CHAPTER-ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Migration is one of the defining features of the current Nepalese economy; many Nepalese are turning toward foreign lands with the hopes of better economic opportunities and higher standard of living (Poudel, 2015), Skeldon (1997) defines migration as the movement of people from one place to another takes place either temporarily or permanently with in the country and abroad.

In the present context, the migration has become essential strategy of survival for most of the Nepalese households, contributing on their subsistence. Though the internal migration which is a movement of people within the national boundary of a specified country is an important aspect of Nepalese society, this study has focused especially on the causes of international migration and its impacts on gender relations and patriarchal structure of society. In general, international migration is the cross broader movement of people (Balbo and Marconi, 2005). By migrating, people try to protect themselves and their families against the effects of a weak economy and volatile market, from political crises, armed conflicts, and other risks, including the effects of climate change (Koser, 2010, p.306).

Foreign labour migration is by no means a recent phenomenon in Nepali society rather encompassing a very long history. It had been started with the recruitment of physically strong young people. The first evidence of out migration found in literature has suggested that the migration from Nepal had been started even before the early nineteenth century when the first Nepalese men migrated to Lahore (in present day's Pakistan), to join the army of Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. Afterwards the migrants and later migrants earn the nick name "Lahure" and well before the recruitment of the first Nepali to the British Army called as "Gorkha" in 1815-16 (Seddan, Adhikari and Gurung, 2002).

The number of international migration from Nepal is rapidly increasing in recent years. According to the CBS (2001), the total number of absent persons from the country was 762,181. The figure went up to 1,921,494, more than doubled reported by CBS (2011). This shows that the rapid increase of absent population within 10 years. The remittances send by international migrants has directly influenced the micro and macro-economic structures of Nepal. However the inflow of remittance is unequal among households due to variation in migration destination which is depend on the cost of migration, migrant`s knowledge, skills and their social networks (Seddan, Adhikari and Gurung, 2002).

The migration process in Nepal is highly dominated by men's migration. The mobility of women is highly restricted by the patriarchal structures of Nepalese society. Patriarchy is regarded as a social system infused and reinforced in the society by various social structures such as household, family, work place etc. (Walby 1990). Bhadra (2007) argues that the patriarchal ideologies of society creates restrictions or barriers for the physical mobility of women where as such ideologies facilitates men's migration. The annual progress report of DoFE (2016/2017) shows that more than 85% of labor migrants are men. The international migration of men has presented the various potentialities as well as challenges. This research is all about the various outcomes of male out migrants their adjust lives and manage their households in husband's absence.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Migration has been a major source of human survival, adaptation and growth across the centuries and millennia which in fact inherent in human nature (Marsella and Ring, 2003). In general, Gebru (2006) defines migration as a movement of people involving change in usual place of residence that has been part of human history and often is associated with the search for better livelihood and more secure survival.

There are various reasons of migration, Koser (2010) views the increase of international migration primarily linked to income opportunities. Similarly, Marsella and Ring (2003) argue that the decision to migrate simply arises from both push forces as sense of danger and adversity and pull forces as search for new possibilities. In general, the social, cultural, economic, political as well as environmental problems and search for new possibilities are interwoven with the process of migration. However the economic reason dominates other reason for migration in the context of Nepal. Many Nepalese migrants are increasingly turning towards foreign lands for the high earning and other possibilities.

In the study of Nepalese society, Kasper (2005) finds that the institution of patriarchy plays fundamental role in defining the position of individuals in households where men have enjoyed the fullest rights to predominant in every household decisions. Chapagain (2006) argues that the most of the Nepalese women have compromise their own rights and interests accept their husband`s as well as their in –laws decisions in order to avoid the tension in households. The patriarchal nature of Nepalese society has assigned different roles and status for men and women. The men have given dominant position in family where they manage financial matters and participate in public spaces but the women are only confined with domestic tasks and spheres (Pradhan, 2005).

DaVanzo (1981) argues that increasing flows of migration significantly affects the social, economic, cultural, political and ecological structures of both sending and receiving areas. Similarly, Castles (2002) understands migration as evolutionary process that affects not only the migrants but also the lives of individual in both origin and destination countries. The increasing number of male out migration has various significant effects on the patriarchal structure of Nepalese society as well as has brought outcomes for women left behind. The women's ability of decision making and participation on social and economic affairs which helps to develop new forms of connection either increase or decrease with men's absence who is previously regarded as a major decision maker of the household. The effect of male migration on patriarchal structures either transform the gender norms and gender relations which makes it more flexible toward the allocation of social and economic resources to women or adding more challenges and responsibilities in their lives. This research study has the following research questions:

- 1. What are the causes of International migration?
- 2. What changes does international male migration bring on patriarchal system of society?
- 3. What are the effects of male out migration on women left behind?

