

QUALITATIVE STUDY ON YOUTH OUT-MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON ELDERLY PARENTS

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Abstract

Migration has become a prominent phenomenon where young people migrate to foreign lands or within the country in search of various opportunities like better employment or education. Very little is known about the migration and its impact on the elderly parents who are left behind. The article examines the impact of migration on the life of the elderly people and the change in the role of elderly parents caused by youth out-migration in Dhungkharka of Bethanchok rural municipality, Kavrepalanchowk district. The data was collected by interviewing with the elderly participants. All the interviews were transcribed Verbatim in Nepali and translated into English for thematic analysis. It is very important to analyze and address the issues related to elderly people with regular studies and appropriate policies before the problem becomes persistent. The findings of the study revealed that migration has increased the daily workload of the elderly parents and the land remained either barren or less productive due to shortage of labor. Moreover, they faced different kinds of problems like physical, psychological or emotional problems.

Keywords: *Migration, elderly people, workload, left behind, social security*

Introduction

Migration is a permanent or semi-permanent alteration of residence where there is no restriction upon the distance or voluntary or involuntary nature of the move and no distinction between external and internal migration (Lee, 1966). There are various factors that attract or repel the people from the place of origin to the place of destination. So, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination and an intervening set of obstacles which can be better explained in terms of “Push-Pull” theory developed by Lee in 1966. Lee’s theory of migration is the hallmark of doing research on migration. Paradigms in modern research on migration also matter. Organizing social science research is more than just formal structures (Gautam, 2023). Social orders and social practices determine the steps for migration and research. The pull factor is the most favorable factors which

attract the individuals to migrate whereas the push factor is the unfavorable situation in the place of origin which causes the people to migrate (Lee, 1966).

In recent decades migration has become a most prominent phenomenon in Nepal where the majority of young people migrate to foreign lands or within the country in search of better opportunities that are unavailable in the rural areas/ country of origin. Youth out-migration has caused the change in role of the elderly people in household activities and also in agriculture. The elderly people of Nepal as defined by the Senior Citizens Act, 2006 are the citizens having completed the age of sixty year (Senior Citizens Act, 2006). Elderly people are regarded as the symbol of god and goddess in Nepalese culture and they receive support informally from family members, friends, relatives and neighbors which are similar to other societies. The formal support system includes the government and a variety of professional caregivers such as doctors, nurses, social workers whose services are financed by people either through own resources or taxes (Pun, et al., 2009). The Constitution of Nepal has guaranteed the special protection and social security to the elderly people from the state (The Constitution of Nepal, 2015).

The elderly population in Nepal is growing steadily at the rate of 3.77 per cent which was three times higher than the annual population growth rate (1.35 percent) during 2001 and 2011 which was only 1.96 in the year 1961 (CBS, 2014). The migration of children to foreign land or within the country temporarily or permanently has significantly affected the life of the elderly population.

Large numbers of populations are migrating out of the country in search of better opportunities which might be due to failure of governmental policies to create adequate domestic livelihood opportunities. According to 2021 census, a total of 2,190,592 persons from 1,555,961 households (23.4%) are absent and living abroad. Out of the total absentees living abroad 1,799,675 (82.2%) are males and 390,917 (17.8%) are females where the figure was only 1,921,494 persons from 1,378,678 (25.4%) households were absent and living abroad of which 87.6 per cent were males and 12.4 per cent were females in the previous census (CBS, 2021). This shows an increase in the number of absentees in the household leaving behind only the elder parents. This situation makes the elderly parents struggle to fill the gap caused by their children's out-migration in terms of farm and household activities. Their roles and status has been redefined and family care and support is no longer guaranteed due to out-migration of younger generations. The agricultural land which was once more productive, contributed to the country's economy (before migration) now remains either barren or only a small portion are cultivated due to high cost of food production, labor shortage which results in low productivity and this has directly impacted the national economy or in other sense, youth out-migration has also adversely affected agricultural productivity. Studies from different

parts of Nepal revealed that labor migration is resulting in frequent labor shortage in agriculture leading to agricultural land abandonment and low productivity (Hussain, et al., 2016). Low agricultural productivity means that farming alone is an insufficient source of livelihood for rural households to meet the expenses of health, education and other services. On the other hand, children's migration has caused the increase in daily household and other activities of the elderly parents.

