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Women's Labor Migration and Gender Nexus (A Study of Migrant's Families in Pokhara, Nepal)

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ABSTRACT

The study aimed to investigate and analyze the effects of the global market on gender practices.

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Women's labor migration has multifaceted effects on families. In Nepal, there have been increasing trends of women's labor migration in the last ten years, i.e., from 8595 in 2008/2009 to 20578 in 2018/2019, as per the Nepal Labor Migration Report 2020. The mobility of women's migration doesn't only boost national income but also makes women self-reliant. In Nepal's traditional society and culture, this cumulative trend

of women's migration has created new discourse in gender practices. So, this study aims to investigate the reconstruction of gender roles and responsibilities and the shifting pattern of power in a household's structure. Data from both primary sources and secondary literature is used to support the arguments. The study is guided by feminist standpoint theory and Marxian theory. The data were purposefully selected from 198 households of women's migrant families in Pokhara, Nepal in 2022. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to gather the information. The finding reveals that the traditional patriarchal mode of society is changing, where women are more dependent on men for their survival. Not only migrant women, but the women left behind, who act as proxy managers, are playing a crucial role in household formation and decision-making. The various forms of capital gained in transnational space have not only changed cultural ideologies about gender practices but also assured women's freedom, independence, and confidence in the public sphere of life.

Keywords: Decision-making, households, roles, migration, remittances.

INTRODUCTION

Women's labor migration has become one of the most prominent aspects of society, as established gender norms are under threat. According to Lan (2006), women's migration causes men to bear more responsibilities, resulting in a new phenomenon in the social process i.e., "huswife" or "house band"; these changes have profound effects and call into question the core tenets of conventional gender roles and obligations, particularly the relationship between power structures within the household domain. In recent years, women's labor migration has become an integral part of Nepali society and culture. The Department of Foreign Employment report shows the increasing trends of migration from 3,605 to 106,660 in 1993/94 and 2003/04, and it reached 527,814 by 2013/14 (MoLESS, 2020). The results of the 2021 Census also show that there are about 2.1 million Nepali nationals residing outside the nation, representing 7.4% of the total population (CBS, 2022). Men make up 81.3 percent (or 1.8 million) of this migrant group, and the remaining are women. The family structure of Nepal is characterized by male supremacy of power with a prominent breadwinner role to look out for the whole family members, where females are dependent upon them. So, male-dominated migration is a common phenomenon, as they bear responsibility for taking over the family. Although there have been rigorous studies related to male labor migration processes and their effects on the economy, comparatively less consideration has been given to female labor migration. The study conducted by Lokshin and Glinskaya (2008) show the impacts of male migration and show that women in households that receive remittances participate less in the labor market than women in households that don't receive remittances. However, the study assumes that a household would serve as the unit of analysis. The study doesn't say anything about women's experiences brought on by household structure and sociocultural norms. Additionally, by concentrating exclusively on market involvement, the study skips past changes in women's overall workload when men aren't around. Similarly, the study conducted by Kasper (2005) uses quality data in Kaski district to show that male migration has increased women's overall workload and decision-making power. Maharjan et. al. (2012) the cases of two districts, Syangja and Baitadi, and discover that women's experiences vary depending on remittances: women receiving high remittances may see a decrease in workload and an increase in decision-making, whereas women receiving low remittances may be burdened with more work and have less ability to make decisions. Similarly, the study conducted by Adhikari and Hobley (2015) show that though male migration increases women's domestic labor, women may experience some increases in autonomy. These studies offer fascinating insights

into the status of women in particular areas. Still, they don't provide much information about the variations in women's experiences in areas with various socioeconomic conditions. There is a lack of comprehensive research on gender experiences and the socioeconomic aspects affecting women's well-being during migration. In Nepal, the increasing trends of women's labor migration are all due to a lack of economic resources and poor living conditions faced by the family. Thus, the decision to participate in women's foreign labor migration is influenced by the poor household structure.

The most prominent reason for women's labor migration is to uphold the role of breadwinner in the family by sending economic remittances. This doesn't only empower women by becoming the breadwinners of the family but also challenges the traditional gender practices in societies. Research indicates that female-headed households rely heavily on remittances and female breadwinners worldwide (SAARC, 2006). So, the current study explain the gender practices that occur in families left behind during migration. Furthermore, the study emphasizes the function of proxy managers, particularly mothers, in building social norms and order inside the family. Before proceeding with the analysis, the analytical framework will be outlined to comprehend how women's labor migration affects traditional gender practices in Nepalese society.

