



Nepalese women migrants in Portugal and their experience with
socio-cultural integration

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Abstract

Title: Nepalese women migrants in Portugal and their experience with socio-cultural integration

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This research is about socio-cultural integration of Nepalese women who migrated to Portugal either in search of job or to join their family members. The study population of this research is Nepalese women and the purpose of this study was to understand the Nepalese woman migrant's experience of integration in Portuguese society as well as in Nepalese society in Portugal. This research also tries to understand the components that affect their integration especially in terms of cultural, interactive, structural and identification integration. It also identifies the support system of Nepalese women which help them to integrate in the society better. The research design for this study is qualitative research which is also supported by statistical data analysis and exploratory interview with the key informants. Qualitative study was carried out to understand the integration process through experience and feelings shared by the participants. Data were conducted through 10 individual interviews which were transcribed and analyzed through content analysis. The research found that most of the women who were researched were educated. Participants who came to Portugal alone expressed that they were 'independent' and participant who joined their husband are also independent in work place but did not express that they were independent directly.

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Abbreviation

CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics.
CNAI	Centros nacionais de apoio ao imigrante
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MIPEX	Migration policy index III
NIDS	Nepal Institute of Development
NRNA	Non- Resident Nepali Association
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SEF	Servico de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras

1. Introduction

The research deals with the socio-cultural integration of Nepalese women residing in Lisbon. The purpose of the research is to understand the perception of Nepalese women regarding their position in relation to structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration. This research provides knowledge on how Nepalese women are integrated within the Nepalese society in Lisbon and among the larger society of Portugal. The research design for this study is qualitative research which is also supported by statistical data analysis and exploratory interview with the key informants. Research data is collected through in-depth interview with the help of semi structured question. Informants of this study were selected purposefully and composed of 10 Nepalese women, who have stayed in Portugal for at least a year. Statistical data analysis provides detail information about Nepalese immigrants residing in Portugal. Exploratory interview with the key informants such as NRNA, CNAI and Nepalese Consulate in Lisbon provide us with the information on how these organizations has been supporting Nepalese immigrants to integrate in the society.

1.1 Background: The context of Nepalese emigration and patriarchal Nepalese society

Migration has been an important part of human history with people having known to move from places to places since thousands of years ago. The International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2004), describes migration as a process of movement either across international border or within a state for whatever length of time, composition and cause, which also includes migration of refugees, displaced people and uprooted people. The reasons for their movement might have been different but it is clearly evident that migration has been essential throughout the course of history, where people have moved not just within countries but also between continents and contributed in making the world a global village that it is considered to be now. But, looking at the percentages, Pires (2014) mentions that only 4% of world populations are international migrants and he questions why there are very few individuals who migrate internationally. There might be various factors associated with it as crossing borders is not an easy task, especially with

many bureaucratic measures to be taken into consideration. Free movements among countries are still largely restricted and mostly the people who have the authorized documents are allowed to make the journey which largely affects people migration. Taking Nepalese experience into consideration, one reason for it might be gender differences as in Nepal only around 12% of total emigrant populations are female which also reflects the patriarchal system in the country. (CBS, 2014a) A country where women populations is more than that of men but are still not encouraged to migrate is likely to affect the numbers of international migrant population. Therefore, it can be considered that there are very few Nepalese female immigrants in the World. This research focuses on migration of these Nepalese women to Portugal for either work or to join family members and their experience with adjustment to a different culture.

International migration among Nepalese for employment was mostly unknown before 19th century and it was only after the Nepal-British India war that some of the soldiers were recruited into British Armed Forces (Bhattarai, 2005). This opened new opportunities for Nepalese youths as over 200,000 young Nepalese men were then recruited for armed forces during the First World War and subsequent Second World War (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2014a). Many Nepalese also started working in India, which today is considered to host more than 1.5 million Nepalese migrants (NIDS, 2010). The majority of these migrants are men with only around 150,000 females expected to be part of entire Nepalese migrant population in India (NIDS, 2010). Part of the reason for this development is deep rooted patriarchal system in the society, which discourages women to work as this responsibility is solely handled by the men where as women are expected to take care of house hold activities.

It is important to know the context of women in Nepal to understand the significance of this research. Women are mostly dominated by the men throughout their life; by their father when they are unmarried and husband after they are married. Every big or small decision regarding their lives is decided by the superior of the house, generally men. This is one of the reason women often end up without adequate education or opportunity to work and solely dependent on husband, father or brothers for economic support. Luitel (2008, p. 106) puts the status of women into perspective in her statement where she mentions, “Women in majority are the owners of household without power and prestige and men hold the power to control the woman. Whether educated or illiterate, women must be within the control of men. Just to be a man is important

whether illiterate, disabled or moron”. Similarly, Manusmriti; known as divine code of conduct in Hinduism, mentions that girls must be in the custody of their father when they are child, women must be under the custody of their husband when married and under the custody of her son as widows. She is not allowed to be independent in any circumstances (Patwari, 2011). Hume (1742/n.a. :77) mentions that “nature has given man the superiority above women, by endowing him with greater strength both of mind and body” and this perception among men that they are superior over women entails domination throughout their lives. Patriarchy is embedded in Nepalese society as it can be seen in historical texts that women have had to go through great suffering not just when they are under the supremacy of their husband when he is alive but even more after his death. The ritual of ‘Sati’ has been well documented where a widow has to follow her dead husband in his funeral pyre. Even though this ritual had been abolished in 1920, it provides an indication of the status of women in Nepal in early 20th century. Pradhananga and Shrestha speaks about the prevalence of domestic violence in Nepal even now and it being an open secret however it is considered a family matter and any state interference is considered as violation of an individual’s right to privacy. They also mention that the Nepalese society has always given privilege to men and legitimized gender hierarchy within the family.

This has been changing lately as women are seeking to break the traditional boundaries and are entering the job market in Nepal and are even seen migrating to various countries for employment. Educated women who are employed are empowered by this change in the form and degree of patriarchy (Walby, 1996). Walby (1996, p.5) also mentions that women entering the job market gives them “a degree of autonomy and independence from men with whom they might live; and that this has positive implications for women’s ability to participate in wider forms of decision making.” But, reports have shown that the female migrant workers face number of difficulties especially due to lack of information and preparedness before exiting the country (NIDS, 2010).

Now, to contextualize the situation, these women, who have been under the influence of men for most part of their life and under societal restrictions and cultural boundaries; to have an opportunity to go abroad for work or to join family members, in a country which values individual freedom and equality, it certainly is a huge step in their lives. Likewise, there are other issues related with language, food, weather, which has an effect on individual’s well being. In

this situation, it would be interesting to know the kind of cultural difference they felt when they came here in Portugal and how they were able to integrate in the society taking all these differences into consideration. Migration of Nepalese in Portugal is a recent phenomenon in Portugal. Since the year, 2008 there has been increase in inflow of Nepalese in Portugal. There are total of 2588 legal Nepalese residing in Portugal in 2013 out of which 32% are Nepalese women residing in Lisbon. (SEF, 2014)

1.2 Research approach

This research is a qualitative study which is also supported by statistical data analysis about Nepalese immigrants in Portugal and exploratory interview with the key informants. This research deals with the feelings and experiences with socio-cultural integration of 10 Nepalese women residing in Lisbon. These participants were above the age of 18 who either came to Portugal for work or to join their family through family reunification process. Research is conducted through in-depth interviews with the use of semi structured questions. Finding of the research is based on the information provided by the participants. Researcher took verbal consent with the participants before the interview and the interviews were recorded with their permission. The language used to conduct the interview was Nepali, which is the national language of Nepal. These data were transcribed in Nepali which was then translated to English and these data were coded and were analyzed using content analysis.

1.3 Rationale and significance

Nepalese women are likely to face challenges in a new culture which is different from their own and it would be interesting to know how these women are able to overcome them and instigate the process of integration in the host society. I tried to find out if there were any research conducted on Nepalese migrants in Portugal but there were no master or PhD thesis on the above mentioned population. However, there are many research conducted on South Asian migrants in Portugal such as Lourenço (2011), Lourenço and Cachado (2012), Mapril(2011),

Malheiros(2008), Sardo (2007). The findings from this research could be very useful in providing information about how the Nepalese women are integrating in the Portuguese society and to compare the integration of women from similar cultural background. It would also help to provide information to women who are seeking to migrate as it would help them to be better prepared before they leave the country.

1.4 Research questions

- What differences do the participants make between the cultures of Nepal and Portugal?
- Which cultural values from Nepal do they maintain and which cultural values from Portugal do they take in?
- How do the participants perceive the status of women to be in Nepalese and Portuguese society?
- What are the support systems accessible to them and how does it affect their integration?
- How important is knowledge about Portuguese language for integration of Nepalese women?

Above research questions seeks to find out the socio-cultural integration of Nepalese women residing in Portugal. Some of the characteristics of the Nepalese immigrant women in Portugal were that the majority of the Participants were educated, which is in substantiation of what Gurung (2000) mentioned that most of the participants who immigrate to Europe are educated. The researcher interviewed housewives, employed and self-employed women in concern to their labor situation, as well as married and unmarried in concern to their marital status in order to access heterogeneity inside Nepalese women group.

1.5 Structure of the research

The first chapter deals with the background of patriarchal Nepalese society and migration. Following this chapter; chapter two deals with Literature review providing insight on status of Nepalese women and migration of women abroad, previous study on integration of south Asian

women in Portugal and study of Nepalese women in United Kingdom, United States and other countries. Chapter three deal with methodology explaining the process of data collection and use of data for analysis including ethical consideration and limitations. Chapter four presents the statistical data analysis on Nepalese residing in Portugal and field notes about institutions concerning Nepalese in Portugal and also deals with characteristics of interviewees regarding personal and family information. Chapter fives deals with the analysis of data collected from the participants and some findings of interview are presented. Finally, chapter six deals with the conclusion focusing on summarization of findings and suggestion for future research.

2. Literature review on Nepalese immigration and on immigrants integration

2.1 Nepalese abroad

Labor migration in Nepal is not a recent phenomenon as the oldest instance of formal labor migration goes back to 1815 when a treaty of Sugauli was agreed between the government of Nepal and British East India Company (CBS, 2014a). Up until the mid-1980's the pattern of Nepalese emigration was mostly to the neighbor country, India. After that, a new horizon for employment appeared as there was huge demand for workers in the Middle East due to the boom in the oil industry (ibid.). The trend continues still today with most of labor migrant population still going to India and Middle East, although now Nepalese emigrants go to various other countries.

There are various factors associated with the choice of destination countries for Nepalese migrant workers, including socio-economic condition, educational status, access to information and their existing networks (Gurung, 2000). Table 1 presents destination countries of Nepalese migrants by economic ranking, which enables to understand the different profiles of the Nepalese migrated. These categories ranges from Group A to E, where the first category "Group A" relates to the Nepalese migrants who have resources to migrate to countries like Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Japan, United Kingdom and United States, whereas Group E relates to the Nepalese who seem to be able to migrate to India, a country with lower salaries when compared to the ones of group A. Many Nepalese migrate to India freely without visa or passport, as a result of treaty of peace and friendship between Nepal and India signed in the year 1950 (Thieme, 2006). The open border policy has ensured that residents of Nepal and India migrate between the two countries needing only proof of citizenship. For this reason it is extremely difficult to figure out the total number of Nepalese migrated to India.

Therefore, most of Nepalese choose to migrate to India and the following most significant destination are the Gulf countries, Group D. The majority of these migrants have few educational

and economic qualifications and lack skills for employment, thus working as manual labor (Gurung, 2000). However mentions that while some of the people traveling to Group D countries might actually have the economical resource to travel to other country as well, but, they lack confidence that they can adjust in developed countries given the level of education they have achieved (ibid.). The Nepalese who migrated to richer countries in North America, Europe, Japan and Hong Kong, divided in the table below by Group A (eg, Canada) and B (eg, Belgium), have a similar profile because they have a strong educational and economical background. Thus, they are highly skilled in comparison to Nepalese who choose to migrate to other countries (ibid.).

Table 2.1: Destination countries of Nepalese migrants by economic ranking

Economic Group (from richest to poorest)	Destination country
A	Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Japan, United Kingdom, United States
B	Belgium, Germany, Switzerland
C	Guam, Malaysia, Maldives, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan
D	Gulf countries
E	India

Source: Gurung, 2000.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal (2011), the total number of emmigrated Nepalese is around 2 million. The majority of this population (75%) resides in India and Gulf countries, 38% and 37% respectively, whereas only a small amount of Nepalese live in Europe i.e 3% (CBS, 2014a). According to the Nepalese migration profile according to Gurung (2000), these percentages show that most of the emigrants, especially the ones going to India and Gulf countries have few educational qualifications and economic support. It may be possible that they were not able to find adequate employment opportunities in Nepal because of their lack of skill and forcing them into manual labor (CBS, 2014a).

2.1.1 Nepalese women emigration

It is important to stress that out of 2 million Nepalese abroad, only 12% are women, which shows that migration in Nepal is mostly associated with men (CBS, 2014*a*). However, it needs to be taken into account that there are more government restrictions on the emigration of women than that of men (Paoletti et al., 2014). Another possibility is that since most of the men migrate as manual laborers, it is unlikely that women will emigrate for these kinds of jobs. In this sense, the World Bank Group (2011) mentions that among Nepalese women moving to countries other than India, only 13% work in manufacturing sector.

The data of CBS (2014*a*) indicates that around half of the Nepalese women emigrated resides in India. A study by Neupane (2005) on Nepalese female migrants in Delhi found that most of them came either with their husband or to join their parents. This research reflects the position of women in the Nepalese patriarchal society, in which it is unlikely that women travel to India alone, therefore, their reason for migration can mainly be credited for family reunification. This finding is also supported by Sharma et al. (2014), as they mention that the main motivations of the Nepalese women to migrate to India were marriage and dependence on other migrant family members. CBS (2014*b*) mentions that Nepalese women who migrate for employment purposes move to countries other than India, which shows that there are few who migrate for employment, although there has been an increase over the years. If the first destination of Nepalese women in India is represented by 49%, the second are the Gulf countries as 21% emigrate there, followed by European countries for 9% and North America and Canada for 7% (CBS, 2014*a*). The data from Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal for the year 2001 depicts a different profile though, as there were around 83% of female migrants who travelled to India and only 2.5% migrating to Gulf countries (*ibid.*). This shows that there has been a change in the destination countries of Nepalese women, from being more concentrated to India before 2001 towards Gulf countries and others in 2011. In 2001 main reason for migration for women was still the same though with around 76% of them mentioning that they migrated for either marriage or family reasons with only around 9% migrating for work (*ibid.*).

Even though it is a small proportion of 9% of Nepalese women who migrated to Europe, they correspond to nearly 20 thousand (19,967) in 2011. Compared to the ones who moved to India

primarily for family reunification, they have slightly different reasons: around 33% migrated for study purpose, 32% for marriage and family reasons and around 28% to work (CBS, 2014b).

2.2 Women in Nepal by education and economic activity

According to census data of Nepal 2011, the total population of the country was around 26.5 million, in which women constitute nearly 52 % of the entire population (CBS, 2014a). Even though women enjoy slight majority in terms of population, their social and educational progress seems to be less developed than that of the men. The overall literacy rate for Nepalese population is 66 %, but determining by sex the rate drops down to 57% for women. The literacy rate is calculated in consideration to the respondent's ability to read and write, but if we take a closer look at the level of education that women attain, the percentage of women completing the School Leaving Certificate (SLC, 10th standard) and intermediate level is very low with around 9%. What is even more alarming is the percentage of women who graduate which stands at around 1.6 %. These rates educational qualification corresponding to bachelor degree (and above) is considerably higher for men which correspond to 3.8%, more than the double the percentage of women, which further reinforces the inequality between women and men in Nepal (CBS, 2014b).

Similarly, while looking at women in Nepal in terms of economic activity, of the total women population aged 10 years and above, less than half (47%) are economically active. The majority of economically active women are mostly working in agriculture, around 76.61%, as compared to 54.49% for men. The statistics for economically inactive population shows that 43.4% are women as they could not enter the labor market because of their responsibility to take care of household chores, while only 4.9% men point at household chores as their reason for inactivity (CBS, 2014c). This clearly indicates that women are usually confined within the boundary of household or agricultural work.

There is a high gender disparity in Nepal, which is further proven by Nepal's position in Global Gender Gap calculated by World Economic Forum (2014) where Nepal is placed at 112th out of 142 available countries. The criterias for the calculation of gender gap was based on the women's economic participation and opportunity, education and attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment.

Discrimination against women is embedded in Nepalese society (Lamsal, 2013), which can be seen in idioms popularized still today. Pokharel (2007, p.2) mentions that one of the most popular idioms when a woman gives birth to a child is “Chhora paye khasi, chhuri paye farsi”, which means if a woman gives birth to a boy she may eat goat meat (highly appreciated, which people eat mostly during festivals) and if a woman gives birth to a girl, she is fed a pumpkin (everyday food, for being a common vegetable in Nepal). In the contemporaneous Nepalese society, the parents treat their children in a different way according to their sex immediately after the sex of the child is identified thus discrimination is taken as a cultural tradition which is accepted by women and applied by men as social value (Pokhrel 2007). Lamsal (2013, p.2) further states that “Religious, social and economic compulsions regard sons as not only valuable but also an indispensable asset whereas daughters are taken as financial burden to their parents”. Gurung (2007) mentions that discrimination starts at the family level and spreads out to state level, as women are not considered as bread winners and do not have freedom to choose a profession, being persuaded against migration. Gurung (2007) also mentions that society does not fully trust the professional ability of women. Due to these reasons, women in Nepal face strong inequality compared to men, in education, employment opportunities, health, and Political empowerment.

2.3 Evolution of the migration law in Nepal concerning women

A country’s law on women generally depicts a picture of the rights they hold and how they are perceived and protected by the government. The law on migration for foreign employment for women in Nepal describes a similar story as it has seen many changes over the years. Women in Nepal are usually not encouraged to migrate to foreign countries as they have been assigned a specific role by the society, of providing care and support to family members taking the responsibility of household activities, as the responsibility of providing economic subsistence completely rests on men (CBS, 2014*b*). The Foreign Employment Act of Nepal in 1985 required all women and children who intend to move for employment to have consent from their guardian, which shows the level of control, while men were exempted from this clause. Women

and children were put under the same bracket as they were considered vulnerable and in need of protection from malicious employment agencies (Paoletti et al., 2014).

The amendment of the Foreign Employment Act in 1998 putted further restrictions as women now had to have permissions from the government as well as from the guardians. The Act also defined who were considered to be guardians, with father or mother as the primary guardian in case of unmarried women and husband in case of married women. In cases where they were not available, younger or elder brother who had attained the age of 21 would be considered in case of unmarried women, and father and mother-in-laws would be considered in case of married women. However, the restrictions on female migrants heightened after the cabinet banned all female migration for work in Gulf Countries in 1998 due to alleged sexual abuse and death of female domestic workers in Kuwait (Paoletti et al., 2014).

The ban was lifted in 2010 but in 2012 the government putted restrictions again, prohibiting women under the age of 30 years to work in Gulf Countries (Basu et al, 2012). World Bank Group (2011) also mentions that it is mandatory for the Nepalese Ambassador in the destination country to guarantee their safety before they are allowed to move out from Nepal. These bans on women migration were largely ineffective as women were still persistent on going abroad to work, which opened up new informal channels such as travelling to Gulf countries from India, turning them even more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation as they are excluded from protection under the labor migration legal regime (Paoletti et al, 2014). Timothy and Sasikumar (2012) and NIDS (2010) developed a chronology of events relating to travel bans on women migrants from Nepal, which is shown in Table 2. These events demonstrate that even though the government considers having restrictions on migration of women for employment purposes as a preventive measure to avoid harm and abuse, it is a violation of women's right to freedom of movement (Paoletti et al, 2014). Consequently, women suffer vulnerability and inability to protect themselves. It is a fact that women are more susceptible to injuries and illness than men, as World Bank Group (2011) presents the percentages at 67 and 40 percent respectively, and there are reports of exploitation. However it has not deterred women from seeking to migrate as “working abroad allows women to escape the social and cultural restrictions they face at home and in their communities, which in part explains the high demand for migration (ibid., p.57)”.

