

**MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN NEPAL:
TRENDS, PATTERNS AND IMPLICATIONS**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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For the award of the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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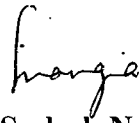


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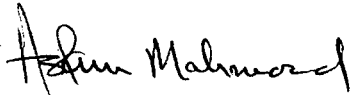
CERTIFICATE

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PHILOSOPHY is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for
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CHAPTER- I

MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN NEPAL

1.1 Background

Migration is the process of changing the usual place of residence. This is the phenomenon as old as the history of mankind. People move from the origin to destination to search the means of subsistence and for betterment of life. It is widely believed that one of the most significant aspects of recent demographic changes in the developing countries is the rapid growth of urbanization due to the heavy rural to urban migration of the people. The migration should be understood in relation to socioeconomic and political background of the country in Nepal. Migration is the most important process of human life to the further development of socio- economic capability of people.

The issues of migration and urbanization have been acknowledged as important single issues of concern of the twenty first century. The streams of internal and international migration in Nepal have been attributed rightly to the rise of developmental corridors from north to south and east to west Nepal has thus been waves of migration from north to south and east to west in terms of spatial location.

According to place of residence, the migration occurs from rural to urban areas due to higher infrastructure development in the urban centres of Nepal. After the eradication of malaria, migration from mountain and hills to Tarai was heavy. The intention of people to migrate from the place of origin is to quest farmland, which is greatly influenced and exposed by the accessible transportation facility after the eradication of malaria.

1.1.1 Nepal's some socio-economic and demographic features

Nepal is situated in southern slope of mid-Himalayas. The population of Nepal is growing at an annual rate of 2.5 % "between" 1991-2001 with a sex ratio of 998 female per thousand male. The per capita gross national income is reported as

18775 rupees or US \$250 (The World Bank, 2003:235). Nepal has a huge population of females in the reproductive age group (49%) with high fertility rate (4.1 children per women). There is a high prevalence of marriage among the girls before the age of 18 year. Population momentum is created by the young age population growth and migration in the country.

Very high unemployment and underemployment rates of 17.4 and 32.3% (NCP, (2003:58.99)) have forced people to migrate. Unequal distribution of landholding and strong political conflicts has compelled people either to migrate or fight against their class enemies.

Crude birth rate has been reduced from 37.5 to 33.4 and crude death rate from 13.8 to 9.6 "between" 1991 -2001 in Nepal. Infant mortality rate has gone down to 64.4 from 102 during the last two decades and maternal mortality ratio from 850 to 539. The literacy rate for the population 6 years and above has increased from 39.6 to 53%, while the female literacy of the same age has increased from 25% in 1991 to 42.5% in 2001. Life expectancy at birth for females has gone up from 55.9 to 60.2 years for the total population in the country (CBS, 2003). Females outlived males for the first time in the demographic history of Nepal.

1.1.2 Geo-political realization on migration in Nepal

Nepal is surrounded by China in the north and by India in east, south and west. The physical settings of the country are sandwiched between two giants in the mid-Himalayas shaping the southern slope from North to South.

The marginal land of mountain region forced people to migrate to the southern parts due to closed border system with northern neighbour. Tarai population is tied up to the Indian society according to their religion or culture. Most of the Tarai people are of Indian origin according to their clan and caste. They also have marital relationship with Indian people.

After the 13th February of 1996, the class struggle has widened in Nepal in between haves and have not. Monarchy with the strong hold of Royal Nepalese Army, suppressed the people's war of Nepal that is launched by CPN (Maoist). Many people moved from their place of origin due to the crossfire situation between RNA and PLA (People's Liberation Army) in their homeland. These are the cause of forced migration in Nepal due to internal political conflicts within the country. There are approximately sixty percent people who are suffering in below the absolute poverty line in Nepal. Heavy stream of migration is the outcome of lack of resources for their survival at their place of origin. So, that, they are ultimately moving in quest for the land, employment and better opportunities for their survival and subsistence.

FIGURE-1



Migration to India is easy due to open border. There is no restriction for and facility for free movement of people between India and Nepal. So that two-way traffic of migration is possible in between India and Nepal. Most people cross the

border, to search the employment or suitable business in their neighboring country. The population pressure is very high in Nepalese neighboring state of India like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Permanent, temporary and seasonal migrants from India to Nepal are frequent all over the years.

The next open reality is that the recruitment of Nepalese hill people in the Indian military and police forces. It was the tradition after the treaty of 1816s' between Nepal and East India Company Government.

Cultural lag and religious clique may be the most important theoretical factors to continue the process of migration in between two countries although the socio-economic and technological gap is tremendous.

1.1.3 Regional physiographic disparities in Nepal

Physical settings of Nepal encompassing the plains, hills and mountains yield three broad geographic regions each with its own distinctive environment. The Tarai region refers to the low-lying tropical plains along the southern part of the country. The Tarai has since acquired greater economic importance for its rich forest and agricultural resources. Its comparative advantage in transportation and consequent industrialization has further enhanced the region's growth potential.

The hills region, traversing the sub-tropical belt has been the traditional population zone of the country. Subsistence agriculture is the basis of the hill economy with considerable pressure of population on land resources. The Himalayan region including the temperate high lands and trans-Himalayan Bhotia Valleys has been a marginal area for human occupancy owing to harsh environmental conditions. Population is sparse and main economic activities are barter trade and pastoralism with some agriculture.

These geographic regions correspond to the altitudinal arranged ecological zones and naturally imply inherent differences in natural resource endowment. The regional disparity is amply seen in the man-land ratio among the regions. The mountain and hill regions covering two thirds of the total area and supporting 53

per cent of the total population in 2001 have less than one third of the population on limited agricultural land.

Another dimension of the problem is the weak link between the food deficit hills and food surplus Tarai region. High transportation costs discourage retail marketing and inter- regional trade so that the circulation of the goods and services is dependent on the large-scale (migration) mobility of people. The traditional pattern of trading with Tibet in summer when the mountain passes become snow free and trading with India in winter when Malaria barrier is less effective, has experienced fundamental changes since the last three decades owing to Malaria eradication in the south and dislocation in the north, has been superseded by the gradual expansion of southern market.

The increasing dominance of Tarai is not due to its resources alone but also due to the comparative advantage of in the field of development activities. In the present context, the Tarai has become an area where development efforts in agriculture, forestry and transportation sector have increased rapidly. The development of transportation in Tarai has led to increased circulation and concomitant urbanization associated with commerce and industry.

In essence, physical disparity among the ecological belts and development regions are the root causes of internal and international migration and overall urbanization in Nepal.

Characteristics of migrants

As regards the query "who migrates?" it has been widely found that migration is a selective process and the rural out-migrants show certain distinctive socio-economic and demographic characteristics vis-à-vis the non-migrants. Among others, these characteristics include sex, age, education, landholding and sometimes the size of family. As regards age and sex, the pattern of younger males of the broad age groups of 15-30 years being more prone to migration is fairly widespread, which is probably explained by their higher capacity to adjust during the initial periods of uncertainty after migration. There seems to be an association between the

level of education and the propensity to migrate, although most of the migrants are illiterate for the reason that illiterates form the majority in the population at origin. So far as landholding is concerned, although the earlier migrants used to be mainly poor landless unskilled individuals, in recent periods the proportion of migrants from relatively better-off families has increased possibly because of acquiring formal education. As a matter of fact, several studies have expressed doubts about the general validity of the popular assumption that the economically worse-off people in the rural areas have the highest propensity to migrate.

As a whole, migrants are a select group of people with distinctive characteristics and more productive than those left behind. According to Hance, "there can be little doubt that migration does have the draining effect the rural areas, either temporarily or permanently. Some of the strongest, most able, most energetic, young men and women are likely to move. There is tendency for those with a better education to leave their indigenous communities or to eschew assignment in government, education and other services in rural areas" (Hance, 1970, p.169). There are marked differentials by sex, age race, family status, education, health and many other social and demographic characteristics, and migrants are probably pre-selected, also, for their capacity to detach themselves from their traditional surroundings. For these reasons, migrants may be among the most productive from the standpoint of economic growth.

1.2 Objectives of the study

- To study and analyze the nature, magnitude and causes of internal and international migration in Nepal on the basis of Census and Survey data.
- To analyze the consequences of internal and international migration on urbanization and related economic fields.

1.3 Statement of the problem

One of the serious population problems emerging during the last few decades is the migration of people from rural to urban areas and mountain and hills to Tarai region. Most metropolitan and large cities in developing countries have experienced

a heavy migration of people from rural areas that warrants national strategic planning to manage or to reverse the trends.

The enormous pressure for shelter and services has rapidly frayed the urban fabric especially in Kathmandu valley. Today the Kathmandu valley municipalities (Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Kirtipur and Madhyapur Thimi) are facing several challenges to maintain their infrastructures, employment and sanitation properly. Proliferation of slum is rapid, public transportation is crowded, overuse of public Latrines and public spots is common; water supply system is fragile, allowing sewage to sweep into drinking water and spreading infectious diseases.

About sixty percent of the country's population falls below the poverty line and high level of unemployment and underemployment persist in rural areas. Still, there is the gradual shipping of the rural poor to urban areas.

1.4 Significance of the study

It is widely recognized fact that most people in underdeveloped countries are facing the problem of landlessness, lack of sustainable resources, unemployment underemployment and economic hardship. The high growth of population, slow pace of economic growth with high inequality in the distribution of productive resources, spontaneously creates the volume of migration. Better economic opportunities in the urban centres attract rural poor. Migration evolves not only a shift of population from one geographical setting to another but also a transfer of labour and hence potential economic surplus and heavy urbanization in the place of destination. So this study has a relevance and significance, as it would help in understanding the patterns of migration and urbanization in Nepal and associated socio-economic and spatial characteristics.

1.5 Conceptual framework

The purposed study intends to examine the pattern trend and implications of internal and international migration with respect to urbanization in Nepal.

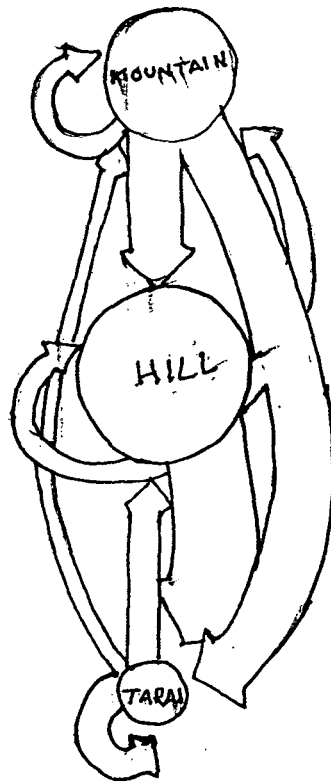
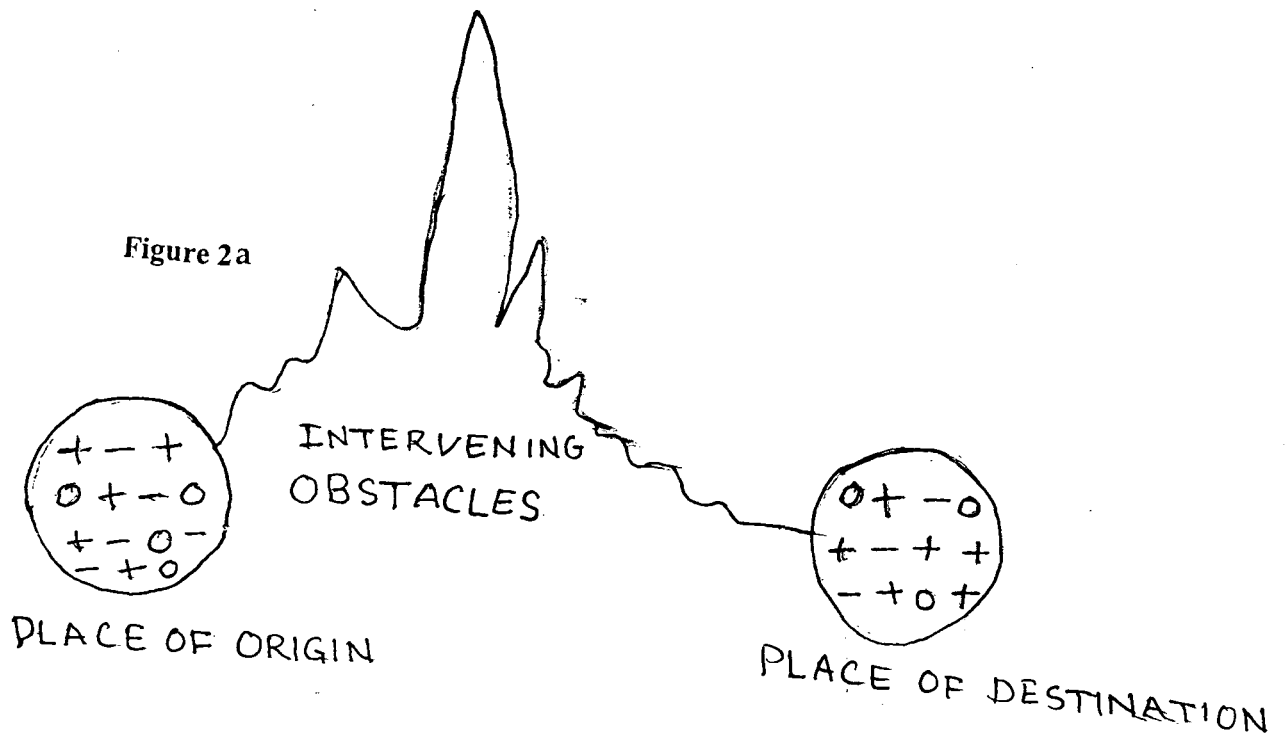


Figure 2



Conceptual framework of this study envisaged linkage mechanism of urban to rural, rural to urban, rural to rural and urban to urban migration flows.

1.6 Hypotheses

- The volume of internal and international migration is gradually on the increase in Nepal.
- Internal migration and immigration have a greater role on urbanization process in Nepal than other factors.

1.7 Data Source and methodology

Nepal is selected for the study area. It has 23.15 million population and 2.25% annual population growth rate in 2001. There are 58 Municipalities, 3915 VDCs (village, Developmental Committees), 75 districts and 5 development region namely eastern, central, western, mid western and far western development regions as the lower to upper administrative units, which covered 147181 square kilometers of land.

This study is intended to analyze the secondary data available from government sources like Census and Survey since 1971 up to 2001. Attempts will be made to build up indicators and indices of migration and urbanization of Nepal on the basis of available information, especially internal and international migration. Simple statistical, quantitative and cartographic techniques and methods are used to analyze various characteristics of migrants in their spatial and temporal dimensions.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Attempts will be made to build up indicators and indices of migration and urbanization of Nepal on the basis of available information, especially internal and international migration. The following sources of secondary data are used:

- Demographic sample survey of Nepal, 1986/87.
- Population census data of Nepal, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001.

1.9 Research -Design

Migration is the least researched area in Nepal compared to other demographic dynamics despite the fact that many socio-economic, demographic and political problems are closely associated with the process of both internal and international migration. Migration data from censuses is subjected to severe scrutiny due to frequent changes in the geographical boundary and changes in the urban and rural definitions. Temporal comparisons and longitudinal analysis have been severely limited due to change in the content of the migration questionnaires in various censuses. Analysis of primary data on migration was confined either within the resettlement areas of Tarai (Conway et al., 1981) or in the Tarai district and three towns of Kathmandu valley (Gurung et, al, 1983).

Central Department of Population Studies carried a comprehensive study on both internal and international migration in 1996 based on a nationally representative probability sample of 19800 households in 600 clusters (450 rural and 150 urban) with a total sample population of 115105 (K.C et, al, 1997).

All previous studies interpreted migration data by three ecological zones and five development regions. District level migration data calculated across 75 district of Nepal were not available in the previous censuses. The 2001 census provided internal migration data for 75 district and 58 urban centres. Data deficiency did not allow detail analysis of migration phenomenon from the prospective of gender, economic status, and development at various levels of spatial aggregation. This study is an exercise for preliminary exploration to initiate such an analysis despite limited data for rigorous analysis.

There are also various flows of migrations such as internal and international. The internal migration would be in and out-migration followed by rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban. The reason provided by the migrants they would be so many that a lot of times a migrant himself does not seem to know why he has migrant to the destination or intending to migrate.

There are various types of migrations such as seasonal, temporary, semi permanent and permanent. The short or long distance migration from rural to rural and rural to urban inside the country is very vital for migration analysis. Whatever the types of migration in terms of both time and space, except forced migration due to internal war and natural calamity, migrant usually respond to pull and push factors depending upon whatever it was an individual migration or a migration involving the entire family member and other relatives. The causes of migration for large numbers of migrants are better employment opportunity, for earning more incomes to raise their standard of living, for education, for survival, for business or services or even environmental factors. The same thing holds true for immigration and emigration. These reasons would be different by age and sex selectivity, level of education, skills and requirements of the receiving area or country.

1.10 Review of the literature

People and whole societies have moved across continents regions and within a nation, in search of resources (Gurung.H.1981). It is also a multi-dimensional phenomenon. First, it is a demographic phenomenon, it influence size and composition of population at origin and destination. Likewise, it is an economic phenomenon/problem as one of the main causes of population shift, is due to economic imbalances between areas/regions. In the modern context, it all poses a political problem, where restrictions are applied on those wishing to cross a political boundary. It is also a sociological problem since it encompasses socio-psychological aspect such as motivation to migrate, level of integration and cultural interaction between migrants and the host society. Not all migrations are, however, of negative nature. Its consequences may vary from situation to situation as well as on the type of the economy. Similarly migration studies range from purely descriptive and statistical to studies of varying degrees of complexities.

1.10.1 Global context of migration and urbanization

Migration long predates the drawing of today's national boundaries, in parts of Africa and Asia, population movements still conform to old patterns rather than

modern political geography. Yet the estimated more than 125 million people currently living outside the countries of their births including refugees and undocumented migrants represent just over 2 per cent of the world's population. More significant in modern times is the movement of people from rural to urban areas.

Internal migration and urbanization

The world is steadily becoming more urban as people move to cities and towns in search of employment, educational opportunities and higher standard of living. Some are driven from land, as for whatever their reasons, their land can no longer support them. By year the 2005, urban areas are expected to be home to more than half of the world's people. Already 74 percent of Latin America and Caribbean population 73 percent of people in Europe and more than 75 percent of people are Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States. In both Africa and Asia are urban. Urban dwellers represent about a third of the total population. However, there are significant variations between individual countries. In Africa for example, more than 50% of the population of Algeria, South Africa and Tunisia resides in urban areas. In addition, there is a continuing trend towards ever-larger urban agglomerations. By the turn of the century, 261 cities in developing countries had population over 1 million compared with 21 in the mid 1990s. In 1994, there were 14 so called "Mega Cites" defined as cities with at least 10 million inhabitants. There number is expected to double by 2015.

Urbanization especially accompanies social and economic development but rapid urban growth on today's scale strains the capacity of local and national governments to provide even the most basics of services such as water, electricity and sewerage. Squatter settlements and overcrowded slums are home to millions like the favelas that cling to the hillsides of Rio de Janerio and the used as homes by tens thousand's in Cario's "city of the dead". In some developing countries notably in Africa, this growth reflects crisis rather than before.

International migration and urbanization

Although dwarfed by the movements of people within borders, international migration is also increasing. Roughly half of the over 125 million people living outside their countries of origin belongs to developing countries. This figure includes the 1997 figure of 12 million refugees. International migration includes permanent migration and so called temporary or labour migration, refugees and undocumented migrants. As with migration to the cities people move in search of a better life for themselves and their families. Income disparities among and within regions are one motivating factor, as are the labour and migration policies of sending and receiving countries. Political conflict may drive migration across borders as well as within countries. Environmental degradation including the loss of farmland, forest and pasture, also pushes people to leave their homes. Most environmental refugees however go to cities rather than abroad. Migration of more educated young people from developing countries to fill gaps in the work forces of industrialized countries has been a feature of development in the recent past. In many receiving countries, industries and infrastructure are built and maintained in part by migrant labour. Remittances from migrants are a significant source of foreign exchange and in some countries even account for a substantial share of national income. Remittances are used in many ways: for consumer goods, building homes, for productive investment, for education and health services and in general contribute to higher living standards for remittance dependent households. Richer countries' investment in health and education in developing countries would help foster long term cooperation is managing migration pressures and improve the productive capabilities both of migrants and those who remain at home.

While younger adults are more likely to migrate than older people, women make up nearly half of the international migrant population. Family reunification policies of receiving countries are one factor influencing migration by women, but women themselves are increasingly likely to move in search of jobs. Women frequently end up in the low-status, low-wage production, service jobs and are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, including sexual abuse. Among refugees, women and children are in the majority. At the end of 1997, the number of

refugees outside their countries of origin totaled 12 million. The figure does not include people in refugee-like situations who have sought asylum in other countries. Nor does it reflect migration by displaced persons within national borders. In 1997 UNHCR estimated this total "population of concern" including returnees and those seeking asylum and or refugees status as numbering 22 million a number which may have increased since. Ultimately the goal of both sending and receiving countries should be to make the option of remaining in one's home country a viable one as stated in the ICDD programme of action. But this goal will not be easily realized. Efforts to enhance economic opportunity to sustain and improve agricultural production and to provide health care and education are among the strategies proposed by ICPD at Cario. Equally important strategies, however, are to resolve political conflict and human rights violations and promote good governance. This means, the economic, demographic and political elements seem to be influencing the conference. The challenge for government's lies in formalizing migration polices that take into account the economic constraints of receiving countries as well as the impact of migration on host societies and its effects on countries of origin.

There were 2365 towns in India in 1961. but the number of towns were increased rapidly and reached 4368 in 2001. The percentage of urban population in India during 1961 was 17.97, while it was 27.78 percent in 2001. But the annual growth rate (exponential) of urban population in India has gone down from 3.1 percent during 1981-91 to 2.73 percent in 1991- 2001 (Kundu 2003). This reinforces the declining trends of Urbanization in the country since the rate had decelerated even during the 1980s against all time high growth rates of 3.8 percent during 1971-81. However, in order to focus attention on mobility of labour due to economic reasons, one may look at the pattern of male migration only since a large part of female migration is due to marriage and other social factors.

The percentage of intercensal male migrants in urban areas coerce down from 18.5 to 16.9 and that of lifetime (male) migrants from 33.6 to 32.4 during 1971-81, although the decade saw a very high growth of urban population (Kundu and Gupta, 2000).

Correspondingly the share of lifetime interstate migrants declined from 11.2 to 10.0 percent. The migration data from the 1991 population census figures for intercensal, lifetime and interstate (lifetime) migrants were 11.7, 26.0 and 8.0 respectively. Immigration of females to urban areas too, declined but at a slower pace, as that is governed by socio- cultural factors that change slowly. In case this migration trends continues the pace of urbanization is likely to be lower in future years (Kundu- 2003). Although, India has greater urban population than the total population of many countries, both developed and developing, it is relatively less urbanized than even several developing countries.

