, and education, on the other they were strengthening ethnic unity, identity, and some aspect of culture in central Madhes.

The most important dimensions of the current phase of economic globalization are the breaking down of national and local economic barriers, the international spread of trade, financial and production activities, and the growing power of transnational corporations and international functional institutions. The economic dimensions of globalization can be best discussed in terms of economic liberalization, privatization, free flow of trade and services, foreign direct investment development of information and communication technologies, and trade-related intellectual property rights. A major revolution in the policy environment caused by the current phase of globalization is the liberalization of economic policy, which includes the freeing up of markets and reduction in the role of national governments in terms of ownership and control over the production of goods and services (Strange 1996). The main features of the liberalization policy declined in the role of the state in the provision of public social services like education, housing, and health. In the case of Musahars, both the national and international communities offered different packages of education, health, economic and political empowerment which were not sufficient to mainstream them. The government also did not address their livelihood improvement through special policies. The liberalization of the economy resulted in a reduction in the role of the government and public sector and its replacement with the private sector means that access of people to employment, capital, and social services like education, housing and health services will be much less.

The social dimension of globalization refers to the impact of globalization on the life and work of people, their families, employment, working conditions, migration, income, social security, globalization of culture, development of hybrid culture, identity, inclusion, and the cohesiveness of communities and their societies. Deregulation and privation of the state enterprises have been key components of structural adjustment programmes introduced by international financial institutions as conditionalities attached to aid packages to developing countries and for the acceleration of economic liberalization. The current pace of globalization also results in casualization or informalisation of the workforce causing low labourers and less job security, although it creates employment opportunities for some of the workforce. The growth of the informal sector means that traditional employment-related benefits and mechanisms of protection are not available to those employed in the sector. Increased mechanization and use of new technology demand more skilled labour and

displace unskilled labour. The new technologies and fast-changing market-the resultant features of globalization – also tend to make existing skills obsolete and required upgradation, new skills, and multi-skilling. Liberalization of the economy has in some sectors caused a loss of employment without the creation of new employment. For example, thousands of Musahars lost their job due to the government declaration of elimination of Haruwa- Charuwa in 2001. Similarly, new areas like transportation, factory, business, real estate, construction, broker, teachers etc were opened for them.

People have always left their homes in search of better economic opportunities, both within and outside their own homeland. But the current pace of economic globalization has put a new spin on global migration, causing global up-rootedness and human displacement on an unprecedented scale. Estimates say that nearly 1 out of 6 people in this world, more than one billion people, are crossing national borders as migrant workers (Moussa 1999). Cultural change or dynamics has always been a product of interaction with other cultures. Cultural dynamism is the outcome of a process of mixing, borrowing, and adapting cultural attributes, and often the attributes that are borrowed and adopted come from cultures that are alien, distant, and foreign. Cultural interpenetration through the exchange of commodities is today so pervasive that it is difficult if not impossible to distinguish between original and imported cultural attributes. For instance, the penetration of global music has resulted in the marginalization of traditional music among the different cultures of the world. Today, Hindi and Bhojpuri pop music can be heard in all social settings from wedding rituals to festival celebrations among the Musahars of Tarai.

Today, the whole world is wired and plugged into the same TV programmes, movies, news, music, lifestyle, and entertainment. satellite cables, phones, internet are creating the mass marketing of the culture and expansion of consumer culture. Our own culture is being systematically appropriated and "commoditized". Folk and tribal cultural festivals are being packaged and marketed through electronic media, plucked out of context, and cut off from their roots (Panikkar 1995). Globalization also gives rise to active cultural campaigning to defend local identities. Nations reject global cultural integration and people remain loyal to local histories, identities and traditions. The Musahars, first time in the history of Nepal, organized the first National Conference of Musahars to talk about their agendas for new constitution and largely their identity transformation from Tarai Dalit caste to the indigenous nationality of Nepal at Lahan in 2010 (Giri 2012b). Searching own genealogies, defining own identity, and rewriting own history are widely talked about issues among ethnic people around the world in this era of globalization. Traditional Jat Samaj was almost defunct because of human rights and civil society penetration among the Musahars. They started inter-caste marriages with other Madhesi and hill caste groups. Traditional notions of caste-based pollution and hierarchy have been changing at the economic and political levels.

