Feminisation of Nepali Migration to India

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Pranati Datta
Population Studies Unit
Indian Statistical Institute
203 B.T Road
Kolkata 700108
2005

E mail address:

<u>pranati@isical.ac.in</u> Pranatidatta@hotmail.com

Ph: (91) (33) 25753520 / 24 (O)

(91) (33) 25776032 (O)

(91) (33) 25538797 (R)

Fax: (91) (33) 5776680

(91) (33) 5776032

1.00 Introduction

Recent global trend of international migration has emerged as feminisation of migrationi.e growing number of female compared to male in migration process. Globalisation, feminisation, trafficking and migration either documented or undocumented evolved as intertwined issues.

This growing no. of female in migration process is an inevitable outcome of feminisation of poverty and feminisation of employment in world labour market. Feminisation of employment pulls female labour in labour market since 1) female labour is cheap, flexible, unorganised; 2) women can be employed as piece rate, part time, home based work; 3) female migrants can be forced to accept low-waged, undervalued job in the informal sector. They can be forced to work as housemaids, entertainers, sex workers. There are evidences to support that female migration occurs within the frame work of both documented and undocumented migration.

South-East Asia is not an exception to the increasing feminisation in the process of migration in the world witnessed over the last two decades. Recent global data on female migration pattern are difficult to find.. The United Nation estimated that women make up around 48 percent of all international migrants(IOM,2003). Women migrants from Asia constitute the largest number of unskilled migrant workers in labour receiving countries.

Labour migration in Asia has become increasingly feminised since the 1990s. Changes are evident not only in the increased volume, but also in the diversified patterns of migration. In recent decades, migration trends have seen an increasing feminisation with the numbers of unskilled female migrants in some streams surpassing that of men. Most Asian women work as live-in maids, entertainers, sex workers, farm labourer and factory employees (while men dominate in the construction and manufacturing sectors).

In recent decades, migration trends have seen an increasing feminisation with the numbers of unskilled female migrants in some streams surpassing

that of men. The feminisation of migration process reflects dual character. On the one hand reveals economic and social empowerment for female families. the migrants mav find migrants and their On other hand, themselves vulnerable to a range of abuses either in the countries of destination or origin. Specific gender related issues become evident when female migrants suffer human abuses because of their dual vulnerability as migrant as well as woman.

The "feminisation of migration" reflecting the fact that today, nearly 50% of migrant workers are women. And as UNHCR often highlights, well over 80% of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are women and children.

Hence emerging feminisation of migration has emerged as an important topic of research

The accelerated pace of globalization with free trade has contributed to feminisation and trafficking of women and children who are most vulnerable. Proportion of women who are involved in global migration flows is increasing rapidly. Little is known about the female migration and factors that distinguish from male migration. Lack of employment opportunities and chronic poverty represents the major factors leading to male and female migration. Specific gender related issues become evident when female migrants suffer human abuses because of their dual vulnerability as migrant as well as woman. Trafficking cannot be separated from globalization and livelihood issue. Illegal migration and trafficking of female have taken place along the path of open border. Traffickers also find protection from corrupt border patrol officials and politicians, thereby escaping any potential prosecution. (Human Rights Watch/Asia, June 1995).

Objective

This paper is devoted to discuss feminisation of Nepali migration to India in general and West Bengal, a State of India in particular. Section 1 is concerned with volume and sex ratio of Nepali migrants to India and West Bengal. Spatial distribution by districts of West Bengal.and their annual flow have been highlighted using a model. Proportion of female to male is taken in to consideration to address feminisation process. Section 2 deals with trafficking and illegal Nepali female migration to India. Lastly anti-trafficking policies and protection of human rights have been taken into account.

Sources of Data and Limitation of the Study

The very limitation of the study is the very limitation of the data. The coverage of Indian census data on Nepali migration is gradually diminishing. This study deals with census data upto 1991. Migration data for 2001 census not yet published. Neither any CD nor floppy available for this latest Indian Census. It is also difficult to highlight extent of trafficking of Nepali female with reliable data.