Youth migration not only provides challenges but it has opportunity too. Nepal is a country consisting of the youth bulge having an unemployment rate of 11.4 percent (NLFS, 2017/18). It has offered an opportunity of employment for a large volume of Nepalese youth. Moreover, it has served as a viable source of alternative to domestic employment to address the issues of high unemployment and poverty (Nepal Labor Migration Report, 2020). The social and financial remittance and the exposure gained abroad have contributed positively to the Nepalese economy (Nepal Labor Migration Report, 2020). Migration research has mainly focused on how male out-migration has impacted the national economy, how the roles of women have changed in terms of household and agricultural activities, and how internal and external migration of women has a significant positive impact on agricultural land abandonment (Maharjan, et al., 2020). Only little is studied about the implication of out-migration of youth on elderly parents. So, the present study examines the relationship between youth out-migration and the change in role of the elderly people within and outside the household to secure their position in the society.

The main research question of the study is- What is the impact of youth out-migration on elderly population in Dhungharkha, Bethanchowk Rural Municipality of Kavrepalanchowk district? How are elderly parents affected as a result of their children's migration? The main objective of the study is to examine the impact of youth out-migration on elderly parents in the village of Dhungharkha.

Methods and materials

The study was based on qualitative in-depth interviews with seven elderly people residing in Dhungharkha. The source of data is both primary as well as secondary. The primary data was collected by directly interviewing with the participants. The two elderly people were selected on a convenient basis and after conducting interviews with them the name and information of remaining five participants were collected using the snowball sampling method. The convenient sampling is within the complete control of the investigator, he or she can discard unnecessary sampling items and save considerable time and money and if the sample is carefully selected, it becomes represented even in a small size (Adhikari, 2008). Here seven elderly people residing in Dhungharkha,

who met the inclusion criteria, are the participants of the study. The inclusion criteria involves the elderly people aged sixty above whose children have migrated from the place of origin in search of various opportunities like employment or education. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the elderly persons to gain insights about the impact of children's migration on elderly parents.

The trustworthiness and credibility were followed in this study (Sood, et al., 2017). Trustworthiness and credibility ensures the value and trust for qualitative research. Credibility was enhanced by collecting in-depth information for research which helps to provide meaning and richness to the concepts being studied. The information was collected by preparing interview questions through an extensive literature review related to youth migration and its impact on elderly parents. But when the saturation level was achieved and no additional insights emerged (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) the interviews were stopped. Similarly, to increase trustworthiness of the study, rapport building was done before conducting the interview and it was conducted in Nepali language by a Nepali native researcher. Before starting the interview, the participants were explained why the study and their role is important. The interview was conducted from 17th May to 20th May and the duration was 15 to 25 minutes. The Interview was audio recorded after getting verbal consent from the participant which was then listened carefully by the researcher after interview, translated them into English for thematic analysis. Translated interviews were collectively analyzed for coding to identify common themes and sub-themes. Moreover, In-depth interview itself helps to increase the trustworthiness of the study

The study tried to maintain representation in terms of gender, ethnicity etc. Out of seven participants studied, three were females and four were males and they were from Brahmin, chhetri, janajati and Dalit community. The socio-demographic information of the participants is presented in table 1. All the interviews were transcribed verbatim in Nepali and translated into English for thematic analysis. Translated information was collectively analyzed for coding to identify the common themes and sub-themes. Thematic analysis was done in the study which is a widely accepted qualitative data analysis technique (Braun & Clerk, 2006; Sood et al., 2017). Six stages of thematic analysis were followed in the study, such as familiarizing with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming of themes, and producing the report (Braun & Clerk, 2006; Sood et al., 2017). The study also relied on secondary data such as books, articles, reports, documents about migration and elderly people. The migrants in the study are defined as the person who left their place of origin or left their parents and moved out of the district or the country. Seven elderly people are the participants of the study and an in-depth interview was conducted after receiving informed verbal consent from the participants. The analysis was based on the view of

the elderly people regarding the change in role and status to secure their position in the society.