1.3 Research Objectives

This research study has general and specific objectives. The general objective of this study is to explore the changes brought by international male migration on patriarchal system. The specific objectives of this study are:

1. To identify the causes of international migration.

2. To analyze the effect of male out migration on women left behind.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This research study provides a baseline for future studies related to international migration and its impacts. The main strength of this study is that it captures the aspects of effect of male out migration on the women left behind as well as on patriarchy because now the migration is important phenomena in almost every society. Further this study is qualitative in nature which explains the various outcomes of migration for different households. Finally, this study addresses an area of gender and migration that this area needs much attention in the future research studies.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This study is organized into six chapters. The first chapter has presented the introduction that includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, and research objectives, significance of the study and organization of the study. The second chapter has presented the theoretical and empirical reviews of literature related to international migration, gender roles and patriarchy. The appropriate methodology is presented in chapter third which includes selection of research area, research design, nature and sources of data, universe and sampling method, sample size, techniques of data collection and limitation of the study. The information about the research area and respondents' profile has been presented in chapter four. The fifth chapter discusses about the analysis of data collected from the research area and its findings. Finally, chapter six consist summary, conclusions and future research issues for the further research.

CHAPTER-TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter presents the reviews of literature from previous studies related to international migration, patriarchy, household decision making and social participation of women, gender relation and gender division of labour and so on.

2.1 Migration

Migration has been an integral part of human existence and civilization (Alder and Gielen, 2002). They argue that millions of people from around the world are living their usual place of residence to fulfill such needs like visiting a new place, education and marriage opportunities. Migrations includes a wide variety of movements and situations involving people of all backgrounds and help them to interconnect with each other (World Migration Report, 2018).

Similarly, Suwal (2014) describes migration as a process of population and labour force transition from one area. He further argues that migration is one of the major demographic factors to bring change in population size, structure and distribution. Migration is a process of human mobility involving a permanent or temporary change in residence by an individual, family or group(Gebru,2006). In general it is a geographical form of population movement which involves the change in usual place of residence.

2.2 Types of Migration

Skeldon (1997) has discussed broadly two types of migration. He argues demographically, the basic from of migration is either in – or out migration, which changes not only the population size but also the structure of population in both areas of origin and destination. In the same way, Gebru(2006) has divided migration into two broad groups: Internal migration and International migration.

2.2.1 Internal Migration

Internal migration is the movement of people within the national boundary of a specified country which is by far the most important factor responsible for major demographic changes (Gebru, 2006). Likewise, Suwal (2014) argues that internal migration is associated with change of usual place of residence within the national boundary.

2.2.2 International Migration

International Migration involves the movement of people across political boundary to a different country than an area of origin. (Gebru, 2006) International migration has essentially been locked at as a one way individual and definitive move translating into permanent settlement, temporary settlement being envisaged as a possible but unlikely alternative. (Balbo and Marconi, 2005, p.4) They views globalization as a powerful force for the rise of cross broader migration takes place rapidly in developing world. The cross broader movements of people are occurring and growing despite a widespread strengthening measures, in contrast with the worldwide liberalization of the movement of goods services and capital. As in the advanced economies in developing countries the increase of international migration is linked to income opportunities.

(Balbo and Macroni, 2005, p.5)International migrants are normally defined as people living outside their home country for over one year. The concept of international migration therefore does not include people who move for a shorter period of time for example as students, people on professional activities or tourists. The term mobility is increasingly used to capture this wider range of cross broader movements. There are more international migrants in the world today than previously recorded (Koser, 2010, p.303). International migrants may bring social and economic benefits both to migrants and receiving society.

Hugo (2012) views labour migration as the dominant form of international migration which is seen by some governments in the region to be transitory phenomenon in response to temporary shortages or surpluses of labour. Hugo (2012) has based his studies on south-east Asia arguing that the international labour migration is constantly changing in nature, scale, composition and spatial patterning which has become an important structural feature of the economies and societies of that region.

2.3 Reasons of Migration

The decision to migrate is related to both pull and push factors of migration that constitute the complex calculations by people. Taran (1999) suggested that globalization is one of the major driving forces promoting migration. Further he discussed about the seven reasons for migration which includes: increasing armed violence, ethnic and racial conflict, aspects of globalization such as unemployment and cultural conflict, environmental degradation, development induced migration, denial of democracy, large scale corruption. Thus this includes the social, cultural, economic and political problems that are interwoven with the process of migration. Though the migration takes place for various reasons, de Haan (2000) views economic reason as

the most prominent one which affects the increasing number of people and motivate them for migration.

2.4 Migration and Remittance

The term remittances are normally defined as a migrant's monetary and other cash transfer transmitted by migrant workers to their families and communities (NLSS, 2004). Generally, remittance is usually limited to refer to the portion of earning cash transfer by international migrants to their place of origin although Goldring (2004) has discussed about other forms of transfer such as social remittances and political remittances. The social remittances include diffusion of various types of social practices, knowledge, ideas, values, knowledge of technology and skills brought back by returning migrants and political remittances include changing identities and political awareness after return.

