

Support from Absent Migrants after Earthquake 2015 in Gorkha, Nepal

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| journal or publication title | Annual Journal of the Asian Cultures Research Institute |
| number | 51 |
| page range | 250(187)-242(195) |
| year | 2017-02-28 |
| URL | http://id.nii.ac.jp/1060/00008473/ |



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要 旨

海外への出稼ぎ者は、ネパール・ゴルカ地域で起きた震災後1年間の復興過程で以下のような関わりをもつ傾向が見える。1) 発災後、インターネットを中心に留守家族と情報交換し早めの帰省を心がけた。2) 立場によるが、募金や在留先NGOとの連携を通して出身集落への支援を行ったり、政府支援の弱さ・遅さを補う行動が散発的にみられた。3) 出稼ぎ層は年齢的に若く、SNSによる情報交換やNGOによるコミュニティ支援への親和性が比較的高い。

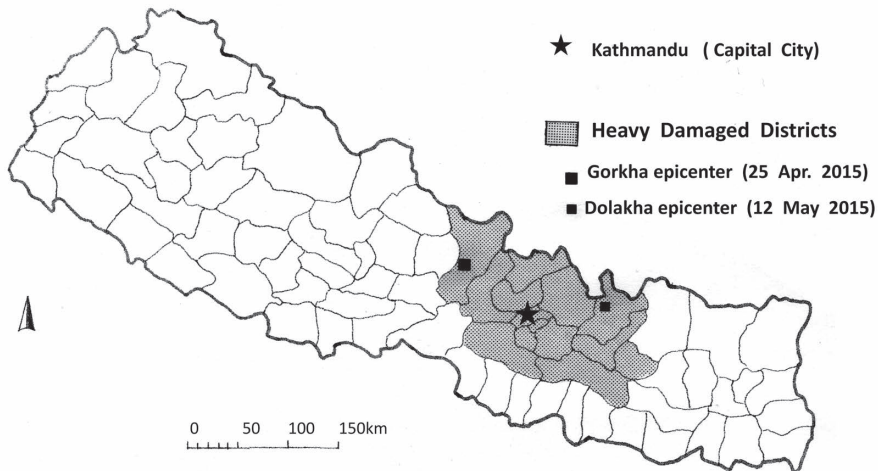
1. Point of View

Nepal is one of the source countries of out-migration for labor in the world, after late 1980's. During the fiscal year of 2013/14, 538,000 Nepalese worker departed to abroad, and remittance from other countries value to 543.3 billion Nepalese Rupees, equal with 28.2% of National GDP value. According to the National Population Census of Nepal in 2011, 7.2% of total population has been absent from their families in whole Nepal. The ratio in 2001 Census was only 3.29%. In such out-bound region, huge national disaster occurred in 2015. Table 1 placed at the end of this paper shows District-wise data of out-migration to labor from Nepal in 2011 according to the Population Census 2011.

In this paper, social effects by the family network of global scale (transnational family) for the recovering process in Nepal will be discussed, according to the field research in August 2015, in February 2016 and also in August-September 2016.

2. Nepal Earthquake 2015

About noon of Saturday, 25 April, 2015, severe earthquake of M7.9 occurred. The center place located in the southwestern part of Gorkha District, about 100km west from Kathmandu, the capital city of the country. Then the biggest aftershock of M7.3 struck again on 12 May in Dolakha district, about 90km east from Kathmandu. Due to that two major quakes and many small aftershocks, 8,790 people died, 22,300 were injured and 510,000 houses were completely destroyed and 280,000 houses were partly broken all over Nepal. Mention to administrative region of Nepal, damage is concentrated into 14 Districts which government of Nepal designated "Heavy Damaged Districts", those are Okhaldhunga, Sindhuli, Ramechhap, Dolakha, Sindhupalchok, Kavrepalanchowk, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Kathmandu, Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhadin, Makuwanpur and Gorkha District. Geographically those districts locates in the central part of ecologically Himalayan and Hill Zone (see Map 1).



Map 1 : Nepal Earthquake 2015

3. Field Research and its Findings

1) Research outline

The author visit Gorkha District after the earthquake in August 2015 at first, and in February 2016. From 31 August to 3 September 2016, the author visited Pritbhinayan Nagarparika, the capital city of the District on the research supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16H05692, to monitor life strategy of residents.

