

CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL MIGRATION

Introduction

In this chapter, we will deal with migration, particularly internal migration in Nepal.

The censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981 have obtained information with regard to the birth place of each enumerated person. The birth place of a person was identified in terms of the district where he/she was born. From this information it is possible to classify the enumerated population into two groups:

- 1) Life-time migrants : persons enumerated in a place different from the place of birth. According to census definition, a life-time migrant is one who was enumerated in a district different from his/her place (i. e. district) of birth;
2. Non-migrants: persons enumerated in the districts where they were born.

Since data on birth place are available for three censuses (1961, 1971 and 1981), some comparative estimation of life-time migration is possible over the census years.

Volume of Migration : National Level

Table 7.1 shows the volume of life-time migrants for the census years 1961-81 (the table is restricted to those persons who were born in Nepal only).

Data shows an increase of life-time migrants over the years. The percentage of life-time migrants as against the Native born increased from 4.53 in 1961 to 8.60 in 1981. However, there are some problems associated with this intercensal comparison of life-time migrants. For example, district was the unit of identification of one's birth place but

there have been considerable changes in the district boundaries since 1961. The number of districts increased, from 55 in 1961 to 75 in 1981. However, the data on migration cannot be adjusted for these changes in district boundaries due to lack of appropriate data. This is likely to produced biased estimate of life-time migrants over the years.

Although the unit of enumeration of a life time migrant has been a district for all the censuses since the 1961 census, the data on life-time migration were provided at the regional level. However, the number of regions for which these data were provided were not the same for all the census years. There were 10 such regions for the 1961 and 1971 censuses, While these were 15 in the 1981 census. Moreover, the 1961 and 1981 censuses considered the movement within and across the region, while the 1971 census examined this mobility only across the region . However the effect of these problems on the estimates of life-time migrants, is almost circumvented, when these estimates are made at broad regional level, such as Mountain, Hill and Terai.

Volume of Migration : Geographic Zones

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 provide data in the net internal migration for each geographic zones (i.e. those who moved across the geographic zone), for the census years 1971-1981. There has been steady increase in life-time migrants over the years. The number of life-time migrants increased from 0.45 million in 1971 to 0.93 million in 1981, registering an increase of 109 percent between 1971 and 1981.

Table 7.1 life-time migrants (Internal) of Nepal , census years 1961-81

Year	Native Born			Foreign Born			Non migrants			Life-time migrants (Internal) ¹			Life-time migrants as % of native born
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
1961	9,075,376	4,514,698	4,560,678	337,620	121,335	216,285	8,652,974			422,402			4.54
1971	11,218,535	5,693,723	5,524,812	337,448	123,480	213,968	10,711,610			505,925 ²			4.52
1981	14,788,800	7,623,781	7,165,019	234,039	71,555	162,484	13,516,512	7,013,188	6,503,324	1,272,288	610,593	661,695	8.60

1. A life-time migrant is one whose district of birth is different from district of enumeration.

2. Inter district migration within each 10 geographical region is excluded.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1968-Population Census 1961, Vol. II, Table 11 & 12;

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1975-Population Census 1971, Vol. II, part I, Table 10 & 11;

Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984-Population Census 1981, Vol. II, Table 8; Vol. I, Part III, Table 7.

Table 7.2-Native born, population distributed by place of birth and place of enumeration for geographic zones , Nepal, Census year 1971

Place of enumeration	Place of birth			Total	Life-time net migrants
	Mountain	Hill	Terai		
Mountain	-	9,258	44	9,693	-39,959
Hill	15,667	-	9,699	25,366	-359,966
Terai	33,990	376,074	-	410,064	+399,925
Total	49,657	385,332	10,139	445,128	

Note : - indicates net out migrants from the region.
+ - indicates net in migrants in the region.

Source : Same as in Table 7.1.

Table 7.3—Native born population distributed by place of birth and place of enumeration for geographic zones, Nepal, Census

Place of enumeration	Place of birth				Total	Life-time net migrants
	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Total		
Mountain	-	33,423	2,196	35,619	-261,467	
Hill	134,254	-	35,669	169,923	-424,711	
Terai	162,832	561,211	-	724,043	+686,178	
Total	297,086	594,634	37,865	929,585		

Note : - indicates net out migrants from the region.
+ - indicates net in migrants in the region.

Source : Same as in Table 7.1.

Table 7.4-Native born population distributed by place of birth and place of enumeration by sex for geographic zones, Nepal, census year 1981.

Place of enumeration	Place of birth								Net life-time migrants		
	Mountain		Hill		Terai		All Total		Male	Female	(Total)
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
Mountain	-	-	13,813	19,610	1,119	1,077	14,932	20,687	-138,685	-122,782	-261,467
Hill	67,054	67,200	-	-	17,359	18,310	84,413	85,510	-224,667	-200,044	-424,711
Terai	86,563	76,269	295,267	265,944	-	-	381,830	342,213	+363,352	+322,826	+686,178
All Total	153,617	143,469	309,080	285,554	18,478	19,387	481,175	448,410			

Note : - indicates net out migrants from the region.
+ indicates net in migrants in the region.

Source : Same as in Table 7.1.

Among those who moved across the geographic zones in 1981, the proportion of male is higher than female. Of the 0.93 million internal migrants in 1981, 52 per cent were males and the remaining were females (see Table 7.4). However, this situation reverses when the unit of estimation of life-time migrants is changed from internal level to inter district level which includes both inter and intra zonal movements, i.e. total volume of life-time migrants. The 1981 census record 1.27 million life-time migrants. Of these 0.66 million or 52 per cent were females and the rest, i.e. 0.61 million or 48 per cent were males (see Table 7.1). From these findings it appears that female migrants tend to move more frequently within the zones; while males tend to move more frequently across the zones. The findings of higher mobility of female within the zone than across the zone may be attributed, among other things, to the fact that female migration is mostly due to marriage, and this usually takes place within a zone among the neighboring districts, while male migration is mostly due to economic reasons which may require a male member of the household to move across the zone to look for jobs.

It may be further observed from Tables 7.2 and 7.3 that the majority of the migrants originated from Hill, followed by the Mountain and Terai. The net losers were Hill and Mountain zones, while the net gainer was Terai zone. In 1971, the Hill and Mountain zone lost 0.36 and 0.04 million population to Terai. The net exodus of people from the Hill and Mountain still remain unabated. The 1981 census recorded a net loss of 0.26 and 0.42 million people from the Mountain and Hill respectively, while the Terai gained 0.69 million population. This huge influx of people from the Hill and Mountain to the Terai has accelerated the pace of population growth of the latter.

Between 1971 and 1981, the population of the Terai increased at the rate of 4.19 per cent per annum. Of this growth, 0.67 per cent is attributed to net internal migration.

Volume of Migration : Development Region

Table 7.5 and 7.6 present data on net internal migration for each development region for the census years 1971 and 1981. When looking at the migration pattern by development region, we find some changes in the ranking order of the development regions in terms of losing and gaining population during the intercensal period 1971-81. The Western Development region, which was ranked first among the development regions losing population in 1971 has been displaced into second place in 1981 by the Eastern Development region. The position of the Eastern Development region was third among the development regions losing population in 1971. The Mid-western Development region which were second among the development regions losing population in 1971 has turned into a net gainer in 1981 and occupied the third position among the development regions experiencing the net increase of population in 1981. The far western Development region retained its second rank among the development regions gaining of population in both 1971 and 1981. The Central Development region has been and continues to receive the highest number of migrants. The net gain of population of the central development region due to migration increased from 0.70 million in 1971 to 0.13 million in 1981 registering an increase of 80 percent during the inter censal period 1971 – 1981.

Duration of Residence

Data on duration of residence of the migrants was collected for the first time in 1981. Table 7.7 gives distribution life-time migrants by duration of stay at the place

Table 7.5-Native born population distributed by place of birth and place of enumeration for development region, Nepal Census years 1971

Place of Enumeration	Place of birth					Total	Net life-time migrants
	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid Western	Far Western		
Eastern		21,511	1,649	209	195	23,564	-13,104
Central	35,292	-	65,940	1,411	766	103,409	+70,331
Western	735	6,953		6,002	191	13,881	-58,133
Mid Western	271	3,377	3,297	-	7,017	7,962	-17,210
Far Western	370	1,237	1,128	17,550	-	20,185	+18,116
Total	36,668	33,078	72,017	25,172	2,169	169,101	-

Note : - indicates net out migration from the region.

