

Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3126/ncwaj.v57i1.93626>

Migrant Women in Crisis: Humanitarian Protection Gaps in Global Labor Migration and Lessons for Nepal

Sabita Bhattarai*

Abstract

Global labor migration has long been promoted as a pathway to economic empowerment for women in the Global South. However, recent global labor shocks, armed conflicts, pandemics, and geopolitical crises have exposed deep humanitarian protection gaps for migrant women across migration corridors. This article examines how these crises disproportionately affect migrant women, rendering them vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, trafficking, and abandonment, particularly in conflict zones and destination countries with weak labor and protection regimes. Using Nepal as a focal case, the paper adopts a qualitative, policy-oriented approach drawing on secondary literature, international legal instruments, humanitarian reports, and documented crisis responses. The analysis highlights three critical findings: first, humanitarian protection frameworks remain poorly integrated into labor migration governance; second, migrant women are systematically excluded from emergency response mechanisms during crises; and third, Nepal's existing migration governance prioritizes remittances over rights-based protection. The article argues that Nepal's foreign policy and labor diplomacy must shift from reactive consular assistance to proactive humanitarian protection mechanisms embedded across the migration cycle. The paper concludes by proposing policy lessons for Nepal, including gender-responsive labor diplomacy, crisis preparedness, and stronger bilateral and multilateral engagement to safeguard migrant women's rights in an increasingly unstable global labor market.

Keywords: labor migration, migrant women, Nepal, conflict zones, gender, humanitarian protection

Introduction

On several occasions over the past few years, news reports in Nepal have brought to light the silent and often overlooked suffering of Nepali women caught up in precarious migration journeys. In July 2025, 47 Nepali women, many of whom were bound for Kuwait on visit visas without proper work authorization, were intercepted at Indira Gandhi International Airport in New Delhi and deported back to Nepal after traffickers

* Ms. Bhattarai is an Executive Member of Nepal Council of World Affaris.

attempted to use a “Delhi transit” route to send them abroad for employment (Karki, 2025). This case triggered public outcry and highlighted persistent gaps in pre-departure screening, recruitment regulation, and protective oversight for migrant women (Review, 2025).

Labor migration is not a marginal phenomenon in Nepal’s economy. An International Labour Organization (ILO) report notes that over 2.1 million Nepali citizens are working abroad, with more than 740,000 labor permits issued in fiscal year 2023/24 alone, underscoring the scale of labor mobility from Nepal (ILO, 2025). Nepal has also experienced one of the highest percentage increases in the outflow of migrant workers in Asia, a 102% rise in outgoing migration between 2019 and 2023, demonstrating the accelerating intensity of labor migration, even in the face of global economic uncertainty (ILO, 2024). Meanwhile, remittances, largely generated by migrant workers, accounted for around 26.6% of Nepal’s GDP in 2023, providing vital income for millions of households and national economic stability (World Bank, 2025).

Yet this economic reliance belies deep gendered inequities within migrant streams. Official statistics suggest that women make up a small but growing share of foreign employment, accounting for around 8.5% of documented migration flows, although this figure likely underestimates actual female participation due to data gaps and informal migration routes (UN Women, 2023). Globally, women constitute approximately 48% of all international migrants, but they are disproportionately concentrated in low-paid, informal, or domestic work sectors that lack legal protections and labor safeguards, conditions that intensify their vulnerability to exploitation during crises (ILO, 2025).

During periods of global crisis, whether economic shocks like the Covid-19 pandemic, political upheavals, or armed conflicts, these vulnerabilities become magnified. Women migrant workers are more likely to lose jobs, face wage theft, and lack access to social protection in destination countries, yet global humanitarian and labor governance mechanisms rarely integrate gender-responsive protections into labor migration systems (UN Women, 2023; ILO, 2025). From the Gulf States to Southeast Asia and conflict-affected regions, migrant women often find themselves excluded from emergency assistance, legal aid, and evacuation pathways when crises occur.

