

TEJGANGA DARPAN

A Multidisciplinary Peer Reviewed Journal

ISSN: 2717-4883

DOI Indexed in NepJol



Tejganga Multiple Campus

Kavrepalanchok, Panauti Nepal

URL: www.tejganga.edu.np

Internal Migration, Demographic Transition, and Socio-Educational Selectivity in Nepal
Tilak Prasad Sharma

Assistant professor, Geography and Population Education
Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

tilak20013@gmail.com

Received: 22 December 2025; Revised & Accepted: 20 January 2026; Publication: 1 March 2026

Copyright: Sharma (2026)



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial 4.0 International License.

Abstract

The internal migration is transformed into a resettlement-based policy initiative backed by the State into a huge socio-economic process that has great effects on the federal planning and on the development of the regions in Nepal. The paper examines secondary data on the National Population and Housing Census (1981-2021) to identify long-term patterns in how population redistribution, migration motives, and demographic change within Nepal have changed across ecological zones in the country. The results of the analysis based on such indicators as the rate of population growth, the ratio of the efficiency of migration, and the gender-disaggregated factors of the latter can illustrate an intensive demographic transition towards the Tarai region, where 53.6 percent of the total population in the country is now concentrated, and the Mountain region has experienced the first negative growth rate in 2021. Kathmandu Valley has become a key destination for migration, with a net migration rate of 10.5 percent. Other findings of the study include the feminization of internal migration, a decline in agriculture-based mobility, and an increase in education-based and economy-

based migration. Such tendencies suggest a change in the rural subsistence-based movement to urban-aspirational mobility, which entails significant implications for gender-sensitive urban planning and balanced regional development in Nepal.

Keywords: *Demographic transition, feminization of migration, internal migration, population distribution.*

Introduction

These characteristics are important to understand when setting policies and distributing resources, as the country experiences a dramatic demographic transformation due to internal and external mobility (Khatiwada, 2023). Internal migration, defined as movement within the country across administrative units, has become a major demographic phenomenon that shapes Nepal's modern social and economic environment (Gurung, 2012). The research contrasts with the wider migration literature by focusing on the specific connections between internal movement patterns, the skills of individuals who move in Nepal, and educational achievement, as well as on social inclusion. The importance of studying such socio-educational dimensions lies in their far-reaching consequences for understanding human capital distribution, regional development differences, and, more generally, the progress of national development (Bohra & Massey, 2009).

In Nepal, this internal mobility may be associated with seeking improved opportunities, such as access to a better educational system, healthcare, and more developed government and transportation systems, which are often centralized in cities (KC, 2020). The accumulation of resources and opportunities in certain geographic regions forms strong incentive systems that encourage people to migrate, specifically, rural to urban migration and hills and mountains to the Terai. It is also the socio-educational nature of these internal migrants that plays a central role in understanding the developmental impact of both the source and receiving regions (Acharya & León-Gonzalez, 2018). Migration selectivity theory proposes that the migrants are not just casual members of their home communities and instead are persons with unique qualities that predispose them to mobility (Lee, 1966). This preferential treatment in the Nepalese setting usually comes in the form of educational credentials, occupational skills, age distribution, and socioeconomic position, where it has the effect of creating the brain drain effect in home communities and at the same time leading to the accumulation of human capital in destination regions (Shrestha, 2017).

Moreover, horizontal and vertical migration have significantly altered the spatial distribution of the Nepali population, and inter-district migration has increased markedly over the past decades

(Sugiyarto, 2014). According to census statistics, internal migration flows have grown rapidly since the 1990s, driven by political shifts, infrastructure development, and changing economic prospects across the country (NSO, 2024). This is largely driven by differences in pull and push factors across regions, including economic opportunities, lifestyle, and employment (KC, 2020). Factors pushing people out of their home countries include low agricultural output, land fragmentation, natural disasters, and armed strife during the civil war era in Nepal (Kapri & Ghimire, 2020). On the other hand, educational facilities, employment in the formal sector, urban amenities, and better infrastructure are pull factors that attract migrants to rapidly growing urban centers, such as Kathmandu, Pokhara, and cities in the Terai belt (Rimal et al., 2020).