+ indicates net in migration in the region.

Source : Central Bureau of Statistics, 1975-Population Census 1971, Vol. II, part I, Table 9.

Table 7.6 - Native born population distributed by place of birth and place of enumeration for development region, Nepal Census years 1981.

Place of Enumeration	Place of birth					Total	Net life-time migrants
	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid Western	Far Western		
Eastern	-	29,811	4,015	1,455	859	36,141	-184,137
Central	103,102	-	77,848	3,453	1,139	185,547	+126,687
Western	54,088	18,753	-	7,329	504	80,674	-17,908
Mid Western	36,848	5,927	11,025		4,561	58,361	+19,516
Far Western	26,240	4,349	5,694	26,602		62,835	+55,822
All Total	220,278	58,840	98,582	38,845	7,063	423,608	

Note : - indicates net out migration from the region.

+ indicates net in migration in the region.

Source : Central Bureau of Statistics, 1975- Population Census 1971, Vol. II, part I, Table 9.

Table 7.7-Duration of residence of population at place of enumeration, Nepal, Census year 1981

	Since birth	Under 1 year	1-5 years	6-11 years	12+ years	Not stated	Total native born	Total life time migrants
Number	13,516,512	29,159	401,338	281,428	488,302	71,061	14,788,800	1,272,288
		(2.29)	(31.54)	(22.19)	(38.37)	(5.58)		(100.00)
Per cent of total native born	91.4	0.2	2.7	1.9	3.3	0.5	100.0	

Note : The figures in parenthesis refers to proportion of life time migrants by duration of stay at place of enumeration.

Source : Same as in Table 7.1

of enumeration. It may be observed that more than 90 per cent of the native born population were enumerated at the places where they were born. And the majority (56%) of the lifetime migrants have been living at the place of enumeration for the last 11 years. Of these, 34 per cent were residing at the places of enumeration for less than or equal to five years. This shows that the migrants are of recent origin, the majority of them had moved during the last intercensal period : 1971-81.

Country of Birth

Table 7.8 gives the per cent distribution of the foreign born population in Nepal by country of birth for the census years 1971-81. Table 7.8 shows that most (at least 96%) of the population of Nepal as reported in the censuses, was born in the present territory constituting Nepal. The reported foreign born population as per cent of the total population is not only small but is it also declining from 3.58 per cent in 1961 to 1.55 percent in 1981. Even in terms of absolute numbers, the foreign born population has declined over the years from 337,620 in 1961 to 234, 039 in 1981. Of those recorded as foreign born in 1981, only 92,440 have been living in Nepal for the last 11 years (1971-81). This dramatic decline in the foreign born population of Nepal may be attributed, in part, to misclassification by enumerators, wilful distortion on the part of foreign born citizens not to identify themselves as foreigners in order to avoid possible tension and also, some of the foreign born population who have been living in Nepal for a long period of time may no longer consider themselves foreigners. However, these explanations should be treated merely as conjectures until they are empirically verified.

The foreign born population is essentially of Indian origin, at least 95 per cent of them born in India, the majority of the remaining came from other Asian countries. It

may be further observed that the majority of Indian born persons enumerated in Nepal was female, they might have moved across the border with their male relatives as dependants. These female immigrants may also include among them those Indian girls who were married to Nepali boys. Marriage across the border of Nepal and India is quite common. The finding of a higher proportion of female among the foreign born population enumerated in Nepal may also reflect more reliable response on the part of women as opposed to men on the question of citizenship.

Inter-regional Flow of Migrants

Table 7.9 presents volume of male and female in, out and the net flow of life-time migrants for 15 geographic regions of the country as reported in the 1981 census. The table shows, on the one hand, net exodus of people from each region of the Hill and Mountain¹ and on the other, net gain of population in each region of the Terai. A similar picture of net flow (positive/negative) of life-time migrants by region appeared in 1971 (see Table 7.10). The pattern of inter-regional flow of life-time migrants as observed in Table 7.9 also holds, even when this flow is measured for the last intercensal (1971-81) period only (see Table 7.11).

Comparing the intercensal flow of life-time migrants of 1971 with those of 1981 (see Table 7.9 and Table 7.10), one finds the areas which belonged to the gaining and losing category in 1971 also maintained their position in 1981. In other words, each region in the Mountain and Hill is consistently losing population, while each region of the Terai has been gaining in population continuously over the years.

¹ Only one exception from this trend could be found in the mid-western Mountain region which has experienced small but net positive gain of population. However, if mid and far-western Mountain regions are merged together, this area would also turn into a net loser in 1981.

Table 7.8—Foreign born population by country of birth, Nepal, Census years 1951-1981

Total foreign born					Born in											
Year	Total	% of total population	India		Total											Not stated
			Male	Female		Male	Female	China	Burma	Malaya	Pakistan	Other Asian countries	European countries	Others		
1961	337,620	3.58	121,335	216,285	324,159	-	-	8,061	1,052	1,531	2,302	-	-	285	230	
					(96.0)											
1971	337,448	2.90	123,480	213,968	322,718	115,606	207,112	1,534	6,364	-	-	6,131	207	494	-	
					(95.5)											
1981	234,039	1.55	71,555	162,484	222,278	65,285	156,993	2,481	-	-	-	7,827	-		1,453	
					(94.9)											

Note: The figure in parenthesis refers to % of total foreign born.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1968-Population Census 1961, Vol. II, Table 12;
 Central Bureau of Statistics 1975-Population Census 1971, Vol. II, part I, Table 11;
 Central Bureau of Statistics 1984-Population Census 1981, Vol. I, part II, Table 8.

Table 7.9-Inter-regional flow of life-time migrants by regions, Nepal, Census year 1981.

Geographic Regions	In-migration		Out-migration		Net migrants		Net migrants as % of enumerated (Native born) population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Eastern Mountain	10,352	13,555	124,785	111,202	-114,433	-97,647	67.2	58.5
Central Mountain	4,556	5,869	10,467	11,269	-5,911	5,400	2.8	2.7
Western Mountain	762	318	18,147	20,072	-17,385	-19,754	168.6*	207.2°
Mid western Mountain	3,454	3,876	2,346	3,066	+608	+810	0.5	0.7
Far-western Mountain	4,967	5,919	6,531	6,710	-1,564	-791	1.1	0.5
Eastern Hill	13,132	18,91	135,927	329,433	-122,795	-111,142	19.4	17.8
Central Hill	38,048	33,825	62,616	56,659	-24,568	-22,334	2.3	2.2
Western Hill	31,255	31,717	78,527	71,577	-4,272	-39,860	4.4	3.7
Mid--west Hill	15,019	16,481	28,226	26,102	-13,207	-9,821	2.5	1.9
Far-western Hill	7,359	7,200	24,184	23,187	-16,825	-15,987	5.6	5.3
Eastern Terai	157,394	143,441	17,555	21,400	+139,339	+122,041	13.1	12.6
Central Terai	110,247	104,226	12,813	16,235	+97,429	+87,991	8.0	8.2
Western Terai	57,410	54,025	2,424	2,248	+51,986	+51,777	10.6	11.9
Mid-west Terai	28,207	26,157	7,098	6,140	+21,109	+20,017	6.1	6.3
Far-west. Terai	50,563	41,637	574	637	+49,989	-41,000	22.0	20.9

*The finding of net migrants as percentage of enumerated population being more than 100 (ie the number of life-time migrants is higher than enumerated population) in the Western Mountain region is more artificial than real for the following reasons : this region was comprised of only two districts (Manang and Mustang) in 1971, However, after 1971, five panchayats were taken out mustang and included in one of the adjoining districts. As a result people of these 5 panchayats may have been counted as life-time migrants since they were enumerated in a place (district) different from their district of birth. And. this could lead to the finding of the more life-time migrants than enumerated population in western mountain.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984, Population Census 1981, Vol. II, Table 8 and Vol. I, Part III, Table 7.