Understanding Long-Term Social Change from a Sociological Perspective

The heart of sociology lies in the study of social structure, social institutions, and social change. However, the concern here is how to establish interconnections among social transformation, migration, and gender. Since the time of Comte and Durkheim, classical sociologists have disagreed on how to explain change, and there is still a lack of an integrative and cogent framework of analysis. Thus, in the following section, the character of social change in terms of gender and the migration process is discussed, notably in the theory put forth by Norbert Elias (1994). Two schools of thought exist regarding social change: the functionalist school of thought, which favors progressive changes with their own pace and pattern over a long period and the Marxist school of thought, which focuses on changes in historical class. The question of what should represent the core locus of a meaningful understanding of social change is still being debated. Referring to Elias (1994), social transformation should concentrate on both "increasing difference and integration" and "decreasing differentiation and integration, where structural change interacts with personality structures. Thus, the natural order of social life and the foundation of society involve both order and disorder in social structures and organizations, and as a result, changes take place at their own pace.

To better understand the modern societal change in gender formation caused by migration, this study focused on the dynamics of changing gender roles in patriarchy. The present study attempts to investigate the structural social shifts, i.e., a figurative shift in gender roles and responsibilities brought about by migration. In doing so, I have placed a particular emphasis on investigating how the dynamics of a contemporary civilized society in a state of rapid transition intersect with migration and gender. I agree with Elias that examining gender roles in patriarchal societies in the context of structural social change will be less effective if such changes are not considered in the context of their articulation with more significant processes, such as the growth of the capitalist market and its effects on everyday life. In the following part, I briefly discuss the history of gender roles in patriarchy and how they relate to the capitalist market.

Patriarchal Gender Roles

The religious explanation for the sexual division of labor between men and women argued that God established sex differences; thus, women should be submissive to men because of their reproductive obligations, and men bear the role of breadwinner (Lerner, 1986). Before 150 years ago, female subjugation was restricted to this. The conservative reason for women's inferiority became "scientific" in the nineteenth century, when the religious argument's persuasiveness declined. Women's biological composition and maternal function make them lower and more subservient; therefore, they participate in less public life. However, the Marxist theory of female subordination questions the universality of female subordination and proposes an earlier phase of matriarchy (female dominance) or gender equality for men and women. Marxist materialism and economic determinism provide explanations for this subordination.

The Marxist perspective is based on the assumption that the first historical act of a human being is to produce means of subsistence to satisfy their biological and social needs. Thus, the nature of the organization of society depends upon the material base, principally the mode of production, which is the foundation of human life and of society. This mode of production compromises all the social, political, and intellectual conditions and life processes. In "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels address the family as a legitimate and authorized institution for the first division of work, i.e., based on the sexual division of labor where the wife and kids are made the husband's slaves. This is where the patriarchal role has been allocated, with women being responsible for bearing and raising children. Frederick Engels, in his book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884)," argued that

women were not subordinated due to their biology but due to the nature of specific social organizations created and reproduced by human beings. In primitive societies, production was not geared toward the generation of surplus. Women used to rear children and govern communal households, while men used to procure food and instruments to procure food. The position of women was relatively higher due to the matrilineal rule of descent. With the domestication of animals and the development of agriculture, surpluses started to be generated. In this changing mode of society, men transfer their wealth to their children, who compel men to withdraw women's power that was structured in the social forms of matrilineality and matrilocality, and thus the rise of patrilineage and patrilocality started. This is further reinforced by the system of monogamous marriage. From the point of view of women, according to Engels, this transition led to the "world's historic defeat of the female sex" (Engels, 1884).

Marxist feminists argued that women's unequal position in society was due to unique social arrangements rather than biology. Similarly, Eisenstein (1999) also stated that sex roles are seen as mechanisms of power and oppression, with women's positions originating from patriarchy and being more deeply based on biological truth than on economic or historical reality (Eisenstein, 1999). Since the foundations of patriarchy are found in women's reproductive selves, this is all expressed through male power and dominance (ibid.). Thus, it is important to look for a relationship between capitalism and patriarchy regarding the division of labor. In "Psychoanalysis and Feminism," Mitchell (1974) defined patriarchy as an ideology in great detail. When a child with a bisexual inclination is exposed to human society, they eventually learn the right cultural expressions of femininity and masculinity, and she talks about patriarchy as the father's symbolic law. She went on to list the fundamental pillars of women's helplessness, including production, reproduction, sexuality, and child socialization, all of which lead to women's exclusion from the workforce and public life.

