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CULTURAL IDENTITY OF NEPALESE IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN OSLO

**THESIS FOR
MASTER OF GLOBAL STUDIES**

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ABSTRACT

This research is carried out with ‘the way of life’ of Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo in different purpose. ‘The way of life’ here is concentrated on how they are spending their daily life, what is social and cultural patterns they have, how worldviews are changing, who is near and who is far, what keeps value and how values are manifested in daily life that are making social order in one way or another. Therefore, it consists of anthropological perspective. In-depth interview has been used as the tools of collecting data. Similarly, the theoretical and conceptual approaches like transnationalism, diaspora, and construction of identity and theories of migration have been applied to analyze the data.

Through our study, we found constant change in social aspect of life. It was encountered that all respondents possess a deep attachment and contact with their families and relatives. This was shown by the constant communication with each other. Change in social institution such as family relationship; decision making actors and distance parenting was also noteworthy findings. The respondents had a certain degree of attachment to homeland political scenario, which was shown by the respondents’ constant interest, and collection of information and news from Internet or families. Also homeland association like NESCO plays an important role in bringing all communities together and sharing the culture and tradition with Nepalese migrants.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCE	Before the Common Era
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
DFE	Department of Foreign Employment
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
iBT	Internet Based Test
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MHS	School of Mission and Theology
MOE	Ministry of Education
NAV	The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration
NESCO	Nepalese Student Organization in Oslo
NIDS	Nepal Institute of Development Studies
NMBU	Norwegian University of Life Sciences
NSD	Norwegian Social Science Data Services
NTNU	Norwegian University of Science and Technology
ODI	Shaping Policy for Development
PBT	Paper Based Test
TOEFL	Test of English as Foreign Language
UIO	University i Oslo

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Being brought up in a Hindu society in Nepal, I had inherited the Hindu culture, norms and values. As a Nepali, I had experience the common life style of the Nepali citizen. I had seen many practices and rituals performed in different occasions, feast and festivals. However, the trend of migration brought many changes in the rituals, culture, norms and values in the place where I lived. I started to experience the different life style of the inhabitant nearby. In the course of time, I also got the chance to experience the migration after I got the admission in MHS. After I came to Stavanger, Norway, I got the opportunity to see and experience the more many different and diverse culture and cultural and religious practices. People from different parts of the world with different cultural and religious background were living there. They have their own way of life, language, rituals, festivals, norms and values and celebrate their national festivals. Then I became more interested to study about the life style of the Nepalese living in Norway. As there were very little Nepalese in Stavanger, I decided to choose Oslo as my research site.

As a capital city, Oslo is the most populous and more diverse city of Norway. There are many people with different nationalities, religion, culture and ethnicity. Being encounter with these people and the society, Nepalese way of living (habit, behavior, attitude, food habit, fashion etc.) and cultural practices, cultural norms and values etc. has been modified according to the practical and social context. However the identity based on their culture, nationality and language were very important for them. I have tried to investigate in what extent their cultural norms, values and practices have been modified and how they are constructing their way of life.

1.2. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The concept of 'identity' is very vague and wide topic. Therefore it doesn't include all the identity issues of the immigrants. The main purpose of this research is to study about the cultural identity of the Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo so it has a narrow scope. Cultural identity refers to the sense of belonging with connection to the religion, ethnicity, nationality, language and social class. It doesn't represent all the Nepalese immigrants worldwide and Nepalese as a whole. The reflection and the descriptions are outcome of the collected data

through interview during the fieldwork. Even though the materials and the scope is limited, I hope that the result and findings of this research will be valuable for the scholars and the researcher who try to study about the immigrants identity. This research mainly focuses on the immigrants cultural and religious identity so it doesn't explores all the issues about the immigrants' identity.

Even though, the numbers of participants are very limited; I have tried to include the various caste and ethnic group's representative so that the research may be more inclusive.

1.3 The Research Questions

This research gives the overview of the Nepalese immigrants way of living in Norway. How these Nepalese (individual and community) represent their culture, religion, language, social class, ethnicity and nationality. Further this study describes about different challenges (language barrier, unemployment and under-employment, home-sickness etc.) faced by these immigrants and how the identity of the Nepalese immigrants are negotiated, changed and modified in the context of Oslo. For doing so, I will also study about their way of living. Are they following the same cultural identity from their home country? Do they have completely adopted the Norwegian way of living (punctuality, sincerity, living together culture, party culture etc.)? How much cultural and religious symbols they have modified, negotiated and still following from their homeland? What are the circumstances that made them change and modify their cultural and religious norms and values? Do they have the mixed/dual (Norwegian-Nepali) cultural identity?

The specific questions of the research are:

- How are Nepalese immigrants in Norway constructing their way of life?
- How are the changed norms and values of Nepalese immigrants applied in their life?
- How important is their culture, religion, language, nationality and connection with their friends and family in their homeland for them?

1.4 Significance and Relevance of the Research

The significance and relevance of the research carry out the value of the study, the relevance of the findings and for whom the findings will be useful. It also deals with what are already researched about the research question, what are not been yet answered and how will the

current study add to policy, practice and knowledge. In addition, it also give insight how it will be relevance to the scholars, researchers and policy makers.

My research's aim is to find out the identity of the Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo through the cultural/religious perspective so the research will find out the how much they have adopted the way of living from the host country, how much cultural and religious symbols they have modified, negotiated and still following from their home land. What are the circumstances that made them change and modify their cultural and religious norms and values? What are the positive things they have learned in the multi-cultural society and what good things they have forgotten form their origin. So this research will be helpful to know the exact scenario of the Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo, Norway from the cultural and religious perspective for the sociologists, researchers and scholars.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This research is divided into 6 main chapters. The first chapter includes the general information about the thesis and it describes the objective and purpose of the study. It gives the brief foretaste of what is mainly discussed in the whole research. Second chapter introduces the methodology of the thesis, describing the research design. Besides that, this chapter also describes the data collection method during fieldwork, reliability and validity of data and ethical consideration of the data. The third chapter is the conceptual and theoretical approaches of this research. In this chapter, I have discussed what other researchers and scholars have studied about the similar topic. Further I have presented the concept of identity in brief and discuss the relation of culture and religion with identity. Similarly, the fourth chapter presents the brief introduction about Nepal and the Nepalese culture and issues of Nepalese migration trend. Data, which are collected through the interview, are presented in the chapter five. Chapter six is the analysis and discussion part in which data collected through fieldwork are presented and analysed and interpreted in the light of theoretical perspective. And the final chapter gives the conclusion highlighting the main important point during research work.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Methodology

The purpose of this research is to study the way of living of Nepalese immigrants i.e. their attitudes, behaviour, experiences and how they are practicing their culture and religion. It takes deep views and opinions from the targeted group. According to Miller and Dingwall qualitative research describes and analyses the process through which social realities are constructed and the social relationship through which people are connected to one another.¹ To understand how Nepalese are integrated in the Norwegian society and what are the factors that build up the strong ties between Norwegian culture and Nepalese culture, I find qualitative research is the best method.

Denzin and Lincoln have given the in-depth definition of the qualitative research focusing on the process and context of data collection:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.²

Similarly, Patton states, qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomenon in content specific settings where researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon. So the researcher analyses the things s/he has experienced, seen or hear during the time of collecting the data. It helps the researcher to develop new concept with the help of different informants in different societies with different culture and religion.³

¹ Miller & Dingwall. (1997). *Context and Method of Qualitative Research*, p. 2.

² Denzin and Lincoln. (Eds. 2011). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, p. 6.

³ Patton. (2002). *Qualitative Methods and Evaluation Methods* (3rd Edition), p. 9.

2.2 Justification for Choosing Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative and quantitative methods are not simply doing the same things differently; they have different logic and strengths. They are used to address different themes, questions and requirements. Applying inductive approach is the main strength of qualitative method, which focuses on specific situation and people, and its emphasis goes on words rather than numbers.⁴ In fact, qualitative research gather the information about how and why rather than when, where and what. Maxwell further mentioned the five major aspects of qualitative method while doing the research. It is appropriate to :i) understanding the meaning; ii) understanding the particular context; iii) identifying unanticipated phenomenon and influences and generated new-grounded theories; iv) understanding the processes by which events and actions take place; and v) developing casual explanation.

This research tries to explore the way of living of Nepalese immigrant so it is very much essential to use the qualitative research methodology.

According to Silverman, in qualitative research, there is no such thing as a format for the standard scientific paper.⁵ While doing qualitative research, researcher analyses the things according to what he hears, sees, perceives and learns while doing fieldwork. And these things are used to analyse later and justify the research questions. It is very powerful and sensitive method to study the experiences and way of living of the subject's everyday world. It is also said that qualitative research is sensitive to human situation and involves an empathetic dialogue with the subjects. Sometimes, researcher involves himself/herself in the society as the member of the community to understand and analyse the information and data correctly.

Considering all these qualities and importance of qualitative research method, I prefer to use this method as my research tool. Through this method, I try to gain information about the way of life of the Nepalese immigrants, which is completely different from their home country. I want to understand what keeps value for them and how the values are applied in their daily life, what is important for them and how they understand themselves and so on.

⁴Maxwell, Joseph A. (2005). *Qualitative Research Design: an Interactive Approach*, p. 11.

⁵ Silverman, David. (Ed. 2011). *Qualitative Research* (Third edition), p. 16.

2.3 Research Design

Research design is the layout of the research. Research design provides as framework for the collection and analysis of data.⁶ You make up the mind before you start doing research like, study type, research question, hypothesis, variables and data collection methods etc. My research's goal is to find out the way of life of Nepalese immigrants, which is a broad and to do so I have used the in-depth interviews as the primary data collection tool. Similarly, secondary data has been collected through visiting different libraries, collecting books and reading different books, magazines, periodicals, journals and through the internet.

2.4 Secondary Data Sources

Secondary source describe, analyse and summarise the primary source. A secondary source generally lacks the originality or freshness of the original source because it is often removed one or more steps from the particular time period or event. The secondary data can be both: quantitative and qualitative. Qualitative data are obtained through books, journals, periodicals, newspapers, and magazines and through Internet sources. Quantitative data are received from census, electronic statistics, social survey, graphs, diagrams etc.

Secondary data are already collected by others and easily available. They are quickly obtainable and cheaper so it saves time and efforts. Secondary data are used to support the data collected by the semi-structured open-ended interviews with Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo. Researcher used the secondary data to study about the way of living of immigrants around the globe. In this research, governmental websites of Nepal and Norway, related books, journals, magazines, periodicals and e-journals and Internet sources are used to analyse and support the data collected from the interview.

2.5 Fieldwork

To collect the primary data, fieldwork is the essential and vital method. I had done my fieldwork in Oslo and interview was the main tool for my fieldwork. It took almost two weeks to conduct the interview with the respondents.

2.5.1 Interview

In interview, respondents are asked series of questions related to the theme under investigation. In qualitative research questions are designed in such a way that the respondents are encouraged to give the in-depth explanation of the issue so fixed-response or

⁶Bryman, Alan. (2008). *Social Research Methods* (3rd Ed). p. 31.

yes/no questions are simply avoided. It allows the respondents to express their thoughts in their own words so it is very helpful to get their inner insight. I chose the open-ended interview because this kind of interview is better to get the clear and detailed information and my aim is to collect the interviewee's point of view.

I prepared my interview guide and information and consent sheet before I start conducting the interviews. Initially, I had made the questions of the interview guide quite straight forward but with the advice of my thesis guide, I realised, I should make the open questions so that so respondents will feel quite comfortable to talk about these things. I also decided to conduct the semi-structured interview because I can ask something, which I feel relevant in between of the interview, or if I feel something that is unclear. Later on, there were some formalities I had to make to get the authorisation from Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) to start the fieldwork. I filled up the online form and attached the interview guide and the information and consent sheet with it. After I get the approval email from NSD, I was ready to travel to my field. As I have chosen a vague, crucial and challenging research topic, I decided and tried to present myself very neutrally forgetting my own social, cultural and religious background. I felt myself in dilemma after I arrived my site, I had many questions in my mind; how to begin the fieldwork? Where can I meet the respondents? Is it very secure to take the interview in the public place? Will they feel comfortable taking interview in their room since I had many female respondents? Later on, I made a conclusion to make appointment with them and ask them where they prefer to meet. Everyone had their busy life so I was quite hard to get the appropriate time and place but somehow I finalized the date, time and place for the interview for each of the interviewee.

I had chosen to interview 13 respondents where I had included the respondents according to the gender, level of education, and duration of their stay in Norway, lower caste and higher caste, ethnic group and according to their status as well. These are the aspect that will represent every category of the Nepalese as a whole and Nepalese in Norway as well. I had made personal appointment with all the respondents before I start the interview and I was quite aware of the privacy and comfort of the interviewee, which made my fieldwork easier.

Before every interview, I handover the information and consent sheet to the interviewee and get it signed. I made them clear about the purpose of the interview and about the privacy of their information. I assured them to make their name anonymous in my research. I met them personally and take face-to-face, one on one interview. I also added some follow-up questions in my interview guide later when I felt it is essential. Similarly, taking the

permission of the respondents, interview was recorded and some follow-up interviews were done through the phone calls when more information was required.

2.6 Validity and Reliability of the Research

Researcher should be aware of the reliability and validity of the study project which makes the research worthy and meaningful. Joppe defines reliability as;

...The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable.⁷

Reliability is the assurance that the research is factual enough to be trusted for qualitative research. Similarly, Joppe defines validity in the qualitative research as;

Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. In other words, does the research instrument allow you to hit "the bull's eye" of your research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and will often look for the answers in the research of others.⁸

Being a qualitative researcher I have been careful about the authenticity of the data collected from different sources. Similarly, I have analysed and sort out these data in the light of the scholarly text and according to the social and cultural context.

