

**Impact of Male Outmigration on Women:**  
(A Case Study of Bhoteodar V.D.C. Lamjung, Nepal)

**A Thesis**

Submitted

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the award of the  
Degree of Master of Arts in Rural Development

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# Letter of Recommendation

This Thesis entitled "***Impact of Male Outmigration on Women***" ***A Case Study of Bhoteodar VDC of Lamjung district, Nepal*** has been prepared by Mrs Chhabi K. Bhattarai under my supervision and guidance for the partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Master of Arts in Rural Development.

To the best of my knowledge she has sincerely done a good presentation. I thank her for successful research and wish to success in every academic and professional career in future.

I recommend this thesis to the evaluation committee for its' final acceptance and approval.

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Date: 17.07.2009

# Thesis Approval

## Acknowledgement

This research paper is produced to fulfill the partial requirement of the award of the Master Degree in Rural Development from Tribhuvan University, Kritipur, Kathmandu.

In the course of this study, I have made field visits. I visited VDC and DDC, offices. I have to search for other primary and secondary sources from library. This study would not undergo if my proposal in this subject was not accepted by the department. It could not be shaped as like this if my respected department heads, department members, research advisor, concerned officials and my family did not support me. So my sincere thanks and gratitude goes first to department and head Prof. Pradeep Kumar Khadka, who approved my proposal and gave me chance for this study. Also, I would like to express my heartiest and sincere thanks to my research advisor, Prof. Dr. Mahendra Singh, Center of Department of Rural Development, TU, Kritipur, for his valuable guidance and suggestions to shape research paper in this model. And I highly appreciate to all of the villagers and respondents for their kind cooperation while collecting data and field visits.

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## **Abstract**

*The thesis "Impact of Male out Migration on Women" is produced in partial fulfillment of the Master's Degree in Rural Development at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. This study was done in Bhoteodar Village Development Committee of Lamjung District. The aim of study is to examine what has happened or happening in rural families (especially on women) where the male members have temporarily abandoned them to rural area for host of reasons.*

*This study has focused on the rural villagers whose economic status is very low. The research generally has taken into account the socio-economic pattern of Bhoteodar VDC. Basically people of this area have the lack of basic needs. Due to that condition the people especially males are compelled to migrate in foreign land in search of job to fulfill their family responsibilities.*

*The data for this study was collected from field survey. I took 70 households as our sample population on the basis of their family structure of the absentees. Most of the respondents confine to their own land home only. None of them have enough food production from their land sufficient for whole year. Remittance from migrants is one main source of their cash income.*

*This study identifies that most of the male out migrants are 'economic' migrants. It also shows that almost more than 60 percent migrants have made individual, self-motivated decision to migrate and that the 18 to 35 age group of the males are the most mobile and most likely to migrate. The sources of information about the destination for the migrants were friends and relatives.*

*In addition research show that the work-load on women increases with the migration of males. Especially wives have to take overall responsibility of his family. More than 90 percent of decisions regarding economic and others are taken by respondents themselves.*

*The society also demands more roles and responsibilities from women (wives) because they are representative of absentee males, in that particular society, which adds social burden on them. They have to face more burdens on rearing children. They can not give enough time for themselves, nor do they have enough rest at pregnancy. They have very little time to care their baby, feed them and to give them warm affection of motherhood. Likewise, they also have to face different psychological problems.*

*Taking Bhoteodar village settlement, of Lamjung district is as the study site and its socio-economic parameter as the subjective area. This thesis studies the people of rural area whose economic condition is very poor. Because of that raised the suffering of family separation and also a kind of unenthusiastic impact on the family structure.*

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

CBS:	Center Bureau of Statistics
CEDA:	Center for Economic Development of Administration
CNAS:	Center for Nepal and Asian Studies
DDC:	District Development Committee
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organisation
HA:	Hector
HH:	Household
ILO:	International Labor Organisation
INGOs:	International Non-Governmental Organizations
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
OCHA:	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations, Nepal
PDDP:	Participatory District Development Program
UN:	United Nations
VDC:	Village Development Committee

# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Migration is a spatial mobility of people by changing usual place of residence to a well-defined destination. A migrant is a person who moves either from his place of birth to another area or keeps on moving stepwise or circular by changing his/her residence more or less frequently by being either seasonal, temporary, semi-permanent or permanent migrant depending upon the duration of migration and reasons for migration within a defined geographical area (Dr. KC).

Migration is one of the most important ways by which people attempt to improve their living standard. Rural people are attracted by the bright lights of the city; city people move to the countryside to get away from it. Migration is equally important to government planners and policy makers, because the aggregate movements of migrants often cause important shift in the policy, power and economic fortunes of the places they leave and the places to which they go (Da Vanzo, 1981).

The stream of the step migration i. e. from rural to urban, village to city and from country to abroad has been the recent phenomena in Nepal. This study brings focus on the village. It studies the non-migrant member in families, where the young adult have temporarily migrated elsewhere for work. The migration of young adult not only adds problems for urban centers to which they migrate, but also influences, in several ways, the organization of their families and the social structure of the community of their origin. Most prominent effects are perceived on the Old age parents, females and children of the migrant's household. It provides with a profile of change occurring in the rural areas or rural families, as a result of such migration i. e. changes in the social organization of the family, its authority structures, its economy etc. it should be emphasized that the major concern of this study lies not with the process of migration of males as such, but with the phenomenon of structural changes in the sex-roles and social organization of the rural families caused by migration.

In ancient time, Nepal was a sanctuary for large numbers of migrants. The early migrants were Mangolid people from Tibet and Indo-Aryans from India. The trend reversed with the rise of East India Company in the continent. The Anglo-Nepalese Pease treaty of 1816 authorized the British Government to establish three regiments of Gurkha soldiers from Nepal in the northern hills of India. Also, Nepalese were taken to India and in particular to Darjeeling as laborers in British Tea Plantations because they could work at high altitudes. The steady recruitment of Gurkhas and lowly paid manpower resulted in a proliferation of Nepalese settling in India, Bhutan, Hong Kong and UK. Those soldiers and their

children make up a notable significant proportion of Nepalese society in India, Hong Kong, Bhutan and more recently in UK. They still identify with Nepali music, culture and art, but they are Indian, Bhutanese, and British respectively (Panta –2004).

Migration gained official recognition by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in the census of 1981. A total of 8.5 percent of its population migrated from hills and mountains to the region of Terai in pursuit of better opportunity. Since then the trend of internal migration from hills to Terai is rising (Panta –2004).

This 1981 census of Nepal classified both internal and external migrants as absentee population. Internal absentee populations are seasonal migrants. To earn cash for the family, they left home for seasonal employment to nearby towns. On the other hand external migrants composed of long term migrants; coming from hills, mountains and rural village in pursuit of fortune. (Panta – 2004).

Long term migrant absent in foreign countries for more than six months increase in numbers when Nepal flung open its doors to the outside world after the revolution for democracy in 1951. The 1952/54 census enumerated 198,130 persons or 2.3 percent of the total population as absent from the country for more than six months. By 2001, this number had increased to 762,181 (3.4 percent of its population). (Panta –2004).

Migration to urban area has been increasing in recent years. The excessive influx of migrants to the urban areas has aggravated the quality of urban life. Kathmandu city is a good example of this. Kathmandu, the capital city, is an area with the highest concentration of physical and social facilities in the country (Pandey-1998).

In other hand, the number of people going abroad for work has increased in last few years, especially since the onset of armed conflict in Nepal. The major concentration of Nepali migrant workers abroad was traditionally in the Gulf States but the dynamics have changed and while the number of people going to the Gulf States is still significant people are have also been migrating to Malaysia over the past three years. A class division among the labour migrants is also found to select the country of destination, i.e. poor people are to India, the Gulf States and Malaysia and rich people towards Japan, South Korea, North America and Europe (P. Bhattarai 2006).

It provides the high economic power to give the family need and family union. The sense of loss is hopeful. The males have the traditional root that they have to maintain the economic status. Due to that the nation can not afford the needs and they search the employment in foreign land. They are compelled to go on foreign land to maintain their basic needs. In this way it has a kind of solution to improve the economic status. Though there is distance there is love, affection and unity in family members. There is not heartily separation between family

members, wives and children. Even though they are separated they are waiting and expecting for the better future of their families.

On the other hand when the family members are in the distance, they have the ill separation. Many data's are found that the husbands' migration effect to the wives. Most Nepalese women see the husband as their God. But the males when they are outside of the country forget the wives after two/three years and marry in the foreign country which does break the family connection and love. There is the sense of alienation, segregation and darkness. A kind of tragic follow is there which do not bring unity in the family members. In this case women do not have the sense of decision making. Women are victimized when husbands are in the distance. They are loyal and think everything to husband, as father, mother etc. Due to continuously long-term migration, people are going to forget their place of origin and adopting new culture and society. So that they do not wish to get back home this brings negative impact upon the family members and nation as well.

In this situation many young people (especially males) have been leaving the rural areas then chosen the destinations either the urban centers, or abroad. As a result only women stay in the villages, looking after the children and elders, the household and the fields. In this context this study focuses on the effects of migration for home-staying household members.

The general characteristic of out migration from rural to urban and village to town and its impact are not particularly known nor could these be analyses at national level within a limited time. Keeping the view of time limitation and broad aspect this investigation, only could be done in the form of case study. For this purpose the study area is selected a small village, Bhoteodar V.D.C of Lamjung district.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

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

In addition, the reasons behind migration are almost same in Nepal as in other parts of the world. Poverty, limited employment opportunities, deteriorating agricultural productivity, and armed conflict are some of the motives behind international labour migration. There are many villages in Nepal where labour

migration has been established as a culture of a community; that is, going abroad for work for awhile and returning with some money and the experience of living in a different geographical location. The influence of friends, relatives and well-wishers has also played a prominent role in the promotion of international labour migration (P. Bhattarai, 2006).

Ongoing armed conflict in the country has displaced people from their usual place of residence and the alternative means of employment for displaced youth has been established as foreign employment. The conflict has also limited development activities throughout the country and expansion of industries has ceased. This situation has created more difficulty in securing employment within the national borders and the final step of many people is to go abroad for employment. Though concrete research has yet to be conducted, the young people from conflict prone areas are compelled to leave for foreign employment to save their lives (P. Bhattarai, 2006).

For all households involved in migration is the lack of opportunities in Nepal for employment and for secure livelihood strategies that leads to migration whether within the country or region, or overseas. Households that are poor have fewer choices with regard to migration opportunities and the very poorest households are the most vulnerable when it comes to illegal migration and various forms of trafficking. The recent Maoist insurgency also basically reflects frustration of youth with poverty and the lack of opportunities, which is again exerting migration pressure from the affected areas to other parts of Nepal or overseas, particularly India (P. Bhattarai, 2006).

According to 1991 census, Nepalese women constitute 50.1 percent of total population. But the dominant patrilineal ideology assigns subordinate status to women in their roles as wives and daughter-in-laws. It is undeniable fact that Hindu culture views women as properly subordinate to men. Despite recent changes, the national code still preserves certain features of the traditional Hindu patrilineal ideology. This ideology views women as dependent on the one hand and dangerous on the other. Accordingly, women must be both protected and controlled by their male kin. In the familiar words of menu, the ancient Hindu lawmaker: " Her father protects her in childhood, her husband in youth and her son's protects her in old age, a women is never fit for her independence" (extracted from Bennett and Singh 1979:1314).

Consanguineal women (daughter, sister) are worshipped as symbol of innocence and purity, while for affinal women (wives, daughter-in-law), the situation is reversed. Some exclusion from certain key patrilineal rituals i. e., funeral rituals, worship of Durga or the lineage god etc., is an expression of the well known fact that women in Hindu society are always peripheral member of the patrilineal group. In their natal and affinal families, their status, their loyalties are always ambiguous (Benett and Singh 1979: 17).

Throughout much of the world, households are getting smaller, more single parent families and more people living alone. Because more women are (forced to live) alone or as heads of households with dependants, their responsibilities for their survival and their own have been increasing. And even for women living with men, the men's income is often so inadequate that the women must take on the double burden of household management and outside work to make ends meet.

Women's working world continues to differ from men's in the type of work, the pay, the status and the pattern. The biggest difference is that women continue to bear the burden of managing the household and caring for the family, and the men continue to control the resources for production and the income from it (UN 1991:73). A Nepalese husband remains the owner of the household property where as a wife is the manager of such property. As the owner of the household property, the husband assumes a prominent position in matters related to the ultimate disposal of the property; however, the wife assumes prominence in matters related to the ultimate use of the property (Reejal 1979:106).

Women, besides looking after household chores, are to provide child care, to provide food and health care, to prepare and process crops, to market goods, to tend garden and livestock and to weave cloths, carpets and baskets. Much of this work does not benefit from investment, making it very inefficient, and forcing women to work very hard. If a woman spends more time in the labour force, she still bears the main responsibility for home and family care at the cost of sleep and leisure. In Nepal, women work in average 75.7 hours a week, but men work only 52.6 hour per week (UN 1991: 83). It shows that, in the absence of males in family, a woman has to face more burdens. A UN (1991) report states "Women who remain in rural areas and whose husband migrate to urban areas find themselves with even more family and economic responsibilities" (Pg.73).

'Male-only' migration has been a traditional feature of internal as well as external migration in Nepal. As CBS (1977) mentioned 'Nepal has for a long time experienced a continuous stream of out-migration on the male side. Migration starts approximately at the age of 15 and continues up to the age of 50 ) quoting CBS 1977, Reejal 1979:34). In comparison to the permanent migration of whole family male out-migration is very higher in the rural areas of Nepal. A large number of male migrants are moving toward different urban centers of Nepal and India, seeking for job, leaving their family behind the villages. To some extent women join the males for visiting or for medical treatment, but their stay period is very short (Islam & Ahmad 1984:22).

Dahal & other's (1977), Very little attention, if any, has been paid to the consequences of such male migration on the family left behind in the village. In the absence of male members, the rural families make extra demands on the

female members. The adult females, not only have to socialize the young children in the absence of father, they also have to assume roles and responsibilities that are generally developed upon the males in a patrilineal society. Male migration not only causes problems for the urban centers, but also influences in several ways the organization at their origin. There is little information available as to what happens to rural families when the males migrate. In the absence of the man, how does the patrilineal family system reorganize its authority structure, and its economic activities? What difference does it make to the socialization of the children? Does it provide greater freedom for decision making to women? Answers to question such as these are just remaining unknown.

We have little information on the consequences of male migration on the family in the village. We do not know how male migration affects the structure of roles, division of labour between the sexes or from of dominance in the village production system. There is lack of data to show how women face the situation created by the absence of male within the family and in the larger community.

The absence of the male as the head of the family from the household for some length of time may be a new development in the existing patriarchal family traditions. Traditionally, in Nepal it is the male who leads the wife, children and other female and male members of his family and he has a constant presence in the household. He is ready at hand to give decisions on all matters and to handle any exigency; the wife always plays a passive or a marginal role. The withdrawal of the male head of the family from the family home evidently reduces his ability and authority to control and decide and, wife is likely to step in to fill the gap. To what extent the absentee migrant can still retain his control and how far the functions, role authority, and status of the wife undergo change due to absence of head of the family is a matter worthy of investigation.

Out-migration is a serious problem of the Bhoteodar as other rural area of the country. The reason behind the taking decision of migration are mainly; the pressure of population on the limited land, not available of paid job, limited education, health and other infrastructural facilities, deterioration agricultural productivity and also the recent armed conflict. On the other hand most of the young adults of this village are influenced by international labour migration.

This study brings focus on the households of the Bhoteodar where the most of young adults (especially male member of the family) have left their home to recruit the job for the sake of their dependents. More specifically, the study would concentrate how much the rural family especially wives have been influenced by the absent of their husband. It has been the objectives of the present study to discover and describe about what has happened or happening in the rural households when the young adults have temporarily abandoned them to rural area for host of reasons.



### **1.3 Objective of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to find out the impact of out-migration on the rural areas of the country. Despite of limitation of the study area the following are the other objectives of this study

To examine the push factors of out migration in the study area.

To examine the pull factors that help motivate people to migrate.

To analyze the effects on migrant's families due to migration of family members

### **1.4 Significance of the study**

This study will help the policy makers, administrators and researchers by identifying factors, which influence and motivate migrants. It will show the impact of migration on rural households. This study further helps understand why migrants prefer urban/city/ abroad as their destination.