Table 7.10 Inter regional flow of life-time migrants by regions, Nepal Census year 1971

Geographic Regions	In-migration		Out-migration		Net migrants		Net migrants as % of enumerated (Native born) population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Eastern Mountain	2251	4,134	17,727	20189	-15,476	-16,055	4.9	5.0
Central ,,	585	638	1,054	1,041	-469	-403	1.8	1.6
Western	479	1,646	4,879	4,802	-4,400	-3,156	1.9	1.4
Kathmandu Valley	14,898	11,542	23,633	21,851	-8,735	-10,309	2.8	3.5
Eastern Hill	5,612	11,886	98,456	88,387	-92,844	-70,501	11.4	9.1
Central Hill	14,507	15,245	74,688	65,954	-60,181	-50,709	5.1	4.2
Western Hill	1,672	3,391	33,033	32,717	31,361	-29,326	4.3	4.1
Eastern Terai	99,278	86,521	4,975	5,292	+94,303	+81,229	8.7	8.4
Central ,,	85,012	76,739	2,962	3,542	+82,050	+73,197	10.9	11.2
Western ,,	37,890	32,995	777	962	+37,113	+32,033	12.4	11.6

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1958-Population Census 1971, Vol. II, Part I, Tables 10 & 11

Table 7.11- Intercensal (1970-81) flow of migrants by regions, Nepal, Census year 1981

Geographic regions	In-migration		Out-migration		Net-migration		Net-migration rate per' 00	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Eastern mountain	1,200	2,099	91,014	80,370	-89,814	-78,271	-56.6	-49.4
Central	3,181	3,335	5,631	5,299	- 2,450	- 1,964	- 1.3	
Western „	499	191	10,806	11,113	-10,307	-10,922	-76.9*	-84.6*
Mid Western	2,332	2,483	1,650	1,641	+ 982	+ 842	+ 0.9	+ 0.8
Far Western	2,915	3,066	3,452	3,108	- 527	- 42	- 0.4	-0.03
Eastern Hill	8,195	10,106	71,391	66,287	-63,195	-56,181	-10.9	- 9.6
Central	26,627	21,896	34,760	30,785	- 7,933	- 8,889	- 0.8	- 0.9
Western „	21,937	19,775	43,692	40,440	-21,755	-20,665	- 2.3	- 2.1
Mid Western	10,407	11,270	15,199	13,781	- 4,792	- 2,511	- 1.0	- 0.5
Far Western	5,338	4,439	14,366	13,116	- 9,028	- 8,677	- 3.3	- 3.1
Eastern Terai	88,592	79,385	9,771	10,310	+78,821	+69,075	+ 9.2	+ 8.8
Central	56,783	54,761	7,412	8,058	+49,371	+46,703	+ 4.7	+ 5.1
Western „	37,161	34,768	1,322	1,302	+35,839	+33,466	+ 9.4	+10.0
Mid Western	19,110	17,372	2,945	2,655	+16,165	+14,717	+ 6.0	+ 5.9
Far Western	28,917	23,631	294	312	+28,623	+23,319	+17.5	+16.3

* Same as in Table 7.9.

Note: a) Net Migration Rate =
$$\frac{\text{Net Migrants}}{\frac{P_{70} + P_{81}}{2}} \times 100$$

b) Native born population is used for P70 and P81.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984-Population Census 1981, Vol. II, Table 7 & 8.

The exodus of people from the Mountain and Hill to the Terai may be attributed among other reasons, to the higher availability of cultivable land in the latter area. The pressure on land measured by man/land ratio (i. e. ratio of population to cultivated land) in the Mountain and Hill is seventy per cent (70%) higher than that of the Terai². The availability of land, successful eradication of malaria and the increasing accessibility of Terai to

other regions of the country, due to improved road communications, may have further accelerated the stream of migration from the Hill and Mountain to the Terai, over the years. Among the regions of the Terai the Eastern region had the highest positive balance of migrants, followed by the Central and Western regions. And this holds true for both men and women. These variations in net flow of migrants between regions of the Terai may be partly attributed to variations in availability and quality of land. Land in the eastern Terai is comparatively more fertile than in the central and western Terai.

² Man/land ratio is estimated to be 8.0 and 4.7 per hectare in the Mountain + Hill and Terai respectively in 1981 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985 Intercensal Changes of Some Key Census Variables, Nepal 1952/54-81, Kathmaadu).

Moreover, the rainfall is higher in the eastern than in the central and western Terai and also malaria eradication was more successful in the former than in the latter (Gubhaju, 1980).

Among the geographic regions the eastern Hill experienced the highest net exodus of people, followed by the eastern Mountain and western Hill.

Migration Rate

One way to assess the extent of migration in a region, is to relate the volume of migrants to its base population, i. e. to calculate migration rate. These rates are presented in Table 7.11. The highest positive net migration rate is found to be in the far-western Terai, followed by the western and eastern Terai. And this holds true for both male and female. Although the net negative migration rate is found to be highest in the Western region, this was more artificial than real for the following reasons: i) this region comprised only two districts (Manang and Mustang) in 1971. However, after 1971, five *Panchayats* from one district (Mustang) were taken out and included in one of the adjoining districts. As a result, people of these five *panchayats* may have been counted as life-time migrants since they were enumerated in a district different from their district of birth, although they have not physically moved from one district to the other. Therefore, they should, not be treated as migrants.

Once the western Mountain excluded from the purview of analysis the net negative migration rate is found to be highest in the eastern Mountain, followed by the eastern Hill and far-western Hill.

Direction of Flow

Table 7.12 presents data on percentage distribution of life-time in-migrants to the region of residence from the region of birth. It is interesting to observe that the majority of in-migrants tend to move within adjoining regions. For example, 67 per cent of in-migrants to the eastern Terai were born in the

eastern Hill, 58 per cent and 57 per cent of in-migrants to the western and mid-western Terai, came from the western and mid-western Hill respectively. Similarly, among in-migrants to the far-western Terai, 45 per cent came from the far-western Hill.

The pattern of movement (i. e. flow between zones of adjoining regions) of in-migrants as observed above is slightly changed for three out of five areas of the Mountain zone. The majority of in-migrants to the central, mid-western and far-western Mountain, came in from within the region and from only one area, i. e. the eastern Mountain. However, for the remaining two areas of the Mountain zone, i. e. the eastern and western Mountain, the majority of migrants came in from the adjoining areas, i. e. the eastern and western Hills respectively.

Table 7.13 presents data on distribution of out-migrants by their places of origin and destination. It may be observed that the majority of out-migrants originating from the Hill areas are settled in different areas of the Terai. The out-migrants from the Mountain are found to be more spread out among different parts of the country, particularly between the Hill and Terai, with the exception of only those migrants originating from the western and far western Mountain. The majority of out-migrants from the western and far-western Mountain were found to be settled in the western and far-western Terai. The pattern of flow of out-migrants from the Mountain zone as observed in 1981 is a departure from the pattern observed in 1971. In 1971, the majority of out-migrants from the Mountain zone were found to have settled in the Terai (Gubhaju, 1980)³.

³ Gubhaju, B. B. 1980. "Internal Migration in Nepal in 1971: Direction of Flow, Sex and Age Characteristics.", *The Economic Journal of Nepal*, Vol. 3. No. 2 (April/June).

