





AGRUMIG POLICY BRIEF SERIES

NO. 26 | AUGUST 2023

Migration Governance and Agricultural and Rural Change

Findings from a Consultation Workshop in Madhesh Province of Nepal

Sujit Maharjan, Krishna Kumar Sah, Fraser Sugden & Arjun Kharel

INTRODUCTION

In the year 2021/22 alone, over 100,000 labour permits were issued to migrant workers from Madhesh Province for employment primarily in countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and Malaysia. Saudi Arabia and Qatar received the largest number of Nepali migrants from Madhesh Province, with 37,822 and 36,358, respectively, in 2021/22 (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security, 2022). This paper presents key points raised and discussed at a workshop organised in Janakpur, the capital of Madhesh Province of Nepal, on 12 July 2022, on agricultural and rural changes in the context of this high rate of international labour migration from the province. The workshop provided a unique opportunity to bring together farmers, returnee migrants, academics and relevant representatives from the provincial government to generate a dialogue around the divergent outcomes of migrant labour for rural communities, and the barriers and opportunities to harness remittances to support rural development.

The workshop was one of a series of consultation meetings organised under the AGRUMIG research project—a seven-country

research project which sought to understand the two-way relationship between agricultural development and labour migration. The event was organised by the Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility, Social Science Baha, in collaboration with the University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, International Water Management Institute-Nepal. Nepal Madhesh Foundation (NEMAF) provided local coordination and logistical support for the meeting. The meeting consisted of an opening presentation of preliminary findings of the AGRUMIG field research in Nepal, followed by a panel discussion and open floor discussion. This paper is based on a thematic analysis of the proceedings of the day. (For all research outputs of the AGRUMIG project please refer to https://agrumig.iwmi.org/ deliverables/.)

MAJOR THEMES

The comments and observations from the participants focused on themes such as challenges related to agriculture, the migration context and its impacts, and limitations of existing



Stakeholders participating in the discussion on agriculture and migration at the workshop. Photo: Shalini Gupta

agriculture-related policies and programmes. Along with some stories of success, recommendations and suggestions for improvement in this sector were also made. These themes are thoroughly discussed below.

Challenges related to agriculture

One of the major themes that emerged in the workshop was the challenges faced by the agriculture sector. As highlighted by the participants, these included shortage of farm labourers, and lack of regulation in the price of agricultural inputs such as seeds and fertilisers, facts that have been widely reported in Nepal (Gupta, Kharel, & Sugden, 2022). Other emerging and more locally specific challenges in the district included threats from wild animals—farmers and other stakeholders said that wild elephants, monkeys, wild boars and blue cows (boselaphus tragocamelus), or nilgai, had become

a major threat to agriculture. These animals destroyed crops and also attacked people. It was especially difficult for women-headed households to go to the field at night to chase off the wild animals. A participant said:

There are many incidents of injuries because of wild boar's attacks in our villages as they not only destroy crops but also attack people. Furthermore, they also have a very high rate of reproduction.²

The problem of irrigation was also pointed out. Small farmers with limited resources were particularly vulnerable as farmers with bigger plots of land had more resources and access to water pumps for irrigation (Sugden, et al., 2014; Bhandari & Pandey, 2006; Gupta et al., 2022).³ The Chair of Ward No. 1 of Bideha Rural Municipality, Dhanusha district said:

Even small farmers want to rent a water pump for irrigation but the pump owner does not entertain

them because the business is very small.4

Participants said shortage of labour and agricultural inputs had further amplified challenges in agriculture. According to the ward chair, although there was fertile land, there was a scarcity of agricultural workers as a result of labour migration.⁵ He said this was because of lower wages for farm work compared to nonfarm work. A farmer would not be able to pay more than Rs 300-400 rupees per day but the same worker could get a much higher amount in another sector of employment.⁶ Further, the 'market' stood out as one of the major factors contributing to the challenge faced in the agriculture sector. The ward chair and a farmers' representative highlighted the fact that while farmers have to purchase seeds, fertilisers and other inputs at a high cost, prices of their agricultural produce had not increased proportionately, as shown in the literature as well (Raut & Sitaula, 2012; Kharel, Sugden, & Dessalegn, 2023).⁷ The ward chair elaborated:

The price of salt has gone up to 20 rupees from four rupees but that of wheat has increased to 30-35 rupees from 15 rupees per kg. The prices of agricultural produce have not increased at the same ratio as other goods which are exported and imported in large amounts.8

A farmer said that they did not even get seeds and fertilisers at all or had to pay very high prices, and it is likely that this phenomenon has been aggravated by global shortages (Hebebrand & Glauber, 2023).9 Despite many organisations/institutions working in the agriculture sector, seeds and fertilisers were sold through agencies that usually sell in the black market and hence, farmers have to buy them at high prices. 10 On the other hand, a matching selling price for what they produced appeared as another significant obstacle for the farmers. He elaborated:

It costs around 2,000 rupees to grow paddy on 1 katha¹¹ but the price for a sack of rice (40 kg) is 1,500 to 1,800 rupees. A tractor charges 2,500 rupees per hour which generally ploughs

8 katha in an hour. So, we can easily calculate the costs of agricultural products. If there is no other income source, a farmer cannot grow crops even by selling his/her land.12

Participants were also concerned about the degradation of the most valuable resources of Nepal, such as water, forests and land, with the government being a major player in this process. As one participant elaborated:

In the last 60-70 years, the Nepal Government has degraded the most valuable things of Nepal: water, forest and land.¹³

Migration context and impacts

Participants at the workshop pointed out that labour migration from the province takes place in the context of inadequate agricultural production in sustaining livelihoods¹⁴ as their agricultural produce is not even sufficient enough for them to last a year (Gupta, Kharel, & Sugden, 2022). In these households, the family members engage in labour migration to compensate for lack of land and to meet urgent cash needs (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2019; Kharel, Sugden, & Dessalegn, 2023). A participant said she had improved her life through foreign employment since farming was very difficult as the production cost was very high.¹⁵ She added:

Although farmers are the backbone of Nepal, it is very difficult to live by farming these days. I did not achieve anything in life by farming on 1 bigha16 of land for four years. I had a loan of 70,000 rupees in 2006. I did not have any means to pay back the loan by farming. So, I went for foreign employment and have improved my situation now.17

Although the economic impact of international labour migration was largely positive, these impacts were not similar across migrant households. Poor families benefited less from foreign employment as most of the remittances was spent on repaying loans taken for labour migration whereas the families with some land and other sources of income benefitted more.¹⁸ But, overall, as the former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City said, foreign employment has brought positive changes in the condition of even the poorest families which were unable to afford two meals a day. Through remittances, these families can now afford good food, good education for children in private English-medium schools, good clothes and can now celebrate festivals and other cultural functions requiring big expenditure (Adhikari & Hobley, 2011).19 She added:

Our employment system and the economy are so harsh that if there was no foreign employment, people would have to eat other people. The whole social system would have collapsed.²⁰

A positive change in the community somewhat associated with labour migration was the decline in exploitation. In the past, for instance, the poor used to take 40 kg of paddy in October from the landlord and pay back 60 kg in December. They even had to work for 4-5 days without wages to borrow the grain. Fortunately, such exploitation hardly exists these days.²¹

On the other hand, participants also highlighted some negative repercussions of foreign labour migration. It was argued that the wives of male migrant workers are looked at suspiciously and their movements are scrutinised whenever they go out of the house for anything, such as visiting children's schools to pay fees, shopping, visiting banks, etc (Sijapati et al., 2017). They added that people gossiped and criticised the 'left-behind' women while a few women had also been 'trapped' by men with bad intentions. Because of this, there were ruptures in family relations and some families had even fallen apart. Workshop participants said that despite all these stories of suffering and hardships, households were forced to send their family members for foreign employment due to their poor economic condition.²² However, even after bringing back some capital from foreign employment, migrants were still neglected in society and had difficulty adjusting.²³ A returnee woman migrant said women were at a higher risk and vulnerable in many ways. As she put it:

If a woman goes on foreign employment, then there is a chance of victimisation. Even if she is from a family with another member engaged in foreign employment, she still suffers. So, women are at the risk of victimisation and suffer in several ways.24

One of the participants also highlighted the problems experienced by migrant workers in countries like Malaysia. He added that several youth gangs in Malaysia teased, misbehaved, threatened, beat and snatched from Nepali migrant workers whatever they could find, thus affecting the safety and security of Nepalis abroad.25