In Nepal, remittances from abroad are central to the national economy, but the human cost inherent in this dependency is less systematically addressed in policy and practice. This article asks: “How do global labor shocks and conflict-related crises expose humanitarian protection gaps for migrant women, and what lessons can Nepal draw to strengthen its labor migration governance?” Using Nepal as a case study within a broader global context, the paper adopts a policy-analytical approach to examine protection failures and propose rights-based, gender-responsive solutions. The paper proceeds by reviewing relevant literature, outlining the methodological approach, presenting key findings, and discussing implications for Nepal’s migration diplomacy and humanitarian engagement.

Literature Review

The academic literature on international labor migration has historically been dominated by economic and development-oriented perspectives, emphasizing remittance flows, labor supply–demand dynamics, and national development outcomes (Castles & Miller, 2014; World Bank, 2019). Within this framework, migrant workers are often conceptualized primarily as rational economic actors, while gendered experiences of migration remain peripheral. Although such approaches have contributed to understanding macroeconomic benefits, they have been widely critiqued for obscuring the social costs of migration, particularly for women engaged in low-wage and informal labor sectors (Piper, 2008; Kofman et al., 2014).

Feminist migration scholars have challenged this economic framing by foregrounding the gendered political economy of labor migration. Research demonstrates that global labor markets are deeply structured by gender norms that channel women disproportionately into domestic work, caregiving, hospitality, and other forms of feminized labor characterized by informality, isolation, and weak legal protection (Parreñas, 2015; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Studies across Asia and the Gulf region show that migrant women in domestic work face heightened risks of abuse, wage theft, confinement, and sexual violence, risks that are exacerbated by restrictive migration regimes and employer-tied visa systems (Anderson, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2019). From South Asia, scholars have further highlighted how patriarchal norms, poverty, and limited employment opportunities at home shape women’s migration trajectories, often pushing them toward irregular or unsafe migration channels (Sijapati et al., 2017; UN Women, 2023).

Parallel to this body of work, a growing literature on humanitarian protection has examined how crises, such as armed conflict, pandemics, and environmental disasters, reshape vulnerability and access to protection. However, humanitarian frameworks remain largely state-centric and territorially bound, prioritizing citizens, refugees, or internally displaced persons, while labor migrants occupy an ambiguous legal and institutional space (Betts, 2018; Martin, et al., 2014). Several scholars argue that migrant workers are routinely excluded from humanitarian assistance, evacuation mechanisms, and social protection schemes during crises, despite facing comparable or heightened risks (IOM, 2020; UN Women, 2020). This exclusion is particularly acute for women migrants in domestic and informal work, whose employment and living arrangements limit visibility and access to assistance.

International legal instruments, including the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, provide a normative framework for migrant protection across the migration cycle (United Nations, 1990). Yet the literature consistently notes weak ratification, limited enforcement, and minimal incorporation of gender-specific provisions into national migration regimes, particularly in major destination countries (Pécoud, 2006; ILO, 2021). Bilateral labor agreements, frequently used by labor-sending states such as Nepal, have similarly been

critiqued for prioritizing labor supply and remittance flows over enforceable rights and crisis-response mechanisms (Wickramasekara, 2015).

From a theoretical perspective, this article draws on feminist political economy and human security frameworks. Feminist political economy emphasizes how global capitalism, migration governance, and social reproduction intersect to produce gendered vulnerabilities, particularly for migrant women whose labor sustains households and economies across borders (True, 2012; Rai et al., 2014). Human security approaches, in turn, shift analytical focus away from state security toward the protection of individuals from economic, physical, and structural threats, making them particularly relevant for understanding migrant women's experiences during crises (UNDP, 1994; Hudson, 2005).

Despite these advances, a critical gap remains at the intersection of these literatures. While feminist migration studies richly document gendered exploitation, and humanitarian scholarship analyzes crisis response, relatively little research systematically examines how humanitarian protection mechanisms fail migrant women specifically within labor migration regimes, especially from low-income labor-sending countries like Nepal. Existing Nepal-focused studies largely concentrate on recruitment practices, remittances, or trafficking prevention, with limited attention to crisis preparedness, evacuation, or humanitarian diplomacy for migrant women abroad (Paoletti et al., 2014; Sijapati & Limbu, 2017). This paper seeks to address this gap by integrating feminist political economy and human security perspectives to analyze humanitarian protection failures affecting Nepali migrant women within global labor migration systems.

Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative, policy-oriented analytical approach to examine humanitarian protection gaps affecting migrant women within global labor migration systems, with a particular focus on Nepal. A qualitative design is appropriate given the study's aim to analyze complex governance structures, normative frameworks, and gendered vulnerabilities that are not easily captured through quantitative indicators alone (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Rather than measuring causal relationships, the research seeks to interpret patterns, institutional responses, and policy failures across different migration and crisis contexts.

The analysis is based exclusively on secondary data, drawing from a wide range of sources published between 2015 and 2024. These sources include peer-reviewed academic literature on migration, gender, and humanitarian protection; policy reports and datasets from international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), UN Women, and the World Bank; government documents from Nepal related to labor migration and foreign employment; and humanitarian assessments and human rights reports produced by civil society organizations and advocacy groups. The selected time frame captures both pre- and post-Covid-19 developments, allowing the study to assess how recent

global shocks and conflicts have reshaped protection risks for migrant women (ILO, 2021; IOM, 2020)

Analytically, the study employs thematic analysis, a widely used qualitative technique for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns within textual data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Documents were reviewed and coded thematically around key analytical categories, including: (a) gendered labor market segmentation, (b) crisis-induced vulnerabilities, (c) humanitarian response and exclusion, (d) legal and institutional protection mechanisms, and (e) Nepal's migration governance and diplomatic responses. This approach enables a systematic comparison of how migrant women's protection needs are addressed, or neglected, across different policy and humanitarian frameworks.

To enhance analytical rigor, the study applies data triangulation, cross-referencing findings across multiple types of sources and institutional perspectives (Denzin, 2012). For example, claims regarding migrant women's vulnerability during crises are examined through a combination of academic studies, humanitarian situation reports, and documented case examples from civil society organizations such as Maiti Nepal. This triangulation helps mitigate source bias and strengthens the credibility of the analysis, particularly in the absence of primary fieldwork.

The research is framed as a comparative case-oriented analysis, situating Nepal within broader global and regional migration corridors, most notably to the Gulf States, Malaysia, and selected conflict-affected regions. Comparative insights are used not to generalize statistically, but to contextualize Nepal's policy choices and protection gaps within prevailing international practices and norms (George & Bennett, 2005). This approach allows the study to draw policy-relevant lessons while remaining sensitive to Nepal's specific socio-economic and institutional context.

Several limitations must be acknowledged. First, the study relies on documented and reported cases of migrant women in crisis, which likely underrepresent the true scale of vulnerability due to underreporting, stigma, and restricted access to conflict zones (UN Women, 2020). Second, the absence of primary data means that migrant women's lived experiences are interpreted through secondary accounts, which may not fully capture everyday realities. Nevertheless, given ethical, logistical, and security constraints, secondary qualitative analysis remains a well-established and appropriate method for examining migration governance and humanitarian protection issues at a macro and policy level (Silverman, 2016).

Findings and Analysis

Global Labor Shocks and Gendered Vulnerability

Global labor shocks, such as pandemics, economic downturns, and armed conflicts, have had disproportionate and gendered impacts on migrant women worldwide. During the Covid-19 pandemic, migrant women were significantly more likely than men to experience job loss, unpaid wages, forced confinement, and increased workloads, particularly in domestic and care sectors that were excluded from formal labor (ILO,

2021). Live-in domestic workers, many of whom are women, faced heightened surveillance, isolation, and restricted mobility under lockdown measures, conditions that increased risks of abuse and exploitation (UN Women, 2020).

Globally, evidence from the Gulf States illustrates how migrant women employed as domestic workers were dismissed without pay or forced to work excessive hours during the pandemic, often without access to health care or legal remedies (Human Rights Watch, 2020). In Southeast Asia, migrant women in manufacturing and service sectors faced mass layoffs and deportations, while irregular migrants were excluded from emergency assistance schemes (IOM, 2020). These shocks not only disrupted livelihoods but also undermined migrants' legal status, increasing vulnerability to detention and trafficking.

