CHAPTER V
INTERNAL MIGRATION

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1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to discussion on mobility of native born population within the country, namely, "Internal Migration". Migration, being one of the factors of population change, may affect socio - Economic conditions at both the places-the place of origin and place of destination. It influences the size, composition and other characteristics of population. Therefore, the topic attracts the attention of researchers, planners and administrators.

The phenomenon of internal migration in Nepal is of considerable interest in view of significant geographical and other variations, such as socio-economic conditions and cultural practices. There are a number of studies concerning internal migration based on place of birth statistics from the censuses of Nepal (Rana and Thapa, 1974; Gubhaju B.B., 1980; NPC, 1984; CBS, 1987; Gurung Harka 1989). They were mainly concerned with the volume, direction of flow and to a lesser extent with the characteristics of migrants. Due to paucity of data, however, they were not able to discuss period migration and their characteristics in greater detail.

Analysts in the past concluded that due to the success of malaria eradication during the 1960s and the onward and resettlement programs, population mobility increased enormously from the Mountain and Hill to the Terai. Other factors which accelerated this process were probably the population pressure, creation of infrastructure and concentration of development activities that created opportunities for employment in the Terai. As a result, there are considerable changes in demographic, socio-economic and environmental conditions both at the origin and destination.

2. Physical setting and Administrative Divisions

Nepal is divided into 75 administrative districts that constitute three ecological zones and five development regions. In terms of geophysical homogeneity, the districts are grouped into three main ecological zones. They are:

a) The Mountain zone; includes 16 districts in the northern parts of the country, bordering Tibet region of Peoples Republic of China. The altitude ranges from 4,877 meters to 8,848 meters which includes the world's highest peak, the Mount Everest.

b) The Hill region; includes 39 districts in the middle. The altitude ranges from 610 meters to 4,877 meters with rugged terrain.

c) The Terai region; in the southern part covers 20 districts, bordering the most populous states UP, Bihar and West Bengal of Indian territory. Altitude ranges between 610 to 300 meters.

All the three regions are stretched east to west. Population is extremely unevenly distributed due to the sharp variation in topography, land resource and development activities (CBS, 1989).

The country covers an area of 147,181 sq. km. and accommodates 18.5 million people as recorded in the 1991 census. In the regional division, the Terai covering 23 Per cent of the total area accommodates 46.7 per cent population; the Hill and Mountain covering 41.7 and 35.2 pet cent area accommodate 46.0 and 7.3 per cent population respectively. The climatic conditions of these ecological zones differ considerably. The Terai is humid tropical, whereas it is moist sub-tropical in the Hill and temperate to cool-temperate in the Mountain. These climatic variations also influence the vegetation types with tropical deciduous in the Terai, sub-tropical wet in the Hill and temperate in the Mountain forest (K.C, 1993). The set of ecological zones are based on the combination of north-south natural division and east-west drainage basins. This eco-river system has tremendous influence on the population movement, socio-economic development and cultural practices in the country.

In terms of ethnic composition; the highest proportion viz. 16.1 per cent are Chhetries, 12.9 per cent are Hill Brahmans while Magars (7.2%) occupy the third position in the total population of Nepal. It is found that indigenous "Tharus" form the largest single group in the Terai (13.5%), Chhetries in the Hill (21.8%) and Mountain (33.3%) regions of the country. Hill Brahmans hold the second position in the Hill (16.9%) and Terai (9.3%), where as Tamang hold the second position in the Mountain (11.5%). Nepali being the mother tongue of more than 50 per cent of population, is the official language too. Nepal is the only Hindu kingdom in the world and 86 per cent of her people are followers of Hindu religion (CBS, 1993).

The country is also divided, for development planning purpose, into five development regions: Eastern, Central, Western, Mid-Western and Far-Western regions; each consisting of a part of each of the three ecological zones and stretching north to south.

3. Source of Data

Since 1952/54, the censuses of Nepal have been collecting data on "Place of birth" for all persons counted in the census. This topic is also found in the list of priority items recommended by the UN for 1980 round of census (ESCAP, 1978; pp. 32-35). To improve the data on migration, 1981 census collected more information such as -duration of residence and reason for migration. However, in 1991 both these questions were dropped but a question was added on "place of residence one year ago" for all persons aged one year and above. The unit of prior residence was the district and the data so collected was published in 75 (districts) by 15 (ecological-development regions) matrix.

In the present study, analysis of life - time migration is carried out in three steps -

a. Three main ecological zones, viz. the Mountain, Hill and Terai
b. Five development regions and
c. Fifteen ecological-development regions (combination of three ecological zones and five development regions), to identify the volume and direction of flow of migrants among the regions which may provide clues to the understanding of the causes and consequences of internal migration for policy decisions.

The present study is mainly concerned with life-time and period migration based on 1991 census data. Inter - regional migration of males and females are analyzed at the level of the three ecological zones and the live development regions. The net flow of migration is examined and compared with past trends possible. The characteristics of period (recent) migrants are also discussed at tile national level.

4. Definitions

Some of the terms used in this study are defined below -

Migration; Migration is a from of geographical or spatial mobility which involves a change of usual residence of a person between clearly defined geographical units.

Migrant: A person who moved from one migration defining area to another. The area defined can be a administrative / political or geographical division etc.

Life-lime Migration: Migration that has occurred between birth and the time of the census. A person whose area of birth is different from the area of residence at the time of enumeration is called life - time migrant at the destination, irrespective of the number of moves. In the censuses of Nepal, the lowest unit of migration defining area is a district and accordingly, a person whose district of birth differed from the district of usual place of residence at the time of enumeration was defined as a life-time migrant.

Migration Stream: A group of migrants having a common origin and destination in a given migration period, constitute a migration stream, viz. movement between two migration defining areas during specified period.

In-migration: An in-migrant is a person who entered a migration defining area by crossing its boundary from some point outside the area, but within the same country. The process is called in-migration.

Out-migration: A person who departs from a migration defining area by crossing its boundary to a point outside it but within the same country is an out-migrant. The process is called out-migration

Net Migration: The balance between in-migration and out-migration is net migration.

Period Migration: Migration that occurred during the period of one year preceding the census, is called "Period Migration" in the present analysis. A person whose district of usual residence one year ago, differed from the district of usual residence at the time of enumeration was defined as a period migrant.

5. Population Growth and Density

The study of' population mobility among the ecological zones is important because of' their geophysical nature, land utilization and economic development. Since, internal migration itself is an indicator of the differences in the level of development between regions, it serves as a basis for population planning. In one way, it is a response to the surplus and shortage of labor among regions. Migration is also viewed as a passive response to the conditions which push the migrant into moving. Among the internal migrants in Nepal, majority are found migrating from the Mountain

and Hill to the Terai (CBS, 1987, p. 155). While population, at the national level, increased by 60 per cent during 1971-91; it nearly doubled in Terai during the same period (Table 1).

Table 1: Population Density and Growth by Ecological Zones, 1971-91.

		Ecological Zones				
		Mountain	Hill	Terai	Total	
Population (in %)	1971	9.9	52.5	37.6	100.0	(11,555,983)
	1981	8.7	47.7	43.6	100.0	(15,022,839)
	1991	7.8	45.5	46.7	100.0	(18,491,097)
Density per sq. km.	1971	22.0	99.0	127.8	78.5	
	1981	25.1	116.8	192.7	102.2	
	1991	27.9	137.3	253.6	125.6	
Population growth exp.	1961/71	1.8		2.4	2.0	
	1971/81	1.4	1.6	4.1	2.6	
	1981/91	1.0	1.6	2.8	2.1	
Cultivated land (in ha.)	1991	163,093.3	878,837.1	1,311,785	2,353,715.4	
Density (Persons per ha.)	1971	7.0	6.9	3.3	4.9	
	1981	8.0	8.2	5.0	6.4	
	1991	8.8	9.6	6.6	7.8	

Source: CBS, 1975, Vol. II, Part I
CBS, 1984, Vol. II
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV
CBS, 1993, Sample Census of Agriculture 1991/92, Nepal, Table 3.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are total population.

During this period, increase in the Mountain and Hill was only 27 and 39 per cent respectively. This finding is also supported by the substantially higher density and growth of population in Terai (Table 1). Population pressure on cultivated land, the major source of livelihood, is definitely high in the Mountain and Hill compared to the Terai. Nevertheless, the pressure is increasing also in Terai and has doubled in the past two decades (1971-91). Regional differentials in the components of population change viz. fertility and mortality, were found to be rather small (NFS, 1976; CBS, 1985) and incapable of explaining the differentials in growth. This being the case, migration should explain most of the growth differentials among regions. Thus migration in Terai calls for an early study on its implications both at the origin and destination and probably a policy on the sustaining capacity of the region.