Although Karl Marx did not promulgate any specific theory of migration, his works included an elaborate conceptualization of the displacement of labour to cities. Marx (1867: 713) argued that the presence of a large labour force in urban areas was critical for capital accumulation and capitalist development. The accumulation of capital presupposes surplus values, surplus value presupposes capitalist production, and capitalist production presupposes the pre existence of considerable masses of capital and the labour power in the hands of producers of commodities. This according to Marx was made possible by the displacements of labour that is labour migration to the cities, resulting from “an expropriation migration of the agricultural producers, the peasants from the soil” during expropriation. A concept underlying this study is that population; embodied in labour is the basis as well as the subject of production and development (Marx, 1876). Labour is the most dynamic source of economic surplus or Marx’s “surplus value” without it the potential, surplus embedded in nature would only remain potential; it would never be actualized for societal progress from a lower to a higher level of social formation (Shrestha, 1990).

It is well-established argument that the effective formulation and implementation of development policies in an agrarian society like Nepal requires a clear understanding of its demographic structure in general and the geographical mobility of population in particular. Migration involves not only a shift of population from one geographical setting to another but also a transfer of labour and hence potential economic surplus, with this premise, the present study provides

an analysis of frontier migration and its effects on hill migrants in the agrarian economy of Nepal and simultaneous unplanned urbanization.

Migration is a distinct economic demographic process. It is necessary to analyze institutional policies regarding the social and spatial distribution of both natural and development resources. It is true that population in the form of labour is the most dynamic force in the process of production, a source of economic surplus. Yet population cannot exist in a resources vacuum. Unless it is engaged in a production relationship with natural and development resources, population can neither support and reproduce it nor produce any economic surplus for indigenous capital accumulation without which, it is difficult to achieve sustained economic growth and development. However, the nature and degree of labour's access to such resources are dependent on the nature of their social and spatial distributions.

While the physical forces determine the spatial distribution of land resource, the institutional forces or states' policies are directly responsible for the social class distribution of both land and development resources. These forces also control the special allocation of development resources. The role of institutional forces is often more important than the role of physiographic forces with respect to resources availability as well as accessibility. Very few deny that population growth and distribution trends play an important role in determining in question of resources availability. Yet the key feature of agrarian societies is that the social distribution of resources is a class process that is rigidly institutionalized and almost preordained from one generation to another. There is a social class monopoly of resources.

The question of low productive population (or in the present context migrant) becomes, how much economic surplus is generated in society, how this surplus is appropriated and how it is utilized, all depend on the nature of the social distribution of resources. While the regionally unbalanced geographical organization of resources can be reconciled through population redistribution, the institutional arrangements of resource distribution are difficult to rearrange without strong social actions and measures. Because peoples' economic viabilities and

progress are contingent on the availability of resources, lack of resource whether caused by the social forces or physical forces invariably provokes the population to respond. People's subjective behavioral response to changing objectives conditions concerning resource availability generally varies depending on their class positions, historical experiences, geographical conditions, socio- cultural backgrounds and the level of technological advancements.

While resource constraints may sometime lead certain individual as well as social classes to revolt in the name of justice and equality, other times these constraints may confine people to passive adaptation to the existing order. Intensification of natural (land) resource use might be another form of response. If intensification occurs as a result of resource shortage it has the potential to become generative force including technological break through and progress postulated by Boserup (1965) and Wilkinson (1973) or merely bring about some basic modification such as multi-cropping. One should also bear in mind that the intensification of land use if not carried out properly, could easily turn into a parasite leading to its degradation. One common response to the existing or emerging situation or resource constraints one that has been used both through time and across space is migration. Migration can be an outcome of either individual household or class based decision in that member if certain classes move to a different location in large numbers.

1.10.2 Conceptual issues in migration

G.E. Revenstein made the first attempt enunciating the laws of migration in his paper published in 1885 and 1889. His laws or generalizations, which were later, applied by Stouffer (1960) and others and recently by Lee, basically described migration relationship between origin and destination. There is much validity in Revenstein's statement and it has provided a good starting points for the development of migration theory (Gurung, 1981). Let us discussed some theoretical issues on migration.

Spatial and human interaction models

From the time of Revenstein to the more recent contributions of Zipf, Stewart and Stouffer, the concept of distance in migration studies has played the pivotal role within the framework of gravity models. The model basically is of the form $m = a \frac{u}{v}$ where, m is the number of migration in a given stream, u and v are independent variables (forces of attraction and distance) and a is the constant of proportionality. Zipf (1946) has purposed that when unemployment and income are uniformly distributed, the variable in the numerator should be population at origin and destination and distance is the denominator.

Lee's formulation summarizes these models in the framework of push pull obstacle model. According to her interpretation, migration is a result, if pushes and pulls or attractions and repulsions at both the origin and destination are balanced in terms of efforts or cross to overcome the obstacle lying between the individual and the possible alternative sites.

Migration as a demographic process

Along with fertility and mortality, migration plays an important role in demographic change. Estimating selective characteristics of migration streams quantification of their volume, direction and distance and assessing their demographic impacts at origin and destination are some of the demographic concerns. Wherever availability of data permits sophisticated techniques have been used for demographic analysis of migration. Zelinsky (1971) put forward a hypothesis of mobility transition similar to demographic transition. This could be a major contribution in explaining variation in migration phenomenon in different societies.

Migration as a social process

There has been increasing interest in the social dimension of migration. Concern has been raised about inadequate treatment in the literature on the social aspect of migration and for the prevalent misconception of reductionism that

migration phenomenon must be rescued in physical and biological terms. Mangalam (1968) and Schwa Weller conceive migration as a phenomenon having some aspects located within the cultural system and some within the personality system of human organization and provide theoretical guidelines.

Recently migration studies have also focused attention on more fundamental questions such as decision to migrate, choice of destination and reasons for migration. The research foci include assessment of residential location and consequent socio-economic and demographic changes in the areas of origin and destination (Wolpert, 1965)

General system theory and migration

Mabogunje applied a concept of system theory in the study of rural-urban migration. According to his model, a migration system operates within the environment having economic, social, and technological and policy components. The system also has a control mechanism to regulate migration, the rural control subsystem, the nuclear or extended family and the urban control subsystem, the residential and occupational absorption possibility. The author argues that this approach is not only concerned with why people migrate but also with all the implications and ramifications of the process.

Migration differential

It is generally documented that migration is selective by age, sex, social and economic status (Lee 1966, Miller 1970). The following observation made by Bogue on migration differential is worth mentioning:

1. Major migration streams develop in a series stages. In initial stages migration is highly selective of young matured adult, persons who are single, divorced or widowed and males outnumber females, which in later stages tend to disappear or even are in favor of women.
2. Migration stimulated by economic growth, technological improvement, etc, attracts the skilled and better educated while stagnant regions face a loss of such manpower.

3. If streams of equal size flow between two population points, then the composition of migration streams in each direction tends to be a minimum of selection but the stream and the place experiencing net losses would have a high proportion of migration returnees.
4. Where the push factor is very strong, origin selectivity is at a minimum. Where the pull stimulus is greater, there will be an appreciable selectivity.
5. In modern technological societies, major streams which flow between metropolitan centres tend to have very little selectivity

There is the growing number of case studies on rural-urban migration documenting empirical evidences on migration differentials in less developed countries. These studies indicate that migration tends to be associated with the level of the development of the country.

Migration and economic growth

Migration from an economic point of view is the response of individuals to economic opportunities at a distance. General observation indicates that the volume of out-migration of the labour force is inversely related to the income level of sending areas and that of immigration is directly related to wage rates of receiving areas. Studies have theorized on the relationship between migration and regions of income inequalities, although Okhun and Richardson find no valid ground for the belief that migration widens regional inequalities. A number of case studies have also documented the result on the impact of migration on regional inequalities.

1.10.3 Review of studies relevant to the present study

Several recent studies concerned with labour migration in less developed as well as developed nation have placed emphasis on the factor that influence migration (i.e. determinants of migration). A technique applied in many of these studies is multiple regression analysis. Economic variable and selected social variable are generally applied in the framework of push pull hypothesis.

Greenwood (1972) examines migration flows to urban areas of India, employing degree of urbanization at destination average annual agricultural income at the origin and average annual income of workers in the urban areas and distance

as explanatory variables. Adams (1969) employs wage, distance, urbanization, and education, and unemployment, structure of economic activity, size of the farm and population size as explanatory variables to explain internal migration in Jamaica. Sahota (1968) applies similar but more complex single equation and simultaneous equation models to analyze inter-state migration in Brazil. He seeks to answer any questions of interest in migration studies. Roger examines the association between spatial variation in economic opportunities and variation in inter-regional migration flows with an attempt to assess the differential impact on class specific (Sex, race, age-group) migration streams.

In all these studies, distance is found to have a highly significant and negative effect. In the Jamaican and Brazilian cases, urbanization is found to be highly significant. In the Jamaican case, the unemployment variables and pattern of economic activities only at origin and average size of the farms only at destination are found significant whereas in the Brazilian case, economic variable (wage, per capita income) are significant. However, in Roger's study of migration in California, the effect of unemployment rate was found to have negligible effect contrary to his expectation (Gurung, 1981).

The major argument is that the major population issue of concern in the Asian and Pacific region in the 1990s is not going to be fertility but population movement (Skeldon 1992:4) and of course international migration. Hugo (1992) pointed out that the diversity and complexity of population movement between rural and urban areas and their implications for development have not yet been fully understood. There is a need to revise our traditional views about the process of rural urban migration in the light of new statistical materials (Bose, 1992:21 K.C, 1998:4)

Migration studies in Nepal

Three demographic processes: birth, death and migration the latter remain the least understood and researched area in Nepal. But some of Nepal's social,

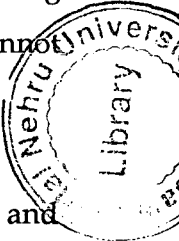
economic and political problems are intricately woven with both the pattern and magnitude of internal and international migration (K.C.1998).

Migration data from the surveys and censuses have been collected in Nepal since 1952/54. Information on causes and consequences of either internal or international migration at both macro and micro level is severely lacking. Many studies rely on migration data collected from a few villages or a few districts but they do not capture the totality of the migration situation in Nepal. One attempt has been made in the direction of interpreting regional pattern of migration by using census data because of lack of information in various censuses; such a study cannot capture the trends and patterns of all streams of migration.

Migration studies in Nepal rely heavily on censuses data, surveys and secondary sources of information. Some expectations are anthropological studies of a small community. The national commission on population listed 12 studies ranged from political implication of migration to population mobility before 1961. A majority of the studies focused on resettlement projects and conclude that shortage of land availability at the place of origin and employment opportunities in the place of destination were the main pull factors of the Tarai.

The first attempts to integrate data, on interregional migration up to 1971 was made by New Era (1981) and was later officially published by NCP (1984). Although by no means analytical, for lack of comparable data, it initiated interest in migration research in Nepal. The second comparable study was conducted by Conway et.al. 1981. That study calculated a crude index of net migration rates between 1961 and 1971 and established relationship between the net migration rates and agricultural income, resettlement projects, investment in irrigation, industry and urbanization. That study also carried out household survey in two Tarai districts based on the household listing prepared by the malaria eradication office. The major conclusions were that literacy and age appeared to be important migration determinants and that the decision to migrate out of the hills was influenced more by the migrant's

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inability to maintain a satisfactory life in place of origin than by his knowledge of opportunity at the destination.

Social factors such as family and friends at place of were more important for migration decision-making than factors in the destination. Many migrants acquired larger amount of land in the destination districts of Tarai with successive improvement in their household sanitation. Long distance moves were as prominent as short distance moves. The study primarily focused on rural migration by purposively selecting districts undergoing resettlement project and with a malaria eradication programme sponsored by the government. That was however, the first attempt to collect rural to rural migration data from both origin and destination.

As early as 1983, the government conducted a more comprehensive migration survey in 10 Tarai districts with urban centres and in three towns of the Kathmandu valley between February and April. The survey report includes information on the nature volume causes and consequences of migration. Although that was the first migration survey separately conducted in the country many of the determinants of migration in both origin and destination were not examined adequately. One of the intentions of the survey was to document adequately the volume of internal migration and international migration, so that the government could devise policies to even restrict it. Even though the study sponsored by National Commission on Population in 1983 did not include origin district it revealed that pull factors in the Tarai were more important than the push factors in the hills. The study presented information on the migration and patterns of rural to rural and rural to urban migration.

Central Bureau Statistics has published censuses data in mid 1984. It took a much longer time to process migration data to be suitable for interpretation. CBS did not publish data on urban migration. An unpublished printout was later available through the publication of monograph on urbanization in Nepal by Sharma (1989). While Gurung's monograph on regional patterns of migration in

Nepal (Gurung, 1989) was based on all available censuses data dealing with internal and international migration, Sharma's study on urbanization was based on available census data. A parallel study incorporating most migration data from the 1952/54 to 1981 census as well as the relevant migration data generated from the 1983 survey of Tarai districts was prepared by K.C. (1991). Two other case studies on in-migration to Kathmandu and intra urban movement in Kathmandu (Shrestha et.al.1984) are noteworthy for examining pattern of urban migration.

Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) carried out a demographic sample survey (DSS 1986/87) covering on observation period of 12 months from spring 1986 to spring 1987 (CBS, 1987b). That was multi-stage survey based on a national probability sample of 129 identifiable compact clusters (81 rural and 48 urban) selected from 35 districts (14 from tarai, 18 from the hills and 3 from the mountain), out of the total of 75 districts. The urban sample was selected from 14 towns out of 23 existing in 1981. Three wards each from 13 towns and nine wards from Kathmandu resulted in the selection of 48 wards from urban areas. Altogether 8640 households were selected. The rural sample consisted of 6126 households and the urban sample consisted of 2514 households. That survey viewed to be collected the most comprehensive data on rural to urban migration in Nepal (CBS, 1988).

Studies explicitly focused on analyzing the trends, patterns and implication of rural to urban migration in Nepal did not exist before 1991. An introductory attempt was made by KC (1994) in a paper for an expert group meeting in Bangkok in November 1992. Census data on rural migration before the 1971 census do not exist primarily because the urban population in the country before then was only 3,22,000. If Kathmandu valley as a whole were to be considered urban or semi-urban, some indication of rural to urban migration could be discernible.

The 1952/54 census figure of 2,38,257 persons residing in the 10 urban centres in the country is only half of the total urban population of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur in 1991. From a mere 2.9% urban population in 10 urban centres in 1952/54, urban population increased to 13.9% in 58 urban centres in 2001. There has

been a steady increase in the volume of rural to urban migration since 1971. But the level of information varies and makes it difficult to trace trends of rural to urban migration in Nepal.

Reasons for migration

The question why people migrate? May has been the central theme of migration study. But it is very vague and complex. Apart from economic factors, emphasis has also been placed on social, physical, demographic, cultural and communication factors to explain migration. However, notwithstanding obvious relevance of these extra economic factors, the economic reasons are often considered as primary behind decisions to migrate which include not only the standard "push" from subsistence agriculture and "pull" to relatively higher urban wages, but also the potential "pushback" toward rural areas because of high urban unemployment.

In the pre capitalist, feudal economy, like Nepal, the forces behind migration have mainly been the push factors. The lower strata of population, in the face of continuous alienation of land and pauperization, have been migrating in search of whatever alternative livelihood available in urban sector. But with the emergence of capitalism, the pull factors become important when not only the landless, but even landowning peasants are lured away to urban sectors for higher income opportunities. According to Lewis (1970), the surplus labour from less productive agriculture in rural areas is transferred to more productive modern industrial sector in urban areas for providing needed manpower for urban industrial growth. The process was deemed socially beneficial since human resources were being shifted from areas where their social marginal products were often assumed to be zero to places where their marginal product was not only positive but also rapidly growing as a result of capital accumulation and technological change. But validity of such models has been questioned by the experiences of many developing countries where massive rural urban migration is seen to occur in spite of high urban unemployment.

Todaro (1969) had tried to develop a theory of migration in the context of this apparently contradictory situation. Starting from the assumption that migration is

primarily an economic phenomenon; the Todaro model establishes the rationality of such apparently contradictory situation by postulating that migration occurs in response to rural-urban difference in "expected" rather than actual earnings. Migrants consider the labour market opportunities available in the rural and urban sector and choose the one which maximizes their expected gains, from migration, calculated from the rural-urban real income differential and the probability of a new migrant obtaining an urban job, the latter being inversely related to the urban unemployment rate. They compare, their expected incomes, for a given time horizon in the urban sector with prevailing average rural incomes and migrate if, the former exceeds the latter. Under these circumstances, migration in spite of urban unemployment is not only possible but also even likely in the face of wide rural-urban expected income differentials.

A better understanding of the cause of migration from rural areas can be had only from the analysis of those socio-economic factors which generate rural-urban income differentials such as rural unemployment, stagnation and sometimes decline in the income of the rural poor, the increasing pressure on land, lack of non-farm employment opportunities, low rate of investment in agriculture, inequalities in the distribution of land and other production assets etc. All these factors discriminate against the rural poor and, as such, for want of adequate income and employment, they move to urban areas. As a matter of fact, there is a whole school of historical structural perspective, which explicitly spells out the mechanism by which social, economic and political forces directly or indirectly affect the demand for labour and thus cause migration. Migrant labour is advantageous for capital; it is cheap, and can be had without paying for the reproduction of families and working families (Shah et al., 1990, p.8).

There are many things in urban areas, from education to entertainment, which pull the rural youth towards them. In Nepal, particularly in mid-Western Tarai and hill, migration has also been one of the avenues to escape from the feudal exploitation.

Revenstein (1885) first proposed the laws of migration according to which migrants move from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunities and the choice of destination is regulated by distance. Everett S. Lee further put the "push-pull" hypotheses forward in 1966 and later on by others. It is also argued that rural poverty acts as a push factor and in order to escape poverty the rural poor migrate continuously to the urban areas in search of a livelihood. Kundu (1986), however, noted that the rural-urban migration rates have been quite modest in the Indian context.

Consequences of migration:

Rural-urban migration has obviously wide implications both for the rural and urban areas. However, since the impacts of migration could be both desirable and harmful at once, it is difficult to identify but it is better to understand them in totality.

In the urban areas, it will have a tendency to aggravate the already serious urban unemployment situation as the growth in employment may be for less than the growth in labour force accelerated through migration. Migration may lower the wage rate inducing expansion of employment; the increased supply of unskilled and semi-skilled labour may promote higher rate of industrialization; they may provide dynamic elements in the Urban sectors by virtue of their greater work intensity; higher propensity to save (Oberai and Singh, 1983). As migrants are generally more productive workers than left over workers, urban areas may gain in productivity from the geographical shifts in population (Vijverberg, 1993). Migration may itself have an impact on the rate of speed of economic growth, because migrants are a select group of workers.

On the other hand, heavy migration almost invariably produces strains on the demand for infra-structural and social services in the cities causing deterioration in the quality of urban life as also causing escalation in rent and land values in the urban areas. Another important effect of migration in the urban areas is on the

distribution of income, which depends on which segment of the urban labour market, the migrants initially join.

The earlier theories of migration had envisaged that, consequent upon migration to urban areas, there would be growing demand for agricultural product and resulting in improved rural-urban terms of trade, which in turn, would help the rural economy. Further a declining man-land ratio may induce technological change, which would be facilitated by remittance, from the migrants, saving brought back by return migrants. The remittances flow to agricultural sector removes the risk-constraints and permits the family to follow superior technology. The indirect effects of migration via release of rural resources, education and information flow may also encourage agricultural innovation.

The diverse impact may also be produced by heavy migration from rural areas. The decline in valuable human capital through outflow of young educated persons may adversely affect agricultural productivity and incomes and thus encourage more migration. Due to labour shortage, agricultural wages may raise making agriculture less profitable. The expected technological changes may also not be feasible as remittances are often used for consumption and not for productive investment. If many of the return migrants turn out to be indeed unsuccessful out-migrants, their capacity to bring back savings or bring new ideas to the village would also be limited. If they are retired person, they may add to the consumption needs of the rural society without contributing to production.

As regards the impact of migration on rural income distribution, both its direct and indirect impact should be assessed. Primarily, it would depend on the relative propensities of migration among different income groups and on the net inflow of remittances and return migrants (Rodger, 1981). If migration is concentrated among the fairly rich and the fairly poor, then income inequality may tend to grow. Migration raises the level of inequality as selective nature of migration, which is usually the case, implies that rural areas are depleted of scarce human capital, entrepreneurial skills and leadership for agricultural development.

At the urban end, migrants are employed as earners at the lower end of the income distribution.

Thus, the process of migration in its various forms, particularly rural-urban migrations, has wide-ranging implications for the economy and the society. However, the overall impact of migration cannot be assessed on a priority basis. It could indeed depend on the pattern and volume of migration as well as regional differences with regard to the nature of migration.

Flows of migration and urbanization in Nepal

Studies of migration in low-income countries have been principally concerned with the flow of individuals and families from the rural areas. For the most part, such studies have been based on theories of migration in which agents seek income gains, and migration is viewed as wage or expected wage-equilibrating mechanism.

Internal migration may be of several types: rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban. The most important stream is the rural to urban in general. But in the case of Nepal, rural to rural migration is more prominent in the early 1990s. Actually, the flows of migration in Nepal waved from mountains and hills to Tarai. In particular case of Tarai, the migration stream waved from east to west.

Nepal is still a rural country with about 86 per cent of the total population living in villages. Nepal's level of urbanization is very low by an Asian standard. There is only 14 per cent urban population in Nepal according to 2001 census, which is one of the lowest in the world, although the urban population of the country has been increasing steadily over the decades particularly more so since 1971. The urban population has doubled during the last two decades from 6.3 per cent in 1981 to 13.9 percent in 2001. The numbers of urban settlements during the same period had merely doubled. This brings out the fact that most of the growth occurred through the enlargement of exiting towns and addition of new urban centres.

Components of urban growth in Nepal

The urban population of Nepal increased 0.24 millions in 1952/54 to 3.3 million in 2001, an increase by more than 14 times. The urban growth takes place mainly because of four factors; natural increase (i.e. births minus deaths), net migration (i.e. in-migration in urban areas minus out-migration from urban areas), reclassification of existing towns (addition of new towns minus declassification of exiting towns) and enlargement of urban agglomeration.

Migration trends in recent years

The main flows of migration trend in recent years, has been waving from north to south or mountain and hills to Tarai. However, the rural to urban flows is increasing steadily in recent years. If the analysis is extended to international migration, the flows of emigration are rapidly increasing after 1990s in Nepal. Historically, migration process came simultaneously with human civilization. The quest of resources for the survival of mankind and betterment of life in future may be the instinct nature of spontaneous migration.

Table 1: Population size, growth rate in Nepal (1911-2001)

Year	Total Population	Absolute Change	Population Growth rate
1911	5638749		
1920	5573788	- 64961	- 0.13
1930	5532574	- 41214	- 0.07
1941	6283649	751075	1.16
1952/54	8256625	1972976	2.28
1961	9412996	1156371	1.64
1971	11555983	2142987	2.05
1981	15022839	3466856	2.65
1991	18491097	3438558	2.08
2001	23151423	4660326	2.24

Source: CBS (1993a), vol, I, Part II, table B.

Table 1 shows the size and growth rate of population in Nepal since 1911 to 2001. The population size was small and growth rate was negative in the beginning due to prevalence of mass killer diseases and natural calamities. The population growth rate of Nepal was so high in 1952/54, due to long duration of time is taken for

census operation and there was also a tremendous impact of return migration after world war second.