Table 2.2: Chronology of events related to travel bans on women migrants from Nepal

EVENTS	DATE
Government decides to allow foreign employment of females in the organised sector	16 May 1997
Ban on female workers for foreign employment followed by the mysterious death of Kani Sherpa	1998
Ban lifted on the basis of security guarantee from Nepalese Mission in destination countries except for foreign employment to Gulf countries	16 November 2000
Ban lifted on the basis of full security guarantee duly certified by Nepalese Embassy or Consulate in Gulf countries	21 January 2003
Condition imposed to get re-approval from the government on female migration for continuation of foreign employment after returning home for holidays or other reasons	27 March 2003
Government's decision on migrant women workers for foreign employment with conditions imposed for getting prior approval from local government and family	8 May 2003
Government's decision on female migration for foreign employment to Malaysia with four conditions imposed	31 May 2005
Ban lifted on migrant women workers and conditions imposed	17 January 2007
Ban completely lifted	5 September 2007
Ban imposed on embarking to Gulf countries and Malaysia	5 September 2008
No official ban for Nepalese women to work in any country of the world as per the Foreign Employment Regulation 2064, 2008	May 2011

Source: NIDS 2010; Sasikumar and Timothy 2012.

2.4 Integration in host society for Nepalese and South Asian women - a different cultural experience

The feminization of migration, as Lee and Kim (2011) mentions, has been a global phenomenon, especially prevalent in and from amongst Asian countries. These migrations for most of the women is an opportunity to join the work force, gain independence, explore new cultures and learn to adjust around them. With the population of woman migrants increasing rapidly, there is a need to study this phenomenon to assess the effects on the migrant population, host population and the population left behind. There are few researches on Nepalese migrant women and their experiences of integration in the countries where they migrated. The understanding of migration and integration experiences of women from other South Asian countries (Afghanistan,

Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) might give a good base to this study as the values and culture they follow are similar to the ones in Nepal.

Culture plays an important role in understanding the system of shared values, beliefs, attitudes, norms, customs and behaviors that guides migrants (Qingxue, 2003), which would thus help in realizing how these two worlds, one of the migrant and the host country, operate. There are many cultures and sub cultures in the world, but when culture is taken as a whole, it effectively comes down to the Eastern Culture Vs the Western Culture. It is thus important to mention the differences in culture between the east and the west to better understand the context of migration for women migrating from Asian (Eastern) culture to the Western, knowing that these categories are heterogeneous, with internal differences.

One of the major differences between these two cultures is demonstrated by the characteristic of individualism and collectivism. Western society places utmost importance to individualism, where every individual is held responsible for themselves and their behaviors, as Qingxue (2003, p. 24) states, “competition rather than cooperation is encouraged; personal goals take precedence over group goals; people tend not to be emotionally dependent on organizations and institutions; and every individual has the right to his or her private property, thoughts, and opinions”. Asian culture is generally associated with having collectivistic characteristics, where higher value is given to the needs and goals of the group and not on the individual; they are highly interdependent; they do not want to stick out from other population; people are expected to agree with the majority and the decisions are either taken by the consensus or by the authorities (Triandis, 1993). The recognition of self in relation to other members in the family and pursuing desires that have no benefit on the family is considered to be selfish and individuals are constantly reminded of family loyalty and their responsibility towards one another, as shown by several researchers (Farver, Narang, Bhadha, 2002; Segal, 1991; Shariff, 2009).

The other difference between the two cultures lies in their focus on equality or hierarchy. Qingxue (2003) mentions that individuality and equality are deeply connected in Western culture, where every person is seen as equal, with the same rights and responsibilities and distinctions are not made depending on age or gender, whereas Asian culture follows distribution of power according to a hierarchical system with gender and age playing a prominent role in determining how high one is in the ladder. The ones in the top, who are mostly men, command

respect from the ones lower down, who are mostly women and children. The opinions of the children have very little importance and the elders who decide for the younger ones (Shariff, 2009). In light of these differences, it can be understood that stepping into a different culture needs a substantial effort from the migrants and their integration depends upon how well they are able to make a balance or negotiate between these cultures.

The World Bank Group (2011) made a study on Nepalese people who had migrated for employment and returned back, revealing data on opportunities they had and the challenges they had to overcome. The migrants mentioned that social networks in the destination country were of great help as it opened new channel for job opportunities and provided protection from abuses, especially for new migrants. They expressed that they were over qualified for the work they were doing and were not able to find a better job matching their skill and potential. They had issues with delayed payment while some said that they faced health problems which resulted to them having fear of losing their jobs. The migrant women were found to be more vulnerable to injuries and illness.

Gurung (2007) demonstrates that around 70% of the migrant women had between 21 – 35 years old, showing that it is a very young population taking the responsibility to provide economic support to the family. The data also revealed that 75% of them were already married. The large majority, 88% had children below the age of 12 when they left and the most difficult part in their migration was to be away from their children. Nevertheless, they mentioned that they had migrated for the better future of their children, which helped them to remain motivated. They had been able to cope with this situation by talking to their family back home, keeping themselves busy, sending emails, writing letters and looking at other children. (Isaksen et al, 2008) These female migrants also reported that they had to deal with problems in the host country related to language, excessive workload, weather, missing home during festivals, loneliness and some instance of violence, making it difficult for them to integrate in their working environment. A study on Nepalese female migrants in the United States by Gurung (2009) presented similar results, as majority of women she had interviewed had completed four years of college education in Nepal but were working as child care workers in USA. They felt that they had better status when they were in Nepal and in their field of work, but lack of suitable jobs had forced them to work as nanny and domestic workers. Their case is further dampened by not having legal papers

to stay in US and as Piper and Yamanaka (2003, p. 10) mentions, “being a non-citizen temporary worker puts any migrant in an extremely vulnerable position in relation to the state”.

All is not grim for Nepalese female migrants though, as Rolls and Chamberlain (2004) found out that Nepalese women in Australia were well integrated as their lives were changing from traditional extended family to a nuclear family. One of the women mentioned that though she and her husband felt a bit difficult at the beginning, when they did not have support from the extended network, although they were prepared to take the risk and help each other out. For some Nepalese women, migration was a way to escape the gendered hierarchies in the home country, as they could now enjoy the liberating experiences after being released from the pressure of being a daughter-in-law in an extended family. The development of an independent egalitarian nuclear family seems to be the factor which is appreciated the most, as men are now taking the non-traditional care giving roles and supporting the family, which otherwise might have been unlikely in Nepal. Choudhry (1997) mentions that the Hindu traditions require women to be self-sacrificing and modest, but the women from developed societies enjoy individualism and equality of gender, which the Nepalese women in Australia have developed fondness of as well.

Religion still is a major factor in lives of many migrants though. Majority of population from the Indian Subcontinent follows Hinduism, with Islam being the second most followed religion (UNSD, 2014). For many researchers studying migrants from South Asian countries, religion plays an important role in their day to day lives and the way they perceive the western culture and their pattern of interaction (Lourenco, 2013; Timothy and Sasikumar, 2012; Perez, 2006; Thapan, 2013; Martikainen and Gola, 2007).

Thapan (2013), in her study of Indian immigrant women in Italy, mentions that women who have migrated with their husbands and are not allowed to enter the labor market, find refuge in their religion, which constitutes their main activity. For South Asian women, the harsh reality still remains that they belong to a society which is etched with patriarchy, and their desires are quashed to maintain the partner’s sense of self as a male. Therefore, engaging in religious activities allows them to enhance their social sphere and enrich their somewhat lonely life. Martikainen and Gola (2007) in their research on women from Indian Subcontinent in Finland, pointed out that the women of Hindu religion from India and Nepal were perceived to be the

carriers of tradition and assigned a central role in the domestic practice of religion, in their homes. They maintain the language, dress and cultural features that might disappear by the third generation, although religion is still preserved.

In a study on Hindu Diaspora in Portugal by Lourenco (2011), she mentions that religion plays a prominent role in cultural identity reproduction, whose transmission depends on the preservation of certain values and the elimination of others. These cultural identities are reproduced through the means of one's own body, as their appearance can present an indication of their adoption or rejection of a culture. She mentions that adoption of a western dress code is considered as the main symbol of independence and modernity. In the case of Hindu women their preference on putting on a traditional appearance like wearing a "sari" and a "tika" or otherwise assuming a western outfit gives an idea on whom they identify with (Lourenco, 2010; Lourenco, 2013).

Change in gender roles is another facet of women migration that has been emerging. Lourenco, (2011), mentions that a growing amount of Hindu women in labor market shows that they are negotiating their gender role and playing both the role of care giver and economic support. Adhikari (2013) in her paper titled "Empowered Wives and Frustrated Husbands: Nursing, Gender and Migrant Nepali in the UK" mentions that educated and professional women working abroad have more bargaining power over marriage, as they hold a license to moving abroad for men, which shows shift in gender balance. She further explains that for those men who are already in the UK as dependent husbands, they have been frustrated and demoralized as they no longer are the head of the family or the bread winner and do not hold the same status they had when lived in Nepal. Some men say with a humor that since they are living in a Queen's country their wives are in a position to take major decision and the men are dependent on them for Visa and economic support, which they were not used to in Nepal. They also share the responsibility for childcare and household activities, which they would not have done had they been in Nepal. These instances show that migration has had a substantial effect on gender roles as well.

2.5. State support of the host country, Portugal

The level of integration also depends on the kind of integration policies implemented by the state. European countries are known to have one of the best migrant integration policies in the world and the migrant integration policy index (MIPEX, 2011) shows that Sweden and Portugal

rank very high in overall ranking, scoring 83 and 79 points respectively. These rankings were based on seven areas of integration, namely: labor market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long term residence, access to nationality and Anti-Discrimination. Since Portugal has scored high on integration policy index, it is probable that migrants coming here will have fewer adjustment problems as compared to other countries that scored lower on the index. In order to provide additional support to immigrants, National Immigrant Support Centres (Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante - CNAI) has been operating in Lisbon since 2004. The centre operates under the name “One-Stop-Shop Model” providing a wide range of social services such as: legal advice; employment; housing; education; information services and consumer advice for immigrant communities so that they can get necessary support and help (Oliveira, 2012). Some of the domains of the policies are access to citizenship, accesses to rights by foreigners and policies of identity (Pires, 2014). Some of the policies of Portugal related to integration of immigrants based on socioeconomic integration, cultural integration and legal integration are presented in table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Relevant integration policies since 1991 for immigrants: integration dimensions

Integration Dimension	Policy developments	Implications
Socio-economic integration	-Recognition of qualification and competences obtained outside Portugal	-Since 2005 simplification of the equivalences procedures for basic and undergraduate qualifications
	-Nationals and immigrant workers with equal rights and duties on the labour market (since 1995)	-Right to safe working conditions; - Right to holidays; -Protection by law in the event of discrimination.
	-Right to become an entrepreneur or start a business in Portugal	- Labour law with no restrictions for immigrant entrepreneurs; - Creation of a special permit for immigrant entrepreneurs and highly qualified immigrants.
	-Universal right to health Care	- Since 2001 all foreigners who pay social security contributions have the same access to health care as natives and those with illegal status can also access health care by paying health contributions; - Since 2004 no health service (public or private) can refuse access to health care to anyone, whatever their legal status; - In 2009 a Ministry of Health document further clarified the situations in which immigrants with illegal status can access the health system on equal terms to native Portuguese.
Cultural integration	-Right to religious freedom (since 2001)	-An advisory body to the Parliament and the government was created in 2001 with the official name of Commission for Religious Liberty (Law-Decree no.308/2003); - A unit for the promotion of inter-religious dialogue was created as part of the public administration in 2005.
	-Support for immigrant Associations	-Acidi recognition process for immigrant associations (since 2000) entitles them to apply for public funding each year to support projects to foster immigrant integration, intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity, and/or empowerment of immigrant associations.
	-Portuguese For All (PPT)	- Programme that aims to develop Portuguese language courses and technical Portuguese courses targeting the immigrant population. Portuguese language courses allow access to a certificate that can be used for acquiring nationality, permanent residence status and/or long-term resident status. Technical Portuguese courses are also certified, permitting better access to and integration into the labour market in the areas of trade ,hospitality industry, beauty therapy, civil construction and civil engineering.
Legal integration	-Access to Portuguese nationality	-Since 2006 the new Nationality Law has provided a more equitable naturalisation policy, liberalising the process for acquiring nationality.
	-Universal right to legal Protection	-All immigrants have the right to legal protection, including those residing illegally whose countries have entered into a reciprocity arrangement and those who are economically vulnerable. -People who have been victims of discrimination (including racial discrimination) are protected by the law.

Source: Oliveira, 2012.

2.6 Migrant's integration framework

The movement of individuals within countries also entails the need of documenting them by the host society and integrating them into the system and the society as a whole. Pires (2014) mentions that the main source of data to analyze migration are census, border control records and residence permit of foreigners and these international migrations are measured on the basis of record of inflows and of the stock generated by these inflows. Theories about migration usually refer to three main types of international migration; refugees, family reunification and economic migration and the three different possible configurations for economic migration can be work migration, skilled migration and small-business migration (Pires, 2014). This research deals with two of the three types of international migration mentioned above of that of family reunification and economic migration.

The framework that is used in this research to understand the integration for Nepalese women migrants are Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies and Heckmann and Schnapper's (2003) dimensions of social integration in social systems. These two concepts will be combined to form a conceptual framework which will allow understanding of the migrant's acculturation strategy and position in different systems in the host society. Also, as Pires (2002) mentions, it is important to understand the paradigms of social integration to better articulate the position of immigrants in relation to the host society. The paradigms he mentions, is of assimilation which refers to the process of inclusion of immigrants to the host society, with a possibility of participation in the framework of interaction and ethnicisation which refers to the process of construction of a collective identity of immigrants with a sense of collective identity and solidarity which overcomes other social divisions. Here, an individual's position in these parameters determines the level of social integration with more or less ethnic corresponds to more or less assimilation.

2.6.1 Acculturation strategies

According to Hall, cultural identity can be understood in two ways. Firstly, cultural identity is a shared culture which is common to other similar members and driven by the shared history and ancestry. Secondly, it is a matter of 'being as well as becoming' (p. 225) which is not only about history but about the transformations that takes place due to constant interaction between history, culture and power which brings about changes (Hall 1990). Further he adds. These identities are also influenced by gender, religion, ethnicity, race and sexuality to name a few and are fluid and dynamic in nature. These identities might be seen in terms of shared culture; reflecting the elements of past experiences or can be formed in relation to how the individual is perceived by the others or how they perceive themselves to be different from other individuals. The identity comprehended might take a different turn however when individuals migrate to a different place which they do not identify as their own, as they go through a new phase of identity formation where they face a different experience altogether.

According to Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936,) acculturation is the process which results when a group of people with different culture comes in first-hand contact with consequent changes in original culture patterns or both groups. Berry (1997) added that acculturation brings change in one of the group which is migrants group. Acculturation strategies have mainly two strategies 'cultural maintenance' and 'contact and participation'. Former one deals with how migrants deals with cultural identity and maintaining the cultural practices where as the latter deals with migrants extent to which they engage with the others culture group or either remain in their own group.

Berry (1997) suggests four different acculturation strategies based on two major issues stated above, which are Assimilation, Integration, Separation and Marginalisation. Assimilation strategy is observed when individuals do not wish to associate with their own culture and focus on interaction with other cultures. Integration is observed when individuals highly identify with both the host and original culture, as they make effort on preserving their own culture as well as participate as a member of the larger society. Separation occurs when individuals are highly associated with original culture and are persistent on holding on to them, trying to distance them from the new culture and avoid interaction with others. Marginalisation is observed when individuals no longer feel connected to both the cultures and there is no effort in retaining the old

culture or absorbing a new one. “Acculturation strategies have been shown to have substantial relationships with positive adaptation: integration is usually the most successful; marginalisation is the least; and assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate” (ibid., p 24). Integration is generally successful as they can advocate and are accepted in the larger society (ibid.). Pires (2014) also mentions that the integration of migrants implies “incorporation of migrants in the interaction order and accommodation of increments in cultural variety due to migration.”

2.6.2 Dimensions of social integration in social systems

Integration may be divided in four dimensions, according to Heckmann (2006), study of migrants on four dimensions of social integration: Structural Integration, Cultural Integration, Interactive Integration and Identificational Integration.

1. Structural integration

Structural integration is often associated with the acquisition of rights and the access to positions and status in the core institutions of the host society. These core institutions represent different systems of society such as health system, welfare system, economy and labor system, housing system including the citizenship as a member in the political community etc. Participation of immigrants in this institution determines their socio economic condition and amount of access to resources and opportunities. This is an important dimension to study as it generally represents the acceptance of the immigrant to the new society and the migrant’s acknowledgement of the new system and structure. Some of the key components of structural integration that were focused in the empirical research are: legal system, education, labor market/employment, housing system, health system, and welfare services.

2. Cultural integration

Cultural competence plays an important role in enabling individuals to participate in core institutions of the host society (Heckmann, 2006). It is generally found that people who have the language competence and share culture similar to that of the host country, will find it easier to socialize. Lack of language proficiency or cultural knowledge does not hinder integration completely, but it makes it difficult none the less (ibid.). It is not always about immigrant adjusting to the host society’s cultures though, as it is also about interactive, mutual process that

changes the receiving society as well, which has to learn new ways of relating and adjusting. Some of the key components of cultural integration that were studied among Nepalese migrant women in Lisbon are: language, cultural values/norms, religion and festival.

3. Interactive integration

Interactive integration is indicated through people's private or primary group interaction, for example: friendship, marriage, relationships, membership in groups, which provide a good indicator about the interactional preference of an individual. Heckmann (2006) though mentions that even though having associations with your own community might be helpful in the beginning, on the long run it might be detrimental as the individual might not be able to develop necessary skills and resources to be competitive in the core institutions. Some of the key components of interactive integration that were studied in the empirical research are: friendship, social group and interaction in work place.

4. Identificational integration

Identificational integration stems from the feeling of belongingness and acceptance and develops as a result of participation and inclusion in the society and Heckmann (2006) believes that it generally develops during the latter part of integration process. The individuals may identify themselves as belonging to certain ethnic, regional local or national identification or it can be a combination of these. The key components of identificational integration that will be studied is future plan (stay abroad).

3. Methodology

This research was carried out to understand the socio-cultural integration of Nepalese women who are residing in Lisbon. This chapter gives an overview of methods used to develop the research. It explains about the research sample describing the population selected and the sampling method. Research design overview provides general idea on how the research was conducted from the beginning to end and the data collection methods provide information on how primary and secondary data were collected. Then the method used to analyze the data is explained followed by possible limitation of the study and finally the ethical issue in the research is mentioned in subtopic ethical consideration.

Qualitative research approach was used for this study to understand the integration of Nepalese women in Lisbon. In order to understand the integration process it was necessary to understand the experience and feelings in relation to their environment as mentioned by Merriam (2009). Seeing through the eyes of participant in qualitative research was important as it helped to understand the phenomenon from the individual's point of view (Bryman, 2012) and get their perspective regarding their situation. Along with the qualitative study, statistical data analysis and exploratory interview with various institutions such as NRNA, CNAI and Nepalese Consulate in Lisbon provided additional information on Nepalese migrants in Lisbon.

3.1 The research sampling population

Sampling for the research was purposive sampling also known as 'Hand picked' sampling, as the participants were selected according to certain criteria which would satisfy the purpose of the study. The attributes required to be eligible for this study were:

- Participants should be Nepalese women who have been living in Portugal for at least a year;
- Nepalese women should be of age 18 and above.

Research is based on the experience and views of Nepalese women living in Portugal. The empirical study area is restricted to Lisbon metropolitan area as majority of Nepalese women were residing in Lisbon in year 2013, represented by 83% of the total Nepalese women in

Portugal (SEF, 2014). The participants should be above the age of 18 as this study deals with integration experience of adults. The Nepalese women with different marital status were included in the research, such as single, married, divorced and separated to ensure that differentiated integration experiences were covered. The researcher got access to the informants through key persons among Nepalese in Lisbon. The key person was informed about the research and the characteristics of the participants who then introduced me to one of the participant and provided me contact numbers of other probable participants. The researcher then used snow ball sampling to get access to other participants. Sample size of this research was 10 individuals, whose data was collected using in-depth interviews. Likewise lengths of the interviews were from 1 to 2 hours. One of the participant invited the researcher to attend the “International Women’s day program” organized by “Nepalese women society” and “NRNA- women forum” on 8th of March 2015, where notable personalities from Nepal spoke about ‘why Patriarchal society still exist among Nepalese people even when they are residing in a country with values of gender equality?’ In this meeting the researcher got access to information and got in contact with probable participants.

