

**WOMEN'S FOREIGN LABOUR MIGRATION AND HOUSEHOLD GENDER  
DYNAMICS IN DUPCHESHWOR NUWAKOT**

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Central Department of Sociology

Tribhuvan University

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MPhil in Sociology

Submitted by:

Dipendra Pandey

TU Regd. No.: 6-4-28-2-2018

Central Department of Sociology

Tribhuvan University

2024

Tribhuvan Univeristy  
Faculty of Humanity and Social Sciences  
Central Department of Sociology  
Kirtipur Kathmandu

**LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION**

This thesis entitled **“Women’s Foreign Labor Migration and Household Gender Dynamics in Dupcheshwor, Nuwakot”** has been prepared by Dipendra Pandey under my supervision for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for MPhil in sociology. I am satisfied with his dissertation and I would like to recommend this dissertation to be examined by the dissertation evaluation committee of Tribhuvan University.

.....

Guman Singh Khatri, PhD  
Asstant Professor  
(Dissertation Supervisor)  
Central Department of Sociology  
Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

Date:

Tribhuvan Univeristy  
Faculty of Humanity and Social Sciences  
Central Department of Sociology  
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

**LETTER OF APPROVAL**

This dissertation entitled “**Women’s Foreign Labor Migration and Household Gender Dynamics in Dupcheshwor Nuwakot**” prepared and submitted by Dipendra Pandey, has been evaluated and approved for the partial fulfillment of the requirement of MPhil Degree in Sociology by the dissertation evaluation committee.

**Dissertation Evaluation Committee:**

Asst. Prof. Guman Singh Khatri, PhD

Supervisor .....

Prof. Youba Raj Luintel, PhD

Head of the Department

External Examiner .....

Assoc. Prof. Tikaram Gautam, Ph. D.

External Examiner .....

Prof. Youba Raj Luintel, PhD

Head of the Department .....

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted for candidature for any other degree.

.....

Dipendra Pandey

Date:

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am honored and grateful to the Central Department of Sociology for harnessing my academic horizon and providing me the space to carry out the research on the topic of my interest.

My sincere gratitude remains with my respected supervisor Assistant Professor Dr. Guman Singh Khatri who has guided me throughout this course through his constructive inputs and encouragement to accomplish this dissertation. I have thoroughly enjoyed his supervision and learnt valuable insights with his intellectuality. I am equally thankful to the Head of Department Prof. Dr. Youba Raj Luintel, Prof. Dr. Chaitanya Mishra, Prof. Dr. Tulsi Ram Pandey, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tika Gautam and all the teachers who have enlightened me in the course of my enthusiasm for pursuing the M Phil degree in sociology.

I would like to thank all of my amazing fellow friends of 7th batch of M Phil in Sociology for making me introduced and inspiring me with their dynamic perspectives. I must thanks to Mr. Dinesh Kharel for his guidance and motivation for making my dissertation accomplished. I would like thank Ms. Suruchi Khadka for her endless supports and motivation that made this journey successful. I am thankful to all those respondents; for their valuable time and being so cooperative during the interview process and I am also thankful to Mr. Vishnu Chaudhary and his team for their valuable support during the field study.

I am very much grateful to my parents Khadak Bdr. Pandey and Mira Devi Pandey for their endless and countless guidance, inspiration, endless love and care. I am indebted to My grandmother Belmati Devi and Aunty Nirmala for their supports, motivation and blessings and my dear brother Shubhash, sister-in-law Anisha , sister Punam always there for motivating me to accomplish the task.

Thank you!

## Abstract

The research has explored how women's foreign labor migration affects gendered division of household labor. In course of research, researcher has selected rural village of Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality as its study site and carried out the in-depth Interviews among the households, in which there was at least one married woman involved in foreign employment. The researcher assesses how women's foreign labor migration influences the decision making power of women within the household. In addition to, the research explores the impact of women's foreign labor migration on traditional gender roles in the households of Dupcheshwor Nuwakot, Nepal in connection with the returnees from foreign employment. In course of research, researcher has taken in-depth interviews with the household of migrant women and returnees from foreign employment that has spent at least one year time in foreign employment. To conduct the research, interpretive research paradigm and qualitative methods has been adopted

In the course of the research, it has been identified that, Women's foreign labor migration has significantly affected the gendered division of household labor in the households. Traditionally, women in the household were responsible for the household labor. There was nothing change in the decision making power of women due to foreign labor migration and persistence of traditional gender roles in the households, has been recognized.

Key words: *Women, foreign labor migration, gender dynamics, Household.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>LETTER OF APPROVAL.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DECLARATION .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>CHAPTER-I .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	6
1.3 Research Questions.....	9
1.4 Significance of the Study .....	9
1.6 Limitation of the Study .....	11
<b>CHAPTER II.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>HOUSEHOLD GENDER DYANMICS AND FOREIGN LABOR MIGRATION .....</b>	<b>13</b>
2.1 Theoretical Review .....	14
2.1.1 Structural Functionalism .....	14
2.1.2 Socialist-Feminist Approach.....	17
2.2 Empirical Review .....	19
2.2.1 Understanding Migration from a Gender Perspective .....	19
2.2.2 An Overview of Women and Migration.....	26
2.2.3 Gendered Division of Labor and Household Dynamics.....	28
2.2.4 Foreign Labor Migration of Women in the Context of Nepal .....	31
2.3 Research Gap .....	34
<b>CHAPTER III.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>RSEARCH METHOD.....</b>	<b>36</b>
3.1 Research Philosophy.....	36
3.2 Research Design .....	37
3.3 Nature and Source of Data .....	38

3.3.1 Secondary Sources.....	39
3.3.2 Primary Sources.....	39
3.4 Justification of Selecting a Study Area.....	40
3.5 Sampling .....	40
3.6 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection .....	41
3.6.1 In-Depth Interview.....	41
3.7 Ethical Considerations .....	42
3.8 Data Analysis.....	42
<b>INTRODUCTION TON THE STUDY AREA AND RESPONDENTS .....</b>	<b>44</b>
4.1 Demographic Features in Study Area.....	44
4.2 Demographic Features of the Sample Households.....	46
4.3 Women involved in foreign employment at Dupcheshwor .....	49
4.4 Household Related Chores in Dpucheshwor .....	49
<b>CHAPTER-V .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>HOUSEHOLDS VIEWS ON WOMEN’S FOREIGN LABOR MIGRATION .....</b>	<b>51</b>
5.1 Division of Domestic Labor in the Household Members.....	51
5.2 Shifts in the Responsibilities of Household Chores.....	53
5.3 Challenges in Managing Household Labor due to Women’s Foreign Labor Migration.....	56
5.4 Impact of Women's Absence on Household Gender Dynamics .....	57
5.5 Primary Decision Makers in the Household Chores Based on Gender.....	59
5.6 Areas of Household Decision Making.....	61
<b>CHAPTER-VI.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>PERCEPTIONS OF MIGRANT RETURNEES ON WOMEN’S FOREIGN LABOR MIGRATION.....</b>	<b>63</b>
6.1 Migrants Women and Household Decision Making.....	63
6.2 From Departure to Return: Women’s Foreign Labor Migration and Household Decision Making.....	64
6.3 Traditional Gender Roles Prior to women's Foreign Labor Migration .....	66
6.4 Traditional Household Roles and Prime Responsibility .....	66
6.5 Traditional Gender Roles in the Household and Migrant Returnees .....	67
<b>CHAPTER-VII.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>THEORITICAL REFLECTION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>71</b>

7.1 Theoretical Linkage .....	71
7.2 Summary and Conclusion .....	73
<b>References .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>ANNEX-I .....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Checklists for Household.....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>ANNEX-II .....</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>Checklists for Returnees.....</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>ANNEX-III .....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>Name list of the Respondents .....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>ANNEX-IV.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Some Glimpses from Dupcheshwor during the Interviews.....</b>	<b>93</b>

## **LIST OF TABLES**

- Table 4.1: Demographic Features of the Sample Respondents
- Table 4.2: Household Chores based on Prime Responsibility
- Table 5.1: Participation in Community level Meetings
- Table 6.1: Involvement of women on household decision making

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 4.1 Country-based Categorization of Women in Foreign Labor Migration

Figure 5.1: Division of Domestic Chores in the Household

Figure 5.2: Responses on Prime Decision Makers on Household Chores

Figure 6.2: Traditional Household Roles Pre-migration

Figure 6.3: Traditional Household Roles: Change and Persistence

## ACRONYMS

- EAP - Economically Active Population
- GCC - Gulf Cooperation Council
- HH - Household
- ILO - International Labor Organization
- INSTRAW- International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of  
Women
- IOM - International Organization for Migration
- RM - Rural Municipality
- UNDESA - United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
- UN - United Nation
- UNMDD - United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary

## **CHAPTER-I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Migration is movement of person or people from one geographical location to another and one country to another is international migration. According to United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary UN (1956) migration is defined as a sort of structural or geographical movement between two geographical components. Along with two sets of people, migration entails two sets of locations: the origin and destination. People moving between administrative and political regions within a nation or between nations have played a significant role in the transformation of societies. According to Bhende and Kanitkar (2006), there are two main types of migration: internal migration, which occurs within a country, and international migration, which occurs over international borders.

Globally, international migration has become gradually more diversified as a result of recent global economic and geo-political changes, in addition to policy moves. These modifications could have diverse effects on male and female, leading to migratory patterns that are gendered. The concept of migration and its associations to development is improved by gender analysis. There are gender-specific distinctions in the information accessible regarding migration, its opportunities and costs, the support services available during migration, and the experience of returning home. Migration situation in Nepal is dominated by migration of Nepalese for overseas employment.

The major reasons of migration inside Nepal are usually known to be food insecurity, poverty, uneven income distribution, and local differences in labor demand. The relative importance of these variables varies according to age, sex, education, and occupational skill (KC, 2003). The tradition of migrating for overseas employment from Nepal dates back to two centuries ago, but it gained formal recognition with the enactment of the Foreign Employment Act in 1985. Due to sluggish economic development and a scarcity of job prospects domestically, many individuals are compelled to seek work abroad. Foreign labor migration from Nepal has shown steady growth over the years (Sijapati, Mak, Zimmerman, and Kiss, 2019).

The growing trend of women migration open a novel discourse to traditional roles performed by men and women since long historical period of time where women are taking role of breadwinner and attain independent income; hence obtained new social position both in household and society (IOM, 2005). There is a plenty of research focusing on the effects of male-out migration on the wives and household missing behind, in comparison to the effects of female-out migration on husbands, children and other household members. Though, rising data indicates that the migration of married women reshapes the household gender dynamics where husbands are left behind (Hugo, 2002). Most texts concerning Nepal advises that women migrate mostly due to limited economic opportunities and poor livelihood circumstances. Additional factors on time women to look for employment overseas comprise marital issues, gender discrimination, objectives to progress their children's future, and the need to service debts.

This type of results indicate that household financial concern considerably manipulate the decisions of migrants women (Mishra, 2022). Women's migration and their ensuing absence in the households can undermine household structures and defy traditional gender roles. On one hand, women migration can alter their status and improve their financial autonomy. On the other hand, it dislocates the traditional gender roles such as breadwinning, homemaking, rearing children, decision making power, and the dynamics of husband-wife relations. Gender roles were embedded, with men assumed to be the main decision-makers due to their role as breadwinners, whereas women were often demoted to financial dependence. Accordingly, women had inadequate access to and control over domestic resources, using modest influence on decision making, even concerning their own actions. It is vital to know that the traditional gender roles of breadwinner of men and homemaker of women have undergone important changes due to female migration. Several returning migrants have observed dissimilarities in household dynamics upon their return.

The growing division of labor and power dynamics are reshaping gender roles and relationships. The transition of women from homemaking to breadwinning enhances their wisdom of pride, value, and respect in the household. Conversely, men resist maintaining their traditional provider roles in the face of diminishing breadwinner status, so far adapting to changing gender norms to make sure the endurance of their households (Chaudhary, 2022). The extent of women's authority in household decision-making appeared closely tied to the household's structure and the women's standing within its hierarchy.

In nuclear households, where women assumed the role of household leaders during their husbands' absence, many reported a heightened involvement in decision-making following their husbands' migration. Conversely, women residing in extended households, governed by other household members, often noted either a stagnant or diminished influence over decisions post-migration. In such setups, decisions typically fell under the purview of in-laws or other senior household figures. Thus, women assuming household leadership roles tended to see an uptick in decision-making authority after their husbands' departure, whereas those under the authority of other household members might experience a decline in their ability to negotiate and influence decisions (Joshi Rajkarnikar, 2017).

In Nepal, conventional gender roles typically position men as primary decision-makers while women are relegated to economic dependence. Women often encounter barriers to accessing and managing household resources, exerting minimal influence in household decisions, including those pertaining to their own health (Acharya et al., 2010). Gender roles permeate every aspect of society, beginning with the allocation of tasks within the family unit. These roles, socially constructed and culturally ingrained, are viewed as customary and anticipated. They delineate specific traits associated with masculinity for men and femininity for women, shaping societal expectations and norms accordingly. For example, men are supposed to be natural leaders, decision makers and providers in society, beginning within the family, while women are the caregivers and supporters of men. In addition, women are usually allocated the role of domestic chores as if it were normal for them to do this.