Section 1

1.01 Geographic profile of Nepal, India and West Bengal

Nepal is a small independent Hindu kingdom in the Himalayan range of mountains.. The total land area is 140792sq km. Tibet is in the north side of Nepal, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri distrcts of West Bengal are in the eastern part. The southern part of Nepal is bordered with Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the two states of India. Uttar Pradesh of India surrounds the western part.

India is the seventh largest country in the world, Asia's second largest nation with an area of 3,287,263 square km and second most populous country in the world..

India's northern frontiers are with Xizang (Tibet) in the Peoples Republic of China, Nepal and Bhutan. In the north-west, India borders on Pakistan; in the north-east, China and Burma; and in the east, Burma. The southern peninsula extends into the tropical waters of the Indian Ocean with the Bay of Bengal lying to the south-east and the Arabian Sea to the south-west.

West Bengal, a state in India is located in the eastern part of India. It is bounded on the north by Bhutan and the state of Sikkim, on the east by Bangladesh, on the northeast by the state of Assam, on the south by the Bay of Bengal, on the southwest by the state of Orissa, on the northwest by Nepal and on the west by state of Orissa. West Bengal is the fourth populist states of India.

1.02 Findings Volume

Table 1 highlights volume of Nepali migrants to India by sex 1951 onwards and their rural urban distribution since 1961. Female predominates male as per 1981 census in rural India and this dominancy is reflected in overall India also. Volume of Nepali migrants dropped since 1971 but female maintained increasing trend.

Table 2 represents volume of female Nepali migrants to West Bengal for the census years 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. The documented migration information shows gradual declining trend with rural biasness. The migrants are mainly engaged in Tea gardens, primary sector as agricultural labourer. Though census records show declining trend, recent literature highlights increasing illegal female migration along the path of open border and trafficking [The weekly Telegraph 2001]. They may not be reported in the census.

"In recent years hundreds of thousands of women and girls have been trafficked across the Indo-Nepal borders. Every year about 5000-7000 Nepali girls are sold to Indian brothels and more than 200000 Nepali girls are currently involved in Indian sex trade" (Padam Srimkhada,2002)

Sex Ratio

Sex ratio as defined by number of females per 1,000 males may indicate the extent of sex selectivity in the migration process. From sex ratio of India(Table 3) as whole it is clear that documented female Nepali migration reflects preponderance of female in rural India(Guha Roy and Datta 1995). In urban India Females are negligible. The proportions of female migrants to male have increased over the years and this an indication of feminisation of Nepali migrants Thus, 709 and 867 female migrants per thousand male migrants moved to West Bengal as per , 1981 and 1991 census respectively (Table 4). Rural-urban break up of sex ratio reveals that about 1039 and 631 females per thousand male Nepalese moved to rural and urban West Bengal respectively, as per 1991 census. In 1991 female Nepali surpassed the number of male Nepali migrants in rural West Bengal. This supports feminization of Nepali migration.

Though globalisation coupled with displacement and increasing poverty has caused a massive increase and influx in the numbers of women and girls migrating and often trafficked across the borders of Bangladesh and Nepal into India, it is worthwhile to mention that there are also some cultural, historical and societal factors which exacerbates the situation leading to the exploitation of vulnerable women and girls and which therefore cannot be ignored while exploring this issue (Banerjee, 2002).

Among the Nepali migrants in rural areas of West Bengal, the share of females is quite significant in both the Census 1981 and 1991. The existence of large volume of Nepali women to rural areas can be attributed to (a) marriage migration, (b) employment in agricultural sector as daily labour specially in tea gardens of Darjiling and Jalpaiguri, (c) involvement in commercial sex work.

A Nepali non governmental organization (NGO) service provider says that more than 5,000 Nepali girls aged 10 to 20, mostly from poor rural families, are trafficked out of the country annually for purposes of prostitution (Constable, 2001). Age old custom and patriarchal structure. of society responsible for provoking this profession. In the city of India Nepali girls are found in brothels, hotels, guest houses. Because of being rootless and migrant they are doubly vulnerable.