3.2 Research design

The researcher collected information about socio-cultural integration and migration of Nepalese women across the world through literature review. Then, the researcher collected statistical data from the website of SEF and also requested for specific data about Nepalese immigrants in Portugal to SEF, Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service, and INE, the National Institute of Statistics. After the collection of statistical data it was analyzed to understand the history of Nepalese immigration to Portugal and socio-demographic characteristic of Nepalese in Portugal. Researcher also made contact with key persons and gained access to possible participants. With the previous knowledge gained from literature review, researcher designed semi-structured questions and budget timeline as guideline for research. Empirical data was collected through individual in-depth interviews with 10 participants. The researcher is a Nepalese immigrant in Portugal as well, although under different circumstance from the study population, which made it easier to conduct the interviews as the participants seemed to connect well with the researcher which was an added value. The interviews were conducted in Nepali language so that participant would feel more comfortable to express their experiences. The interviews were recorded with

their permission. Also information about Nepalese immigrants in Portugal was collected through interviews from key informants such as CNAI, Nepalese consulate in Lisbon and Non-resident Nepalese Association. The data collected from in-depth interviews was then transcribed and important relevant data was translated to English. Subsequently, the researcher analyzed the field data through content analysis and finally ended with conclusion.

3.3 Data collection method

The primary data is collected through semi structured questions used during individual in-depth interviews. Semi structured interview helps research to be more open ended and ensures that the participants are not constrained (Bryman, 2012) and have the opportunity for the participants to speak openly and widely about their thought regarding the topic mentioned by the researcher (Denscombe, 2010). Total of 10 in-depth interviews were conducted to collect primary data which were recorded with the permission of participants. Researcher is from Nepal specifically from Newar ethnicity. The interview was conducted in Nepali language so that they could express their ideas and experience clearly and this research would have added value.

The interview was scheduled according to the location, date and time preferable by the participant. The interview with key informant of CNAI provided information regarding the service provided to immigrants to better integrate in the society. Whereas key informants from Nepalese consulate and Non-resident Nepalese Association in Portugal explained about their work and the way they are helping Nepalese people.

The secondary data was collected through books, journal articles, statistical data and previous research on the integration. Statistical data were collected upon email request to SEF and INE where as some of the Statistical data were also collected through the official website of SEF regarding total number of Nepalese and inflow in Portugal and Lisbon, whereas INE provided the socio-demographic data of Nepalese through the Census conducted in 2011.

3.4 Data analysis

Researcher used content analysis to identify the many hidden aspect of what the interviewee want to communicate through the help of transcribed data (Denscombe, 2010). According to Bryman, “Content analysis is an approach to analysis of document and texts that seeks to

quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systemic and replicable manner” (2012, p. 289). Content analysis was carried out with the help of analytical framework presented by Heckmann (2006) regarding social integration which is further divided into structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identificational integration. Berry’s (1997) acculturation strategies based on assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization were used as well. Researcher coded the initial data according to the following analysis framework which is mentioned below.

3.5 Analytical framework

Forms of social integration:

Cultural integration

- Language
- Cultural values/ Norms
- Religion
- Festivals

Structural integration

- Legal
- Education
- Employment (Economic)
- Health system
- Welfare

Interactive integration (with Nepali and Portuguese society)

- Friendship / Family
- Social Group
- Interaction in workplace

Identification integration

- Future plan (stay abroad)

3.6 Researcher's feelings

I felt very sad knowing that Nepalese women, especially women with children who came to Portugal alone in the beginning had to face lots of problems. I could feel that they had gone through a lot of pain and struggle. Whereas, in case of married women I realized that it was easier for them in every aspect regarding economic security, finding job, social network etc and had better chance to integrate as their husband provided support to them. My last name, which determines my ethnicity, did not really matter to them when conducting the research as they were happy to contribute in research by sharing they views so that others would also be benefit from the research. It might be because the participants were from educated background. There were total of two respondents from same ethnic group as mine and eight of the respondents were from different ethnic group. I felt that it was easy for me to get access to the female participants which might be because of me being a female migrant as well.

3.7 Limitations

Some of the limitations of the research are as follows:

- Very recent migration is not considered in the study as Nepalese who stayed in Portugal for less than one year were not included.
- Research presents the discourse of adult Nepalese women and it does not cover the women below the age of 18.
- Original discourse in Nepali might not have the same exact meaning when translated into English.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical issue according to Diener and Crandall (1978) mainly includes four parts: harm to participant, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception. Prior verbal consent was taken before the interview to ensure that they were voluntary participant and they were provided with brief information about the research and its procedure. Researcher also clarified

the information and doubts regarding the research when required. In order to avoid harm to participants, researcher informed them that their original names would not be used in the research and that their identity would remain anonymous ensuring confidentiality of the participant and to protect the participant from any kind of harm. Likewise, the pseudonyms of the participants were also not presented in the research when presenting the name of Nepalese organization in which they are associated. This is to prevent the participants from being identified and to ensure that the privacy of the participants in the work area is not presented.

In order to insure there was no invasion of privacy of the participant, researcher mentioned in the beginning of the research that they do not have to answer the question if they feel uncomfortable. Researcher also asked for the permission with the respondent before the conversation is recorded and the entire participant interviews were recorded with their permission. In order to avoid deception to the participant, researcher provided information about the research to the participant and also at the end of the research, researcher explained about how the data was going to be used.

4. The empirical Framework of Observation

This chapter deals with the analysis of statistical data regarding Nepalese immigrants in Portugal. The key informant entities to provide the statistical data are Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (*Immigration and Borders Service*), SEF and Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) which was obtained through the email request. A number of statistical data were also collected through the website of SEF and INE as well. As Pires (2014) mentions, international migration can be measured through census and status of resident permit in the host country, therefore analyses of these data will help in better understanding of Nepalese immigrants.

4.1 Statistical data analysis on Nepalese residents and entries in Portugal: recent immigration

4.1.1 Nepalese residing in Portugal: 2000-2013

4.1.1.1 Residence permits granted to Nepalese nationals in Portugal by sex, 2000-2013

The table 4.1 and figure 4.1 demonstrate the total number of resident permits granted by Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (*Immigration and Borders Service*), SEF, to Nepalese immigrants with distinction of sex, for the available years, 2000 to 2013. In the year 2000 there were only two Nepalese who were granted resident permit, which has seen gradual increment in following years with the highest boom in population in 2006 where it increased almost six times the previous year. Another high rise could be seen on 2008 where it increased by around 84 percent, which might be due to favorable change in immigration laws that allowed for access to nationality for the immigrants from 2006 and simplified procedures and reduced bureaucratic requirements for those seeking legal immigrant status, allowing for family reunification as an universal right for all legal immigrants since 2007 (Oliveira, 2012). Since the year 2011, when there were over a thousand Nepalese residing in Portugal, to 2013 there seems to be a constant increase in the population with around 44, 49 and 52 percent increase between them. The current Nepalese population in Portugal who have been granted residence permit stands at 2,588 people,

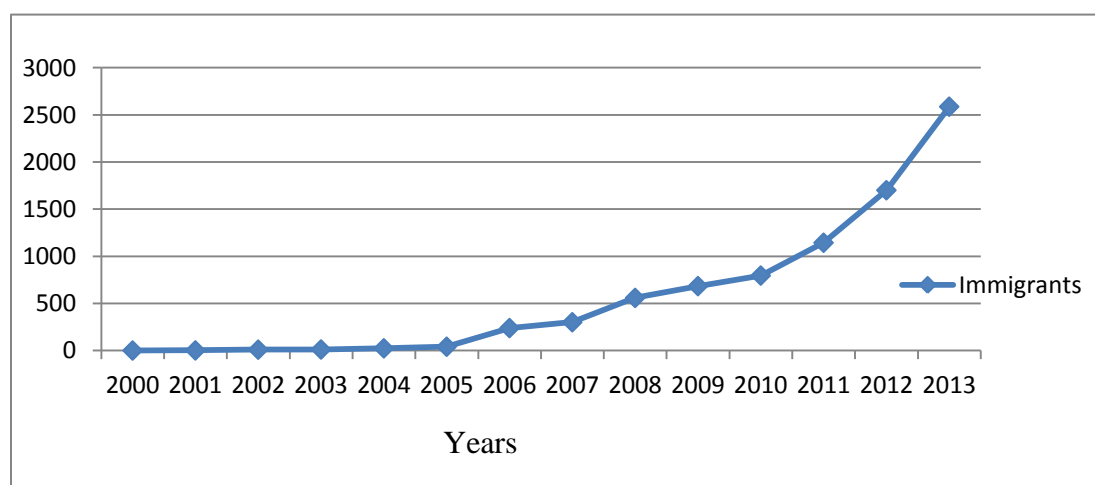
with 1,738 men and 852 women (32.9%). Even though the population of women seems to be increasing, it is still less than more than half of total population of men.

Table 4.1: Residence permits granted to Nepalese nationals in Portugal by sex from 2000 to 2013

Years	Men	Women	Total	Annual growth in percentage (%)
2000	2	-	2	-
2001	3	-	3	50.0
2002	5	6	11	266.6
2003	6	7	13	18.1
2004	15	10	25	92.3
2005	25	17	42	68.0
2006	173	67	240	471.4
2007	196	106	302	25.8
2008	390	170	560	84.3
2009	470	215	685	22.3
2010	586	211	797	16.3
2011	770	375	1145	43.6
2012	1094	608	1702	48.6
2013	1736	852	2588	52.0

Source: SEF, 2001 to 2014.

Figure 4.1: Nepalese nationals residing in Portugal, 2000 - 2013



Source: SEF, 2001 to 2014.

4.1.1.2 South Asians residing in Portugal, by sex till 2013

The table 4.2 represents the total number of residence permits granted to South Asian immigrants in Portugal, till the year 2013. The comparison shows that most of the South Asian population in Portugal is Indian, which represents 46 percent of the total. One fifth of South Asians are Pakistani (20.1%) and another fifth are Nepalese (19.8%). In fourth place comes the Bangladeshi with 13 percent of the total South Asian population. When looking at the figures of women immigrant from South Asia residing in Portugal, Nepalese women contribute around 22 percent of total South Asian women population, which is the second highest for this region.

Table 4.2: South Asians residing in Portugal, by sex till 2013

Country of citizenship	Men	Women	Total	Total (%)
Afghanistan	18	13	31	0.2
Bangladesh	1440	293	1733	13.2
Bhutan	-	-	-	-
India	4201	1821	6022	46.1
Maldives	-	-	-	-
Nepal	1736	852	2588	19.8
Pakistan	1785	843	2628	20.1
Sri Lanka	35	12	47	0.3
Total	9215	3834	13049	100.0

Source: SEF, 2014.

4.1.1.3 Usual residence of Nepalese in 2005 and 2009, residing in Portugal in 2011, by sex

The table 4.3 demonstrates the usual residence of Nepalese in 2005 and 2009, by sex, in 2011. This data comes from the last decennial Census in Portugal, provided on request by INE, the National Institute of Statistics. The indicator shows if Nepalese immigration is recent in Portugal (if in 2005 or 2009 were residing in other countries) or if it is an older immigration (if in these years they were already living in Portugal). The data demonstrates that Nepalese immigration is new in the country because in 2005 the majority of Nepalese who are in Portugal now, 72 percent, were residing in Nepal and only 22 percent were residing already in Portugal. Whereas in 2009, the majority of Nepalese, 63 percent were residing in Portugal, only 25 percent were

residing in Nepal and few were residing in countries other than Nepal and Portugal. This means that majority of Nepalese migrated after the year 2005 and it is a recent phenomenon.

Table 4.3: Usual residence of Nepalese in 2005 and 2009, residing in Portugal in 2011, by sex

Country	In 2005			In 2009		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Denmark	2	1	1	17	13	4
Israel	4	2	2	16	4	12
Nepal	692	529	163	242	175	67
Portugal	214	148	66	603	455	148
Poland	4	3	1	18	14	4
United kingdom	1	1	0	27	23	4
Had not born Yet	14	4	10	9	3	6
Others	28	22	6	27	23	4
Total	959	710	249	959	710	249

Source:INE (Census) 2011

4.1.1.4 Distribution of Nepalese in Portugal by district and sex in 2013

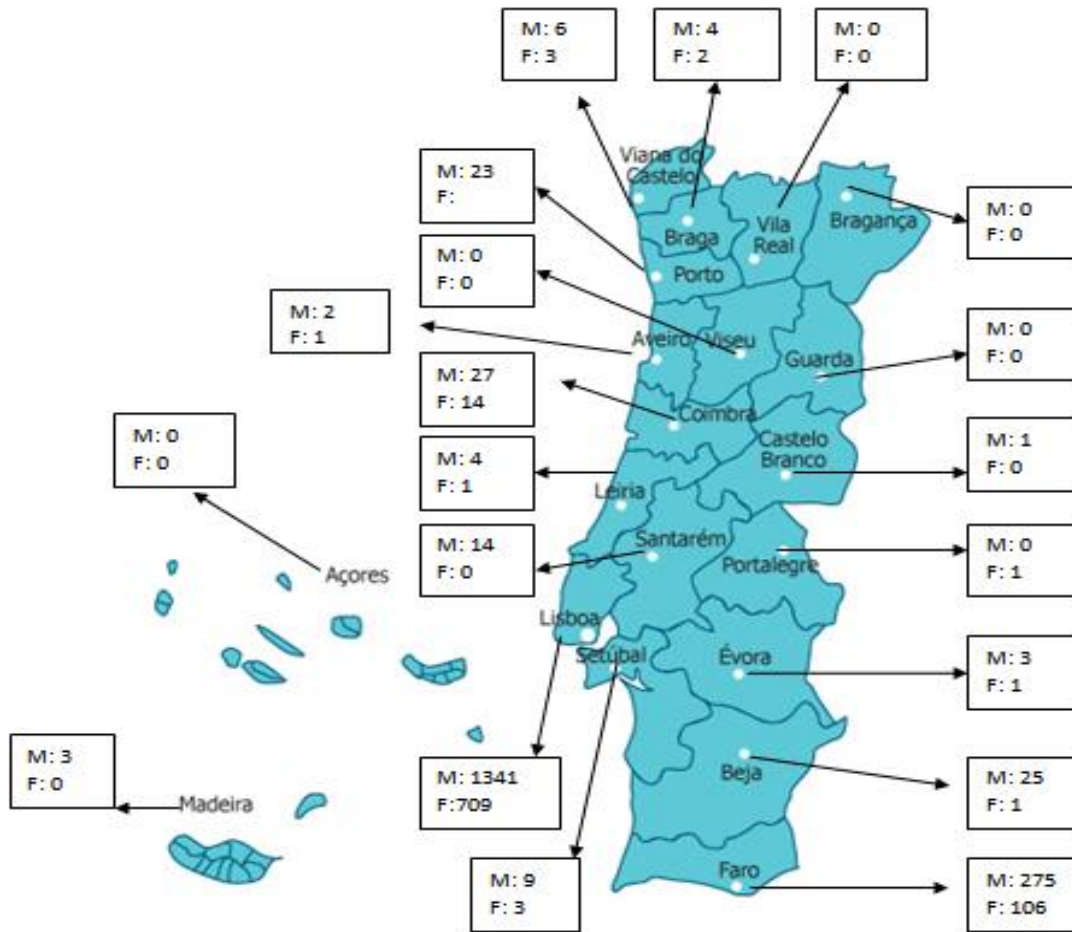
Table 4.4 and figure 4.2 represent the distribution of Nepalese who had been granted residence permit by sex and district of residence in 2013. Majority of Nepalese live in Lisboa, which is 79 percent of the total Nepalese population in Portugal, followed by Faro representing 15 percent, Coimbra, 1.58 percent and Porto, 1.31 percent. The figures are similar when we divide the distribution in terms of sex where 83 percent of total Nepalese women live in Lisbon. Since most of women are concentrated in Lisbon, the sample population for this study was from Lisbon as well.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Nepalese in Portugal by district and sex in 2013

District	Total	Men	women	Total (%)
Aveiro	3	2	1	0.1
Beja	25	25	0	0.9
Braga	6	4	2	0.2
Braganca	0	-	-	-
CasteloBranco	1	1	-	0.04
Coimbra	41	27	14	1.5
Evora	4	3	1	0.1
Faro	380	274	106	14.6
Guarda	0	-	-	-
Leiria	5	4	1	0.1
Lisboa	2050	1341	709	79.2
Portalegre	1	0	1	0.04
Porto	34	23	11	1.3
Santarem	14	14	0	0.5
Setubal	12	9	3	0.4
Viana do Castelo	9	6	3	0.3
Vila Real	0	-	-	-
Viseu	0	-	-	-
Acores	0	-	-	-
Madeira	3	3	-	0.1
Total	2588	1736	852	100.0

Source: SEF, 2014.

Figure 4.2: Distribution of Nepalese in Portugal by district and sex in 2013



Source: SEFSTAT, 2015.

4.1.2 Evolution of Nepalese entries in Portugal: 2000-2013

4.1.2.1 Inflow of Nepalese in Portugal by sex, 2000 to 2013

Since 2000 there was annual growth in the inflow of Nepalese entering in Portugal both among men and women, except in the year 2003 and 2007 when there was decline in inflow. One possible reason for the increase might be change in immigration laws in 2007 as already mentioned. There were high numbers of inflow of Nepalese in year 2004, 2006 and 2008. The difference in inflow between both sexes is low in the year 2011 but in general the population of men who come to Portugal is higher than women. While looking at the number of Nepalese

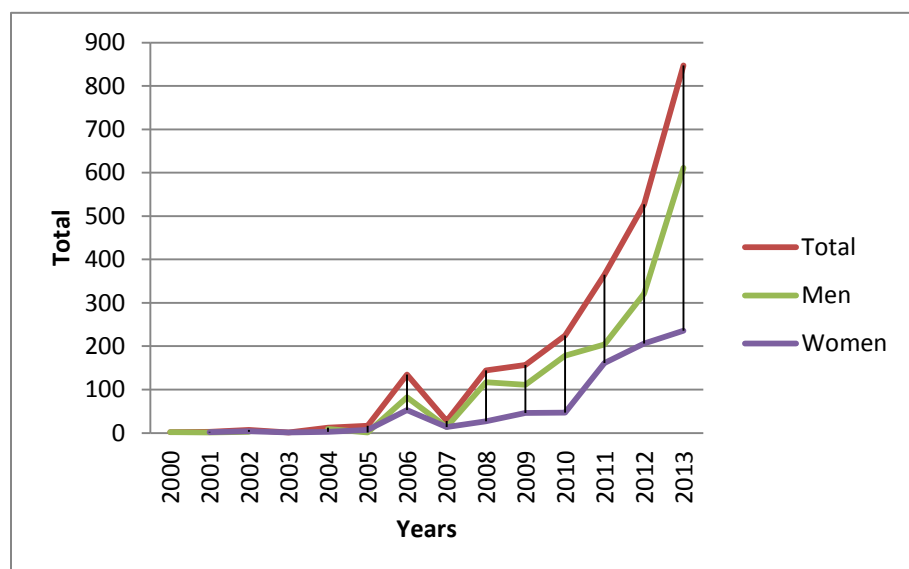
immigrant women between the years 2000 to 2013, there is growth in migration by eighty percent, which reflects that number is growing gradually.

Table 4.5: Inflow of Nepalese in Portugal by sex, 2000 to 2013

Years	Men	Women	Total	Annual growth in percentage
2000	2		2	
2001	1	2	3	33.3
2002	3	4	7	57.1
2003		1	1	-600
2004	9	3	12	91.6
2005	1	7	17	29.4
2006	82	53	135	87.4
2007	14	14	28	-382
2008	117	27	144	80.5
2009	111	46	157	8.28
2010	178	47	225	30.2
2011	204	161	365	62.2
2012	321	206	527	44.3
2013	611	236	847	60.7

Source: SEF, 2001 to 2015.

Figure 4.3: Inflow of Nepalese in Portugal by sex, 2000 to 2013

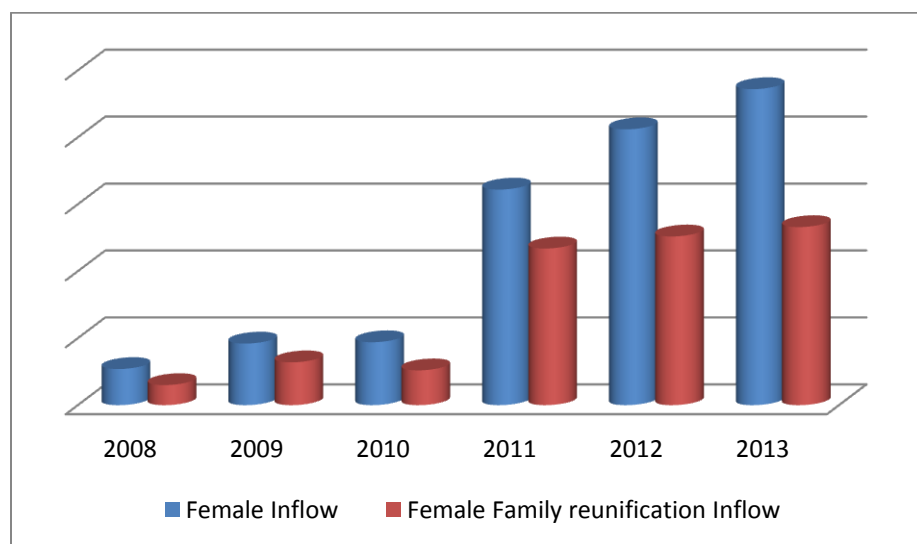


Source: SEF, 2001 to 2015.