2.7 Ethical Consideration

Every researcher should be aware of the research ethics before he starts any research. Research ethics helps to build the moral standard for finding the truth, respect the social norms and values, human rights and it is helpful for avoiding mistakes and errors. I was very much careful about the ethics before I started by fieldwork. I had made the information and consent sheet and give the respondents time to read it carefully before I take their interview. The information and consent sheet consists about the purpose of the study, privacy of the informant's information and data, anonymity of their participation, duration of the interview, duration of the research, voluntary participation, contact persons and withdrawing of the

⁷Joppe, M. (2000). *The Research Process*, p. 1.

⁸Joppe. M. (2000). *The Research Process*, p. 1.

consent etc. however, I also informed them their other personal details i.e, gender, age, profession and family background will be included in the thesis. Similarly, I made the respondents clear that the data and information will be saved in my personal computer and no one will be able to access them except me. I also assured them, all the data, information and the interview recordings will be deleted after the completion of the research.

I was very much careful about the academic misconduct, academic cheating and the misinterpretation of the data during my research. I have not been biased to anyone or side and present my research neutrally what I find during the project.

2.8 Situatedness

As my research topic demanded the interview of the Nepalese respondent living in Oslo. Initially, I tried to be familiar with the respondents by talking with them about the general topic in the phone conversation. After several phone conversations, I headed to Oslo for the field report. Being a Hindu and represent the high caste (Chhetri) from the middle class family, it was quite difficult to cope with all the participants who were from lower caste, other religion (Buddhist & Christian) and poor economic background. I tried to develop the familiar personal relation by drinking and eating in cafes and restaurants. It increased the openness and level of trust into these respondents. Meeting points for the interview were fixed according to the respondent's choice and they were assured about the anonymity of the personal details. I used all the possible ways to be intimate with them so I can collect the reliable and authentic data.

I was aware about their comfortability and privacy of the data and assured them about the confidentiality. I didn't let my caste, economic background, gender and education status influence the respondents. This help to create understanding with them and help me to assimilate with their way of living.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

3.1 Previous Research

Many research are found in the topic of immigrant, refugee, migration and asylum seeker by many researchers. These kinds of studies have been in increasing number because of the globalization after 1990's. Mostly researches are focused on psychological, social and economical aspects of migration. Researches are done focusing in many aspects such as psychological problems in immigrants, effects on children of asylum seeker and immigrants. Some researcher has focused on psychological disorder because of the difficulty in acculturation process and because of the cultural shock. Similarly, many other studies focus on the problems of immigrants and refugee children. Likewise, there are different researches, which deals on the reasons of immigration, and asylum, which make them lose their identity being stateless.

Regarding the immigrant's identity construction, Fenggang Yang in *Chinese Christians in America* presents how Chinese Christians undergo with the construction and reconstruction of their three complex identities i.e, Chinese, Christians and American. These three identities are not compatible with each other so there have been conflicts with Chinese and American and Chinese and American identities. There was obvious political, social and cultural confrontation between these three different identities. Cultural and religious traditions are very important for the Chinese people. Yang has clearly mentioned why these Chinese people convert to Christianity. Are they completely following the dominant religion of the receiving society and forsaken their religious and cultural traditions? What are the norms and values they are inheriting from the Chinese tradition? Further, Yang also illustrates how the church helps these Chinese people to construct the identity and does the church acts only as the assimilation agency or it is a bastion for preserving the ethnic culture.⁹

Similarly, Anna Di Fina's *Identity in Narrative: A Study of Immigrants Discourse* explores how immigrants struggle in tough situation in the process of adjustment and adaptation when moving to the new country on two primary objectives; negotiation and representation of identities of Mexican immigrants in United States. Fina analyses the Mexican's identity in terms of the projection, representation, and re-elaboration of social roles and relationship of

⁹Yang, Fenggang. (1999). *Chinese Christian in America*.

their membership expression in the society. She describes the immigrant's social roles, their experiences and relationship between individual and society through the eyes of Mexican immigrants.¹⁰

The study on *Integration Challenges for Bhutanese Refugees in Norway via Third Country Resettlement*, a master thesis of Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) done by Mahesh Bhattarai describes how Bhutanese refugees in Alta overcome the challenges in the integration process in Norwegian society. Even though almost all of them learned the Norwegian language and culture and are self-sustained, they see the challenges for maintaining their native culture and religious norm and values and cultural festivals. Their identities have been changed from 'refugee' to 'Norwegian citizen' but still they feel themselves as Bhutanese or Nepalese.¹¹

Karen O'Reilly in *The British on the Costa del Sol* examines the lifestyle of British migrants in Spain. He presents the historical and geographical causes of large number of migration of British people in Spain in 1980s and early 1990s and how their identity has constructed. O'Reilly illustrates these British immigrants expressed their ethnic identities and maintained these identities. They do not want to known as the British, which may carry a negative sense in Spanish society. The research shows how identity is important to immigrants and how identity is constructed.¹²

Another book *Immigration and Identity: Turmoil, Treatment and Transformation* by Salman Akhtar presents how migration from one country to another country has deep effects in the identity of the immigrants. He addresses the reasons why people migrate from one country to another country, what are the psychological effects immigrants face and reasons behind these effects. Akhtar further examines how immigration is different from exile and how the psychological problems of immigrants can be overcome? Can nostalgia be diagnosed by any other function? He answers the question if the loss of one's country is mourned.¹³

A master thesis *Exploring Integration: Resettled Refugees in Trondheim, Norway* by Catherine Lloyd-Johnsen submitted to Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) focuses on the influence of the individuals and institutions on the immigrants in the

¹⁰De Fina, Anna. (2003). *Identity in Narrative: A Study of Immigrant Discourse*.

¹¹Bhattarai, Mahesh. (2015). *Integration Challenges for Bhutanese Refugees in Norway via Third Country Resettlement*.

¹²Reilly, Karen O'. (2000). *The British on the Costa del Sol*.

¹³Akhtar, Salman. (1999). *Immigration and Identity: Turmoil, Treatment and Transformation*.

integration process. She has emphasized on the institutions roles like Red Cross in the integration process and she argues that on the level of integration mentioning the dependence of the agency's activities. "Closeness" and "farness" of the immigrants depends on the activities of the agency. She further says that effective activities make the immigrants near/close to the host society and ineffective activities can guide them away from the host community.¹⁴

3.2 Migrations, Religion and Diaspora

According to Oxford Dictionary movement from one part of something to another¹⁵ is migration. Every movement of the living things from one place to another is migration but migration of human beings is more common and frequent. The world has become a very narrow place because of the development of science and technology and globalization. The purpose of the migration has many dimensions, according to Cruz; people have moved from one place to another over the ages for various reasons: out of fear of invasion, escape political or religious persecution, in search of better pasture, to establish new commercial links, or in pursuit of a vision to (re)create a new mode of society.¹⁶

Liberalisation of the economies at the global level, increasing interdependence among nations, new infrastructures of transportation, increasing income inequalities and demographic disparities worldwide have provided the context within which recent population movements have occurred. In parallel, contemporary geopolitical tensions and environmental crises have locally brought about more flows. Between 1970 and 2005, the number of international migrants more than doubled, from 81.3 million to 190.6 million.¹⁷

Living in far from the homeland and from the families and friend, international migration can be a traumatizing experience. In this context, Hirschman writes;

Immigrants become strangers in a new land with the loss of familiar sounds, sights, and smells. The expectations of customary behavior, hearing one's native language, and support from family and friends can no longer be taken for granted. Even the most routine activities of everyday life—shopping for food, working, and leisure time

¹⁴Lloyd-Johnsen, Catherine. (2004). *Exploring Integration: Resettled Refugees in Trondheim, Norway*. A master thesis submitted to NTNU, Trondheim.

¹⁵<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/migration>, accessed on 13 March, 2015.

¹⁶Cruz, Gemma Tulud. (2008). "Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land", in FORUM MISSION (eds): *Migration: Challenge to Religious Identity I*.

¹⁷Audebert & Dorai (Eds.) Cited United Nations, p. 1.

pursuits can be alienating experiences for many new immigrants who find themselves in strange settings that require constant mental strain to navigate and to be understood.¹⁸

It has been seen that international migrants' migrates in the familiar circumstances for example, employment in the ethnic enclave firms, residence in the ethnic neighborhood and participate in the social gatherings and celebrations with the families and friends with the similar background. It is natural that migrants' integration in the host country's mainstream takes time because of the unfamiliar natural, cultural and religious settings as Hirschman mentioned assimilation to a new society, however defined, is typically a multigenerational process that requires education and childhood socialization in the new setting.¹⁹ Cultural and religious practices and beliefs serve as the support to the migrants in the phase of the struggle. In a new cultural and social background, migrants usually find his/her true identity associating with the traditional faith, belief and cultural and religious pattern. Hirschman opines, religious values can also provide support for many other traditional beliefs and patterns—intergenerational obligations, gender hierarchy, and customary familial practices. Further more, different religious and cultural rituals, festivals and feast are celebrated and carried away from the homeland to the new home. The normal feeling of loss experienced by immigrants means that familiar religious rituals learned in childhood, such as hearing prayers in one's native tongue, provide an emotional connection, especially when shared with others. These feelings are accentuated from time to time with the death of a family member or some other tragedy.²⁰ This is why many writers and scholars believed that cultural and religious belongings become more stronger after migration than before.

Most of the immigrants want to renew or modify their cultural/religious norms, values and faith after arriving to the host country. If the immigrants cannot find the temples and churches in the receiving country the tradition is to start their own. There are many examples to illustrate this tradition, Vietnamese Catholics began to settle in poor neighborhoods in New Orleans in the late 1970s and by the early 1980s they applied to the local Catholic

¹⁸Hirschman, Charles (2003). *The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States*, p. 5.

¹⁹Alba and Nee (2003). *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*, p. 215.

²⁰Hirschman, Charles (2003). *The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States*.p. 6.

Archdiocese to erect a church. In 1985, less than two years after approval, the Mary Queen of Vietnam Church was completed, largely by the efforts of lay participants.²¹

3.3 Transnationalism

Transnationalism is association with several places at once in general terms. It is often said “being neither there nor here”. Interactions and exchanges across borders are normal activities within the migrant communities. The exchanges may be in different forms for instance; exchange of ideas, religious and cultural norms, values and practices. This may also takes the form of economic and political contribution. Transnationalism creates a greater degree of connection between individuals, communities and societies across borders, bringing about changes in the social, cultural, economic and political landscapes of societies of origin and destination.²²

It has been more easier to be associated with many communities across border because of the globalization and its impact on the mobility. Because of the modern transportation means, and modern communication system has made the relationship of two or many societies more stronger. According to IOM;

In approaching migration policy from a transnational perspective, it is important to bear in mind different categories of migrants: for instance, someone engaged in temporary or circular migration will engage in different transnational activities than someone migrating permanently. Individuals moving for the purpose of higher education, intra-corporate transferees or retiree migrants make for yet different transnational experiences, particularly as compared to those of less-skilled migrants. Similarly, irregular migrants require particular attention: they are no less likely to engage in transnational activities, but tend to face greater barriers and have less access to measures that could facilitate their contributions across borders.

Every migrant engages more or less in the transnational activity being the agent and subject of transnationalism. Duration of stay in the foreign land of immigrant also determines the amount of transnational activity. For instance, second or third generation of immigrants are

²¹Bankston and Zhou (2000). Bankston, Carl L and Min Zhou (2000) “De Facto Congregationalism and Socioeconomic Mobility in Laotian and Vietnamese Immigrant Communities: A Study of Religious Institutions and Social Change.” *Review of Religious Research*.

²²https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/microsites/IDM/workshops/migration_and_transnationalism_030910/background_paper_en.pdf accessed on 7 May, 2015.

more involved in these activities than their parents and grand parents who has originally migrated.

Migrants from the country of destination maintain and develop the relationship with the societies, family and friends in the country of origin through social and economic contribution and vice versa. Connection through the transnational activities can be the means to exchange cultural and religious activities. Similarly, transnational activities can be also economic in nature like remittances and investment in different sectors in the country of origin.

3.4 Concept of Identity

The concept of identity in the recent years has become the hot debates in every major field. Many researcher and scholars have taken deep interest in the issues concerning identity and there are many researches done in the identity politics of race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality. Identity plays a main role in the nationalism and ethnic issues.

It is obvious that every human being is associated with a culture, religion, society, group and nation, which make him/her different from another person. Identity is a fundamental aspect of a person's existence, in that identity can determine one's right and freedoms as a member of a cultural group and often limit them from identifying with a group that maintains different characteristics.²³ Similarly, Boundless Learning defines religious identity as the set of beliefs and practices generally held by an individual, involving adherence to codified beliefs and rituals and study of ancestral or cultural traditions, writings, history and mythology, as well as faith and mystic experience.²⁴

As a basic starting point, identity is the human capacity – rooted in language – to know 'who's who' (and hence 'what's what'). This involves knowing who we are, knowing who other's are and so on: a multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our places in it, as individuals and as members of collectivities. It is a process – identification – not a 'thing'. It is not something that one can have, or not; it is something that one does.²⁵

Identity is a very vague and vast topic. Thus, "identity" in its present incarnation has a double sense. It refers at the same time to social categories and to the sources of an individual's self-respect or dignity. There is no necessary linkage between these things. In ordinary language, at least, one can use "identity" to refer to personal characteristics or attributes that cannot naturally be expressed in terms of a social category, and in some contexts certain categories

²³Wiegand (1997). *Religious, Ancestral, and National Identity: Political Use and Abuse in Lebanon*, p.1.

²⁴<https://www.boundless.com/sociology/definition/religious-identity/>, accessed on 11 March 2015.