Figure-2b

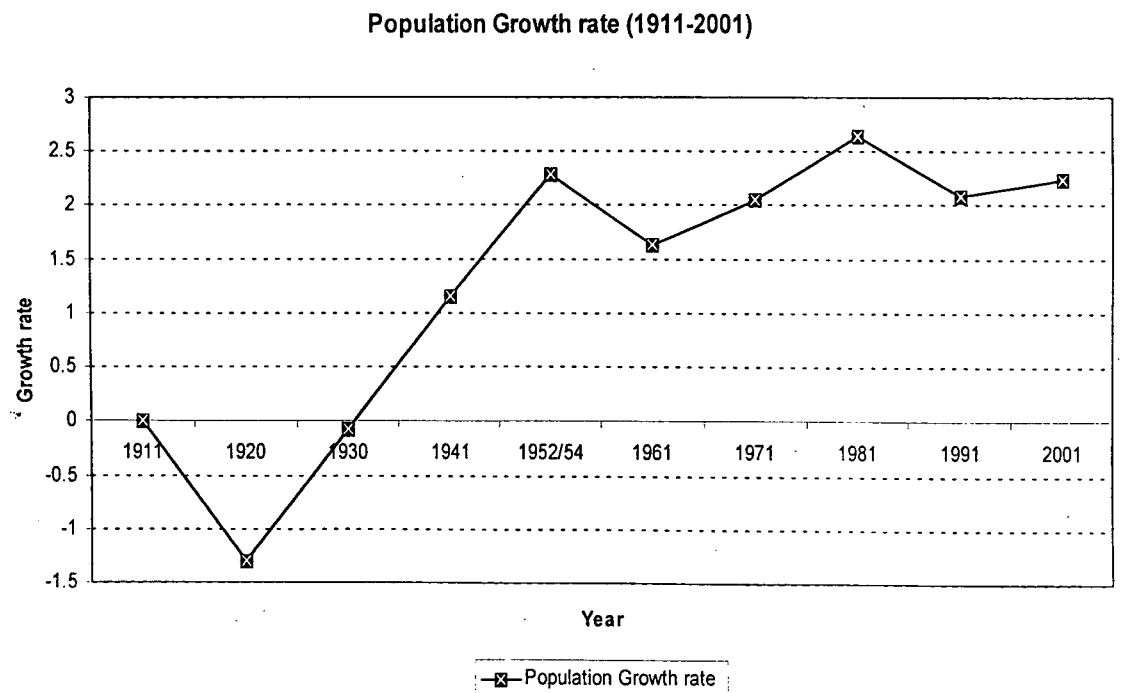
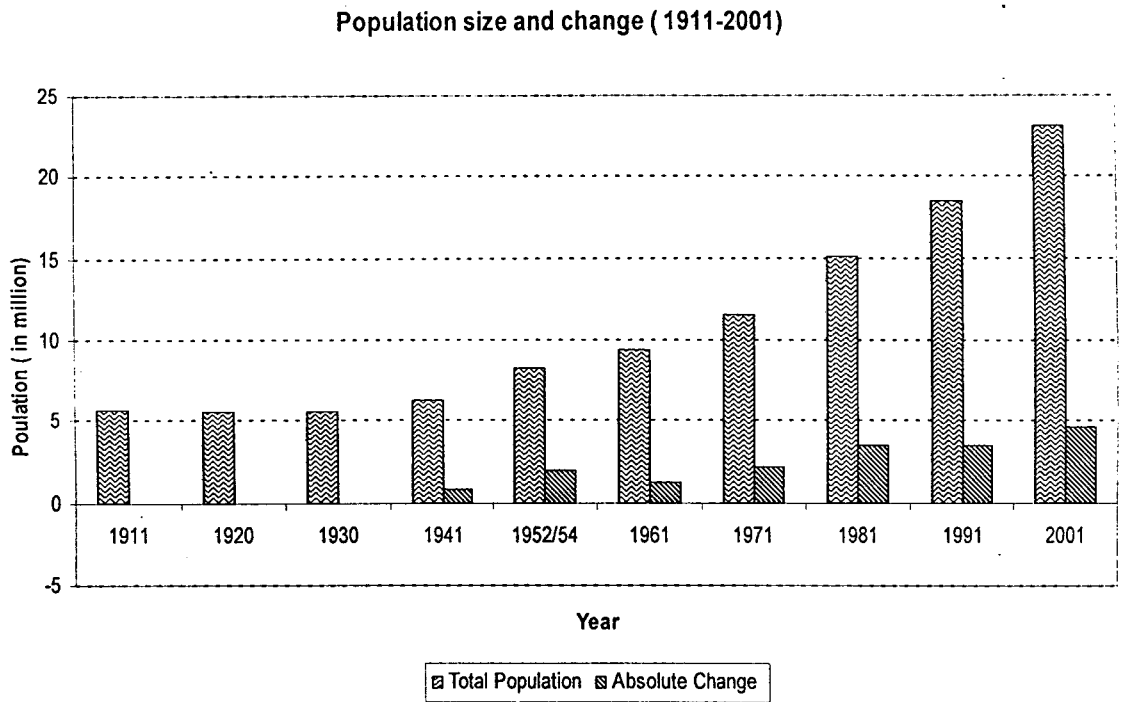


Figure-2c

The population is going to increase rapidly only after the 1971. The main causes of rapid population growth were the eradication of mass killer diseases like

malaria and smallpox, and control of tuberculosis due to expansion of health facilities all over the country.

Table 2: Distribution of population by geographic regions (1971-2001)

Census Years	Total Population	Mountain	Hills	Tarai
1971	11555983	1164514	6008989	432480
1981	15022839	1302896	7163115	6556828
1991	18491097	1443130	8419889	8628078
2001	23151423	1687859	10251111	11212453
Percentage Distribution				
1971	100	10.10	52.00	37.90
1981	100	8.70	47.70	43.60
1991	100	7.80	45.50	46.70
2001	100	7.29	44.28	48.43

Source: CBS,2002

Figure-3 Distribution of population by ecological region

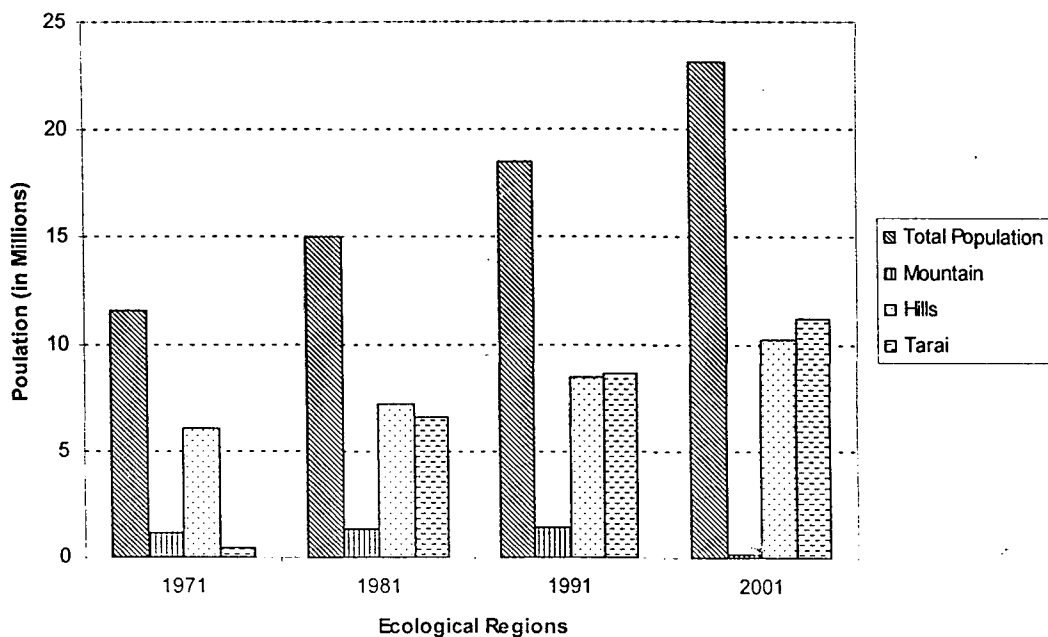


Table 2, represents the geographical distribution of population and their percentage according to mountain, hills and Tarai since 1971 to 2001. Tarai has had only 23 percent of landholdings, and 48.43 percent of total population in 2001. The pressure of population in Tarai region is steadily increasing due to its fertile land, forest, physical facilities like roads and the potential of industrialization. The figure 2a

present the population size of Nepal since 1911 to 2001. Likewise, the figure 2b shows the population growth trend of Nepal since 1920 to 2001.

**Table 3: Population density by geographic regions
(1971-2001)**

Regions	1971	1981	1991	2001
Mountains	22	25	28	33
Hills	99	117	137	167
Tarai	128	193	254	330
Nepal	79	102	126	157

Source: CBS, (2002) vol. I, table: 1.

Figure-4 Trends of density of population

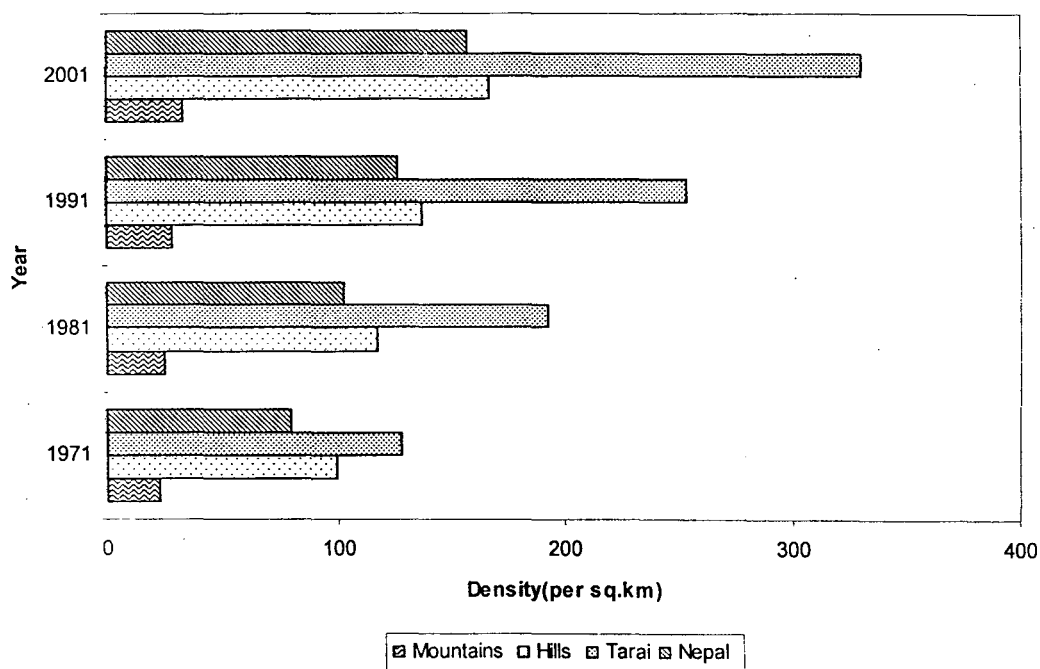


Table 3 shows the population density of Nepal since 1971 to 2001, according to the broad geographic regions, mountain, hill and Tarai. The population density in mountain region is 22, 25, 28 and 33 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 census respectively. Likewise the density is 99,117,137 and 167 per square kilometers of land in hills in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 census respectively. The population density of Tarai is 128, 193, 254 and 330 persons per square kilometers of land in the censuses 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. The overall average population

density in Nepal is 79, 102, 126 and 157 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses respectively.

Effect of rural to urban migration

Nepal has the lowest rate of urbanization among the SAARC countries except Bhutan. The number of people living in urban centres has increased from 0.46 million in 1960 to 3.3 million in 2001 in the 40 years. Much of this growth is attributed to high annual growth rates in large Tarai and Kathmandu valley towns. The proportion of population living in urban centres grew from 4 percent in 1961 to 14 percent in 2001.

The enormous pressure for shelter and services has rapidly frayed the urban fabric, especially in Kathmandu valley. Today the Kathmandu valley municipalities (Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Kirtipur and Madhayapur, Thimi) are facing several challenges to maintain their infrastructure, employment and sanitation properly. Proliferation of slums is rapid outside and inside the ring road; public transport is overcrowded and overused, as are roads, public latrines and public sport, the water supply system is fragile, allowing sewerage to seep into drinking water and spreading infectious diseases (K.C., 1992: 42). Less than 50% population living in urban areas has drainage, solid waste disposal and sanitation facilities (K.C. et. al 1991:203-204). Water supply is not adequate and not safe. Water supply in most of the towns is for a few hours per day and it varies with the season.

Effect of labour force and income

In the last decade, the capital city has increasingly become the major employment centre, especially for teenagers and youths working in carpet and garment industries, restaurants, hotels, retail, shops, trekking centres, bus terminal and building constructions. (K.C.1998). A survey conducted by Child Workers in Nepal (1993) on the situation and problem of child labour in carpet industries in Kathmandu estimated that about 300,000 total labourers were involved in these industries, which almost is one half were child labourers (below 16 years of age). Of the child labourers, 97 percent were reported to be migrants. Another study

conducted by CWIN (1992, 1993, Joshi 1985) on child labour in Nepal revealed that out of the 34 rag pickers interviewed in different places in Kathmandu, 20 were migrants and 14 were non-migrants. The average daily earning is reported to be approximately equal to Rs 35 or US \$ 0.5. There were 250-300 street children in Kathmandu who came from the immediate country side-Dolkha, Ramechhap, Trisuli, Sindhupalchowk and Dhading. About 60 percent of country's population falls below the poverty line, and high levels of unemployment and underemployment persist in rural areas. There is a gradual shifting of the rural poor to urban areas.

Proliferation of slum area

In 1985, the number of squatters was 2140 in 7 squatter settlements; the number of squatter rose to 3700 in 24 settlements in 1988, in addition to 1600 homeless people in public place (Yami and Mikesell, 1990). The number of slums and squatter settlements has been increasing in urban area of Nepal. It is believed that there are about 39 squatter settlements in Kathmandu with about 6000 people living along the Bagmati and Bishnumati rivers (K.C., 1994:42). Almost 67% of squatters were reported to be migrants from neighboring districts and other rural areas (CEDA, 1989). Of the total 179 household surveyed by Budhathoki (1992) about 9% had been residing in these settlements before 1970s. The predominance of males in urban areas reflects on early stage of urbanization in Nepal in which movement of people from rural to urban.

A survey conducted by Child Workers in Nepal (1992) on child labourers in Nepal indicates that out of an about 150,000 females constituted 38%. The highest number of workers was from Tamang community (47%). An estimate showed that females headed households are also increasing in squatter settlements (Shrestha and Kaltenborn Lunde, 1980).

Biratnagar the second largest city both in terms of population size and industrial development has also experienced squatter problems over the years. 8 squatter settlements were reported in Biratnagar with nearly unlivable housing

condition and lack of electricity, piped water and sanitation. The main urban problem in Biratnagar is associated with residential problems – growth of settlements of low-income people, especially squatters. Because of the rich hinterland, a heavy exodus from the hills and from the Indian state of Bihar has led to a high level of urbanization in Biratnagar.

Pokhara, the second most important urban centre in the country, is found to be growing rapidly. Among the 58 urban centres it had the highest annual population growth rate (7.41%) during the last decade. The development and extension of squatter settlement in Pokhara is associated with the development of new institutions airport and labour oriented working place. Unlike the nature of development of squatter settlement in Kathmandu city, the squatters in Pokhara have occupied only barren land. In Kathmandu, squatter settlements are mainly located along the riverbanks and are likely to be flooded in the rainy season.

A study by Kansakar (1988) showed that out of the 150 squatter household surveyed in Pokhara, 46% were from areas of Syanja, Parbat, mustang, Kavre etc, 34% were from rural areas of Kaski district and 24% were from within the core areas of Pokhara town. The lack of sewerage facilities, piped water and private and public latrines in these settlements has a serious impact on not only the squatters' health and economy but also on the city inhabitants surrounded by them.

In 2001, Nepal had a total population of 23.15 million with a density of 157 persons per square kilometers. Agriculture sector contributes about 40% of GDP (Gross Domestic Production); and supports 80% Nepalese population. Trade, tourism and service sectors contribute larger proportion of GDP while the manufacturing sector contributes only 10% of GDP. Approximately 3 in 5 persons in Nepal lives below absolute poverty line and every other person in the rural area is poor (UNDP, 1998). Very high unemployment and underemployment rates of 17.4 and 32.3% (NPC, 2003:58, 99) have compelled people to remain either under the vicious circle of poverty or migration to other place within and outside the country for better opportunity for livelihood.

Skeldon (2002:67-82) generated a series of hypotheses based on evidences elsewhere on the relationship between migration and poverty. His main theses are that migration broadens the horizon of people's access to resources and that remittance economy helps reduce poverty but also increase inequality. He further argued that migration would involve both brain gains and brain drains and those who are the poorest do not migrate.

K.C. (2003), pointed out that low amount of landholding, unproductive land, low yield, degradation of forest, unequal distribution of income, insufficient calorie requirements, negative food balance are the prominent push factors of internal and inter-national migration in Nepal. Migration from the hills and mountain to the Tarai and from rural to urban areas seems to be a coping strategy of Nepalese migrants to lessen the burden of vicious circle of poverty. (Prennushi), (1999:55). Migration may be both cause and consequence of poverty (Kothari, (2002) and this realization has been totally missing from the major policy documents of Nepal. allow detail analysis of migration phenomenon from the prospective of gender.

CHAPTER -II

PATTERNS AND TRENDS OF MIGRATION IN NEPAL

2.1 General patterns of migration

Analysis of Migration Data obtained from various sources is presented in this chapter. Migration is the continuous phenomenon in human history. Nepal has been experiencing rapid population growth and increasing volume of migration. This chapter presents an overview of Nepalese migration over the last three decades.

Table 4: Interregional migration 1971

Census Regions	Number of in migrants	%	Number of Out-migrants	%	Net Migration
Highlands	88486	17.5	488411	96.3	-399925
Mountain	9733	1.9	4692	9.8	-39959
West	2125	0.4	9681	1.9	-7556
Central	1223	0.2	2095	0.4	-872
East	6385	1.3	37916	7.5	-31531
Hill ^a	52313	10.3	393235	77.6	-340922
West	5063	1.0	65750	13.0	-60687
Central	29752	5.9	140642	27.7	110890
East	17498	3.5	186843	36.9	-169345
Kathmandu Valley	26440	5.2	45484	9.0	-19044
Lowlands	418435	82.5	18510	3.7	+399925
Tarai	418435	82.5	18510	3.7	+399925
West	70885	14.0	1739	0.3	+69146
Central	16151	31.9	6504	1.3	+155247
East	185799	36.7	10267	2.0	+175532
Total	506921	100.0	506921	100.0	0

Source: Nepal, CBS (1975), vol. II, Pt. I, Table 10.

a. Excluding Kathmandu valley.

Table 4 shows the situation of inter-regional migration of Nepal in 1971. It also reveals that the high lands, (west central and the east) and hill (west central and the east) losses their population due to interregional migration. Kathmandu valley also

losses it's population at that moment. Only lowlands, the Tarai (west central and the east) gained that population due to the reason of interregional migration.

There were total 3,99,925 out-migrants from highlands to the lowlands of the Country. Highlands includes mountain, hill and Kathmandu valley. Lowlands means Tarai. There are three regions in mountains; these are east, Central and west. Likewise hills also have three regions same as the mountain named by east, central and west. Kathmandu valley includes only three urban centres, Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur.

FIGURE-5

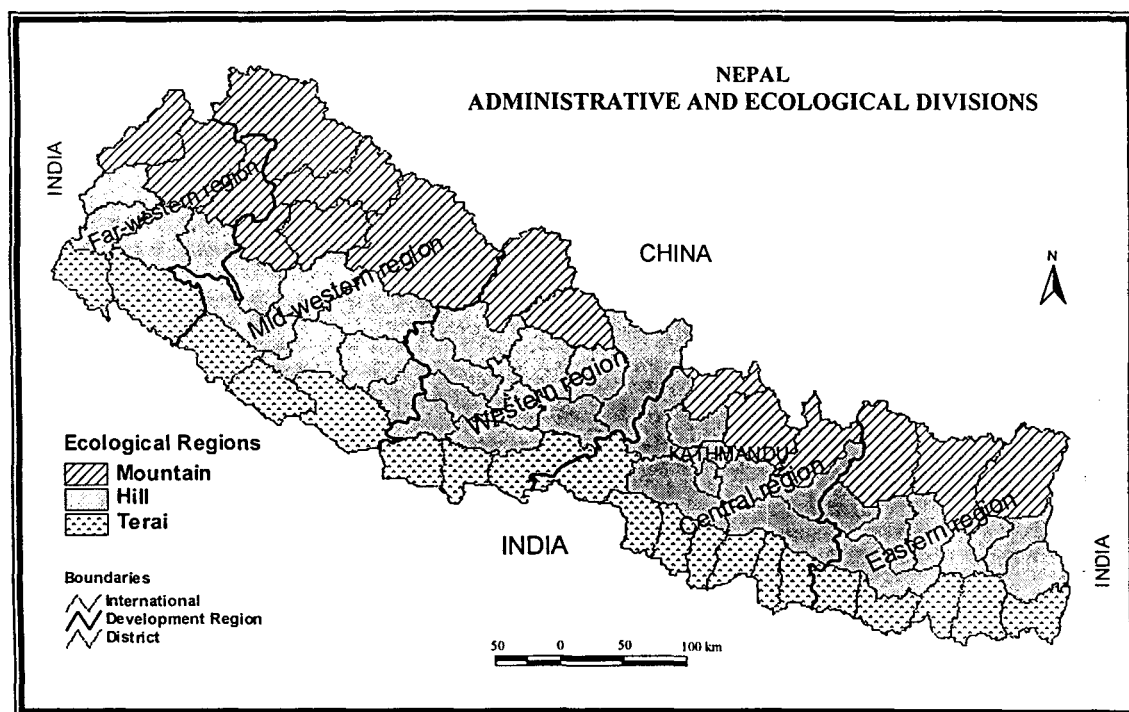
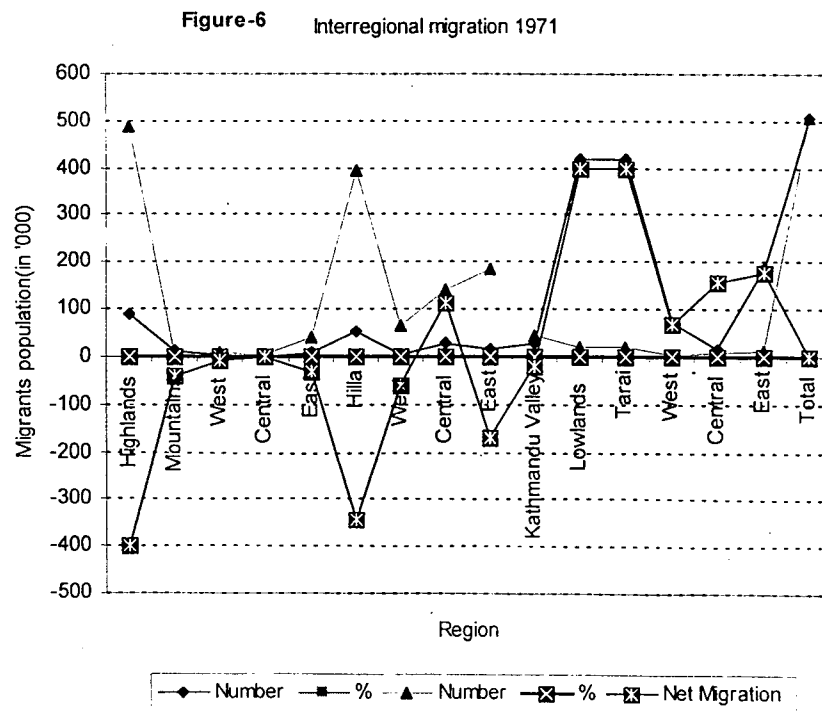


Figure 5 shows the five different development regions and three ecological regions known as mountain, hill and Tarai. Mountain and hill are the sending regions of migrants. Tarai region is the receiving region of migrants in Nepal.