Conflict situations further intensify these risks. In conflict-affected contexts such as Libya, Sudan, and parts of the Middle East, migrant women often lack evacuation pathways, valid documentation, or inclusion in humanitarian response plans, leaving them exposed to violence, sexual exploitation, and trafficking networks (UN Women, 2020; Mixed Migration Centre, 2023). Migrant women are frequently excluded from refugee protection regimes, as they are classified neither as citizens nor as refugees under international law.

For Nepal, these global dynamics translate into concrete humanitarian risks for women migrants. Nepali women working in domestic and care sectors abroad were among those stranded during Covid-19 lockdowns, with limited access to repatriation flights or income support (ILO, 2021). More recently, cases documented by organizations such as Maiti Nepal and Nepali media have highlighted how women attempting to migrate through irregular routes, often due to restrictive policies, face interception, detention, or deportation, as seen in the 2025 Delhi airport case involving 47 women. These examples underscore how global labor shocks intersect with restrictive migration regimes to magnify gendered vulnerabilities.

Humanitarian Protection Gaps in Destination Countries

A key finding of this study is the systematic exclusion of labor migrants from humanitarian protection frameworks in destination countries. Humanitarian responses during crises tend to prioritize citizens, refugees, or permanent residents, leaving migrant workers, especially women in informal sectors, outside emergency aid, shelter provision, and social protection schemes (Betts, 2018; IOM, 2020). This exclusion reflects the territorial and legal limitations of humanitarian governance, which often fails to recognize migrant workers as humanitarian subjects.

Migrant women in domestic work are particularly affected due to live-in employment arrangements, isolation within private households, and exclusion from national labor laws. Research from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Lebanon shows that domestic workers are often denied freedom of movement, access to complaint mechanisms, and emergency shelters, even during periods of conflict or economic collapse (Human Rights Watch, 2020; Amnesty International, 2021). During Lebanon's economic crisis,

for instance, thousands of migrant domestic workers, many of them women, were abandoned by employers without wages, housing, or access to assistance, leading to homelessness and increased trafficking risks (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

Bilateral Labor Agreements (BLAs), commonly used by labor-sending countries such as Nepal, rarely include binding crisis-response provisions, gender-specific protections, or clear responsibilities for destination states during emergencies (Wickramasekara, 2015). As a result, embassies and consular offices become the primary, often overstretched, points of support during crises. Studies show that diplomatic missions frequently lack the financial resources, personnel, and legal authority to respond effectively to large-scale migrant emergencies (ILO, 2021).

For Nepali women migrants, these protection gaps are evident in destination countries where domestic work remains excluded from labor law coverage. In such contexts, women have limited avenues for redress and are heavily reliant on informal support networks or civil society organizations. The absence of institutionalized humanitarian safeguards leaves migrant women vulnerable to abandonment, detention, or forced return without compensation.

Nepal's Migration Governance and Crisis Response

Nepal's labor migration governance framework is largely remittance-driven, prioritizing economic returns over comprehensive protection mechanisms. Remittances contribute over a quarter of Nepal's Gross Domestic Product, reinforcing policy emphasis on facilitating labor export rather than safeguarding migrant welfare throughout the migration cycle (World Bank, 2024). While Nepal has introduced regulatory measures such as pre-departure orientation and recruitment oversight, crisis preparedness and humanitarian response remain underdeveloped.

Consular assistance mechanisms exist but are often reactive rather than preventive. During crises, such as the Covid-19 pandemic or regional conflicts, the government's response has relied heavily on ad hoc repatriation efforts and emergency appeals, frequently supported by civil society organizations and migrant networks (Paoletti et al., 2014; Sijapati & Limbu, 2017). Gender-responsive services, such as psychosocial counseling, trauma-informed care, and safe shelters for returnee women, are limited in scale and sustainability.

Local organizations such as Maiti Nepal play a crucial gap-filling role by providing shelter, legal aid, and reintegration support for women migrants affected by trafficking, failed migration, or deportation. The 2025 case involving 47 women deported from Delhi International Airport illustrates how civil society interventions often compensate for weak state protection mechanisms, particularly for women using informal migration routes. While these interventions are critical, reliance on non-state actors raises concerns about long-term accountability and institutional capacity.