Land and Labour Regime of the Musahars

Musahar, labour and Haruwa-Charuwa are interchangeably used to denote the Musahar in central made. *Haruwa-Charuwa* (The Government of Nepal promulgated the Haruwa-Charuwa Labor Prohibition Act 2001 to free and rehabilitate bonded agricultural

labour), earth work, agricultural labour, wood (firewood) cutting and seasonal migration were considered their traditional livelihood strategies. The use of modern technologies, expansion of market economy, penetration of international communities, globalization of livelihood and government policies shattered their traditional livelihood niche on the one hand and offered more options, more severe and more localized and globalized resource tapping strategies simultaneously. These days they are involved on both local and global professions like sharecropping, basket weaving, firewood selling, animal husbandry (cow, buffalo, goat, pig), marketing, Riksha pulling, transport labour, factory (brick, wood) working, transnational migration, working in NGOs, schools, market broker, social worker and much other specialized work. The expansion of global capitalist-agrarian relations and continuing population pressures helped to dissolve the traditional economic, social, and cultural relationships of the Musahars at central Tarai.

Regarding the question of labour practices, research on agricultural form and structure in South Asia has recently turned toward the relevance of caste/gender in agrarian labour transformation (Cameron, 1995). Social scientists have steadfastly addressed the place of caste in South Asia's transforming farming communities, particularly in the context of patron-client relationships through Nepal and rural India (Dumont, 1972; Caplan, 1972). Ashwini Deshpande claimed, Dalits have been historically prohibited from owning wealth, education, and social respect. Her argument is economic wealth is the foundational structure of caste hierarchy and landownership is perhaps the single most important indicator of wealth in agrarian society (Deshpande, 2011). Caste-based livelihood occupation and differences in land ownership, legitimate labour practices, and agrarian power politics are sufficient reasons for the marginalization models of lower caste labours (Seddon et al., 1979). However, attention to Tarai caste emerges, as if the mere mention of caste is not sufficient to place a group economically, socially, and politically.

The Musahars, land, and labour are closely entangled throughout their history and myth. Their name, recognition and livelihood are also attached to land labour. With the expansion of paddy plantations in Bihar, they were forced to new formation of arable land as well as construction of plan land for paddy plantation. Those Musahars who escaped from Jamindari system ran away to a new area and started the occupation of arable land construction. There was a wilderness of land in Tarai (Regmi 1972). They make arable land and exchange it with rice with the newcomer and neighbors. People did not prefer to live in a such malarial area. Worthless wilderness land turned into agricultural plantation land through manual labour of the Musahars. Their job was not to agriculture and permanent settlement on the formed land but rather exchange for grain and food. They used to exchange arable land to people and moved in a new area. They kept on this occupation until the government of Nepal stopped encroachment into public land in the 1960s. They did not cultivate crops for them by themselves. During construction, they found and hunted mouse, birds and wildlife. They were limited to land formation and exchange of the newly formed land to people with grain. Therefore, they were neither specialized on the agriculture system nor another form of labour except soil cutting. Migration is a culture form established during the phase of arable formation, exchange, and move to new land. They did not live in

one place permanently. They made small huts nearby working land. They finished arable land by exchanging and the government stopped them to form new land. Then they became landless and homeless.