4.1.2.2 Women total inflow and women family reunification inflow to Portugal, 2008-2013

The figure 4.4 demonstrates the total number of inflow of Nepalese immigrant women in Portugal and inflow of immigrant women as a reason of family reunification, provided on request by SEF. What is observed is that from each year starting from 2008 to 2013, more than half of the Nepalese women immigrant travel to Portugal as a reason of family reunification, either to join their husbands or to join their parents. Therefore, the main reason for migration in Portugal for Nepalese women is family reunification.

Figure 4.4: Women total inflow and women family reunification inflow to Portugal, 2008-2013



Source: SEF, 2015.

4.1.2.3 Inflow of South Asians to Portugal, 2013

When considering the year 2013 and analyzing the inflow population from South Asian countries, India is still the top contributor with 35 percent and Nepal was the second highest, from where nearly one third (31%) of the total South Asians entering in Portugal. In third and fourth place come Bangladesh and Pakistan with 19 and 14 percent respectively. Even when considering the inflow of immigrant women from South Asian countries, Nepal stands at second highest position with 33%, which might mean that among immigrants from South Asian

countries, Nepalese women decide to migrate to Portugal more than women from other countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

Table 4.6: Inflow of South Asians to Portugal, 2013

Country of nationality	Men	Women	Total	Total (%)
Afghanistan	3	2	5	0.1
Bangladesh	469	49	518	18.7
Bhutan	-	-	-	-
India	674	296	970	35.1
Maldives	-	-	-	-
Nepal	611	236	847	30.7
Pakistan	281	122	403	14.6
Sri Lanka	8	6	14	0.51
Total	2046	711	2757	100.0

Source: SEF, 2014.

4.1.3 Socio-demographic characteristics of Nepalese: women in Lisbon

4.1.3.1 Nepalese residing in Lisbon by sex, 2008-2013

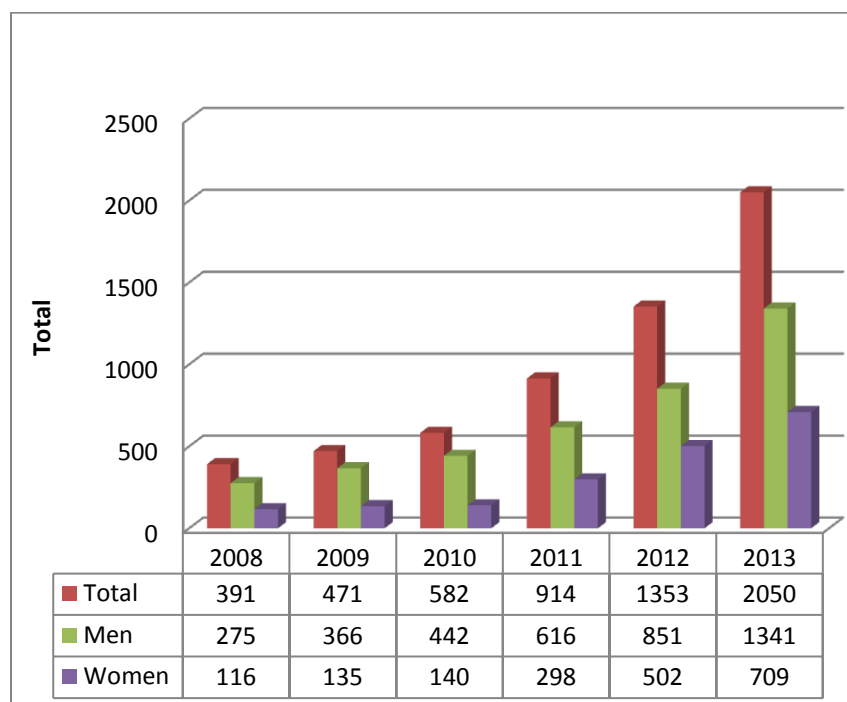
In the table 4.7 and figure 4.5 it can be observed that there has been a trend on the majority of Nepalese preferring to live in Lisbon as compared to other cities in Portugal. One possibility is due to the working preference for the immigrants and the job opportunities provided by the capital in cleaning services, cooking profession, domestic help and small shops, as these are the professions that Nepalese immigrants are mostly employed in (INE, 2015). Since 83% percent of Nepalese immigrant women reside in Lisbon my empirical research is focused in Lisbon.

Table 4.7: Nepalese residing in Lisbon by sex, 2008-2013

Years	Men	Women	Total	Annual growth of Nepalese in Lisbon (%)
2008	275	116	391	69.8
2009	366	135	471	68.7
2010	442	140	582	77.9
2011	616	298	914	79.8
2012	851	502	1353	79.4
2013	1341	709	2050	79.2

Source: SEFSTAT, 2015.

Figure 4.5: Nepalese residing in Lisbon by sex, 2008 - 2013



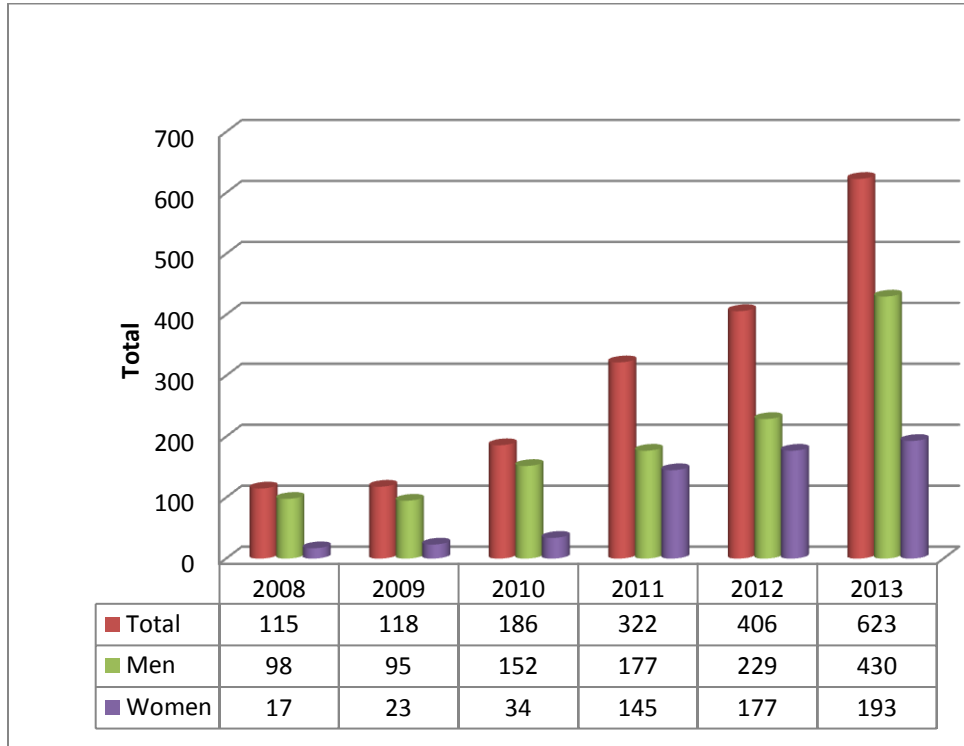
Source: SEFSTAT, 2015.

4.1.3.2 Inflow of Nepalese in Lisbon by sex, 2008-2013

The figure 4.6 illustrates the total number of inflow of Nepalese immigrant in Lisbon by sex from year 2008 to 2013. Inflow of total Nepalese immigrants has been moving up gradually between 2008 to 2013 with increase of 82 percent for men and 91 percent for women in these

five years. This can also be result of reducing the bureaucratic requirements for those seeking legal marital status, favorable family reunification laws in 2007 for the immigrants in Portugal. (Oliveira, 2012)

Figure 4.6: Inflow of Nepalese in Lisbon by sex, 2008-2013

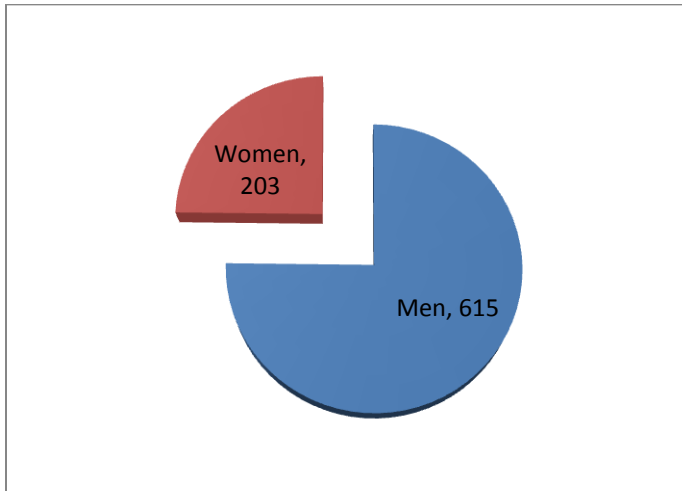


Source: SEFSTAT, 2015.

4.1.3.3 Nepalese residing in Lisbon by sex in 2011

The figure 4.7 represents the Nepalese immigrants residing in Lisbon in the year 2011 according to Census data (INE 2015). Out of total Nepalese immigrants in Portugal 85% of them are residing in Lisbon. Within this district, three quarters (74%) were Nepalese men migration and one quarter (26%) were women. Statistical data of INE (2015) illustrate that there were 203 Nepalese women immigrants whereas according to SEF (2012) there were 298 women Nepalese immigrant. Number of Nepalese women is lower according to INE; it may be that they did not participate in the census.

Figure 4.7: Nepalese residing in Lisbon by sex in 2011

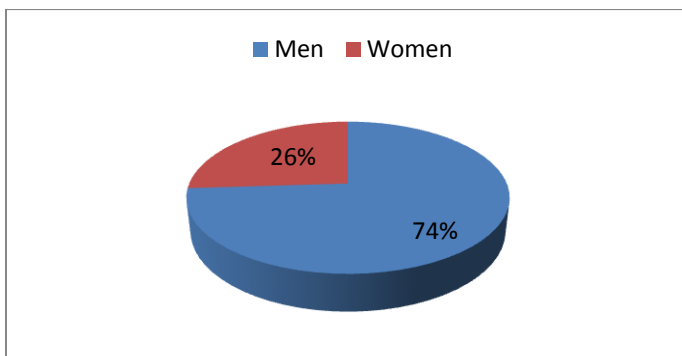


Source: INE, Census 2011.

4.1.3.4 Nepalese nationals residing in Portugal by sex in 2011

Figure 4.8 illustrates the total number of Nepalese (by nationality) residing in Portugal by Sex in the year 2011. According to INE Census (2011), 959 Nepalese were in Portugal, in which men to women ratio is 3:1. Comparing this data with the data from SEF (2012) on 2011, there were 1145 Nepalese people living in Portugal where the men to women ratio was around 2:1. Even though the data of INE and SEF is from the same year of 2011, there is disparity between the numbers. However both these data demonstrate that majority of Nepalese immigrants residing in Portugal are men.

Figure 4.8: Nepalese nationals residing in Portugal by sex in 2011, (percentage)



Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.5: Nepalese residing in Portugal by sex and age, 2011

The figure 4.9 and table 4.8 illustrates the population of Nepalese immigrants according to nationality categorized by sex and age group, residing in Portugal in year 2011 according to the census. Majority of Nepalese immigrants were from age group 15 to 39, which is 84%. According to OECD (2015), people between age group 15 to 64 are considered to be working population. Taking that into consideration, Nepalese immigrants in Portugal who fall under this age group is represented by 96.6%, nearly all of them. When comparing this number to the Nepalese population in European Union countries, there are around 88% of them who are from working age population (CBS, 2015d).

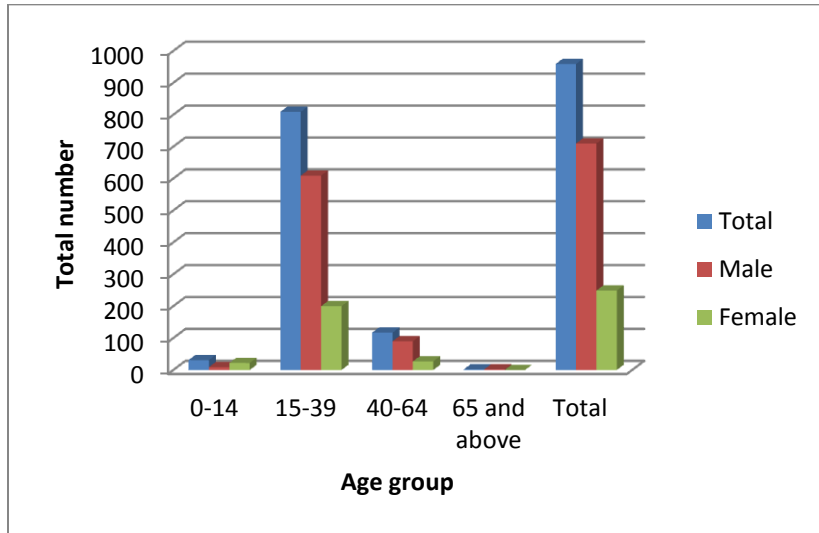
Table 4.8: Nepalese residing in Portugal by sex and age, 2011

Age	In number			In percentage		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
0-14	31	9	22	3.2	1.3	8.8
15-39	809	609	200	84.4	85.8	80.3
40-64	117	90	27	12.2	12.7	11.8
65 and above	2	2	0	0.2	0.3	0
Total	959	710	249	100	100	100

Source: INE Census, 2011.

Footnote: The highlighted text is the specific group selected for this thesis, Nepalese women. Out of 959 Nepalese people mentioned in the table and figure, 39 were born in other country than Nepal.

Figure 4.9: Nepalese residing in Portugal by sex and age, 2011

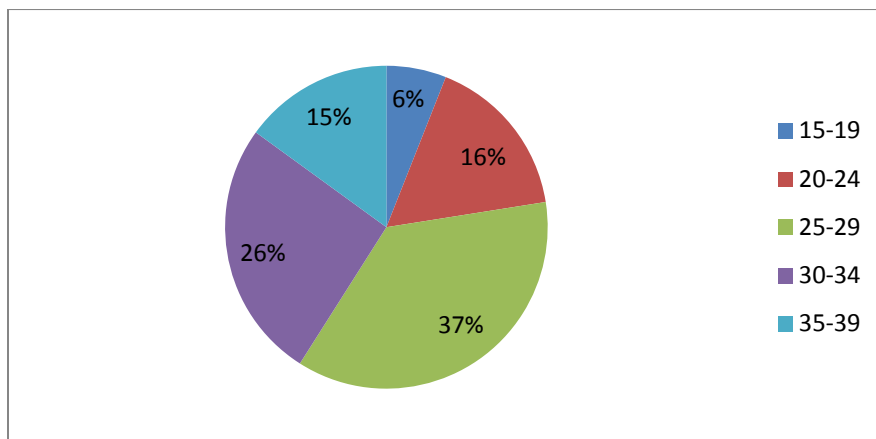


Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.6 Nepalese women residing in Portugal, between 15 and 39 years old, 2011

Since the majority of Nepalese immigrant (84%) were from age 15 to 39, it is important to analyze the sub groups of the age categories. Most of the women immigrants are from the age group 25 to 29 and 30 to 34 which corresponds to 37 percent and 26 percent respectively. This shows that majority of women are young adults, from age group 25 to 34 which is around 63 percent.

Figure 4.10: Nepalese women residing in Portugal, between 15 and 39 years old, 2011



Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.7 Marital status of Nepalese in Portugal, by sex, 2011

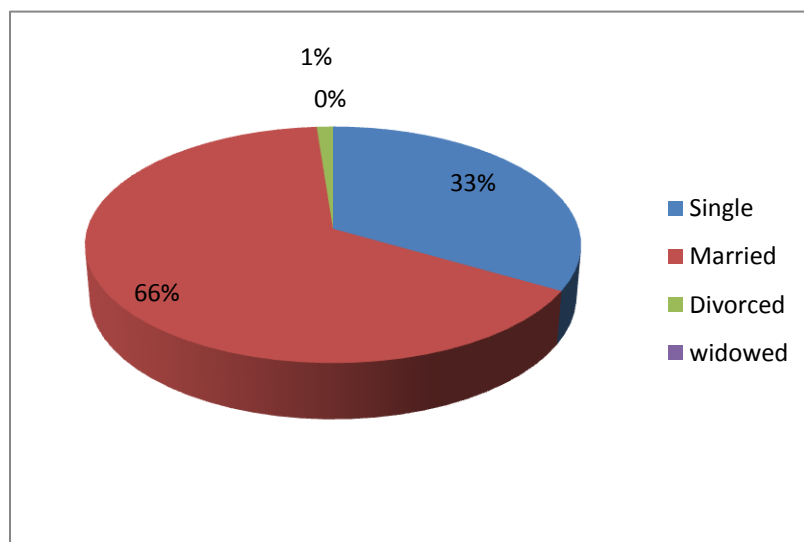
The table 4.9 displays the marital status of Nepalese immigrants according to sex in the year 2011. It shows that more than half of the total Nepalese immigrants are married which is represented by 57.6%, followed by single individual represented by 41.8% and very few individual represented by 0.6% were divorced or widowed. While considering data for only women as in the figure 4.10, the percentage of married women immigrants moves up to 66 with only 33 percent of them single and only 1 percent divorced. The reason for this might be because as seen in Figure 6, most of the women immigrants who come to Portugal come through family reunification, which is also demonstrated from the information about their marital status.

Table 4.9: Marital status of Nepalese in Portugal, by sex, 2011

Marital Status	Total	Sex	
		Men	Women
Single	401	318	83
Married	552	389	163
Divorced	4	1	3
Widowed	2	2	0
Total	959	710	249

Source: INE Census, 2011.

Figure 4.11: Marital status of Nepalese women in Portugal, by sex, 2011



Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.8 Education level of Nepalese residing in Portugal, by sex, 2011

The table 4.10 shows the educational level of Nepalese immigrant in Portugal. Majority of Nepalese immigrant have completed their secondary education, which is represented by 60 percent. One quarter (26%) of Nepalese immigrant completed their tertiary education. There were few who had education below secondary level, which is represented by 14 percent. Therefore majority of the Nepalese immigrants, around 86 percent living in Portugal have completed at least secondary level of education, which shows that they have some degree of education, which is also confirmed by Gurung (2010), as he mentions majority of Nepalese travelling to America and Europe are educated.

Table 4.10: Education Level of Nepalese residing in Portugal, by sex, 2011

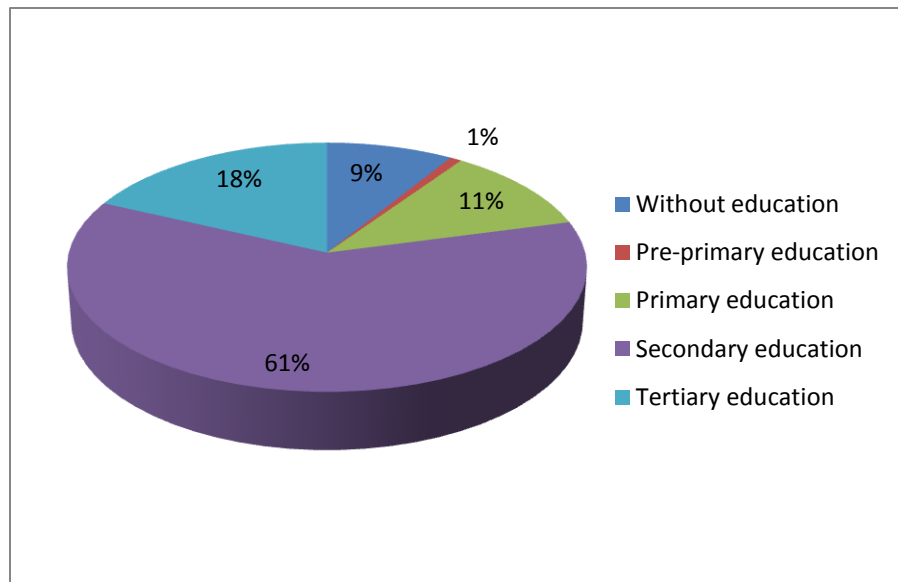
Educational level	In numbers			In percentage		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Without education	60	38	22	6.3	5.4	8.8
Pre-primary education	3	1	2	0.3	0.1	0.8
Primary education	68	40	28	7.1	5.6	11.2
Secondary education	578	426	152	60.3	60.3	61.0
Tertiary education	250	205	45	26.1	29	18.7
Total	959	710	249	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.9 Level of education of Nepalese immigrant women in Portugal, 2011

The figure 4.12 shows the education level of Nepalese immigrant women where around 61 percent have completed secondary education, 18 percent have completed tertiary education and around 21 percent have education below secondary level. This shows that it is not just the Nepalese men who come to Portugal who are educated but also women immigrants from Nepal living in Portugal have some degree of school education.