In this note, changing basic situation of local residents are reported according to the interview on the field research in Aug-Sep 2016. Informants are total seven families living in the suburb area of the capital town. Five families (named A/B/C/D/E) are living in Ahare area (5 km from the city center), and two families (F/G) are living in Dhungagadhe area (8 km remote).

2) Situation in August 2015

In August 2015, about 100 days after the first quake to Gorkha, many people are always nervous to aftershock quakes still frequently. In Kathmandu, life recovered peaceful without tourism sector. As for international tourism, very few travelers visit Nepal at that time.

In Gorkha, all seven families were damaged in their residence or their private buildings. Family A and B in Ahare and family G in Dhungagadhe were living in temporary huts build by tin roof delivered to all damaged residents, woods and bricks collected by themselves (some from broken old houses) and blue-sheet of plastic bought in bazar, because their traditional brick houses were severely destroyed or main structure were broken by the quakes. But houses of family C, D and E in Ahare were not very damaged because their houses were built also with cements. Family C and D built their houses in recent 10-15 years invested remittance from their son abroad.

Secondly, the water slot was changed by the effect of quakes, and all families complained they could not expect well rice production in 2015 because some rice field could not planted due to lack of irrigation water ever managed. In Dhungagadhe destroyed local drinking water base (for 5 families of the limited small area) was the most severe problems to be solved, but not easy because they don't have their own capacity for any



Photo 1 : Damaged house (back) and temporary hut (near) in Ahare. (August 2015)



Photo 2 : Light Damaged house (left), animal shed (central: back of a man) and temporary hut (right) in Dhungagadhe (Feb. 2016)

civil machine nor fund to call external technicians. Public help of civil engineering is important for industrial recovering, but not well supported by the local administration in that time.

As for social infrastructure, situation was same. In Ahare, secondary school (public) is not severely broken but some classroom was danger for use. In Dhungagadhe, most of lower secondary school (public) buildings were broken (photo 4), and schoolyard is narrow so school classroom built by International NGO and Chinese Aid Fund with tin-roof, woods and bamboo timber, was moved on the empty dry farm field temporary (Photo 5).

Member of Family A is working at urban area of Chitwan District (Nepal), two sons of family C is working in United Arab Emirates and in Australia, and husband of family D is transportation worker in Iraq. They all agreed that communication mainly via computer (skype etc.) or mobile (viber etc.) became more frequently after the earthquake, and conversation solve mental tension both transnational family members. And all out-migrated members came back to Gorkha till November 2015, and they carried many information about earthquake or re-development process, foreign goods for disaster protection, or private funds for re-build their residence, industry and life. At that time, international flight for Nepal was few foreign



**Photo 3 : Inside the temporary hut of photo 2 in Dhungagadhe (August 2015)
Electric cable is linked, backside of the tin wall is kitchen.**



Photo 4 : Dhungagadhe Lower Secondary School 5 of all 7 classroom, teachers room buildings were broken. Only 3 rooms built by Japanese Aid in 1990's (left) are remained but need repairing for use. (August 2015)

travelers but Non-Residential Nepalese (NRN: Nepalese living abroad with foreign based life) visitors gave energy for re-development process from earthquake damage.

3) Situation in February 2016

10 months after the earthquake, I visit again to Gorkha. In that time, variety of recovering process was seen. As for school re-building, most of private schools were prepared to re-build or move to non-damaged buildings. Nepal government was still discussing about public school restructuring plan, effected by the decrease of student number especially in primary level, due to out-migration in young generation and developing private sector school education (discussed in Kobayashi (2015)), and re-building process of public school had been delayed. However, in some villages including Tapre VDC, neighboring with PritbhiNarayan Nagarparika, new school buildings were under construction. Tapre school was funded from South Korean NPO introduced by a transnational resident living 20 years in that country. That means private network of out-migrated citizen contributed to the mother village. He contacted with the NPO by introduction by another Korean NPO for foreign labors' welfare to that he had added for 10 years to service for Nepalese society in that country.

In private houses, some people started re-building process but others still remained. For example husband of family D, his wife and two children are living in the village, and his house was not damaged, sending money to purchase land in Kathmandu. He said that that was not for migration to the capital, but preparing 'safety-net' for village declining. He recognized that center of Gorkha (capital of District) will develop by in-migration from rural district-residents in young generation, and he want to invest that area in future.

