

**MIGRATION IN POKHARA VALLEY:
DETERMINANTS AND
CONSEQUENCES**

**Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in fulfillment of the requirements for the
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Narayan Hari Ghimire



**CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI – 110 067**

2006



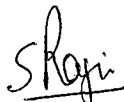
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
Centre for the Study of Regional Development
School of Social Sciences
New Delhi-110067


DECLARATION

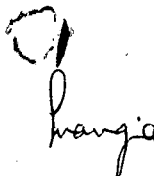
I do hereby declare that the thesis entitled "Migration in Pokhara valley: Determinants and Consequences" submitted by me is a bonafide work and that it has not been submitted to any other university for the award of any other degree.


Narayan Hari Ghimire

It is hereby recommended that the thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


Prof. Saraswati Raju


Chairperson
Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.
School of Social Sciences,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067
Date: December 2006


Prof. Sudesh Nangia
Supervisor
26-12-06

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Equivalents

1 *Ropani* = 0.05 Hectare

US \$ 1 = ~~NRs 70~~

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Chapter-I

Introduction

1.0 Background

Migration, a process of changing the usual place of residence, started with the beginning of the humankind is a very prominent field of research in the academic world. Focus is made on the assumption that people move from the place of origin to destination in search of means of subsistence and for the betterment of life. In other words, it is considered as the most important phenomenon of human life, for the further development of their socio-economic capability. No doubt, one of the most significant aspects of recent demographic changes in the developing countries is the rapid growth of urbanization due to unprecedented rural to urban migration. This study deals with migration in the Pokhara valley in the context of socio-economic and political framework.

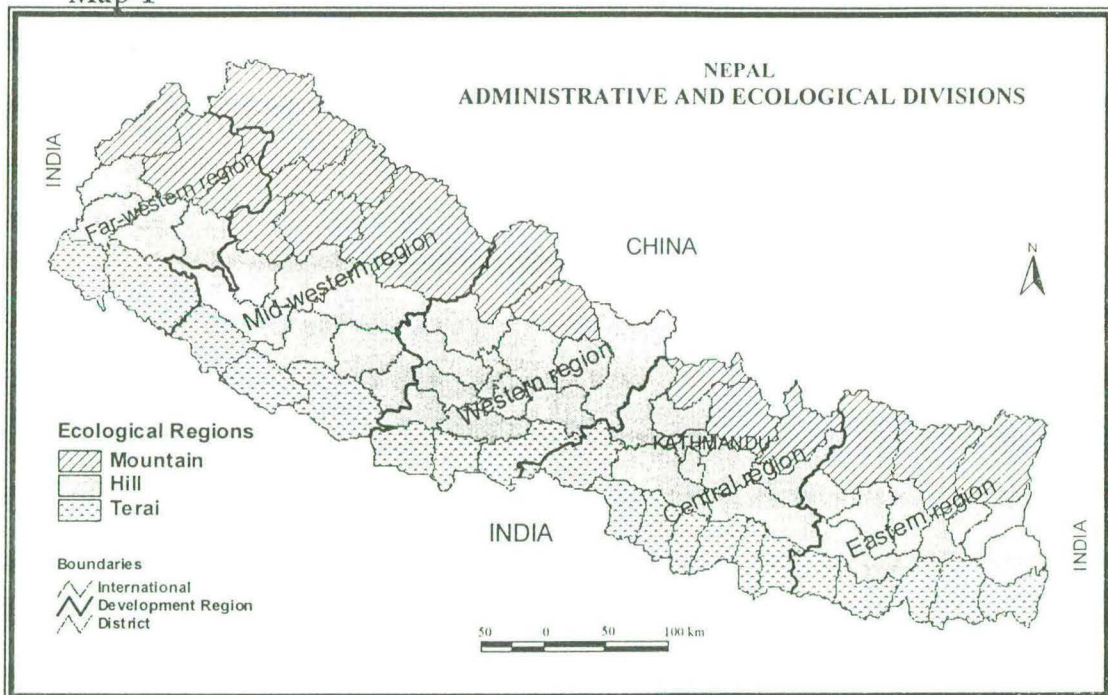
Economic growth creates disparities in wealth among countries and among areas within countries. These disparities stimulate movement of people from the places of less opportunity to the higher. Other migration flows, such as refugee movements between countries or movements of displaced persons within countries, result from social, religious, ethnic and political conflict. The Nepalese trend of migration has changed its course over time because prior to 1950s, it was hill-to-hill eastward migration followed by mountain and hill to Terai as a frontier migration but now mostly from rural to urban areas within the country and crossing the border to India and abroad.

Thus migration has been acknowledged as an important issue of concern of the twenty first century. The streams of internal migration in Nepal have been attributed rightly to the rise of developmental corridors from north to south and east to west. Nepal has thus seen 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 infrastructural development in the

urban centers of Nepal. After the eradication of malaria, migration from mountain and hills to Terai was heavy. The intention of people to migrate from the place of origin is the quest of farmland, which is greatly influenced and exposed by the accessible transportation facility. Historical transitions are often accompanied by extensive migration flows from rural to urban. The migration movements within Nepal during 1980s and 1990s were intrinsic to the development and modernization process of urbanization. At the same time, the emigration from Nepal's surplus population played an important role in Indian labor market and gulf countries economic transformation.

1.1 Geography of Nepal

Map-1



1.1.1 The Land

Sandwiched between two Asian giants China and India, Nepal traditionally has been characterized as “a yam caught between two rocks.” Noted for its majestic Himalayas, which in Sanskrit means the abode of snow, Nepal is very mountainous and hilly. Its shape is roughly rectangular, about 850 kilometers

long and about 200 kilometers wide, and comprises a total of 147,181 square kilometers of land. Nepal is a landlocked country, surrounded by India on three sides and by China's Autonomous Region Tibet to the north. It is separated from Bangladesh by an approximately fifteen kilometer wide strip of India's state of West Bengal, and from Bhutan by the eighty-eight-kilometer wide Sikkim. Such a confined geographical position is hardly enviable. Nepal is almost totally dependent on India for transit facilities and access to the sea that is, the Bay of Bengal even for most of the goods coming from China so that it is known as the country of India locked.

For a small country, Nepal has great physical diversity, ranging from the Terai Plain the northern rim of the Gangetic Plain situated at about 300 meters above sea level in the south to the 8,848 meter high Mount Everest, locally known as Sagarmatha, in the north. Valleys situated between mountain ranges punctuate this rise in elevation. Within this maze of mountains, hills, ridges, and low valleys, altitudinal changes resulted in ecological variations. Nepal commonly is divided into three broad physiographic areas: the Mountain Region, the Hill Region, and the Terai Region. All three parallel each other, from east to west, as continuous ecological belts, occasionally bisected by the country's river systems. The government has divided Nepal into five development regions within the framework of regional development planning. As scholar, Barry Bishop learned that from his field research in the Karnali region in the northwest, the livelihood pattern of Nepal is inseparable from the environment.

1.1.2 The Mountain Region

The Mountain Region is situated at 4,000 meters or more above sea level to the north of the Hill Region. The Mountain Region constitutes the central portion of the Himalayan range originating in the Pamirs, a high altitude region of Central Asia. Its natural landscape includes Mount Everest and the other seven of the world's ten highest peaks. In general, the snow line occurs between 5,000 and 5,500 meters. The region is characterized by inclement climatic and rugged

topographic conditions, and human habitation and economic activities are extremely limited and arduous. Indeed, the region is sparsely populated, and whatever farming activity exists is mostly confined to the low-lying valleys and the river basins. In the early 1990s, pastoralism and trading were common economic activities among mountain dwellers. Because of their heavy dependence on herding and trading, transhumance was widely practiced. While the herders moved their *goths* (temporary animal shelters) in accordance with the seasonal climatic rhythms, traders also migrated seasonally between highlands and lowlands, buying and selling goods and commodities in order to generate much needed income and to secure food supplies.

1.1.3 The Hill Region

Situated south of the Mountain Region, the Hill Region is mostly between 1,000 and 4,000 meters in altitude. It includes the Kathmandu Valley, the country's most fertile and urbanized area. Two major ranges of hills commonly known as the Mahabharat Lekh, and Siwalik Range (or Churia Range) occupy the region. In addition, there are several intermountain valleys. Despite its geographical isolation and limited economic potential, the region always has been the political and cultural center of Nepal, with decision-making power centralized in Kathmandu, the nation's capital. Because of immigration from Tibet and India, the hill ranges historically have been the most heavily populated area. Despite heavy out-migration, the Hill Region comprised the largest share of the total population until 1991.

Although the higher elevations (above 2,500 meters) in the region were sparsely populated because of physiographic and climatic difficulties, the lower hills and valleys were densely settled. The hill landscape was both a natural and cultural mosaic, shaped by geological forces and human activity. The hills, sculpted by human hands into a massive complex of terraces, were extensively cultivated. Like the Mountain Region, the Hill Region was a food-deficit area in the early 1990s, although agriculture was the predominant economic activity supplemented

by livestock raising, foraging, and seasonal migrating of laborers. The vast majorities of the households living in the hills were land-hungry and owned largely pakho (hilly and non-irrigated) land. The poor economic situation caused by lack of sufficient land was aggravated by the relatively short growing season, a phenomenon directly attributable to the climatic impact of the region's higher altitude. As a result, a hill farmer's ability to grow multiple crops was limited. The families were forced to adapt to the marginality, as well as the seasonality, of their environment, cultivating their land whenever they could and growing whatever would survive. Bishop has noted, "As crop productivity decreases with elevation, the importance of livestock in livelihood pursuits . . . increases. For many Bhotia [or Bhote] living in the highlands . . . animal husbandry supplants agriculture in importance." During the slack season, when the weather did not permit cropping, hill dwellers generally became seasonal migrants, who engaged in wage labor wherever they could find it to supplement their meager farm output. Dependence on non-agricultural activities is even more necessary in the mountain/hill ecological belt.

1.1.4 The Terai Region

In complete topographic contrast to the Mountain and Hill regions, the Terai Region is a lowland tropical and subtropical belt of flat, alluvial land stretching along the Nepal-India border, and paralleling the Hill Region. It is the northern extension of the Gangetic Plain, commencing at about 300 meters above sea level and rising to about 1,000 meters at the foot of the Siwalik Range. The Terai includes several valleys (*dun*), such as the Surkhet and Dang valleys in western Nepal, and the Rapti Valley (Chitwan) in central Nepal. The word *Terai*, a term to presume being derived from Persian, means, "damp," and it appropriately describes the region's humid and hot climate. The region was formed and is fed by three major rivers: the Kosi, the Narayani, and the Karnali. A region that in the past contained malaria-infested, thick forests, commonly known as *char kose jhari* (dense forests approximately twelve kilometers wide), Nepalese rulers used Terai as a defensive frontier during the period of the British Empire in India. Until 1991,

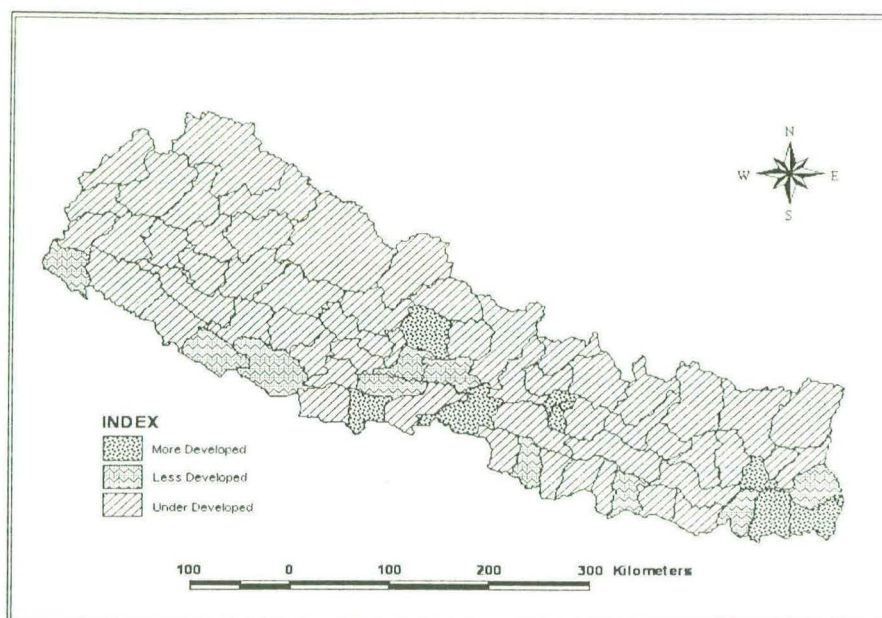
the Terai served as the country's granary and land resettlement frontier; it became the most coveted internal destination for land-hungry hill peasants. In terms of both farm and forest lands, the Terai was becoming Nepal's richest economic region. Overall, Terai residents enjoyed a greater availability of agricultural land than did other Nepalese because of the area's generally flat terrain, which is drained and nourished by several rivers. Additionally, it has the largest commercially exploitable forests. In the early 1990s, however, the forests were being increasingly destroyed because of growing demands for timber and agricultural land.

1.1.5 Contemporary Development and Migration

Hill region, although politically still dominant, remains an economic periphery in terms of overall development and the spatial allocation of resources. Of course, most of such resources are made available from outside in the forms of foreign aid and debts. Even in the context of regional trade within the nation, the hill region is a net importer of virtually every good or commodity with few exports. This fact is quite obvious if one observes the freight Lorries traveling between the Terai and Hill urban centers. While the Hill-bound Lorries are fully loaded with goods and commodities, the outbound trucks are invariably empty.

Following the footsteps of its fellow less developed nation, Nepal adopted "economic planning" as an institutional vehicle of national development. The state became directly involved in the process of development and remains deeply entrenched. The first five-year plan was initiated in 1956. Since then ten more development plans have been launched. Over the years, the planning focus and strategies have shifted from urban industrial emphasis to regional growth to the current focus on rural development and basic needs. These successive and periodic changes in development plans are largely a manifestation of the general failure of the preceding strategies. Despite acknowledgement of their failure to improve the economic conditions of the country and its masses, the contemporary Nepalese state has not forsaken its adherence to planning as an institutional process of development.

Map 2: Levels of Development at Macro Level



Source: ICIMOD/CBS/SNV-Nepal, December 2003 "Districts of Nepal, Indicators of Development."

Planning remains popular despite the fact it has failed to deliver what it is expected. Two principal reasons why planning is so popular within the ruling elite circle are: (1) the state sees economic planning as an instrument of its political legitimating and (2) it brings in foreign aid and loans: the easiest and surest sources of their personal enrichment. Given the underdeveloped state of the economy with few rich natural resources, the ruling elites have few reliable sources of wealth to tap in order to enrich their personal treasuries. Foreign aid and loans serve as substitute sources. Although there are few hard statistics on what percentages of foreign aid and loan received by the country is utilized with some efficacy or actually reaches the masses, the figure is perhaps around 10 per cent. Even though gossip and rumor are poor bases for conducting an academic research, sometimes they are all we have. The intellectual circle suspects that 30-40 per cent of foreign capital (aid, loans and others) goes directly to the royal palace and ruling elites and bureaucrats in different forms enjoy another 30-40 per cent. The remaining portion trickles down to the contractors and the masses

working on different projects as labourers. The following map 2 depicts the overall development of Nepal in terms of education, transportation, communication, food sufficiency, electricity, hospitals, drinking water, and other infrastructural facilities.

"...Foreign aid has assisted the monarchy directly and indirectly to create a better-equipped and better-trained army and to put a large number of potentiality restive young man on the bureaucratic payrolls. It is true that aid-giving agencies of several nations have pressed the king for reforms, but aid programmed the confirmed absence have been maintained despite of significant reforms because these nations change had a lower priority than maintenance of status quo, which they all found to their advantage, for different reasons. Thus, in the short run at any rate, foreign assistance has enhanced the monarchy's chances of survival and has inhibited the growth of pressure for fundamental change" Gaige (1975: 200).

The geographically and economically disadvantageous position wedged as it is between China and India has proven to be a powerful tool for the successive monarchs. They have successfully exploited this geographical position to their political advantage and survival by turning it into a reliable source of foreign aid as well as palace-centered nationalism. While the state has managed to ensure involvement of many international donor agencies in the country's development projects and thereby negotiate for the continued flow of foreign aid, its foreign aid dependency has been increasingly deepening since the 1950s to till 2005.

Today, virtually every development project that is executed in the nation is either directly associated with foreign money or initiated directly by a foreign donor agency. The numbers of such agencies are in the rise. The question is whether increasing foreign aid generated any real economic development, i.e., reduced unemployment, inequality, and poverty. Based on various observations, the answer is hardly. Nepal is caught in a whirlpool of dependency. There is little doubt that growth of foreign aid or foreign aid-based development project has increasingly deepened its dependency. They have overall, caused a severe, if not irreparable, demoralization and erosion of local initiatives, energies, and

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technological foundations, and though some of the projects are designed to revamp indigenous technologies.

1.2 Development Regions

There are five development regions, fourteen zones, and seventy-five administrative districts in Nepal. The short description of the development regions is as follows.

1.2.1 Eastern Development Region: The Eastern development region lies in the eastern part of Nepal. It contains 16 districts. Dhankuta is the regional headquarter of this region. There were 52,86,890 populations in 2001. Among them 26,42,320 were males and 26,44,570 females. The land area of eastern development region is 28,456 sq. km. The topography of land is diversified according to ecological regions like Mountain, Hills, and Terai.

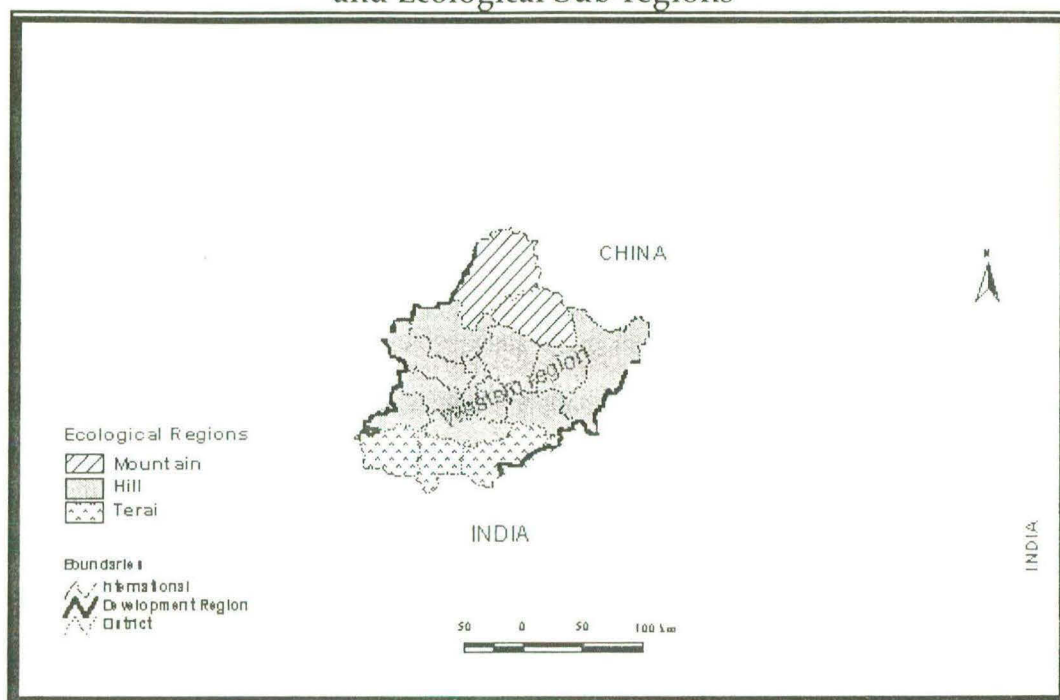
1.2.2 Central Development Region: The central development region lies in the central part of Nepal. It contains 19 districts. Kathmandu is the regional headquarter of this region. There were 79,88,612 populations in 2001. Among them 40,88,292 were males and 39,00,320 females. The land area of central development region is 27,410 sq. km. The topography of land is diversified according to ecological regions like Mountain, Hills, and Terai.

1.2.3 Mid-western Development Region: Mid western development, region lies in the west part of western development region of Nepal. It contains 15 districts. Birendranagar is the regional headquarter of this region. There were 27,07,244 populations in 2001. Among them 13,49,073 were males and 13,58,171 females. The land area of mid-western development region is 42,378 sq. km. The topography of land is diversified according to ecological regions like Mountain, Hills, and Terai.

1.2.4 Far Western Development Region: Far western development, region lies in the west part of mid-western development region of Nepal. It contains nine districts. Dipayal is the regional headquarter. There were 21,83,175 populations in

2001. Among them 10,81,523 were males and 11,01,652 females. The land area of far western development region is 19,539 sq. km. The topography of land is diversified according to ecological regions like Mountain, Hills, and Terai.

Map-3 Western Development Region by Districts and Ecological Sub-regions



1.2.5 Western Development Region: The western development region lies in the western part of central development region of Nepal. It contains 16 districts. Pokhara is the regional headquarter of this region. There were 45,71,013 populations in 2001. Among them 21,98,170 were males and 23,72,843 females. The land area of western development region is 29,398 sq. km. The topography of land is diversified according to ecological regions like Mountain, Hills, and Terai. The following map depicts the geography of western development region. The following map 3 presents the geography of western development region by districts. There are two districts in Mountain, three in Terai and remaining 11 in the Hill.

Table 1.0 Western Development Region: Population Density and Growth 1991-2001

S.N	Districts	Population			2001		
		1981	1991	2001	Area in sq.km	Population density per sq.km (2001)	Annual growth rate 1991-2001
1	Arghakhanchi(H)	157304	180884	208391	1193	174.7	1.42
2	Baglung(H)	215228	232486	268937	1784	150.7	1.46
3	Gorkha(H)	231294	252524	288134	3610	79.8	1.32
4	Gulmi(H)	238113	266331	296654	1149	258.2	1.08
5	Kapilvastu(T)	270045	371778	481976	1738	277.3	2.6
6	Kaski(H)	221272	292945	380527	2017	188.7	2.62
7	Lamjung(H)	152720	153697	177149	1692	104.7	1.42
8	Manang(M)	7021	5363	9587	2246	4.3	5.81 ✓
9	Mustang (M)	12930	14292	14981	3573	4.2	0.47
10	Myagdi(H)	96904	100552	114447	2297	49.8	1.29
11	Nawalparasi(T)	308828	436217	562870	2163	260.2	2.55
12	Palpa(H)	214442	236313	268558	1373	195.6	1.28
13	Parwat(H)	128400	143547	157826	494	319.5	0.95
14	Rupandehi(T)	379096	522150	708419	1360	520.9	3.05
15	Syangja(H)	271824	293526	317320	1164	272.6	0.78
16	Tanahun(H)	223438	268073	315237	1546	203.9	1.62

Source: Central bureau of statistics, (2002)

Table 1.0 reveals the population growth rates of western development region by districts. Manang, Kaski, Nawalparasi, Kapilbastu and Rupandehi districts have witnessed highest population growth rate, which is more than 2.5 percent in 2001. Manang has the exceptional case, but others district faced the problem of high annual population growth rates due to in-migration from inside and outside the country.

Urbanization

There are twelve urban centers in western development region. Eight urban centers are situated in hill region and remaining four located in the districts of Terai region. The table 1.1 reveals the data about urban population growth rates by municipalities. Almost all the urban centers are in the district headquarters. According to the census figure of 2001, the urban population growth rate is very high in Pokhara sub-metropolis, Butwal and Taulihawa municipalities.

The urban population growth rate is high due to four reasons in this region. These are natural increase, net in-migration, and enlargement of existing urban area and declaration of new urban centers. The rural to urban flow of migration has the dominant role on higher urban population growth.

Table 1.1 Western Development Region: Urban Population Growth Rate by Towns, 1991-2001

S.N.	Urban centers	District	Census year		Population differences	Average annual growth rates
			1991	2001		
1	Pokhara	Kaski(H)	95,286	156,312	61,026	5.95 ✓
2	Butwal	Rupandehi(T)	44,272	75,384	31,112	5.32
3	Siddharthanagar	Rupandehi(T)	39,473	52,569	13,096	2.87
4	Lekhnath	Kaski(H)	30,107	41,369	11,262	3.18
5	Putali Bazar	Syangja(H)	25,870	29,667	3,797	1.37
6	Vyas	Tanahun(H)	20,124	28,245	8,121	3.39
7	Taulihawa	Kapilvastu(T)	17,126	27,170	10,044	4.62
8	Prithvi Narayan	Gorkha (H)	20,633	25,783	5,150	2.23
9	Ramgram	Nawalparasi(T)	18,911	22,630	3,719	1.8
10	Baglung	Baglung(H)	15,219	20,852	5,633	3.15
11	Tansen	Palpa (H)	13,599	20,431	6,832	4.07
12	Waling	Syangja(H)	16,712	20,414	3,702	2.0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, (2002)

1.4 Kaski District

Kaski district lies in the central part of western development region. It has 2,017 sq. km Area. Lamjung surrounds Kaski district in the east, Manang in the north, Myagdi and Parbat in the west and Syangja and Tanahun in the south. The Kaski district is more important for tourism and trade. The total population of Kaski district was 380,527 in 2001 census. Among them 184,995 were males and 195,532 were females. The average household size was 4.47 persons per household in 2001. There were total 85,075 households in the district in 2001. The ecological environment of Kaski is varied according to its physical shapes like mountainous region to hilly region. The towns and the villages of southern slopes are densely populated but sparse in the northern side.

1.4.1 Population Size, Density, and Growth:

The table 1.2 demonstrates the population data on size, density and growth rates in Kaski district, Pokhara sub metropolis, and Lekhanath municipality of both censuses 1991 and 2001. This table also presents the data on rural/urban density of population. The population density of Kaski district increased from 145 persons to 189 persons per sq. km in between 1991 and 2001 interval. Similarly, the density of population of Pokhara sub-metropolis increased from 1717 persons per sq. km in 1991 to 2816 persons per sq. km in 2001. The density of population of

Lekhanath municipality increased from 388 to 534 persons per sq. km from 1991 to 2001.

Table 1.2 Population Size, Density and Growth 1991-2001.

Areas	Population 1991	Area in sq.km.	Density 1991	Population 2001	Density 2001	Change in density 1991-2001
Kaski	292945	2017	145.24	380527 (2.62)	188.66	43.42
Pokhara S.M.	95268	54.80	1716.54	156312 (5.1)	2816.43	1099.89
Lekhanath M.	30107	69.15	388.48	41369(3.18)	533.79	145.31
Rural	167570	1893	88.47	182846 (0.9)	96.54	8.05
Urban	125375	124	1019.31	197681 (4.66)	1607.16	587.85

Source: Central bureau of statistics, 2002.

* Figures in parentheses are population growth rates

Similarly, the rural density of population of Kaski district increased from 88 to 97 persons per sq. km from 1991 to 2001. Likewise, the urban density of population of Pokhara valley increased from 1019 to 1607 persons per sq. km from 1991 to 2001. There are total 45 settlements. Out of them, 43 are village development committees, one municipality, and one sub-metropolitan city.

Table 1.3 Population of Kaski by Age and Sex

Age	Total	Male	Female	Sex ratio per 1000 Male ^r
0-4	37724	19200	18524	965
5-9	45737	23254	22483	967
10-14	48695	24604	24091	979
15-19	45121	22854	22267	974
20-24	38665	18452	20213	1095
25-29	29804	13790	16014	1161
30-34	25459	11786	13673	1160
35-39	22058	9947	12111	1218
40-44	18781	8703	10078	1158
45-49	15499	7268	8231	1132
50-54	13222	6329	6893	1089
55-59	10548	5206	5342	1026
60-64	9429	4415	5014	1136
65-69	7513	3521	3992	1134
70-74	5513	2688	2825	1051
75+	6759	2978	3781	1270
Total	380527	184995	195532	1057

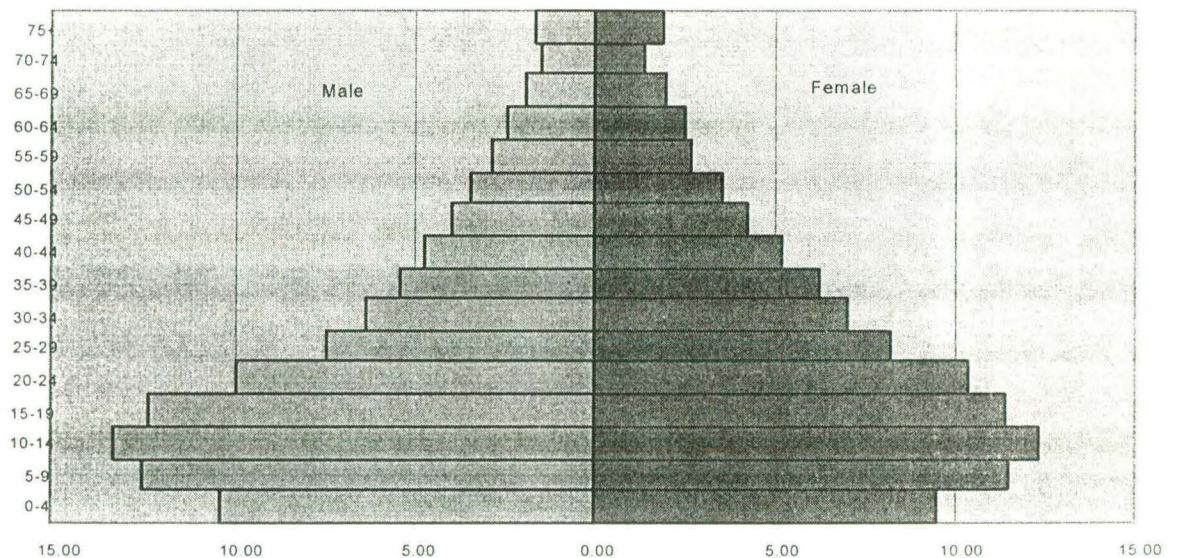
Females

Source: Central bureau of statistics, (2002)

The towns of the Pokhara valley are surrounded by the VDCs of the district. Pokhara valley is the district and regional headquarter of Kaski district and western development region. The population density of Kaski district is 189 persons per sq. km. The annual population growth rate is 2.64 percent. The table 1.3 depicts the population of Kaski district by age and sex. There is female outnumbered the male according to the sex ratio. The following figure depicts the population pyramid of Kaski district.

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Figure 1.1 Population Pyramid



1.5 Migration Pattern of Kaski District

The following table 1.4 reveals the data on migration streams of Kaski district in 2001. The figure shows the increasing percentage of rural to urban migration. The migration pattern of western hill and especially the migration pattern and trend of Kaski district is changing its course over time. The volume of internal and external migration in Kaski district is increasing over time. The rural to rural stream is invariably high due to the cause of marriage. Another most important migration stream in this district is rural to urban. This streams flow is high due to economic, employment and educational reasons.

The urban to urban and urban to rural migration streams are negligible in the district. The urban to rural migration occurred due to government services and the small-scale businesses. The urban to urban flow is very small in Kaski district because of short distance in between the urban centers. The figure of out migration is not given here; however, the empirical findings of various studies indicate that the volume of out migration from Kaski district is very high when compared with internal flow. This has resulted due to Gurkha connection in British army and the higher income opportunities in overseas countries.

Table 1.4 Migration Streams, 1991-2001

District Kaski	Migration streams								Total Migration
	Rural-urban		Urban-urban		Rural-rural		Urban-rural		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1991	9376	42	459	2.1	11815	52.9	681	3.0	22331
2001	13673	46.3	495	1.7	14,518	49.1	860	2.9	29,546

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002

1.6 Pokhara Valley

1.6.0 Introduction

Pokhara valley lies in the frontier face of Fishtail and Annapurna peaks. This is the regional, zonal and district headquarters. Until the mid 1960s, Pokhara valley was a small bucolic town with a population of 5413 people; it was a major trading center in the central hills. Uncontrolled tourists, urbanization, commercial growth, and proliferation of slum are the characteristics of this town. It is far away by 200 km to the west of Kathmandu. Presently, Pokhara is one of the most important tourist places of western development region of Nepal.

(I) 1.6.1 Geographical Setting

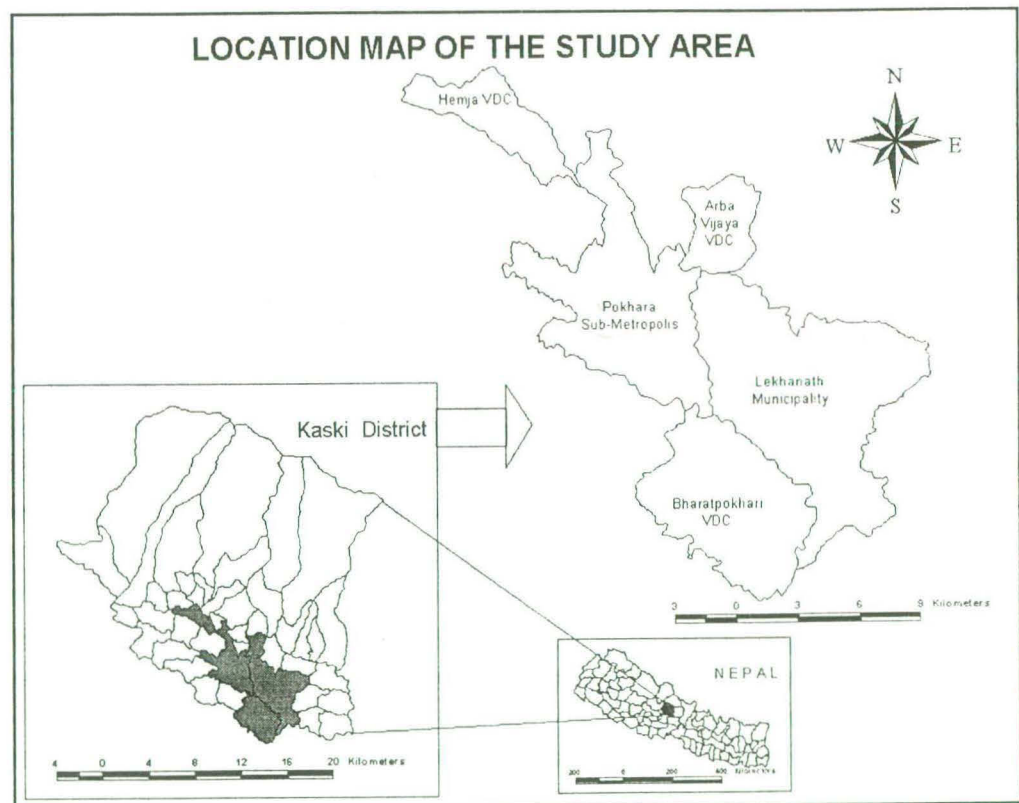
1.6.1.1 Location

Its precise geographical location stretches between 28° 10' N to 28° 16' N latitude and 83° 58' 30" E to 84° 02' 30" E longitude. The town is actually spread in a valley of some 123 sq km, surrounded on all sides by mountain and hills. The floor of the valley is nearly flat but tends to slope towards the south. It extends about 9 km north to south from the southern foot of the Annapurna range to the relatively smaller Mahabharat range.

1.6.1.2 Landforms

An understanding of the vegetation, crops and, to some extent, the settlement patterns of Pokhara require some insight into its landforms. The landforms of the Pokhara valley have been created by various deposits of materials brought from the Annapurna region by Seti River at different periods in the history and laid down in different parts of the valley. Accordingly, the landforms of the valley are very divergent. The valley floor and river terraces of Pokhara comprise compactly consolidated, weakly stratified mixtures of boulders and pebbles joined by calcareous materials.

Map-4 Pokhara Valley Geographical Location



1.6.1.3 Rainfall

The monsoon that originates in the Bay of Bengal, far to the southeast, experiences no real barrier before it reaches the Himalayas, where it cools off and is prevented from moving further north. As a result, the water vapor or rains carried by the clouds pour down on Pokhara. Pokhara receives about 300 cm of rain in a year,

the highest rainfall in Nepal. Eighty percent of which occurs in the four summer months. Intense rainfall within a short span of time causes surface erosion. The heavy rainfall of Pokhara valley and its periphery is promoting the expansion and acceleration of natural greenery in this region. Apart from ensuring the high level of rainfall, the lack of a major mountain range between the Pokhara valley and the high Himalayas has affected the region in many ways. The Seti is the main River of Pokhara valley.

1.6.1.4 Soil

The composition of the upper layer of the soil is different in Pokhara from that other valley in the middle hills. The upper surface of the soil in Pokhara consist mainly of glacial and river gravel deposits. However, there are wide variations in the soils within the valley. The valley floor slopes gently to the south, falling on average about 100ft in a mile, the valley itself has a northwest to southeast orientation (Gurung, 1965). The average height of the valley above sea level ranges from 730 meters to 1030meters.

1.6.1.5 Lakes

Pokhara valley is famous for its lakes. It has seven lakes (Tals) - Phewa, Rupa, Begnas, Dipang, Maldi, Khaste and Gudi. Most of these lakes are located towards the edges of main valley. The last four of these lakes have virtually disappeared, due mainly to siltation. The area of Rupa Lake has also diminished greatly, for the same reason. These lakes are important from the point of view of environmental conservation and for tourism particularly for bird watching. There are contrasting arguments and interpretations exist regarding the origin of lakes. Pokhara's water features include not only the lakes but also deep and narrow gorges formed by rivers. The Seti River has formed gorges in three places within the town section of the valley. All of above discussed geographical features have affected the growth and development of Pokhara, particularly because of expensive land price (Due to remittance and in-migration) and housing development. Larger and taller houses are generally avoided because of the fear that soil is unstable for foundations. The

views of geologist, surveyors, and engineers on the suitability of areas for construction have affected the evolution of the built up areas.

1.6.1.6 Climate and Vegetation

Annual temperature in Pokhara valley ranges from maximum 36° Celsius to minimum 8° Celsius. The summer mean temperature generally exceeds 36° degree Celsius. The seasonal cycle is cool-warm-hot -warm. Within the valley, the temperature regime differs from one location to another: the northern part of Pokhara, for example, is relatively cooler than the southern and eastern parts. In general, the climate of Pokhara as a whole is considered humid sub-tropical, but temperature differences vary considerably from valley floor to hilltops. As a result, a great variety of vegetation, ranging from temperate to tropical, can be seen. *Shorea robusta* (Sal) is found in the tropical belt like narrow valley lower belt of Lekhanath municipality. An association of *Scima wallichii*- *Castinopsis indica* predominates on the sub-tropical hills. Forests of oak and rhododendron are common in the northern high hills. While the natural beauties of two peaks and Fewa Lake and others lakes give Pokhara valley its distinct charm.

1.6.2 Human Settlements and Population

1.6.2.1 Towns

There are two towns in Pokhara valley. These are Lekhanath municipality and Pokhara sub-metropolitan city. Almost all the developmental infrastructure and facilities of western development region are concentrated in these towns. As a result of heavy in-migration, the population growth rate is high and the density of population is continuously increasing.

1.6.2.2 Village Development Committees

Only three VDCs surrounded the Pokhara valley are included as the sample for this study. All these VDCs are facing financial problem as well as labour force crisis to accelerate their developmental infrastructure. The energetic, educated, and uneducated labour force is leaving villages in search of employment. Muscle and brain drain have hampered the rural agricultural development that is the key

factor for the further agro-based industrial development and economic growth of the rural hills. Although the rural settlements of Pokhara valley and its periphery is losing its energetic labour force however, is gaining incomes in the forms of remittances at the same time.

1.6.2.3 Habitation

Several thousands years ago, the hills around the valley were most probably inhabited by prehistoric men. Neolithic stone tools found at several sites, including Kaskikot (capital of the later Kaski kingdom of which Pokhara was a part), confirm the thesis of an indigenous population in these hills (Subedi, 1999). Possibly these Neolithic people were the ancestors of today's Kusunda. Only a few Kusunda remain in Nepal. However, according to stories told by the old people of Pokhara, the Kusunda used to roam in the forest, where they collected various edible roots, like yams. They also used to visit villages where they begged for grains and killed snakes. They used to eat the meat of the snakes.

1.6.2.4 Population

Pokhara is a beautiful valley town in the hills of western development region with a population 5400 until the 1961 census; it was major trading center of the western Hills. At present, the size of population in Pokhara valley has reached 250,000 (estimated) in mid July 2005. Slowly and gradually, the valley is growing as a major trading center of western development region. The population is divided into different castes and sub-castes. Among them, Brahmins, Chhetris, Newar, Gurungs and Magars are the main.