2.5 Patriarchy

Patriarchy has been used in feminist movement widely. Different feminists have understood patriarchy in different ways. Beechey (1979) argues that patriarchy is not a single or simple concept but has a whole variety of different meanings. The Radical feminist Millet (1969) had argued patriarchy has been referred to the system of male domination and to power relations by which men dominate women. She focused solely upon the system of male domination and female subordination. The Marxist feminist shave attempted to understand patriarchy as in the relationship between the subordination of women and the organization of various mode of production (Beechey, 1979). Similarly in the debate of patriarchy Lerner (1986) argues that in patriarchy male become the head of family and it is society who allocate resources to them. She further explains that patriarchy creates gender inequalities from the beginning of human history so the male dominance over women and children in the family has been internalized. The leading academician Walby (1990) argues that patriarchy is composed of six structures: the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the male violence, patriarchal relation in sexuality and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. Thus patriarchy is an authoritative male dominated social system in which male have fullest power and control over resources. Male are given superior position in society so they can oppressed women.

2.6 Household Decision Making

Household decision making is the complex process. Kasper (2005) argues that the participation of women in decision making process –at the household and community level indicates the women's status in society. Decision making is a continuous process of choosing the best among alternatives choices (Adhikari, 2000, p.8). The author further explains that it is not only the available resources that have influenced the decision making but it is also affected by the perceptions of members and their social organizations. The involvement of people in household decision making is an indicator of their bargaining power which determines their positions in households or in society.

2.7 Social Participation

Women's social participation is generally views as a women's physical mobility and their ability to participate in public spheres such as social and economic spheres especially in contexts where the women have not given opportunities (Kasper, 2005).Thus women's social participation is the ability of women to move and to interact in public spaces as well as to participate in social affairs. Women's participation in public spaces is determined by the household structure and their position in the household (Desai and Banerjee, 2008). They argue that there is high chance of freedom and autonomy for women where there are less restrictive social norms. The existing socio-cultural structures, patriarchal norms and values influences an expansion in women's ability to participate in public spaces.

2.8 Power and Control Game

Power is the central and the most attractive concept in the feminist writings but very difficult to define. Allen (2014) views power as a human ability or powerful forces which may serve to reproduce and reinforce power structure and relations or alternatively it may challenge and subvert them. Geceiene (2002) understands power from the Weber's view that by power the chance of people to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action. In patriarchal society, the men have given the dominating power where they have the fullest control over the resources in comparison to women. This situation may replace or challenge due to changing gender dynamics.

2.9 Gender Relation and Gender Division of Labour

The term gender roles refers to society's concept of how men and women are expected to act and how they should behave (little and McGivern, 2013, p.4). They further explain that these roles are based on norms, or standards, created by society and these roles learning starts from the first day of the birth of individuals with socialization, which teaches to behave according to social norms. The division of labour provides the basis for gender differentiation and stratification puts men in a better position by giving them the control over the valuable resources of society (Marini, 1990). She further explains that gender roles differentiation have confined women with domestic tasks and responsibilities making them economically dependent where as men specialized in work in the market with monetary earnings.

"Gender relations" is a category meant to capture a complex set of social relations to refer to a changing set of historically variable social process. That is the gender relations are complex and unstable processes constituted by and through interrelated parts (Flax, 1987, p.628). The gender relations embody both the material and the ideological. They are revealed not only in the division of labor and resources between women and men but also in ideas and in representations- the ascribing to women and men of different abilities, attitudes, desires, personality traits, behavior patterns and so on. Gender relations are both constituted by and help constitute these practices and ideologies, in interaction with other structures of social hierarchy such as class, caste and race (Agarwal, 1997, p.1-2).

2.10 Empowerment

Different scholars have defined empowerment in various ways in their writings. The Longwe's empowerment framework views empowerment as one of the essential elements in women's development which she views it is as the process of enabling women as equal to men (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhya, 1999). Batliwala (2007) understands empowerment as a socio-political process and result of such process, transforming the relation of political, social and economic power between and across both individuals and social groups. Similarly, Kabeer (1999) interprets empowerment as a repeating transformation of power relations between women and men. The author further explains that empowerment is the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices or to make major decisions by themselves and to get control over

resources. It includes the control over physical, material, human, intellectual as well as ideological resources. The empowerment is a multidimensional process which transfers the power relations between individuals and social groups and deals with the capacity of people to get control over resources as well as over their own lives

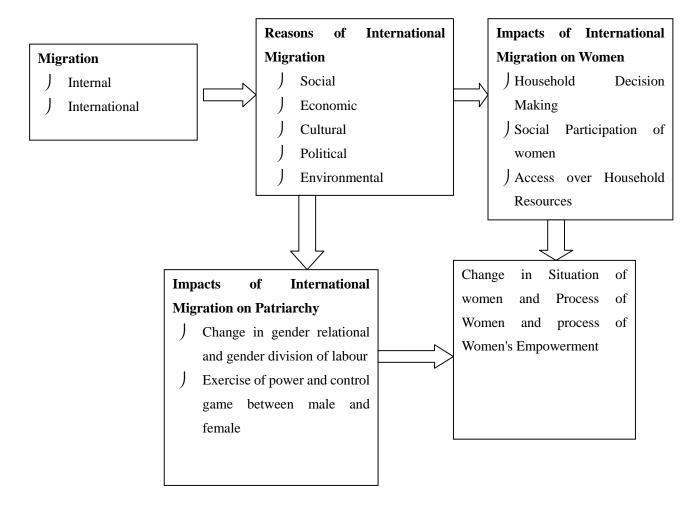
2.11 Theoretical Concepts and Frameworks

Different scholars have propounded various theories associated with migration. The most effective theory of explaining migration is the Haris and Todaro model of 'push and pull theory' which states that migration generally takes place when the positive pull factors at the place of destination are outnumbered by push factors at the place of origin (Bague, 1969). Most of the existing theories of international migration have failed to incorporate the psychological variables while discussing about economic, geographic and demographic factors of migration (Massey et. al, 1993).