There was long history of Jamindari system both in India and Nepal. Nepalese Jamindari system was a kind of Indian extension. There were Jamindars in the Tarai region of Nepal even before the installation of the Rana regime, but the term appears to have applied to large nonworking landlords. In 1861, comprehensive regulations were promulgated outlining the basic framework of the Jamindari system, within which entrepreneurial ability and initiative could be utilized for the extension of the cultivated area in the eastern Tarai districts (Regmi 1977). These regulations provided that any individual could offer to reclaim virgin waste or forest lands which were situated at a distance of a day's walk from existing settlements and which peasants were unable to reclaim through their own labor and resource. If anyone's offer was accepted, he was permitted to procure settlers from India, or else divert cultivators from the Birta lands (Regmi 1977). Any Indian who moved into Nepali territory along with his family was given a free allotment of agricultural land in addition to a home site and free supplies of building material for constructing a hut. Most of the Musahars' families were entered into Nepal because of encouragement of Jamindars of the Tarai. Prior (Musahars) settler were lured by the Jamindars and made the bonded labor in to their territory. They were given minimum facility within allocated settlement. In Bastipur village, Jamindars used the Musahars as agricultural labor force and security guard of the property, *Kamat*(rice collection center),and family of the Jamaindar. During autocratic regime of Jamindars, the Musahars were become Haruwa and Charua like Kamaiya (bonded labor). They were used out door and labor intensive works. Bonded Musahars were completely dependent on the landlord for their livelihood. They were not allowed to make any decisions but compelled to work on manager's decisions. So, they were not perfect on agricultural activities like quality and quantity of crops, fertilizer, etc because they did whatever ordered to them. They used to get limited food for few days and again landlord gave them. It was long period of time in which they developed decency culture on extreme form. Later on they were dependent per day food with Jamindars which is reflected behaviors of the Musahars at present.

The historical enquiries, including Ranjit Guha's subaltern studies (1998) and Gyan Prakash's bonded labor servitude (1990) in Bihar , explored the way in which these transformations were connected with broader shifts in the political economy of this part of the subcontinent; with the changing structures of agricultural production, land tenure and revenue demand; with local social hierarchies and the ideology of castes; and with Hindu cosmologies, spirit cults and their articulation in ritual practices. It seems more logical on the basis of historians that they were brought into the caste order as untouchables first and made bonded labourer later, as in this way the system of domination gets doubly secured. The cultural-religious super ordination legitimates and solidifies the system of bonded labour with minimum resistance. At first glance the point may appear unnecessarily laboured, but it begins to unravel its significance as we delve deeper in reasons for the tenacity of the unfree labour system. Without pondering over this issue, the processes of domination becoming cultural common sense cannot be grasped.

In Jamindari system, being bonded labor, the Musahars were just animal power or machine. All the responsibilities were taken by Jamindars. Neither had they own land nor did they have any work with local and national government institutions. They never got opportunities to participate public meeting except witness and clarification. They did not have any words to speak with state authorities. Communication between authority and subject were connected through land in Jamindari system. Landholding size was one of main sources of power until recently (Regmi 1977). Being landless was being excluded from the state orientation, processes of socialization- Nepalization (Giri 2012a) and top down imposition of duties of the subject that was process of subject formation. Therefore, there was main gap among the Musahar subject formation.

After land reform Act 1964, Jamindars slowly dispatched their land. Musahars did not agree to transfer land into own name. When Jamindars offered land to them they were afraid with the government and denied to accept land. They denied land because they thought it would be unnecessary trouble from government. Except settlement of Musahars, Jamindars sold land and migrated another place. After the abolition of Jamindari landownership, feudalistic forms of bonded labor system existed long time. The picture became a bit more blurred, as large numbers of Jamindars resume cultivation of their lands, but the basic essence and division remained. They became the larger cultivators, often with holdings greatly in excess of the land ceilings imposed by the government, holdings which they were able to retain through a combination of relatives and unidentified transfers, badly maintained land records and corruption. Most of them were practically Haruwa and Charuwa until 2001. The Haruwa-Charuwa, poor and landless people were compelled to work in landlord's farm till abolition of bonded labor Act 2001.