6. Volume of Life-Time Migration : National level

Information on place of birth and place of enumeration has been collected in censuses for the last four decades. The unit of place of birth and place of enumeration has been the administrative district. However; there were changes, over the years, in the number of districts and their area as well as the type of information presented in the census tables. There were 55 districts in 1961, which increased to 75 in 1971. Between 1961 and 1981, the district boundaries changed quite often. Also, the number of (ecological-developmental) regions increased from 10 in 1961/71 to 15 in 1981/91 (Table 2). However, population data could not be adjusted concomitantly for these areas changes. Thus, such changes are likely to introduce biases in the estimates of the size of migration during the period, and consequently in the comparison over time at the district and/or region level. Nevertheless, the biases will reduce as the size of unit of analysis increases.

The 1961 census recorded 0.42 million persons enumerated in a district other than the district of their birth. In 1981, the size increased to 1.3 million. Statistics presented in the census tables of 1971 and 1991 do not allow us to measure the size of inter-district life-time migration. Therefore, an attempt is made to estimate the size of inter-district migration which comes out to be in the order of 1.7 million in 1991 (Table 2).

Table 2: Inter-District and Inter-Regional Life-Time Migration Trends, Nepal, 1961-1991.

Year	No. of districts	No. of regions	Population		Native born life-time migrants		Life-time Migration (% of Native born)	
			Native born	Foreign born	Inter-district	Inter-region	Inter-district	Inter-region
1961	55	10	9,075,376	337,620	422,402	---	4.65	---
1971	75	10	11,218,535	337,448	---	506,925	---	4.52
1981	75	15	14,788,800	234,039	1,272,288	1,038,862	8.60	7.02
1991	75	15	18,046,302	439,488	1,736,808*	1,418,206	9.60	7.80

$$\text{* Ratio Estimate, Inter-district migration 1991} = \frac{\text{Inter-region 1991}}{\text{Inter-region 1981}} * \text{Inter-region 1991}$$

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. 1, Part 11, Table 8 and 9
CBS, 1984, Vol. II-III, Table 7 and 8
CBS, 1975, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 10 and 11
CBS, 1968, Vol. II, Table 11 and 12.

From Table 2, it is clear that the volume of life-time migration has been increasing over the years, both in the case of inter-district and inter-regional levels. There has also been an increase in the number of districts and regions. In the last decade, inter-regional life-time migration increased by 36 per cent while the native born population increased by 22 per cent in this period. Inter-regional migrants as a proportion of the native born population increased from 7.0 per cent in 1981 to 7.8 per cent 1991.

7. Volume of Life-time Migration Among Ecological Zones

Most of the studies on internal migration in Nepal have described that success of malaria eradication, opening up of infrastructure, rehabilitation program for the landless in Terai caused many people to move from Mountain and Hill to Terai (the grain pot area) during 1960s and 1970s. In the Mountain and Hill zones resources have not been properly exploited and used, rather environment has been gradually degrading. Development activities are few and slow employment opportunities beyond agriculture are negligible and population pressure has been increasing on agricultural land. The pace of development is slow and sign of change is yet to be seen in some remote areas of Hills and Mountains. People suffer hardship of life and therefore, as it appears, the situation urged them to Migrate. With the opening up of infrastructure in Terai, on the other hand, new areas are developing and many places have been developed as business centers and market places. More development activities are taking places in Terai. These differentials, among other things, may have influence on the increasing volume of migration to Terai. The trend in regional growth (Table 1), however, indicates that tempo of migration to Terai may have declined in the last decade.

Volume and direction of flow of life- time migrants recorded in the census of 1971, 1981 and 1991 are presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5. These tables show that the size of migration has been increasing over the years. The volume of life-time migration increased from 0.44 million in 1971 to 0.93 million in 1981. The increasing trend continued and has recorded 1.23 million mark in 1991.

In 1971, among the total life-time migrants originating from the three zones, more than 86 per cent originated from Hills. The percentage share originating changed over time but the Hill continued to remain the highest contributor till 1991. On the receiving side, the picture over the years shows, Terai has been the destination of at least four fifths of all migrants. These tables also reveal a changing pattern over the years in the direction of the flow of migrants from one zone to another.

Table 3: Life - time Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Ecological Zones, 1971

Place of Enumeration	Place of Birth				Net Migration	
	Total	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Number	% of native born
Mountain	9,698 (2.2)	-	9,258	440	-39,959	-3.5
Hill	25,366 (5.7)	15,667	-	9,699	-359,966	-5.9
Terai	410,064 (92.2)	33,990	376,074	-	+399,925	+9.9
Total	445,128 (100.0)	49,657 (11.2)	385,232 (86.6)	10,139 (2.3)		

Source: CBS, 1975, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 10.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are percent of total .

Table 4: Life-Time Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Ecological Zones, 1981.

Place of Enumeration	Place of Birth				Net Migration	
	Total	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Number	% of native born
Mountain	35,619 (3.8)	-	33,423	2,196	-261,467	-20.1
Hill	169,923 (18.3)	134,254	-	35,669	-424,711	-5.9
Terai	724,043 (77.9)	162,832	561,211	-	+686,178	+10.8
Total	929,585 (100.0)	297,086 (32.0)	594,634 (64.0)	37,865 (4.0)		

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. II, Table 7 and 8.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are percent of total .

It is observed that, in 1991, 0.198 million migrants originated from the Mountain (Table 5); among them about two fifths settled in the Hill and three fifths had their destination in Terai. Similarly, 0.93 million people moved from Hill, overwhelming majority (97%) of them chose their destination in Terai. Only 0.1 million originated from the Terai and most of them (95%) settled in the neighboring Hill zone. These sizes constitute 16, 76 and 8 per cent of the total volume, originating from the Mountain, Hill and Terai respectively.

Table 5: Life-Time Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Ecological Zones, 1991.

Place of Enumeration	Place of Birth				Net Migration	
	Total	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Number	% of native born
Mountain	36,674 (3.0)	-	31,003	4,671	-161,655	-11.2
Hill	173,968 (14.2)	76,503	-	97,465	-753,923	-9.0
Terai	1,017,714 (82.8)	121,826	895,888	-	+915,578	+11.1
Total	1,228,356 (100.0)	198,329 (16.1)	927,891 (75.5)	102,136 (8.3)		

Source: CBS, 1995, Vol. IV, Table 8 and 9.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are percent of total .

It is evident from Tables 3, 4 and 5 that the Hill zone has been the major contributor in sending migrants. The proportionate share of migrants originating from the three zones is changing over time. While Hill had the highest and Terai had the lowest share in sending, proportion of Terai is perceptibly increasing. Also, the share of Mountain and Hill changed between 1981and 1991

significantly. Compared to 1981, there is a decline in out-flow from the Mountain and increase from the Hill and Terai in 1991. The change may be attributable to increasing population pressure in the Hill and easy outlet to the Terai.

On the receiving side also one notices a changing pattern of in-migration. Terai absorbed more than 90 per cent of the total migrants in 1971, it declined to 78 per cent in 1981 and increased again to 83 per cent in 1991. In the net, which is the difference of in and out, the Mountain and Hill have been found in deficit whereas Terai has been gaining increasing number of people. Net life-time migration in the Terai was in the order of 0.9 million persons in 1991. It was 0.68 million in 1981 recording an increase of 33 per cent net migration in Terai over the 1981-91 decade. The increase was 72 per cent during the 1971-81 decade. Nepal has been an agricultural country, where, over 80 per cent people are still pursuing agricultural occupation. The agricultural unemployment and underemployment could be major factors pushing migrants towards areas with greater job opportunities as it was found by Byerlee (Byrlee, 1970). The extent of underemployment may be seen from the fact that nearly 40 per cent of the economically active population worked less than 8 months during the year preceding the 1991 census (CBS, 1993, Vol. 1, Part XIII, Table 49).

The highest net loss, measured as per cent of native born was suffered by the Mountain and net gain was for Terai. Terai has remained the center of attraction for migrating population. Net transfer of at least 0.23 million people during 1981-91 decade in the Terai, due to internal migration, contributed to at least 0.3 per cent growth in Terai (UN, 1970, p. 8). Everett Lee's hypothesis that - each origin and destination has a set of positive and negative factors attracting and repelling migration; greater the differences among the factors the higher the probability of migration - is probably applicable also in Nepal. It is true that in-out and net flow of migration identify distinctive elements in the movement pattern of population. The net migration columns in Table 5 indicate the extent of positive and negative effect on Population growth in the receiving and sending areas respectively. Figure 1 presents a clear picture of the changes in volume of in-out migration in the three ecological zones over time (1971-91).

Fig. 1: Volume of Out and In Migration for Ecological Zones
Census Year 1971-1991
Mountain 11.2
Terai 2.3
Hill 86.6
Out-migration 1971
Mountain 32
Terai 4
Hill 64
1981
Mountain 16.1
Terai 8.3
Hill 75.5
1991
Hill 5.7
Mountain 2.2
Terai 92.2
In-migration 1971
Hill 18.3
Mountain 3.8
Terai 77.9
1981
Hill 14.2
Mountain 3
Terai 92.8
1991
Source: Tables 3, 4 and 5.

