

Preliminary Research on Nepalese Immigrant Workers in Penang: Gurkha Veterans' Connection for Oversea Nepalese Workers

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Abstract

This is my preliminary research report based on interviews with 31 Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang, Malaysia. I experienced three short terms of fieldwork in Malaysia in August 2009, February 2010, and March 2011. However, my first fieldwork term was just for preparatory research. All the data presented here were obtained in my second and third fieldwork terms in Penang. Since Malaysia has been enjoying rapid economic growth, many foreign Asian immigrant workers have rushed into the country. My research found that most Nepalese workers in Penang belonged to “Matwali” (alcohol-drinking Mongolian ethnic groups in Nepal).

There are two reasons Matwali men tend to pursue foreign work more than those in other higher castes. First, they are socially and politically “vulnerable people,” ranked only slightly higher than the Untouchables within contemporary Bahun-Chhetri-dominated Nepal. Since the Maoist insurgency occurred in 1996, Nepal has been suffering from economic stagnation. Such economic difficulty pushes the Nepalese to look for foreign immigrant jobs.

Secondly, among Matwali castes, particularly Gurungs and Magars, there has been a strong tradition to become Gurkha soldiers. Hence, Matwali boys can easily develop intimate relationships with “Gurkha veterans” (ex-Gurkha soldiers), and they are significantly influenced by Matwali veteran’s way of life.

All these Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang have suffered from the strain of a large amount of personal debt. At the same time, most of them had acquired loans with high interest rates from the Nepalese man-power agencies when they left Nepal for Malaysia. They complained about the man-power agencies and showed their resentment against the agencies for the confiscation of their original passports in Malaysia. However, they worked very diligently and led an economical life in Penang to save money because of their obligation to repay their debts in Nepal.

As far as I know, “Gurkha soldiers on active duty” (lafre) and “ex-Gurkha soldiers” (bupu-lafre) have a worldwide connection across the nations of the erstwhile British Empire. I know that many of the bosses who head Nepalese man-power offices are ex-Gurkha soldiers. Hence, in writing the present paper, I am exploring the hypothesis that a Gurkha connection may function to combine the

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Nepalese need for work with the Malaysian need for foreign immigrant workers. This exploration will be my next research task.

Keywords: Malaysia, Penang, Tourism, Nepalese immigrant workers, Gurkha veterans' connection, British Empire in Asia

1 . Research Methods and Goal

As an anthropologist focused on Nepal, I have already acknowledged that many Nepalese young people have gone to countries of the erstwhile British Empire, including Malaysia, as foreign immigrant workers. This trend has increased since 1996 in response to domestic political deterioration caused by the Maoist insurgence. This political deterioration in Nepal and my busy schedule as an executive administrator have kept me from returning to Nepal for the past three years.

I have been a member of a joint-research project called "Poverty Reduction of the Under-class People by Tourist Industry in Asia," headed by Prof. Nobukiyo Eguchi and Prof. Masami Fujimaki of Ritsumeikan University. Prof. M. Fujimaki, in one of meetings for this project, gave us interesting information regarding the contemporary growth of the Malaysian economy that has attracted many Asian immigrant workers from Nepal to Malaysia. This motivated me to initiate my present research on Nepalese immigrant workers in Malaysia in order to compare Nepalese people in other countries.

I conducted my first fieldwork term in Malaysia from August 27 through September 5, 2009. Prof. Nobukiyo Eguchi served as the guide for this initial fieldwork. For the first few days, we stayed in Kuala Lumpur (hereafter, KL), the capital of Malaysia, and, after visiting the University of Malaysia, we went to downtown KL to sightsee as well as look for Nepalese immigrant workers gathering downtown. From KL, then, we went to Penang by long-distance bus on September 1. As soon as we arrived at the bus station in Penang, Mr. James Lim, one of my university's foreign students from Malaysia, welcomed us and took us to the hotel in his car. He was a Penang-born Chinese Malaysian student, and at that time, he was staying with his family during spring vacation.

I did not know any Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang. Hence, Mr. Lim suggested that I would meet the Nepalese immigrant workers in his father's factory in Penang. He brought two middle-aged Nepalese male workers to my hotel room in his car. I received very helpful information from these workers, and I used their information to develop my basic questionnaire (see: Table 12) for further research. Just before their departure from my room, I asked them to help me look for Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang, and the two promised to do so.

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My second fieldwork term in Penang occurred from February 25 through March 3, 2010. Thanks to the Institute of Human & Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University, again sponsored this fieldwork of mine. This time I flew directly into Penang Airport from Kansai International Airport and stayed in B-Suit Hotel for the entire period. Mr. James Lim again helped me as a local research assistant. Since he is a Penang native and has his own car, he was able to take me anywhere I needed to go. Here, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for his dedicated help with my research.

I started my research activities by contacting the list of friends that two Nepalese workers had given me almost half a year before. I used the questionnaire form I developed to address my questions to the interviewees; they all wrote their answers on the questionnaire form. I primarily used English as did the interviewees, though they sometimes responded in Nepali. I made it a rule to ask each Nepalese worker I interviewed to introduce me to his Nepalese friends in Penang. This is a “snow-balling method” of collecting informants. I also had a chance to visit one of their hostels where eight Nepalese workers lived together to conduct participant observation. In this way, in the second fieldwork, I was able to complete 10 interviews.

My third fieldwork visit to Malaysia was conducted between March 3 and March 10, 2011. I flew in to Penang and flew back to Osaka. Over the seven days I spent in Penang, I remained in the same, B-Suit Hotel. Every day, I conducted my interview-based research after Nepalese workers came back to their hostel, around 8 p.m. I interviewed 21 Nepalese workers during the third fieldwork term. Hence, in total, data from 31 Nepalese immigrant workers were used to write the present paper.

I must admit to some methodological deficiencies that affected my interview-oriented research in Penang. Firstly, I did not have long hours to devote to each interview. For the purpose of my statistical analysis, I have to collect more than 100 data items. However, the snow-balling methods did not function well when it came to finding many Nepalese workers. The 31 personal interviews were insufficient for meaningful statistical analysis. Hence, giving up on the prospect of statistical analysis, I attempted to arrange my data from the 31 Nepalese immigrant workers in the forms shown in Table 1 through Table 7. Certainly, I will be able to add more data to ensure statistical meaningfulness in my future research in Penang. However, there is no guarantee that I will be able to find 30 new Nepalese workers to talk to every year I visit Penang.