4) Situation in August 2016

More than one year from the earthquake, delayed public-help process like school restructuring and distributing grant for every damaged household (250,000 Nepalese Rupees per family, government commitment in June 2015) was started. However, public-help in Nepal was poor and delaying, because of weak national finance and political struggle between political parties and regional conflict of anti-/pro India. Thus public-help delayed and poor contributed, then importance of private and community help was focused on this time. In that situation, transnational migrated members are the most strong supporter for rural village.



Photo 5 : Temporary Dhungagadhe Lower Secondary School built on farm-land. (August 2015)



Photo 6 : Building New Classrooms (left), remained classrooms (backward) and temporary classrooms (right) of Tapre Secondary School. Building cost was donated from South Korean foundation. (February 2016)

In Gorkha, some out-migrants members visited with his foreign friends to show his mother village situation after the earthquake. That may be a chance for networking rural with foreign region.

Dhungagadhe school moved again to the old site of convenient central place from temporary site. Light damaged classroom was repaired by Japanese support (JICA School re-building Program), other rooms were still temporary, but enough for declined student number. On the other hand, Tapre school new building was opened. The Korean foundation donate not only classroom but also well computer facilities. Teachers said, remaining problem is human resource of teacher who show blight future for their students. Irrigation system around the area also repaired, and rice field was green again.

Two sons of family C had married and wives and families are not living here. They had not decided to the future relation with Gorkha. The same situation, son of teacher, family F was seeking his future plan. He is learning at secondary school, and he said that with whom he will marry that he may decide his place of life – that means where his future wife and child live, that place will be his ‘home-place’. He said educational situation for small child it is right here, but if school declining trend proceed, and other village youth will out-migrate, another situation will come.

4. Discussion

Nepal is typical source country of out-migration for labor in the world, and now many Nepalese families have its member living abroad. In discussion, the main issue is social value of that network of such “transnational family” in such rural developing region.

In the field of rural development, valance of “self-help”, ”public-help” and ”community-help” is vary from various countries of societies. “Self-help” means recovering effort by every private families depending on their own funds or on the profitable services provided by the private sectors. “Public-help” means political and administrative supports provided by local administration or government. “Community-help” means local residents’ mutual support between neighbourhoods.

For example of Japan including damaged area of East Japan Earthquake 2011 where public-help is important, Hashimoto & Kawawaki (2015) shows that temporary housing policy provided by the local administration have a impact for peoples’ migration trend, as well as their economic and job situation (self-help factor) or social network (communication) of local residence (community-self factor).

In developing countries like Nepal, public sector is weaker than developed countries because of

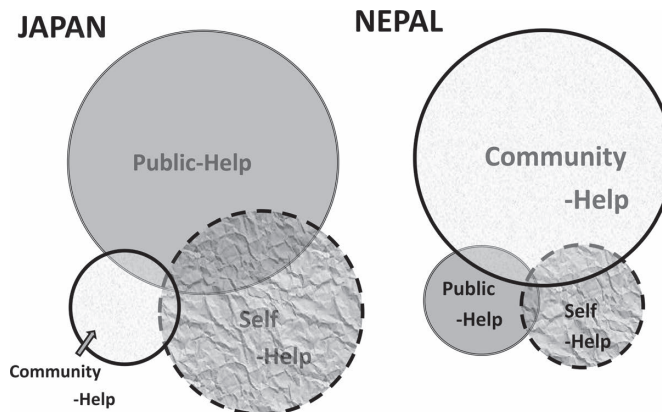


Fig. 1 : Contribution of Social Factor to Rural Development (Concepturl Scheme)

economic and technical weakness. Private sector or individual income is also poor. So development process depends on community-help well. In the social welfare field, Kudo et al (2012) said that in Nepal, “Community Based Rehabilitation” plays important parts.

Just after Earthquake, when Gorkha people lives outside broken residents, mutual communication and support (for example male support to female family, young support to elder family etc.) contribute well for peaceful life, many respondents said. In Nepalese language, “gaph” means chat, “has” means laugh. Nepalese people enjoy everyday life with “gaph and has” with village friends even if that very hard work is needed. In rural village, many farmers built their temporary “hut” (not so well as “residence”) at their garden or farm field, not empty zone rather remote from their local residence, so that kind of “community-help” functioned well.