²⁵Jenkins (2008). Cited cf, Ashton et. Al (2004), p. 5.

can be described as “identities” even though no one sees them as central to their personal identity. Nonetheless, “identity” in its present incarnation reflects and evokes the idea that social categories are bound up with the bases of an individual’s self-respect. Arguably much of the force and interest of the term derives its implicit linkage of these two things.²⁶

According to Ken Brownie, individuals have multiple identities, asserting different identities in different circumstances. An individual may, for example, define herself primarily as a Muslim in her family or community, as a manager at her work, as a lesbian in her sexual life, or as a designer-drug-user in her peer group. While the example of the Muslim, lesbian, drug-taking manager might seem a somewhat unlikely mix of identities; it does suggest that it is possible for people to assert different identities or impressions of themselves in different social situations.

Further he has categorized the Identity in 5 main categories²⁷, which are highlighted as following:

3.4.1 Individual or Personal Identity

Woodward suggests that individual identity is concerned with the question ‘Who am I?’ – how individuals define themselves, what is important and matters to them, how they see themselves as individuals different from other people, and the things that give them their own unique personal or individual characteristics. Their name, their passport, their National Insurance number, their fingerprints, their DNA, their birth certificate and their signature are some obvious examples of these, as well as people’s personal histories, friends and relationships and their own understanding of who they really are as individuals: their own self-concept of the ‘inner me’, or ‘I’ as Mead referred to it.²⁸

3.4.2 Social Identity

Social identity defines individuals in relation to the social groups with which they identify and to which they belong, and how they differ from other social groups and individuals. Such groups might include men and women, ethnic groups, or national groups like the English, Scots or Welsh. The formation of social identities may also arise from the characteristics associated with the social roles that people play. For example, the identities they adopt, the behavior they show and the behavior that might be expected of them when playing their

²⁶ Fearon.(1999).*What is Identity (As We Know Us the Word)*,p.2.

²⁷ Brownie.(2008).mentions all the ideas in the categories of different types of identities and the researchers finds these ideas important for this research. p,13-15.

²⁸ Brownie. (2008) Cited Woodward (2000), p.13.

social roles as mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, students or workers, or as members of social groups like students, males or females, Muslims or Sikhs, gays, lesbians or heterosexuals, or Welsh or Scottish.

3.4.3 Collective Identity

A collective identity is an identity shared by a social group, and involves elements of both personal and social identities, but differs from both as it involves considerable elements of choice by individuals in that they actively choose to identify with a group and adopt the identity associated with it. For example, while social identities like gender, ethnicity or nationality are largely defined by others and individuals have only limited choice in whether or not to adopt them, being identified as a football or rock music fan, a Goth, a gang member, a Hell's Angel, a feminist, an eco-warrior protecting the environment, an anti-war, animal rights or Labour Party activist is almost completely a matter of personal choice.

3.4.4 Multiple Identity

The idea of multiple identities simply means that people have several identities, rather than just one. Individuals may draw on more than one source of identity, such as identities formed around their social class, and/or their ethnicity, their sexuality, their gender, their nationality and/or their age, etc., or a combination of all of them. Individuals may assert different 'selves' in different circumstances. For example, at home they may assert the identity of a good son or daughter or a good Muslim, at school or college they may assert their identity as a good student, in their personal relations as gay, in their peer group as a Goth, in their leisure activities as a sporty type or drinker, in their workplace as a good worker, or as primarily having an Asian Muslim identity in Britain, but a British identity while travelling abroad.

3.4.5 Stigmatized or 'spoiled' Identity

A stigma might be:

- a physical impairment, like being blind, losing the use of lower limbs, or having an illness like AIDS or a sexually-transmitted disease.
- a social characteristic like being mentally ill, a sex offender, a criminal or a child abuser.

Goffman said a stigmatized identity is an identity that is in some way undesirable or demeaning, excluding people from full acceptance in society. The disabled, for example, are often said to have a stigmatized identity in a society, which places a high premium on bodily

perfection. Those with stigmatized identities can face serious social consequences, with others treating them with contempt, poking fun at them, denying them proper medical treatment (as happens with some older people and the disabled), or refusing them employment (as with former prisoners, the mentally ill or the elderly). Having a stigmatized identity nearly always means that any attempts made by individuals to present an alternative 'normal' impression of themselves will fail. This alternative 'failed' identity is sometimes called a spoiled identity. As Goffman put it, stigma is a process by which the reaction of others spoils normal identity.²⁹

²⁹Brownie (2008) Cited Goffman (1990), p.15.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXT OF NEPAL

4.1 Background and Identity of Nepal

Situated in between the Himalayas of China and India, Nepal has its own sovereign political identity from the beginning. It has not suffered and gone under any empirical state. Besides that Nepal is a geographically, climatically, ecologically, ethnically, biologically, culturally and linguistically a diverse country. “There are 100 officially recognized caste and ethnic groups who speak 92 languages (Yadava 2007: 3), and Nepali is the state language, which also works as a lingua franca in this diverse community.”³⁰ Moreover, according to the Nepal Census Report, 2011, 81.3 % of the Nepal’s population was Hindu, followed by Buddhist (9.0%).³¹ Even though there are minor numbers of followers of Islam and increasing numbers of Christians. And Hindu and Buddhist accept each other’s religious practices and usually follow the combination of both faiths.

Agriculture continues to provide a broad base to the Nepalese economy. Nearly four fifths of all Nepalese households are essentially farm households, who derive nearly half of income from agricultural sources consisting of farm income and agricultural wage income. Engaging two-thirds of labor force, this sector alone contributes some one-third to the GDP.³² However, agriculture failed to grow in past because of the traditional process of growing crops, lack of irrigation infrastructure and high investment and low out come.

Besides, surrounded by the high mountains, Nepal is a land of eternal beauty and attraction. It's a land of colorful cultures, cultural and historical heritage, adventure sports like, paragliding, river rafting, jungle safari, trekking etc., ancient history and people, picturesque scenery and some of the best walking on earth. It is popularly known for the highest mountain peak of the world, Mount Everest which stands tall at 8848 meters. Nepal tourism informs about places to visit in Nepal, famous for the birthplace of Gautam Buddha who laid the foundation of Buddhism in the country³³. Tourism is estimated to have contributed 9.4 percent to GDP in 2012. However, despite having represented a stable and growing sector for decades, recent years have seen a worrying shift towards a ‘high-volume, low-value’ model

³⁰Upadhayaya (2011). Cited Yadava (2007), p. 112

³¹CBS (2012). *National Population and Housing Census 2011*.

³²Karkee (2008). *Nepal Economic Growth Assessment: Agriculture*, USAID Agricultural Programs and Conflict Mitigation (A briefing paper).

³³ Edited from <http://nepal.saarctourism.org/> accessed on 15 March 2015.

that would not be sustainable. The value captured per tourist has halved in the past 5 years, cancelling out potential benefits from steadily increasing tourist arrivals, thus threatening the sustainability of the sector.³⁴

Nepal has its own unique national flag, which is the world's only non-quadrilateral flag. The national flag is kept in all the public offices and used in the special occasion like national day, democracy day, constitution day, republic day etc. Similarly, the employees, ministers and prime minister wear Nepali national dress, *daura suruwal* in all the public office. They are used in the special functions and weddings as well. Nepalese people have their own ethics and the way of behaving to others. They always respect to elders and greet them joining their hands saying *Namaste* or bowing their head. Younger people never call the name of their elders, which is un-respectful.

Negatively, the politics of inclusive growth in Nepal are marked by: high political fragmentation; political instability, zero-sum decision-making government practices; tacit consensus on economic management; personality-driven processes and political vacuums; limited domestic pressure for reform; and an unclear form of federal government. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the bureaucracy and public administration are constrained by patronage and corruption, lower capacity, little government coordination or policy coherence, low accountability and effectiveness outside Kathmandu, and a questionable bureaucratic culture. The growth of the private sector is held by low trust, cartels, a fragmented business lobby, and risk-averse business behaviour.³⁵

Similarly, there are many other cultural ill practices such as discrimination between man and women, untouchability and caste systems, which is still existed in Nepal. Nepal has a very diverse society in several dimensions. Although the majority of the population belongs to the Hindu religion, there are deep caste divisions in the Nepalese society, and discrimination and human right abuses against the lower caste are not uncommon.³⁶

The most widely used way of classifying Nepal is a physiographic classification system: Tarai, Hills and Mountains. This has been used to group districts with similar characteristics and administratively Nepal has been divided into five Development Regions and in 75 districts. The 75 administrative districts have been divided into three physiographic regions

³⁴ODI. (2014). *Structural economic transformation in Nepal*, p.vii.

³⁵ODI. (2014). *Structural economic transformation in Nepal*, p.v.

³⁶Toan Do &Iyer (2009). *Geography, Poverty and Conflict in Nepal*, p.9.

to indicate the remoteness as well as the difficult terrain. The 16 High Mountain Region districts represent the most remote and difficult terrain in the High Himalayan range. The 39 hill districts have comparatively gentle slopes and less remote areas. The 20 *Terai* districts are more accessible and lies in the flat land of *Terai*.³⁷ Because of the limited transportation and communication facilities only about 8 percent the population live in Mountain region. About 45 percent and 47 percent of total population live in Hill and Terai region respectively.³⁸ Even though majority of population practice the Hindu religion, people are different from one another because of the language, dialects, ethnicity, caste and culture. For instance; people living in the Mountain region (*Sherpas*) are different from the people living in Terai (*Tharu*) because of the culture, language, ethnicity and dress.

4.2 Festivals in Nepal

There are many festivals and occasions that are celebrated by different ethnic groups. Each festival represents their culture. The major festivals are *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Maha Shivaratri*, *Teej*, *Chhath*, *Naya Barsha*, *Maghe Sankranti*, *Udhauli*, *Budhha Jayanti*, *Chasok Tangnam*, *Holi*, etc. i) *Dashain* is the greatest Hindu festival which is celebrated in the month of September/October. It is the longest festival of Nepal, which is run for 15 days and it the most anticipated festival of almost all Nepali. ii) *Tihar* is the festival of lights, which is celebrated for 5 days, and it is regarded as the second greatest festival. In this festival goddess *Lakshmi* (Goddess of wealth) is worshiped and specially celebrated as the festival for brother and sister. iii) *Maha Shivaratri* is celebrated paying tribute to *God Shiva*. This is an incredible spectacle, with devotees paying tribute to Lord Shiva by smearing their bodies in ashes. Yogis and jogis are the events and shows of the day in *Pashupatinath*. The worships are performed throughout the night.³⁹ iv) *Teej* is specially celebrated by the Hindu women wishing their husband's longer life. v) *Chhath* is the festival specially celebrated by the people of Terai region. vi) *Naya Barsha* is the official new year of Nepal. All the Nepalese people with enthusiasm, zeal and joy equally celebrate it. vii) *Maghe Sankranti* is the Nepalese festival in which people take holy bathing and the mother of the house wishes the better health of the family member. Special food like ghee, *ladoo* and sweet potatoes are taken as the meal. viii) *Udhauli* is the festival of *Kirant* community. ix) *Budhha Jayanti* is the festival specially celebrated by the Buddhist on the occasion of the birth and enlightenment

³⁷ Lillesø and et.al (2005). *The map of potential vegetation of Nepal*, p.18.

³⁸ <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR78/01Chapter01.pdf> accessed on 20 March, 2015.

³⁹ <http://www.weallnepali.com/about-nepal/travel-nepal/celebration-festivals>, accessed on 18 March, 2015.

of Lord Buddha. x) *Chasok Tangnam* is the festival celebrated by the *Limbu* community in the Eastern part of Nepal. xi) *Holi* is the festival of colors and sweets. People throw/put water and colors on each other. It is celebrated in *Terai* day after celebrated in other parts of Nepal.

4.3 Nepalese Migration Trend

The history of migration to and from Nepal is a contested one, with scholars and others alike pointing to different historical epochs. Broadly speaking, however, the Trans-Himalayan trade between India, Nepal, Tibet and China, the origins of which can be traced as far back as 500 BCE, is identified as the earliest form of movement to and from Nepal. The formal migration of Nepalis out of the country is generally associated with the induction of young Nepali males into the British army. The May 1815 treaty between Amar Singh Thapa and General David Ochterlony in Malaun (now in India) during the Anglo-Gorkha War paved the way for a tradition that has lasted almost 200 years.⁴⁰

It was only in 1886 that the recruitment of Nepalis into the British army was formalized. Hundreds of thousands of Nepali youth fought in the First and Second World Wars on the side of the British, which were the earliest instances of a concerted recruitment of Nepali men to work abroad. The 1947 Tripartite Agreement between Nepal, India and Britain opened the way for a newly independent India as well to recruit Nepali men into its army. Hence, even two centuries later, the tradition of recruiting Nepali youth into foreign armies (the British and Indian as well as the Singapore police) continues unbroken.⁴¹

The majority of Nepali have been emigrating to India but migrating proportion to India is decreasing particularly after 1981, indicates the changing trend of out migration among Nepalis. The census of 1991 showed that the second largest group of Nepali immigrated to European countries followed by North America. The change in migration patterns to destinations beyond India clearly coincides with the formulation of the first Foreign Employment Act in 1985. The People's Movement in 1990 and the onset of democracy in Nepal also facilitated migration through the establishment of liberal governments, better means of communication, and liberalization of the travel regime. Concurrently, new avenues

⁴⁰Sijapati & Limbu (2012). Cited Schrader (1998) & Khanduri (1997) and the researcher find their views valuable for this research, p.5.