Mountain regions have had the negative net migration in 1971. Mountains lost 39,959 people; out of them eastern mountain lost 31,533, central mountain lost 872 and western mountain lost 7,556 people. There were total 3,40,922 net migrants from the hills, out of them 60,687 people lost by western hill, 1,10,890 people lost by

central hill and 1,69,345 people lost by eastern hill .At the same time Kathmandu valley lost 19,044 people.

Table 4 shows that in-migrants in western Tarai are lowest in volume. In-migrants in eastern Tarai are highest. In-migrants in central Tarai are greater than western Tarai but lower than eastern Tarai. The total volume of in-migrants is 70,885, 1,61,751 and 1,85,799 in western, central and eastern Tarai in 1971 respectively. The volume of out migrants from hills is highest with comparison to the Tarai and mountain. It is easier to conclude that the Tarai region is the place of destination of inter-regional migration in Nepal during 1971 and the hill is the place of origin of the majority of migrants. In the essence of the analysis of migration data from 1971 census, it is obvious that mountain and hill has had the net negative migration and Tarai has had the net positive migration.



At the macro-regional level, the increase of out-migration from highlands was 3.4 times and the increase of in-migrants to the lowlands 4.1 times during the decade 1961-71. Of the total inter-regional migrants in 1971, over two-thirds originated in the Hill zone, 9 percent each from the mountain zone and Kathmandu

valley and only 3.7 percent in the Tarai (Table 4). More than 80 percent of the migrants were directed to the Tarai, of the rest 10.3 percent moved to the Hill zone, 5.2 percent to Kathmandu valley, and only 1.9 percent to the mountain region. In-migration to the Tarai region was progressively higher from west to east. The eastern Tarai's share was 36.7 percent of the total in migrants. The Central Tarai had another 31.9 percent. The net loss from the highlands was 399925 and 85.2 percent of this number was from the Hills, Kathmandu valley, which had a net gain of 4617 in 1961, showed a net loss of 19044 in 1971. Of the total net gain in the Tarai, 43.9% was in the east, 38.8% in the Central Sector, and 17.3 percent in the west.

Table 5: Absentee population by census region-1981

Census Region	Within Country ^a		Outside Country ^b		Total		Percentage of population within Region
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Nepal	187795	100.	402977	100.	590772	100.	3.9
Mountains	28810	15.3	77510	19.2	106320	18.0	8.3
Far-west	1974	1.1	9632	2.4	11606	2.0	4.0
Mid-West	1985	1.1	2453	0.6	4438	0.8	1.8
West	8896	4.7	36606	9.1	45502	7.7	18.1 ^c
Central	6163	3.3	10514	2.6	16677	2.8	4.0
East	9792	5.2	18305	4.5	28097	4.8	13.2
Hill	112391	59.8	289415	71.8	401806	68.0	5.6
Far-East	8646	4.6	37595	9.3	46241	7.8	7.7
Mid-West	7207	3.8	36190	9.0	43397	7.3	4.2
West	32593	17.4	156512	38.8	189105	32.0	8.8
Central	29403	15.7	27289	6.8	56692	9.6	2.7
East	34542	18.4	31829	7.9	66371	11.2	5.2
Tarai	46594	24.8	36052	8.9	82646	14.0	1.3
Far-East	1201	0.6	4112	1.0	5313	0.9	1.2
Mid-west	3509	1.9	5471	1.3	8980	1.5	1.3
West	4224	2.2	9217	2.3	13441	2.3	1.4
Central	16751	8.9	9220	2.3	26011	4.4	1.1
East	208995	11.1	8032	2.0	28931	4.9	1.4

Source: a. Nepal, CBS (1984: vol. IV, table -12).

b. Nepal, CBS (1984: vol. IV, table-3).

c. Nepal, CBS (1987:160).

Table 5 shows that the hill region has the highest propensity of migration. It has 59.8% migration within country and 71.8% migration outside country. It is followed by Tarai within country (24.8%) and mountain outside country (19.2%). The intensity of migration in Tarai within country is 8.9% and mountain

15.3% respectively. In totality, the hill region had has the 68% absentee population in 1981 census. It was followed by mountain (18%) and Tarai (14%) respectively.

Table 5 represents the absentee population by census region in 1981. In the 1981, the country was divided into five development regions known as eastern, central, western, mid-western and far-western development region. There are already three ecological belts in each development region. Kathmandu valley was removed as the census region from 1981. The total volume of absentee population was 5,90,772 in 1981, out of them absentee population were 1,87,795 within country and 4,02,977 outside country in 1981. Table 5, shows the absentee population data, which was provided by 1981 census. The absentee population as a percentage of regional population was 5.6 for the hill, 8.2 for the mountain and 1.3 for the Tarai region.

The eastern mountain, western hill and far-western hill regions had a high percentage of absentees. Of the total absentees from the highlands 72.2 percent were outside the country. In the Tarai 56.4 percent were inside the country. Of the total absentees within the country, the hill region reported 59.8 percent, the Tarai 24.8 percent, and the mountain region 15.3 percent. More than half of these absentees were from the west, central and eastern hill regions. Far-western Tarai reported the least number of absentees. Of the total absentees, the hill region reported 68 percent, the mountain region 18 percent, and the Tarai 14 percent .The western hill region reported nearly one third of the total absentees. The far western Tarai and mid-western mountain regions reported a few number of absentees.

2.2 Characteristics of migrants

Migration is selective. Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected. Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected or where the minus factors are overwhelming for the entire population group, they may not be selection at all for migration. When all migrants are considered together, selection for migration tends to be bi-model. The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulties posed

by the intervening obstacles. Migration is also the age selective; the heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life cycle is important in the selection of migration. The Characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population of the place of origin and the population of the place of destination (Lee, 1966).

In the case of Nepal, however, migration becomes more selective and more representative of the population of origin. The important factors which determine selective migration and in turn migration differentials are age, sex marital status, educational attainment and occupation.

Most migration in Nepal takes place in the interval of 20 to 40 years of age. Females dominate interregional migration and males dominate international migration. Interregional migration by sex shows the higher percentage of female migrants due to marriages. Higher education status persons have higher propensity to migrate, so that educational attainment is positively associated with migration status in Nepal. Almost all the migrants in Nepal (either internal or international) motivated by economic opportunities, so that the migration is selective. Migrant's degree of selection is positively associated with occupation in Nepal.

2.3 Direction of flow

Lifetime internal migration

The principal directions of the flow of lifetime internal migrants reported in 1981 were from the highlands to the lowlands. Of the total 1.3 Million such migrants, 85.1% originated in the highlands and 68.8 % were destined for the Tarai lowlands. Among census regions, the eastern mountain and hill regions accounted for 41.8 percent of out migrants while the eastern and central Tarai claimed 47.4% of total in-migrants. Of the 319870 out migrants from the mountain region, more than half moved to the Tarai, 42% to hill region and 7.1 percent to the mountain zone. Among hill out-migrants, nearly one third moved to the Tarai, 22.1 percent to the Hill region and only 4.4 percent to the mountain region.

Most of the Tarai out migrants moved within the Tarai. Those moving from the Tarai to the Hill zone constituted 18.9 percent and those moving to the mountain zone only 1.2 percent. The Tarai recorded higher internal population mobility in that 53.8 percent of the out migrants moved within the Tarai zone (Gurung: 1989). Of all out migrants from the hill zone 83.4 percent moved to districts outside the Hill zone. Of all migrants from the mountain zone, 98.5 percent moved to district in other elevation zones (hill and Tarai).

Lifetime interregional migration

Of the total 1.3 million life time internal migrants, 1038862 or 81.7 percent were reported in district outside the region of their birth. More than 90 per cent of these interregional migrants originated in the highlands, and two-thirds of them were destined for the Tarai lowlands. The eastern Hill and Mountain regions accounted for 48.2 percent of the total inter-regional out-migrants (Gurung: 1989). Out-migrants from the five Tarai regions constituted only 8.4 percent of the total. The far-western Tarai region had the least number of out migrants of the total interregional in-migrants, 74.4 percent in the Tarai, 20.4 percent in the hill, and 5.2 percent in the mountain regions. The eastern and central Tarai had nearly half of the total in migrants. The western mountain region recorded the least number of in-migrants.

Hill to Tarai flow was the dominant pattern of interregional migration. Migrants destined for the Tarai region from the adjacent hill region constituted 87.2 percent in the far west, 57.1 percent in the mid-west, 42 per cent in the west, 69.8 percent in the central and 76.4 percent in the eastern regions out of their total out-migrants. The western hill region had a sizeable migration stream to the central Tarai but it was less than that to the western Tarai.

A mountain to hill flow of inter-regional migrants was also common in all east-west sectors but of smaller volume and with decreasing intensity westward. In the case of eastern and western mountain regions, a larger volume was directed to their respective Tarai regions than to their immediate hill regions. The eastern

mountain region had more migrants to the central, western and mid western hills than to the adjacent eastern hill region. In fact the eastern mountain region appears as a singular locus of exodus sending migrants to all other region. However, the counter stream of migration from the Tarai to the hill region and from hill to mountain regions was not significant.

Table 6 shows the volume of migration stream by sex, the data of this table obtained from the demographic sample survey 1986/87. There were total 40,37,279 migrants, out of them 10,85,802 were males and 29,51,477 were females. 89.6 percent migrants were rural to rural in 1986/87. The volume of migrants from urban to rural was only 2.2 percent. The total migration to rural was 91.8 percent in 1986/87.

The volume of rural to urban migration was 6.8 percent and urban to urban migration volume was 1.4 percent. The total volume of migration to urban in 1986/87 was 8.2 percent. It is obvious that the migration stream in 1986/87 was directed as rural to rural or rural to rural migration was the dominant feature of migration.

Table 6: Volume of migration by stream by sex 1986/87

Streams	Number of Migrants					
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Rural to Rural	930344	85.7	2688927	91.7	3619271	89.6
Urban to Rural	19346	1.8	68301	2.3	87647	2.2
Total Migration to Rural	949690	87.5	2757228	93.4	3706918	91.8
Rural to Urban	114018	10.5	159066	5.4	273084	6.8
Urban to Urban	22094	2.0	35183	1.2	57277	1.4
Total Migration to Urban	136112	12.5	194249	6.6	330361	8.2
Total Migration	1085802	100	2951477	100	4037279	100

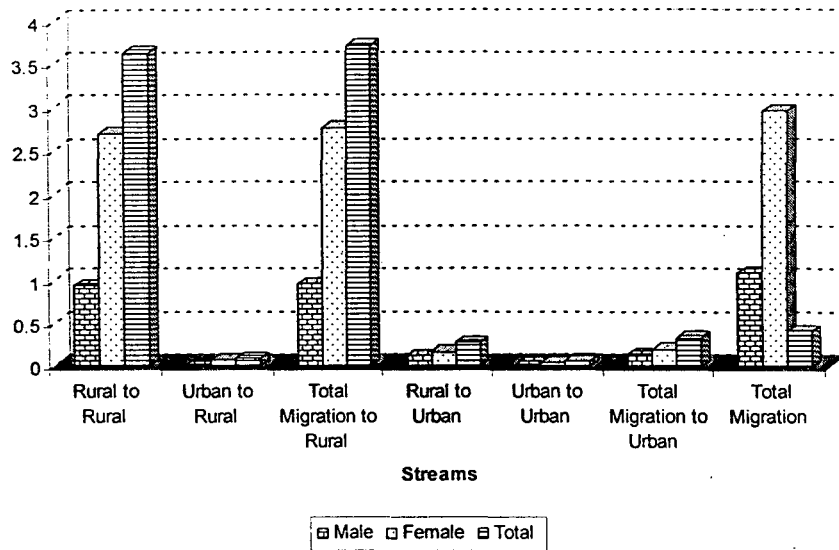
Source: DSS, 1986/87 and CBS, 2002.

Table 6 reveals that the dominance of the female migrants in rural to rural and urban to rural but it is just reverse in rural to urban migrants (dominance of males) according to Demographic Sample Survey 1986/87. This trend is almost universal in ESCAP countries. In the past, out migration was primarily directed

outside the country to new frontier-lands in the eastern Himalayas and for military and other service purposes in India. Since 1960s there has been a major shift in the migrant's destination. The opening of the low lands through malaria control and resettlement programs provided new frontiers for large scale rural to rural migration.

Figure-7

Number of migrants by streams and sex (in million)



Percentage of migrants by streams and sex

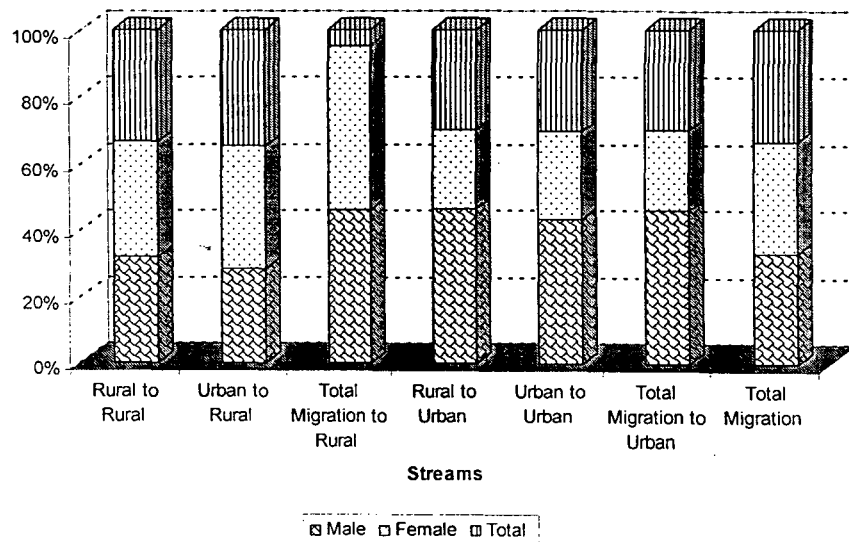


Figure-7a

Nepal has been experiencing rapid population growth after 1971 up to recent time. Another significant demographic feature is the increasing volume of population redistribution.

Table 7 presents an interregional migration streams, Nepal 1991 and Kathmandu 1994. An obvious consequence of large-scale interregional migration has been the major factor leading to change in the size of regional population. The dominant pattern of highland-lowland migration in Nepal may be the reflection of apparent regional imbalance.

The volume of interregional migration, especially the volume of rural to urban migration is increasing significantly in recent years in Nepal. Most of the migrants are moving from resource poor-regions to regions with more land resource and employment opportunities. There were total 91109 interregional migrants in Nepal at 1991 Census. Out of them 77.1 percent are interregional to rural migrants and 22.9 per cent are interregional to urban migrants. At the same time, there were 197184 total migrants within the country. Out of them 73775 were rural to rural migrants, 22896 were rural to urban migrants, 422 were urban to rural migrants and 91 were urban to urban migrants. As demonstrated in Table 6 and 7, the dominance of female migrants for the interregional to rural and dominance of males in interregional to urban.

Table 7 also presents the data of lifetime migrants by urban / rural, which data were obtained from the 10% sample. The total lifetime migrants to rural areas in 1991 were, 1575434 and total lifetime migrants to urban areas were 425,005 and the total volume of life time migrants were 20,00,439 in 1991. Out of them 14,18,206 migrants were the interregional migrants. 8515 migrants were categorized in region not stated. There were 31,638 total interregional lifetime migrants to urban areas. Out of them 2,92,001 were the migrants, from one region to urban areas. Out of them 2,437 migrants were from region not stated.

Table 7 Interregional migration streams, Nepal 1991 and Kathmandu, 1994

Type of Migrations	Total Nepal	%	Male	%	Female	%	Sex ratio
A. Inter-regional in past year							
1. Inter-regional to rural	70275	77.1	34186	73.8	36089	80.6	94.7
2. Inter-regional to Urban	20834	22.9	12128	26.2	8706	19.4	139.3
3. Total inter regional	91109	100.	46314	100.	44795	100.	103.3
						o	
B. Rural/ Urban In Past Year (10% Sample)							
1. Rural To Rural	73775	75.9	35086	72.6	38717	79.2	90.5
2. Rural To Urban	22896	23.6	12975	26.9	9921	20.3	130.8
3. Urban To Rural	422	-0.4	220	0.4	202	0.4	108.9
4. Urban to Urban	91	0.1	49	0.1	42	0.1	116.7
5. Total	197184	100.0	48302	100.0	48882	100.	98.8
						o	
C. Lifetime Migrants By Urban/Rural (10% sample)							
1. Migrants to rural areas	1575434	78.8	66537	75.0	910060	81.8	73.1
2. Migrants to Urban areas	425005	21.2	4	25.0	202721	18.2	109.7
3. Total	2000439	100	22228	100	111278	100	79.8
			4		1		
			88765				
			8				
D. Interregional Lifetime Migrants		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1. One region to urban area	1418206						
2. Region not stated	8515						
E. Inter regional life time migrants		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1. One region to urban area	292001						
2. Region not stated	2437						
F. Sample number of Migrants in Kathmandu city, 1994							
Migration Status	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%	
Migrants	1142	42.39	913	37.07	2055	39.85	
Non migrants	1552	57.61	1550	62.93	3102	60.15	
Total	2694	100	2463	100	5157	100	

Source: CBS, 1995. KC (1998)

Table 7 also represents the sample number of migrants in Kathmandu city, 1994. Out of 5157 respondent 2055 were migrants and 3102 were non-migrants in Kathmandu valley in 1994. Among the migrants 42.4 per cent were males and 57.6% were females.

Table 8 shows that employment is the most important cause of absentee. It is followed by dependency. Education and trade were the negligible causes of population absentee from Nepal. Employment is varies (20 to 80%) in different countries as the cause of absentee except India.

**Table 8 Percent distribution of absentee population of Nepal by reason,
1991**

Reason for Absence	Total	%	India	%	South Asia	Other Asia	Arab Countries	Europe	North America	Other
Both Sexes	658290	100.0	587243	100	4799 (100%)	20024 (100%)	6345 (100%)	6404 (100%)	2150 (100%)	581 (100%)
Agriculture	27781	4.7	27781	4.07	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	11287	1.7	9719	1.07	236 (4.92%)	824 (4.12%)	104 (1.64%)	142 (2.22%)	44 (2.04%)	10 (1.72%)
Employment	412803	62.7	388169	66.1	2172 (45.26%)	9693 (48.41%)	5215 (82.19%)	2675 (41.77%)	435 (20.23%)	118 (20.31%)
Education/ Training	14990	2.3	11386	1.9	420 (8.75%)	879 (4.39%)	83 (1.31%)	1043 (16.28%)	870 (40.46%)	88 (15.1%)
Dependency	115836	17.6	99980	17.0	1228 (25.59%)	3903 (19.49%)	649 (10.23%)	1725 (26.94%)	579 (26.93%)	311 (53.5%)
Others	39933	6.1	32210	5.9	638 (13.29%)	2645 (13.06%)	182 (2.87%)	575 (8.98%)	150 (6.97%)	35 (6.02%)
Not stated	35560	5.4	16998	2.9	285 (5.34%)	2080 (13.38%)	112 (1.76%)	244 (3.81%)	72 (3.35%)	19 (3.27%)

Source: CBS (1994 b), vol.III, table-5

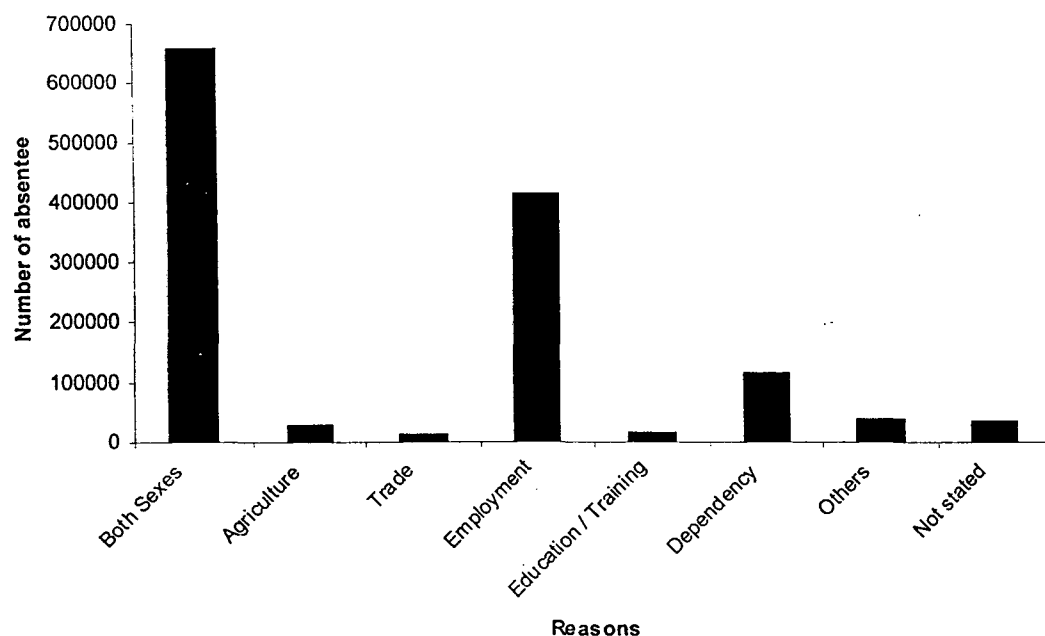
Lifetime international migration

Table 8 shows the percent distribution of absentee population of Nepal by reasons, 1991. There were total 6,58,290 absentee people in Nepal in 1991. Out of them 27,781 people are absent in their household due to agricultural cause. 11,287 people left their home due to trade and business purposes. 4,12,803 people were absent due to employment. 14,990 people were absent because they were reported that education and training were the causes of their absentee. 1,15,836 people were reported the cause of absentee was dependency. 39,933 people were absent in their home due to other causes. 35,560 people have not reported their cause of absentee in 1991.

Those people who were absent in their home due to agricultural cause, almost all went to India. The absentee people who were engaged in trade, employment, education, they went to different countries of south Asia, other Asian Countries and Arabian Continents. A few people went to Europe, North America

and other developed Countries. The employment has been found the main cause of absentee. 63 percent people left their home due to employment. Dependent proportion of people is second highest, which is almost 18 percent. Within India, 66 percent Nepali migrants came for the employment. Those people who went Gulf Continent, almost all engaged in lowest grade labour. Only 2.3% people have not stated their reasons of absentee. 6.1 percent people stated others as the cause of absentee.

Figure-8 Population by reasons of absentee



The volume of emigration is gradually increasing in recent years. The main cause of increasing the emigration is the internal political insurgency. The conflicts between Royal Nepal Army and the people's liberation Army in all over the rural areas of Nepal may be the root cause of heavy emigration of Nepal at present. Table 9 shows the foreign born population in Nepal, 1991.