On the other hand, from economic view, Gorkha District is on of heavy out-migrating districts in Nepal. Table 1 show that about one-third of household in Gorkha have any family member staying abroad from Nepal. Just like family C or D, enough remittance from young male (in general) generation had supported other family members left at their village, and built good strong residents with electric or computer facilities of modern types of kitchen, just like a showroom of new life style in rural village. The social characters of such out-migrated family member, I think, are as follows;

1. Young generations take important parts or position in developing countries like Nepal, than in developed countries especially like Japan, for social revolution.
2. Young generation is closed to new trends of global, technical and volunteer spirits.
3. Young generation have communication skill of today using English and SNS / Internetby.
4. Young generation still have traditional communication skill, human to human relation, also.

They said that after leaved Nepal, they recognized themselves as Nepalese strongly, and they seek to build up their life strategy as Nepalese with foreign experience. This time, they realized their foreign network, knowledge as their advantage for re-building their own village – someone brought their foreign friends to their village, someone gather funds for recover, and some introduce their knowledge for earthquake earned through their staying abroad.

However, out-migration is not full opened for whole rural residents. Initial cost for agent, educational background over campus level, such factors are difficult for lower income families or social group. That means contribution of transnational family to rural village may enlarge social fragmentation.

And another factor for expanding social gap is migration trend. In general young generation prefer urban lifestyle and rich educational environment from preschool education. If damage of residence or industrial, agricultural background is severe, disaster become beginning of huge out-migration flow of not only limited member but whole household members. Then, transnational members lead familywise out-migration not only to Kathmandu or domestic urban center but till foreign countries. As for Nepal earthquake, damage is most severe in eastern area like Sindhupalchouk or Dolakha couesd by the second quake on 12 May 2015 than in Gorkha. What kind of life strategy they create and realize, where the stage of future life they choose especially after marriage and educating their child? Damage situation in Gorkha and in Eastern area is different, then the social trend is same or not? The trend is similar to Japanese rural disaster-damaged area like Hashimoto & Kawawaki (2015) analyzed or is original type for Nepal? Those are the research topics remained to be observed in the future.

Table 1. Migrate Population of Nepal by District (2011)