Figure 4.12: Level of education of Nepalese immigrant women in Portugal, 2011



Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.10 Sources of income of Nepalese in Portugal, by sex, 2011

As mentioned before, there were around 96.6% of working age Population of Nepalese immigrant in 2011 and the data for immigrants who have been employed in the labor market showed that 73 percent of immigrants were working. Sixteen percent were supported by household and there were very few Nepalese whose source of income was unemployment benefit (1%), social integration income (0.2%), other temporary benefit and property or entrepreneurial income (each below 1%). When looking at source of income of Nepalese immigrant women half of them were working in labor market and 36 percent were supported by household income.

Table 4.11: Sources of income of Nepalese in Portugal, by sex, 2011

Income Source	In numbers			In percentage		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Work	695	569	126	72.5	80.1	50.6
Retirement/ pension	5	2	3	0.5	0.3	1.2
Unemployment benefit	12	9	3	1.3	1.3	1.2
Other temporary benefit(illness, maternity leave)	1	0	1	0.1	0.0	0.4
Property or entrepreneurial income	3	2	1	0.3	0.3	0.4
Social Integration Income	2	1	1	0.2	0.1	0.4
Supported by household	154	64	90	16.1	9.0	36.1
Other	87	63	24	9.1	8.9	9.6
Total	959	710	249	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.11 Employment area Nepalese women nationals born in Nepal residing in Portugal, 20 and more years old, 2011

The table 4.12 illustrates the employment area of Nepalese women immigrant (who were born in Nepal) in the year 2011. This table only presents the employment area of women Nepalese worker of age 20 and above. Around 27 percent work as cooks, 21 percent as waiters and bartenders and another 21 percent are working in Domestic, hotel and office cleaners and helpers, with 31 percent working in other sectors.

Table 4.12: Employment area Nepalese women nationals born in Nepal residing in Portugal, 20 and more years old, 2011

Employment area	Total	Total in (%)
Hotels and food services directors and managers	4	3.4
Retail and wholesale trade, directors and managers	1	0.9
Basic (2° and 3° stage) and secondary education teacher	1	0.9
Others teaching professionals	2	1.7
General office clerk	1	0.9
Reception and client information workers	2	1.7
Cook	32	27.4
Waiters and bartenders	25	2.4
Domestic housekeeper and cleaning and housekeeping	1	0.9
Shop salespersons	9	7.7
Cashiers and ticket clerks	1	0.9
Other sales workers	3	2.6
Personal care workers in health services	2	1.7
Garment, pelt tanners, shoemakers and related trades	1	0.9
Domestic, hotel and office cleaners and helpers	25	21.4
Food preparation assistants	7	6.0
Total	117	100.0

Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.12 Religion of Nepalese women in Portugal, 2011

The figure represents the religion followed by Nepalese immigrant in Portugal. Majority of the Nepalese population is placed under other non-Christian religion. As it shows the percentage of Nepalese Muslims in Portugal (0.4%) and since the majority of people in Nepal are Hindu representing around 81 percent (CBS, 2014a), there is a huge possibility that the religion followed by majority of people placed under other non Christian religion are Hindu.

Table 4.13: Religion of Nepalese women in Portugal, 2011

Religion	In numbers			In percentage		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Christian	24	18	6	2.5	2.5	2.4
Jewish	1	1	0	0.1	0.1	0.0
Muslim	4	3	1	0.4	0.4	0.4
Other non-Christian	664	512	152	69.2	72.1	61.0
Without religion	63	47	16	6.6	6.6	6.4
Non response	172	120	52	17.9	16.9	20.9
Less than 15 years old	31	9	22	3.2	1.3	8.8
Total	959	710	249	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.13 Total number of households of Nepalese in Portugal, 2011

Table 4.14 explains about the total number of household of Nepalese immigrant in Portugal, where around half of the household consist of Nepalese immigrant living alone, followed by around 19 percent of household living with family and non-family member household, i.e. they are either living with their family or sharing their home with other families or people. There were around 11 percent of household with couples without children living in a house without other members, followed by another 11 percent of complex families with many people living together and around 9 percent represented by household with couples with children and only few with around 1 percent household with single parents.

When comparing the Nepalese and Portuguese population in terms of blended household, which is combination of family and non-family member household and complex family, it is seen that around 30 percent of Nepalese immigrant family are part of blended household but for Portuguese only comprises of 10 percent of total households (Pordata INE, 2015). This shows that Nepalese household consists of more people living together under one roof, which is a characteristic of collective society (Hofstede, 2001) in comparison to Portuguese nationals. It might also be that Nepalese not having enough money for house so that share room with others.

Table 4.14: Total number of Household of Nepalese in Portugal, 2011

Number of household	Total	Percentage
Living alone	222	49.1
Family and non-family member household	85	18.8
Couples without children without other person	49	10.8
Couples with children	42	9.3
Single parents with children	5	1.1
Complex families	49	10.8
Total	452	100.0

Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.1.3.14 Total number of Nepalese immigrants living in different household categories in Portugal, 2011

The figure 4.15 represents the total number of Nepalese immigrants living in different household categories. Majority of individuals were living with family and non-family members which was represented by 36 percent, whereas around 23 percent of individual were living alone, followed by 21 percent of individual living in complex families. There were 10 percent of individuals who belonged to couples living with children and another 10 percent of individual who were couples without children and were living without other person. It is clearly evident from this data that many Nepalese immigrants prefer to live together, which can be due to their preference in living together with their countrymen or as a cost saving strategy by avoiding paying higher rent while staying alone.

Table 4.15: Total number of Nepalese immigrants living in different household categories in Portugal, 2011

Household categories	Total	Percentage
Living alone	222	23.1
Family and non-family single person household	341	35.6
Couples without children without other person	91	9.5
Couples with children	96	10.0
Single parents with children	9	0.9
Complex families (more than one nucleous)	200	20.9
Total	959	100.0

Source: INE Census, 2011.

4.2. Field notes about institutions concerning Nepalese in Portugal

4.2.1 Centros nacionais de apoio ao imigrante, CNAI (National Immigrant Support Centres)

CNAI was established in 2004 in Lisbon and the main goal was to integrate the immigrants in the Portuguese society. They provide information and support to the immigrants, which are free of cost. CNAI helps in almost all the aspect such as providing information on health, education, housing, searching for job, language class, family reunification, Portuguese nationality, lawyer, loan to start a business and so on.

They mentioned that workers in the office can speak different languages but they did not have anyone who could speak in Nepalese language. They also said that Nepalese migration is a recent immigration and that number of Nepalese who come to get support from CNAI is increasing and that many Nepalese had applied for Portuguese passport.

4.2.2 Nepalese Consulate in Lisbon

Nepalese Consulate was established in Porto but since there were many Nepalese in Lisbon they also opened Nepalese consulate in Lisbon. The consulate has been helping and supporting Nepalese, mainly in translating the legal document to Portuguese. They collaborate with NRN and other organization to work together. They mentioned that the Nepalese migration started since 1996 in Portugal when very few Nepalese entered. Since 2002 Portuguese government started to legalize the migrants without the resident permit and many immigrants got opportunity to be legalized. Since then, Nepalese migrant from many other countries migrate to Portugal. Many Nepalese from UK come to Portugal than from other European countries and most of them are highly educated people. Everyday around 15 to 20 Nepalese come for translation of their documents. According to the Nepalese consulate, tentatively there are around 10,000 Nepalese living in Portugal and there are more people who are in process of being legal so it could not be said that they are illegal here. They mentioned that there are very few people who stay in Portugal after they get the Portuguese passport. If people can settle down and earn more money they stay back and if not then they leave to other country. Many Nepalese come to Portugal for work purpose and very few Nepalese come here for studies.

They mentioned that there are almost equal number of Nepalese men and women in Portugal. Many women are working but still there are few who are staying in their home as housewife. Women who come to Portugal alone get more chance and opportunity than those who come through the process of family reunification. Single women can also work freely where as it is hard for married women as they have to give time to their family. It is hard for single women in the beginning but later on it would be easy to settle. There are only few Nepalese who get chance to work in their own field of their study.

There are people who have been doing business like restaurants and shops, as it is easy to establish a business here. However it is difficult for Nepalese at the beginning. They have to make finance document, and they cannot work for 6 months legally and even after this period it is hard to find a job because the country is in recession and unemployment rate is high. Recently many Nepalese are working in agricultural sector which has helped many Nepalese in finding a job. Portuguese have good attitude towards Nepalese and they find Nepalese to be honest and

hardworking, so there is a good relationship between them and their boss, according to the perception of Portuguese Consulate.

4.2.3 Non-resident Nepali Association (NRNA)

Non-resident Nepali Association was established in 2006, which is a non political organization, providing support to Nepalese in Portugal. The fact that it was initiated less than 10 years ago suggests that Nepalese immigration is recent in Portugal. They had provided training courses on basic language class, housekeeping, and training on sushi food and Indian food previously. And they concentrate on helping the Nepalese immigrants to make electronic passports as hand written passport will not be accepted from November 2015, so they collect the required document needed for the machine readable passport and send the documents to embassy of Nepal in France so that Nepalese do not have to go to France personally. NRNA has also been working in collaboration with CNAI.

They also mentioned that the total population of Nepalese immigrants in Portugal would be roughly around 10,000 people. There are many single women than married women and single women do not come to Portugal directly from Nepal but from other countries like Israel, UK, Belgium and Germany and apply for legal document through which they can go back to Nepal and come back to Europe again. It is also estimated that there are around 30 Nepalese organizations formed according to ethnic group, political group and district. Around 25 to 30 Nepalese come to NRNA per day to get support from the organization. Whenever someone has any kind of problem then they come to NRNA, it is like a court even though it is not a legal institution; so before they go to police they come and ask for the help to try and resolve the problem there. They have to give a written application about the problem, for instance: break in family relationship, fight between business partners, dispute in paying rents and so on. Then NRNA discuss about their problem together and come to a conclusion to find a solution and if they do not agree then go to police. Women come to NRNA with written application about their problem as well. He mentioned that most Nepalese men don't respect women here and that they do not understand women. They discriminate women and they are not given any right. This would result to dispute. It is very hard for women even when she is outside Nepal. They do not think that women are equal and they are provided with very little freedom.

4.3 Change in gender roles with integration of Nepalese in Lisbon

4.3.1 Characterization of Interviewee (personal and family information)

The age of respondents was between 30 and 42 with the majority (four) of them from the same age, 32. Participants have stayed in Portugal for a minimum of 2 years and maximum of 5 years. When considering the marital status, seven were married and two were divorced and only one participant was unmarried. The reason for migration is similar depending on whether the woman is with their husbands here or not. The main reason for married women is join their husband and stay together through family reunification process. Whereas a woman (who has child) migrating alone to Portugal is most likely to be for economical reason as they stated that they migrated for the future of the children. They mentioned that they want to prepare legal documents through which they can apply for family reunification with their children or husband.

Nepalese women shows characteristics of migrating alone where even married women travel alone leaving their husband behind in Nepal which is not found in other studies on South Asian women. (Lourenco, 2013) Meena, Puja, Nisha, Sapana are informants who came to Portugal to join their husband through family reunification process. Whereas Sujata, Pragati, Ichhya, Shanti, Anjali were the participants who migrated on their own. Sharmila was the only participant who migrated together with her husband. Except the participant who is unmarried, all other respondent had at least one child with them with maximum of two children in a family. Most of the participant had their children in Portugal except for the two participants. One of them is in process of family reunification to bring her children in Portugal where as another participant has one child in Nepal and other in Portugal. Three of the participants gave birth to children while they were in Portugal and rest of the children joined their family through means of family reunification. Married women joined their husband through family reunification process after minimum of 2 years to maximum of 5 years.

Education level of interviewees provides the information that majority are educated, as five of the participant has completed a minimum of bachelor degree; four of the participants has studied till the secondary level and only one participant studied up to primary level. This finding is

supported by (Gurung, 2010) who mentions that educated Nepalese migrate to Europe. Out of ten participants, nine of them are working in Portugal where four of the participants are working in restaurant and hotel as employee, four of the participant have their own business which is either family employment or self-employed and one participant work in housekeeping (living). Since most of the participants are educated they have used their educational skill to open their business which is not observed in other South Asian studies in Portugal such as (Lourenco, 2011, 2013). Nine of these participants had also worked in reputed jobs such as lawyer, teacher, teacher- head of school, motivational speaker, media personnel, nurse, and family business before them came to Portugal.

Majority (eight) of the participants were from Hindu religion including a participant who follows both Hinduism and Buddhism, one of them follows Christianity and other interviewee mentioned that she has belief in God but doesn't follow a specific religion. Almost every informant who migrated to Portugal came from urban areas of Nepal such as Chitwan, Pokhara, Kathmandu, Dharan and Bharatpur. Five Participants were living with their family along with other Nepalese families whereas, three participants stayed only with their family. One of the participants had an apartment provided by her owner and a participant had 2 guests who recently migrated to Portugal and will stay at their place for time being until they find a new place.

Table 4.16: Characterization of Interviewee

Pseudonym	Age	Marital status	Number of children	Age of children (years)	Education level	Work	Reason for migration	Duration of stay Portugal	Husband's duration of stay in Portugal	Religion
Meena	32	Married	1 (son)	2	Tertiary	Self employed *	-Family reunification	4	7	Hindu and Buddhist
Sujata	37	Divorced	2 (daughter and son)	16 and 19	Tertiary	Employee in Housekeeping	-citizenship -To bring my children in Europe -economic reason	5	-	-
Pragati	42	Married	2 (daughter and son)	17 and 18	Secondary	Employee in Restaurant	-citizenship -future of children	5	-	Hindu
Ichhya	34	Divorced	1 (son)	17	Secondary	Employee in hotel (2 work)	- Future of children	5	-	Hindu
Shanti	36	Married	2 (son)	17and 14	Primary	Self employed in shop	-Economic reason -Future of children	5	1	Hindu
Anjali	30	Unmarried	-	-	Secondary	Employee in restaurant	-economical reason -Family reason -To be independent	2	-	Christian
Sharmila	32	Married	1 (daughter)	8	Tertiary	Employee in hotel	- Work	5	5	Hindu
Nisha	32	Married	1 (son)	3	Secondary	-	-work -citizenship -get settle	3	5.5	Hindu
Sapana	37	Married	2(son n daughter)	14 and 4	Tertiary	Self employed in shop	-family reunification	3	8	Hindu
Puja	32	Married	2 (sons)	8yrs and 2months	Tertiary	Family business in shop	-family reunification	3	5	Hindu

Note: * For the confidential reason the work area is not presented.

5. Integration of Nepalese women in Lisbon: changes in perception of gender

5.1 Change in cultural values in Nepalese women in Lisbon

Culture is a patterned way of life which are produced and reproduced to relate to each other and adapt to the physical environment (Kipuri, 1993). This definition of culture seems to fit for the Nepalese women in Portugal as they attempt to make a better understanding of themselves and their surroundings to adapt in accordance to what they perceive to be the best for them. The finding for this study presented the cultural preference for the Nepalese women which demonstrated that most of these women are not rigid about a particular culture and prefer to adapt to certain aspects of culture from the host society to what they prefer would be best suited for them, a finding which was also supported by literature from various researchers (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Participants take in those values which is beneficial for themselves and their families. Almost all the Nepalese migrant women mentioned that they take in some cultural values predominant in Portugal society such as freedom and independence, gender equality and respect to women; all of these which represents the individualistic society (Triandis, 1988).

5.1.1 Transformation of gender according to work and marital status of women

The majority of the participants mentioned that they are self dependent and have freedom but the level of freedom was different between the participants in accordance to their marital status or we shall say if they have their husband in Portugal or not. It seems that participants who came to Portugal by themselves in search of work were more independent compared to the ones who joined their husband as a process of family reunification. Anjali (30 years, unmarried), who is single, presented that "In certain things I like about European culture like there is freedom in my life... I can do whatever I want as I wish. When we compare Nepal and Portugal, women have to be under certain boundaries in Nepalese culture, women have to stay below men but it is not like this in Europe. This is a women centric country." The comparison that Anjali (30 years, unmarried) makes between difference in culture between Portugal and Nepal seemed to allow her to make a distinction about what she feels would be beneficial for her and what she considers

would dampen her and thus adhere to the culture appropriate for her. In this case, she seem to leave the Nepali culture which restricts a woman, have certain boundaries and have to follow hierarchy, all of which is characteristics of a collectivistic society and take in the culture of freedom and autonomy which represents individualistic society. The feeling of being self dependent and having freedom might also be due to what she perceives to have done by herself when comparing it to other married women who had the support of their husband. After she came to Portugal, she has had to start all over by herself in this new environment, create new networks, find a job, find a place to stay and overcome language barrier. But, not all women can make it as it might take lot of resilience and determination in part of single women to be able to overcome the problems that she might have to face at the beginning. Sharmila (32 years, married) presents her suggestion for single Nepalese women who is planning to come to Portugal:

It is very hard for single women so I suggest single women to not to come to Portugal alone. It is very hard in the beginning process for a woman. You need a room, place to stay, she would face language barrier, and she has to ask for someone to help her, so it is very hard for women. If you are two people then it would be easy to survive. If husband has been working then wife can be dependent on husband for certain time. A single lady has to struggle very hard. She will have to ask for help to make finance document. She might have one or two person to help her. Everyone will be in busy in their own work. She might have to go to hospital and so on. Ok let's say a person will help her for 1 day but what about other days? So it would be very hard. If you do not find work then how would you survive? Is it not? Work is very important and in order to get job you need to know language. (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

As stated above, it is hard for a single woman to adjust in Portuguese society at the beginning which was also true for Pragati (42 year, married) and Shanti (36 years, married). There might be various reasons such as language barrier, difficulty to find job, create networks, economic problem which might arise along the way. Along with these problems there is emotional pain which is hidden inside the single women. This is how Shanti (36 years, married) describes the

pain she had to face while being separated from her family and tries to cope with the situation by looking at other children (Isaksen et al, 2008).

I have to do something. I came here to struggle. I thought in my mind that life is full of struggle. I can do something for myself. Why is it that women cannot work? If a man can do then women can also do the same thing. It was difficult in beginning. I went through lot of pain. Sometime I felt I needed my husband, sometime I felt I needed my children. When I walk in the road and when I hear someone saying mommy then I used to have tears rolling down my eyes. I faced these kind of problem... most difficult moment was when my children got sick. It was very difficult. I used to think, my son is sick I hope nothing will happen to him. I wished that they would be well soon. I felt this many times. When I cook yummy food in here I would remember my child. (Shanti, 36 years, married)

The participant got emotional for a while and started crying after she expressed her pain and struggle to reach this point. She remembered her children and her past experience of having to leave them behind in Nepal while she went abroad to work but she manages to cope with the situation after a brief pause.

5.1.2. Differences between the Nepalese women who arrived alone and through family reunification

It seemed that Shanti (36 years, married) is a successful woman as she has started her own business and has been able to bring her husband and two children through family reunification process, which is similar from the finding of Adhikari's study among Nepalese women in UK (2013) who indicated that women hold licenses to move aboard for their husband. Similar experiences to the one of Shanti (36 years, married) were also presented by other participants Ichhya (34 years, divorced) and Puja (32 years, married) when they were separated from their children for certain years. All participants who came here to Portugal alone, i.e. Anjali (30 years, unmarried), Shanti (36 years, married), Ichhya (34 years, divorced), Pragati (42 year, married) and Puja (32 years, married) had faced similar kind of problem as single women without their husband or family members in Portugal had to face negative attitude of Nepalese people towards them.

I am single now. People look at me very negatively because if I talk with someone's husband then their wife will think that tomorrow my husband might go with her. It is because I am alone. I am unmarried. There is no one to quote me. I agree with this for sure. She is married she won't do anything... Even in here, Nepalese still have that kind of feeling. They never change. This exists and people see me with negative attitude. That is true. (Anjali, 30 years, unmarried)

Married women are protected and cared by their husband and she does not have to create her link and network. Married women talk behind your back and married women who came here to join their husband does not know the reality of what happens after migration. They don't understand us. A single woman might need help from someone, we do not know the language, we do not have any relatives, we do not have a choice and when you make a friend (men) and walk in a society then people would talk behind your back. (Pragati, 42 year, married)

Uprety et al (n.d.) mentions that society does not care about why you are single, but if you are single women in a Nepalese society then they are looked through prejudged and narrow mind. They further mention that this exist in society from the very past and may be due to existence of patriarchy. The way the Nepalese society looks at single women has also migrated to Portugal along with them. Even though they are in western society, single women are seen in negative light. And even if they want to leave their culture which is not beneficial for them, Nepalese society is there to remind them of their status. However, this research shows that the single women participants feel autonomous as they use the words such as 'independent', 'self dependent' and 'free' to describe their own identity and as all the single women participants are engaged in labor market. Some participants mention that they are free from the restriction of Nepalese society when compared with larger Portuguese culture.