Spatial Distribution of Migrants Across Districts

Female Nepali migrants in West Bengal tends to cluster in some specific districts of West Bengal. The spatial variation and concentration of these migrants are shown in Table 6. Census data for 1981-91 reveal that Nepalese in West Bengal are settled mainly in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Calcutta and urban areas of 24 Parganas. Darjeeling experiences the presence of largest number of Nepali Women both in rural and urban areas compared to other districts of West Bengal. Most of the migrants settled in the adjacent districts Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and mostly in rural areas. Volume of Nepali migration to other districts is insignificant. The existence of large volume of female Nepalese, mainly in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts, may be explained in the following way:

Cost of migration is less compared to migration to other remote areas. The distance represents psychological, financial and non-financial costs for the Nepali

migrants. Therefore it is very economical for Nepalese to migrate to Darjeeling and also to Jalpaiguri.

Potential migrants base their decision to migrate on information of neighbouring places. Nepalese get easy information regarding the existence of large tea gardens in Darjeeling where they can derive their livelihood easily. They rely heavily on their relatives and friends living in Darjeeling for information about probable employment or other opportunities. This very fact attracts female Nepalese to Darjeeling. Conversely it is also true that they are unlikely to move to places that they know very little. Because of these reasons, we find very negligible proportion of Nepalese in other districts of West Bengal except Calcutta.

In spite of being remote area from Nepal, Calcutta urban absorbs about 25% and 26% female Nepalese in 1981 and 1991 respectively. The main reasons are:

- (a) Calcutta is the administrative, commercial and cultural center of the region. Economic opportunity in terms of job opportunity had worked as pull factor for Nepali migration. Expert opinion suggest that a greater number of Nepali women are employed in the sectors including construction, transport, domestic service etc.
- (b) Besides, improvement in communication facilities with Calcutta, the cost of migration has been reduced and the deterrent effect of distance has also become weak. These factors attract Nepalese to migrate to Calcutta.
- (c) The mass media may also be responsible for large Nepali migration to Calcutta.
- (d) The existence of large informal sector in Calcutta provides job opportunities for less educated female Nepalese to work in hotel, restaurants.
- (e) The most distressing fact is that, Nepali women are working in the sex industry of Calcutta. They are found in the red-light area of Calcutta. About 12000 sex workers are living in Sonagachhi (A redlight area in Calcutta) [The extent of trafficking in Nepal, The weekly Telegraph, April 4, 2001].

"Many young Nepali women and girls are sent into sex work by their families because they earn relatively high wages that can be remitted back home to support families in impoverished villages". [Trafficking and HIVS/AIDS , Padam Simkhada, Research for sex work 5, 2002].

Annual Estimates of Female Nepali Migrants

Annual estimation of migration is of crucial importance, as because census provides migration data only by decennial year. Migration by individual year is more fruitful for formulation of migration policy. The data on migration given by duration group in census reports can be disaggregated into single years of duration by application of structural graduation model (Guha Roy, 1986).

$$\log_{10} t M_X = \alpha(t) + \beta(t) \cdot X + \chi(t) \cdot X^2$$

where M_X = number of female migrants in duration X

t = year of estimation

X = individual duration

 α, β, χ = parameters to be estimated.

The fit can be made exact by using two equations with two unknowns. In the census publication, the duration of stay is grouped differently as 1-4, 5-9 and 10-19; we have not considered terminal and open ended duration groups (e.g. less than one year and more than 19 years) for the purpose of estimation. The values of the parameters α (t), β (t) and χ (t) for any t may be obtained from the migrants at the individual duration 2.5, 7.0 and 14.5, approximate mid points of 1-4, 5-9, 10-19 for 1991. The number of migrants at these duration groups are taken as length of duration times the number of migrants at these individual durations. The errors introduced in the estimation are substantially adjusted by prorating the estimated migrants for individual duration by the given grouped data. The only two equations (for each year) that arise for the estimation of the parameters are :

$$\log_{10} M_{2.5} = \log_{10} M_0 - 4.5 \beta + 20.25 \chi$$

$$\log_{10} M_{14.5} = \log_{10} M_0 + 7.5\beta + 56.25 \chi$$

where M₀ refers to duration of 7 years (mid-point of 5-9 years of residence) taken as origin.