Study site

Dhungkharka, Bethanchowk Rural Municipality is located forty-five km south of the capital city. It has a total population of 16,777 having the population density of 166 per sq. km. On the northern part, it is surrounded by Panauti and Namobudhha Municipalities of Kavrepalanchowk district, on the southern part by Khanikhola Rural Municipality, on the eastern part by Koshi Rural Municipality and on the western part by Mahankal Rural Municipality of Lalitpur district (Bethanchowk Rural Municipality, 2023).

The rationale for choosing this area is because it is a rural municipality and many youths have migrated to city areas or foreign countries leaving behind only elderly parents and this has increased the workload of many elderly people. The study was carried out in Dhungkharka ward number two. The total number of absentees living within the country from 26538 households of Kavrepalanchowk district is 95624 with 52038 males and 43586 females (Census Report, 2021). Similarly, the total number of absent population living abroad from 15096 households of this district is 19858 with 14812 numbers of males and 5046 number of females (Census Report, 2021)). Since the study is about the impact of youth out-migration on elderly people, this place would better serve the purpose of the study.

Results/ discussions

The data demonstrates the demographic information of the respondents (Table 1). Among the respondents three were females and four were males. They were from different ethnic groups, three from Brahmin community, two from Chhetri, community, one from Janajati and one from Dalit community. Among the seven participants, only three were literate and four were illiterate.

Table 1: Socio-demographic Information of Elderly People of Dhungkharka, Bethanchowk Rural Municipality

Participants	Gender	Age	Caste/ Ethnicity	Education	Number of Children	Occupation During Adulthood	Source of Income	Ownership of Property
Participant 1 (P1)	Female	70	Brahmin	Illiterate	8	House maker	Old Age Allowance	Land, House
Participant 2 (P2)	Male	77	Brahmin	Literate	4	Farmer	Old Age Allowance, Agriculture	Land, House, Investment in cooperatives

Participant 3 (P3)	Female	70	Janajati	Illiterate	3	Home maker	Old Age Allowance, Income from agriculture	House, Land, Investment in cooperatives
Participant 4 (P4)	Male	66	Chhetri	Literate	4	School Teacher	Small Business, Pension	Land, House, Bank Balance
Participant 5 (P5)	Male	64	Brahmin	Illiterate	6	Government job	Agriculture, Pension	Land, House, Bank Balance
Participant 6 (P6)	Male	65	Chhetri	Literate	5	Farmer	Agriculture, Old Age Allowance	House, Land, Bank Balance
Participant 7 (P7)	Female	70	Dalit	Illiterate	3	House maker	Old Age Allowance	House

Source: Field Study, 2023

The average number of children of the participants were five with the greatest number of eight and smallest number of three children. Two of the elderly people worked as a farmer, one was in government job, one was a school teacher and three were involved as a home maker during their adulthood period. Their main source of income was old age allowance, agriculture, pensions, and income from small scale business. The data shows the majority of the elderly people have houses and lands, except one female Dalit elderly who only have house. Three of them have bank balance, two of them have invested in cooperatives and two female elderly have neither bank balance nor invested in cooperatives.

Five major themes were emerged from the interview transcripts regarding the migration of youth of Dhungharka. Life before migration, life after migration, physical problem, emotional problem and expectation from the government were the major themes. The sub-themes of life before migration were easy life, togetherness, less workload and the sub-themes of life after migration were wish based activity, compelled to work, self-care, labor shortage, and increased workload. Similarly, the sub-themes of physical problems were health issues and loss of appetite whereas the sub-themes of emotional problems were loneliness, anxiety, and attachment towards village life. Likewise, the sub-themes of expectation from the government were environment for e-learning, programs for retaining youth in the country, proper health management of elderly people, increase old age allowance, and establishing a meeting point for elderly people to share their feelings. The following table 2 represents the themes and associated sub-themes from the interview transcripts.

Life before children's migration

After interviewing with the participants it was observed that the parents of migrant's life were easier when the family members were together. The workload was allocated equally to all the members so the workload for each member was less.