⁴¹Sijapati & Limbu (2012). Cited New Era (1981), p.6.

for labor migration to destinations like the Gulf region and East and Southeast Asia emerged during this period owing the booming economies there.⁴²

4.3.1 Labor Migration

Workforce migration has retained strong and steady trend among the Nepali youths as stated by the Department of Foreign Employment, in the last six years approximately 1.72 million youth left for abroad for employment. This consistence growth is mainly because the 4.5 percent economic growth rate has been able to absorb some 400,000 new entrants in the labor market annually.⁴³

Table 1: Number of Nepali Labor Migration by Year

Fiscal Year	Number of Nepali Labor Migrants
2006-07	204,433
2007-08	249,051 (Increased by 21.82%)
2008-09	219,965 (Decreased by 11.76%)
2009-10	294,094 (Increased by 33.70%)
2010-11	354,716 (Increased by 20.61%)
2011-12	384,665 (Increased by 8.44%)

Source: Department of Foreign Employment, 2012⁴⁴

Due to the lack of awareness and access to quality education Nepalese people have superstitious beliefs and gender discrimination. Men play the main role to support the family financially and women were supposed to the household works and they are discouraged to do the job outside their home. But things are changing these days; women are going abroad and started to uplift their family economic status but still in proportion to male, female are very few who are working abroad.

Table 2: Labor Migration by Sex in Fiscal Year 2011/12

Countries	Male	Female	Total
Malaysia	96,157	2,210	98,367
Qatar	104,685	996	105,681

⁴²Sijapati & Limbu (2012). *Foreign Labour Migration in Nepal*, p.9.

⁴³Paudel. *Migration Trend and Remittance Inflow: The Experience of Nepal*, p.6.

⁴⁴Paudel. Cited Department of Foreign Employment (2012), p. 6.

Saudi Arabia	80,218	237	80,455
UAE	49,959	4,523	54,482
Kuwait	12,080	12,495	24,575
Bahrain	5,333	532	5,865
Oman	2,868	295	3,163
S. Korea	5315	312	5,865
Lebanon	38	205	243
Israel	102	472	574
Afghanistan	822	1	823
Japan	1,036	108	1,144
Others	3,094	572	3,666
Total	361,707 (94%)	22,958 (6%)	384,665

Source: Department of Foreign Employment, 2012.⁴⁵

From the above table, we can see that very few numbers of female migrate in comparison to the male for the employment. The table shows that Kuwait, Malaysia and Israel are the favorite destinations where quite good numbers of females have got employment.

Table 3: Ecological distribution of Labor Migrants, 2008/09 – 2013/14

Ecological Region	Total Labor Migrants	Percentage
Mountain	97,747	5.7
Hill	759,573	43.9
Terai	871,932	50.4
Total	1729252	100

Source: Department of Foreign Employment.⁴⁶

Above table depicts that half (50.9%) of the labor migrants were from the terai region with slightly smaller proportion (43.9%) from the Hill region. While, labour migrants from the Mountain region were significantly low (5.7%).

Ethnic groups like the *Gurungs* and *Magars* from central Nepal and *Rais* and *Limbus* from eastern Nepal have traditionally worked in the Indian and British armies. They remain

⁴⁵Paudel. Cited Department of Foreign Employment (2012), p.10.

⁴⁶DFE (2014). *Labour Migration for Employment: A Status Report for Nepal 2013/14*, p. 26.

predominant in today's migrant population. Migrant workers from *Gurung* and *Magar* communities are concentrated in army jobs, and in high paying countries (like Japan, Singapore, Brunei and Saipan) where they find work as security guards. *Chettris* and *Brahmins* who migrate for work are sometimes able to use stronger social networks in India to secure work. In the mid and far west of Nepal, it is mainly *Chettris* who migrate to India for seasonal and temporary work. Higher educated Brahmins and *Chettris* have also found jobs in the USA and Europe. Members of occupational castes (*dalits*) also migrate in large numbers. Many uneducated and poor people from Nepal find low paid jobs in India. *Thakalis*, even though a minor ethnic group in Nepal, are predominant in Japan's Nepalese migrant labor community. They also form a majority of people who work as illegally in Japan and in European countries. Mainly lower caste laborers or those from lower middle class Brahmin and *Chettris* families migrate for work in the Gulf. Their home districts are concentrated in eastern Nepal.⁴⁷

4.3.2 Student Migration

Apart from the labor migration, student migration is being noticed in context of Nepal. Student migration is mostly taken as the movement of students who study outside their country of birth or citizenship for a period of 12 months or more. However, there is no strict and universal definition of who are student migrant and how distinctly they could be categorized from labor migrants or other form of migrants. The political definition of student migration is very diverse – mostly depending on the country and notably the host countries that attract international students: the US, the UK, Germany, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and also countries where there is no distinction between international and domestic students such as in France, Greece, Norway, Japan and so on.⁴⁸ According to the Nepal Ministry of Education, a total of 91,519 students took the “No Objection Letter (NOL)” to migrate as students till July 2013.

Table 4: List of Countries by Number of Nepali Students till July, 2013

S. N.	Country	Student's Number	S.N.	Country	Student's Number
1	UK	30,078	41	Austria	76

⁴⁷Gurung (2004). *An Overview Paper on Overseas Employment in Nepal*. p. 31-32.

⁴⁸NIDS (2011). *Nepal Migration Year Book 2010*, p.50.

2	Australia	22,208	42	Belgium	67
3	Japan	8,309	43	Italy	65
4	USA	7,261	44	Romania	55
5	India	3,070	45	UAE	51
6	Bangladesh	1,982	46	Portugal	49
7	China	1,665	47	Kyrgyzstan	34
8	Cyprus	1,435	48	Belarus	30
9	Germany	1,322	49	Fiji	30
10	Canada	1,171	50	Armenia	26
11	Finland	1,130	51	Mexico	17
12	Malaysia	1,128	52	Qatar	14
13	Norway	1,056	53	Moldova	11
14	Philippines	888	54	Taiwan	10
15	Ireland	795	55	Costarica	9
16	Denmark	785	56	Israel	7
17	Thailand	687	57	Srilanka	7
18	Mauritius	441	58	Greece	7
19	Poland	419	59	Iran	6
20	New Zealand	764	60	Hong Kong	6
21	Switzerland	395	61	Turkey	6
22	Scotland	395	62	Tunisia	6
23	South Korea	448	63	Slovakia	6
24	Georgia	355	64	Jordan	4
25	Sweden	346	65	Luxembourg	4
26	Czech Republic	255	66	Estonia	3
27	Pakistan	248	67	Taiwan	3
28	Saudi Arabia	276	68	Brazil	3
29	Netherland	230	69	Lietuva	3
30	Latvia	161	70	Indonesia	3
31	France	147	71	Bulgaria	3
32	Spain	146	72	Krygyz	3
33	S. Africa	144	73	Libya	2

34	Ukraine	134	74	Egypt	2
35	Hungary	123	75	Kenya	1
36	Lithuania	117	76	Zambia	1
37	Singapore	99	77	Belarus	1
38	Malta	98	78	Venezuela	1
39	Russia	88	79	Brunei	1
40	Dubai	87	Grand Total		91,519

Source : Ministry of Education, July, 2013⁴⁹

As per the above table UK has been the favorite destination for the Nepali students counting 30,078 followed by Australia, Japan and USA respectively. Among the Scandinavian country Finland comes as the top destination for 1,130 Nepali students followed by Norway (1,056) and Denmark (785).

4.3.3 Norway and Nepalese Migration

Norway experienced the highest inflow of immigrants in 2007 with about 40000 and the number of refugees in the country is estimated about 125,000, roughly 2.8 percent of the total population at the time; those from Somalia and Iraq are largely accountable for the number of refugees. A statistic from 2008 shows that 7.4 percent of the total population of Norway are foreign-born the first generation immigrants in other words, and it are only slightly below the EU/EEA average of 8.9 percent⁵⁰. At the beginning of 2015, there were 669,400 immigrants and 135,600 Norwegian-born to immigrant parents in Norway. These two groups have a background from 222 different countries and independent regions. Persons with an immigrant background from Poland make up the largest group in Norway with nearly 100,000.⁵¹ It shows that, population of immigrants in Norway has been consistently on the rise over the last decade. The increasing number of immigrants can vividly observed in the capital city, Oslo which is the most populous city in the country with the highest inflow of immigrants.

The history of Nepalese immigrants living in Norway goes back to more than 40 years. Many Nepalese have moved to Norway for different purpose. Most of them are students because it has been the attractive destination for the higher studies. Most of the Nepalis living in Norway today have come to Norway in the last 10 years. Since it is not that easy to know the

⁴⁹Paudel. Cited Ministry of Education (July, 2013), p.14.

⁵⁰Nakata (2013). Cited Linn &Aase (2008), p.25.

⁵¹<http://www.ssb.no/en/innvbef> accessed on 26 March 2015.

exact number of people with Nepalese origin living in Norway, it has been estimated that there are between 1500 to 2000 Nepalese living in different parts of Norway based on the information provided by different Nepalese societies in the major cities of Norway, however according to the data of Statistics Norway⁵² there are 1465 registered immigrants from Nepal. Many of them have already settled down and many of them are holding the highly professional jobs like engineer, doctor, nurse, professor, journalists etc. The people who are living in Norway are the first generation immigrants who came in Norway as adults have their deep rooted cultural and religious identity from Nepal however it is not very far to see that upcoming second generation immigrants have their own unique dual identity from Nepal and Norway.⁵³

⁵² <http://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef/aar/2015-03-04?fane=tabell&sort=nummer&tabell=219754> accessed on 20 March 2015.

⁵³ Edited from <http://www.nrnorway.com/cu.html> accessed on 20 March 2015.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 Who migrate to Norway?

As we discussed in the first chapter, Nepal has faced a huge growth in international migration in the last two decades. Most of the youth migrants are migrating as a labor worker in middle east mainly, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait and Malaysia. However, there are also a significant number of youth migrants migrating to Europe as au pair and student. The migration among young people is high because of the un-willingness to tie down by the family responsibility.

5.1.1 Personal Information of Immigrants

In this section, personal details are described in short as Deng define identity as the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture.⁵⁴ According to the response of the respondents, the following detail was found which are given in the tables and figures accordingly.

5.1.1.1 Age Distribution of Immigrants

This study was carried out among the Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo and aim of the study is to find their way of life. The age of the respondents was found ranged from 20 to 50 years. The age of the respondents was categorized into two groups i.e., 20-35 years and 36-50 years, which are given in the below table.

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents by Age Group

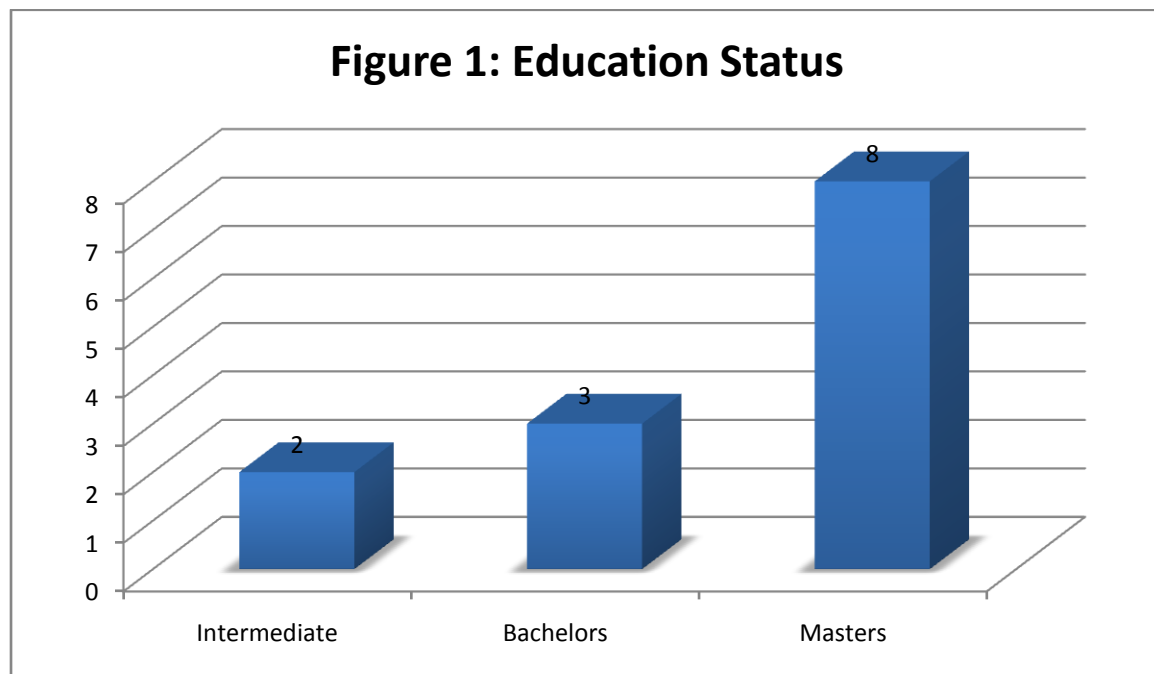
Age Group	Number	Percent
20-35	11	84.62
36-50	2	15.38
Total	13	100.00

⁵⁴Fearon (1999). Cited Deng (1995, 1), p.4.

The above table describes the migration trend of Nepal i.e. almost 85% of the total respondents were youth and only 15% of the respondents were in their late 30's. Umesh (name changed), a 24 years youth admitted “after 40 it's the time for living with the family happily in our own country, whatever we do and struggle in foreign land is in youth”. A report from United Nations also justifies this point “international migrants in least developed countries tend to be younger still, with a median age of 29.5 years.⁵⁵”It is the representation voice of almost all of the respondents and all of them have the same opinion. HiraKaji (name changed), a 48 years participant also agreed in Umesh's opinion but there are some circumstances that is making him to stay in Norway in his late 40's.

5.1.1.2 Education Status of Immigrants

In the time of field research in Oslo, researcher had found the variation of the respondent's educational background so the educational status of the interviewee has been categorized into three categories, which is presented in the following figure 1.