| S.N. | Area | Population 2011 | | | Sex Ratio 2011 | Absent Population 2011 | | Absent Population Ratio (%) 2011 | | Total Household 2011 | Absent Household 2011 | Absent Household Ratio (%) 2011 |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | Total | Male | Female | | Male | Female | Male | Female | | | |
| | Nepal | 26,620,809 | 12,849,041 | 13,645,463 | 94.2 | 1,684,029 | 237,400 | 13.1 | 1.7 | 5,423,297 | 1,378,678 | 25.4 |
| 1 | Taplejung | 128,547 | 60,552 | 66,909 | 90.5 | 9,114 | 679 | 15.1 | 1.0 | 26,471 | 7745 | 29.3 |
| 2 | Panchthar | 198,362 | 90,186 | 101,631 | 88.7 | 16,605 | 1,237 | 18.4 | 1.2 | 41,176 | 14,041 | 34.1 |
| 3 | Ilam | 295,824 | 141,126 | 149,128 | 94.6 | 18,949 | 2,537 | 13.4 | 1.7 | 64,477 | 16,846 | 26.1 |
| 4 | Jhapa | 810,636 | 385,096 | 427,554 | 90.1 | 68,928 | 11,697 | 17.9 | 2.7 | 184,384 | 59,545 | 32.3 |
| 5 | Morang | 964,709 | 466,712 | 498,658 | 93.6 | 62,064 | 8,398 | 13.3 | 1.7 | 213,870 | 54,220 | 25.4 |
| 6 | Sunsari | 751,125 | 371,229 | 392,258 | 94.6 | 43,381 | 6,894 | 11.7 | 1.8 | 162,279 | 37,984 | 23.4 |
| 7 | Dhankuta | 164,133 | 76,515 | 86,897 | 88.1 | 13,538 | 876 | 17.7 | 1.0 | 37,616 | 11,804 | 31.4 |
| 8 | Terhathum | 101,709 | 47,151 | 54,426 | 86.6 | 9273 | 518 | 19.7 | 1.0 | 22,084 | 7832 | 35.5 |
| 9 | Sankhuwasabha | 159,649 | 75,225 | 83,517 | 90.1 | 11,335 | 863 | 15.1 | 1.0 | 34,615 | 9,589 | 27.7 |
| 10 | Bhojpur | 183,918 | 86,053 | 96,406 | 89.3 | 13,822 | 1,041 | 16.1 | 1.1 | 39,393 | 11,559 | 29.3 |
| 11 | Solukhumbu | 106,772 | 51,200 | 54,686 | 93.6 | 4,730 | 887 | 9.2 | 1.6 | 23,758 | 4,238 | 17.8 |
| 12 | Okhaldhunga | 148,320 | 68,687 | 79,297 | 86.6 | 9,371 | 1,184 | 13.6 | 1.5 | 32,466 | 7,712 | 23.8 |
| 13 | Khotang | 209,130 | 97,092 | 109,220 | 88.9 | 16,504 | 1,158 | 17.0 | 1.1 | 42,647 | 13,644 | 32.0 |
| 14 | Udayapur | 321,962 | 149,712 | 167,820 | 89.2 | 20,036 | 2,024 | 13.4 | 1.2 | 66,514 | 17,758 | 26.7 |
| 15 | Saptari | 646,250 | 313,846 | 325,438 | 96.4 | 25,676 | 752 | 8.2 | 0.2 | 25,676 | 21,712 | 84.6 |
| 16 | Siraha | 643,136 | 310,101 | 327,227 | 94.8 | 45,293 | 490 | 14.6 | 0.1 | 117,929 | 36,787 | 31.2 |
| 17 | Dhanusa | 768,404 | 378,538 | 376,239 | 100.6 | 59,570 | 815 | 15.7 | 0.2 | 138,225 | 47,663 | 34.5 |
| 18 | Mahottari | 646,405 | 311,016 | 316,564 | 98.2 | 39,621 | 911 | 12.7 | 0.3 | 111,298 | 31,500 | 28.3 |
| 19 | Sarlahi | 768,649 | 389,756 | 379,973 | 102.6 | 19,747 | 1,654 | 5.1 | 0.4 | 132,803 | 16,980 | 12.8 |