The significance of the study is great that the migration handles the people in the wide scope. Its area is great and its importance gives the value in the area of employment. Many places are found in the security of job. The area of this study highlights its importance in giving the positive respect for economic status. People migrate for the betterment of life.

### **1.5 Organization of the Study**

Based upon research design and methodology used in the study, this research paper designed is more or less in the format and guideline of the thesis preparation given by the institute. Broadly it is divided into six chapters. And each chapter is headed with the major thematic titles and sub-headings are made for the further description and justification of the thematic titles.

The first chapter presents the introduction of the study. Introduction contains the introduction of this thesis works. It's background, statement of the problem, the objective of the study, purpose and significance of the study and the organization of the study paper. It gives the introduction of the structure of the thesis paper.

The second chapter focuses on the review of the related literature from different type of the scholars, from journals, reports, books, research paper etc. These reviews will try to justify the conditions, principles, theory, necessity and importance of the study.

The research methodology adopted for the study is described in chapter three. It gives the information of selection of the study area and samples. It also

describes the method of data collection, source of data and final methods of analyze that data. And at the end, it also limitation of the study is stated.

Chapter four is about the information of the study area which gives the introduction of the study area, i.e District, VDC and Village with respect to the socio-economic parameters, population, ethnic composition, health, education etc.

The fifth chapter named analysis and discussion, contains the presentation and analyze of the data and information obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Various bar charts, pie charts and tables of related data are presented for the justification of the conditions of sample households and respondents.

Chapter six, the last chapter confines the whole study in a summary and concludes the study and recommends the ways to be followed for the further betterments of the approach applied that are based on the study and the findings from the analysis of the data and information.

At the end, References, Questionnaire and Annexes have been attached for ease of reference.

# Chapter Two

## Literature Review

### 2.1 Migration study in other Countries

The phenomenon of population migration is as old as the history of man kind. It is a multi dimensional phenomenon, just as demographic, economic, social and cultural phenomena are, and each the subject of inquiry about a social science. Migration studies range from purely descriptive and statistical to the rule of operates with in the environment having economic, social, and technological and policy components.

**Islam and Ahmad's (1984), "Women in the Village Men in the Towns"** a study in Bangladesh shows that absentee migrants continue to be the heads of the families. Important and major decisions regarding disposal of properties and income are taken by them. Women only take decisions on problems regarding the daily subsistence of the family i. e. to take loans or buying food grains, or borrow food grains from neighbors etc. They further state that women depend heavily on other male members of their kin group for essential outdoor activities because of religious as well as traditional 'prude' system prohibit them to do so. The circumstances transfer greater work responsibilities of household to the female but not that status. They put further that the receipt of money at home by the women during the absence of male afford an opportunity to the women to be involved in deciding family expenses and to control minor purchases. But the traditional values about female role and status within the patriarchal society overshadow these little opportunities and prevent any substantial concession to the women in matters of independent decision and freedom of movement. The subordinate status of women has been institutionalized as part of the social system.

**Jetley's (1984), "Eternal Waiting"** study in India show that the women remain behind has to assume, in addition to her own family and domestic responsibilities, the role of sole 'breadwinner'. Her finding shows that with the migration of males, the women who have any amount of land have to undertake several activities earlier performed by male. The older daughter has to take over the household chores and play the role of little 'surrogate mother' to her brothers and sisters. She also notes that the dropout from the school is very high of migrants' children because they are mentally prepared to migrate. She concludes that the long absence of these migrants does not perceptibly after the authority structure of the family.

The first attempt at enacting the law of migration was made by G.E. Ravenstein in his papers published in 1885 and 1889. His law or generation was later applied by Stouffer (B.P. Ghosh: 1985). The decision to migrate is the out-come of human psychology and behavior. Humphrey's points out that migration is rather distinguished for its lower lesions then for any definite law (Ghosh: 1985). According to the gravity model, the movement of persons between to urban centers will be proportional to the product of their population and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them (Ibid:4).

**DIESA (1986) "International Migration"** study in Pakistan about international migration mentioned that long separation will affect the traditional division of labour as well as parental roles and also the economic situation of the women, left behind. The duration of separation as well as prospects for family reunification influence the possibilities for women to cope with family separation. It further puts that the absence of men tends to make women more dependent on the financial contribution of their absentee husband because of the disruption of the local economy caused by male out-migration. An example cited before here of Pakistan shows that the wives of migrant become more dependent and feel more constrained than before because of the increased control and more dependency on the in-laws for making important decisions such as purchase of property, children education etc.

Zipf formulated the principal of least effort which points out that the lesser effort; the grater is the desire to migrate. The higher socio-economic opportunities, the higher are the probabilities of migration. According to the Stouffer's principle of opportunities, the number of persons moving to an area is directly proportional to the number of available opportunities there and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities (ibd:45). Hagers emphasized the importance of acquired information in leading to the decision to migrate. Non-economic factors can very well influence in the migration decision. A.K. Sen (Population geography: 1985: 45) comprised the utility of income in the old sector with that of the income of the probable job in the new sector. He has pointed out that non-economic factors can very well influence the migration decision. Ravenstein's (1885) basic law pointed to the role distance, trade and commerce, absorption and dispersion and technologies play in migration.

**Lee's (1966) general framework for analyzing internal migration** is based on Raven Stein's earlier analysis(1885-1889) and provides the basis for the consideration of socio-economic causes of migration implicit in the push-pull perspective. Lee however doesn't conceptualize the motivational dimension in migration decision making in a concrete way. Relying primarily on micro level variables, Lee hypothesized that the factors that inter the decision to migrate are:

- I) Factors associated with the area of origin,
- II) Factors associated with the area of destination,
- III) Intervening obstacles, and
- IV) Personal factors

**Lee (1981: 20)** each factor in the origin and in the destination is hypothesized to have a set of positive and negative factors which attract and repel migrants. The greater difference among these push-pull factors, the higher probabilities of migration. Intervening obstacles limit migration to those persons with the ability to surmount these difficulties. The positive and negative effects at the area of origin and the intervention obstacle vary with the potential migrants' personal characteristics such as educational skill level, sex, race and personality.

**Todaro (1979)** internal migration was thought to be a natural process in which surplus labour was gradually withdrawn from the rural sector to provide needed man-power for the urban industrial growth sector. The process was deemed socially beneficial since human resources were being shifted from locations where this marginal product was often assumed to be zero to places where the marginal product was not only positive but also rapidly growing as a result of capital accumulation and technological process. Since all economic policies have direct and indirect effect on the level and the growth of either urban or rural income or of both, they all will have tendency to influence the nature and magnitude of the migration stream.

**Kansakar 1974 (Nepal Perspective on country and change: 1985:48)**, noted that if the development of the hill and mountain regions went side by side with the development in the Terai, the 'migration flow' in Nepal would minimize (1985: introduction). Similarly, he believes that Nepal cannot survive as a sovereign independent country with its unregulated international border and unrestricted immigration and that "there is an urgent need of arriving at mutual understanding to regulate migration between Nepal and India".

**Todaro: 1979** migration is a selective process effecting individuals of certain economic, social, education and demography characteristics. The relative influence of the economic factors may vary not only between nations and regions but also within defined geographic areas and population. Policies play an important role for the migration pattern, sometimes having immediate impact and at other times a long term one. The centrality of the migration phenomenon is to recognize that any economic and social policy that effects the real income of both rural and urban areas will directly and or indirectly influence the migration process. The process in turn will itself tend to alter the pattern of

sectoral and geographic economic activity, income distribution and even population growth.

**Pandey 1998 (extracted- Migration Decision Making)** the population growth through migration in the Terai is high. Only 35.2 percent population of the country lived in Terai in 1952/54 census; it increased to 46.7 percent in the 1991 census. The Hill and Mountain regions are the areas from where people migrate to the Terai and city areas. Economic, environmental and other demographic variables are affected by migration. The imbalance in the population growth in different parts of the country has had a great social-economic impact on the development of the country. There are interrelationships between the morbidity and migration. Unchecked migration brings many dangerous diseases due to the social interaction (Population Environment). Morbidity also affects migration. According to Waller and Bouvier (1998), people who have poor health and are seeking medical cure in a more favorable environment have a high tendency of migration. Migration not only affects the social, environmental and economic condition but also the political and cultural aspects of different regions and areas of the country. Migration is a complex process. It is not easy to find out the migration trends. Migration doesn't have a fixed trend and a time limit; so it is difficult to make an exact assessment; but using working destination on time and space boundaries, migration trends from one area to the other can be calculated.

## **2.2 Migration Study in Nepal**

**Pandey, 1998** push and pull factors are responsible for the internal migration of the Kathmandu valley. The East-west highway helps to spread the information about the capital and about all the official facilities in the valley to much of the southern half of the country. Because the valley was more accessible to the people of the eastern regions, there were first more migrants from the east. In 1954, middle hill people migrated to Chitwan district as a result of government resettlement pilot project, which was enhanced by the effective malaria-eradication program conducted all over the southern half of the country.

**Conway and Shrestha, 1985** people movement has always been from resource poor to resource-rich areas. From this perspective, there has been continuity in population movement from historic times to the present. Nevertheless, in the regional scene, it appears that the pattern of population movement is changing. Widening economic disparity and the presence of population in the hill and mountain parts of the country have been noted as the causes of such a change and increase.

**CEDA, Kathmandu, 1973 "Cause and impact of Migration"** in its A preliminary survey conducted in Surkhet region that large majority of the seasonal migrants leave their home in search of temporary work. The poorest among them who have no food at all at home are forced to migrate with the whole family. The report also adds that in those families who have enough food but lack of cash, one or more member of men usually go abroad to work. Impact of the migration on employment, agriculture, ecological aspect and social and partial integration also has been explained.

**CNAS 1992, in its study 'Land and Migration in Far Western Nepal'** has found hostile climate, in sufficient food production from cultivated land, lack of agricultural land are the major factors stimulating the migration towards the outside. The money sent back by earlier migrants is also a cause of migration. In this study the whole population is divided into two groups: migrants and non-migrants. And among migrants, it is sub-divided into temporary i. e., reversible and permanent (non-reversible). The studies have generalized that if there is little migration of any kinds, one can assume that there is agricultural sufficiency in a region. If there is little permanent migration one can assume that there is little land scarcity.

**Kansakar 1974 'History of Migration in Nepal'** has made a research work pertaining to migration during the period 1911 -1961. His study tries to explain different aspects of population change within the framework of historical process. His study has found that the economic disparity between the Tarai and Hill are the major leading factor for migration from Hill to Tarai and government policy is also cause of movement of people. After the eradication of malaria people were encouraged to move to the Tarai and Inner Tarai. The trend of migration is found increasing rate so that report suggests for the need of proper population policy to control the Nepalese immigrant and immigration from India.

**Kansakar (1985:48), 'Nepal Perspective on country and change'** on this study noted that if the development of the hill and mountain regions went side by side with the development in the Terai, the 'migration flow' in Nepal would sovereign independent country with its unregulated international border and understanding to regulate migration between Nepal and India.

**The second comprehensive study was conducted by Conway et. al. in 1981.** The study, of the period between 1961 and 1971, established relationships between the net migration rates and agricultural income, resettlement projects, investment in irrigation, industry and urbanization. The study also carried out household surveys in two Terai districts based on the household listing prepared by the malaria eradication office. Two major origin districts, Syangja and Lamjung, were also identified from the destination districts and subsequently surveyed. The major conclusions were that literacy and age

appeared to be the most important migration determinants and that the decision to migrate out of the hills was influenced more by the migrants inability to maintain a satisfactory life in the origin than by his knowledge of opportunity in the destination (ibid:68).

Between February and April of 1983, the government concluded a more comprehensive migration survey in 10 Terai districts with urban centers and in three towns of the Kathmandu valley (Gurung et. al., 1983). The survey report included information on the nature, volume, causes, and consequences of migration.

**R. Hogger, Preface Surkhet region (1973) 'Causes and impact of migration'** it is mentioned in his study that the income differential and disparity in economic opportunities is causing a large scale migration within and from the country (Population Projection in: 32). Migration cannot simply be considered as an indication of the problems of a developing country. Rather, it is the consequence of a deteriorating ecological, social and economic situation in the hilly and mountainous parts of Nepal.

Urbanization has been closely associated with economic development in the history of the now developed nations and each increase in material well-being was associated with a greater proportion of the total population living in urban areas.

The main reason for urbanization is that cities can provide many services which rural areas cannot. Cities often attract people who might have equal or better economic opportunities elsewhere. In such cases, the urban economic opportunity stimulates the economic opportunity available in cities.

**UN, 1991 'International Migration Property on the Move'** in its study measured that whatever the reasons for Nepal's economic underdevelopment, rapid population growth has increased the number of those who are on the move for a livelihood, (H. Gurung: 1987; Regional pattern). The poorer the people, the stronger the impediments to moving. If financial resources and economic opportunities do not travel towards people, one major result is that people travel towards opportunities.



# Chapter Three

## Methodology

### 3.1 Location of the Study

This study is carried out in Lamjung district-one of the mid-hill districts of western Nepal. Bhotedar VDC has been selected as research site, which is closer to the district headquarters that is Besishahar. The reason for the selection of this area as follows:

- Researcher has been worked in this area since more than 5 years has got chances to learn this area very closely.
- As a majority of Gurung and Tamang Community, the flow of out-migration of young people from this area is high.
- No such type of study has conducted in this area.

### 3.2 Source of data and information

Data from both primary and secondary sources bear greater significance in the field of social science research. This particular research is aimed at fact finding, hence, more fields oriented. The majority of the data in this research work are taken from primary sources that are from the field survey. The data from secondary sources are also used as necessity but this cover only a minimum sorption.

### 3.3 Method of data collection

For the collection of necessary primary data these instrument are used.

- i) Household survey questionnaire: For interviews with the respondents who were wives of the migrant, carefully structured household questionnaires based on the objectives of study are used. It contained both closed as well as open-ended questions.
- ii) Participant Observation: Participant's observations are made in the field with the involvement of the researcher himself with regard to understand behavior, co-operation, and household management etc. of the participant.
- iii) Unstructured informal interview: This instrument is used to picturize the scenes as other saw it with their eyes and their perception about the situation.

### 3.4 Sample Size

For this study, household survey has been made before sampling. For this total households (HHs) listed at first. It was 983 in total. Total population was 7076 with females, (**source: CBS; Census, 2001**). Among the total 983 households those households were purposively selected from where at least one male was absent for more than six months. These selected household were 639 as listed (**Source: PDDP; 2002**). 70 households out of 639 have been taken as sample size. The area under study was a mid-hill economy and the majority of the household practiced field agriculture as their main occupation. These household were selected on the basis of the following structure.

As the problem demanded study about the hardship and burden on family member especially on wives by migration of husband, the study has been confined to certain limitations. Because of family structure like joint or extended, other family members are presented to handle the problem. So that, for our study purposes, following family structure have been chosen for sample population, they are;

#### 1) Nuclear Family

- A. wife, son, daughter
- B. wife, son
- C. wife, daughter

#### 2) Joint Family

- A. wife, son, daughter, mother, father
- B) wife, son, daughter, mother
- C) wife, son, mother, brother

In other type of family structure i.e., in simple family with adhesion/adjunct, compound family, extended family etc., there are other family members like father, mother, married brother, and his wife young brother, sister are present at home to take place of the migrant and do every sort of work. Every sort of decisions is made by them and they remain responsible for every sort of problem arising in the household. Every family member, in such family structure, co-operates and gives hand in any sort of work. So that wives of the absentee may not have to face more burden and responsibilities by the absence of husband.

Hence, to study the problem undertaken, such households are chosen where elder family member like father, mother, married brother, young brother and

sisters are not present at home and the situation which forces wives to encounter every sort of problem and bear the responsibilities, where the wives have to take various important decisions by themselves to fulfill their daily needs for survival. For these reasons, the study has been limited to only these family structures which are mentioned above

### **3.5 Method of analysis**

The data obtained from the field survey of different schedules were analyzed through simple tables and different bars and pie charts.

### **3.6 Limitations**

- i) This study is confined to only Bhoteodar village development committee.
- ii) In data processing (2.4), two types of family structure have been mentioned. This study is limited to only those family structures. So findings of this study may not be applicable in other type of family structure.
- iv) This study is the result of the ideas of migrants' or absentees' wives.
- v) This is only a case study from Bhoteodar VDC. One can draw out generalization from this study but can not take it as the cases for other villages. It may not resemble with other villages.
- vi) This study is made from the cases of married migrants only. Unmarried migrants are excluded from this study.