Secondly, anthropological research is based on the establishment of good “rapport” (mutual trust between a researcher and the researched). Indeed, in such short-term fieldwork it is impossible to construct good rapport with subjects. This is a major reason I adopted an interview-like research approach, following sociologists and psychologists. However, I firmly believe that even research based on sociological or psychological

questionnaires requires a minimum level of rapport. Without some rapport with a researcher, interviewees will attempt to conceal personal truths or to tailor their honest answers to the questions offered.

During my research in Penang, I did not have time to form any degree of rapport with my Nepalese workers. I am afraid my lack of rapport with Nepalese workers in this research has been reflected in their refusal to answer certain sensitive questions, such as those regarding caste-names, yearly salaries, and remittances, and those regarding the content of respondents' jobs. If I had devoted more time to each interview, I would have been able to ask respondents to answer those questions. This leaves me with a serious methodological dilemma regarding the accuracy of data and the amount of data in my trial adoption of questionnaire-oriented interviews for anthropological research.

Lastly, I have now come to believe that the problems of foreign immigrant workers are sensitive issues in Malaysia. I have not yet found any Malaysian specialists on foreign immigrant workers in Malaysia. I visited a few governmental offices in Penang to ask for statistical data regarding foreign immigrant workers, but I could not obtain any.

2. Malaysia's Economic Development as a Pull Factor

Malaysia has been enjoying rapid economic development. The Tourist Development Corporation was established in 1972 within the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which had attempted to institute various policies to promote the tourist industry in Malaysia. The Tourist Development Corporation had grown to become part of Ministry of Culture, Art and Tourism in 1978, and the "Fascinating Malaysia" campaign had launched in 1988, followed by the "Visit Malaysia Year" between 1990 and 1992. These tourism-promotion policies of the Malaysian government recently produced rapid growth in the number of foreign tourists visiting Malaysia.

According to Prof. Masami Fujimaki (2010: 6), the number of foreign tourist arrivals almost doubled over the ten years from 1998 to 2008, and the Malaysian tourism income tripled. Penang is endowed with a beautiful seacoast and the ethnic makeup of dwellers is diverse, ranging from Malay to Chinese and Indian. Additionally, Penang has been blessed with a pleasant climate, although it is somewhat hot in the summers (Photo 1). Gorge Town, the downtown of Penang, features the remains of historical British-colonial architecture, and it was registered as one of UNESCO's world heritage sites in 2008. There is no question Penang has grown to attract a tremendous numbers of foreign visitors. Nowadays, many Japanese pensioners are enjoying long stays in Penang following their retirement.



Photo 1. A Beautiful Beach in Penang
(August, 2009)

In addition to its success in the tourism industry, Malaysia has also been producing and exporting computer-relating parts to advanced Euro-Asian nations, including Japan. This probably has contributed much more to Malaysia's economy than its tourism industry. The most important point is that such rapid economic growth in Malaysia has produced various kinds of jobs, which have attracted many foreign immigrant workers from the neighboring Asian countries, including Indonesia, Bangladesh, China, Thai, Burma, and Nepal. Then, where Nepalese workers in Malaysia are concerned, I would suggest the recent, rapid increase in Nepalese immigrant workers in Malaysia may be a result of Gurkha veterans' trans-Asian connection, which enables the recruiting of foreign immigrant workers.

I have heard that, since Malaysia achieved independence, its army has been employing Gurkha soldiers. Although I cannot yet prove this empirically, I believe there is a strong connection between Gurkha veterans in Nepal and Malaysia. Needless to say, all the Gurkha soldiers are Nepalese natives. In Pokhara, Nepal, I have come across a significant number of Gurkha soldiers in active service and many retired ex-Gurkha soldiers (Gurkha veterans) who mainly belong to Matwali castes (alcohol-drinking Mongolian ethnic groups), such as Gurungs, Magars, and Takhalis.

Across Nepal, there are several Gurkha recruiting centers, and there is one in

Pokhara. In those Gurkha centers, healthy and smart Matwali boys receive training in basic English and martial arts, and, from these trained boys, Gurkha soldiers are selected and adopted. During these training periods, they come to know each other and make friends with one another. Such personal connections will be maintained over the course of their active service and even after their retirement from the service. Theoretically, comradeship among Gurkha veterans' can extend to create pan-British-Empire connections. It may even be plausible to consider that Gurkha veterans' connections would serve to match underdeveloped countries' needs for foreign immigrant jobs with developing countries' needs for foreign immigrant workers throughout the erstwhile British Empire.

3. Nepalese Caste Legacy and Matwali Delinquency as Push Factors

Originally, around BC 1500, the so-called Aryan people invaded the northern part of the Indian subcontinent and conquered the natives. These Aryan invaders introduced Brahmanism, Veda culture, and the "varna" model of society, which consisted of Brahman, Kshtrya, Vaisha, and Shudra. The Indian caste system has been developed based on this varna model of self-sufficient rural environments over its 3,000-year history. However, in contrast to India, the Nepalese caste system was established through national civil laws. After suffering defeat in the Anglo-Nepali war of 1815-16, Jan Bahador Rama, the reformer of the Gurkha dynasty, proclaimed the first Nepalese written law, "Muluki Ain" (civil code) in 1854 (Höfer 1975), through which he attempted to set up the Nepalese caste system using the judicial force of the kingdom.

Nepal is now composed of more than 40 ethnic groups called "jat" (which is translated into English as caste). According to my previous research (Yamamoto 1999), the legacy of Muluki Ain can be found in the present caste system of Pokhara. It is basically a hierarchy that consists of four ranks: (1) Bahun (Brahman in English), (2) Chhetri (kshtrya), (3) Matwali, and (4) Nachhune (Untouchables). This is a slightly modified system based on the original five-tiered system established by Muluki Ain. The Nachhune, presently called Dalit, is well-known to be a socio-politically vulnerable group in Nepal as well as in India. The Matwali is composed of various Mongolian ethnic groups that were originally Himalayan natives, and it can also be regarded as "socio-politically vulnerable" in Nepal because the kingdom of Nepal was formed based on the ancient Hindu-religious polity (Shastra). The Matwalis used to have their own Tibetan-Buddhist-influenced religion.) Under this Shastra polity, Matwali castes have been excluded from the central political machinery. The central political system in contemporary Nepal is indeed "caste-nepotism," as symbolically indicated by the list of Nepalese Prime

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Ministers' names (shown in Table 9). All the Prime Ministers come from either Bahun or Chhetri. Such Bahun-Chhetri dominance in the contemporary Nepalese politico-social system is a major factor motivating Matwali people to go abroad to work.