Actually, I am interested in to study in the impact of men out migration on the dynamic behavior of the women left behind as well as on patriarchal structures. Thus it is necessary to understand how individual decide to migrate. The individualist approaches believe that the individual decision to migrants in based on their rational choice intended to maximize utility in between the places of origin and destination (Shrestha, 1988). However it is structural forces that also affect the migration process. Migration is not isolated process but it includes the social, cultural and political aspects of migration and the result of the process of historical socio-economic transformation (Massey et. al, 1993, Shrestha, 1988)

Conceptual Framework- Figure

In general migration is the movement of people takes place either internally or internationally for various reasons such as social, economic political and so on. International migration has brought various outcomes for women left behind as well as for patriarchal structure of Nepali society. International migration has created immense effects on participation of women in household decision making as well as on social and economic affairs of household and society. It has also brought changes in gender relations and gender ideologies.



Conceptual Framework Figure

CHAPTER-THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter presents the research methodology of this research study which includes research design, selection of research area, nature and sources of data, sampling method, data collection tools and limitations of the research study.

3.1 Rationale of Site Selection

This research study was centered on to explore the reasons of international male migration and the changes it has brought in women` life as well as on patriarchy. Thus the Nagarjun Municipality Ward no. 1, Ichangunarayan had been selected as a research site due to high number of international migrants. It is located in north -west site of Kathmandu district. The selected settlement represents the various caste/ethnic groups including the highest number of Brahmin households which are migrated from other districts. The international migration is helping for the internal mobility taking place rapidly in this area.

3.2 Research Design

Based on objectives, this research attempted to describe the effects of male out migration on women's life and changes it is bringing on patriarchy. Mainly, this research had followed qualitative approach with description. The ideas and information collected from the respondents were discussed, analyzed and described accordingly.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

The research was based mainly on primary data and supplemented by secondary data. The primary data were collected from the research field using data collection techniques such as interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and the secondary data had been collected from the published and unpublished sources such as books, journals, articles, dissertations etc. The collected data had been both qualitative and quantitative in nature.

3.4 Universe and Sampling Procedures

There are470 households in Nagarjun Municipality– 1, Ichangunarayan. Among these households, male out migration took place in 197 households. The Probability sampling especially simple random sampling method was applied to choose the required sample from the sampling frame. The samples were collected through lottery method. The total 65 samples were collected from the 197 households. The women especially wives of male migrants were questioned and interviewed to meet the need of research objectives.

3.5 Tools of Data Collection

The following tools were applied for the primary data collection from the research area:

3.5.1 Interview

Both structured and semi structured interview were carried out with research respondents. I conducted structured interview with respondents with having them to follow question answer format that collected the respondent's background information such as age, education, occupation, family structure etc. as well as collected the information related to migrant's age and destination, reasons of migration, change in their work responsibilities and household decision making, participation of women in social and economic spheres due to men` absence. Further I kept the interview also semi structured to talk about their experiences more freely in order to gather more information related to subject matter.

3.5.2 Key Informant's Interview

In addition the interview with key informants who were knowledgeable about the subject matter and could provide wider information was carried out in order to collect data related to the topics. Therefore, I had selected two key informants who were social worker working for the betterment of women since long.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussion

I have chosen focus group discussion method which is known as semi- structured data gathering method in order to collect qualitative data related to change in women's life, empowerment and patriarchy that has combined some elements of both interview and participant observation where I purposively selected the participants to discuss on related issues and topics.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis is very important task in research study. The qualitative data were analyzed by coding, recording and classifying data aiming to make sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages and findings. The result had been interpreted by dividing the main topics into sub heading after a close reading and re-reading of notes and listening sample interviews.

3.7 Limitations of the Study

This research study is focused on the effect of male out migration on the women left

behind and on changes in patriarchy. There can be other prominent factors to bring changes but this study pays much attention only on male out migration. Further the majority of observations are limited due to the short period of time in the field and study could be expanded by taking viewpoints of men also. The findings may change over time because the migration phenomenon is rapidly increasing in this area.

CHAPTER -FOUR

RESAERCH AREA AND RESPODENT'S PROFILE

An introduction of the research area and the profile of respondents have been presented in this chapter. It includes brief introduction of the research site and information about the respondents such as age structure, education, caste/ethnicity, family structure, employment status etc. which are related to the research topic.

4.1 Research Area

This research area is located at Nagarjun Municipality-1, north- west site of Kathmandu district. This area has various social, economic as well as cultural changes due to international migration. At present there is highest number of Brahmin and Chhetri households. This area represents the women from different backgrounds.

4.2 Gender Information

The total 65 respondents were interviewed for the research study. They were all females and married. They were the wives of international male migrants.