The values of the parameters α (t), β (t) and δ (t) for the year 1991 are shown in Table 7. It appears that the parametric values for rural and urban areas as well as for the sexes are often too different to permit the use of one set of values for each. We thus use here both sets for the purpose of disaggregation of migrants given by the duration of residence groups.

In table 8 annual flow for both male and female migrants during 1980-81 to 1989-90 (based on 1991 census) are presented. Estimated flow represents slow increasing trend both for males and females. It may be mentioned with respect to the fitted curve that irregularities of census data have been removed to some extent by fitting graduation model. Data have been smoothed and underlying trend emerges. It is believed that the structural model allows disaggregation of overall decadal migration to give average annual estimates of migrants. The analysis, however, reveals sectoral (rural and urban) differentials in these movements.

Though in terms of volume the flow is insignificant, female migration is increasing gradually.

Table 9 represents supporting evidence for feminisation of Nepali migrants to West Bengal. For West Bengal experiences proportion of female to male is increasing from .85 in 1980-81 to 1.23 in 1989-90. This female to male ratio for urban West Bengal varies from .57 in 1980-81 to .79 in 1989-90. These ratios are below one implying number of female migrants though increasing do not surpass male migrants. But for rural West Bengal female to male ratios are gradually increasing and are greater than one confirming preponderance of female migrants in the process.

This feminization of Nepali migrant flows is largely driven by two factors:

- the continuing, and increasingly high levels of poverty, and;
- the desire of women to better their lives and those of their children.

Migration, therefore, often occurs outside legal channels, leading to clandestine movement, heightened vulnerability, abuse, and exploitation.

1.03 Push-Pull Factors

It appears that economic opportunities(Datta, Sadhu, Bhattacharya, Majumdar, 2004a) in terms of job availabilities in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of West Bengal worked as pull factor for the Nepalese. Such a pull factor has been strengthened by push factor(Datta, Sadhu, Bhattacarya Majumdar, 2004b) also, which arises due to low level of economic development in Nepal, and has possibly caused Nepali migration to India.

Push Factors

Lack of economic opportunities in the hilly area of Nepal, scarce arable land and population pressure forced the people of Nepal down from hill and settle in West Bengal and other states of India. Socio-economic condition in Nepal is bad and the Nepal Government is unable to provide education and health for its population. The depth of economic depression in the hill and poverty pushed Nepalese to search for new settlement. However, geographical realities forced Nepal to look towards India for transit purposes. Nepal is predominately an agricultural economy. In recent past the performance of agricultural sector has been very poor for several reasons (UN, ESCAP,1980) The industrial sector is also not well developed. Besides lack of infrastructural facilities, and a modern technology, its development is constrained by limited internal market. These very basic features of underdevelopment of Nepal's economy worked as centrifugal forces and pushed the Nepalese out of their origin and attracted to places of India which were more adjacent to Nepal and offered much more economic opportunities compared to Nepal. Higher fertility, lower literacy and expectation of life at birth, higher density and greater share of state domestic product in the primary sector in Nepal compared to India pinpoint that unfavourable sociodemographic and econo-demographic condition exist in Nepal and centrifugal forces are operating there, though not as strongly as in the past.

Pull Factors

English tea planters preferred settlement of Nepali migrants (Datta, 2003) as plantation workers in the tea gardens of the hill subdivisions of Darjeeling. The Nepali migrants were hard working and could adapt themselves to the working condition and climatic condition of the tea gardens which were situated in high altitude of Darjeeling. Besides because of their very poor academic background, these poverty stricken Nepalese could be employed by the British with low remuneration. Rapid growth of tea industry through out the second half of the 19th century led to the recruitment of tea plantation workers who mostly came from Nepal.

Easy availability of jobs in the informal sector attracted female Nepalese. Demand for fair skinned, delicate featured girls in Indian sex industry contributed to feminisation of Nepali migrants.

Easy crossing of border due to geographical contiguity(Datta, 2004b) has acted as a pull factor(Datta,Sadhu, Bhattacharya, Majumdar, 2004a) for Nepalese to settle for West Bengal.