There was 322718, 222278 and 418982 Indian population in Nepal in 1971, 1981 and 1991 census time respectively. Likewise, there were 1534 and 2418 Chinese people in

Table 9 shows the foreign born population in Nepal, 1991.

There was 322718, 222278 and 418982 Indian population in Nepal in 1971, 1981 and 1991 census time respectively. Likewise, there were 1534 and 2418 Chinese people in Nepal in 1971 and 1981 respectively.

Table 9 Foreign born populations in Nepal -1991

Country	1971	1981	1991		
			Male	Female	Total
India	322718 (95.6%)	222278 (95.0%)	113405 (27.1%)	305577 (72.9%)	418982 (95.3%)
China	1534 (0.5%)	2418 (1.1%)	NA	NA	NA
Pakistan	NA	NA	123 (44.1%)	156 (55.59%)	279(0.1%)
Bangladesh	NA	NA	241 (44.1%)	306 (55.59%)	547 (0.1%)
Bhutan	NA	NA	1297 (41.1%)	1862 (58.9%)	3159 (0.7%)
Sri Lanka+ Maldives	NA	NA	33 (58.9%)	23 (41.1%)	56 (0.01%)
Other Asian Countries	12495 (3.7%)	7827 (3.3%)	7599 (52.3%)	6924 (47.7%)	14523 (3.3%)
European Countries	NA	NA	NA	492 (49.7%)	989 (0.2%)
Other Countries	NA	NA	NA	488 (51.2%)	953 (0.2%)
Not Stated	701 (0.2%)	1453 (0.6%)	NA	NA	NA
Total	337448 (100%)	234039 (100.0%)	123660 (28.15)	315828 (78.9%)	439488 (100%)

Source: CBS (1993a), Vol. I, part IV, table 4, K.C. (1998:57)

There were 279 Pakistani people in Nepal in 1991. In 1991, there were 547 Bangladeshi people in Nepal. The Bhutanese people were more in number with comparison to Pakistani and Bangladeshi people in Nepal; which were 3159 in 1991. There were 56 Sri Lankan and 14523 other Asian Countries' populations in Nepal, in 1991. Likewise, there were 953 European people in 1991.

**Table 10 Absentee population of Nepal by country
of destination - 2001**

Countries of Destinations	Male	Female	%	Total
India	520500	68550	77.28	589050
Pakistan	466	92	0.07	558
Bangladesh	784	168	0.12	952
Bhutan	511	99	0.08	610
Sri Lanka	176	25	0.03	201
Maldives	334	36	0.05	370
China	1018	336	0.18	1354
Korea	2433	246	0.35	2679
Russia+	633	114	0.09	747
Japan	3087	639	0.49	3726
Hong Kong	8143	3858	1.57	12001
Singapore	2679	684	0.44	3363
Malaysia	6742	71	0.89	6813
Australia	1991	500	0.33	2491
Saudi Arab	66629	831	8.85	67460
Qatar	24208	189	3.20	24397
Kuwait	3044	644	0.48	3688
UAE	12298	246	1.64	12544
Bahrain	2616	121	0.36	2737
Other Asian Countries	3030	719	0.50	3849
UK	5997	1274	0.95	7271
Germany	1420	218	0.21	1638
France	197	53	0.03	250
O.E.C.	1640	358	0.26	1998
North America	7227	2330	1.25	9557
Other Countries	1566	311	0.25	1877
Nepal total	699469	82712		762181

Source: CBS, National Population Census Report 2002, Table-12.

In 1991, there were total 439488 foreign-born populations in Nepal. However, the actual figure of foreign-born population in Nepal may be more than government's statistics due to open broader system and liberal societal structure of Nepal, which is under enumerated in the census.

Table 10 shows the absentee population of Nepal by their Country of destination in 2001. There were total 762181 absentee populations in Nepal at the time of 2001 census. Among them 699469 are males and 82712 are females. Out of them 589050 (77%) went to India. It is followed by Saudi Arabia (8.85%). 3.2 percent people went to Qatar. Likewise 558 (0.07%) went to Pakistan, 952 (0.12%) people went to Bangladesh; 610 (0.08%) people went to Bhutan, 201 went to Sri Lanka, 370 people went to Maldives 1354 people went to China; 2679 (1.57%) people went to Hong

Kong. Likewise, 3363, 6813, 2491 67460, 24397, 3688, 12544, 2737, 3849, 7271 1638, 250, 1998, 9557 and 1877 people went to Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, Saudi Arab, Qatar(3.2%), Kuwait, UAE(1.64%), Bahrain, other Asian Countries, UK, Germany, France, other European Countries, North America (1.25%) and other Countries of the world respectively. The percentage of people went to other countries is negligible or less than one percent.

The figures show that males dominate emigration from Nepal. More than 86 per cent of them were males and only approximately 14 percent emigrants from Nepal are females. The highest number of female destined to India, and then followed by Hong Kong and North America. Female migrants destined to Hong Kong due to Hong Kong ID. Those female emigrants who were destined to UK are dependents of Gurkha soldiers. The emigrants destined to North America, and who are females are due to brain drain.

Table 11: Foreign born population in Nepal by citizenship of origin country - 2001

Citizenship	Population	%
India	102468	0.440
Chinese	1344	0.006
Pakistani	2628	0.011
Bangladeshi	79	0.0003
Bhutanese	3827	0.0165
Moldavian	77	0.0003
Other Asian	3777	0.0163
Europeans	708	0.003
North Americans	626	0.0027
South Americans	348	0.0015
African	293	0.0013
Australian+	307	0.0013
New Zealanders		

Source: CBS, 2002.

Table 11 shows the statistics of foreign-born population in Nepal by citizenship of origin. In 2001, there were 102468 (0.44%) India-born population. Foreign-born population in Nepal by Citizenship of origin country 2001 shows that there were 1344 (0.006%) Chinese populations. Likewise, there are 2628(0.011%) Pakistani, 79 (0.0003%) Bangladeshi, and 3827 (0.02%) Bhutanese, 77 (0.0003%) Maldivian populations in Nepal. There was 3777 (0.02%) other Asian countries'

population at the same time. In 2001, there were 708 (0.003%) Europeans, 628 (0.0027%) North Americans, 348 (0.0015%) South American, 293 (0.0013%) African and 307 (0.0013%) Australian and New Zealanders in Nepal.

Central Bureau of Statistics (2002) stated that the foreign born population in Nepal by Citizenship of origin country is published in such manner but the real statistics may be greater than tabulated figure due to the various reasons like trade and tourism.

Table 12, represents the distribution of absentee population of Nepal 2001, by the reasons of absence. In 2001, there were total 762 181 absentees population in Nepal among them 699469 were males and 82712 were females. Out of total absentee, 7763 populations are absent in their place of origin and usual place of residence due to the agricultural cause. 12050 people were absent in their native place due to business purposes. 506221 people were absent at their usual place of residence due to the cause of personal service. 31747 people were absent due to the study purposes. 14101 people were absent due to marriages. 94329 people were absentee population due to industrial services and 95970 people were absent at their place of origin due to other causes. Slowly and gradually the volume of absentee population is increasing in Nepal.

Table 12 also shows the data of absentee population in Nepal-2001, by development regions. There were 121911, 107631, 331880, 94724 and 106035 absentee population in eastern development region, central development region, western development, mid-western development and far-western development region in 2001 respectively, western development region had have the highest volume of absentee population with comparison among the development regions in Nepal.

The people who were absent in 2001 census were 762181. Among them 66 percent absent due to the cause of personal services which is followed by study/training. The percentages of them are 12.39, 12.59 and 4.16 respectively. The

highest percentage of absentee is from western development region (43.54%). It is followed by central development region (14.12%), far-western development region (13.91%) and mid western development region (12.42%). Eastern development region had the least absentee population (1.69%) in 2001.

Table 12 Population distribution of absentee from Nepal by reasons 2001

Reasons for Absence	population	Male=679369 Female: 82712 Total = 762181	
Agriculture	7763(1.02%)	Absentee population in Nepal by Development region-2001.	
Business	12050(1.58%)		
Personal Service	506221(66.42%)	Region	Population
Study / Training	31747(4.16%)	EDR	12911(1.69%)
Marriages	14101(1.85%)	CDR	107631(14.12%)
Industrial Services	94329(12.37%)	WDR	331880(43.59%)
Others	95970(12.59%)	MWDR	94724(12.42%)
		FWDR	106035(13.91%)
		Nepal	762181(100%)

Source: CBS, 2002.

(The figures in parentheses are percentages)

There has been a major shift in the migration destination in recent years. The previous cause of migration in Nepal was the quest for Agricultural land. But at present the cause of migration has changed. The scarcity of cultivable land changed the purpose of migrants. The major cause of migration in Nepal at present is the search of employment and betterment of life and future generation, which has various implications for Nepal's population redistribution, spatial development and socio-political future. Immigration and emigration across the open border with India is growing as well. The volume of emigration to the overseas countries, and gulf continents are also increasing rapidly in the recent time.

2.3.1 Internal migration (1981-2001)

Migration has been an important component of population redistribution in Nepal. People have been migrating from rural to rural and rural to urban areas in search of employment and educational opportunities. Occasional natural calamities like floods and

landslides have also forced people to flee from their birthplace to other potential areas for their livelihood.

**Table 13 Summary of interregional migration by female 1981-2001
(Region of birth by region of enumeration)**

Migration region	Year		
	1981	1991	2001
From mountain			
to hill	134,254	76,503	125,59
% Female	50.1	58.9	54
to Tarai	162, 832	121, 826	169,82
% Female	46.8	49.5	50
Total No.	297,086	198.329	295,42
% Female	48.3	53.2	51
From hill			
to mountain	33,423	32,003	33,89
% Female	58.7	68.9	68.
to Tarai	561,211	895,888	1,157,03
% Female	47.4	50.5	50.
Total No.	594,634	927,891	1,190,93
% Female	48.0	51.1	51
From Tarai			
to mountain	2,19	4,671	6,42
% Female	49.0	38.1	45
to hill	35,669	97,465	234,57
% Female	51.3	49.2	48.
Total No.	37,865	102,136	240,99
% Female	51.2	48.7	48.
Interregional migration			
Total No.	929,585	1,228,356	1,727,35
% Female	48.2	51.2	51.

Source: CBS, 2002, Gender Disaggregated Indicators, Nepal

Internally displaced persons have remained in vulnerable situations expecting urgent rescue and help. Important causes of internal migration in Nepal have been poverty, inequitable distribution of income and resources, unemployment, difficult livelihood, food insecurity and internal conflicts or war. Nepal has been experiencing increasing volume

of internal migration after the control of endemic malaria in the Tarai and Inner Tarai valleys since the early 1950s.

The census data of 1961 showed 170,137 inter-zonal migrants (KC, 1998), which increased to 445,128 in 1971, 929,585 in 1981 and 1,228,356 in 1991. In 2001, mountain (-14.8 net-migration), and hill (-4.8 net migration) lost 1,085,862 persons, all gained by the Tarai (+ 62.8 net migration). Volume of inter-regional migration by 15 sub-regions would be 2,047,350. The differences between in and out migration are presented in figure 9.

The volume of inter-district lifetime migration by 75 districts would increase to 2,829,062 persons. This constituted 13.2 percent of the total native-born population in Nepal (CBS, 2002) as against 22 per cent (inter-VDC), reported in the national migration survey of 1996 (KC et al., 1997:86). A wider discrepancy existed between the percentage of internal migration by sex reported in the 1996 survey and the 2001 census.

For example, the percentage of lifetime migrants among females as the percent of the total native-born population in 1996 was 32.7 as against only 14.6 in 2001. Similar figure for males in 1996 was 12.1 against 11.9 in 2001. The differences have resulted in that the 1996 survey reported data by smaller level of spatial unit; VDC, whereas the census reported the migration data by districts. The incidence of higher mobility among females as revealed in 1996 survey was that intra-district migration for the purpose of marriage was very prevalent. Smaller the unit of migration field, larger becomes the volume at migration and vice versa. Most of the mid western and far western regions and districts have more out-migrants than in-migrants with net loss of population. These areas are largely rural and most vulnerable with rampant poverty. These areas were also hard hit by Maoist insurgency. Regions and districts of net gain of migration are the districts with large urban areas like the Kathmandu valley and the Tarai region of Nepal. It means that migration is caused by poverty, which influenced rural to urban migration.

Migration streams

The 2001, census of Nepal has provided enough information to calculate four streams of migrations within the country. In Nepal, the major streams of internal migration are rural to rural (68.2%), rural to urban (25.5 %), urban to urban (2.8%) and urban to rural (3.5%) are of lesser importance (KC, 2003).

The magnitude of these streams cannot be compared with data provided in the previous census as the number of urban centres has drastically increased with many of the newly designated urban centres being rural in character. Therefore, Nepal still has an overwhelming rural to rural migration.

Table 14: Lifetime migrants by origin and destination for ecological zones, Nepal 2001

Origin	Destination				Percent	Net-migration
	Mountain	Hill	Tarai	Total		
Both Sexes						
Mountain	--	125,597	169,825	295,422	17.1	-255,103
Hill	33,895	--	1,157,035	1,190,930	68.94	-830,759
Tarai	6,424	234,574	--	240,998	13.95	108,586
Total	40,319	360,171	1,326,860	1,727,350	100.0	
Percent	2.3	20.9	76.8	100.0		
Male						
Mountain	--	57,170	84,783	141,953	16.8	-127,610
Hill	10,822	--	567,513	578,335	68.4	-400,001
Tarai	3,521	121,164	--	124,685	14.8	527,611
Total	14,343	178,334	652,296	844,973	100.0	
Percent	1.7	21.1	77.2	100.0		
Female						
Mountain	--	68,428	85,040	153,468	17.4	-127,511
Hill	23,061	--	589,528	612,589	69.4	-430,746
Tarai	2,896	113,415	--	116,311	13.2	558,257
Total	25,957	181,843	674,568	882,368	100.0	
Percent	2.9	20.6	76.4	100.0		

Source: CBS, 2002.

Rural to urban migration is gaining more visibility in districts with large urban areas such as Kathmandu (71.8%) Kaski (82.7%), Lalitpur (56.6%) and Bhaktapur

(44.6%). Internal migrants to urban areas have increased over time from 13.4 percent in 1971, 16.3 percent in 1981, 17.2 percent in 1991 (KC, 1998:20) and 26.8 percent (746285 VDC+81425 municipality) in 2001 (CBS, 2002). Table 13 and 14 also presents the data of interregional migration of Nepal since 1981 to 2001. The volume of migration is gradually increasing.

Reasons for migration

The 2001 census included five main reasons for migration such as business, agriculture service, study and marriage (CBS; 2002). The category in other reasons comprised 31.6 per cent followed by marriage (23%) agriculture (18.1%), service (11.5%), study (10.3%) and Business (5.5%). However, due to the nature of census operation undertaken based on de-jure approach; these reasons basically refer to the situation in the destination. Hence, there is no room for assessing whether migrants are being pulled out the destination or pushed from the origin.

Internal migration has led to both positive and negative social and economic implications for the place of origin and destinations. Initially low density and economic potentialities in the Tarai are prompted migration from the mountain and Hill to Tarai. However, at present Tarai has low capacity to absorb additional population. Urban areas are also overcrowded through rural-urban migration. The tenth plan has emphasized on balanced spatial distribution of population by promoting socio-economic factors both in the sending and receiving areas but it has not showed any positive implications.

2.4 International migration

2.4.1 Emigration

Nepalese manpower have been emigrating temporarily or permanently since the first quarter of 19th century, leaving behind women, children and old people to take care of agriculture in the rural areas of Nepal. Many reasons cited for this kind of emigration have been forced labour within the country, forced recruitment in the British Army and British-India indebtedness at home and extreme poverty. Later, the wave of migration to the foreign countries expanded from a few neighboring

countries like India, Burma (Myanmar), Bhutan, and Sikkim to many other labour importing countries in South-East, East and Far-East Asia, middle East, Europe and North America. Nepalese absentee increased substantially since 1950s. 1952/54 census enumerated 2.3 percent absentee Nepalese population. Of this absentee population 97.3% had the origin of Mountain and Hill of Nepal. This flow increased 3.4% in 1961, 2.7% in 1981, 3.7% in 1991 and 3.4% in 2001. Such a movement during the last 50 years period until 2001 was overwhelmingly destined to India. The 2001 , Nepalese census recorded even larger number of Nepalese emigrants to India, but the proportion of India bound Nepalese for first time decreased substantially to 77.3 percent (589050/7621181). This was because many Nepalese were bound towards Saudi Arab (8.9%), Qatar (3.2%), and United Arab Emirates (1.7%) Hong Kong (1.6%) and Anglo-America (1.3%). Like wise Nepalese emigrants destined to Japan, Germany and other European Countries and Malaysia.

Now the pattern of migration has changed. For example, personal service, business, institutional service and other reasons accounted 95 per cent of all reasons (CBS, 2002). Out of total absent population from Nepal in between 1991-2001 censuses, males are 89% and females 11%. Almost 90% of total absentee from rural areas of Nepal and 10% were from urban areas. About 70 percent of this absent population is from the poverty stricken mountain and Hill districts of Nepal. The census data gives a much smaller volumes of Nepalese emigrants to foreign countries. A recent statistics (April-2003) revealed that the number of people who have gone to various countries for employment is much higher than the number enumerated by the 2001 census (Hada, 2003:4)

2.4.2 Immigration

The 1981 census recorded 234039 persons as foreign-born population residing in Nepal. There has been a dramatic increase in the foreign born population from 439899 to 608092 in 2001, constituting 2.4 and 2.7 percent of the total population of Nepal respectively. It should be noted that the total population of Nepal includes native born (22128842) and foreign born (608092). Out of the total foreign born, 96 percent were India born. Nepalese and foreign citizens residing in

Nepal also constitutes the total population of Nepal. In this sense, Nepal had 22620363 Nepalese citizens and 116571 foreign citizens in the 2001 census. Among the foreign born, females comprised of almost 70 percent. The major reasons for the foreign-born population residing in Nepal were stated as marriages (46%), business (8.4%), service (6.1%), agriculture (4.8%), study (4.5%) and other unspecified reasons (30.2%). About 94% of the marriage migration concentrated in the Tarai (CBS, 2002). Almost 5 percent of urban population growth of Nepal can be attributed to this increasing foreign-born population. This also constitutes 17.2 percent of the total urban migrants in Nepal.

Foreign citizens in Nepal

The 1961 census reported 110061 foreign citizens in Nepal. Indian citizens constituted 69.3 percent. In 1971, Indian citizens constituted 94.4 per cent of the 136477 foreign citizens in Nepal. But in 1991, the number of foreign citizens decreased to 90427 persons. Out of this 75.7 percent were Indian citizens. In urban areas only there were 32435 foreign citizens and 81.7 percent of them were Indian citizens. Foreign Citizens are living in the urban areas in 1991 constituted 35.9 percent of the total foreign citizens in the country. In 2001, the number of foreign citizens was 116571 of which 90 percent were Indians.

Why do foreign national obtained employment opportunity education and social security in Nepal and its own citizens are deprived of the same to force them to emigrate for the same purpose foreign nationals are immigrating? (KC, 1998). We just do not know enough. It is estimated that more than one million Nepalese have migrated to India, Gulf and other countries and a substantial amount of about US\$920 million is being remitted to Nepal through official and unofficial channels.

Majority of international migrants in Nepal are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work in trade and service by displacing native workers. Immigrants have strong hold in the commercial and industrial sector due to their better networking and investment strategy. A large number of immigrants also work as vendors, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, tailors and barbers in urban areas.

On the contrary, Nepalese in India have a limited capacity to compete with Indians in a relative more advanced Indian economic system. Another vital component of Indians being absorbed in the Nepalese economy is such that they are easily acculturated in the Nepalese cultural environments while the majority of Hill emigrants to India are different in their culture and language.

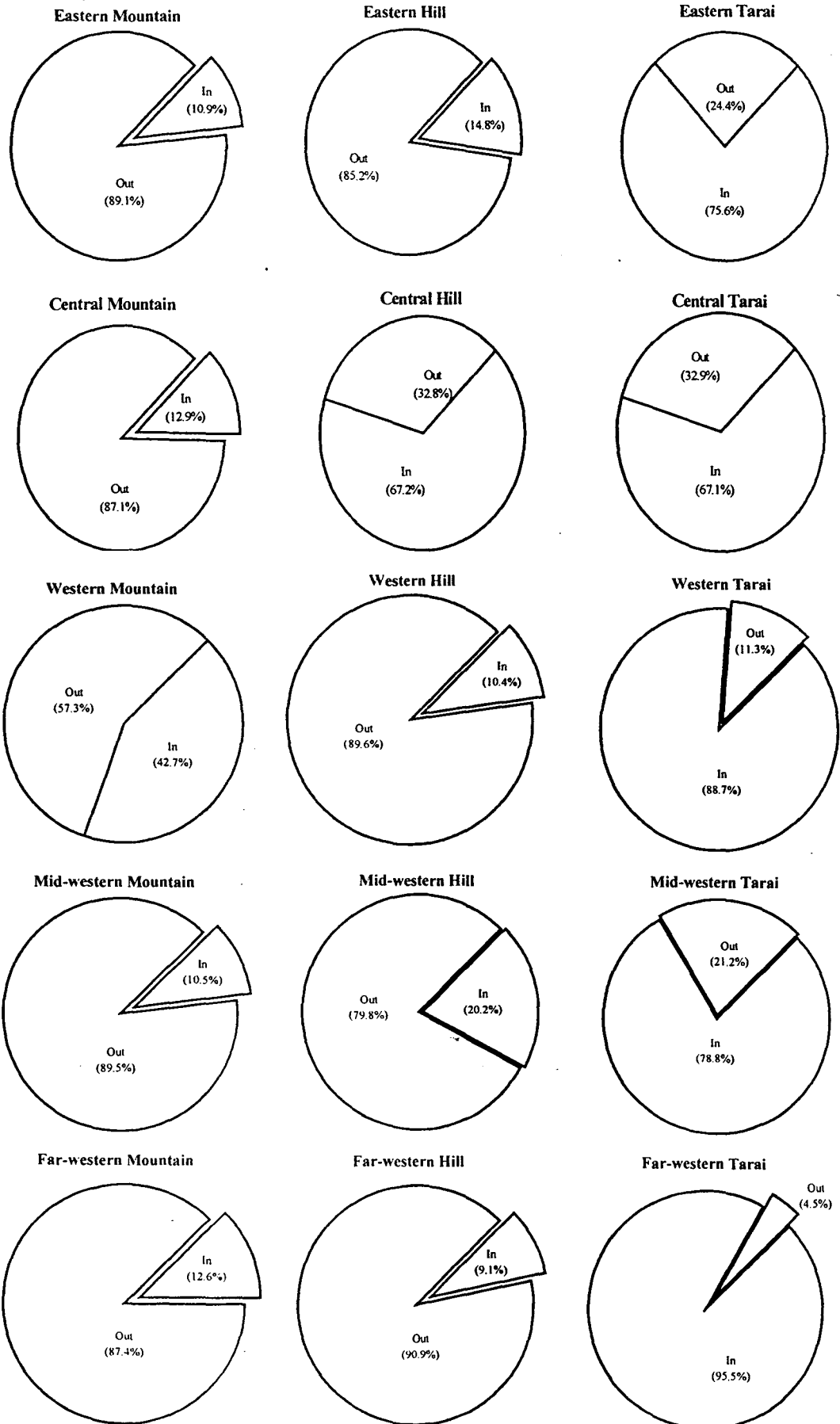
Table 14a Rural-urban, urban-urban, rural-rural and urban-rural migration streams by eco-development regions, Nepal, 2001

Eco-development region	Migration streams								Total Migration
	Rural-urban		Urban-Urban		Rural-rural		Urban-rural		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Mountain	2,150	4.5	188	0.4	42,364	89.0	2,884	6.1	47,586
Eastern	1,523	9.1	81	0.5	14,522	86.5	656	3.9	16,782
Central	627	4.7	107	0.8	11,483	85.6	1,204	9.0	13,421
Western	NA	NA	NA	NA	3,516	93.7	237	6.3	3,753
Mid-western	NA	NA	NA	NA	3,999	95.2	200	4.8	4,199
Far-western	NA	NA	NA	NA	8,844	93.8	587	6.2	9,431
Hill	424,801	38.8	60,031	5.5	565,52	51.6	44,851	4.1	1,095,210
Eastern	16,500	11.4	1,529	1.1	118,90	82.2	7,659	5.3	144,593
Central	334,951	52.3	53,097	8.3	225,90	35.3	26,246	4.1	640,202
Western	61,673	29.4	4,495	2.1	136,518	65.1	6,860	3.3	209,546
Mid-western	9,107	12.8	580	0.8	58,657	82.6	2,677	3.8	71,021
Far-western	2,570	8.6	330	1.1	25,539	85.6	1,409	4.7	29,848
Tarai	319,334	17.9	21,206	1.2	1,389,956	77.8	55,770	3.1	1,786,266
Eastern	114,262	20.5	7,927	1.4	420,50	75.4	14,841	2.7	557,534
Central	74,202	17.5	6,232	1.5	328,27	77.5	14,846	3.5	423,534
Western	44,475	13.8	2,930	0.9	265,27	82.0	10,714	3.3	323,397
Mid Western	27,480	14.2	1,876	1.0	157,39	81.2	7,022	3.6	193,772
Far-western	58,915	20.5	2,241	0.8	218,50	75.9	8,347	2.9	288,009
Total	746,285	25.5	81,425	2.8	1,997,847	68.2	103,505	3.5	2,929,062

Source: CBS, 2002.