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7.1 **Sex Composition of Migrants**

Sex ratios of inter-zonal migrants are shown in Table 6 for 1981 and 1991. The sex ratios of the resident population at these two censuses are also shown in the same table. The sex ratio of the migrant population decreased from 107.3 in 1981 to 95.1 in 1991. Noting that the sex ratio of the migrant population was 109 in 1971, it may be said that the male predominance among the migrants has been continuously eroding over the years. Further, the fact that the sex ratio of the migrant population (107.3) which was greater than that of the resident population (105.0) in 1981, turned out to be less for migrant population (95.1) than that of resident population (99.5) in 1991 shows that here is emergence of even a female-predominance in internal migration in Nepal. Part of the reason for this female predominance in internal migration may lie in the fact that a far greater number of males than females moved to destinations outside the country. Among those who emigrated during the ten years preceding the 1991 census, the male number is five times as large as the female number. The number of Nepal born men and women living outside Nepal for periods up to 10 years 1991 census were 401,073 and 80,185 respectively (CBS, 1994, pp. 416-496).

Table 6: Sex Ratio* of Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Ecological Zones, 1981 - 1991.

	1981				1991				1981	1991
	Place of Birth				Place of Birth				Sex Ratio of total	
Place of Enumeration	Total	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Total	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Resident population	
Mountain	72.2	-	70.4	103.9	53.9	-	45.2	162.3	104.7	98.4
Hill	98.7	99.8	-	94.8	86.9	69.6	-	103.2	102.1	95.3
Terai	111.6	113.5	110.0	-	98.5	101.9	98.0	-	108.3	103.8
Total	107.3	107.1	108.2	95.3	95.1	88.1	95.6	105.3	105.0	99.5

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. II.
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV.
* Number of males per 100 females .

in 1981, the male predominance among migrants compared to the resident population applies to out-migrants from Mountain (107.1) and Hill (108.2) and in-migrants to Terai (111.6). This male predominant migration from Mountain and Hill to Terai was understandably in search of employment. It may also be noted that the out-migration from Terai (95.3) and in-migration to

Mountain (72.2) and Hill (98.7) was distinctly female predominant, this probably was marriage related migration in which the females make the migratory move following marriage.

In 1991, the situation was different. The sex ratio of out-migrants, 95.6 in Hill and 105.3 in Terai, were not very different from the corresponding sex ratios of resident population, namely 95.3 and 103.8. Interestingly, in Mountain, females were more predominant among out-migrants (88.1) than among the resident population (98.4), which seems to suggest that females started moving out in search of economic opportunities and this reflected itself as female predominant in-migration to Hill to a great extent and to Terai to a certain extent. In the case of Mountain, the sex ratio of the in--migrants was 53.9 compared to 98.4 for the resident population. This shows that, whatever in--migration there was to Mountain, it was essentially of females, probably marriage related in--migration.

8. Volume of Life-Time Migration by Development Regions

There is also interest for studying mobility of population in this country among development regions. As mentioned earlier, the area demarcations for the five development regions are made in such a way that each development region contains a part of each ecological zone, namely, Mountain. Hill and Terai. Analysis of migration data by ecological and development regions, therefore, is likely to present an understanding of the nature of flow and the distance consideration in the mobility of migrants in the country.

Table 7: Per cent Distribution of Native Born Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Development Regions, 1981.

Place of Enumeration	Place of Birth						
	Total	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-western	Far-western	Net Migration
Eastern	8.53	----	7.04	0.95	0.34	0.20	-43.47
Central	43.80	24.34	----	18.38	0.82	0.27	+29.91
Western	19.04	12.77	4.43	----	1.73	0.12	-4.23
Mid-western	13.78	8.70	1.40	2.60	----	1.08	+4.61
Far-western	14.85	6.19	1.03	1.34	6.28	----	+13.18
Total	100.00 (423,608)	52.00 (220,278)	13.89 (58,840)	23.27 (98,582)	9.17 (38,845)	1.67 (7,063)	

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. II, Table 8.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are total number.

The 1991 census recorded that 0.45 million people (0.22 million Males and 0.23 million females) moved across the development regions since birth (Table 8). This number is approximately one third of the volume of migration across the three ecological zones, viz. Mountain, Hill and Terai (Table 5). Such a reduction in volume of migration, in spite of an increase in the number of units from 3 to 5, presents strong evidence that most of the migration in the country takes place within the development regions and across the ecological zones.

Volume of migration across development regions in 1991 (0.45 million) is found to be only marginally different from that observed in 1981 (0.42 million). On the other hand, the pattern of mobility has changed significantly during the decade (Tables 7-8). Of the total volume, the highest per cent (34.0) originated from Western development region followed by 25.8 per cent from the Eastern in 1991; whereas it was 23.5 per cent from the Western and 52 per cent from the Eastern region in 1981.

Table 8: Per cent Distribution of Native Born Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Development Regions, 1991

		Place of Birth					
Place of Enumeration	All Total	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-western	Far-western	Net Migration
Eastern	10.34	---	9.08	0.96	0.16	0.14	-15.48
Central	48.38	22.13	---	24.31	1.23	0.70	+27.74
Western	12.63	1.45	7.08	---	3.87	0.24	-21.43
Mid-western	13.17	0.92	2.56	6.54	---	3.14	-2.09
Far-western	15.48	1.32	1.91	2.24	10.00	---	+11.25
Total	100.00 (449,090)	25.82 (115,962)	20.64 (92,683)	34.06 (152,959)	15.26 (68,512)	4.22 (18,974)	

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. I, Part II, Table 9.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are total number.

In 1981, the Eastern and Western regions were the losing and the remaining three regions were the gaining regions. The situation remained the same in 1991 in all regions except in the mid-Western which changed from the gaining region to a losing region in 1991. The Central and the Far-Western regions which gained 29.9 and 13.2 per cent of the total volume respectively (in 1981) gained nearly the same per cent, viz. 27.4 and 11.3, of the total volume in 1991. Drastic changes happened in the case of Eastern region whose net loss dropped from 43.5 per cent of the total volume in 1981 to15.5 per cent in 1991, and in the case of Western region, whose net loss increased from a mere 4.2 per cent of the total volume in 1981 to 21.4 per cent in 1991 (Tables 7-8).

8.1 Sex Composition of Migrants

Sex ratio of in and out migrants for the five development regions are shown for 1981 and 1991 in Table 9. In all regions, except the Mid-Western, there was significant reduction in sex ratio of in-migrants from 1981 to 1991, Similarly, there was significant reduction in sex ratio from 1981 to 1991, also for the out-migrants in all regions except the Far-Western. Partly this may be the reflection of the reduction in sex ratio from 1981 to 1991 in the over all Population itself. This does not entirely explain the differential reductions from 1951 to 1991 among the regions nor does it account for the difference in the extent of drop between the in-migrants and the out-migrants.

As is evident from Tables 7 and 8, in 1981, the Eastern region was the maximum losing region which become the second maximum losing region in 1991. In 1981 it was sending more males than females and receiving more females than males resulting in male predominant net out-migration. In 1981, the sex ratio for the net migration was 112. In 1991, the male predominance for the net out-migration increased tremendously (sex ratio 121) although the extent of net out-migration reduced (Table 10).

The Western region which was the only other region with a net loss in 1981 (Table 10) was sending more males than it was receiving, resulting in a high sex ratio of 121 for the net out-migration. In 1991, the net out-migration for this region increased substantially but the male predominance in the net loss was not as high as before; the sex ratio of the net losses was 110.

Table 9: Sex Ratio of Migrants for Development Regions, 1981-91.

		Place of Birth					
Place of Enumeration		Total	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-western	Far-western
Eastern	1991	74.7	-	70.4	124.7	85.2	82.6
	1981	97.6	-	89.5	166.0	137.9	97.5
Central	1991	99.1	95.9	-	99.8	118.6	165.1
	1981	107.5	105.0	-	109.8	122.2	123.8
Western	1991	90.6	118.9	96.1	-	73.9	79.3
	1981	111.6	119.2	96.4	-	100.3	96.1
Mid-western	1991	101.2	157.8	131.6	100.1	-	73.7
	1981	100.9	102.6	120.7	106.3	-	61.1
Far-western	1991	102.8	133.9	128.1	112.7	93.3	-
	1981	122.6	120.1	155.4	135.5	117.8	---
Total	1991	96.0	100.4	89.6	101.3	89.6	84.9
	1981	108.5	109.7	98.3	112.6	115.3	75.2

Source: Same as in Table 7 and 8.