Definitely it's easy for a woman in this culture because in Nepal, there are many restrictions for women. Women should not do this, women should not walk like this, women should not speak in this way, women should not speak in loud voice, women should not fight, women should not come home late, even if a women work late night there would be discussion of letting her go to job or not, it would

be a problem but these kinds of culture are not here in Portugal. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

When considering the case of married women who come to Portugal through family reunification this research found that there is a difference in time gap for at least a minimum of two years when wife joins her husband as a process of family unification. A possible reason might be that the husband would call their family only after they feel economically stable or the bureaucratic procedures take much longer time. There also is a factor of proof of economic support as the Portuguese government has also stated the minimum salary for the family reunification. In this study most of the married women mentioned that they get main form of support from their husband. As Sharmila (32 years, married) mentioned before that married women can be dependent on their husband at the beginning until women find a job which presented similar experiences for Meena (32 years, married), Sapana (37 years, married) and Nisha (32 years, married). Married women with their husband are independent in economic terms though for example Meena (32 years, married) is self employed, Puja (32 years, married) and Sapana (37 years, married) works in their family business but, the difference is that they wouldn't show that they are independent. Sharmila (32 years, married), a married participant mentions that she is self dependent in economic terms but does not want to present herself as an independent woman because patriarchy is still evident in Nepalese society in Portugal.

5.1.3 Empowerment of women through economic support in family

Sapana (37 years, married) mentions that she cannot find a job in her own field because of the language barrier and feels sad that she has to work in a different field. She said that she has found a reason to be happy. She earns more money than in Nepal which empowers her and provides strength to support her family economically. She says

To tell you the reality in Nepal, when we work in Nepal, salary is too less so money we earned were not enough and all the money would be spent. We could not save but in here even if we do any kind of work, we can save at least a little amount of money. We would have a mentality that if we need to struggle a little bit in orders to save some amount of money then we could. I feel sad that I am not able to continue my work in own field but I am happy on the other side because I

am with my own family now... In Nepal my earning was Rs 20,000 (around 180 Euros) and in here my earning is around Rs 80,000 (around 750 Euros) and we would have this in our thought and with this 80,000 if spending is Rs 30,000 (around 270 Euros) then I can still save Rs 50,000 (around 500 Euros). (Sapana, 37 years, married)

As the participant said she has her immediate family along her side and she is happy for that and at the same time she has a motivating factor that they earn more money than they used to in Nepal. Other participant also mentions that she can save some money from her work and support her sibling back home in Nepal.

If I earn 500 Euro from which 150 to 200 euro would be enough for me and 300 to 400 would be saved... I send around 200 to 250 euro each month for education of my brother. (Anjali, 30 years, unmarried)

Ichhya (34 years, divorced), who is a single mother, works in two jobs to support her son. Only one job would not be enough for her to economical support her child so she manages time to work in two places. She says,

Once in a week I have to do night duty for 12 hrs and then I will get break for 4 hrs where I get to sleep in guest house in my work place and again I wake up and start doing my next job for 8 hrs. It is difficult to do night duty. In other days I can manage. (Ichhya, 34 years, divorced)

5.1.4 Dress and religion with integration: balancing tradition and modernity

Analyzing the dress code of Nepalese women participants in this research, as mentioned by Lourenco (2010) in her study on Hindu Diaspora in Portugal, was important as she mentions that wearing western dress and having similar outer appearance is a symbol of independence and modernity among Hindu women. The majority of Nepalese women participants who were from Hindu religion as well and I observed their dress code while interviewing them. All of them were wearing clothes which are considered as being western such as pants and shirt. Most of them mention that they prefer to wear traditional dress like kurtha and sari only during some special event or while celebrating some festivals and they prefer to wear pant and shirt in other days

which might indicate that Nepalese women participant are influenced by independence and modernity. Therefore it might be that Nepalese women are independent because they are economically active but when considering other forms of independence such as making their own choices, being accountable for themselves, the single women who are alone in Portugal are more independent than the married women with husband.

When talking about religion, majority of women were from Hindu religious background. Most of them mention that they pray to their Hindu god in their home. As Puja (32 years, married) says “I worshiped everyday in Nepal and we also have a prayer room (inside house) here where we worship every day in the morning. I offer holy water and I like to light a candle. I pray saying that I believe in you God and I am remembering you God. God is everything for me.” Few participants also mentioned that they do not worship everyday because it is not compulsory for them as they have the power to decide for themselves regarding when they want to worship where as some also mentioned that even if they do not worship in normal days they at least worship during some specific festivals. A participant mentions, “In Nepal, we live in a joint family and we had to worship every day. My mother in law would be at home and it was necessary to pray. But when you are in foreign country you do not care much. It is up to me to worship when I want... When we have Dashain festival in Nepal, then we worship but in other days we do not worship... If I have to get back home then I have to worship everyday again.” (Nisha, 32 years, married) Participants also visit the temple in Lisbon once in a while, especially in Radha Krishna Mandir, maybe because it is closer than the Lord Shiva temple. “Last year I went to Radha Krishna Mandir 2, 3 times. I heard that there is a Shiva Temple but I have not been there. My relative died so I did not go to temple this year.” (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

Some said that they still have cultural identity belonging to Nepalese culture as Sapana (37 years, married) says:

According to the Situation, we got involved here but still we could not get adjust. With their behavior, with this climate, with this environment, with their behavior, and their dress up, food, I do not care about that. We are from Nepal and we believe in simple living high thinking and like others I cannot change so fast. This change does not affect me. I am like this. Even if I have to go anywhere in this world but I would not be able to leave my background and my identity.

5.1.5 Taking responsibility of Parents: Preserving Nepalese values

When considering the Nepalese value which the Nepalese women in Portugal still tries to maintain, it is mostly about the attachment they still hold on to their own cultural identity by comparing the cultural value of Nepal and Portugal. All of the participants seemed to be attached to some of the cultural identities of their country as they kept on repeating several times during the interviews “I like my culture.” The most common thing about the culture mentioned by the participants is that they are worried that their children would not take care of them when they get old. They seem to be worried that children will be influenced by the western culture when they are in Portugal so they try to teach them certain Nepalese value. As a participant mentions:

He knows. We tell him once a person is certain age, parents and children they get separated. He says I will live with you and that we say ya we should not do that we cannot take everything from western culture. We should not leave our culture.
(Puja, 32 years, married)

Some of the participants mentioned that they want their children to follow some of their own values as mention by Nisha (32 years, married) “We have to teach Nepalese culture to our children. We are only here for certain period of time.” Whereas some parents want their children to learn about both cultures giving importance to their own culture. Another participant mentions that “I want my son to know about both cultures, Portuguese as well as Nepalese. I want him to also know about our Nepalese culture.”(Ichhya, 34 years, divorced)

5.2 Language and it is importance in integration

Most of the participants seemed to mention that English is not spoken widely so minimum level of Portuguese language is important to survive in Portugal which is also supported by Heckmann (2006) as he mentions lack of language proficiency does not hinder the integration but make it a lot more difficult to integrate in host society. Sharmila (32 years, married) mentions, "Language is very important. If you do not know the language everything is difficult. If you want to do a job, or change a job, or start a new business, and for everything like to get a benefit from state you need to know language."

5.2.1 Lack of fluency in Portuguese relating to difficult opportunities in skilled jobs

Language is one of the most important means of communication with the people but when participant do not know the language of the host country, it is difficult to communicate and express what they need. Shanti (36 years, married) mentions that she has to face difficulty in expressing what she needs:

I still do not know how to speak in Portuguese. I live with Nepalese people here. We do not speak Portuguese. Where ever we go, we speak in Nepali. There is no one here to speak Portuguese to ... there are too many Nepalese here and we do not learn Portuguese fast ... if you don't know the language then you are like a mute person ... If I want to drink water how do I ask for it? I don't know how to ask for water (in Portuguese). What would you say to ask for water? If you go to supermarket then you can go and buy. You don't have to speak. Suppose if you want to drink coffee. What would you say and ask for coffee? How do I order which coffee do I want? Coffee has so many names. Language is a big problem.
(Shanti, 36 years, married)

Participants might need to know the language in order to find a job. There might be an exception though as in case of participants who find work in English speaking places like for Sujata (37 years, divorced) or if they can find a work through the help of their network that they have. Otherwise language barrier might be tough for participants. A participant explains why she is not being able to find a job.

You need links to find a job. Person who has link can find a job immediately. I don't have link and I do know how to speak Portuguese. I am without job for 2-3 years and I have to stay without job. And also because I have a child and I cannot work till late at night. Even if I find a job then it is not possible for me to work after 5 PM. Children have school holidays on Saturday and Sunday but there is no one to take care of them. I have to take care of my child. It would have been better if some Nepalese could open a day care center. Even if women are interested to work they cannot because they have to look after the children...with

only income of one person we have to pay for rent, we have a child, for food, for electricity, for water, for internet, when spending money in these thing. It is not enough. Sometime we need to take loan. (Nisha, 32 years, married)

As she mentioned, it is difficult to find a job and she also has to take responsibility of her child. Her husband work for more than 12 hrs a day and she has to take care of her child. She says she miss her external family support from back home in Nepal, as in Nepal her child would have been taken care of by other family members. She is on her own to take care of her child here. I also observed that a participant, Puja (32 years, married), has a child who is two months old and she is taking care of her child and business at the same time. The case is also similar for Meena (32 years, married), especially in weekend when she has to take care of her child as well as her business at the same time. It might be difficult for a woman to manage their own business and take care of the child at the same time but it seems to be more difficult for those women who have to work as employee as they cannot take their children in their work place. All the participants mentioned that children below the age of five said that they didn't have external support to take care of their children and some participants also mentioned that it was difficult to find school for their children as they had to wait for a long time. It seems that it was mostly women who have been taking a major role in providing care for their child, especially the small children.

However Portuguese language still seems to be important in order to find a job according to their educational qualification. In terms of education most of the participants have completed their tenth standard and half of them have completed at least bachelor's degree as well. It seems that participant who do not have the degree didn't compared their present job with the job of Nepal but it appeared that participants with the degree compared their present job and past job of Nepal and showed their displeasure when they had to do the job which was different from their educational background. They felt that they had better status in Nepal, a finding similar to the study on Nepalese female migrants in United States done by Gurung (2009) where Nepalese women migrants were working in sectors which according to them did not justify their educational qualifications. Puja (32 years, married) said that she was crying when she had to write the resignation letter before coming to Portugal. She wants to continue with her own profession in future somehow.

Obviously I will try my own profession. We can hire a person to handle this business but I will continue my own profession. We are very much satisfied with the business but I love my profession very much. I studied for so many years I worked for 10 years in this carrier. I love my profession. I will try for my profession in Portugal after my child (2 month old) will grow up and if I am not able to than I will move to another country... If they spoke in English it would have been very good but language is the main problem. (Puja, 32 years, married).

Language class is also important for a person to learn new language but it is also necessary for them to practice the language learnt to improve their language. For instance, a participant mentions that she learned to speak Portuguese from her work place. She says,

I also learned Portuguese in work place. I got an opportunity to working with Portuguese and there were no Nepalese in work place. I did not know Portuguese and I had to learn. I used to ask Portuguese what you call this thing. I was the only Nepalese in that company so they used to teach me well. They give priority if i want to learn. I learnt language from my work place and I could even catch more by studying in language school, i could improve my grammar even if my language is still not perfect. Language does not stop me from getting anywhere now. (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

Whereas, in case of Pragati (42 year, married) and Nisha (32 years, married), they do not know how to speak the language even if they have stayed here for 5 and 3 years respectively. This might be because they are working inside a restaurant where they do not have to communicate with Portuguese directly. For instance when we look at the case of Ichhya (34 years, divorced) she communicates directly with them which has helped her to improve her Portuguese.

Language barrier might be a problem to access the benefits provided to the immigrants but sometimes it is the public institution which might not respond to immigrants in a proper way.

To do Mphil I tried to apply in University and what they told me is that the certificate that I brought from Nepal should be equivalent and I went to education ministry to verify my certificate but they told me that I have to be citizen in order to get my certificate equivalent. (Meena, 32 years, married)

5.2.2 Problems in health care assistance due to lack of Portuguese fluency

Participants faced language problem when they needed the service from health center. One of the participant mentions

When we go for official work I feel that they treat us differently. Like we do not know how to speak Portuguese and when we go to hospital and when we try to tell them about the problem in simple English they don't respond to me. They either tell me that you are in Portugal you must speak Portuguese or bring someone who can speak Portuguese. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

Almost all participants said that they were not satisfied with the health service provided by the hospitals and they also mentioned that this is the same for the Portuguese nationals as well. Whenever someone went to hospital they would be provided with the treatment immediately in Nepal but in case of Portugal it is very slow. Shanti (36 years, married) says that “we need to be patient here. Everything is so slow in official work. Even if we need the document in emergency we have to wait.” However state has provided support to migrants by providing free health services which participants would not have received in their host country. "When I went for check up, the total bill was around 200 euros but I did not have to pay for the bills. I have not received the bills yet but the good thing about Portugal is that government will pay certain percentage and you only have to pay less amount of money. We do not have to pay money at the beginning." (Anjali, 30 years, unmarried) State has also provided various kinds of support to migrants such as benefit for children, receiving unemployment benefit and so on. Sujata (37 years, divorced) has a future plan to open a business for her son. She mentions that:

It is easy to open a business in Portugal with less amount of money. Portugal government has made this easy. It is not so difficult like in other European country. If you have 10,000 euro to 15,000 euro you can start your own small shop. 10,000 to 15000 euro is enough. In other countries you need to have business license but in Portugal you do not need. If I have a residency and 15000 euro I can open a business anywhere. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

5.3 Integration in Nepalese and Portuguese community

5.3.1 Nepalese in Portugal: sub-groups

Even in Portugal there is a small Nepalese community with many sub groups. All the participants were involved in one sub group or the other. The groups were based on ethnicity, geography, political group and so on. To ensure anonymity of the participants, even the pseudonym is not presented for some of the excerpts exhibited in this section as mentioning their names might reveal their identity.

Participants said that these ethnic groups are formed to preserve their own culture and identity of the group. They support each other by providing information and building the network in the group. And through this network they can find a job. Sapana (37 years, married) says that “if I know that there is some work in my work place then I would inform you and in this way you can find a job.” Some of these sub groups such as Nepalese women organization has been providing beauty parlor training to women, Janajati Mahasangh used to provide sushi training to Nepalese people, NRNA used to provide housekeeping training. These organizations provide trainings to Nepalese who can develop their skill so that it would help them to find a job. One of the participants said, “NRNA used to give training on housekeeping and I took this training and met new friends and they told me about an agency which would help me to find a job. And I went to this agency and submitted my document and they called me after 3 months and I got a job.”

One of the participant mentioned that they have established self help group where they support each other by collecting certain amount of money and they use this money to provide economical support.

We have Ama samuha (mothers group) and we are many from Alcantra and inside this group we established a Milijuli kosh (together saving) group which is only for women. We have 35 members in total and we collect 20 euro a month and who ever need the money can borrow it among the group. And 1 person can take 1000 euro maximum in a month. We cannot do anything with 20 euro but with this 20 euro if we collect in each month then it big sum of amount. We are 35 people so we collect 700 euro a month. Last month I needed economical support so I borrowed some

money. We have to return this money with interest for example you have to pay 5 euro/month for 1000 euro.

Having their own community is also helpful in their integration into the larger community as they provide support in training programs which help them to find the job in the Portuguese employment sectors. But having many Nepalese organizations might create some sort of hindrance as well as the Nepalese might not be integrated in larger Portuguese society. Nepalese have their own small community where they have Nepalese organizations, Nepalese shop, Nepalese restaurant, and Nepalese friends. When they start to integrate in their own community and reduce contact with the Portuguese community it might be a barrier for integration in larger society. A participant mentions that she is mostly integrated in Nepalese community and do not know how to speak Portuguese. She says:

There are so many Nepalese shops everywhere, I go to Nepalese restaurant, to do shopping I go to Nepalese shop, for parlor also I go to Nepalese place, and in order to buy dress, (Portuguese) language is not necessary. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

There are many groups in Portugal and they organize programs from time to time and they participate in these programs. Many of them mentioned that they celebrate the Teej program together in which is organized by Nepalese women organization. "We have women organization. We celebrate teej festival. I feel like I am in a family environment. I do not feel like I am in far away foreign country." Since there are many organizations, it is easy for them to socialize with Nepalese.

5.3.2 Integration in Portuguese society and citizenship

When considering the identity by having a red passport (Portuguese passport) some said that they do not want to leave the Nepalese identity as according to a law in Nepal, Nepalese cannot hold dual nationalities. It appears that even if they want to make the Portuguese passport they don't have option to hold on to both identities. "Even when I think today I do not want to make Portuguese passport. Till now I don't want to make Portuguese passport because we have to leave the citizenship of Nepal." (Pragati, 42 year, married)

Whereas other participant mentions that she will remain Nepali even if she get Portuguese passport.

We are Nepalese. I do not consider myself as Portuguese. I do not have Portuguese nationality yet. Even if we get nationality we Nepalese will be Nepalese. (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

“In long term future we will not stay here. After our children will be grown up, they might stay here but we (husband and wife) would like to go back to our own country.” (Sapana, 37 years, married)

Some of the participants mentioned that they were willing to apply for either Portuguese passport or for permanent resident permit as it is fairly easier for immigrants to get these statuses as compared to other European countries. This might be the way of naturalization of immigrants and a medium to integrate the immigrants in a legal way. (Oliveira, 2012; Pires, 2014)

There were only few participants who mentioned that they had Portuguese friends. Puja (32 years, married) says, “I have many Portuguese friends. They are very helpful towards me. Even before I delivered my child, they gave me so many presents for my child. I still don’t have to buy clothes and toys for my child. All the gifts were provided by Portuguese friends.”

5.4. Cultural perception of gender roles and status

5.4.1 Status of women in family

When considering the status of Nepalese women in their family in Portugal, there is change in gender roles in some families. A respondent states that:

My small son (2 months) cries in the night so I get to sleep at only around 2AM. I wake up late in the morning so my husband prepares lunch for my elder son and gets him ready for school. I used to prepare lunch for my elder son before my younger son was born. (Puja, 32 years, married)

As stated above, gender roles changed in the family after a new child was born. Whereas in some families gender role is balanced and it is not due to their migration but was present even when they were in Nepal. A participant mentions:

We don't have specific gender role but it is not something that has changed now. Even in Nepal my husband used to cook the food if I come back late from my work. Even in Portugal, roles are not gender specific as even my kids don't wait for me to cook food. Let's say if I have to go out with you now and when I come back home at 12 in the night they would not wait for me to cook food. (Shanti, 32 years, married)

Where as in some family there is unbalance between gender roles, where women are still not appreciated for household work she does. One of the participants says that

“Us, women are busy most of the time. When someone ask what work have you done? Then housework is not seen. Is it not? ... My husband comes home and ask me what have you done till now? He says, you just cooked rice. In order to cook rice we have to prepare so many things. It takes around two hours to prepare food and house would be so messy and it takes time to clean one by one. I would be busy in house work and my husband says what have you done, you have not done anything. It is same for every family...you would not notice when did the time pass by. This work is something completely left for daughters.” (Sapana, 37 years, married)

5.4.2. Social status of women in Nepalese society in Portugal

One of the participants mentioned the difference between the ways society views women. Nisha (32 years, married) expressed that “Man and woman are equal here. Women are not seen in a bad way. Like women are treated very well and there is no distinction between men and women. But in Nepal women are discriminated. Even if a woman has a good character people look at her in negative way”.