Table 7.12 – Percentage distribution of life-time in migrants to region of residence from region of birth, Nepal, Census year 1981

Places of residence	Places of Birth															Total	
	Eastern			Central			Western			Mid-western			Far-western				
	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Per cent	Number
Eastern Mountain	-	89.05	2.67	0.10	4.38	0.45	0.06	0.27	0.10	0.05	2.66	0.04	0.30	0.07	0.01	100.00	(23,907)
Eastern Hill	57.98	-	23.59	1.31	12.14	2.27	0.30	1.09	0.31	0.12	0.38	0.14	0.10	0.16	0.08	100.00	(31,423)
Eastern Terai	23.22	67.34	-	0.38	4.25	3.23	0.14	0.87	0.11	0.03	0.11	0.06	0.08	0.11	0.04	100.00	(300,835)
Central Mountain	53.31	3.91	2.04	-	36.45	1.67	0.28	1.19	0.37	0.08	0.33	0.15	0.08	0.10	0.03	100.00	(10,425)
Central Hill	45.36	13.59	5.85	14.17	-	7.13	1.91	7.67	1.06	0.26	0.81	1.38	0.18	0.46	0.13	100.00	(71,873)
Central Terai	7.89	7.12	8.46	0.03	38.83	-	2.77	29.47	0.39	0.08	0.33	0.34	0.09	0.12	0.05	100.00	(214,473)
Western Mountain	11.67	5.37	1.20	1.57	9.35	1.67	-	60.00	7.22	0.28	0.83	0.18	0.18	0.37	0.09	100.00	(1,080)
Western Hill	54.16	8.65	3.83	0.64	7.11	11.00	8.83	-	1.87	0.81	2.45	0.25	0.10	0.21	0.07	100.00	(71,873)
Western Terai	8.58	1.48	0.87	0.20	3.59	2.38	20.33	57.73	-	0.12	4.08	0.38	0.05	0.15	0.03	100.00	(111,435)
Mid-western Mountain	63.51	4.83	1.98	0.16	2.03	1.88	0.67	2.15	0.46	-	11.72	0.63	7.91	1.98	0.12	100.00	(73,300)
Mid-western Hill	58.04	8.32	7.46	0.32	2.43	2.07	0.44	5.20	0.80	3.66	-	3.22	0.21	7.50	0.31	100.00	(31,500)
Mid-western Terai	11.78	2.52	1.24	0.44	3.63	3.47	2.16	12.82	1.13	1.19	57.22	-	0.21	1.78	0.39	100.00	(54,364)
Far-western Mountain	56.80	12.42	3.41	0.19	1.37	0.52	0.19	0.89	0.29	5.98	5.96	0.12	-	11.70	0.15	100.00	(10,886)
Far-western Hill	54.75	6.09	2.39	0.62	3.02	1.34	0.69	2.06	0.62	5.81	6.25	0.65	12.66	-	3.03	100.00	(14,559)
Far-western Terai	6.21	2.52	1.17	0.19	2.69	0.79	0.72	4.43	0.32	1.59	13.54	10.29	10.74	44.78	-	100.00	(92,200)

Note: The figure in parenthesis represents life-time in –migrants.

Source: Same as in Table 7.9

Table 7.13-Percentage distribution of life-time out-migrants from region of birth to region of residence, Nepal, Census year 1981

Places of residence	Places of Birth														
	Eastern			Central			Western			Mid-western			Far-western		
	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai
Eastern Mountain	-	8.02	1.64	0.24	0.87	0.37	0.04	0.04	0.49	0.20	1.14	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.16
Eastern Hill	7.72	-	19.03	1.89	3.20	2.45	0.25	0.23	2.12	0.62	0.22	0.33	0.25	0.11	2.06
Eastern Terai	29.61	76.35	-	5.27	10.73	33.44	1.08	1.75	7.11	1.62	0.60	1.43	1.87	0.73	10.65
Central Mountain	2.35	0.15	0.55	-	3.18	0.60	0.07	0.02	0.83	0.13	0.06	0.12	0.06	0.02	0.25
Central Hill	13.81	3.68	10.79	46.86	-	17.63	3.60	3.67	16.29	3.13	1.11	7.51	0.99	0.69	7.68
Central Terai	7.18	5.75	46.57	39.80	69.83	-	15.58	42.11	18.04	2.76	1.30	5.60	1.49	0.56	8.42
Western Mountain	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.08	0.08	0.60	-	0.43	1.67	0.05	0.02	1.01	0.01	0.01	0.08
Western Hill	14.36	2.04	6.16	1.84	3.73	23.69	14.46	-	25.13	8.59	2.82	1.19	0.46	0.28	3.47
Western Terai	4.05	0.62	2.49	1.03	3.36	9.12	59.29	42.86	-	2.25	8.34	3.25	0.39	0.36	2.89
Mid-western Mountain	1.97	0.13	0.36	0.05	0.12	0.47	0.13	0.10	0.73	-	1.57	0.35	4.38	0.31	0.74
Mid-western Hill	7.25	0.99	6.03	0.47	0.64	2.24	0.36	1.09	5.41	19.50	-	7.66	0.49	4.99	8.09
Mid-western Terai	2.71	0.52	1.72	1.11	1.66	6.50	3.07	4.64	13.12	11.01	57.05	-	0.86	2.05	17.75
Far-western Mountain	2.62	0.51	0.95	0.10	0.12	0.19	0.05	0.06	0.68	11.01	1.19	0.10	-	2.69	1.32
Far-western Hill	3.38	0.33	0.89	0.41	0.37	0.67	0.26	0.20	1.95	8.22	1.67	0.72	13.93	-	36.42
Far-western Terai	2.42	0.88	2.76	0.84	2.08	2.53	1.74	2.72	6.42	24.80	22.90	71.66	74.78	87.15	-
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total	(235,987)	(265,360)	(38,955)	(21,736)	(119,275)	(29,053)	(38,219)	(150,104)	(4,672)	(5,912)	(54,528)	(13,238)	(13,241)	(47,371)	(1,211)

Note: The figure in parenthesis represents life-time in –migrants.

Source: Same as in Table 7.9

Table 7.14--Direction of Mobility: place (zone) of birth by place (zone) of destination, Nepal, Census year 1981

Place of origin (zone)	Place of destination/zone														Total Number	%
	Mechi	Koshi	Sagarmatha	Janakpur	Bagmati	Narayani	Gandaki	Dhawalagiri	Lumbini	Rapti	Bheri	Karnali	Seti	Mahakali		
Mechi	47.93	37.61	9.00	1.86	1.62	0.67	0.45	0.07	0.20	0.37	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.06	188,026	100.0
Koshi	24.70	45.67	21.54	2.37	3.64	0.50	0.66	0.12	0.34	0.07	0.09	0.03	0.16	0.12	180,927	100.0
Sagarmatha	23.61	11.20	45.77	14.52	2.45	0.76	0.38	0.23	0.46	0.14	0.16	0.07	0.12	0.12	57,841	100.0
Janakpur	11.25	1.87	24.09	48.03	7.20	5.41	0.45	0.14	0.68	0.10	0.53	0.06	0.07	0.10	119,477	100.0
Bagmati	29.37	3.93	4.22	9.02	40.35	3.20	4.90	0.78	1.87	1.19	0.43	0.19	0.33	0.22	91,065	100.0
Narayani	10.37	1.21	1.69	5.93	29.41	13.01	28.30	7.28	2.03	0.34	0.13	0.06	0.12	0.11	184,701	100.0
Gandaki	44.87	2.19	1.36	0.73	6.59	7.46	25.63	6.55	3.35	0.28	0.22	0.13	0.11	0.16	53,579	100.0
Dhawalagiri	28.76	1.51	2.73	0.52	1.47	13.29	15.64	17.02	15.73	0.85	0.14	2.10	0.11	0.11	19,361	100.0
Lumbini	13.80	1.11	0.66	1.03	2.92	1.55	22.05	18.43	33.62	4.18	0.28	0.12	0.12	0.10	139,697	100.0
Rapti	36.54	7.12	1.21	0.63	1.88	1.45	0.57	1.84	4.64	39.45	3.87	0.40	0.18	0.21	33,043	100.0
Bheri	20.61	1.48	0.89	0.93	2.55	2.41	7.22	2.05	2.25	24.50	27.78	2.28	4.78	0.26	73,419	100.0
Karnali	53.54	1.70	2.49	1.19	1.39	0.08	1.41	0.56	0.73	1.61	8.53	17.83	7.88	0.91	8,924	100.0
Seti	22.27	2.13	1.17	0.08	1.97	0.67	2.02	1.11	1.00	10.06	9.07	3.82	40.01	3.59	66,330	100.0
Mahakali	14.18	1.40	1.02	0.65	2.19	0.52	2.60	1.21	1.48	9.07	10.52	0.77	23.66	30.72	55,898	100.0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics: *Population Census 1981*(Unpublished Special Tabulations)

It is also interesting to observe that the majority of out-migrants from the Terai were also found to be settled in other areas of the Terai, with the exception of those outmigrants originating from the western and far-western parts of the zone (Terai). The majority of out-migrants from the latter two areas moved to the neighbouring areas of the Hill.