This type of work is often hidden and not paid for (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010: 767-780). In numerous cultures, women perceive household chores as their inherent responsibility. It's evident that women predominantly handle all domestic cleaning tasks and regard it as their obligation upon marriage into another household. In the typical Nepalese household, there's a clear division of labor based on gender roles. Women primarily handle household chores including fetching water, gathering firewood, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children and the elderly. Meanwhile, men predominantly engage in income-generating activities outside the home, occupying the public sphere (Kasper, 2005).

By tradition, Nepali migrant workers have mostly looked for work in India. However, starting in the middle of the 1980s, Nepalese have also begun to move in search of work to the Gulf States and Malaysia. This has led to a rise in the number of migrant workers as well as a proliferation of labor recruiting agencies and brokers. Over the last twenty years, there has been a rise in the number of Nepali women looking for employment overseas and a gradual acknowledgement of their importance as economic players. According to the 2016 NDHS, married women in Nepal are less likely to decide on significant household purchases (53%) and more likely to have single or shared decision-making authority over their personal health care (58%) and visits to relatives or friends (56%). In all, 38% of married women take part in each of the three choices. There is some evidence to suggest that major household and financial decisions are still taken by men, even if they are overseas for work (Sherpa, 2010)

However the huge group of foreign labor migrants from Nepal is men, the number of women who are migrating to work abroad is also gradually escalating. Between 2008/2009 to 2017/2018, the number of permits issued to women labor migrants increased by 160 per cent, compared to an increase of only 56 per cent for men. When women migrate, particularly those who are married and/or have children, someone else needs to continue the child rearing and household work. Where this falls to daughters, this can affect the ability of the daughter to go to school and obtain an education. Migration of men or women causes stress on families, on parent-children relationships and on marriages.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In the past few decades, there has been a gradual increase in the figure of women migrating in foreign employment. (Sijapati, Mak, Zimmerman, and Kiss, 2019). This trend in foreign labor migration gained momentum, mainly after the 1990s, largely due to the rapid process of globalization and changes in the economic and political landscape within the country. The number of Nepalese women traveling abroad in search of employment has significantly increased recently. Only 161 women moved between 1985 and 2001, according to official statistics, but by 2014–2015, that number had skyrocketed to 21,421. Nevertheless, migration via unofficial routes and cross-border movement to India are not included in these figures (Government of Nepal, 2014; Gioli et al., 2017).

With 70% of its migrants being women, Nepal has the largest percentage of gendered migrants in Southern Asia; Saudi Arabia and India are the top destinations (United Nations, 2019). The increasing trend of female migration opens a new discourse to traditional roles performed by men and women from long historical periods where women are taking the role of breadwinner and acquire independent income; thus take up new social positions both in family and society (IOM, 2005). The migration of females and their resulting absence from households can destabilize family structures and challenge traditional gender roles. On the other hand, it disrupts the traditional gender roles in the household such as breadwinning, homemaking, childcare, decision-making authority, and the dynamics of husband-wife relationships. In the context of Nepal, traditional gender roles generally place men as primary decision makers and women are demoted to economic dependence.

Women in the household have no significant access to household resources and they have not decision-making power even share about their own health (Acharya et al., 2010). In numerous cultures, women perceive household chores as their inherent responsibility. It's evident that women predominantly handle all domestic cleaning tasks and regard it as their obligation upon marriage into another household. In the typical Nepalese household, there's a clear division of labor based on gender roles. Women primarily handle household chores including fetching water, gathering firewood, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children and the elderly. Meanwhile, men predominantly engage in income-generating activities outside the home, occupying the public sphere (Kasper, 2005).

Many global to national journal article published has focused on male out migration and women's decision making power and not able to incorporate the context of rural communities with indigenous ethnicities. The crucial issue is that most of the global and national literature has focused on male-out migration and its impact on the females left behind. Very few relevant articles can be found regarding female migration but they have not incorporated the impact of female labor migration on household gender dynamics or mainly on male in the household while handling the household responsibilities that female previously managed. Moreover, there is also no research carried out regarding whether the traditional gender roles and decision making power of women in the household change or persist upon their return from foreign labor migration.

Based on the various related literatures, it has been identified that somehow economic independence of women has positive impact to reduce gender inequality within household in Nepal but the questions such as does female foreign labor migration has affect the division of household labor and challenges faced by family specially male family members left behind how they are coping with the role previously handled by their wives/daughter-in-laws and does really make change in the traditional gender roles and decision making power of women in the household after returned from foreign labor migration? These are some crucial questions; this research has attempted to search the answers from rural communities where most of the households belong to indigenous community.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- (i) How does the absence of women due to foreign labor migration affect the gendered division of household labor?
- (ii) What changes occur in women's participation in the household decision making roles due to women's foreign labor migration?
- (iii) To what extent do the traditional gender roles change within the household upon women's return home from foreign labor migration?

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The proposed research is of profound significance for several reasons, both within the context of Nepal and in the broader scope of sociological research on gender, labor migration, and household dynamics. This study will contribute to the understanding of how gender roles and dynamics shift in response to labor migration. In many societies, including Nepal, traditional gender roles assign domestic responsibilities primarily to women. When women migrate for work and men stay behind, this conventional division of labor is disrupted. By examining these changes, the study will provide insights into the flexibility and rigidity of gender roles in the face of economic necessity and cultural change. The research will shed light on how the absence of women due to foreign labor migration affects the division of domestic labor within households.

Understanding these dynamics is crucial for assessing the extent to which men are taking on roles traditionally seen as female responsibilities, and how this redistribution of labor impacts family life and child-rearing practices. The study will explore the impact of labor migration on women's decision-making power within their households.

Traditionally, Nepali women may have limited authority over household decisions. By earning income and contributing financially to their families from abroad, migrant women might experience shifts in their decision-making power. This research will evaluate whether economic contributions translate into greater autonomy and authority for women in their homes.

Findings from this research can inform policymakers about the social impacts of labor migration policies. Understanding the effects on family structures and gender relations can guide the development of support systems for families affected by migration, ensuring that policies are gender-sensitive and promote equality. Finally, the research has the potential to empower Nepali women by highlighting the challenges and opportunities they face. By bringing these issues to the forefront, the study can advocate for social changes that support women's rights and promote gender equality, both in Nepal and in similar contexts worldwide. In conclusion, the significance of this study lies in its potential to enhance our understanding of the complex interplay between gender, labor migration, and household dynamics. It promises to provide valuable insights that can inform both academic discourse and practical policy-making aimed at fostering gender equity and improving the well-being of families affected by migration.

## **1.5 Organization of the Study**

Basically the research study has been organized into six chapters. Initially, the study begins with the introduction chapter, which comprises that introducing the research issue, research problem, research questions and objectives, significance of the study and organization of the study. The second chapter deals with the review of several empirical and theoretical literatures and provides idea about previous researches and support to find out the relevant fact and figures related the objectives of thesis. Likewise, the third chapter contains methodologies that were used for the data collection and sampling size of the study area. The fourth chapter provides an overview of the site selection procedure and provides information on the research locations that were selected. The data collected from survey has been analyzed and interpreted in fifth chapter. Finally, the sixth chapter recapitulates entire report and draws conclusion. These major chapters are followed by references and annexes associated to the study.

## **1.6 Limitation of the Study**

This study is an academic investigation into foreign labor migration from a gender perspective; however, due to limited resources, only a few relevant aspects of gender and migration will be covered, such as the impact of long-term female foreign migration on the gendered division of domestic labor, the impact of foreign labor migration on decision making power within community and household level and the study will also focused on the traditional gender roles in the household whether change or persist due to

women's on foreign labor migration. To conduct this study, local habitants who engaged on foreign employment mainly on golf countries from Dupcheshwar Rural Municipality of Nuwakot district will be the universe for the study. The study sample will comprise households with at least one married woman who has been engaged in foreign employment for at least one year, as well as households with women who have recently returned from such employment.

## CHAPTER II

### HOUSEHOLD GENDER DYNAMICS AND FOREIGN LABOR MIGRATION

According to Goren and Ginter (2023), traditionally, there has been a gendered division of labor, often characterized by stereotypical roles where men are expected to engage in paid work outside the home, while women are typically responsible for domestic tasks and care giving. Gender dynamics of household division of labor known as daily duties/works that are divided among male and female in the households. The traditional gender-based division of labor was stereotype in which the roles of men as a breadwinner who earns for the household and women's role as a home maker, which is unpaid labor in the household such as cooking, cleaning, rearing children, care giving old age household member which are done within household.

Review of literature has crucial role to carry out the academic research. The literature review is a textual summary of important publications and other resources relevant to gender dynamics within household of foreign labor migration. Literature review involves researching, reading, analyzing, evaluating and summarizing of academic literature such as journals, articles, books, research reports, dissertation etc. and it helps the researcher to know about the historical background, nature of the topic and help to identify research gaps and problem statement in connection to topic chosen. Literature review has classified into two categories.

Theoretical review of focuses on the theoretical concepts related to the gender dynamics in the household and women's foreign labor migration .It helps researchers to recognize the existing theoretical perspectives and find out the gaps in the contemporary knowledge on the these related subjects and issues. An empirical review, analyzes prior empirical studies in order to provide an answer to a research questions. The researcher scrutinizes the results and findings of previous research topics to derive trends, patterns, gaps and convergence in the existing knowledge. The author examines the current state of knowledge on migration from gender perspective and historical context of the gender and migration. It helps researchers understand the current state of research in the field and provides a basis for their own empirical study. This chapter deals with the both types of literature review as discussed above which are as follows.

## **2.1 Theoretical Review**

### **2.1.1 Structural Functionalism**

Structural functionalism, a sociological perspective embedded in the work of Talcott Parsons and Émile Durkheim, views society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. According to this theory, social institutions and structures (such as family, education, and economy) exist because they serve crucial functions for societal existence and cohesion. Each component of society has specific roles and norms that contribute to the overall functioning and equilibrium of the system.

Within the structural functionalist approach, traditional gender roles are perceived as functional for maintaining social order and strength. Generally, men are allocated the breadwinner role (public activities/primary earner), whereas women are allocated the homemakers role (household responsibilities). This division of labor is perceived to improve the proficient functioning of the household unit by letting each gender to concentrate in certain duties, thus contributing to the overall solidity and harmony of the household. Female migration in foreign employment induces important changes to the traditional genders roles and functions within the household. When women engaged in foreign employment, they temporarily or permanently leave their homemakers roles, making a gap in the functions of the household. This condition challenges the structural functionalism perspective, which relies on predefined roles to maintain social order.

Structural functionalism argues that households must adapt to the absence of women by reallocating roles to sustain balance. Men and other household members (such as grandparents or older children) may take on responsibilities traditionally handled by women. This shift reflects a functional re-evaluation where the household unit restructures to carry on performing required functions in the women's absence. The financial assistance of migrant women, by means of remittances can also be observed through a structural functionalist glance. These remittances serve up crucial financial functions, supporting household solidity and enabling investments in health, education, and other areas. Thus, as the women are physically missing, their financial assistances reinforce the household's financial base, reflecting an adaptation that maintains entire functionality

Returnee migrant women often discover that the gender roles in their households have shifted. Returnee women might restart their homemaker's roles, but with novel skills, experiences, and financial assistances, they might also assume more instrumental roles. Structural functionalism would view this as an adaptive process where household roles evolve to integrate the new functional capacities of returnee women, potentially leading to more egalitarian role distributions. The reintegration of women into their households can lead to a renegotiation of gender roles, contributing to a new social balance. This balance reflect a dynamic functional adaptation where both men and women share instrumental and expressive tasks more equitably, endorsing a balanced and resilient household structure. Structural functionalism would posit that as more households experience and adapt to these shifts, the community's collective norms may gradually evolve, leading to broader societal changes in gender roles and expectations.

Structural functionalism provides a valuable framework for understanding the impact of female labor migration on household gender dynamics. The theory emphasizes the adaptability and functional reassessment required to maintain social stability when traditional roles are dislocated. Female labor migration challenges and reshapes the established gender roles within households, necessitating a rearrange of tasks and responsibilities that can eventually lead to more flexible household structures. Through this lens, the evolving roles of migrant women and their households highlight the dynamic interaction between individual agency and structural functionality in the face of changing social and economic realities.

### **2.1.2 Socialist-Feminist Approach**

The phenomenon of women's foreign labor migration has become increasingly prevalent in many societies, particularly in rural areas of developing countries like Nepal. This study proposes to explore the impact of women's foreign labor migration on household gender dynamics within the context of Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality. To provide a broad understanding, this study had adopted another theoretical base rooted in the principles of socialist feminism. Socialist feminism offers a nuanced perspective that intertwines analyses of both capitalism and patriarchy, providing insights into the interconnectedness of economic exploitation and gender oppression. This theoretical lens illuminates the ways in which women's foreign labor migration influences power relations (decision making), gender roles, and household dynamics.