1.6.2.5 History of Settlement

Until the 12th century, the Pokhara valley was uninhabited. The first shah king came to Kaski with many milch-cattle, as the whole Pokhara valley was available for grazing (Subedi, 1999: 10). Land grants in the form of *birta* were given later, mainly in the valley. It was during the time of Kulmandan Shah (in the 16th century) that Batulechaur (today on the outskirts of Pokhara town) was designated as the winter capital. After that, other settlements began to develop there. Minstrels (Gaine) were brought from Tanahun to entertain the king and his

court. Even today, the 'low caste' Gaine can be found in Batulechaur in a shanty settlement. The rulers of Kaskikot brought learned Brahmins from Parbat and helped them to settle in Kaski. It seems that Brahmins and Chhettris were the first spontaneous settlers of Pokhara valley as they attracted by the relatively flat and suitable land for cultivation of rice. The history of different high caste clans and families now settled in Pokhara confirms that the surrounding hills were settled much earlier than the valley. The Karkis (Chhettri) living in Pokhara now represent the ninth generation of the original Karki immigrants. The predominantly rural landscape of Pokhara, at the end of 1950s, was soon to change out of all recognition as the collection of settlements around the central market area was transformed first into a small town and then into a major urban conglomeration. The 1960s were to prove a decade of explosive growth and development in Pokhara. The rapid growth of the urban population during this period was a result of large-scale immigration, linked both to the expansion of income generating opportunities and to the establishment of effective health and education facilities in the town.

1.6.2.6 Migration History

As in the case of other towns in the western hills of Nepal, Pokhara's growth as a market center was closely linked to the geographical spread of Newars westwards from Kathmandu during the later half of the eighteenth century. The Newars were traders and had artisan skills and were involved in small-scale manufacturing and processing. The immigration from Kathmandu valley to Pokhara has even in the last few decades in the 20th century, maintained a link specifically with the Newars of Bhaktapur. The out-migration history of Pokhara valley had started since Indo-Nepal Sugauli treaty. The recruitment of Nepalese youth in British imperial army started simultaneously with that treaty. There is no evidence of out migration from Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands before Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16. The migration from Pokhara valley to the other parts of the country started after 1950s. The hill-to-hill eastward migration existed in 1950s. However, the migration from Pokhara valley to Terai region started in late 1960s after the eradication of Malaria. The migration from Pokhara

valley to the other overseas countries except India increased rapidly after 1990s. The in-migration process in Pokhara valley mainly started after 1960s and rather faster since 1970s. The connection of roads linkages accelerated the process of in-migration in the valley. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the attractions were enhanced by the massive expansion of the local bureaucracy and administration. Moreover, by the construction of new motorable all-weather roads, linking Pokhara first to India and then to Kathmandu served to facilitate the rapid movement of goods and people and to integrate it and its hinterlands decisively and definitely into the world economy.

1.6.2.7 The Early Migrants

The various castes at different period migrated to Pokhara valley. Brahmin and Chhettris are the early migrants followed by Muslims and Newars then Thakalis from Thakkhola Mustang. Gurungs and Magars later followed this trend from the different rural villages of Kaski and neighboring districts. Muslim came here as the bangle-sellers and Thakalis came as the salt traders. Newars were holding up almost all the businesses in Pokhara valley until 1950s.

1.7 Economic Inequality and Migration

There is spatial economic inequality in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands; migration tends generally to be from the poorer to the richer areas. The villages also miss the potential gains from migration. The theoretical expectation of migration would tend to reduce income inequality. In fact, its influence is more complicated. Migrants are not always from the poorest families or the poorest areas that has not greater significant impacts on the reduction of economic inequalities in Pokhara valley towns and its peripheral hinterlands. Successful migration requires contacts, knowledge and some capital or at least the ability to borrow. In many villages of highlands near the Pokhara valley, the poorest families lack these resources; indeed, only a few elite families have command over them. The poor families who can afford to migrate are more likely to send their members to the nearest places because cost will be lower. Therefore, the migrants

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from the poor families tend to yield less income and remittances to reduce economic inequalities and poverty.

1.7.1 Labour Out-migration

Labour migration is one of the most important sources of export from Pokhara valley and its peripheral hinterlands. Labour migration is influenced by developmental activities at the micro-level that is based on the hypothesized change of economic standard resulting from migration. These changes can result from new skills learned during migration or may be an influence on the productive use of savings to develop new economic activities by the returned migrants. It is clear that the vast majority of migrants in Pokhara valley economically benefited from their moves. More or less, they used their saving for their economic welfare. Various studies on internal migration show that migrants have higher levels of labour force participation and higher levels of economic status than non-migrants do. The migrants usually have a job arranged before they move or, if not, spend little time looking for a job, and earn much more than they would be able to earn undertaking equivalent work at the place of origin. Even though rural-to-urban migrants in Pokhara valley, do make more money than they would ^{have} if they had not moved, although they still make up large segments of the urban poor. | language

1.7.2 Female Migration

The volume of female migration is increased in Pokhara valley at present. The females economically have benefited from migration, although many women are placed in vulnerable positions because of their migration, they and their families typically benefit economically from migration. Women are generally empowered by migration if they have white ^{collar} jobs, and that, instead of trying to restrict their movement. ?

1.8 Demographic Profile of Pokhara Valley

1.8.1 Population by Age

The following table 1.5 represents the demographic profile of Pokhara valley. The table reveals the broad age groups of population. There is 31.82 per cent child population and 5.64 per cent old population in Pokhara sub-metropolis in 2001. The sex ratio (965) in Pokhara is in the favour of male while in Lekhanath, it is (1112) in favour of female. The total male population in Pokhara sub-metropolis exceeds due to in-migration.

Table 1.5 Broad Age Groups of Population in the Valley by Sex 2001

Areas	Population by age groups			Total
	0-14	15-59	60+	
Pokhara S.M.P.	49747(31.82)	97746(62.53)	8819(5.64)	156312(100)
Male	25485(29.55)	56835(65.91)	3913(4.54)	86233(100)
Female	24262(34.62)	40911(58.38)	4906(7.00)	70079(100)
Lekhanath M.	14862(35.92)	23282(56.28)	3225(7.80)	41369(100)
Male	7603(39.24)	10432(53.57)	1440(7.39)	19475(100)
Female	7259(33.16)	12850(56.69)	1785(8.15)	21894(100)
Arba VDC	1214(34.42)	1980(56.14)	333(9.44)	3527(100)
Male	619(37.27)	876(52.74)	166(9.99)	1661(100)
Female	595(31.87)	1104(59.18)	167(8.95)	1866(100)
Hemja VDC	3154(36.24)	4861(55.86)	687(7.89)	8702(100)
Male	1498(35.68)	2406(57.30)	295(7.02)	4199(100)
Female	1656(35.98)	2455(53.33)	392(2.00)	4603(100)
Bharatpokhari VDC	3919(38.74)	5396(53.35)	800(7.91)	10115(100)
Male	1985(42.44)	2290(48.96)	402(8.60)	4677(100)
Female	1934(35.56)	3106(57.12)	398(7.32)	5438(100)

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002. *Figures in parentheses are percentages

The total female population in Lekhanath municipality exceeds due to out-migration. The male population exceeds in Arba and Bharatpokhari VDC but female population exceeds in Hemja. The proportion of working age population is highest in Pokhara sub metropolis. The proportion of working age population is lowest in Bharatpokhari VDC. However, the proportion of children is highest in Bharatpokhari among the five different clusters. The proportion of elder population is higher in rural areas than urban.

The table 1.6 presents the information about population of Arba, Hemja and Bharatpokhari village development committees by five-year age groups and sex. The three-village development committee's entire population scenario

depicts higher ratio of females. This is due to the better life expectancy at birth of the female and the excessive out migration of males. Female exceeds more pronounced in the old age above 65 years.

Table 1.6 Distribution of VDC's Population by Age and Sex, 2001.

Age Groups	Arba		Hemja		Bharatpokhari	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	163	183	395	458	546	522
5-9	221	207	543	571	655	665
10-14	235	205	560	527	784	747
15-19	214	207	516	455	560	586
20-24	136	193	365	468	340	471
25-29	89	143	395	387	228	387
30-34	75	101	267	303	193	338
35-39	84	123	212	269	236	259
40-44	72	88	205	233	205	286
45-49	73	96	168	209	199	230
50-54	68	90	135	165	193	200
55-59	65	63	143	166	136	179
60-64	63	56	102	119	141	160
65+	103	111	183	273	261	308
Total	1661	1866	4099	4603	4677	5438

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002.

However, the proportion of male population in Arba VDC at the age groups 5-19 and 55-64 is higher. Likewise, the proportion of male population in Hemja VDC at the age 10-29 is higher. The proportion of male population in Bharatpokhari VDC is only high in the age group 0-4 year. The over all demographic situation of Pokhara valley is similar to the national demographic scenarios. However, the male population exceeds only in the Pokhara sub metropolis is the exceptional case due to heavy in-migration.

1.8.2 Sex Ratio

The table 1.7 presents the information about population of Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhanath municipality by five-year age groups and sex. The proportion of male population varies in both towns in the age group 0-14 years. The proportion of male population is also higher in Pokhara sub-metropolis in the age group 15-34 years.

**Table 1.7 Distribution of Urban Population
by Sex Ratio and Age, 2001.**

Age Groups	Pokhara Sub-metropolis			Lekhanath Municipality		
	Male	Female	Sex ratio = (F/M) 1000	Male	Female	Sex ratio = (F/M) 1000
0-4	7414	7000	944	2189	2045	934
5-9	8722	8223	943	2593	2538	979
10-14	9349	9039	967	2827	2670	944
15-19	10332	9056	877	2258	2490	1103
20-24	9858	9326	946	1662	2102	1265
25-29	7587	7353	969	1313	1728	1316
30-34	6257	6131	980	1155	1538	1332
35-39	4986	5029	1009	1062	1418	1335
40-44	4000	3852	963	966	1193	1235
45-49	2965	2913	982	812	983	1211
50-54	2417	2257	934	655	789	1205
55-59	1763	1664	944	543	625	1151
60-64	1290	1556	1206	511	574	1123
65+	2623	3350	1277	929	1221	1314
Total	79563	76749	965	19475	21894	1124

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002.

However, proportion of female population is higher in the age group 35-39. Similarly, the proportion of male population also is higher compared to female in all ages above 40 year in Pokhara. The proportion of female population is higher in Lekhanath municipality in all the ages above 15 years. The proportion of working age population is 62.53 per cent, which is quite high. Likewise, the proportion of working age male population is also quite high in Pokhara sub-metropolis. Only one reason of this fact is the in-migration in the town. The proportion of males in the working age group is lower in Lekhanath municipality with comparison to females. The reason of this female out number is the out-migration of males. Similarly, the proportion of males in the working age group is lower in Hemja, Arba and Bharatpokhari VDCs in comparison to females. Here the reason of out migration of males also applies for the higher proportion of females. The proportion of old age population is increasing in this study area because of the rise of life expectancy at births. The proportion of child population is slightly decreasing due to the reduction of total fertility rate. The overall demographic situation of Kaski district and Pokhara valley is similar to the national figures. The table also reveals the data on sex ratio by age groups of the Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhanath municipality. The figure shows that the

proportion of male exceeds in all the age groups in Pokhara sub-metropolis except age group 35-39 and above 60 years. Likewise, the figure reveals that the proportion of female exceeds in all the age groups in Lekhanath except age group 0-14 years.

Table 1.8 Sex Ratios in Kaski District

Areas	Male	Female	Sex ratio (Female Per 1000 Male)
Kaski District	184995	195532	1057
Pokhara S.M.P.	79563	76749	965
Lekhanath M.	19475	21894	1124
Arba VDC	1661	1866	1123
Hemja VDC	4199	4603	1096
Bharatpokhari VDC	4677	5438	1163

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002.

The table 1.8 reveals the data on sex ratio of Kaski district and Pokhara valley. The overall sex ratio in Kaski district is in the favour of females. However, the sex ratio of Pokhara sub metropolis is quite high and is in the favour of males. This is the outcome of heavy in migration in sub metropolis. The sex ratio of Lekhanath municipality, Arba VDC, Hemja VDC, and Bharatpokhari VDC is in the favour of females. Although the national figure of sex ratio is high and in the favour of females but not as like this. The sex ratio of Arba, Bharatpokhari VDCs and Lekhanath municipality is 1123, 1096 and 1163 per 1000 male population respectively which quite higher with comparison to the district figure of Kaski. Similarly, the sex ratio of Kaski district is 1057 and Pokhara sub metropolis is 965 female per 1000 male. According to sex ratio female outnumber than male in this study area except the Pokhara sub metropolis due to heavy in- migration. The Italian traveler Tucci had seen the potential of urban growth in Pokhara when he passed through in 1952: "It supplies the whole of the vast surrounding districts and is a very important junction...Because of its position; it is bound to see a great expansion..." (Tucci, 1977: 23).

1.8.3 Percentage and Growth Rates of Urban Population

The table 1.9 demonstrates the data on urban population growth rates of Pokhara valley and the percentages of urban population in Kaski district.

Table 1.9 Percentage and Growth Rates of Urban Population 1981-2001

Period	Kaski-District Population	% Of urban Population	Size of Population	
			Pokhara	Lekhanath
1981	221272	21.07	46642 (8.5 %)*	-
1991	292945	32.52	95268 (8.5 %)*	30107
2001	380527 (2.62%) **	52.0	156312 (7.5 %)*	41369 (3.18%)*

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002.

* The figures in parentheses are urban population growth rates

** The figures in parentheses is population growth rates of Kaski district (1991-2001)

The percentage of urban population in Kaski district is 21.07, 32.52, and 52.0 in 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. The proportion of urban population increased to more than double in Kaski district within three decades. This is due to immigration, expansion of the existing urban area and the declaration of Lekhanath as a new town in the valley.

1.9 Urbanization and Industrialization

Urbanization in Pokhara valley started after 1960s. Until the early 1950s, the urban area of Pokhara valley was confined along a footpath that linked the three temples established by the earlier generations of Newar immigrants. Pokhara valley is ideally situated along the trade routes to China and India. The declaration of Pokhara town Panchayat in 1961 was the milestone of urban history of Pokhara. At one time, Pokhara was famous for its orange. Even now, the peripheral rural settlements are famous for their oranges and unique variety of tomatoes. The major commercial activity of the town is still very much linked to the long-distance trade between Tibet and mountain areas to the north of Pokhara and to the south with India. The Thakali traders who dominated this long-distance trade had built warehouses for trade goods in transit and to house packsaddles and equipment for the donkeys and mules operating on the long-distance trails north of Pokhara. The travelers had usually bought or sold

something to the house where they sheltered. Well-established merchants had permanent customers from the hill villages. It was taken for granted that shopkeepers would provide both cooking and shelter facilities for customers and their porters. The main function of this market centre was to supply goods and commodities to surrounding hinterlands. The development of Bazaar (commercial quarter) in Pokhara accelerated the migration of people from hills to the Pokhara valley, establishing villages from which they would cultivate paddy. This process commenced in the late 1950s. Malaria eradication was to prove of major significance, although its effects were really felt in the 1960s. The expansion of irrigation facilities through 'irrigation-projects' and in part through spontaneous settlements and cultivation, the growth of other development related activities and the location of government offices in Pokhara provided additional reasons for the steady migration of hill people to the valley.

In the 1950s, there were numerous initiatives aimed at establishing industries in Pokhara. In Kaski district there were altogether 63 industries registered in 1951, most of them were located in Pokhara. Most of the cottage and small-scale industries that existed in the past did not survive after 1950s, when influence of Indian market increased because of the opening of country to the outside world, only six of these survived by 1955.

1.9.1 Establishment of Hospitals

Some attempts are made to provide health and educational facilities in Pokhara valley in this period. Many parts of Pokhara valley were affected by Plague, Cholera, Smallpox, and Malaria seriously. In 1953, Soldier Board Hospital was established with the assistance of Indian Embassy, mainly to provide health services to retired British/ Indian army personnel. A year before this, a small hospital was started by British missionaries. But to the villagers, the hospital was commonly known as 'Mim's hospital'. Mim was used as the synonyms of British women. There was some army type of aluminum huts, which were very bright and shiny, so the hospital was named the shining hospital. There were a few water taps in Pokhara at this time. Water was provided only for a short time in

the morning and evening. In 1957, a leprosy hospital was established in Pokhara. Goitre and TB were common diseases in Pokhara at that time.

1.9.2 Establishment of Schools

As regards schools and education, small local schools, established under the government education program, started in the early 1950s. Besides, children (usually boys only) taught informally in the houses of eminent locals as in Lamachaur, where boys taught in the house of Ram bahadur subba. A Sanskrit school established in the compound of the Bindhyabashini temple in Batulechaur, and later on shifted to its present location in Bagar. However, the students studied in the open ground. A multipurpose high school was established in 1959 with financial support from USAID.

1.9.3 Transportation

The improvement of transportation within the town area and between the town and the 'outside world' was a major factor that promoted a certain relocation of population to roadside locations, which accelerated the urbanization process. Harka Gurung (1980: 153) notes that the development of the transportation system in Pokhara took place in an inverted sequence: airplane in 1952, jeep in 1957 and finally bullock cart in 1961. Gurung also wrote, there were 22 bullock carts and 3 jeeps in Pokhar in 1965. The opening of new roads within Pokhara also changed the morphology of markets centers. For example, the construction of the concrete bridge, replacing the previous various bamboo bridges over the Seti River. Mahendrapool converted into a major trading centre of the town. When George John, came from Kerala to establish the Prithwi Narayan College in Pokhara, he flew from Kathmandu to Pokhara in 1957. He described how "the airport at Pokhara was just a patch of green surrounded by cattle; no control tower, no windsock. But there was a small 'Sami' tree under whose shade passengers, porters and onlookers took shelter from the sun and rain (Adhikari, 2002: 42).

1.9.4 Tourism

One of the major consequences of the improved transport facilities, both air and surface, was the increased flow of tourists. European tourists visit Pokhara because of its natural beauty and pleasant weather. Those tourists who are interested in trekking and mountaineering traveled to Pokhara frequently. A substantial influx from India is attracted to Pokhara due to its cooler climate and Places of pilgrimage that are religiously important. Trekking and tourism opportunities were, however, already getting popular in the 1960s and 1970s mainly among the British, who were connected with Gurkhas, to visit retired friends in the villages and enjoy the magnificent walks and views. Several began to explore the Nepali Himalayan region and to develop the idea of 'trekking'.

1.9.5 The Growth of Urban Economy

Pokhara grew rapidly through the late 1960s and early 1970s as a commercial centre. From a survey conducted in 1970s, it was clear that the majority of business (69%) establishments had been established within the last decade in the late 1960s and 1970s. Out of 86 business establishments interviewed in 1975, 33% had been established only since 1972 and 36 % had been established between 1968 and 1972. Nearly one third had been established earlier, between 1955 and 1968, and before 1955 (Blaikie, Cameron & Seddon, 1980: 131).

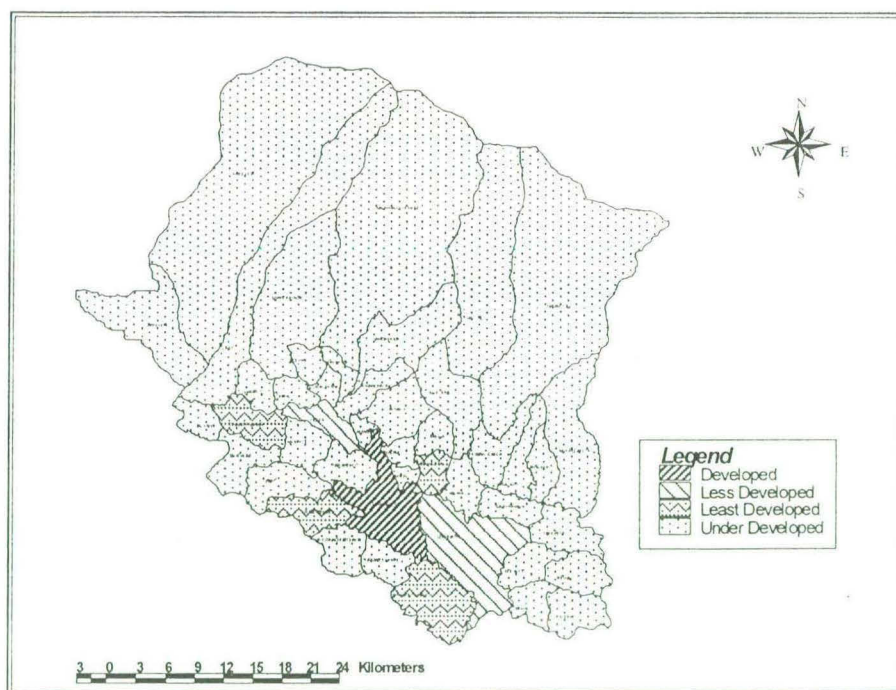
A study conducted in 1978 (Mulmi, 1979) confirmed that the growth rate of businesses established had increased rapidly since 1969, when transportation facility began to develop between Pokhara and Indian border towns like Butwal and Bhairahawa. In 1974, the government established an industrial estate in Pokhara to encourage potential investors to establish industries and thereby to increase the industrial base of Pokhara. This was the sixth industrial estate in Nepal. Similarly, government also encouraged the development of Pokhara as a tourist destination and promoted the improvement of relevant infrastructures like airport, transport, and communication. There was a significant increase in the proportion of construction related enterprises as residential, offices and

commercial activities expanded; they required accommodation and hospitality services (hotels, restaurants, bars etc.) in this period (Mulmi, 1979).

1.9.6 Micro-levels of Development and Migration

According to the statistics (based on table 1.10) of district development report of Kaski, a simple scenario of development is presented in map 4 in terms of the facilities available of education, health, roads, food sufficiency, electricity, drinking water, and banking and so on in the district. The prevailing structure of rural economy and developmental infrastructure in almost all the VDCs of Kaski district is seen in very low levels. That ultimately boosts up the two faceted problems. In one hand, such underdevelopment perpetuates and continues the process of out-migration. In the other hand out-migration also perpetuate and continue the low levels of development in the rural areas of the district.

Map 5: Levels of Development at Micro Level (Kaski)



Source: District Development Profile, Kaski 2005

1.9.7 Infrastructural Development

The expansion of road network in the region as a whole increased the town's strategic position as far as trade and commerce were concerned. It is also true that the improvement and extension of the transport and other infrastructures within the town area had its own impact, not only on the economy of the town but also on the quality of the life. The construction of bridge over Seti River converted Mahendrapool as a major trading centre of the town and opening of new road linked Chipledhunga, Prithwi- Chock, and Shrijanachock together.

Table 1.10 Infrastructural Development in Kaski District

Towns/ VDCs	Drinking Water	Schools	College	Hospital	Electri city	Road	Tele Phone	Food Sufficiency	Bank
Pokhara Sub- Metropolis	Yes	Yes	Yes *	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Lekhanath	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Hemja	No	Yes	Yes*	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Arba	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes**	No	yes	No
Pumdibhumdi	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Dhikurpokhari	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Bharatpokhari	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes**	No	No	No
Valam	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes**	No	No	No
Deurali	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes**	No	No	No
Thumki	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes**	No	No	No
Ghandruk	No	Yes***	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Siddha	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes**	No	Yes	No
Other VDCs	No	Yes***	No	No	No	No	No	No	No

Source: District Development Reports Kaski, 2005!

* Private college only, ** Land roads only, *** only primary schools

The progressive improvement of transport network and quality of roads' surface continued during 1990-2000 decade, which was the most dramatic leap forward.

1.9.8 Growing Urban Inequality

The economic inequality among the city dwellers is increasing tremendously at present. The inflow of capital and expansion in businesses and commercial activities has made some households wealthier. But at the same time, those not able to take advantages of new opportunities created in recent times in businesses, trade and other non-farm employment, because of lack of capital, education and social network, are facing economic hardship. In terms of income differentials like that in the form of pension and so on economic polarization is growing inequality, consequently the pattern of expenditure and consumption is unequal.

1.9 Hinterland

The failure of rural hinterland of Pokhara to develop its own substantially market-oriented system of agriculture and livestock production in response to the increased demand in the urban market is also striking. Farming remained essentially for subsistence and an increasing proportion of cash income was derived from off farm and non-farm activities. But even the demand for products that could be produced locally with little imported equipment like vegetables, ghee, fruits, milk and eggs failed to stimulate local economy much. As regards flows of labor, there is no doubt that Pokhara was increasingly receiving young men, and their families, from the surroundings, creating in some villages acute shortage of labour and ultimately changing the demographic structure, local economy and village culture of the entire region.

1.10 Migration and Population Diversity

A study conducted in 1994 reveals some differences, particularly with regard to the district of origin. Even though this study was conducted only within five wards out of the 18 wards in town, it underlines the basic fact that migration in Pokhara was still mainly from the villages of the surrounding areas. For instance from the Kaski district, it was 63 %, Myagdi 12.4 %, Parbat 6.2 %, Mustang 2 %, Syanja 5.5 % Dhading 4.1% and Tanahun 2 %. The proportion for Magars migrants is significant for Myagdi district and the proportion for Gurung migrants is significant for Kaski and Lamjung districts. The migration from Kathmandu, Gorkha, Nuwakot, Rupandehi was insignificant (Paudel, 1994: 35-36).

It should be noted, however, that there is a strong tendency for people from the same regions to settle in particular parts of the town and in particular, wards, and it may be that this sample was biased towards 'new' immigrants from northern region and districts. In this sample more than half of the migrants were Gurungs (55 %); Magars formed 16 % while only 23 % were Brahmins, Chhettris and Thakalis and 5% were Newars (Pun, 1994).

1.11 The Remittance Economy

Various micro-levels studies in the mid 1990s suggest a heavy dependence on remittances and income from employment abroad or elsewhere in Nepal, at least for half of the total population. This study, then suggests that over 60 % of the migrants in Pokhara valley rely on employment abroad and/or remittances from elsewhere. More than 20 percent survive by business including hotels and industry, 15 % are engaged in services in the public and private sectors; and the rest are engaged in agriculture or depend on rent for income. As reported in *Himal* (Dahal, 1999: 30), Pokhara is a prime example of an urban centre where remittances have played a major role in transforming the economy and household structure. It is not easy to calculate accurately as to what is the exact amount of remittances that come directly into Pokhara.

1.12 Migration and its Influences

There are various types of by products of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley and peripheral rural societies of western development region at different levels. The societies are either developed or at a preliminary stages of development.

Individual's benefits: The individuals benefited through the internal and external migration by increasing income levels, in Pokhara valley and its peripheral rural villages that increased the various options, choices, and "freedom."

Challenges: The individuals faced the challenges of internal and external migration that has created isolation, loneliness, exploitation, hardships, hostility from host societies etc, from the Pokhara valley and its peripheral hinterlands.

Household's benefits: Internal and external migration provides the benefits to the households for their better standard of living, education for children's, access to health care and sense of financial security at the households' level, in Pokhara valley due to remittances through out migration.

Challenges: Internal and external migration of the persons created the challenging situation of separation from partners, strains in relationships, sometimes, challenges in the absence of remittances, extra burden on women who stay behind at household's level, in the Pokhara valley and its peripheral hinterlands.

Community's benefits: Each community benefited by internal and external migrations by increasing its remittances, exposure/linkages with the outer world, flow of ideas/information, improved developmental infrastructures at the community/society level, in Pokhara valley and the peripheral rural villages.

Challenges: Each community of Pokhara valley and peripheral villages are faced the challenging problems of increasing single parent households, loss of social capital, inequalities between families and a sense of competition as it required to fulfill the societal needs through the process of migration.

1.13 Immigrants

1.13.1 Tibetan Migrants

Approximately 3000 Tibetan migrants (refugees) are sheltered in three camps in Pokhara who have increasingly integrated themselves with the urban economy. They have become more confident and now express their own identity by establishing monasteries, specializing in carpet factories, and selling curios to the tourists.

1.13.2 Indians Migrants

There are also Indian migrants in the Pokhara valley. In 1991, there were 4055, India born people registered in Pokhara sub metropolis. Indian nationals have been increasing rapidly and have reached nearly 25000 in 2004. Entrepreneurs of Indian origin now virtually control the wholesale and retail distribution of fruits and vegetables (coming from the south in particular) as well as metal and renewable waste products like paper, plastics, glass, bottle and the like. They also travel into the villages as mobile traders of goods like clothes and ornamental goods, making Pokhara as a base.

1.14 Housing and Squatter Settlements

Despite the growth in social infrastructures in Pokhara, many remain deprived of these facilities, in part because of their living in squatter settlements. The squatter settlements that have grown up around the town represent the poorest neighborhoods in Pokhara. The growth of these settlements has been taking place over the last three decades. KC et al 1992 showed in their study that, in 1992, nearly 53 % of the total squatter households had come to Pokhara between 1975 and 1981. Most squatters have migrated to Pokhara because of their inability to maintain their livelihoods in their own villages. The following are the pockets of squatter settlements in Pokhara valley. Pocket A: It includes Chandika Tole, parts of Bagar, Tulsighat, Nadi Tole, Sharkee Tole, Maidan Tole, Mahendra Gupha and Damai Tole. In this pocket, Gaine Tole, Damai Tole and Sharkee Tole were neighborhoods of 'occupational caste' group as the names indicate. But other communities grew up later, due mainly to immigration. Pocket B: It includes Rato Pahiro, Ghari Patan and, Ghari Kulo. Rural to urban migrants occupying common land established these communities. Pocket C: It includes Ram Bazaar and, Dhunge Shangu. These squatter settlements also sprang up as a result of migration from the rural areas. Pocket D: It consists of Naya Bazaar, Ram Ghat. Rural immigrants again formed these squatter settlements (Adhikari, 2002).

1.14.1 Housing

Once, the houses of the market centre of Pokhara usually were two storied. The street was stone paved, as there were no any vehicles. Wood was extensively used for the construction of houses. However, at present, there are approximately more than seven storied buildings used for business and hospital purposes. The architecture of buildings of Pokhara valley is totally changed during the past forty years. There is the strong influence of foreign connection of people and the inflow of remittances for this change.

1.14.2 Pollution

The environmental consequences of increased built up areas, population density, industries, and vehicles are of particular importance in Pokhara valley towns.

Expansion in the built up area caused increase in temperature, higher surface run off, trapping of heat, changes in airflow, uneven distribution of moisture and so on. An increase in the population density places great strain on existing water supply and sewerage system, open spaces and other facilities. Solid waste generation increases with an increase in population. An increase in vehicle numbers creates noise, smell, dust and smoke pollution and increased risk of traffic hazards. Industrial expansion is caused noise, air and soil pollution in the Pokhara valley. These are general pollution problems experienced by residents. The range of these problems differs from place to place.

The concentration of population and activities either in hill towns or in the urban areas of Terai does not necessarily lead to desirable growth is well exemplified by the excessive congestion and indiscriminate sprawling cities. Physical planning for urban areas should however be developed in the context of larger regional framework encompassing the urban core as well as its rural periphery. Meanwhile, there is an urgent need of formulating a policy for creating more efficient physical environment for the urban complex within Pokhara Valley. For physical development, priority should be given to the problems of housing, sewerage, essential services, drinking water, education, hospital, tourist, and recreational facilities both in terms of immediate needs and in terms of future population growth. It is essential to know what the causes are and what the consequences behind the migration in Pokhara Valley are. Earlier studies have partially provided information on causes trends and consequences of migration.

1.15 Statement of the Problem

1.15.1 Origin 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. 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. It is obvious that the sending areas are facing various problems like exodus of energetic and educated work force etc.

The enormous pressure for shelter and services has rapidly frayed the urban fabric especially in Nepal. Today Pokhara and Lekhanath municipalities are facing several challenges to maintain their infrastructures, employment, and sanitation properly. Proliferation of slums 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 persists in rural areas. Still, there is the gradual shipping of the rural poor to urban areas. 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. The tremendous increase of population in Pokhara Valley has created various problems. The intention of this study is to identify and analyze the causes (determinants) and consequences of migration in Pokhara Valley.

1.15.2 Problem in Gist

- Migration is universal and inevitable.
- The urban population growth in Pokhara valley is very high since the last three decades.
- Urban fabric is fragile due to the shift of rural poor to urban centers.
- Rural to urban migration is emerging as a more serious problem simultaneously in Nepal after Maoist insurgency in 1996.
- Almost all the urban centers in Nepal have experienced a heavy migration of people from rural areas that warrants national strategic planning.

The purpose of this study is to look into the determinants and consequences of migration in Pokhara Valley. The influxes of migrants have created serious problems of overall integration, which affected both place of origin and destination. The surge of internal and international migration makes it increasingly imperative to look beyond humanitarian measures towards

addressing the root causes of migration namely political and economic instability as well as human rights violations.

1.15.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To identify and analyze the determinants of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley.
2. To analyze the consequences of internal and external migration in Pokhara and Lekhanath towns and adjoining rural settlements of the valley.
3. To assess, the impact of urban growth on neighboring rural settlements and the role of poverty or prosperity on migration in Pokhara Valley.

1.15.4 Significance of the Study

! Why on p. 38

It is a widely recognized fact that most people in underdeveloped countries are facing the problems 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 centers attract rural poor. Migration evolves not only a shift of population from one geographical setting to another but also a transfer of labor and hence potential economic surplus and heavy urbanization in the place of destination. Therefore, this study has a relevance and significance, as it would help in understanding the determinants and consequences of migration in Pokhara Valley and adjoining rural settlements.

1.15.5 Hypotheses

1. The rural urban interactions in Pokhara Valley have increased with the growth of economic opportunities in both agriculture and non-agricultural sector.
2. The population mobility and rural urban interactions in Pokhara Valley are influenced by the development of transportation and communication linkages with the other parts of the country.
3. Migration in Pokhara Valley has occurred especially from peripheral highlands, simultaneously with the construction of Seti irrigation canal.

4 The volume of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley and its periphery has highly increased within a decade after the beginning of insurgency due to the political instabilities in the hilly areas.

5. The inward flow of migration in Pokhara Valley has resulted in the creation of slum settlements.

1.15.6 Study Area and Methodology

There are two municipality and forty-three rural settlements in Kaski district. Pokhara valley and its periphery selected for the study area. Geographically, it is located in the south central parts of the Kaski district in the western development region. It covers approximately 15% of total land area of district. This area comprises of two urban centers and three village development committees. In 2001, the total population of Kaski district was reported 380750. The two Municipalities, which covered, 132.67 square kilometers of land. The whole study area covers approximately 215 km² about one sixth of the total area of the district.

1.15.6.1 Nature and Source of Data: This study is mainly based on primary data. There is lack of secondary data at household level to examine the determinants and consequences of migration in Pokhara valley. However, the relevant data from the secondary sources will be used.

Observations: Some visible households' level information such as life style and quality of housing and basic amenities etc obtained through observation.

1.15.6.2 Household Survey

Detailed household level information and data on household characteristics, economic activities, education caste, ethnicity, migration status, income, are collected conducting a sample survey in two municipalities of Pokhara valley and three peripheral rural settlements. The whole study is based on primary data and secondary data might be used as required. Using appropriate sampling method, data were collected only for 479 samples, 166 households from Pokhara sub-metropolis, 154 households from Lekhanath municipality, 51 households from Arba Vijaya village development committee, 56 households from Hemja village

development committee, and 52 households from Bharatpokhari village development committee. Multi-stage sampling method is used to select the primary sampling unit. Cluster sampling method is used to choose the sampling unit. However, the priority is given to judgment-sampling method because each primary sampling unit possesses should the equal distribution of the wards. Using sample random sampling method, that collects samples from the primary sampling units. *sample*

1.15.6.3 Sampling Design

Stratified and simple random sampling technique is applied to determine the sample and sub-sample. Two municipalities and three rural settlements are selected as the primary sampling unit. More than 150 household from each town and more than 50 household from each village are purposively selected. Ultimate stage of sampling is the selection of households to be surveyed. For this, simple random sample method is adopted. The required number of households is selected randomly applying lottery techniques based on the latest census information and voter's lists of the respected wards. Then the head of the household is interviewed to fill up the structured questionnaires. The questionnaires are prepared in English and Nepali language and pre tested before finalizing it.

1.15.6.4 Methods of Data Analysis

Multivariate statistical method is used. Migration is treated as dependent variables. Income, Caste, Ethnicity, occupation, education, gender housing and basic amenities are independent variables. Most of the variables in this study are categorical in nature so that the concept of dummy variable might be appropriate for data analysis. For this, first order model with certain interactions added is used. Excel and SPSS statistical package are used as possible. Parametric as well as non-parametric tests are used in data analysis. Mostly the parametric tests are used to test the hypothesis and the non-parametric tests are used to test the independence and related problems.

1.15.6.6 Statistical Tools and Methods

- **Correlation Analysis:** To identify the correlates of various independent variables and migration, correlation analysis has been applied, taking the households level information and average socio-economic indicators of the households. In order to ascertain the direction of interdependence between categories of household and the categories of indices and composite indices of migration and various independent socio-economic variables use and Pearson's correlation coefficient has been computed and tested.

• **Multivariate Analysis:** Since the dependent variable under study is categorical in nature, so that multivariate analysis is applicable for the best explanation

Logistic Regression: Since the dependent variable under study is categorical in nature, so that logistic regression is applicable for the best explanation. Binary type of logistic regression has been used.

Binary Logistic Regression: In binary logistic regression, the response variable contains two categories like true and false etc. A mathematical form of binary logistic equation is given as:

$$P = 1 / 1 + \text{Exp} (-Z)$$

Where, P= estimated probability, Z= predictor.

However, for the multivariate case, Z can be expressed in terms of linear combination of other predictor variables as $Z = b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + \dots + b_n X_n + e$ then the logistic function reduce to the form

$$P = 1 / 1 + \text{Exp} [- (b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + \dots + b_n X_n)]$$

The ratio of probability of success and not success is also known as odd.

$$\text{Odds} = p / (1-p)$$

Hence, the binary logistic function reduces to the form

$$\text{Logit}P = b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + \dots + b_n X_n$$

Logistic regression can also be expressed as in probability form

$$P(x) = \text{Exp} (b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + \dots + b_n X_n) / 1 + \text{Exp} (b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + \dots + b_n X_n)$$

Odds ratio: Odds ratio has been used to compare the relative change in response variable with respect to predictor variables. The odds ratio 33.3 percent is given by

$$\Omega^* / \Omega = \text{Exp} (b) \text{ which leads to } \log \Omega^* / \Omega = b$$

Where, Ω has its usual meaning.

This odds ratio gives the change in response variable when there is unit change in one predictor variable keeping rest of the variable constant multiplying the odds by certain exponential factor.

- **Chi-Square Test:** Cross tabulation and chi-square test have been applied to examine the relationship between the status of migration and various independent socio-economic variables and household status categories and to test whether the interrelationship had been statistically significant or not. The mathematical form of Chi-square test is:

$$X^2 = \sum (O_i - E_i)^2 / E_i$$

Where, O_i = Observed frequencies, E_i = expected frequencies, $i = 1, 2, \dots, n$.

Null hypothesis (H_0): The null hypothesis for the Chi-square test for independence states that two variables being measured are independent (It implies that there is no association between variables under considerations).

Alternative hypothesis (H_1): There is consistent and predictable relationship between two variables under study.

Decision rule: Accept the null hypothesis if calculated value is less than or equal to tabulated value and if calculated value is greater than tabulated value then reject the null hypothesis with $(c-1) (r-1)$ degrees of freedom at given level of significance.

1.16 Limitations of the Study

Attempt is made to build up indicators and indices of migration in Pokhara Valley based on available information, especially internal migration with respect to determinants and consequences. The data may not be free from the sampling errors and respondent's bias. This is the micro-level study of Pokhara Valley.

Migration is a complex and multidimensional problem. It is not possible to address many problems in a single study.

1.17 Organization of the Study

This study has been organized into five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction of the study, which includes background about Nepal, the problem of the research, objectives, hypothesis, and methodology of the study along with introductory explanation of Pokhara valley and its significance and limitation. Appraisals of the analytical issues based on available theoretical and empirical literature and the conceptual framework are presented in chapter two. Chapter three is entirely devoted to the analysis of the incidence of the determinants of migration in Pokhara valley. However, a short review of the developmental issues and demographic features of migrants has also been incorporated therein. A detailed analysis of the various attributes of the consequences of migration in Pokhara valley and across socio-economic status has been presented in chapter four. Finally, the conclusion of the study is presented in chapter five.

Chapter-II

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

People and whole societies have moved across continents regions and within a nation, in search of resources. It is also a multi-dimensional phenomenon. First, it is a demographic phenomenon; it influences size and composition of population at origin and destination. Likewise, it is an economic phenomenon as one of the main causes of population shift, is economic imbalances between areas/regions. In the modern context, it all imposes political restrictions 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 with space, time and the type of the economy. Similarly, migration studies range from purely descriptive and statistical to studies of varying degrees of complexities. The main argument of this study is that the major population and development issue in Nepal in the first decade of the twenty first century is not going to be fertility and mortality but population movement (KC; 2003).

2.1 A Theoretical Paradigm of Migration

“Geographical mobility...represents the possibility of escape from tyranny...the hope and striving for a better life, even if that striving plays into the hands of capital as workers respond to the material incentives capital offers” (Harvey, 1982: 384).

“Flights of peasants from the nobles’ estates to avoid taxes and ill treatment were frequent, and sometimes took place on a huge scale. Entire villages

disappeared in search of other lands and freedom (Franco Venturi, 1960: 65, Shrestha, 1990: 41)."