That migrants tend to move within short distance is also supported by data presented in Table 7.14. Table 7.14 presents data on the mobility of life-time migrants, i. e. place of origin by place of destination, for 14 administrative zones.

While looking at the direction of mobility within and between major administrative zones⁴ of the country, we find that the majority of the migrants tend to move more frequently within the zone and those few who moved out of a zone went to adjoining zones only. And this observation holds for 10 out of 14 zones, the exceptions being Narayani, Gandaki, Dhawalagiri and Karnali zones. The findings indicate that the life-time migrants possibly tend to move within short rather than long distances.

Sex Composition of the Migrants

The sex ratios of out and in-migrants for different regions are presented in Table 7.15. It is interesting to observe that, on the whole, the sex-ratios of in-migrants, with the exceptions of those entering into the Terai, are lower than those of the sex ratios of outmigrants. These findings imply, among other things, that in-migrants are mostly female, while out-migrants are predominantly males.

We explore this issue further in Table 7.16 which presents data on the sex composition of inter-regional migrants. It will be seen that females predominate among migrants who move between adjacent places of the

Table 7.15-Sex ratio of life-time migrants (in and out) by regions/zones. Nepal, Census year 1981

Region/Zone	Sex ratio	
	In-migrants	Out-migrants
Eastern Mountain Region	76.4	112.4
Central Mountain Region	77.6	92.9
Western Mountain Region	239.6*	90.4
Mid-western Mountain Region	89.1	92.8
Far-western Mountain Region	83.9	97.3
Total: Mountain Zone	72.2	107.1
Eastern Hill Region	71.8	105.1
Central Hill Region	112.5	110.5
Western Hill Region	99.8	109.7
Mid-western Hill Region	91.1	107.3
Far-western Hill Region	102.2	104.3
Total: Hill Zone	98.7	108.2
Eastern Terai Region	109.7	81.9
Central Terai Region	105.8	78.9
Western Terai Region	106.3	107.8
Mid-western Terai Region	107.8	118.8
Far-western Terai Region	121.4	90.2
Total: Terai Zone	111.5	95.3

*Same as in Table 7.9.

Source: Same as are those in table 7.9.

same region. In other words, females tend to move within short distances. For example the sex ratio of migrants from eastern mountain to eastern Hill is 68 and from Central Mountain to central Hill is 71. The corresponding sex-ratios among migrants from western Mountain to western Hill; from mid-western Mountain to mid-western Hill and from far-western Mountain to far-western Hill are 34,55 and 38 respectively. Similarly, the migrants moving out from the Hill to the Mountain are predominantly females. The predominance of females among migrants moving between the Hill and Mountain of the same region, may largely be due to marriage between people of these two regions. The

⁴ Nepal is divided into 14 zones.

Table 7.16 Sex ratio of life-time migrants from and / or to the place of birth for regions in Nepal, Census year 1981

Place of residence	Place of birth														
	Eastern			Central			Western			Mid-western			Far-western		
	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Mountain	Hill	Terai
Eastern Mountain	73.91	75.76	84.15	-	65.66	-	-	-	-	-	95.90	-	-	88.00	-
Eastern Hill	67.52	51.71	67.62	117.46	74.76	105.47	255.00	188.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Terai	111.95	110.44	78.04	157.53	144.33	46.99	133.15	163.23	165.60	-	200.00	133.33	-	91.71	-
Central Mountain	108.16	89.77	124.21	-	40.38	-	-	-	-	-	209.09	-	-	-	-
Central Hill	121.41	97.45	133.67	71.36	53.26	104.27	-	155.30	-	146.67	172.19	114.22	-	220.38	-
Central Terai	125.79	104.23	67.45	110.69	112.80	33.41	104.08	105.61	107.63	-	126.52	100.00	-	79.59	-
Western Mountain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	285.71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western Hill	122.08	114.45	118.69	112.76	90.74	88.76	33.70	31.43	57.37	173.12	50.68	-	-	106.15	-
Western Terai	122.38	81.96	92.84	128.57	111.94	94.35	99.97	106.83	41.63	-	117.24	96.35	-	108.43	-
Mid-western Mountain	119.37	85.34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36.92	41.98	-	-	30.63	-
Mid-western Hill	111.99	57.48	102.85	-	118.52	97.88	130.00	47.70	82.01	55.18	53.78	53.87	-	57.28	-
Mid-western Terai	101.76	56.88	116.08	141.00	124.29	125.42	127.52	122.83	110.65	113.44	105.43	108.34	-	113.87	-
Far-western Mountain	110.31	84.70	107.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	54.26	130.14	-	-	7.51	-
Far-western Hill	119.10	87.53	193.28	-	197.29	-	-	175.23	-	101.91	74.33	-	38.13	64.75	77.11
Far-western Terai	143.84	125.58	134.42	184.37	147.26	155.21	134.03	129.68	122.22	110.63	121.70	126.02	125.05	113.68	66.51

Note: (-) Not computed in view of less than 100 cases

Source: Same as are those in Table 7.9

Mountain and Hill regions are not only in close physical proximity, but they also share some common cultural and social traits. These factors could account for predominantly female mobility, due mainly to marriage, among regions of the Mountain and Hill.

However, males, on the whole, predominate among migrants from the Mountain and Hill to the Terai. The sex ratio is slightly higher (i. e. more than 100) among migrants from the Mountain to the Terai than from the Hill to the Terai. This further shows the dominance of males in long distance migration. For example, sex ratio among migrants from eastern Mountain to eastern Terai is 112 and from eastern Hill to eastern Terai is 110. And this pattern persists, with exception of those moving from central Hill to central Terai and from western Hill to western Terai.

These findings are in accord with hypothesis posited by Lee (1966)⁵ that males tend to dominate in long distance migration, while females dominate in short distance migration.

Reasons for Migration

Information on reasons for migration were collected for the first time in the 1981 census. Table 7.17 presents data on the distribution of life-time migrants of each sex by reasons for migration. Among the male life-time migrants, the most important reason for moving out is agriculture (36 %), followed by trade/commerce (15%), service (8%) and study/training (4%). Marriage (30 %) is the single most important reason for moving out among female life-time migrants. This was followed by agriculture (19 %) and trade/commerce (11 %). At least one third of the life-time migrants did not specify or state their reasons for migration. A majority of the migrants in the "not stated and others" category, are concentrated in the 0-14 age group and they may be considered as dependents (see Table 7.18).

Table 7.17 - Percent distribution of total (inter-district) life-time migrants of each sex by reasons for migration, Nepal, Census year 1981

Sex	Reasons for migration	Number	Percent
Male		610,593	100.00
	Trade and Commerce	91,938	15.06
	Agriculture	221,438	36.27
	Service	47,331	7.75
	Study and Training	24,162	3.96
	Marriage	6,184	1.01
	Not stated and others	219,540	35.96
Female		661,695	100.00
	Trade and Commerce	73,567	11.12
	Agriculture	128,465	19.41
	Service	6,719	1.01
	Study and Training	10,542	1.59
	Marriage	200,515	30.30
	Not stated and others	241,887	36.56

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984- Population Census 1981, Vol. II, Table 9.

Reasons for Migration by Age and Sex

Table 7.18 provides distribution of lifetime migrants of each sex by age and reasons for migration. It may be observed that 58 per cent and 62 per cent of boys and girls under 15 years have not either stated their reasons for migration or were classified in the category of "others". This "not stated/ others" category among children under the age of 15, may be considered as dependents in view of their age.

"Agriculture" among male life-time migrants is found to be an important reason for migration among those aged 60 years and above, followed by those in the 15-59 age group. It shows that agriculture is an important reason for migration among males of higher age-groups. Although marriage is an important reason for migration among female life-time migrants, this is found to be

⁵ Lee, E. S. 1966. "A Theory of Migration" *Demography*, No. 3 (1966), pp. 47-58.

disproportionately concentrated, in the 15-59 age-group. "Agriculture" constitutes an important reason for migration among higher aged (60 years and above) female migrants. In this age group, a sizable proportion (28%) of female life-time migrants, although not majority, moved out for agricultural pursuits. It there fore shows , that female do not necessarily move out for marriage only, a good proportion of them , particularly those in the highest (60 years and above) age group, also move out for economic pursuits like agriculture. At higher ages , women working outside home in the fields are not usually frowned upon. And this could also account for greater female participation in economic

activities outside the home at highet ages.