Socialist feminism posits that gender domination is deeply tangled with class exploitation within capitalist systems. In the context of women's foreign labor migration, this perspective emphasizes the exploitation of women's labor within household areas. Women's migration for work often reflects their financial weakness inside patriarchal structures, in which they are demoted to low-wage and unstable jobs. In addition, socialist feminism highlights the traditions in which gender norms and expectations meet with capitalist dynamics to reinforce women's subordination inside households.

Within the household, the migration of women for labor significantly reshapes traditional gender roles and power dynamics. Socialist feminism argues that women's absence due to migration may challenge existing patriarchal norms by disrupting traditional divisions of labor and homemaking responsibilities. However, it also acknowledges that women's migration escalates of their burden upon return, as they are often expected to fulfill both domestic and breadwinning roles. Moreover, female labor migration can create changes in intra-household decision-making processes and perceptions of gender roles among family members.

Socialist feminism emphasizes the importance of intersectionality in understanding gender dynamics, recognizing that women's experiences are shaped by intersecting systems of oppression based on race, class, caste, ethnicity, and other social categories. In the context of study area, it is crucial to examine how intersecting factors such as caste, socioeconomic status, and geographic location intersect with gender to shape women's experiences of labor migration and household dynamics. Based on this framework, this research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the impact of female labor migration on household gender dynamics in Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality. By critically examining the relationship between capitalism, patriarchy, and gendered labor migration, this study seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding gender relations in the context of rural migration.

## **2.2 Empirical Review**

### **2.2.1 Understanding Migration from a Gender Perspective**

The concept "gender" is crucial when discussing migration. This phrase has been applied to the movement of women for the improvement of their rights and quality of life both inside and outside of their nation. People are migrating across the nation and the globe in search of better opportunities. This is how people are moving inside their own nation, moving abroad permanently to other nations, especially industrialized ones and moving there temporarily to meet labor shortages in the Middle East. Their desire, hope, and aspirations for the advancement of their family and themselves are driving them to migrate, emigrate, or migrate. Forced migration is another reason they are migrating. Minority inequality, political, social, and economic conditions, as well as natural calamities, are the reasons behind this. It is a reality that gender and sexual identity may influence a person's experience of migration.

Different migration narratives, such as where and how to migrate, are influenced by gender. What makes you migrate? What are migratory networks? Who goes abroad? The risk and vulnerability of migration are also influenced by variations in gender and community. Consequently, it's critical to understand how gender and migration affect one another and how they're interrelated International migration increasingly includes gender as a significant factor. Study on women in the Diaspora of migration started in the 1970s and 1980s.

The significance of gender-based migration is also highlighted by feminist theory. According to the idea, gender influences behavior, power dynamics, and interpersonal relationships. Gender, according to feminism, is socially constructed and structured. Instead of emphasizing men vs. women, feminism in the 1980s and 1990s concentrated on gender. It drives migration and associated activities, including settling into a new nation, maintaining a way of life there, and overall results. Many questions have been highlighted by the feminist perspective that gender is a social construction. The issue is on the strength of patriarchy, which gives males several ways to manipulate women in developing nations. In such circumstances, how are women able to migrate? What effects do men-woman relationships have on women's migration, particularly when family issues come up? As women are often the ones who take care of their families, does this change when they go abroad in search of employment opportunities?

Gender has been defined by the International Organization Migration (IOM). The organization says that gender is values, attitude, power, influence, relationship; through which society can assign people based on their sexual orientation. Gender is thus a social contract with roles and relationships among the populace. Conversely, the UN has defined migration, is human mobility. Humanity has been relocating in search of food, housing, employment, family reunification, and other necessities since the beginning of time. With the advent of automation, development, and settlement, migration has become a global phenomenon. The emergence of the global economy has led to an expansion in the ideas around migration. Most of the time, migration is misunderstood as a male accomplishment, and women were dependent on males.

Due to the emigration, immigration, and internal and international mobility of both men and women, gender has played a significant role in the migration narrative. To improve the status of women, particularly those from underdeveloped nations, gender has been included in migration. Gender has been incorporated for the protection of women through their mobility rather than the family server since women require independence and individual rights. The International Labor Organization (ILO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) are two organizations that have supported the gender narrative in migration. Gender influences reasons for migrating, who migrates and to where, how people migrate and the networks they use, opportunities and resources available at destinations, and relations with the country of origin. Migration tendencies that are particular to a certain gender are influenced by the status and gender roles of men and women in families and sending communities. Understanding women's migration is especially crucial as their social, economic, and political standing in society at large are shaped by their roles and status as well as the stages of their lives.

According to Boyd (1995), Pedraza (1991), and the UN (1995), women's ability to migrate is influenced by societal sex stratification and gender relations in their families and wider societies. Additionally, women's positions within these communities can have a differential impact on their likelihood of migrating. For these reasons, migration can be viewed as a sex-selective process. This process affects how many men or women make up a migration flow, partly by affecting the kind of migration that departs from a sending nation. Man-dominated labor emigration from an area may result from socio-cultural limitations that prohibit women from departing.

Men, on the other hand, could face significant societal pressure to stay in the region, but women might still decide to go to work or get married abroad (Morokvasic, 1984; Pedraza, 1991). Migration tendencies are also influenced by societal systems of sex stratification, which are mediated via established gender roles. For instance, if women's contributions to the local economy are not seen vital, they may be more prone to migrate. Gender-specific migratory propensities can also be influenced by the macro- and structural features of the country of origin. Macro/structural traits by themselves won't always deter more women than men from emigrating. These traits, however, may interplay with gender roles and women's status in the sending community.

These relationships have varied effects on men and women and might make migratory patterns more sex selective (Boyd, 1992; Lim, 1995; UN, 1994). Male and female migrants may be affected differently by national policies of the countries of origin that include prohibitive, selective, permissive, promotional, or expulsive leave regulations (Lim, 1995). Implicit or explicit presumptions about the position and duties of men and women in the home and in society usually serve as the foundation for these policies. To safeguard women from exploitation, for instance, several labor exporting nations have included "conditions" in their legislation that essentially prohibit women from migrating for work. Both male and female migration is influenced by the immigration rules and legislation of the destination nation.

There are four ways in which these regulations may influence men's and women's ability to move. First, many receiving nations' immigration rules delicately assume that men and women have independent migratory statuses while women are dependent migrants. Second, immigration policies of receiving cultures push women into a family role as different to a market role by unvoiced classifying immigrant women as dependent and males as independent (Boyd, 1975, 1976; Fincher, Foster and Wilmot, 1994). Third, the sorts of jobs that employ migrant women laborers might be influenced by traditional gender norms and stereotypes on women's everyday jobs in society.

Fourth, presuppositions on women's position and duties in the house and in society have an impact on the migration laws of the state of target, which might have an impact on the allocation of sexes in foreign migration patterns. There is a greater abundance of research focusing on the effects of male labor migration on the wives and families left behind, in comparison to the effects of female migration on husbands and children remaining at home. However, emerging evidence indicates that the migration of married women reshapes the gender dynamics within households where husbands are left behind (Hugo, 2002). When a woman migrates for employment, her roles as a wife and mother become restricted. Previous studies have demonstrated that in the absence of the wife/mother, husbands, often with the assistance of female relatives and older children, assume the responsibilities previously carried out by the wives (Thao, 2015). The shift away from traditional gender roles proved to be temporary.

The data indicates that mothers reverted back to childcare, cooking, and cleaning responsibilities upon returning home during holidays, as societal norms dictated. Further studies on female migrants returning home corroborate this reversal of traditional roles highlighted by fathers, showing that mothers promptly resumed their customary duties (Hugo 2002). Discussions regarding the impact of female migration on husbands and fathers left behind underscore the tensions that arise when women begin to earn, sometimes surpassing their husbands' income. This situation can escalate into conflict, particularly when the husband, who stays at home, becomes reliant on remittances sent by the migrant wife.

Certain authors, like Thao (2015), have explored the notion of husbands feeling emasculated due to their wives' higher earning capacity. Some husbands perceive their wives' economic empowerment as a challenge to their masculinity, especially when the wives take on household duties traditionally assigned to women. The migration of females and their resulting absence from households can destabilize family structures and challenge traditional gender roles. On one hand, female migration can alter their status and enhance their economic independence. On the other hand, it disrupts the conventional gender roles such as breadwinning, homemaking, childcare, decision-making authority, and the dynamics of husband-wife relationships. In nuclear families where women assumed the breadwinner role, husbands frequently consulted their wives regarding the use of remittances. Conversely, migrants living with their in-laws often encountered different dynamics, with the family making decisions independently despite consulting with the migrant (Chaudhary, 2022).

It's important to recognize that the conventional gender roles of breadwinner for men and homemaker for women have undergone significant changes due to female migration. With women taking on the role of breadwinner and men adapting to roles as husbands or househusbands, traditional gender norms have shifted, resulting in a transfer of decision-making power from men to women. This shift often occurs when female migrants return home and resume their previous responsibilities, while men typically revert to their previous roles within the family. Many returning migrants have observed differences in family dynamics upon their return. The evolving division of labor and power dynamics are reshaping gender roles and relationships. For instance, wives are now assuming the role of primary breadwinners while husbands are increasingly involved in household affairs and childcare, in addition to their own professional pursuits, often with assistance from other family members. Women migrating empower themselves through their role as breadwinners in a transnational context, while the families they leave behind, particularly husbands, grapple with managing domestic duties and childcare. This shift in household dynamics is driven by the increased reliance on remittances from migrant family members. In countries like Nepal, remittances become vital for survival and daily expenses, leading families to accept the evolving power dynamics both within and outside the home (Chaudhary, 2022). Women who engage more in income-generating activities have a greater role in household decision-making compared to those primarily involved in household consumption activities. Husbands consult women with earning power more frequently, particularly on matters that require financial contributions from the women (Sikod, 2007).

### 2.2.2 An Overview of Women and Migration

Male migrants outnumbered female migrants in international migration streams in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Seller, 1994). There is no longer demography like this. According to Tyree and Donato (1986) and the UN (1995), women now account for almost 45% of all foreign migrants. Even though the number of women migrating internationally is rising, there hasn't been much study done on female migrants until lately, despite the possibility that their experiences may differ significantly from those of males. Still, more study on migrating women has bolstered a different criticism.

In addition to disregarding and misrepresenting migrant women, gender-insensitive conceptual frameworks are frequently used in migration research, which makes it difficult to stress or adequately explain the ways in which gender and migration interact. A woman's ability to make autonomous decisions may be restricted by the expansion of patriarchal relationships beyond the home to the public sphere. It could also have an impact on her access to public or non-family resources (such as employment, training programs, money, education, knowledge, etc.) that might make migration easier (Tienda and Booth, 1991). On the other hand, because patriarchal relationships provide men easier access to the resources they need to start a move; they may encourage male migration rather than female migration.

The literature on women and migration contends that three levels of analysis—individual, familial, and societal—must be taken into account when assessing how women's position and responsibilities affect their inclination to move (Lim, 1995). Age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed), reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in the family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labor force experience, and class position are examples of individual factors. According to Lim (1995), Tienda and Booth (1991), Simon and Brettell (1986), UN (1994), family variables include size, age/sex composition, life-cycle stage, structure (nuclear, extended, etc.), status (single parent, both parents, etc.), and class standing. According to Morokvasic (1984) and Simon and Brettell (1986), societal determinants encompass the norms and cultural values that govern the migration of women, including whether or not they can travel, how (such as via labor or family reunion), and with whom (alone or with family).

The study on female migration often concentrates on two major status variables that might shift as a result of migration. The first is how immigrant women are treated in their households. According to Morokvasic (1984) and Tienda and Booth (1991), migration may result in increased social mobility, economic independence, and relative autonomy for certain women. If migrating women don't find new ways to fill in their former roles—especially those of childcare and housework—joining the labor force may make them feel more burdened (Simon and Brettell, 1986).

Gender dynamics inside a family may also remain mostly unchanged as a result of migration, since it may merely shift patriarchal dominance from origin to destination countries. This might imply that migratory women lack control over their own income even when they work. In addition, research on women and migration highlights the ways in which family and society interact. Women's standing in society might rise as a result of migration without affecting their place in the family hierarchy. For instance, this might occur in a setting where flexible sexual hierarchies allow migratory women, whose status in the family may not change, to participate in the work force (Lim, 1995).

### **2.2.3 Gendered Division of Labor and Household Dynamics**

Historically, household tasks have been viewed as largely women's duties. According to Bianchi et al. (2012), household work is a primary segment of life from infancy through retirement. It is estimated that the time spent on housework equals the time spent in formal employment. Every household requires tasks like cooking, laundry, and cleaning to be done. Household labor thus becomes a site of conflict, negotiation, and cooperation where members must discuss, divide, and assign various domestic chores. Domestic work is highly gendered, with women bearing a disproportionate share of the responsibility for both childcare and housework. Across many countries, women perform more unpaid household labor than men and often perceive this distribution as unfair (Bianchi et al., 2012: 55-63).