From the above table, among 13 of the respondents, 8 of them have completed their master's degree in Nepal, 3 of them have bachelor's degree and only 2 of them had completed intermediate level. The given table illustrates how the highly educated people are migrating in the developed country like Norway. All of the masters completed respondents said that it

⁵⁵http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/2011Migration_Chart/wallchart_2011.pdf accessed on 15 April 2015.

wouldn't have been possible to come Norway if they haven't completed the masters degree in Nepal because to get admitted in the Norwegian University and colleges they have to complete the 16 years of education. But most of the universities and colleges in Nepal offers only 3 years bachelors program, which will be only 15 years of total education. 3 of the respondent had completed their 4 years bachelors in Nepal. And all the bachelors completed participants (3) and most of the masters completed respondents (7) were doing/had done the masters degree in Norwegian university and colleges because "all the universities and colleges offers masters degrees courses in English so it is easier to get admission in masters degree program in Norway" according to them. Umesh (name changed) added, "it is compulsory to do IELTS/TOEFL and get minimum score of 5.5 in IELTS or 550 in paper based test (PBT) TOEFL and 80 in internet based test (iBT) TOEFL for being eligible for applying in masters degree course".

Similarly, Manish (name changed) 41 years old who have completed his masters in Nepal is doing Ph.D. in Mathematics and Natural Sciences in University of Oslo. Like wise, two of the total respondents had completed their intermediate level in Nepal before they came to Norway. One of them mentioned he is doing bachelors degree after completing one year Norwegian language course. He further said "it is compulsory to study on year Norwegian language course before starting bachelor's degree." Another respondent was not studying anymore after he completed his intermediate in Nepal.

It can be clearly analyzed from the table and the opinion of the respondents that education background plays an important role in migration and they are strongly connected to each other. Persons with good English language and academic background are more likely to migrate than the uneducated.

5.1.1.3 Marital Status of Immigrants

Some years before in Nepal, people were obliged to get the early marriage because of the pressure from the family. And in the case of the girls, the situation was even worse; they were forced for getting married in adolescent because of the superstitious belief of the parents. Now the condition has been changed and people are getting aware about the right time of the marriage. The trend of love marriage is being developed instead of the arrange marriage. And even the divorce case is increasing if they find the marriage partner is not suitable. Following table shows the marital status of the respondents:

Table 6: Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Married	7	53.85
Un-married	5	38.46
Divorced	1	7.69
Total	13	100.00

Above table shows majority of the respondents were married. Some of the married interviewee said they got married before they come to Norway. They consider Norway as the best country for the dependents because dependents are allowed to do full time job. Almost all of the married interviewees are in process for bringing their spouse with them and some of them have already brought their spouse with them in Norway. All of the married participants replied they had got married between the age of 23-31. Among 6 of the married respondents 4 of them had arranged marriage whereas 2 had love marriage. Even the trend of love marriage is increasing but the majority of the populations still believe in arrange marriage. Five of the respondents were found single. Two of the un-married participant opined it hasn't been the right time for their marriage and they were career focused. Three of them were planning to marriage and were in search of the right partner. One of the 13 respondents was divorced because of wrong partner.

Similarly, one Nepali responded, "I had gone through lot of hindrances convincing my wife and family to come to Norway", whereas, Debesh (name changed), a 23 years single person said he easily got permission from his family to go abroad.

5.1.1.4 Religious Background of Immigrants

As Nepal is the Hindu dominated country but even there are other people from other religious background like, Buddhist, Christian and Muslim. However, during the course of field research researcher has found only the three main religious faiths, which are illustrated, in the given table.

Table 7: Distribution of Respondents by their Religion

Religion	Number	Percent
Hindu	11	84.62

Buddhist	2	15.38
Christian	1	7.69
Total	13	100.00

The given table gives the description of total sample of the respondents regarding their religion. According to the table almost 85 percent of the interviewee were Hindu whereas 15.38 respondents were Buddhist and 7.69 percent of the total respondent was Christian. The data and table concludes that the majority of the respondents (84.62%) were Hindu, which is almost equal with the national figure (84.2%)⁵⁶.

Every one of the respondents said they practice their religion not very often. They celebrate their main religious festivals but they do not do their daily rituals like, going to temples, praying god etc.

One of the Hindu responded said “I have heard that there is temples in Oslo but I haven’t been there yet but I have printed the pictures of God and attached in my wall where I am praying when I have time.” But other Hindu respondent even don’t know the availability of the Hindu temple in Oslo.

5.1.1.5 Gender Division of Immigrants

Population of Nepal is 26,620,809 including 12,927,431 male and 13,693,378 female according to the population census of 2011. The female migration trend is quite new in context of Nepal, following table shows migration context in terms of gender dynamics:

Table 8: Gender Division of the Respondents

Gender	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Male	9	69.23
Female	4	30.77
Total	13	100.00

Above table illustrates the proportion of male and female migrants in Norway from Nepal. Almost two third (69.23%) of the immigrants were male while only 30.77 percent were

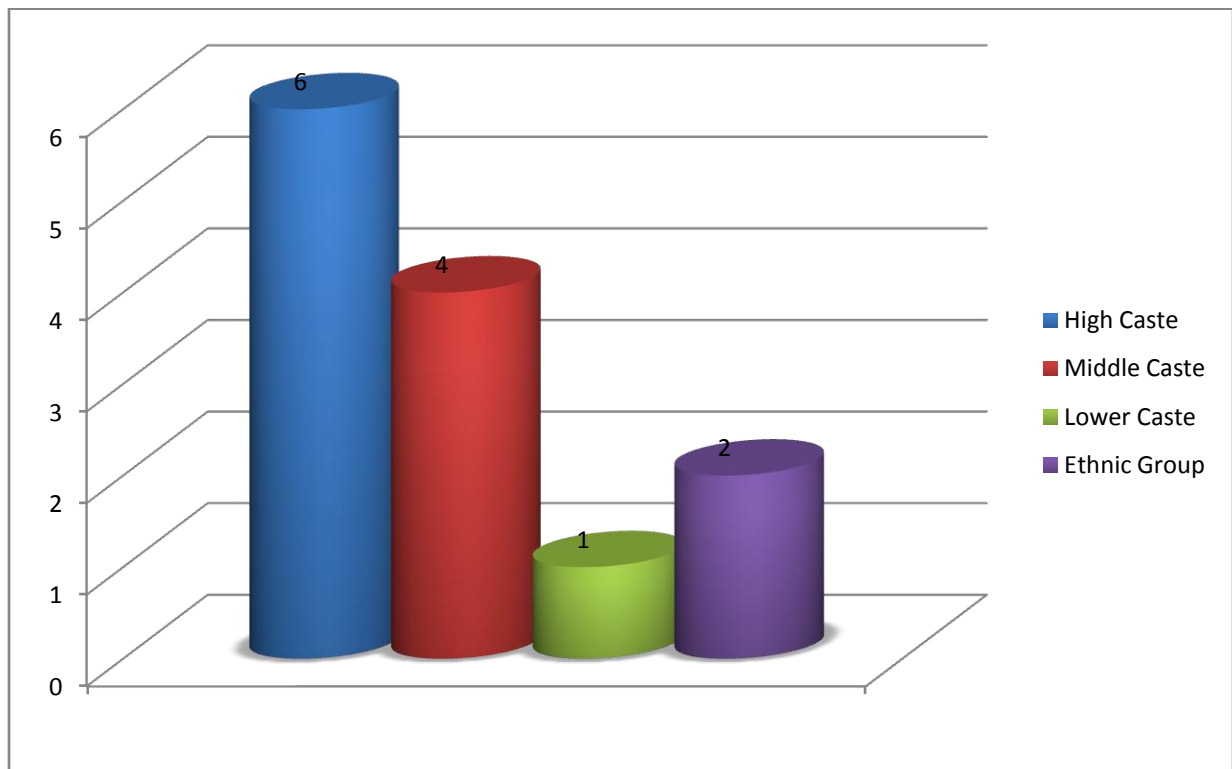
⁵⁶CBS (2012).*National Population and Housing Census 2011*. p. 184

female. One of the single female interviewee Rita (name changed) argued, “it is very hard for the female to migrate in Nepal since I have also faced very difficult situation to convince my family. The society of Nepal does not consider well for female to go abroad”. Sital (name changed) a married female migrant added, “ the situation goes even tougher for the married women to migrate since I have to leave my daughter and husband back home”. This situation is further proved from the statement “men started going abroad from the work whereas women became mostly the dependent and very few went for the work”⁵⁷. Thus, gender also plays a specific role in migration in context of Nepalese people.

5.1.1.6 Caste and Ethnic Background of Immigrants

Traditional social stratification system of Nepal is complex and various indigenous tribes has been included in the caste hierarchy level. However ethnic indigenous groups do not belong to the caste system but considered as lower level in the society. The following table shows the actual scenario of the caste and ethnic migration trend:

Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents by Caste and Ethnic Background



Given table illustrates the exact situation of the Nepalese migration trend according to the caste and ethnic background. According to the data, high caste and middle caste people have

⁵⁷NIDS (2011).*Nepal Migration Year Book 2010*, p.16.

mostly migration trend in the developed country like Norway. Lower caste and ethnic group of Nepal are underprivileged group who do not have many resources and are mostly uneducated. Prem (name changed), a lower caste migrant agrees in this statement but he further comments, “things has been changed in few years and lower caste people like me are studying and working in developed countries like Norway”. A *limbu*⁵⁸ respondent Harka (name changed) also has the same views as Prem. Form the given table and the response of the participants we can conclude that caste and ethnic background of the people also determines the migration in the context of Nepal.

5.1.1.7 Economic Background of Immigrants

Economy plays important roles in every sector. One has to invest a lot of money for migrating in the developed countries for the living expenses, for education and other basic needs. Researcher has divided the respondents into three different categories in the time of interview. Following table shows the economic background of the respondents:

Table 9: Distribution of the Respondents by their Economic Background

Economic class	No. of Respondents	Percentage
High Class	4	30.77
Middle Class	7	53.85
Lower Class	2	15.38
Total	13	100.00

The above table gives the description that middle and high economic class people have the highest migration trend in Norway. These class people consist almost 85 percent of the total immigrant. A middle class respondent Sachin (name changed) argues, “it is almost impossible for the lower and middle class people to migrate in highly developed country like Norway on their own money”. He a further added “one has to invest more than 150,000 NPR equivalent to 46,500 NOK approximately for the living expenses for one year in Norway, which is beyond the reach of the average Nepalese people”. Almost all the middle class and lower class respondents admits they have taken the loan from the bank and their relatives for migrating to Norway. Hari (name changed) a lower class respondent reveals “I have taken the

⁵⁸an ethnic group in Eastern Nepal.

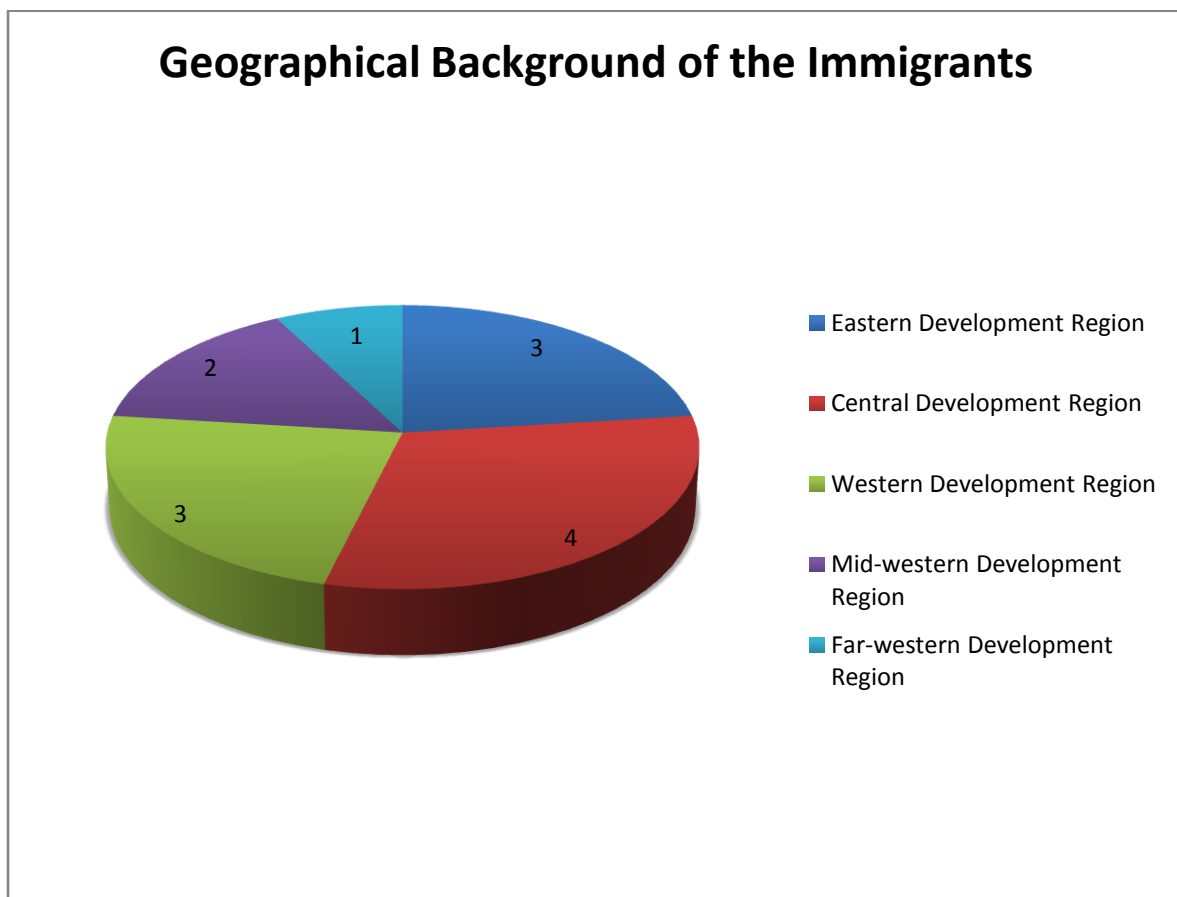
loan from the bank making the collateral of his house and land for sending the money to the college”.