# Chapter Four

## Description of the Study Area

### 4.1 District Profile

Lamjung district lies in the northern-central part of Nepal. Lamjung is one of the hilly District of Western Development Region of Nepal, which is surrounded by Gorkha district in the east, Kaski in the west, Manang in the north and Tanahu in the south. The district head quarter is Besishahar, about seven hours by bus from Kathmandu. Besishahar is linked to the rest of the country by both telephone and road. It is approximately 177 km from Kathmandu and linked by black topped road. There is no air link to the district.

Sixty percent of the district lies above 200m., and includes part of the Himalayan range. The rest of the district lies between 700m and 2000m of altitude. Nepal's most popular trekking route, the Annapurna Circuit is start in Lamjung District. (source; District Profile,2001 – see annex 1, district map of Nepal).

#### 4.1.1 Political Division of Lamjung

Generally, more the VDCs, more the areas are the rural and less the urban areas. In rural area there is less opportunity and less developed. Bhoteodar is one of the VDCs of Lamjung (see annex 2, map of Lamjung) district. In Lamjung, there the political scenarios are as:

Constitutional Areas	2
Ilakas	11
VDCs	61

#### 4.1.2 Population of Lamjung

According to the census 2001 the demographic status of Lamjung is as shown below:

Male	83406	47.08%
Female	93743	52.92%
Total	177149	

As seen in the table, number of female is greater than male in Lamjung.

### 4.1.3 Total Household in Lamjung According to Religion

Like in the whole country, the composition of the household in Lamjung district is of multi-case, multi-ethnic and multi-religious. Hence the consideration of the cultural aspect and respect and equality to all groups is an important factor to be considered.

**Table 4.1**  
**Total Household in Lamjung According to Religion**

Hindu	58.29%
Buddhist	40.52%
Christian	0.3%
Islamic	0.4%
Not known	0.38%
Other	0.03%

Source: CBS; Census, 2001

Also according to the ethnical composition Gurungs are in majority in Lamjung. Gurung are ethnic group. Though they are in majority in this district, they are disadvantaged and marginal group from the mainstream.

**Table 4.2**  
**Ethnical Composition**

Ethnicity	Household	Percent (%)
Gurung	10706	33
Brahmin	5446	16.8
Chhetri	5435	16.5
Newar	1176	3.6
Magar	560	1.7
Others	9208	28.40
Total	32463	100

Source: CBS; Census, 2001

#### 4.1.4 Occupation of Population

The distribution of the occupation of the Lamjung people is as follows:

**Table 4.3**  
**Occupational of Population**

<b>Particulars</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Agriculture	34449	36456	70905	66.9
Service	888	6174	7062	6.66
Business	847	1405	2252	2.12
Foreign employment	462	5541	6003	5.66
Household works	9625	2132	11757	11.10
Others	2222	5686	7108	6.71
<b>Total</b>	<b>48493</b>	<b>57394</b>	<b>105887</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: CBS; Census, 2001

Most occupation of the people of Lamjung falls on agriculture. Few of them are on services, some are on foreign employment and some are in households work. Since the agriculture economy is solely dependent on the natural resources, its' proper management and harnessing is an important factor for the rural people.

#### 4.2 Demographic Setting of Bhoteodar VDC

The Bhoteodar is one of the VDC of Lamjung district which is closer to the district headquarter that is Besishahar. The standard of living is generally low; most people are entirely dependent upon subsistence farming.

##### 4.2.1 Population of Bhoteodar VDC

Population is one of the socio-economic parameter that has integrated relation in each and every aspect of the social phenomenon. According to the village profile (CBS; 2001) the total population of Bhoteodar VDC is 7076. Among them 3762 are male and 3314 are female as shown in the table below.

**Table 4.4**  
**Population of Bhoteodar VDC**

Ward No.	No. of HH	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	32	70	1.9	56	1.7	126	1.8
2	55	112	3.0	97	2.9	209	3.0
3	98	257	6.8	146	4.4	403	5.7
4	121	286	7.6	237	7.2	523	7.4
5	143	181	4.8	172	5.2	353	5.0
6	39	109	2.9	77	2.3	186	2.6
7	35	94	2.5	62	1.9	156	2.2
8	278	1418	37.7	1512	45.6	2930	41.4
9	182	1235	32.8	955	28.8	2190	30.9
Total	983	3762	100	3314	100	7076	100

Source: CBS; Census, 2001

#### **4.2.2 Ethnical Composition of Bhoteodar VDC**

Gurung ethnic group are in majority composing of 33%, than Bahun 16%, Chetri 16%, kami 7%, Tamang 6%, Sarki 5%, Newar 3% and Damai 3% and 11% others. This composition indicates that whole VDC is ethnic group dominated.

**Table 4.5**  
**Ethnical Composition of Bhoteodar VDC**

Ethnicity	Percentage
Gurung	33%
Bahun	16%
Chhetri	16%
Kami	7%
Tamang	6%
Sarki	5%
Newar	3%
Damai	3%
Others	11%

Source: [PDDP](#); 2002

**Chart 4.1**  
**Ethnical Composition of Bhoteodar VDC**

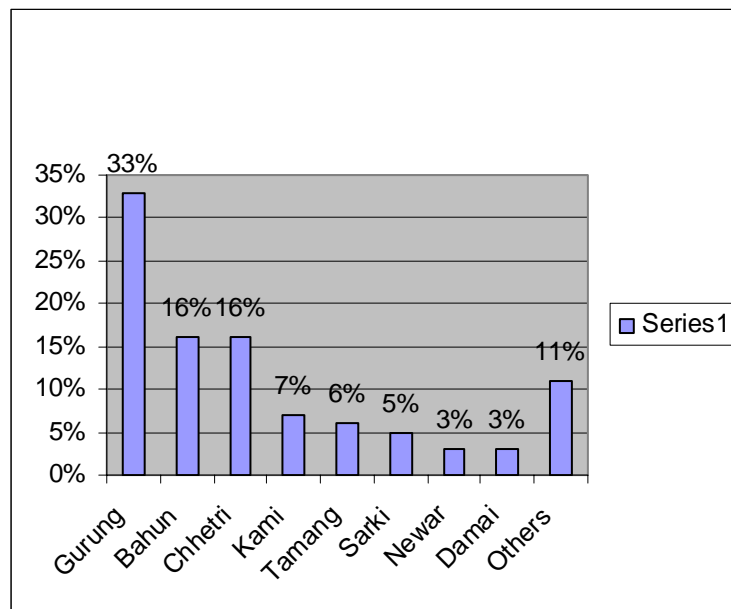


Chart: Bar chart view shows the ethnical composition



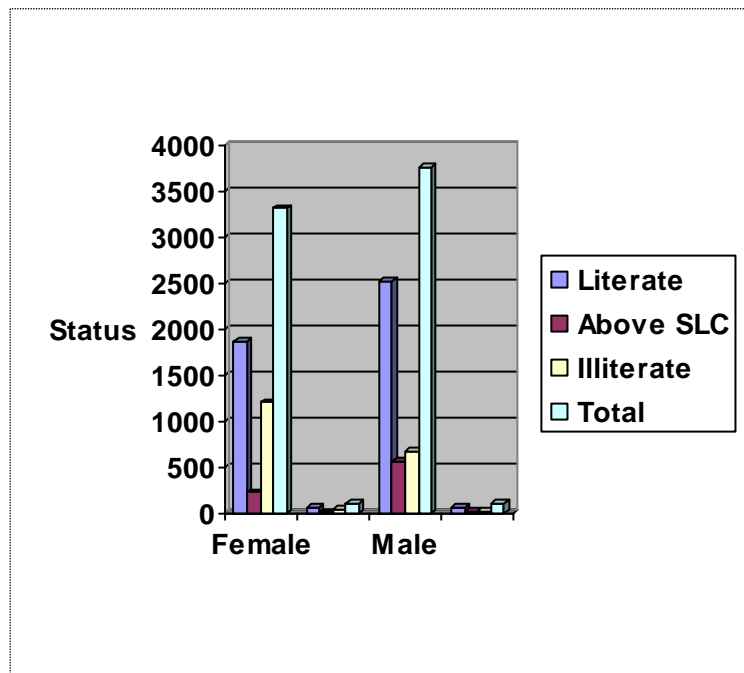
## 4.2.3 Educational / Occupational Status of Bhoteodar VDC

**Table 4.6**  
**Literacy Status**

Literacy Status				
Status	Female	%	Male	%
Literate	1877	56.6	2517	67
Above SLC	229	6.9	567	15
Illiterate	1208	36.5	678	18
Total	3314	100	3762	100

Source: PPDP; 2002

**Chart 4.2**  
**Literacy Status of Bhoteodar VDC**



**Table 4.7**  
**Occupational Status**

Occupational Status				
Status	Female	%	Male	%
Agriculture	1218	61.6	784	29.8
Government Service	23	1.2	255	9.7
Business	92	4.7	106	4.0
Foreign job	54	2.7	424	16.1
Household work	371	18.8	190	7.2
Others	218	11.0	874	33.2
Total	1976	100	2633	100

Source: [PDDP](#); 2002

#### 4.2.4 Health Facilities Status

**Table 4.8**  
**Health Facilities Status**

S. No.	Particulars	Status
1	Health Facilities	2
2	Medicine professional	2
3	Medicine	Not sufficient
4	Examination facilities	Poor
5	Most common disease	Diarrhea, Dysentery, Jaundice, Typhoid, delivery cases, blood pressure, Aesthema, TB, Leprosy

Source: [PDDP](#); 2002

#### 4.2.5 Economic Status

The village economy is agriculture based. Horticulture is also practiced by some household to a little extent. But this doesn't contribute significantly to their economy due to lack of market facilities for goods, low price level, low production etc. Agriculture, mainly consist of cereal grain production supported by livestock. The main crop of this VDC is maize supported by wheat, millet, barley, buckwheat and paddy to some extent. Paddy is confined to only those houses who have irrigated land on the bank of river and stream. Some pulses, oil seeds, soybeans, potatoes etc. are also produced.

The majority of the people depend upon agriculture for their primary source of livelihood. However, the data shows only 28 percent (table 4.9) of population reported their occupation as agriculture. This is mainly because in all sorts of surveys or interviews conducted by the authorities (VDC authority, census authority) the question is usually asked to the head of the household and only his occupation is asked. The other members of household are taken as dependents to the household head.

They don't have any other means of subsistence so they work on their family land. Neither they are asked nor do they ever report their occupation as agriculture because it is already told by the head members of their family. So, we could say that they are disguisedly employed in agriculture. This is the reason behind the data enumerating very low percentage of people reporting agriculture as their occupation.

Table 4.2.6 shows the major occupation and economically active persons involved in them. The table shows that 27.87 percent of the total economically active population mentions their main occupation as agriculture. But all of these persons, who report their occupation as agriculture, are not fully employed by agriculture sector. Many of them are either dependent or disguised employees. After agriculture, another important occupation of these males are to migrate which is 22.94 percent. Out of total economically active population absent from the VDC, 12.68 percent are external and 10.26 percent are internal absentees. Most of the migrant or absentees do not mentioned their jobs because they are temporary wage laborer in various part of Nepal as well as in India. And rest few percent of the absentee population are working in Gulf Country, but their individual data is not available. As shown in the migration, 2.42 percent of the absentee reported their main occupation as masonry and 1.83 percent as carpentry. Only 2199 persons reported their participation in any form of occupation which is only 56.14 percent of total economically active population.

**Table 4.9****Major Occupation and Economically Active Population Involved**

Occupation	Person Involved	% of total economically active population
Agriculture	1092	27.87
External migrant	497	12.68
Internal migrant	402	10.26
Masonry	95	2.42
Carpentry	72	1.83
Blacksmith	22	0.56
Business	14	0.35
Tailoring	7	0.17
Total	2199	56.14

Source: VDC Office; 2001

A fact needs mentioning here is that these persons, who are doing their jobs residing at their own homes, (i.e., carpentry, masonry), are playing dual occupational role; one is their specialized occupation and another is agriculture. Their participation in agriculture can not be ignored.

Table 4.10 shows the land distribution of the VDC by Sex. Table shows that men have more land than women.

**Table 4.10****Land holding by sex (HA)**

Land type	Female	Male	Fem%	Male %
Khet land	27.7	140.0	53.3	50.4
Up-land	13.8	71.9	26.4	25.9
Forest-land	3.1	28.0	6.0	10.1
Thatch-land	7.4	37.9	14.2	13.6
Total	52.0	277.8	100.0	100.0

Source: PDDP; 2002

Table 4.11 shows the distribution of livestock population of VDC. Livestock is taken as a supporting activities for agriculture rather than independent economic activities. Some people sold milk in near by market which is Bhoteodar Bajar, but involvement of persons in this business is very low and insignificant in total economy.

**Table 4.11**  
**Distribution of Livestock Population**

Livestock	Population	%
Cow / Bullock	270	3.5
Buffalo	1360	17.5
Sheep/Goat	1749	22.5
Pig/Hugs	59	0.8
Hen/Duck	4304	55.5
Others	18	0.2
Total	7760	100.0

Source: PDDP; 2002

There are 7760 numbers of total livestock in VDC among them Hen and duck constitute 55.5 percent of total livestock population. After that, comes Sheep and Goat 22.5 percent, Buffalo 17.5 percent, pig and hugs and others have lowest number, which is 0.8 and 0.2 percent respectively.

#### **4.2.6 Out migration Status**

The data below shows high rate of migration. Many males are migrated from each home that shows the greater number in male migration. The new generation is also motivated to go abroad for the hope of better future (for more see – annex 3).

**Table 4.12**  
**Out migration household**

Reason	HH	%
Economic	397	62.1
Social	23	3.6
Education	201	31.5
Natural Calamities	0	0
Others	18	2.8
Total	639	100

Source: PDDP; 2002

There are other causes i.e. social, educational and others which motivated the people to migrate. The core factor is economic which has 62.1%. The economic condition is main reason that is pushing the people to migrate to increase their economic status.

# Chapter Five

## Analysis and Discussion

### 5 Absentees and their Families

In chapter four, we briefly dealt about the study area. That profile of the village will help us to understand the real situation of the study area, which in turn will help us to understand our study problem, too. In the subsequent chapters we are going to deal with our sample population and their families in regards to demographic, economic and other issues.

#### 5.1 1 Demographic Setting of Sample Population

As we discussed in our research procedure, we purposively selected 70 households on the basis of family structure, in which we selected only two types of family structures, (i) Nuclear Family (ii) Joint Family. We already mentioned that we concentrate our study within these limitations mainly because in joint family there are older parents also there and they would take the all responsibilities only absentee's wife has to carry out the works what they ask to do so. In spite of that wife faces many difficulties. In Nuclear family structure other older family members are not available by which absentee's wives have to perform every sort of activities.

Table 5.1 below shows the population composition of the sampled household. As we mentioned in research procedure, we took in our study only married absentee and we interviewed with only wives and old parents of the absentees. In this table we excluded respondent (absentee's wives and old parents) because here we want to show that the household of the sampled population constitute more dependent and economically inactive population who are mainly dependent on respondents. If we put respondent in table 5.1, it shows more percent of economically active population than the reality. This data show the children, who are economically inactive, constitute major portion of the total population, which is 67.28 percent. Likewise 61 years and above aged population, who are also economically inactive, constitute 7.37 percent of present population.

**Table 5.1**  
**Population Size of Absentees Household**  
**(Excluding Respondent)**

Age Limit (year)	Male	Female	Total	% of total population
0 – 10	75	71	146	67.28
11-60	24	31	55	25.35
61 and above	6	10	16	7.37
Total	105	112	217	100.00
Excluded respondent		70	70	-
Grand total	105	182	287	-

Source: Field survey, 2009

Economically active populations are only 25.35 percent of total present population excluding respondent. (Note: In including respondent percentage of these all groups comes as: 1 day to 10 yrs – 50.87 percent, 11 to 60 yrs. – 43.55 percent and 61 yrs and above 5.58 percent of the total present population). In this way total dependent on respondent is 74.65 percent of total present population excluding respondents.

We excluded absentee population from this data because, they spent all of their time far from their home and family, and they are not, related directly with day to day activities and works in their home circle. Above mentioned data show that dependent population that is children and elderly persons – is higher in comparison to workable population. It means that, wives of absentee have to perform and take over every sort of responsibilities in day to day life.