SECTION 2

2.01 Trafficking and Illegal Migration

Illegal migrants here refer to those who cross the open Indo-Nepal Border and enter India and are involved in illegal activities.in India.

Trafficking cannot be separated from globalization and livelihood issue. On the one hand trafficking is a human rights or labour problem, then on the other it can be predominantly viewed as a problem of organized crime or illegal migration. Trafficking in women has become more and more identified with illegal migration. It is the lack of legal migration possibilities that makes them dependent on middle men and forces them into an illegal circuit .

Illegal migration and trafficking of Nepali female have taken place along the path of open border between India and Nepal. Traffickers also find protection from corrupt border patrol officials and politicians, thereby escaping any potential prosecution. (Human Rights Watch/Asia, June 1995).

It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of Nepalese women and children who have been trafficked. The difficulties arise partly because of a lack of reliable research in this area, and because of the difficulties described above of defining what trafficking is and at what stage along the migration path it occurs.

Some figures refer only to women and girls trafficked into the sex industry. These include estimates that between 100,000 to 200,000 Nepali women are working in the Indian Sex industry, and that between 5000 and 8000 young women are trafficked for prostitution into India each year (Xinhua News Agency, 2001). Many figures are prone to exaggeration. For example, one report notes that the "majority of the 40,000 prostitutes in Sonagachi (a red light area in Calcutta) are Nepali" (Women and Autonomy center, 1994). Based on more reliable research, it is now known that there are in fact only a total of 12,000 sex workers living in Sonagachi and that the vast majority are Bengali. This is not to deny that Nepalese women and girls are to be found in many Indian red light areas. However, experts suggest that it is probably the case that a greater number of migrant Nepali women are employed in other sectors – including the industrial, construction, transport, hotel, restaurant and domestic service sectors – both in Nepal and abroad, rather than in commercial sex work (The Weekly Telegraph, 2001).

Female trafficking and migration which works through social network in Nepal and India is a very complex and multicasual phenomenon. The contributing factors to trafficking involve deep rooted process of gender discrimination, lack of female education, ignorance of rural folk, poverty, unemployment, lack of economic opportunities, globalisation of the economy, feminisation of poverty and migration Woman's lack of empowerment or lack of information about what may happen if they migrate – these factors can be assumed to increase vulnerability to trafficking. Hence economics of illegal female migration can be linked with economics of trafficking.

The important factors that create an environment conducive to trafficking in Nepal are the open border between India and Nepal , inadequate political commitment to address trafficking and failure of police and judiciary to enforce existing laws. Nepali, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women are trafficked to India and through India they are

trafficked to Saudi Arabia, Europe etc. So, India is both receiving and transit country. Trafficking is cross border issue leading to undocumented migration. Number of women and children who are victims of trafficking are shown below.

Nepali women and children victims who are working in different parts of India.

Cities	Nos.
Bombay	45,000
Calcutta	36,000
Gorakhpur	04,000
Pune	03,000
Patna	04,000
Lucknow	02,500
Madras	03,500
Surat	01,500
Others	26,000

Source: Informal Estimation, CWIN Nepal, 2002.

Some social traditions have indirectly promoted trafficking and prostitution in Nepal. An example is the deukis system, in which wealthy families buy young girls to offer to temple idols. Forbidden to marry, the girls are often forced into prostitution. In 1992, an estimated 17,000 girls were sold into the deukis system (Coomaraswamy, 1997)

Existence of Kamayani system which is nothing but ritualised form of prostitution is responsible for provoking Nepali female for sex work. Some tribes specially Tamangs provided concubines to Nepalese monarchy. After the end of monarchy in 1950s they were compelled to search alternative source of income. Traffickers used them for their own profit and gradually Nepali girls from other communities were trafficked to India. Hence poverty, historical oppression, organised net work, profit accrued to traffickers, demand for fair skinned, delicate featured girls and open border between India and Nepal contributed to trafficking and illegal migration.

2.02 Highlights about Trafficking of Nepali Women and Children in India and open Indo-Nepal border

(Information based on Pradhan G. CWIN Nepal, 2002)

a. *Trafficking and child prostitution:* About 32,000 in India and about 5,000 children below 16 years within Nepal.