From the above table and the comments from the immigrants it is clear that economic background plays a crucial role for the migration. It is very much difficult for the poor background people to migrate as Sachin (name changed) and Hari (name changed) has said in the above paragraph.

5.1.1.8 Geographical Background of the Immigrants

Nepal has varied geographical structures. As we have discussed in the first chapter, Nepal has been divided into five development regions. Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo are classified in these five development regions in the following figure.

Figure 3: Distribution of Immigrants by Geographical Background



We can clearly see the division of the immigrants according to their belonging in the different part of Nepal from the above diagram. Most of the immigrants belong from the developed part i.e. East, West and Central part of the Nepal. We can see the least number

from the Mid-western and Far-western part. Naresh (name changed) an immigrant from Jumla (a district from Far-western region) argued, “I didn’t have access to the Internet and I didn’t have the idea how to apply in the universities and colleges, it was my brother in Kathmandu applied for me”. Thus, the geographical region also determines the migration in context of Nepalese.

5.2 Immigrants’ Life in Nepal

Every individual have his or her own living standard and life style. Normal life style of Nepalese people have their daily routine waking up early in the morning and having a cup of tea/coffee with breakfast. After lunch they go to their work and return back to their home in the evening and night and have their dinner with their family. Even though Nepal is a agricultural country, most of the educated people work as a teacher, businessman or officer. Researcher had asked them “how was your life in Nepal”, according to their reply; it is categorized in 3 categories, which are mentioned in the table below:

Table 10: Distribution of the Respondent by their Life Style in Nepal

Response	No. of respondents	Percentage
Good	3	23.08
Not Bad	8	61.54
Worse	2	15.38
Total	13	100.00

Above table explains how satisfied they were while they live in their country. Out of 13 respondents about 23 percent of the respondents had a satisfactory life in Nepal. These people had jobs as lecturers in good colleges and government officer. Manish (name changed) Ph.D. student in Oslo University said “I was a lecturer in 4 different colleges and had a very busy schedule”. He further mentioned he used to earn 120,000 NRS per month in Nepal which is the much better than the average salary (31,893 NRS)⁵⁹ of the Nepalese. Another participant Debesh (name changed) argued, “it is very hard to find the job, I had struggled for a year to find the job but it went on vain, you need to be close to a political leader to get a job in Nepal”. He further mentioned “every time strike, corruption, instability, pollution, they are the life of Kathmandu, so I would say, I had a worse life in Nepal”.

⁵⁹<http://www.salaryexplorer.com/salary-survey.php?&loctype=1&loc=151> accessed on 2 April 2015.

Umesh(name changed) a 24 years respondent also agreed with Debesh (name changed) but he seemed quite satisfied than the former respondent. He explains “.....but I had a quite good job and used to earn money for living a good life with my family”.

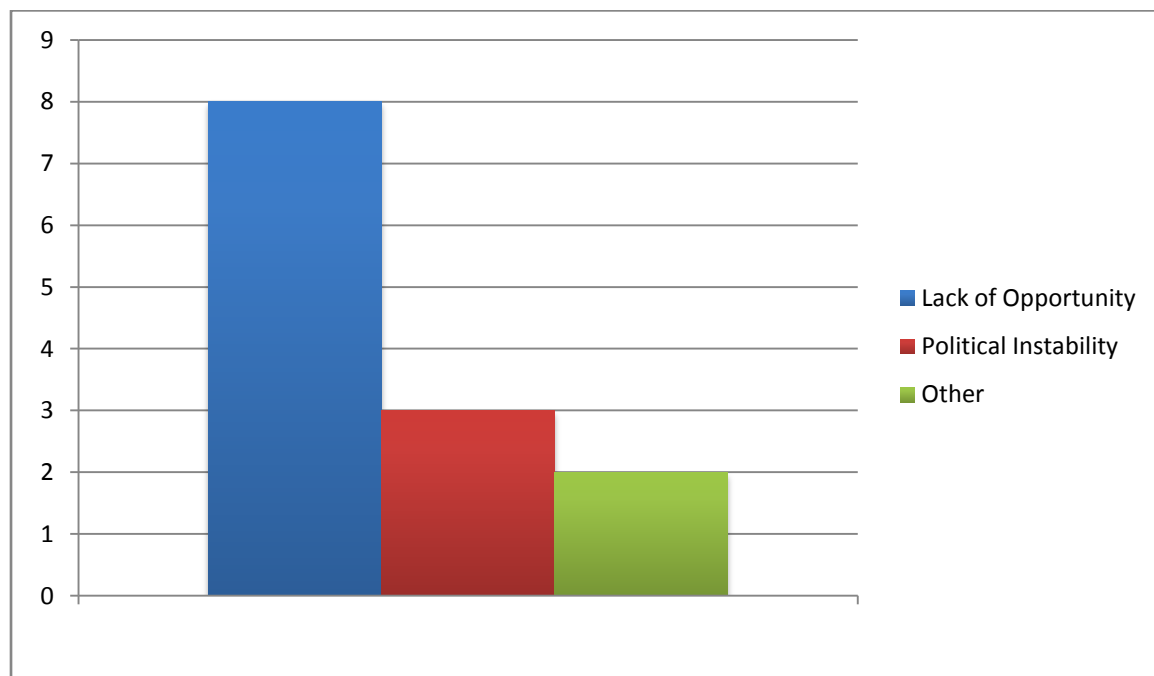
5.3 Reasons to Migrate

Many researchers have analyzed migration in terms of the “push-pull” model. Researcher has also categorized the reasons behind the respondent’s migration into two categories.

5.3.1 Push Factor

Push factor are the negative aspect of the home country. So push factor may be in different forms in context of Nepal, researcher has categorized these factors in the following figure according to the participants view:

Figure 4: Push Factor for Migration



Given figure shows that most of the immigrants (8 out of 13) finds lack of opportunity in the sending country. Likewise political instability and other factors like corruption, low payment, under-employment, pollution, discrimination and other cultural and religious superstitions are also seen as the push factor for the migration. Ashish (name changed) a mechanical engineer gives the opinion “there are very limited field to work for the mechanical engineer where Nepal is developing country and its main economy is based on agriculture and doesn’t have many industries and factories”. HiraKaji (name changed) a economics masters degree holder

opines “there is no opportunity for the qualified person in Nepal, if one wants to get the good job he/she has to be involved in politics”. HiraKajii’s statement matched with Paudel (2012), “rampant corruption and flourishing nepotism culture in Nepal have made further disappoint to the Nepali youth. Hence, the frustrated youth are propelled to drive overseas”.

Sudha (name changed) a MBA holder female from Terai describes “ I was rejected in a job interview for a bank manager even I was very qualified and experienced person since I had a very good certificate and had a working experience as a deputy manager in a bank. Later on, I heard that the a man was recruited for the position who was under qualified than me.” She was emphasizing that she didn’t get the job because she was a female so she decided to go abroad where there is no such discrimination. Her experience is further justified by “young women frequently experience gender discrimination in the workplace, are often not allowed to work, or are forced into subsistence activities”⁶⁰

5.3.2 Pull Factor

Pull factor are positive aspects of the host country. The pull factors described by the respondent are highlighted in the below table:

Table 11: Pull Factor for Migration

Factor	No. Respondent	Percent
Higher Wages	5	38.46
Free Education	5	38.46
Social Security	2	15.39
Other	1	7.69
Total	13	100.00

According to Paudel (2012), “Economics provide both the biggest push and pull factors for potential migrants”. But in case of Norway both the economics and free education are found as the equal pull factors for the Nepalese migrants. Most of the respondents have given equal importance for these two factors. But one of the respondent reveal: “I am here in Norway taking the opportunity of the free education as a student to earn money. I had heard through my friends that even the un-skilled workers are paid high salary.” On contrary,

⁶⁰<http://un.org.np/oneun/undaf/unemployed> accessed on 10 April 2015.

Debesh (name changed) a computer engineer student argued; “I had to pay lot of money to complete my computer engineering in Nepal but I am studying here in free and I am quite sure I can get a decent job after completing my studies in here or going back to my country.”

Two of the respondents view social security benefits like, parental benefit, pregnancy benefit, child benefit, un-employment benefit, sick-leave benefit are also the attraction for the international migrants. One of the female respondent Sudha (name changed) stated:

My cousin sister is here in Norway. She had a child four months before; she is getting the same amount of money from NAV as parental benefit without working. She also got the pregnancy benefit before the child was born and even the check-up and the delivery service for the pregnant woman is free. I was attracted by these social security benefits and motivated to migrate in Norway.

Apart from these things, many other motives were found in the immigrants; for example, learning language and culture, freedom and independence, opportunity to see different countries and experience. This fact was exposed by one of the unmarried respondent: “My motive was to earn money when I first came to Norway but later on I changed my mind for gaining the knowledge of Norwegian culture, society and the system which I can implement back to my home land.”

5.4 Home-land Association of Immigrants

Immigrants were found connected with their homeland in different modes during the research. The immigrants association with the home country is mainly divided into the following three modes:

5.4.1 Connection through Social interaction

Social interaction is the process by which we act and react to those around us.⁶¹ However, in the context of globalization social interaction doesn't happen within the people who are close by the physical distance. Immigrant who are living distance far away from their friends, relatives and family members were also found having social interaction by different means. The main means for the social interaction is through the modes of communication. Almost all of the respondents have regular communication with their family, relatives and friends in

⁶¹<http://study.com/academy/lesson/social-interactions-definition-types-quiz.html> accessed on 22 April 2015.

their home country. The main communication means of the respondents during the time of the interview are categorized in the following table.

Table 12: Communication Method

Communication Method	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Telephone	4	30.77
Social media/Email	3	23.08
Both	6	46.15
Total	13	100.00

Above tables depicts the communication method of the migrants in the world of technology. Traditional method of sending and receiving of the letters is completely replaced by the modern communication method like telephone, email and different social media. The total number of users of telephone services reached 22.09 million, or 83.40 percent of Nepalis⁶², which has made the communication process very fast and easy. Among the total participants, four stated the use of telephone as their communication method. Naresh (name changed) a respondent from the Far-western region stated “ I used to use the telephone network and internet calls to speak with my family members and relatives because we don’t have the access to the internet in my place”. This is the representation voice of other four respondents who doesn’t have access to the Internet who use the telephone as the communication method with their loved ones.

Similarly, three of the respondents (23%; where one third of the national population have access to the internet)⁶³ who were from the urban area and whose family and friend circle were also in urban area use the internet as their communication method. They use the social media sites like, Facebook, Viber, Skype, Whatsapp etc as the communication means. One of the respondents Ashish (name changed) expressed his gratitude to the modern means of communication “We can talk for hours seeing each other sharing daily life and activities for free which is definitely a boon for the people living in the foreign land”.

⁶²<http://www.ekantipur.com/2013/12/12/top-story/growth-rate-of-internet-users-doubles-in-q1/382243.html> accessed on 23 April 2015.

⁶³<http://www.ktm2day.com/2015/02/20/internet-access-reaches-to-one-third-population-in-nepal/> accessed on 23 April 2015.

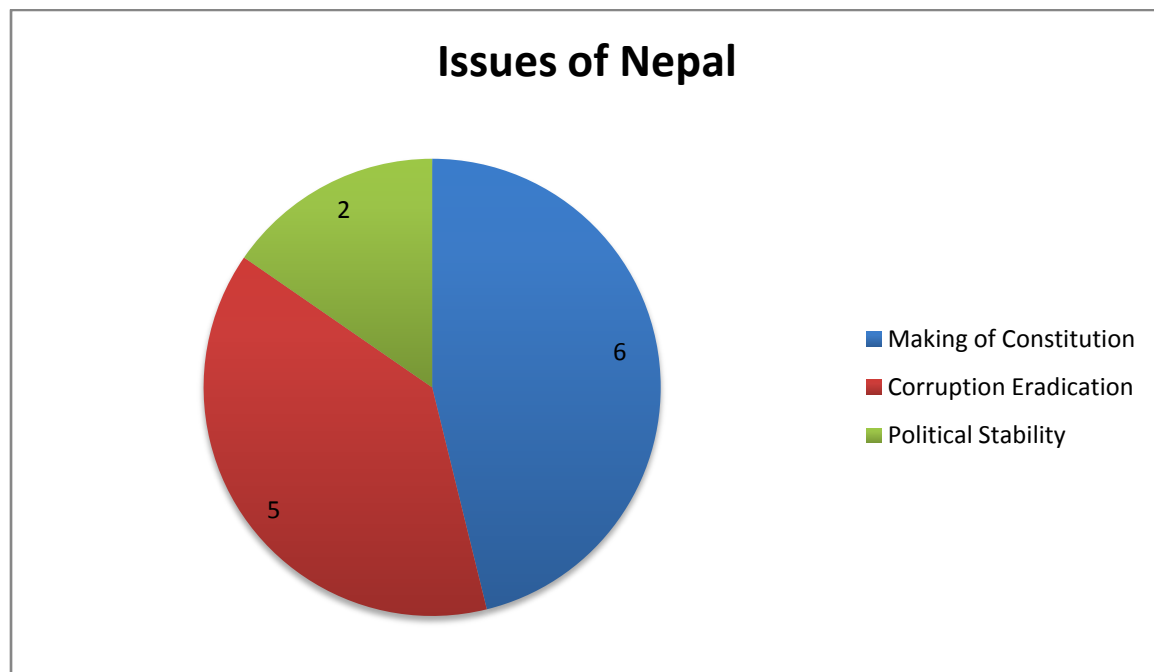
Six out of thirteen (46%) of the respondents use both telephone and Internet social media sites as the means of communication with their family, friends and relatives. Those whose loved one have Internet access and don't have use the both communication method. Sachin (name changed) mentioned "I use the MyCall subscription as the most affordable telephone subscription to call Nepal with my family in village and use the social media sites and applications to communicate with my relatives in Kathmandu."