The Mid-Western region had about the least net migration of all regions, both in 1981 and 1991, although it changed from a net gain region in 1981 to net loss region in 1991. At both times, there was a female predominance which was much more when it was losing than when it was gaining. The sex ratio of the net gains in 1981 was 77 whereas the sex ratio of the net losses in 1991 was 40. The Central and Far-western regions whose net gain did not alter much between 1981 and 1991, always had male predominance among their net gains. Table 10 shows the sex ratios of net losses and net gains for the development regions in 1981 and 1991. Similar information is presented also for the three ecological zones in the same table. Mountain and Hill were the losing and the Terai the gaining region both in 1981 and 1991. There was male predominance in 1981 among the net losses in Mountain and Hill as well as among the net gains in Terai. Further, the male predominance in 1981 was more or less of the same order in the three ecological zones as indicated by the fact that sex ratio varied in a very narrow range of 115 to 113. In 1991, on the other hand, there was female predominance and of the same order (sex ratio of 97), among the losses of Mountain and Hill as well among the gains of Terai.

Table 10: Sex Ratio of Net Losses and Net Gains Due to Migration Among the Ecological Zones and Development Regions, Nepal, 1981-1991.

Region	Net Migration as percent of total volume of migration in the country							
	1981				1991			
	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
Dev. Regions								
Eastern	-43.5	-23.0	-20.5	112	-15.5	-8.5	-7.0	121
Central	29.9	15.8	14.1	112	27.7	14.4	13.3	108
Western	-4.2	-2.3	-1.9	121	-21.4	-11.2	-10.2	110
Mid-western	4.6	2.0	2.6	77	-2.1	-0.6	-1.5	40
Far-western	13.2	7.5	5.7	132	11.3	5.9	5.4	109
Ecological Zones								
Mountain	-28.1	-15.0	-13.1	115	-13.2	-6.5	-6.7	97
Hill	-45.7	-24.2	-21.5	113	-61.4	-30.3	-31.1	97
Terai	73.8	39.1	34.7	113	74.5	36.8	37.7	97

Source: Tables 4 to 9.

9. Migration Streams: 15 Ecological-Development regions

The volume of migration bears a close relation with the size of migration defined area. As the defined area becomes smaller, the volume of migration, generally, tends to be larger. Table 11 presents the volume and stream of migration across 15 ecological-development regions (combination of 3 ecological zones and 5 development regions) in 1991. With increase in the number of migration defined areas from 3 ecological zones to 15 regions, the volume of migration increased from 1.2 to 1.4 million in 1991; among them 0.68 million were males and 0.73 million were females, resulting a sex ratio of 93.1. That means, there were 931 males for every 1000 female migrants.

Table 11: Life-Time Migrants by Place of Birth and Place of Enumeration for Ecological Development Regions, Nepal, 1991.

		Place of Birth																	
		Mountain						Hill						Terai					
Place of Enumeration	All Total	Total	East	Cent	West	M-West	F-West	Total	East	Cent	West	M-West	F-West	Total	East	Cent	West	M-West	F-West
Total	1,418,206	201,406	94,568	52,560	5,140	12,711	36,427	1,021,039	315,666	155,298	306,821	124,130	119,124	195,761	74,639	71,636	15,210	28,151	6,125
Mountain	39751	3077	428	159	23	1337	1130	32003	10479	9809	3506	1585	6624	4671	2548	1293	180	337	313
Eastern	12439	101		91	1	8	1	10579	9738	729	94	12	6	1759	1542	183	10	14	10
Central	11333	342	321		4	9	8	9675	574	8575	492	23	11	1316	531	698	49	33	5
Western	2584	142	53	29		60	0	2260	40	210	1978	29	3	182	45	86	44	6	1
Mid-Western	4931	1,187	34	17	15		1121	2899	68	173	795	1419	444	845	295	228	56	232	34
Far-Western	8464	1,305	20	22	3	1,260		6590	59	122	147	102	6160	569	135	98	21	52	263
Hill	267116	76503	23232	33883	4048	5018	10322	93148	28045	15446	33373	8046	8238	97465	42563	35961	8505	7491	2945
Eastern	40433	15,287	14,923	309	14	24	17	5412		4764	537	55	56	19734	17924	1581	116	75	38
Central	157435	43,583	7,719	32,802	2,160	462	440	57034	26222		27971	1397	1444	56818	22094	28217	3495	2265	747
Western	30452	3,059	378	628	1,807	154	92	15653	1339	9505		4565	244	11740	1454	4927	4391	821	147
Mid-Western	22447	4,221	119	87	46	3,808	161	11836	267	822	4253		6494	6390	750	738	410	4133	359
Far-Western	16349	10,353	93	57	21	570	9612	3213	217	355	612	2029		2783	341	498	93	197	1654
Terai	1111339	121826	70908	18518	1069	6356	24975	895888	277142	130043	269942	114499	104262	93625	29528	34382	6525	20323	2867
Eastern	362486	70071	67987	1902	38	73	71	274085	256797	13805	3050	220	213	18330		17430	463	230	207
Central	235313	17281	1309	15555	254	72	91	190241	16701	100964	71691	675	210	27791	23934		3076	577	204
Western	197915	1507	302	412	625	80	88	182994	1140	7163	165367	9031	293	13414	1774	8816		2620	204
Mid-Western	128232	4119	360	418	94	2808	439	113109	710	3996	21504	84080	2819	11004	1514	5040	2198		2252
Far-Western	187393	28848	950	231	58	3323	24286	135459	1794	4115	8330	20493	100727	23086	2306	3096	788	16896	

Source: CBS, 1995, Vol. IV, Table 9.

An examination of Table 11 reveals that the flow is directed more from resource-poor to resource rich areas which may be attributable, among others, to economic reason in the hope of finding better land for cultivation and/or job opportunity for employment. For example among the 1.4 million migrants in 1991, about 78 per cent were found settled in the Terai region, about 19 per cent in the Hills and a mere 3 per cent in the Mountain (Table 12). It was noted that low agricultural productivity, insufficient land holding at the place of origin, viz. the Mountain and Hill, were the major push factors for migration (Khadka, 1977).

At this point, an examination of the size of physical area and the population residing in these regions is desirable. The area and population density presented in Table 13 reveal that among the 15 regions Eastern Terai had the highest density (291 persons per sq. km.) in 1981 and still continues to have the highest density of 366 persons per sq. km. in 1991. Central Terai had the second position in 1981, and the second position went to Western Terai (with density 353 persons / sq. km.) in 1991. Similarly, a change is observed in other parts of the Terai during 1981/91 decade.

Table 12: In-Migration and Out-Migration Among Ecological-Development Regions, Nepal, 1991.

Sub-regions	In-migrants		Out-migrants		Net-migration
	No	%	No	%	(% of total volume of migration)
Eastern Mountain	12439	0.88	94568	6.67	-5.79
Central Mountain	11333	0.80	52560	3.71	-2.91
Western Mountain	2584	0.18	5140	0.36	-0.18
Mid-Western Mountain	4931	0.35	12711	0.9	-0.55
Far-Western Mountain	8464	0.60	36427	2.57	-1.97
Total	**39751**	2.81	**201406**	14.21	-11.4
Eastern Hill	40433	2.85	315666	22.26	-19.41
Central Hill	157435	11.10	155298	10.95	0.15
Western Hill	30452	2.15	306821	21.63	-19.48
Mid-Western Hill	22447	1.58	124130	8.75	-7.17
Far-Western Hill	16349	1.15	119124	8.4	-7.25
Total	**267116**	18.83	**1021039**	71.99	-53.16
Eastern Terai	362486	25.56	74639	5.26	20.3
Central Terai	235313	16.59	71636	5.05	11.54
Western Terai	197915	13.96	15210	1.07	12.89
Mid-Western Terai	128232	9.04	28151	1.98	7.06
Far-Western Terai	187393	13.21	6125	0.43	12.78
Total	**1111339**	78.36	**195761**	13.8	64.56
All Total	**1418206**	100.00	**1418206**	100	

Source: Table 11.

In the Hill areas, Central Hill had the highest density both in 1981 and 1991 and ranked fourth among the 15 regions. Reason for this is probably the location of the capital city and peripheral cities in this region. These four regions, namely, the Eastern, Central and Western in the Terai and the Central in the Hill far exceed the national average in population density (Table 13). As may be seen from Table 12, Central Hill is the only one, having a net in-migration, though negligible, among the Hill regions. Similarly, the Eastern, Central, Western and Far-Western Terai have also significant net in-migration.

With regard to origin of migration (for out-migrants), the regions of Hill seem to account for nearly 72 per cent and the remaining being accounted equally, 14 per cent each, by the regions in Mountain and Terai (Table 12). Among the Hill, the Eastern and Western Hill accounted 22 per cent each followed by the Central Hill accounting about 11 per cent. Among the Mountain, the Eastern Mountain accounts for the maximum, Western and Mid-Western accounting very little. In Terai, the Central and Eastern Terai being almost equal (over 5 per cent), account for most of the out migration.