There is production activity both inside and outside the family; however, the output done by women is not counted in the same way as that of men. My point is that once a man or woman enters the global capitalist market, remittances may modify their social and cultural roles, though to varying degrees, depending on whether they are male or female. Additionally, remittances take on social, cultural, and symbolic forms in addition to their economic ones (Bourdieu, 1986). Because both men and women had the potential to experience power, authority, freedom, the accumulation of economic capital, knowledge gain, and awareness, the extent to which these capitals were used varied. Transnational migration proved to be a bridge to closing the gender role gap. A sociologist should now utilize a perceptive lens to determine

how these variables are related. Since this is a crucial area, the current study seeks to make an impact there.

Referring to Agrawal (1997), women's economic circumstances are restricted by domestic responsibilities that limit their job options, cultural norms of appropriate female behavior, barriers to women joining unions, employer presumptions about women's abilities, and other factors besides their knowledge, education, and skills. The intervention of the global capitalist market interferes with the traditional patriarchal role. As Veronica (1979) stated, patriarchal dominance was present in the domestic economy, in which women were ruled by their husbands and subject to capitalist rule when they started working outside the home. So, foreign women's labor migration proves to be a means of changing women's status by empowering them economically. Thus, transnational migration plays a prominent role in changing traditional gender practices. The traditional roles of breadwinner, decision-maker, nurturer, and household responsibilities, and so on, are highly influenced by the capitalist market as women enter the transnational space. Nevertheless, the families left behind, especially the mothers and husbands who play the role of proxy managers, are more responsible for upholding all these responsibilities. Referring to Pingol (2001), women's labor migration threatens the husband's breadwinner role, while men act as caretakers of the family. Thus, women's labor migration altered the construction of gender, as women have started being more vocal, less dependent, more mobile, somewhat less restricted in sexuality, and so on. For instance, there is a gradual change seen in the widow and single women's movements for their livelihood sources, which was never seen before in Nepalese society. These changes have forced all social institutions, including the family, marriage, and kinship networks, as well as those in the public domain, e.g., educational, work-related, political, legal, and religious institutions, to react in various ways, some positively and some negatively. Furthermore, the ongoing shift in gender construction has called into question deeply ingrained beliefs and behaviors about gender-related conventional practices, such as the roles and obligations attributed to men and women as both providers and caretakers. So, the present study will explore Nepalese gender practices in transnational spaces.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

The study was conducted in Gandaki Province, i.e., in Pokhara Metropolitan City, for five months, from March to July 2022. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) 2021 census, Pokhara Metropolitan City has a total population of 457,792, making it one of the most

populous metropolitan cities. The city has become a destination for internal migrants due to its development in various sectors such as education, healthcare, employment, and a pleasant environment. This study focuses on the effects of women's labor migration on gender practices. The snowball chain method was adopted to choose respondents whose female family members had migrated at least three years before the survey. The researcher asked each migrant household to identify someone in the community who met the study's purpose. The number of female migrants has been officially undocumented. In a case of an unidentifiable sample, Cochran (1963) devised an equation to obtain a representative sample size, which was employed by researchers for calculation. So, using the Cochran formulas, the predicted size of the indefinite sample for the study region is 196. There were approximately twelve non-respondents on the field site who refused to participate and answer the study questions; thus, the researcher had rejected those samples. Thus, the researcher purposefully selected a total of one hundred ninety-eight respondents using snowball sampling methods from different households based upon their socio-economic, educational, and cultural characteristics and living in Pokhara for the last ten years. One hundred twenty-five migrants' households were selected for the survey study to identify household characteristics in terms of demography, migration, assets, and livelihood activities, whereas 48 in-depth interviews were conducted among the migrants' husbands. The in-depth interviews sought to explore husbands' experiences and perceptions of negotiating their gender roles and relationships in reaction to the implications of their wives' migration. Fifteen case studies were conducted among returnee female migrants to discuss their own experiences with gender during migration. Eleven migrants' children (aged 20 to 30) were added to provide additional explanations for their father's role negotiation in the absence of their mother. Five focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with community members to learn about the causes of the increasing trend of female migration and to learn about breadwinner roles as well as decision-making power. All statistical data was processed, evaluated, and presented in tables with descriptive interpretations. The qualitative data were analyzed using a manual theme method, in which the responses were transcribed with certain catchy phrases maintained in their original versions and settings as extracts or excerpts.