Table 14a reveals that the rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural migration streams by eco-development regions, Nepal, 2001. There are 746285 rural to urban migrants. Like wise, there are 81425 urban to urban migrants. There are 199784 rural to rural migrants and 10355 urban to rural

Figure-9 Percentage of In- and -Out-migration by 15 Eco-Development Regions, Census 2001



migrants in Nepal at the time of 2001 census. There are 25.5 percent rural to urban migration, 2.8 percent urban to urban migration, 68.2 percent rural to rural migration and 3.5 percent urban to rural migration in 2001. The total volume of internal migration streams in 2001 is 2929062. The contribution of Mountain is 47546. Likewise, the contribution of Hill is 1095210 and the Tarai is 1786266 persons respectively.

The figure 9 also represents the graphical performance of rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural migration in 2001, according to eco-development regions; which depicts the clear vision of interregional migration streams in Nepal. Rural to urban migrants from hill were 424801. Likewise, rural to urban migrants from mountain were 2150 and Tarai were 319334 in 2001. Urban to urban migrants from mountain were 188, from hill were 60031 and Tarai were 21206.

The rural to rural volume of migrants from the mountain region was 42364 and urban to rural was 2884. Likewise; the rural to rural volume of migrants from hill was 56552 and urban to rural was 44851. The rural to rural volume of migrants from Tarai was 1389956 and urban to rural was 55770 respectively. The interregional migration volume was dominated by rural to rural flow till 2001 in Nepal.

CHAPTER-III

URBANIZATION IN NEPAL

3.1 Urbanization in Nepal: A historical perspectives

Urbanization in the simplest term means growth and development of secondary and tertiary activities as against traditional agricultural occupation. Nepal has not only a low level of urbanization but the very definition of urban area is based on the size of population rather than the functional character of the locality and this creates a problem in urban analysis. The various censuses since 1952/54 tend to qualify localities with over 5000 populations as urban, although the town Panchayat Act of 1962 recommends a minimum population of 10,000. Even if one subscribes to the definition of urban areas according to the census, frequent changes in town or urban Panchayat boundaries make valid comparison over time a difficult proposition.

The earliest available source on population by localities is the census of 1952/54 not only gives a list of 10 major settlements with a population over 5000 but also includes comprehensive list other 217 prominent localities, both urban and rural. Historically, Nepal had three prominent urban centres from ancient time. These are the capital of city-states in middle age. There is a folk-song "Tinaima Shahar Nepalai vitra Ful paryo mainale." But, after 1952/54 censuses, only 10 major settlements exceeding a population of 5,000 were recognized as towns or urban areas. These are Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Thimi, Kirtipur, Biratnagar, Birgunj, Janakpur, Malangwa and Nepalgunj. These ten settlements designated, as urban centres in 1952/54 were five from Kathmandu valley town accounted for 82 percent of the total urban population.

There was an overall increase of over 25 percent increase in the population of the ten urban centres in the 9 years period of 1952-1961. In 1961, other six localities exceeding of population of 5000 were included in the list of urban centres. These were Dharan, Banepa, Pokhara, Rajbiraj, Tansen, and Matihani. There was an

overall increase of over 67 percent increase in the population of the six urban centres in 9 years period in between 1952-61.

3.2 The tempo of urbanization in Nepal

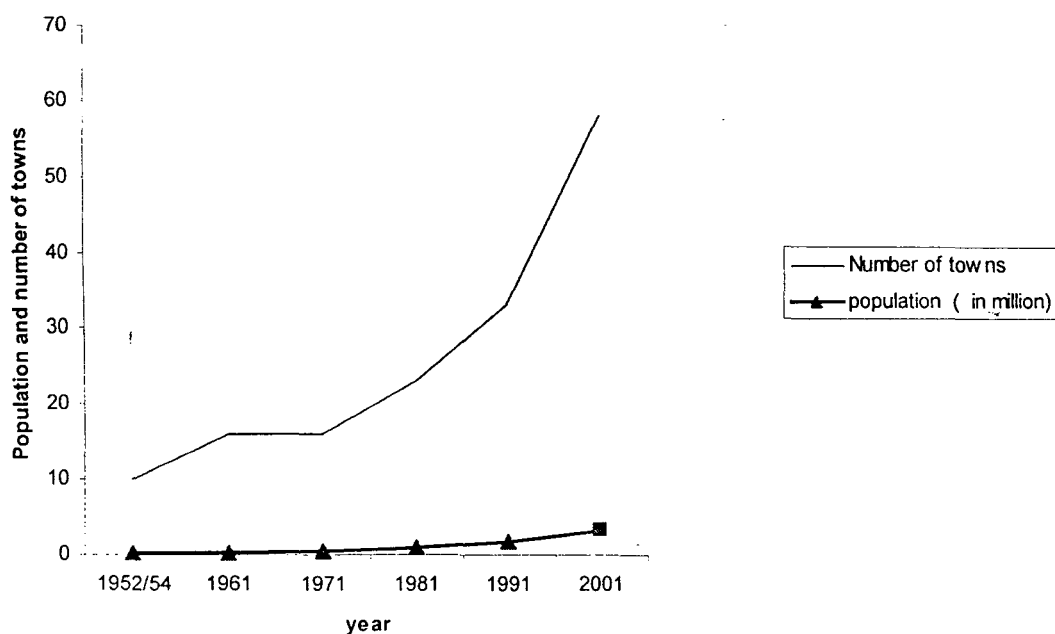
Table 15 shows the statistics about the tempo of urbanizations in Nepal from 1952/54 to 2001. There has been steady increment in the urban centres in Nepal.

Table 15 Tempo of urbanization in Nepal (1952/54-201)

Year	Number of town	Urban population	% Of Urban Population	Urban population growth rate
1952/54	10	238000	2.9	--
1961	16	336000	3.6	1.65%
1971	16	462000	4.1	3.23%
1981	23	957000	6.3	7.55%
1991	33	1696000	9.2	5.89%
2001	58	3288000	14.0	6.65%

Source: CBS, 2002, Sharma, 2003

Figure-10 Number of towns by population



According to table 15, there were 10, 16, 16, 23, 33 and 58 urban centres in Nepal in 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. There were 238,000 urban

populations in 1952/54. Likewise, there were 336,000, 462,000, 957,000, 1696,000 and 3288000 urban populations in 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. The percentage of urban population was 2.9 in 1952/54, 3.6 in 1961, 4.1 in 1971, 6.3 in 1981, 9.2 in 1991 and 14 in 2001.

The urban population growth in between 1952-1961 was 1.65 percent. Likewise, the urban population growth rate was 3.93 percent in between 1961-71 censuses. The urban population growth rate was rapid in between 1971-81 censuses. The urban population growth rate was 7.55 percent in 1971-81 decade. The urban population growth rates were 5.89 percent in 1981-91 census interval and 6.65 in between 1991-2001 census intervals respectively. Urban growth trends of Nepal are as faster as in the recent time. There are four important cause of faster urban growth in Nepal. These are enlargement of urban boundaries, declaration of new urban settlements and high urban population growth due to massive rural to urban migration and natural growth (births minus deaths).

Table 16 shows the level of urbanization in Nepal according to ecological regions. In the Hill region, there are only 20 urban centres. There is 17.8 percent population of total urban population of Nepal. Out of total population of Nepal, there are only 6.4 percent population lived in urban areas of Hill region. There are 5 urban centres in Kathmandu valley. Forty percent of urban population of Nepal resided in the urban centres within the Kathmandu valley. 60.5 per cent of the Kathmandu valley population resided in the urban areas. There are 8 urban centres in the inner Tarai. Approximately twelve percent urban population is resided in the inner Tarai urban centres; which is the 18 percent of Inner Tarai's total population. There are 25 urban centres in Tarai region of Nepal. Approximately 39 per cent of urban population lived in the urban centres of Tarai region; which is the 12.3 per cent of total population of Nepal. Although the proportion of urban population in Nepal are is very low with comparison to other Asian Countries. But the growth speed of urbanization in Nepal is very high. Unemployment and scarcity of physical facilities like education and Hospitals in rural areas of Nepal are the root causes of

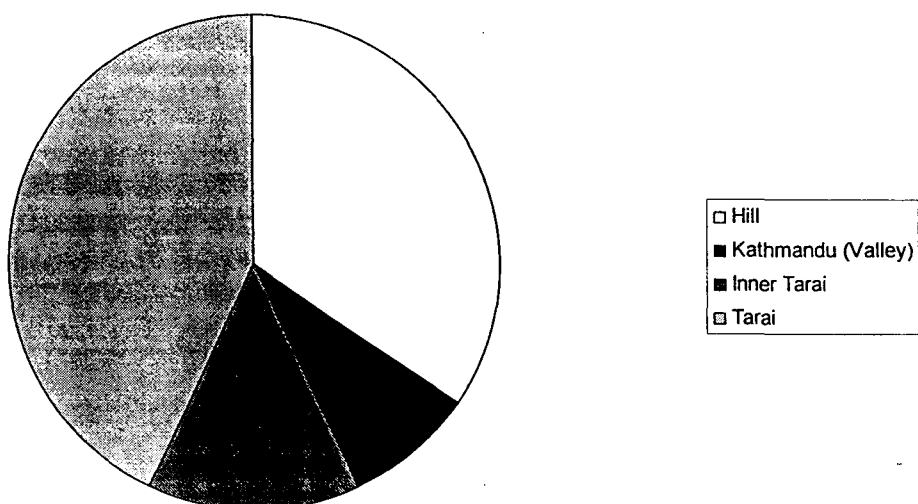
massive rural to urban migration in Nepal, which ultimately leads the higher urban population growth rates since three decades.

Table 16 Urbanization in Nepal according to ecological regions, 2001

Regions	Number of Urban Centres	% of Urban Population	% of urban population in regional population.
Hill	20	17.8%	6.4%
Kathmandu (Valley)	5	30.9%	60.5%
Inner Tarai	8	12.1%	18%
Tarai	25	39.2%	12.3%
Nepal	58	100%	14%

Source: CBS, 2003

Figure-11 Urban areas in different regions



3.3 Process of urbanization in different development regions of Nepal

At first, there were only three urban centres in Kathmandu valley in the middle age. Then, there were ten urban centres in all over the Country. Five urban centres were in Kathmandu valley. Four urban centres were in eastern Tarai and only one urban centre in western Tarai.

There were no urban centres in the hill region and Mountain region of the Country till 1961. There were no urban centres in mountain region of Nepal till 1991. This is one of the strong evidence of regional developmental disparities in Nepal. Almost all the developmental infrastructures like roads, electricity, drinking water, school, colleges, Hospitals, Industry markets are concentrated in Kathmandu valley in the mid 1960s and 1970s. Now, 25 urban centres out of 58 are in the Tarai region. This happens due to the easily accessible road linkage and higher density of population. Some industries are located in the Tarai region due to the availability of cheap labour and their industrial raw materials or resources. Tarai is also benefited from the cheap Indian Railways transportation for their industrial development and potentiality.

Table 17 Urbanization in Nepal according to development regions, 2001

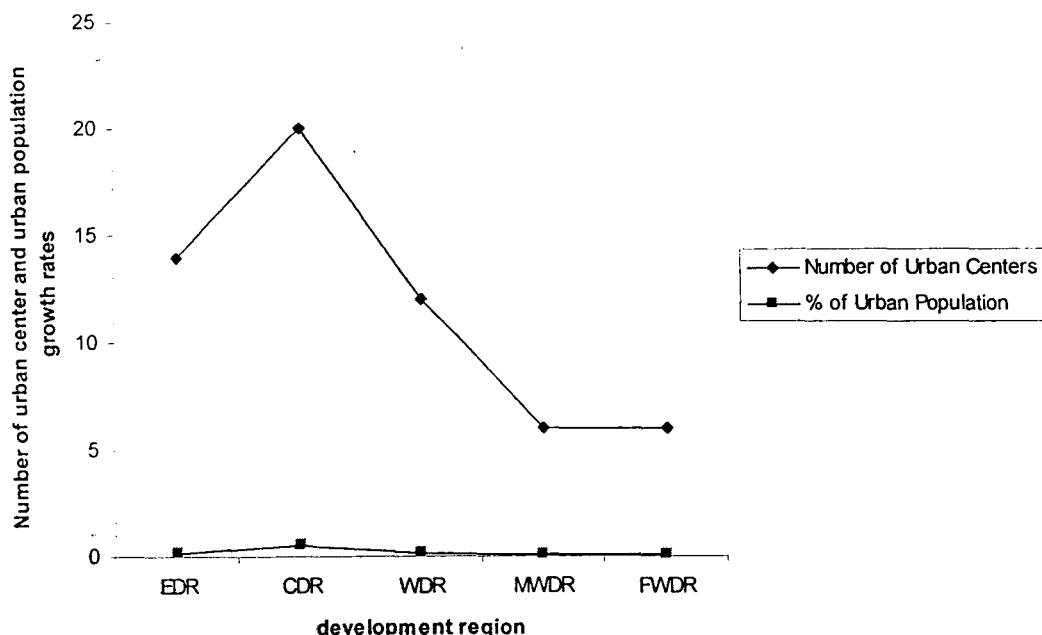
Development Regions	Number of Urban Centres	% of Urban Population
Eastern	14	19.4%
Central	20	49.7%
Western	12	16.1%
Mid Western	6	7.2%
Far Western	6	7.6%
NEPAL	58	100%

Source: CBS (2002), Sharma (2003)

Table 17 shows the urbanization in Nepal according to development regions in 2001. There are 14 urban centres in the eastern development region, which bearded 19.4 percent of the total urban population of Nepal in 2001; that is the 11.7 percent population of total Eastern development regional population. Central development region have 20 urban centres, which bearded 49.7 percent of the total urban population of Nepal in 2001. This population size is the 20 percent of total population size of the central development region. Likewise, western development region have the 12 urban centres. These 12 urban centres bearded 16.1 per cent

urban population of Nepal in 2001, which is the 11.4 percent population of western regional population. Mid western development region have the 6 urban centres.

Figure-12 Urban population by development regions



This development region bearded 7.2 percent of total urban population of Nepal in 2001, which is the 7.7 per cent population of mid western regional population: There are 6 urban centres in Far-western development region of Nepal. This development region bearded the 7.6 percent of total urban population of Nepal in 2001, which is the 11.2 percent population of far western development regional population. This table presents the fact that urban centres are unequally distributed in different development region of Nepal.

3.4 Categories of urban centre in Nepal, 2001

There are four categories of urban centres in Nepal according to their size of population. The first categories of urban centre of Nepal is to be more than or equal to 100,000 population. Accordingly, there are five such urban centres in Nepal, namely Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Pokhara, Birgunj and Biratnagar. These urban centres had 6.66 annual population growth rates during 1991 to 2001, on average. On average, 25.9 percent population was engaged in Industry and 61.1 percent population engaged in business. In these urban centres 13 percent population engaged in agriculture.

The second category of urban centres in Nepal needed more than 50,000 populations and less than 100,000 populations. There are 11 such urban centres in Nepal. The urban population growth rate of these urban centres is 4.31 per cent per year. Population engaged in agriculture is 36 percent. The population engaged in industrial activities is 21.4 percent and the population engaged in business is 42.6 percent.

The third category of urban centres in Nepal implies the size of population more than 20,000 and less than 50,000. There are 34 such urban centres in Nepal. The urban population growth rate of these urban settlements is 13.39 percent per year. 49 percent population of these urban centres engaged in agricultural occupation. 17.5 percent population engaged in industrial activity and 33.3 per cent population engaged in business.

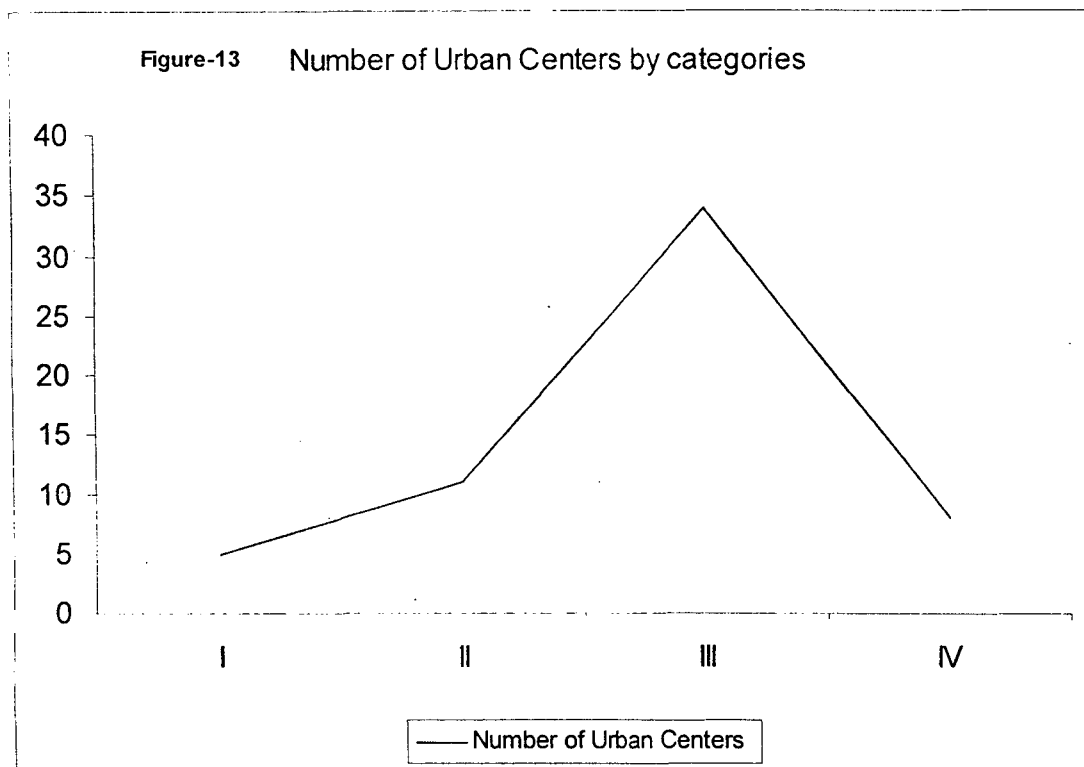
Table 18 Urbanization in Nepal according to different categories of urban centres, 2001

Urban categories	Size of Population	Number of Urban Centres	Urban Population growth rate	Population involved in Agriculture (in%)	Population Engaged in Industry (in%)	Population engaged in Business (in%)
I	≥100,000	5	6.66%	13%	25.9%	61.1%
II	50,000-100,000	11	4.31%	36%	21.4%	42.3%
III	20,000-50,000	34	13.39%	49%	17.5%	33.3%
IV	≤20,000	8	(-)	49.2%	15.6%	34.9%
Total		58	6.65%	32.2%	21.2%	46.2%

Source: CBS, (2002). Sharma, (2003)

The fourth categories of urban centres in Nepal implies less than or equal to 20,000 of population. There are 8 such urban centres in Nepal. The urban population growth rate of these urban Centres is negative (-). Out of total, 49.2 percent population was involved in agriculture. Likewise, 15.6 per cent populations are

engaged in industrial sector and 34.9 percent population involved in business. There are total 58 urban centres in Nepal. The annual urban population growth rate in Nepal is 6.65 percent. In average, 32.2 percent population are engaged in agriculture, out of total, 21.2 percent population are involved in industrial sector and only 46.2 percent population are involved in business activities in Nepal at the time of 2001 census. In essence the feature of Nepalese urban population is semi-rural in character.



3.5 Migration verses urbanization

Lifetime internal migrants to urban areas constituted 16.3 percent of the urban population in 1981, 17.2 percent in 1991 and 25.5% in 2001. Out of them (inter regional migrants, urban migrants) most went to Kathmandu valley towns (33.9%) or Tarai town (56.8%) (KC; 1995). International migrants increased from 3.7 percent of the urban population in 1981 to 5.1 percent in 1991 and more than 5.5 per cent in 2001. It should be noted that the volume of internal and international lifetime migrants to urban areas seems to have been under counted.

In 1981, the largest number of migrants (40.5 percent) to the urban centres of Nepal had been residing there for more than 12 years, followed by 1-5 years (33.8 percent), 6-11 years (20 percent) and less than one year (3.5 percent).