Table 2: Themes and sub-themes from interview transcripts

S.N	Themes	Associated sub-themes
1.	Life before migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Easy life - Togetherness - Less workload
2.	Life after migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wish based activity - Compelled to work - Self care - Labor shortage - Increased workload
3.	Physical Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health Issues - Loss of appetite - Loneliness
4.	Emotional Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anxiety - Attachment towards village
5.	Expectation from the government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Environment for e-learning - Programs for retaining youth in the country - Proper health management for elderly people - Increase old age allowance - Establish a meeting point for elderly people to share their feelings

One of the participants said,

Our life was easier when we were together. I have eight children- seven daughters and a son. All my daughters got married and went to their husband's home and my son went to Kathmandu for employment with his family. They were taking care of me before they migrate from here. My husband died a year ago from

major brain stroke and I live here alone (M. Bajgai, Personal Communication, May 17, 2023).

Another participant added,

When I was younger, life was easier; I was engaged in agriculture and also in milk product business. I used to live with my wife and children. I had four children- two daughter and two sons but now they have migrated to Kathmandu for employment and study of their own children (S.P. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

Similarly, the other participant said,

Life was beautiful when I was younger; I go to forest alone to get fodder for the animals. I did not need anyone either to do my job or care for myself. However, the workload was allocated equally among our family members so there was less burden of the daily work. (M. M. Lochan, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

Likewise, another participant added,

The children went to school and we were stronger in our adulthood. We did not need care and support from our children as the life was easier and happier before their migration (K. B. Chhetri, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

The other participant opined that,

It was very easy to ask them for help if I need any kind of support from them. Together we were happy and the daily work load was less as the household work and farm work were equally distributed among the family members (B. B. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 19, 2023).

Their life was easier when they live with all the family members together having equal division of the work among the members of the family. Some family members used to be engaged in their regular household activities, some were engaged in agriculture, while others in animal husbandry. They are physically and mentally stronger and did not feel work as burden. However, it did not last long as the trend of migration has affected their grown up children. Many of the elderly parent's economic condition have improved to some extent due to their children's migration but they could not get maintenance and care from their children which are very important in old age.

Life after Children's Migration

The life of the elderly people of Dhungharka, Bethanchowk Rural Municipality was difficult as they have to work by themselves either willingly or unwillingly and no one is there to take care for them. Since, there is shortage of labor, the agricultural lands which

were once productive and contributed to the national economy were left either barren or only a small portion has been cultivated or productive. The interview with one of participants regarding the impact of migration on the life of the elderly said,

Life is not so easy or so difficult. The daily activities are based on my wishes. Sometimes I like to work at home or in field, sometimes I do not. Nobody is here with me to help and support me and I have to take care of myself (M. Bajgai, Personal Communication, May 17, 2023).

Another participant added,

It is difficult for me to perform daily activities as the workload has increased after my children have migrated to Kathmandu. I am suffering from knee pain and back pain and could not walk without support of walking stick. My son has requested us (me and my wife) to leave the village and stay with them but we rejected as we love to stay in our village (S. P. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

They were stronger and their life was easier so they did not need support from anyone in their adulthood but when their children migrated, their life has become miserable. One of the female participants opined that,

I went to the forest alone to collect fodder for animals and managed household and agricultural activities efficiently but now I feel difficulty in doing the same kind of work and tried to avoid it. The walking stick provides me support while bringing fodder for animals. If the labor forces are available in adequate amount, I wish of not working in agricultural fields (M. M. Lochan, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

The daily workload of elderly parents living in Dhungharkha was changed after their children's migration. They are compelled to do work despite of illness and no one support and help them in their old age except the government has given the old age allowance for our survival. As one participant explains,

There is change in our workload; I have to work by myself both at home and at field. I have to work despite of illness because there is no one to help me. Anyway I have managed (B. B. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 19, 2023).

Another participant added,

As we are older, we feel burdened to do our regular activities also. I have to take care of myself and I do not have money to get better treatment as the health expenses are high (S. B. K, Personal Communication, May 20, 2023).

Physical Problem

The older people of Dhungharka suffered from different kinds of physical problems such as they have to work by themselves, unable to do their regular check-up, loss of appetite and they have to find the care takers to make their life comfortable. During interview with elderly participants it was identified that they were suffering from different problems.