Table 5.2 given below show, age breakdown of the respondents. More respondent lies in age group of 30-34, 35-39 and 40-44 years and this number represent 67.2 percent of the total respondents. Generally at the age of 35 and above, women's physical capacity goes on decline, but responsibilities and burdens start to increase. In the rural areas, girls are married at early age and they have to perform a lot of hard works. They become mothers at early ages and mother of many children. As they can not get good cares and diets after pregnancy or before delivery of child, it renders them weaker and older to their real age. In our case, the data shows that 59.9 percent of total respondent crossed the age of 35.

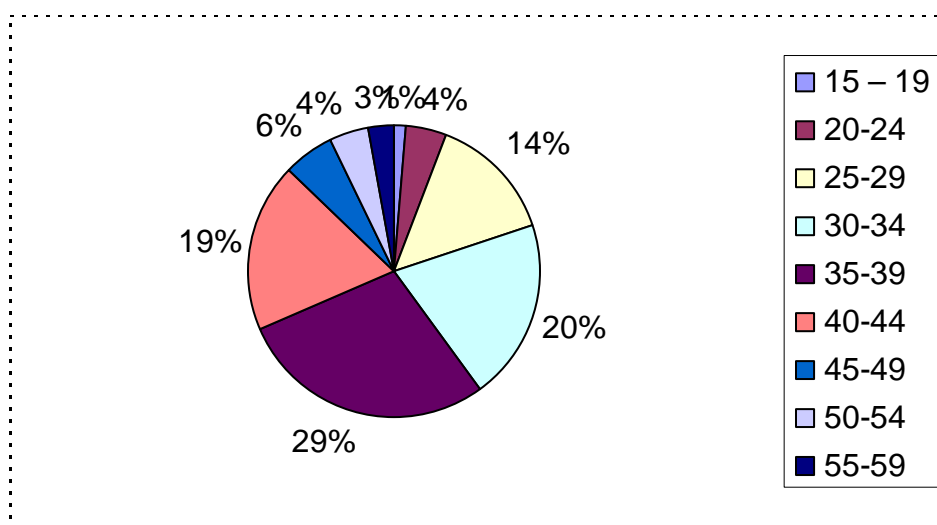
**Table 5.2**  
**Age Breakdown of Respondents**

Age group (Yrs)	Number of respondents	% of total respondents
15 – 19	1	1.4
20-24	3	4.3
25-29	10	14.4
30-34	14	20.0
35-39	20	28.5
40-44	13	18.6
45-49	4	5.7
50-54	3	4.3
55-59	2	2.8
Total	70	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2009



**Chart 5.1**  
**Age Breakdown of Respondents**



**Chart: Pie Chart view to show age breakdown of Respondents**

This age breakdown shows that when their physical capacity handicap them to do more physical works, their circumstances press them for working more because of the absent of husband who is the actual 'bread winner' of the household and absent of young sons, who could fulfill remarkable portion of labor demanded by the household. With the migration of males, the adult women need to perform their responsibilities as well as their husband's.

### **5.1.2 Land and Livestock Holding**

Table 5.3 shows the land holding of the respondents or absentee's households. The land in table is divided into three categories namely; non-irrigated, irrigated, and grassland. Firstly, every respondent in our sample population has only non-irrigated land but not irrigated and grassland. Secondly, grassland is considered unproductive land for agricultural production. And lastly, in regards to livestock population and its effects on women, it is necessary to mention about grassland separately. Every respondent has livestock population, but all of them do not have grassland. They have to manage fodder for their animals, from other means, that is jungle, for which they have to spend more time for searching and collecting grass than those who have grassland of their own.

The distribution of land among respondents is so uneven that it is very important to categorize the land. Table 5.3, given below shows that 38.57 percent of the total respondents have 6-10 ropani of non-irrigated or pakho bari, 20 percent have 1-5 ropan. Likewise 14.29 percent have 11-15 ropani, 17.14 percent have 16-20 ropani and 10.00 percent have 21 ropani and more non-irrigated land.

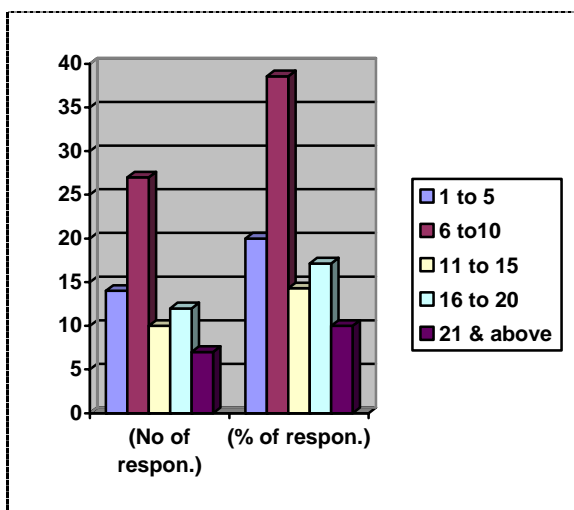
**Table 5.3**

**Land Holding of Absentees Households by Type of Land**

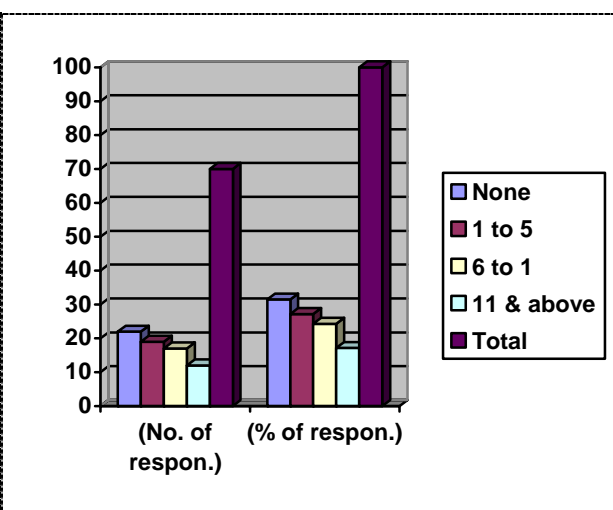
Non-irrigated (Pakho)			Irrigated (Khet)			Grassland (Kharbari)		
Land (In ropani)	Number of respon.	% of total respon.	Land (In ropani)	Number of respon.	% of total respon.	Land (In ropani)	Number of respon.	% of total respon.
1 to 5	14	20.00	None	22	31.43	None	26	37.14
6 to10	27	38.57	1 to 5	19	27.14	1 to 5	30	42.86
11 to 15	10	14.29	6 to 1	17	24.29	6 to 10	8	11.43
16 to 20	12	17.14	11 & above	12	17.14	11 & above	6	8.57
21 & above	7	10.00	Total	70	100.00	Total	70	100.00
Total	70	100.00						

Source: Field Survey, 2009

**Chart 5.2**  
**Non-irrigated (Pakho)**

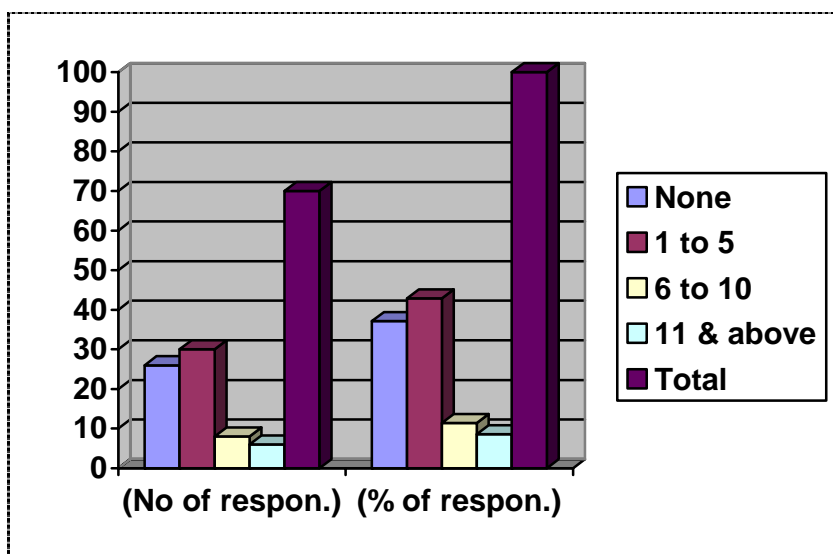


**Chart 5.3**  
**Irrigated (Khet)**



**Chart: Bar charts of land holdings of absentee households by type of land**

**Chart 5.4**  
**Grassland (Kharbari)**



**Chart: Bar Chart of Land holdings of Absentee Households by Type o Land**

If we take data on personal level 6 respondents have only 3 ropani of non-irrigated land which is lowest and 1 respondent have 46 ropani, which is highest in our sample population. So far irrigated land or 'Khet' in Nepali is concerned, 22 respondents or 31.43 percent do not have any land. 27.14 percent have 1-5 ropani, 24.29 percent have 6-10 ropani, 17.14 percent have 11 ropani and above amount of irrigated land. One respondent have 44 ropani of pakho, which is highest in our sampled households. Likewise table 5.3 shows grassland holding of respondents too. 26 respondents or 37.14 percent of respondents do not have any amount of grassland. 42.86 percent have 1-5 ropani, 11.43 percent have 6-10 ropani and 8.57 percent have 11 ropani and above amount of grassland. 2 respondents have 22 ropani of grassland, which is the highest in our sample population.

It's quite intriguing to present the table of livestock population of respondents as the data have lot of variations which can not be present in one or two tables. Every respondent have livestock at their homes; at least 1 or 2 cattle, either cow or buffalo, 2-4 goats, sheep and 2-4 numbers of chicken. Those possessing the highest have a pair of bullocks, 2 buffaloes, 2 cows, 4 calves and 12 goats. But the question here is above not with the number of animals, but with the problem of feeding. As the table 5.3 given above, mentioned that 26 respondents do not have any amount of grassland, they have only one source of grass for their animals, which is some grass trees grown on the edge of their 'Bari'. Even then, this source lasts for only few months. For the rest of the month, they have to manage the grass for their animals from the nearby jungle and have to take their animals' for grazing on public land and jungle. It takes 2 to 4 hours for collecting one 'Bhari (bundle of grass), which must be fetched day to day.

Likewise 30 respondents have only 1 to 5 ropani of grassland which is also not enough for whole year. They also have to find other source for fodder. This meant that 56 out of 70 respondents or 80 percent of them have to take the extra burden for managing fodder and grass for their animals. Although the job of fetching timber and fodder is traditionally regarded as women's work but men also do it, when women are found busy with other works. If male is present at house, he may manage the problem by buying the grass tree's or dry fodder from others. However, in case of male absence, women have to take over those entire burdens.

Some people in the village are getting good return from livestock by selling cattle's milk in nearby Bhotedar bazaar. For this, there must be male member to go to the market and sell the milk. In the case of many respondents they often fail to sell surplus milk since they much perform household works, send children to school and the older members of the family are too old to do so.

### 5.1.3 Food Self-sufficiency

Table 5.4 provides a look about the food crisis of the respondent's household. This data shows that none of the respondents have enough production from their land, which may last for whole year. 33 respondent, which is 47.24 percent of the total respondents, have production from land enough only for 5-6 months. Likewise 9 respondents have food production enough for only 1-2 months and 18 respondents produce enough foods to cover 3-4 months. In this way 85.81 percent respondent' produce food which lasts for less than six month. Only 10 respondents' food production is enough from 6 months to 10 months.

**Table 5.4**

**Month of Food Self-sufficiency of Respondent Households**

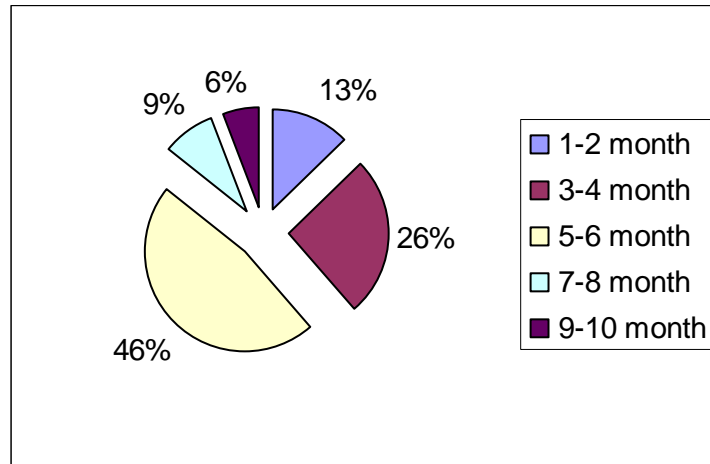
Month of food self sufficient	Number of respondent	% of total respondent
1-2 month	9	12.86
3-4 month	18	25.71
5-6 month	33	47.24
7-8 month	6	8.57
9-10 month	4	5.72
Total	70	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2009

Even the respondent, who have 46 ropani of none irrigated land, produce food lasting for 10 months only. Most of the respondents say their land couldn't be exploited to its full yielding capacity. In their opinion, most important cause for

least production is their inability to spend sufficient time for their crops. Because the respondents have to spend more time on other different works like; caring children and other family member, looking after livestock etc. some 14 respondents said in various occasions, they were not able to use manure and fertilizers. Thought, they had enough supply as they produced the manure at home, the problem lied in transporting them the field.

**Chart 5.5**  
**Food self Sufficiency**



Unlike in Orokaiva (a South Pacific Island), where husband absence is prolonged and farming affairs could not be managed (Connell, 1980:33), in Nepal's case the situation is not that much discouraging. Here, women do all kinds of cultivation according to the local agricultural calendar and keep the land fallow only by cycle not by discontinuing cultivation. But 9 respondents give their irrigated field to other persons for cultivation on crops-sharing basis because of inability to care the land by themselves for reasons like the land being in a distance from their homes. Some other says the cause of low productivity due to lack of irrigation facilities, fertilizers, destruction of crops by wild animals i.e. monkey, birds, etc.

The study showed that there was not a single respondent who could have enough food for the whole year. In our matrilineal family system, male is responsible to feed their family in any situation. But in the absence of husbands, wives have to take the responsibilities to manage foods for their family for the remaining scarce months.

#### **5.1.4 Involvement in Non-farm Economic Activities of Respondent other than Farming**

Table 5.5 shows participation of respondent in economic activities other than farming their own land. The table shows that only 17 respondents are engaged in economic activities, which is only 24.28 percent of the total respondents. Among

them 12 respondents are working as agricultural labor and 5 respondents as household servants. They told us that even though their income is low in amount they feel freer and less dependent on their husbands because of self earning. They don't have to wait for remittance from their husband in any minor as well as major economic problems. 75.72 percent of the respondents are not engaged in any sort of economic activities other than farming their own land. To a question, most of them answered that they do not have enough time to spend on other activities rather than their household chores. They have to take care of their house, animals and members of the family. Second thing, if they go out from their household chores, the older kin family members and neighbors will talk behind them. Yet another fact is that they can not find any sort of work which will generate money for them.

**Table 5.5**  
**Involvement of Respondent in Non-farm Economic Activities**  
 (Other than farming own land)

Kind of work	No. of respondent	% of total respondent
Agricultural labor	12	17.14
House servant	5	7.14
Total	17	24.28

Source: Field survey, 2009

### 5.1.5 Returning Interval of Absentee

Table 5.6 shows the time period in which absentees return home. There are all total 81 absentees from 70 sampled households. There are single absentee from 62 household, 2 persons from 5 household (husband and son) and 3 absentee from 3 household (husband and two sons). 15 persons out of 81 total absentees return in an interval of 6 month to 1 year. 46.91 percent absentee return between 1 to 2 years of interval which is the highest percentage in our sample size.

**Table 5.6**  
**Home – return Interval of Absentees**

Interval of return	Number of absentee	% of total absentee
6 month – 1 year	15	18.52
1-2 years	38	46.91
3-5 years	26	32.10
6 years – above	2	2.47
Total	81	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2009

Likewise 32.10 percent return after 3-5 years and 2.47 percent or 2 absentees are not returned since more than 6 years and also not in contact with family. While comparing the data with national level our result is quite different. In our sampled household, in each category of returning interval, the percentage of the absentee is higher than that of the national level. But in 6 years and above interval group, our data shows 2.47 of the absentee returning home whereas the national level data, the percentage of returning male absentee in 6 years and above time interval is 23.4 percent of the total male absentee (see annex 4 for more). And national level data, shows other group of time interval i.e 11-15 yrs, 16-20 yrs etc., but in our data no one is reported to be absent for more than 10 years.