Even if Nepalese migrate to different part of country, still people have same kind of attitude towards women and have not been able to change. Following are the discourses of Nepalese women who came to Portugal alone and how Nepalese society in Portugal views women:

When a woman is single she is looked in a different way like in Nepal. The Nepalese society which is in Portugal is small, even in this small society when you go and listen to what men says it is same like the men of Nepal. There is no change. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

99.9% of Nepalese men in Portugal have same kind of attitude toward women as in Nepal. When women walks in the street they start to tease. Even in Portugal they tease me but I don't look back at them. I walk away from them but they keep on teasing me. That is their habit. Portuguese or foreign boys do not tease me ... even now their attitude is still the same. 'Oh that girl, that girl is like this and that.' They don't stop saying this kind of thing. Women are always seen in negative way. If a man does the same thing for example, if a man walk with many women than he is a good man and if a women walk with another person next day then she is said to be a characterless women in Nepal. Even if they are in Europe they still say this thing. I have seen many people saying this. (Anjali, 30 years old, unmarried)

I came here alone so I don't know anything. If I wanted to go somewhere, I could not find a female friend as some of them would be busy at work and some might not help me because their husband does not allow them to. I don't know the language. I need someone's support. If I seek help from a man (friend) someone would say look at this girl who is walking with a man. The way people look at women is very negative. Even me, I ask for what reason she went there with a man. Even in Nepal if a woman has to be spoiled she will be spoiled even when we lock her in a room. You can do anything you want. You can think what you want. It might be women, it might be man. It might not be the fault of women alone. It might be fault of man as well. If the man was not spoiled, may be the woman would not have been spoiled. But when people start calling names it would only be the name of women that appear. No one mentions the name of a man. If I was to be spoiled I would be spoiled from very beginning. (Shanti, 36 years, married)

I am a single lady so many men tried to help me but still I felt they have negative attitude towards me. I was never close with them. Everyone did not treat me in a bad way. Some helped me like their own sisters and there were some friends who also helped me. (Ichhya, 34 years, divorced)

Likewise, Nepalese women are not safe being around Nepalese men even in Portugal. However they feel secure and respected by the Portuguese men. Some of the discourses of participants are mentioned below.

Main danger for Nepalese women (in Portugal) is with our own Nepali brothers (men). To say openly and frankly in foreign country there is no fear. Even when you return home late night and even if Portuguese men were drunk and if by mistake they touched you then they would say sorry no matter how drunk they are, but it would not be the same with Nepali men. They just need one reason and if it does not happen as they wish they would destroy our character. It is very hard for Nepalese women who are both married and unmarried but are single here. (Pragati, 42 years, married)

We might not be safe from our own Nepalese people but we feel safe with Portuguese in our work place. They respect me. (Ichhya, 34 years, divorced)

5.4.3 Social status of Nepalese women in relation to work

Almost all the participants are working in labor market in Portugal and since they are working, they have obtained economic independence and freedom and are also able to get in contact with the Portuguese. Here is how a single woman who came to Portugal alone describes about her status “We came to foreign country and now we can stand on our own feet. We struggled for ourselves.” (Shanti, 36 years, married) She has her own business and she is economically independent. Likewise (Pragati, 42 years, married) who came to Portugal alone mention that “we came here in Portugal. We do our own work. Everyone has equal status here. If you do not work then you cannot pay rent, you have to pay for food. You have to work and whatever I do is for myself and my benefit and I am proud of myself.”

The discourses of married women who were living in Portugal with their husband were different from single women regarding freedom and independence. Sharmila (32 years, married) says that “We do not want to show that we are independent. We have our culture in Nepal where husband (pause) whatever happens, Nepal is patriarchal country. In Portugal, in European Countries, there is no patriarchy. We are self dependent but we do not want to show that.” Likewise married participants shared about economic independence though. Puja (32 years, married) says that:

My shop helped me to adjust in the society. I did not have to face economical problem ... I came today and started to work from next day... I started to work alone after 1 week or 2week. I learned about these coins in 2days. For 2 weeks I learned about name of things. This shop has helped me a lot. It provides us with money. With this money we started another business.

“I am very delighted here. I don’t need to show how much I earn, show my accounts to anyone.” (Sujata, 37 years, divorced). The reason for this proclamation might be that she was habituated to show and share her income with her husband and other family members which might have created difficulty for her in becoming economically stable. And here as she is in charge of her own life and does not have to be accountable to anyone, she has control of her finances which enables her to become economically stronger.

A Participant compared her salary of Nepal and Portugal and suggested that she earns and is able to save more here than in Nepal which represents economical empowered.

In Nepal my earning was Rs 20,000 (170 Euro) and here my earning is around Rs 80,000 (700 Euro) and we would have this in our thought that with this 80,000 if we spend 30,000 (260 Euro) then I can still save Rs 50,000 (440 Euro). Sapani (37 years, married)

For single parents, it is difficult to manage economy as a participant mentions:

Since I am single, I had to face economic problem after I brought my child here. I do not have support from others and I have to pay for pocket money and food for my son. My salary of 500-600 euro was enough before but now it is difficult to manage. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

Some participant also mentions that it is important to know the Portuguese language to get better job opportunities.

I changed my job for my betterment and left the old job. If we have experience working with Portuguese or Portuguese company and if you know language then it is easy for ladies to find a job. I distributed my CV and i got a new job.
(Sharmila, 32 years, married)

5.4.4 Sense of men and women family duties

In Nepalese society there is a separation of duty for men and women. I realized that all the men were working in labor market and even though women were also working, the primary duty of women was to take care of the children. (Meena, 32 years, married), (Puja, 32 years, married), (Sapana, 37 years, married) were self employed or had family business and the researcher noticed that they were handling the business and at the same time taking care of children who were below the age of 4.

Similarly, there are some rules in society which is generally accepted by majority of the society. These rules and duties affect the women directly or indirectly. A participant says that she is taking the responsibility of her sibling and wants to support them until they are independent.

When a daughter gets married in Nepal she goes to husband's house and no matter how much she earns, she only has to spend money on her husband, herself, in laws, and their children. She cannot provide economical support to her parents, family and her siblings. I do not like this culture at all. I say the reality is I have to take responsibility for my brother and sister. Let's say if I get married today and my husband tell me not to send money to your parent's home then, who will take care of my family? That is the main reason why I have not married yet. (Anjali, 30 years old, unmarried)

When you look back at my past, I am born in Hindu family and when a daughter is born they are married in an early age. At that time I could not speak for myself. When we talk about present and situation of 17 years before there is so much difference, In Present time my sister can say that she wants to marry with a person

with her own choice. During that time I could not say anything. My mom and dad arranged marriage for me and my marriage life was not successful. I had to struggle a lot. Everyone is not like me who can struggle. There are so many women in Nepal who is crying and struggling. Seeing this situation there is equality in this society. No one discriminate me. Even if I am a single lady, I did struggle and I am successful now. When I see this I like Portuguese culture. Even when we walk alone in night, it is safe. I do my work and live my life. (Ichhya, 34 years, divorced)

5.4.5 Gender equality

Participants felt that there was gender equality in Portuguese society which did not exist in Nepalese society. Participants explained about gender equality by comparing between Nepal and Portugal. One of the participants mentions that “Man and woman are equal in here. Women are not seen in a bad way. Like women are treated very well and they are treated equally as man. But in Nepal women are discriminated. (Nisha 32 years, married) Similar views were presented by Ichhya (34 years, divorced) as “Everything is good in here. They have positive attitude towards women. They treat women and men equally” (Ichhya, 34 years, divorced)

Participants experienced gender equality between men and women and said that the Portuguese society actually prefers women in work place. Some of the interviewee mentioned that

Men in Nepal treat women like a dust below your shoes. Women are told that women should not do like this and that, woman should not do this work, but it is not like that in here. Women is given first priority when she is searching for a job where as in Nepal they would say that women cannot do this job and they would prefer to give job to men. (Anjali, 30 years old, unmarried)

Ladies are dominated in every sector in Nepal. I have worked before in Nepal as well. Ladies are dominated more in Private sector (work) than in public sector (work). But in here there is no difference between the salary of man and woman. They treat us equally and do not dominate ladies. (Sharmila, 32years, married)

5.5 “Mirroring” Nepal and Portugal cultural aspects

5.5.1 Child rearing

The participants observed difference in child rearing techniques between the Portuguese society and the Nepalese society. One participant mentions:

In Nepal children are disciplined like you have to respect your elders and follow the elders, that respect is not seen in the children in Portugal. I noticed this when I walk in the street, place where I work, they don't respect. I feel like they might not respect their parents... the love they show to their parents is outside love. They hug and they kiss their parents but we give love and respect to our mom and dad and consider as a god but in here I don't think they do respect in this way. Sometime I feel that freedom is abused in here. This is negative side of culture but this society has more women right than Nepal. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

We have to teach him Nepali culture. We are not going to stay here for longer period of time. We have to teach him Nepali culture. We will go back to Nepal in future. (Nisha, 32years, married)

5.5.2 Children and School

A participant shares her experience of schooling preference in Nepal where boys are always sent to the best schools and girls are sent to public schools (In Nepal private schools are considered to provide the best education whereas public schools are understood to provide poor education).

What I have seen in Nepal is that son is send to Boarding school and daughter to public. Discrimination starts from this way. Son have many facilities, If a daughter has to go to anywhere for instant, Picnic than she has to request many time in home (with parents). This is normal thing. They want daughters to be married to good husband early where as sons to study hard and create a good future. Situation is changing but not in all places. Changes are mostly in city area. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

If some culture is bad then we must learn how to leave that culture, break that culture. If some culture is good then we must know how to protect that culture. Is it not? Because of this we protect some culture and we also discontinue some culture. People say daughter should not be sent to school to receive education. But in reality daughters have the right to receive education as well so we have to send our daughter to School. (Sapana, 37 years, married)

In Nepal teacher do not smoke in front of student but here maybe teacher smoke outside the school compound but still they are visible by the children. When I see this culture I felt that I could not get adjusted in this society at the beginning but later on I thought that this is their culture and we have to take it normally but I still do not want my children to learn this from here. (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

5.5.3 Children's transition to adulthood

Most of the participants mentioned that there is difference between child upbringing in two different cultures. Most of them expressed worries that their children might leave them when they turn 17 or 18 years old. One of the participants expressed that:

I like Nepalese culture in many things. For example: children leave their parents after they reach the age of 18 years in Portugal. Children have freedom, they are self dependent they will work and earn for themselves and feed themselves and parents would not have right over them. We do not have this in Nepali culture. Even after child is above 18 year old, they are under the control of parents and would not say that I am self dependent. Sharmila (32years, married)

Another participant shares her experience of work while taking care of elderly as she says:

I used to take care of elderly who was living alone and she used to wait for her children to eat dinner together in weekend but children would not come to visit her. She would cry remembering her children and I also used to remember my children and family back home in Nepal and we used to cry together. No one should stay alone like that. I don't like that culture. (Shanti, 36 years, married)

For some participants, they appreciate the culture of Portugal where children are independent at a very early age. Anjali (30 years old, unmarried) presents her view as

Even if children are of age 30 they are hold on to tightly by their parents in Nepal but here children of age 16, 17 are kicked out and are asked to stand on their own feet. I like this culture and I hope that this culture is also followed in Nepal. This would be good.

Most of the participants said that they still hold on to Nepalese culture when taking care of elderly. Sujata (37 years, divorced) present her perspective as,

“I like joint family. In joint family, aged mom and dad lives with their son and daughters and also with their grand children. That is our culture. Definitely being a Nepali I like this culture. Here, once you are old you feel alone. Like only husband and/or wife stays. They only meet their family once in a while.”

5.5.4 Ways of dressing up

Most of the respondents mentioned that there is difference in dressing up between Nepal and Portugal. One of the participants mentioned about the difference in dressing style in two cultures as:

In Nepal, do foreigners there wear sari? When we are here do we also have to wear their dress? Generally it is good to wear pant and shirt which suits you but just because they wear short clothes, doesn't mean we also have to wear short clothes.(Sapana, 37 years, married)

Another respondent also mentions the difference in dressing culture between Nepal and Portugal and how they have adapted to it: “In Nepal, I used to wear sari most of the time. I wear sari in Portugal as well but only during formal programs. I wear clothes according to the Portuguese culture” (Nisha, 32 years, married). Meena (32 years, married) also mentions similar views: “I wore pant and shirt in Nepal as well but I wore kurtha more often but here I wear kurtha only sometimes ... I wear kurtha during festivals and in parties and in other days I wear pant and shirt”. Other respondent talks about how she was viewed by Portuguese people as she mentions: “I keep sindur (a red mark put above forehead) and they ask me ‘what are you wearing above

forehead?’ they are so shocked when they see it”. (Puja, 32 years, married) Researcher observed during these interviews that all of the respondents were wearing pants and shirts but when I was attending a formal program on women’s day organized by Nepalese in Portugal, most of the women were in their traditional dress like Saree and Kurtha.

5.5.5 Food

Some of the interviewees pointed out the difference in food between the two countries. Meena (32 years, married) mentions: “When talking about food I like Nepalese food ... Nepalese food is easily available in Market. Portuguese food is not the preferred option for me. Food here does not have spices so I do not like it much.” Some participants mention that they are used to Portuguese food. One of the respondents says:

I ate Portuguese food for 2 years in my work place. I eat Portuguese food. Portuguese food is ok. Now I am used to it. It was difficult for me in the beginning. Like food would be boiled fish and etc. But now we get to buy Nepalese food. We get to buy every material so there is no problem. We get to buy even more variety than in Nepal. (Sharmila, 32years, married)

5.5.6 Festivals

Some of the participants mentioned about the difference in festivals between Portugal and Nepal. Respondent mentioned that there are few similarities and more differences between the cultures which are mentioned below in following ways.

I feel that some of our festival matches with their festival. They also have this festival which is similar to Holi (festival of color) and they also have similar festival like our Dashian festival but it is 100% different from ours. We put on tika in Dashain but they do not celebrate in this way. (Puja, 32 years, married).

We are not involved in Portuguese festivals. We have our own Nepali New Year in Nepal. We usually do not celebrate English New Year in Nepal. But we celebrate English New Year even if we do not celebrate with Portuguese we celebrate among Nepalese community. Even if we are not involved with

Portuguese (in general) in Christmas we do celebrate together with Portuguese in my hotel by exchanging gifts. (Sharmila, 32years, married)

Where as a participant mentioned that she has not changed and is more attached to Nepalese culture. "Their culture does not affect us to tell you in a simple way... Their culture is free. We do not have this culture. I came alone still I am not able to be free. We remember our husband back home and take fasting for our husband in Teej (an important festival in Nepal)." (Pragati, 42 years, married)

5.5.7 Language

Most of them have taken a Portuguese language course in Portugal and except one participant, everyone completed it. These are the discourses of the participants who have completed the course. Ichhya (34 years, divorced) says that "I know how to speak Portuguese very well. I studied language in school and completed the course. I have completed A1 and A2 now I have to study B2. Language is no more a barrier for me." Whereas Sujata (37 years, divorced) presents the reason she could not complete her language class. She says, "When I came in the beginning I took basic Portuguese language class provided by NRN. I learned Portuguese for 1-2 months and I could not continue my language course after I started to work."

Most of the respondents mentioned that they could speak at least some basic Portuguese language. Some participants mentioned how she learned how to speak Portuguese. She says,

To search for a work one needs to have experience and also needs to have skill on Portuguese language. How can a person speak the language while coming here for first time? Therefore I gave priority to language and studied through internet, through books, by asking someone. I learned Portuguese in this way. (Meena, 32 years, married)

Another participant was a bit prepared about the language before coming to Portugal. She says

My husband sent me a Nepali book. This book was also available in Nepal. It was a Portuguese Language book which was in Nepali language. I studied this book before coming here... my daughter was also interested to learn Portuguese. She

said my mom is also learning language and we also need to learn language so she also learnt few things before coming. (Sapana, 37 years, married)

Majority of the participant has learnt or improved their Portuguese language in their work place. (Anjali, 30 years, married) says that "I learned to speak Portuguese from my work. I do not have time to study Portuguese by taking classes. I believe in Practical learning than theory. It is hard for me to catch up language from theory. By practicing in work place I learn many new things and it is easy for me to remember in this way." Similar view was presented by (Puja, 32years married) as; "My husband also know how to speak Portuguese and he would help me to learn Portuguese. I knew how to say A to Z and from 1 to 100 in Portuguese when I was in Nepal. I learnt how to speak Portuguese from my shop. I had direct contact with Portuguese. It was not difficult."

Likewise, majority of participants said that they had faced problem due to language barrier. Language barrier creates problem in every area such as official work, hospitals, shop and so on. Meena (32 years married) who has completed her degree in Nepal said that she felt like uneducated person because of language problem. She says:

"It was difficult to adjust in the beginning because of the language barrier. Language was necessary whenever we go out from home. I had a feeling like I was uneducated person. When I went to shop to buy food, I go and pick up the food and give money. Felt like a dumb person. I had to face these kinds of simple problems. Slowly I got adjusted to these problems."

Likewise, knowing English might be of help for the participant to express their problem but it still does not mean that knowledge of English would be enough in their day to day life. Another participant says:

When we go for official work I feel that they treat us differently. Like we do not know how to speak Portuguese and when we go to hospital and when we try to tell them about the problem in simple English they don't respond to me. They either tell me that you are in Portugal you must speak Portuguese or bring someone who can speak Portuguese. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

Not knowing the language (English or Portuguese) might create a problem to the participants to express themselves as one participant gives an example as:

I don't know how to speak English. I do not know how to speak in Portuguese as well and how would I go to medicine shop and ask for a medicine for my cough ... I called my relative and ask him to buy medicine for me. It was very difficult for me. I know I can go by myself to buy medicine but how would I ask for medicine? Language was a big problem for me. (Shanti, 36 years, married)

Some of the Participants mentions that they would like to start learning basic Portuguese and participants who had already completed basic level would like to continue with higher level of Portuguese language course. Puja (32 years, married) says "I took Portuguese language class. I have completed A1 and B1 level. I was pregnant after that so I could not complete but I will continue language with B2 level soon." Likewise a participant mentions that CNAI provided her with language class. "I went to search for job but CNAI said you do not know language. And they send me a letter in my home saying you are admitted to Portuguese language class so I went to 3 month language class." (Nisha, 32 years, married)

Whereas some mention that language class provided by the government was not effective.

In the language class provided by the government, there were many people from other countries like Pakistan, Nepal in the class and they teach Portuguese language from Portuguese to Portuguese. They do not speak in English. They start by teaching A,B,C,D...(in Portuguese) and then they teach how to make sentence in Portuguese. I felt so difficult to learn Portuguese in this way. I learnt very few things through this class and learnt more from self study... it doesn't matter to them if you get the language or not. (Menna, 32 years, married)

5.6 Socio- cultural integration in Portuguese society

5.6.1 Relation with social welfare

A participant who is self employed in Portugal feels that it is not the government who is providing support but the other way around. They say "Support is not given by the government

but we are paying and supporting the government.” (Shanti, 36 years, married) Another participant might have felt that government uses the immigrant for their benefits. Sharmila (32 years, married) states that “Government is more in the side of taking benefit from us then giving benefit to us.”

5.6.2 Health care

Health care is free in Portugal that is why they say that are pleased in regard to free health checkup which would not have been same incase of Nepal.

We get free health check up from health post. It is free. In Nepal you have to pay before you visit doctor but we do not have to pay for doctor here. We only have to pay 20 euro to get service when you have emergency in hospital. (Anjali, 30 years old, unmarried)

If you have hospital card and you have a family doctor and even if the medical bill is 10000 or 20000 until I am still in process of treatment in hospital. Hospital will cover everything. (Shanti, 36 years, married)

One of the respondents pointed out the good aspect of health system provided by the state. Puja (32 years, married) says: “I noticed that when we are pregnant they take care of us very well. Your pregnancy report test just has to turn out positive and from that moment they would take care of you very well.”

Whereas some participant faced problem in health service due to language problem. As one of the Nepalese women said that

I went to hospital for my treatment. I am in so much pain in my teeth and it is difficult to handle. I went to emergency. They kept me there for 2 days. They did not do anything there. They gave me 2 injections but still the pain won't go. I asked them to treat me since I am having trouble with this pain. They told me to wait. At the end it was just that we needed to make some document but due to language problem we have to suffer. (Shanti, 36 years, married)

5.6.3 Employment

Some of the benefit received by the immigrants in employment sector is mentioned below.

If you are working and paying the tax and for some reason company got closed or you are taken out of job by the boss then for a time being until you search for next job you will get support from the government. You will get this benefit upto 18 months. (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

Whereas some participants mentioned that they had faced negative experience in employment sector when searching for a job. A participant mentions that:

I am from teaching background so I went to schools, I even went to private school to know about possibility for work but they told me that I have to be citizen of this country first. (Meena, 32 years, married)

5.6.4 Education

Some of the participants pointed out that they could not get integrated in the education system. Sharmila (32 years, married) mentioned that, "In case of Portugal, college fees are very expensive. We cannot afford to study. With the salary of Portugal we cannot afford to pay for college that is why even if I want to study I could not. If it was possible I would have continued to study."

5.6.5 Family benefit

Majority of the mothers mentioned that they received social benefit for their children from the government. Here are some of the discourses of the migrants.