3.6 Reasons for rural to urban migration

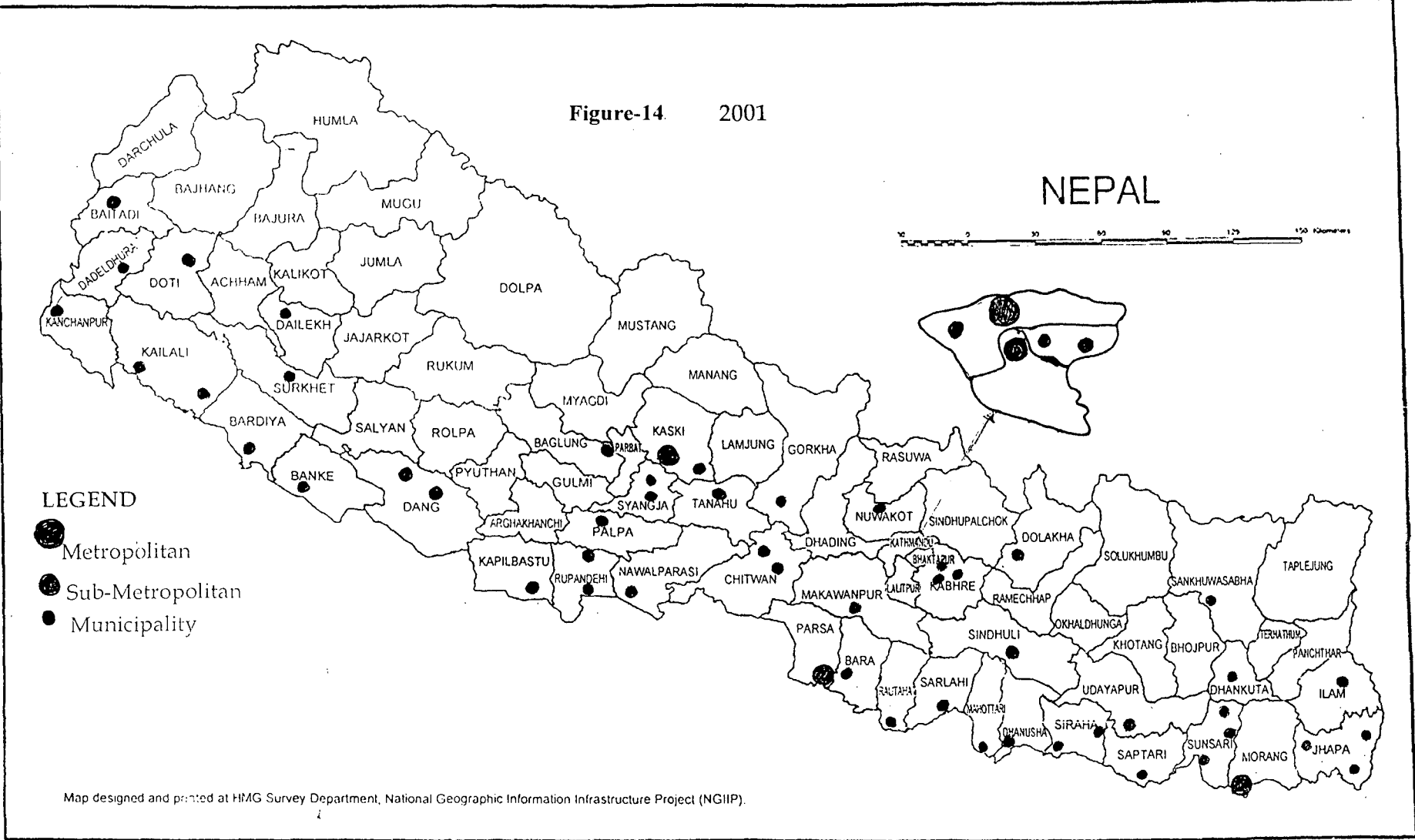
The 1981 census recorded reasons for migration to urban areas. However the largest number (36.3 percent) of migrants was reported in the "other reasons not specified" category. Migration for services constituted 15.8 percent, followed by 14.5 percent for trade and commerce, and only 6.3 percent for study and training (KC. et al., 1991). Towns like Pokhara and Tansen in the hills, Kathmandu valley towns, Hetauda in the inner Tarai, Nepalgunj and Birgunj in the Tarai had attracted many migrants for trade and commerce. All inner Tarai and Tarai towns had attracted migrants for agriculture. Migrating for services was proportionately higher in district headquarter towns such as Dhankuta, Ilam & Rajbiraj. The reasons for migrating Kathmandu & Lalitpur were almost equally divided between services & trade & commerce. Migrating for study & training was of lesser importance except in Kathmandu & some Tarai towns. Reasons for migration were not recorded in 1991 census but were presented in the data obtained from the Demographic Sample survey in 1986-1987 & 2001 census.

3.7 Migration to urban areas in the past

High sex selectivity of migrants is pronounced in all urban centres. Males are positively selected in all urban centres; for example, the sex ratio of lifetime migrants in rural areas in 1991 was 73.1 but in urban areas it was 109.7 men per 100 women.

Among the urban migrants males positively selected. Marriage migration may have been the reasons for female positive selection in these areas. Over 50 percent of female migrants originating from the Tarai moved to hill and Kathmandu valley town for both marriage and education. The interpretations above indicate the general patterns of educational status, marital status and occupational status of inter-regional migrants in the past in Nepal.

Figure-14 2001



Distribution of Urban Centers in Nepal by Categories 2001.

3.8 Forced migration and urbanization

Gross mobility is positively associated with socio-economic development of the place of origin and destination. Due to the inequitable resource (land) distribution in Nepal, physical disparities among the development region are common. Poverty and deprivation within and intra-districts are influential to emerge socio-political conflicts; which is responsible factor for the forced Migration in Nepal.

Suppression and killing of innocent people in the name of Maoist by Royal Nepalese Army and inhalation of political opponents by Maoist in the name of Spy is the shameful cause of forced migration in Nepal after the Maoist insurgency in 1996. The urban population growth rate is more or less influenced by forced migration in Nepal at present.

All the data, however, indicate consistently that rural to urban migration comprises at least 25 percent of the total migration volume both for short term and lifetime migration in Nepal at present.

CHAPTER -IV

IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

4.1. Introduction

There are various kinds of implications of migration at the place of origin and destination. These are either positive or negative in the sense of economic growth, utilization of resources and so on. The control of Malaria in the Tarai and inner Tarai has been largely responsible for the hill migration into Tarai. The control of malaria accompanied by a government policy of resettlement and the establishment of infrastructure and development activities because of location advantage in the Tarai. Gurung (1989:41-43) indicated that the lowlands favorable for highland migration constituted 65.3 per cent of cultivated area, 61.7 percent of food grain production, 34.4 percent of road mileage and 62.5 per cent of industries.

The urban population of the Tarai increased from 17.4 percent of the total urban population in 1952/54 to 53.3 percent in 1991. During this period the urban population of Tarai grew by more than 8 percent annually. The proportion of urban growth in the Tarai between 1981 and 1991 censuses contributed by in-migration was 27.4 percent. Out-migration might have helped to reduce population pressure on marginal land in the hills, but the shortage of labour during the peak agricultural season has led to low productivity and consequent malnutrition and hunger in the hills. On the other hand, increasing land prices in the Tarai have increased the number of landless people (Shrestha, 1990).

4.2 Implications of migration at the place of origin

Lack of labour force in the productive peak season results in low productivity of food grains in the place of origin. No infrastructural development like, School, roads, Health post, drinking water facility and electricity at the place of origin due to the heavy out-migration. On the one hand no irrigation, traditional seeds, lack of

productive manpower influenced the agricultural sector negatively in the place of origin, which resulted into the mass poverty and hunger.

On the other hand, due to heavy out-migration the income level of villages or rural areas increased tremendously by remittance but it also widens the gaps between haves and have-nots in the rural areas of Nepal, which are the place of origin of almost internal and international migrants.

Employment opportunities are not possible in rural villages due to lack of industrialization and absence of development activities. Migrants sending regions have been characterized as poverty-stricken areas due to the negative implications of migration. The positive contributions of immigrants should also be acknowledged in manufacturing, transport and export-based trade by importing useful technology and skills to fulfill various skill needs in Nepal. Their business entrepreneurship and extensive linkages in India and abroad are not matched by their Nepalese counterparts.

Emigration from Nepal to India has been influenced by differentials in the prospects of employment in unskilled jobs, prospects for repatriation of earnings and remittances and unrestricted rules of entry and exit. Indian immigration to Nepal is influenced by differential opportunity for employment, demand for skilled and semi-skilled manpower, entry and exit, repatriation of earnings and closer affinity in religion, culture, language and family ties (Weiner, 1985; 441-445, KC; 1998; 126). Emigration from Nepal to India is mainly from the hills and the distance involved and the transportation cost is relatively greater. The hill emigrants are not similar to Indians in culture, language and family ties. The difficulty of acculturation faced by Nepalese emigrants in India is greater than the ease with which Indian immigrants adapt to the socio-economic situation of Nepal, especially in the Tarai.

4.3 Implications of migration at the place of destination

There are various implications of migration at the place of destination. There is either positive or negative implication of migration at destination. It is better to

understand the implication of migration on employment/ unemployment, labour force situation and participation, poverty, slum settlements and urbanization process as its outcomes.

On employment/ unemployment

Employment opportunities in urban centres of Nepal and fertile lowland Tarai has not been increasing due to the lack of investment in the industrial sector. The proportion of unemployed population is increasing gradually as a result of higher population growth at the place of destination of migrants in Nepal. The heaping of unskilled labour force in the cities and lack of productive workforce in the rural hills may have influenced negatively the economy of both places origin and destination. Unemployment, semi, employment and disguise employment are also increasing rapidly in Nepal due to the implications of heavy migration at the place of destination, which contributes to lower the wage level of the labourers.

The volume of labour force is tremendously increasing in the urban centres in Kathmandu valley towns and the towns of Tarai region, which influenced to increase the unemployed proportion of labour force at the place of destination of migrants in Nepal.

On poverty

In 2001, Nepal had a population of 23.15 million with a density of 157 persons per square kilometer. Agricultural sector contributes only 40 percent of GDP but supports 80 percent of the Nepalese population. The per capita Gross National Income (GNI) is only US\$ 220. Three in five persons in Nepal lives below poverty line (UNDP, 1998). High unemployment rate at 17.4 percent and high underemployment rate at 32.4 percent compel Nepalese people to migrate within and outside the country in search of better employment opportunities. Nepal has an annual population growth rate of 2.25 percent. High fertility rate 4.1 children per women and a huge population in the reproductive age will continue to exasperate poverty and increase migration in Nepal.

Migration is the least research area in Nepal. There is no study that relates migration and poverty. It is better to suggest that a growing need for examine the inter relationship between many facets of migration and many levels of poverty. It is assumed that the poverty reduction strategy of Nepal is likely to succeed if it takes into account various components of migration dynamics. There is a high incidence of poverty in the regions experiencing net negative migration and that regions of in-migration are relatively better of in development indicators.

On slum settlements

Slum settlement in urban centres is the outcome of spontaneous migration from absolute poverty stricken regions. The slum settlements are increasing rapidly in 1991-2001 decade in Kathmandu valley towns, Pokhara Birgunj and Biratnagar. A study of Squatter settlements in urban centres of Nepal concluded that the living condition of slum people is vulnerable. There are a lot of miseries and quickly needed rescue. In essence, higher population growth rate, migration from origin to destination especially to urban centres is responsible reasons to increase slum settlements and people's miseries.

On urbanization

After 1983, National population strategy called for a planned urbanization process in selected locations in the Hill and the Tarai regions. It purposed to speed up the process of urbanization by devising policies and programmes to promote the growth of small markets and growth centres. They are promoting growth centres and area development, intensification of activities along major roads and encouragement of urbanization in backward regions. But in reality, the urbanization process in Nepal is unplanned and unmanaged; which creates so many problems like drinking water, Hospital, school, Colleges, electricity, roads and drainages in the major urban centres.

4.4 Implications of urbanization in Nepal

Urbanization refers to the process of growth in the proportion of population living in urban areas. Historically, the concept of urbanization has been related to

specialization, industrialization and consequent economic development. Although the form of this relationship has remained contested, there is a general of urbanization is the structural shift in employment from agriculture to non-agriculture pursuits.

Nepal remains one of the least urbanized countries in the world and, also in South Asia. While this low level of urbanization of the country, the present state of urbanization and urban development also manifests distinctive characteristics and problems that demand urgent attention. Urbanization and the consequent process of economic, social and even political changes that it entails has to be very much part of Nepal's development vision because a large proportion of population live in far-flung settlements without adequate infrastructures, facilities and services, and depend on traditional agriculture as a source of livelihood.

Diversification of agriculture, creation of off-farm employment opportunities, creation of conditions where the comparative resource advantages of particular regions can be fruitfully realized, and dealing with issues of gender and ethnicity, among others is facilitated by the process of urbanization. While the nature and form of urban development may be debated, the fact that urbanization has to be an integral part of Nepal's development agenda can hardly be contested.

In this context, this study only focuses on aspects in the level and tempo of urbanization, the geographical pattern of urbanization, socio-economic characteristics of urbanization, component of urban growth, various correlates of urbanization and development and the future trends in urbanization in Nepal.

Problems of definition

The problems of definition in the study of Nepal's urbanization are considerable because the areas designated "urban" have been defined and refined over the years and there is evident lack of consistency in the definition.

Geographical pattern of urbanization

The geographical pattern of urbanization in Nepal can be traced in different ways. One can look at the pattern in terms of the three broad ecological regions, i.e., the mountains, the hills and the Tarai.

The share of urban population in different development regions does not, however, tell the story. The level of urbanization or the percent of population in designated urban areas as a proportion of the total population in the region reveals a different picture. The level of urbanization is highest in the central development region (20%). The mid-western region remains the least urbanized region in Nepal, while the level of urbanization in the far-western region has picked up due to the introduction of new urban areas since the 1980s. In terms of ecological regions the hill regions, with 16.7 percent, is the most urbanized ecological region in the country. However, as seen earlier, the high level of urbanization in the Central development region is mainly by virtue of the Kathmandu valley.

Urban growth and size of urban places

The nature and characteristics of urbanization is reflected in the size of urban places and has bearing both on the scale and nature of urban problems and planning. The Data on urbanization of Nepal reveals that over 39 percent of Nepal's urban population in 2001 resided in 5 municipalities with a population of over 10,000. These include Kathmandu, Lalitpur in the Kathmandu valley, Biratnagar and Birgunj in the Tarai and Pokhara in the hills. Among 11 municipalities with a population between 50,000 to 100,000 populations, one is in the Kathmandu valley, seven in the Tarai and three is in the inner Tarai. There were 34 municipalities in size-class-III and only 8 municipalities in size-class IV.

Components of urban growth

Urban growth is generally contributed by natural increase of population, reclassification and addition of new urban areas due to emergence of new towns, expansion of existing urban areas or extension of urban boundaries, and migration (both internal, from rural areas and external due to international migration). It is

difficult to evaluate these various components of urban growth in Nepal with any accuracy because of the lack of information.

Sex ratio

Sex ratio of population is reveals that a predominance of males over females in age group between 0-59. The sex ration of population in age group above 60 years in 2001: predominated by females. It may also be noted that the male dominance is particularly higher in urban areas in the age groups 40-59.

Urban densities

There are substantial differences in population density in Nepal in terms of geographical regions. Inner Tarai and hill/ mountain regions in general have lower densities (402 and 550 respectively) Compared to Kathmandu Valley (10265) and Tarai towns (1092). The overall population density in urban areas in Nepal is 985 per sq. km compared to 136 for rural areas.

Literacy and educational attainment

In the 1991, census literacy rate for population 6 years of age and over for Nepal was 39.6 percent. Urban literacy rate was 66.9 percent compared to the rural literacy rate of 36.8 percent. The 2001 census shows that there has been a nearly 14 percent increase in literacy bringing the figure to about 54 percent of the total population ages 6 and above. Urban literacy has been increased about 72 percent while rural literacy has reached to over 50 percent of the population ages 6 and above. However, the gulf between male and female literacy is still there although it has somewhat narrowed in the intercensal decade. The gap between male and female literacy stands at around 20 percent for total, urban as well as rural population. As would be expected female literacy in urban areas is much higher than in rural areas.

Economic activity and occupational structure

Urban and rural economic activity rates show distinct differences. Activity rates in general are much lower in urban areas than rural areas. However, male

activity rates are higher in both urban and rural areas than female activity rates. The total economic activity rate of female is higher. Male activity rates for urban areas are also lower than in rural areas perhaps because a large pool of otherwise economically, active males is absorbed by the educational system. This indicates that females share more work in rural than in urban areas.

Urbanization and development

Urbanization and development have been synonymous concept to the extent that higher level of urbanization lead to higher level of development. The structural changes in the economy that accompany the process of urbanization, and the demand and sustainability of higher level of services and facilities that is possible with higher levels of income contribute to make urban areas locations with better levels of living. All human development and economic development indicators tend to be higher in urban than in rural areas. Past decades have witnessed an increasing rural to urban migration. This will continue to be the case as the transport infrastructure continues to expand, as the pressure on limited land resources in the rural sector increases, as literacy rates rise in rural areas and as the search for gainful employment opportunities in the non-farm sector gathers increased momentum. Sustainable development in Nepal requires that the pressure on rural environmental resources be reduced, that minimum infrastructural and service facilities be provided to a rising population, and that opportunities for employment in the non-agricultural sector be enhanced so that an increasing population can be absorbed in this sector. Urban development is inescapable in this context. Urban areas also provide employment, marketing opportunities, and inputs and services to the rural hinterland and provide the basis for diversifying agricultural production and increasing agricultural productivity.

Unregulated and unguided urbanization has its own problems as evidenced in the deteriorating environmental conditions of many large cities such as Kathmandu. In Nepal's context the question is not one of promoting urban development per se, but one of fostering a process of urbanization and urban development that is in tune with economic and environmental realities of Nepal.

This means that sustainable urban settlements have to be environmentally sound, economically efficient policies with respect to industrialization, and other productive sectors and development of transport and communication among others determine and influence this nature of urbanization.

In the last few decades the structure of the Nepali economy has changed considerably in terms of the industrial origin of the Gross Domestic products. In the 1960s over two-thirds of the GDP was contributed by the agricultural sector. In 1990/91, 55.5 percent of the GDP originated in agriculture. In 1999/2000 this had come down to 39.5 percent. While this change in the structure of the GDP has still to be reflected in the change in the occupational structure of the labour force, the process of change in the economy has begun, and with it increases in the levels of urbanization.

Future of urbanization

The level of urbanization is still every low in Nepal. There is debate on determinants of rural-urban migration. Poverty and prosperity in rural areas are important of rural-urban migration. The main reason for male migration is economic and for females marriage and dependency.

Rural-urban migration has negative and positive implications for both sending and receiving regions. Mountains/hills have been the region of population export. After the eradication of Malaria, the Tarai region has become a new frontier for pioneer settlement.

Nepal has been experiencing rapid population growth and significant population redistribution in recent decades. In the past, out-migration was primarily directed outside the country. At present, out migration directed within and outside the country. Immigration from India across the open border is growing as well.

The volume of migration is increasing rapidly due to internal political conflicts and aspiration for betterment of life. In Tarai region, westward flow of migration has seen since 1990s. In 2001, rural to urban migration constituted 25 percent. Migrants have higher employment rates than non-migrants.

Urbanization refers to the process of growth in the proportion of population living in urban areas. Nepal remains one of the least urbanized countries in the world and also in South Asia. Nepal is known as the country of far-flung settlements without adequate infrastructure facilities and services, and depends on traditional agriculture as a source of livelihood.

1952/54 censuses introduced the urban centres in Nepal. Since then urban population is gradually increasing. The causes of urban population growth are designation of new urban centres, enlargement of existing urban areas natural growth and migration. In 2001, the urban population of Nepal was 13.9 percent, while it was 2.9 percent in 1952/54.

Urbanization and development have been synonymous concept. Higher levels of urbanization lead to higher levels of development. But unregulated and unguided urbanization in Nepal is deteriorating environment. The capacity to manage even the low level of urbanization in Nepal is very limited. The quality of urban infrastructure and services remains very low. Drainage, sewerage, water supply and electricity are major problems in all urban centres. Unplanned urban sprawl hampered the rapidly growing cities.

There are 58 urban centres in Nepal. Among them, one metropolitan, four sub-metropolitans and remaining are municipalities.

The level of urbanization has to be increased an economic transformation in the productive sectors. Agriculture has to be commercialized, agro-agro-based and other natural resource based industrialization has to be encouraged. The space economy has to be further articulated through the development of transport and

communication and a context has to be created for meaningful economic change between different ecological regions of the country. There are enormous differences in the regional levels of urbanizations at present. This can be addressed only through the realization of the productive potentials of different regions. At the same time the tendencies of a centralized urban process have to be countered not only to foster decentralized urban growth but also to avoid the problems that accompany primate and very large cities particularly in fragile mountain environments.

The capacity to manage even the low level of urbanization in Nepal is very limited. The absolute level and quality of urban infrastructure and service remains very low in Nepal. Drainage, Sewerage, water supply and electricity are major problems in all urban areas. Urban congestion increase in industrial and vehicle emissions and consequent air and noise pollution is evident in all major cities. The gap in other utilities is also considerable. There are no minimum standards for infrastructure and services. Unplanned urban sprawl is characteristics of all urban areas, more so in rapidly growing cities like Kathmandu, Pokhara, Bharatpur among others. The institutional capacity of municipalities to manage urban infrastructure and urban growth remains severely constrained. The legal basis and institutional capacity to enforce land use and zoning laws as well as environmental standards has still to be created. Indeed, in many cases ad hoc nature of designating urban areas and the considerable over bounding to provide municipal status makes it difficult to assess the true nature and character of Nepal's urbanization. The revenue potential of urban areas remains unexplored and unexploited to a large extent. Urban data-base also remains poor particularly with respect to the structure of the urban economy.

These features notwithstanding urbanization is likely remain the most significant aspect of the spatial distribution of Nepal's population in the coming decades.

CHAPTER-V CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

There is considerable debate on determinants of rural-urban migration. The main reasons for male migration to urban areas are economic while females tend to migrate for such non-economic reasons as marriage and shift in residence along with members of the family.

Various research studies revealed that both rural poverty and rural prosperity are important determinants of rural-urban migration. Some scholars emphasized that the relatively better off are more likely to migrate from rural to urban areas and increasing rural incomes, particularly in lower income groups, will induce more people to migrate out. A range of employment opportunities offered by the urban labour market, both in the formal and informal sectors, also attracts migrants.

Rural-urban migration has demographic, economic social and developmental consequences for both sending and receiving regions. The negative consequences of rural-urban migration for the rural areas are predominant in terms of the loss of young, males and more educated workers. A negative implication of male out migration is also observed concerning the increased burden of de facto female heads of household in rural areas, specifically in poorer peasant or landless household. On the other hand, scholars believe that rural-urban migration as remittances raise the incomes and standard of living of the out migrating households and often a part of the remittance is invested in productive assets and activities. The return migrants also facilitate technological change, which helps in increasing agricultural productivity.

The consequences of rural to urban migration for the receiving urban areas are generally believed to be negative. A number of scholars have argued that the problem of urban slums and squatter settlements is a consequence such as an inflow

of poor migrants from rural areas. In Nepal, the analysis does not indicate the clear-cut relationship established between the magnitude of rural-urban migration, incomes and urban poverty.

Two features have been distinguished regarding the interregional patterns of migration. First, the Hills have been the region of population export for more than a century. However, there is no indication of depopulation in these regions as the out migrants represent excess labour force that migrate elsewhere and support the Hill economy through remittances and outside earnings in Nepal. Second, since the introduction and success of Malaria eradication programme in mid 1950s, the Tarai region has become a new frontier for pioneer settlement.

The volume of interregional and international migration should be depending on the virtual open border with India and comparative population vacuum attracted many outside settlers in the Tarai. The Tarai region, with a vast population due to natural increase hill migration, and foreign immigration is presently undergoing much social, cultural and political change. Nepal has been experiencing rapid population growth and significant population redistribution in recent decades. Migration has the significant impact on demographic feature, which is increasing the volume of spontaneous migration since 1970s.