They preferred seasonal migration in India and other means of livelihood. Smallest numbers of agro labourers were closely mentored by land masters. Small landlords were not responsible for livelihood options of the worker as in Jamindari system. These days, Musahars prefer off farm labour because they have experienced and heard stories of domination and coercive power by landlords. Now they demand cash money from any kind of work which was rare during Jamindari. Wage labours prefer cash because cash could be easily used to buy necessary materials. Therefore, large number of them denied farm labour and desired to work in brick factory, transportation, marketing, migration and wood cutting. Agriculture labour was considered as unfree from direct observation of land master. In factory they were employed and paid daily, weekly and monthly salary on the basis of quantity of product. Workers are free to make fun and work together. Entertainment through jokes, parody and drinking alcohol was another attractive aspect of work preference rather than wage rate among them. Farm labours rarely get opportunity to make laughter. Another positive aspect of brick factory work for them is all family members could join together at any time they like.

The Musahars began to come out of the bonded labor system after revival of democracy in 1990 and aftermath. After the People's Movement II of 2006, Madhes Movement of 2007 and regime change from constitutional Monarchy to Democratic (Federal) Republic, social

movements have been mobilized to ensure community rights in new constitution. On the other hand, it has been argued that dominance of civil society activities is considered an effective way of ensuring democratic governance and human rights especially marginalized communities. In the context of Nepal, from 1990 to 2006, the number of NGOs, most of them funded by bilateral or multilateral sources, had increased from 193 to over 33000 (Shah, 2008). Their penetration in marginalized communities has germinated wide range of social movements for two decades. Civil society organizations succeeded to political empowerment of marginalized people but they were failed in economic development because of their stereotypical thinking upon marginalized people. WOREC Nepal started the lease land project thinking that the Musahars were agricultural experts and they could be empowered by providing land. The Musahars are still considered agriculture labour. They did not prefer agro-labour anymore. Because of globalization livelihood and market economy they prefer quickly cash income even at the local level. There are varieties of livelihood opportunities nearby the market at Lahan.

Types of Labour Migration

Inside Country Migration

While in the past migration and subsequent settlement were haphazard, often unplanned and characterized by lawlessness, spontaneous or "squatter" settlement. There was no established pattern and policy of intra country migration but general migration historical evidences articulate that they moved wherever they found safer sufficient wasteland. Nanda Shrestha argued that after the success of the US assisted DDT-spraying anti-malaria campaign permanent settlement of hill people commenced in the Tarai in the early 1960s. The wave of migration from hill to Tarai and Inner Tarai became intense. The large number of land hungry hill peasants' migration precipitated a serious ecological and land crisis (Shrestha 1993). Because of high intensity of low land migration flow, Musahars were happy to make livelihood through exchange of formed land to grain with newcomers. Some of them were supplied by Jamindars to their relatives for agro labour. Their mobility in search of wastage land for possible exchange was increased. When Government stopped encroaching public land, Musahars did not have land ownership. They were habituated utilizing land through migration in different places in search of possibility. Their settlement location was not permanent. The resonance of family migration culture has been practicing still these days. When family found labour work for long time whole family migrate near to working area for few month and returned back. Some of them never returned back if they found better livelihood opportunities. Being landless squatter living in open huts, they have nothing to lose at origin place of migration. This interesting phenomenon decreased their credibility to receive loan in the community and community organizations. The question of household stability come forefront before their request on economic support. Group migration including women and children has been practiced traditionally.

Another dimension of migration can be observed when their genealogy of particular person is asked. Mostly, married daughter and her husband settled near parents' home. Among 24 households, 50% of married couple have been living near wife's parent home in Ghaletol

settlement of Bastipur. There was possibility of son's permanent migration to in-laws settlement. In this case they are somehow matri-local family. From gender perspective, status of women in the family is decisive among the people because women are relatively powerful and enjoy freedom in comparison to other caste women in Tarai. They did not practice menstrual and gender based pollution as well as worshipping husband as god, waiting husband for food with hungry stomach. In public sphere too, Musahar women interact before their male counterparts. Musahars women's commencement on public domain is unique because most of Madhesi communities do not entertain male-female interaction in public domain. But Musahar women were free in this sense. In search of livelihood opportunity in different place, Musahar women ended up interaction with many people. Wage labour and frequent migration with their male members increased women's exposure in many people.