4.3 Respondents Age

The respondents those interviewed were from different age group. The following table gives the detail information about respondent's age.

Table 1: Age of the Respondents

Age GroupNo. of RespondentsPercent

21-30	17	26.15
31-40	34	52.31
41-Above	14	21.54
Total	65	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The table shows that out of total 65 samples of women, the highest number of women belongs to the 30-40 age groups.

4.4 Education of the Respondents

Education is very important factor to bring various changes in society. Many respondents have left their studies incomplete after marriage due to restrictions from inlaws. Education is keen for the women empowerment because educated women can search for many opportunities and advocate their rights and can bring positive changes in their family and community. Some respondents are now continuing their education and their husband and family member are supporting them and some respondents are actively participating in trainings and workshops.

Table 2: Educational Status of the Respondents

Education	No. of the Respondents	Percent
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Illiterate	3	4.62
1 to 5 pass	5	7.69
6 to 10 pass	11	16.92
SLC	14	21.54
+2	17	26.15
Bachelor and above	15	23.08
Total	65	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2019

The table shows that the majority of respondent's percentage for higher level education seems lower and also shows the illiteracy percentage of respondents.

4.5 Caste/ Ethnicity

The respondents belong to various caste/ethnic households among them the majority is of Brahmin households. It is important variable because different caste/ethnic groups have different cultural practices and ideologies. The details of respondents are presented in the table below.

Table 3: Caste/ Ethnicity wise Distribution of Respondent's Household

Caste/ Ethnicity	No. of Households	Percent
------------------	-------------------	---------

Brahmin	34	52.31
Chhetri	12	18.46
Newar	5	7.69
Magar	2	3.08
Gurung	3	4.62
Dalit	5	7.69
Others	4	6.15
Total	65	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The table shows that there is highest percentage of Brahmin households (52.31%) followed by the Chhetri households (18.46%). Thus we can assume that Brahmin households have rapid international mobility.

4.6 Family Structure/ Composition

Family structure/composition is the vital variable while studying about the changes in women's life because it influences the status of women in the family. Generally, the women have more autonomy in nuclear family than in extended family and she can better exercised decisions making roles.

Table 4: Family Structure /Composition of the Respondent's Households

Family	No. of Households	Percent
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Nuclear	37	56.92
Extended	28	43.08
Total	65	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The table shows that there is highest percentage of nuclear family (56.92%) than of extended family. The number of nuclear family is increasing due to international migration

4.7 Occupation

The occupational status of respondents shows the involvement of women in various income generating activities. Some women received sufficient and stable remittances from their husbands but some women have to involve in financial activities to manage their household expenses.

Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percent
Teaching	11	16.92
Business	14	21.54
Service	3	4.63
Construction work	7	10.76
Housewife	30	46.15
Total	65	100

 Table 5: Occupational Status of the Respondents

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

This table shows that the women are involved in various occupations although they

received more or less remittances from their husband. Mostly women who receive very good amount of remittances from their husbands are not involved in salaried jobs but the women who receive less remittance are compelled to work outside to manage their households. Further the women who don't want to depend on their husbands or family members economically are likely to do salaried jobs. The teaching especially in Montessori is becoming attractive job for women.

CHAPTER-FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the findings from the field and analysis of collected data or information related to causes and destinations of men migration and its impacts on women left behind and also the changes it has brought on patriarchy.

5.1 Migrant's Age

Migration is generally said to be age selective. Thus, age is one of the important determinants for the movement of people. Generally, people from youth/adult age group are more likely to migrant from one place to other place than other age groups. This age group of people is regarded as a young, energetic and active.

Age Group	No. of Migrants	Percent
21-30	13	20
31-40	38	58.46
41-Above	14	21.54
Total	65	100

Table 6: Age of the Migrants

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The table shows that the highest number of international migrants are from (31-40) age group covering 58.46 percent. This age group regarded as young and energetic, they have more international mobility. Some migrants had started migration from the age of 21 years.

5.2 Reasons of Migration

Migration takes place due to so many reasons such as conflict, political and social instability, economic incentives and so on (de Haan,2000). He further argues that the international migrants are motivated mostly by economic reasons than for all other reasons mentioned which affects increasing number of people. In the same way, the economic reason is the very prominent reason of international migration in this research study such as lack of employment opportunities in the origin country, inadequate salaries in job, difficult to maintain livelihoods through agricultural activities, high income of people who are already migrated etc. The international migration took place also because of social and political reasons followed by environmental reasons.

Reasons	No. of migrants	Percent
Lack of employment opportunities	13	20
Insufficient salary on earlier jobs	16	24.62
Possibilities of high income in other	25	38.46
countries		
Others	11	16.92
Total	65	100

Table 7: Reasons of Migration

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

Most of the reasons discussed above in the table come in a single umbrella of economic factor. Though the male migration takes place due to the possibilities of high income in other countries (38.46%). Male migrants have decided to migrant due to the insufficient

salary on earlier jobs they were involved in such as teaching in private schools, drivers, construction works, business etc. The male out migration took place not only for economic reasons but also for social, political and environmental reasons which is categorized as others reasons in the above table.