These forces tend to overlap with personal desires to have an upward mobility, driving people in the economically stagnant rural regions towards the cities where they can gain higher salaries and quality of life (Camarero & Oliva, 2019). The internal migration decision is a measured plan of socioeconomic development, whereby individuals consider the expenses of moving against the expected returns in terms of income, children getting an opportunity to attend school, and getting access to modern living (Thieme & Wyss, 2005).

The social networks, family structure, and channels of information that are available to the migrants, information on the opportunities in their potential destinations, affect this calculation (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, internal migrants are disproportionately represented by younger and better educated people who have occupations on salaries, especially between districts (Maystadt et al., 2014). There are the age-selective patterns of migration, whereby typically between 15-40 years constitute the majority of internal migrants, as they are more responsive to economic factors and can adjust to new conditions (Khatiwada, 2023).

The trend represents a conscious acquisition of better socio-economic opportunities by people who may result in better levels of literacy and decreased dependency on agricultural production among non-family-reason internal migrants (Manandhar, 2024). This fact makes the educational profile of migrants very significant in terms of the implications on both the sending and receiving regions, since departing the country can lose potential local leaders, entrepreneurs, and skilled workers, leaving the areas of origin without them and introducing potential competition in the labor market of the destination countries (KC, 2020).

The current research will focus on investigating the socio-educational features of internal migrants in Nepal in a systematic way based on the comprehensive study of the demographic data and migration trends. By exploring the variables of levels of educational attainment, literacy levels,

occupational groups, age groups, as well as causes of migration, this study aims to offer empirical evidence to the questions of who migrates within a country and why.

The results will serve to add theoretical knowledge of migration selectivity in the context of developing countries and practical knowledge to policymakers interested in the balanced development of regions, retention of human capital, and proper resource distribution. By considering the fact that Nepal has been in the process of urbanization stages and with the growing significance of internal migration in the reconstitution of the country's demographic and socioeconomic establishment, this inquiry covers a vital data void in the field of migration research and development planning.

Research Method

Due to the objectives of the research, the adopted research design is a descriptive and analytical research, relying solely on secondary data to investigate long-term trends in the population growth, internal migration and socio-demographic characteristics of migrants in Nepal. The design is suitable for determining the temporal and spatial patterns of ecological zones and provinces over a series of census periods.

This research relies on secondary data, which is based on the National Population and Housing Census (NPHC) of Nepal of 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011, and 2021. Authoritative census data made by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and its successor, the National Statistics Office (NSO), are the main data sources. These government census reports give nationally representative and methodologically consistent information on population growth, internal migration, sex composition and education characteristics over census periods.

The National Population and Housing Census 2021 and the Population Census data are the basis of the analysis in terms of empirical evidence. The information is sourced from official government sites, meaning that all data are reliable, transparent, and comparable over time.

The research examines the population and internal (lifetime) migration patterns in the ecological zones (Mountain, Hill, and Tarai) and the provinces in Nepal based on data availability. Internal migration can be determined based on census guidelines as the movement across administrative or ecological lines in Nepal. Migrants are also disaggregated according to sex, levels of education and motives of migration.

Key census-based indicators are analyzed including population share, intercensal growth rate, population density by ecological zone, in-, out-, and net-migration rates, migration turnover rate

and migration effectiveness ratio by ecological zone and province, sex-specific reasons of migration, including economic, agricultural, educational, marriage, dependency, and other reasons as well as educational levels of migrants disaggregated by sex.

Processing and analysis of data

To enable comparing the data of various census years, they were harmonized. The trends and differentials were analyzed using descriptive statistics like percentages, ratios, and rates. The comparison will be made with census years to show changes in the migration patterns, gender composition and the selectiveness of migrants in terms of education.