They used the communication means not only to share the daily activities but also to make the serious family decisions. Parents take advice from the grown up children in the serious matters like marriage, financial issues and other household decisions in the Nepalese society. One of the respondents said "My father takes advice with me prior to taking any decision such as my sisters marriage, brother's education and buying the land and house etc."

5.4.2 Political Connection

All the respondents were found very concerned with the political issues of their home country. They had a deep concern about their home country's future so they always get informed about the current affairs through the Internet. These are the main hurdles these respondents think for betterment of their home country:

Figure 5: Issue of Nepal



Above figure shows the main concern of the immigrants is about the making of the new constitution. Six out of thirteen respondents think the old constitution is main obstacle for the betterment of the home country. In context of Nepal, it is often argued that as a result of the policy, ethnic/indigenous, Madhesi, Dalit and marginalized people were excluded from the political and socio-economic development⁶⁴. Prem (name changed) a lower caste respondent argued “Nepal becomes a better place when the new constitution ensures the bond of unity on the basis of liberty and equality which will establish the system of justice.”

Corruption has now become a most challenging phenomenon and a tough barrier for the promotion of good governance in society. The most challenging aspect is culturally institutionalized behavior. Corruption destroys all the positive work done by development agencies and has appeared as an ugly head in the overall development of society. The serious challenge of present society is ridding our government and social institutions of corruption.⁶⁵ Five out of thirteen respondents argued corruption as a main hurdle for developing nation. Rita (name changed) sees “the corruption has become a great obstacle and slow poison in the social, political and economic development of Nepal. It is widespread from the top-level bureaucrats to the lower level of staff and has been institutionalized in the society”.

Political instability adversely affects productivity. By increasing uncertainty about the future, it may lead to less efficient resource allocation. Additionally, it may reduce research and development efforts by firms and governments, leading to slower technological progress. Violence, civil unrest, and strikes, can also interfere with the normal operation of firms and markets, reduce hours worked, and even lead to the destruction of some installed productive capacity⁶⁶. Two respondents see the political instability is the main problem for the development of their home country.

5.4.3 Connection through Economy

According to the above discussion, economy is one of the main motives for the migration of the respondents. And remittance is one of the pillars of Nepalese economy, which consists of 25 percent of the total GDP. During the interview, interviewer has found the attachment of

⁶⁴Bishwakarma (2015). *Continuous Identity Politics in Federalism: Impasse on Constitution Writing in Nepal*, p.14.

⁶⁵<http://voices-against-corruption.ning.com/profiles/blogs/problem-of-corruption-in-nepal> accessed on 26 April 2015.

⁶⁶Aisen & Veiga (2011) *How Does Political Instability Affect Economic Growth?*, p. 17

the respondents with their home country economically sending the remittances. Researcher has categorized the frequency of the remittance sent by the migrants in the following table:

Table 13: Sending Frequency of Remittance

Frequency	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Once a Year	2	15.39
Twice a Year	3	23.07
Frequently	6	46.15
Never	2	15.39
Total	13	100.00

Most of the respondents come from the middle-class families' background whose families do not have very sound economic resources. Almost all of the respondents parents feel dependent with their children after became young. Male Nepalese interviewees feel responsibility to support their family financially. One of the respondents reacts, "It is my responsibility support my parents since I am the only son in my family. I feel like I am grown up now as I have been supporting them financially since two years."

Even though, in Nepalese society, female are not obligated to take economic responsibility for their family, female respondents are sending remittances to Nepal frequently out of their own will. Sital (name changed) a female respondent responded, "I am sending money for my family out of my own will. They have never asked me to send money but I do it because I love and care them"

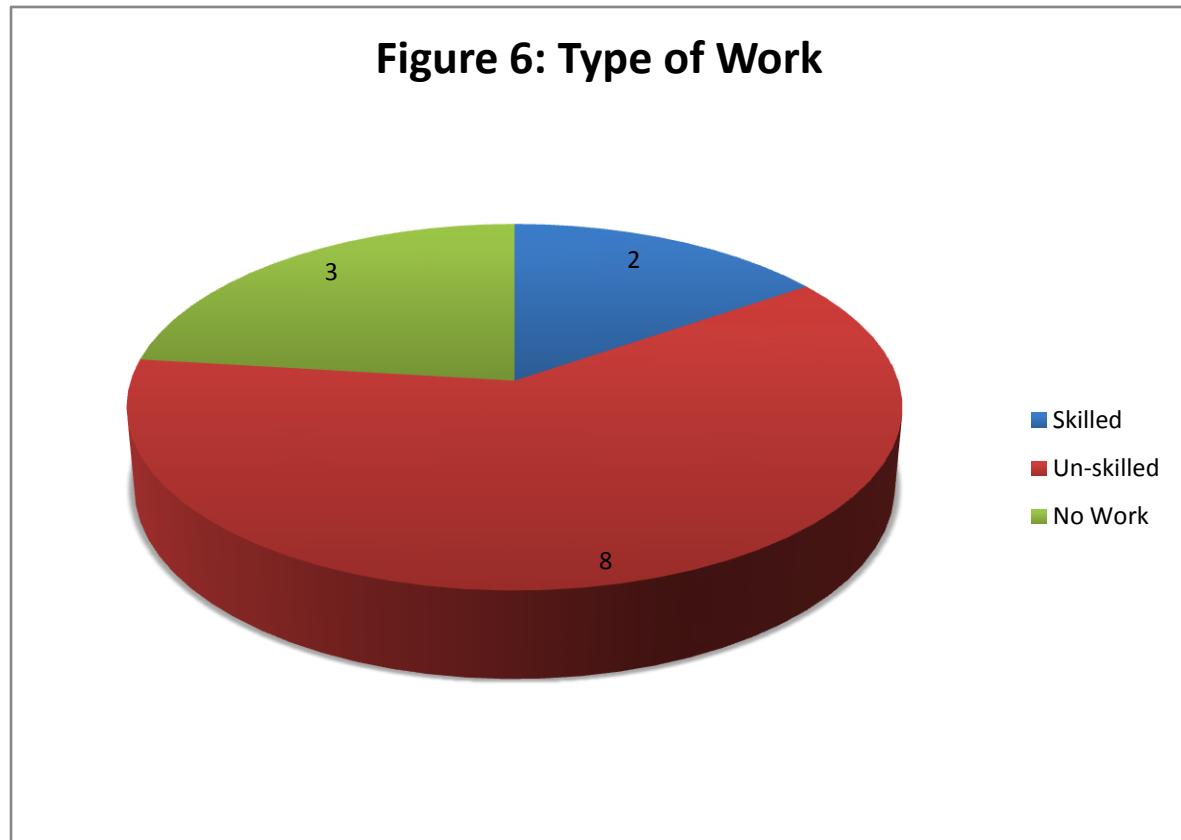
It was also revealed that migrants are sending the money according to their families' need. Out of thirteen, six respondents send the money frequently because their family completely dependent on them. Three of them said they send money twice a year whereas two respondents send money yearly. Interestingly, two respondents don't send money to Nepal because all their family members are here in Norway.

5.5 Immigrant's Life in Norway

In this section researcher tries to analyze the life style (what they do) of the Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo.

5.5.1 Working Categories of Immigrants

During the time of the field research, there were found different categories of the works respondents were doing according to their interview. The categories of the works are categorized into three main categories, which are given in the following table.



Above table describes the scenario of the Nepalese immigrants working condition. Among 13 of the respondents 8 (62%) were doing the very un-skilled job like; cleaning, washing and packing. Almost all of them responded that it is very difficult to find the skilled job in Norway so they are compelled to do the un-skilled job to survive, since Norway is one of the most expensive country in the world. Language is the main barrier for them to get the job and even in some places they require the Norwegian language skill to get the un-skilled job. 3 of the respondent said they don't have the job. Among them one said he get the money about NOK 100,920/- per year from The Norwegian State Educational Fund as he is studying in Quota scheme so he is not willing to do the job until he finishes his study. 2 of them said they haven't find any job so they are very much in trouble. Other two respondents were doing the skilled job, one of them is an engineer in an oil company and other is a doctor in Oslo

University Hospital. They further said, they had mastered Norwegian language before they start the work.

Similarly, some of the respondents were learning Norwegian language in Folekuniversitetet and UIO because they consider it is essential to understand Norwegian language to get the better and skilled job.

5.5.2 Leisure Time Activities of Immigrants

Every individual finds some leisure time. Respondents revealed of different activities during their leisure time. They engaged in playing, watching TV shows, movies, spending time with family and friends, traveling etc. Many of the immigrants spend their free time hanging around with their friends. Most of the respondents consider family and friends are the most important part of their life. One of the respondent says “Every Sunday we sit down as a family and enjoy the Nepali food because together time with family is very much important.” Another respondent also have the same opinion, “Whenever I have free time, I usually talk and Skype with my parent and sisters.”

Sudha (name changed) described, “I was a volleyball player in Nepal but now I am a big fan of winter sports like ski and ice hockey and I play them as well”. People’s hobby is changed according to the time and space.

Another respondent Umesh (name changed) exposed “I love to learn the European culture and traditions so I travel to different European countries. I have already travelled 10 countries in past 3 years.”

5.6 Practice of Nepalese culture and religion in Norway

Culture is learned and passed through passed through generations and includes the beliefs and values systems of the society. When migrants migrate to a different place with his deep-rooted cultural norms and values in his mind two culture are mixed to each other. The cultural norms and values are reshaped, negotiated and modified in many cases. However, in case of Nepalese immigrants, researcher finds the cultural purity although there are some modified values of social reality. In Oslo there are many people from different culture and nationality but Nepalese celebrate and practice their culture and religion in their own way and they are aware about their identity and have their own Nepalese way of life coexisting in harmonious way with each other. Nepalese have their own eastern Nepalese worldviews and

the norms and values but in the case of migrating to Norway they may have to reconstruct their worldviews, cultural norms and values according to the western Norwegian way. Having different perception of the worldviews, there is a vast difference between the socio-cultural norms and values and behaviors. In the course of the interaction and assimilation, the deep-rooted socio-cultural norms and values are analyzed and tested in the different context, which may fail sometimes. So they are modified and reshaped in a new way.

5.6.1 Celebration of Nepalese Festivals in Norway

There are many religious groups and ethnic groups in Nepal. Each religious and ethnic group has their own culture and festivals. Given table shows the list of festivals celebrated in Norway according to their interview:

Table 14: Celebration of Festivals

Festivals	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Hindu Festival	10	76.92
Buddhist Festival	2	15.39
Christian Festival	1	7.69
Total	13	100.00

According to the above table most of the respondents (10) celebrate the Hindu festivals for example; *Dashain*, *Teej*, *Tihar* etc. Similarly, two of the total respondents celebrate the Buddhist Festivals (*Buddha Jayanti*) and one respondent celebrate Christian Festivals like Christmas, Easter etc. It is obvious that people celebrate the festival according to their religious faith and feels it is important to do so. However in the context of migrated Nepalese in Norway, there is something, which is quite interesting. Each respondent celebrates other religion's festivals as well. For example, a respondent who is Buddhist by his religion said, "I had also participated the *Dashain* program organized by NESCO⁶⁷ with my Nepalese friends last year. It is the time when I had the opportunity to meet many Nepalese in one place and had fun partying and playing Bingo". Similarly, a Christian respondent reacted as *Dashain* is a Nepalese national festival. He said, "I am participating and celebrating *Dashain* since three years, I consider it not as only the Hindu festival but it's the festival of whole Nepalese".

⁶⁷a Nepalese Student Organization in Oslo

A Hindu respondent also said, “I consider all the festivals celebrated in Nepal as the national festival. So I participate and celebrate the Buddhist and Christian festival as well. I had very memorable moments celebrating Christmas last year.”

Above-mentioned participants quotation illustrates the fact how Nepalese respect each other’s culture. But participants mentioned many different ways of celebrating their festivals than in Nepal. A Hindu respondent said, “We usually receive *tika* and blessing in *Dashain* from our parents and senior relatives but in Norway I had taken from a old lady.”

Respondents also said there are many circumstances which make constraint them to celebrate their festivals in a simple manner. One of the respondent argued that he is not being able to enjoy his festivals in full fledge because of his busy schedule. He said “*Dashain* is mainly celebrated for 15 days in Nepal but we are celebrating for only one day in Norway because we do not get the *Dashain* holiday from the job”. It is found that, some small festivals which have much significance in Nepal like *JanaiPurnima*, *MagheSankranti*, *GaiJatra*, *Krishna Ashtami*, *Shiva Ratrietc* are un-noticed and are not celebrated.

5.6.2Immigrants’ Food Habit

Normally Nepalese main course of meal is *Dal-Bhaat-Tarkari*. It is a combination of carbohydrate, vitamin, protein, fat and mineral. However in the context of Norway researcher find quite changed in the food habit of the immigrants. Most of the respondents like to have the traditional Nepali food in their meal but because of the busy schedule, they are used to with the burger, pizza and sandwich. Ramila (name changed) says, “I work from 5 a.m. to 9 a.m. in the morning and after that I should go to my school so I wouldn’t have time to cook. I eat burger and pizza which I can find in every stores and I start loving it.”

Sachin (name changed) argued “I feel good to eat different food in different context. I love eating different food so I try cooking different dishes each time. Now I can cook many Indian and Continental dishes.”

However, other participants love to eat the traditional Nepalese meal. One of the respondent said “I don’t feel satisfied with eating other food, I feel like my stomach is still empty so I try to cook and eat the typical Nepalese food whenever I have time.”