Young Matwali men are inclined to leave Nepal to become foreign immigrant workers for another reason as well: the influence of Gurkha soldiers (lafre) and/or retired Gurkha veterans (bupu-lafre). Traditionally, Gurkha soldiers have been recruited mainly from among the Gurungs, Magars, and other Matwali castes. Matwali youngsters have admired Gurkha veterans' fancy houses, newly-built in their vicinity. They can easily make friends with those Gurkha veterans living near them. There is no doubt as to how they come to accumulate knowledge regarding working experiences in foreign countries more easily than other non-Matwali youth. This explains their stronger motivation to pursue work in foreign countries and face the challenge of overseas immigrant works than their Bahun or Chhetri counterparts.

4. Matwali Dominance among Nepalese Workers in Penang

The most significant finding of my research in Penang concerns the Matwali dominance among Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang (Photo 2). As shown in Table 1 below, Matwali persons comprise over half of the total number of workers (61.3%). Out of all 31 Nepalese workers interviewed, only five did not clarify their castes. However, from their physical appearances, I believe that three of these five were Mongolian, that is, Matwalis. If my guess is correct, the total number of Matwalis would grow to 22 (71.7%). Thus, Matwali dominance among Nepalese workers in Penang seems very clear. I suspect this is a result of the Gurkha veterans' effect.

Table 1. Caste Variations of Nepalese Workers in Penang

Varna Hierarchy	Nepali Workers Castes	Number of Persons (%)
1. <i>Taghadali</i>	<i>Bahun</i> (Brahman)	2 (6.5%)
2. <i>Taghadali</i>	<i>Chhetri</i> (Kshatrya)	2 (6.5%)
3. <i>Matwali</i> (Alcohol- taking Mongolian castes)	<i>Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Lama, Bhote, Giri</i>	19 (61.3%)
4. Nachhune (Dalits)	<i>Damai, Kami, Sarki</i>	3 (9.6%)
Unknown		5 (16.1%)
Total		31 (100.0%)



Photo 2. Nepalese Immigrant Workers in front of B-Suit Hotel, Penang
They are all Matwalis (March, 2011)

As previously mentioned, even in contemporary Nepal, Bahuns and Chhetris have been the social and political elites while Matwalis have been socio-politically “vulnerable,” above only the Untouchables in social rank. In a ruling legally defended by Mulki Ain, the Gurkha dynasty prohibited sexual intercourse and inter-caste marriages between Thagadalis and Matwalis, although it did allow Thagadali males to marry Matwali females (Yamamoto 1983). While the Bahuns and Chhetris have been offered various privileges, such as tax exemption and property acquisition, the Matwali have not. Nepali is a dialect of Hindi, which belongs to Indo-European language family, and it is the original language of the Bahuns and Chhetris. Each Matwali caste has its own Tibet-Burman language. As part of the nation-building effort in Nepal, all people of Nepal have been encouraged to use Nepali. (This process has been called “Nepalization.”) The Nepalese government makes it a rule to test the Nepali skills of applicants for public officer positions. This leads to an advantage for Bahuns and Chhetris but a disadvantage for Matwalis, who have more difficulty in passing the employment test required for holding public office. Hence, Matwali youth tend to work for private companies if they are smart enough to have acquired the SLC (school leaving certificate). If their fathers are wealthy enough, they also may have the opportunity to start their own business on their own. However, without the SLC or wealthy fathers, Matwali youngsters must go abroad to find foreign immigrant jobs.

5. School Careers of Nepalese Workers in Penang

As shown in Table 2 below, the average school careers for those Nepalese workers in Penang end in high school graduation with or without the SLC. The acquisition of the SLC is especially significant in Nepal. Their SLC status indicates whether or not Nepalese youngsters with this level of education will be able to speak English, an ability that enables them to look for work as foreign immigrants. However, Nepalese high school graduates do not acquire any skills training, nor can the SLC be evaluated in foreign countries other than Nepal. For this reason, Nepalese high school graduates, regardless of whether they have the SLC, must market their “unskilled labor” when they go abroad to pursue foreign immigrant works.

Table 2. Final School Career of Nepalese Workers in Penang

Final School Career	Explanations	Number of persons
Bachelor Level	Graduated from 4 years university	1 (3.2%)
Intermediate Level	Graduated from 2 years college	2 (6.5%)
SLC passed	SLC is obligatorily necessary to enter colleges or universities. This level includes 10 plus 2 classes.	11 (35.5%)
Tenth Class Level	Graduation from high school without SLC	5 (16.1%)
Ninth Class	Leaving high school	4 (12.9%)
Sixth Class	Graduation from elementary school	1 (3.2%)
Unknown		7 (22.6%)
Total		31 (100.0%)

There are many private “boarding schools” for junior and senior high school students to attend in Nepal. The tuition at these boarding schools is expensive relative to the Nepalese standard, but the benefit is these schools offer most classes in English. Large numbers of graduates from these boarding schools seek foreign higher education in countries such as India, the USA, England, and even Japan. The Thakali are among the most prosperous Matwalis, because their ancestors used to monopolize the salt trade route between Tibet and India. Hence, some of them tend to send members of their younger generations to such Nepalese boarding schools and are then wealthy enough to later send them abroad to attend universities and graduate schools. Thakali young people with MA or Ph.D. degrees from foreign universities seldom return to Nepal, and they continue studying abroad until they obtain jobs in those foreign countries in which they

went to school. There is no reason for the Thakali to use Nepalese man-power agencies to find foreign immigrant jobs, but they can find their foreign jobs on their own. They also do not have to go abroad as lafre. Thus, among the Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang, there are no Thakalis.

6 . Variety of Jobs among Nepalese Immigrant Workers in Penang

The Nepalese immigrant workers interviewed in Penang held several kinds of jobs. A bookstore job required sitting in the storeroom and arranging newly-arrived books according to the bookstore's categories. This job required a relatively high level of English-reading ability. The only bookstore worker was a Nepalese university graduate, but he was not allowed to work in sales in the front of the bookstore. According to him, he enjoyed this work, because nobody except him worked in the storeroom and he could find time to read his favorite new books without anyone checking on him.