The gender division of labor varies widely across societies. In some cultures, women actively participate in external employment, while in others, tasks are clearly specialized along gender lines, with women confined to domestic roles and men working outside the home. This division of labor subsequently led to the establishment of norms regarding the appropriate roles of women in society. As a result, societies came to believe that a woman's natural place is within the home (Luthra et al., 2014: 12-14). In numerous cultures, women perceive household chores as their inherent responsibility. It's evident that women predominantly handle all domestic cleaning tasks and regard it as their obligation upon marriage into another household. Women play a significant role in managing household duties such as fetching water, gathering firewood, shopping for groceries, meal preparation, serving male family members in the fields, cleaning, laundry, and childcare.

Furthermore, they engage in agricultural labor, road construction, and spinning thread, significantly adding to their workload. Consequently, the overall workload of women has escalated compared to that of men (Miranda, 2011: 116-120). A 2023 Pew Research report reveals that even when women are the primary earners in dual-career households, they still devote more time to housework and care giving than their male partners (Pew Research Center, 2023a). Despite earning more than their spouses, breadwinning women continue to shoulder the majority of household tasks and childcare, while men spend more time on paid work and leisure. This highlights the persistent influence of traditional gender roles within families (Pew Research Center, 2023a).

The extent of women's authority in household decision-making appeared closely tied to the household's structure and the women's standing within its hierarchy. Women assuming household leadership roles tended to see an uptick in decision-making authority after their husbands' departure, whereas those under the authority of other household members might experience a decline in their ability to negotiate and influence decisions (Joshi Rajkarnikar, 2017). Women's participation in community activities is likely to be poorer when men migrate. This poorer social participation may be more prominent for women who live with their in-laws and may face severe restrictions on their physical mobility outside home.

In Nepalese society, the patriarchal framework delineates women's roles predominantly within the household, contrasting with men's predominance in public spheres. Men typically engage in activities such as market visits, banking, community gatherings, childcare responsibilities like health center visits, and financial management. Conversely, women primarily shoulder the responsibilities of familial care and domestic chores, including cooking, cleaning, tending to animals, and cultivating crops (Pradhan, 2005). Conventional gender roles typically position men as primary decision-makers while women are relegated to economic dependence. Women often encounter barriers to accessing and managing household resources, exerting minimal influence in household decisions, including those pertaining to their own health (Acharya et al., 2010). In the typical Nepalese household, there's a clear division of labor based on gender roles.

Women primarily handle household chores including fetching water, gathering firewood, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children and the elderly. Meanwhile, men predominantly engage in income-generating activities outside the home, occupying the public sphere (Kasper, 2005). Although both genders contribute to family-based agriculture, women bear the larger burden, accounting for nearly 70 percent of the work in subsistence farming (Weiss, 1999).

#### **2.2.4 Foreign Labor Migration of Women in the Context of Nepal**

Escalating figures of Nepalese are compelled to shift overseas in explore of job as the nation's financial issues get worse and joblessness rates scale rapidly. According to the most recent government data report, above 300,000 Nepalese have left the state on labor visas in the last couple of months, with the greater part going to Malaysia and the Gulf nations.<sup>1</sup>Labor migration is not a recent phenomenon in Nepal. The formal process of hiring Gurkhas for foreign jobs started in 1815 with the initiate of recruiting. Remittances have been a crucial part of Nepal's economy since the late 1980s, when labor migration obtained popularity that it was dubbed the lahure economy.

The potential effects of this tendency are making Nepali society more and more anxious. The old forms of gender discrimination have transformed as a result of international labor mobility, empowering women and girls. When the father is not around, the mother fills in as both parents at home.

---

<sup>1</sup><https://kathmandupost.com/columns/2024/01/22/labour-migration-gender-and-caste>

Globally, international migration has become increasingly diversified as a result of recent global economic and geo-political changes, in addition to policy shifts. These modifications could have distinct effects on men and women, leading to migratory patterns that are gendered. The knowledge of migration as a whole and its connections to development is enhanced by gender analysis. There are gender-specific differences in the information available regarding migration, its opportunities and costs, the support services available during emigration, and the experience of returning home. The way that women are leaving the country has affected how their husbands are reconstructing their masculinity in recent times. Men were the ones who left the family to work abroad during the first labor migration waves, continuing in their duties as the primary breadwinners. But what's left behind presents fresh difficulties for men's masculinity.

The main causes of migration within Nepal are generally recognized to be food insecurity, poverty, unequal income distribution, and regional variations in labor demand. The relative significance of these variables varies according to age, sex, education, and occupational skill (KC, 2003). According to the most recent census data from 2021, a significant portion of Nepalis have left the country after 2011 in pursuit of better prospects outside. This has resulted in a reduced rate of population growth in Nepal.<sup>2</sup> The census report also noted that, as a result of advancements in information and technology, there are now 71% more women living abroad than there were in the last count. According to Shrestha (2004, 2008), the main causes of out-migration from Nepal are the country's poor pay structure and rising unemployment as a result of a labor force that is expanding but has few options for employment outside of agriculture.

---

<sup>2</sup><https://nepaleconomicforum.org/key-highlights-from-the-census-report-2021>

Migration, thus, may be driven by disparities in earnings and unemployment, both domestically and internationally. Additionally, as mentioned by Graner (2001), the Nepalese government forbade the migration of female workers to the Gulf area in 1998 due to security concerns. This discourages Nepalese women from traveling to distant locations. Just 627 women were among the 178,072 Nepalese who were registered to travel abroad in 2006 in search of international employment, according to the Nepal Migration Year Book 2006 (2007). The number of Nepalese women traveling abroad in search of employment has significantly increased recently. Only 161 women moved between 1985 and 2001, according to official statistics, but by 2014–2015, that number had skyrocketed to 21,421. Nevertheless, migration via unofficial routes and cross-border movement to India are not included in these figures (Government of Nepal, 2014; Gioli et al., 2017). With 70% of its migrants being women, Nepal has the largest percentage of gendered migrants in Southern Asia; Saudi Arabia and India are the top destinations (United Nations, 2019).

According to Timothy and Sasikumar (2012), the primary causes of Nepalese women's migration are poverty, unemployment/lack of opportunity, and better wages in the countries of destination. The empowerment that women may have experienced as a result of labor migration might lead to societal stigma and punishment when they violate gender norms and conventional roles back home. The perception of power and independence that women have acquired via migration and employment may be threatened by this process of stigmatization at home (Fleury, 2016; Bélanger and Rahman, 2013).

The practice of migrating for foreign employment from Nepal dates back to two centuries before, but it obtained official acknowledgment with the ratifying of the Foreign Employment Act in 1985. Foreign labor migration from Nepal has shown solid development over time period. In the past few decades, there has been a gradual increase in the number of women migrating abroad for work (Sijapati, Mak, Zimmerman, and Kiss, 2019). This trend in international labor migration gained momentum, particularly after the 1990s, largely due to the rapid process of globalization and changes in the economic and political landscape within the country. The rising trend of women seeking foreign employment can be attributed to poverty, inadequate economic opportunities, and pervasive violence (Luna and Islam, 2014). In Nepal, escalating poverty and widening inequality in living standards have propelled women to seek better prospects abroad.

### **2.3 Research Gap**

The last 25 years have seen slight growth in the integration of gender into theories of international migration. Gender, in fact, has not been known a lot deliberation in migration theory up until now (Chant, 1992). In spite of the fact that the number of women traveling overseas is rising, modest research has been done on female migrants until lately, despite the likelihood that their experiences will differ greatly by that of men. However, additional research on women who migrate has supported an alternative critique.

Gender-insensitive conceptual frameworks are often employed in migration research, which not only ignores and misrepresents migrant women, but also makes it challenging to emphasize or fully explain the ways in which migration and gender interact. In the context of Nepal, the issues of gender and migration is crucial among the scholars and researchers and undoubtedly, much more articles, books and thesis has been published regarding migration and gender dynamics, rather focused on the economic dimension of gender and international migration. Despite the extensive literature on Nepali women's participation in foreign labor migration and its impact on their lives, there remains a notable gap in understanding the nuanced dynamics of shifting gender roles within households as a consequence of this migration.

While existing studies often highlight the economic contributions of migrant women and the changes in their social status, there is limited research exploring how these changes influence traditional gender roles and power dynamics within Nepali households. Specifically, there is a lack of in-depth analysis on how the experiences of migrant women shape the renegotiation of responsibilities, decision-making processes, and perceptions of masculinity and femininity within the familial context. Understanding these complexities is crucial for developing comprehensive policies and interventions that support both migrant women and their families, as well as for challenging traditional gender norms entrenched in Nepali society. Thus, this research aims to fill this gap by investigating the multifaceted impacts of Nepali women's migration on household gender dynamics, thereby contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the social consequences of labor migration in Nepal.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

#### **3.1 Research Philosophy**

Researcher has adopted interpretive ontology, recognizing that traditional gender roles and decision-making power within households are dynamic and shaped by socio-cultural interactions. The phenomenon of women engaged in foreign labor migration introduces new dynamics that potentially reshape these traditional structures. This perspective recognizes that the migration of women for labor can disrupt traditional gender norms, leading to the renegotiation of roles within the household. In the case of foreign labor migration, these roles are redefined as women assume the role of primary earners while men take on domestic responsibilities. The ontology of this study recognizes the dynamic and interconnected aspect of gender roles, how labor migration produces reconsideration of traditional gender dynamics. Thus my ontology of the research is based on multiple realities based on the diverse group of people participated in the interview; they all have different attitude emotions feeling and experiences which I have assessed through in-depth-interview and observation.

I have adopted an interpretive epistemology, focusing on the subjective experiences and meanings that women attribute to their roles and decision-making power within their households following their involvement in foreign labor migration.

Through qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, the research aims to capture the subjective realities and narratives of individuals involved in foreign employment and their household member too. Using qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, I have explored how women's foreign labor migration impacts household gender dynamics. In my research the source of knowledge of the research issues was gathered through different perceptions of different people selected for the interview and each one's perceptions and experiences through qualitative interview was taken as source of knowledge in this research.

### **3.2 Research Design**

Researcher has adopted a set of organized steps to accomplish the research on women's foreign labor migration and household gender dynamics. This research intends to identify the influence of the female foreign labor migration on division of household labor. In course of the assessment, this research also tests out the persistence or change of decision making power and traditional gender roles in the households. to understand and explore respondent's lived experiences about women's foreign labor migration and its influence on gender division of household labor and influence in the decision making and traditional gender roles, qualitative approach based on interpretive approach, has been adopted.

To explore the diverse and contextual aspects of the female labor migration and household gender dynamics, and to provide nuanced and deeper understanding of them, interpretive approach is crucial. Interpretive approach aims to uncover the hidden meanings and implications of the research issue, based on the interpretation of the respondent's perceptions and the researcher's reflexivity.

Based on this qualitative approach, researcher has carried out in-depth interviews based on the checklists developed for the interviews of the respondents selected. The primary objective of this research is discover the perceptions of the respondents belongs to the communities of Dupcheshwor RM, on Influence of women's foreign labor migration on household gender dynamics and interpreted their perceptions through the research. As a result, researcher has interpreted the respondent's shared experiences in the research.

### **3.3 Nature and Source of Data**

In order to carry out this study both primary and secondary sources of data collection methods has been used to get the required information. For primary data in-depth interview was taken with both types of target respondents, returnees and household with at least one woman engaged in foreign employment. For secondary data collection, a precise review of relevant literatures, books and journal articles was conducted.

### **3.3.1 Secondary Sources**

To verify and support the data information such as education status, major occupations of the local habitant, income generating activities, economic condition, agricultural practices and other required data information, obtained from the respondent study area, Village Profile of the Dupcheshwor has been used as a secondary source of data.

### **3.3.2 Primary Sources**

The primary data information for this study was collected by conducting fieldwork carried out by researcher in June 14 – June 20. 2024 at ward number, Samudratar -6 and Gaukharka-2 of Dupcheshwor RM, Nuwakot. Check lists has been prepared for the interview of the projected respondent from both the wards, during the course of fieldwork, I have used in-depth interview and observation to gather the data information. These tools used to explore the experiences, narratives, and perceptions of the respondents who engaged in foreign employment and returned from foreign employment

### **3.4 Justification of Selecting a Study Area**

I chose Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality of Nuwakot for fieldwork. There are major two reasons to select this community, one is the rural village from where female migration for foreign employment specifically in Gulf countries have exist and is the time and resource efficient. The study has focused on women engaged in foreign labor migration, primarily in Gulf countries.

### **3.5 Sampling**

Purposive sampling method primarily used in study qualitative research to ensure that the selected respondents are representative of the research questions. Purposive sampling, also known as judgmental sampling, Participants are chosen purposely, not randomly, to line up with particular study objectives and it provides nuanced and contextually rich understanding of the research issue. Purposive sampling was used because this research demands respondents with particular characteristics and experiences and the research topic women's foreign labor migration and household gender dynamics demands such characteristics as discussed below. Researcher has deliberately choose the respondents who are related to foreign labor migration, because research demanded the respondents having particular characteristic such as they must involved in foreign labor migration with each of one has at least one year's of engagement, they must be married women, few of them must be returnees from foreign employment. Hence I have chosen the sample size of 24 households meeting all the requirements as I have anticipated before the conduction the field study.

Among 24 household, 10 were the women returned from foreign employment and remaining 14 were the household members including male, female and two children. Respondents were chosen from ward-6 and ward number-2 of Dupcheshwor RM because there were much number who engaged in foreign labor migration then rest of others.