5.3 Destinations of Migration

International migrants had chosen different countries as their migration destinations. The gulf countries are now one of the major destinations for Nepalese Migrants. The respondents said that the choosing of destinations by international migrants is determined by the purposes of migration, economic conditions, and social networks. All migrants could not afford economic resources to migrate to the destinations like Europe, America, Australia, Japan and so on. The details about destinations of international migrants are presented in the table below.

Countries	No of Migrants	Percent
America	13	20
Korea	3	4.61
Japan	11	16.92
UAE	14	21.54
Qatar	8	12.31
Malaysia	9	13.85
Others	7	10.77
Total	65	100

Table 8: Countries of Destination of International Migrants

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The table shows that there is variation in countries of destinations of international migrants. The highest number of migrants had chosen UAE (21.54 %) as migration destination. Dubai, the famous city of UAE is at present, popular destination for Nepalese migrants due to possibilities of good income and security reasons. It is affordable for them because of low cost for migration than in America, Australia or European countries.

5.4 Remittances

Goldring (2004) defines remittance as a product of migration which is the transfer of money by foreign workers. Although some women have received the sufficient and stable remittances from their husbands and are able to manage their economic status by saving and doing investments in different sectors, many women are not receiving sufficient remittance. And in fact sometime the remittances they received were just enough to cover their daily household expenses. Thus they need to work outside to manage their households. The remittance inflows received by every household is not equal because of variation in destination and cost of migration and also migrants are employed in different jobs based on their skill, knowledge and social networks which have contributed to increasing inequality among households. The following table gives detail about the remittance (per month) received by the households of international migrants.

Remittance (Rs.)	No. of Households	Percentage
0-10000	3	4.62
10000-20000	13	20
20000-30000	18	27.69
30000-40000	14	21.54
40000-50000	10	15.38
50000 above	7	10.77
Total	65	100

Table 9: Remittances Received by Households (Per Month)

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The above table reflects that the majority of households received the remittances below 30,000 rupees. The remittances received by women are used for different purposes such as food consumption, children's education, health, housing, investment in lands etc. The respondents said that mostly the remittances is used for food consumption, housing and children's education.

5.5 Income and Expenditure

At present remittance has become one of the major sources of income for a family and for a country like Nepal. In research area, every household receives more or less remittances from male migrants. The respondents are also involved in various jobs for income which is mentioned in earlier chapters. Further the households are getting income by renting their house and doing saving and investments. These households use these remittances mostly for food consumption, health sector, housing and children's education.

5.6 Increasing Work Burden/Work Responsibilities to Women

Male out migration has brought various outcomes for the women left behind. In one way, remittances send by male migrants helps them to manage financial situation of their households. But in another way, male out migration has resulted in an increased work burden for women. They have to do their everyday household activities and also they have to participate in community meetings and gatherings together with financial management. They have the responsibilities of taking care of their children's and parents. Further some women are involved in various jobs. This situation has created workload to women not only inside the house but also outside. During farming time, many women have to manage agricultural tasks in their village from where they are migrated here.

5.7 Changes in Gendered Division of Labour

Male's migration could fundamentally change gender relations and transform socio-cultural beliefs that characterize traditional gendered practices (Cohen, Rodriguez and Margret, 2008). Men's absence increases the responsibilities of women for the management of household resources as well as remittances send by migrants. Most of the respondents have utilized these resources and remittances for the better living of themselves and their children. The decision making power of women is expanding in family as well as they are getting more freedom and autonomy that resulted in the transformation of women's status in family. Further women's roles have changed in childcare and shopping areas also. Men's migration has created shortages in labor supply in market as a result women are getting more opportunities in market. Thus the participation of women in market work somehow may reduce their dependency on other family members and also provide them some form of financial security. They are performing tasks that was previously thought as only a men's job such as construction and transportation activities. Thus the change in gender roles and gender relations has pushed women out of their comfort zone and required to take new tasks and to learn new skills.

5.8 Household Decision Making

Dias and Jayaweera (2009) argue that women's autonomy and decision making power increase with migration of adult male members. They further add that women's position in household and in society has transformed with the increase in involvement of women in household decision making. A study by Chapagain (2006) finds that women generally have lower decision making power than men because women compromise their own rights and interests and accept their husband's decisions in order to avoid marital tension and gain approval from their in –laws. He further argues that men's migration has created shift in power relations that has transformed women's involvement in household decision making. In this study, in many households, women gain autonomy over household decision making due to male migration but in some households, other family members determines the women's ability to participate in decision making during men's migration.

Male out migration has increased women's autonomy and decision making capacity related to their own health, childcare, visit to friends and relatives, everyday small household decisions, financial decisions etc. and also there is increase in female headed family. The women in nuclear households enjoy higher decision making power during male out migration.

Household	Number	Percent
Female Headed	39	60
Male Headed	26	40
Total	65	100

Table 10: Male Headed and Female Headed Household Distribution

(Source: Field Survey, 2019)

The table shows that there is highest number of female headed households (60%) in the study area. In Female headed households, most of household decisions are likely to make independently by women but especially decisions related to remittances and investment in larger household assets are made jointly by men and women. In Male headed family, most of the decisions are made by other family members of male migrants especially senior male member of the family and sometimes male migrants have also influenced the household decisions by giving instructions in phone or other internet sources.