A job in a coffee shop mainly consisted of waiting on customers. Those who worked these jobs were never required to make the coffee. Even when no guests were in the shop, they were not allowed to read books. In such circumstances, conversation was the method they used to avoid boredom.

The most popular job among of these immigrant workers was employment in a factory. Those in this kind of job mainly worked along a belt-conveyor line. Jobs along belt-conveyors are divided according to several operations. Each operation is simple and monotonous: fixing a part on a main body, tightening a screw or bolt, checking the whole body, and so on. Even an unskillful Nepalese worker can learn to fulfill his tasks along the belt-conveyor with only a few days of training. As the belt-conveyor is always running, if an operator makes a careless mistake, he will cause trouble for the next operator in the line. Consequently, it is necessary for workers to stay awake and maintain concentration even during monotonous operations that last a few hours. When the belt-conveyor stops, they are requested to clean it and sweep under the belt in their sections. A director always inspects their work.

Table 3. Varity of Jobs of Nepalese Workers in Penang

Jobs	Persons	Jobs	Persons
Bookstore	1 (3.2%)	Gasoline Station	3 (9.8%)
Coffee Shop	5 (16.1%)	Restaurant	2 (6.5%)
Factory Job	11 (35.5%)	Unknown	5 (16.1%)
Gate Guard	4 (12.9%)	Total	31 (100.0%)

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Gate guards mainly sit and watch the monitors and check the in-and-out passengers at the gate. Sometimes they have to take turns conducting a routine tour of the yard. There is only one Nepalese immigrant who had continued working in Penang for more than ten years. He had secured his boss's special trust, and received the highest salary of any Nepalese workers there. He also serves as a care-taker for newly arrived workers from Nepal.

Workers at gasoline stations fill the gasoline tanks of the cars of those who come to the stations and occasionally clean the cars at customers' requests. They neither receive cash directly nor calculate change for customers, as this is the job of cashiers.

Workers at restaurants peel vegetables, remove the scales from fish, remove feathers from chickens, and cut the bones from large pieces of meat. In other words, they prepare the food materials to be cooked. They never touch the food when it is being cooked, as this a major task of a chef. Unless they work at Indian restaurants, they cannot be chefs.

Thus, it can be concluded that the majority of Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang are neither professional nor semi-professional but perform preliminary tasks for the professional workers. Their jobs require monotonous, unskilled, and physically stressful labor, although their work is not dangerous. Nepalese workers in Penang are like foreign illegal laborers in Japan, the one exception being the issue of legality. Nepalese workers in Penang are legal, while Japanese foreign laborers are not. If their companies invested in robots, such robots would easily take over their jobs.

7. Loan-payment and Remittance of Nepalese Workers in Penang

Table 4 shows the average age of all 31 Nepalese immigrants working in Penang is about 25 years old. Three are married and the others are single. They have been living in Penang from between one year to ten years, with an average of three years. The average monthly salary they used to earn in Nepal before coming to Penang was 6,861 NRs (=343 RM). The average monthly salary from Penang jobs for those contracted by the Nepalese Agency was 7,800 NRs (=390 RM).

Table 4. Financial Situations of Nepalese Workers in Penang

Financial Items	Replies	Average (Unit)	Max. ~ Mini.
Age	31	25.3 (yrs.)	35~19
Years to stay in Penang	29	3.1 (yrs.)	10~ 1
Monthly Salary earned in Nepal	19	6,861 (NRs.)	15000~600
Monthly Salary contracted by Nepalese Agency for Penang job	29	7,800 (NRs.)	75,000~9,000
Actual Monthly Salary received from Penang job	30	12,980 (NRs.)	18,360~8,160
Loan from Nepalese Man-power Offices before coming to Penang	30	9,5450 (NRs.)	145,000~75,000
Loan Interest Ratio per Year	23	31.6 %	60~3.6
Amount of Remittance per Year	23	3,723 (NRs.)	8,000~400

(Exchange rate in 2009 : 1 RM\$ = 20 NRs = ¥ 30)

As far as monthly salaries were concerned, there was only a difference of 1,000 NRs between what they earned for their Nepalese jobs and for jobs in Penang. However, many Nepalese candidates for foreign immigrant jobs had already lost their jobs in Nepal before coming to Malaysia, or their jobs in Nepal were unstable. More significantly, in this context, most of the Nepalese seeking foreign immigrant jobs had been forced to leave Nepal because heavy personal debt had led to social pressure from their local money sharks or from their friends and relatives. They welcomed even a pay raise of 1,000 NRs each month.

As discussed in my previous paper (Yamamoto 2009: 63-67), in 2008, there were nearly 300 hotels and guest houses and 200 banks and monetary institutions in Pokhara, an international tourist city of almost 300 thousands inhabitants. Needless to say, these are too many banks and monetary institutions for such a small city, and survival requires severe competition among them. Many wealthy Gurkha veterans own or invest in these banks and monetary institutions. Hence, some small-size banks and monetary institutions in Pokhara have strong motivation to start a "poverty business" under the banner of "micro-finance." A poverty business is mainly a business that squeezes money from the poor.

It is decisively true that contemporary Nepalese urban dwellers in need of money can easily borrow from their friends or relatives, and, at the same time, they allow their friends or relatives to borrow money from them when they have funds to spare. In Pokhara, I found many cases in which a single person had a set of money lenders and, simultaneously, a set of money borrowers. This means that this one person individually

and simultaneously had multi-layered interpersonal relationships based around monetary lending and borrowing. This complex system of interpersonal debts plays a significant role in shaping the casual and flexible flow of cash used for financial dealings. This occurs because banks require complex paperwork and a long waiting time before cash can be received. In such a layered financial environment, many poor people have been squeezed out of their money and forced into bankruptcy because of the problem of magic interest.

I was shocked to learn that 30 of the 31 Nepalese immigrants working in Penang had received loans from Nepalese man-power agencies before coming to Penang. The average amount of these loans was nearly 100,000 NRs, which almost equaled 5,000 MRs and 150,000 Japanese yen in 2009. This is a particularly large amount of money for these Nepalese workers, and they will have to keep working in Penang for over three years to completely repay their loans from the Nepalese man-power agencies, and this does not even include their other personal debt.

Only one man had not received any loans from a man-power agency. He was the only university graduate among them, and he was a married Terai Bahun. He used to be a high school math teacher in Butwal, and, when he decided to go to Malaysia to take a foreign immigrant job, all of his brothers and his wife's relatives were against the idea. His father owned a large amount of farm land, and he and his brothers had acquired legal separation from their father so that each inheritor could receive part of the land. By leaving, he may have appeared angry with the result of this inheritance division. To avoid such an appearance, he used up all the savings from his high school salary to pay some 3,000 NRs for the contract for his present job in Penang to the man-power agency he used in Kathmandu.