### **3.6 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection**

The research has basically focused on the women's foreign labor migration and its' influence in the household gender dynamics. Research has adopted In-depth Interviews to gather required data information from the study area.

#### **3.6.1 In-Depth Interview**

Researcher has chosen in-depth interview for the interview process with the respondents as it provides a nuanced insights through their experience, depth and contextual understanding about the research issues. During the field study, among the 24 respondents , a total of 10 returnees, 14 household member including 11 male, 3 female with and 2 children were the part of in-depth interview .The names of the persons who were taken interview are enlisted in the Annex – III. The checklists prepared for both types of respondent were asked to all the persons who were taken interview.

In-depth interview with the respondents has provided the information such as various types of daily household chores, the division of the labor among the family members and how foreign labor migration has affected the division of household chores, decision making and the traditional gender roles, has been explored with nuanced understanding towards the gender dynamics in the household of women's foreign labor migration.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

In order to protect participant anonymity, privacy, and well-being, researcher has strictly followed the rules and guidelines of research regarding ethical considerations. Every respondent was asked to provide informed consent. Additionally, the study honored respondent's freedom to leave the interview at any time without facing consequences.

### **3.8 Data Analysis**

This study is based on basically the interpretive methods. In-depth interviews were conducted with the household and respondents selected for the interview. While presenting the primary and secondary sources of materials and in-depth and/or informal interview, interpretive and analytical study were carried out. Mostly interesting and important discussions during data collection and interview are presented as it was.

To analyze and interpret the data and information related to the study, all the collected information was organized and relevant information was selected from dairy maintained were entered in the excel-sheet and breakdown and classified, translated perceptions of the respondents in organized way and made table and figures as per the requirement and eventually presented in the separate paragraphs linking and dialoguing with the theories and empirics employed in literature review section and addressing the research objectives/questions by creating rational headings in the respective chapters.

## CHAPTER-IV

### INTRODUCTION TON THE STUDY AREA AND RESPONDENTS

#### 4.1 Demographic Features in Study Area

Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality has situated in the Nuwakot district of Province No. 3 (Bagmati), Nepal. It is divided into seven wards and occupies the area of 131.62 square kilometers. According to the population census of 2021, 21005 people have been living in Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality in which 49.9% male and 50.1% female with 5141 total household within total 7 wards. According to the village profile 2076, 85 % of the population is indigenous by ethnicity. Among the indigenous groups, the majority are Tamang.

Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality was incorporated in 2017 (2073 BS) as a local government of Nepal. The headquarters of Dupcheshwar Rural Municipality is located in Samundratar, Nuwakot district of Nepal. It was formed by merging Ghyangphedi, Rautbeshi, Samundratar, Betini, Gaunkharka, Shikharbesi and Balkumari Village Development Committees. Currently, it has divided into 7 wards. The total area of this Gaupalika is 131.62 square kilometer and the total population is 22,106. This village has a population of various ethnic and religious communities. Dupcheshwor is bordered by Sindhupalchok district to the east, Tadi RM, Panchakanya RM, and Rasuwa district to the west, Rasuwa and Sindhupalchok districts to the north, and Shivapuri RM to the south.

Almost 64km distance from Kathmandu, capital city to Dupcheshwor and there is small local market at Samudratar which is very far from research area containing ward number- 2. In this rural municipality, the primary occupation for most local people is agriculture, supplemented by various employment opportunities such as N/GOs roles, contract work in public private sectors, foreign employment, wage labor is also very crucial out there. There are 25 small-scale industries operating within the area. Educational facilities include two campuses and fifty schools, attended by 200 teachers and 1,690 students. Healthcare services in the municipality consist of seven health posts, a community hospital unit, clinics, and 21 vaccination centers. Out of 5,683 households, 2,282, or 40%, have access to piped water. In terms of infrastructure, approximately 1 km of road is paved, 11.5 km is gravel, and 270 km is unpaved. There are also 45 suspension bridges. For cooking, 5,185 households use firewood, while 3,483 use LPG gas.

The social structure of this rural municipality is predominantly male-dominated and patriarchal. The majority of the population belongs to indigenous communities, with fewer members from other castes. Gender discrimination within the Tamang community is comparatively lower. Recent surveys indicate that 51.65% of households face poverty and marginalization. Historically, agriculture has been the major occupation of local habitants in the rural municipality. Local Youth are becoming more and more interested in working abroad in recent times. Agriculture and animal husbandry exists as a main source of livelihood in this locality.

Working as wage laborers, sand extraction, and cultural tourism have emerged as local income generating activities after agriculture and animal husbandry. Based on the village profile 2076, about 35 % of the population worked as daily wage labor and unemployed, while 8.2 % are employed in foreign employment. Traditionally, firewood has been used extensively as fuel for cooking food and making local alcohol. In Dupcheshwor rural municipality, there are 5,185 household using firewood as fuel for cooking and in most of the rural areas and this is common in almost every household. During the field study, it is identified that the married women from indigenous ethnicity appeared more resilient to involve in foreign labor migration in compared to that of having non-indigenous ethnic background (Chhetri, Brahmin, Dalit). It indicates that having indigenous ethnic background, married women (daughter-in-laws/wives) are resilient regarding join the foreign employment and getting support to involve in foreign labor migration from their respective households.

#### **4.2 Demographic Features of the Sample Households**

Among the total 24 households selected to conduct the in-depth interview, were divided into two clusters, in which 14 households for migrant women and 10 with migrant returnees. The average household size of the sample population chosen for the study is 6.33 members, with males making up 49.35 and females 50.65. Just 1.9 % of the population is aged, which is 65+ and depended with his family.

In relation to economic activity, a significant section 67.1% of the population falls within the Economically Active Population (EAP), with a literacy rate of 67.76%. In that locality, agriculture exists as a dominant occupation, engaging 37.5% of the population, while a combination of agriculture and business activities involves 4.6% and the people doing Services are just 0.6%. The data also reveals dependency ratios, with 39.47 classified as dependents. 11.18 percent of the population engaged in foreign employment, reflecting a notable contribution to household economy.

Within the household selected for the study, 32.23% of people are illiterate, whilst 19.73% of people are only literate. Buddhism is the main religion of the respondents with 100 percent adherence. Regarding the population based on caste/ethnicity, there are 95.8% Tamang and just 4.2 percent Lama involved in foreign labor migration, indicates the married women in Tamang communities are resilient to involve in foreign employment. Most of the population, comprising 75 % is living in the extended family and 25% are in nuclear families. These data figures reflect the socioeconomic dynamics and diversity of the population in the Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality, highlighting both the traditional practices and emerging economic trends. The data presented in Table 4.1, articulates about the features of the demographic information of the selected study area and the population.

**Table 4.1***Demographic Features of the Sample Respondents*

Population and Structure		
Characteristics	Sample	Average %
Sample household	24	100
Family size		6.33
Male (%)		49.34
Aged group (>65) %		1.97
Female (%)		50.65
EAP*		67.1
Literacy level (%)		67.76
Agriculture (%)		37.5
Agriculture +business %		4.6
Service (%)		0.6
Dependent (%)		39.47
Foreign employment %		11.18
Illiteracy level %		32.23
Just literate		19.73
Religion-buddhism		100
Ethnicity/caste-tamang		95.8
Ethnicity/caste-lama		4.2
Household composition-Nuclear		25
Household composition-Extended		75

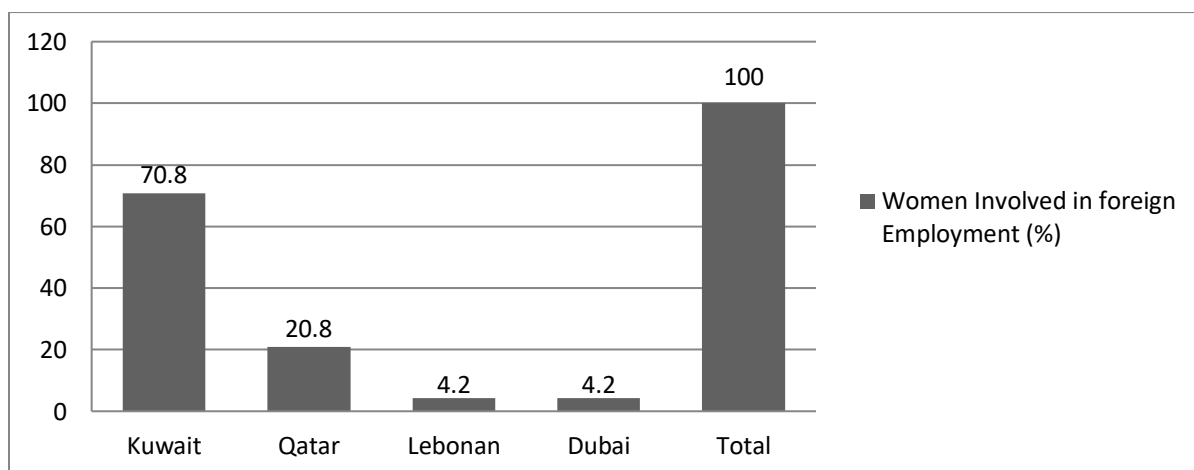
*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

### 4.3 Women involved in foreign employment at Dupcheshwor

The data presented in figure 4.1, clearly shows that the maximum number of the women, 70.8 % are employed in Kuwait, making it common destination. Qatar is the other prevalent destination country, with 20.8 % of the women working there. Regarding the country Dubai and Lebanon, there is very less number of women employed in compare to Kuwait and Qatar, with only 4.2 percent of the total women engaged in foreign employment in each of these countries.

**Figure 4.1**

*Country-based Categorization of Women in Foreign Labor Migration*



*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

### 4.4 Household Related Chores in Dpucheshwor

The qualitative data presented in table 4.2, provides a detailed overview of the types of household labor found in the study area, that are categorized into in-house and out of the house chores and all these chores are related household.

In-house chores primarily carried out within and around the house and out-house chores extend beyond the household premises and they are directly related to the household labor. Categorization of the household labor highlights the diverse range of tasks that contribute to house hold labor, and indicates the significant amount of effort and time dedicated to both the tasks by the household.

**Table 4.2**

*Household Labor in Study Area*

Household Labor in Study Area	
In-house chores	Out-house chores
-Cooking and meal preparation	-Agricultural work (Plough the field, irrigation, manure, sowing, weeding , harvesting, Perma/mela practice)
-Cleaning hose and courtyard	-Market activities (buy and sell of grocery, agricultural/livestock product, local alcohol, cattle/buffalos/goat and other local products)
-Laundry and dish washing	-Firewood collection and fodder for animal
-Rearing and care of the children	-Community works -attend meetings and social activities)
-Animal husbandry (manure, collection, milking, feeding and cleaning)	-wage labor and other paid works
-feeding and cleaning livestock kept inside or near home	
-Fetching water	

*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

## CHAPTER-V

### HOUSEHOLDS VIEWS ON WOMEN'S FOREIGN LABOR MIGRATION

#### 5.1 Division of Domestic Labor in the Household Members

The patriarchal structure in the Nepalese culture and tradition defines women's duties primarily in the house, in contrast to men's dominance in the public spaces. Men tend to do the things like go to markets, bank, attend community events, take care of the children by going to health centers, and handle money. On the other hand, women are often responsible for the in-house chores such as taking care of their families (children/elderly), cleaning, cooking, caring for animals and planting crops (Pradhan, 2005). Based on the field study, the house hold chores such as fetching water, rearing and caring the children, preparing meals, dishwashing and doing laundry, cleaning the house and courtyard, Animal husbandry (manure, collection, milking, feeding and cleaning) has been handled by the women in the household.

The tasks in the out of the house such as managing groceries, managing household expenses, agricultural tasks (plough field, irrigation, harvesting, to go in perma/mela), firewood collection, community meetings, and wage labor are primarily led by the men in the household and women has played supporting role to men in agricultural tasks like manure collection, sowing the crops, harvesting, fodder collection for animal etc. This how household chores are generally divided between the male and female members in the study area of Dupcheshwar.

According to the perception of the respondent, women have supported men in the income generating activities but the primary role is of men of the household. The data presented in figure 4.2, articulates the facts and figure about how the household chores has been divided among the male and female members and who are more responsible for in-house and out-house chores in the community.

*" Permarefers to a traditional system of mutual aid and labor exchange in rural communities of Nepali society, where community members help each other with agricultural work and other tasks".*

**Figure 5.1**

*Gender-Based Division of Household Chores*



*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

## 5.2 Shifts in the Responsibilities of Household Chores

According to the Hugo (2002), migration of married women restructures the gender dynamics within households where husband are left behind. In connection with the empirics of Hugo, in the context nuclear household it was found that the roles and responsibilities of the women previously handled were handled by her husband in the absence his wife who is engaged in foreign employment. In addition to, the nuclear household in which children of teenage, has been supporting her/his father on the chores like preparing meal, cleaning house and courtyard, caring of small age siblings, and other household chores .