The geographical movement of human population has played the pivotal role in the process of socio-economic formation and transformation (McNeill, 1978). While the forms of migration varied through time and across space, labor migration has become a prominent type of migration, especially since the "genesis of the capitalist farmer" in the late 15th and 16th centuries (Marx, 1967). Such migration takes place to a variety of spatial development locations such as cities, construction sites, plantations, and frontiers where virgin lands are available for colonization and settlements.

Today migration has emerged as major issues of concern for population and development in most third world countries. Most studies have generally failed to provide more than proximate explanations of why migration occurs. This attempt has the intension to analyze and provide a political economy perspective on the ongoing process, causes, and consequences of migration in Pokhara valley town of western Nepal. In this endeavor, the general framework advanced here views migration as a structural process; this is systematically produced and reproduced.

2.1.1 Conceptual Background

Karl Marx did not formulate any theory of migration but elaborately conceptualized the displacement of labor to cities. Marx (1867: 713) argued that the presence of a large labor 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 labor power in the hands of producers of commodities." This according to Marx was made possible by the displacements of labor that is labor migration to the cities, resulting from "the

expropriation migration of the agricultural producers, the peasants from the soil." A concept underlying this study is that population; embodied in labor is the basis as well as the subject of production and development. Labor 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, 1990:42).

Migration long predates the drawing of today's national boundaries, in parts of world, 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. 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.

The separation of peasants and tenants from the objective conditions of labor such as land and other means of subsistence contributed greatly to early capitalist development. Not only did it allow large-scale capitalist agriculture and animal husbandry to develop, but it also turned smallholding peasants into a mass of rural proletariat, ultimately pushing them off the land and forcing them into the cities, thus setting the process of labor migration in motion. This process was facilitated by the growth of manufacturing in cities, which, in turn, provided means of escape for those freed from feudal bond and expropriated by large capitalist farmers. Ironically, such social freedom made labor dependent on capital, as it forced labor, into a subordinate position in its production relations with capital (Harvey, 1982: 380). If the expropriate peasants stayed in their rural areas, they became landless rural

proletarians, invariably working for capitalist farmers as wage laborers during peak agricultural seasons. If they moved to the cities, they were subjected to the domination of merchant and industrial capital.

In sum, Marx examined migration in terms of its production roles. Migrants were treated as an embodiment of labor and as producers of economic surplus, whose destiny was determined by the capitalist demand for labor. Migration surfaced as a systematic, conditioned response to socio-economic formation and transformations resulting from the advanced process of material production characterized by capitalist farming in rural areas and increased concentration of manufacturing in urban areas. Thus increasing spatial segmentation of agriculture and manufacture, together with concomitant economic changes, forced migration flows to urban centers (Lenin, 1964).

In contrast, Ravenstein (1889) discussed migration from a behavioral perspective as an individual decision-making process. Probably the most characteristic tenet of "his laws of migration" and analytical approach is the one, which he asserted that no migration "Currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material aspect" (1889: 286). Migration was viewed as a free choice intended to maximize utility out of "scarce resources". He focused on providing an economic behavioral explanation of why people moved. Such an approach is useful and provides insights on migration behaviors.

This study utilizes the concept of socio-economic formation, which for the conceptual clarity, is broken into the social relations of production and the process of uneven geographical development. The mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between the social processes, reflecting production relations, and the spatial structure, reflecting uneven development plays a crucial role in the on-going process of labor

migration in underdeveloped societies especially in Pokhara valley. While the discussion of the social relations of production forces on changing class and property relations, the examination of uneven capitalist development emphasizes recent locational and sectoral strategies adopted by third world governments under the aegis of systematic planning.

2.2 A Review of Relevant Formulations of Migration

The social science literature abounds with migration studies many of which have developed different typologies and models (Mabogunje 1970; Simmons et al. 1977; Hugo 1982). One common characteristic is that they tend to reflect narrow disciplinary concerns, and generally overlook the underlying relationships between migration and socio-economic formations and transformations (Bilsborrow et al. 1984). There exist many important studies and views; this review is limited to only two major camps based on their methodological and philosophical leanings: (1) conventional perspectives and (2) neo-Marxist-dependency perspectives.

2.2.1 Conventional Perspectives on Migration

While migration is a common occurrence throughout human history across the world, large-scale migration have been generally associated with the post-industrial revolution phase; migration has been viewed as being closely linked with urban-industrial growth, hence indispensable in the process of development (Shaw, 1974; Rogers and Williamson, 1982). One principle proponent of this argument is Lewis (1954) who, like Marx, emphasized the contribution of labor mobility to capital formation in the cities. His thesis later formalized and extended by several development economists (e.g., Fei and Ranis 1961; Nurkse 1957) was that a significant part of the labor force could be drawn into the "modern" urban-industrial sector from the labor surplus "traditional" agricultural sector. Migration was the vehicle to bring industrial work force needs in cities into correspondence with the surplus labor of the rural areas. Migration, thus assumed to have a positive effect on

national development as it provided an outlet for a productive utilization of underutilized labor. This would raise the capital stock whose reinvestment would generate a higher demand for more labor, ultimately creating a larger consumer market and stimulating more production.

2.2.2 Conceptual Approaches to Migration Studies

Conceptual perspective	Some independent variables	Brief comments
Economic behavioral	Wage/income differentials; employment opportunities; utility maximization; expectation	These studies assume a two sector rural-urban economy; argue that migrants make a rational decision by moving in the direction where they expect to get the highest benefits or wages; generally apply equilibrium, single equation models (e.g., Harris and Todaro 1970).
Eco-demographic	Population pressure; carrying capacity	Assume overpopulation; argue that population pressure leads to out migration (e.g., Simkins 1970; Dahal et al.1977).
Spatial behavioral	Distance; spatial attributes; place utility and disutility	Spatial mobility is inversely related to distance and other intervening factors; evaluation of place utility and disutility plays a key role in migration decision (e.g., Beals et al. 1967; Olsson 1965; Wolpert 1965).
Anthropological/ Sociological	Kinship ties or ethnic networks; modernization; assimilation	Some kind of security assurance in the destination facilitates migration; the stronger the kinship ties and ethnic networks, the greater the propensity to migrate (e.g. Mangin 1970; Abu-Lughod 1961; Zelinsky 1971).
Neo-Marxian Dependency	Socio-economic structure, mode of production, colonial capitalist penetration	Although migration may appear to be "voluntary and rational" it is a conditioned/manipulated behavior, it is directly related to colonial, capitalist penetration (e.g., Mellassoux 1981; Portes 1978; Amin 1974; Shrestha 1990)

Using a similar logic but looking through a different mirror, Myrdal (1957) countered this argument. He asserted that the movement of labor and capital in the same

direction generated the process of negative "cumulative causation", thus producing "backwash effects" in rural areas.

"The localities/regions where economic activity is expanding will attract net immigration from other parts of country. As migration is always selective, at least with respect to the migrant's age, this movement by itself tends to favor the rapidly growing communities and disfavor the others" (Myrdal 1957: 27).

Increasing tides of city ward migration and growing urban unemployment and underemployment led to a new generation of studies in the 1960s, notably the works of Sjaastad (1962), Lee (1966), Todaro (1969), and Harris and Todaro (1970). Contrary to Lewis and Myrdal's paradigms based on classical economics, new studies adopted a neoclassical economic behavioral approach and normally applied partial equilibrium, single equation models to explain labor migration. The basic thrust of these models was to present migration as an expression of "free choice" and thus a confirmation of "economic rationality" (Rogers and Williamson, 1982). The model served as an intellectual justification for state intervention in situations where urban migration was not considered socio-economically optimal. It laid the logical foundation for rural and regional development to counter urban migration streams. Frontier land settlement policy was also utilized to re-channel potential urban migrants to newly settled areas. Despite their popularity, these models have not been immune to criticisms. Neo-Marxist-dependency authors argue that conventional views of migrants as "atomistic, a historical free social agents" do not accurately reflect the historical reality involved in the process of migration (G. Scheepers and V. Binsbergen 1978:21; Amin 1974; Weeks 1971; Lewis 1979).

"Quite clearly, individuals migrate for a number of different causes... Nothing is easier than to compile lists of such 'push' and 'pull' factors and present them as a theory of migration. The customary survey reporting percentages endorsing each such 'cause' might be useful as a sort of first approximation to the question of who migrates. In no way, however, it does explain the structural factors leading to a

patterned movement, of known size and direction, over an extensive period of time", (Portes, 1978: 5).

The major shortcomings of these models are the explanations of migration are based on the postulates of free choice and economic rationality, which veil the much wider reality and socio-spatial context of migration, i.e., how capitalist development and the social relations of production interact to produce migration. The rationality of migration behavior is simply, Godelier (1972: 37) asserts, "a complementary, derivative and dependent rationality". It is a direct function of the prevailing socio-economic structure, which in most underdeveloped countries is invariably entrenched in the political-economic control exercised by the mutually beneficial alliance between the ruling national, and international monopoly capital (Baran 1973; Amin 1976; Portes and Walton 1981; Frank 1978; Slater 1979). Migration behavior is thus a manifestation of and a necessary response to the social and spatial arrangements of the economy in which the state plays a paramount role.

Without a careful socio-spatial dialectical analysis, one cannot gain, to paraphrase partial explanations of migration. Conventional models only reveal migrant's subjective reasons or behaviors, not structural objective conditions that generate such behavior. Migrants are the sole agents of migration, but only as far as they are the personification of economic categories and embodiments of particular class relations within the prevailing socio economic formation (Stanfield, 1980).

2.2.3 Neo-Marxist Dependency Formulations of Migration

In contrast to most conventional models, neo-Marxist-dependency authors conceive migration as a socio-economic process rather than as an amalgamation of individual movements with specific reasons and motives (Portes 1978; Gregory and Piche 1978; Breman 1979; Cliffe 1978). Externally superimposed structural and material forces condition the migration. According to Wallerstein's (1974) reasoning, migration is a

form and mechanism of "labor control" by capital within the capitalist social formation; as such, its intensity is intrinsically tied to capitalist expansion. Neo-Marxists primarily concentrate on the colonial-capitalist penetration into the domestic modes of production in underdeveloped countries. The argument is that global colonial expansion following the industrial revolution was directly linked to: (1) over production and the falling rate of profits and hence a crisis in capital accumulation and (2) a growing mass of relative surplus-population and consequent poverty and social conflicts between capital and labor. Colonialism and colonial migration were viewed as a salvation to these problems.

Marx (1967:765-774) noted, capital could not be utilized profitably nor could raw materials be exploited without the power of labor, without first creating "the social dependence of labor on the capitalist" in the colonies. Hence the key to capital utilization and accumulation was labor exploitation, which required "the expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil". Colonial plantation and mining operations in the colonies sorely needed a tremendous supply of labor (Rodney, 1974). Various mechanisms were devised to produce and reproduce streams of labor migration to serve the monopoly interest of colonial capital concentrated in the cities, mining enclaves, and plantation areas. The mechanisms ranged from the forced slave trade to such institutional manipulations as land grabbing and taxation (De Castro 1978; Riddell, 1982).

One common outcome of European encroachment colonial power was, what form it took, and where it occurred was the emergence of a colonial socio-economic formation in the colonies. As a result, the economics of the colonies became characterized by both social and spatial divisions, which were necessary of sustaining labor migration. Somewhat contrary to Marx's expectation that European capitalist penetration would dismantle the domestic mode(s) of production. The economics of the colonies exhibited two distinct economic entities (1) a few "cores" (cities,

plantations, and mining enclaves) where the dominant mode of production was capitalist typified by wage relations; these areas were the migration focal points and (2) a vast periphery that was characterized by subsistence production. Colonial policies regarding migration were, however, quite specific.

“The policies of the colonial states and of the restructured semi-colonial states in those incorporated zones seemed designed precisely to promote the emergence of the very semi-proletarian household which, as we have seen, made possible the lowest possible wage level threshold” Wallerstein (1983: 39).

These colonial policies forced rural households to move and engage in wage labor, while ensuring that labor migrants remained socially and economically tied to their villages. This led to the emergence of semi-proletariat migration, one that is typified by circular movement. Family members were separated for long periods of time as some members of the family were forced to rely on wage labor and other on domestic farming in order to support the whole household. This policy was devised to ensure that migrant workers did return to their villages and that their wives and family members remained behind in the rural areas during their absence to carry on subsistence production. Heisler, (1974) suggested that such a policy fulfilled several purposes; (1) production of cheap labor in the peripheral domestic sector, (2) minimization of social cost of labor in the colonial sector, and (3) perpetuation of labor as transitory that is dependent on both wage-laboring in the colonial sector and domestic production in the source.

Most migrants were thus unable to break away from the circular “migratory network”, i.e., close ties between migrants and their source areas, and become fully incorporated into the capitalist sector as its permanent labor force (Wallerstein 1983). As Meillassoux (1981) argues the propagation of semi-proletariat circular migration was beneficial for the capitalist sector, but costly for the domestic economy. While this type of migration allowed the capitalist sector to take full advantage of migrants

during their most productive years, it did not have to bear the costs of their boyhood and supporting them during their old age. Such tasks and costs were assigned to domestic economies, which derived little benefit from their adult migrants. In essence, migration becomes a channel through which surplus value embodied in migrants labor power is transferred to the capitalist sector from the periphery (G. Scheepers and V. Binsbergen 1978).

The colonial state's migration policy created a shortage of productive labor within the domestic economy. Such labor scarcity became instrumental in the colony's agricultural underdevelopment as farming became the "domain of women, the young, aged and ill, and other 'unproductive' persons" (Safa, 1982: 7) that the colonial state prohibited from migrating with their productive adults (Meillassoux, 1972). As noted by Marx and Engel (1977), the colonial economy also systematically destroyed local handicraft industries, the backbone of both the local forces of production and primitive capital accumulation, to ensure its monopoly and a regular flow of labor. Such destruction and underdevelopment disintegrated the means of small proprietors, subsistence operators, for their existence hindered the geographical mobility of labor, and hence the creation of stable, controlled labor reserves in areas where capital was concentrated. The net result was that migration was sustained as an on-going process. Harvey (1982: 381) carries Marx's argument one-step further: "The more mobile the laborer, the more easily capital can adopt new labor processes and take advantage of superior locations. The free geographical mobility of labor power appears a necessary condition for the accumulation of capital."

"Transformation of the domestic economy linked to chains of proletarianization and peasantization of the indigenous population which in many cases resulted in the creation of landless rural dwellers who could only meet the cash demands made upon them by colonial authorities through labor migration, thus becoming the embryonic proletariat" (Swindell, 1979: 248).

The above discourse clearly shows the capital has over labor in terms of mobility and employment. Specifically, in his historical and contemporary analysis, Amin (1974) asserts that the roles labor (migrants) fulfills are conditioned by and dependent on the distribution of capital. He further argues that the causes of migration cannot be separated from its consequences since both are the result of the same process. Migration is a product of unequal development, but also perpetuates it as it undercuts the development of local productive forces by removing the most productive segment of the population. This contributes to underdevelopment, which, in turn, prompts and propagates migration. Thus goes the vicious cycle between migration and underdevelopment.

Similarly, Portes (1978: 9) argues that "Labor migration like related exchanges, does not occur as an external process between two separate entities. But as a part of the internal dynamics of the same overarching (world capitalist) system", peripheral areas have been incorporated into the world-system dominated by technologically advanced capitalist countries whose penetration creates a series of spatial, sectoral and class contradictions in the peripheries.

In the final analysis, the neo-Marxist perspective shows that migration is a direct result and cause of the peripheralization of underdeveloped societies and the international division of labor orchestrated by monopoly capital. International capitalist penetration into these societies deepens; their labor migratory process intensifies, moving from an initial stage of low migration to increasing pressure for more and more migration (Zelinsky, 1971; Brown and Sanders 1982). But migration, once induced or forced becomes a self-perpetuating and self-regulating process of dependency. It emerges as a necessary economic activity, a kind of unavoidable tradition in the face of underdevelopment and rapid population growth.

Such a socio-historical analysis is valuable and revealing yet questions remain concerning contemporary migration in underdeveloped societies. First, detailed case studies are usually lacking. Second there are few explanations for why capitalist interests and penetration do not dissolve the domestic modes of production in the peripheries. Preoccupation with the role of external capitalist penetration in migration has overlooked the internal socio-economic structure and forces that are behind today's on-going migration in most of the underdeveloped countries. Certainly, the historical imprints of colonial penetration are at the root, but their roles have probably long been internalized. It is thus, essential to conduct a careful investigation of the crucial roles played by internal forces, mainly "the dependent state". We are to gain a clear understanding of the contemporary process of labor migration in underdeveloped countries. With this contention, the focus now shifts to the formulation of a structural framework, within which to analyze such migration.

2.2.4 A Structural Theory of Migration

The basic premise of the proposed construct is that migration is a manifestation of a necessary response to the social and spatial arrangement and rearrangement of the national economy. The dependent state plays a determinant role through its control over the social as well as spatial distribution of capital and consequently the development process in the name of systematic planning. Central to this line of argument is that migration needs to analyze in the context of the existing social formation, whether externally imposed and subsequently internalized or internally existing but externally reinforced. The theory of migration outlined here is, therefore, built on the conceptual foundation of two specific components of the existing social formation; the relations of production and uneven geographical development. Though the uneven development process is not independent of the social relations of production (Mao 1977), it is treated here separately because the evolving spatial structure and relations are the key actors that induce migration by geographically separating capital from capital dependent labor (Lipton, 1980).

2.2.4.1 Social Relations of Production and Migration

In the process of production, the relations of productions, in which they occupy certain positions and perform certain acts (Marx, 1976). Labor migrants are an integral part of such relations; and as such, they are viewed not as historical individuals, but in terms of their class positions and production roles, which are generally fixed concerning the internal/external migration in underdeveloped areas especially in Pokhara valley of western development region of Nepal.

Any population remain economically viable, it has to participate in the process of material production in some way. People's economic viability depends on an ability to exercise the means of production at their possession destination. However, ability is not independence of the existing class structure and property relations in Pokhara valley towns, because control of productive resources almost automatically implies control of economic processes, including social surplus appropriation mechanism. Economic viabilities of different classes vary in accordance with class roles and positions, along with the availability of economic opportunities within Pokhara valley and outside the country. Moreover, such economic viabilities greatly influence the geographical mobility of labor from one socio-economic environment to another.

Since the changes in the relations of production invariably affect economic viabilities, it is important to first analyze what triggers changes in these relations. How these changes influence labor migration? In the Marxist theory of development (i.e., socio-economic transformation), the social relations of production and the forces of production occupy a prominent place. While Mao argues that it is difficult to develop necessary forces of production without first transforming the regressive relations of production.

"A social order never perishes before all the productive forces... have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before

the material conditions for their existence have matured within the womb of the old society" (Marx, 1976: 4).

It is quite clear that technological improvements as an integral component of the development of productive forces, whether internally evolving or externally introduced, do affect the prevailing relations of production. Another element, which can, and often does, alter production relations, is a shift from traditional basic food crops to export cash crops. This signifies a form of capitalist development in agriculture. Despite the fact that such a production switch intensifies as capitalist interests and penetration deepens, it may occur with few technical innovations (Steady, 1982). With regard to labor migration, such technological changes and production shifts have important ramifications in most underdeveloped countries like Nepal, especially in Pokhara valley where farming remains the primitive tradition despite their drive toward industrial trial growth. In the last two decades, because of the governments' various policies, the rural agricultural sector has not indeed been undergoing such transformations, along with certain structural changes, which have significantly affected the agrarian social relations of production and consequently labor migration.

Feudalistic agrarian relations of production gradually give way to the capitalists' relations characterized by wage labor; social class polarization in terms of both economic viabilities and positions becomes increasingly crystallized. Under the condition of increased class contradictions, the economic viabilities of the dominant class are enhanced allowing, them to consolidate their control over productive resources, whereas the subordinate class is reduced to a mere factor of production becoming ever more dependent on capital, i.e., wage-employment which is scarce in the rural sector (Byres, 1981). Under such circumstances, the economic viability of the subordinate class with insufficient or no land relies on: (1) the ability to sell labor services in the non-farm sector, and (2) the extent to which labor services are viewed

as necessary for such agriculture functions as sharecropping and others forms of farm help (Michie, 1978). A third possibility to enhance one's economic viability is to move to frontier areas, if it is available, in the hope of acquiring land.

While the first option is extremely limited because of the lack of capital investment in non-agricultural activities in rural areas, the second option is rapidly decreasing because of the so-called "land reform" measures and the introduction of new agricultural technologies, including mechanization (Peek, 1982). These measures, however, generally fail to produce intended results because they are implemented in a political atmosphere controlled by the dominant ruling class with the little interest in altering the status quo. They do nevertheless, bring about changes, whether intended or not, in the agrarian relations of production, which negatively affect the economic viability of the subordinate class (Griffin, 1974).

For instance, tenancy rights stipulated in land reform acts generate fear among landlords that they might lose partial control of their land to tenants if they are allowed to cultivate it for a certain period of time. In the meantime, mechanization and improved technical inputs made available under the rubric of the green revolution or rural-agricultural development offer landlords a new opportunity to consolidate land and other resources and elevate their economic positions. Land demand increases due to its profitability and population growth, thus pushing its price higher. Rural indebtedness also increases leading to land sales and ensuring land accumulation in the hands of rich farmers (Kaplan and Shreshtha, 1982). A combination of land reform measures and agricultural mechanization entices landlords to withdraw their land from the renting and sharecropping market and cultivate it themselves by using machines and seasonably hired labor. Such developments reduce land accessibility to landless and near landless peasants and, thus, diminish their positions in the agrarian relations of production. Their socio-economic conditions deteriorate as their farming tied economic viability evaporates.

As a result, they are increasingly forced into a pool of rural “proletarians” and “semi-proletarians” whose immediate economic option is to join the ranks of migrants hoping to sell their labor power in areas where capital is concentrated.

It is the emergence of such a material and class-biased socio-economic structure that generate migration potential which can be triggered into actual migration any time (Peek, 1982). Specially, the class biases in economic viabilities can be translated into a given “choice strategy”, in which individuals’ socio-economic decisions reflect the choices or constraints available to them in accordance with their class positions and roles. While there are several unconstrained choices available to dominant class members, the subordinate class has three main options to improve what Harvey (1982: 385) calls the “conditions of social reproduction.” These options are: (1) to stay and make the best out of the existing relations of production in their local villages, i.e., *adaptive choice*, (2) to stay and revolt against the existing regressive relations and try to transform them into progressive relations, i.e., *revolutionary choice*, or (3) to migrate to a different economic environment, i.e., *migratory choice*. The migratory choice could take different forms, for example, short-term seasonal, long-term circular or permanent migration. In spite of these different forms, migration is a specific socio-economic strategy. As such, the focus now is on explaining why people adopt migration in Pokhara valley. Before analyzing the above questions, it is worth mentioning that throughout history people have followed all three choices.

2.2.4.2 Uneven Geographical Development and Migration

The questions of which alternative is more commonly used at a particular time depends on many factors, e.g., the nature of the existing socio-economic formation, historical tendencies and experiences, geographical condition and development and of course the availability of different options. One may also observe as to how different members of a household simultaneously engage in all three options for

social reproduction. Often, they may be found moving in and out of different choices from season to season or from year to year, depending on many situational variables.

Of the three, the adaptive choice is the least risky one, although it rarely improves one's socio-economic lot. On the other hand, the revolutionary choice is perhaps the most difficult and risky of all because it is a long, enduring process requiring a great deal of collective action, organization, resources, and class consciousness. Its adoption as a popular choice generally hinges on, among other things, the existence of extreme disparities in class and property relations with a clearly identifiable enemy such as a foreign occupying force or the repressive and unpopular rulers. Even though a class struggle does not always turn into a mass movement nor does it necessarily ensure socio-economic betterment for the disadvantaged class even if the movement succeeds the choice itself remains popular as attested by revolutionary movements that are going on throughout the world. In fact, the agrarian history of most underdeveloped countries, particularly that in Nepal, is replete with such movements, in which peasants have played an important role.

Now the question is why do people adopt migration? People adopt migration as a viable economic strategy, mainly because it, offers a way of out of the existing structural trap and new possibilities to improve their economic condition, but is not a highly risky, costly, and uncertain as the revolutionary option. While migration may be fostered by, "the growing sense of human dignity among the people... desires... to get away from the state of poverty and dependence" (Lenin 1964: 576). It also implies a lack of class-consciousness, or at least unwillingness on the part of migrants to participate in a class struggle. There is another argument that the availability of migration as a safe option undercuts the revolutionary choice. It also places a damper on class struggles both in source areas by removing the potentially most radical members of the society, and in destination areas where new migrants intensify competition among themselves. In urban areas, they may be used as "strike

breakers" against those workers who are considered "disobedient" and defy the status quo. At the frontier, they compete with each other for the same resources: land. In either case excessive migration, especially when resources/jobs are limited at the destination, may prove to be a setback for class cohesion and action as migrants scramble to survive.

It perpetuates a situation of both social and spatial monopoly, that is, development at one pole and 'the development of underdevelopment' at another. As the antipodal process of capitalist development deepens, wage-labor becomes increasingly universal and emerges as a critical means of labor's survival and social reproduction. Migration surfaces as distinct labor process with definite geographical movement patterns and directions. Labor becomes increasingly peripatetic moving towards those areas where the spatial concentration of capital has occurred. Labor migration is a typical demographic manifestation of capitalist uneven geographical development. As such, the question of why people choose migration, as socio-economic strategy has to be analyzed in the context of the development process, which in most underdeveloped nations, is determined by the state. With full realization that the state in these countries is a dependent entity whose policies and interests are closely linked with those of international monopoly capital (Carnoy, 1984), the discourse here focuses on the internal dynamics and impacts of the state's capitalist development policies on contemporary labor migration. The state is probably the single most important economic actor, with full control over policy-making, policy execution and development resources, including those made available by donor agencies (Fagen, 1983). Controlled by the national ruling elite intent on protecting and promoting its own class interests, the state itself has become the "state capitalist" within which indigenous merchants and industrial capitalism may play a controlling part. Yet, in order to legitimize its authority, the state maintains that its actions are for the good of all at the same time as it exercises its power in its own class interest (Harvey, 1985: 175). In order to resolve this

contradiction, the state utilizes "developmentalism" as a powerful and populist mediator.

Despite the implementation of a series of new spatial development, policies to re-channel potential city ward migrants to regional growth centers and frontier settlements and rural urban migration continue in large volumes (Shreshtha, 1987). The question is why? The answer lies in the dialectical relations between the social process and the spatial structure. The production of space as a distinct economic entity, e.g., the city and the land settlement frontier, expresses the prevailing relations of production. However, such spaces, once produced, generate their own production dynamisms reacting back upon the social relations of production.

For its part, labor has little choice but follow capital whereas it is located. Consequently, large urban areas, the personification of both capitalist development and crisis, keep swelling in almost every respect. Under such circumstances, the dependent state is forced to continue to allocate a disproportionate amount of development resources to large cities at the expense of the rural-agricultural sector because that is where its immediate political power base as well as economic interests lie (Bienen, 1984). The greater the agglomeration of capital and other development resources in large cities; the larger is the volume of city ward migration. That process which has juxtaposes capital against labor in a series of both class struggle and compromises. In sum, it appears that planned capitalist development is trapped in its own game with limited possibilities for a tangible spatial solution to the growing socio-demographic crisis of urban labor migration and unemployment. This very logic also applies to resettlement schemes as a spatial solution to what are socio-structural problems. Planned, development, organized and implementation under the feudalistic order, seems to have reached a spatial cul-de-sac, largely because while the ongoing process of geographically uneven development tends to increase

labor migration, its ability gainfully absorb migrants generally remains stationary at a low level.

Skeldon (1990) has built upon the work of Zelinsky by being more specific about the process in development that generates clear patterns of migration over time. He describes the mobility transition as a systematic sequence of change in the spatial patterns of mobility over time. He argues that movement shifts from local short-distance migration, to massive rural-to-urban migration but still temporary, to a situation where mobility becomes more permanent. Later, commuting becomes dominant and there is some decentralization of urban areas with migration to smaller urban areas. The mobility transition is linked to transformations in production relations. Within this framework, it is not necessary to examine the motivations of individuals to understand emerging migration patterns. Instead, what is crucial is how institutions change during the processes of development. Individuals are constrained in their behavior by the choices available to them and these choices vary according to the institutional framework. In particular, it is institutionally constrained opportunities for employment and housing that shape migrant flows.

2.3 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 labor 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. A number of case studies have also documented the result on the impact of migration on regional inequalities. However, The Todaro (1969) 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.

2.4 Related and Relevant Studies

G.E. Revenstein's laws or generalizations, which were later, applied by Stouffer (1960) and others and recently by Lee, described migration relationship between origin and destination. There is much validity in Revenstein's statement and it has provided good starting points for the development of migration theory. Several recent studies concerned with labor migration in less developed nation have placed emphasis on the factor that associated for the influences on migration.

Greenwood (1972) examines migration flows to urban areas, 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. Sahota (1968) applies similar but more complex single equation and simultaneous equation models to analyze inter-state migration. 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 migration streams.

In all these studies, distance is found to have a highly significant and negative effect but urbanization is found to be highly significant. In some cases, 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 some cases, economic variable (wage, per capita income) are significant. However, in Rogers' study of migration, the effect of unemployment rate is found to have negligible effect contrary to his expectation (Gurung, 1981).

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 (K.C, 1998:4).

2.4.1 Migration Studies in Nepal

Three demographic processes: birth, death and migration the later remain the least understood and researched area in Nepal especially in Pokhara valley. However, some of Nepal's social, economic, and political problems are intricately woven with the emergence of internal/external 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 internal 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. Migration studies in Nepal rely heavily on censuses data, surveys and secondary sources of information. Some observations are from anthropological studies of a small community. The national commission on population listed 12 studies ranging from political implication of migration to population mobility before 1961. A majority of the studies focused on resettlement projects and concludes that shortage of land availability at the place of origin and employment opportunities in the place of destination were the main pull factors.

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 and industry. That study also carried out household survey in two Terai districts based on the household listing prepared by the malaria eradication office. The major conclusions were that literacy, age appeared to be important migration determinants, and that the decision to migrate out of the hills was influenced more by the migrant's 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 origin were more important for migration decision-making than factors in the destination. Many migrants acquired larger amount of land in the destination districts of Terai with successive improvement in their household sanitation. Long distance moves were as prominent as short distance moves. 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 Terai districts with urban centers and in 3 towns of the Kathmandu Valley. 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/destination were not examined adequately. One of the intentions of the survey was to document adequately the volume of internal migration so that the government-devised policies 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 Terai 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 of Statistics (CBS) has published 1981 census data in mid 1984, it took a much longer time to process migration data to be suitable for interpretation. While Gurung's monograph on regional patterns of migration in Nepal (Gurung, 1989) was based on all available censuses data dealing with internal migration, Sharma's study

on urbanization was based on available census data. K.C. (1991) prepared 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 Terai districts. Two other case studies on in-migration to Kathmandu and intra urban movement in Kathmandu (Shrestha et.al, 1984) are noteworthy for examining determinants of urban migration.

Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) carried out a demographic sample survey (DSS, 1986/87) covering an observation period of 12 months from spring 1986 to spring 1987 (CBS, 1987b). The survey collected the most comprehensive data on rural to urban migration in Nepal (CBS, 1988). Studies explicitly focused on analyzing the determinants and consequences of rural to urban migration in Nepal did not exist in the past. K.C. made an introductory attempt in a paper for an expert group meeting in Bangkok in November 1992. Census data on rural migration before the 1971 census does not exist primarily because the urban population in the country before that period was only 322,000.

A better understanding of the cause of migration from rural areas can be had only from the analysis of those socio-economic factors that generate rural-urban income differentials. Such as rural unemployment, economic 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 are the prime factors of out migration. 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 labor and thus cause migration. Migrant labor is advantageous

for capital; it is cheap, and can be had without paying for the reproduction of working families (Shah et al., 1990, p.8).

The earlier theories of migration had envisaged that, consequent upon migration to urban areas, there would be growing demand for agricultural product and resultant 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, remove the risk-constraints and permit the family to follow superior technology. The indirect effects of migration via release of rural resources, education and information flow may 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 labor 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. 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.

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

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

2.4.2 Migration History

Discussion of the socio-economic structure of Nepal cannot be isolated from its corresponding demographic history. They are intrinsically connected with each other. The demographic history shows that the hill region was once a meeting ground, a sanctuary, for peoples and cultures from south and north borders (Joshi and Rose, 1966). The ancient migration of the nomadic Mongoloid people from Tibet began during the unrecorded period of Nepal's history. Available ethnic and linguistic data, however, suggests that there were at least three distinct waves of migration into the country from the north (Rana and Malla, 1973). The first wave came primarily from the eastern and central parts of Mongolia, especially ancestors of the tribal groups such as the Kirats, Rais, and Limbus who are concentrated in the eastern hills. The second wave most probably comprised the Gurungs and Magars whose geographical domain is found in the central hills. Finally, the third wave, a fairly recent one, brought the distinctively "Tibeto-Himalayan" people such as the

Dolpos in the western hills and Sherpas and Lepchas in the eastern hills, in all likelihood crossing the Himalayas only after Tibet's conversion to Buddhism in the mid-seventeenth century. It is believed that these different tribal groups journeyed down to the lush hills and valleys of Nepal from the cold and dry inner Himalayan region of Tibet for economic and climatic reasons.

"If their legends reflect accurately the reason for their migration, they wandered over the Himalayan passes to escape the bareness and the bitter cold of the Tibetan highlands and to seek forage for their animals in the warm, wet valleys in the southern slopes of the mountains. The earliest arrivals were pushed further south by each successive wave of later arrivals" (Gaige, 1970: 186-187).

The Southward inflows of the early migrants from Tibet were later followed by the northward migratory waves of the Aryans. The Aryan migrants first reached the western hills of Nepal approximately 1000 years ago (Gaige 1970). These migrants were mostly Brahmans and Rajputs, fleeing from the religious crusade of invading Muslims and their subsequent tyranny against the Hindus. The northward migration of these Hindus had major effect on Nepal's socio-economic transformation. Recent flow of immigration from the southern side especially from Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh of India was taken place in mid 20th. Prior to the arrival of the Aryans, the mode of production commonly found among the Mongoloids was communal, generally characterized by pastoral types of economic activities. The production relations were based on kinship relations and communal alliances rather than class stratification (L. Caplan, 1970). The property relations were characterized by communal landownership, known as the Kipat system. This system of landownership was not only equitable and just, but was based on a number of considerations such as family needs and communal responsibility, respect, and welfare. If a family had more land than it needed, it was allocated to others who required it (Regmi, 1963: 82-135). The tribal organization of land under the Kipat systems was also equally concerned with the protection of their physical environment as it made provision for controlling.

"Fodder and fuel were collecting, rights, as well as imposing rules allocating certain amounts of land for grazing, so that overgrazing would not result. It seems, then, that many of the early inhabitants of hills recognized the need for social mechanism to control man's interaction with the environment. However, with the expansion of Hindu groups, with different cultural backgrounds, and a different orientation towards the environment, Kipat rules became increasingly difficult" (Poffenberger, 1976: 130).

The communal mode of production, found among most Mongoloid tribal groups, was at a rudimentary level of technological advancement. As a result, it was gradually yielded to the relatively more advanced agricultural farming technology and class-structured social institution brought with them by the Aryan immigrants (Poffenberger, 1976). The Aryans increasingly asserted their socio-economic dominance over the northern immigrants through social, cultural, educational, and political control over the last 900-1000 years. It finally became almost extinct in the east hills, the last stronghold. In some cases, the tribal groups were pushed back up the hills to lower quality lands as they lost their lands. Today, the landholding pattern in the hills displays a clear distinction. The Aryan groups generally hold lands in the lower hills where the land quality is better, while, the Mongoloid groups occupy upper hills where the land is poor quality. Aryan institutional dominance resulted in a structural transition from the communal relations of production to the tributary relations, thus setting the stage for distinct class formation. In essence, the tributary relations of production had "have resulted in a growing concentration of wealth (and land) in the hands of certain high-caste families and loss of land and wealth by the tribal groups and low caste" (Poffenberger, 1976: 14).

The emergence of the tributary production relations had a significant impact on the country's socio-economic formation. It evolved into the agrarian relations of production. Aryan domination was solidified firmly as class stratification that was firmly cemented. Their ultimate control of Nepal's politics and economy

tremendously affected its agrarian institution, in which the roots of underdevelopment and external migration can be found. Today, the migration situation has changed diametrically. The hills once an important destination for foreign immigrants have now become prominent sources of out migration of other parts of the country as well as outside, mainly due to the institutional roots of economic underdevelopment.

2.4.2.1 History of Out-migration

Nepal has a long history of foreign employment in India, dating back to the beginning of the 19th century, when men from the hill areas of what then known as Gorkha migrated westwards to the city of Lahore in the northern region of Punjab. There they joined up as soldiers in the army of the Sikh Rajah, Ranjit Singh. Even today, those working abroad popularly known as "lahures" (Seddon).

2.4.2.2 Extent of Hill Out-migration

In Nepal, agriculture remains a major source of livelihood, and tourism is important. Nepal's major export^s is labor, and most rural households now depend on at least one member's earnings from employment away from home and often from abroad. In the last decade, foreign labor migration has become a major feature of Nepal's economy, and society. Approximately 700,000 Nepalese work "overseas," meaning beyond India, mainly in the Middle East, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. About five percent of these are women. At least another 750,000 workers were in the private sector in India, and 250,000 in India's public sector including armed employment (Seddon). Migration from the rural areas to the towns and abroad has increased in recent years partly because of the Maoist insurgency, which began in 1996 when the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) launched a "People's War" to overthrow the monarchy as well as the government with the aim of establishing a Maoist people's democracy. The government's security forces have killed and terrorized

innocent civilians as well as Maoists, as part of their efforts to combat the insurgency, a tactic that has also encouraged migration (Seddon).

2.4.2.3 Nepalese in India Today

Large numbers of Nepalese men employed in the Indian Army, police and other civil services. Towards the end of the 1990s, some 1,000,000 Nepalese employed in India's public and private sectors, of which perhaps 250,000 were in the army and police according to Seddon. Remaining 750,000 were in the other public and private sectors such as in manual labor jobs in industry, construction work, agriculture, or the service sector. Their wages tended to be low and the work is often dirty, dangerous, and even degrading. For example, some 100,000 to 150,000 Nepalese women are estimated to be employed in the sex industry, across India according to a study by Seddon, Adhikari, and Gurung.

2.4.2.4 Foreign Labor Migration

Foreign labor migration from Nepal is still largely a privately organized affair in which individuals make use of their own personal networks or arrange through a number of private, government-registered Manpower or recruitment agencies. From the late 1980s onwards, Nepalese began to migrate temporarily in significant numbers eastwards to Southeast Asia and the Far East and, from the mid-1990s onwards, westwards to the Gulf countries. The majority of women migrant workers beyond India were in two countries Hong Kong and Japan with approximately 50 percent in East and Southeast Asia. The remainders were in the UK, the US, Australia, Bahrain, and other countries. The majority of women working overseas as a domestic worker had found in countries, where remuneration rates are high, demand for domestic workers buoyant.

2.4.2.5 The Southeast Asian Connection

Links established through the Gurkhas stationed overseas in Hong Kong and Singapore made these countries prime destinations for employment. In 1997, it

estimated that over 40 percent of all Nepalese living and working overseas were in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Brunei, most of them in Hong Kong. The next most 'popular' destination at that time was Japan. Although immigration to Japan was illegal, Nepalese could earn over 10 times the average wage in Nepal, even in low-skilled manual jobs in the service sector. A significant Nepalese expatriate population had also developed in the UK, largely because of the 'Gurkha connection.' In 2001, the Malaysian government officially 'opened' its labor market to Nepalese workers.

2.4.2.6 Nepalese in the Gulf

During the latter part of the 1990s, Nepalese began to migrate to the Gulf countries for work, particularly to Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Qatar. In the last five years, the importance of foreign labor migration to the Nepalese economy has increased. Migration continues partly because of growing conflicts in Nepal's rural areas as the Maoist insurgency has come to control large parts of the countryside. In addition, Nepalese must confront a lack of economic opportunities at home and increasing opportunities abroad.

There is unnatural provocation of forced displacement in Nepal. Certainly, some of the better-off Nepalese in rural areas have displaced. However, it is difficult to distinguish those seeking to avoid the conflict from the bulk of economic migrants because the rural areas are so impoverished and because there has been little research on internal migration. The failure to create and implement a coherent overall development strategy mobilizing all of Nepal's resources including effective education, training, and manpower planning for human resource development has led to low rates of growth and high levels of unemployment and underemployment. ✓
The economy remains a largely subsistence agriculture, handicraft, and service-based, with more than 60 percent of the population below the poverty line. Hence, the massive upsurge in migration from rural areas to cities and other countries.