The workers who owed the agencies were repaying their loans through a "horizontal reduction" from their monthly salaries from their jobs in Penang. My hearing on this point was not clear, but, on average, approximately 4,000 NRs (=200 RM) were horizontally reduced from their monthly salaries in Penang. According to Table 4, the average monthly salary contracted by the Nepalese Agency for Penang was 7,800 NRs (=390 RM). However, this amount was their nominal salary amount, and estimating their actual monthly salary requires increasing this nominal amount by the horizontal reduction amount, nearly 4,000 NRs (=200 RM). This means that their actual monthly salary was calculated at about 11,800 NRs (=590 RM). However, according to Nepalese workers' answers to my questionnaire, their actual monthly salary amounted to 12,980 NRs, thus indicating a difference of 1,180 NRs (=59 RM) between the two actual and estimated incomes. This probably results from some error in my estimation of the amount of the horizontal loan reduction.

Twenty-three of the Nepalese immigrant workers were simultaneously sending

money back to their Nepalese families via electronic remittance methods in addition to paying back their agencies' loans. The average amount of the remittance was 3,723 NRs (= 186 RMs) per year, which was almost 5,500 Japanese yen. This remitted money was sent a few times in a year. Their remittance to their Nepalese families seemed to reflect various goals: (1) to return their personal debt, (2) to help for Nepalese families living expenses, (3) to prepare for their future "daijo" (marriage gift) to brides, or (4) to save for the future construction of a house in Nepal. It is difficult to grasp to what degree their answers are real. Their average monthly remittance amounted to some 310 NRs (=15 RMs). Roughly speaking, it costs at least 100,000 NRs, usually more, to build a small house in Pokhara. Thus, it would take more than 27 years for them to save enough remittance money to even construct a house. Hence, (3) and (4) may be the workers' dreams, but the reality probably lies in (1) and (2). However, without some kind of dream it is very difficult to live in such difficult conditions and maintain mental health.

8. Diligence and Savings in the Life of Nepalese Workers in Penang

All 31 Nepalese workers in Penang had to work every day except Sunday. Working hours are basically for 8 hours. However, 21 persons decided to work for 12 hours per day from 8:00 a.m. to 8:00p.m.. During the 12 hour work day, only 45 minutes was allotted for workers to rest for lunch, although the Nepalese people usually did not take lunch.

Their preference for working 12 hours per day had two motivations. Firstly, they wanted to increase their income with the additional "overtime payment" that would be added to their monthly salaries. Secondly, they wanted to decrease the extra spending that might occur during leisure time. This was the rational choice for them, as they had to save as much money as possible. Table 4 shows that the workers' actual monthly salary was 12,980 NRs (=649 MRs), and that the monthly salary promised by their Nepalese manpower agencies was 7,800 NRs (=390 MRs). Hence, the increase in 5,180 NRs (=259 RMs), which was their monthly income of overtime allowance, was calculated by finding the difference between 7,800 NRs and 12,980 NRs.

On Sunday they were busy doing laundry. If they finished their laundry at Saturday night or on any other day, they tended to enjoy sight-seeing in downtown Georgetown, the historic colonial tourist city of Penang. This differed from their daily working route between their hostel and workplace, and they wanted to go somewhere new on Sundays. This day was the only leisure time they had after six days of hard and monotonous labor. This time was very precious to them, as it allowed them to refresh their bodies and minds. Generally speaking, they were leading very diligent and economical lives in Penang and maintained a small daily budget.

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Table 5. Daily Expenditure per Person among Nepalese Workers in Penang

Expenditure Items	Replies	Average	Expense (Yearly)	Max. ~ Mini.
Hostel Fee per year	10	1150.0 (RMs.)	23,000 (NRs.)	1,200~900 (RMs.)
Electricity per year	10	118.8 (RMs.)	2,376 (NRs.)	240~36 (RMs.)
Water per year	10	73.2 (RMs.)	1,464 (NRs.)	120~36 (RMs.)
Internet Expenses	12	509.6 (RMs.)	10,192 (NRs.)	1,200~72 (RMs.)
Other expenditure	12	710 (RMs.)	14,200 (NRs.)	900~170 (RMs.)

(Exchange rate in 2009 : 1 RMs = 20 NRs = ¥ 30)

There were 20 Nepalese workers who did not spend any money on their hostels, electricity, or water because their companies paid for them. The remaining 11 workers paid those expenses monthly and equally divided the share of the total costs of hostel, electricity, and water fees monthly. I assume that the privilege of not having to pay for room and board has caused arise in these workers' average leisure expenses. This category of "other expenditure" includes their Sunday "luxury" leisure expenses, such as movie tickets, video rental, lunches or dinners in the downtown area, transportation costs for going sightseeing or meeting friends in town, and other such costs. According to Table 5 (above-shown), the average for "other expenditures" is 14,200 NRs (=710 RMs, ¥ 21,300) per month. The monthly salary they earned in Nepal averaged nearly 7,000NRs (Table 4 on page 64). This confirms that our Nepalese workers in Penang spent the equivalent of two-months of a Nepalese salary for "amusement purposes" in their everyday life in Penang, while this could give the impression that those Nepalese workers in Penang were leading extravagant lives. However, we have to take the high prices of commodities in Penang into consideration. From Monday to Saturday, these workers spend 12 hours on the job. Hence, this much leisure expenditure must be the necessary cost for them to keep enduring their monotonous work.

Most of them do not drink alcohol in Penang, although many of them were fond of drinking cheap "raksi" (Nepalese millet-fermented wine) when they lived in Nepal. They have quit drinking alcohol since they started living in Penang because it is very costly to drink there. Three of them, however, drank a little beer a few times per month when they were out of their hostels on Sundays, but they never drank in the hostel. None of them smoked cigarettes in Penang although they used to smoke in Nepal. This is not only because the smoking habit costs too much in Penang but also because, during their long working hours in Penang, they are not allowed to smoke. I am a heavy smoker. In Nepal, I usually provide my Nepalese informants with cigarettes to help establish a rapport with them. In Penang, I tried to use the same approach, and I started offering my cigarettes to Nepalese workers. However, they all refused to take my cigarettes, probably so as not to

return to their smoking habit, and I was forced to stop smoking for their sake.