### 5.1.6 Duration of Stay of Absentee

Table 5.7 shows that the duration of stay of absentee at their homes when they return from their work. The table shows that 17.28 percent of absentee stay at home for less than 1 month. 34.57 percent stay for 1 to 2 months and 35.80 percent stay for 3 to 4 months. Likewise, only 12.35 percent stay for 5 months and above. There is not any significant relationship between interval of returning and duration of stay.

**Table 5.7**  
**Duration of Home Stay of the Absentees**

Duration of stay (In month)	No. of absentee	% of total absentee
Less than 1 month	14	17.28
1 – 2 months	28	34.57
3 – 4 months	29	35.80
5 months above	10	12.35
Total	81	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2009

The absentee who is absence for 1 year or less from their home also tend to stay for 1 or 2 months upon return and those who return at the interval of 3-5 years and above, they sometime stay only 15 days to one month. This means that the duration of stay at home is very short in comparison to theirs absent period. This has significant effect on respondents because they have expectations that when husband comes, he will manage the problems, set all things that wives are facing alone. But their presence is so short that they even do not have enough time to stay with their own family. The family members can not have enough pleasure of rejoining. The absentee hand over money & other goods which they bring to the wives and finish their job. The wives are responsible for maintaining rest of the things with the limited resources at their disposal. Again, the wives remain the bearer of burden.

## 5.1.7 Co-operation of Absentee in Household Activities

Even though absentee's presence at home is very short, their co-operation and involvement in family affairs play very significant role which not merely help their wives but also make things little bit easier for them. Table 5.8 shows that 18.52 percent of total absentee give their full time in household affairs. They participate in every sort or activities, which of cleaning the house, cooking food, fetching grass for animals, caring children and all kinds of agricultural work i. e. plugging land, managing, weeding, ripening etc. 23.46 percent of the total absentee participate frequently in household activities.

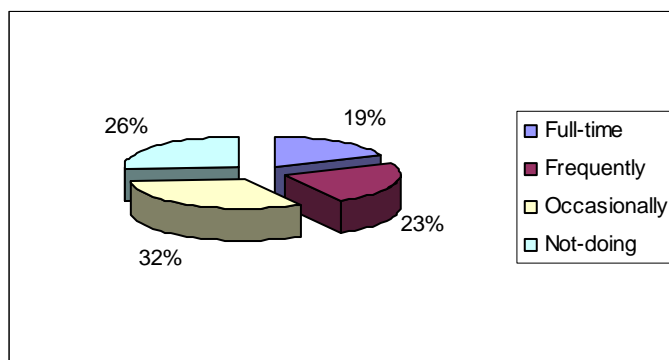
**Table 5.8**  
**Participation of Absentees in Family Works**

Degree of participation	No. of absentee	% of total absentee
Full-time	15	18.52
Frequently	19	23.46
Occasionally	26	32.10
Not-doing	21	25.92
Total	81	100

Source: Field survey, 2009

They mainly do agricultural works and not those like cooking, grass cutting etc. Likewise 32.10 percent only occasionally involve and 25.92 percent or 21 out of 81 persons are completely not involved in any sort of household affairs. Answering query, those respondents, whose absentee male member do nothing or occasionally work on return, replied that they mostly spend their time by gossiping in village, playing cards, visiting other villagers. In the respondents' own words "**yauta sinko bhachera dui tukra pani banaudainan**" (they not even break a twig).

**Chart 5.6**  
**Participation of Absentee in Domestic Work**





### 5.1.8 Remittance

Table 5.9 shows the remittances received at intervals and the amount received by respondents, in general. In our study, remittance receivers are all respondents, which mean wives of the absentees. Here, we talk about husband of the respondents; in this regard their sons are excluded. Because, all 8 respondents, whose sons are absentees, replied that their sons spend most of their incomes for themselves, and only sometime, they send a little amount or bring home along with them when they return home. The table shows that only 57 respondents or 81.43 percent of total respondents are receiving remittance in different time intervals. 13 respondents are not receiving any amount, because their husband themselves bring money when they return home.

Table 5.9 shows that 28.57 percent of the respondents receive money in 1 to 2 months of interval and the amount varied from NRs 1000 to 2500. 18.57 percent respondents receive money at the interval of 3 to 4 months and the amount is from NRs. 1000 to NRs. 5000. Likewise 27.14 percent receive at the interval of 5 to 6 month and the amount ranging from NRs. 2501 to 5000. 2.86 percent receive at the interval of 7 to 11 months and amount ranged from Rs 4001 to 5000 and 4.29 percent of respondents receive money at the interval of 1 year and above and amount is NRs 5000 and above. The data shows that 47.14 percent of the respondents receiving NRs. 3000 and less in 6 months and below time interval.

We previously mentioned about the food deficit problems of the respondents. That shows 85.81 percent or 60 respondents' production from their own land is enough only for 6 months and less. And rest 10 respondents' production is sufficient for 6 months and above. It means a major portion of remittance should be spent on foods. And the remittance should also be spent on clothing, medicine, education, repaying loans or credits etc. respondents have to manage and balance their meager budget on such several necessities which apparently is difficult task. Remittance for respondents is not enough for every time. Sometime respondents manage with the amount but at many time they can not. In such circumstances, they take loan to manage with their needs. When agricultural production or the harvest of crops is good, they need not spend more on foods and they are able to manage their needs from received remittances.

**Table 5.9****Interval of Remittance Receiving and Amount Received**

Amount received (In Nrs.)	Month / Number of respondent				
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-11	12 - above
1000-1500	7	2	-	-	-
1501-2000	9	3	-	-	-
2001-2500	4	-	-	-	-
2501-3000	-	-	8	-	-
3001-4000	-	5	6	-	-
4001-5000	-	3	5	2	-
5000 & above	-	-	-	-	3
Total	20	13	19	2	3
Grand total	Receiving no. 57 + Not receiving no. 13 = 70				

Source: Field survey; 2009

When harvest is bad, the received remittance fails to meet their necessities and they take credits or loans in form of cash as well as goods from neighbors, cultivator-cum-lenders, or shopkeepers. So the received remittances can not be said to have been solving the respondents' need in crisis.

Although the table shows a certain amount received in certain months, it is a general trend. Some times, the interval of time for receiving remittances may change.

### **5.1.9 Literacy and Contact with Migrant**

In our sample size of 70 female respondents, not a single respondent is literate. All of them are illiterate. Among the total 70 respondents, only 18 respondents or 25.71 percent have gone with migrants at their destination. Among them 5 respondents has gone two time and the rest, once.

## **5.2 Effect on Management of Major Activities**

In chapter 5.1, we gave an account of the absentees, their families and economic conditions. In this chapter we try to describe how a wife manages her different activities and takes over the responsibilities in the absence of her husband.

### **5.2.1 Household Activities**

The household being the epicenter of work for women, it involves different kinds of activities, for example, subsistence agriculture, production of goods for trade etc. it also accounts for the unpaid housework. So much work load is at home and the women caught up with the daily routine household affairs that it is often difficult to measure women's work load accurately.' The women themselves never

know or remain uncertain about whether they should be counted as economically active as the traditional measures do not cover unpaid housework' (UN 1991: 81). The following paragraph mention the situation regarding women's household activities; the following paragraph mention the situation regarding women's household activities; their work burden and under evaluation of their works. The UN's report further states that 'Women everywhere retain the primary responsibility of household work even though they equally share economic responsibility inside and outside the home'.

The case here is the same as the Indonesian case mentioned by Kathy Robinson as 'Apart from intensive child care, the work of running a household is much more labor intensive than in advanced industrial societies. Food is either grown or brought in unprocessed form so that a great deal of labor is needed to process it. Rice grown locally has to be husked cleaned before cooking is done in wood fires, which have to be lit every morning, washing is done in nearby lakes or at wells, and water has to be fetched from standpipe or wells. All of these activities add up to long day house works (in Manderson ed, 1983:123).

In sociological theory demarcation in sex roles between males and females is stronger. Every sort of household work from cooking to care of children, animals, collection of grass, manuring, weeding of land are supposed to be women's work.

Outdoor activities like managing of khetala (field labours), cut grass from trees, carry crops and fodders from fields etc. are regarded as men's job. But these demarcations don not work is practical life. Circumstance and situations change the sex roles and responsibilities. Men also do cooking, care of children, animals and other many household activities when women are found busy in other activities. Women also do every outdoor activity, which fall to men's share like preparing field's wall and thrashing of rice except the plunging of land.

Not withstanding the men's role in household works, major portion of the household activities is supposed to be the women's work. In the absence of male partner, a woman might not feel burden in carrying out household activities because they have been doing such activities in the presence of males or rather say, they are socialized from their childhood to perceive such household works as their duty and responsibility. But one thing is sure; they are excluded from their husband's co-operation in such works which are considered as household, therefore, of women's. The absence of male, does not affect women, so remarkably in this regard, but it is necessary to mention them here, because, it helps us understand the burden on women in conducting other activities i.e. agricultural, economic etc.

Table 5.10 shows the daily works and time schedule of a wife and her children of the absentee's family in off-farm season. The working hour of a wife or respondent in off farm season is extended from 4.00 am to 7.00 pm evening. In

this time span of 15 hours, various works are performed by the wives with the help of children and other family members. In 7.00 am to 9.00pm time interval, there are three types of work namely firewood collection, fetching of pasture grass and meal preparation. There is no clear demarcation of responsibility for performing these tasks. Generally male children are sent for fetching firewood from jungle.

The girl children are responsible for collecting grass, from own grassland, and those who do not have their own land fetch them from nearby jungle. In our sample population, 26 respondents do not have grassland. They are compelled to go to jungle for fodder and grass. Likewise in our sample population, 8 respondents have only sons, and 6 have only daughters. Those respondents who have sons only go themselves for fetching grass as well as preparing lunch though, sometimes, sons also extend helping hands. Those having daughters only, their daughter prove more helpful. In many occasions, the wife takes the responsibilities of both grass collection and children's care.

**Table 5.10**  
**Work routing of absentee wives during Off-farm season**

General works	Approx. time
Wake up, sweep house, paint the house floor with red mud, fetch water	4 am to 5 am
Grind corn in 'Jaato', clean cattleshed (Goth), collect milk from cattle and put fodder	5 am to 6 am
Make lassie, boil milk and ghee, prepare breakfast	6 am to 7 am
Send children for collection firewood, self for collect green grass	7 am to 9 am
Prepare lunch, eat and wash dish	9 am to 10 am
Prepare castles food (Kudo), clean cattle shed and feed them	10 am to 11 am
Wash cloth, if not then rest	11 am to 12 pm
Collect grass from kharbari, cut down tree's grass	12 pm to 3 pm
Prepare Tiffin, clean house	3 pm to 4 pm
Water fetching	4 pm to 4.30 pm
Clean cattle shed, collect milk, put grass for animals	4:30 pm to 5:30 pm
Prepare dinner, eat, wash dish	5:30 pm to 7 am
Got bed	7 pm

Source: Field survey; 2009

Although, collection of grass and preparation of food is considered as women's task, the wife prepares food only when and if the husband is present at home. In these households, where husbands are present, the women are not required to do outdoor activities. They need not worry about economic or other problems. Even more, they get the help in doing household work too. Though for only short period, this opportunity is available for only 49 respondents because other 21 respondents' husbands do not work even when they are present at home (Table 5.8). So in these household, where husband is absent, the wife has to take care of every activities, getting help from children and from other family members, if they are.

Collection of firewood is not a daily job; it is performed at the interval of 1 or 2 days. The children are primarily responsible, for the job. In 12 pm to 3 pm time period there are two different works; collecting grass and cutting down of the tree's stems and leaves. In the absence of husband, if children's school is closed, the first task is done by children and the next their mother. If husband is present, the next one done by him. In caring animals, children are also involved occasionally, but mainly mother is responsible for it. It shows that male absence is influencing women and children in household activities too, which is considered as women's work by our traditional values.

Processing of foods is not included in the above table. Because it is not a regular job and it is done by the help of children and neighbors too. Grinding corn is the routine job for the majority of the household but 7 respondents do so in a local diesel generated mill near Bhotodeo bazaar. Other respondents do their all kind of food processing in their own traditional hand-un grinding apparatus like '**Jaant**, '**Dhiki**, **Okhal**' and **Chepuwa**' etc.

### **5.2.2 Agricultural Activities**

A lot of research work has been done regarding the role of women in agriculture sector, but our concern here is to find out if there has been any significant change in agricultural activities and in work burden of women over the years, particularly wives of the absentee male. John Connell (1980) found that in Orokaiva, a South Pacific Island, if the husband's absence prolonged, some kind of agriculture works could not be maintained. FAO (1985) mentioned the situation as ' In many rural places, migration of male and other changes in farming systems are placing even greater burdens on women as mainstays of small scale agriculture, the farm labor force and day to day family subsistence; (pg. VII). It noticed women's importance in agriculture as "The role for millions of women in third world agriculture is helping their families survive on small subsistence holding with little access to services, or through livestock raising' (Ibid.: IX). Our case here is same. These

difficulties are compounded for women whose international living patterns have been altered by the departure of husbands (Ibid.: IX).

UN (1991), also stated this situation as 'Indeed' some studies show that women may have become even more important in food production in recent years as a result of men's increased migration to cities and towns (pg. 90). These all works proved that women's role in subsistence agriculture is very important and males' migration creating more burden for women, in agricultural activities. Now, we see what our studied say.

Boserup's (1970) typology of subsistence cultivation described characteristics of Asian agriculture as 'male farming system' referring women as one released from agricultural burdens and confined to domesticity, sometimes actually excluded as a symbol of prestige and honor, (quoting Kandiyoti 1985:14). This view is difficult to be agreed with, since the bulk of daily agricultural work in these villages is done by women and men's work is usually seasonal and generally short term in nature....'(Dahal & others 1977:37). This is not situation of only these two villages, Dhap and Hikla of far-western development region, but the situation of whole Nepal. As in the case of Indonesia, where women are notionally excluded from those areas of agricultural production deemed to involve heavy physical work (Robinson 1983, in Manderson ed. 1983: 113). In Nepal too, women are excluded from such heavy work as plunging, and several phases requiring intense physical labor known in local dialect as 'Aali lagaune', Hilyaune', Aali taachne' etc.

We previously mentioned that our study area is made of hilly, dry land without irrigation facilities. Maize is the primary agricultural production of this area. Other major crops are wheat, barley, soybean, millet, buckwheat, mustard, peas and beans etc. Paddy is confined to only 48 respondents in our sample size because other 22 respondents do not have irrigated land suitable for paddy production (Table 5.3). Multiple cropping systems are prevalent in this area. Table 5.11 shows crop rotation and calendar followed in the sample area. In our sample area every kind of land preparation are done through plunging. Local customs and tradition prohibit women from doing certain agricultural tasks (FAO, 1985: IX). Nepalese women are also customarily prohibited for plunging the land. In our sample size of 70 households, only 6 household have bullocks for plunging land, and among them also, only 4 household have persons, who are able to plunge the field.

**Table 5.11**  
**Agricultural Calendar of Study Area**

Month	Activities in non-irrigated land	Activities in irrigated land
Chait	Plough the field, put compost fertilizers, plough again	
Baishak	Plough the field, broadcast maize with soybean, bean, gahat, masyang and manured the field	Ripening and threshing of wheat
Ashad	Maize and other crops are weeded, millet seedlings transplanted in certain amount of land, where maize was broadcasted	(Jestha) seed bed is prepared for paddy ploughing, manuring and transplant paddy seedlings
Shrawan	Weeding of maize and other crops	Weeding of paddy
Bhadra	Maize and other crops are harvested, field is ploughed, buckwheat sown in certain part of land	
Ashwin	Field is ploughed, wheat, barley, mustard, sarson and pea are sown in single field and manured	
Mangsir	Ripening of millet	Paddy ripened and threshed
Poush	Mustard and buckwheat are pulled out from the field and threshed	Field is ploughed manured and wheat is sown
Magh	Wheat, barley and pea are ripened	
Falgun	Threshing and processing of crops	

Source: Field survey; 2009

Others either are too young or too old to plough the field by themselves. Most (64) respondents are dependent on their neighbors, for ploughing their field. When the time for ploughing begins, the respondents have to rush from one door to the other for managing bullocks and labor for ploughing their land. Sometimes, they have bullocks but not the able person and sometimes the situation is just reversed. Even if the respondents have bullocks, they themselves are unable to plough because they are traditionally restricted to do so.