It may be further obsrved from Table 7.18 that economic reasons, rather than the pursuit of education, feature more prominently among the young (under 15) life time migrants. For example, among the male migrants under 15, 33 percent moved out for economic reasons like trade /commerce as a against only 7 percent for education. The corresponding figures among female life-time migrants aged under 15 were 31 percent for trade and commerce as against 5 percent for education. This grim fact once again demonstrates the economic value of children in a peasant society like Nepal

Sex and Age	Total	Trade and Commerce	Agriculture	Service	Study and Training	Marriage	Others and Not stated
Male	100.00 (610,593)	15.06	36.27	7.75	3.95	1.01	35.95
Under 15 years	100.00 (142,804)	23.09	10.25	1.02	7.20	0.68	57.76
15-59 years	100.00 (424,572)	12.53	43.02	10.48	3.24	1.10	29.63
60+ years	100.00 (43,217)	13.32	55.91	3.19	0.30	1.26	26.02
Female	100.00 (661,695)	11.11	19.41	1.01	1.59	30.30	36.56
Under 15 years	100.00 (124,037)	20.50	10.51	0.66	4.73	1.69	61.89
15-59 years	100.00 (488,420)	9.04	20.84	1.13	0.93	37.85	30.21
60+ years	100.00 (49,238)	8.11	27.66	0.77	0.27	27.51	35.66

Note: For each sex and age group % distribution is for reason of stay.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 1981, Vol. II, Table 9.

Reasons for Migration : Trend

The causes of migration, however, are not static, they are changing over a period of time. One notices considerable shifts in the

causes of migration over the years (see Table 7.19). For example, agriculture was the primary reason for migration, among male life-time migrants who left their places of

origin, i. e. birth places, for 6-11 years preceding the 1931 census. However, among the recent male life-time migrants, i. e. those who left their places of origin for less than a year preceding the 1981 census, agriculture is no longer the most important reason for migration. Among the recent male migrants "service" is the most important reason for migration, followed by agriculture. Forty six per cent of the male lifetime migrants who left their places of origin for

6-11 years stated "agriculture" as the most important reason for migration; the corresponding proportion among the recent migrants (i. e. those who left their places of origin for less than one year) is only 21 per cent. The importance of agriculture as a major reason for migration is also reduced among the female life-time migrants over the years, although to a lesser degree among the female than the male migrants. Agriculture was stated to be the main reason.

Table 7.19-Percentage distribution of reasons for migration by duration of stay, and sex Nepal Census years 1981.

Reasons		Duration of stay			
		< 1 year	1-5 year	6-11 year	Total
Both sexes	Trade/ Commerce	11.28	26.42	6.61	13.01
	Agriculture	18.03	20.12	36.22	27.51
	Service	13.12	5.67	4.11	4.25
	Study /Training	4.14	3.29	3.90	2.73
	Marriage	12.11	11.56	16.29	16.25
	Others/ Not stated	41.32	32.94	32.87	36.25
Total	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	No.	29,159	401,338	282,428	1,272,288
Male	Trade/ Commerce	12.16	28.52	7.58	15.06
	Agriculture	21.10	24.31	46.34	36.28
	Service	22.59	9.76	7.35	7.75
	Study /Training	5.30	4.45	5.51	3.96
	Marriage	0.89	0.89	1.05	1.01
	Others/ Not stated	37.95	32.06	32.17	35.93
Total	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	No.	15,477	202,294	139,200	610,593
Female	Trade/ Commerce	10.28	24.28	5.68	11.12
	Agriculture	14.57	15.86	26.38	19.42
	Service	2.40	1.51	0.96	1.02
	Study /Training	2.82	2.11	2.34	1.59
	Marriage	24.79	22.39	31.09	33.31
	Others/ Not stated	45.13	33.84	33.55	36.54
Total	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	No.	13,682	199,044	143,228	661,695

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 1981, Unpublished Special tabulations.

* Note: Reasons for migration for those who moved out for 12 years and above could not be shown here because this category also included inadvertently those who did not state their duration of stay.

for migration by 26 and 15 per cent of female life-time migrants with the longest and shortest duration of stay since departure from their places of origin. One implication of this finding could be that the room for further expansion in agricultural activities, following the spurt observed during the late sixties and early seventies, has become limited in recent years. The scope for agricultural activities generated in the late sixties and early seventies was mostly due to the opening of new agricultural land in the Terai zone by clearing jungles and also by bringing more fallow land under cultivation. However, the scope for bringing more land under cultivation by clearing jungles without further jeopardizing ecological balances is limited. These factors could very well explain the finding of agricultural pursuits as a major factor of mobility/migration is being eroded over the years. The decline in the importance of agriculture as the major factor of mobility is followed by an increase in the importance of other reasons for migration, such as trade, service and trading, particularly "service" among male and trade/ commerce among female life-time migrants. It is also interesting to observe that "marriage" as a factor of migration has lost its importance over the years. Thirty-one per cent of the female life-time migrants who moved out for the longest period (i. e. 6-11 years), stated "marriage" as the reason for their migration as against 25 per cent of the recent migrants (i. e. those who moved very recently) who stated marriage as their reason of migration. This decline of marriage as a factor of female migration was counterbalanced by the increase in importance of trade/commerce, service and study/training as factors of female mobility. It indicates that although marriage is an important factor for female migration its importance is gradually dissipated over the years and consequently, more and more women are now moving out for economic

pursuits and/or higher studies.

Reasons for Migration by Migration Stream (inter-regional)

The reasons for migration also vary by migration stream. i. e. by places of origin and destination of the migrants. Table 7.20 presents data on inter-regional distribution of life-time migrants of each sex by reasons for migration. It is interesting to observe that for those who moved to the Terai, agriculture was the most important reason and this holds true for both sexes and irrespective of the places of origin of the migrants. However, this was more prominent for male than for female and those who moved from the Hill to the Terai. Fifty per cent (50%) male and 32 per cent female life-time migrants moved from the Hill to the Terai, for agriculture. The corresponding figures were 36 per cent for male and 25 per cent for female migrants moving out from the Mountain to the Terai. Those life-time migrants who moved to the Hill, particularly from the Mountain, trade/ commerce is the most important reason for migration. And this holds true for both male and female. Forty-nine per cent (49%) and 42 per cent of male and female life-time migrants moved from the Mountain to the Hill for trade/commerce. Trade/commerce still dominates among the reasons for migration, although to a lesser degree, among the male life-time migrants who moved either from the Terai to the Mountain or from the Terai to the Hill. For the corresponding Inter-regional movements (i. e. from the Terai to the Mountain or Terai to the Hill) marriage was the important reason for migration among females. Marriage was still the important reason for migration among female migrants moving out to the Mountain, irrespective of their places of origin. For male migrants, the primary reason for moving out to the mountain

Table 7.20. Percent Distribution of life-time migrants of each sex and in each migration stream (inter regional) by reasons for migration, Nepal Census year 1981.

Sex	Reason for migration	Mountain		Hill to		Terai to	
		to Hill	Mountain to Terai	Mountain	Hill to Terai	Mountain	Terai to Hill
Male	Trade/Commerce	48.5	21.6	7.6	5.4	43.8	22.4
	Agriculture	6.1	35.9	2.5	50.2	5.2	5.9
	Service	3.4	4.3	7.5	7.5	15.2	12.2
	Study/Training	1.1	4.8	0.4	4.6	1.8	4.4
	Marriage	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.2
	Others/Not stated	40.4	32.8	80.8	31.5	32.5	53.8
Female	Trade/Commerce	42.4	20.1	4.4	3.9	26.6	12.7
	Agriculture	5.2	25.4	1.3	3.9	2.3	3.4
	Service	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.1	2.0	1.8
	Study/Training	0.5	2.7	0.3	2.0	0.8	1.9
	Marriage	15.2	14.6	33.1	24.0	31.7	26.8
	Others/Not stated	36.1	36.4	60.2	37.0	36.5	53.4

Source: Same as are those in Table 7.16

is "trade/commerce" particularly if this movement originates from the Terai.