| 20 | Sindhuli | 294,621 | 142,123 | 154,069 | 92.2 | 14,003 | 1,284 | 9.9 | 0.8 | 57,544 | 12,355 | 21.5 |
| 21 | Ramechhap | 205,312 | 93,386 | 109,260 | 85.5 | 9,742 | 1,457 | 10.4 | 1.3 | 43,883 | 8,340 | 19.0 |
| 22 | Dolakha | 188,186 | 87,003 | 99,554 | 87.4 | 8,266 | 1,855 | 9.5 | 1.9 | 45,658 | 7,587 | 16.6 |
| 23 | Sindhupalchok | 289,455 | 138,351 | 149,447 | 92.6 | 13,035 | 6,677 | 9.4 | 4.5 | 66,635 | 13,778 | 20.7 |
| 24 | Kavrepalanchowk | 389,959 | 182,936 | 199,001 | 91.9 | 12,565 | 1,966 | 6.9 | 1.0 | 80,651 | 11,782 | 14.6 |
| 25 | Lalitpur | 466,784 | 238,082 | 230,050 | 103.5 | 17,573 | 6,813 | 7.4 | 3.0 | 109,505 | 16,563 | 15.1 |
| 26 | Bhaktapur | 303,027 | 154,884 | 149,767 | 103.4 | 8,077 | 2,138 | 5.2 | 1.4 | 68,557 | 7,990 | 11.7 |
| 27 | Kathmandu | 1,740,977 | 913,001 | 831,239 | 109.8 | 71,837 | 27,967 | 7.9 | 3.4 | 435,544 | 69,521 | 16.0 |
| 28 | Nuwakot | 278,761 | 132,787 | 144,684 | 91.8 | 12,466 | 1,844 | 9.4 | 1.3 | 59,194 | 11,091 | 18.7 |
| 29 | Rasuwa | 43,798 | 21,475 | 21,825 | 98.4 | 2,236 | 892 | 10.4 | 4.1 | 9,741 | 2,423 | 24.9 |
| 30 | Dhading | 336,250 | 157,834 | 178,233 | 88.6 | 20,207 | 2,330 | 12.8 | 1.3 | 73,842 | 17,055 | 23.1 |
| 31 | Makwanpur | 427,494 | 206,684 | 213,793 | 96.7 | 14,374 | 2,173 | 7.0 | 1.0 | 86,045 | 13,566 | 15.8 |
| 32 | Rautahat | 696,221 | 351,079 | 335,643 | 104.6 | 8,999 | 330 | 2.6 | 0.1 | 106,652 | 7,413 | 7.0 |
| 33 | Bara | 701,037 | 351,244 | 336,464 | 104.4 | 11,900 | 629 | 3.4 | 0.2 | 108,600 | 10,264 | 9.5 |
| 34 | Parsa | 601,701 | 312,358 | 288,659 | 108.2 | 7,456 | 597 | 2.4 | 0.2 | 95,516 | 6,287 | 6.6 |
| 35 | Chitawan | 566,661 | 279,087 | 300,897 | 92.8 | 43,728 | 6,693 | 15.7 | 2.2 | 132,345 | 38,423 | 29.0 |
| 36 | Gorkha | 269,388 | 121,041 | 150,020 | 80.7 | 25,375 | 2,729 | 21.0 | 1.8 | 66,458 | 21,258 | 32.0 |
| 37 | Lamjung | 169,104 | 75,913 | 91,811 | 82.7 | 19,242 | 1,918 | 25.3 | 2.1 | 42,048 | 15,970 | 38.0 |
| 38 | Tanahu | 330,581 | 143,410 | 179,878 | 79.7 | 43,141 | 3,245 | 30.1 | 1.8 | 78,286 | 34,119 | 43.6 |
| 39 | Syangja | 288,040 | 125,833 | 163,315 | 77.0 | 46,024 | 4,451 | 36.6 | 2.7 | 68,856 | 34,207 | 49.7 |
| 40 | Kaski | 490,429 | 236,385 | 255,713 | 92.4 | 48,304 | 9,001 | 20.4 | 3.5 | 125,459 | 40,531 | 32.3 |
| 41 | Manang | 6,527 | 3,661 | 2,877 | 127.3 | 166 | 113 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 1,148 | 161 | 14.0 |
| 42 | Mustang | 13,799 | 7,093 | 6,359 | 111.5 | 986 | 439 | 13.9 | 6.9 | 3,305 | 871 | 26.4 |