Another important things here is only those respondents could find bullocks that are able to return that help in form of works that is called 'parima' in local dialects or labor exchange. This practice is the main factor in helping the wives of the absentees to survive her family and herself. The rate of 'parima' is 3 persons in exchange for 1 pair of bullock with ploughing man and 2 people in exchange for only a pair of bullock. The field should plough for 6 to 8 or 10 times in a whole year for different crops. It takes one full day for ploughing 2.5 ropani to 3 ropanies of land by one pair of bullock, which is known as 'Ek hale' in local dialect. This means that these respondents, who have little land, they have to pay less 'parima'

and who have more they have to pay more. None of the respondents are self able to complete her crop production without taking 'parima'. Although some respondents are capable of hiring labors but due to high rate of migration even a single young male is not available in village for works in pay-off. Respondents replied those 8-10 years ago, there was not such scarcity of labor. These persons, who have very little land to support their family, were available for work on low wage rate. But by the migration and high wage rate in destination in comparison to the village, workable male population started to abandoned the village, as the result finding labor in pay-off basis have become difficult.

After ploughing the field, they should waits for the rain to sow the crop in their field. The agricultural calendar might be affected to some extent due to rainfall. After sowing seeds, a little later, crops should be weeded by using 'kodalo' (spade). The weeding process is known as 'Jhar godne' and '**Ukera lagaune**'; the process is repeated two three times. After some time, lager harvesting of crops is done and the field is prepared for another crop combined with threshing and processing of crops. These all works are labor intensive and demand a large number of labors, which is fulfilled by 'Parima'. We earlier mentioned about 'parima' which must be paid back in form of work. Apparently, all the works regarding agriculture is done by respondents and her children only. The labor hired for different purpose depends upon how much land does respondents have. Those, who have more amount of land, need more lolor, and those who have less amount of land, need less (the data regarding 'parima') is given in table (5.13). it is difficult to figure what amount of labor is required for each respondent. Equally, it's difficult to say the volume or works done by respondents as every moment they are busy on one or another work. They work with the hired labors too. Se we can not put their work in numerical values. Another most important thing, which needs mentioning here, is about our previous table no. 4.1 that talks about household activities. That table show the daily works, within the households, which they must perform day by day.

Among 70 household of our sample size, 12 household have 60 years and above female family members. Among them only 6 female members are able to do little work like preparing foods, sweeping house, etc. This means the 6 respondents are, to some extent, privileged than other 64 respondent in doing certain household works i.e., cooking, caring children etc. The rest 64 respondents have to manage every household affairs from early in the morning and go for field (mela) around 9 am. They return home, around 1.00pm for preparing tiffin for labors (Khetala). Between 1pm to 2pm, they finish their tiffin and get to the work, up to 5 pm or 6 p, in the evening. Upon return from the field, they have to do rest of housework with little help from children. In this way, one can easily imagine about how more burdens a wife carries on her head due to the absence of her husband.



### 5.2.3 Economic activities and decision making

Economic activities indicate the actual role and position of women in the household. Here, we describe economic activities of women in two forms. One is women's participation in money earning activities and, the other is, participation in managing household economic activities or rather say, the disposal of available economic resource for several household purposes. Here, we'd focus more on the second one. In our sample size of 70 women, only 17 respondents participated in earning activities, and the rest respondents are engaged only on subsistence agriculture, which is not considered as economic activities by policy makers. There are no other working members in their households to involve in economic activities except the absentee. But, if we go by the UN (1991), 'Sub-Saharan African women are generally more economically independent in their households than the women in other regions. And as men migrate to cities and towns for wage labors, more women become the primary providers for the household' (pg. 86).

In our case too, women are the primary providers but not economically independent. Because, they are not engaged in informal sector activities and their agricultural production are not enough to feed their family for the whole year. So they have to rely women's income source but with their role and degree of participation in economic behavior of their household. ILO (1982) citing example from the Philippines say 'Even when remittances are made more or less regularly, a women may exercise little, if any, control over the management and use of such funds. Usually remittances are made directly to the elder male of the extended family or kin group who decides the proportion to be used, to support the worker's wife and family, and that to be used for other purposes' (pg. 52).

DIESA (1986), citing an example from Pakistan say, '.....they rely on their parents in –law and brothers in-law for making important decisions such as the purchases of property, the children's education, household purchase, and financial investment' (pg.25). Another example from India puts it as 'wives often manage the day to day household budget but tend seek advice from relatives on the repayment of debts or the management of savings' (Ibid.:25). Stalker (1994) cited the example of Bolivia as 'for many of these women (migrant's wife), however it seems to make little difference; they were already taking many of the economic decisions for the households...' (pg.130).

Table 5.12 shows the degree of participation of respondents in economic decision making process. It shows that economic participation of the respondent is very high. As we mentioned earlier, food production of our respondent is not enough for whole year so they have to borrow food or cash to feed their family for rest of the scarce month. 63 respondents or 90 percent of the total respondents are independent decision maker who decide where the necessary food much be

borrowed from or in which form it must borrow, either as cash or as goods. Rest 10 percent respondents ask with their elder family members in this regard. Absentee are not involved in this process because they are not present at home to advice their wives and other family members. To fulfill, small day to day necessity of food or cash, respondents borrow from their neighbors or kin members which is known as 'Sapat' for cash and 'Paincho' for goods. 97.14 percent of the total respondent independently decides in this regard too and less than 3 percent of the total respondents seek advice from their elder family members.

**Table 5.12**  
**Independent decision making by sector**

Decision regarding	No. of respondent	% of respondent
Borrow credit from market or shops	63	90.00
Borrow goods & credit from neighbors	68	97.14
Decisions regarding agricultural activities	70	100.00
Repay loans	68	97.14
Major economic decisions (i.e. to buy cattle, land etc.)	47	67.14

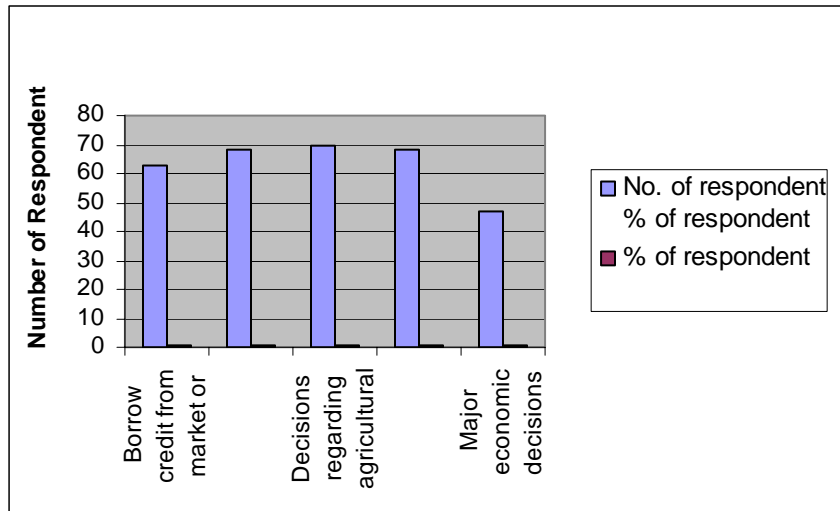
Source: Field survey; 2009

Although the crops pattern and the cropping routing is fixed one, even some decisions are needed there, i.e., whom to call for work, when to ripen crops, when thrashing must begin, whether barley should be sown with wheat, mustard and pea or whether wheat is sown or not etc. In this regard all 70 respondents are dependent decision-makers. Likewise, in repaying loans 97.14 percent of the total respondents decide themselves for repaying loans and debts. And for major economic decisions like buying cattle, land etc. 67.14 percent of the total respondents decide independently.

The study shows that our respondents are very independent and their position in household is excellent. 32.86 percent of total respondents are not independent decision-makers in this regard (major decisions). They take advice from their elder family or kin members as well as from their husband, too. But the final decision is, of theirs. 38 respondents replied that even if they asked with their husband, the husbands ask them to decide on their own. Major reason for this greater independence of our respondents in decision making process is the long absence of husband from the village economy which also caused lack of intimacy

of absentee with other neighbors. Another cause is the family structure where elder family members are not present, mainly father-in-law and mother-in-law.

**Chart 5.7**  
**Independent Decision Making by Sector**



But even in those 10 households, who have these members, they (wives) enjoy greater independence because these members are physically unable to handle household affairs. Another important thing is access to economic resource. In this respect too, respondents' husbands are only money earner, and first control over it is of their wives. The study shows that our respondents are much free and independent in any kind of economic activities and decision making process.

It may be worth mentioning some example to compare our situation with others. Jetley's (1984) sample study of India puts the situation as 'In the absence of males, women have control over what they earn in kind, but it is doubtful that they gain any substantial power in the family. More often it is the male who decides the expenditure on different items' 9 pg. -114). Paranakian's (1984) sample study of Thailand put the situation as 'The pattern of decision making does not seem to have changed because of male migration. Barring day to day affairs regarding routing decisions, all major decisions are still taken by the husband although of course in consultation with the wife' (pg. 278). Similar case studies conducted in Bangladesh by Islam and Ahmad (1984) found the result same as above (pg. 51-53). If we compare these examples with our study, we found a remarkable change in our women's position. Our respondents are freer and more independent in every kind of activities than of those mentioned above.

## 5.2.4 Social Activities

Under this topic, we only deal with relationship of respondents with their neighbors and matrilineal kin group. Female participation in different co-operatives like water users groups, forest users group, small credit groups etc., is nil because there is not any single such groups established up till now. Participation in politics is also nil, from our respondent.

The relationship with neighbors has changed dramatically since the migration of husband. The neighbors are more dependent on each other. In every sort of problems, like illness of any family member, in exchange of parima, necessity of cash and goods etc., respondents first ask their neighbors for help.

Our section 5.2.2 also supports this fact. The relationship is very harmonious and intimate compare to pre-migration period. The relationship of respondents with husbands' kin members has also changed to some extent. The respondents have to be more careful in this regard. Even a slightest up and down in the relationship may land respondents in trouble. They must participate in any sort of activities, conducted by husband's relatives, as a representative of absentee's family. But respondents do not feel comfortable with the relation with their husband's kin while comparing it to their relations with the neighbors. Although, the husband's relatives must act as security shield for respondents, we find unseen tensions between brother and brother. (in 62.8 percent or 44 respondent's case). The main dispute is because of property division and jealousy about absentee's income.

Regarding relationship with respondent's natal home, which is always a sensitive issue for our married Nepalese women; we also find some changes taking place. Natal home of the respondents is usually far from their husband's, which take 4 to 6 hour of walk. Not all respondents can visit their natal home at their own will because there is not any able person behind her to handle the home. Even when there are calls from their natal home in various occasions i.e. , religious work (Pooja) and other different festivals, they are unable to attend the function, because of their own problems, which makes them physically far from their natal home but mentally more near than before.

## 5.3 Burden on women and attitude toward migration

Women's workloads reach at the peak during planting, weeding and the pro-harvest and post-harvest periods. But, at all times of the year, women need to work full days in secondary agricultural and on-agricultural work and domestic tasks (FAO 1985:21). With the male head of the family away, the women have to shoulder greater responsibility and their importance and role also increased (Islam & Ahmad 1984:72). '..... their burden increases not only by looking after the home and children but also of supporting the family; (Jetley 1984:78). 'The workload of women increased with the migration of males. Those who have

operational holding have to undertake several activities earlier performed by men..... '(Ibid.:140). Due to the large scale migration and the severe shortage of labor force in the village, caused by migration, the women's workload has increased considerably (Cho 1984 :212). These examples may give an idea of the burdens shouldered by the women, where the husband is away from home. Now, we see what our respondents say in this regard.

### **5.3.1 Physical Burden**

'A man's absence means the loss of an adult working member and fundamental changes in the male/female division of labor' (FAO 1985: 31). It means that the portion of work, which one man does in normal situation, is shifted on the head of his wife after he migrates. The women who were previously laden with several responsibilities are forced to bear extra burden with their husbands' departure which means more physical burden on them. Because in a less developed country's subsistence agriculture sectors, like our study area, every sort of work from field to the home, demand more physical strength. In farming season our respondents spend 10 to 12 hours a day only in the field. And at home also, they have to perform regular work with the little help coming from their children. In our previous section, we gave full description of women's work in field and at home. If we assemble the table 5.10 and 5.11, we can find how more physical burden a women is bearing by the absence of husband.

But, if the husband is at home, one labor force is added to home which, in turn, reduces their personal 'parima' to large extent. If husband is present at home, in various occasions, women are free to do only household work. Particularly, in the case of irrigated land, which generally lies at some distance from home, the husband take care about the farming works and workers and wife just have to prepare foods for them. Whenever, any child is available at home, she does not have to go to the fields. But with the absence of husband, the wife has to take care of all works from home to fields. She has to manage 'Khetala' herself, manage necessary agricultural tools, prepare food for khetala, and go to the field with them and work with them. Most of our respondent replied that, 'if they do not go with 'Khetala', they will not do the work well. So they go to supervise their works and work hand to hand with them. Transporting crops and fodder up to the home from the field is considered as man's job, but in our situation, women and her elder children with the help from neighbors have to perform those tasks also. For performing all those activities, one needs a lot of labors, which is fulfilled by 'parima' system. Women have to take parima from their neighbors, which must be returned whenever the parima given person calls for work. They can not return parima in kind or cash or crops because of labor shortage.

Table 5.13 shows the average amount of parima taken by our respondent per year. This table shows that 15.71 percent of our respondents take 10 to 20 people

as parima per year. The amount is very low because they have little land and they don't need more labors. 20 percent of our respondents take 21 to 40 persons as parima per year. Likewise 30 percent of respondent take 41 to 60 persons as parima which is the highest in our study. 21.43 percent take 61 to 80 persons and 12.86 percent 81 and more persons as parima, per year. The more the parima is borrowed, the more they have to work for others. On returning the parima, around 80 percent is returned by respondents themselves and 20 percent is returned by their children.

At time, when they have work at their own field or they have to go and work in other's field for returning the parima, they have to perform every regular work early at morning.

**Table 5.13**  
**Parima Labor Acquired by Respondent (Per year)**

<b>Amount of parima taken</b>	<b>No of respondent</b>	<b>% of total respondent</b>
10-20 person	11	15.71
21-40 person	14	20.00
41-60 person	21	30.00
61-80 person	15	21.43
81 & above	9	12.86
Total	70	100.00

Source: Field survey; 2009

They have to do besides collecting grass, cleaning the cattle shed, collecting the milk, preparing lunch, clean the house and head of the work.

If the respondents have infant child, they create another trouble for them. They have to manage someone to look after her child, or take the child with herself, which is not possible every time. While returning home, they collect some grass from workplace and take that to home. Then they again clean cattle shed, put grass for animals, have tiffin, if her children prepared, if not, then prepare herself and get to the other regular work. These all prove that a woman in absentee household have to bear more physical burden.

For the females in the family, work is not a privilege but a traditional hardship. These women spend most of their lives in finding food, fuel for cooking, and fodder for cattle. In this way migration of the husband has increased the physical burden on women.

### 5.3.2 Economic Burden

Women from their childhood area reared in such way that they perceive their roles as one to do physical work. From their childhood, they are assigned works like, washing floors, fetching water, washing dishes, caring for younger siblings, transporting field products, cooking food, collect grass and firewood etc. They are not involved or participated by family members in any economic activities and decision making process. Marriage also, does not effect any immediate change in women's daily work. So, they are, from their childhood, excluded from any sort of activities or responsibilities related to economic decision making. But after marriage, when her husband migrates, she has to take over different physical works as well as economic activities. The women who are never entrusted with economic responsibilities naturally have tough time coping with them when their husbands migrate.

Table 5.4 above the food sufficiency situation of the respondents household shows that none of the respondents have enough food production to feed their family for the whole year. They have to manage foods any how for rest of the scarce month. They can not let their family member die from hunger. So, it is the most important economic burden for them. Table 5.14 shows the means by which the respondents solve their problem.

**Table 5.14**

**Major means for solving food scarcity problem of respondent**

<b>Means</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>% of total respondent</b>
Credit from shops	39	55.7
Credit from local landlords	14	20.0
From self earning	17	24.3
Total	70	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2009

It shows that 75.7 percent of the respondents solve their problem by taking foods in credits from shops and local landlords. Rest 24.3 percent of respondents solve their problem by self earning. But sometimes, their earning might not solve their problem, so they have to manage from other sources. Likewise table 3.9 of chapter III shows the situation of remittance which our respondents get at different intervals, sent by their husbands. The women have to manage anyhow to run their house from that meager amount and sometime without remittance. To take credit from other is not easy job. For it, they (respondent) have to do a lot of hard

work and sometimes, they are humiliated by so-called money-lenders or 'Shahu'. And sometimes, they are just at their wit's end in solving their problem.