5.9 Impacts on Family Structure

The ability of women's household decision making is always determined by their household family structure. Rashid (2013) finds that women in nuclear households enjoy higher decision making power during men's migration while in extended households, women's decision making is restricted or even declined as other senior family members may perform as a major decision maker. The respondents those are interviewed are both from nuclear and extended households. The women from nuclear family enjoy more freedom and mobility. They are making household decisions with a very little interference by their husbands but in the extended family women are restricted to make decisions by senior members of the households.

The number of nuclear households is increasing due to international men migration because the migrated men and his wife are likely to separate from extended family after having good income and also likely to migrate in city areas for new settlements. The breakdown of extended household's into nuclear households, giving women highest possibilities for freedom of mobility and decision making power.

5.10 Control Over Household Resources and Assets

The Longwe's framework of empowerment defines control as a women's ability to control over the decision making process to achieve equality together with control over the factors of production and resources in order to maximize their wellbeing (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhya, 1999). Male migration has contributed on the increasing access and control of women over household assets such as agricultural land, house and others. Though they have access and control over such resources and assets they get difficulties to utilize such resources because of having low level of education and social barriers.

The respondents said that they can make decisions related to everyday small things without any interference however for important financial decisions related to buying and selling assets and property, they have to ask male migrant's or other family members. As a result, they have to depend on their husbands and other household members to make decisions.

5.11 Social Participation of Women

Women's social participation refers to their ability to move from one place to another and interact in public spaces (Desai and Banerjee, 2008). McEvoy (2012) argues that male's migration gives women legitimate reasons to step into public spaces as they take task that were previously managed by men. Further he argues that social participation of women in different tasks is essential to manage the households though they have to suffer from various restrictions from family members, relatives and society members. The participation of respondents in public spaces has increased with male migration such as managing financial matters, going to markets and banks, maintaining social relationships, visiting to relatives, going to children's school, participating in social activities. The women have also developed new forms of connection with kinship and neighbors requiring for the everyday household management.

5.12Exercise of Power

Weber (1946) understands power as one's ability to make others do what we want regardless of their own wishes and interests. In a patriarchal society, men's migration also changes the household structure and transforms the power relations among household members left behind (Brown, 1983). In the research study, the women who are from nuclear households take the role of household heads which was previously occupied by men by managing all the domestic and financial responsibilities. For this they have to cope with new challenges. The changes in decision making process could increase women's autonomy and bargaining power where as in extended family; the other senior household members have supervised the activities of women and restricted their roles in exercising the power.

5.13 Changes in Patriarchy

Walby (1990) views patriarchy as the most powerful force of the traditional and modernized societies which is a system of social structures and practices in which men oppress, exploit and control women. Walby (1990) adds patriarchy has given men as a

superior position and power to control women in the public and private domains of society. The international migration has brought changes in patriarchal structure of society. The women's involvement in decision making as well as participation in social sphere has increased with the absence of men which is an indicator of their bargaining power. They have to manage every tasks previously performed by men to run their households. Thus this increased decision making has contributed the distribution of households resources in women's favor. The increased participation of women in social and economic arenas has contributed women to gain fullest control over their lives. This shows that patriarchy has not been rigid like before and in fact somehow it is weakening due to men's absence.

5.14 Empowerment

Kabeer (1994) focuses that empowerment deals with ability to control resources and to make decisions. Dias and Jayaweera (2009) argue that women's involvement in various tasks such as managing financial and household matters, participating in social affairs and maintaining social relationship with everyone, going to banks and markets, etc. has been increased with male migration which could have some empowering effects on women.

Due to men's absence women are required to make everyday household decisions and to utilize the resources in order to manage their household properly. Further they have to participate in social and economic affairs of family and society. This can be regarded as some sign of women empowerment. The increasing decision making and bargaining power has contributed in the changing status of women in the family but all the women have not enjoyed the similar status and situation in the family.

CHAPTER- SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents the summary and conclusions of the research study which provides insights for further research in the field of migration and gender issues.

6.1 Summary

This research study discuses about the impacts of international male migration on women left behind as well as on patriarchy. International migration is a global phenomenon which has brought many social, economic, political and cultural changes in family, society and country. In the similar way, the male out migration has brought various outcomes in women's life. In one way, men's absence from family facilitate women with increasing financial activities, household decision making, freedom and mobility but in another way, it has created heavy work burdens for women.

The men's migration has taken place for different reasons and this study is tried to find out such reasons. Though there are different reasons responsible for international migration such as social, economic, political and so on, the economic reason was the most prominent one in this study. The men have migrated to abroad because of possibilities of high income there and to manage the financial situation of their household properly.

The main objective of this research is to analyze the impacts of male migration on women as well as the changes it has brought on patriarchy. I have presented some literatures on literature review chapter in which some ideas from previous studies have been presented. The male migration has affected women both in a positive and negative ways. Thus to understand such changes various indicators such as household decision making, social participation of women, work responsibilities, family composition, patriarchal structure etc. have been analyzed.