DISCUSSION

Factors influencing gender practices

Ownership and access to land and property, including skills, education, and knowledge, and types of marriage practice, determine the degree of decision-making in performing the roles and

responsibilities. The most prominent aspect of women’s migration is whether it brings about changes or not in their living styles. Therefore, it requires planning and implementing context-specific strategies that draw on and use resources and skills possessed by family members left behind, especially the household head. Educational skills, capacity, and knowledge, including the types of families and marriages of migrants, determine their control over the resources as well as their level of decision-making, which can also be associated with societal power. So, the researcher used a quantitative statistical chi-square test to establish the relationship between different variables to show gender practices. Table 1 shows the results of the chi-square test to establish a relationship between education, skills, and knowledge in the decision-making process of migrants.

Table 1

Chi-Square Tests for Education and Decision-making for Migration

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.224 ^a	15	.002
Likelihood Ratio	36.374	15	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.889	1	.169
N of Valid Cases	198		

a. 11 cells (45.8%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is .25.

Since the chi-square value is .002, which is less than .05, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative hypothesis is accepted, meaning there is a relationship between education and decision-making for migration. The education of migrants plays a dominant role in decision making process. This means there is a statistically significant relationship between education and decision-making. This means the education of migrants plays a dominant role in making decisions for their families, which they left behind. The changing mode of the patriarchal structure of society with the intervention of female education not only empowers women in decision-making for their career enhancement but also allows them to play the role of breadwinner. Nonetheless, the field survey data show that 18.1% of migrants in the study area have completed higher education, while 22.1% have completed primary education. 16.6% of women are illiterate and have no college degree, and 8.5% attended formal school. None of the migrants pursued higher education; only a few attended twelve classes. This data indicated that due to less education, migrant’s doesn’t play a crucial role in the decision-making process, though they become the survivors of households.

Similarly, the results of the marital status of women and their decision-making capacity show that migration doesn't play a prominent role in women's decision-making power at the household level. The chi-square test value in table 2 is 20.029, and the level of significance is less .171, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. In such a situation, the null hypothesis is accepted and the alternative hypothesis is rejected. This means there is a statistically significant relationship between marital status and decision-making. Otherwise, the type of marriage they perform determines whether migrants can take decisions in their family or not. In a love marriage, the decisions are jointly taken by the husband and wife, whereas in a divorce, the mother-in-law of the husband has a crucial role in deciding the household activities, children's education, and so on. Though women become the breadwinners of the family and are economically empowered, social circumstances don't let them take major decisions at the household level. Nevertheless, informal talks with migrants' families ensure that they share the decisions with migrants.

Table 2

Chi-Square Tests for marital status and migration

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.029 ^a	15	.171
Likelihood Ratio	25.202	15	.047
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.145	1	.076
N of Valid Cases	198		

16 cells (66.7%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

The table 2 shows the relationship between saving made by migrants and the decision-making process in the family. While testing the relationship between these two variables, the computed chi-square value is 1.307 and the level of significance p-value is .727. The alternative hypothesis was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted because 0.727 is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. This means there is a statistically insignificant relationship between whether the migrants are more powerful and hold higher positions in decision-making over the use of savings they make. This means saving does not play a dominant role in making decisions in their family, as society is still ruled by a patriarchal mode of production.

Table 3

Chi-Square Tests for saving and decision making

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.307 ^a	3	.727
Likelihood Ratio	2.006	3	.571
Linear-by-Linear Association	.153	1	.696
N of Valid Cases	198		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is .78.

The following chi-square test in table 4 shows there is a no relationship between family type and migrants’ decision-making process. The computed chi-square value is 3.349, and the level of significance p-values is .341. This means there is no statistically significant relationship between the type of family and the decision-making. The family type does not play a dominant role in making any important decisions. Women’s decision-making power within the house seemed to depend on the household structure and women’s position within the household hierarchy. During the fieldwork, I discovered that women in nuclear families who had taken on the role of breadwinner participated in decision-making with their husbands because they maintained regular contact with their spouses. The husbands mentioned that they consult their wives before spending the remittances. Nevertheless, the migrants living with their in-laws do not possess the same role as those living in a nuclear family, as the family only lets migrants know about different issues but makes decisions themselves.