Table 5.15 shows the number of respondents taking loan for different purposes in form of cash or goods. It shows that majority of the respondents or 77.14 percent of them take loan or credit for foods. Among them 31 respondents take the credit in form of goods and 23 in form of cash. Likewise 70 percent of the respondents take credit for clothing. Rest 30 percent of the respondents replied that their husbands bring the necessary clothing needed in house.

**Table 5.15**  
**Loan taken by respondent for different purpose**

Particular	Number of respondent			
	In goods	In cash	Total	% of total respondent
Food	35	23	54	77.14
Clothing	18	31	49	70.00
Education	-	13	13	18.57
Medicine	10	12	22	31.43
Festival	7	17	24	34.28
Miscellaneous	8	9	17	24.28

Source: Field survey, 2009

34.28 percent of respondents take credit for medicine or for treatment of illness. Only 18.57 percent of respondents take credit for the purpose of educating their children. All these show that our respondents are managing different economic problems. It is burden for them not only because they have to encounter several other problems to solve it but because it is new responsibility for them. They have never been involved in such activities before. For them the situation itself is burdensome and to solve the problem is a bigger burden.

### **5.3.3 Social Burden**

As in the economic affairs, women are excluded from different social affairs also. 'Women may not perform certain essential funeral rituals; they are also barred from direct participation in the worship of Durga or the lineage god [Kul devata]' (Bennett and Singh 1979:17). With these discriminatory practices, they may have to face certain problems in their affinal families. Man is the main concerning line for woman in their affinal families. Generally men are responsible for any affair related with their kin group. But in the absence of males, women have to take



over those responsibilities. In many households (17 respondents), there has been disputes between brother and brother.

Our respondents, as affinal women, have to respect every member of their affinal families. In this regard, it is out of question to call any member of the family system for work at their home. But, the member of the related family can call her, and she must attend even by leaving her most urgent work at own home. If she disagrees or defies, she might be subjected to several social harassment. In various cases our respondents told that they (other members) shed ills to the ears of their husband against them, and that land them in other problem. Likewise, wives are the main responsible person in the family after their husband. So, she has to take good care of guests who come at the home. They have to respect them valuing their relation and behave in good manner.

Women have to maintain very harmonious and pleasant relations with members of her society. Because they are the people who help them when they run into trouble and need help. Society itself keeps a close eye on her very behavior because she is not only a family member of a household, but she is the representative of the absentee male, and is the responsible person after her husband. So, in the absence of husband, a woman has to take different social burden on her head.

#### **5.3.4. Child Rearing**

'It is only when a affinal women achieves motherhood, there by justifying her sexuality and proving her ritual worth to her husband's family, then her status begins to improve' (Bennett and Singh 1979: 16). It shows that in our society motherhood is very important aspect for women. But, to rear children in our society is not so that task for women as in the case of Indonesia as Robinson (1983) puts it '..... there is one cardinal rule in respect to women's work; any work, including housework, ideally takes second place to the primary responsibility for the care for her children until they reach about two years of age' (pg. 114). She further puts 'After this initial period of intense focus on child, child care remains intensive for another eighteenth month or two years. Women are never out of sight of their babies and infants who demand food and are never left to cry' (pg. 116).

Palmer et. al (1983), sample study of Thailand puts the situation as 'The majority of respondents had to reduce breast-feeding during rice planting and harvesting and 17 percent said that they had to terminate it prematurely. The high incidence of mortality amongst children under five years old may also be a reflection of seasonal demand on women's time (extracted from FAO 1985:22). Our case here is also same as mentioned above by Palmer. In our sample population 2 respondents do not have any children. They didn't face any problem in child

rearing, but they might in future. And majority of our respondents' children had crossed the age of 5, hence, intensive care not required.

But most of our respondents faced the situation previously and 18 respondents still facing the situation at present. The problems regarding child is not the one of rearing alone. But, they suffer several pre-natal problems too. They don't usually have balance and nutritious diet, which is necessary for pregnant woman, and they can not have complete rest when they need (after 5 or 6 month of pregnancy). Our 11 respondents replied that they delivered their one child at farmland, where they were working, and 2 respondents replied that they delivered their one child, in Jungle, where they were fetching firewood and fodder. Likewise 8 respondents replied that they lost their one child, prematurely, before delivery. Apparently, this is due to heavy physical burden on them.

After the birth of child also, they do not have any comfortable situation. After 18 or 20 days from the delivery of child, they start their regular job, gradually leaving their child to the care of their elder children or other family members if they are. Our 6 respondents are very fortunate in this regard because they have workable mother-in-law at their homes, who can handle her child excellently, when mother is far away. Sometimes respondents have to leave their child in a cradle ('Kokro'). And when women are at home, doing different work, they carry their baby on their back. Even in the agricultural field, they carry their baby on back while working. Although this may help them to keep their child closed to them, it surely creates more physical burden on women. Equally, it affects the child's health too.

Women can give more time for their baby at off-farm seasons. In agricultural season, they leave their child at morning and meet them only at evening. Sometimes, the child caring person brings the child to the field for breast-feeding. So it proves that child rearing process is also a burdensome task for our respondents in the absence of their husbands.

### **5.3.5 Psychological Problems**

Among the most negative consequences of the separation of the families are the emotional and psychological ones that wives of migrants have to endure. Mental illness has been found to be particularly acute in the so-called "Golf pockets" of the state of Kerala.' ..... a major reason for psychiatric disorders is the incompatibility of these young women with their husband's parent, in the absence of their husbands'. Similarly it was reported in Pakistan that the head of psychology department in a hospital dealt 1450 such patients over a six-month period. The patient suffered from a variety of psychosomatic illness, and the younger patients experienced a high degree of sexual frustration (DIESA 1986: 26).

This example proves that absence of husband creates various psychological problem to their wives. In our cases all of our respondents are illiterate, so they could not express freely about what kind of psychological problem they underwent. To one question, regarding psychological problem, the respondents replied as listed in table 5.16. The table shows 32.86 percent of respondents replied that they felt alone by the absence of husband. 24.29 percent replied that they are worried about migrants' security at their places.

**Table 5.16**  
**Psychological Problem Faced by Respondent**

Major problem	No. of respondent	% of total respondent
Feeling of loneliness	23	32.86
Feeling of migrant's insecurity	17	24.29
Feeling of self insecurity	12	17.14
Not stated	18	25.71
Total	70	100.00

Source: Field survey, 2009

Likewise 17.14 percent replied that they felt insecure in the absence of their husband. 25.71 percent of respondents didn't state any problem. Even though, they could not express freely or hesitated to do so, their feelings and their behavioral attitude amply showed that they suffered psychological burden. First of all, the absence of husband itself is an adverse situation for women which produce psychological burden. Moreover, to conduct different agricultural activities, the women have to think seriously about managing bullocks' necessary *khetala*, returning parima etc. They have to think seriously about how to feed their family in food scarce month, to manage credit, and expenditures. These all activities create a lot of mental tension for them, but they don't usually regard them as burden because they think these activities fall in their regular routine.

### **5.3.6 Attitude toward migration**

In our sample population of 70 respondents, we found mixed attitude toward migration. 39 respondents or 55.71 percent of respondents replied that the migration of their husband was essential and they preferred continuing their activities without their husband. But 31 respondents (44.29 percent) replied that, although it was the main source of cash income, it would have been nice for them if their husband stayed at home. These respondents, preferring their husband's stay at home, argued that though the life would have tougher, yet it would have a great pleasure to manage the house together and live happily. On contrary, those

preferring migration argued that what their husbands could do by staying in the village. For them, it would have been unimaginable to survive had the husband not migrated.

Likewise 62.85 percent of respondents replied that they missed their husband on the occasion of different festivals and religious ceremonies. And the rest 26 respondents replied that they needed them most at times of illness and scarcity of money and goods. Although all of the respondents agreed with the necessity and importance of husband's presence in the household, for them, the financial necessity out-weighed the husband's presence at home.

## **5.4 Some Major Structural Implications**

Men are the core persons in our patrilineal family system, around which, every functions of households and society involves. So that, it is not amazing fact to see some structural changes in our traditional family system only by the absence of male member. For that it is necessary to see some definitions about structure – that 'social structure'. C.C Schrage and others (1968) puts 'In order to achieve certain objectives, all group and societies organize their activities in a social structure. Rudolf Heberle (1951), defined social structure as 'an attribution of roles and positions within the group to its various members a mere factual arrangement which may not be formally reorganized, not regulated by status, constitution or other formal rules of conduct (pg. 272). He further puts 'Even a group which is not organized will have a social structure that is spontaneous division of functions, which originates by more or less tacit agreement among members. Because the nature of the groups activities demands it and because individual members are inclined or gifted for different roles, hence, a social structure arises easily. In a large and complex social collective, there is usually found several subgroups, some organized some not. This is another aspect of structure (pg. 274).

In Radcliffe-Brown's opinion 'social structure' refers to some sort of ordered arrangements of parts or components and the components are persons and a person is human being who occupies position in a social structure (quoting Behura 1988: relationship in a society between person occupying social roles in relation to one another (Ibid:102). Merton (1968) defines social structure as 'that organized set of social relationship in which members of the society or group are variously implicated' (quoting Merton, Ritzer 1992:255). C. Levi-Strauss (1967) puts it as "the term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it" (Ibid.: 498). In his opinion structures are creations of observers and the structure that are created do not exist in the real world. Ultimate structure in Levi-Strauss wor is the structure of the mind. (Ibid.: 498-501).

## 5.4.1 Family Structure

Throughout much of the world, household are getting smaller and have fewer children. There are fewer multi-generational households, more single parent families and more people living alone. Smaller households suggest the gradual decline of the extended family household.....' (UN 1991:4). The UN stated facts suggest marked changes in previous family structure i. e. extended family. Society is the main and most important structure of our human world, under which have their separate function, and their own separate structures. For example, walls have their own structure, windows have their own structure, ceiling has their own structure, and these all have their own functions too. In this way, family is one of the major structure of a total social system or structure.

Elliott and Merrill (1961) suggest as 'The family composed of husband, wife and children is the basic biological and social unit in our society. The modern family is nuclear family rather than the large kith and kin group. As such, it is the most important small group – the sub-system of our larger society. In its parent-child relationship, the family is the natural phenomenon upon which all organized society has rested, whether in pre-literate or civilized societies, the structure of the family owes its existence to both organic urges and social needs' (pg. 339-340).

Table 5.17 shows the structure of family of sample population. It shows 80 percent of total sampled households are nuclear family in structure. Among them, the 60 percent have both sons and daughters, 11.43 percent have sons only and 8.57 percent have daughters only. 20 percent of sampled household are of joint family.

**Table 5.17**  
**Structure of Family of Sample Household**

Type of family	Head of family	Other member of family	No. of household	% of total household
Nuclear family	Husband	wife, son, daughter		
		Wife, son		
		Wife, daughter		
Joint Family	Husband	Wife, son, daughter, mother, father		
		Wife, son, daughter, mother		
		Wife, son, mother, brother		
Total				

Source: Field survey. 2009

It shows that majority of the household are nuclear family in structure. Although, we previously selected such households as our sample population. But one thing should be kept in mind that these household are the disintegrated parts of the different extended or joint family. We noted a trend that, generally, after the migration of male, who is married, disintegration of large family into small family size starts. Most of our respondents replied that, they separated from their main house (**Mul ghar**) after 2 to 5 years of their husband's migration. At the time of our field visit also, we saw two cases of separation. Although these are out from our sample household, even though, we present it here as relevant example.

In one case, the family having three brothers, one married and having 4 children (2 daughters, 2 sons) and a mother as family member. Among the three brothers, two were migrants, one was in Nepal and another (elder, married one) was in India, and the younger brother was studying at home. The wife of Indian absentee quarreled with the mother-in-law and started to live separately with her children in one corner of cattleshed.

In another case, the family having 4 brothers, 3 married and having children, one sister married, but living at natal home, and mother, father as total family members. Among their 4 brothers three were working in India and one was staying at home. He denied staying in joint family after third year of his marriage and having two children. He argued that all of them (3 brothers) earning huge amount of money, neither they are giving any amount to him nor they are helping in farming. So, why he should work for them, care and look after their property. In this way they all separated, disintegrating one extended family into three nuclear family and one disintegrated family consisting one absentee brother, his married sister and mother, father. These cases prove that by one or another way, migration of males from household is helping to bring changes in traditional family structure. By the absence of male change in the family structure, converting joint family to nuclear family.

Among the total of 70 respondents, 48 replied that, they pressed their husband to separate from joint family. Because the domination of mother-in-law was intolerable for them which increased more by the husbands' absence. Likewise 14 respondents replied that other brothers from family separated from 'mulghar', so they are now staying with absentee's parents and brothers. And 8 respondents replied that they separated by the decision of all family members. It shows that majority (68.57 percent) of the respondents separated from their previous family structure because of the incompatibility of the respondents with their husband's parents. Among major reasons for this are jealousy about absentee's income, non-migrant brother's feeling of looking or working in vain for another (absentee's) property and absentee's fear of division of his hard earning among others if he stayed in the joint family.

## 5.4.2 Authority Structure

Different sample studies conducted in India, by Jetley (1984), in Bangladesh by Islam & Ahmad (1984), in The Philippines by Flores (1984) and in Thailand by Parankian(1984), did not mark any remarkable changes in traditional authority structure. But in turn, in Bangladesh (Ibid.) and Pakistan (Stalker 1994), examples are cited that, women feel more constrained than before because of increased control of the in-laws after the migration of husband.

Authority in an instrument which helps to control and maintain basic rules and regulations of any institution, organization, structures, which is bestowed upon some particular persons by prevalent norms, values and regulations, within any structure. Under family structure too, traditional norms and values creates some sort of authority structure wherein some member, in any family, is given total authority to maintain basic structure and regulate them. Dahrendorf opinions that various positions within society have different amounts of authority and authority does not reside on individuals but in positions (quoting Dahrendorf, Ritzer 1992:263-64). For example, in extended family, most elder male person is the main holder of authority and power, i.e. father, under whom every other family members, mother, children and grand children are bounded together. Likewise, mother also has some sort of authority in family, and sons have too. Likewise, in nuclear family, husband is the main holder of authority, but wife also have some authority. But they are different from that of ultimate power holder. Process regarding decision-making is also related with the holding of authority and power. In this way, these all make an unseen structure of authority which is regulated and directed by traditional norms and values.

In our study, we found dramatic change in authority structure while comparing to that of traditional one. As we mentioned previously, men are the control point for every aspect, in matrilineal family system. Man is regarded as the 'bread-winner', head of the house and ultimate position of the authority. But in the context of disintegration of larger families into smaller ones caused by the migration of males, women assume some authority. Above cited study present tat although the women take the position of men, they still don't get the authority and status. But in our study, our respondents have not only taken that positions but exercised control over every activities and authority powers, too. Table 5.12 given in chapter five shows the involvement of respondents in decision-making process. The table shows that 90 percent and above respondents independently decide about regular activities and 67.14 percent of respondents independently decide about major activities.

One could argue in this regard saying, they (respondent) are the head of the household, so they are doing so. But in those households, where mother-in-law are present, respondents are equally free to decide on different aspects. They are

also running their home smoothly taking little advice from their elder. Even those who are not deciding on major aspects, their participation in decision-making process is prominent and the final decisions are of their. In various cases, our respondents replied that they first decide about what they would do and later seek their husbands' advises.

Although it is very hard to decide whether circumstances create such situation in favor of women or male and other family members are availing the opportunities to them, yet it is true that absence of male from household changed the traditional authority structure, giving more power and freedom to women to exercise in their day to day life.

### 5.4.3 Headship of Household

Given prevailing cultural assumptions and methods of data collection in most countries, women are not enumerated as heads of households unless they are either living alone or there is no adult male in the household. Since it is usually assumed that household heads have primary authority and responsibility for households, available statistics considerably understate women's household responsibilities (UN 1991:17). 'Women's working roles are, at best, secondary or complimentary to the family income; the reality in developing countries is that women increasingly are the **de facto** heads of households with full responsibility for their own and their children's survival' (Buvinic 1981:11).'. ..... yet others point to the uniformly negative cultural evaluation of what women do so that what ever women do is considered less valuable than what men do' (Kandiyoti 1985:14).