Thao (2015) has argued that, if women migrates for foreign employment, in the absence of wife/mother husbands often with the support of female relatives and older children, assume the responsibilities previously carried out by the wives. It has demonstrated the shift away from traditional gender roles proved to be temporary. The responses obtained from the households also indicates that, migrant women's parents-in-laws particularly mother-in-laws have been handling the household chores in extended households. The data from field study showed that in nuclear households, husbands are compelled to perform the household duties that were previously handled by their wives and even the husbands having children, are getting supports from them to manage the household chores.

**Table 5.1***Household Labor Based On Prime Responsibility*

Household responses						
Composition of family	Frequency (n=24)					
	Women (Mother-in-laws)	%	Men (Husband/ Father-in-laws)	%	Elder children (son/daughter)	%
Extended family	15	62.5	3	12.5	0	0
Nuclear family	0	0	3	12.5	3	12.5
Total	15	62.5	6	25	3	12.5

*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

The data obtained from the household, presented in table 4.3 evidently appraises, In the extended households, mother-in-laws has took over the household roles and responsibilities of household labor most in compare to other household members (father-in-law, migrant's husband and others) , that are previously handled by their daughter-in-laws, when engaged in foreign labor migration. In the nuclear household, where the household is headed by migrant women's husband, elder children have been handling the household chores and father engages in the wage labor and other off-house hold chores. Typically, the household role previously managed by the women (daughter-in-laws) are now assumed by the female family member (mother-in-laws/ elder daughter / sister-in-laws) in extended household and in the context of nuclear households, male(husband of migrated women) , elderly children are supporting her/his father.

One of the children participated as a household member's interview, he nicely shared his feeling

*“I support my father and grandparents in household chores when I asked did you miss your mom, suddenly his expression becomes sad and told yes I miss my mom lot and some time I talk to her by messenger calls. I also asked how was going study he said” “tatee ramoro chain” means it wasn't good as before, he seemed in rush to go house may be to support her grand mom dad in house “*

Based on The children interviewed, children whose mothers are engaged in foreign labor migration are more vulnerable in relation to mental well being and educational career also. So women's foreign labor migration has negative impact on the children left behind significantly indicates that except nuclear household, most of the roles left by women has been managed by female members, the work load added to the shoulders of female family members and even elder children too . This transition has increased the workload on the remaining family members, particularly the elderly, such as the mother and father-in-law.. This redistribution of roles highlights a condition in which traditional gender roles might adjust or broaden to adjust due to the absence of the migrant women, influencing both the workload and role division in the household.

### 5.3 Challenges in Managing Household Labor due to Women's Foreign Labor Migration

When a woman in the rural household pursues foreign labor migration, the challenges on the family left behind are profound and varied. Regarding the data information obtained from the study area, household members that are left behind suffer much from the added workload, primarily elder children or elderly women (mother-in-laws) household members who have to take on additional duties including fodder collection for cattle and buffalos, rearing of children, cleaning house and other agricultural tasks and household tasks management.

One of the respondent share his inner feeling like this

*" It is really tough for me to perform domestic chores that previously my wife did, sir i have told her to come back home , i can't perform any more like in-house and out of the house simultaneously , i feel burden to do all the task she wants stay at least 3 year it is now just one year plus this is the subject many times we fought . He added more; she must come and perform our respective roles"*

It is clear that in the saying, he has a mindset that traditional gender role should not be changed as women do home maker and male breadwinner.

In case of nuclear household, balancing the household roles among the family members left behind proves difficult for the head of the household, especially when husband is engaged in wage labor and other off-house chores, leaving children's care and supervision primarily to others due to which children might lack from proper care and rearing.

Busy work schedules also hinder to participate at community level functions and meetings and Emotional and psychological impact on family left behind, mainly husband and children due to prolonged separation and sometimes the long distance relationship had induced disputes between husband and wife and hinder to engage in outdoor activities like agriculture and wage labor. Field observation and the responses attained from the household in the study area conveys, difficulties highlight how strong one must be to handle household matters without women while they engaged in foreign employment.

#### **5.4 Impact of Women's Absence on Household Gender Dynamics**

Based on the household in-depth interview with the sample respondent June 2024, the data information obtained conveys that the absence of women due to foreign employment significantly hinders the division of household chores. The increased workload has induced places a heavier burden on elderly household members, particularly the mother-in-laws, who have taken additional roles and responsibilities.

Children who experience this strain do not receive the same degree of care and attention from their mothers as they previously did, which has an influence on their academic performance and achievement. Based on the in-depth interview with two of the elderly children and researcher's personal observation during one week stay, the data information revealed that Lack of a mother's love and affection, which is essential for a kid's growth and mental wellbeing, also negatively affected the emotional and mental health of the children. Managing domestic tasks appeared difficult for elderly and male household members since they were not used to doing them, led to further complications to manage these tasks effectively.

The tasks such as agricultural, livestock management have been also affected, due to the time allocated for these tasks is reduced, with more time being devoted to the household chores that were previously handled by the woman. One of the participant involved informally shared her feeling during the interview by saying that, her daughter-in-law was engaged in foreign labor migration she was indicating her elder granddaughter said that:

*“Look her mother is enjoying in abroad, before engage in abroad she always complain by saying any time money problem so I have to go abroad daughter-in-law had quarrel in this matter with me and my son it was too much so we send her abroad but now she has no care about us she never send money to us due to her our household works are not well functioned,*

*again that lady has indicated and scold her to manage fodder  
for buffalo rather than play with other children”*

From above quotation, it is clear that the increased work load has give pressure to the elder children in the household because they have to support their grandparents and father in the absence of her mother. It will surely affects on the educational performance of the such children and even suffer from psychological harms

In addition to the data information conveys that, the elderly female family member (mother-in-laws) and children compelled to bear the burden of house responsibilities because the household head and active male family member work outside the home and earn wages and other off-house tasks. This change has not only disrupted the household's routine but also affects income-generating activities , as more time is needed to handle the household duties that were previously managed by the women who now engaged in foreign labor migration.

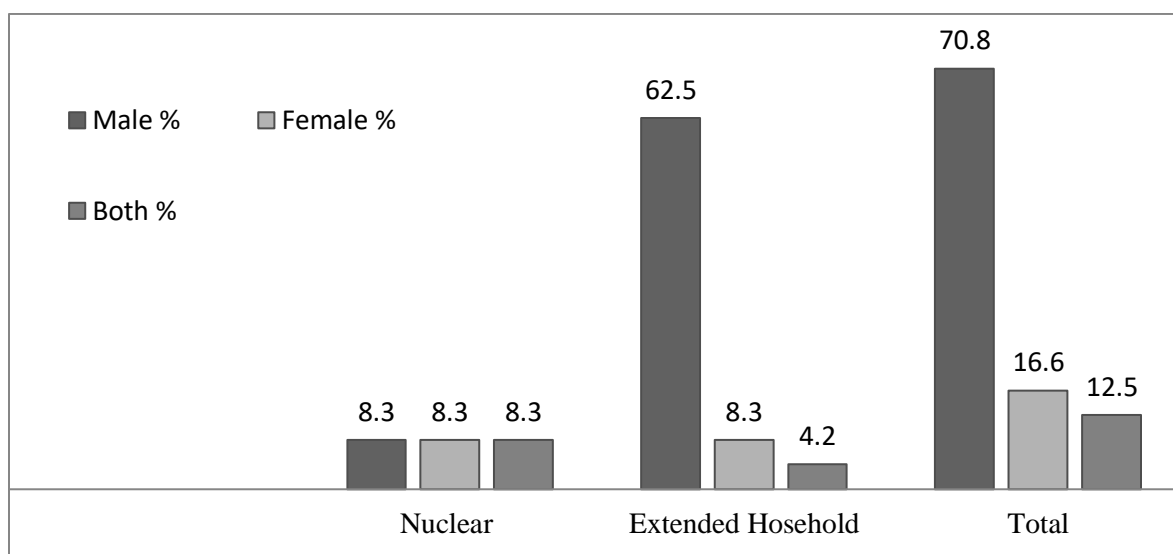
### **5.5 Primary Decision Makers in the Household Chores Based on Gender**

When it comes to making decisions for the home, women who participate more in income-generating activities have a bigger say than those who focus more on household consumption. Husbands are more likely to counsel women with earning capacity, especially when it comes to issues where the women need to make financial contributions (Sikod, 2007).

Based on the field survey 2024, traditional gender norms frequently affected the dynamics inside many households when it comes to making decisions about domestic matters. According to cultural and societal norms, the father (male-household head) usually takes on the vital role of being the main decision-maker for household related tasks and responsibilities.

**Figure 5.2**

*Responses on Prime Decision Makers on Household Chores*



*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

To support the father, the son has played a supporting role. This indicates that the key decision-makers in household chores and other related responsibilities are male household members, indicating that males dominate the decision-making process in the study area. Based on the data information obtained from household interview, in households where women engaged in foreign employment, a distinct pattern emerges, showing the flexibility and adaptability of household roles.

This system in the household demonstrated the dominant role of senior male figures in sustaining household operations. Likewise, in very few cases in the especially in the nuclear household and very fewer extended household too, women are taking the leadership in household decision making. In these cases women appeared as a key decision maker for the household roles and getting supports from their husband. But the major concern is that, when women engaged in foreign employment from the household where male dominates the household decision making is key focus of this study.

Therefore researcher has selected ten returnees from foreign employment to assess whether the foreign labor migration has influenced or changed the traditional decision making process or not and that will be explained through upcoming headings in this chapter. The data presented in figure 5.1, articulates the reality of the study area regarding the prime decision makers in the households.

## **5.6 Areas of Household Decision Making**

The decision making process in the division of household labor and execution them is primarily male-driven .The senior member of the household who is known as a household head (mostly Father and Son in extended family and Fathers in nuclear family) was significantly the primary decision maker and supported by the other family members. This structure centralizes key decisions among male members, with other family members supporting the men.

The father-in-law takes prime role in making decisions in the household where women engaged in foreign labor migration and in the absence of father-in-law, his son takes over and maintaining the male-dominated decision making pattern. Sometimes women have taken the initiative as a major decision maker basically in the nuclear family and the in the absence of their husband. In very few cases, extended household in which old age family member exists and husbands busy with wage labor and other off-house chores, appeared women as a key decision maker but it was situational. In the study area, household decisions making predominantly covers the following areas: Children rearing and Care: Decisions related to the upbringing and well-being of children.

Children's Education: Selection of school, manage school fee and the stationeries, participation in parents-teacher meetings. Financial Decisions: manage the household expenses-groceries, selling and buying local home products (live stock, agricultural etc). Agricultural activities and animal husbandry: selection of crops, perma, cultivation and harvesting plans, buying selling of cattle/buffalos/goat etc, Community meetings: participation in school meetings, cooperative and forest related meeting and mothers group etc. Division of the In-house chores: cleaning, cooking, doing laundry, fetching water, manure collection etc. Construction of new house, renovate the house.

**CHAPTER-VI**  
**PERCEPTIONS OF MIGRANT RETURNEES ON WOMEN'S FOREIGN**  
**LABOR MIGRATION**

**6.1 Migrants Women and Household Decision Making**

According to Acharya et al. (2010), the traditional gender roles typically put men as key decision-makers whereas women are demoted to financial dependence. Women often encounter barriers to accessing and managing household resources, exerting minimal influence in household decisions, including those related to their own health. The data reveals various approaches to decision-making regarding the use of remittances and major financial decisions in households with members engaged in foreign employment. In several households, men as father/husband or senior male family members, predominantly lead these household decisions. For instance, in many families, the father-in-law/father is noted as the primary decision-maker, guiding the use of remittances and overall financial strategies and other household related roles and responsibilities. Women engaged in income-generating activities have a greater role in the household decision making compared to those primarily involved in household consumption activities. Husbands consult women with earning power more frequently, particularly on matters that require financial contributions from the women (Sikod, 2007).

Data information based on field survey 2024, the number of women who are engaged in foreign employment, involved in the household decision making was very few. Basically, data showed that involvement of men in the household decision making is significant. The data reflected, in very few households, women send remittances to her families and gives suggestions to her husband regarding to household expenses and children's rearing and education, the decision are made up with common consensus, it means there exist meaningful participation of women in the household decisions though it exists in very few household, especially in nuclear households. In addition, regarding the study area, where families followed the suggestions made by the women employed abroad, particularly with reference to household finance management and parenting techniques. Overall, the involvement of women in household decision-making varied significantly less in compare to the men.

## **6.2 From Departure to Return: Women's Foreign Labor Migration and Household Decision Making**

Based on the perceptions of returnees, after women returned from foreign labor migration, they became less involved in community meetings and various household financial decision-making and other household chores. Upon returning from foreign labor migration, the participation in household and community level decision-making processes varied among women individuals and the condition of decision making power of women remained the same as it was before engaged in foreign employment.

Based on the data obtained, there were almost one or two household exists where women has played prime role in the decision making process at community level and household level. In extended households, decision-making has remained the prerogative of senior household members such as father/father-in-laws.