Ethical issues and restrictions

Since the research is based on the publicly available anonymized secondary data, no ethical approval was necessary. Nevertheless, the drawbacks consist of the lack of values for some years and categories, and variation in census definitions and underreporting of the reasons for migration in previous censuses. Such constraints are recognized as an interpretation of results.

Results and Discussion

Collected data have been analyzed based on demographic components in connection to cross cutting issues on internal migration and demographic transition of Nepal.

Population growth and distribution

The census reports released between 1981 and 2021 indicate that there has been a major demographic change in the three main ecological areas in Nepal, with a gradual movement from the highland to the lowland. The Tarai region has become the demographic powerhouse in the country, as its population share of the total population has risen from 43.6 percent in 1981 to 53.6 percent in 2021.

Additional indication of this growth is the dramatic increase in population density that shot up to 460 persons per sq. km as opposed to 193 during the forty years. Although the growth rate of the Tarai has slowed in the recent past to 1.54 percent, it is the only area that has been recording a strong positive trend as opposed to the rest of the zones. On the contrary, the share of the population in the Mountain and Hill regions has been steadily lost. The share in the Hill region declined to 40.3 percent in contrast to 47.7 percent, while the Mountain region recorded the lowest share of 6.1 percent. The most striking of these, however, is that the 2021 census shows an important

demographic turning point in the Mountain zone, which was the first to show a negative growth rate (-0.05) in this series.

Although in the Hills and Mountains densities have risen slightly or stagnated, what is wider and less widely scattered than the distance between the sparsely populated highlands and the already densely populated Tarai is to emphasize the continuing problem of the internal migration, urbanization, and concentration of resources in the southern plains.

Table 1

Population Growth and Distribution by Ecological Zone, 1981–2021 Censuses

Area	Population Indicators	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021
Mountain	Population (%)	8.7	7.8	7.3	6.7	6.1
	Growth rate (%)	1.4	1.02	1.57	0.54	-0.05
	Density (per sq km.)	25	28	33	34	34
Hill	Population (%)	47.7	45.5	44.3	43.0	40.3
	Growth rate (%)	1.7	1.6	1.97	1.06	0.3
	Density (per sq km.)	117	137	167	186	192
Tarai	Population (%)	43.6	46.7	48.4	50.3	53.6
	Growth rate (%)	4.1	2.8	2.62	1.72	1.5
	Density (per sq km.)	193	254	330	392	460

Source: NSO,2024

Internal migration indicators, 2021

The statistics of the 2021 National Population and Housing Census (NPHC) reveal an extremely geographically uneven distribution of internal migration processes in Nepal, which is mainly based on the superiority of the Kathmandu Valley. Though the wider Hill and Mountain areas have been experiencing a high rate of depopulation, Kathmandu Valley is the main migrant attraction in the country, with the highest In-Migration Rate of 12.5, with a Net-Migration Rate of 10.5. This is reflected in its Migration Effectiveness Ratio of 72.2, which shows that out of 100 migrants in and out of the Valley, the vast majority of them are permanent residents of the Valley. But the Mountain area and the Hills beyond the Valley are experiencing extreme population losses, both of which are negative Net-Migration Rates, the first- -6.4 and the second -4.9- of which the effective ratios are very negative, illustrating an exodus of people leaving the areas.

At the provincial level, the statistics affirm that the major part of Nepal is nowadays in an out-migration state. It is only that Bagmati Province or Kathmandu Valley is experiencing massive gains, whereas other provinces such as Madhesh (-57.7) and Karnali.

(-58.2) are losing the vast majority of their population to other areas. The only other province with a positive net-migration rate (0.4) is the Lumbini Province, but at a significantly smaller scale than the capital. In general, the numbers create an image of a nation in which the economic and social resources are clustered in the urban Centre and the southern region, and as a result of these, the lowland and high-altitude areas are hollowed out.