- b. *Children in debt bondage:* Most of domestic child workers, carpet workers, restaurant boys are children in debt bondage besides agricultural bonded labour.
- c. *Migrant working children*: Every year thousands of children are migrated from villages to the different cities of Nepal and India. Many of them are working as ragpickers, domestic child workers and carpet workers etc.
- d. *Magnitude of the problem:* It is estimated that about 200,000 Nepali women and children who are trafficked and sold into India, over the period of years, are working as forced prostitutes in brothels in different parts of India. It is estimated that there are at least 20% of the children under 16 years who are trafficked and sold into the brothels are as young as 10 years old.
- e. Most of the women and children who are trafficked into India have come from mountain areas of Nepal and they are cheated and deceived by traffickers using different tricks, fake attractions and fraud marriage. Many research and case studies have revealed that carpet industries in Nepal are used as safest transit place for trafficking by the traffickers.
- f. There are about 500 miles of open border between Nepal and India, in which there are 30 entry / exit points. Majority of women and girls who are trafficked belong to so called low caste community, poverty stricken family having poor level of social consciousness. The imagination of good job, success, glamour, dreamland make them vulnerable to trafficking.

Indo-Nepal open border under the treaty of 1950, as a mark of friendship between two countries has proved to be the passport to hell. Trafficking of women and children through Indo-Nepal border resulted in commercial sexual exploitation, child labour, bonded child labour. Provision for open border has been misused by both the countries. It happens that illegal migrants from Bangladesh and Nepal enter India through open border. Though census reports shows decline in recorded migration over the years but it can not be denied that illegal migration and trafficking in women and children is increasing through open border.

Enforcement of human trafficking (control) Act 1986 seems to be very poor. Though this is very alarming problem in Indo-Nepal border, both the Govt. of India and Nepal are not so serious to control and prevent the increasing trafficking.

2.03 Policies for Anti-Trafficking and Protection of Human Rights

Trafficking in women has become more and more identified with illegal migration,. Combating trafficking thus becomes transformed into combating (illegal) migration, whereas prevention of trafficking is taken to mean "to prevent the entry of possible victims". Under the denominator of prevention of trafficking, repressive immigration measures are required such as tightening visa policies, stricter border control, closer supervision of mixed marriages, and criminalization of third parties who facilitate illegal entry or stay, and sometimes of the illegal migrant her or himself.

All of the three South Asian countries have signed/ratified international and regional conventions and treaties on trafficking, migration and related policy(Datta, 2004a) instruments. e.g

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others; the 1966 International Covenants on Human rights; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW),1979; the 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families; the 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights, the 1994 Cairo Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Population and Development; the 1995 Copenhagen Declaration and Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women; the (draft) Programme of Action of the UN Commission on Human Rights on the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others All the three South Asian countries also have their domestic laws to curb trafficking. But, in general, these laws do not protect the interest of the victims.

The International Labour Organisation, the International Organisation of Migration, the Council of Europe and the European Union work together to draw up action plans to combat it. They focus primarily on encouraging the countries of origin to undertake preventive actions such as public information campaigns on the dangers of illegal

economic migration. Unfortunately, however, these plans don't address the real roots of the problem.

In Nepal, a framework exists to prevent and suppress prostitution of children and trafficking of women and children. As recently as January 2002, a Bill has been forwarded to amend the existing Child Protection Act to deal with all forms of sexual abuse and trafficking. A National Task Force coordinated by the Ministry of Women and Social Welfare is responsible for implementing a National Plan of Action against trafficking in women and children. Nepal also has the Child Welfare Boards at district levels. However, inconsistencies remain. Human and financial resources of these bodies are limited. Moreover, the open border between Nepal and India by which Indians and Nepalis can move freely between these two countries without necessary travel documents have further exaggerated the problem.

The governments in the SAARC countries must have the political will needed to implement global, regional and national policies dealing with migration and trafficking. Since negative impact of globalisation can not be avoided it is imperative that these countries should take measures to reduce the vulnerability of women migrant workers.