**Table 6.1**

*Involvement of Women on Household Decision Making*

<b>Responses</b>			
	Involved (%)	Not involved (%)	Total %
Before migration	14.3	85.7	100
During migration	33.3	66.7	100
After returned	40	60	100

*Source:* Field survey, June 2024

In few nuclear household in study area, women who previously was a key decision maker in the household, has resumed the same role of key decision maker after returned from foreign employment . The data presented in the Table 5.2, has indicated that the most of the women returned from foreign employment has not involved in the household decision making. If we compare the data in three phases of migration, it articulates there are not any significant changes in the decision making power of the women due to their engagement in foreign labor migration.

### **6.3 Traditional Gender Roles Prior to women's Foreign Labor Migration**

In the typical Nepalese household, there's a clear division of labor based on gender roles. Women primarily handle household chores including fetching water, gathering firewood, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children and the elderly. Meanwhile, men predominantly engage in income-generating activities outside the home, occupying the public sphere (Kasper, 2005). In pre-migration phase, traditional gender roles in the household of the study area has typically Perceived women responsible for indoor chores, such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare, while men handled outdoor chores, including farming and livestock management, and other income generating activities. Both women and men contributed to the overall household duties and roles, often supporting each other as needed. In very few households at study area, cooperation and mutual assistance appeared, with men and women working together to perform the chores related to the household.

### **6.4 Traditional Household Roles and Prime Responsibility**

Based on the responses obtained from field survey, the house hold roles based on the gender has been classified as follows: Household roles of Male: Men primarily undertakes the household related chores such as earning income through wage labor, buying and selling livestock, household purchases, collecting firewood, and engaging in agricultural activities like plough the land, irrigation, and crop harvesting and storage.

Traditional Gender based Roles of Female Women are mostly responsible for in-house chores cooking, cleaning, fetching water, caring children and the elderly, child education, agricultural tasks such as manure collection, weeding, sowing crops, and handling livestock-related duties such as fodder and manure collection, and milking and manage grocery. Women have played crucial supporting roles to the men in agricultural activities. Though these tasks are lies on unpaid labor but they are contributing significantly to men who were supposed to prime breadwinner in the household. Both males and females collaborate on child education, agricultural tasks like manuring, sowing, and harvesting, as well as grocery shopping. While these primary responsibilities are gender-specific, there is occasional assistance between family members on various tasks as needed within the household context.

### **6.5 Traditional Gender Roles in the Household and Migrant Returnees**

Based on the responses foreign employment returnees, before they migrated for the foreign employment, their household roles were as follows: In-house chores such as rearing children, preparing meal, doing laundry, cleaning house and courtyard, manure collection, dish washing and out-house chores such as fodder collection for cattle and buffalos, supports husband/in-laws in agricultural activities etc. One of the returnees shared the incident she faced in the initial phase of return days

*“What do you think of yourself do you careless with my opinion? You know though you go abroad but I am the*

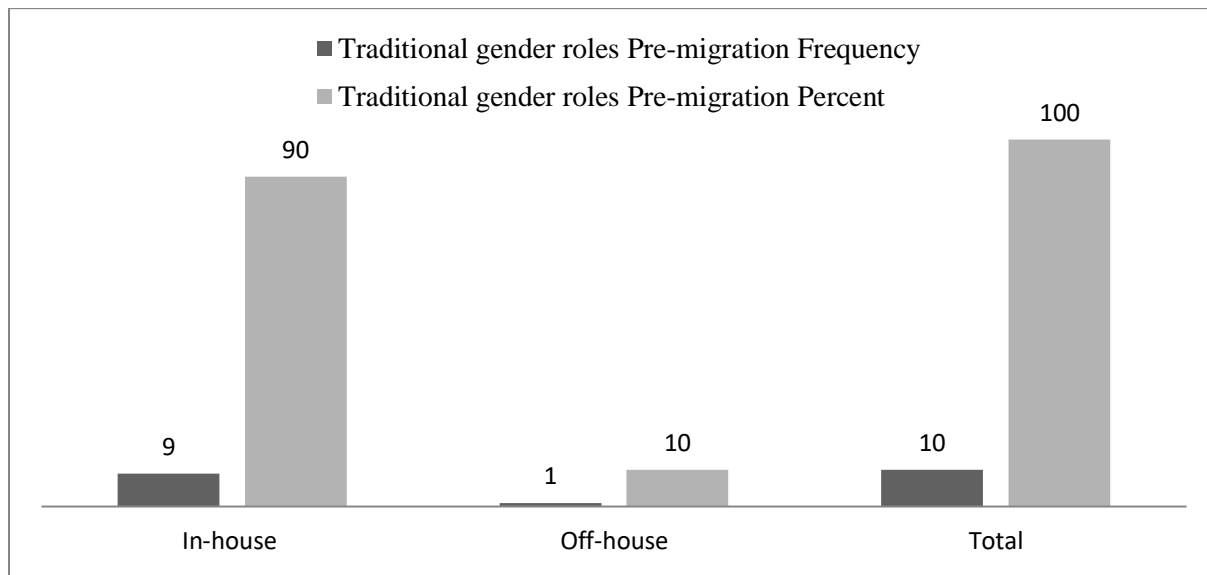
*head of this house you have to obeyed my decisions in every task , her husband was so fire because he requested to do laundry of husband's clothes at that time she refuse by saying I am busy with works so he was literally fire with me “kamauna gayo bhandaima ghr ko sab kam chhodne vako timi thulo palteko timi ekchoti luga dhoedeu vanda aru kam dekhaune timi jaa sukai gaye nee ghr ma maie j vanyo tai hunchha “ it is clear should obeyed me”*

This incident shared by women returned from foreign employment, articulates that persistence of traditional gender roles and male dominated mindset. Although both genders contribute to family-based agriculture, women bear the larger burden, accounting for nearly 70 percent of the work in subsistence farming (Weiss, 1999). Additional research on returning female migrants supports this reversal of conventional roles that fathers have emphasized, demonstrating that mothers quickly returned to their usual responsibilities (Hugo 2002). Hugo (2002) argued that, women taking on the role of breadwinner and men adapting to roles as husbands or househusbands, traditional gender norms have shifted, resulting in a transfer of decision-making power from men to women. This shift often occurs when female migrants return home and resume their previous responsibilities, while men typically revert to their previous roles within the family.

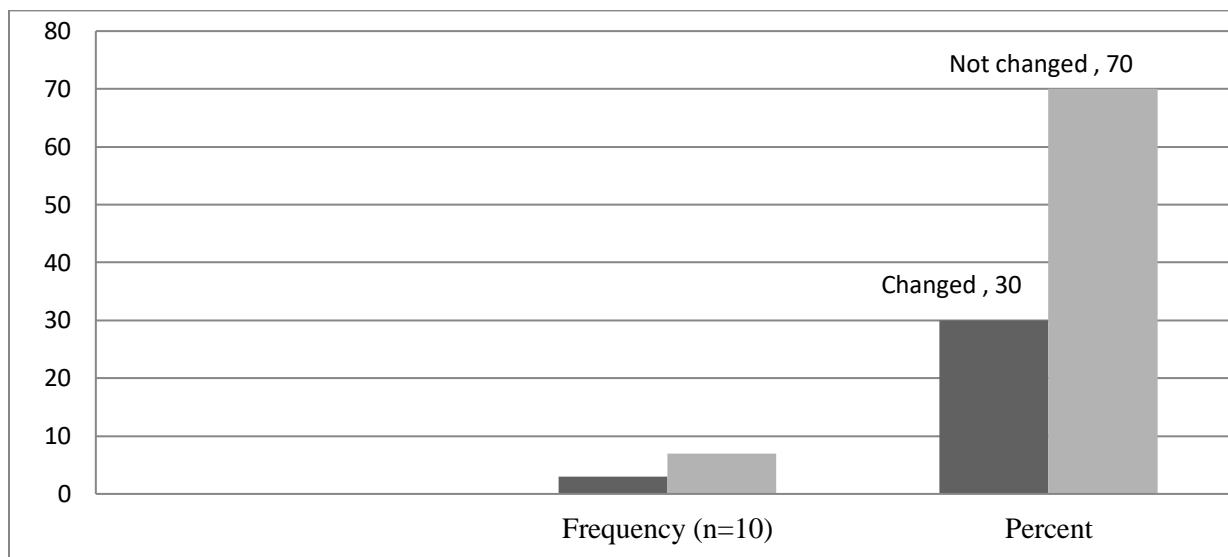
Many returning migrants have observed differences in family dynamics upon their return. To add this argument, based on the perception of the local habitant of Dpuchshwor, study area indicated that when female as a breadwinner and male as home maker even then women's decision making power remained the same as previous. When women returned from foreign labor migration, they just resumed their previous household roles and responsibilities

**Figure 6.2**

*Traditional Household Roles Pre-Migration*



*Source:* Field survey, Jun 202

**Figure 6.3***Traditional Household Roles: Change and Persistence*

*Source:* field survey, june 2024

Based on the in-depth interview with returnees from foreign employment, upon the returning from foreign labor migration, there has been nothing changes in the household roles and responsibilities they previously handled. Thus they continued to handle the same roles and responsibilities as before her foreign employment. Her functions remained constant, demonstrating that she will continue to make the same contributions within the household structure; this indicates continuity rather than changes in household roles after rearrangement.

## CHAPTER-VII

### THEORITICAL REFLECTION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 7.1 Theoretical Linkage

Structural functionalism argues that society is a complex structure whose interrelated components assist to maintain social order and stability. Inside this framework, traditional gender roles are perceived as functional for the solidity of the household component. The division of household labor between men and women in the household, where women typically handle household chores and men engage in wage labor and out of the household related chores, is considered crucial for the smooth functioning of the family. Thus Structural functionalism's argues the "male as a breadwinner and female as home maker". Based on the respondents from Dupcheshwor, the traditional way of gendered division of labor also persisted in the Dupcheshwor and there is nothing changes in the roles and responsibilities that were previously handled by the migrant women who returned back to the household from foreign labor migration.

Thus there was the persistence of traditional division of household labor. Functionalist argues that, when society functions appropriately, its parts make productivity, stability and order. If all does not go well, the parts of society must adapt to produce new forms of order, stability and productivity.

The rearrangements of the household labors among the family left behind (husbands, elder children, and mother-in-laws) reflects the functionalist view of adaptation, in which the household structure adjusts to uphold solidity in the absence of the migrant women. Even if it temporarily modifies established gender norms, this adaptability is required to maintain the stability of the household and made it functional. Linking with this argument, it was identified that field that the roles previously handled by the migrant women, now handled by the mother-in-laws, elder children and in case of nuclear household husband are compelled to those roles with the help of elder children. The socialist feminist approach critiques how capitalist and patriarchal systems support traditional gender roles. It focuses on how women's unpaid work at home supports the capitalist economy by freeing men to work for wages without household duties. This perspective emphasizes how women's labor in the household is marginalized.

When women migrate in foreign employment, their respective household roles and responsibilities are transferred to other household members, predominantly female relative (mother-in-laws/sister-in-laws) and elder children, emphasizing the continued dependence on women's unpaid labor within the household. Even though women's financial contributions from abroad, their roles in decision making remain limited, indicating that economic empowerment alone is insufficient to dismantle patriarchal norms and achieve gender equality. The increased burden on elder children and elderly women due to the absence of migrant women shows how patriarchal structures exploit the labor of more vulnerable household members, aligning with socialist feminist critiques of how economic system exploit women's labor across generations.

## 7.2 Summary and Conclusion

Women's foreign labor migration, as discussed in the in the context provided, interrupt the traditional gender roles within in the household. Structural functionalism argues, this disruption creates a temporary dysfunction that the remaining family members must address to restore equilibrium. Husbands, children, and other family members adapt by assuming the responsibilities previously managed by the women. Traditional gender roles are highlighted as functional for the household, with men usually engaging in income-generating activities and women handling domestic chores. When women migrate for foreign employment, the household temporarily adjusts, but traditional household roles often resume upon their return, indicated that the deep-rooted functionalist perspective on gender roles According to Functionalist theory, specific roles are given to household members based on cultural traditions to ensure that household functions well. This is evident when men find it hard or resist doing chores usually considered women's duties, such as children rearing and other household chores.

The study indicates that decision making in households is still mostly dominated by men, even when women have contributed financially through remittances. This highlights the persistence of the traditional gender roles and social order. This finding supports the functionalist perspective that established roles and hierarchies help and maintain stability in society.

When migrant women returned back to her household and resume their previous household roles, it articulates that the functionalist concept of continuity. This means that traditional gender roles are revived to maintain stability and order in the household. Prior to migration, women in the study area primarily handled unpaid domestic labor, reinforcing their economic dependency on male household members. This aligns with socialist feminist perspectives on women's economic subordination within the household. The data showed that the men typically dominate decision making processes, particularly regarding financial matters and the use of remittances, which highlights the persistence of patriarchal structures even when women have contributed financially through remittances.

The women on foreign labor migration from rural household in Nepal and its impact on household gender dynamics can be analyzed through the lenses of both sociological theories socialist feminism and structural functionalism. Socialist feminism provides insights into the persistence of economic and patriarchal structures that limit women's empowerment although their economic contributions. Structural functionalism, on the other hand, offers an understanding of how household adapt to maintain stability and continuity in the face of changing gender roles. Together both the theories explain the complex relationship between economic, social and cultural factors that shape gender dynamics in the context of migration.