One participant said,

I have to work myself in this old age so life is not so easy for me. I am unable to do my regular check-up due to inaccessibility of health centers in nearby village. We have to go to Dhulikhel to get health services (M. Bajgai, Personal Communication, May 17, 2023).

Another participant added,

I and my wife worked together, we are suffering from hypertension and knee pain. We are in consultation with the doctor regularly at an interval of six months. We have to go to Dhulikhel hospital for check-up which is little bit far from here (K. B. Chhetri, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

The other participant said,

I have faced many problems after my children's migration; I have to work myself, unable to do regular health check-up, loss of appetite etc. My children come here once in a year so I did not get any support and care from them. I am suffering from knee pain, back pain but till date I have not been caught up by major health complications. I go to nearby medical shop to buy medicine (S. P. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

Another participant added,

Since I am suffering from knee pain, back pain and nerve problem, I visited to Dhulikhel hospital and remained there for fourteen days. After being discharged, the problem is continuing despite of regular medicine intake. I am depressed with my health condition. I have six children but no one stay with me. Despite of being physically weak I have to look after my ninety-three years older mother (B. B. Timilsina, Personal communication, May 18, 2023).

Emotional problem

Emotional problem is natural as the elderly people of Dhungharka have to remain in isolation without the proper maintenance and care. They are victimized by different

emotional problems like feeling of loneliness, suffering from anxiety and they do not want to migrate to city areas due to emotional attachment towards the village they are living in.

The interviews with some participants identified that they are emotionally weak when their children migrated from here. As one of the participant said,

If I feel better, I will cook, otherwise I will sleep without having food until next day. I missed my children very much. I want to die here in this village but sometimes, I feel of going to the elderly homes so that I can get proper maintenance and care from there (M. Bajgai, Personal Communication, May 17, 2023).

Another participant added,

I feel lonely, I missed my children badly. Despite of working hard or studying here in the village, no expected output was obtained so my children migrated to Kathmandu for better opportunity. One son drives a vehicle; another son sells vegetables and one stay here in the village but separated from us. I feel the life as burden for me. Since my children are far from me, I am suffering from anxiety (B. B. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 19, 2023).

The agricultural lands which were once productive turned into barren or less productive due to shortage of skilled labor. As the wage rates of the labor increased and unavailability of skilled labor at the required time, even the non-poor households did not want to hire labor, instead they prefer to use their own labor and save the costs, as those costs were not recouped through the sale of surplus production (Adhikari & Hobley, 2015). Out-migration has a negative impact on agriculture as it often leads to labor shortages in critical period of farm activities (Hussain et al., 2016). The similar kind of study performed by Gautam (2008) found that physical problems have been more difficult for the elderly people because they are physically weak and cannot contribute as other young labor forces. The elderly people in the village of Dhungharka are compelled to do their work for survival. Moreover, the village elderly people suffered from various emotional problems like anxiety, feeling of loneliness etc. Nearly hundred percent of the elderly expressed their views that they would feel happy if the whole family members were together, they feel the emptiness in the home environment as they could see no young adults and children around them (Gautam, 2008). Similar kind of research were carried out previously about the effect of out-migration of children on the elderly parents who are staying at old age homes after migration and found the significant physical and emotional problems faced by the elderly respondents where more than fifty percent of the elderly suffered from physical problems and nearly three- fourth of the respondents suffered from emotional problems including feeling of loneliness and strong desire to meet their children (Khanal, et al., 2018). However, similar kind of study found a contrasting result where remittance received and the joint family structure has contributed

to the care of elderly parents despite of migration of some family members (Ghimire, et al., 2018). The problem faced by the elderly people is due to the fact that the government does not have vision to make appropriate policies to accommodate the young generation to address their requirement of education, job assurance and security of life (Upadhyay, 2021). Making more money, more comfortable and freedom in living might be the pull factors for the migrants that have negatively impacted their elderly parents.

Expectation from the government

The elderly people of Dhungharkha have various health issues, they are unable to use the internet facilities due to low literacy rate of the elderly participants, the old age allowance they received is hardly sufficient to sustain their life. So, in this context, they expect the government for proper health management, an environment of e-learning so that the elderly parents remain connected with their children. The problem of elderly people can be solved if the government launches a program to retain youth in the village/country or increases the old age allowances.