Table 13: Area and Population Density by Regions for 1981 and 1991.

Regions	Area in sq.km.	Density		% increase in density
		1981	1991	
Mountain	**51817**	**25.1**	**27.9**	**11.2**
Eastern	10438	32.4	34.4	6.2
Central	6277	65.8	75.0	14.0
Western	5819	3.4	3.4	0.0
Mid-Western	21351	11.4	12.2	7.0
Far-Western	7932	36.4	42.0	15.4
Hill	**61345**	116.8	**137.3**	17.5
Eastern	10749	116.9	133.0	13.8
Central	11805	178.6	227.0	27.1
Western	18319	117.4	132.2	12.6
Mid-Western	13710	76.0	89.0	17.1
Far-Western	6762	89.4	99.2	10.9
Terai	**34019**	192.7	**253.6**	31.6
Eastern	7269	290.7	365.7	25.8
Central	9328	256.0	325.2	27.0
Western	5260	182.1	352.9	93.8
Mid-Western	7317	91.7	127.2	38.7
Far-Western	4845	88.1	139.5	58.3
Total	**147181**	**102.2**	**125.6**	**22.9**

Source : CBS, 1993, Vol. 1, Part I, Table 3
CBS, 1984, Vol. 1, Part I, Table 3.

Regarding the destinations (for in-migrants), more than three fourths (78%) of the migrants had their destination in the Terai and less than one fifth (19%) settled in the Hill zone. Slightly over a quarter of migrants had their destination in the eastern Terai. In the Hill zone, it is only the Central Hill, where the capital and adjoining peripheral cities are located, which was mostly (by slightly more than ten per cent migrants) chosen as their destination. All other regions received less than 3 per cent. This explains the greater population pressure in Terai than in other regions. It is more so in the eastern Terai where about one third of total Terai in-migrants are settled. The pressure decreases as we proceed towards the west with the exception of Far-western Terai which accommodates more migrants than the Mid-western Terai. Not only the population in Eastern Terai increased, it's land area has reduced compared to the area in 1961/71 period (Niroula, 1986; p. 26).

A close observation of Table 11 indicates that Revenstein's law - "Most of the migrants move only a short distance" is, to a certain extent, also operating in Nepal. In addition, Table 14 reveals that distance of move may also depend on the employment opportunity created by development activities and resources available at the destination. The pattern of migration from Mountain to Hill and Terai, and from Hill to Terai operated very much within the same development region (see diagonal elements in Table 14). For example - among migrants originating from the Eastern Mountain, 72 per cent arrived in Eastern Terai and 16 per cent in the Eastern Hill; similarly from the Central Mountain 62 per cent were accommodated in the Central Hill and thirty per cent in Central Terai. From the Far-western Mountain, 67 per cent reached Far-western Terai. From the Hill region, most of the migrants had their destination, within the same development region, in the nearby Terai. This process of migration from Hill to Terai within the same development region ranged between 54 per cent from Western Hill to Western Terai and 85 per cent from Far-western Hill to Far-western Terai. Similar is the picture with respect to migration from Terai: from Eastern Terai to Eastern Hill 24 per cent, Central Terai to Central Hill 39 per cent Western Terai to Western Hill 29 per cent, Mid-western Terai to Mid-western Hill 15 per cent and Far-western Terai to Far-Western Hill 27 per cent. The migration from Terai is not always to Hill within the confines of the respective development region; a significant proportion also moved to nearby regions in Terai itself (Table 14). Table 14 is derived from Table 11 in order to highlight the geographic proximity aspect of migration from origin to destination.

Table 14: Life-Time Migration From Ecological – Development Regions and Major Destinations, Nepal,1991.

Place of Enumeration	Total Number	Place of Birth														
		Mountain					Hill					Terai				
		E	C	W	MW	FW	E	C	W	MW	FW	E	C	W	MW	FW
Eastern Mountain	94568	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Hill	315666	15.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.0	-	-	-	-
Eastern Terai	74639	71.9	-	-	-	-	81.4	-	-	-	-	-	24.3	-	-	-
Central Mountain	52560	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Central Hill	155298	-	62.4	42.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.6	39.4	23.0	8.0	-
Central Terai	71636	-	29.6	-	-	-	-	65.0	-	-	-	32.1	-	20.2	-	-
Western Mountain	5140	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western Hill	306821	-	-	35.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.9	-	-
Western Terai	15210	-	-	12.2	-	-	-	-	53.9	-	-	-	-	-	9.3	-
Mid-Western Mountain	12711	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mid-Western Hill	124130	-	-	-	30.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.7	-
Mid-Western Terai	28151	-	-	-	22.1	-	-	-	-	67.7	-	-	-	14.5	-	-
Far-Western Mountain	36427	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Far-Western Hill	119124	-	-	-	-	26.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.0
Far-Western Terai	6125	-	-	-	26.1	66.7	-	-	-	-	84.6	-	-	-	60.0	36.8

Source: Table 11.

Causes of migration could be numerous centering around the economic one. Findings of small scale studies on migration conducted in the regions of the country at different times in the past concluded that economic conditions were the basic push factors for migration.

10. Period Migration

For the first time, in 1991 census of population, a question on - Place of residence one year prior to the census - was administered, in an attempt to improve over the place of birth data on migration. The census data were cross-classified by 75 districts of enumeration and 15 Ecological-Development regions of prior residence. The set of data made it possible to analyze period (recent) migration across various regions of the country.

In many ways the "fixed period" is a better item of information than the life-time to study population mobility. It counts migrants over a definite period of time, and provides gross and net migration data. However, it is true that a time-period of one year may not be sufficient to capture a sizable events of migration. Yet it will be interesting to analyze the size of 91 thousand records reported in 1991 which provide an opportunity to understand the current pattern of migration, its composition, stream and characteristics of migrants as well. Choice of time-period, its advantages and limitations are described in greater detail in literature (UN Manual V1, 1970; Shryock and Seigel, 1971, pp. 648-50; K.C. Zachariah, 1977). Keeping in view the literacy level of Nepalese

people and the possibility of response bias due to memory lapse, period of one year was decided for collecting migration data in the present census. Such a short period was used also by other countries in their census/surveys (NSS of India, 1968; US Bureau of census, 1977; Great Britain, 1966).

The census of 1991 reported that about 91,000 native born persons, aged one year and above, migrated across the 75 districts of the country. This figure constitutes 0.5 per cent of the total native born population. This means, five persons in every thousand native born changed their place of residence from one district to another during the one-year period preceding the census. Among them 46,314 were males and 44,795 were females, yielding a sex ratio of 103.4 (CBS, 1993, Vol. I, Part 11, Table 10).

If period migration across the three Ecological zones, viz. Mountain, Hill and Terai, is considered, then the volume reduces to 48,066 composed of 25,698 males and 22,368 females constituting a sex ratio of 115. The remaining figure of nearly 0.42 million accounts for intra-zonal migration, that is migration across the districts but within the zone under consideration. Out of the intra-zonal migration, 1.6 per cent was within Mountain; 57.1 per cent was within Hill and 41.0 per cent was within Terai with the sex ratios of 94, 92 and 89 respectively (CBS, 1993, Vol. I, Part II, Table 10).

The migration streams in the three zones show that more than half (58%) originate from the Hill followed by 26.3 per cent from the Terai. At the destination side, about 60 per cent had their destination in the Terai followed by 31 per cent in the Hill (Table 15).

Regarding sex composition at the origin, we find Terai had the highest sex ratio of 132 while the Mountain had the least (102). It clearly indicates that among current migrants males were more migratory than females. In the receiving side, the order of sex ratio is reversed; Mountain had the highest sex ratio (137) while Terai had the least (111) and still males being predominant in all the three zones.

Table 15: Native Born Migrant Population by Place of Residence One Year Ago and Place of Enumeration for Ecological Zones, 1991.

Place of Enumeration		Place of Residence one year ago net period				
		All Total	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Migration
Mountain	Total	4260		2,935	1,325	-3,236
	Male	2462		1,622	840	-1,329
	Female	1798		1,313	485	-1,907
	Sex Ratio	137				
Hill	Total	15022	3,699		11323	-12,900
	Male	8118	1,758		6,360	-6,589
	Female	6904	1,941		4,963	-6,311
	Sex Ratio	118				
Terai	Total	28784	3,797	24,987		+16136
	Male	15118	2,033	13,085		+7918
	Female	13666	1,764	11,902		+8218
	Sex Ratio	111				
All Total	Total	48066	7,496	27,922	12,648	
	Male	25698	3,791	14,707	7,200	
	Female	22368	3,705	13,215	5,448	
	Sex Ratio	115	102	111	132	

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. 1, Part 11, Table 10.