There is a direct link between trafficking in persons, particularly women and children, with the ongoing insecurity of food and livelihood crises. *Hence anti-trafficking programmes at the macro level should be linked with intensive anti-poverty programmes at the local/national level*.

Since feminisation of either documented or undocumented migration is gradually increasing, and it has a link with female trafficking for sexual exploitation, it is of urgent need to put to an end to gender discrimination, low status, lack of access and control of women over economic resources.

Public awareness and social mobilisation through citizen/social action groups are necessary in effecting change.

The media can play effective role in highlighting and stopping this evil. In this age of electronic media, there can be no better way to take the message across to the public and come out with effective policy orientation and solutions to combat this evil.

The exploitation of women will diminish in a civil society only under active intervention of government by poverty reduction and targetting to change deep rooted patriarchal societal mores.

The elimination of trafficking and illegal migration along the path of open border require a strong social movement and a fight against exploitation, injustice and crime created in the under world net work and drive against misuse of Indo-Nepal open border which has been passport to hell.

A common approach to controlling trafficking in Nepal is to limit women's migration. While specific anti-trafficking legislation does not mention migration, Nepal's Foreign Employment Act limits the international migration of women. Trafficking-prevention messages disseminated by nongovernmental organizations take a similarly negative position on migration

Required anti trafficking programmes

- Awareness raising, advice giving, and social mobilization.
- Improvement of livelihood opportunities through income generation/vocational training.

Interception of potential trafficking victims at the Indo-Nepal border.

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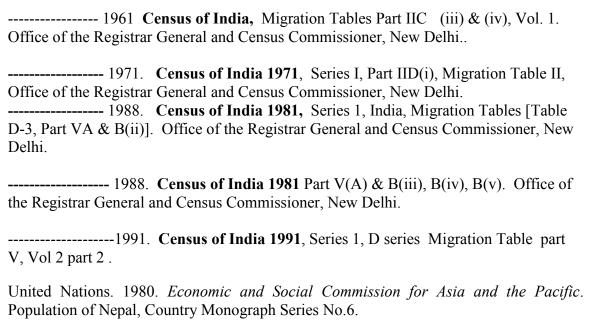
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Tables

Table 1: Volume of Nepali migrants in India by sex: 1951-1991.

(based on place of birth)

Sex	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991		
	All India						
Person	278972	498836	526526	501292	478694		
Male	169155	280609	273743	230769	203421		
Female	109817	218227	252783	270523	275273		
	I	Rura	al India	I	I		
person	n.a.	358814	383866	352734	311190		
male	n.a	176158	171778	130307	97791		
Female	n.a	182656	212088	222424	213399		
		Urba	n India				
person	n.a	140022	142660	148558	167504		
male	n.a	104451	101965	100462	105630		
female	n.a	35571	40695	48096	61874		

Sources: Various Census reports

Table 2: Volume of Nepali Migrants to West Bengal by Sex: 1961-1991

Year	Ru	ral	Urban		Total	
	male	female	male	female	male	female

!961	47582	31647	25919	9042	68501	40689
1971	45361	32630	16099	6275	61460	38905
1981	20575	17734	13201	6235	33775	23969
1991	12880	13390	9478	5988	22358	19378

Table 3: Sex ratio* of Nepali migrants in India:1951-91

year	rural	urban	all India
1951	n.a	n.a	631
1961	1036	340	778
1971	1234	399	923
1981	1706	478	1178
1991	2182	586	1353

^{*} sex ratio: Female per thousand male

Table 4 : Sex Ratio of Nepali Migrants to West Bengal

year	Sex Ratio			
	Rural	Urban	Total	
1961	665	349	594	
1971	719	390	633	
1981	862	472	709	
1991	1039	632	867	

Sources: Various census reports

Table 5: Sex ratio of Nepali migrants in districts of West Bengal: 1981 and 1991 (Place of birth: Nepal)