Comparatively, other labor-sending countries such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka have begun integrating migrant crisis response units and welfare funds into their foreign

employment governance structures (ILO, 2021). Nepal's relatively limited progress in this area highlights a significant policy gap. Without institutionalized, gender-responsive crisis mechanisms embedded in labor diplomacy and foreign policy, migrant women will continue to face disproportionate risks during global shocks.

Across global and local contexts, the findings reveal a systemic misalignment between labor migration systems and humanitarian protection frameworks. Migrant women fall through this gap because they are simultaneously treated as economic actors, temporary workers, and non-citizens, categories that dilute responsibility during crises. For Nepal, addressing this gap requires a shift from reactive consular assistance to proactive, rights-based, and gender-responsive migration governance.

Discussion

The findings of this study reveal a structural disconnect between labor migration governance and humanitarian protection regimes, a gap that has profound implications for Nepal's foreign policy and labor diplomacy. While Nepal has made sustained efforts to regulate labor migration through recruitment controls, pre-departure orientations, and bilateral labor agreements, these mechanisms remain largely economic and administrative in orientation, offering limited protection during periods of crisis. Humanitarian considerations, particularly those specific to migrant women, are treated as exceptional or residual concerns rather than integral components of migration governance (Sijapati & Limbu, 2017; Wickramasekara, 2015).

From a foreign policy perspective, this disconnect reflects a broader tendency to prioritize remittance flows and labor market access over rights-based protection. Nepal's diplomatic engagements with destination countries, especially in the Gulf and Southeast Asia, have historically focused on securing employment quotas and easing labor mobility rather than negotiating enforceable protection standards or crisis-response obligations (Paoletti et al., 2014). As the findings demonstrate, this approach leaves migrant women particularly vulnerable during global labor shocks, when embassies and consular offices are ill-equipped to respond to large-scale emergencies. The reliance on civil society organizations such as Maiti Nepal to manage crisis cases underscores both the resilience of non-state actors and the institutional limitations of the state.

Critically, this study challenges dominant narratives in the migration literature that frame migrant women primarily as economic contributors or development agents, measured through remittance inflows and household welfare outcomes (Castles et al., 2014; World Bank, 2019). While these contributions are undeniable, such framings risk depoliticizing migrant women's vulnerability and obscuring the structural conditions that produce exploitation and exclusion. By contrast, reconceptualizing migrant women as rights-bearing individuals entitled to humanitarian protection regardless of legal or employment status aligns more closely with human security and feminist political economy approaches (UNDP, 1994; True, 2012). Yet, as this study demonstrates, this shift remains weakly institutionalized in Nepal's migration and foreign policy architecture.

Local contexts further illuminate this gap. For example, the 2025 deportation of 47 Nepali women from Delhi International Airport, many of whom were attempting to migrate through informal routes due to restrictive domestic policies, highlights how protective intent can paradoxically increase vulnerability (Karki, 2025). Restrictions on women's migration, introduced in the name of protection, have been widely criticized for pushing women toward irregular channels that expose them to greater risk of trafficking, detention, and deportation (Piper, 2008; Sijapati et al., 2017). This contradiction underscores the need for protection strategies that are empowering rather than prohibitive, and that recognize women's agency while addressing structural risks.

The policy implications of these findings are significant. First, crisis preparedness must be integrated into bilateral labor agreements through explicit clauses on emergency evacuation, access to shelters, wage protection, and gender-sensitive grievance mechanisms. Evidence from countries such as the Philippines demonstrates that embedding welfare and crisis-response provisions into labor diplomacy can significantly improve migrant protection outcomes (ILO, 2021). Second, Nepal's consular services require expansion beyond administrative support to include gender-responsive assistance, such as psychosocial counseling, legal aid, and partnerships with local shelters in destination countries. Current consular practices, which rely heavily on ad hoc interventions, are insufficient for managing complex humanitarian crises affecting migrant women (IOM, 2020).