These are the some example about in what way our society and culture evaluates the works of women and it also presents the situation of under-estimation of women's work and their position of house headship in statistics. But our study suggests that underestimation of women is not society's doing, but by the women themselves. As mentioned above 'household's heads have primary authority and responsibility for household', our respondents are fulfilling these responsibilities, yet they are not in position to declare themselves as the head of the household. To a question, about the head of the house, all of the respondents replied – 'husband'. While on field survey, we tried to convince them about their status and position in the household and society. We briefed them saying 'if you are doing all sort of activities yourself as the head of the house or 'Ghar muli' (in local dialect), you should have the ultimate authority. But they underestimate their works, saying, 'these are our regular job, nothing new. They themselves give less importance, for whatever they are doing. They are not in a position to assume themselves as the 'household head'.



They want to keep that position only for their husband. A main reason for this is partly because of traditional structure, and the women's perception of patrilineal structure, where males are main person and, partly because of innocence and illiteracy of the respondents. So, these all proves that although they are eligible to claim themselves as house head. They are not in position to claim. So, practically, the structure of house headship has changed with male migration, though principally it remains the same.

#### **5.4.4 Gender and division of labor**

We did not find remarkable changes in the structure of sexual division of labor in any concrete form. Those work, which are regarded as men's are still being carried out by women. Plunging, re-arranging walls of irrigated fields, thrashing of paddy and transportation of crops and fodder, falls in men's share of work, and they are still involved in such activities except in transporting of crops and fodder. However, these work largely done by women these days. Marked changes in division of labor is only seen in management of economic resources and necessary good and services needed for household. If we regard these as works, then we can find very important changes. In our patrilineal society, major economic resources are owned by males, mainly. And managing every economic affairs of the household is the responsibility of men. But with the absence of males, women have to takeover all that works whether they are economic needs or regulated services i.e., 'parima', bullocks and other agricultural tools. And these are major and important works for survival which are shifted from men to women. In this way, it shows some changes in the structure of labor division by sex to some extent, by the migration of males.

# Chapter Six

## Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

### 6.1 Summary

In Nepal, as elsewhere in the world, historical and modern forces of social change have resulted in large scale migration of unskilled and semi-skilled labor to the different big cities of Nepal as well as foreign countries. Male out-migration, apart from its various implications in the urban population, results in dislocation in the rural family. Several studies have been made about male migrants in the urban setting; however, very few have focused on the family that remains behind in the village.

Out migration for labour is a common livelihood strategy in the case study area. Furthermore, migration is a highly gendered process: migrants are predominantly male whereas women stay in the villages, looking after the children and elders, the household and the fields. The study focuses the effects of migration for home-staying household members. Thus, the aims of the study are:

- To examine the push factors of out migration in the study area.
- To examine the pull factors that help motivate people to migrate.
- To analyze the effects on migrant's families due to migration of family members

This study looks at the problem of the women, mainly wives of the migrants, left behinds in the rural area. The migration is due to economic status. The members are separated due to lack of basic needs. Due to migration the wives have taken the responsibilities. The load of work and responsibilities give the bad impact upon women. Due to alienation other wants to take benefit from their wives in the absence of the husbands. The separation is come from the economic reason. The husbands have earned more to give the family needs and they afford the family needs and supports. The wives have to manage the social work as a whole. The wives have to take the family responsibility with home management. Especially wives are victimized by the absent of husbands.

### 6.2 Conclusion

Social change is a complex phenomenon in developing countries. History, tradition, development experiments, modernizing forces and a host of other factors disrupt the societal balance. One outcome is the movement of population from one region to another. The increasing pressure on land leads to out-migration from all classes from the villages. In the upper-landed groups the desire to migrate is facilitated by certain level of education and other skills and

prompted by the wish to strengthen the capital base in the rural area. The lower marginal landowners migrate with little skill and for marginal gains or sheer survival.

Migration is becoming a big problem in today's underdeveloped countries. This is not creating problem only in places of destination, but our study proves that this has created various problems in the places of origin also. To get the real picture of problems arising from migration, one should bring their on places of origin not only on the places of destination. Our study here proved that effect of male migration has resulted prominent effect and changes at the place of origin too. It has increased work burden on women. 'The women especially wives of absentee has faced various problems in managing household activities, agricultural activities, social activities etc. However, it has sum positive effects too. By the male out migration women are empowered by the circumstances to handle every activity freely. They are prominent decision maker in every step of their life, from agricultural decision making to the more important economic decision making. They are, for the first time in their life had opportunities to handle their household freely with their own decisions.'

The thesis depends upon the male migration due to the lack of healthy employment in country. The nation is not well – developed in the periphery of the good education. But the suffering is dependent upon the national affairs. The whole case is upon the economic status. The economic is the main attitude in the periphery of national education. The education is on the economic status. The effect of migration is on the women and other families. The families are on the strong point that is believe and waiting for the husband's income for the better future. The impact sometimes breaks home relationship which is due to the lack of basic needs in Nepalese village.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

- One of the main causes of migration is least amount of land availability. We all know that one can not increase the amount of land with corresponding population increase. But what can be done is the maximum utilization of available land. Every piece of land, which lies fallow, should be brought under productive use. Intensive cropping system should introduce, by which not a single month, the available land unnecessary lay fallow.
- Most important problem of rural area is the lack of cash income source for which rural male population are compelled to migrate. For that, we may need to emphasize on exploring and exploiting other natural sources.
- Good source of income could be the production of milk. We know that every household have animal population in our study area. Instead of increasing numbers of local cattle, one may keep one or two cattle of good breed which

can yield more milk in both quality and quantity. Selling of milk products in market could be better source of cash income for them. Similarly, they could have good returns from the selling goat and chickens.

These all, mentioned above, resources are available at the local level, but the people are unaware to recognize or exploit them for their betterment. To achieve the goal, commitment and publicity from the government level, and different NGOs and INGOs in convincing local people and helping them sounds very imperative. Once they could recognize the available resources around rate may be decreased and, the male would give up abandoning their homes for better fortune. This would also check the adverse effect on children with their father's migration.

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3. If yes, then how much you have?
  - a. Non-irrigated (Pakho Bari):
  - b. Irrigated (Khet) :
  - c. Grassland (Khar Bari):
4. The production from land is enough to feed your family for a whole year?
 

Yes	No
-----	----
5. If not, then how much it lasts? (In months).

C. Respondent's Condition:

1. What is the main reason that absentee leave the home?
  - a. Because of no enough land
  - b. Because of no good income/ service
  - c. Because of other (specify)
  
2. Who was mainly responsible for making the decision of migrate
  - a. Himself / herself
  - b. Near relatives
  - c. Family
3. How do you solve your food scarcity problems?
  - a. Taking credit from shops
  - b. Credit from local land lords
  - c. From self earning
4. How do you manage to repay loans or credits?
  - a. From absentees income
  - b. Doing other works
3. If it is 2 (b), what kind of work you do?
  - a. General labor
  - b. Agricultural labor
  - c. Household servant
4. For which purpose you mostly take loans?
 

As Cash	As Goods
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Food</li> <li>b. Clothing</li> <li>c. Education</li> <li>d. Medicine</li> <li>e. Festivals</li> <li>f. Miscellaneous</li> </ol>	
6. Are you literate?

- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
7. If yes, then how?
    - a. Informally
    - b. From school
    - c. Adult literacy program
  8. Does migrant send money?
 

Yes	No
-----	----
  9. Who receive the amount?
  10. In what interval, absentees send money?
  11. At once, what amount he sends (In Nrs.)?
  12. Did you ever been gone with migrant to their place?
 

Yes	No
-----	----
  13. How do you manage to farm your land?
    - a. Self
    - b. Exchange labor
    - c. Hired labor
  14. At farming season average how many hours you spend in the fields?  
(In Hrs):
  15. In one year, how much Parima you take for different purpose?  
(In Person):
  16. At farming season, who conduct other household work i. e. cooking, water fetching, care of animal's etc?
    - a. Self
    - b. Children
    - c. If any other
  17. In which situation you missed the absentee?
    - a. Illness of children
    - b. In farming
    - c. Lack of money and other goods
    - d. If any other
  18. At those time, whom you mostly call for help?
    - a. Neighbors
    - b. Nearest in member of absentee
    - c. Matrilineal relatives
  19. Do they fully help you to solve your problem?
 

Yes	No
-----	----
  20. How is your relationship with your husband's brother?

- a. Co-operative
  - b. Limited up to conversation
  - c. Rivalry
21. How is your relationship with your natal home?  
(Specify)
22. Which things mostly make you worried in absence of your husband?
- a. Loneliness
  - b. Migrant's insecure
  - c. Self insecure
  - d. Not stated

D. About absentee:

1. Since when your husband started to migrate?
2. When did he last visit home?
3. Generally, in what interval he visits home?
4. How long he stays at home?
5. At that time, does he help you in doing household and other works?  
Yes                      No
6. If yes, then up to what extent
  - a. Full-time
  - b. Frequently
  - c. Occasionally
7. If no, then what he does? (Specify)

E. Respondent and decision making:

1. Who decides for day to day household expenditure?
  - a. Yourself
  - b. Absentee
  - c. Other family member
  - d. By all
2. Who decides major expenditure i. e., to bury cattle, land, repay loans etc.?  
  - a. Yourself
  - b. Absentee
  - c. Other family member
  - d. By all
3. Who takes the decision regarding farming?
  - a. Yourself
  - b. Absentee
  - c. Other family member
  - d. By all
4. Who decides on the following issues?  
 i Borrow credit from market or shops
  - a. Yourself
  - b. Absentee
  - c. Other family member
  - d. By all

ii. Borrow loan of credit from neighbors

- a. Yourself
- b. Absentee
- c. Other family member
- d. By all

5. In taking any decisions by migrant or by other family members, do they involve you?

Yes

No

F. Education status:

1. How many of your children are studying at school?

a. Son

b. Daughter

2. Did you feel any trouble in upbringing your children, in absence of migrant?

Yes

No

3. If yes, then why (Specify)?

4. Did any of your children leave the school previously or in recent?

Yes

No

5. If yes, then why?

a. To work at home

b. Economic reason

c. Unsuccessful in study

6. Did he/she ask you to leave the school?

Yes

No.

7. Do your children (mainly boys) obey your orders?

Yes

No.

8. If not, then why? (Specify)

9. Do your elder children wish to migrate?

10. Per day, average how many hour, your daughter spend on different household activities? Mainly!

Works

Hour spent

11. In a year, average how many days, your children missed their school? (In days):

G. What do you want, that migrant most:

a. Stay at home

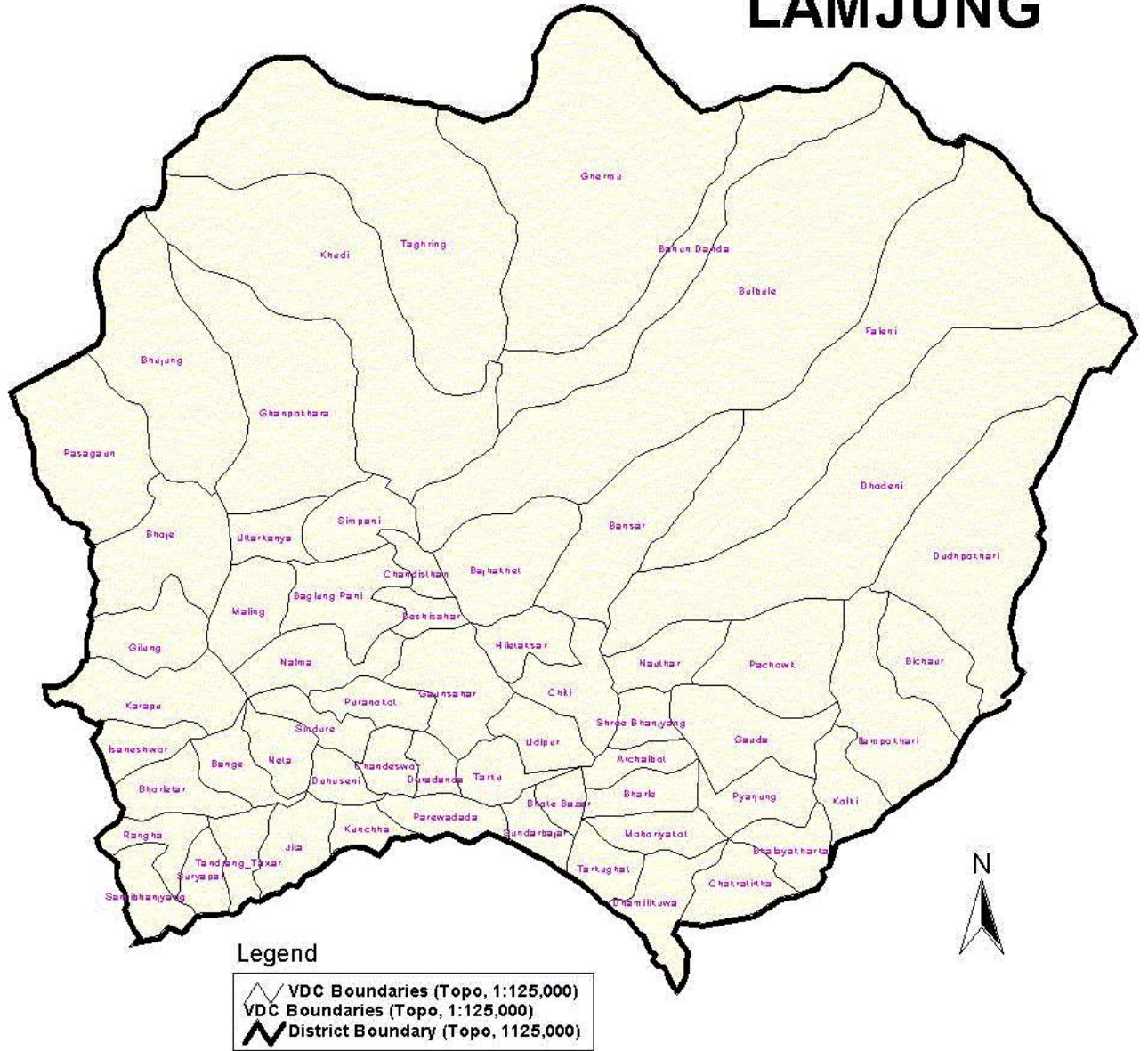
b. Continue to migrate

I. Have you anything else to say about your hardship, burden caused by husband's absence? (Specify)

Annex -1



# LAMJUNG



## Annex – 3

**Out-migration of population from Nepal (outside the country) (Based on population absent abroad).**

Year	Total Population*	Population Absent	Percent	Male	Percent	Female	Percent
1911	5638748	NA		NA		NA	
1920	5573788	NA		NA		NA	
1930	5532564	NA		NA		NA	
1942	6283649	87722**	1.4	NA		NA	
1952/54	8473478	198120	2.34	173619	87.6	24501	12.4
1961	9741466	328470	3.37	NA		NA	
1971	NA	NA		NA		NA	
1981	15425816	402977	2.61	328448	81.5	74529	18.5
1991	19149387	658290	3.44	548002	83.2	118288	16.8
2001	23499115	762181	3.24	679489	89.2	82712	10.8

Source: CBS Census 2003 Volume II Table 14.16 (Population Census of Nepal

1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 & 2001)

NA: not available

\* : including absent population

## Annex – 4

### Internal migration by duration of stay for ecological zones, Nepal, 2001.

Ecological Zones	Duration of Stay				
	<1 Year	1-5 Years	6-10 Years	>10 Years	Total
<b>Both sexes</b>					
Mountain	7.7	33.4	21.6	37.3	47,587
Hill	6.5	34.1	24.2	35.3	1,095,210
Tarai	3.8	24.7	21.9	49.7	1,786,266
Nepal	4.9	28.3	22.7	44.1	2,929,063
<b>Males</b>					
Mountain	5.3	29.0	21.3	44.4	31,420
Hill	5.5	31.1	24.1	39.3	609,116
Tarai	3.5	31.1	24.1	39.3	609,116
Nepal	4.3	27.6	23.4	44.7	1,598,719
<b>Females</b>					
Mountain	12.3	42.1	22.1	23.5	16,167
Hill	7.8	37.7	24.3	30.2	486,094
Tarai	4.1	24.0	20.5	51.4	828,083
Nepal	5.5	29.2	21.9	43.3	1,330,344

Source: CBS, 2002, (CBS Census 2003, Vol II, table 15.16)