2.4.2.7 Migration Trends in Recent Years

The main flows of migration trend before 1990s in Nepal, has been waving from north to south or Mountain and Hills to Terai. 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. Although international migration is receiving increasing attention in Nepal, migration within countries makes up the vast majority of moves. Although census estimates of internal migration for countries in least developed regions typically suggest movement over a five-year period of less than 10 per cent of the population, more accurate estimates can be seen two more times than this level.

As a broad generalization, it can be stated that: (a) the volume of internal migration in Nepal is increasing, (b) internal migration increasingly comprises movement from rural to urban places, (c) the movements involve a high proportion of temporary migrants and (d) migration flows include a significant proportion of females. Each of these trends and characteristics of migration is a direct outcome of low level of development. Analysis of migration is further broken down into two components and these are a) Internal migration and b) International migration. Internal migration does not have any effect on the structure, composition, and growth of population.

2.4.2.8 Migration Streams

The 2001, census of Nepal has provided enough information to calculate four streams of migration within the country. 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 centers has drastically increased with many of the newly designated urban centers. Therefore, Nepal still has an overwhelming rural to rural migration. Rural to urban migration is gaining more visibility in districts with large urban areas such as Kathmandu (71.8%), Pokhara (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 in 2001 (CBS, 2002). Studies of migration in Nepal have been principally concerned with the flow of individuals and families from the rural areas. Migration is viewed as wage or expected wage-equilibrating mechanism. The most important streams are rural to rural and rural to urban. Nevertheless, rural to rural migration is more prominent in the early 1990s. Actually, the flows of migration waved from mountains and hills to Terai. In particular, case of Terai, migration stream waved from east to west. However, a case of Pokhara valley rural to urban migration is one of prominent one.

2.5 Regional Physical Diversities Affecting Migration

Physical settings of Nepal encompassing the plains, Hills, and Mountains yield three broad geographic regions each with its own distinctive environment. The Terai region refers to the low-lying tropical plains along the southern part of the country. The Terai 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. 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 altitudinally arranged ecological zones and naturally imply inherent differences in natural resource endowment. The regional disparity is amply seen in the man-land ratio and developmental infrastructures among the regions.

Another dimension of the problem is the weak link between the food deficit Hills and food surplus Terai 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 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. The increasing dominance of Terai is not due to its resources alone but also due to the comparative advantage of development activities. The development of transportation in Terai has led to increased circulation and concomitant urbanization associated with commerce and industry. In essence, physical diversities among the ecological belts have leading roles on internal and external migration in Nepal.

2.5.1 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 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 in the western hills of Nepal. 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 whole, migrants are a select group of people with

distinctive characteristics, more productive than those left behind are. 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. 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 for their capacity to detach themselves from their traditional surroundings. For these reasons, migrants may be among the most productive from the sense of economic growth.

2.5.2 Reasons for Migration

The question why people Migrate? It may have been the central theme of this 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 of Nepal, the forces behind migration have mainly been the push factors. The lower strata of people, 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 urban employment opportunity, 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 labor from less productive agriculture in rural areas 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 zero to places where their marginal product was not only positive but also rapidly growing because of capital accumulation and technological change. Nevertheless, validity of such models has been questioned by the experiences of Nepal where the volume of rural urban migration is increasing but not dominant one.

2.6 Resource Distribution and Migration

It is necessary to analyze institutional policies regarding the social and spatial distribution of both natural and development resources. Labor 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. It is difficult to achieve sustained economic growth; however, the nature and degree of labor's access to such resources are dependent on the nature of their social and spatial distributions.

Physical forces determine the spatial distribution of land resource, the institutional forces or states' policies are directly responsible for the social class distribution of and allocation of both land and 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. 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 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) bring about some basic modification such as multi-cropping. 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 that has been used both through time and across space is migration.

Social class, the middle of the hierarchy, who are usually independent in terms of the social relations of production, appeared to be the ones who stand to lose most if they remain non-responsive to growing resource constraints and, therefore, face the possibility of sliding down the hierarchy to the bottom strata. At the same time, they are the ones who stand to gain the most if they respond in a timely fashion. They are trapped between the fear of loss and the hope of gain. Such a situation seems most conducive to inducing active responses, one of which is migration to new areas.

Migration is probably the most practical and flexible one in those certain family members can practice it on a temporary, long-term, and permanent basis.

While migration is related to both physical and social resource constraints in the areas of origin, its ability to help migrants improve their lots and spawn development is directly contingent on how productively they are absorbed into the destination economy, i.e., whether necessary resources and employment opportunities are made available ^{to} them. Hence, if we are to gain a clear understanding of the ramifications of migration for migrants' economic improvements as well as for overall development, it is imperative to analyze not only the geographical distribution of resources, but also their social distribution. This shows how resources are utilized. They are subjected to the service or benefit of the dominant class. Alternatively, used in a manner that serves the needs of the public and national development. The focus of the empirical analysis presented in this study is on the physical as well as social distribution of resources.

The economic situation of Nepal is totally different. Typified by the agrarian mode of production, the economy is completely dependent on external development resources. Underdevelopment and a rapidly growing population are its two conspicuous hallmarks. In terms of employment structure, 81 per cent of the nation's active labor force depends directly on primary sector (agriculture) for employment and sustenance (CBS, 2003). 42 per cent of Nepal's domestic gross production is contributing by agriculture, which is the most dominant component. Non-agricultural employment is negligible. Nepal is characterized as a typical agrarian society. Certainly, Nepal's geographical barriers are not easy to overcome. However, they are not beyond technical solution, for it is feasible to build durable roads, bridges, irrigation canals, and other transport facilities even in the Hills.

2.7 Role of Geo-political Factors on Migration

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 neighbor. Terai population tied up to the Indian society according to their religion or culture. Most of the Terai people are of Indian origin according to their clan and caste. They have also marital relationship with India.

After 13 February of 1996, the class struggle has widened in Nepal. Monarchy with the strong hold of Royal Nepalese Army (RNA), suppressed the people's war of Nepal that is launched by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Many people moved from their place of origin due to the crossfire situation between RNA and (People's Liberation Army) PLA in their homeland. Unequal distribution of landholding and strong political conflicts has compelled people to either migrate or fight against their class enemies.

Migration to India is easy due to open border. There is no restriction in the free movement of people. Therefore, that two-way traffic of migration is possible between them. Most people cross the border, to search for employment or suitable business in their neighboring country. The population pressure is very high in Nepalese neighboring states of India like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Permanent and circular, migrants from India to Nepal and vice versa are frequent all over the years. The next cause for migration is the recruitment of Hill people in the Indian military and police force. It was the tradition after the treaty of 1816 between Nepal and East India Company Government. Cultural similarity and religious clique may be the most important theoretical basis to continue the process of migration in between two countries although the socio-economic and technological gap is tremendous. The causes of contemporary waves of migrants and flows of emigrants are well known. Wars, unemployment, poverty, and civil strife, ethnic conflicts, community based

violence, inequality in resource distribution and living standard, rapidly growing population in the countryside; resulted on migration waves and will continue to do so. Thus, contemporary migration is deeply rooted in the social, politico-economic structures of our time.

2.8 Development of Hills Out-migration

“Under the agrarian system that prevailed in Nepal during the nineteenth century, ownership of the land was normally vested in the state. For political and administrative reasons, large areas of state-owned lands were granted on freehold tenure to members of aristocracy and the bureaucracy, religious and charitable institutions; etc. The actual cultivator, therefore, usually held his land on tenancy. He paid rent either to the government or to individuals or institutions who were thus traditionally divided into two parts: Talsing-Boti, or the landlords’ share, and Mohi-Boti, the portion of the crops that the cultivator was allowed to retain for himself. In effect, the system meant that the surplus produce of the land belonged to aristocratic and bureaucratic groups in the society. Peasants were a mere instrument to work the land and produce taxes for their benefits”, (Regmi, 1978: 33).

The purpose of this analytical review is to provide a political economy analysis of the roots of economic underdevelopment and its relationship with large scale out migration from the hills. The analysis is conducted within an institutional framework, encompassing both internal and external forces. With regard to internal forces, the focus is on the institutional policies of the successive regimes, both the Shah and Rana rulers that were responsible for initiating economic underdevelopment and later hill out-migration. Externally, it was British India’s policy of recruiting young boys from the hills to join its imperial army. That directly and indirectly contributed to the perpetuation of these economic and demographic processes.

“In the case of Nepal, one can broadly identify three general phases in its social formations and transformation: (1) communal (or tribal); (2) tributary (or feudalistic);

(3) agrarian (or semi-capitalistic/feudalistic). These social formations are not necessarily exclusive; they often coexist and certainly overlap. Their transformations were brought because of interactions between the internal and external forces", (Shreshta, 1990: 69).

This analytical review first provides a brief examination of the evolution of social formations focusing on the class structure and relations of production. While this part acts as a necessary historical background, the second and third sections constitute the central foci. The discussion deals with the roots of economic underdevelopment in relations to the institutional policies of the successive regimes with respect to labor service, land control, and industrial development. The process of external migration from the hills is analyzed in the third section in connection with both the internal state policies and external British Gorkha recruitment.

2.8.1 Roots of Underdevelopment

History provides four main explanations for Nepal's economic underdevelopment, primarily agricultural underdevelopment, the advancement of which is a precondition for the progressive transformation of an agrarian economy to a more productive system. The first three explanations are related to internal policies with respect to land, labor, and industrial development. Specifically, they are labor policies; land policies; and industrial policies. The fourth one is related to the British policy of Nepalese youth recruitment for its imperial army.

2.8.1.1 Labour Policies

The process of national unification was costly in terms of labor. The campaign of territorial expansion mounted by Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors required an enormous supply of labor not only for army service, but also for many other ancillary services such as the transportation of military and other supplies over long distances. In the absence of spatial integration, human labor was the only effective means of transportation and communication available. Free labor service was also

used for the construction of palaces, temples, and forts and to serve the many needs of the royal palace and family. The continuous demand for labor services in the face of a low population density led to a serious labor shortage. In fact, the shortage was so bad that the government resorted to "the time-honored system of exacting work from its subjects on a compulsory basis" (Regmi 1971: 102). At the household level, slavery was practiced to ensure labor availability.

What is even more distressing is that the forced labor services were also unpaid. The economy was essentially in a state of non-monetization, which meant, "The government was hardly in a position to pay wages to a large number of porters and other laborers it had to impress to meet its military, administrative and other requirements" (Regmi, 1971: 102). Such a system of compulsory and unpaid labor is called Jhara. Military forces were actually used to round up Jhara laborers to provide labor services. According to a royal order of May 1808, military officials were empowered to seize the sons/daughters of the subjects and if necessary in places where the number of households was small and not enough porters were available, to beat them and force them to carry loads (Regmi, 1971: 110). The Jhara laborers were assigned tasks in accordance with their caste, class status, and locational features.

Jhara laborers were frequently required to leave their villages to provide services in distant communities. They were compelled to "bring along with them not only provision for several months, but also spades, axes, knives and Khukuris required in the course of work" (Regmi 1971: 110). Such requirements forced many to plunge into debt. As debtors, they were compelled to work in the capacity of bondsmen for their moneylenders who mostly comprised village's property owners. The government officials, local revenue collectors, government functionaries, landlords,

and other influential persons to utilize this system for their personal gains further aggravated the difficulties faced by the people under the Jhara labor system.

The Jhara system resulted in an excessive abuse of compulsory and unpaid labor for non-agricultural activities of the state, state official, and others in power, and forced many young and able-bodied peasants to leave their farms in the hands of children, women, and the elderly. A little time left for them to improve their land, properly raise livestock for manure and build and maintain irrigation canals. Peasants were prevented from tilling their fields because of forced labor obligations. The lack of time, surplus, and incentive to improve land and acquire technical labor skills prevented them from contributing to agricultural development through increased productivity, from improving their personal as well as community's socio-economic conditions and from enhancing the economic development as a whole.

Technical and physical labor processes both were suppressed because of the jhara system. It caused the progressive impoverishment of the peasantry, increased their indebtedness, and inflicted enduring hardships on them. The exaction of onerous labor obligations in the face of labor shortages left agriculture in a state of underdevelopment at the time when it needed to be boosted for overall economic development. Labor is the most critical input because it is not only functions as labor, but also performs the role of capital in its rudimentary forms. The problems of labor shortage can be alleviated by increased capital inputs. Certainly, this is a logical alternative, but in the case of Nepal, this option was not plausible because of the scarcity of capital. Therefore, with the severe scarcity of such a critical inputs created by the Jhara system, it is ^{little} wonder that the prospects of agricultural development were deeply buried. Today's agricultural underdevelopment is in many ways manifestations of past neglect and abuse of labor resources.

2.8.1.2 Land Policies

The Gorkhali ruler's land policies also contributed to the least development of the agrarian economy. At the time of political unification, the economic structure was generally fragmented, both politically and spatially. Social and economic relations based on custom and tradition largely characterized it. Peasants, traditional village headmen collected customary rents, other payments, and levies. They kept some portion of the proceeds for themselves and transmitted the rest to the native government, religious organizations, and other functionaries, to whom lands had been assigned. Wastelands were available in abundance for reclamation (Regmi, 1971).

The rulers, in the aftermath of victory, generally avoided measures that could abruptly disturb the tributary relations of production, prevailing in the conquered territories; the socio-economic structure underwent significant changes because of political unification. After unification, the agrarian relations of production emerged as the most dominant one. There were very few sources of revenue besides land; to finance its administrative functions and military operations (Regmi, 1971: 37). Land grants and assignments under the Birta and Jagir systems were extensively used. From time to time, various measures were taken to appropriate large areas of land for making grants and assignments as reward and emolument to civil and military officials, members of nobility, and chieftains of the conquered principalities. Policy of land grants served as an effective means to tightly control these elements and to ensure their loyalty to the central throne. It was used as a mechanism of co-optation. The policy showed favoritism to particular classes in making land grants, and led to the formation of the landed class and absence landlordism in various parts, mainly in the Terai.

"Tended to be concentrated for the most part among Brahmins, Chhetris and Thakuris, particularly from the Western hill areas, who were sustained the political

authority of the new rulers. Gurungs, Magars, Tamangs and Newars generally did not receive such favors. On the contrary, they suffered a gradual depletion of, or encroachment on, the lands they had obtained during previous regimes as a result of Birta and Jagir assignments (Regmi (1971: 40)."

The Birta and Jagir land policies, however, were not able to solve additional monetary needs brought on by increasing expenditure on various other goods and services, including the procurement and manufacture of arms and ammunition and extravagant and unproductive consumption of imported luxury items by members of the royal family. To meet these each needs various tax system were devised. These tax policies contributed further to peasantry in state of subsistence, impoverishment, and indebtedness. Large Birta and Jagir landholders enjoyed monopoly over the land by virtue of royal sanction. From the viewpoint of national and peasantry development, Birta and Jagir system were catastrophic as they made it possible for the social and political elites to strengthen their economic position through the ownership of land, which enabled them to squeeze a surplus out of the peasantry (Regmi 1976: 86).

The Birta and Jagir landholders generally used peasants to cultivate their lands, and routinely appropriate higher rents and production shares than were stipulated by the government taxes, officially as well as unofficially benefits and incomes from land rents mostly accrued to Birta and Jigir landholders. The state exercise gained much less compared to the three classes from the Birta and Jagir land arrangements. Under the Shah and Rana rulers had revolved around land control and surplus appropriation from it. Land was the principal economic resource of the nation. The land was the foundation of all the political and economic institutions, ironically, nothing invested by the ruling class to improve the land and its productivity and to raise the standard of living for the masses. To provide socio-economic incentives for peasants and farmers were also conspicuously absent. On the contrary, the system

represented a coalition of landowners, local elites, and the state, determined to keep the peasantry in a subordinate position.

“Individuals and groups who fulfilled no economic function were able to appropriate the major portion of what the peasant produced whereas the peasant himself was left permanently stripped of capital. By letting the aristocracy and the bureaucracy share the benefits of their rule, the Ranas, no doubt, avoided an attack on their political authority, but only at the cost of the economic stagnation of the nation (Regmi, 1978: 29).”

2.8.1.3 Industrial Policies

Nepal had local, small-scale manufacturing units scattered around the country producing textiles, iron, copper and many other products. It even used to mint coins for Tibet in addition to exporting large quantities of other metal goods. Two main reasons first, the isolated geographical and socio-economic position of the country led to an economic system of dependence on itself for its requirements. Such forced isolation and self-reliance made people industrious and content with whatever they could produce to meet all their needs of daily life (Shrestha, 1990). Second, the protective measures, deliberately undertaken by the rulers safeguarded and promoted the domestic trade and industrial infrastructure. Such as the protective trade policy adapted by Prithvi Narayan Shah with regard to foreign imports and foreign merchant's entrance into the country. He prohibited the use of foreign products and encouraged domestic production by utilizing local resources, by training local producers, and by providing those samples of foreign products. This way money would not flow out of country. On the other hand, herbs, drugs and other indigenous products could be exported to earn money.

Jang Bahadur Rana, (1846-1877) fully understood the meaning and importance of these instructions to protect as well as on manufacturing within the country. In spite

of friendly cooperation with the British, he kept a vigilant eye on the trade relation with them. He adhered to a belief in the misunderstood phrase that "with the Bible comes the banner, and with the merchant comes the musket" (Husain, 1970: 93). However, the situation changed gradually with the passage of time. The more the Ranas and members of the nobility encountered British, the faster the measure taken by the previous rulers to protect local industries from foreign competition disappeared. Their lack of interest was related to their fear that indigenous technical innovations would lead to an upheaval in the existing order and eventually dismantles their autocratic rule. This encouraged the large inflows of cheap goods that hit hard, for the first time, the traditional crafts of the country (Shrestha, 1990). Ranas signed a trade treaty with British India in 1923, allowing for practically unlimited import of British goods into the country (Lohani, 1973: 204-205). Consequently, the local industries could not compete with British imports; then began their gradual demise.

"At those, there was until recently another source of income; the *iron works*... There are about 4 million tons of iron ore with an iron content of 68 percent in the mountains, above those in the Jiri region. The iron works started in 1893 and developed into a boom in 1924, when 18 furnaces were in operation. With 15 furnaces (fueled by charcoal) 700 kilograms of pig iron were produced per day (14 tons per year). Hydroelectric power was installed to run an electromagnetic separator and various lathes and drilling machines. Produced were rifles and guns, chains, hammers, plough shovels, pickaxes, kodalis (spades), locks, nails Khukris (knives) horseshoes, butter-lamps, and sold within areas of five days walk around those" (Hagen, 1971: 141-142).

"Maharaja, lost interest in the protection of the industrial infrastructure that had be developed at those places and began to purchase rifles and guns from the British. As a result, of this change in policy the iron industry at those was pushed to the brink of extinction. By 1968, there were only two furnaces left, and most of the blacksmiths had migrated to Kathmandu or India" (Hagen, 1971: 142-143).

The above policy change greatly affected the trade surplus the country had previously enjoyed began to dwindle rapidly since it had to pay for the imported items, most of which were previously produced domestically. This strong trading surplus was produced with no internal transportation improvements and in a period in which emigration grew (Blackies et al. 1980: 37). The country maintained an overall balance of trade surplus until the inter-war period between the two world wars. The relatively strong trade surplus was never utilized to enhance the country's economic position by fostering industrial and agricultural growth. If the surplus had invested to promote new technologies and to improve the exiting industrial base, the Nepalese economy would have begun dynamic growth early. A few raw materials processing industries that were established in the eastern Terai in the 1930s and early 1940s were controlled by Indian capital and were naturally oriented toward India. They were almost autonomous from the national economy.

Nepal had become a country with a substantial trade deficit. By 1976, the trade deficit with India alone had risen to almost Rs.620 million from a little more than Rs.260 million in 1963. In 1985, the trade deficit with India alone was almost Rs. 23,000 million and another Rs. 27,000 million with other countries (CBS, 1986: 205). Today, Indian merchants in all market locations largely control the commercial sector, all the way from small villages to the Kathmandu Valley. Hence, Indian business in Nepal helps neither its industrial development, nor its saving and investment situation. From the above fact, Ranas appeared quite content with the country's dependent relationship with British India because it served both their personal and class interests. The British, were happy to protect the Ranas aristocracy and bestow on them honorary military titles and medals because it served their imperial design and interest, but cost them nothing. The British kept Nepal in a "semi-colony" status (Husain, 1970; Blaikie et al. 1980). As a semi-colony, the British were neither involved in its administration nor engaged in promoting industry. They

did not make any infrastructural investment within the country in order to harness this dynamic resource. Therefore, they exploited its human resources virtually at no cost. In this sense, Nepal, as a semi-colony, suffered a total loss in the hands of British imperialism without reaping any of its potential benefits such as the building of transport networks and other infrastructure.

2.8.1.4 Policy of Recruiting Nepalese Youth in British Army

After Anglo- Nepal war (1814-1816), "Gurkhas" were joined the British army in India, started a tradition that continues today. Throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th, Nepalese men served in India, often accompanied by their wives and sweethearts. The brothels that developed in these new centers may well have included women from Nepal. There is a historical tie up to India with regards the Indo - Nepal migration.

During World War I, Nepal provided hundreds of thousands of men to fight for Britain, suffering significant casualties and losses. By contrast, Nepal's Rana and Shah Dynasty were presiding over a "semi-feudal" and predominantly subsistence-based agrarian economy. During the 1920s and 1930s in particular, there was a significant increase in the number of Nepali men and women working in India. Some intellectuals regarded this as shameful because it reflected poorly on the state of development within Nepal and revealed the ruling Rana/Shah dynasty's failure to generate economic prosperity within the country.

In World War II, Nepal again provided hundreds of thousands of men as soldiers, and again suffered significant casualties and losses. When India achieved its independence, in 1947, some of the Gurkha regiments remained with the British army; others merged with the Indian army. Nepalese soldiers in both armies saw action in defense of Indian and British interests in other parts of Asia, including Kashmir, Malaya, Iraq, and Borneo. From the 1970s onwards, however, the number

of Gurkhas in the British army has declined, and today only, some 3,400 Nepalese employed (Seddon).

The Anglo-Nepal war gave the British a chance to discover how skillful, efficient and brave the Nepalese soldiers was. The British came to respect them and their ability so much that they were determined to exploit these most important resources to further their imperial cause. The treaty of 1816 empowered the British to set up three Gorkha regiments in their army. The principal reasons why the British government of India cultivated friendly relations with Nepal were their intent to recruit Gorkhas. Sir A. Hirtzel, stated, "It is, after all, mainly because of the Gorkha elements in the army that we value the friendship of Nepal" (Husain, 1970: 234).

British relationship with Nepal was unique in its imperial designs. Their sole emphasis was on the exploitation of its human resources; probably the most useful resources that Nepal could offer to enhance the British needs. This was done, by the specific purpose of strengthening the British army. The young and able Nepalese recruits, they found a most efficient, brave and loyal resources, an army to serve their imperial cause. However, it took quite a few years and considerable maneuvering before they could fully exploit a vital resource that Nepal possessed.

British were established the Gorkha regiments; the Nepalese rulers at the beginning disliked the idea of its subjects joining the British army. The rulers were quite open about their unwillingness to cooperate with the British in their attempts and requested to enlist the hill people in their army, largely because they were concerned that the returning army service men would bring into the country revolutionary ideas and sow the seeds of anti-Rana movements. They "feared that the returnees' stories of army life abroad might cause dissatisfaction in the state army, which had been maintained in primitive conditions" (Joshi and Rose, 1966: 59).

The successive Rana rulers also followed the policy of restrictions on British Gorkha recruitments, despite the fact that they had willingly dispatched 14,000 Nepalese soldiers to help the British during the 1857 mutiny in India. At first, they were recruited a few here and there, their efforts generally met with little success. Finally, the British freely recruited Gorkhas from the hills. Bir Shamsheer became prime minister through a coup, Nepalese government's policy totally changed. In 1886, Bir Shamsheer openly encouraged the young Nepalese to join the British army. However, the population in general showed little interest in joining. Realizing this unwillingness of the people, Bir Shamsheer involved his government to facilitate the British recruitment process.

“He tried first to gain recruits by offering them money, but when this failed he ordered each village to supply to certain number of recruits. The result was that ‘the villagers started fighting with the Durbars recruiting parties’ to cope with this, his administration had to appoint more officials and thus increased Nepal’s expenditure” (Husain, 1970: 246).

This illustrates how force and coercion were used to compel the people to serve the British interest. With this move, the process of hill out migration began and that has been since then. It is in this change in policy that the root of the ongoing process of hill out migration lays. It was officially stated that the British “commanding officers have been able to select men of the particular classes which they fancy” (Husain, 1970: 138).

Chandra Shamsheer rise in 1901, British relations with Nepal improved even more; their recruitment was further strengthened. On the eve of World War I, the British needed Gorkha recruits more than ever to fight on almost every war front. Chandra Shamsheer’s assistance to the British at this critical hour surpassed all their expectations. He used inducement as well as forces to ensure that the British got their recruits.

"Immediately after the war started, he gave all possible help in recruiting. Orders of the Nepal Government were sent to both Eastern and Western districts of the country with full instructions to the officials to collect as many recruits as possible for Gurkhas regiments. Chandra Shamsher opened seven centers where recruits could be collected for final selection, after which they would be dispatched to the Indian border. These centers later increased to ten, located all over the country. To induce volunteers to come forward, substantial gratuity was granted for the cost of the journey and other expenses. Money was offered to those who would collect recruit. The headman in villages was also offered money and other benefits for their help in finding willing recruits. The result was astonishing. By the end of World War I, their twenty battalions of Gurkhas were in the Indian army. This was the time, when Chandra Shamsher did not say 'No' to any of the British requests", (Husain, 1970: 250-251).

Over 200,000 of the country's able-bodied men were recruited during the entire period of World War I in addition to 26,000 Gorkahs already serving in the British army (Bold 1967; Husain 1970). In addition, Chandra sent another detachment consisting of 16,544 Gorkahs soldiers from the Nepalese army itself on loan to the British for garrison duties in India in order to free the other armies for active service overseas. Finally, he made an offer of prisoners. This clearly exhibits how badly the British Needed Nepalese most attractive resource, the young men from the hills, and how badly the country cost drained of this vital resource. The British also needed Gorkha recruits during World War II, by which time the number of Gorkha battalions in the Birtish army had increased to 51 from three in 1816.

"Once again Nepal denuded her rice fields and maize terraces, her high villages and mountain pastures to send forth her best. In all some 160,000 streamed down to the recruiting centers" (Bolt, 1967: 98).

There was high pressure that British government exerted to get Gorkha recruits. The main purpose is to demonstrate how the process of out migration from the hills started and what affects it had on under developing the Nepalese agrarian economy, particularly the hill economy. Nepalese hill agriculture was trapped in a various

cycles. Labor shortage, created first by the state's land and labor policies and later by the British recruitment policy, hindered the initial development of the agrarian economy. All these institutional forces were instrumental in initiating migratory waves from the hills. This helped to initiate the feedback cycle of cumulative causation between underdevelopment and external migration over time. Here are two quotations to illustrate the point:

"Recruitment had been so heavy. That almost all the able-bodied young men had left the country. This had affected the cultivation of the farm" (Husain, 1970: 232).

"The large-scale absence of able-bodied males led to the deterioration of agriculture in the hills and resulted in low production and shortage of food grains" (Kansakar, 1979: 29).

2.9 Origin of Hill Out-migration

The discussion provides a conceptual basis for the analysis of contemporary hill out migration, which, as shown in the following discourses, has now become both a cause and effect of underdevelopment, especially of the hill economy. 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 migration in Nepal especially in the hills. Migration from the hills and mountain to the Terai and from rural to urban areas seems to be a coping strategy of Nepalese migrants to lessen the burden of vicious circle of poverty. Migration may be both cause and consequence of poverty. The oppressive land and labor policies and the ensuring rampant agrarian indebtedness had already begun to affect hill household survival, promoting people to leave the hills and go to other countries. Various historical accounts reveal that such, emigration began after the 1850s, much of it across the border into Sikkim, Bengal, Assam, Darjeeling, Bhutan and Burma (Nakane, 1966). Caplan (1970: 9) has noted that by 1891 about half the population of Darjeeling in

India was of Nepalese origin. They provided the greater part of the labor force for the tea estates in those regions. The vast majority of these migrants consisted of slaves and debtors. They left the harassment they faced from their owners and creditors in their villages. Additionally, their land had been expropriated (Regmi 1978: 134-135).

The Nepalese migrants contributed to the development of the coal mining industry of Bihar and Bengal and the tea industry in Bengal and Assam during third quarter of the 19th century. They also made a significant contribution in the area of land reclamation and resettlement in some parts of northeast India. Some British have depicted their contributions to the Indian economy observes as follows:

“Since the year 1871... there was an flux of Gorkhalis from the neighboring state of Nepal... they settled down for good, and began digging, hoeing, smashing and overturning rocks, felling down trees, and turning the course of streams at such a rate that jungles were turned into fields in a very short time” (Nakane, 1966: 251).

“... industries and enterprising cultivators, greatly superior to the other races in this quarter, and destined to do more and more for the settlement and colonization of these hills. They were the men who break up the land with the plough. And they showed the other races how to give up the barbarous methods of tillage without it” (Regmi 1978: 135).

It was not only an opportunity cost gone, but also a total loss of their labor power and hence economic surplus that needed to develop the economy. They had not been provided with the necessary incentives and available productive resources by the state and there were more than enough jungles and land left within the country to clear, settle, and develop that time the country could have laid a firm economic foundation, thus setting the economy on the path of dynamic development. Nevertheless, neither the incentives nor the resources provided for these people. Instead, many of them indirectly forced to emigrate for their social as well as economic survival. These early migratory movements out of the country in response

to the exploitative and suppressive institutional policies concerning land and labor resources were, however, sporadic.

2.9.1 Crucial Elements for Underdevelopment and Migration

Successive generations of hill families have consistently faced a chronic condition of agricultural underdevelopment. It has faced rapid population growth and deteriorating eco-demographic production relations. External migration out of the hills, which was initially coerced and induced, has now emerged as a natural course of action; an economic necessity for the survival of the hill economy which is now treading a thin line between bare subsistence and starvation. Hill out migration in general can be characterized as a survival strategy. External migration is a source of cash income, and a status symbol. They are forced to adopt this choice or experience further deprivation. Instead of working on the available land and trying to build a sound foundation for sustained agricultural development, which involves hard work with little prospect of instant gratification/economic fulfillment, the young and able-bodied men find it easier to opt for migration.

Today, the volume of hill out migration is increasing and more than 70 percent leaving the country in search of employment, mainly ^{to} India and abroad according to David Seddon's (2001) findings, the vast majority of them are circular migrants. Currently, approximately 200,000 Nepalese hill residents are estimated to be serving in the Indian army. Those who succeed in landing long-term employment return to their home villages on a regular basis, every 2-3 years. While the British/Indian armies have been the most popular and traditional sources of employment, the large majority of hill migrants are employed in low-skill menial jobs, as security guards, or in construction and industrial work in India and elsewhere. The British army recruitment, definitely the most desired job because of its higher pay, has diminished. The recruitment for the Indian army has remained stable.

External migration greatly helps the Nepalese economy in two ways: (1) it reduces population pressure that is incidentally blamed for every conceivable socio-economic malaise of the country, from deforestation and environmental degradation to poverty and unemployment. It provides employment and brings money in the form of remittances. It is true that out migration, according to some estimates brings into the country 1 billion at the current exchange rate in 2001 (Seddon, 2001). It is biased in that it exaggerates the benefits of external migration to the hill economy, while overlooking its detrimental effects. The assertion can hardly answer a key question: why has external migration become such a dire economic activity for the survival of the hill economy? Alternatively, how has external migration been instrumental in perpetuating internal underdevelopment and external dependency?

The above argument is weak at least in three respects. First, the total amount of money the migrants remit back into the country is an aggregate figure, and does not accurately reflect the amount remitted by individual migrants; nor does it consider lost opportunity costs. There is no question that the income from foreign employment helps the subsistence of many hill families; it is crucial for the survival of the hill economy as it supplements their farm incomes. But it sustains only in a dependent fashion because the sums of individual remittances are generally too small to have any capital accumulative value for productive investment to rejuvenate the future prospect of the hill economy and free hill residents from the migration-dependency trap.

“The majority of living Limbu men who served in the Gorkha regiments failed to acquire long-term pensions because of short-term service, and economic position of those who did acquire pensions varies, tremendously according to the rank attained (Jones, 1976: 67).”

Such migration involves a high opportunity cost, as benefits from it in the form of remittances are small with little capital value for long-term economic improvement. Migration is thus merely a temporary escape from the eco-demographic problems facing the hill economy and its citizens. Yet migration has become unavoidable for the survival of monarchy even though it keeps the hill economy suspended in a state of perpetual dependency. Now, it is necessary evil, without migration, the hills would face an eminent danger of economic strangulation or strong political revolt.

Relatively wealthy hill families have derived significant benefits from migration. Their remittances do not have to be spent on recurring expenditure or to repay debts. The cash remittances give the wealthy families an additional economic edge as they can do, utilize them for land accumulation and credit circulation, charging very high interest rates. Consequently, in some cases hill out migration serves as a mechanism of increasing socio-economic class polarization. External migration is beneficial to the Nepalese economy ignores an important fact that the production and substances costs of migrants. Migration represents the transfer of productive labor or surplus value to the capitalist sector at the expense of the domestic economy that bears the burden of producing the migrant's labor power through his least productive boyhood and sustaining him after his retirement at old age. It creates a cycle of "relay migration". Relay migration essentially means generational succession, fathers first, sons second, grandsons third, and so on.

The migrant's life cycle has three distinctive stages. During the childhood/boyhood stage (Stage 1) the hill communities, the source of migrants, bear the cost of raising young boys through their least productive years. During the adult-migrant stage (Stage2), when the young boys have grown up and become most productive, they join migration streams following their father's footsteps. Because of their absence during their most productive years, their real imprint on the long-term improvement of the local economy is minimal or nil. This stage is followed by the retired stage

(Stage3) when migrant's productive potential has declined drastically. They retire back to their source communities, which have to sustain them through their less productive years. These retired migrants are replaced by new generations in a successive manner, and the process of succession is repeated.

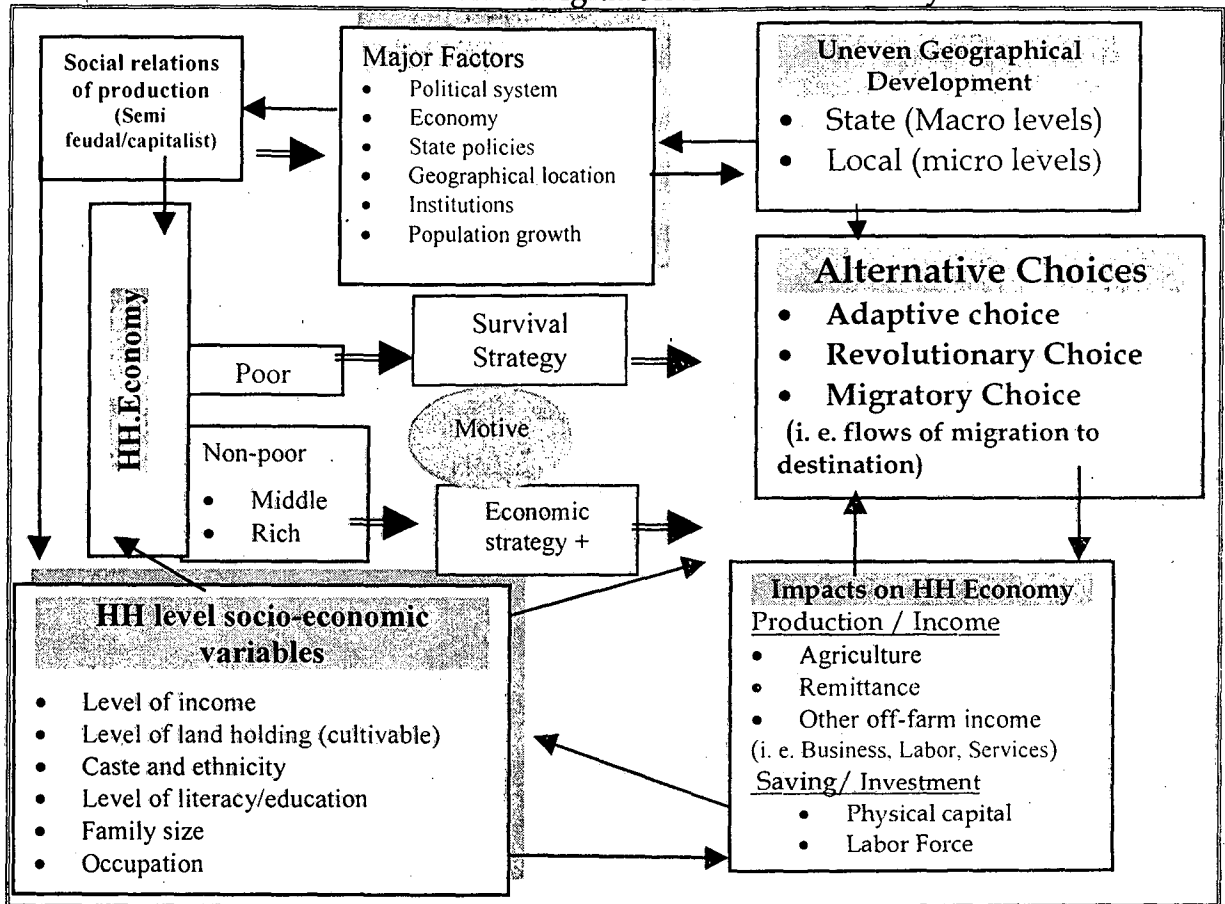
Finally, the above argument completely ignores what external migration has done to the Nepalese economy in the historical context. When heavy British recruitment began, no population pressure on land existed in Nepal; there was an abundance of land resources to develop. The main element lacking to productively harnessing these resources, consequently thrusting the economy forward and spawning the motion of dynamic development, was labor. Availability of the necessary labor resource was most critical at that time because advanced forms of capital were not available to replace labor. Labor was everything, including capital in its crude form, hard manual labor, and sweat.

Nepal denied its most productive labor force at the time when it was badly needed at home to transform its own agrarian economy into a more advanced one. As a result, any prospect of early development was starved of its main ingredient, an adequate labor force. The economic impact of British recruitment remains deeply fossilized in the socio-economic and demographic life particularly in the hills. When Nepal's population began to grow rapidly after World War II, the economy had been already badly damaged and underdeveloped, with its demographic absorptive capacity severely undercut by failure to achieve more production. Under such circumstances, the drastic increase of more than 4.7 million people in between 1991- 2001 disturbed the population-resource balance previously existing, and produced a situation of population pressure and further dependency on migration.

Today, it cannot even support its own population. It is trapped in a negative feedback cycle, in which economic underdevelopment fuels migration, which, in

turn, propagates underdevelopment; and the cycle, goes on. Yet migration has been an economically necessary activity, a fact that cannot be overlooked in light of the economic condition encountered by a large number of hill families. It is a mechanism of survival.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Frameworks of Linkages between Socio-economic Status and Migration in Pokhara Valley.



It provides an almost instant, but temporary economic relief. It has been taken from David Harvey, (1982: 385), but modified to fit the context over this study to clear the concepts. The figure 2.1 presents conceptual mechanism of linkages between socio-economic status and migration in Pokhara valley. The objectives of this figure are to connect linkages among various socio-economic variables concerning different choices particularly to migration.

2.10 Three Major Issues of Migration

From the present theoretical discourse, three major issues of migration can be discerned. The first issue is concerned with the question of who migrates. This question related to migrants class, positions and background rather than their age and sex distinctions or education attainment. This issue is important because migrants from different classes have different ramifications for development. Migration decisions constitute a distinct class bias in terms of choices and motives. While the migration decision of dominant class migrants reflects their strategic choice, for the subordinate class, it represents a survival move. Though the underlying motive of both choices may seem to be essentially economic, the difference clearly manifests class distinctions in terms of migrants, respective economic positions, abilities, and options. In general, migrants from the subordinate's class cannot make a strategic choice, as the dominant class can. The very term, "strategic choice", implies several economic options and a wide range of abilities, both of which are limited or unavailable to the subordinate class. Thus, their migration, regardless of its form and duration, is a survival move, an indication of their perceptual or actual realization that they are unable to eke out their subsistence by adapting to the existing social relations of production, or of their inability/unwillingness to revolt against the existing socio-economic order, at the place of origin. In contrast, dominant class members have various socio-economic alternatives at their disposal. Yet they may view migration as a sound economic strategy and decide to move to a new area at least for two reasons. First, migration serves as vehicles for them to expand the geographical sphere of their power base and economic horizon. Dominant class families, therefore dispatch certain family members to areas where new lands or opportunities are available, thus leading to a "migration of displacements". Second, migration is a mechanism, to minimize potential risks associated with an expanding family size in an economic environment where even dominant class households may find local opportunities too limited for further advancement.