State/ District		1981			1991	
District	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
West Bengal	709	862	472	867	1039	631
Cooch Bihar	782	818	766	1192	1000	1500
Jalpaiguri	876	877	863	1026	1017	1090
Darjiling	871	925	685	1144	1409	1023
West Dinajpur	1182	1209	1135	1205	1523	692
Malda	*	*	*	*	*	250
Murshidabad	618	400	800	600	250	833
Nadia	402	428	383	250	222	277
24-Parganas (North)	337	348	336	510	143	551
24-Parganas (South)					111	457
Calcutta	343	-	343	358	-	358
Haora	500	-	515	723	500	733
Hugli	372	528	338	377	133	500
Medinipur	455	390	525	611	480	909
Bankura	256	441	203	*	*	*
Purulia	305	88	444	384	500	333
Barddhaman	449	348	485	624	434	663
Birbhum	160	125	193	272	142	500

Sources: Various census reports

Table 6: Distribution of Nepali migrants across the districts of West Bengal by residence: 1981 and 1991
[place of birth: Nepal]

	Nepali migrant						
Places of							
enumeration							
(WB/Districts)							
	To	tal	rui	ral	url	oan	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	
West Bengal	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
	(57744)	(41736	(38309)	(26270)	(19435)	(15466)	
Cooch Bihar	0.36	0.72	0.27	0.76	0.55	0.65	
Jalpaiguri	31.78	25.63	45.44	35.25	4.85	9.30	
Darjiling	38.91	42.19	46.82	54.62	23.34	21.06	
West Dinajpur	1.20	1.80	1.27	2.02	1.05	1.42	
Malda	0.42	0.77	0.46	0.84	0.33	0.66	
Murshidabad	0.15	0.38	0.09	0.19	0.28	0.71	
Nadia	0.73	1.08	0.34	0.84	1.50	1.49	
24-Parganas	6.37	5.10	1.02	0.61	16.91	12.74	
(North)							
24-Parganas	.a	1.70	.a	0.76	a	3.30	
(South)							
Calcutta	8.36	9.63	-	-	24.85	25.99	
Haora	2.78	1.94	0.08	0.11	8.11	5.04	
Hugli	1.38	1.49	0.48	0.65	3.14	2.91	
Midinipur	1.92	1.39	1.41	1.41	2.92	1.35	
Bankura	0.33	0.24	0.13	0.15	0.73	0.39	
Purulia	0.41	0.43	0.19	0.23	0.80	0.77	
Barddhaman	4.40	5.18	1.65	1.26	9.84	11.83	
Birbhum	0.50	0.33	0.35	0.30	0.79	39.00	

Sources : various census reports a : 24 parganas was a single District in 1981, latar it was bi-farcated in to two Districts

 $Table\ 7:\ Values\ of\ individual\ duration\ parameter: 1991$

Parameter Sex	1991
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		rural	urban
$\alpha(t)$	males	2.41497	2.30102
	females	2.51054	2.17026
β(t)	males	-0.0126	-0.02992
	females	-0.03241	-0.0257
χ(t)	males	0.0011	0.0024
	females	0.0024	.0039

Table 8: Annual estimates of Nepali migrants preceding 1991 censuses (based on duration of residence)

Year of migration	Ma	lles	Fem	ales	Total
	urban	rural	urban	rural	
Derive	d from place	e of last resid	dence statist	ics of 1991 (Census
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1989-90	363	339	286	609	1597
1988-89	319	320	244	532	1415
1987-88	283	303	212	470	1268
1986-87	255	290	188	419	1152
1985-86	230	276	168	378	1052
1984-85	212	267	155	346	980
1983-84	198	259	145	319	921
1982-83	184	252	137	297	870
1981-82	175	246	133	280	834

1980-81

Table 9: Feminisation of Nepali migrants to West Bengal 1980-81 to 1989-90

	Female/Male ratio			
	Urban	Rural	Total	
1980-81	.57	1.12	.85	
1981-82	.76	1.14	.98	
1982-83	.74	1.18	.99	
1983-84	.73	1.23	1.02	
1984-85	.73	1.30	1.04	
1985-86	.73	1.37	1.08	
1986-87	.74	1.44	1.11	
1987-88	.75	1.55	1.16	
1988-89	.76	1.66	1.21	
1989-90	.79	1.80	1.23	

Source: derived from table 8