India Migration

Lalan Sada, an old Musahar of Bastipur remembered heyday of group migration including women and children from some families. He said, "We mostly worked in rice mills and manufacturing factories. Both males and females worked similar kind of job. Recently, because of a serious investigation upon young migrant girls, Musahars stopped including female migration in the group. Most of them finished earning money by drinking alcohol and entertainment. Few of them hardly saved a small amount of cash at the time of return back to Nepal". They preferred group work therefore it was difficult to find such work in the rural area. Their favorite destination in India was Punjab and Hariyana. They did not want to be individual household workers. Those who prefer individual migration earned a good amount of money but when they returned back to the community, they finished all. Shreeram Sada, one of the returnees said that they felt no caste-ethnic barriers and discrimination in getting jobs over there. Similarly, their livelihood was easier in India because of the similarity of cultural practices between Tarai and India in terms of language, religion, and way of life.

Another interesting story of labour migration in India among the Musahars is through labour agents. Labour agents frequently visit the settlements and established familiar relationships with possible labour migrants and their family members. Nebatiya Sada from Bastipur village said that agents usually gave 1 to 2 months' advance salary to the wives or parents before the departure of labour from the family. According to the Musahars, Biru Bista, one of the main agents from Bastipur, paid earlier to the family head of labour so that family could solve the household problem for months. If the labour denied migrating accordingly, promised migrants including family members could be punished and fined. They added that Bista loaned the family who promised labour migration to India with him after months. They realized that he earned much by exploiting migrant labour. The agent contract works with the manager and provides a low wage rate to Musahars. Bista collected 10 to 15 youths and children from Musahari by luring attractive work and facility of replacement into another factory in India. Agents deal with employers and labour separately about salary and facilities. At the end of month, agents come to receive the salary of all labours employed

through him and give minimum salary by reducing travel costs and prepaid salary to their parents in Nepal. Nebatiya Sada said that Musahars could not get well-paid job because these types of jobs have to buy from another worker. For instance night guard and security guard jobs have to buy with the earlier worker in India. Therefore, labour migration to India was not optimistic for the Musahars.

Third Country Labour Migration

As the economic condition of many communities in both hill and Tarai is increasing slightly due to increasing foreign employment and private jobs in the country, it remains same in the Musahars community since their economic activities are not commercialized and people are also not commercialized. Being landless, they are not allowed to get loans from government banks and other banking institutions. To enter into the world of commercialization basically foreign countries is big challenge for them. In the central Tarai, their traditional occupations are replaced by same system of factory work. The location of work is changing but the system is still alive.

A group of Musahars from Siraha traveled to Kathmandu to assist in the labor migration of Musahar youths at the end of March 2018. They helped to migrate three Musahar boys to Qatar. For them, third-country labor migration was very difficult without the financial support of relatives and local money lenders. Since the Musahars did not have savings, they were compelled to lend not only high-interest rate loans but also circular interest rate loans from local money lenders. Most of them have not land ownership certificates, therefore, they were mostly denied to get loans without collateral from financial institutions. For them, getting loans were considered as finding god. Chhedi Sada (about 35 years old man) said that his brother got a cyclic loan when he migrated to Malaysia in 2014. After three years of migration, his brother had not completed the loans. He argued that the common interest rate of the loans for marginalized people was 60% in the community. For the Musahars, third-country labor migration was considered both dream of a better life as well as a vicious circle of economic burden. Realizing the difficulty, the group Musahar started a new campaign to support third-country labor migrants from the Musahar community. They collectively invested or searched for cheap to the interested migrants. Lack of a large amount of cash for a single person, many youths support an interested candidate on the condition that the successful migrant has to return travel money for the next interested candidate. This campaign was recently started among some Musahars in Siraha district.