Finally, Nepal has untapped potential to leverage regional and multilateral platforms, including the Colombo Process, the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, and UN human rights mechanisms, to advocate for migrant-inclusive humanitarian responses. Active engagement in these forums could enhance Nepal's international standing while contributing to norm-setting around migrant protection in crisis contexts (Betts, 2018; United Nations, 2018). Such engagement would also signal a shift from viewing migration solely as a development strategy toward recognizing it as a domain of humanitarian and human security concern.

These discussions highlight that addressing humanitarian protection gaps for migrant women requires not only technical policy reform but also a conceptual reorientation of migration governance. For Nepal, this entails moving beyond reactive diplomacy and remittance-centric policy toward a proactive, gender-responsive, and rights-based approach that acknowledges migrant women as central actors in both national development and global humanitarian governance.

Conclusion

This article has examined how global labor shocks, armed conflicts, and humanitarian crises expose persistent and gendered protection gaps within global labor migration systems, using Nepal as a focal case. Drawing on feminist political economy and human security perspectives, the analysis demonstrates that migrant women are disproportionately affected during crises due to their concentration in informal and feminized labor sectors, exclusion from humanitarian response mechanisms, and weak legal protections in destination countries. Global evidence, from pandemic-related job losses to conflict-

induced displacement, confirms that migrant women often fall outside both labor and humanitarian governance frameworks, rendering them effectively invisible during emergencies.

In the Nepali context, the findings reveal a migration governance model that remains heavily remittance-driven and reactive, with limited institutional preparedness for large-scale humanitarian crises affecting migrant women. While regulatory reforms and consular assistance mechanisms exist, they are insufficiently gender-responsive and overly reliant on ad hoc responses and civil society intervention. The 2025 deportation of 47 Nepali women from Delhi International Airport, alongside earlier crisis episodes, underscores how restrictive and fragmented protection approaches can inadvertently increase vulnerability rather than reduce it. These patterns point to systemic failures that cannot be addressed through isolated policy adjustments alone.

Looking forward, the article argues that Nepal must adopt a rights-based, gender-responsive migration framework that integrates humanitarian protection across the entire migration cycle, from pre-departure to employment abroad and return. This requires a conceptual shift away from viewing migrant women primarily as economic contributors toward recognizing them as rights-bearing individuals entitled to protection regardless of legal status or sector of employment. Such a shift aligns with international commitments under the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration and established human security principles that prioritize individual dignity and safety (United Nations, 2018).

At the policy level, key priorities include embedding crisis preparedness and gender-specific safeguards into bilateral labor agreements, strengthening consular capacity to provide legal and psychosocial support, and institutionalizing cooperation with humanitarian actors in destination countries (ILO, 2021; IOM, 2020). Nepal can also play a more proactive role in regional and multilateral forums, such as the Colombo Process, to advocate for migrant-inclusive humanitarian responses and shared responsibility during crises. Investing in data collection, early-warning systems, and gender-disaggregated reporting would further enhance evidence-based policymaking and crisis response.

For future research, there is a clear need for primary, survivor-centered studies that document migrant women's lived experiences across different crisis contexts, as well as comparative analyses of protection models adopted by other labor-sending countries. Such research would deepen understanding of what works in practice and also produce more effective and accountable policy design. Ultimately, safeguarding migrant women in an era of global instability is not only a humanitarian imperative but also a test of ethical migration governance. For Nepal, responding to this challenge offers an opportunity to align labor migration policy with human rights and humanitarian norms, ensuring that migrant women are no longer treated as peripheral actors in global labor markets, but as central subjects of protection, dignity, and justice.