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|----|--------------|---------|---------|---------|-------|--------|--------|------|------|---------|--------|------|
| 43 | Myagdi | 113,731 | 51,395 | 62,264 | 82.5 | 13,299 | 1,015 | 25.9 | 1.6 | 27,727 | 11,439 | 41.3 |
| 44 | Parbat | 147,076 | 65,301 | 81,289 | 80.3 | 19,783 | 1,952 | 30.3 | 2.4 | 35,698 | 15,422 | 43.2 |
| 45 | Baglung | 270,009 | 117,977 | 150,616 | 78.3 | 38,180 | 4,442 | 32.4 | 2.9 | 61,482 | 29,133 | 47.4 |
| 46 | Gulmi | 283,577 | 120,955 | 159,165 | 76.0 | 51,222 | 7,339 | 42.3 | 4.6 | 64,877 | 35,131 | 54.2 |
| 47 | Palpa | 269,372 | 115,840 | 145,340 | 79.7 | 35,787 | 3,717 | 30.9 | 2.6 | 59,260 | 27,010 | 45.6 |
| 48 | Nawalparasi | 635,793 | 303,675 | 339,833 | 89.4 | 58,643 | 6,692 | 19.3 | 2.0 | 128,760 | 47,765 | 37.1 |
| 49 | Rupandehi | 886,706 | 432,193 | 448,003 | 96.5 | 55,785 | 7,119 | 12.9 | 1.6 | 163,835 | 46,562 | 28.4 |
| 50 | Kapilbastu | 570,612 | 285,559 | 286,337 | 99.7 | 27,100 | 2,680 | 9.5 | 0.9 | 91,264 | 20,974 | 23.0 |
| 51 | Arghakhanchi | 200,446 | 86,266 | 111,366 | 77.5 | 35,455 | 4,474 | 41.1 | 4.0 | 46,826 | 25,266 | 54.0 |
| 52 | Pyuthan | 235,165 | 100,053 | 128,049 | 78.1 | 33,067 | 3,791 | 33.0 | 3.0 | 47,716 | 24,124 | 50.6 |
| 53 | Rolpa | 227,075 | 103,100 | 121,406 | 84.9 | 21,485 | 2,112 | 20.8 | 1.7 | 43,735 | 17,047 | 39.0 |
| 54 | Rukum | 210,878 | 99,159 | 109,408 | 90.6 | 11,774 | 1,276 | 11.9 | 1.2 | 41,837 | 9,854 | 23.6 |
| 55 | Salyan | 243,575 | 115,969 | 126,475 | 91.7 | 12,876 | 1,337 | 11.1 | 1.1 | 46,524 | 10,673 | 22.9 |
| 56 | Dang | 557,852 | 261,059 | 291,524 | 89.5 | 39,328 | 3,830 | 15.1 | 1.3 | 116,347 | 32,686 | 28.1 |
| 57 | Banke | 493,017 | 244,255 | 247,058 | 98.9 | 18,890 | 2,469 | 7.7 | 1.0 | 94,693 | 15,847 | 16.7 |
| 58 | Bardiya | 426,946 | 205,080 | 221,496 | 92.6 | 21,719 | 3,325 | 10.6 | 1.5 | 83,147 | 17,966 | 21.6 |
| 59 | Surkhet | 360,104 | 169,421 | 181,383 | 93.4 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 60 | Dailekh | 263,835 | 126,990 | 134,780 | 94.2 | 9,697 | 1,524 | 7.6 | 1.1 | 48,915 | 7,638 | 15.6 |
| 61 | Jajarkot | 172,565 | 85,537 | 85,767 | 99.7 | 3,524 | 650 | 4.1 | 0.8 | 30,468 | 2,866 | 9.4 |
| 62 | Dolpa | 36,701 | 18,238 | 18,462 | 98.8 | 360 | 87 | 2.0 | 0.5 | 7,466 | 308 | 4.1 |
| 63 | Jumla | 108,734 | 54,893 | 54,023 | 101.6 | 1,122 | 341 | 2.0 | 0.6 | 19,291 | 900 | 4.7 |
| 64 | Kalikot | 141,620 | 68,833 | 68,115 | 101.1 | 1,723 | 373 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 23,008 | 1,436 | 6.2 |
| 65 | Mugu | 55,311 | 28,025 | 27,261 | 102.8 | 542 | 157 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 9,600 | 433 | 4.5 |
| 66 | Humla | 51,008 | 25,833 | 25,025 | 103.2 | 415 | 267 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 9,437 | 435 | 4.6 |
| 67 | Bajura | 135,506 | 65,806 | 69,106 | 95.2 | 6,044 | 2,010 | 9.2 | 2.9 | 24,888 | 4,415 | 17.7 |
| 68 | Bajhang | 196,277 | 92,794 | 102,365 | 90.7 | 16,292 | 6,553 | 17.6 | 6.4 | 16,292 | 10,248 | 62.9 |
| 69 | Achham | 258,022 | 120,008 | 137,469 | 87.3 | 24,638 | 6,377 | 20.5 | 4.6 | 48,318 | 17,260 | 35.7 |
| 70 | Doti | 211,827 | 97,252 | 114,494 | 84.9 | 20,860 | 2,684 | 21.4 | 2.3 | 41,383 | 15,884 | 38.4 |
| 71 | Kailali | 770,279 | 378,417 | 397,292 | 95.2 | 50,441 | 12,202 | 13.3 | 3.1 | 142,413 | 34,562 | 24.3 |
| 72 | Kanchanpur | 444,315 | 216,042 | 235,206 | 91.9 | 32,873 | 5,518 | 15.2 | 2.3 | 82,134 | 23,848 | 29.0 |
| 73 | Dadeldhura | 141,543 | 66,556 | 75,538 | 88.1 | 10,408 | 1,262 | 15.6 | 1.7 | 27,023 | 7,912 | 29.3 |
| 74 | Baitadi | 252,116 | 117,407 | 133,491 | 88.0 | 17,299 | 3,740 | 14.7 | 2.8 | 45,167 | 12,167 | 26.9 |
| 75 | Darchaula | 133,464 | 63,605 | 69,669 | 91.3 | 5,956 | 908 | 9.4 | 1.3 | 24,604 | 4,688 | 19.1 |

Data source: CBS Nepal, "Population Census" 2011

Notes:

(1) According to "Nepal Economics Diagram 2015" on the website of Japanese Embassy in Nepal.

<http://www.np.emb-japan.go.jp/jp/pdf/economy2015.pdf>

Thanks:

Special Thanks for seven family members of Ahare area and Dhungagadhe area in PritbhiNarayan Nagarparika, Gorkha District, cooperated with the continuous field research.

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16H05692, to monitor life strategy of residents.

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