The second issue is why migration occurs rather than why individual migrants move. This conceptual distinction is deliberate and theoretically important. Thus, individual responses and reasons may, and usually do, vary with migrants (even from the same class) and in accordance with the manifestation of their objective conditions and historical experiences. But, the root causes of migration remain basically, the same and interpretable primarily in conjunction with migrant's class positions because the same socio-structural process can produce several different forms of objective conditions, depending on the geographical features, historical development, demographic structures, and specific arrangements of the economy, in which migration occurs and continues. It is precisely for this reason that the process of migration cannot be analyzed and explained in isolation from the whole socio-spatial structure, and the historical conditions under which it came to exist, and the political and socio-economic conditions under which it is perpetuated.

The third, and final, issue is directly related to the question of how migration affects migrants as well as development. Since migration involves the movement of people from different classes, the third question, concerns not the ultimate geographical destinations of migrants, but rather the position of the migrant in the relations of production in the destination area, wherever that may be.

2.11 Summary

The present analysis has documented how the process of migration was initiated and how it has been sustained over time. Regardless of its socio-economic impacts on Nepal's agrarian economy, migration from the hills has emerged as the major economic activity for the survival of many migrant households, keeping the local economies from completely disintegrating. While the early phase of underdevelopment, caused by the regressive institutional arrangements of the economy, contributed to external migration, such migration has become instrumental

in reinforcing underdevelopment, a state in which economic opportunities are severely limited, thus further inducing people to migrate in search of various economic opportunities. Although the semi-colonial experience of Nepal is unique in some ways, the findings of this chapter provide a good example of the vicious circular linkages between underdevelopment and migration. In most of the countries, such a linkage is generally produced by the combination of forces involved in both the external relations and internal institutional policies, whether independently devised or instigated and reinforced from outside.

Chapter-III

Migration in Pokhara Valley: Characteristics and Determinants

Section-I Demographic and Socio-economic Profile of Migrants

3.0 Introduction

Pokhara valley lies in the frontier face of Fishtail and Annapurna peaks. It is the regional, zonal and districts administrative headquarter. Until the mid 1960s, Pokhara valley was a small bucolic town with a population of 5413; it was a major trading center in the central hills. Uncontrolled tourism, urbanization, commercial growth, and proliferations of slum areas have become the characteristics of the region. Massive migration from the peripheral highlands¹ has contributed to the rapid population growth of the valley. Migration has been an important component of population redistribution.

The sample survey was conducted from November 2004 to March 2005. The total sample size of households is 479. Out of 479 households, 429 households are migrants and 50 non-migrants. Stratified and simple random sampling technique is applied to determine the samples and sub-samples. Two municipalities and three rural settlements are selected as the primary sampling units. 166 households from Pokhara sub-metropolis, 153 households from Lekhanath municipality, 51, 57, and 52 households from each village development committee of Arba, Hemja, and Bharatpokhari are purposively selected. Ultimate stage of sampling is the selection of households to be surveyed. The main reason for migration in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands can be sought in the underdevelopment of the hinterland². Two factors can be held responsible for migration into the valley; they are push and pull factors.

¹ Peripheral highlands are the neighboring low-lying rural areas; these consist of three VDCs.

² The meaning of hinterland is taken to be the rural areas of the hill region of the western development region.

Problems such as the lack of agricultural land, political disturbances, landlessness, natural disasters, and lack of business/trade opportunities, and unemployment act as the push factors. Urban amenities, and trade and commerce that need labor, act as the pull factors for migration in Pokhara valley. The communication networks established through family, clan, and friendship, and culture, etc, have important roles in migration. Generally, people migrate to the towns and other countries for education, government jobs, labour, and medical treatment, employment, and education for children and for other social reasons. People have been migrating from rural to rural areas in search of fertile land, treatment of illness, education, and marriages, social and economic bonds.

Occasional natural calamities like floods and landslides have also forced people to flee from their homelands to other potential areas for protection and livelihood. Research as conducted on the determinants and consequences of internal migration in Pokhara valley and its peripheral during the past 50 years, have centered on neo-classical economic thought as an analytical basis.

Before 1960s, hill-to-hill eastward migration was the main feature in Nepal. It was only after the eradication of Malaria that the migration trend began, since 1960s, from mountains and hills to Terai. After 1990s, circular out migration and rural to urban migration within and outside the country are increasing rapidly. However, now the migration trend is from rural to urban, beside rural-urban to other countries and especially migration to Pokhara valley towns and its hinterlands. The causes of contemporary waves of migration and flows of emigration are well known in Pokhara valley. Generally, these are war, unemployment, poverty, civil strife, ethnic conflicts, violence, inequality in living standards, and unprecedented growth of population in the countryside etc. At present, there is neither a political will nor an economic potential to bring changes in the structural causes of migration.

Migration is determined by socio-economic, political, demographic, and geographical factors. The main reasons for out migration and emigration from the hill region include: natural calamities, loss of landownership, insufficient land, lack of employment opportunities, poor educational and health facilities, increasing population pressure, low agricultural productivity and lack of economic opportunities, and the effects of political insurgency.

The patterns of hill out migration in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands vary, and do not fit into a uniform model. In-migration is primarily caused by the wide regional economic disparities between hills and the valley towns. In the Pokhara Sub-Metropolis, there has been a rapid growth of economic activities such as tourist-oriented services, trade activities and commerce, higher developmental investments, and better urban facilities such as good transport and communication, marketing, Medical facilities, employment in non-agricultural sectors, etc. Moreover, personal factors like the economic condition of the family, problems of livelihood in village, education, and skill have encouraged migration. In-migration flow to Pokhara valley became significant after the road linkages to Kathmandu and Bhairahawa, which have great importance for trade especially between India and other neighboring countries.

3.1 Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of Migrants

3.1.1 Households Characteristics

Table 3.1 shows the data about migration status of the households. Out of 479 sample households, 429 households of Pokhara valley and its periphery are migrants and 50 households are non-migrants. In other words, 89.7 % respondent's households are migrants and 10.3 % respondent's households are non-migrants. The proportion of migrants is invariably higher. In other words, Pokhara is known as the city of migrants because migrant population is invariably higher than non-migrants are.

Table 3.1 Migration Status Of Households

Status	Numbers	Percent
Migrants	429	89.6 ✓
Non-migrants	50	10.4
Total	479	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

Table 3.2 provides the statistical information about literacy of household members by sex. Out of 2431 sample population, 1218 are male and 1213 are females. Among the male population, 1019 are literate and 199 are illiterate. Likewise, 791 female are literate and 422 females are illiterate. The proportion of male literacy is higher than females due to the prevalence of gender discrimination in Nepalese society.

Table 3.2 Literacy Status of Members of the Household

Sex	Literacy		Total
	Literate	Illiterate	
Male	1019	199	1218
Female	791	422	1213
Total	1810	621	2431

*Per
Percentage*

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

3.1.2 Population by Religion

According to 1961 census, the population of Pokhara town Panchayat was 5413, which had increased to 250,000 in 2005 in Pokhara valley. The main reason of population growth as mentioned above is migration and the natural increase.

Table 3.3 reveals data on religion of the households by study clusters. This study covers five settlements of Pokhara valley. Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhanath municipality are the urban areas, while Hemja, Arba and Bharatpokhari are rural settlements. In terms of religious composition, around 72 % households follow Hinduism, 26 % follow Buddhism, 1 % follow Islam, and the remaining 1 % follow Christianity. The percentage of Jains is negligible. The percentage of Hindus is higher in rural settlements than in urban.

Table 3.3 Sample Population by Religion in the Study Areas

Religion	Study Areas					Total
	Pokhara	Lekhanath	Arba	Hemja	Bharatpokhari	
Hindu	95	98	44	55	52	344
Buddhist	62	54	7	1	0	124
Islam	3	1	0	1	0	5
Jain	1	0	0	0	0	1
Christian	5	0	0	0	0	5
Total	166	153	51	57	52	479

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05.

Table 3.4 presents the data on the house ownership showing the type of houses. There are 186 owned, 64 rented, and 1 other category of the permanent houses. Likewise, there are 61 owned and 11 rented categories of the semi-permanent houses. There are only 131 owned, 24 rented, and 1 other category of the temporary houses. The proportion of population living in rented houses is increasing.

Table 3.4 Types of Houses by Ownership

Type of Houses	House Ownership			Total
	Owned	Rented	Others	
Permanent	186	64	1	251
Semi-Permanent	61	11	0	72
Temporary	131	24	1	156
Total	378	99	2	479

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005.

The table 3.5 reveals the data on food sufficiency among the cultivators. Only 152 households are reported to have food sufficiency from their production, whereas 328 households have no food sufficiency from their agricultural production.

Table 3.5 Types of Houses by Food Sufficiency

Types of Houses	Food Sufficiency ✓		Total
	Sufficient	Insufficient	
Permanent	110	141	251
Semi-Permanent	12	60	72
Temporary	29	126	155
Others	0	1	1
Total	151	328	479

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

A large proportion of households have no agricultural lands. In the study area, the households' view that there are various income opportunities in non-agricultural employments for balancing consumption needs. Such occupations depend on available household's labor and resource potential. In this sense, migration plays a positive role between sustenance and larger economic structures.

3.1.3 Income of Households by Caste/Ethnicity

The table 3.6 presents the data about caste/ethnicity of population by monthly income. Their monthly income ranges from 1000 to more than 150,000 Nepalese rupees. 51 household monthly income ranges from 1000 to 3000 Nepalese rupees. 128 household monthly income ranges from 3001 to 6000 rupees.

Table 3.6 Monthly Income of Households by Caste/Ethnicity

Caste/Ethnicity	Levels of Monthly Income of Households										Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Brahmin	12	36	32	30	19	20	2	1	0	1	153
Chhetri	3	9	7	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	29
Gurung	11	33	13	30	13	18	7	2	3	2	132
Magar, Chantyal	4	15	5	2	5	3	3	2	1	0	40
Pariyar	4	3	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	18
BK, Sunar	5	10	6	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	31
Tamang	5	9	5	6	0	1	1	0	0	0	27
Muslim	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
Newar	2	5	1	7	2	2	1	0	0	0	20
Thakuri	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	5
Kumal	2	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Sarki	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
Chaudhari, Thakur	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Rai, Shepa	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	51	128	78	93	52	49	16	5	4	3	479

*Percent?
Group
Total*

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

Monthly income

- 1=1000-3000 NRs
- 4=9001-12000 NRs
- 7=25001-50000 NRs
- 10=100001+ NRs

- 2=3001-6000 NRs
- 5=12001-15000 NRs
- 8=50001-75000 NRs

- 3=6001-9000 NRs
- 6=15001-25000 NRs
- 9=75001-100000 NRs

There are 78 households whose monthly income range from 6001 to 9000 rupees. There are 93 households, whose monthly income varies from 9001 to 12000 rupees. There are 52 households whose monthly income range from 12001 to 15000 rupees. There are large variations of monthly income in the valley. There are 49 households, whose monthly income ranges from 15001 to 25000 rupees; there are 16 households, whose monthly income varies from 25001 to 50000 rupees, and there are 5 households whose monthly income range from 50001 to 75000 rupees. Only four households, whose monthly income range from 75001 to 100000 rupees and there are three households, whose income is more than 100000 rupees per month. Among the various caste and ethnic groups of population, Gurung, Magar, Newar, and Brahmin have the highest monthly income.

Table 3.7 presents the statistics of monthly income of households by study areas. Rural populations have lower monthly income than urban population. The people who live in Pokhara sub-metropolis have the higher monthly income than Lekhanath municipality, Arba, Hemja and Bharatpokhari do. Arba, Hemja and Bharatpokhari are the rural settlements. Monthly income of these different settlements is not uniformly distributed due to differential of economic activities and occupations.

Table 3.7 Monthly Incomes of Households by Study Area

Monthly Income	Study Areas						Total
	Pokhara	Lekhanath	Arba	Hemja	Bharatpokhari	%	
1000-3000	6	26	1	5	15	11.0	53
3001-6000	25	51	14	22	16	26.8	128
6001-9000	19	32	8	7	12	16.4	78
9001-12000	37	25	14	13	4	19.5	93
12001-15000*	31	6	9	5		10.6	51
15001-25000	27	8	5	3	5	10.0	48
25001-50000	11	3	-	2	-	3.3	16
50001-75000	5	-	-	-	-	1.0	5
100001+	5	2	-	-	-	1.4	7
Total	166	153	51	57	52	100	479

Source: Field Survey 2004/2005, * Medium Levels of Monthly Income

The people who live in slum settlements of urban areas have lower income level than others. Those people irrespective of their settlements who have the wage based labour and agricultural occupation have the lower income level in comparison to others.

3.1.4 Landholdings

Table 3.8 reveals the data on agricultural landholdings by the households at origin/destination. Among the households under survey, 36 households possess agricultural lands both at their places of origin and destination, 69 households possess agricultural lands only at the place of destination; where as, 310 households have agricultural land at the place of origin. Among the 310 households, 23 households have less than half a Ropani (0.05 hectare) of land at their place of origin.

Table 3.8 Agricultural Landholdings of Households at Origin/Destination

Landholdings	Numbers of households	Per cent
At origin	310	64.7
At destination	69	14.4
Nowhere	64	13.4
Both places	36	7.5
Total	479	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

64 households are found to be without agricultural land. The statistics obtained from the field survey from November 2004 to March 2005 show that the proportion of landless households is gradually increasing in the Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands. Such households face economic problems and ultimately they become responsible for the growth of slum settlements in towns of the valley. The households owning agricultural lands at the places of their origin also face problems, as those lands cannot properly support them for their sustenance.

Table 3.9 demonstrates data on type of work done by the household's members in last twelve months by migration status of the families. Out of 479 people, 42 migrant and 18 non-migrant families engaged in agricultural activities. Similarly, 234 people

are getting salary and wages among which 219 are migrant; 15 non-migrant. Likewise, 65 migrant and 13 non-migrant families are engaged in running their own economic enterprises. Total 72 persons were seeking job at the time of survey, among them 62 were migrant and ten were non-migrant. Total 24 people were doing their own households work at the time of survey, among them 22 are migrant and two are non-migrant. Similarly, 19 people have no work at the time of survey and are basically old and getting pension.

Table 3.9 Works Done in Last 12 Months by Migration Status

Type of work in last 12 months	Migration status		Total
	Migrants	Non-migrants	
Agriculture	42	18	60
Salary/Wage	219	15	234
Own-Eco-Enterprises	65	13	78
Job-Seeker	62	12	72
Household Work	22	2	24
No Work	19	0	19
Total	429	50	479

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Table 3.10 presents the information on the employment situation of households' members by their migration status. There are seven employers in the sample population, among them, six are migrant, and only one is non-migrant. Likewise, there are 306 employees in the sample population, among them 293 are migrants and 13 are non-migrant. 65 migrant and ten non-migrant people are engaged in their own work at the time of survey.

There are 46 unpaid family workers in the sample population, among them 40 are migrant and 6 are non-migrant. Out of 479 surveyed households, 434 engaged in different works, 404 were migrant and 30 non-migrants. The employment opportunities in agriculture and non-agriculture sector have increased in Pokhara valley in three decades due to industrial growth, tourism, enlargement of markets and irrigation facilities in the valley.

Table 3.10 Employment Status by Migration

Employment Status	Migration Status		Total
	Migrants	Non-migrants	
Employer	6	1	7
Employee	293	13	306
Own Account Worker	65	10	75
Unpaid Family Worker	40	6	46
Unemployed	25	20	45
Total	429	50	479

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

The governmental and non-governmental institutions are increasing, and the employment opportunities both in public and private sectors have been increasing, which provide employment to a large segment of people.

3.1.5 Age and Sex Composition

Table 3.11 presents the age and sex composition of households. The proportion of population in the age group of 0-4 is less than age group of 5-9. In other words, the statistics show the declining trend of fertility in the study area. The proportion of old age population in the age group of 65 above is higher than the preceding two age cohorts bias in age reporting or mortality differentials in different age groups. The over all statistical figures present the picture of demographic transition of the sample units. However, it is similar to the national demographic scenario. The fast declining mortality rate and slowly decreasing fertility rates have resulted in high natural growth rates of population in the study area. The male population is slightly higher than that of the female partly due to the sex preference of children, and sex selectivity of migration. Child population is higher than old age population. The proportion of elder population is increasing due to the increase of life expectancy at birth. The proportion of working age population is also high in comparison to the national figure due to the effect of age selectivity of migration. Urban population has lower fertility in comparison to rural population due to various reasons like expensive education and more difficulties in child rearing.

Table 3.11 Population by Age and Sex

Age Group	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
0-4	85	91	176
5-9	133	128	261
10-14	128	141	269
15-19 ✓	153	135	288
20-24 ✓	131	134	265
25-29 ✓	99	103	202
30-34 ✓	97	94	191
35-39	84	90	174
40-44	73	67	140
45-49	55	70	125
50-54	62	39	101
55-59	34	28	62
60-64	33	30	63
65+	53	61	114
Total	1220	1211	2431 ✓

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005.

The survival rate and life expectancy at birth for urban population is higher due to health awareness and availability of health facilities. Female elderly population size is higher due to higher life expectancy rate at birth. Male life expectancy rate is lower than female due to higher consumption of tobacco and alcohol. This is the general demographic description of the sample population of Pokhara valley.

Table 3.12 presents the data on household member's marital status by age groups. In this study, the data shows that teenage marriage is prevalent and frequent in Pokhara Valley and its peripheral highlands. The figure shows that divorced and separated people number are negligible due to prevailing traditions and customs. Above the age of 50, the number of widow/widower increases due to the effect of mortality and lower life expectancy. Marriage is universal and compulsory in Nepalese society, so that no person remains single after the age of fifty.

Table 3.12 Marital Status by Age Groups

Age	Marital Status of the HH Member						Total
	Unmarried	Married	Remarried	Widow/ Widower	Divorced	Separated	
0-4	169	0	0	0	0	0	169
5-9	260	0	0	0	0	0	260
10-14	267	15	0	0	0	1	283
15-19	255	39	0	0	0	0	294
20-24	147	118	0	0	0	0	265
25-29	29	170	0	2	0	1	202
30-34	11	167	0	2	0	1	181
35-39	1	166	1	3	1	2	174
40-44	2	134	0	4	0	0	140
45-49	4	114	1	5	0	1	125
50-54	2	93	0	6	0	0	101
55-59	1	54	0	6	0	1	62
60+	1	98	0	71	2	3	175
Total	1149	1168	2	99	3	10	2431

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005.

3.1.6 Education among the In-migrants by Age groups

The table 3.13 presents the information about household member's age by level of education. Out of 2431 people, 231 are out migrants. Of the total in-migrants, 621 are illiterate and 1579 are educated.

Table 3.13 Level of Education by Age Groups

Age Group	Level of education							Total
	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	SLC	IA	BA	MA +	
5-9	61	57	0	0	0	0	0	118
10-14	57	224	30	1	0	0	0	312
15-19	56	69	120	58	28	1	0	332
20-24	51	40	63	67	66	16	0	303
25-29	55	49	49	31	26	16	3	229
30-34	52	45	39	39	29	8	5	217
35-39	48	33	29	30	11	16	4	171
40-44	57	30	26	11	11	6	8	149
45-49	65	32	11	6	2	4	3	123
50-54	61	27	16	6	2	2	3	117
55-59	21	12	9	1	4	2	0	49
60+	37	25	10	5	0	2	1	80
Total	621	643	402	255	179	73	27	2200

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005.

The statistics shows that higher the ages lower the number of educated people. 643 people have completed primary level of education. 403 people completed secondary levels of education. 54 people have completed the SLC, 179 person have completed the intermediate level, 73 people have completed the bachelor degree and only 27 people have completed the masters degree and above level of education.

The table 3.14 presents the data on level of education at the time of migration by age. The data shows a mixed picture. The existing hypothesis is that the higher the education level, higher is the propensity to migrate does not hold water in the context of migration in Pokhara Valley and its periphery. There are 82 illiterate persons at the time of migration. Similarly, 120 persons have only primary levels of education, 101 people have the secondary level of education, 63 persons have SLC, 34 persons have IA, 22 have BA and only 7 persons have MA and above levels of education at the time of migration. Most migrants migrated in between the age of 15-49 years.

Table 3.14 Age and Educational Levels of Head of Households at the Time of Migration

	Primary	Secondary	SLC	IA	BA	MA +	Illiterate	Total
5-9	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
10-14	8	3	1	0	0	0	1	13
15-19	9	16	14	3	0	0	5	47
20-24	9	13	11	6	4	1	9	53
25-29	20	21	13	12	1	0	14	81
30-34	22	14	13	7	10	4	5	75
35-39	13	14	5	3	2	0	10	47
40-44	14	12	3	2	0	2	13	46
45-49	11	4	1	1	2	0	7	26
50-54	6	1	1	0	3	0	5	16
55-59	4	1	1	0	0	0	5	11
60+	3	2	0	0	0	0	6	11
Total	120	101	63	34	22	7	82	429

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

illiterate?

There is a few numbers of child and old age dependent migrants. Almost all migrated at their peak working ages. The theory of age selectivity for migration is applicable in this context.

Table 3.15 presents the data on level of education of household member by sex. Out of 1581 educated population, 644 people have primary level of education. 403 people have the secondary level of education. 255 persons have the SLC level of education. Similarly, 179 people have the intermediate level, 73 persons have the bachelor level of education and only 27 people have the masters degree and above level of education. Female's educational attainment is lower in higher education in comparison to male.

Table 3.15 In-migrant's Level of Education by Sex

Level of Education	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Primary	312	332	644
Secondary	248	155	403
SLC	148	107	255
IA	114	65	179
BA	55	18	73
MA +	25	2	27
Total	902	679	1581

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

3.1.7 Employment and Occupations

The employment opportunities in non-agricultural sector increased due to increase in number of industries in the valley. According to the statistics given by the Pokhara Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the non-farm employment increased tremendously since last two decades.

Table 3.16 presents data on occupation of in-migrants in Pokhara valley. Out of 1350 in-migrants household enumerated in 1994, 425 households depend on foreign employment. 408 families depend on remittances from Britain, India and Singapore, 215 households' occupation is business, 105 households' depend on government

service, 101 households' depend on private service, 53 families depend on agriculture, 35 households' occupation is hotel business, 4 families are engaged in industry and four other families are dependent on rent. It is argued that rural-to-urban migration in Pokhara valley is particularly beneficial as a means of alleviating rural poverty.

Table 3.16 Occupations of In-migrants of Pokhara in 1994
(Sample size=1350)

Occupations	Numbers	Percentages
Foreign employment	425	31.49
Dependence on remittance	408	30.49
Business	215	15.90
Government service	105	7.79
Private service	101	7.46
Agriculture	53	3.89
Hotel business	35	2.59
Industry	4	0.32
Dependence on rent	4	0.32

Source: Pun, (1994: 59)

Remittances from temporary migrants provide rural families with cash incomes that can be used to sustain their rural way of life. The rapid urbanization in Pokhara valley is a by-product of existing development trends. Rural-urban interactions have increased with the growth of economic opportunities in both agriculture and non-agricultural sectors. Many rural people move to emerging market centers to cross the distance before landing into Pokhara valley towns. In view of the high disparity in income levels, physical facilities and employment opportunities between the rural and urban areas, the pace of migration is inevitably going to be high in the valley due to the increase of rural-urban interactions.

As the fieldwork, records indicate a sample of 231 out-migrants from the region. The table 3.17 shows the data on sex composition of Out-migrants from Pokhara valley by area and country of destination. India, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia,

Dubai, UK, Qatar, Iraq, and Singapore are the prime destination countries of Nepalese out migrants.

Table 3.17 Sex compositions of Out-migrants by Destination (Area/Country)

Destination Area/Country	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
India	51	2	53
Saudi Arabia	32	1	33
Qatar	32	0	32
Malaysia	20	0	20
UK	11	4	15
Within Nepal, (kathmandu, Lamjung, Tanahun, Jhapa)	10	4	14
Dubai	13	0	13
Hong Kong	10	3	13
Singapore	6	3	9
Kuwait	3	1	4
Iraq	4	0	4
Brunei	3	0	3
UAE	3	0	3
Israel	2	0	2
Korea	2	0	2
Belgium	2	0	2
Japan	1	0	1
Germany	1	0	1
Brazil	1	0	1
Makau	1	0	1
Taiwan	1	0	1
Kango	1	0	1
USA	1	0	1
Australia	1	0	1
Baharain	1	0	1
Total	213	18	231

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

The sex composition of out migrants of Pokhara valley reveals that, there is a male preponderance. There is also a small number of female out migrants' within the country. The remittances from the earnings of out migrants are the main source of livelihood of their remaining family members at place of origin. The large-scale emigration of Nepalese from western development region to India for recruitment in

the Indian army and working in the cheap labour market has resulted in backward social, political and economic conditions of hinterlands that is responsible for further deteriorating the rural economy of western hills. The main objective of emigration from the country is closely tied up with the expectation of higher earning. Apart from the growth in the squatter population, growing inequalities are beginning to show in the economic status of households with access to remittances and those without remittances in the valley towns. Even though no study has been conducted in this respect. The general people now feel that the children of *Lahures* (Army Personals) attend expensive English medium boarding schools in the towns. Some social problems with in *Lahure's* families are mainly family disintegration, gambling, drug abuse, and alcoholism due to absence of household heads. According to information from previous table 3.17 there are only 14 people who out-migrated from Pokhara valley within Nepal among which 10 are male and 4 female. The destination areas are Kathmandu, Tanahun, Jhapa and Lamjung. Where had gone only for better employment opportunities for them.

Table 3.18 Age and Sex Composition of Out-migrants

Age when Left home	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
0-9	6	3	9
10-14	2	0	2
15-19	41	5	46
20-24	60	7	67
25-29	42	1	43
30-34	26	1	27
35-39	11	1	12
40+	25	0	25
Total	213	18	231

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

The table 3.18 provides data on age and sex of the out-migrants from the Pokhara valley. Out of 231 out-migrants, 213 persons are male and 18 are female. In other words, 92 percent out-migrants are male and only 8 per cent are female. The age of

the out-migrant ranges from 15-40 plus year. The out -migration from the Pokhara valley is both age and sex selective.

Table 3.19 demonstrates the data on level of education of out migrants by sex. There are 231 out migrants among them 212 are males and 19 are females. The existing theory of sex selectivity on migration is highly applicable in the context of out migration from the valley. The propensity to migrate is a selective procedure that is applicable in the context of out migration from Pokhara valley and its peripheral hinterlands. Very few numbers of females is seen in the out migration figure.

Table 3.19 Sex Composition of Out-migrants by Level of Education

Level of Education	Out Migrants		Total
	Male	Female	
Primary	51	2	53
Secondary	69	3	72
SLC	45	3	48
IA	21	1	22
BA	14	3	17
MA +	1	0	1
Illiterate	11	7	18
Total	212	19	231

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

The statistics shows that higher the levels of education lower the number of out-migrants at the time of migration. Although the over all literacy rate has increased in Nepal since a few decades, people with lower levels of education like primary, secondary, SLC, and even illiteracy have out migrated in large numbers from the valley. This is due to mass unemployment. Some of the economically well off and educated families have international networking and that they prefer international migration because of the probability of higher earnings. The educational attainment of the in-migrants and out-migrants of Pokhara valley and it's peripheral highlands seems very poor in its quality, which is one of the characteristics of underdeveloped

agrarian society where the push factor of migration is major determinants for in and out migration, both for the destination inside or outside the country.

3.1.8 Education and Out-migration

There is frequent out-migration from the Pokhara valley including its peripheral rural settlements. The table 20 demonstrates the data on education level of out-migrants from Pokhara valley and it presents the data about the age and level of education of out-migrants from Pokhara valley when they left home. In the case of out-migration from the valley the existing theory, higher the educational level higher is the propensity to migrate is not validated ground because approximately five percent out-migrants are illiterate and more than sixty per cent out-migrants from the valley have less than or equal to secondary levels of education.

Table 3.20 Out-migrants Education Level by Age Group

Age When Left Home	Level of Education							Total
	Primary	Secondary	SLC	IA	BA	MA +	Illiterate	
5-9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10-14	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
15-29	31	53	34	20	12	1	3	154
30-34	5	10	7	1	2	0	2	27
35-39	3	1	3	1	2	0	2	12
40+	12	7	4	0	1	0	11	35
Total	53	72	48	22	17	1	18	231

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Out of 231 out-migrants, only one out-migrant has completed post graduation at the time of his/her migration. Likewise, 18 out-migrants were illiterate, 17 have graduate levels of education, 22 have intermediate levels of education, 48 out-migrants have SLC levels of education, 72 have secondary levels of education and 53 out-migrants have only primary levels of education at their time of out-migration from the Pokhara valley and its peripheral rural settlements. Most of the out-migrant from the valley has lower levels of education at the time of migration. It indicates that the push factor has the major roles for out-migration.

3.1.9 Marital Status by Age

Table 3.21 shows data on age by marital status of out-migrant. Out of 231 out-migrants, 178 were married at the time of migration. Likewise, 52 unmarried and only one out-migrant was separated from the spouse at her time of out-migration. About, 67 percent out-migrants' are in the age group 15 to 29 years. Almost all the out-migrants are economically active according to their age. About 5 percent of out-migrants are dependent whose age falls in between 0 to 14 years. There is no aged as out-migrant. The intension of most of the out-migrants is connected with economic motives and betterment strategy. The age at marriages of out-migrants from Pokhara valley is general. Almost all the citizen married before the age of 25 years in Nepal. Now, the age at marriage is increasing gradually in the valley. The age selectivity theory is applicable in the context of out-migration from Pokhara valley. Almost all the out-migrants are in the productive age group.

Table 3.21 Marital Status of the out-migrants by Age

Age	Total	Marital Status					
		Married	%	Unmarried	%	Separated	%
0-14	11	0	0	11	100	0	0
15-19	46	27	58.7	19	41.3	0	0
20-24	67	48	71.6	19	28.4	0	0
25-29	43	41	95.3	2	4.7	0	0
30-34	27	26	96.3	0	0	1	3.7
35-39	12	12	100	0	0	0	0
40+	25	24	96	1	4	0	0
Total	231	178	77.1	52	22.5	1	0.4

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

3.1.10 Duration of Out-migration

The table 3.22 shows the duration of absence of out-migrants by age group. Nine persons left their place of residence at the ages of 0-9 years, two people left home at the ages of 10-14 years, 46 left their homes at the ages of 15-19 years and 16 people among them lived outside the country for more than ten years. 67 people left their place of origin between 20-24 years of age and 14 people among them lived outside the country more than ten years. 43 people left their homes at the ages of 25-29 year

and, 8 people among them lived outside the country for more than ten year. 27 people left their place of origin at the ages of 30-34 year and, two among them lived outside the country for more than ten years. 12 people left their place of residence at the ages of 35-39 years and, four among them lived outside the country more than ten year. 17 people left their place of origin at the age of 40-44 year and 2 among them lived outside the country for more than ten year. Eight people left their usual place of residence at the age of 45 and above years and one among them lived outside the country for more than ten year.

Table 3.22 Duration of Out-migration by Age

Duration of migration in years	Age Group										Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+	
1	2	0	0	6	17	9	9	4	8	4	59
2	0	0	0	6	7	7	3	1	2	1	27
3	1	0	0	5	11	6	4	0	1	0	28
4	4	0	0	1	2	5	1	1	0	0	14
5		1	0	2	2	3	5	2	2	1	18
6		1	2	0	5	2	1	0	1	0	12
7				4	6	1	0	0	0	1	12
8				5	1	2	2	0	0	0	10
9				1	2	0	0	0	1	0	5
10+				16	14	8	2	4	2	1	47
Total	7	2	2	46	67	43	27	12	17	8	231

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Total 47 people lived outside Nepal for more than ten years from the valley and its peripheral highlands. Those people, who left Pokhara valley and its peripheral hinterland at the age of ten years and earlier, were dependent and they lived with their parents. According to the statistics, the young and energetic work force of valley is leaving Nepal at their peak productive age because of unemployment at the place of origin and higher aspiration of more earning and a better life. According to the information from the table 3.22, there is a high acceleration of out-migration during last decade. However, the out-migration from Pokhara valley is not a recent phenomenon.

Section-II Determinants of Internal Migration in Pokhara Valley

3.2.1 Households Level

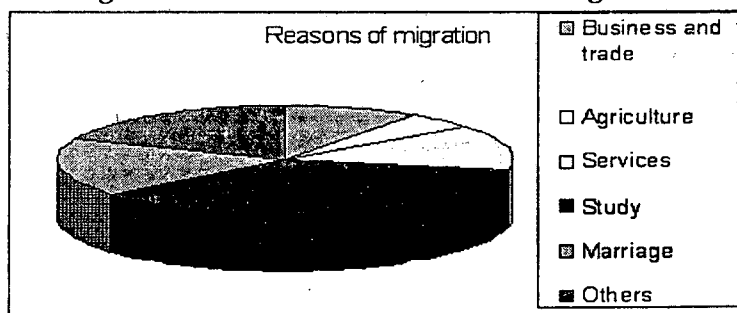
Table 3.23 Reasons of In-migration by Place of Birth

Reasons of Migration	Place of Birth					Total
	Same Dist VDC	Same Dist Municipality	Other Dist VDC	Other Dist Municipality	Other Country	
Business/ Trade	149	31	38	0	5	223
Agriculture	70	13	31	0	0	114
Services	197	11	85	3	4	300
Study	388	118	179	3	32	720
Marriage	224	25	145	3	5	402
Others	231	66	137	0	7	441
Total	1259	264	615	9	53	2200

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

The table 3.23 presents the data on personal reason of in-migration by place of birth. 223 people migrated for business and trade. 114 people migrated in search of agricultural land and agricultural labour. 300 people migrated to Pokhara valley for service and employment. Likewise, 723 people migrated because of the educational reason. 402 people migrated because of marriage. 441 people migrated because of other reasons.

Figure- 3.1 Personal Reasons of In-migration



399 people were migrated due to marriage. 441 people were migrated because of other reasons. 1259 migrants migrated from the same district VDC. 264 people migrated from the same district municipality. 615 migrants migrated from the other district VDC. Only 6 persons migrated from other district municipalities and 56

people who migrated to Pokhara valley, their place of birth was another country. The figure below reveals the reasons of in-migration in Pokhara valley. The most important reason of in migration in the valley is the study and education and followed by others, like marriages, service, business/trade, dependency, and agriculture.

3.2.2 Causes of Migration

The table 3.24 shows the households causes of migration by sex of the household's head. Among the migrant's families, 23 families migrated due to the agricultural reasons. Likewise, 75 families migrated due to the business and trade purposes. Eight families migrated due to the educational reason. Only one family migrated due to dependency, 62 families migrated for reason of services, 10 families migrated because of wage-based labour in urban centers, two families migrated due to marriage and parental properties of father-in-law.

Table 3.24 Household Level: Causes of Migration

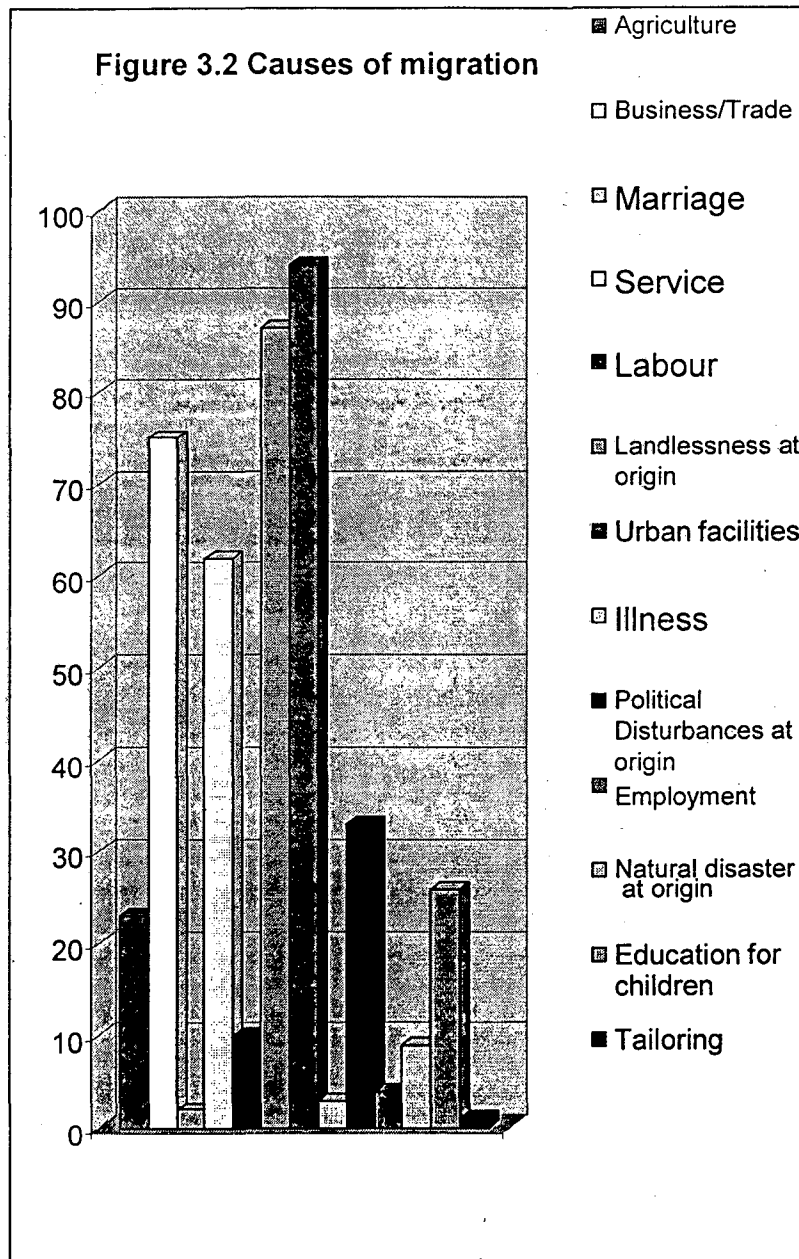
Causes of Migration	Sex of the Head of HH		Total
	Male	Female	
Agriculture	21	2	23
Business/Trade	72	3	75
Marriage	2	-	2
Service	60	2	62
Labour	9	1	10
Landlessness at origin	72	15	87
Urban facilities	91	3	94
Illness	3	-	3
Political Disturbances at origin	33	-	33
Employment	4	-	4
Natural disaster at origin	9	-	9
Education for children	26	-	26
Tailoring	1	-	1
Total	403	26	429

Confusing employment

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

87 families migrated due to the cause of landlessness and near landlessness at origin who settled in the slum settlement of the two urban centers of the Pokhara valley. 94 families migrated due to urban facilities.

Causes of Migration



33 families are migrated due to the political disturbances. Three families migrated for reasons of illness. The information obtained at the time of field survey indicates that

the attraction of urban facilities, landlessness at origin, business/trade opportunities in the urban center, opportunities of services and study are the main reasons of in-migration in the valley towns. Four families migrated due to employment in the private sector. Likewise, 9 families migrated due to natural disaster at their place of origin. 18 families migrated for education of children. Only one family migrated for tailoring at the place of destination.

In Pokhara valley, in-migration is higher than out migration. Most of the in-migrants have come from the peripheral highlands of the same and neighboring districts. A large majority of migrants come to the valley for education. Other important reasons for migration into Pokhara valley in terms of importance are marriage, business, and services.

Table 3.25 presents the data on purposes of migration by household member's sex. 133 males and 89 females migrated in Pokhara valley for business and trade. 61 males and 48 females migrated to work in agriculture. 292 males and 28 females migrated to work in service sector. 449 male and 377 female migrated for education. 7 male and 395 female migrated due to marriage. 65 male and 256 female migrated in Pokhara valley because of other reasons like old and children as dependent. There were total 2200 in-migrants in this study sample among them 1103 are male and 1097 are female.

Table 3.25 Reasons for In-migration by Sex

Purposes of Migration	Sex of the HH Member		Total
	Male	Female	
Business/Trade	133	89	222
Agriculture	61	48	109
Service	292	28	320
Study	449	377	826
Marriage	7	395	402
Others	65	256	321
Total	1007	1193	2200

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

Repetition 2

3.2.3 Individual Levels

The place of birth of the population at the time of enumeration has been presented in table 3.26. Out of the total 2431 sample population, 1308 were born in the same district's village development committee. Likewise, 418 people were born at the same district's municipality and 636 people were born at the different district's village development committee. Just 6 persons were born at the different district's municipality. Only 59 people were born in other countries of their nationality. Four people had not stated their place of birth. In other words, 53.8 per cent people were born in the same district's village development committee. Likewise, 17.2 per cent people were born at the same district's municipality and 26.2 per cent people were born in another district's village development committee. Just 0.2 per cent people were born in other district's municipality and only 2.5 per cent people were born in other countries.