The sex ratios of in-migrants and out-migrants for the ecological zones, in the case of period migration, are shown in Table 15. The corresponding sex ratios in the case of life-time migration were shown in Table 6. It is clear that the sex ratios of life-time migrants were all lower than those of period migrants, and many times even lower than 100. The difference between the life-time and the period migrants in their sex composition may be explained by the fact that every woman makes a migratory move as soon as she gets married and thus it is natural that females predominate in life-time migration more than in period migration. Further, the migratory move could be across district lines or across regional boundaries. Since a girl is usually married within close cultural/geographic proximity, it is expected that there should be greater female predominance in the case of intra-regional migration than in inter-regional migration. Indeed this was the case, as shown by the sex ratios of intra-regional (inter-district) migrants of 94, 92 and 89 for Mountain, Hill and Terai respectively; as compared to the substantially higher (than 100) sex ratios of inter-regional migration shown in Table 15.

10.1 Characteristics of Migrants

The impacts of migration at both the area of origin and destination are determined by the characteristics of migrants. It is, therefore, desirable to study them to the extent the data permit. It is possible from the 1991 census tables to analyze characteristics of migrants, who moved within one year preceding the census and compare them with the characteristics of non-migrants. The terms migrants and non-migrants, as mentioned here, are used just to distinguish two groups of people. Non-migrants are not strictly non-migrants in the real sense of the term. It is only that they did not make a migratory move during the year preceding the census. It is possible that some of them may have migrated more than a year ago, while some others may be truly non-migrants. Since it is not possible to get the non-migrant group in the absolute sense and since the group is predominantly non-migrant, this group has been termed as non-migrants and used for comparison. The general procedure adopted in obtaining the characteristics of the non-migrant group is as follows. For a given characteristics, the frequencies of foreign born group are subtracted from the total, to obtain the native born group; and from the native born group the migrant (internal) group is subtracted in order to arrive at the non-migrant group.

In the following sections, an attempt is made to examine some of the demographic and socio - economic characteristics, such as -

a) age-sex composition,
b) literacy status and educational attainment,
c) marital status,
d) occupation structure and
e) ethnic composition.

These characteristics have been analyzed for all the inter-district migrants at the national level.

10.1.1 Age-sex composition

Table 16 presents age composition of migrant and non-migrant population by sex.

Table 16: Age Distribution of Male and Female Population by Period Migration Status, 1991.

Age Group	Native Born Migrants Male	Native Born Migrants Female	Native Born Non-migrants Male	Native Born Non-migrants Female
Total	100.00 (46,314)	100.00 (44,795)	100.00 (9,051,000)	100.00 (8,909,500)
0-9	18.44*	18.31*	30.70	30.19
10-19	21.08	26.79	22.71	22.21
20-29	28.59	28.06	14.81	16.64
30-39	16.88	11.95	11.47	11.63
40-49	7.99	6.49	8.44	8.34
50-59	3.72	3.79	6.02	5.38
60-69	2.06	2.90	3.85	3.65
70 +	1.24	1.70	2.01	1.97
Median age	23.70	21.70	18.50	18.90

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. I, Part II, Table 10.
* Does not include < 1 year of age since the migration question on 'place of residence one year ago' does not apply to this group.
Note: Figures in parenthesis are total number.

Table 16 shows that sex ratio 103.4 of migrants is higher by two percentage points than that of non-migrant(101.6) population. That means males were in excess among migrants than among non-migrants. Many studies have found that migrants tend to be sex selective, with males predominating over females and this male predominance to be especially true for pioneering, long distance migration.

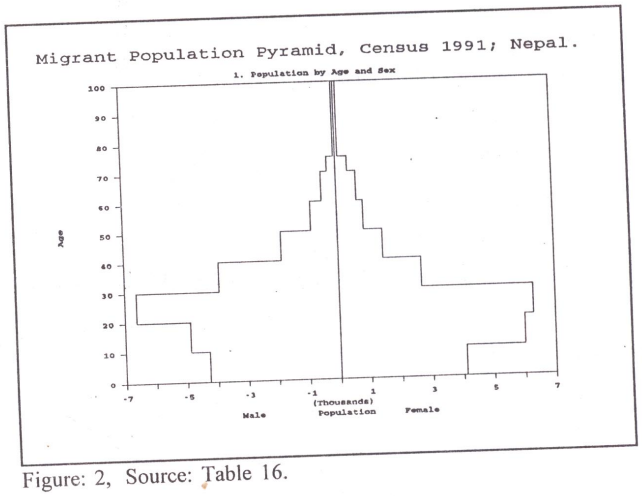

Figure: 2, Source: Table 16.

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The age distribution of males and females shown in Table 16 and in figures 2 - 3 clearly show that population < 10 years of age is proportionately much less in migrant than in non-migrant group. Needless to say that the exclusion of age group < I in the migrant group is not the entire reason for fewer children among migrants, since this exclusion is not capable of explaining the vast difference in the <10 population between migrants (18%) and non-migrants (30%). The age group 20-29 has the proportion of persons in the migrant group which is almost twice as high as the proportion in the non-migrant group. It is natural that migrants who move in search of employment should fall vastly in this age group. The proportion in the migrant group is higher than the non-migrant group also in the earlier age group, viz. 10-19 as far as females are concerned, which is probably accounted by the marriage - related migration. For males, the later age group viz. 30-39 exhibits higher proportion among migrant than non-migrant group which obviously reflects work related migration. These observations support the general findings that migrants are age selective. This is also supported by the difference observed in the median age between migrant and non-migrant populations. Similar pattern of age selectivity of migration was also found in past studies (CBS 1988, p. 112; CBS, 1987; p.173). The Demographic Sample Survey of 1986/87 conducted by CBS found that highest proportion (37%) of migrants residing in rural areas reported that they belonged to 20-29 years of age when they made their first move, and it was 41 per cent among urban residents.

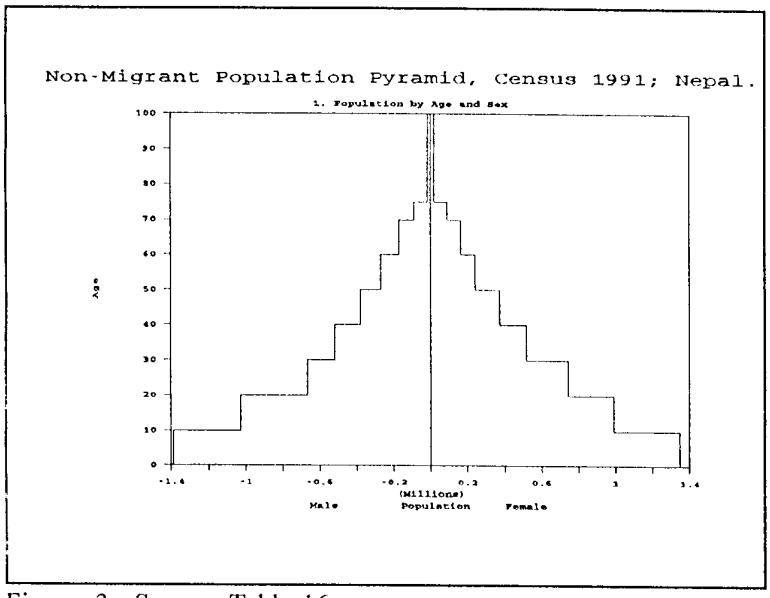

Figure: 3, Source: Table 16.

10.1.2 Literacy Status and Educational Attainment

Regarding literacy status, 78 per cent male and 43 per cent female migrants were literate in contrast to about 54.5 per cent male and 25.0 per cent female in the total population (Table 17). This finding is in conformity with the general observation that literacy status of migrants is usually higher than

the rest of the population. This is probably because a person would be better able to make the migratory move if he/she is literate; and further that literacy helps in securing employment, which is to a large extent, the reason behind migration.

Table 17. Per cent Distribution of Population 6 Years and Above by Literacy, Educational Attainment, Migration Status and Sex, 1991

Educational Attainment	Migrants		Non-Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(41390)	(40,025)	-	-
Illiterate	22.27	56.76	45.51*	75.05*
Literate	77.73	43.24	54.49*	24.95*
Total Literate	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(32,001)	(16,971)	(3,971,636)	(1,798,236)
1. No. of Schooling	20.06	26.49	22.32	24.12
2. Primary (1-5)	22.57	29.94	39.46	45.96
3. Secondary (6-10)	27.52	26.7	23.59	19.62
4. SLC. And Equiv.	12.35	9.31	5.52	3.57
5. Intermediate Equiv.	7.59	3.21	2.57	1.42
6. Graduate & Equiv.	5.51	1.19	1.5	0.68
7. Post Graduate Equiv.	1.3	0.16	0.34	0.17
8. Level not Stated	3.08	2.99	4.7	4.44

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. 1, Part 111, Table 11; Part IV, Table 17; Part X, Table 31.