Table 7.21 Per cent distribution of life-time migrants of each sex and in each migration stream (other areas to urban places and other areas to Kathmandu Valley), Nepal, Census Year 1981

Sex	Reason for Migration	Migration Stream	
		Other areas to urban places	Other areas to Kathmandu valley
Male	Trade/Commerce	14.9	22.1
	Agriculture	17.8	4.2
	Service	26.1	28.8
	Education/Training	8.1	10.3
	Marriage	1.2	1.9
	Others/Not stated	31.8	32.7
Female	Trade/Commerce	9.5	20.4
	Agriculture	10.5	2.5
	Service	3.3	7.0
	Education/Training	4.2	5.3
	Marriage	30.5	25.6
	Others/Not stated	41.8	39.2

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 1981

When looking at reasons for migration from other areas to urban places and Kathmandu Valley, we find male life-time migrants primarily move from "service" i.e. in search for jobs, while for female life-time migrants, "marriage" was the most important reasons for migration (see Table 7.21).

Reasons for Migration by Migration Stream (intra-regional)

Table 7.22 presents data on intra-regional mobility (life-time migrants) by reasons for migration. It is very interesting to observe that those who moved within the Mountain areas, "trade/commerce" was the most important reason. And this holds true for both male and female. Forty-eight per cent (48%) of male and 41 per cent of female life-time migrants moved within "mountain" areas for trade/commerce. "Agriculture" was the most important reason for male life-time migrants who moved within the Hill and Terai, and for the corresponding migration stream, marriage was the important reason for female life-time migrants.

From these findings, three important conclusions emerge: First, men tend to move

Table 7.22-Percentage distribution of life-time migrants of each sex and in each migration stream (intra-regional) by reasons for migration Nepal, Census year 1981.

Sex	Reasons for migration	National Population		
		Mountain to Mountain	Hill to Hill	Terai to Terai
Males	Trade and Commerce	48.3	14.9	8.5
	Agriculture	5.7	23.2	38.1
	Service	2.3	15.2	10.8
	Study and Training	0.2	3.9	4.1
	Marriage	0.6	2.4	2.3
	Not stated and others	42.9	40.2	36.2
Females	Trade and Commerce	40.6	6.5	4.2
	Agriculture	5.4	8.6	10.6
	Service	0.3	1.3	0.9
	Study and Training	0.2	1.0	1.3
	Marriage	16.2	49.1	52.0
	Not stated and others	37.2	33.4	31.0

Source: Same as in Table 7.16

out primarily for economic reasons whether these are agricultural pursuits, trade/commerce or service, depending on skills of the migrants and opportunities available at the places of destinations. For example, if this movement takes him out to the Terai, he is likely to be involved in agricultural pursuits because the scope for agricultural activities is higher in the Terai than in other areas of the country. If he goes to Kathmandu, he is likely to be mostly engaged in non -agricultural pursuits, either in service or trade/commerce, in view of greater availability of these activities in the capital city. *Second*, although, "marriage" is an important reason for female migration it is not the reason par-excellence, as is traditionally posited. They also move out primarily for economic pursuits, particularly when these movements are inter- regional and opportunities for participation exist. For example, agriculture was the most important reason for migration among female

Table 7.23-Some socio-economic characteristics of the migrants and the non-migrants national population, Nepal, Census year 1981

Variables	National Population		
	Migrants only	(non-migrants)	Migration rate*
Age (Total)			
0- 9	12.27	31.63	3.46
10-19	18.54	20.36	7.77
20-29	23.38	15.99	11.91
30-39	17.84	11.94	12.14
40-49	12.74	8.80	11.82
50-59	7.96	5.72	11.41
60+	7.26	5.56	10.78
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	1,272,288	13,750,551	
Age (male)			
0- 9	13.60	31.40	3.59
10-19	19.87	21.08	7.51
20-29	21.60	15.18	10.92
30-39	16.97	11.67	11.14
40-49	12.62	8.89	10.91
50-59	8.26	6.03	10.55
60+	7.07	5.76	9.58
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	610593	7084743	
Age (female)			
0- 9	11.05	31.86	3.33
10-19	17.32	19.59	8.07
20-29	25.02	16.87	12.83
30-39	18.63	12.23	13.13
40-49	12.85	8.71	12.78
50-59	7.68	5.38	12.41
60+	7.44	5.35	12.12
%	100.00	100.00	
Total	661,695	6,665,808	

*Migration rate is obtained by dividing the number of migrants in each category by number of total population of the corresponding category, multiplied by 100. For example, 'the number of migrants and total population in the age-group 0-9, are 156,199 and 4,504,951 respectively. Therefore, the migration rate at age-group 0-9 is 156,199/4,504,951 x100.

migrants who moved to the Terai. However, *it is difficult* to say whether these female migrants to the Terai who stated agriculture as the reason for their migration, were actually involved in agricultural pursuits or whether they simply stated the occupations of their husbands or male dependents. This is an important empirical question which remains to be investigated. *Third*, the reasons for migration not only vary by age and sex but also by migration stream i.e. origins and destinations of the migrants. among other factors. Therefore, studying the reasons for migration merely at aggregate level may be misleading.

Socio economic Characteristics of the Migrants

Table 7.23 compares the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants with those of the non-migrants national population and also provides the migration rate.

The following conclusions emerge from the data presented in Table 7.23. i) demographically, the migrants are primarily concentrated in the young adult ages (20-39 years) and this holds good for both male and female migrants a finding, which was also corroborated by other studies conducted in the neighbouring countries (Chaudhury, 1983; Das Gunta, 1982)⁶; ii) given that the migrants are largely concentrated in the young adult ages (20-39 years), a majority of them are also likely to be married. This is expected in view of the fact that marriage is not only universal in Nepal but also occurs at early ages. Consistent with this expectation, it is also

⁶ Chaudhury, R. H. 1983. "Migration, Mobility and Income Distribution : So-me Evidance from Banlade:h", in *Urban and Regional Policy Analysis in Develoing Countries (eds.)*, Lata Chatterjee and Peter Nijkamp. London: Gower; Das Gupta, B. 1982, "Migration from Villa~es", *Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. X*, No. 42, Bombay; India.

found that an absolute majority of the

Table 7.23- Socio-economic characteristics of the migrants and the non-migrants national population, Nepal, Census year 1981

Variables	National Population		
	Migrants only	Non migrants	Migration Rate*
Marrital Status (Total)			
(aged 10 years & above)	21.63	30.26	7.32
Single			
Currently married	73.61	65.52	11.76
Widowed	4.33	3.81	11.88
Divorced/Separated	0.43	0.40	11.39
<hr/>			
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	1,116,099	9,401,799	
<hr/>			
Marital status (Male)			
(aged 10 years & above) Single	29.75	35.70	8.30
Single			
Currently married	07.81	61.52	10.68
Widowed	2.02	2.40	8.3G
Divoreed/Separated	0.41	0.33	10.45
<hr/>			
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	527,546	4,860,053	
<hr/>			
Marital status (L-nale)			
(aged 10 years & above)	.34	24.45	7.06
Single			
Currently married	78.80	69.81	12.76
Widowed	6.41	5.32	13.43
Divorced/Separated	0.45	0.41	12.31
<hr/>			
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	588,543	4,541,731	

migrants are married. In other words, the proportion ever married is higher among the migrants than among the non-migrant population. Among the males, the propensity to migrate (i. e. migration rate) is higher among the currently married (10.68), while for the female this was highest among the widowed (13.48) followed by the currently married (12.76) and the divorced/separated wom,n (12.31); iii) the overall educational level (29%) of the migrants-is higher than

Table 7.23-Some socio-economic characteristics of the migrants and the non-migrants national population, Nepal, Census year 1981