While interviewing with the elderly participants of Dhungharkha to know about their expectations from the government, it was found that they have only few not much expectations. As one of the participant opined that,

There is rumor in the village that we will not get old age allowances. I missed my children very badly, so I expect the government not to cut the allowance and if possible increase the elderly allowances so that we can sustain our life easily. Besides this, I expect the government to create an e-learning environment so that we will get connected with our children and grandchildren (S. P. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

A retired school teacher added,

Actually, the first thing the government has to do is to create an environment to retain youth in the village/country, second is to distribute free medicines to elderly people in their household, the next thing is the provision of whole body check-up for the people above 70 years of age, if possible above 60 years of age at regular interval of time. If this happens then the diseases will be identified earlier and cured at early stage before the problem becomes chronic. So, I think the government should think about this while formulating policies of elderly people (K. B. Chhetri, Personal Communication, May 18, 2023).

Another participant said,

I have to go to the hospital regularly so I expect the government to provide

free medicines for the people like us because the health insurance program is not effectively implemented here. Some medicines are available free of cost while others are not. I have health problem so I expect government for proper health management for the elderly people. The medicines which I am consuming are unavailable here so I have to bring from another country (B. B. Timilsina, Personal Communication, May 19, 2023).

Similarly, the other participant added,

I do not want something big from the government, but I feel the government to establish the meeting centers for the people like us so that we can share our feelings and sentiments that might helps in reducing emotional problems like loneliness and anxiety (K. P. Gautam, Personal Communication, May 19, 2023).

Another female participant said,

The money provided by the government is not enough for me to get medical services so I expect the government to increase the old age allowance (S. B. K, Personal Communication, May 20, 2023).

The elderly people do not want something big from the government; they just want to have e- learning classes so that they know how to use internet and other social media to remain connected with their children that might help to reduce their loneliness and anxiety. They actually feel that there should be appropriate policies to address the problem of migration by creating an environment for retaining youth in the village. As majority of the elderly participants were suffering from some kind of health issues in one way or the other, they expect the government to distribute free medicines and free whole body checkup at regular interval of time.

Providing old age allowance is not only the option to ease their life but counseling and proper health care system is of urgent need to the elderly people of Dhungharkha. Since there is shortage of labor and lands are either barren or less cultivated and hence less productive as elderly people are physically weak to perform the work as young adults, less labor intensive high value cash crops could be the better option. The persisting problem will be overcome if government thinks about the issues while formulating policies related to elderly population.

Conclusion

Migration has become a most prominent issue in Nepal where majority of young people migrate internationally or nationally in search of various opportunities and this is the most favorable or pulling factors to the place of destination. It is due to the unavailability

of better opportunities like the studies or employment in the place of origin. Youth migration has brought a profound impact on the left behind elderly parents as their workload has increased; they have to look after themselves despite being physically and mentally weak. They were caught up by various health problems like back pain, knee pain, nerve problem, hypertension and diabetes. In this situation, self-care remains crucial as no one is available for the maintenance, care and support of the elderly people. They have to work by themselves; some were unable to do regular checkup, few elderly people lose their appetite, many have a feeling of loneliness and take a life as burden, some have a desire to meet their children as they missed them badly.

In Nepalese culture, sons are considered as the support to the elderly people in their old age. They are the insurance company i.e. the parents invest on them when they are growing and in turn when the parents become incapable due to their old age, it becomes the responsibility of the children to look after their parents. This is a kind of informal support system that is present in most of the societies. However, the life of the Nepalese elderly parents has become miserable as the trend of migration has increased at an exponential rate. This might be due to globalization or urbanization. This issue has to be properly addressed by policy initiatives from the side of the government. The study has been conducted in the rural settings of Dhungkharka, so it cannot be generalized to all elderly populations of Nepal. More in-depth research and comparative analysis between the rural and urban settings or between the migrant and the non-migrant household should be carried out to identify the major problems associated with elderly people and suggest the policy maker or the decision maker to formulate appropriate policies that actually helps elderly people to lead a happier and dignified life.

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