Table 2

Internal Migration Indicators by Ecological Zone and Province, Nepal, 2021

Area / Province	In-Migration Rate (IMr)	Out-Migration Rate (OMr)	Net-Migration Rate (NMr)	Migration Turnover Rate (MTr)	Migration Effectiveness Ratio (MEr)
Ecological Zone					
Mountain	1.2	7.6	-6.4	8.8	-72.2
Hill – outside KTM valley	1.4	6.3	-4.9	7.7	-63.5
Hill – KTM valley	12.5	2.0	10.5	14.5	72.2
Tarai	2.7	1.2	1.5	3.8	39.5
Province					
Koshi	0.8	2.3	-0.4	3.1	-45.7
Madhesh	0.4	1.5	-1.1	1.9	-57.7
Bagmati – outside KTM valley	3.3	6.0	-2.7	9.3	-29.4
Bagmati – KTM valley	12.5	2.0	10.5	14.5	72.2
Gandaki	2.3	4.3	-2.0	6.6	-30.6
Lumbini	1.8	1.4	0.4	3.2	12.5
Karnali	0.9	3.5	-2.6	4.4	-58.2
Sudurpashchim	0.6	1.4	-0.7	2.0	-36.2

Source: NSO,2024

Notes: *IMr = In-Migration Rate (%)*, *OMr = Out-Migration Rate (%)*, *NMr = Net-Migration Rate (%)*, *MTr = Migration Turnover Rate (%)*, *MEr = Migration Effectiveness Ratio (%)*

Sex ratio of internal migrants

Nepal is experiencing a significant demographic transformation, driven by large-scale migration to the southern regions and the rising complexity of internal population shift. Tarai population quota increased to more than 53% between 1981 and 2021, and the Mountain region reached a critical point of negative growth (-0.05%). The reason behind this redistribution is the high rate of migration flows, where the Kathmandu Valley is the main national magnet, with the net-migration rate of 10.5,

and the effectiveness ratio of 72.2, and rural hills and mountains experience serious problems of depopulation.

Interestingly, the gender composition of such migrants has reversed, with the sex ratio of out-migrants declining to 81.5 in 2021, which is very much an indication of the fact that internal migration has become female-dominated. This implies that men often have opportunities outside the country, whereas women are becoming the main agents of internal urbanization and changes in the population of the regions.

Table 3

Sex Ratio of Internal Migrants by Ecological Zone, 1981–2021

Year	Mountain		Hill		Tarai	
	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants
1981	72.2	107.1	98.7	108.2	111.5	95.3
1991	53.9	88.1	86.9	95.6	85.5	105.3
2001	55.3	92.5	98.1	94.4	96.7	107.2
2011	42.3	88.4	94.7	78.6	81.7	100.4
2021	49.9	85.2	88.0	77.6	80.1	91.5

Source: CBS 1987, (1995), NSO, 2024

The shifting drivers of Nepali migration

According to the 2021 Census, a deep-seated change in the incentives of the internal migration in Nepal has occurred, a transition to an aspiration and dependency-oriented society, as opposed to a subsistence-based economy. The most dramatic tendency is the breakdown of agriculture-based migration that dropped since 1981 (36.3% of men and 19.4% of women) to an insignificant under 2.5% of both sexes in 2021. In its place, economic and educational activities have increased; economic migration of men has escalated to 36.6%, with education becoming a leading cause of close to 19 percent of men and 11 percent of women, which is ten times more than in 1981. Migration of gender roles is still different, though changing.

The primary reason is marriage, which has been at its unshaken core, and this is 40.3 percent, which has not changed significantly since 2001. The number of both sexes has, however, seen a significant increase in Dependency as a reason, which now constitutes more than a quarter of all migrants. This implies a trailing migration pattern where families are migrating to urban centers in large numbers to join primary earners. In general, the data reflect the image of the state shifting to a service-based and city-centered lifestyle and education and family reunification have become the

core of the Nepali migration.