There are 12 out of 31 Nepalese workers who paid internet expenses. Since a computer was not furnished by their hostels, they had to go to “internet cafes” downtown. Although they could not use Devanagari letters on Penang’s computers, their use of Romanized Nepali was sufficient enough for them to communicate with their Nepalese families and friends. Only one Nepalese man had a mobile-phone, but he hesitated to call Nepal frequently because of its cost. In this way, most of the Nepalese workers were leading very diligent and economical lives in Penang.

9. Problems of Nepalese Immigrant Workers in Penang

All 31 of the Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang complained that their original passports had been taken away by Malaysian man-power agencies as soon as they arrived at Malaysian airports. Then, after they were transported to their workplaces in Penang, copies of their passports were returned to each of them, but their original passports would be kept by their man-power agencies until they finally finished their contracted jobs in Penang. The agencies use this method to keep foreign immigrant workers from moving from the contracted job to another, better job in Malaysia.

Table 6. Annoying Problems of Nepalese Workers in Penang

Discrepancy between Contract and Reality	Concrete Examples	Number of Workers (%)
Passport Confiscation by Manpower Agency	Malaysian Manpower Agency has Confiscated their Passports at the Airport	31 (100.0%)
Same Problems	1. Monthly salary received is less than they expected. 2. Less holidays or no holidays 3. Offered hostels are worse than they expected.	19 (61.3%)
No Problems		5 (16.1%)
No Answer		7 (22.6%)
Total		31 (100.0%)

In 2007, a Nepalese worker in Penang visited the Nepalese Embassy in KL and asked for some help solve the passport problem. The Nepalese Embassy did not do anything to meet his request. I also heard from a Nepalese university graduate that a Nepalese worker had asked the Nepalese Embassy to help him on the ground that he had

lost his original passport. The Nepalese Embassy then issued him another passport.

Nineteen Nepalese workers complained of discrepancies between the contents of their contracts with the Nepalese man-power agencies and the actual conditions of their jobs in Penang. The first claim pertained to the difference in the monthly salary they had been promised by their agencies and what they were actually offered by their employers in Penang. No labor union existed for them in Malaysia.

Their second problem was that the monthly holidays promised by the agencies were not offered by the institutions they worked for in Penang. Most of them took a holiday every week, mainly on Sunday. However, some said that they had to work every other Sunday. Many Nepalese workers insisted that they were compelled to work for 12 hours a day, and they had no time to enjoy leisure after work during their daily lives. Indeed, some Nepalese workers' daily schedules required them to live almost like pistons, moving between their hostels and working institutions. They were only obliged to work eight hours per day. However, Malaysian employers encouraged Nepalese workers to work an extra four hours by providing slightly higher overtime pay. Overtime was not compulsory but intentionally chosen by Nepalese workers willing to work 12 hours a day in order to receive a month's worth of salary increase from those additional hours. The life of Nepalese immigrant workers seemed very monotonous indeed, but some of them mentioned that they learned to appreciate this simplicity because they were able to spend a minimal amount of money on daily expenses and they wanted to send as much money as they could back to their Nepalese families.

The third complaint was that the hostels their Penang companies or factories provided for them were worse than they had expected. The hostels were old, dirty, and ill-equipped. During my second fieldwork term in Penang, I was allowed to observe one of these hostels. A group of eight Nepalese workers were packed together in one apartment, within three adjoined rooms. As soon as I entered the room, I found a large warning sign plastered on the wall on the left side of the entrance: "Don't bring any women in this room." I was quite astonished to find that there was no furniture in their apartment except for five steel bunk beds. Not even a single sofa or arm chair existed. I could not find a TV set anywhere in the apartment rooms. Basically, they lived out their apartment life on the carpeted floor; they sat on the floor to eat their meals and, sometimes after a meal, to play cards at night before going to bed. When talking, they sat or lay down on their allocated beds.

To the left of the entrance, there was a bathroom with a water-flushing toilet stool and a shower, and an old, newly washed pair of pants was drying on the rope that hung between the bathroom walls. In the central eight-mat room, there were only windows with no any curtain. Attached on the left-side wall, there was one steel bunk bed. On the lower

mattress, a half-naked, middle-aged man was already lying down but not sleeping yet. It was around 9 p.m.

The corner by the right-side window was a sort of “kitchen corner,” where cooking utensils, a kerosene-stove, an electric rice cooker, and a few pans and several dishes were assembled. According to the inhabitants, all the roommates took obligatory weekly cooking shifts, and they divided all the food-related expenses equally.

During my long-term fieldwork in Nepal, I became accustomed to seeing very simple daily Nepalese meals. Nepalese people usually eat twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. Their staple food is rice and “dal” (thick bean soup) and some curry in which vegetables, a portion of meat (mainly chicken or goat), and, if possible, yogurt or baked egg are added. They eat this kind of staple dish for every meal through the year. Hence, wherever they may go in the world, they will have no complaints about the food. They can make their Nepalese food in their own apartment rooms by themselves easily, even without any large appliances for cooking. As far as Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang are concerned, eating in this manner was another wise means of economizing their living expenses in the expensive tourist town of Penang.

The second and third rooms were connected to the central room with no doors between them, and, as mentioned earlier, two steel bunk beds were installed in each of the rooms. On every bed handrail that did not face the wall, a few items of clothing and underwear hung. I then understood why containers such as a dresser were not necessary in their rooms.

10. Does the Gurkha Veteran Connection Exists?

I would like further to explore my hypothesis that the connections among Gurkha veterans allows the needs of the Nepalese for oversea immigrant work with the Malaysian need for foreign immigrant workers. Needless to say, Nepal is not wealthy in terms of natural resources, with the exception of snow-melted water and beautiful panoramic views of the world’s highest Himalayan mountain ranges. Hence, it has been economically dependent on a nation-wide tourist industry as its major source of national income. However, since the so-called Maoist (communist militarist) insurgence took place in 1996, the number of foreign tourists coming to Nepal has decreased drastically. Consequently, the world-famous tourist town of Pokhara has become economically inactive, and young dwellers in Pokhara find it difficult to find jobs in there.