"Government has given around seven lakhs Nepali rupee (around 6500 Euro) for my child and for me up to now. We get so many benefits from the state. I like these benefits. We don't get these benefits in Nepal." (Puja, 32 years, married)

"We get benefit for our children from the state. It is for the children but it is not enough for him." (Meena, 32 years, married)

5.6.6 The importance of Nepalese social network

Majority of the participants mentioned that they have Nepalese friend in Portugal to support them. These are the discourses of Participant who are married.

I have my friends and relatives to support me. I knew them from Nepal and they are from my own locality. They support me and in here he (Husband) also supports me... My husband tells me not to depend on him. I do not know the

Portuguese language so I don't go out too often. (Nisha, 32 years, married)

When I have to face some kind of problem, firstly, my husband is always there to support me and after that there are many people who are ready to help me. I know well known businessman, people of NRN and people from different association.

(Sharmila, 32 years, married)

Whereas the single women participants share their experiences as:

I got main help from a person (well known personality) who is like a god father to me. When I shared my problem I got immense support. And my second God father is my boss. I respect him so much. (Anjali, 30 years old, unmarried)

Talking about adjustment, I have Nepali community who are not just helpful, but have given me friends who are like family to me. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

5.6.7 Nepalese social organization

Majority of the participants were involved in at least one organization. In order to protect the identity of the participant, the groups to which the participants are members of will not be pointed out. One of the participants provided me with the list of Nepalese sub groups in Lisbon which are as follows: Nepali Janasamparka Samiti Portugal, Prawasi Nepali Manch, Janapragatisheel Manch, Sanghiya Samaj Portugal, Prawasi Nepali Ekata Samaj, Nepal Portugal Maitri Sangh, Nepali Nari Samaj Portugal, Nepal Portugal Kala Sanskriti Tathha Sahitya Sanchar Parishad, Nepali Samaj Portugal, Mona Portugal, Parbat Samaj Portugal, Baglung Samaj Portugal, Janajati Mahasangh, Kirat Samaj, Utpidit Jatiya Samaj, Newa:Pucha Portugal, Magar Samaj Portugal, Sherpa Kiduk, Tamu Samaj and Tamang Samaj.

Following are the ethnic group mention by the participant to which they were members: Kirat Samaj, Newa: Pucha Samaj, Utpidit Samaj (Dalit society), Tamu Samaj, Tamang Samaj, Magar Samaj and Janjati Mahasangh which is composed of (Kirat, Tamu, Sherpa, Tamang, Magar, Newa). There are non ethnic groups which the participants were members of as well and they were: NRNA (Non Resident Nepalese Associations), NRNA women forum, Nepalese women organization, Nepal Sanghiya samaj (Political party), Jana Samparka samiti (Potical party) Milijuli Kosh group (Saving together group), Ama samuha (Mother group), Kalakar sangh (Artist group) and Parbat Samaj. Even though Nepalese migration is a recent migration in Portugal, there are many Nepalese organizations including for women such as NRNA women forum, Nepalese women organization, Ama samuha (Mother group), Milijuli kosh group (Saving together group), which is not seen in other South Asian studies in Portugal like Mapril (2011) study with Bangladeshi and Lourenco (2013) study with Indians.

“When we have a problem, then organization like NRNA is present and also there are other organizations. Support provided by these organizations is only to support the person who is very extreme worst situation for example: if in case of accident”

"Organizations cannot help in searching for job or look for rooms each and everyone but we feel that our society is here. We have a belief that our society can support and it is also to preserve our culture."

“There are many organization and these organization help in direct or indirect way by giving suggestion. They are providing support as much as they can.”

“Until now there are many Nepalese women increasing and due to which there is unemployment and women organization is providing 3 month beautician training course."

“We celebrate Teej together in Marques Pombal with around 4000 to 5000 Nepalese and also we do celebrate Teej in another day organized by our own group.”

Even if a Nepalese individual is not associated to a particular group, they can still participate in programs organized by different Nepalese groups.

"There are many Nepalese groups in Portugal. Newa have their own group, Magar have their own group, Tamu have their own. Everyone have their own culture and in order to preserve their culture they have organized different festivals. Tamu celebrate Loshar, NRNA organized teej festival and Nepali New year program. This is also our culture."

5.7 Legal integration

5.7.1 Access to Portuguese nationality

Some participants mentioned that they want to have the red passport. Red passport is referred to as passport of Portugal by the participants. Nisha (32 years, married) said that "After we get the passport we will move to other country. It is very difficult to get a job in here." where as Meena (32 years, married) is the only participant who mentioned that her son has Red passport. She says "My son has red passport. His father has stayed here for 6 years and if father has crossed 5 years of legal stay then child will get red passport."

Whereas few of the participants mentioned that they would not like to apply for the red passport as they have to leave the Nepalese citizenship if they do. One of the participants says that "I have future plan to go back to Nepal so I have not made red passport ... Even after staying abroad for so many years I still have status and name in Nepal. I like Nepal so much so I won't make passport." (Pragati, 42 years, married)

Many participants talked about Nepalese migrants who come to Portugal without legal papers. They mentioned that Portuguese state has opened up a way for immigrants to enter Portugal without legal papers but they have not been providing any facilities to them. Most of them said that language is needed to get a job in labor market but immigrants without the legal paper would not get a chance to learn Portuguese language. And without language they would not be able to get job. And it is hard to get job without legal paper and language. Immigrants can be legalized only by paying tax for minimum of 6 months. But to reach this stage is very difficult for them. So, some participant requested to provide legal documents to all the participants and then stop

the process of accepting immigrants without paper because many of them have to suffer to be legalized. This is how a participant describes the situation of immigrant without the legal paper.

“People with residency can learn Portuguese language and where would these people without residency go to study language? In order to search for work, language is important and without work or without language, no one will give you work and how would they survive then? Either there should be system that they are not allowed to come here. Since they have opened a way, government should also show ways to these people... It is not only about Nepalese immigrants but also considering all immigrants from different countries in Portugal. Since we are like citizen of this country so government should provide equal facilities to us.”

5.7.2 Nepalese identity and future plan

Some of the participants mention that they felt Portugal is somewhat like Kathmandu, capital of Nepal. One of the participant said: "When I came to Portugal at beginning, I felt like Nepal." (Sharmila, 32 years, married) Other participants provides detail example on why they felt Portugal is like Kathmandu, capital city of Nepal.

I thought European country would be more advance but I felt like this place is almost like Kathmandu. I felt Portugal is like my parents' home. I chat with my parent's everyday through Skype. I do not feel like I have come to a new place. Everything looks familiar like my home town in Nepal. (Meena 32 years, married)

When I came here at first I enjoyed being here. I have never seen this place before but later on I did not enjoy so much. I feel like I am in Nepal. You know Kathmandu, I felt like I was in Kathmandu. I don't feel like I am in Portugal. In here houses are old and I remember Nepal. (Nisha, 32 years, married)

Half of the participants mentioned that they could see their long term future in Nepal. Ichhya(34 years, divorced) says that, “I will move back to Nepal in future.” Here are some of the discourses of women regarding why they want to move back to Nepal.

I struggled a lot to complete my studies. I studied till class 10 and got married and had 2 children but still I continued my studies. I struggled a lot to complete my degree. In foreign country there is no value of our education... In Nepal people say my profession is as a servant. I have work as a servant for many years... I struggled so much to complete my studies but when I have to work in others house to cook food, wash clothes, clean toilet everything like a servant. When I wake up I wake up as a servant and I go to sleep as a servant. I feel very bad because of this. I would like to go back and work in my own field. In Nepal people at least give some respect to lawyer profession and it's a prestigious profession. Whenever someone comes to my boss's house they introduce me as a servant. That has been my identity for many years. That is why I have a wish to go back to Nepal. (Sujata, 37 years, divorced)

Only few participants said that they will move to another country only if the future they have thought for themselves is not fulfilled in Portugal. A participant said that:

We are thinking to open a business in Portugal. We have been thinking about it a lot and are looking for a business such as restaurant. It is not possible to leave the job and start a business, we are in process of doing a business and if we cannot start a business then we might move to a country which speaks English language for the education of our children. (Sharmila, 32 years, married)

Whereas some of participant mentioned that they would like to move to other country.

I do not know what will happen after we move to other country but until I stay in Portugal I will continue in my own business. And I want to join a Phd course. There has been study gap, I do not know if I can study well or not. (Meena, 32 years, married)

Likewise, few participants said that they will stay back in Portugal. For example:

I will keep on doing my work and I am satisfied with my work and my salary is good. I will stay here. But I will not bring my family here in Portugal. My family will have to face many problems. (Anjali, 30 years old, unmarried)

What I realized is that when they share about their experiences and feelings, they used words such as “we” or “our” or “own” but rarely used the word “I”. This shows the collective nature (Hofstede, 2001) of the Nepalese society as well.

Table 5.1 presents a synthesis of how women interviewed can be associated with the different types of integration from the theoretical framework followed in this research

Table 5.1 Types of integration

Pseudonym	Migrated alone?	Reason for migration	Identificational integration (Independent/ Freedom)	Interactive integration (language)	Cultural integration (cultural value)	Structural integration (labor market/employment)
Meena	No	-Family reunification to join their husband	"We established this business our selves. We have registered it formally."	"...I gave priority to language and studied through internet, through books, by asking someone. I learned Portuguese in this way."		"We established this business our selves. We have registered it formally."
Sapana	No	-Family reunification to join their husband	"... In Nepal my earning was Rs 20,000 (around 180 Euros) and in here my earning is around Rs 80,000 (around 750 Euros)..."	"I am taking language class to learn Portuguese.. "	"...still we could not get adjust. With their behavior, with this climate, with this environment, with their behavior, and their dress up, food, I do not care about that..."	"... In Nepal my earning was Rs 20,000 (around 180 Euros) and in here my earning is around Rs 80,000 (around 750 Euros)..."
Puja	No	-Family reunification to join their husband	"My shop helped me to adjust in the society. I did not have to face economical problem... This shop has helped me a lot. It provides us with money. With this money we started another business."	"If they spoke in English it would have been very good but language is the main problem..."	"...we cannot take everything from western culture. We should not leave our culture. "	"My shop helped me to adjust in the society. I did not have to face economical problem... This shop has helped me a lot. It provides us with money. With this money we started another business."
Nisha	No	-Work -Citizenship -Get settled	".. I don't think I am progressing after I came here."	"I don't have link and I do know how to speak Portuguese..."	"...We have to teach him Nepali culture. We will go back to Nepal in future. "	"I am without job for 2-3 years and I have to stay without job.."
Sharmila	Migrated together with husband	- Work	"We do not want to show that we are independent... We are self dependent but we do not want to show that."	"... (Portuguese) Language does not stop me from getting anywhere now. "	"...When I see this culture I felt that I could not get adjusted in this society at the beginning but later on I thought that this is their culture and we have to take it normally but I still do not want my children to learn this from here. "	" I changed my job for my betterment and left the old job... I distributed my CV and i got a new job. "
Sujata	Yes	-Citizenship -Future of children -Economic reason (work)	"...I am person who believes in freedom, self dependent, self respect..."	"There are so many Nepalese shops everywhere I go to Nepalese restaurant... to buy dress, (Portuguese) language is not necessary."	"Definitely it's easy for a woman in this culture because in Nepal, there are many restrictions for women..."	"It is easy to open a business in Portugal with less amount of money. Portugal government has made this easy. It is not so difficult like in other European country..."
Pragati	Yes	-Citizenship -Future of children	"...we did our own work...what ever I do is for myself and my benefit and I am proud of myself."	"A single woman might need help from someone, we do not know the language.."	"Their culture does not affect us to tell you in a simple way... Their culture is free. We do not have this culture..."	"We came here in Portugal. We do our own work. Everyone has equal status here..."
Ichhya	Yes	- Future of children	"...No one discriminate me. Even if I am a single lady, I did struggle and I am successful now..."	"I know how to speak Portuguese very well... Language is no more a barrier for me."	"...When I see this I like Portuguese culture. Even when we walk alone in night, it is safe..."	"I am doing two work..."
Shanti	Yes	-Economic reason (work) -Future of children	"We came to foreign country and now we can stand on our own feet. We struggled for ourselves..."	"I still do not know how to speak in Portuguese. I live with Nepalese people here. We do not speak Portuguese. Where ever we go, we speak in Nepali..."	"I used to take care of elderly who was living alone... She would cry remembering her children and I also used to remember my children and family back home in Nepal and we used to cry together. No one should stay alone like that. I don't like that culture."	"We came to foreign country and now we can stand on our own feet. We struggled for ourselves..."
Anjali	Yes	-Economical reason -Family reason -To be independent	"... there is freedom in my life..."	"I learned to speak Portuguese from my work. I do not have time to study Portuguese by taking classes..."	"In certain things I like about European culture ...This is a women centric country."	"This is my own shop..."

6. Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to know about the social and cultural integration of Nepalese women in Portugal. Nepalese women accept both the cultural values of Portugal as well as Nepal as they accept what is good for them and reject what is not beneficial. Majority of the participants were from educated background and different components of marital status were included in the study which represents heterogeneity among Nepalese women in Portugal.

Most of the women had achieved economic independence as some of the women were working as employees whereas some others also worked as self employed and in family business. But the researcher found that married women who came to Portugal with their husbands didn't mention that they were independent, to avoid problems in a traditional patriarchal society. These married women have the perception of having more freedom after the migration to Portugal but have to disguise it even within the family to avoid confrontation from their husbands. Instead, women who migrated without their husbands or one who travelled alone expressed of being more independent in comparison to married women as they conveyed their feelings and views by using the term 'independent', 'freedom', 'self dependent'.

Likewise it seems that the married women faced difficulty in terms of handling the family business as well as younger children. Married women take their younger children to their work place, especially for those who had their own private job. But in case of women who were employed in other places, they had to choose either between their jobs or to take care of their child and mostly they chose the latter.

The single women had to face more problem than married women as married women had previous network from their husband. But, single women who traveled alone had to create new network and start from the very beginning. At the same time single women were discriminated in the Nepalese society in Portugal so they do not feel secure around Nepalese men. This research might be a pathway for further studies in this regard to look into integration of Nepalese single women and their struggle to form network with Nepalese men and why they are seen in negative way by the society.

Language might be another barrier for Nepalese women to get integrated in the society as without the knowledge of Portuguese it would be difficult for them to express what they need, especially in the beginning when they arrive in Portugal. Portuguese language is a must as most of them do not speak English and learning Portuguese might be helpful for Nepalese women as to find a job as it can be very difficult to enter the labor market without sufficient knowledge of Portuguese. Only few of the participants were integrated in terms of proficiency in Portuguese language. Consequently, due to lack of fluency in Portuguese they do not have opportunities in jobs according to their skills.

Some Nepalese women, although not working in job according to their educational background, earn much more money than in Nepal and support the family. This is a transformation in gender roles after migration in opposition to traditional patriarchal society as some Nepalese women in Lisbon became the support of their families in the home country as well, which is a novel aspect from this research. This is also new compared to the pattern of other South Asian Hindu women in Lisbon, as Indians (Lourenço, 2011) who also come from a patriarchal society. Another potential point of departure for further research might be why patriarchy still exists among Nepalese or South Asian immigrants even when they migrate to a Western country which promotes gender equality and women empowerment.

Nepalese women are integrated in their own community as they were involved in at least one subgroup. There are many subgroups formed on the basis of ethnicity, women's group, political group, Non-resident Nepali Association (NRNA) and so on and people usually found groups which they could associate with which helps them to get integrated in Nepalese society. It might also be interesting in the future to look at the contribution of Nepalese organization in integration of Nepalese immigrants in Portuguese society and understand how effective these groups are in providing a platform to the new immigrants in Portugal. One of the most prominent Nepalese groups in Portugal is NRNA which also acts like a court for the Nepalese people where they complain about their problem and helps to solve them. Some of the other Nepalese organizations are helping the immigrants by providing training classes and helping them to build social networks. Some organization such as self help group is also present in Nepalese society established by the women in order to support in term of financial matter to ensure financial security during difficult times. This is also new among South Asian Hindu women in Lisbon as

most of the time, the associations are dominated by men, with some exceptions in religious sub-groups (Lourenço 2011). The fact that these associations were created and organized by Nepalese women, it seems to confirm their empowerment and build in confidence, which has become transformed through migration. However, it is might also be related to the fact that these women are skilled and have educational resources to demonstrate resolve and strength in regards to the challenges of changes in gender within integration in Portuguese society.

The duration of stay in Portugal for all of the participants was between 2 years to 5 years. Since it has not been too long that they arrived and as they are from different culture, religion and values, it can be said that they are still in process of integrating in the Portuguese society. Some are still learning Portuguese language and some are planning to learn the language which is necessary for the integration. Most of them already have access to the labor market and are in contact with the Portuguese nationals. It might be that if we could come back to this community after some period of time for example 4 or 5 years later to compare and see the process of integration the results might be different.

Recommendations:

- Before coming to Portugal, Nepalese women should make an effort to understand the differences in terms of culture, values and language to be better prepared for migration and integration in the Portuguese society. Language was one of the most important factors as suggested by the participants. Therefore, if Nepalese women are planning to migrate to Portugal, it would be really beneficial for them if they gain some basic understanding of the Portuguese language before they come here.
- Nepalese women in Portugal have had to make a tough choice between employment and providing care to their children and most of the women chose taking care of their child over work. Therefore, if an affordable day care center for children could be established, it would be really beneficial for these mothers.
- The participants mentioned that it was important for them to learn Portuguese but when they joined the language course, they could not benefit from it as it was taught completely in Portuguese. Therefore, it would be better for the immigrants if the basic Portuguese lessons in the beginning were taught in English.

- Educational qualification of adult migrants should also be recognized by the government as there are many Nepalese who have completed their Bachelor or Master degree but they are not being able to get a job related to their field as their degrees are not acknowledged.
- Portuguese government has opened a door for immigrants to enter Portugal but there are many immigrants who are residing here without legal papers. It is very hard for immigrants to enter the labor market without the paper but on top of that they have to manage to learn Portuguese language on their own as without the legal paper one is not entitled to join Portuguese language class provided by government. Therefore, if possible the immigrants should be allowed to join Portuguese language class even if they do not have the legal documents.

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Appendix 1: Interview guideline

Personal information

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Marital status:
4. Numbers of Years stayed in Portugal:
5. City /village in home country:
6. Address in Portugal:
7. Level of education:
8. Religion:
9. Occupation in Nepal :
10. Occupation : a) self employed b) employer c) employee d) family worker etc
11. Occupation in Portugal:
12. Occupation : a) self employed b) employer c) employee d) family worker etc
13. Did you come directly to Portugal or from other European country?
14. Did you come from your own effort or by family unification?

Family and other information

15. No of children:
16. Age of children:
17. How many family member do you live with:
18. How many family members are in Nepal:
19. How many people do you live with and who are they:
20. Occupation of husband:
21. Number of years husband stayed in Portugal:
22. Reason for migration:

1. How was the process of applying for Portugal? What kind of problem did you face?
 - a) How well informed and prepared were you about Portugal and its culture and how did you prepare yourself?

2. Can you share your experiences and feelings when you first arrived in Portugal?
 - a) How different or same are your feelings now from when you first arrived here?

3. After experiencing culture of both countries, in what terms are they similar or different from each other?
 - a) Do you find these differences as a challenge or an opportunity? Why?
 - b) Which culture do you mostly associate with in the present context and why?
 - c) What kind of impact does your preference have in your integration to the society?

4. Being a migrant women in a Western country, how would you say your experience has been throughout your stay here?
 - a) What kind of attitude did the Portuguese people have towards you?
 - b) Have these attitudes changed over time and if yes what might have been the reason or what was it that might have brought about that change?

5. How are Nepalese women seen in Nepalese context?
 - a) How are women in Portugal seen by the Portuguese society?
 - b) Do you think there is difference in the way women are treated in 2 different societies?
 - c) Do you think you are treated differently in two different societies?

6. Since your arrival, have you faced any sort of difficulties/problem and if yes whom do you seek for support?
 - a) Has their presence been important in your stay here and how?
 - b) How do you associate with these support groups, for what purpose and how frequently?
 - c) Have you been provided with any state support in relation to integration and if yes how has your experience been?

- d) Do you feel that you have been properly integrated in the society? What have been the reasons behind it?
7. What are your future plans? Do you intend to stay here or somewhere else or back in Nepal?
- a) Do you think you are happy in Portugal or when you were in Nepal? Why?
 - b) What expectations did you have before you came to Portugal and have these expectations been met?
 - c) What, according to you, can be done better at the organizational and state level to ensure better integration among migrants?
 - d) Are there any pieces of advice that you would like to give to other migrants who are in the process of coming to Portugal?