Table 3.26 Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Numbers	Percent
Same District VDC	1308	53.8
Same Dist Municipality	418	17.2
Other Dist VDC	636	26.2
Other Dist Municipality	6	0.2
Other Country	59	2.5
Not stated	4	0.1
Total	2431	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

3.2.4 Reasons for Emigration

Table 3.27 presents the data on reasons of absence by place of births. Pull factors like employment and handsome salary in the destination country/areas are the main reasons of out migration from Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands. An analysis of reasons for absence from home reveals quite a contrast between lifetime internal migrants and circular migrants. Although the statistics show that 'household services' is less important reason for out migration from the valley, in reality, households services and lowest grade work in the Indian cities and in the Gulf is really an important reason of out migration from Nepal as a whole. Table also reveals

*definite household service
Insti = "*

the data about place of birth of out migrants by reasons of out migration. There are various reasons of out migration from western hill region of Nepal.

explain

Table 3.27 Reasons of Out-migration by Place of Birth

Reason of Absence	Place of Birth				Total
	Same District VDC	Same District Municipality	Other Dist VDC	Other Country	
Business	1	0	1	0	2
HH Service**	0	0	0	1	1
Insti - Service*	126	7	72	2	207
Study	1	0	3	0	4
Marriage	1	0	6	0	7
Others	0	0	4	4	8
Not stated	1	0	1	0	2
Total	130	7	87	7	231

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

**HH service= Household service, *Insti- Service = Institutional service

Among the various reasons, institutional service is the major one, reasons of out migration from the Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands. The Nepalese work force is employed in public (especially in Indian and British army) and private sectors of the labour market of India, Gulf continents, Europe, Japan, South Korea, and America. Study, business, marriages, and household's services are the less important reasons of out migration from the valley and its peripheral highlands according to the available information. Service, which includes a variety of jobs, surfaced as the most dominant reason for being absent from home in both internal and external cases of circular migration. On an average, maximum percent of external migrants mentioned service as their reason for migration; the hill out-migrants make up the highest rate. The table also reveals the information of place of birth out-migrants. According to the information, 130 people who out-migrated from their usual place of residence at the time of survey were born in the same district's village development committee. Seven people were born in the same district municipality; 87 people were born in other district' village development committee. Only seven persons were born in other country. The data of research show that those people who are currently living in Pokhara valley and are born in VDC of the same

district or other district, have migrated by changing their usual place of residence permanently.

Section-III Other Determinants of Migration

3.3.1 Urbanization in Pokhara Valley

Pokhara was declared as town or urban center in 1960s. The size of population was small (5413) and the urban facilities like drinking water, roads, market, telecommunications, hospitals, electricity, schools, and colleges were available in lesser extent. But it increased gradually which led to the in-migration in the valley. Migration and the process of urbanization in this valley proceeded simultaneously and the urbanization played a positive attraction factor for in-migration. Lekhanath, where the size of population was 30107 became a municipality in 1990s. However, the size of population in Lekhanath municipality reached 41,369 in 2001. Similarly, the size of population in Pokhara sub-metropolis reached 156,312 in 2001. The urban population growth rate of Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhanath municipality is 7.49 and 4.95 respectively. Pokhara has one of the highest urban growth rates among the urban centers of western development region. The important factors for urbanization in the valley are the connectivity of road availability of transportation facilities, construction of Seti and Fewa hydropower projects, Seti irrigation canal, increase in the number of hospitals, expansion of markets, acceleration of banking services and establishment of various schools, colleges, industries, etc.

Snow clad mountain peaks, pleasant weather all round the year, various lakes and mysterious geomorphology of the Pokhara valley are some of the factors for development of Pokhara as a tourist center. And its development has strong positive impact on the process of urbanization in the valley. The development of road linkages to Baglung, the zonal headquarters of Dhaulagiri zone; and various parts of the district and other districts has positively helped the expansion of urbanization. The expansion of roads in the different parts of the district has increased the rural urban interactions between the valley and the peripheral hinterlands. Availability

and accessibility of air services has also led to the development of tourism. It too has positive impacts on the process of urbanization and ultimately on in-migration. Historically, the process of urbanization in Pokhara valley initiated in the early 1960s, as it is from this time that the market started to grow in terms of both physical expansions and the volume of transactions.

3.3.2 Economic Factor: Size of Landholdings

Table 3.28 presents the data on the size of landholdings by families. Out of 479 household, 64 households are landless, 45 households have less than or equal to 0.5 Ropanis¹ of land, which are the near landless families. Only 79 households have 10.1 to 20 Ropanis of agricultural land and 46 households have 20.1 to 40 Ropanis of farmland at their place of origin. There are just 11 households, who have more than 40.1 Ropanis of farmland. Out of 479 households approximately 72 percent households have less than or equal to ten Ropani of land, which is not sufficient for their families' survival and sustenance.

Table 3.28 Size of Landholdings by Households

Size of landholdings	Numbers	Percent
Landless	64	13.4
1.00	45	9.4
2.00	28	5.8
3.00	112	23.4
4.00	93	19.5
5.00	79	16.5
6.00	37	9.6
7.00	5	1.1
8.00	5	1.1
9.00	1	0.2
Total	479	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Value label

1= Upto 0.5 Ropani

2= 0.6-1 Ropani

3= 1.1- 5 Ropani

4= 5.1-10 Ropani

5=10.1-20 Ropani

6=20.1-40 Ropani

7=40.1-60 Ropani

8=60.1-100 Ropani

9=100.1-150 Ropani

¹ One Ropani is equivalent to 0.025 Hectare

Only 2.5 per cent people have more than 40 Ropanis land in their ownership. The process of land fragmentation is increasing generation after generation is tapering off the landholdings among the tiller and pose a serious question before them whether to stay at the place of origin facing the vicious cycle of poverty or to migrate anywhere. The land ownership in Pokhara valley is concentrated in only few families. Just five families (1.1 per cent households) have 60 to 100 Ropanis of land and 0.2 percent family has 100 to 150 Ropani of land.

3.3.3 Economic Factor: Income

Table 3.29 shows the monthly income of sample households of Pokhara valley. Approximately 54 per cent of the sample households have monthly income less than NRs. 9000 or 125 US \$. Only five to six per cent of sample household has monthly income more than national per capita income.

Table 3.29 Monthly Income of Family

Monthly income	Numbers	Percent
1	52	10.7
2	128	26.8
3	78	16.3
4	93	19.5
5*	52	10.9
6	48	10.0
7	16	3.3
8	5	1.0
10	7	1.5
Total	479	100.0

2
 makes to be
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Source: Field Survey, 2004/05.

* Medium Income Levels of the Family

Value label

1=1000-3000 NRs

2=3001-6000 NRs

3=6001-9000 NRs

4=9001-12000 NRs

5=12001-15000 NRs

6=15001-25000 NRs

7=25001-50000 NRs

8=50001-75000 NRs

9=75001-100000 NRs

10=100001+ NRs

Around forty per cent sample households have medium levels of monthly income.

Nepalese rupees 15000 per month per family are the medium level income in Nepal.

The high inflation rate of Nepalese currency in the light of present politico-economic situation of the country is also one of the prominent factors for out-migration from Pokhara valley to the developed countries of Europe, USA and even Gulf countries of Middle East.

3.3.4 Social Factors: Family Size

The average family size of the sample population is five persons per family. There are nine households, which have only one member in their family, 24 households have only two family members. 44 families have three family members each. 132 families have four members in their families. 110 families have five family members each and 73 households have six family members.

Table 3.30 Family Size

Family Size	Numbers	Percent
1	9	2.1
2	24	5.0
3	44	9.2
4	132	27.5
5	110	22.9
6	73	15.2
7	44	9.2
8	19	4.0
9	11	2.3
10	5	2.6
11	3	.6
12+	5	1.0
Total	479	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

44 families have seven family members, and 19 families, have eight family members each. 11 families have nine family members. Five families have ten family members, three families have eleven family members, and five families have twelve and above family members. The large sized families are residing in joint family. The process of family fragmentation and the practice of nuclear family are increasing in the valley towns in the recent years because of growing expenses and the economic hardship in the form of high inflation rate of Nepalese currency.

3.3.5 Social factor: Age at Marriages

The table 3.31 represents age at marriage by sex. The table demonstrates that there is a practice of child marriage in Pokhara valley.

Table 3.31 Age at Marriage by Sex

Age At Marriages	Sex of the HH Member		Total
	Male	Female	
11-14	20	116	136
15-19	137	318	455
20-24	237	65	302
25-29	74	11	85
30+	11	0	11
Total	479	510	989

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Among the 479 male and 510 female, 20 male and 116 female are married in between the age of 11 to 14 years respectively. Approximately sixty percent of the total marriages occur before the age of twenty. 137 male and 318 female are married in the age of 15-19 years. 237 male and 65 female are married in the ages of 20 to 24 respectively. The marriages have even taken place at the age above 25 years for both sexes but the figures are lesser and negligible. There are 74 male and 11 female married at in the age groups 25-29 years. There are only 11 males married at in the age of 30 years and above.

3.3.6 Inter-district Migration

There is presence of inter-district frontier migration in Pokhara valley. The main causes of inter-districts migration to Pokhara valley is the push factors associated with the place of origin. Lack of resources for livelihood and survival risk at the place of origin, unprecedented prevalence of unemployment, and no base of infrastructural developments, lack of developmental facilities, population pressure, and poverty are the root causes of inter-district migration towards to Pokhara valley and from its peripheral hinterland of neighboring hilly districts. The table 3.32 presents the data on inter-district migrants in four wards (10-13) of Pokhara Sub-metropolis.

Table 3.32 Origin of In-migrants in Four Wards (10-13) in 1994 (Sample size 1350 households).

Districts	In-migrants in the valley	
	Numbers	Percentages
Kaski	760	56.29
Syanja	260	19.25
Parbat	80	5.92
Lamjung	110	8.14
Myagdi	60	4.44
Tanahun	50	3.70
Bhaktapur	10	0.74
Kathmandu	10	0.74
Gorkha	10	0.74
Total	1350	100.0

Source: Pun, (1994: 36).

3.3.7 Distribution of Resources for Development

The spatial disparity between the Hills and Terai in terms of land and other resources is obvious. Here the emphasis is on agricultural investment. Terai region, which supports 48 per cent of the total population on 56 per cent of cultivated land, has received a disproportionate share of the state's agricultural resources. Out of the total agricultural resources earmarked by the government in terms of fertilizers, high yielding varieties of seeds, insecticides, improved implements, and credit, 82 per cent went to the Terai region (Shrestha, 1998). Only 18 per cent went to Hills. Although the Hill region has attracted some development attention in the last few years under the rubric of integrated rural development, the geographical allocation of foreign-aid based development resources has been disproportionately biased in favor of the Kathmandu valley and the Terai region. One aspect of allocation of development resources is analyzed here to show the degree of disparity between the Terai and Hills. The Terai received 84 per cent of fertilizer, 83 per cent of high yielding varieties of seeds, 96 per cent of improved implements, 77 per cent of insecticides, and 80 per cent of agricultural credit. The Hills received only small percentages of these resources, especially in the light of the fact that the hill and mountain region together have to support 52 per cent of the total population on 44 per cent of farmland force to continue out migration. Similarly, 10 per cent of the total

cultivated land in the Terai has been brought under irrigation; only 1 per cent of the Hill farmland has been furnished with such facilities (Shrestha, 1998).

3.3.8 Developmental Facilities

The availabilities of various types of facilities like educational institutes, hospitals, insurance, banks, hospitals, markets, transportation, communication, electricity, and drinking water are attracting the migrants in Pokhara valley from its peripheral highlands. Almost all the private schools and the banks situated in the rural parts of the western development region are either closed or shifted in the urban centers of the valley. This phenomenon has great influence on the flow of internal migration to Pokhara valley. Personal business and trade opportunities are other important reasons for in-migration to the valley.

3.3.9 Frontier Migration

Table 3.33 presents the data on inter-district frontier migration. Out of total 429 migrant's households, 23 migrants' households are the frontier migration. In other words, in this study, 5.35 percent migrants' households are frontier and remaining households migrated for other purposes.

Table 3.33 Frontier Migration

Causes of migration	Household numbers	Percentage (%)
Agriculture	23	5.35
Others	406	94.65
Total	429	100.0

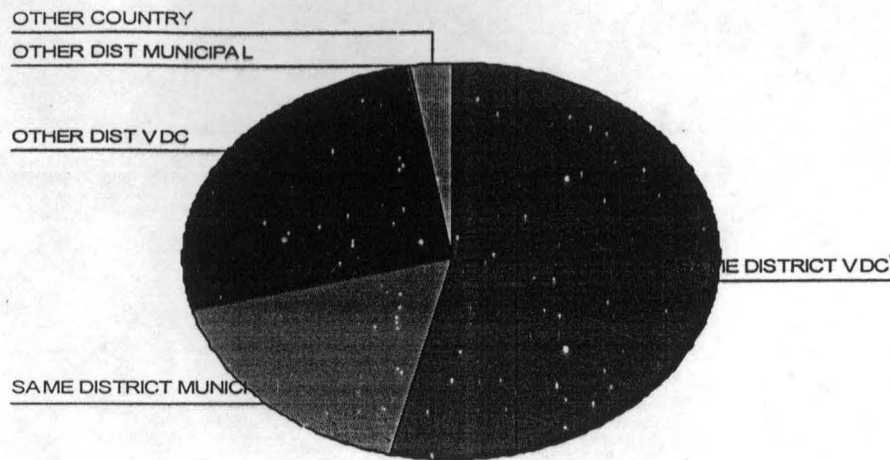
Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

The percentages of inter-district migrant's for other purposes are very strong in Pokhara valley. Frontier migrations in Pokhara valley were vigorous until early 1990s due to the availability of agricultural land in the valley. The expansion of the urbanization in Pokhara and Lekhanath urban centers became one of the most important restricted factors for the frontier migration in the valley at present.

3.3.10 Migrants by Place of Birth

The figure 3.2 presents data on the place of birth of in-migrants to Pokhara valley.

Figure 3.3 Migrants by Place of Birth



The highest proportion of in-migrant's place of birth is the village development committee of the same district followed by other district's village development committee. Those migrants whose place of birth is either other country or other district's municipality, is negligible in number.

The table 3.34 shows the expansion of educational institutions in Pokhara valley from 1961 to 1999. There were only 15 educational institutions before the declaration of Pokhara as the urban center in 1961. After the declaration of urban center, the numbers of schools and colleges increased rapidly and it grew more rapidly after 1990s. More than 75% inter-district' migrants have greater than primary and lesser than secondary levels of education which indicates that the theory of higher the educational level and higher is the propensity to migrate is not applicable in this context. The private boarding schools and colleges are increasing rapidly in the valley due to the government's privatization policy after 1990s.

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Table 3.34 Expansion of Educational Institutions in Pokhara 1961-1999

Year	Institutions	Net increase	% Increase
1961	15	-	-
1971	26	11	73.3
1981	38	12	46.2
1991	93	55	144.7
1999	168	75	80.6

Source: Sapkota, 2000.

Heavy inward flow of migration in Pokhara valley resulted in the high expansion of educational institutions. Urban facilities are the most important facilitating factor that is responsible for the expansion of educational institutions. Migration plays the major role for high population growth rate in the urban centers of the valley and it has its impacts on the educational institutions in the valley.

Table 3.35 Level of Education by Place of Birth

Level of Education	Place of Births					Total
	Same Dist VDC	Same District Municipality	Other Dist VDC	Other Dist Municipality	Other Country	
Primary	329	108	188	0	17	642
Secondary	223	49	115	1	16	404
SLC	150	36	64	0	5	255
IA	103	22	48	1	5	179
BA	44	7	20	1	1	73
MA +	10	0	16	1	0	27
Total	859	222	451	4	44	1580

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Table 3.35 reveals the data on the level of education by place of birth of households' member of the surveyed population. Out of 1580 in-migrants in Pokhara valley, 455 persons were inter-districts' migrants. 451 people came to the valley from the rural settlements of different districts. Only four people came from the urban settlements of different districts, 44 people who stayed in Pokhara valley at the time of enumeration were born in other countries but they were the resident of different districts other than Kaski and rest 1081 persons migrated to the valley from the same district. Out of 1580 in-migrants in Pokhara valley 642 have primary, 404 have

secondary, 255 have SLC, 179 have Intermediate, 73 have Graduation and 27 have Post-graduation and above level of education.

3.3.11 Political Unrest

With large number of population moving internally from one place to another, the population structure of the country's urban areas particularly Pokhara valley has witnessed a drastic change. Strained by the pressure of the population growth coupled with high inbound migration, the infrastructures of the valley have been unable to cope even as the new migrant population is playing an important role in accelerating the economic growth. Both the migrants who have gone overseas to work as well as those displaced internally are bringing about changes in social and economic structures. According to the above discussion, the hypothesis "The volume of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley and its periphery has highly increased within a decade after the beginning of insurgency due to the political instability in the hilly areas." seems to be valid.

3.3.12 Analysis of Correlation

Table 3.36 presents data on Pearson's correlation matrix, among various independent variables with regard to migration in Pokhara valley. In other words, it represents correlation among independent variables with response to migration. The size of arable landholdings is negatively correlated with migration at 0.1 levels of significance. Food sufficiency is negatively correlated with caste at 0.1 levels of significance. Caste is negatively correlated with migration status at 0.5 levels of significance.

Age is positively correlated with migration status at 0.1 levels of significance. Migration status is positively correlated with place of births at 0.01 levels of significance. Other independent variables are not so important and correlated with migration status. In other words, the remaining other variables are not statistically significant in relation to migration.

Table 3.36 Pearson's Correlation of Independent Variables

	FS	Te	Caste	MiS	Elatm	Ma.S	Pol.D	Occ	Age	Pbi	Sex	lehm
La	0.30**	0.24**	0.26**	-0.10*	-0.21**	0.15**	0.07	0.14**	0.02	0.05	0.17**	-0.14**
Sig.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.75	0.24	0.00	0.01
Fs	1.00	0.02	0.10**	0.03	-0.27**	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.00	0.04	0.10*	-0.22**
Sig.		0.77	0.00	0.55	0.00	0.16	0.27	0.10	0.98	0.37	0.03	0.00
Te		1.00	0.06	-0.09	-0.27**	-0.11	0.09	-0.07	-0.04	-0.18*	-0.05	-0.23**
Sig.			0.45	0.27	0.00	0.21	0.31	0.42	0.65	0.03	0.53	0.01
Ca			1.00	-0.02	-0.31**	0.05	0.00	0.19**	0.02	0.19**	0.06	-0.31**
Sig.				0.65	0.00	0.33	0.99	0.00	0.69	0.00	0.20	0.00
Mis				1.00	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.01	-0.21**	0.03	0.01
Sig.					0.31	0.72	0.33	0.61	0.08	0.00	0.59	0.84
el					1.00	-0.20**	-0.06	0.01	-0.18**	-0.03	-0.26**	0.79**
Sig.						0.00	0.21	0.85	0.00	0.53	0.00	0.00
Mas						1.00	0.02	-0.07	0.08	0.08	0.47**	0.07
Sig.							0.72	0.15	0.08	0.08	0.00	0.22
Pold							1.00	0.05	-0.06	-0.07	0.07	-0.08
Sig.								0.35	0.24	0.15	0.13	0.15
Occ								1.00	0.02	0.04	-0.01	-0.07
Sig.									0.69	0.41	0.87	0.18
Age									1.00	-0.02	-0.01	0.17**
Sig.										0.23	0.79	0.00
Pbi										1.00	0.01	-0.015**
Sig.											0.49	0.05
N	479	148	474	478	427	429	430	432	478	2431	2431	1581

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

[Abbreviations used in the table 3.45]

(Pbi= Place of birth, Lehm= Level of education of household member, Occ= occupation

Pold= political disturbances at origin, Mas= Marital status, Elatm= Education level at the time of migration, Mis= migration status, Te= telephone, Fs= food sufficiency, La= Land area)

3.3.13 Multivariate Analysis

The table 3.37 presents the multivariate analysis of independent variables concerning migration in Pokhara valley. Migration is dependent variable. The result of binary logistic regression is presented in terms of odds ratio with their significant value.

Education level graduation and above shows a statistically significant relationship with migration. The odd of migration is more than 73 times among men who have graduation and above education compared with illiterate men. Similarly, income is the strongest predictor of migration. The likelihood of migrants' people is likely to be higher among those who have monthly income more than Rs 12000. The possible

reason for this is to acquire urban facilities. Neither poor nor rich migrants have the domination on out-migration from Pokhara valley.

Table 3.37 Binary Logistic Regression

Variables in equation	Exp (B)	Sig.
Illiterate (r)	1	
Up to secondary	0.29	0.410
Up to IA	0.77	0.040**
BA +	73.07	0.001*
Up to 6000 (r)	1	
6001-12000	1.72	.0000*
12001-50000	1.73	.0000*
Above 50000	2.12	.0000*
Brahmin (r)	1	
Chhettris (1)	1.42	0.000*
Gurung (2)	5.71	0.015**
Magar (3)	3.14	0.000*
Pariyar (4)	0.23	0.017**
B.K. (5)	2.52	0.000*
Others (6)	0.92	0.000*
Agriculture (r)	1	
Service (1)	3.83	.000*
Business (2)	2.57	.000*
Labour (3)	1.06	.000*
Male (r)	1.	
Female	1.07	0.049**
Agri-Land (Yes=1) (r)	1	
Agri-Land (No=2)	0.08	0.250
Age (r)	1	
Age (1)	79.06	0.013**
Age (2)	0.99	0.000*
-2 Log likelihood	9.662	
Cox & Snell R Square (N=429)	0.033*	
Chi-square (N=429)	14.088**	

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

a. Variable(s) entered Income, Caste, Education, Occupation, Sex, Agricultural land, Age

b. Dependent variable migration (Yes=0/No=1)

(r) Reference category

* Significance at 0.01 levels

** Significance at 0.05 levels

Among the ethnic groups, Gurung, Magar, Chhettris and Bishowkarma are more likely to migrate than Brahmins. Gurung and Magar are more than five and three times likely to migrate as compared to Brahmins. Men who work in service sectors

are more than three times likely to migrate than men who work in agriculture. The odd of migration is more than two times higher among men who have business than men who work in agriculture sector. The odd of migration is likely to be less among male than female. The possible reason for this could be marriage. Another independent variable agricultural land is not so important. Age is important for migration. The odd of migration is more than 79 times higher between the ages 15 to 59 years with compared to the ages less than 15 years and above 60 years. In other words, migration in Pokhara valley is age selective.

Section-IV Testing of Hypotheses

Hypothesis: 1 The rural-urban interactions in Pokhara valley have increased with the growth of economic opportunities in both agriculture and non-agriculture sectors.

Table 3.38 Industrial Growth in Pokhara

Year	Total	Increase	Growth rate (%)
Before 1970	34	-	-
1970-74	40	6	17.7
1975-79	54	14	35.0
1980-84	87	33	61.1
1985-89	152	65	74.7
1990-1994	271	119	78.3

Source: Pokhara Chamber of Commerce and Industry, (1995: 152)

Table 3.38 reveals data on industrial growth in Pokhara valley before 1970 and from 1970 to 1994. There are only 34 industries in the valley before 1970s. The number of industries increased slowly during 1974 -1984. After 1984, the pace of industrial growth was fast and the total number of industries reached to 271 during 1984-1994.

The null hypothesis: There is no relationship between increase of employment opportunities and migration in Pokhara valley.

Inference: Null hypothesis is rejected because Chi-square value is significant and accepts alternative hypothesis. The Chi-square test shows that there is strong association between increase of employment opportunities and status of migration. A

statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternative hypothesis that migration in Pokhara valley is closely associated with increase of employment opportunities.

Table 3.39 Increase of Employment Opportunity by Migrants

Increase of employment Opportunity	Migration status		Total
	Migrants	Non-migrants	
Increased	349	47	396
Not increased	80	3	83
Total	429	50	479
Chi- square values		33.213*	

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

(a) Dependent Variable: Migration status

* Significance at 0.01 levels

The table 3.39 presents the data on the increase of employment opportunity in Pokhara valley with response to inward migration flow. A large majority of migrants hold the view that they migrated for better employment opportunities, for better income, to raise their standard of living, education, survival, for business or services or even environmental factors among many others. Occasional natural calamities like floods and landslides have also forced people to flee from their birthplace to other potential areas for their livelihood. Despite its certain shortcomings in the overall development, the migration contributes immensely to transfer the knowledge and skills from one place to another and help to broaden the perspective and horizon of rural people. Until the mid-1950s, the volume of permanent migration within the valley was very small. Since then, however, there has been an increase in internal migration, mainly because of population pressures and paucity of land resources in the hills in relation to increase in the employment opportunities in the valley town.

Hypothesis: 2: The population mobility and the rural-urban interactions in Pokhara valley have influenced by the development of transportation and communication linkages with the other parts of the country.

3.4 Transport Networks

The direct transport link to the Pokhara from different parts of the country is instrumental in increasing in-migration flow in the valley. From Dadeldhura in the far western region to Ilam of eastern region, one can arrive in Pokhara valley by taking a direct bus. Until few years back, people of Dadeldhura had to go to India first to reach Pokhara valley.

3.4.1 Road Linkages to Pokhara Valley

According to the Federation of Nepalese Transport Entrepreneurs, Pokhara valley is now linked with 150 destinations in different parts of the country. Because of road network and economic opportunities, many people prefer to come to the valley rather than going to foreign countries in search of job.

Table 3.40 Migrants by Means of Transportation and Telephone Facility

1. Migration Status	Means of Transportations			Total
	Treks	Bus	Bus/Treks	
Migrants	114	66	249	429
Total	114	66	249	429
Chi - square values	125.740*			
2. Migration status	Telephone Facility		Total	
	Yes	No		
Migrants	124	305	429	
Non-migrants	12	38	50	
Total	136	343	479	
Chi-square value	101.537*			

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05, *Significance at 0.01 levels

Until two decades ago, only few district headquarters were connected with each other but at present, 60 district headquarters are linked with each other by daily public transport. In addition, many nearby small towns have road links with Pokhara valley. Because of increasing road network, large numbers of people now have easy means to move from one place to another. "It is easier to go to India by crossing the

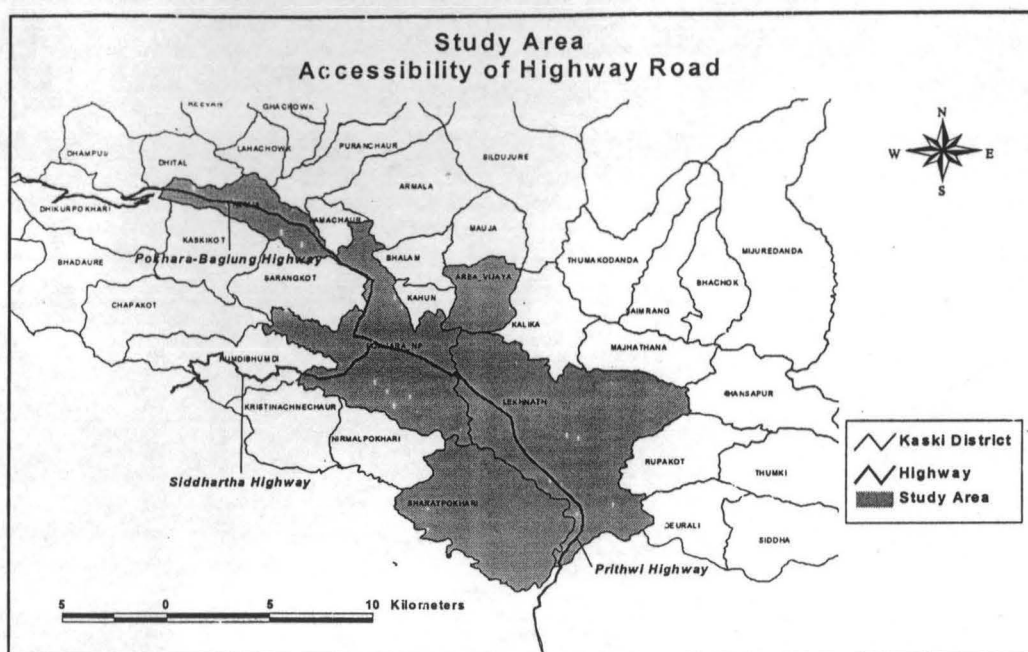
border, I decided to move to Pokhara since I don't have to face any difficulty to come here," said Harka pun from Gulmi district. "It will take me just two days now to reach my home in Gulmi compared to 4-5 days long journey it used to take in the past."

The expansion of transport network also increases the possibility to generate the employment opportunities in the rural parts of the country. However, until and unless peace and normalcy return to the countryside, the government would not prefer large investments in the rural parts of the country. So many rural people migrated to Pokhara valley towns in search of employment and better earnings than their place of origin.

The table 3.40 reveals data on migration status of the families by telephone facility and means of transportation to come to the valley. Pokhara valley has the highway roads linkage with east to west Tarai, and hills such as Gorkha, Lamjung, Tanahun, Syanja, Parbat, Dhading, Kathmandu the capital city and the zonal head quarter's of the Dhawalagiri. Similarly, Pokhara valley has the communications linkages with all parts of the country. The table also presents the Chi-square value of means of transportation with response to in-migration flows in valley. The statistic shows that Chi-square value is significant at 1 per cent level. The roads linkage or transportation facilities in Pokhara valley are more influential for internal migration. Labourers cover long distance towards the valley by utilizing the transportation facilities. Four decades prior to this study there were no roads link in the valley; it was isolated from the other parts of the country. The transportation facilities have rapidly increased the rural-urban interactions in Pokhara valley resulting in massive internal migration.

The null hypothesis: There is no relationship between means of transportation and migration in Pokhara valley.

Map 6 Linkages of Highway Roads in Pokhara Valley



Inference: Null hypothesis is rejected because Chi- square test shows that there is strong association between migration and means of transportation. A statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternative hypothesis that migration in Pokhata valley is closely associated with transportation linkages.

Table 3.40 also demonstrates data on migration status and the communication linkages on inward migration flow in the valley. The households who use telephones at their residence have had the impacts on attraction to other new comers. Out of 479 surveyed households of these study areas, 136 households have telephone facility at their residence. Among them 124 households are migrant and 12 are non-migrant.

The null hypothesis: There is no relationship between telephone facility and migration in Pokhara valley.

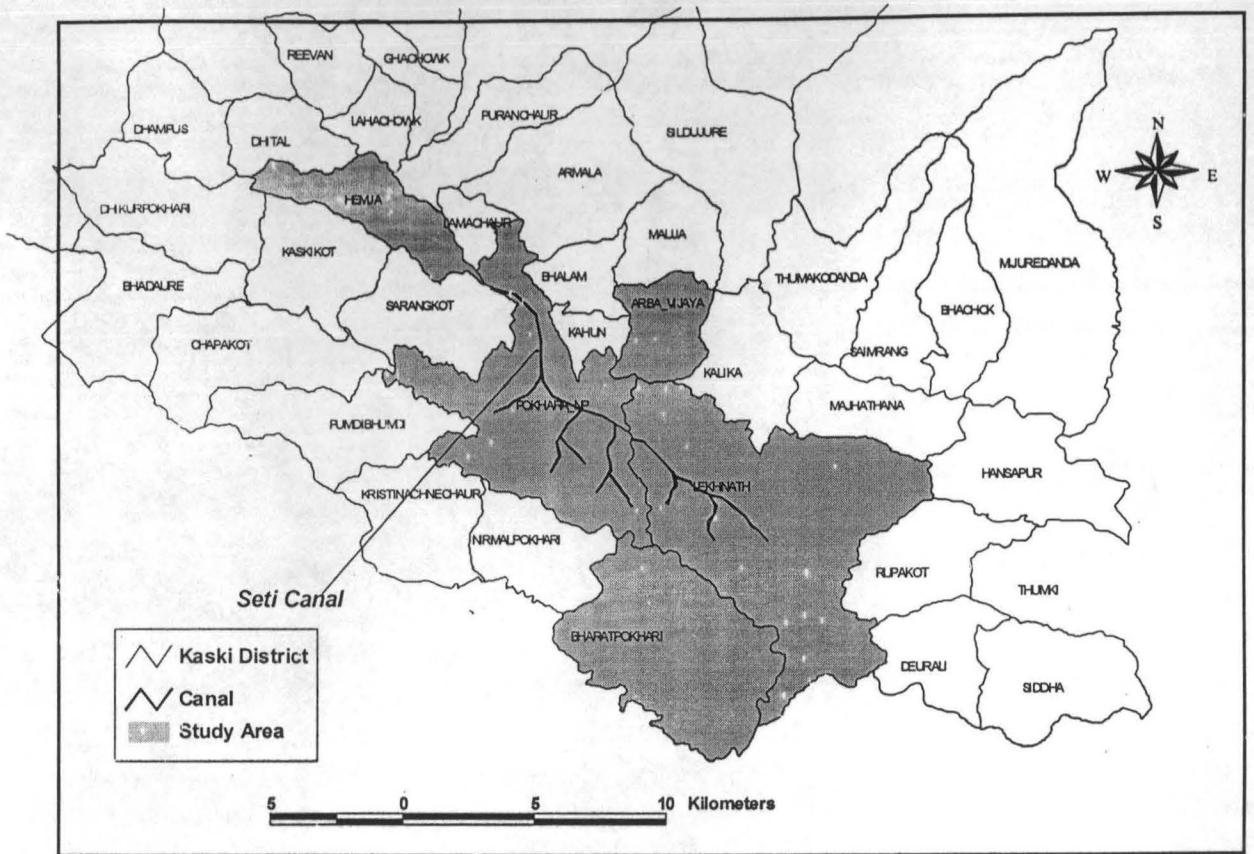
Inference: The Chi-square test shows that there is strong association between telephone facility and status of migration. A statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternative hypothesis that migration in Pokhara valley is closely associated with communication linkages.

3.4.2 Migration after Seti-irrigation Canal

Hypothesis: 3 Migrations in Pokhara valley has occurred especially from the peripheral highlands, simultaneously with the construction of Seti-irrigation canal.

The link between migration and development projects has been recognized and used positively in Pokhara valley since many years. There is a greater recognition of developmental projects even now. Migration has heavily occurred in the valley simultaneously with the construction of developmental projects, which continues at present and provides challenges to governments and societies in the years to come. However, it is necessary to make a mechanism of developmental framework to help migration management for the benefit of all. The flow of in-migration in Pokhara valley increased simultaneously with the constructions of road links, irrigation, and hydropower development projects. The in-migration flow was very small in the valley, before the construction of Seti-irrigation canal, Seti and Fewa hydropower projects, and road links in the valley. The process of urbanization in Pokhara valley and to development as the regional trade center or its declaration as a regional headquarter has had influenced role on in-migration. The survey data reveals that even though rural-to-urban migrants do make more money in Pokhara valley than they would, had they not moved, they still make up large segments of the urban poor. Here is an argument that much of the poverty-stricken areas can benefit by tracing labour migration to cross their miserable poverty. Otherwise, they adopt the existing situation or revolt.

Map-7 Seti-irrigation Canal in Pokhara Valley



The null hypothesis: There is no relationship between Seti-irrigation canal and migration in Pokhara valley.

Inference: Null hypothesis is rejected because Chi-Square value is significant and accepts alternative hypothesis. The Chi-square test shows that there is strong association between Seti-irrigation canal and in-migration. A statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternative hypothesis that migration in Pokhata valley is closely associated with Seti-irrigation canal.

Hypothesis: 4 The volume of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley and its periphery has highly increased within a decade due to the political instability in the hilly areas after the beginning of insurgency.

Table 3.41 Level of Political Disturbances at Origin by Study Area

Level of Political Disturbances At Origin	STUDY AREA					Total
	POKHARA	LEKHNATH	AR BA	HEMJA	BHARAT POKHARI	
Normal Effect of Insurgency	33	12	4	5	4	58
Above Normal Effect of Insurgency	8	5	3	2	1	19
Strong Effect of Insurgency	13	16	0	1	3	33
Total	54	33	7	8	8	110
Total sample HH	166	153	51	57	52	479
Migration Status	Disturbance	No disturbances	Total			
Migrants	110	319	429			
Total	110(25.6%)**	319(74.6%)**	429(100)			
Chi- square values						118.231*

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05,

(a) Dependent Variable: Migration status, * Significant at 0.01 Level

** The figures in parentheses are percentages.

Table 3.41 presents data on migrants by political disturbances at their place of origin. Out of 429 migrants' household 25.6% of them, feel that Maoist insurgency problem prevailed at their place of origin. Shortfalls in transparency and accountability, absence of broader participation, and a limited capacity to monitor and evaluate performance, are indicative of the extent and entrenched nature of out-migration and those hindered problems which were not taken into account properly till this study, were the root cause of migration. In terms of migration, the general pattern appears to be a movement of people from remote hill areas, first to the District centers and then on to larger towns or per urban areas, often in the Terai. Many of them continue to cross over the border into India. However, the marginal group of migrants from the remote hinterland of western development region, their ultimate destination is only the Pokhara valley towns. The table 3.41 shows the data on level of political upheavals (disturbances) at origin by respondents. Out of 110 households of

respondent whose place of origin has been influenced by Maoist insurgency, 58 respondent households feel that insurgency is low intensive at their place of origin. 19 respondent households feel that the Maoist insurgency is in its medium phase of intensity at their place of origin and, 33 respondent households feel that the Maoist insurgency has a strong effect at their place of origin.

Table 3.41 also demonstrates the data about political disturbances at the place of origin by study areas. Out of 166 households in Pokhara sub-metropolis cluster 54 respondents' household reported that their place of origin is affected by political insurgency. Likewise, Out of 153 migrant's households in Lekhanath municipality, 33 respondents' household reported that their place of origin is affected by insurgency. Similarly, Out of 51 households of Arba VDC cluster, 7 households reported that their place of origin is affected by political insurgency. Out of 57 households of Hemja VDC, eight households reported that their place of origin is affected by political insurgency. Likewise, Out of 52 households of Bharatpokhri VDC, eight households reported that their place of origin is affected by the political insurgency. Lack of work in the mountains and hills during the slack agricultural season in winter and, non-agricultural sources of income and of basic services annually induce a large number of Nepalese workers to move to the Pokhara valley, Terai and India in search of work. Conflict has modified traditional patterns of migration and forcibly uprooted certain groups of population from their homes. More recent feature of migration pattern: over the years is that the entire family has left their villages, migrating to the urban areas of Pokhara valley.

The null hypothesis: The volume of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley and its periphery has not highly increased within a decade due to the political instability in the hilly areas after the beginning of insurgency.

Inference: Null hypothesis is rejected because Chi-square value is significant and accepts alternative hypothesis. The Chi-square test shows that there is strong association between political disturbances and status of migration. A statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternative hypothesis that the volume of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley and its periphery has highly increased during the decade due to the political instability in the hilly areas since the beginning of insurgency.

3.4.3 Conflict Related Migration

According to table 3.41, out of 429 migrants' households, 110 households feel the problem of political disturbances through insurgency at their place of origin among them 33 households migrated due to political conflicts. The political conflict related migration/displacement in Pokhara valley from its peripheral highlands is also another interesting part of internal migration in the valley towns. According to Ram Bahadur K.C, who is 15 year old and working in New Delhi with his many friends, "Recently youngsters migrated by themselves inside the country and abroad, instead of traditionally migrating with adults from the village." The flow of migrants across the border into India has dramatically increased since the escalation of the conflict in 2001. Most of those targeted by the rebels have decided to migrate to the district headquarters in search of safety. It is often difficult to determine whether economic or conflict-related factors provided the overriding motivation to move.

"It is also nearly impossible to verify the number and location of internally displaced persons due to political insurgency, as they generally move in small groups and merge into a social network of families and friends. The typical pattern of displacement is from poor, conflict-affected rural areas to larger towns or across the border to India." (OCHA/IDP Unit, 2004, p. 3)

Those displaced by the ongoing insurgency have not migrated towards a certain place and the background of such people is not the same.

"The family members, capacity, economic ability, probability of employment opportunities all have played important roles to determine the destination of the displaced people" (INSEC, 2004, p. 115).

From the little data collected about conflict related migration, it would seem that in addition to economic reasons, security concern also pushes the people and youth to leave their villages.

"Most wealthy families have managed to migrate to the capital, or to send their children to boarding schools outside the conflict area. Poor people more often did not migrate" (Save the Children UK, 2003, p.12).

Nepal has traditional patterns of internal and international migration, mostly related to the search for better job opportunities. However, the outbreak of the Maoist insurgency in 1996 and most especially, the deterioration of the security situation after the failure of peace talks at the end of 2001 have modified these patterns and forcibly uprooted certain groups of population from their homes.

"The declaration by the Maoists of the "district level people's government" strategy in August 2001 and the beginning of forced recruitment from every family of one young man or woman, prompted the increased exodus of young people to India. In addition, the military pressure from the security forces since the imposition of the state of emergency in November 2001 has further increased the migration of especially males aged 13-28" (M. Esperanza, 2002, p. 5-7).