Through my frequent fieldwork in Pokhara, I have observed a growing tendency among Pokhara young people to leave home to find foreign immigrant works not only in India, Saudi-Arabia, and Dubai, but also in Brunei and Malaysia. In 2008, I found around

eight “man-power agencies” or “man-power offices” had introduced foreign immigrant work to the people in and around Pokhara. (I heard that triple that number of man-power agencies opened in Kathmandu the same year.) I conducted direct interviews with the bosses of three man-power offices in Pokhara, and found the three bosses included two Gurung “bupu-lafres” (Gurkha veterans, or retired ex-Gurkha soldiers) and a Magar bupu-lafre. These bosses looked very stout, bullying, and domineering. In those days, I was concentrating on doing research on micro-financed families, and my interviews with those man-power agencies did not pertain to this current hypothesis until I started writing about my preliminary research on Nepalese immigrant workers in Malaysia.

Now, I am recalling my first encounter with Nepalese Gurkha-like guards in KL during my first visit to Malaysia. It was in September 2009, and I was enjoying sight-seeing in downtown KL with Prof. Nobukiyo Eguchi with whom I was looking for Nepalese immigrant workers in KL. There is a large pond near the Twin Center Buildings in the heart of KL, and I had heard that, every Sunday, a group of foreign immigrant workers get together around that pond. Unfortunately, it was not Sunday, and I could not find any Nepalese workers. Later, I happened to see, without any concrete idea of what I was looking for, an exhibition of Japanese comic books that had open in a large convention center next to the pond. At the center, I encountered a few Mongolian-like guards that resembled Gurkha soldiers on duty in front of the main door of the exhibition room.

“Mamaste! Mero Nepali namu Yam Bahador Gurung ho,” I said, starting to speak to them in Nepali and introduce myself to them. Since I am physically like Gurung people and am also fond of liquor just like Gurung, my Nepalese friends in Pokhara have given me a Nepali name. It is composed of three names: Yam (from my Japanese surname Yamamoto, and at the same time it original Nepali means “King of Hell”), Bahador (a typical male middle name of the Chhetri and Matwali caste, which originally meant “brave man”), and the jat name Gurung. This is a humorous name for a Japanese person, but I usually use my Nepali name whenever I introduce myself to a new Nepalese friend. After a few minutes of conversation with them, I learned their names, where their home towns in Nepal were, and about their present job in Malaysia. Unfortunately, they were not real Gurkha soldiers inactive service but Nepalese immigrant workers employed by the Malaysian security-service company. I also learned from them that the Malaysian army has Gurkha regiments. I wanted to keep talking with them more, but they were on duty and I hesitated to interrupt their work for long. My unplanned interview with them ended up with taking pictures by my digital camera to remember them, including one of the two Gurkha guards and myself (Photo 3).



Photo 3. Nepalese Gurkha-like Guardmen and Myself at Convention Center, Kuala Lumpur (August, 2009)

My second visit to Malaysia was in February, 2010. At this point, it was time for me to start my full-scale interviews with Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang. As my interviews were progressing, I realized the necessity of interviewing someone working on the Malaysian-side of the man-power agencies. I asked every Nepalese worker to let me know which Malaysian man-power agencies they used. I assumed they would at least know the names of their Malaysian agencies, but nobody told me. This led me to believe there must be some communication gap between the Malaysian man-power agencies and Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang. Consequently, addressing this issue is a left-over task for my future research in Malaysia.

As I explained in my previous paper (see: Yamamoto, 2008), it was after the end of the Anglo-Nepalese war (1814-15) that the 1816 Segol Peace Treaty was concluded between the British Empire and the Gurkha Dynasty. On the basis of this treaty, Nepal agreed with Britain to send its Gurkha soldiers to serve the British army as mercenaries. Since then, Nepal has had a tradition of sending its Gurkha soldiers, many of them from Matwali castes such as Gurungs and Magars, to serve in Gurkha mercenary jobs with countries of the erstwhile British Empire, and they are called *lafre* (foreign mercenary) in Nepali. Gurkha *lafres* enjoy a very handsome salary (by the Nepalese standard) and leave their military service with a large pension after their minimum 11 years of service. It turns

out it is a very well-known phenomenon in Pokhara that, after completing their lafre service, the enriched bupu-lafres (ex-Gurkha soldiers) tend to buy land in Pokhara city, build fancy two- or three-story concrete houses and start business by making use of the skills they obtained through their military service. It is for this reason that, generally speaking, Gurung caste people have been better-off relative to other castes in Pokhara. Compared to Nepalese people from other areas, except for those from Kathmandu, I feel that young Pokhara dwellers have stronger motivation to go abroad and hunt for foreign immigrant work. This is probably because they have grown up in Pokhara and maintain contact with the better-off bupu-lafres in their vicinity. Therefore, they have had some orientation as to how to work in foreign countries. In this way, they are very different from young people from higher castes, like Bahun.

11. Conclusions and Future Research Theme

Based on my interviews with 31 Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang, Malaysia, I would like to summarize my conclusions as follows. Firstly, most Nepalese workers in Penang were from Matwali (alcohol-drinking Mongolian castes), which is middle-ranked within the contemporary Nepalese caste system. All the Nepalese immigrant workers in Penang suffered from job instability and shortages in Nepal, and the main reason they left their home country was to repay their loans from Nepalese man-power agencies and repay the personal debts they ran up in Nepal. In Penang, they work very diligently and lead an economical life to save money and send remittance to their Nepalese families.

Since the Malaysian economy has been developing over the last decade, Malaysia has been attracting various foreign immigrant workers from neighboring countries, such as Indonesia, Bangladesh, Thailand, Burma, and Nepal. However, according to a Chinese owner of a semi-conductor factory, Nepalese and Burmese are best of all Asian immigrant workers because of their diligence and obedience, while Indonesians are worst because of their laziness. Indeed, Nepalese immigrant workers have a good reputation in Penang regardless of their inner dissatisfaction. Most of the Nepalese workers in Penang suffer from some anger against their Malaysian man-power agencies, because their original passports have been taken away by these agencies. At the same time, they also have negative feeling toward Nepalese man-power agencies because their contracts specified conditions different from the actual conditions of their Penang working environments.

I have to stress that many Nepalese workers in Penang clearly mentioned that they will not come back to Penang again as a foreign immigrant worker. They want to return to Nepal as soon as their working period in Penang ends. Mr. B. S. Sharma, the only university-graduate worker among the Nepalese, made the following statement:

“From my working experiences in Penang, I learned a lesson that the Nepalese are lazy in Nepal. If the Nepalese people work much harder as we worked here in Penang, we Nepalese will get economically more prosperous and our country will become much richer.”