Note: Figures in parenthesis are absolute numbers.
* Rates relate to total population that comprises both native born and foreign born.

The educational attainment of the literate males and females are also shown for migrants and non-migrants in Table 17. Over one fourth of literate male migrants had at least SLC level of education whereas among the non-migrants it was only 10 per cent. Among females, 14 per cent of migrants had at least SLC level whereas among non-migrants it was only 6 per cent. In the higher education, about 7 per cent of the male migrants had at least graduate level of education the corresponding percentage for non-migrants being less than 2 per cent.

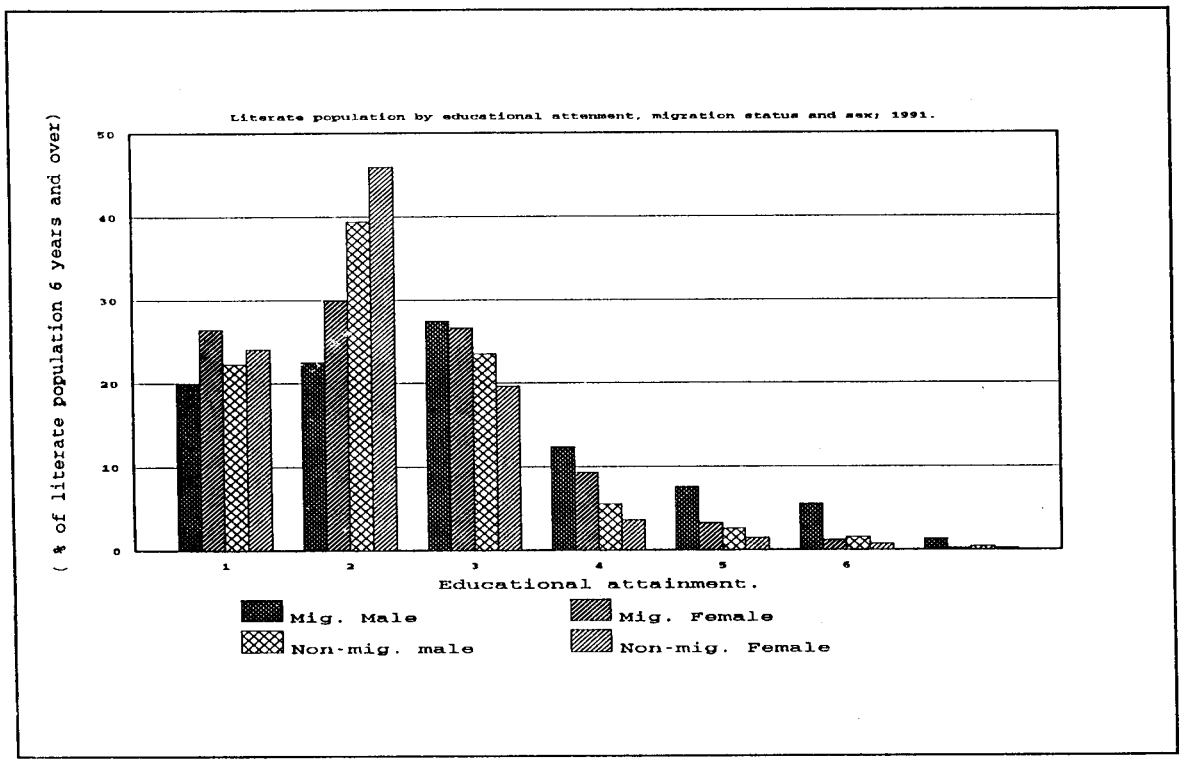

Figure: 4, Source: Table 17.

Numerous studies have shown that movers are better educated than those who remain at the origin (Goldstein et. al., 1974). Migrants who go long distance or to the big cities tend to have more education prior to moving than other migrants, as shown in Argentina, Thailand and Mexico (Herrick, 1971). However, this may not be the situation in Nepal in the absence of institutes for higher education in rural areas. Most of the rural school leavers move to cities for higher education as well as for finding employment. Figure 4 vividly presents differences in educational attainment of migrant and non-migrant population.

10.1.3 Marital Status

Table 18 exhibits marital status distribution of migrant and non-migrant population. There are differences in the two marital distributions, notably among females. The two significant marital categories are the single and the married categories. Among males, while the proportion married in the migrant and non-migrant groups are more or less identical, the single category is proportionately somewhat higher among migrants than non-migrants. This is understandable, since in the case of

men, migratory move becomes easier if one is single. In the case of females, the greatest differences between migrants aid own-migrants, are in the proportion single and proportion married. The migrant group has higher proportion married and lower proportion single, as compared to the non-migrant group in the migrant and non-migrant groups, percent females married are 75.6 mid 64.8 per cent respectively and the corresponding per cent single are 17.7 and 26.7.

Table 18. Population 10 Years and Above by Marital Status, Migration Status and Sex, 1991.

Marital Status	Natrive Born			
	Migrants		Non-Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.00 (37,772)	100.00 (36,591)	100.00 (6,271,360)	100.00 (6,218,051)
1. Single	37.26	17.71	35.77	26.7
2. Married	60.2	75.6	60.44	64.76
3. Widow/Widower	1.46	4.98	2.95	7.14
4. Divorced	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.22
5. Separated	0.35	0.54	0.21	0.48
6. Not Stated	0.5	0.93	0.38	0.7

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. I, Part. Ill, table 12; Part IV, Table 18, Part XI Table 34.

Note: Figures in Parenthesis are total number.

In Hindu culture the event of marriage causes change of residence of the bride and that causes her to be a migrant if' it lakes place across the Single females are less prone to migrate. This appear; to be in conformity with the socio-economic practices that prevail in the society. In general, grown up unmarried girls are not expected to live away from their parents / guardians' house. Once they are married and the residence changes across the district, they are entered as migrant in census record. Analysis of 1981 census concluded that among female life-time migrants highest proportion (30%) had reported marriage as cause of migration (CBS, 1987, p. 168).

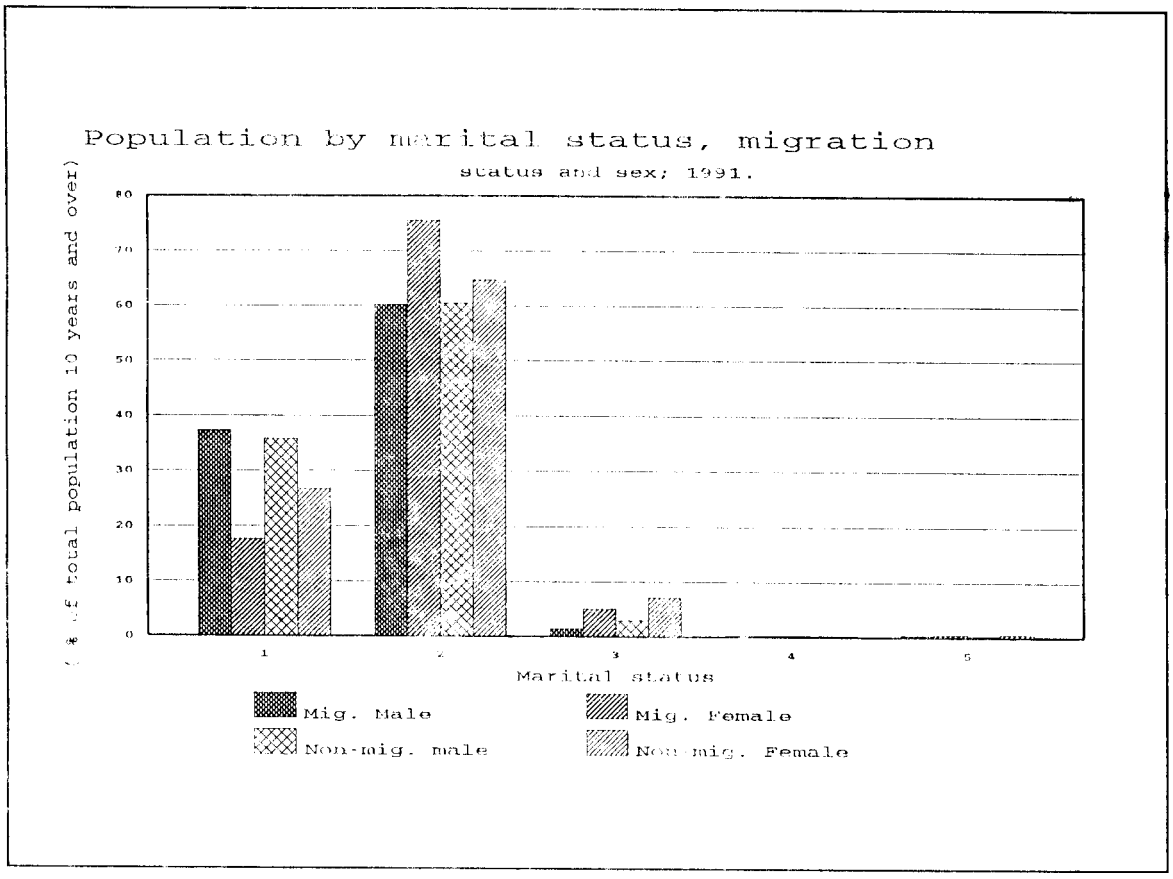

Figure : 5, Source: Table 18.