Ramnarayan Sada, the coordinator of the campaign said that there was a queue of Musahar to go labor migration. Similarly Lalan Sada from Jamdaha VDC borrowed 110 thousand from son-in-law's family to send his younger son to Qatar. His son flew in spite of massive trouble with local agent. His other two sons were in India and rest one was a driver. Babulal Sada proudly said that his two sons have been earning money in Qatar for two years. He has left to go wage labour these days. Because of the scarcity of agro-labour, Kalu Tamang planted mango trees all over a rice field. He said, "Finding a Musahar is like finding god. What could an old man do? Either leave fallow land for cattle grazing of all or protect the land from encroachment by planting mango trees. Mostly, children, elders, and women were

in the village. Returnee youth did not go for wage labour rather enjoyed playing cart and alcohol drinking all over the days ". The Musahar youths whoever was in the village started new occupations like teaching, working in NGOs, shopkeeping, driving etc. The difficulties of finding agro-labour is not because of increment Musahars' living standard but because of changes in local and global political-economic relations as well as globalization of livelihood and social relations at the margin.

There were very few cases of third country labour migration among the Musahars. Somai Sada brought a big (21' Sony) Television, VCD player, mobile set when he returned back his home from Qatar in 2009. Children and women of the settlement gathered to watch TV programs and films. According to Somai, there was difficult to earn money in Qatar too. He returned loan and saved NRs. 150000 within three years. He bought small piece of land, construct drinking water well and spent son's marriage. He planned to make separate hut for married son because his one story house was separated by hanging a curtain at the middle. His son worked as tractor labour at Lahan. Somai was not interested to go third country labour migration because that amount of investment at Lahan area will be more profitable. He said that poultry, fishery or goat farming profession will be done on that money and this profession will be more sustainable too. But youths are too much interested to migrate as labour in third countries.

In Ghaletol out of 24 household, only one Musahrs man named Mohan Saday went to Qatar with economic support of father-in –law and non-Musahar neighbors. He was supported because he was different from rest of Musahars in Ghaletol. He was rare honest, non-drunkard Musahar man in this community. He has returned all loan within a year and his wife said that they were planning to by small piece of land nearby the settlement.

Another case in next village Musahar settlement was picaresque because the labour migrant was cheated by Manpower Company and agent. By showing fake agreement paper with Aircraft Company work in Qatar, He was sent in road construction at deserted area. The construction company was closed after three months of his work. Then he was sent agrarian settlement for cultivation. Because of high temperature in working field, he was sick. He stayed hospital for two months and doctor recommended him not to work outside. He returned back to Nepal within a year. His family was in trouble to return loan from relatives and neighbours.

Conclusion

The ramifications of the globalization process reflect directly in the economic, social and cultural arena of the Musahars' life. In course of time, they were not only changed from unfree Haruwa-Charuwa to free market labour commodity in global market but also campaigned to change their identity from Dalit (Hindu lower caste) to indigenous community. They were connected with the global word in terms of labour, livelihood, market commodities and political orientation of democratic and human rights principles. Because of globalization, their traditional and local economic and social landscape of livelihood was completely changed from agro labour to commodity labour in all fields. They

were selling their labour both in national and international market through contractors. They were familiar with easily available multinational technologies dress, drink, Television, phone and labour. Simultaneously, they were uniting for the sake of identity politics and culture at regional and national levels. Their localized version of connectivity was realized when labour contractors controlled their labour through prepaid reservation, underpaid exploitation and human trafficking including commodity fetishism in organs trafficking in international market. The case of lost Musahars boys of Ghaletol supports this argument. In this sense, globalization not only provides alternatives of livelihood without geographical boundary but also pushed into exploitation and trafficking through deregulation and causalization of labour power locally. Therefore, Globalisation weakened traditional social cultural ties caste based discrimination, bonded labour, political economic freedom and wider scope of occupation for many of them on one hand and further exploitation, uncertainty and causalization in the name of free market on the other. The Musahars' labour, human organs, and even their traditional culture became commodities in global market.

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