Table 4

Reasons for Migration by Sex, 1981–2021 Censuses

Reason for Migration	1981		2001		2011		2021	
	Male (%)	Female (%)						
Economic migration	22.8	12.1	29.7	6.5	30.1	6.9	36.6	13.1
Agriculture	36.3	19.4	22.8	14.1	19.6	11.4	2.3	1.6
Education	4.0	1.6	14.7	6.7	18.9	9.3	18.9	10.9
Marriage	1.0	30.3	0.0	42.1	0.9	40.4	0.9	40.3
Dependency / Dependent	-	-	-	-	19.0	21.4	28.2	24.4
Conflict	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	-	-
Returnee	-	-	-	-	4.4	-	4.4	2.2
Natural disaster	-	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.6	0.4
Others	-	-	32.7	30.6	7.8	3.8	7.8	6.8
Not reported	36.0	36.6	-	-	-	6.3	36.6	-

Source: CBS,1987, 1991,2003, 2014 NSO, 2024

The brain drain and gender gap in migrant education

The educational attainment of Nepal internal migrants between 1981 and 2021 is illustrative of how the male migrant population has been largely upskilled and that there has been a steady and alarming gender gap. In males, the proportion of migrants who were not schooled was reduced by half (25.4 to 12.2), and the proportion with Higher Education (Bachelor+) increased more than threefold to 12.8%. This implies that it seems that internal migration to the urban centers among men is being increasingly guided by the concept of brain gain, as an increasing number of educated men migrate to take up specific jobs or pursue higher education. However, the statistics of female migrants are a complicated paradox. Although female enrollment in secondary education increased, the number of females who have not had any schooling increased to 34.9 percent in 2021 (contrary to 23.9 percent in 1981).

Such an odd spike is probably explained by the feminization of migration observed in the preceding tables; as a larger number of women in the rural, underserved regions of the country move in to get married or as dependents, they are carrying the educational drawback of their remote region

with them. In general, although the migrant pool is more educated than it was several decades ago, the 12.8% difference between male and female migrants in higher education supports the fact that women continue to migrate mainly due to social reasons (marriage/dependency) and not because of high-skilled economic opportunities.

Table 5*Educational Level of Migrants by Sex, 1981–2021 Censuses*

Educational Level	1981		1991		2001		2011		2021	
	Male (%)	Female (%)								
No schooling	25.4	23.9	20.1	26.5	12.1	14.7	-	-	12.2	34.9
Primary (1–5)	34.0	45.3	22.6	29.9	21.6	26.2	22.4	23.9	19.5	14.2
Secondary (6+)	36.8	29.3	47.5	39.2	53.8	55.1	19.5	59.1	53.2	41.8
Higher (Bachelor+)	3.8	1.5	6.8	1.4	9.0	3.7	53.2	6.1	12.8	5.9
Other	-	-	-	-	0.5	0.2	12.8	3.8	2.3	3.2

Source: CBS,1987, 1991,2003, 2014 NSO, 2024

Discussion

The national population of Nepal experienced a seismic change in the past four decades, as supported by the consecutive outcomes of the National Population and Housing Census between 1981 and 2021 (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 1987, 1995, 2003, 2014; National Statistics Office [NSO], 2022). The information presented in the analysis of population distribution, rates of migration, gender ratio, and socio-economic drivers paints a portrait of a country in transition, shifting on the one hand to a rural, high-altitude, agrarian society, and, on the other hand, to a lowland, urbanized, and service-oriented economy.

Imbalance in the region and the shift southwards

The strongest pattern that was noted is that of a steady change in population as the Mountain and Hill areas lose residents to the Tarai. In 1981, the population of the Tarai was 43.6 percent; it is now over 53.6 percent (as of 2021). It is a wider trend in the world as people migrate towards plains and coastal regions to find improved infrastructure and economic opportunities. The historically triggered

processes in Nepal were the elimination of malaria in the mid-20th century and the resettlement programs launched by the state (Rajkarnikar,2020).