The association with migration of' single status in the case of males and married status in the case of females is understandable. It may be noted that the strength of association probably is not as strong as it should be. Since it is only migration in one year that is considered here, several migrants who made the migratory move more than a year ago are all included in non-migrant group in the present analysis.

More than one third male migrant, were single and little less than two third were married, they together constituted 97 per cent of the migrant population. In case of females, single and married together constituted 92 per cent. About five per cent of the female migrants were widows. Reason for migration in the case of widows, may be economic because they may not have economically supporting male partner at the origin. Figure 5 vividly shows composition, of migrant and non-migrant population by marital status, in Nepal, in 1991.

10.1.4 Occupation

Keeping in view, the possible impact of migration on socio-economic development, it will be interesting to study the occupational structure of migrants in comparison with that of the non-migrant population.

Table 19: Distribution of Economically Active Population 10 Years of Age and Over by Migration Status, Major Occupation and Sex; 1991.

Major Occupation	Migrants		Non-Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(28,341)	(14,721)	(4,266,746)	(2,890,594)
1. Prof./Technical Worker	6.34	2.23	2.48	0.61
2. Administrative Worker	2.95	0.18	0.43	0.07
3. Clerical Worker	7.9	1.26	1.55	0.25
4. Sales Worker	5.31	4.54	3.53	1.55
5. Service Worker	27.95	9.03	7.49	3.66
6. Farm and Fish Worker	27.98	71.57	75.81	90.92
7. Production and Labour	12.69	8.74	5.53	1.89
8. Other Workers	8.35	1.99	2.88	0.79

Source: CBS, 1993, Vol. 1, Part 111, Table 13; Part IV, Table 16; Part XIII, Table 51.

Note: Figures in parenthesis are absolute number.

Table 19 shows occupational distribution of migrants and non-migrants by sex. There is wide difference in the male-female ratio between migrant and non-migrant economically active population. Among non-migrants, the male number is one and half times as large as the female number whereas among the migrant group, males are twice as many as females. This table also shows that occupational structure of migrants is different from that of non-migrants and the difference applies to both sexes. Since the bulk of Nepalese labor force is traditionally absorbed in Farm / Fish work, this reflects itself in the non-migrant group. However this is not true in the case of migrant population. This table indicates that more than 75 per cent male and 90 per cent female non-migrants have Farm / Fish work, the corresponding percentages among migrants being 28 and 72. The proportion of persons engaged in all other occupational categories are all higher for the migrant group than the non-migrant group, both for males and females. Notable differences are in the Service, Production, Clerical and Professional / Technical occupations.

At this stage it is not clear, however, whether it was their non-agricultural occupations that lead them to migrate or most of themigrants preferred and were absorbed in the non-agricultural

occupations. This is true also of other characteristics. In order to understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to evaluate the status before and after the event, by introducing such questions in migration surveys as was done in DSS 1986/87 by CBS, Nepal.

10.1.5 Caste/Ethnic Composition

Population of Nepal is composed of various ethnic groups. Census of 1991 listed more than 60 Caste/ Ethnic groups residing in the country. However, possibility of error, related to misclassification, can not be ruled out. Nevertheless, the grouping of Caste/Ethnicity presented in Table 20 provides an understanding of the extent of mobility among different groups. In this table, the Caste/Ethnicity composition of migrants is compared with that of the total population. Data constraints did not permit the deduction of Caste/Ethnic composition for the non-migrant group and hence, the composition of total population had to be used for comparison with that of migrant group. It is clear from the table that Hill Brahmans have been the most mobile group in the Nepalese population. Chhetries were next to Brahmans even though they had the maximum representation in the total population.

Table 20: Caste/Ethnic Composition of Migrant and Total Population by Sex, Nepal, 1991.

Caste/Ethnic Group	Population Male		Population Female	
	Migrant	Total	Migrant	Total
All Total	100.00 (46,314)	100.00 (9,220,974)	100.00 (44,795)	100.00 (9,270,123)
1. Brahman (hill)	26.78	12.8	24.47	13.03
2. Chhetri	22.19	15.73	21.12	16.37
3. Newar	6.72	5.63	6.84	5.63
4. Magar	6.27	7.04	6.16	7.44
5. Tamang	5.1	5.52	4.9	5.49
6. Kami	4.23	5.12	4.91	5.3
7. Rai	3.44	2.81	3.65	2.88
8. Gurung	3.06	2.34	2.98	2.52
9. Tharu	2.97	6.51	3.04	6.4
10. Thakuri	2.39	1.59	2.49	1.65
11. Damai	2.13	1.93	2.66	2.04
12. Limbu	1.92	1.57	2.28	1.64
13. Yadav/Ahir	1.34	4.37	1.54	3.91
14. Sanyasi	1.31	0.97	1.28	0.99
15. Mushlim	0.94	3.65	1.05	3.42
16. Brahman (Terai)	0.81	0.93	0.58	0.83
17. Others	8.4	22.42	9.61	19.76

Source: CBS, 1994, Vol. 1, Part V, "Cable 19; Part VII, Table 25.

Hill Brahmans constitute a little more than one fourth among male migrants and slightly less than one fourth among female migrants. Chhetries' proportion is also somewhat lower for females than males. Disregarding the minor sex differentials, it may be said that Hill Brahmans among migrants are proportionately twice as many as those in the total population. The proportion of Chhetries in migrant group is one and half times as high as the proportion in the total population. Share of other groups in migrant population is more or less at par with their share in the total population.

Brahmans are the elite group and their literacy status is much higher than many other groups (CBS, 1994, Vol. 1, Part VII, Table 26). Literate persons can communicate more clearly and effectively with the outside world and further their sources of information are usually much wider than those of others. Hence, they are likely to be relatively more migratory.

Table 20 also suggests, those Caste/Ethnic groups which are usually resident in the Hill are more migratory than those groups resident in the Terai with the exception of Tharu females. This may be explained by the fact that direction of flow is more from Hill to Terai.

11. Summary

Inter-district life-time migration increased from 0.42 million in 1961 to an estimated 1.74 million in 1991 during which time the number of districts also increased from 55 to 75. The inter-regional (ecological-development regions) migration increased from 0.51 million in 1971 to 1.42 million in 1991; also during this period the number of regions increased from 10 to 15.

Among the ecological zones, the Mountain and Hill have been the losing regions and the Terai has been the gaining region; the net loses in the Mountain region constituted about 21 per cent of the native born population in 1981 and 11 per cent in 1991. In the Hill region, the net loses constituted about 6 per cent of the native born population in 1981 and 9 per cent in 1991. The resulting net gain for Terai was of the order of about 11 per cent of the native born population in both 1981 and 1991.

Historically, migrants have been predominantly males. This male predominance has been continuously eroding over the past few decades. A comparison of the sex composition of the migrants with that of non-migrants suggests that there is an emergence of even a female predominance in internal migration. In the study of sex differentials in migration, two factors among others, need to be recognised: part of the out-migration in the case of males, may be international

and hence not accounted in internal migration; similarly, a part of the female migration is marriage related which does not apply to males.

With regard to life-time migration across development regions, the Eastern and Western have been the loosing regions, and the Central and Far-western have been the gaining regions whereas the net migration has been negligible in the case of the Mid-Western region. One interesting feature is that the volume of migration across the development regions has been less than the volume of migration across the ecological zones, indicating that much of the migration takes place from / to Mountain, Hill, Terai within a given development region.

The volume of period migration (during one year period preceding the 1991 census) across the 75 districts of the country amounted to about 91,000 persons with a sex ratio of 103 males per 100 females. Of these, only about 48,000 moved across the ecological zones, and the remaining moved within these regions. Nearly 58 per cent of these had originated from Hill and 26 per cent from the Terai whereas about 60 per cent had their destination in Terai and 30 per cent in Hill. In the case of period (current) migration, males were found to be more migratory than females and further, the male predominance was found to be much greater in period migration than in life-time migration.

These (period) migrants were also found to differ in socio-economic and demographic characteristics from the non-migrants. The migrants compared to the non-migrants had among them fewer children and more in working ages, more men than women, greater proportion of literate; higher level of educational attainment, greater proportion married, greater proportion in non-farm occupations, and larger proportions of Brahmans and Chhetries.

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