Stories of success with agriculture

There are not only challenges, obstacles and problems in agriculture, but some success stories was well, as shared at the workshop. A small farmer said she had paid for her three children's education through farming. No one from her family had gone for foreign employment and everything she had done was through her tomato and mango farm.²⁶ Another returnee migrant and a farmer currently engaged in fish farming said:

Two months after returning home, there was a call for bids in Bideha Rural Municipality for a fish pond. As I was interested, my father encouraged me to bid. At that time, I had savings of about 700,000 rupees I had brought from Saudi Arabia. I decided to spend that amount on the bid for the pond. I successfully won the bid for the fish pond. I started my business investing all of the amount. At present, I am doing fish farming in 8–9 ponds on lease after winning bids. One pond requires an investment of around 600,000 rupees per year for fish farming.27

He added that he came to know about several programmes for returnee youths from foreign employment while contacting the Agricultural



Former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City highlights critical government interventions and challenges in the agriculture sector in Madhesh. Photo: Shalini Gupta

Development Bank, Khajuri Branch. He managed to take out a loan of 2 million rupees and with the help of five friends he expanded his business.28

Policies and programmes on agriculture

The workshop participants highlighted the limitations in the existing policies and programmes in agriculture, such as subsidised loans, grants and other support programmes for farmers.

Support programmes for farmers

Representatives from agencies such as the Agricultural Knowledge Centre, Animal Service Center and the Prime Minister Agriculture Modernization Project (PMAMP) of the federal government and agricultural cooperatives said they have been supporting farmers conduct various programmes and providing numerous services.29 Various youth-oriented programmes such as animal husbandry, goat- and sheep-rearing, vegetable farming and fisheries had also been implemented targeting youths who returned from abroad.30 A federal government official remarked that the programmes are implemented through municipalities and rural municipalities and information is provided to all farmers. He said:

In the past, because of the centralised system of governance, services of the government would not reach villages. After federalism, Kathmandu's programmes have come to every municipality. In the past, there was a lack of information but now farmers don't have any difficulty getting information. If there is a problem with getting information then there is a question on federalism.31

Furthermore, the government of Nepal has tried to set the minimum support price for paddy. The government is also planning to set the minimum support price for wheat and corn and strengthen the local level to set minimum prices as necessary so that there is no need to depend on the federal government or the provincial government for this (Kharel, Sugden, & Dessalegn, 2023; Gupta, Kharel, & Sugden, 2022).³²

The senior fishery development officer at Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Centre said that a programme—Youth Rathi—has been launched especially for the youth who returned from abroad and were worried about employment. He said:

Animal farms have been built, big greenhouses have been built along with plastic tunnels; these are the types of development activities happening under the programme'.³³

It was also pointed out that information is being disseminated through radio, television, newspapers, Krishi³⁴ app and other networks in order to support farmers. The government-launched Krishi app can be easily operated by everyone who uses Facebook and other social media.³⁵

Reasons for lack of government support for agriculture

The senior fishery development officer contended although the federal government had allocated substantial funds for the agricultural sector through the local government, there was a problem with local governments as they did not allocate enough for agricultural sectors in the Tarai.³⁶ He added that in some cases, there were other problems like some farmers not working properly after receiving grants although many had made proper use of the grant and succeeded as well.

The former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City said that people's lack of advocacy and lobbying for the investments by the government was a major factor in the under-investment in agriculture. She argued

that people were not aware and conscious regarding agriculture; hence, they came requesting for the municipality's investments on roads, beautification of ponds and making temples but not for agriculture, and the same people later blamed the government for not doing anything.³⁷ She added that the blame game continues between related stakeholders:

People blame the local government, the local government blames the provincial government and the provincial government blames the federal government which in turn blames the local government for not addressing the issues of the general public. So, they all go on a blaming cycle rather than delivering.³⁸

A government official pointed out that since the country is in the initial stage of the implementation of federalism, this process has been impeded by the lack of human resources. ³⁹ He said the local government has the responsibility related to agriculture but it is working with available human resources. He requested farmers to stay in touch with the agricultural extension or agricultural service extension sections at the local level. ⁴⁰ He cautioned that since agriculture is a multifaceted sector that included fruits, grains, fish farming, livestock and various crops, a single approach would not be applicable to all municipalities even if they were self-sufficient.