Table 4

Chi-Square Tests for decision-making process in family

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.349 ^a	3	.341
Likelihood Ratio	4.088	3	.252
Linear-by-Linear Association	.881	1	.348
N of Valid Cases	198		

2 cells (25.0%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is .88.

The following table 5 shows the chi-square value as 5.697, and the level of significance p-values is .458. The alternative hypothesis was rejected, and the null hypothesis was accepted because 458 are greater than the alpha value of 0.05. This means there is a statistically

insignificant relationship between house ownership and decision-making. This means the land does not play a dominant role in making decisions in their family. Interestingly, during the field observation, women owned more household properties than men, but these women still did not play a dominant role in the decision-making. However, the chances of decision-making increased in the case of migrants' families as they sent remittances to the family.

Table 5

Chi-Square Tests for house ownership and decision making

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.697 ^a	6	.458
Likelihood Ratio	7.008	6	.320
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.992	1	.084
N of Valid Cases	198		

8 cells (66.7%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

a. Power and status in transnational space:

In Nepalese societies, a gender hierarchy exists such that men hold most of the more powerful, high-status positions than women. The country adopted a new constitution in 2015 and committed to eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, promoting inclusion to achieve economic equality. The Government of Nepal (GoN) has implemented a number of legislative provisions about the economic security of women, including the right to employment, the right to appropriate labor, equal wages, equal property rights for women based on the principles of inclusion and proportional representation, and a call to end all forms of discrimination. Nonetheless, women in Nepal confront numerous challenges in achieving economic security and rights, which are often exacerbated for women from marginalized and vulnerable social groups. Nepal's established patriarchal system, which is rooted in gender-hierarchical, discriminatory, and damaging societal norms and practices, has hampered women's involvement in the labor force and formal sector, as well as their access to paid employment. This scenario limits women to the domestic arena, where their primary or sole obligations are care and household production. Inequitable inheritance rights further limit women's access to and control over resources, assets, and services, while mobility restrictions and a lack of decision-making power limit their productivity. Referring to social structure theory, men develop more dominant behavior as an accommodation to more powerful roles, and women develop more subordinate behavior as a way of accommodating to available roles with less power and status (Eagly & Wood, 1999).

Transnational women migrants intervene as catalytic factors to change the existing situation of women in Nepal. There is an inevitable connection between migration lead position and status of women in the capitalist world. It is through the succession of decisions made by migrants in the families, who were replacing the roles of migrants in their absence, and from the actor’s perspective, it is successive generations of human beings that continually recreate history (Mishra, 2014), and the traditional role assigned to men and women changed due to the invasion of migration. Women become economically empowered and hold active roles in the decision-making process.

During the field survey, most of the respondents are migrant’s mothers and husbands; they comprehend the facts that decisions for women overseas migration was taken by migrants themselves and then by their family members. The following table 6 shows the decision making process in the migration process. Most of these women married (love marriage), single, divorced and unmarried. The family’s financial and economic struggles were the dominant factors for their migration. Nevertheless, in case of married families, the poor health condition of husband pushes the women for labor migration.

Table 6

Decision-making process in the migration process

		Decision maker for foreign labor migration				Total
		Self	Husband	Family members	Other	
Relationship to migrant	Spouse	7	13	5	0	25
	Mother	33	5	14	3	55
	Father	9	2	2	6	19
	Brother	4	1	4	0	9
	Mother in law	6	1	9	0	16
	Father-in-law	4	1	1	0	6
	Other	24	5	13	0	42
	Returnee	16	0	4	0	20
	Children	4	0	2	0	6
Total		107	28	54	9	198

One of the migrant’s husbands decided to send his wife to Malta 14 years ago, who had multiple surgeries for appendicitis and ulcers that prevented him from working. Most married women choose migration as an option to sustain their families due to either poor health conditions or the drunkard nature of their husbands. Whatever the logic behind the migration,

the notable thing is that women are gaining the power of breadwinner, and husbands who were left behind are more responsible for looking after the family. These findings lead to the hypothesis that if women and men were accorded different traditional gender practices, many of the assigned roles and responsibilities could be on a changing process where women gain more power and status than men, where she becomes a provider and holds a position in the decision-making process at the household level, which was never before.