Nevertheless, nowadays, data indicate that this movement has entered a critical phase of depopulation of the region. In 2021, the Mountain region experienced a negative growth rate (-0.05), which in literature is also referred to as the hollowing out of rural highlands. Although the population in the Hill region remains at 40.3, the Kathmandu Valley is skewed with this value. The Valley has the highest Net-Migration Rate (10.5) and Migration Effectiveness Ratio (72.2), suggesting that it is the central demographic void in the country, attracting resources and individuals within the surrounding "outside-valley" hill districts, which also experience high out-migration (NMR of -4.9).

This imbalance in populations generates a major policy problem because, as the people are concentrated in the Tarai and Kathmandu, the urban land is stretched, and the desolate highlands suffer labor shortages and local economies are crashing (Tamang et al., 2021).

The feminization of inter-country migration

Conventionally, migration in South Asia used to be seen from a male perspective, where men migrated to work, and women migrated to marry. Although Table 4 proves that marriage is still the main cause of female migration (40.3% in 2021), the significant drop in the Sex Ratio of out-migrants between 107.3 in 1981 and 81.5 in 2021 is an indication that the internal migration is now being feminized.

This tendency could be viewed from two perspectives. First, with millions of men leaving their countries to GCC and Malaysia, women are getting more and more the face of domestic mobility, to urban areas to school, to improved health, or to join relatives in more convenient locations (Hossain, 2023). Second, the change in social agency is manifested in the increasing proportion of women migrating to obtain education (1.6% in 1981, and 10.9% in 2021). Nevertheless, there is still a difference: female migrants continue to be more likely to become dependents than males (24.4% vs 28.2%), indicating that, despite being more mobile, women have migration to be associated with the household strategy of migration, and not independent labor market participation (Zhang et al., 2019).

Forming the land to the vision

The agricultural migration was, perhaps, the most notable to collapse, as in 1981, it constituted more than 36 percent of the overall male migration; in 2021, the figure had decreased to zero percent. This

is a reflection of Chhetri et al. (2020), who believe that the subsistence character of Nepali agriculture has been made economically unsustainable to the young generation, forcing them to adopt the service and wage-labor industries.

Alongside the shrinkage in the agricultural sector is the emergence of education as a major force. The proportion of male migrants possessing Higher Education increased three times from 1981 to 2021. This migration is education-led, which is a two-edged sword. Although it increases the human capital of cities such as Kathmandu, it creates a brain drain impact on the rural regions and workforce that is either aging or less educated. Surprisingly, the ratio of women having no schooling (34.9% in 2021) has also been a high proportion of the female migrants, indicating that as highly educated women migrate to seek opportunities, a significant portion of the female migrant population is made up of rural women migrating to Tarai or urban areas in need of the basic skills to get a high-value job, which may leave them more vulnerable in the urban environment (Timsina et al., 2020).

The census information between 1981 and 2021 records a country that is undergoing a deep geographic and social restructuring. Nepal is no longer a place where individuals move to seek land to cultivate, but a place where individuals move to seek schools and employment. Tarai has become the center of gravity in the demographics, and women have been transformed into the most mobile segment of the domestic population. Nevertheless, the fact that the Kathmandu Valley has the highest concentration of growth and the mountains have the negative one indicates that there is an immediate need to decentralize and implement regional development policies beyond the capital.

Conclusion

Migration trends have moved conclusively away in the last 40 years towards urban-moved mobility and away from rural subsistence-driven movement that has fundamentally transformed the population structure of the country. The greatest consequence of this change is the increasing imbalance of the region, as now over half of the national population is concentrated in the Tarai, and the Mountain region continues to experience depopulation and hollowing of settlement. Kathmandu Valley also remains a hyper-centric migration center, attracting human resources to the Kathmandu Valley.

The discussion also shows the strong feminization of internal migration as indicated by the falling sex ratio in migration and almost a disappearance of agriculture-led migration, as it is substituted by education and service-driven migration. These tendencies highlight the necessity of the reorientation of federal policies, especially of the infrastructure planning, service delivery, and

labor market policies. To reduce ecological degradation and spatial inequality, gendered urbanization and specific projects in smart villages in the mountain territories are necessary.