The phenomenon of women's foreign labor migration in rural Nepal has significantly changed household gender dynamics, as evidenced by the study conducted in rural village. When women migrate for foreign employment, household roles and responsibilities need to be reassigned, which changes traditional gender roles and presents new challenges for the family members who stay behind. Migration of women restructures gender dynamics within household, requiring husbands and other household members to assume the roles previously managed by the women. In nuclear household, husbands and teenage children take on chores such as meal preparation, cleaning and children care. In the extended households, mother-in-laws predominantly shoulder the burden of household chores, with little bit assistance from father-in-laws and husbands. Though, these shifts are often temporary, reassuming back to the traditional household roles upon the women's return.

The increased workload impacts elderly family members (mainly mother-in-laws) and children significantly. Elderly women, particularly mother-in-laws, face added responsibilities, including agricultural tasks, task related to animal husbandry and children rearing. Children suffer from the lack of maternal wellbeing and household chores transferred from mother to their elder children, affecting their educational performances, psychological and emotional wellbeing. Managing household chores proves difficult for male household members unfamiliar to such roles, leading to incompetency and additional stress. Despite the redistribution of the household roles and responsibilities, the decision making process remains predominantly male dominated.

Head of the household/senior male household members, migrant women's father-in-laws and husband, continue to be primary decision makers. In the rare case, women particularly those belong to nuclear households, assume a significant role in the decision making in the household, often supported by their husbands. However, in general, male dominance in the household decisions persists, even after women's return from foreign employment.

The redistribution of household roles also affects income-generating activities, as more time is devoted to household chores by women's husbands, mainly in nuclear households. Women's participation in community level meetings remains limited, often due to traditional gender roles and practices. Though women may attend in fewer cases in mothers group mainly being need of women only and in rare case of school meetings, their active and meaningful participation is minimal, reflecting an underlying persistence of male dominance in decision making processes.

In conclusion, the study of Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality underlines the complexities of gender dynamics in the context of women's foreign labor migration. Traditionally, women in this community have been responsible for household chores such as cooking, cleaning, rearing children, animal husbandry etc. When women migrated in foreign employment, their household roles are redistributed among remaining household members. Other household members such as senior female member (in-laws) and elder children may also assume more household tasks.

This shift challenges traditional gender norms and increase workload, underlining both the transformative and challenging impacts of women's foreign labor migration on household dynamics. There were nothing change in the Traditional gendered division of labor in Dupcheshwor, the work load have increased for senior female and children in the household, husbands of the migrant women has not played significant role to cope those responsibilities previously handled by the women.

Thus women's labor migration has not played significant roles in the decision making and to change the traditional gender roles in the households. The traditional gender roles largely persist; there are no significant changes in the active participation of the women in the household decision making process before and after returned from foreign labor migration. This study contributes to the broader understanding of women's foreign labor migration's impact on household gender dynamics and provides a foundation for future research and policy interventions aimed at achieving more equitable gender relations.

## References

- Acharya, D. R., Bell, J. S., Simkhada, P., Van Teijlingen, E. R., & Regmi, P. (2010). Women's autonomy in household decision-making: A demographic study in Nepal. *Reproductive Health*, 7(15).
- Bélanger, D. and Mahmuda R. (2013). Migrating against all the odds: International labour migration of Bangladeshi women. *Current Sociology*, 61(3):356–373.
- Boyd, M. (1975). The Status of Immigrant Women in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12(4), 406-416.
- Boyd, M. (1995). *Migration Regulations and Sex Selective Outcomes in Developed Countries*. In: *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. United Nations Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division. New York: United Nations.
- Bhende, A., & Kanitkar, T. (2006). *Principles of Population Studies*. New Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House.
- Chaudhary, A. (2022). "Doing Gender": Women Labor Migration and Households Transition in Nepal. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 10(11), 374-390.

Demko, G.J.-Ross, H.M-Schnell, G.A. (1970). *Population Geography: A Reader.*-

McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.

Donato and Katharine M. (2010). U.S. Migration from Latin America: Gendered Patterns

and Shifts. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,

630: 780-92.

Fleury, A. (2016). Understanding women and migration: *A literature review*. KNOMAD

Working Paper Series.

Gioli, G., A. Maharjan and Gurung M. (2017). *Neither heroines nor victims: Women*

*migrant workers and changing family and community relations in Nepal*. United

Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women, UN-Women.

Graner, E. (2001). *Labor Markets and Migration in Nepal*. Mountain Research and

Development 21:253-259.

Government of Nepal. (2014). *Labour migration for employment: A status report for*

*Nepal: 2013/2014*. Ministry of Labour and Employment, Kathmandu.

Hugo, G. (2002). Effects of International Migration on the Family in Indonesia. *Asian*

*and Pacific Migration Journal*, 11(1), 13-46.

- International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2005). Internal migration and development: A global perspective. International Organization for Migration.
- Jolly, S., Piper, N. and Reeves H. (2005). *Gender and migration: Overview report*. Brighton:Institute of Development Studies.
- Joshi Rajkarnikar, P. (2017). The Impacts of Foreign Labor Migration of Men on Women's Empowerment in Nepal (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kaspar, H. (2005). I am the Household Head now!. Gender Aspects of Out-Migration for Labour in Nepal, 149.
- KC, B. K. (2003).Migration, Poverty and Development in Nepal. *Paper presented at the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific - Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Migration and Development, Bangkok. August*
- Lachance-Grzella, M., & Bouchard, G. (2010). Why do women do the lion's share of housework? A decade of research. *Sex Roles*, 63(11-12), 767-780.
- Lim, L. (1995.) *The Status of Women and International Migration". In: International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants. United Nations Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division. New York: United Nations.*

- Luna, S. S., & Islam, Md. S. (2014). International female labor migration and its impact on family members left behind: A case study on Sadarpur Upazila, Faridpur. *Oriental Geographer*, 58(2), 53-72.
- Mishra, M. (2022). Female labor migration: Gender perspective. *Journal of Population and Development*, 3(1), 71-83.
- Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of Passage are Also Women. *International Migration Review*, 4:886-907.
- Pedraza, S. (1991). Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17:303-25.
- Sherpa, D. (2010). Labour migration and remittances in Nepal: Case study report. International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development. (Old one)
- Shrestha, B. (2004). Foreign Employment and the Remittance Economy of Nepal. The Nepalese Economy: Towards Building a Strong Economic Nation-State. *Tribhuvan University: Central Department of Economics (CEDECON)*.
- Shrestha, B. (2008). Contribution of Foreign Employment and Remittances to Nepalese Economy. *Economic Review*. Nepal Rastra Bank 20:1-15.

- Sijapati, B., Mak, J., Zimmerman, C., & Kiss, L. (2019). Nepali women's labor migration: Between protection and proscription. *Migration Letters*, 16(4), 611-624.
- Sikod, F. (2007). Gender division of labour and women's decision-making power in rural households in Cameroon. *Africa Development*, 32(3), 58-71.
- Simon, R. and Brettell C. (1986). *Immigrant Women: An Introduction*. In: *International Migration: The Female Experience*. Ed. R. Simon and C. Brettell. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld. Pp. 3-20.
- Timothy, R. and Sasikumar S.K. (2012). *Migration of women workers from south Asia to the Gulf*. V.V. Giri National Labour Institute.
- Thao, V. T. (2015). When the pillar of the home is shaking: Female labor migration and stay-at-home fathers in Vietnam. In M. C. Inhorn, W. Chavkin, & J. Navarro (Eds.), *Globalized fatherhood* (pp. 129-151). Oxford: Berghahn.
- Tienda, M. and Booth K. (1991). *Gender, Migration and Social Change*, *International Sociology*, 6:51-72.

UN (United Nations). (1994). *The Migration of Women: Methodological Issues in the Measurement and Analysis of Internal and International Migration*. United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

(United Nations) UN.(1995).*Introduction. In: International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. United Nations Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division. New York: United Nations.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2019). *International Migrant Stock2019*. United Nations, New York.

## ANNEX-I

### Checklists for Household

#### 1.0 GENERAL INFORMATION

1.1 Interview Date: .....

1.2 Name of Respondents: .....

1.3 District..... Rural/Municipality..... Ward No...

1.4 Religion.....

1.6 Total number of family member: .....

SN	Relationship	Sex		Age			Education				Occupation					Marital status		
		M	F	<14	15-64	>65	IL	JL	SL	HE	1	2	3	4	5	i	ii	iii
1																		
2																		
3																		
4																		
5																		
6																		
7																		
8																		
9																		

Note: Code: IL= Illiterate, JL= Just Literate, SL= Secondary Level (Up to SLC), HE = 10+2 or

above, 1= Agriculture, 2= Business, 3= Agri. + Business, 4 = Service, 5=Foreign Employment,

6= Dependent, i=Single, ii=Married and iii=Divorce

**A. Gendered Division of Household Labor**

1. Generally, what are the major domestic chores performed by your family members in your household?

.....

.....

.....

2. Could you tell me, how are the regular domestic tasks typically distributed among the family members in your household?

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. How the division of household chores performed by the female member is divided among the rest of the family members, when the female member from your household engaged on foreign employment? And who took the responsibilities that were previously done by her?

.....

.....

4. In your point of view, how the absence of women due to foreign labor migration affect the division of domestic chores, and other household works in your household?

.....  
.....

- 5. What are the major challenges and obstacles faced by your household in managing domestic chores during the absence of women due to foreign employment?

.....  
.....

**B. Women's Foreign Labor Migration and Household Decision Making**

- 6. Could you tell me about, who primarily involve in the decision making process of various household tasks in your household?

.....  
.....

- 7. Could you please tell me, what types of family decisions are generally made in your household and what topics they typically cover?

.....  
.....

- 8. In your household, based on gender, could you tell briefly, who actively participates in major household decisions?

.....  
.....  
.....

9. Was there any significant involvement of the women in your household in the household decision-making process, while she was engaged in foreign employment? If there was, what type of decision making process was she involved in?

.....  
 .....

10. Who decides how the remittance from foreign employment is used for various household expenditures in your household? Additionally, who forms and controls major domestic financial decisions?

.....  
 .....

### **C. Gender Roles upon the Return from Foreign Employment**

11. Could you explain about existing traditional roles and responsibilities of male and female in your household before the female member migrated for foreign employment?

.....  
 .....

12. Who was mainly responsible in your household for cooking, cleaning, fetching water, rearing and caring children, elderly care, household purchases, child education, agricultural tasks(plough the land, irrigate the land, manuring, remove weeds, sowing the crops, harvesting and store), livestock related work(fodder collection, manure collection, milking) grocery shopping, earnings etc. ?

.....  
.....

13. How did the roles and responsibilities in your household change after the female member in your household migrated for the foreign employment, and who took over the responsibilities that were previously handled by her?

.....  
.....

**ANNEX-II****Checklists for Returnees**

1. Who was primarily responsible for the household related chores before you migrated for the foreign employment?

.....  
.....  
.....

2. Who took up your household roles and responsibilities that you previously handled while you were engaged on foreign employment?

.....  
.....  
.....

3. Since you returned from foreign labor migration, how have the household roles and responsibilities been divided among the household members? Have there been any changes in the roles you previously managed?

.....  
.....  
.....

4. Have you participated in community and household-level meetings and discussions before migrating for foreign employment? If yes, after returned, did you notice any changes in your decision-making process based on those experiences?

.....  
.....  
.....

- 5. Before you began working abroad, who was primarily involved in the decision making process for family livelihood expenses and other major financial decision in your household?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

- 6. Did you involve in the household financial decision making process while you were engaged in foreign employment?

.....  
.....  
.....

- 7. After you returned from foreign labor migration, did you participate in financial and other household decision making process and community level meetings? If yes, could you please share the decisions you have made?

.....  
.....  
.....

8. Could you tell me about the household roles and responsibilities you have handled before you migrated for foreign employment?

.....  
.....  
.....

9. After returning from foreign labor migration, could you please tell me if there have been any changes in the household roles and responsibilities that you previously managed?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## ANNEX-III

## Name list of the Respondents

Dupcheshwor Rural Municipality		
HH	Name of the Respondent	Ward No
1	Gyaan Bahadur Tamang	6
2	Shirsani Tamang	6
3	Dhan Bahadur Tamang	6
4	Shameer Tamang	6
5	Shyam Bahadur Tamang	6
6	Bhim Bahadur Tamang	6
7	Supriya Tamang	6
8	Paipai Tamang	2
9	Subin Maya Tamang	2
10	Yaakar Tamang	2
11	Dil Bahadur Tamang	2
12	Dinesh Tamang	2
13	Dawang Duppa Tamang	2
14	Birendra Tamang	2
Respondents: Returnees		
HH	Name of the Respondent	Ward No
15	Maya Tamang	2
16	Sharmila Tamang	2
17	Mangalmaya Tamang	6
18	Mina Lama	6
19	Shani Tamang	2
20	Sunmaya Tamang	2
21	Phulmaya Tamang	2
22	Gori Tamang	2
23	Supriti Tamang	2
24	Sermendo Tamang	2

### ANNEX-IV

#### Some Glimpses from Dupcheshwor during the Interviews