It could be observed that there was a difference between the government's policies, laws and provisions and the ground reality (OAG, 2021a as cited in Gupta, Kharel, & Sugden, 2022). Reports and publications showed that agriculture was good in Madhesh Province but in reality, that was not the case. Farmers were not happy with their agricultural production and their livelihoods were not improving. Workshop participants drew the attention of different stakeholders to think and support the farmers in overcoming these new challenges of agriculture in Madhesh Province. As one of them said:

If we do not think and take proper action

against these new challenges, then, after a few years, there will be no crops to reap as these animals have a very high rate of reproduction. A single wild boar gives birth to 10-15 babies at a time. Because of water in the fields, paddy farming is a little safe but vegetable farming and wheat farming are at high risk now.43

Challenges in accessing government programmes

Participants at the workshop raised the issues of unequal distribution of agricultural subsidies and grants in the province. The crux of the problem was the distribution of subsidies and grants without the classification of farmers. Some farmers were unhappy that they did not qualify for subsidised water pumps provided by the federal government. One of them elaborated:

I also raised my voice against the water pump subsidy provision in front of the members of the House of Representatives. There are many farmers owning less than 5 katha land in my village but the government has made provision of providing water pumps only to the farmers with 2 bigha. I want to know how a small farmer (with 5 katha) can get a water pump subsidy.⁴⁴

It was also brought to light that knowing people in authority and political reach was the most important factor while getting subsidies and benefits from the government rather than the eligibility criteria.

I have 6 bigha of land but I didn't get a water pump to irrigate my land. However, people having 5-6 katha of land with the right connections got water pumps.⁴⁵

The chief of the District Agriculture Knowledge Centre expressed his limitations as he was bound by the government's guidelines. As a result, he could not provide water pump subsidies to the farmers with less than 2 bigha of land even though most of the farmers did not have such a large landholdings.⁴⁶

I am a person who knows well about the ongoing situation here but I am bound by a professional responsibility to follow the provision. Hence, I cannot provide a water pump. In such a

situation, sometimes I struggle between real problems and provisional obstacles.⁴⁷

The official added that the high rate of illiteracy among farmers was an obstacle in farmers' access to existing programmes. He said there were provisions for submission of proposals for grants but not even 50 per cent of the farmers were literate. On top of that, the real needy farmers could not write proposals, creating middlemen and the high possibility of misuse of grants.48 He also admitted that availability, accessibility and affordability for farmers should be the core guiding principle while making plans for subsidies and grants to farmers to increase productivity.49

A farmer and a returnee migrant said they had heard about availability of agricultural grants from the government but had never received such grants from either the government or non-governmental organisations.⁵⁰ They added that famers also did not know how to apply and get funding support. Likewise, another participant said:

I even went to Kathmandu several times [to access grant] but I did not find anyone or any institution to support me. I tried more than 10 times in the livestock development office, Janakpur for support but couldn't get anything from there as well.⁵¹

Moreover, he added that poor farmers did not have a chance of getting such services and facilities as they lacked the right information and even if they found out, they did not have any connections with big political leaders to get such facilities from the Nepal government.⁵² As a consequence, many opted for foreign employment with informal loans at high interest rates. The Gulf countries and Malaysia were the major destinations for the poor whereas the rich went to study in the UK, USA and other countries, according to another participant.53

Participants pointed out that the clear distinction between upper class big farmers and poor small farmers. Small farmers were unaware of projects and programmes of the Nepal government, and as a result, unable to benefit from such projects.54 One of them said:

Only the upper class and rich people with access to leaders and authorities take advantage of such opportunities and resources provided by the state whereas, the voiceless and poor are unable to access them.55

In a similar vein, a farmer's representatives added:

The government limits information and publishes notices on irrigation, fertilisers and other agricultural support for a short period. So, such information does not reach the real farmers. People who are rich and close to political leaders have access to such information and capitalise on the opportunity even though they are not real farmers.⁵⁶

Challenges in implementing programmes

Representatives from government bodies highlighted the challenges in implementing programmes. A major problem was the lack of skilled and trained human resources at government offices. The former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City said:

In my five years as the deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City, I was not provided with any staff to support me in the agriculture sector for the first four years.⁵⁷