However, its strong point is that the study has weaknesses, as it depends on census data that cannot adequately explain circular and seasonal migration. Future studies are advised to incorporate longitudinal household surveys to determine the importance of remittances and the new climate migration nexus. One of the key aspects of control over this demographic transition is to ensure the balanced development of the region and the economic stability of Nepal in the long term.

References

- Acharya, C. P., & Leon-Gonzalez, R. (2019). The quest for quality education: international remittances and rural-urban migration in Nepal. *Migration and Development*, 8(2), 119-154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21632324.2018.14298>
- Bohra, P., & Massey, D. S. (2009). Processes of internal and international migration from Chitwan, Nepal. *International Migration Review*, 43(3), 621-651.
- Camarero, L., & Oliva, J. (2019). Thinking in rural gap: mobility and social inequalities. *Palgrave Communications*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-019-0306-x>
- Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). (1987). *Population monograph of Nepal*. Government of Nepal.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. (2014). *Population monograph of Nepal (Vol. 1)*. Government of Nepal.
- Chhetri, R. K., Kc, P., & Dhakal, S. C. (2020). Remittance and its impact on the Nepalese economy. *Acta scientific agriculture*, 4(3), 1-5.
- Gurung, Y. B. (2012). Migration from rural Nepal: A social exclusion framework. *HIMALAYA, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 31(1), 12.
- Hossain, J. (2023). Leaving for living? Factors and dynamics behind Bangladeshi female migration to the Gulf states. *South Asian Diaspora*, 15(1), 61-79.
- Kapri, K., & Ghimire, S. (2020). Migration, remittance, and agricultural productivity: Evidence from the Nepal Living Standard Survey. *World Development Perspectives*, 19, 100198.
- KC, S. (2020). Internal migration in Nepal. In *Internal Migration in the Countries of Asia: A Cross-National Comparison* (pp. 249-267). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Khatriwada, P. P. (2023). International migration in Nepal: Rates, drivers and impacts. *Journal of APF Command and Staff College*, 6(01), 35-52.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57.

- Manandhar, B. (2024). Determination of Socio-Economic Characteristics of Non-Family-Reason Internal Migration in Nepal. *Recent Research Advances in Arts and Social Studies*, 8, 53-65.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and development review*, 431-466.
- Maystadt, J. F., Calderone, M., & You, L. (2014). Local warming and violent conflict in North and South Sudan. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 15(3), 649-671.
- National Statistics Office. (2022). *National population and housing census 2021: National report*. Government of Nepal. <https://nso.gov.np>
- Rajkarnikar, P. J. (2020). Male migration and women's decision-making in Nepal. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 18(4), 959-982.
- Rimal, B., Sloan, S., Keshtkar, H., Sharma, R., Rijal, S., & Shrestha, U. B. (2020). Patterns of historical and future urban expansion in Nepal. *Remote Sensing*, 12(4), 628.
- Shrestha, M. (2017). Push and pull: A study of international migration from Nepal. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (7965).
- Sugiyarto, G. (2014). Internal and international migration in Southeast Asia. In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Economics* (pp. 270-299). Routledge.
- Tamang, S., Paudel, K. P., & Shrestha, K. K. (2014). Feminization of agriculture and its implications for food security in rural Nepal. *Journal of Forest and Livelihood*, 12(1), 13-13. <https://nepjol.info/index.php/JFL/article/view/65678>
- Thieme, S., & Wyss, S. (2005). Migration patterns and remittance transfer in Nepal: A case study of Sainik Basti in western Nepal. *International Migration*, 43(5), 59-98.
- Timsina, N. P., Shrestha, A., Poudel, D. P., & Upadhyaya, R. (2020). Trend of urban growth in Nepal with a focus on Kathmandu Valley: A review of processes and drivers of change.
- Zhang, W., Walker, D., Hernandez, C. C., Elias, M., Meinzen-Dick, R., & Nkonya, E. (2019). *Gendered opportunities for improving soil health: A conceptual framework to help set the research agenda* (Vol. 1822). Intl Food Policy Res Inst.