References

- Anderson, B. (2010). Migration, Immigration Controls and the Fashioning of Precarious Workers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 24(2), 300-317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017010362141>.
- Bank, W. (2019). *World Development Report 2019: The changing nature of work*. World Bank.
- Bank, W. (2024). *Migration and remittances data*. World Bank.
- Bank, W. (2025, retrieved). *World Bank Open Data*. Retrieved from [data.worldbank.org/https://data.worldbank.org/](https://data.worldbank.org/)
- Barbara Ehrenreich, A. R. (2003). *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. Metropolitan Books.
- Bennett, A. L. (2005). *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. MIT Press.
- Betts, A. (2018). *Governing refugee protection in a world of uncertainty*. Oxford University Press.
- Centre, M. M. (2023). *Migration and Conflict Dynamics*. Mixed Migration Centre.
- Clarke, V. B. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
- Denzin, N. K. (2012). Triangulation 2.0. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 6(2), 80–88.
- Eleonore Kofman, P. R. (2014). *Gendered Migrations: Towards Gender Sensitive Policies in the UK*. Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Hudson, H. (2005). ‘Doing’ Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security. *Security Dialogue*, 36(2), 155–174. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605054642>.
- ILO, I. L. (2021). *World employment and social outlook: The role of migration*. International Labour Organization (ILO).
- ILO, I. L. (2021). *World employment and social outlook: The role of migration*. International Labour Organization (ILO).
- ILO, I. L. (2024, September 19). *Labor Migration in Asia: Trends, skills certification, and seasonal work*. International Labour Organization ILO. Retrieved from www.ilo.org/ https://www.ilo.org/resource/news/between-pre-and-post-covid-19-nepal-experienced-highest-percentage-increase?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- ILO, I. L. (2025, May 27). *Nepal strengthens capacities to better negotiate labour migration agreements*. Retrieved from www.ilo.org/ https://www.ilo.org/resource/news/nepal-strengthens-capacities-better-negotiate-labour-migration-agreements?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- International, A. (2021). *“They treated us like animals” : Migrant domestic workers in Lebanon*. Amnesty International.
- IOM, I. O. (2020). *COVID-19 analytical snapshot: Migrant protection*. International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- IOM, I. O. (2020). *World Migration Report*. International Organization for Migration (IOM).

- Karki, T. (2025, July 24). *47 Nepali women rescued from India after traffickers use 'Delhi transit' route*. Retrieved from myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com: <https://myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/47-nepali-women-rescued-from-india-after-traffickers-use-delhi-transit-rout-37-58.html>
- Limbu, B. S. (2017). *Governing Labour Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*. CESLAM.
- Miller, S. C. (2014). *The age of migration (5th ed.)*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nations, U. (1990). *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*. United Nations General Assembly.
- Nations, U. (2018). *Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration*. United Nations.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2015). *Servants of globalization: Migration and domestic work (2nd ed.)*. Stanford University Press.
- Pécoud, A. (2006). *International Migration, Human Rights and Development: The UN Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights*. UNESCO Policy Papers.
- Piper, N. (2008). Feminisation of Migration and The Social Dimensions of Development. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), 1287–1303.
- Poth, J. W. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (4th ed.)*. SAGE Publications.
- Review, P. (2025, July 25). *47 Nepali women rescued from trafficking attempt via Delhi*. Retrieved from mypeoplesreview.com: <https://mypeoplesreview.com/2025/07/25/47-nepali-women-rescued-from-trafficking-attempt-via-delhi/>
- Sarah Palotti Paoletti, E. T.-N. (2014). *Migrant workers' access to justice at home: Nepal*. Open Society Foundations.
- Shirin Rai, C. H. (2014). Depletion: The Cost of Social Reproduction. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 16(1), 86–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2013.789641>.
- Silverman, D. (2016). *Qualitative research (4th ed.)*. SAGE Publications.
- Susan Martin, S. W. (2014). *Humanitarian Crises and Migration: Causes, Consequences and Responses*. Routledge.
- True, J. (2012). *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*. Oxford University Press.
- UNDP. (1994). *Human development report: New dimensions of human security*. UNDP.
- Watch, H. R. (2019). "As if I am not human": Abuses against migrant domestic workers in Saudi Arabia. Human Rights Watch.
- Watch, H. R. (2020). "As if I am not human": Abuses against migrant domestic workers in Lebanon. Human Rights Watch.
- Wickramasekara, P. (2015). *Bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding on migration of low-skilled workers*. ILO Working Paper.
- Women, U. (2020). *Gendered impacts of COVID-19 on migrant women*. UN Women.
- Women, U. (2023). *Women migrant workers from Nepal: key statistics*. UN Women Asia Pacific.