Section-V Summary

The above discussion shows that rural-urban migration is the most significant part of all migration in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands. It occurs within the country or abroad. Circular migration has now become the strategy of the rural poor across the country. Socio-economic factors play dominant role on in-migration. Migration has played a pivotal role in socio-economic transformation of household's

economy. There is a small volume (0.06 %) of intra-valley migration. The volume of interregional migration is large (90.5 %). However, in-migration is larger (88.9 %) than out-migration. The volume of emigration from Pokhara valley is 9.5 per cent. Among various streams, rural-urban stream is the largest one.

The main reason for rural-urban migration in Pokhara valley and its periphery is underdevelopment of the hinterland. There is push as well as pull factors responsible for migration. The push factors have been powerful especially in rural to urban migration in Pokhara valley. Problems such as the lack of agricultural land, political disturbances, landlessness, natural disasters, and lack of business/trade opportunities, and unemployment at the source of origin act as the push factors. Urban amenities, marriage, trade and commerce, that needs labour at the source of destination act as the pull factors for migration in Pokhara valley. The communication networks established through family, clan, friendship, cultural similarities, have important bearing on migration. People migrate to urban for education, medical treatment, employment, and for other social and political reasons. After 1990s, circular out-migration and rural to urban migration within and outside the country are increasing rapidly. In Pokhara valley, in-migration is also caused because of the wide regional economic disparities between hills and the valley. In Pokhara sub-metropolis, there has been a rapid growth of economic activities such as tourist-oriented services, trade and commerce activities, higher developmental investments and better urban facilities such as good transport and communication, marketing, medical facilities, employment in non-agricultural sectors, etc. Moreover, personal factors like the economic condition of the family, problems of livelihood in village, education, and skill have encouraged migration. In-migration flow to Pokhara valley became significant after the road linkages to Kathmandu and Bhairahawa, which have great importance for trade especially between India and other neighboring countries.

Out-migration from Pokhara valley is age and sex selective. High education levels like that of graduation and above shows a significant relationship with migration. Income is the strongest predictor of migration. People who have monthly income more than Rs 12000 are more likely to migrate. The possible reason for this is to acquire better urban facilities. Among the ethnic groups, Gurung, Magar, and Bishowkarma are more likely to migrate than Brahmins. Men who work in service sectors are three times more likely to migrate than men who work in agriculture. The odd ratio of migration is more than two times higher among men who have business than men who work in agriculture sector. The odd ratio of migration is likely to be less among male than female. The possible reason for this could be marriage.

Migration is determined by socio-economic, political, demographic, and geographical factors. The root causes of migration remain basically the same and interpretable in conjunction with migrant's objective conditions, depending on the geographical features, historical development, demographic structures, and specific arrangements of the economy, in which migration occurs and continues. The process of migration cannot be analyzed and explained in isolation from the whole socio-spatial structure, and the historical conditions under which it came to exist, and the political and socio-economic conditions under which it is perpetuated.

A statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypotheses and accepts the alternative hypotheses that the volume of internal and external migration in Pokhara valley has highly increased during the decade due to the political instability in the hilly areas since the beginning of insurgency. The in-migration to the valley is closely associated with transportation linkages and communication facilities and associated with Seti-irrigation canal and increase of employment opportunities.

Chapter-IV

Consequences of Migration in Pokhara Valley

4.1 Introduction

Migration may increase or decrease the size and change the structure of any population quite drastically at any point of time, especially when large numbers move into a particular area or move out of another. The migration of people from one place to another sometimes creates population and environmental imbalance. Sometimes migration acts as a protection against the existing socio-economic arrangements as well as the impact of underdevelopment at the place of origin. Thus, migration is itself a consequence of existing socio-economic inequality and underdevelopment of the regions.

Since the late 20th century, the migration trend has reversed its course in Pokhara valley. In the early 1980s, there was a massive and persistent outflow of people from the valley, and the hills of western development region; the areas that once served and were known as areas of out-migration. In addition, the volume of in and out migration has been increasing over time. There have been two major types of in and out migration. Permanent or lifetime migration is occurring, especially from the highlands of the western development region to the Terai region and often motivated by the search for land (frontier migration). Circular migration includes seasonal and temporary migrants, who move to wage-labor sites, such as urban centers and construction areas, during the agricultural slack season within or outside the country. These circular or absentee migrants include long-term (but not permanent) migrants, who moved in search of long-term salaried employment, such as army, government jobs, *chaukidar* (door attendant or guard), services, and at priestly or factory jobs. Once these migrants succeed in landing a relatively permanent job, they normally visit their families and villages once every two to three years; if they do not get such a job, they come back home within few months. This type of migration was

frequent in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands, which has various influences on local economy and society. At first slowly, and then faster and faster the pace and volume of in and out migration has increased in the valley and its hinterlands. It was the result of various socio-economic factors, which produced and reproduced various positive and negative consequences (CBS, 2002).

Migration serves as a common form of resistance against socio-economic inequality at the place of origin. The systematic production of migration as a labor process, consistently sustained over time and space, requires a socio-economic system characterized by spatial inequalities. It perpetuates a situation of both social and spatial monopoly that is the result of development at one pole and 'the development of underdevelopment' at another. Thus, migration in Pokhara valley and its hinterlands is an outcome of economic changes in the urban areas and economic backwardness and, the persistence of political upheavals in the peripheral hills. Socio-economic set up of rural and urban is also affected by migration considerably at times. Migration has its impact on the age-structure and sex ratio of population. It will also change the economic and religious composition of the population. It generally changes density of population, occupation and create ecological imbalance, pollution, and housing problems. Economic underdevelopment prompts to migrate from Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands; it further loses its highly skilled labor force.

4.1.1 Overall Consequences

The findings of field work with regard to the negative and positive consequences of in and out migration of Pokhara valley, are widening income gap, increase of consumer population, high population growth rate, proliferation of slums, increase of land price, unbalanced sex ratio, a growth of business, trade and industry. Similarly, other consequences are increase in employment opportunity, brain drain,

urbanization, increase of remittances, change of ethnic composition, and connection of roads in the valley.

From the empirical findings, in-migration and net positive migration in Pokhara valley tends to show positive as well as desirable sign of development. Even emigration is favourable for the valley in terms of reducing unemployment and increasing remittances. Migration has contributed to the local economic growth. In-migration has significant impact on the growth of community, professional, personal services, manufacturing, and construction services (NPC, 1999).

Pokhara valley and its rural hinterland experienced a "semi-colonial and semi-feudal types of production relations" which ensured a degree of "forced stagnation" in production and productivity that led to increase ^A population pressure on marginal land and out migration. This particular form of underdevelopment is not peculiar to Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands but familiar all over western development region that unlikely stimulated out migration (Shrestha, 1998). Circular migration is both internal as well as external. Although internal circular migrants ultimately might become permanent migrants, the vast majority of external circular migrants, most of who went to India and Gulf continents, returned to Pokhara valley upon their retirement from service. Out migration, helped to reduce population pressure on marginal land, but the shortage of labor during the peak agricultural season has led to low productivity and consequent malnutrition and hunger at the place of origin. Rural-urban migration has obviously wide range of consequences in both rural and urban areas. However, since the consequences of migration are both desirable and harmful at once, it is difficult to identify but it is better to understand them in totality, in the case of in and out migration of Pokhara valley.

In the urban areas, a serious unemployment situation exists. The growth of employment is less than the growth of labor force accelerated through migration. Migration lowers the wage rate inducing expansion of employment; the increased

supply of unskilled and semi-skilled labor 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. As migrants are generally more productive workers than workers are, urban areas may gain in productivity *local?* from the geographical shifts of population. Migration may itself have an influence on the rate and speed of economic growth, because migrants are a select group of workers. However, the workers in the unorganized sector, who were in-migrants, have low earnings, poor working conditions, and lack of social security. Similarly, heavy migration almost invariably produces strains on the demand for infrastructural 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 of Pokhara valley. Another important effect of migration in the urban areas is income differentials, which is responsible for widening income gaps between haves and haves not population in the valley (Shrestha, 1998).

Part-I

4.1.2 Depletion of Public Land Area and Plots

Table 4.1 Numbers of Chautaras and Water Ponds in Pokhara in 1977 and 2000

Ward Number	Numbers of Chautaras			Numbers of water ponds		
	1977	2000	Loss (%)	1977	2000	Loss (%)
1	22	7	68.2	5	-	100.0
2	22	7	68.2	3	-	100.0
3	7	4	42.8	2	-	100.0
4	18	6	66.7	4	-	100.0
5	35	18	48.6	11	-	100.0
6	53	35	40.0	6	-	100.0
7	53	24	57.7	10	1	90.0
8	49	22	55.1	16	-	100.0
9	55	9	83.7 ✓	16	-	100.0
10	37	8	78.4	21	-	100.0
11	57	22	57.9	18	1	95.0
12	46	21	54.3	18	-	100.0
13	35	12	65.7	14	2	85.7
14	30	17	43.3	9	2	77.7
15	38	14	63.1	10	2	80.0
16	32	20	37.5	4	1	75.0
17	17	17	0.0	1	1	0.0
18	26	15	42.3	13	3	76.9
Total	632	278	56.0 ✓	156	13	91.7 ✓

Source: Adhikari, (2004: 99)

Table 4.1 presents the information about the decreasing trends of Chautaras and water ponds in Pokhara Sub-metropolis since 1977 to 2000. According to the table 4.1, 56 per cent of Chautaras disappeared during the last three decades. The process of decreasing public properties is rapid vis-a vis the growth of urbanization in the valley. The table also reveals the information about the decreasing water ponds in Pokhara sub-metropolis during 1977-2000. During the last three decades, 91 percent of the public pond disappeared. At a time when trees are increasingly used to maintain the ecological balance in urban areas, it is unfortunate that already existed and locally adapted trees are getting destroyed. This is one of the negative consequences of in-migration and unmanaged urbanization in the valley.

Table 4.2 Areas Under Public Land in 1977- 2000 in Pokhara Sub-metropolis (1 ha=20 Ropani)

Ward Number	Estimated land area in 1977 (Ropani)	Estimated land area in 2000 (Ropani)	Decrease in land area (%)	Public land plots in 1977	Public land plots in 2000	Loss (%)
1	164	28	82.9	6	1	83.3
2	34	16	52.9	6	3	50.0
3	47	28	40.4	5	3	40.0
4	52	26	50.0	6	3	50.0
5	436	218	50.0	6	3	50.0
6	323**	165	47.3	19	10	47.4
7	85	47	44.7	9	5	44.4
8	122	97	20.5	18	12	33.3
9	1140**	268	76.5	17	4	76.5
10	436	0	100.0	23	-	100.0
11	694**	243	64.9	20	7	65.0
12	442**	201	54.5	11	5	54.4
13	1079**	0	100.0	18	-	100.0
14	315**	131	58.4	12	5	58.3
15	460**	86	81.3	16	3	81.2
16	30**	0	100.0	-	-	-
17	277*	83	70.0	10	3	70.0
18	420	180	57.1	14	6	57.1
Total	6536	1817	72.2	216	73	66.2

Source: Adhikari, (2004: 103-104), *Area has not specified for all land plots

** Including the estimated area of land plots whose actual area has not been specified

Table 4.2 reveals the data on decrease of public land in Pokhara sub-metropolis from 1977 to 2000. Almost all the 17 wards of Pokhara Sub-metropolis have lost the public

land during the last three decades. This is another negative consequence of in-migration and unmanaged urbanization in the valley. Out of total, 72.2 percent public lands were lost in Pokhara according to table 4.2. The table also reveals the decreasing trends of the number of public land. Most of the lands used for public purpose are being used on a private basis. Elders of Valley recall that there were 26 huge public grounds. These grounds were used as pastures, playing fields and for other public functions. By 2000, most of these huge public fields were non-existent. Now only a few remain. ✓

4.1.3 Squatter Settlements/Proliferation of Slums

A study by Kansakar (1988) showed that out of the 150 squatter households 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 negative impact on squatters' health and economy. The squatters in Pokhara have occupied public land. The number of slums and squatter settlements has been increasing in urban centres of the valley. Out of 479 total households surveyed in this study in Pokhara valley, among them 87 households are slum dwellers in Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhanath municipality. Almost all slum dwellers came from the peripheral-rural highlands. The enormous pressure for shelter and services has rapidly frayed the urban fabric of Pokhara valley due to heavy internal migration. Proliferation of slums is rapid inside the Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhnath municipality. Public transport is over crowded and over used. Sanitary problem is the root cause of spreading infectious diseases. Although the source is sufficient, however the water supply system is fragile due to the seepage. Slum settlements are rapidly increasing after 1990s. Higher price of land, heavy in-migration, and large proportion of landless people in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands are responsible for the growth of slums in the towns of the valley. Out of 479 surveyed households, 91 per cent reported that

there is heavy proliferation of slums in Pokhara valley towns. The increase in the proportion of landless people in western development region and the hardship of lifestyle at origin have influenced the creation of slum settlements, which are located along the bank of Seti River or along the road side.

4.1.4 Positive Consequences

4.1.4.1 Urbanization

Historically, the rise of towns in Pokhara valley has been associated with the connection of roads and the declaration of it as an administrative unit. However, the changes have become more complex over the last several years.

The table 4.3 reveals the data on population size and growth rate in Pokhara sub metropolis during 1961-2001. The population growth rate was very high in 1961-1971. There are no obvious reasons for this but this can be because of the fact that there would have been over in-migration or over enumeration. After 1971 census, the population growth rate is approximately 8.0 percent per year in Pokhara sub metropolis. At present, there are two urban centers in Pokhara valley, which have the total populations of 1,97,681 in 2001. The population size of Pokhara sub-metropolis is 1,56,312 and Lekhanath municipality is 41,369 in 2001.

Table 4.3 Population Size and Growth Rate of Pokhara Sub-metropolis

Year	Population size	Population growth rate (yearly)
1961	5413	5.0%
1971	20611	18.0%
1981	46642	8.5%
1991	95268	8.5%
1998	157000	7.4%
2001	169160 ✓	8.5%

Source: Source: Adhikari Jagannath et al. (2002:235)

The extent to which rural migration has contributed to the growth of the urban population is a difficult but important question to answer. On regional basis, during the past three and half decades, migration has contributed more to urban growth for Pokhara valley. The main factors have been increasing rates of rural out-migration.

Rural-urban differentials in poverty stimulate internal migration. For the over all poverty situation in western hills, rural poverty level is quite higher than urban ones, which ultimately leads migration and faster urban processes in the valley towns (NPC, 1999).

Other further factors, which stimulate urbanization, are expansion of educational institutions and hospitals. This has led to the increase in movement of the young people from rural areas to urban areas in search of educational attainment, employment, and treatment of diseases. Because of urban in-migration, urban areas of Pokhara valley have much younger population than its rural counterpart. This contributes to relatively high rates of natural increase for urban areas as the young age structure of urban population places downward pressure on the crude death rates and upward pressure on the crude birth rates. Furthermore, migrants through their fertility contribute to urban growth in the valley.

4.1.4.2 The Road Linkages

The road network of Pokhara valley has increased after the declaration of Pokhara as the urban center in 1961. The proportion of roads within Pokhara valley has drastically increased over time. The people of the valley have realized this. The present pace of road increase is rapid due to the processes of internal migration and urbanization. The construction of Siddartha highway (linking Pokhara with Butwal and Bhairahawa to the south and hence with India), began in 1965 and was completed in 1969. Similarly, work on the Prithwi highway (which connects Pokhara to Kathmandu), began in 1967 and was completed in 1971. The construction of Pokhara-Baglung highway started in 1984 and completed in 1986. This was also the time, when Pokhara regarded as an important center from an administrative and planning perspective. Several regional offices have been established here since then. The length of the roads has increased, there is now 186 km blacktopped 116 km graveled 160 km of land road in Pokhara valley towns (PSMC, and LM, 2002).

4.1.5 Sources of Income

The importance of the non-agricultural sector in Pokhara valley's economy is also revealed by the shifts in the occupational structure. The population dependence on farm sectors for employment in 1971 was nearly 63 per cent. They were dependent on agriculture for their subsistence. By 1991, this figure declined to 27 per cent. The non-agricultural sector was the main source of income for the 73 per cent population in 1991. Likewise, only 21.3 percent people from Pokhara sub metropolis are dependent on agriculture for their subsistence in 2001 and vice versa. This is the outcome of increased employment opportunities in non-agricultural sector in the Pokhara valley towns.

Table 4.4 Sources of Income in Pokhara Sub-Metropolis 1971-2001 (% of population)

Sources of income	1971	1991	2001
Agricultural sector	62.9	27.3	21.3
Non-agricultural sector	37.1	72.7	78.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Parajuli , (1999: 3), and Shrestha, (2002)

Table 4.4 reveals the data about sources of income in Pokhara sub-metropolis during 1971-2001. The information provides that the employment opportunities have increased in Pokhara valley. The proportion of population dependent on non-agricultural sector is increasing. The employment opportunities in agricultural sector increased a little after the Seti-irrigation canal but even that is not significant now. The employment opportunities in non-agricultural sector increased due to the expansion of trade and commerce, hotels, schools, tourist places and establishment of new small and medium scale industries in the valley.

4.1.6 Composition of Business Establishments

The table 4.5 demonstrates the data on the composition of business establishments in Pokhara sub-metropolis in 1999. There are mainly three categories of businesses namely trade, industry and service oriented. There are total 4047 trading shops, 492

industries, and 3363 service-based organizations. Most of the trading shops are Kirana, clothes shops, and most of the industries are iron, metal, block, furniture, and food processing. Likewise, most of the service-based businesses are hotel, restaurant, and repairing. It can be inferred from the table 4.10 that the employment opportunities in Pokhara valley increased more in non-agricultural sector such as business, trade, and industries.

Table 4.5 Compositions of Business Establishments in Pokhara in 1999

Trade	Number (%)	Industry	Number (%)	Service	Number (%)
Kirana	1343 (33.0)	Furniture	100 (20.3)	Financial	39 (1.1)
Clothes	603 (14.5)	Textile	15 (3.0)	Repair	395 (11.7)
Cosmetics	166 (4.0)	Confectionary	33 (6.7)	Education/Training	101 (3.0)
Construction	205 (5.0)	Food processing	88 (18.0)	Consultancy	17 (0.5)
Electronics	205 (5.0)	Agro-industry	42 (8.5)	Agro-vet	9 (0.3)
Garments	47 (1.0)	Leather processing	9 (2.0)	Entertainment	21 (0.6)
Confectionary	143 (4.0)	Carpet	4 (0.8)	Health-related	62 (1.8)
Flooring/Furnishing	72 (2.0)	Iron/Metal/Block	121 (24.6)	Hotel	1060 (31.5)
Vegetable/Fruit	344 (9.0)	Press/stationary	41 (8.3)	Restaurant	568 (16.9)
Art/Artifacts	366 (10.0)	Handicraft	28 (5.7)	Clothing	228 (6.8)
Mechanical	100 (2.5)	Machinery	7 (1.4)	Communication	183 (5.4)
Meat	148 (4.0)	Packaging	2 (0.4)	Cosmetics	164 (5.0)
Health-related	151 (4.0)	Chemical	2 (0.4)	Barber/Cobbler	162 (4.8)
Stationary/Book	137 (3.5)	Total	492 (100)	Travel	141 (4.2)
Tourism/Trekking	22 (0.5)	-	-	Art/Photo	107 (3.2)
Fuel	32 (0.8)	-	-	Legal service	28 (1.0)
Department store	1 (0.1)	-	-	Construction	52 (1.5)
Others	2 (0.1)	-	-	Hire-purchase	22 (0.7)
Total	4047 (100)	-	-	Total	3363 (100)

Source: Pokhara Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1999

4.1.7 Negative consequences

4.1.7.1 Practice of Prostitution

Poverty, illiteracy, lack of education and unemployment are the inter-related issues that determine a large number of migrants to push them to different parts of Pokhara valley and outside the country. Gender disparity and discrimination against women are also other important factors leading to girls' trafficking and forcing them for prostitution. This tragedy is aggravated by the lack of commitment and political will from state leaders as well as lack of inter-governmental co-operation between Nepal, India, and other South Asian countries. The twin factors of the "push" to leave home and the "pull" of opportunity abroad both served as important mediator for forced

prostitution and to reverse the historic trend of migration. This is the outcome of higher unemployment, heavy in-migration and urbanization or hybrid culture disseminated from the electronics media.

Keshav Amgai 34 years old, Headmaster in a secondary school reported (in a personal communication) that more than 5000 sex workers engaged in prostitution in Pokhara valley towns. Dohori and dance restaurants are the contract place of them for their integument. Sometimes, they used park and cyber cafes as the contract point. Poverty, unemployment, expensive life style of youngsters and increased household expenditure are the root causes of prostitution in the valley towns according to him. According to the perception of respondents the practice of prostitution and problem of street children are increasing.

4.1.7.2 Practice of Child Labour

A survey conducted (1992) on child laborers in western development region where Pokhara valley lies, indicates that out of ~~an~~ about 15,00 child laborers, females constituted 38%. The highest number of workers was from Tamang community (47%). Another estimate presented by Shrestha, and Lunde (1980), showed that females headed households are increasing in squatter settlements in the valley towns, which ultimately creates the situation of forced child labor. In the last decade, the different urban centers including Pokhara valley towns has increasingly become the major employment centre, especially for teenagers and youths working in carpet and garment industries, restaurants, hotels, retail-shops, trekking centers, bus terminal and building constructions (K.C, 1998).

Among the 57 child workers who are working in hotels and restaurants of Pokhara towns, 49 of them in between the age of 10-14 years and coming from the economically deprived families of western development region. The findings of various empirical studies show that the high tempo of urbanization in the valley has

created greater extent of child labour practice. According to the empirical findings of field survey ~~the~~ child labour practice is increasing.

4.1.7.3 Problem of Street Children

According to Pitamber Banstola, former chairperson of ward numbers eleven of Pokhara sub-metropolis, before 1970s, this problem had not existed. The problem of street children is increasing vis-a-vis urbanization and in-migration in the valley. A survey conducted (2001) on child workers in Pokhara showed that out of 81 child workers, 24 are rag pickers, 7 from Syanga, 6 from Parbat, 4 from Tanahun and 7 from the peripheral rural villages of Kaski district.

The problem of street children is the outcome of family environment in the marginally poor migrants/non-migrants families in the valley and its peripheral hinterlands. Those children roaming around the streets of Pokhara valley towns remain deprived from education and other necessities of livelihood. A survey conducted (1993) on the situation and problems of child labor in chocolate/Noodles factory, metal industries and hotels in Pokhara estimated that about 15,000 total laborers were involved in these industries. And almost one half of them were child laborers (below 16 years of age)! Of the child laborers, 97 percent were reported to be migrants. Another study conducted by CWIN (1993) on child labor in Pokhara revealed that out of the 34 rag pickers interviewed in different places, 20 were migrants and 14 were non-migrants.

4.1.7.4 Poverty and Migration

About 60 percent people are living below the poverty line, suffering from high levels of unemployment, and underemployment persisting in rural areas. Very high unemployment and underemployment rates of 17.4 and 32.3% respectively (NPC, 2003: 58, 99) have compelled people to remain either under the vicious circle of poverty or migration to other places within and outside the country for better opportunity and livelihood. According to CWIN, 120-150 street children in Pokhara

came from the immediate countryside and stay in the street. The rag pickers' average daily earning is reported to be approximately equal to NRs 35.

A scholar has written in his book (Shrestha, 1998: 163) early afternoon, he was walking around Fewa Lakeside. Suddenly, a boy approached him, "Hello sir, you want to buy hash? A1 quality...A1!" Then he added, "Tourists love hashish. They are crazy for it!" Because of vicious poverty and high economic disparity, there is little hope for the poor. Consequently, the adults who were deprived from education and employment are increasingly forced into a situation, either to participate in political insurgency as the rebel or to struggle for survival whatever they can do to earn a living.

Most of the marginal in-migrants in Pokhara valley are originated in rural poverty-stricken areas of the hilly region of Nepal. This will help to reduce migration from these areas due to lack of opportunities and the development at their place of origin. However, the reality of out-migration from countryside is in opposite direction, encouraging people to move from those areas where the land may not be able to provide them sustainable livelihoods.

Part-II

4.2 Economic Activity and Migration

The table 4.6 presents the data on economic activities by migration status of households. There are total 128 households engaged in small business among them 108 are migrants and 20 are non-migrants. Similarly, one non-migrant family is engaged in Bus/Truck service. There are two families engaged in small cottage industry, one migrant and another is non-migrant. One migrant family runs a large-scale industry. 15 families are dependent on government services among them only one is non-migrant. Ninety-three migrant families are engaged in wage-based labor. Three migrant families are engaged in poultry. Six migrant families and one non-

migrant family run hotel business, 57 migrant and two non-migrant families are engaged in the woolen rope spinning.

Table 4.6 Economic Activities by Migration Status of Households

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	TOTAL	MIGRATION STATUS			
		Migrants	%	Non-migrants	%
Small Business	128	108	85.6	20	14.4
Medium Business	10	9	90.0	1	10.0
Bus/Trucks	1	-	0.0	1	100.0
Small Cottage Industry	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
Large Industry	1	1	100.0	-	0.0
Service	15	14	93.3	1	6.7
Labour	93	90	96.8	3	3.2
Poultry	3	3	100.0	-	0.0
Hotel	7	6	85.7	1	14.3
Woolen rope Spinning	59	57	96.6	2	3.4
Rice mill	2	2	100.0	-	0.0
College, School	2	2	100.0	-	0.0
Tailoring	2	1	50.0	1	50.0
ironsmith	3	3	100.0	-	0.0
Goldsmith	1	1	100.0	-	0.0
Hair cutting saloon	1	1	100.0	-	0.0
Household work	106	91	85.8	15	14.2
Not stated	43	36	83.7	7	16.3
Total	479	429	89.6	50	10.4

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

Two migrant families run a school and a college. Likewise, two migrant families run rice mills. One migrant and one non-migrant family are engaged in the tailoring. Three migrant families are engaged as ironsmiths and one as goldsmith. One migrant family runs the hair-cutting saloon. Ninety-one migrants and fifteen non-migrants families are engaged in the household work. Thirty-six migrants and seven non-migrants families have not stated their economic activities at the time of enumeration.

4.2.1 Changed Ethnic Composition

The table 4.7 reveals the data on migration status of population by caste/ethnicity in Pokhara valley. The majority of migrants' are Gurung, Brahmin, and Magars. Tamangs and other occupational castes like Bishowkarma and Pariyar also migrated in Pokhara valley towns in considerable numbers.

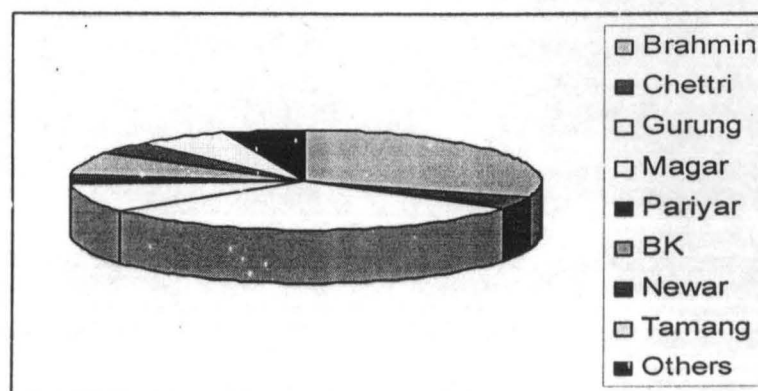
Table 4.7 Caste /Ethnicity by Migration Status

CASTE/ETHNICITY	TOTAL	MIGRATION STATUS			
		Migrants	%	Non-migrants	%
Brahmin	149	129	86.6	20	13.4
Chettri	29	17	58.6	12	41.4
Gurung	132	130	98.4	2	1.6
Magar	40	39	97.5	1	2.5
Pariyar	19	15	78.9	4	21.1
BK	30	29	96.6	1	3.4
Newar	20	19	95.0	1	5.0
Tamang	26	26	100.0	-	0.0
Others	34	25	73.6	9	26.4
Total	479	429	89.6	50	10.4

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

While there were only 33 Gurung's households in Pokhara in 1957, this number had increased to 6165 households by 1998. The migration of Gurungs and Magars from various hill villages has also resulted in separate ethnic enclaves of people hailing from the same region.

Figure 4.1 In-migrants by Caste/Ethnicity in Pokhara Valley



Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

For example, the Matepani area of Pokhara town has a predomination of Gurungs from the east of Kaski. In the Deep area, it is Gurungs from the west of Pokhara and the Pardi area has Gurungs and Magars from Syangja district. Likewise, Nadipur area has predominance of Magars from Myagdi district. The figure 5.1 presents the in-migrants' by caste/ethnicity in Pokhara valley. The migration of hill people to the valley has also changed the population composition and social structure of the valley towns. Until the mid 1960s, Brahmins, Chhetris, and other Hindu castes dominated the population of the town. Gurungs and Magars were almost negligible in number. But the 1991 census report revealed that about 21.5 per cent of Pokhara's population was Gurungs, 21 percent Brahmin, 17.8 per cent Chhetri, 12.6 per cent Newar, 6.7 percent Magars (PMSC, 1999).

4.2.2 Testing Hypothesis

Hypothesis Number: 5

The inward flow of migration in Pokhara valley has resulted in the creation of slum settlements.

Table 4.8 Increases of Slum Settlements

People's Perception on slum	Numbers
Increase	436(91)**
Not increase	43(8)**
Don't know	5 (1)
Total	479(100)**
Chi-square values	325.156*

Sources: Field Survey, 2004/2005

(a) Dependent Variable: Migration status (Yes/No)

* Significance at 0.01 levels

**Figures in parentheses are percentages

Table 4.8 presents the data on perception of population on the increase of slums settlements in Pokhara valley. The in-migration flows in the valley have resulted in the formation of slum settlements (Out of 429 migrants households around 20 % or 87 migrants households resided in slums of Pokhara valley). Pokhara, the second most important urban centre in the country, is found to be growing rapidly. Among the 58 urban centers, it had the highest annual population growth rate (7.49%) during

the last decade. The extension of squatter settlement in it is associated with the development of new at airport, roads, bus terminals; irrigation canal, hydropower projects and labor oriented work place. In the fragmented and fragile situation of infrastructural development in Pokhara valley, larger investment needed just to maintain the current inadequate levels of access to education, health care and other services. In many cases, the resources required are not just available. Health, housing conditions, the quality of education and public services has deteriorated due to the massive urban population growth, which created urban economic and social problems like unemployment, urban drift, slum settlements, and social unrest. Today, however, in-migration is a major factor in determining population redistribution in Pokhara valley. The options of emigration to new lands have not been significant element relieving demographic pressure in the valley and its peripheral rural settlements. Therefore, it is necessary to bring population-resources balance to protect the growth of slum settlements and dwellers.

Null hypothesis: There is no relationship between migration and increase of slum settlement in Pokhara valley.

Inference: Null hypothesis is rejected because Chi-square value is significant and accepts alternative hypothesis. The Chi-square test shows that there is strong association between increase of slum settlements and migration. A statistically strong association clearly rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternative hypothesis that creation of slum settlement in Pokhara valley is closely associated with migration.

4.2.3 Positive Consequences

4.2.3.1 Increase in Food Production

The Seti irrigation canal and hydropower project started in 1980s and completed in 1983. The irrigation canal has the positive influence on food production. Out of 429 migrant households of sample population in Pokhara valley, there are 117 households whose food production increased drastically after the completion of

irrigation canal. Irrigation facility is the responsible factor to increase food production in certain wards of Pokhara sub-metropolis and the certain wards of Lekhanath municipality. However, at present, rapid urbanization is hampering the food production increase in Pokhara sub-metropolis and Lekhanath municipality due to the emergence of concrete structures in the arable land/paddy field.

4.2.3.2 Seti Irrigation Canal and Migration

Table 4.9 presents the data about migrants who has immigrated in Pokhara valley before or after the construction of Seti-irrigation canal.

Table 4.9 Seti- irrigation Canal and Migration

Migration status	Migration After Seti-Irrigation Canal		Non - migrants	Total
	After	Before		
Migrants	331 (77.2)	98 (22.8)	-	429 (89.6)
Non- migrants	-	-	50	50 (10.4)
Total	331	98	50	479 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2004/2005

Out of the 479 sample households, 50 households are non-migrants and had their roots in Pokhara. Out of the remaining 429 migrant households, 331 migrant households arrived in Pokhara valley towns and its peripheral rural settlements after the introduction of Seti-irrigation canal and the rest 98 families migrated in Pokhara valley before the construction of the canal. The data shows that the process of in-migration in Pokhara valley is faster after the construction of Seti-irrigation canal than before. The developmental processes like hydropower projects, irrigation canal, and the construction of roads have positive influences on in-migration and ultimately urbanization in the valley.

4.2.3.4 Expansion of Educational Institutions

The table 4.10 presents the data on expansion of educational institutions in Pokhara valley during 1961-2005. There were only 15 educational institutions in Pokhara before the declaration of Pokhara as the urban center. After the declaration of urban center, the numbers of schools and colleges increased rapidly in Pokhara. This

increase is more rapid after 1990s and total number of educational institutions reached to 595 in 2005. A major factor that has brought more people from the hills permanently settle in Pokhara is education. The affluent people in particular have been attracted to the town because of education for their children. It is unsatisfying and physically exhausting for them to return to the villages once they come in town. There are tremendous increase in the number of public and private schools and colleges in the valley during the recent past. There are 14 campuses in Pokhara valley in 2005.

Table 4.10 Expansion of Educational Institutions in Pokhara 1961-2005

Year	Institutions	Net increase	% Increase
1961	15	-	-
1971	26	11	73.3
1981	38	12	46.2
1991	93	55	144.7
1999	168	75	80.6
2001	425	257	152.9
2005	595 ✓	170 ✓	40

Source: Field Survey, 2005

There are 623 schools among which 187 are private, and rests are government schools. 581 schools lies in the valley and only 42 schools are in the rural parts of district outside the valley. The concentrations of schools, banks, markets, colleges, hospitals, and telecommunications in the valley towns have attracted in-migrants.

Table 4.11 Number of Schools and Colleges in Kaski District 2005 ✓

1 Number of Schools and Colleges in Kaski District 2005			
Category	Community based	Private	Total
Primary	290	39	329
Lower secondary	49	30	79
Secondary/higher secondary	86	106	192
Only higher secondary	7	2	9
Colleges	4 ✓	10 ✓	14
Total	436	187	623

Sources: Field Survey, 2004/2005, District Educational Office, 2005

Table 4.11 presents the data on numbers of schools and colleges in Kaski district in 2005. There are total 623 schools and colleges out of which, 436 are community based and 187 are privately operated. Table 4.9 also presents the information about the growth of hospitals in the valley.

4.2.3.5 Expansion of Medical facilities

The table 12 reveals the data on medical facilities in Pokhara valley. The pace of growth of the number of private hospitals in Pokhara valley is rapid after 1990s. However, almost all the hospitals are concentrated in Pokhara sub-metropolis. It is necessary to keep in mind that the respondents' households from Lekhanath municipality, Arba VDC, Hemja VDC, and Bharatpokhari VDC are also benefited from the hospitals situated in Pokhara town. There were only three hospitals in the valley before 1960s, now this number reached 15 in 2005.

Table 4.12 Medical facilities in Pokhara Valley

MEDICAL FACILITIES IN POKHARA VALLEY (1961-2005)		
Time period	Number of hospitals	Per cent increase
Before 1961	3	-
2005	15	400

Sources: Field Survey, 2004/2005,

4.2.3.6 Housing

Table 4.13 reveals the data on the types of houses. There are 250 permanent houses among which 232 are migrant's houses and 18 are non-migrants'. There are 72 semi-permanent houses among which 62 are migrants and remaining are non-migrants' households. Similarly, there are 156 temporary houses among which 134 are migrants' and remaining are non-migrants'. Only one migrant's house is in the other category. Gradually, the housing condition of the valley dweller is improving. Migrants have better housing condition in comparison to the non-migrants in the valley.

Table 4.13 Migration Status by Type of Houses in Pokhara Valley

Migration status	Type of houses				Total
	Permanent	Semi-permanent	Temporary	Others	
Migrants	232	62	134	1	429
Non-migrants	18	10	22	-	50
Total	250	72	156	1	479

Source: Field Survey, 2004/05

4.2.3.7 Foreign Employment

Emigration Pokhara valley has resulted in draining off its small pool of highly educated elites. Where men migrate alone, the impacts on the family unit especially, on women and children and the elderly left behind is quite significant. The absence of men adds to material and psychological insecurity, causing pressure and requiring negotiation with the extended family members. This is applicable in the case of emigration from Pokhara valley towns and its peripheral hinterlands. On the other hand, male out-migration has also influenced the direct participation of women in the economy as workers and decision makers and increased the degree of their interactions with the world beyond the family and kin. Nevertheless, in the patriarchal set-up, women have to cope with the number of factors that further get exacerbated by the uncertainty of timing and size of remittances on which the precarious household economy ultimately depends. This in turn, pushes women and children from poor laboring households to participate in the labour market under adverse conditions.

4.2.4 Consequences at the Place of Origin

The circulatory type of migration maximizes the positive effects of migration on the sending areas. At household level, the effects of migration can be still more dramatic. Many households have only one or two adults in their labour force. It is because migration is so selective in terms of age and sex that it has the power to change the existing allocation of labour. The income level of the households at place of origin is increased due to circulatory movement of people through the remittances.

4.2.4.1 Increasing Female Out-migrants

At present, although migration is predominantly male in the valley, there is considerable outflow of young women as well. The effects of their departure depend on the sexual division of labour, and on the age, marital status and the household responsibilities of the migrating women. The situation is different for young unmarried women. They are not indispensable in the household. Some of them came from areas where there they cannot earn their livelihood in the villages. From observations made during fieldwork in Pokhara valley, it seems that the parental grandmother usually cares of the children of female married migrants.

4.2.4.2 Remittances

Remittances have increased rapidly in the valley towns and peripheral rural settlements at present. Investment of 'savings' is mainly in the towns; the housing expansions in the urban centers are very rapid. This has resulted in rapid increase in the price of land. The establishment of small businesses and even factories in urban centers has also increased because of the investment of savings by remittance receiving households-mainly Gurungs and Magars. At present, savings have been invested in tourist industry, confectionary, housing, transportation, and instant noodle factories. This expansion has attracted laborers in the urban centers from rural areas where employment opportunities are less remunerative and scarce. This has led to transfers of 'outside earnings' in the villages and from urban centers to rural areas. The undocumented remittances from internal migration can have a significant impact on sustainability of rural people of peripheral villages. One argument is that rural-to-urban migration is particularly beneficial as a means of alleviating poverty in rural areas. The remittances from temporary migrants provide rural families with cash incomes that are used for their sustenance. The use of remittances has important multiplier effects on the economy. The remittances help to reduce the level of intra-rural household income inequality. Remittances also provide an important supplement to household's income of Pokhara valley and its peripheral rural settlements.

Any data on
consumption?

Yet, it does appear that the income and consumption level of migrants households are generally higher than that of similarly placed non-migrants' households in the valley and its peripheral highlands. It has generally argued that rural out-migration; circular migration in particular, has strong 'safety valve' features, helping to preserve existing relation in agriculture. However, greater mobility of rural labour households can also lead to a less isolated and more generalized agricultural labour market and exert upward pressure on wages. Further, as was shown, there is also evidence of some impact through improvement in the resource base of the migrant's households. However, the processes of internal and external migration indicate various strengths and weaknesses of social relations of production and as a whole in the economy of Pokhara valley and its hinterlands.

4.3 Negative Consequences

4.3.1 Consumption of Alcoholic Beverage

Simultaneously with the process and growth of urbanization, the consumption of alcoholic beverages like beer, whisky, and wine is increasing in Pokhara valley. Table 4.14 presents the habits of consumption of different types of liquor.

Table 4.14 Habit of Alcoholic Beverage by Type

Habit of Beer, Wine, whisky	Types of alcoholic liquors			Total
	Local Wine	Beer	Whisky	
User	209	40	19	268 (55.9)
Non-user	-	-	-	211 (44.1)
Total	209 (43.6)	40 (8.4)	19 (4)	479 (100)

Sources: Field Survey, 2004/2005

The figures in parentheses are percentages

Out of 479 respondents, 268 or 52% of them were alcoholic beverages consumer. The statistics showed that the number of consumer of alcoholic liquor is gradually increasing. According to a dealer of alcoholic liquor in the valley, they sell almost double the quantity of alcoholic liquor in 2003 than they sold in 1998. This figure shows the general trends of the consumption of alcoholic liquor in the valley.

4.3.2 Pollution

In Pokhara valley, people experience many types of pollution. These are air; water, sound, and land pollution. All of them are the outcome of population growth through the process of migration. Air pollution has been perceived to be the major pollutant. This is the result of dust particles and obnoxious gases emanating from motor vehicles, industrial activities and such other activities. Water pollution resulted due to the disposal of household garbage in the bank of Seti River and in the canal. Likewise, sound pollution is the result of higher density of vehicles and location of industries around the public settlements. Dr. Kedar Basnet an environment specialist, said:

“The pollution like air and water in Pokhara valley is gradually increasing. There were no fogs in Pokhara valley before one decade. Now, the presence of fog in winter season is frequent. The water of Seti River was the main source of drinking water for the valley dwellers in the distance past. But, now it is not suitable to drink due to pollution.”