National Population			
Variables	Migrants only	Non Migrants	Migration Rate *
Literacy –a (Total)			
Illiterate	70.53	77.18	9.78
Literate	29.43	22.82	13.29
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	1,116,089	9,401,799	
Literacy (Male)			
Illiterate	54.99	66.15	8.28
Literate	45.00	33.84	12.61
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	527,546	4,860,068	
Literacy (Female)			
Illiterate	84.46	88.98	10.95
Literate	15.53	11.02	15.44
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	588,543	4,541,731	

a. aged 10 years and above. A literate person is one who has had the ability to both read and write in any language with understanding.

those of the non-migrants national population. And this overall finding also holds good for both males and females. The propensity to migrate among the educated males and females were 12.61 and 15.44 per cent respectively. The corresponding figures among the illiterate in-migrants and females were 8.28 and 10.95 per cent respectively. It is to be noted also that educated females were more prone to move out (15.44%) than their male counterparts (12.61 %); iv) formal education, i.e. educational attainment, is higher for migrants than among non-migrants. For example, the percentage of migrants with secondary education and above (i. e. S. L. C. and above) far exceeds (12.41 %) the corresponding figure (6.24 %)

Table 7.23-Some socio-economic characteristics of the migrants and the non-migrants national population, Nepal, Census year 1981

Variables	National Population		
	Migrants only	(non – migrants)	Migration Rate*
Level of Literacy* (Total)			
No schooling	24.95	23.47	12.97
Primary (1-5 grade)	37.21	50.32	9.39
Lower Secondary (6-7grade)	10.14	9.06	13.56
Secondary (8-10 grade)	15.28	10.91	16.42
S. L. C. & equivalent	5.68	2.97	21.14
Intermediate	3.58	1.78	22.00
Graduate	2.41	1.16	22.42
Post Graduate	0.74	0.33	24.01
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	343,390	2,485,045	
Level of Literacy (male)			
No schooling	25.38	23.75	11.77
Primary (1-5 grade)	33.99	47.70	12.47
Lower Secondary (6-7 grade)	10.25	9.54	12.54
Secondary (3-10 grade)	16.34	12.12	15.25
S. L. C. & equivalent	6.14	3.28	19.98
Intermediate	4.08	1.95	21.81
Graduate	2.90	1.30	22.99
Post Graduate	0.91	0.36	24.76
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No	249,145	1,867,880	
Level of Literacy (female)			
No schooling	23.88	22.62	12.47
Primary (1-5 grade)	45.30	53.24	8.68
Lower Secondary (6-7 grade)	9.86	7.63	12.54
Secondary (8-10 grades)	12.63	7.26	15.25
S- L. C. & equivalent	4.52	2.03	19.93
Intermediate	2.32	1.25	21.81
Graduate	1.17	0.76	22.99
Post Graduate	0.32	0.21	24.76
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	99,245	617,165	

*Distribution of the literate aged 6 years and above by educational attainment.

Table 7.23-Some socio-economic characteristics of the migrants and the non-migrants national population, Nepal, Census year 1981

Variables	National population		
	Migrants only	(non-migrants)	Migration Rate*
Occupation (Total)			
Professional & Technical	1.32	0.89	13.61
Administration	0.26	0.07	28.37
Clerical	2.11	0.57	28.63
Sales	2.27	1.14	17.69
Service	0.72	0.19	29.33
Farming/Fishing	84.23	92.14	8.96
Production	4.77	2.94	14.86
Others	4.31	2.06	18.39
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	665,799	6,185,087	
Occupation (Male)			
Professional & Technical	1.63	1.14	13.43
Administration	0.38	0.10	28.81
Clerical	3.04	0.81	28.86
Sales	2.72	1.51	16.42
Service	1.00	0.24	31.37
Farming/Fishing	79.88	89.87	8.81
Production	5.60	3.67	14.24
Others	5.73	2.66	19.00
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	439,217	4,040,727	
Occupation (Female)			
Professional & Technical	0.70	0.42	14.87
Administration	0.04	0.01	22.08
Clerical	0.31	0.10	25.01
Sales	1.38	0.44	25.04
Service	0.18	0.09	17.29
Farming/Fishing	92.66	96.42	9.22
Production	3.17	1.58	17.48
Others	1.56	0.94	14.98
%	100.00	100.00	
Total No.	2,26,582	2,144,360	

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics. Population Census 1981 (Unpublished special Tabulations).

for the non-migrant study population. Conversely, only 37 per cent of the migrants completed primary level education compared to 50 per cent among the non-migrants. The

propensity to migrate tends to increase with the level of education for both male and female migrants. In other words, the higher the level of education, the higher the propensity to move out. The propensity to migrate is nearly two times higher among post-graduates than among those who have had education up to primary level; v) occupationally, there were fewer farmers among the migrants in comparison to non-migrant national population. The propensity (i. e. migration rate) to move of people engaged in non-agricultural occupations far exceeds that of those engaged in agricultural occupations. Taking all the occupations into considerations, it is found that the migration rate is highest among service workers followed by clerical and administrative workers. This overall pattern also holds good for the male migrants. However, among the female migrants, the propensity to move is highest among the sales workers followed by those in the clerical and administrative services.

From the above findings, it appears that a migrant tends to be young adult, married, higher educated and also engaged in nonagricultural occupation.

Determinants of Migration

In order to identify the factors affecting migration, we have regressed net migration rate of each of the fifteen ecological-development region on some socio-economic characteristics. The socio-economic characteristics of a region included in this analysis are: i) per capita availability of land under temporary crops; ii) density i. e. population per square kilometer; iii) level of literacy. i.e. the proportion of population aged five year and above of an area who can reportedly read and write in any language with understanding. The dependent variable is net migration rate⁷

⁷ Net migration rate is defined as net migrants during the period 1971--81 to the mid-year population of 1971 and 1981, expressed in 100.

Table 7.24- Factors affecting net migration rate of a region of Nepal: Regression Analysis (OLS)

Right hand side variables independent Variable	(i.e.)	Male net migration rate			Female net migration rate		
		Regression coefficient	t values	Significance level	Regression coefficient	t values	Significance level
Per Capita Availability of land under temporary crop		-141.32	-2.98	.0125	-118.36	-2.41	.0345
Density		0.24	4.21	.0015	0.24	4.05	.0019
Level of Education		-204.26	-2.22	.0483	-222.25	-2.34	.0395
Constant		31.42	1.84	0.93	31.69	1.79	.1005
R ²		0.72	-	-	0.68	-	-
F Value		9.31		.002	7.90		.0040

of a region. The regression results are presented Table 7.24.

It may be observed that the per capita availability of land under temporary crop, i.e. land under cultivation is negatively associated with net migration rates of males and females of an area. And these relationships are also found to be statistically significant. One implication of this finding is that the greater the per capita availability of land under cultivation, the lower the rate of out migration from an area. Density, a measure of crowdedness or congestion is found to be positively associated with the rates of male and female migration. And this relationship is also found to be statistically significant. It implies that the higher the density of an area, the higher the rate of migration. In other words, congestion induces out migration. However, it should be borne in mind that the finding of positive association between density and migration rate, does not necessarily mean that density is the cause of migration-density could also be the effect of migration. For example, higher positive net migration into an area could also increase its density. In Nepal the areas which have experienced the highest positive net migration are also the areas having the highest density of population. Conversely, the areas having

the lowest density of population also experienced the net exodus of people. It, therefore, points out that the density is not the cause but the effect of migration, at least in the case of Nepal.

The relationship between the overall level of literacy and rates of (male and female) migration is found to be negative and significant. It indicates that the higher the level of literacy, the lower the rate of migration of an area. It does not, however, mean that higher educated persons are less mobile. On the contrary, the propensity to move out is higher among the literate and the higher educated than among illiterates and formally lower educated persons (see Table 7.23). It points out that the level of education of an area could also be raised by attracting educated persons. In this situation, the education level of an area is the effect of migration, rather than the cause of migration. This two-way causation has to be borne in mind when interpreting the relationship between the level of education and the rate of migration of an area.

From the preceding findings it appears that the scarcity of cultivable land is one of the major factors affecting the exodus of people. The areas having low per capita availability of cropping land are experiencing

the net exodus of people.

The findings suggest that to evolve effective policies to slow the process of out-migration, call for increasing land productivity through

the process of land augmentation (i.e. by application of modern seeds, fertilizer, and irrigation, etc.) and also opening up avenues for non-agricultural pursuits.