She added that it was difficult for her to take concrete action in the absence of an agricultural expert in the team as she was not one herself. Eventually, she was provided with an expert but it was the last year of her tenure and she could not do much. Nonetheless, the sub-metropolitan city still managed to arrange dealerships for fertiliser distribution, formed committees and allocated budgets for agriculture. But they could not implement the programmes properly due to the unavailability of sufficient human resources.58

It was also pointed out that the implementation of the agriculture programmes was affected by the problem in the definition of a farmer, depriving 'real' farmers of intended benefits. A participant, a fishery development officer, even questioned, 'Whom should we call a farmer? Is a farmer someone who works in the field sweating under the sun or a person wearing a good dhoti, kurta and gamchha visiting offices for subsidies and grants in the name of a farmer?'59

Based on my working experience as a government employee, I have found many fake farmers going from office to office seeking subsidies, grants and other benefits instead of working in the field.⁶⁰

She added:

People come to the office seeking a programme, saying that they are the chairperson of some farmers' group and also belong to a political party. They come with some documents in a file and leave them on the table and start the conversation in reference to a political party and other powerful associations. Sometimes they also use threatening language.⁶¹

But she also assured that support and assistance was provided based on authentic documents and without any bias. She did confess that such incidents made her job really difficult. She talked of one such incident that took place after she had just started working.

When I was new in government employment there was an application for a grant to dig a new pond. I reviewed the documents. I found the pond was old and so rejected the support. The gentleman belonged to the Nepali Congress party and he complained to the District Administration Office. After that, I had to visit the CDO [Chief District Officer] many times for justification. At last, I convinced the CDO giving all valid reasons to prove he was not a real farmer.62

Recommendations and Suggestions

Workshop participants provided some recommendations and suggestions for improvement in the agricultural sector in Madhesh Province. The participants said the government and other institutions had to make seeds, fertilisers and agricultural machineries easily available to the farmers⁶³ and also regulate their prices as per the global market along if need be by reducing taxes while importing them.⁶⁴

The former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City also suggested that women from families of migrant workers to form a group and start a savings programme which would not only help them during times of crisis but also help gain respect in society and protect them from people with bad intentions.65 She pointed out the easily available government support for women working as a group. She also advised the local government to develop cooperatives in every ward for agriculture with the support of all three tiers of government.66

The participants also advocated budget allocation for youth returnee migrants⁶⁷ and a well-maintained database of farmers based on which technical and subsidised loans for entrepreneurship could be provided along with effective monitoring of progress.⁶⁸

Government officials urged everyone to use the Krishi app for authentic information and notices about agriculture-related policies, guidelines, grants, and other information as the government had limited resources and could not reach everyone at the individual level.⁶⁹

The former deputy mayor and other participants said there was a lack of financial knowledge and culture of investing among people. Hence, there is a need for plans, policies, regulations, programmes and activities focusing on saving, investing and financial management.70

Some participants urged the farmers to make smart decisions about what to plan. One of the farmers' representatives suggested that a comparison between paddy/wheat farming and investment costs can be made and

if farmers find that to be costly, they can opt for market-oriented cash crops.⁷¹ Furthermore, he urged returnee migrant workers to make proper investment and utilisation of skills learnt during foreign employment. He was concerned that many returnees used remittances to buy motorbikes and expensive mobile phones rather than invest in agriculture and other sectors.72

Participants also called for the **provisions** for land banks so that interested farmers could lease land for farming.⁷³ There should be **mechanisms to support farmers** as well as encourage families of returnee migrants to start farming⁷⁴ besides creating a supportive political environment for farmers.75 Participants also pointed out the need for a ward assembly where farmers could share their problems and inform each other about the facilities and programmes of the government, how they could take advantage of such programmes, and how the allocated budget had been used.⁷⁶

Participants also pointed out that the processes accessing government programmes should be made easier for all farmers. A participant revealed that even though there were provisions for loans at minimal interest rates farmers often left the loan process halfway as it was lengthy and full of governmental hassles.77

Participants at the consultation workshop asked for proper coordination between the three tiers of government. In the past, in the absence of good coordination among government bodies, government plans and programmes were not effectively carried out, and it resulted in an unspent budget that was frozen at the end of the fiscal year.78