According to an Angler, who is the resident of Nadipur, since the garbage of towns disposed in the River, there is a depletion of quantity in fish. Land pollution is the result of throwing renewable and non-renewable wastes in open fields.

4.3.3 Social Assimilation

Pitambar Banstola former chairperson of ward number eleven of Pokhara sub-metropolis, said:

“Many drastic changes have taken place in tradition and culture of various ethnic communities of Pokhara valley. Magars, Gurungs, Brahmin, Chhettri, and Newari communities have changed their eating habits, marriage ceremony, and many other traditional rituals due to the social assimilation and acculturation.”

Migration in Pokhara valley has made it a salad bowl. It now consists of different communities. Due to modernization, one can see many non-observances of certain

traditions like 'Ghantu', 'Rodhi' and 'Kaura¹' of Gurungs and Magars in the urban metropolitan atmosphere. However, Newar community somehow maintains their culture and traditions in comparison to the other communities in the valley.

Table 4.15 presents the data on the changes in perception on traditional structure of family. Majority of the households who migrated to the valley is in nuclear family type. Only a few families have the joint family structure. The process of migration and urbanization in Pokhara valley has the greater influences on the family structure. Joint family structure is mainly practiced in rural settlements of Pokhara valley and its peripheral hinterlands especially in the non-migrant households. To maintain and manage the family needs in the context of expensive urban life, almost all the migrants' families are conscious and sincere on their family size and structure.

Table 4.15 Changes in the Family Structure

Changes in Structure of Family	Types of Family		Total
	Nuclear Family	Joint Family	
Changed	248	-	248
No changed	162	69	231
Total	310	69	479

Sources: Field Survey, 2004/2005

4.3.4 Crime and Insecurity

Dilip Prasad Acharya who is a migrant from Parbat district and runs a restaurant near Manipal hospital said that he heard news related to murder frequently in the valley and its peripheral hinterlands. Radio and other Television news channels frequently disseminate the news related to murder. Most of the respondent of this survey said that they have frequently heard news related to the murder especially by police officers and Maoist insurgents. There are seven average extra-ordinary unnatural

¹ Ghantu is a traditional dance ceremony of Gurung communities that, they celebrate by singing and dancing for a month.. Rodhi is a traditional culture of Gurungs where the adult boys and girls gather for singing and dancing purposes. Kaura is a special dance of Magar community in western hills of Nepal.

deaths per day in Nepal (*Himal Khabarpatrika*, 2005). The incidents of murder and crime in the valley increase unsecured urban atmosphere. The empirical findings show that there are strong feelings in local people that incidents of theft and burglary have increased in the valley towns. However, according to a few educated and intellectual respondents, this has decreased because of the fact that the Hong Kong IDs have enabled many gangsters, thieves, and dacoits to leave the valley and settle in Hong Kong.

4.4 Case Studies

Case I

Ritu Tamang a 34 years divorcee women² from Lekhanath municipality, ward number one, who has a 14 years son and 63 years mothers as dependent has faced economic hardship for her family survival. She has no permanent source of income. She decided to go abroad for employment. She spent three years in Saudi Arabia as household worker then returned to her home. Now, her economic situation is far better than before.

Case II

Damber Rai 28 years old, a migrant worker from the eastern hill to Pokhara sub-metropolis was working in the building construction site. He married Amili Bhujel 22 and stayed together. After two years, they have one child. Their parent³ does not accept their marriage legally. They faced the economic hardship to survive. In such a situation, he borrows loans from the house owner of his rented house and then went to gulf. Merely three months later, he died in gulf. The demise of Damber pushed his family in a great vulnerability and misery.

how?

Case III

There are a few specific consequences of migration in Pokhara valley. There were about twenty-five households of 'Gaine' (Gandharva) community in Gagangaunda village before the construction of Prithvi highway, which links Pokhara valley to Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. The 'Gaine' community is that of bards getting

food grains for their survival and subsistence, singing from door to door. The Gagangaunda Gains had no agricultural production and livestock; there was no electrification and irrigation facility at that time. After the construction of highway, Gagangaunda settlement gradually changed into the market at first then became a small urban cluster. When rural village turned into the urban settlement, the process of in-migration increased, and this rapidly swept away the 'Gaine' settlement from the entire village of Gagangaunda. At present, there is no Gaine household, although it became important unit of Lekhanath municipality. According to a respondent, Amar Shrestha, a 66-year-old resident of Gagangaunda, who has migrated from neighboring village for business purpose, the Chinese contractors engaged in the construction of Prithvi highway changed the name of Gaine gaunda to Gagangaunda due to the pronunciation difficulties. The history of Gaine settlement is washed away as the Gaine families were totally displaced from their place of origin. Similarly with the growth of urbanization, one of the most backward tribal communities from the Pokhara valley has displaced completely.

Case IV

Likewise, as the case of Gagangaunda, there were around seventy households of Kumal community in the inner side of Arghaunpauwa, called Lekhanath chowk at present. According to Bharat Bhattarai who came here 32 years ago for frontier settlement, "with the development of urbanization slowly and gradually Kumal families dispersed outside the valley". At present, there are only eleven Kumal households whose traditional profession or occupation is to make the clay pots from the mud, they also worked as agricultural laborers. Between them two families lived on rented house. After the circulation of the plastic pots, the mud pots of the Kumals withered away. Then they decided to shift their residence far away from the valley. But he did not report where they had gone. The displacement of Kumals from Arghaunpauwa is an outcome of heavy in-migration and urbanization in Pokhara valley. The process of removal of the Kumal settlement from Arghaunpauwa started after the construction of Prithvi highway. The displacement process is faster after the

declaration of Lekhanath municipality in 1990s due to the increase of land price and expensive lifestyle. Urban economy and culture pushed the Kumal tribal community in greater hardship to manage the increased expenditure and so many difficulties to survive creating strong pressure for their displacement from their place of origin.

Case V

Tirkha Nausa Magar, 44 years old who ^{has} have two sons and two daughters came to Pokhara from Baglung district. He started a small hotel in the side of Manipal teaching hospital. Before five years, there was a gunfight between Royal Nepal Army and People's Liberation Army at his home village. Four RNA men were killed By PLA. A week later, RNA men came again at his village and blamed that his younger brother supports Maoist, and killed him who was working in primary school as a teacher. Another elder brother was arrested and sent to jail for couple of years. Then forcibly Tirkha and his elder brother's family left their entire village. They were flying to Pokhara with their entire families due to security reason.

As there is no single definition of internally displaced persons, estimates of their number vary, as do the causes of their migration. These causes range from natural disasters to internal political conflicts that destroy human settlements and force people to flee. The rural communities in particular, are in many cases subject to displacement. Through the empirical findings, given the forced nature of migration, internally displaced persons are in vulnerable situations, especially women, who are subjected to rape and sexual assault. Some wealthier and educated people who displaced from their place of origin are local property owners, and moneylenders.

Case VI

Migrant laborers whether in agriculture or non-agricultural activities in Pokhara valley, usually live in deplorable conditions with inadequate provision of drinking water and basic services. The laborers, who were engaged in the roads and building construction sectors, live in open spaces or makeshift shelter in accordance with their changing working sites. The workers who migrate to the Pokhara valley towns in

search of work live in marginal places and on the pavement and squatter settlements of slums. In Pokhara, at the time of this field survey, Sani Maya Tamang who is working in a building construction site said:

“Obliged to work, migrant’s laborers are particularly vulnerable to diseases and occupational health hazards. Having no one to look after their children, migrant families often take their children with them to their work place. Because of their poor and unhygienic living conditions, and exposure to dust at the work site, children suffer from various health problems. More over they have no opportunity to obtain an education either in their place of origin or destination where their parent work.”

The employers rarely honor their responsibility to provide other than marginal wage subsistence requirements to the migrants’ labor in Pokhara valley. Therefore, population mobility should have been considered in the context of large costs imposed by population concentrations in the valley. The social, political, and other consequences of immigration, especially in Pokhara valley varies according to the growing potentiality of transformation of economy.

Case VII

In Pokhara valley, empirical studies of returned migrant’s behavior show higher drug/alcohol use and less consistent condom use. Bimala a returned migrant from India and HIV/AIDS positive victim who is getting her treatment from ‘Naulo Ghumti/INF’² said:

“Out-migrants from Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands are frequently at greater risk of infectious diseases and HIV/AIDS, when away from home. Away from family, societal norms and community expectations are eased and hence, migrants are exposed to pressure and greater access to the sex industry and drugs, at a time when they may have an increased income and control over the use of their

² International Fellowship Nepal.

money. Because of the less knowledge of risks and protection, both male and female out-migrants to India are at greater risks to a variety of infections and illness including TB, STDs, HIV/AIDS, Parasites, and Malaria.”

Rape of female migrant workers and female sex worker in the brothels of India have greater risks of HIV/AIDS, and when they return to Pokhara valley, they become sources of such kind of disease. According to the official source in 'Naulo Ghunti/INF' Pokhara, the number of drug/alcohol user patients and HIV/AIDS victims increased five and three folds respectively within a decade of 1991-2001. It might be because of in consciousness for treatment or the increase in the numbers of drug/alcohol users and HIV/AIDS.

4.5 Cost/Benefit of Migration

It is very difficult to draw up a balance sheet for migration at the place of origin and destination. Large-scale migration has only been underway for a decade in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands and many of the consequences have to be worked out. Many of the gains and losses from migration are still less tangible being connected with emotion, culture, and community. It is not possible to put a value on these. For the individual household, the migration of one of its members usually brings economic gains for the family although the amount is very variable. Many rural migrants lacking proper information and contacts to find work, spend sometimes-large amount of money, and even lose it, without finding any employment. Nevertheless, there is not any agency of government to help them. The personal costs of migration can also be considerable. There may be prolonged family separations. When couples are separated or children grow up far from their parents, their subsequent relationships may be difficult. Family members who are left behind must take on work and responsibilities to which they are not accustomed, and must worry about the migrant who has gone to live alone in a strange new environment. There is uncertainty on the balance of costs and benefits of migration at the place of origin. Remittances have raised the local standard of living in Pokhara valley and its

peripheral hinterlands in the short term. This carries the danger that local people are simply dependent on remittances. The trend for competent people such as the medical staff, teachers and mechanics or skilled labour to leave the villages and even the small towns is causing anxiety, as they are least likely to return.

Part-III Impact of Migration

4.6 Impact on Economy

Rural-urban migration in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands has various impacts on society and economy. Tourism and trade are the important sources of income in the valley towns; however, agriculture is a means of livelihood in the rural peripheral highlands. One of valley's chief exports is labor; generally, urban and rural communities have one or more family members away from their home in the country, and often abroad to earn bread. Approximately 70,000 people from Pokhara valley and its periphery work "overseas," meaning beyond India, mainly in the Middle East, East Asia, and Southeast Asia and Europe (Seddon, 2002). Earning outside from origin has the greater influences on local economy. This study has no direct evidence of the amount of remittances brought by migrants, but some indirect evidences can be obtained from the Nepal living standard survey on migration, consumption, and employment/unemployment. The survey gives the percentages of out-migrants making remittances, and households receiving remittances and depending on remittances as their major source of livelihood.

4.6.1 Positive Impact of Migration at Origin

a) **Physical:** There are a few physical developments at the place of origin of western hills. These are construction of land road, establishment of primary schools and sub-health posts. The natural vegetation is increasing in the hill region. Forestation is slowly increasing in rural highlands as dry-terrace land that depends on rainfall is gradually covered by natural greenery instead of food crops, which are the visible impacts of out-migration from the western hills.

b) **Economic:** The availability of continuous remittances from inside or outside the country is increasing rapidly due to out-migration. Those families whose members migrate outside the country are wealthier than those families whose family members migrate inside the country. This has resulted in improvement in living standards and rise of educational attainments of children from the English medium boarding schools and colleges. The gaps between rich and poor is widening day by day. Remittances also encourage others to have the intension to migrate especially from Pokhara valley towards the certain destination. However, migrants with a higher level of education remit less than the uneducated because their move is more often permanent one. The changing patterns of population redistribution alter the sex ratio; the proportion of female is higher at origin. Now, the dynamics of rural-to-urban migration changed and insurgency are responsible to change the socio-economic fabric of Western hill's feudal agrarian productivity paradigm.

c) **Social:** The return migrant brought some skills and new knowledge from destination to origin. By implementing these skills, the societies of the place of origin transforming their economy from lower to higher strata. The process of acculturation is high due to social assimilation. Eating habits and the life style of people is changing due to the positive impact of migration at the place of origin. Out of 429 in-migrants households 321 households reported they have changed their eating habit. Communities benefited through internal and external migrations by getting its exposure/linkages with the outer world flow of ideas/information, improved developmental infrastructures at the community/society level, in Pokhara valley and the peripheral rural villages.

4.6.2 Negative Impact of Migration at Origin

a) **Physical:** No plan for rural development exists in the western hills. Until now, no emphasis has been given for the growth of market centers in rural areas, not to talk of sustainable development of a village that would include the adoption of labour-intensive projects, training the youths for alternative occupation, and ensuring

smooth transport and communication system, in order to control the massive rural-urban migration through the transformation of the economy. Thus, because of underdeveloped rural economy and countryside in the hilly region, migration becomes the best alternative survival strategy. The process of migration in its various forms, particularly rural-urban migration, has wide-ranging implications for the society and economy. However, since the influence of migration can be both desirable and harmful, it is difficult to identify a priori- the net influence of migration in the rural or urban areas of Pokhara valley in totality.

b) **Economic:** Widespread poverty and unemployment pushes young, energetic, and educated labor for out-migration as an alternative for their subsistence and survival strategies. The shortage of labor in rural villages as seen as migration's impacts in the study areas of Pokhara valley is directly responsible for low agricultural productivity because all the burden of agricultural work has gone to the aged people, women, and children. Animal husbandry is also decreasing gradually due to this factor. The energetic ones, who migrate, are unable to earn good money and sometimes their security is not guaranteed. The hindrance of socio-economic development is deeply rooted at the place of origin. Construction of roads, electrifications, establishment of schools and colleges are totally lacking which has negatively increased out-migration. The heaping of old age and child population at origin is inevitable due to the outcome of heavy circular out-migration from the rural highlands.

There are certain push factors for out-migration from the hills like unequal allocation of developmental resources, non-adoption of new agricultural technologies resulting in low productivity that cannot support the growing population, in addition to lack of access to available land due to rapid population growth and poverty. Forestation is slowly increasing in rural highlands as dry-terrace land that depends on rainfall is gradually covered by natural greenery instead of food crops that is also responsible to accelerate starvation in the hills.

There exists a large exploitation of migrants, particularly women, and children. These groups, who are poor and are often not protected by existing legal frameworks, the poorer migrant workers, who are crowded into the lower spectrum of the labour market, have few entitlements. They have few personal assets and suffer from a range of severe deprivations at the destination in the urban settlements. The impacts from internal migrants in Pokhara valley are as varied as the occupation they take up and the lives they live. Some construction workers employed on building construction and roads do not live in permanent settlements at all. Their homes are shacks on the construction sites and their long-term legacy is not a new community but simply the structures where they are working. These people are ultimately settled in the slums in the valley.

c) **Social:** The process of migration also left some negative impact at the place of origin. These are distress, gambling, thefts, alcoholism, and decline in cultural values, and religion. In essence, attitudes towards shortage of manpower in the productive age groups and challenging problems of increasing single parent households, loss of social capital, and inequalities between families are common. Out of 429 migrants households 101 households reported that they have labour shortage at the peak agricultural season. Those people who got involved in the insurgency, their neighbors forcibly migrated to the Pokhara valley due to the reason of insecurity from the side of RNA at their place of residence. The hindrance of socio-economic development is deeply rooted at the place of origin. Construction of roads, electrifications, establishment of schools and colleges are totally lacking which has negatively increased out-migration. The heaping of old age and child population at origin is inevitable due to the outcome of heavy circular out-migration from the rural highlands.

4.6.3 Positive Impact of Migration at Destination

a) **Physical:** There are a lot of physical developments in Pokhara valley. Migration has led to job opportunities in Pokhara valley. Probability of higher earning, higher

infrastructural development and ultimately higher urbanization is the outcome. With the growth of population and expansion of marketing facilities, other urban facilities have also expanded in the valley. Higher educational institutions of social sciences, forestry, medicine, and technical training centers on tourism have expanded. The physical facilities such as electricity, drinking water supply, rainwater drains, and blacktopped roads, telephones, hospitals, and the number of schools are increased tremendously in the valley within last two decades virtually due to in-migration in the valley.

b) Economic: Developmental projects in Pokhara valley affected the labour migration at the micro-level. These changes can result from new skills learned during migration or may be an outcome of the productive use of savings to develop new economic activities upon the return of the migrant in the valley. It is very clear that the vast majority of migrants, especially in Pokhara valley benefited economically from their moves. In the last decade, foreign labor migration has become a major feature of Pokhara valley's economy. The in-migrants have greater role on the socio-economic development of Pokhara valley.

c) Social: The urban livelihood of the migrated people is largely governed by such public facilities as transports, education, hospitals, and so on. Access to amenities is different among migrants and non-migrants families in Pokhara valley. The facilities of drinking water, electrified houses, separate kitchens, and bathrooms, modern toilet, telephone and the possession of durable goods are within the households of migrants having the highest level of income except those in-migrants whose earning is less. One can make an inference that the urban in-migrants are better placed in comparison to non-migrants regarding income and living conditions. The efforts made by the in-migrants are indicated by the higher participation rates as well as the less unemployment among them. The better income position of the in-migrants is also strengthened their lifestyle. This is also reflected in higher investment made by them compared to the non-migrants and better living conditions enjoyed by them in

terms of some important amenities, dwelling types and possession of consumer durables.

4.6.4 Negative Impact of Migration at Destination

a) **Physical:** There are some negative physical impacts in Pokhara valley. These are increasing in the number of slum dwellers, pollution like water, noise, air, and garbage disposal. Congestion of housing is visible in slums due to population growth through the process of in-migration. The numbers of vehicles are increasing and these are responsible for air pollution.

b) **Economic:** There exists a large exploitation of migrants, particularly women, and children. These groups, who are poor and are often not protected by existing legal frameworks, the poorer migrant workers, who are crowded into the lower spectrum of the labour market, have few entitlements. They have few personal assets and suffer from a range of severe deprivations at the destination in the urban settlements. The impacts from internal migrants in Pokhara valley are as varied as the occupation-they take up and the lives they live. Some construction workers employed on building construction and roads do not live in permanent settlements at all. Their homes are shacks on the construction sites and their long-term legacy is not a new community but simply the structures where they are working. These people are ultimately settled in the slums in the valley. The involuntary migrants who stay in Pokhara valley or abroad are more deprived than voluntary ones. Because of forced displacement natural or man made, the involuntary section of migrants are in great misery. Out of 429 migrants households there are 33 households migrated involuntary due to political reason. Given the diversity in the nature of migration in Pokhara valley, the effects of migration vary in space and time, which might reflect household subsistence strategies in the face of social, cultural, demographic, and other constraints.

The migrant's families whose income level is marginally lower and living in slum settlements are faced vulnerable conditions in their survival and adaptation. In the fragile urban fabric of the Pokhara valley towns, the life of the urban poor is miserable. Out of 479 respondent's households, approximately 20 per cent respondent's household resided in different slum settlements of two urban centres. They have no facilities like drinking water, electricity and so on. The living rooms are congested; thick straw, blocks, and even plastics make almost all the walls of houses. They do not send their children to school, who grow in work places of their parents. Their health condition is miserable. However, a few land mafias also stay in slums are engaged in capturing public lands in the name of Sukumbai (Landlessness). Their aim is to capture the valuable and expensive lands by staying at the slum.

c) **Social:** There is much less consensus on the social impacts of migration in Pokhara valley. The social effects vary on the structure of societies where the movement takes place. The process of out-migration separates husband and wife, and this can have negative result in their relations in a patriarchal framework. Where there is more flexibility in gender roles, the separation of spouses does not result in major adjustment problems for them. In those families whose spouses are migrated outside the country, their children have greater risk of drug abuse and gambling. There are two major factors responsible for out migration from rural areas, one being high unemployment rate and the other is the strong influence of political insurgency. The victims of insurgency migrate as is often heard that the insurgents need one person from each family for the liberation of the country from the tyrannical, autocratic, feudal monarchial rule. All this has resulted on migration of people, especially the youth towards the place of safety and employment wherever that is possible. In the past, attention was given to rural-rural migration, common in those days, through implementation of resettlement programs. Nevertheless, at present nothing is in the hands of government.

4.6.5 Impact of Emigration at the Place of Origin

Emigration is beneficial to reduce unemployment in Pokhara valley. Emigration is one of the most important sources of remittance. Remittance is defined, as transfers of funds from migrants to relatives or friends in their place of origin, have become an increasingly important feature of modern economic life of the population of western hills region. Migrant's remittances are important to the economies and to the incomes of the households that receive. Remittances are now, recognized as an important source of income and development finance in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands. Out of 429 migrants households 179 households invested in different industries and shops. They provide much sought after foreign exchange to recipient family and societies, while supplementing the domestic incomes of thousands of poor families across western hills and the valley. According to field survey data out of 231 out-migrants 178 migrants sent remittance to their families. Remittances are only one kind of resource flows at the place of origin occurring because of emigration, other being saving brought home by migrants in cash or kind at the time of their return.

Part - IV Summary

In-migration increases and out-migration decreases the size of any population. Migration is an outcome of uneven geographical development in western hills and Pokhara valley. Migration has its special impact on age structure of population, sex ratio, occupation structures, density, pollution, and housings. The process of out-migration loses economically active work-force. There are positive and negative consequences of migration at the place of origin and destination. Micro level case studies indicate that high rural-urban migration takes place among females for reasons of employment and marriages. Out-migration, crossing the national border increases the income gaps among families through remittances. The remittances have also raised the land prices. High population growth rates prevail due to in-migration that is responsible also for large slum settlements. In-migration has created huge

demand for infrastructural development and services. In sum, high tempo of urbanization, increasing roads; hospitals, schools, colleges, industrial development, increase in food production, and increase in employment opportunities in Pokhara valley are the positive consequences of migration.

Practice of child labor, prostitution, proliferation of slums, problem of street children, pollution, separation of family members and sometimes-even couple, spread of infectious diseases and HIV/AIDS, increase in crimes and displacement of some tribal communities like Gaine and Kumal are the negative consequences of migration in Pokhara valley. Rising urban-ward immigration, increased labour-force participation after migration is the general trend. Questions related to sanitation, water, housing, educational, and infrastructural needs require greater attention at the level of policy planning and implementation. Women are a highly heterogeneous group. Migration among females should be understood through poverty reducing strategy, economic diversification, desire for personal growth and autonomy. Temporary migration continues to be an important component of migration flows that have changed the livelihood pattern of individual households.

The volume of migration is increasing throughout the valley. This is the impact of population growth and economic development patterns. Economic motivations for migration dominate the decision-making. Despite ongoing policy, debate about the need to regulate migration policies has been ineffective in reducing or even channeling migration flows. People throughout rural settlements all over the hilly region continue to make the choice to move due to poverty and uncertainty about their safety. In the urban centers of the valley, migrants especially youth look upon employment opportunities. Migration to these areas provides a means through which migrants can achieve some form of economic and social mobility, while at the same time providing their households with additional income. It provides economic benefits at the individual, household, and societal level; there exists a large scope for

exploitation of migrants, particularly migrant women, and children. These groups, who are poor, are often not protected by existing legal framework.

Chapter-v

Conclusion

Migration is the process of changing the usual place of residence. This is ^a the phenomenon as old as the history of mankind. People move from one place to another in search of means of subsistence and for betterment of life. One of the most significant aspects of recent demographic changes in Pokhara valley is the rapid growth of population and urbanization due to the unprecedented rural to urban migration. Historically, it has seen hill-to-hill eastward trend of migration in Nepal. After 1960s, the migration has changed its course as from the mountain and hill to Terai in the form of frontier migration. Similarly, after 1990s, the migration has changed its course again in the form of rural to urban and rural/urban to other countries spatially gulf, middle east, south east and far east by crossing the international border.

Today migration has emerged as a major issue of concern for population and development in Nepal. Most studies have generally failed to provide more than proximate explanations of why migration occurs. This study is an attempt to analyze and provide a political economy perspective on the ongoing processes, causes and consequences of migration in Pokhara valley of western Nepal. In this endeavour, the general framework advanced here views migration as a structural process, which is systematically produced and reproduced.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that people who work in the service sectors are more than three times likely to migrate than people who work in agriculture. Similarly, the odds ratio of migration is more than two times higher among men who have business than men who work in agriculture sector. The odds of migrating are likely to be less among male than female in this study area. The reason for this is marriage of the female and as a consequence migration to their husband's place of residence in a patriarchal

society like Nepal. Another independent variable, agricultural land is not so important in this study. Age is important for migration. The odds of migration are more than 79 times higher between the ages 15 to 59 years when compared to the ages less than 15 years and above 60 years. In other words, the odd ratio shows that migration in Pokhara valley is age-selective and largely in the productive age group. *this should be obvious!*

The education level of graduation and above shows a statistically significant relationship with migration. The odd of migration is more than 73 times among men who have graduation and above education compared with illiterate men. Similarly, income is the strong predictor of migration. Higher the income level of families, greater is their propensity to migrate. The likelihood of migration among those people is likely to be higher who have monthly income more than Rs 12000. Among communities, Gurung, Magar, Chhetris and Bishowkarma are more likely to migrate than Brahmins. The odd ratio shows that Gurung and Magar are more than five and three times respectively likely to migrate as compared to Brahmins in Pokhara valley.

Rural-urban migration is the most dominant stream of migration in this study area. Temporary migration and commuting are now a routine part of livelihood strategies of the rural poor across a wide range. The volume of in and out-migration is on the increase throughout the study area. This is the result of demographic trends, a high degree of economic heterogeneity and political instability.

The process of migration and urbanization has increased rapidly with the development of roads linkages. Constructions of Seti-hydropower project and irrigation canal have exhibited a positive influence on migration. Main reasons for migration identified from fieldwork are medical treatment, employment, and education either for self or for the children and willingness to settle in towns with urban facilities. Push as well as pull factors both seem to be responsible for migration. Recently, the push factor is becoming increasingly powerful especially at the peripheral rural areas due to vicious rural poverty. But overseas migration is mainly for employment and higher income.

There are some positive consequences of rural-urban migration at the place of origin. The income and standard of living of migrating families are increasing due to the remittances being sent back home. If the income is invested in productive sectors, it tends to generate further income. Some of the return-migrants facilitate technological change, which helps in increasing agricultural productivity of the hinterlands. On the other hand, there are some negative consequences of rural-urban migration at the place of origin. ~~These are~~ one of them is the brain drain, costing the loss of young, energetic, and educated workers. Then there is increased work-burden upon the de facto female heads of household, specifically in poorer peasant or landless families. The negative consequences of rural-urban migration in the destination areas are the problems of street children, child labour, prostitution, displacement of Gaine and Kumal tribals and increase of slum dwellers and acceleration of the unplanned and unmanaged urbanization.

Without politico-economic and social transformation of the state, all prevailing problems including migration may persist accelerating the social unrest and economic stagnation within the country as a whole. If economic, social, and political conditions are not improved rapidly, such unrest will become more pervasive and better-organized force that may unfortunately accelerate the process of out-migration and continue the political insurgency from the western rural hills.

The main cause of migration from hills is economic one, which is disintegrating local economies completely. The semi-colonial experience of Nepal is unique in some ways; the findings of this study provide a good example of the vicious circular linkages between underdevelopment and migration. Mainly, the continuation of Rana regime's land, labour, industrial policy, and the policy of recruiting Gurkhas in British-Indian army have had deep impact on continuous hill underdevelopment and out migration.

The assumptions of economic behavioral theory explain wage, income and economic opportunity differential. Maximization of expectations is the prime factor of migration and rational decision to move towards destination. The findings of this study contradict

these assumptions. Migration tends to increase in Pokhara valley because of survival strategy rather than economic benefit from the rural poverty-stricken areas. However, the case of out-migration is rather different and motivated by economic benefit and betterment of life through this process. Similarly, the assumptions of demographic transition theory explain the population pressure and carrying capacity of land and natural resources. In other words, population pressure leads to out-migration. From the findings of the study, this theory partially holds the water on the bowl. In contrast, people have migrated to the densely populated Indian cities from the less populated valley and its periphery.

Spatial distance theory assumes that distance and utility/disutility factors play major roles on migration decisions but the findings of this study prove other way round. Although, the anthropology and sociology theory emphasize the family tie, kinship, and ethnic network as the determinant factor of it, this study has totally refuted these assumptions. None of the above existing theories is fully applicable here but they contribute partially. This study has also find the existing theory of selectivity is more important. People between 15 to 39 years old are more likely to migrate. *obvious!*

Internal migration in Pokhara Valley towns and adjoining rural settlements is a function of political instabilities in the hilly areas. Although, statistically this hypothesis is significant but this study proved that this is not the sole cause i.e. political insurgency in the western hill region. The second hypothesis that is the rural-urban interactions have increased with the growth of economic opportunities in both agriculture and non-agricultural sector is correct. Industrialization and modernization of the agricultural sector after irrigation increased employment prospects. The third hypothesis, i.e., the development of transportation and communication linkages with the other parts of the country, has increased the mobility of the people to the urban areas is definitely significant but it is not the only cause of migration because there are reasons such as tourism, trekking, family ties and economic means of survival. Migration in Pokhara

Valley has occurred especially from peripheral highlands, simultaneously with the construction of Seti irrigation canal. This hypothesis is also partially true because it has increased production, and employment opportunities, along with the rate of inflation.

The last hypothesis, that the inward flow of migration in Pokhara Valley, has resulted in the creation of slum settlements, it is approximately correct. Almost 20% of the migrants go to the slums due to un-affordability of proper housing and unemployment. Thus, causes and consequences of migration in underdeveloped societies are slightly different from the developed societies. The redistribution of population through the process of migration is uneven in Pokhara valley in terms of caste, clan, and economic class. ?

Labor migrants are an integral part of production relations; but in terms of their class, position and production roles, they are generally fixed. If any population remains economically viable, it has to participate in the process of material production in some way. The viability of public economy depends on the ability to exercise the means of production in their possession at destination. Economic viability of different classes varies in accordance with class roles and positions, along with the availability of economic opportunities within Pokhara valley and elsewhere. Specially, class bias in them is translated into a given "choice strategy," in which individuals' socio-economic decisions reflect the choices or constraints available to them in terms of their class positions and roles. While there are several unconstrained choices available to dominant class members, the subordinate class has three main options to improve their economic lot in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highlands. These options are: (1) adaptive choice, (2) revolutionary choice, or (3) migratory choice. The migratory choice could take different forms, for example, short-term seasonal, long-term circular, or permanent in and out migration. Though the underlying motive of all choices may seem to be essentially economic, the difference clearly manifests class distinctions in terms of migrants, respective economic positions, abilities, and options.

Adaptive choice is the least risky one, although it rarely improves one's socio-economic lot. The revolutionary choice is perhaps the most difficult and risky of all because it is a long, enduring process, requiring a great deal of collective action, organization, resources, and class consciousness, however some enthusiastic youth participated in insurgency as the rebel from the western hills. At present, in Pokhara valley and the peripheral hinterlands, due to the third choice people adopt migration as a viable economic strategy, mainly because it, unlike docile adaptation, offers a way out of the existing structural trap and new possibilities to improve their economic condition, but is not as highly risky, costly, and uncertain as the revolutionary option. The process of migration should be analyzed and explained, concerning the socio-spatial structure, the historical conditions under which it came to exist, and the political and socio-economic conditions under which it is perpetuated in the valley.

In contrast, dominant class may view migration as a sound economic strategy and decide to move to a new area at least for two reasons. Firstly, migration serves as vehicles for them to expand the geographical sphere of their power base and economic horizon. Therefore, they dispatch certain family members to areas where new lands or opportunities are available, thus leading to a frontier migration. Secondly, it is a mechanism, to minimize potential risks associated with an expanding family size in an economic environment where even dominant class families may find local opportunities too limited for their further advancement.

With regard to urban-ward migration, technological changes and production shifts in non-agricultural sectors have important ramifications especially in Pokhara valley where farming remains in the traditional mode despite a drive towards technological changes and potential growth. In the last two decades, because of the various policies of the government, the rural agricultural sector has not indeed been undergoing much transformation, and structural changes, which have significant impact on agrarian social relations of production and consequently migration.

Regardless of its socio-economic impacts on Nepalese agrarian economy, migration from the hills has emerged as the major spatial activity for the survival of many migrant households, keeping the local economy intact. The root causes of migration remain economic and interpretable primarily in conjunction with migrant's class positions because the same socio-structural process can produce several different forms of objective conditions, depending on the geographical features, historical development, demographic structures, and specific arrangements of the economy, in which migration occurs and continues.

The migration in Pokhara valley and its peripheral highland is beneficial for both sending and receiving regions. Place of origin is benefited by remittance and destination gained manpower and growing infrastructural development. However, migration should be systematized for the betterment of urban life and urbanization in the valley.

regulated?

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Appendix

Centre for the Study of Regional Development
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

District - Kaski

Municipality / VDC:

House No:

Ward No.

Settlements / Tole:

Total Persons..... Male..... Female.....

Religion (1.Hindu 2. Buddha 3.Islam 4.Kirat 5.Jain 6.Isai 7.Others)

Section-1 Household information:

1. What is the type of the house occupied by the Household? 1) Permanent 2) Semi Permanent 3) Temporary
4) Others

2. What is the type of ownership of house occupied by Household? 1) Owned 2) Rented 3) Others

3. Is agricultural land holdings possessed by the Household? 1) Yes 2) No, If yes.

4. Where? 1. At the place of origin, 2. At the place of destination.

5. What is the area of Agricultural land holdings?

Area Ropani Aana Paisa

	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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6 Have you sufficient of food grain production for your family? 1. Yes 2. No

7. Do your Households have raised Livestock's / Poultry? 1. Yes 2. No

8. How many? Total livestock's(1) Big.....; (2) Small; Total poultry

9. Is your Household engaged in small-scale economic activities other than agriculture? 1. Yes 2. No

10. Are any members of your HH absent from home living in other area / country? 1. Yes 2. No

11. Give description of persons absent and living in other area / country?

Sex 1.Male 2.Female	Age (When she/he left home)	Duration of Absent in (Years)	Reasons of Absent	Destination Area/country	Marital Status	Level of Education

Absence

Reasons of Absent:

1. Agriculture 2. Business 3. Household Services 4. Institutional / Service 5. Study 6. Marriage 7. Unemployed 8. Others

12. What are the main sources of drinking water? 1. Tap (pipe) 2. Well 3. Tube well 4. Spot water 5. River stream 6. Other

13. What fuel do you usually use for cooking? 1. Wood 2. Kerosene 3. Gas, 4. Biogas 5. Others

14. What is the source of lighting? 1. Electricity 2. Biogas 3. Kerosene 4. Others

15. What type of facilities is this household possess? 1. Radio, 2. TV, 3. Cycle 4. Motor 5. Motorcycle 6. Other vehicles 7. Refrigerator 8. Telephone

16. What is the type of Toilet? 1. Flush / Modern 2. Ordinary 3. No toilet

17. How much money does your family earn in each month?

*Sources
only
one*

18. What is your monthly source of income? 1. Pension 2. Salary 3. Rent 4. Business / Trade 5. Wage 6. Others *remittances*

19. Did any family migrate from this village/town to other areas/country permanently? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

20. Why people are migrating from this village/town to other areas/country permanently?
.....

21. What is your nationality/citizenship? 1. Nepali 2. Indian 3. Chinese 4. Others.

22. What is your caste/ethnicity?

23. What is your mother tongue?.....

24. What is your second language?.....

Probable causes of your migration to the town / village: 1. Agriculture, 2. Business/Trade, 3. Study , 4. Dependency , 5. Service , 6. Labor, 7. Marriage, 8. Landlessness at origin, 9. Urban facilities 10.illness 11. Political disturbance 12.employment 13.Natural disaster at place of origin 14.. Victimization

Section-2 (A) Questioners related to causes of migration

25. Why are you coming to this village/town?

26. What is your purpose of migration?

27. What are the means of transportation to come this town/village?
.....

28. What was your age at the time of migration? In years.....

29.How many times did you change your jobs?

30. What was your educational level at the time of your migration?

31. What was your marital status at the time of your migration?

32. What was your work status at the time of your migration?

33. What was your employment status at the time of your migration?

34. Are there any political disturbances at your place of origin? 1.Yes 2.No, if yes!

35. What types?

36. What was your economic condition at the place of origin? 1. Landholding....., 2. Employment.....

37. What was your social condition at the place of origin? 1.As a social worker.....2.As a politician.....3.As a simple people.....

38. What was your occupation at your place of origin?

39. Were you unemployed there? 1Yes 2.No

40. What type of work did you expected at the time of your arrival to this town/village?

41. What did you get here?
.....

42. Individual Information:

S. N.	Full name of HH Members	Sex	Age	Where is your place of birth?	What is your main reason for staying this district?	What is your duration of stay here?	Where were you living 5 years before?	Can you read and write?	What is your level of education passed?	Are you currently attending school/ college?	What is your marital status?	What type of work are you usually doing in last 12 months?	What is your employment status?	What was your reasons for usually not working during last 12 months?	Relation to HH Head
1.	2	3	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
		1. Male 2. Female		1. Same dist-VDC..... .Muni..... 2. Other Dist-VDC..... Muni..... 3.oth.coun.....	1. Business / Trade 2. Agriculture 3. Service 4. Study 5. Marriage 6. Others		1. Same dist-VDC..... 2. Oth. dist-VDC..... Muni..... 3. Oth. coun.....	1. Read and write 2. Illiterate	1. Level passed 2. Above SLC	1. Yes 2. No	1. unmarried 2. Married 3. Remarried 5. Widow/ widower 6. Divorced 7. Separated	1. Agriculture 2. salary/wage 3. own eco.ent 4. Job seeker 5. HH work 6. Student 7. No work	1) Employer 2) Employee 3) Own acc. worker 4) Unpaid family worker	1. Student 2. Housework 3. Aged 4. Persion 5. Handicapped 6. Sickness 7. job-seeker	1. Head 2. Spouse 3. Parent 4. son/ daughter 5. daughter in law 6. Others
1															
2															
3															
4															
5															
6															
7															
8															
9															

43. How much land did you get here?

44. Where do you sent your children to study? 1. Government school 2. Private school.

45. Why?

46. Have you sufficient food grain production at your place of origin? 1. Yes 2. No

47. Have you got any agricultural land in this town/village? 1. Yes 2. No

48. Have you got any employment in this town/village? 1. Yes 2. No

49. Have you got better education in this town/village? 1. Yes 2. No

50. What type of job did you get?

51. What is your age at marriage? In years.....

Section-2 (B) Questioners related to consequences of migration.

52. Have your food grain production increased after the construction of Seti irrigation canal? 1.Yes 2.No

53. Have you stay here after the construction of Seti irrigation canal? 1.Yes 2.No

54. Is there any increment of roads in your place of destination with in a decade? 1.Yes 2.No.

55. Have you stay here before the construction of Seti irrigation canal? 1.Yes 2.No

56. Have you heard any news related to crime like rape in your destination town/village? 1.Yes 2.No

57. Have you heard any news related to crime like murder in your destination town/village? 1.Yes 2.No

58. Have you heard any news related to crime like theft in your destination town/village? 1.Yes 2.No

59. Is there any practice of child labor? 1.Yes 2.No

60. Have you feel that there is depletion of culture and cultural heritages in your destination town/village? 1.Yes 2.No.

61. What kinds?

62. Is there problem of street children in your town? 1.Yes 2.No.

63. Have you feel that is there any increment of slum settlement in your destination town? 1.Yes 2.No

64. Is there overuse of public places in your town? 1.Yes 2.No

65. Are there any changes in the traditional structures of family at your home? 1.Yes 2.No.

66. What kinds?

67. Can you tell me that you have the any habit of alcohol beer wine or any drug use? 1.Yes 2.No.

68. What kind?

69. Can you tell me that any person of your town is engaged in prostitution? 1.Yes 2.No 3. Don't know

70. Have you feel that your town is being polluted? 1.Yes 2.No

if you know

71. What type of pollution can you feel? i) Air ii) Water iii) Sou

72. Is there any increment of employment opportunities in your place of destination with in a decade? 1.Yes 2.No

73. Is there any increment of hospitals in your place of destination with in a decade? 1.Yes 2.No.

74. Is there any increment of school and collages in your place of destination with in a decade? 1.Yes 2.No.