Lastly, this research paper has left me with a very important problem: to determine the Nepali-Malaysian liaison mechanism that facilitates the recruiting of Nepalese immigrant workers to Malaysia. I intend to keep looking for this mechanism and to empirically prove it to exist in Nepal as well as in the erstwhile British Empire's countries in Asia.

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Preliminary Research on Nepalese Immigrant Workers in Penang

Appendix

Table 7. List of Prime Ministers of Contemporary Nepal

Terms	Prime Ministers	Political Parties	Castes	*
Apr. 1990 – May 1991	Krishna Prasad Bhattarai	NC (Nepal Congress)	Bahun	1
May 1991 – Nov. 1994	Girija Prasad Koirala	NC (Nepal Congress)	Bahun	1
Nov. 1994 – Aug. 1995	Man Mohan Adhikari	UML (United Marxist & Leninist)	Chhetri	1
Sep. 1995 – Feb. 1997	Sher Bahador Deuwa	NC (Nepal Congress)	Chhetri	1
Mar. 1997 – Aug. 1997	Lokendra Bahador Chanda	RPP (Rastriya Prajatantra Party)	Chhetri	1
Aug. 1997 – Mar. 1998	Surya Bahador Thapa	RPP (Rastriya Prajatantra Party)	Chhetri	1
Mar. 1998 – May 1999	Girija Prasad Koirala	NC (Nepal Congress)	Bahun	2
May 1999 – Feb. 2000	Krishna Prasad Bhattarai	NC (Nepal Congress)	Bahun	2
Feb. 2000 – Jul. 2001	Girija Prasad Koirala	NC (Nepal Congress)	Bahun	3
Jul. 2001 – Sep. 2002	Sher Bahador Deuwa	NC (Nepal Congress)	Chhetri	2
Nov. 2002 – May 2003	Lokendra Bahador Chanda	RPP (Rastriya Prajatantra Party)	Chhetri	2
Jun. 2003 – (unkown)	Surya Bahador Thapa	RPP (Rastriya Prajatantra Party)	Chhetri	2

* : Times of Appointment of Prime Minister Post since 1990.

Source: Added to Table 2 in Yuji Yamamoto, 2004, p.113.

Table 8. History of Tourist Promotion Policies of Malaysia

Year	Tourist Arrival (Million)	Tourist Income (Billion RMs)	World Occurrences Relating to Malaysian Tourism
1997	6.2	9.7	Asian Currency Crisis
1998	5.6	8.6	Asian Currency Crisis, Opening of New KL International Airport, Commonwealth Game, APEC, 'Sow Case Malaysia' Campaign.
1999	7.9	12.3	'Malaysia Truly Asia' Campaign, Beginning of Malaysia Mega sale.
2000	10.2	17.3	Gunung-Muru National Park & Kinabalu National Park are registered in UNESCO's World Heritage.
2001	12.8	24.2	9-11 Simultaneous Multi-terrorism in USA, 'Cutti-Cutti' Campaign,
2002	13.3	25.8	10-12 Bali Bomb Terrorism
2003	10.6	21.3	9-9 Bomb-Terrorism in Jakarta, 12-26 Earthquake & Tsunamis in Sumatra Bay.
2004	15.7	29.7	Iraq War, SARS, Islamic Nations Conference.
2005	16.4	32.0	10-1 Bali Bomb Terrorism,
2006	17.5	36.3	
2007	20.9	46.1	50 th Anniversary of Independence
2008	22.0	49.6	Maraca & Georgetown (Penang) are registered in World Heritage.

Source: Fujimaki (2010 : 6) Table1.

Table 9. Hierarchy of Contemporary Nepalese Caste System:

<i>Varnas' in Mulki Ain</i> (1854)	Contemporary <i>Varnas</i>	Contemporary <i>Jats</i> (Castes)
<i>Taghatari</i>	<i>Bahun</i> (Brahman)	Adhikari, Sharma, Gautam,
	<i>Chhetri</i> (Kshatrya)	Thapa, Rana, Kunwar, Joshi,
<i>Matwali</i>	<i>Matwali</i> (alcohol-taking <i>jats</i>)	Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Rai, Thakari, Bhote,
<i>Nachhune</i>	<i>Nachuune</i> (Dalit)	Kami, Damai, Sarki, Miya, Pode, Gaine

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Table 10. List of Questionnaire

LIST OF QUESTIONNAIRS TO NEPALESE WORKERS IN PENANG, MALAYSIA (March 2010)	
(1) Full Name ():	Age (): <i>Jat</i> (): Final Education ()
(2) Nepalese Manpower Agency Office's Name ():	City Name where the Agency Office is ()
(3) Job Experiences in Nepal before coming to Malaysia ()	If any experiences, approximate monthly salary () NRs.
(4) How did you know job availability in Malaysia? Family or relatives or newspaper? ()	
(5) Contents of Contract offered by the Nepalese manpower agency for Malaysian job? Years (): Salary amounts (): Holidays ()	
(6) How much did you pay to the Manpower agency to get the contract procedure? () NRs.	If got loan, how much loan? () NRs. What is the interest rate? () % year/month
(7) Name of company shop/factory you are working now in Penang. ()	
(8) What kinds of job are you doing now? ()	
(9) Your present monthly salary () RM. Holidays per month ()	
(10) Any differences between the Manpower contract and the present job condition? ()	
(11) Your monthly expenditures to live here in Penang? Electricity ():	Water () Internet (): Tobacco ():
	Hobby (): Others ()
(12) How often per year do you send money to Nepal? () times per year	
(13) Approximate amount of money per each time () RM. per each	
(14) Your future plan after finishing the present job in Penang? ()	
(15) What city or <i>gaun</i> do you and your family live in Nepal? ()	
(16) Are you married or single? ()	If married, how many children do you have? (): How old are they? Wife (), Sons (), (), Daughters (), ()
(17) How about your parents' family?	Married brothers' ages (), (): Unmarried brothers' ages (), ()
	Married sisters' ages (), (): Unmarried sisters' ages (), ()
(18) Your father's age (): His occupation ()	
(19) How large your father's land? () <i>anna/ropani</i>	

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<p>If any farm land your father has outside his village? () <i>ropani</i></p> <p>(20) Your (or your family's) telephone number in Nepal? ()</p> <p>Your e-mail address in Malaysia, if any. ()</p> <p>— Thank you very much for your cooperation! —</p>