Nagarjun Municipality-1, Ichangunarayan has been selected as a research area for this study because of high numbers of male migration from that area. The total 65 samples especially the wives of male migrants were selected as major respondents. The data were collected from the field using interview, key informant interview and focus group discussion methods. The respondents have represented different socio and economic backgrounds. The required qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed thoroughly.

The study shows that the international men migration has brought various outcomes for women. In one way, they are actively participating in household decision process as well as societal activities which help them to get control over household resources. In another way, it has increased work responsibilities for women. There is change in gender division of labour as well as in social structure. The change in social structures, patriarchal norms and values has facilitated women with more power and autonomy.

6.2 Conclusions

Migration of people has been taken place since the very beginning of human civilization which is at present, the most dominant event in the global social system. Modern world is highly affected by the globalization, technological advancement and development which have created the various opportunities and possibilities for people around the world. In general, migration is the geographical movement of people from one place to another within a broader of a country or out of the country for different purposes and possibilities. This research study have a purpose to discuss about the various outcomes resulted from international men migration.

Remittance send by migrants has become one of the major sources of income for most of the Nepalese households. Though it has contributed on increasing inequality among households because some households have received sufficient remittance but some have not which is related to destination and cost of migration and migrant`s skills and jobs they are involved in. It has resulted in the increased level of women employment on migrant's households particularly on poor households in order to manage their daily expenses.

The male migrations have brought various outcomes in women's life. It increases the work responsibilities or workload for women because they have to perform every task previously performed by the men. It has been also observed that men's absence has contributing on the increasing decision making power of women as well as participation in social and economic spheres of society. Thus the roles of women in migrants' households changed from unpaid labors to decision makers or managers of the households.

The findings also suggest that the change in roles of women have contributed in changing gender relations and gendered division of labour. Women are pushed out from

their comfort zone and required to take new tasks and new skills in order to manage their households. They have involved in various activities which was previously thought as only men's work. They have to deal with new challenges and obstacles of living in male dominated society which has influenced the gender ideologies and perceptions of society towards them.

Nepali society is patriarchal in nature where women are excluded from various social and economic resources in comparison to men. Usually the men are head of the family and are in dominant positions in patriarchy. There is prevailing disparities between men and women. The men have given more power and freedom where as women have highly restricted by society presenting different social barriers. However women are getting access and control over the household assets and resources due to men's absence from the family because men cannot be present to make household decisions and utilize resources when required. It is obviously women who have to make urgent decisions. Thus it has created the opportunities for women to use those resources to maximize their wellbeing. Therefore this study suggests that the international male migration has brought changes in patriarchal structure of society which has become somehow flexible for women at present.

In nuclear households, women enjoy more freedom and autonomy than in extended households. In nuclear households women can make every decisions without any interference where as in extended family their decision making power is restricted by other senior family members. The increasing bargaining power and participation of women in social and economic spheres can be seen as a sign of women's empowerment but still they are not getting fullest control over the production and distribution of resources because of low level of education and other social and economic barriers.

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ANNEX-1

RESEARCH QUESTIONAIRE

PERSONNEL INFORMATION

Name of the Respondents:

Age:

Education:

Occupation:

Caste/Ethnicity:

Religion:

FAMILY INFORMATION

S.N.	Name of the Family Member	Age	Education

INTERNATIONAL MEN MIGRATION

- 1. How many male members have been migrated from your family?
- 2. How long they have been migrated?
- 3. Which country of destination they are migrated?
- 4. What are the reasons for their migration?

USE OF REMITTANCES

- 5. What are the sources of income for the house?
- 6. Do you work? Why or Why not?
- 7. Is remittance main source of income for the house?
- 8. How much remittances do you received monthly?
- 9. What are some of the major household expenses?
- 10. Is the income enough to manage everyday expenses? If not, how do you manage?
- 11. Who managed financial matters in the house?
- 12. Have you saved remittance income and have invested in anything?
- 13. Have your financial status changed after men's migration?

HOUSEHOLD/WORK RESPONSIBILITIES

- 14. Have your responsibilities with in the house increased or decreased since your husband` migration?
- 15. Has the overall workload increased? How?
- 16. Which of the tasks of your husbands have you had to take over?

HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING

- 17. Who makes smaller everyday decisions?
- 18. Who makes decisions regarding financial management, children's health/

education related issues?

19. Who made these decisions before your husband's migration?

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

- 20. Who goes to bank for loans, market for everyday purchases, children's school and hospital?
- 21. Who participate in community's gatherings, meetings and programs?
- 22. Who went to bank, market, children's school, hospital, community gatherings and meetings before your husband's migration?
- 23. Have you participated in any skill-training or awareness raising programs?

POWER AND CONTROL OVER HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES AND ASSESTS

- 24. Do you own any household assets?
- 25. Who own most of the household assets?
- 26. Have your bargaining power in the family increased or decreased with men's migration?

CHANGE IN PATRIARCHY

- 27. Have you find any changes in social structure or patriarchal structure of society? If yes what kind of changes have you experienced?
- 28. Do you think the changes in social structure has effecting women's life?

GENERAL QUESTION

29. What kind of changes have you experienced since your husband's migration?

30. What kind of challenges/problems have you had to face due to your husband`s migration?