5.6.3 Otherpractice of Nepalese Culture

Nepalese have their own deep-rooted eastern typical Nepalese norms and values, which they practice in every way possible. They celebrate their Nepali feast, festivals and practice their Nepalese ethics, norms and values. It was revealed that immigrants speak their native language whenever and wherever possible. Rita (name changed) says, “I speak in Nepali whenever I meet any Nepali even though I can speak very well English and Norwegian.”

Similarly, they practice their ethics like, respecting and not calling by their name of the elders, greeting bowing their head and joining the hands together saying ‘Namaste’, treating a guest as a god etc.

However, social norms and values are not rigid; they are changed and modified if these norms and values do not fit in the new context. All the interviewees have different experiences of modified practice of the typical Nepalese culture. One of the female respondent (Sital; name changed) views her normal activities in the time of her menstruation as a modification of the culture, she says:

I was not allowed to enter in the kitchen and cook food. Even I was not allowed to sleep together in the same bed with my husband. I used to be considered as untouchable and was not allowed to touch other as well. But in Norway, I practice a normal life in menstruation, nobody says anything and I share a same bed with my husband.

In the same context a Nepali unmarried female said, “Making boyfriend is not considered positively in Nepali society and living together is considered as a sin. But I have a Norwegian boyfriend now and we are living together happily.”

There are many changes in the immigrant’s food habit and the way of celebrating the festivals as mentioned in previous topics. Similarly, immigrants’ clothing pattern has been changed. Sudha (name changed) a female interviewee mentioned, “Wearing the short clothes like ‘one piece’ is not considered good but I wear one piece whenever I go to partying around with friends and I feel comfortable wearing it.”

5.7 Difference between Norway and Nepal

Identity is “people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others”⁶⁸. All of the respondents have the mix view when comparing them with Norway, Norwegian culture and society. Development, culture, religion, way of thinking, behavior are the main differences between Norway and Nepal in the respondent’s eyes. Every human being is treated equal in Norwegian society. One of the female respondent answered, “Female are not considered as inferior like in Nepal. We are treated equal and female are working in High level and even the prime minister of Norway in female.”

Norwegian people act according to the reason however Nepali people act according to the emotion. It is also the difference between the West and East. Nepali melts in the emotion of the people and act accordingly whereas Norwegian believe in truth, fact and logic. Development is one of the main difference respondents analyzed when comparing Nepal and Norway. Hari (name changed) explained, “Norway is highly developed country which cannot be compared with Nepal in terms of development. They have done the best way possible in the every sector. Nepal needs to do a lot to be equal in terms of development.”

However, divorce cases and family separation are seen negatively from many respondents’ view. One of the respondent said, “Marriage is considered as the life long lock so Nepalese couple never gets separated once they are married but divorce in Norway is common which is making the family structure quite weak.”

Similarly, another respondent speak about the punctuality of Norwegian. He mentioned, “Time is considered very valuable in Norway so they are very punctual. We have learned the importance of time and now I consider it as money.”

Culture of smoking and drinking alcohol is viewed as negative aspect in Nepal. But in Norway is quite common, Umesh (name changed) mentioned, “I have many Norwegian friends and we are meeting each other frequently. Whenever I meet them they offer me a bottle of beer but back in Nepal it would have cold drink or tea.” He further said, “..... I don’t like the tradition of alcohol and cigarette that is rampant in Norway.”

⁶⁸Fearon (1999).Cited Hogg and Abrams (1988, 2),p.4.

5.8 Duration of Stay in Norway

“National identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalized the symbols of the nation ...”⁶⁹. Immigrants’ duration of stay is categorized as long and short and their perception about their national identity like, citizenship, passport are described below. Respondents who have stayed and want to stay longer than 5 years are mentioned in ‘long’ category and who wants to stay shorter than 5 years is categorized into ‘short’.

Table 15: Duration of Stay in Norway

Duration of stay	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Long	7	53.85
Short	6	46.15
Total	13	100.00

Most of the respondents (53.85%) have and wants to live in Norway for more than 5 years. Two of them have already got the permanent residency (citizenship) and others are in process of getting it. Sudha (name changed) who had the Portuguese nationality is planning to stay permanently in Norway and she has her whole family in Norway. She explained, “I have bought house in Oslo and living here with my family since five years. I have got a permanent job in a company and I am very happy living here.” Similarly, Ashish (name changed) argued, “getting a Norwegian citizenship and passport opens up many opportunities for travelling many countries and getting better employment.”

Many of them are satisfied with the living standard, quality education, environment and the security. Umesh (name changed) who have stayed in Norway one year mentioned, “I am very happy living in Norway but all my family and relatives are in Nepal so I am planning to return back Nepal after completing my studies.” Similarly, Sachin (name changed) also have the similar perception not giving up his national identity as he responded, “I don’t have any plans getting the Norwegian citizenship because to do so I need to give up my Nepalese citizenship and I don’t want to loose my national identity.” Another respondents observe his stay in Norway is temporary because of the tight immigrants policies implemented by the

⁶⁹ Fearon (1999). Cited Bloom (1990, 52), p.4.

Norwegian government. He said, “It is very hard to stay more than 3 years in Norway migrating in a student visa from 2014 because of the new immigrant policy.”

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter gives the analyzed overview of the data presented in the previous chapter in the light of various theoretical approaches. Because of the globalization and modernity migration have become a common phenomenon for the every society and people. People migrate from one place to another for different reasons and this applies in the context of Nepalese as well which we have discussed in the chapter three and four. After the encounter with the new society migrants' cultural norms and values, beliefs and perceptions are changed and modified accordingly to fit in the new society. As we have seen from the previous chapter, there are many changes in the way of life of the Nepalese immigrants of Oslo, which are presented, in the following different sub-headings.

6.1 Changing Pattern of Cultural Norms and Values

As most of the respondents are Hindu, they believe and follow the Hinduism by religion. There are many practice of Hindu taboos in Nepal which have been changed and modified among the Nepalese community in Norway. Women are not allowed to participate in the normal activities during the menstruation period. Menstruation is considered as 'unclean' in Hindu rituals. Women are considered untouchable and are prohibited to touch others (specially men) and even are not allowed to enter into kitchen and bedroom. Further more, in parts of Nepal, women have to suffer extremely during the menstruation. Aru Bharatiya gives an example;

In certain parts of India and Nepal women aren't allowed to live in the residence with other family members. I talked to a woman from a village in Andhra Pradesh, South India she said that during her menses she had to stay in a separate section of the house, built at the back exclusively for this. She wasn't allowed to go out of the house, but when there was a compulsion to go out (going to school etc.), there was a separate door for her to use. This is a very common practice in Hindu households. They also had to cook their food themselves and eat separately.

In Nepal they have 'menstrual huts'. These are small clay homes or cowsheds located 15-10 meters from the main residence. If the woman has a child she stays with him in the hut. At the end of the menstrual cycle they are purified by an oil bath and only then do they become ritually clean again. There are reports of hundreds of women

dying in these homes due to snakebites, severe cold and smoke inhalation. Girls have even been raped during this time. If they don't follow chaupadi (a tradition that forces menstruating woman to live in menstrual huts) they are blamed for misfortunes like animal attacks, crop failures and water shortages.⁷⁰

After arriving in the Norway, immigrants see the women participating and doing the normal activities. There is nothing wrong going on, as Norway is one of the most prosperous and developed countries in the world. They have seen and realized the reality through the Norwegian women and started to test the previous norms and values with reference with the current reality. Now they started to follow the normal life during the menstruation time. We can take the example of Sital (name changed) from the previous chapter who is happy not following the menstrual taboo from her homeland.

Similarly, there are prevalent ill practices like untouchability in Nepal. People from the lower caste are considered as untouchable and treated as second class or non-human. They are discriminated in every sector for instance; they are not restricted to practice the religious norms and values in the same way as other do. In the similar way, they are relegated to do the minor and caste-based work and often discriminated in the schools, colleges, deny entering into the temples. So called upper caste people do not eat the food and drink the water from the hand of the lower caste people and consider as 'untouchable'. Things has been changed in Norway, immigrants have seen the Norwegian system and concept of equality. Every human beings are equal and every one is same. Immigrants in Norway do not follow the caste system and treat everyone equally. Prem (name changed) a lower caste immigrant stated:

I haven't felt any discrimination since I have arrived in Norway. I am living with many other Nepali upper caste friends in the same flat and we share the same kitchen. They do not restrict in anything and we used to do the combine study with them. I also participate in the Dashain program in the same venue and receive the tika from the elderly women.

This statement is supported by one of the upper caste respondent's statement, "I consider every human being equal and traditional caste system is a taboo in Nepalese culture which should be eliminated completely. In the foreign land we should unite together being "Nepali" and should not discriminate mentioning he belongs to this caste and those caste."

⁷⁰Bharatiya, Aru (2013). *Menstruation, Religion and Society*, p. 525.

We have observed many other modifications and changes in cultural and religious belief of Nepalese migrants like; selecting the life partner of their own, adopting in the living together culture, changes in the food habit, changes in the dresses and fashion in the data presentation chapter.

However above mentioned changes appeared in the Nepalese immigrants. Many researchers and scholars emphasise on the immigrants practice of cultural norms and values becomes more stronger after migration than before. This is found in many aspects within the Nepalese community living in Oslo as well. As presented in the previous chapter, a female respondent mentioned that using the Nepali language within the Nepalese community is very important which represent the Nepali identity. Similarly, eating the Nepalese food whenever they have time is also a clear example of practicing the cultural identity in the foreign land.

Almost all of the respondent view celebrating the festivals like Dashain in very important for them. Even the respondent who follow the different religion also participate in the Dashian celebration. They consider Dashain not only as the Hindu festival but as a Nepalese national festival. However there are some festivals which are not celebrated which can be seen as the changing pattern of the cultural norms and values after migration.

6.2 Institutionalization of Identity

Immigrants establish different organization to be identified through the social identity. There are two main organizations of Nepalese in Oslo, which are briefly discussed below:

6.2.1 Nepalese Student Organization in Oslo (NESCO)

This is the umbrella organization of the entire Nepalese student living in Oslo. All the students living in Oslo are the members of this organization. They gather in a certain place in different occasions celebrate the feast and festivals. They share their experience, problems and try to resolve them. Being the member of the organization each individual have to perform the individual as well and collective roles. They are identified through ‘NESCO’ as a member of the community. Any person in recognized through the group he/she connected with.

NESCO organize different programs in the special occasions like, *Dashain*, *Tihar* and New Year. Each member of NESCO are observed as “Nepalese Student who live in Oslo,

Norway'. This organization was established to unite all the Nepalese students and solve the common problems and celebrate the national feast and festivals.

6.2.2 Non-Nepali Resident, Norway (NRN-Norway)

This organization was established to unite all the Nepalese living in Norway whether they be students or professionals. This organization also performs the same function as the NESCO like being the organizer of the Nepalese festival celebration. This organization also represents the social identity of the Nepalese in Norway.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This research is carried out with 'the way of life' of Nepalese immigrants living in Oslo in different purpose. 'The way of life' here is concentrated on how they are spending their daily life, what is social and cultural patterns they have, how worldviews are changing, who is near and who is far, what keeps value and how values are manifested in daily life that are making social order in one way or another. Therefore, it consists of anthropological perspective. In-depth interview has been used as the tools of collecting data. Similarly, the theoretical and conceptual approaches like transnationalism, diaspora, and construction of identity and theories of migration have been applied to analyze the data.

The result of this study shows that there were many aspects in migration. Economic aspect can be considered one of the prime reasons. However, other aspects are such as to gain an education, broaden their horizon, develop their freedom and independence, and to see the western world. Thus, there were considerable underlying social factors behind the respondents' decision to migrate in Norway.

Through our study, we found constant change in social aspect of life. It was encountered that all respondents possess a deep attachment and contact with their families and relatives. This was shown by the constant communication with each other. Change in social institution such as family relationship; decision making actors and distance parenting was also noteworthy findings. The respondents had a certain degree of attachment to homeland political scenario, which was shown by the respondents' constant interest, and collection of information and news from Internet or families. Also homeland association like NESCO plays an important role in bringing all communities together and sharing the culture and tradition with Nepalese migrants.

It was found that most of the Nepalese migrants were supporting their families in Nepal financially. As many of the Nepalese partners come from middle class families, the economic opportunities have enabled them to earn better income than in Nepal so that they can help their families. Almost all of the Nepalese partners expressed willingness to continue financial support and also to go back to take care of their parents if it is needed. Though the remittance sent from Norway by the Nepalese migrants may not be significant for the investment, it definitely contributes to raise the household savings and improvement in quality of life for

the Nepalese families.

The immigrant's way of life is influenced by the new norms and values of host country, norms and values of other immigrants, and inflows of new knowledge but their impact is uneven. The cultural patterns can be seen even in stronger way than they had in their homeland, Nepal. They celebrate their festivals like *Dashain*, *Tihar* and *Teej* importantly. Nepalese migrants seemed to have been influenced by western culture and style of living. Some of the social norms and values can be seen changed. Negative rituals like the untouchability, gender discrimination, discrimination in lower and upper caste etc. no longer practiced in Norway. These changes can be seen mostly in evaluation sector than cognitive and affective aspects of worldviews, which are guiding to set the social norms and values rather than cultural patterns. Women are more encouraged, inspired and empowered by the interaction with Norwegian women's way of life. Age, gender, caste, economic background and education status plays an important role in the migration process of the Nepalese.

For the immigrants, the nationality and language are the foremost recognition of 'us'. The fear of disappearing their identity is making them strong and attentive on nationalism and language identity. The second level 'us' is geographical location of their home in Nepal, the third level 'us' is religious denominations they belong to. Most of them are living happily in Norway and visiting their origin country once or twice in a year. However, some of them are facing the problem of unemployment because of the language problem and also compelled to do the very un-skilled job.

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