Maya's case is uncommon and remarkable. Maya's case is uncommon and remarkable as she spent almost 18 years of her single life in three different countries, i.e., in Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and Dubai. Her parents poor health condition makes it possible for her to play a breadwinner role and take on the responsibilities of four siblings. Nobody in her family asks her to return and marry, though her brother was in the army in Nepal and earned well. The only important part of Maya's life is that everybody obeys her decisions. The only reasons behind this are remittances sent by the Mayans to them. The one and only foremost cause of women's migration is the poor economic and health conditions of the family that lead women to migrate from their country. Thus, migrant women workers not only contribute to the economic growth of the country but also assist in the family's operation. The confrontation between the husband and wife is usually due to their long physical separation, suspicion over their marital relationship, the use of remittances, and the alcoholic husband. Though their conjugal relationship was good and harmonious before the wives' migration, their relationship had ups and downs after the wives' migration. On one hand, migrants contributions to the wealth and sustainability of welfare and employment systems are rarely recognized, whereas, on the other hand, the long-term absentees from the family need their character fidelity. .

As most of the migrants are single (8%), separated (9%), widowed (3.5%), unmarried (22.1%), and divorced (4.5%), they are living with the parents or nearby them. The migrants bring their children, families, and households together in a networking relationship so that the child left behind will have proper care in their absence. Most of the household's responsibilities were carried by the migrant's mother, and she is also responsible for taking care of children. Migrants have full trust in their mothers to perform all the activities in their absence, and so migrants send remittances regularly to them to manage all the things in the house. This mother found nothing bothersome about carrying out these activities. During an interview, the migrants' mother shared her experiences as:

Laxmi, my daughter, got married at the age of 19 on her own. After three years of her marriage, she migrated to Saudi Arabia as her husband didn't earn a sufficient amount

to look after the family. My son-in-law was unreliable, slothful, and addicted to alcohol, so she decided to oversee migrating and leaving her two children with me. It has been eight years; I had to look after her children along with my own family. I have to cook food, clean the houses, wash clothes, and send the granddaughters to school. She used to send her income directly to me and asked me to manage all the things by myself (R. Shrestha, personal communication, July 2, 2022).

The mothers left behind uphold more power and status after the migrants, as she is the next person after the migrants to look after the families and receive the remittances. Still, society accepts traditional gender practices in household chores and rearing and bearing children, and so, though the women become breadwinners of the family, they still have to perform their traditional roles. This is only half the story of the migrant family, but the case of the obedient husband left behind is totally different. When the wives become providers, the husband has to play the role of caretaker and manage all the households. The change in the position of men from providers to bearers modifies the traditional gender roles and expectations, which not only limit men's roles in household affairs but also lower their position in the family and society. The role substitution of migrant women in the family doesn't only empower the women but also increases their social position in the family. Both migrant women and the women left behind in transnational space found themselves more powerful due to their control over remittances. Gender roles are completely arbitrary, depending only on the whims of particular societies. Nevertheless, women and men seek to accommodate sex-typical roles by acquiring the specific skills and resources linked to successful role performance and by adopting their social behavior to role requirements (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Women and men know what they are expected to do, so they try to learn the skills they need to do it properly and fit in with social expectations. And the women's migration has created a situation where both men and women fulfill their unexpected roles assumed by society and prove themselves as good husbands or wives. Thus, the qualities that are required to perform tasks typically assigned to women or men become stereotypes of women and men. In a circular fashion, the gender stereotypes make it easier for women and men to prepare for, be selected for, and perform roles that are gender stereotypic.

CONCLUSION

The patterns of gender relations are found throughout society, although much of the time these patterns remain invisible. Migration as a process lessens the degree of traditional

gender practices where role substitutions are sparked through the changing breadwinner and caretaker roles. Women's uneven standing is demonstrated by their ability to earn. Referring to Mills (1959), the relations between individuals and society should be understood in their own circumstances. Thus, the social conditions faced by men and women in society are all due to social structures that are created by humans themselves, and over time, these people transform their existing positions and status. During women's migration process, troubles like divorce or separation with husbands and wives are only indications of personal trouble, not an institutional problem. For example, not all husbands have issues with their wives' long-term physical separation and breadwinner roles as wives; only a specific person who is very drunken or uneducated has issues with the wives' migration and raises the subject of character faithfulness. Thus, migration-led changes should be explained in relation to social structures, institutions, and personal behavior, which can be used to define the changing nature of power and status in society. The changing nature of patriarchal society can be noticed through the changing nature of the breadwinner role and the decision-making capacity of the women and men in the family in capitalist society, where migration plays a dominant role in the upliftment of men's status and position in the family and society.

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