Regional population growth rates varied in different regions. Much of this regional differential in growth rate is due to migration. The principle migration trajectory is from the highlands to the Tarai lowlands. The last three decades recorded about a sevenfold increase in out migrants from the highlands and about a six fold increase in in-migrants to the lowlands.

Increasing pressure of population on limited land resources induced the out migration from the highlands. In the past, out-migration was primarily directed outside the country to new frontiers in the eastern Himalayas and for military and other service in India. Since the mid 1950s, there has been a major shift in the migrant's destination. The opening of the lowlands through malaria control and

resettlement programmes provided a new frontier for large scale rural to rural migration. Other forces accentuating migration to the lowlands were the concentration of infrastructural and development activities there. Immigration from high-density areas across the open border with India is growing as well. Thus the lowlands have now emerged as the area of migrant's convergence from within and outside the country.

After 1990, the pattern of internal and international migration in Nepal has changed its feature significantly. At present, the volume of migration is increasing rapidly due to internal political conflicts between the state and Maoist insurgency. In 2001, rural to urban migration constituted 25 percent. Likewise, volume of emigration is also tremendously increased. Spontaneous migration is the outcome of unemployment and lack of facilities and poverty at the place of origin. Forced migration is resulted by the internal political conflicts, which ultimately boost up unplanned and unmanaged urbanization in Nepal.

Nepal has been experiencing a large-scale redistribution of population through spontaneous migration. Two-thirds of inter-regional migrants and most immigrants were directed to the lowlands and urban centres. One fourth of internal migrants were directed to urban centres, which experienced a rapid population growth. Despite the pre dominance of rural to rural migration, urban growth was high as well. In Tarai region, westward flow of migration has seen since 1990s.

Internal migration in Nepal has been accelerating in the last decade with a total district wise mobility of about 2.9 million, a majority of them out-migrating from mountain and hill areas of Nepal to the plains and urban areas.

A substantial number of foreign-born population (608092) live in Nepal and 80 per cent of them have acquired Nepalese citizenship. On the other hand, more than one million people are in the foreign countries for various reasons, especially for employment.

Rural-urban migration is an inevitable part of the process of urbanization. This entails allocation of surplus labour from the low productivity, low-income rural sector to the high productivity high-income urban sector. In Nepal, high rates of urbanization and rural urban migration are not accompanied by urban employment generation at an equally rapid pace. The slow pace of employment generation is increasing capital intensity on urban unemployment and underemployment. The situation of surplus labour prevailing in urban areas and continuing rural-urban migration is expecting of finding employment or betterment of life at destination. However, migrants have lower unemployment rates than non-migrants.

Urbanization refers to the process of growth in the proportion of population living in urban areas. The concept of urbanization has been related to specialization, industrialization and consequent economic development. The fundamental characteristics of urbanization are the structural shift in employment from agriculture to non-agriculture pursuits.

Nepal remains one of the least urbanized countries in the world and also in South Asia. Urbanization and the consequent process of economic, Social and political changes that it entails has to be very much parts of Nepal's development vision because a large proportion of population live in far-flung settlements without adequate infrastructure, facilities and services, and depend on traditional agriculture as a source of livelihood.

1952/54 censuses introduced the urban centres for the first time in Nepal. The urban population of Nepal has increased to 2.9, 3.6, 4.0, 6.4, 9.2 and 13.9 percent in 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 census of Nepal respectively. The causes of urban population growth are designation of new urban centres, enlargement of existing urban areas, natural growth and migration (internal and international).

Geographical distribution of urban centres and percentage of urban population in Nepal is uneven. Centralized physical facilities within Kathmandu

valley is the root cause of differences of urban population density. In rural areas females predominates males in age group 15-44, and in urban areas male sex ratio ^{is higher due to} sex selective migration from rural areas. Likewise, literacy rate in urban areas is higher than rural; especially, male literacy rate is higher with comparison to female.

Rural urban differences are seen more clearly in the occupational structure of population. It is after all the economic activity that distinguishes an urban area from rural area. There is preponderance of service workers, workers in craft and related trade, and professional, technical and clerical workers in urban areas.

Urbanization and development have been synonymous concept to the extent that higher levels of urbanization lend to higher levels of development. But unregulated and unguided urbanization in Nepal is deteriorating environmental conditions. In Nepal's context the question is not one of promoting urban development per se, but one of fostering a process of urbanization and urban development that is in tune with economic and environmental realities.

The level of urbanization is still very low in Nepal. The capacity to manage even the low level of urbanization in Nepal is very limited. The quality of urban infrastructure and services remains very low. Drainage sewerage, water supply and electricity are major problems in all urban areas. Urban congestion, increase in industrial and vehicle emissions and consequent air and noise pollution is evident in all major cities. There are no minimum standards for infrastructure and services. Unplanned urban sprawl hampered the rapidly growing cities like Kathmandu.

There are 58 urban centres in Nepal. Among them one (Kathmandu) is metropolitan, four (Pokhara, Birgunj, Latitpur, and Biratnagar) sub-metropolitan and remaining 53 are municipalities. There are 14 Urban centres in eastern development region, 20 in central development region, 12 in western development region, 6 in mid-western development region and 6 in far-western development region.

There are two municipalities in mountains region, 18 in hill region, 5 in Kathmandu valley, 8 in inner Tarai and 25 in Tarai region.

Conclusion

There is debate on determinants of rural-urban migration. Poverty and prosperity in rural areas are important of rural-urban migration. The main reason for male migration is economic and for females marriage and dependency.

Rural-urban migration has negative and positive implications for both sending and receiving regions. Mountains/hills have been the region of population export. After the eradication of Malaria, the Tarai region has become a new frontier for pioneer settlement.

Nepal has been experiencing rapid population growth and significant population redistribution in recent decades. In the past, out-migration was primarily directed outside the country. At present, out migration directed within and outside the country. Immigration from India across the open border is growing as well.

The volume of migration is increasing rapidly due to internal political conflicts and aspiration for betterment of life. In Tarai region, westward flow of migration has seen since 1990s. In 2001, rural to urban migration constituted 25 percent. Migrants have higher employment rates than non-migrants.

Urbanization refers to the process of growth in the proportion of population living in urban areas. Nepal remains one of the least urbanized countries in the world and also in South Asia. Nepal is known as the country of far-flung settlements without adequate infrastructure facilities and services, and depends on traditional agriculture as a source of livelihood.

1952/54 censuses introduced the urban centres in Nepal. Since then urban population is gradually increasing. The causes of urban population growth are

designation of new urban centres, enlargement of existing urban areas natural growth and migration. In 2001, the urban population of Nepal was 13.9 percent, while it was 2.9 percent in 1952/54.

Urbanization and development have been synonymous concept. Higher levels of urbanization lend to higher levels of development. But unregulated and unguided urbanization in Nepal is deteriorating environment. The capacity to manage even the low level of urbanization in Nepal is very limited. The quality of urban infrastructure and services remains very low. Drainage, sewerage, water supply and electricity are major problems in all urban centres. Unplanned urban sprawl hampered the rapidly growing cities.

There are 58 urban centres in Nepal. Among them, one metropolitan, four sub-metropolitans and remaining are municipalities.

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APPENDICES

Map 1



Map designed and printed at HMG Survey Department, National Geographic Information Infrastructure Project (NGIIP).

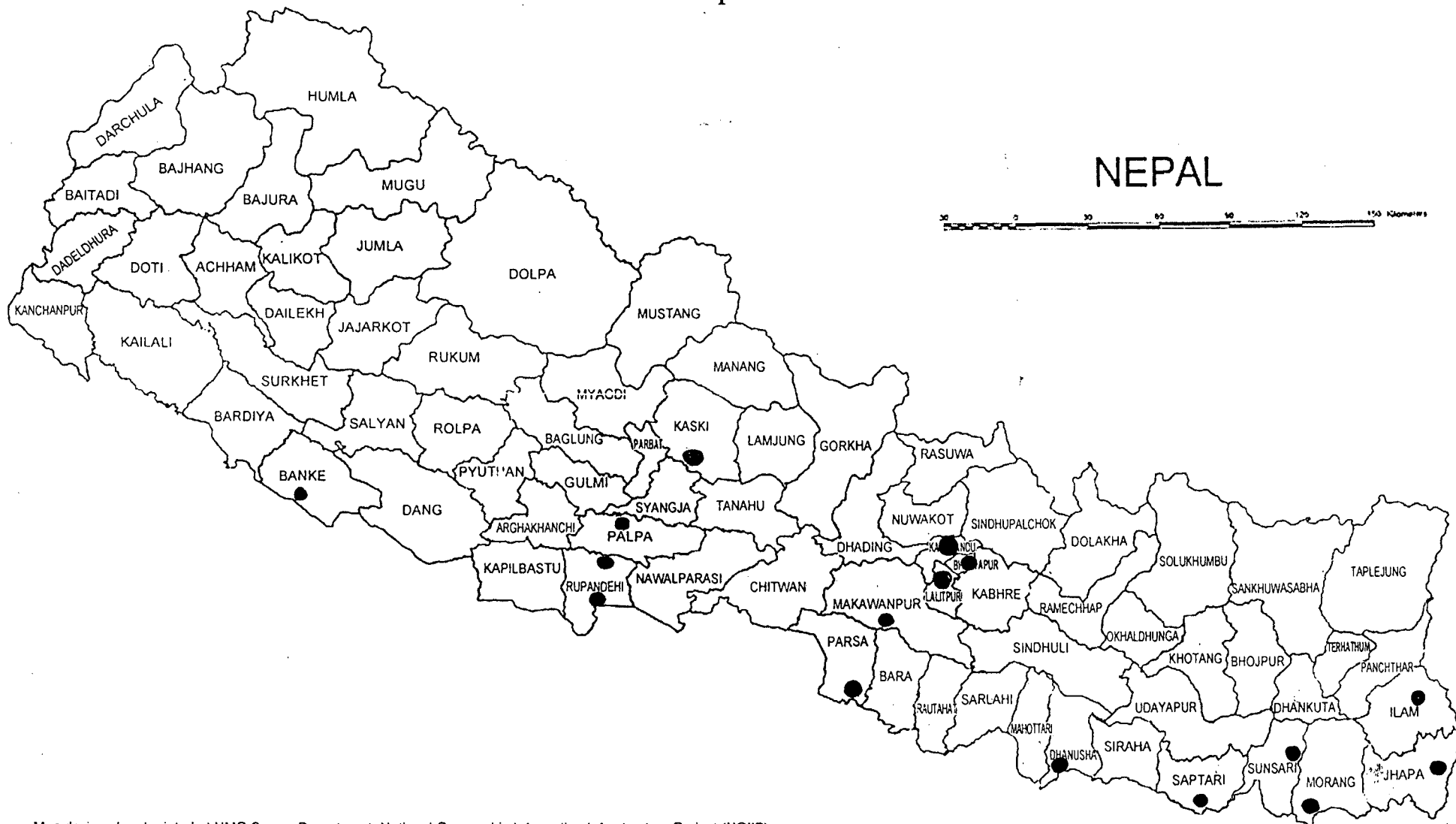
Map 2



Map designed and printed at HMG Survey Department, National Geographic Information Infrastructure Project (NGIIP).

Distribution of Urban Centers in Nepal 1961.

Map 3



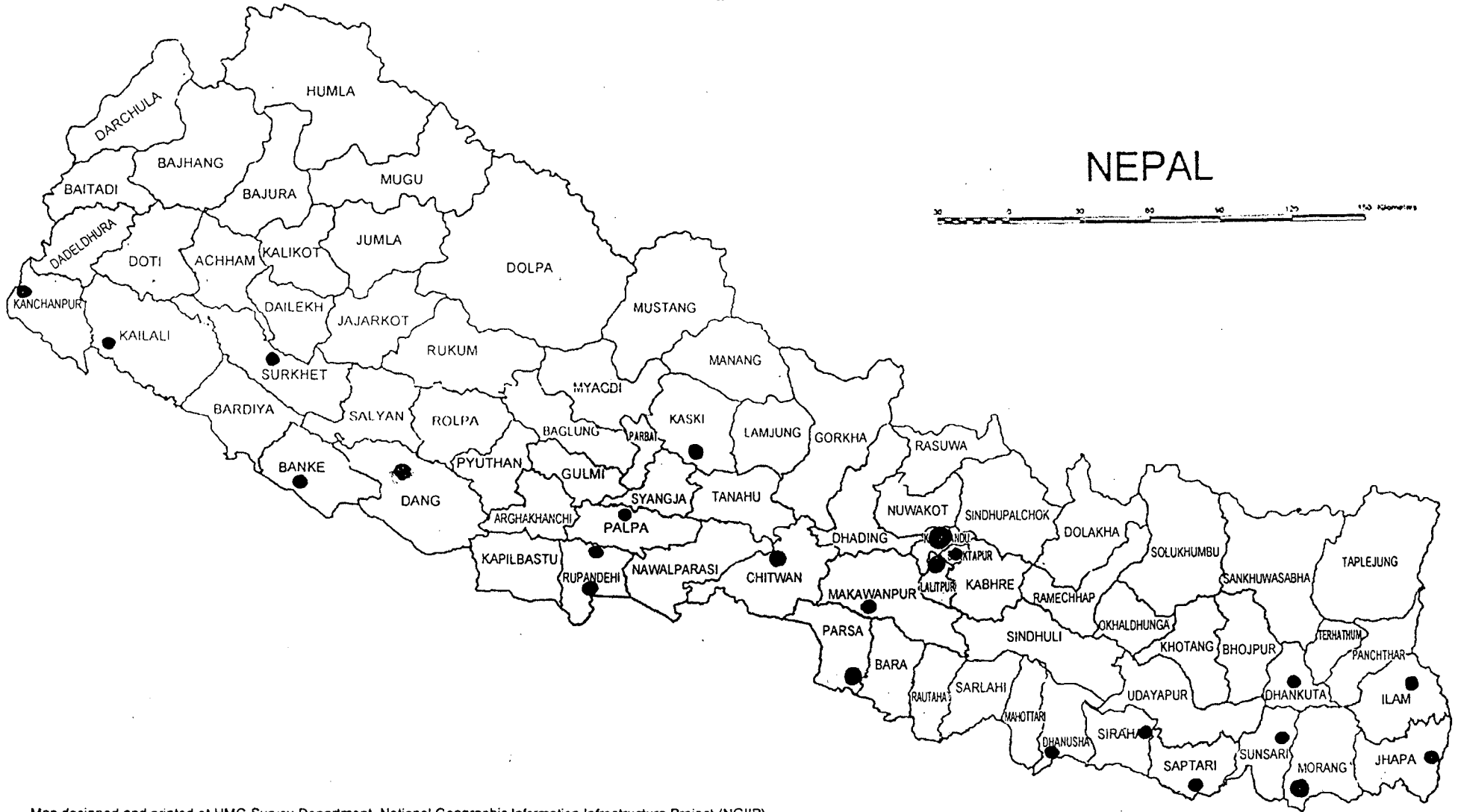
NEPAL



Map designed and printed at HMG Survey Department, National Geographic Information Infrastructure Project (NGIIP).

Distribution of Urban Centers in Nepal 1971.

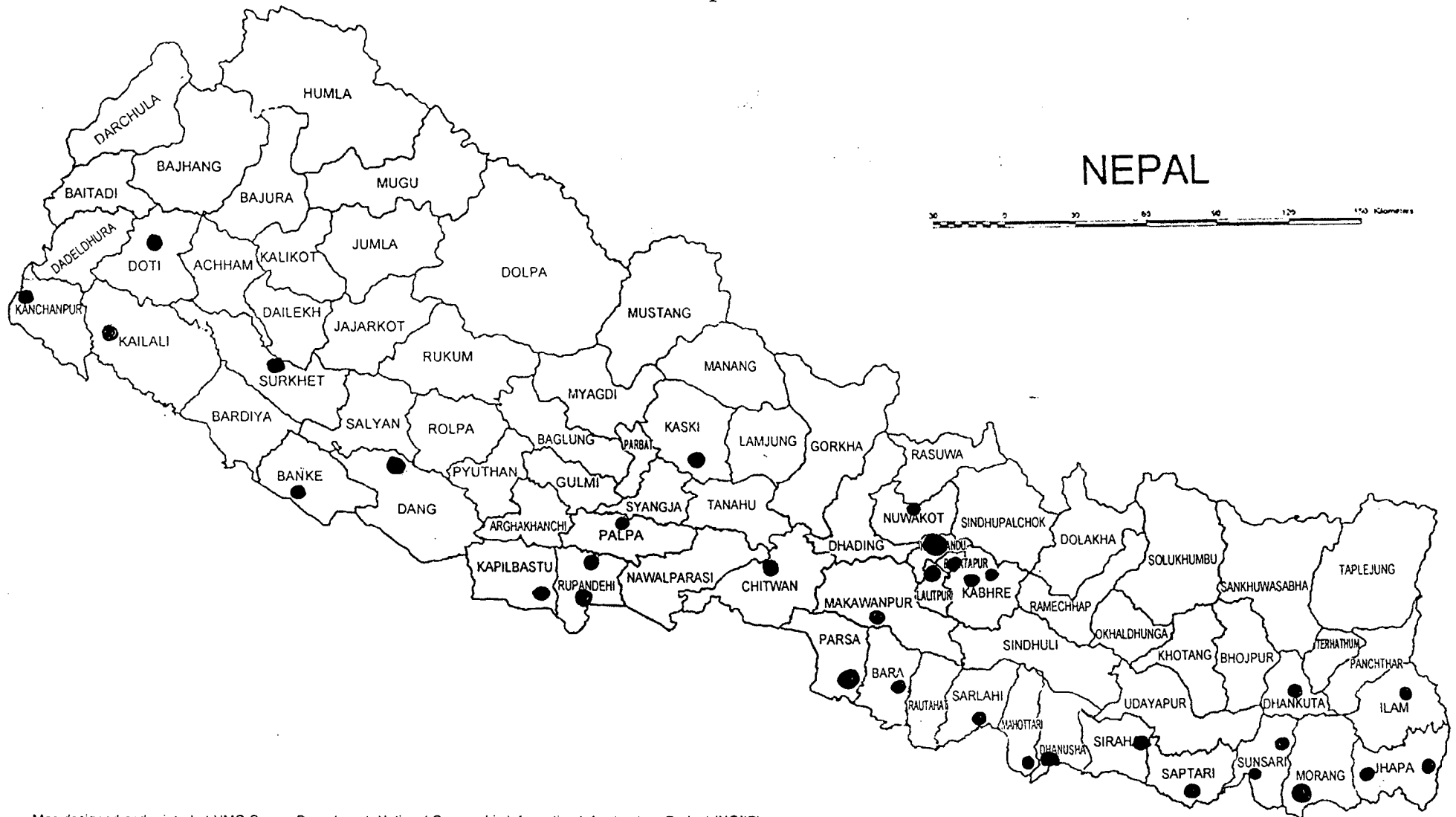
Map 4



Map designed and printed at HMG Survey Department, National Geographic Information Infrastructure Project (NGIIP).

Distribution of Urban Centers in Nepal 1981.

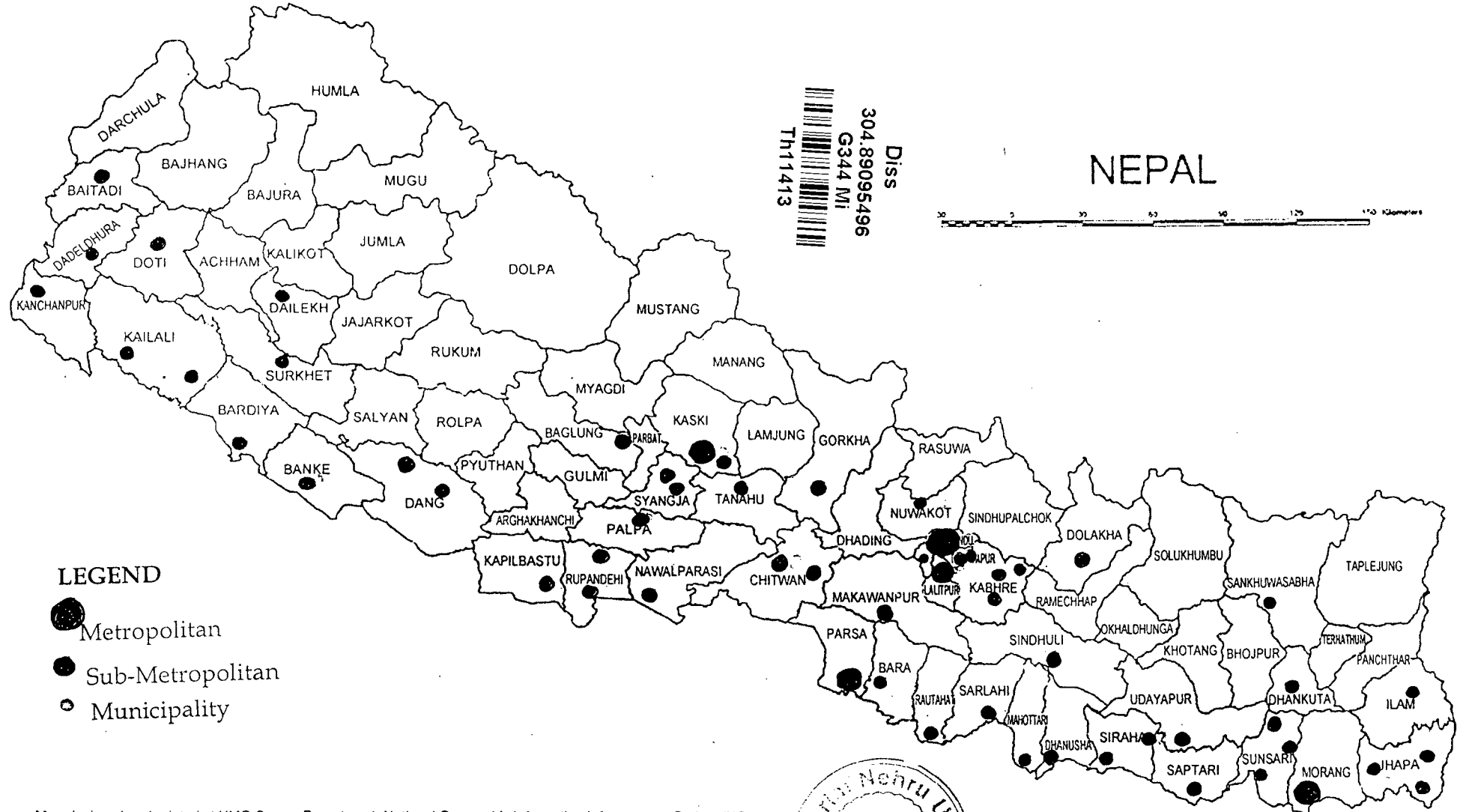
Map 5



Map designed and printed at HMG Survey Department, National Geographic Information Infrastructure Project (NGIIP).

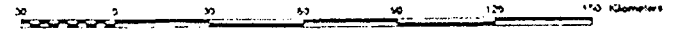
Distribution of Urban Centers in Nepal 1991.

Map 6

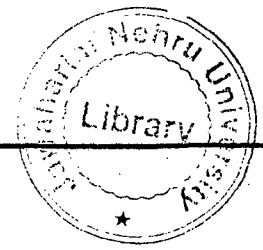


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Map designed and printed at HMG Survey Department, National Geographic Information Infrastructure Project (NGIIP).



Distribution of Urban Centers in Nepal by Categories 2001.