REFERENCES

- Adhikari, J., & Hobley, M. (2011). Everyone is leaving who will sow our fields? The effects of migration from khotang district to the Gulf and Malaysia. Kathmandu: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).
- Bhandari, H., & Pandey, S. (2006). Economics of groundwater irrigation in Nepal: Some farm-level evidences. Journal of Agricultural and Applied Economics, 38(1), 185-199.
- Gupta, S., Kharel, A., & Sugden, F. (2022). Migration and COVID-19 in context: Labor migration and the agriculture sector in Nepal. Migration Governanace & Agricultural and Rural Change (AGRUMIG). Retrieved from https://agrumig.iwmi.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2022/06/AGRUMIG-Policy-Brief-Series-No-5.pdf
- Hebebrand, C., & Glauber, J. (2023, March 09). The Russia-Ukraine war after a year: Impacts on fertilizer production, prices, and trade flows. Retrieved from International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI): https://www.ifpri.org/blog/russia-ukraine-war-after-year-impacts-fertilizer-production-prices-and-trade-flows#:~:text=Russia's%202022%20invasion%20of%20Ukraine,%2D%20and%20-mid%2Dincome%20countries
- Kharel, A., Sugden, F., & Dessalegn, M. (2023). Labor shortage and changes in land use patterns: Experiences from migrant communities in Ethiopia and Nepal. Migration Governance & Agricultural and Rural Change (AGRUMIG).
- Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security. (2022). Nepal labour migration report 2022. Kathmandu: Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security. Retrieved from https://moless.gov.np/storage/files/post_files/Nepal%20Labour%20Migration%20Report_2022.pdf
- National Planning Commission (NPC). (2019). The food security atlas of Nepal. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission and United Nations World Food Programme. Retrieved from https://nepalindata.com/media/resources/items/20/bFood_Security_Atlas_2019.pdf
- Raut, N., & Sitaula, B. K. (2012). Assessment of fertilizer policy, farmers' perceptions and implications for future agricultural development in Nepal. Sustainable Agriculture Research, 1, 526-2016-37838.
- Sijapati, B., Lama, A. S., Baniya, J., Rinck, J., Jha, K., & Gurung, A. (2017). Labour migration and the remittance economy: The socio-political impact. Kathmandu: Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility.
- Sugden, F., Maskey, N., Clement, F., Ramesh, V., Philip, A., & Rai, A. (2014). Agrarian stress and climate change in the Eastern Gangetic Plains: Gendered vulnerability in a stratified social formation. Global Environmental Change, 29, 258-269.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Nilgai (boselaphus tragocamelus), literally meaning 'blue cow', is the largest antelope of Asia, and is ubiquitous across the northern Indian subcontinent.
- 2 Nandani Yadav, provincial officer of Food-first Information and Action Network (FIAN) Nepal.
- 3 Sanjay Panday, ward chair of Bideha Rural Municipality, Dhanusha.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Sanjay Panday, ward chair of Bideha Rural Municipality, Dhanusha. 'Rupees' in this paper refers to Nepali rupees unless otherwise stated.
- 7 Sanjay Panday, ward chair of Bideha Rural Municipality, Dhanusha; Narayan Prasad Shah, farmers' representative.
- 8 Sanjay Panday, ward chair of Bideha Rural Municipality, Dhanusha.
- 9 These have been brought about by reduced exports by China and sanctions on Russia.
- 10 Surya Nath Paswan.
- 11 *Katha* is a unit of area mostly used for land measure in eastern India, Nepal, and Bangladesh. In Nepal, a *katha* is equivalent to 338.63 square metres (3,645 square feet).
- 12 Surya Nath Paswan.
- 13 Pradip Singh Danuwar, farmer.
- 14 Sabita Jha, fishery development officer, Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Center.
- 15 Krishna Maya BK, returnee migrant.
- 16 The *bigha* (also formerly *beegah*) is a traditional unit of measurement of area of a land, commonly used in northern India (including Uttarakhand, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Assam, Gujarat and Rajasthan), Bangladesh and Nepal. 1 Bigha = 20 Kattha about 6,772.63 square metres or 72,900 square feet.
- 17 Krishna Maya BK, returnee migrant.
- 18 Tula Narayan Shah, executive director of NEMAF.
- 19 Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Shyam Sundar Shashi, journalist of Kantipur national daily and lecturer of Maithili.
- 22 Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City.
- 23 Dukharan Yadav, returnee migrant.
- 24 Krishna Maya BK, returnee migrant.
- 25 Surya Nath Yadav.
- 26 Janaki Devi Chaudhary, farmer.
- 27 Shyam Sundar Das, returnee migrant and farmer.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ravi Lal Sharma, senior fishery development officer, Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Centre.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 App developed by the Government of Nepal to disseminate information and notices regarding agriculture.
- 35 Ravi Lal Sharma, senior fishery development officer, Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Center.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ravi Lal Sharma, senior fishery development officer, Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Center.

- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Narayan Prasad Shah, farmers' representative.
- 42 Nandani Yadav, provincial officer of FIAN Nepal.
- 44 Manoj Kumar Sah, cooperative manager.
- 45 Surya Nath Paswan.
- 46 Shankar Prasad Sah, head of District Agriculture Knowledge Centre, Dhanusha.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Shyam Sundar Das, returnee migrant and farmer; Surya Nath Yadav.
- 51 Surya Nath Yadav.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Dukharan Yadav, returnee migrant.
- 54 Tula Narayan Shah, executive director of NEMAF.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Narayan Prasad Shah, farmers' representative.
- 57 Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Sabita Jha, fishery development officer, Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Centre.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Surya Nath Paswan.
- 64 Shankar Prasad Sah, head of District Agriculture Knowledge Center, Dhanusha.
- 65 Krishna Maya BK, returnee migrant; Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City.
- 66 Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City.
- 67 Surva Nath Yadav.
- 68 Pradip Singh Danuwar, farmer.
- 69 Ravi Lal Sharma, senior fishery development officer, Fisheries Human Resource Development and Technology Validation Center; Tula Narayan Shah, executive director of NEMAF.
- 70 Rita Kumari Mishra, former deputy mayor of Janakpurdham Sub-Metropolitan City; Dukharan Yadav, returnee migrant.
- 71 Narayan Prasad Shah, farmers' representative.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Pradip Singh Danuwar, farmer.
- 74 Krishna Maya BK, returnee migrant.
- 75 Bhogendra Yadav.
- 76 Surya Nath Paswan.
- 77 Bhogendra Yadav.
- 78 Narayan Prasad Shah, farmers' representative.

AGRUMIG POLICY BRIEF SERIES

This policy brief is one in a series of briefs produced as part of the AGRUMIG project.

Sujit Maharjan (MEd) is a researcher at Social Science Baha, Kathmandu, Nepal. His research interests include inclusive education, disability studies, languages, migration and climate change.

Krishna Kumar Sah (MPhil) is a research and program manager at Nepal Madhesh Foundation. He has conducted research on human trafficking, language, local governance, federalism, gender, agriculture and marginalization. He is also an editor of Madhesh Adhyayan, a Nepali journal dedicated to the study of Madhesh.

Fraser Sugden (PhD) is Associate Professor of Human Geography at School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences at University of Birmingham. He specialises in agrarian change, rural political economy and migration and has been conducting research in the Tarai-Madhesh since 2006.

Arjun Kharel (PhD) is an assistant professor of sociology at Tribhuvan University and a research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility at Social Science Baha, Kathmandu, Nepal. His research focuses on migration, labour, social change, and development.

AGRUMIG PROJECT

The project titled AGRUMIG 'Leaving something behind' - Migration governance and agricultural & rural change in 'home' communities: Comparative experience from Europe, Asia and Africa proposes an integrated approach to migration governance to address the two-way relationship between labor mobility and changes in agriculture and the rural sector. Migration creates challenges for rural 'sending' communities in low- and middle-income countries, yet it can also be transformative. The project engages in a comparative analysis of seven countries (China, Ethiopia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Morocco, Nepal and Thailand) to identify the economic, institutional, cultural and agroecological factors which shape these relationships. It will identify the range of governance interventions that can harness migration to stimulate sustainable, gender equitable growth in agriculture, and reduce the distress associated with migration.

Donor: European Union (EU) Horizon 2020 Framework Programme (H2020) under grant agreement number 822730

(Call: Towards forward-looking migration governance: Addressing the challenges, assessing capacities and designing future strategies)

Project website: http://agrumig.iwmi.org

For more information on the project, contact: Angela Haynes, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK (ah121@soas.ac.uk)

This project is part of the MARIS (Migration, Agriculture and Resilience: Initiative for Sustainability) network (http://maris.iwmi.org)































