

PARTIARCHY AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN MADHESH



A Thesis

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

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LETTER OF APPROVAL

This dissertation entitled "**PATRIARCHY AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN MADHESH**" was duly submitted by **SHOBHA KUMARI (MAHATO)** for final examination by the dissertation committee of MPhil-PhD. Program in Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Central Department of Sociology, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology. We hereby certify the dissertation is satisfactory and is therefore, accepted for the MPhil. Degree.

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ABSTRACT

Background: Violence jeopardizes human life, health and happiness. It includes threat, coercion and the arbitrary exploitation of resources. Violence against women is rampant where many women are behaved ruthlessly by their male partners. The forms of violence against woman are physical, mental/emotional, sexual and economical. Domestic violence against women is the most pervasive form of human right violation. The aim of the study is to describe the forms of domestic violence against women and to analyze the circumstances that have induced violence against women in Madhesh.

Methodology: The research design applied in this study is descriptive and explanatory. Since this research is qualitative the in-depth interview technique was used to collect the information, and a purposive sampling method using the snowball technique was applied to collect the data from the four village of Mahottary and Dhanusha district of Madhesh.

Results: Total 28 cases interviewed in this study. The 26 cases have experiences physical violence where the perpetrators of 19 and 4 cases are husband, and in laws respectively. Whereas 3 women were beaten by both, husband and in law of the family. All most all the 28 respondents were suffering from emotional violence like harassment and disrespect, threat for divorce and killing, reproaching and criticizing, and mistrust and damaging the social/public image. Similarly, the victim of domestic violence, woman had experienced sexual violence like marital rape, sexual harassment, indifferent of sex, and rape culture. In terms of economic violence, the woman are facing either direct violence (their personal income is forcefully seized by family members), or indirect violence (they are not given money for their nominal needs) or abandoned and neglected.

Conclusion: Violence against women has evolved as a part of a system of unequal gender relation. Male supremacy or dominance over female are often reflected in diverse societies. The patriarchal oppression, which manifests in a wide variety of forms has survived well in the family, has contributed a lot to damage the manhood, and has promoted the gendered socialization that only promotes false consciousness of women as inferior beings.

Keywords: Violence against Women, Family, Gender, Feminism, Patriarchy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of The Study

Modern society is becoming increasingly complex. Escalation of complexities have given rise to stress and tensions, which have erupted in the form of multiple violences. Cases of violence are also rising at an alarming rate. The term violence can be simply defined as the use of force against someone's will that causes physical injury, psychological terror, mal-development, stress and, sometimes death of a person. Violence devalues human dignity, respect, safety, health and life of individual or group. It has equal chances of jeopardizing the existence of a family, community and a nation. Violence is seldom good, but is poured all over the ground; both in villages and the cities. It can affect anyone, anywhere and at any time so that it is widespread (IFRC Strategy 2011-2020). Individuals and agencies have attempted to prevent violence in a number of ways, but the possibility of ending violence has been slim.

One major type of violence that was emerged from the patriarchal route is violence against women. Violence against women manifests in different forums in multiple forms. All types of rural-to-urban, traditional-to-modern, undeveloped- to-developed societies are inclined to this type of violence to any extent. Causes of violence vary, but the key causes are identified as unemployment, extra-marital affairs, suspicious nature, dowry, alcohol drinking and taking drugs, gambling, preference of son, sexual dissatisfaction, inter-caste marriage, male supremacy, and widowhood (Khatri and Pandey, 2013). Violence in general targets women, but it victimizes the entire family in the long run.

No society is unknown to violence against women, and we can see a large number of women survivors of violence in Nepal. However, the issues of violence against women became the topic of an open discussion only after the last quarter of twentieth century – credit goes to different forms of feminism. The belated entry of a theme 'violence against women' in different academic forums in general and in feminist forums in particular was because the discussion of female issues could deteriorate the status and prestige of women and their families. The hiding of incidences of violence being scared

of its possibility of ruining the family in turn fueled to more violence to take place against women. Cases of violence are underreported, but a large number of women are suffering from domestic violence according to sources (Ibid.).

Domestic violence is one of the major forms of violence among different forms of violence. It is one of the major type of gender-based violence which is hidden and occur inside the home by own family members. Ministry of Law and justice has says different forms of domestic violence which are physical, mental, sexual and economic harm done by any members of the family to other member of the family. It includes any act of reprimand or emotional harm (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2009). It includes willful intimidation, physical assault, battering, sexual assault, and/or other abusive behavior perpetrated by an intimate partner against another. It has become an epidemic affecting people of all communities, regardless of age, economic status, race, religion, nationality or educational background.¹

Naseera N. M. Moly Kuruvila (2022) says that "the Manusmriti" is the scripture after Vedas has become the basis of our culture, customs, thought and practices. Religion has become a very powerful force and institution behind patriarchal social life and structure. The majority of organized religions propagate male supremacy and male control over women and suppress their sexuality, mobility, and reproductive choices. They characterize woman as physically, mentally, emotionally and sexually inferior to men. As a woman in her childhood is protected by her father, in her youth is protected by her husband, and in old-age is protected by her sons. It means that a woman does not qualify for independent existence and sovereign living.

Moreover, Gerda Lerner (1986) observes:

"Women's sexual subordination was institutionalized in the earliest law courts and enforced by the full power of the state. Women's cooperation in the system was secured by various means: force, economic dependency on the male head of the family, class

¹ National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Public Policy Office, retrieved from [http://www.ncadv.org/files/DomesticViolenceFactSheet\(National\).pdf](http://www.ncadv.org/files/DomesticViolenceFactSheet(National).pdf)

privileges bestowed upon conforming and dependent women of the upper classes and the artificially created division of women into respectable and not respectable women" (Lerner, 1986:9).

Domestic violence and patriarchy has close connection. It is deeply rooted in patriarchal and traditional societies. In Nepal, the prevalence of domestic violence is more common than any other types of violence against woman. Domestic violence damage the life of woman. Particularly a woman have to face many cases of violence. There are a lots of fundamental factors which throw a woman into domestic violence. Basically these are extra-marital relation of husband, the husband's suspicious nature, gambling, and habituates of alcohol, preference of son in family, lack of sexual satisfaction, dowry, and mother battering during pregnancy, widowhood and most important unemployment. (Khatri and Pandey, 2013)

Violence against women has been the topic of gender and gender studies as well. Gender is known as socially constructed power relations between women and men that assign unequal roles, responsibilities, opportunities and decision-making authority to women and men in society (GESI Working Group, 2017). WHO defines that the term gender is socially constructed characteristic of woman, men, girls, and boys. The norms, behaviors and roles associated with being male or being female are the traits of gender. These traits of gender varies from society to society and it can be changed over time also.

Similarly, Amy (2003) says that gender couldn't be understood unless sex is defined. She writes that sex is biological concept determined on the basis of individual's primary sex characteristics while gender is constructed in individual, interactional, and structural ways which creates constraints and opportunities that usually men benefit more than woman. Gender roles are also determined based on the concept of gender in society. So, the gender roles are different expectations based on each society's values and beliefs about gender. Gender roles are the product of the interactions between individuals and the environments, and they provides signals about what types of behavior is supposed to be appropriate for what sex. In this way, appropriate gender roles are defined according to a society's beliefs regarding different sexes.

Gender relation is specific to the evolution of types of societies. The early stage of society was hunting and gathering. In that stage, people lived on the basis of what they could obtain directly from natural environment. Thus, the gathering of wild fruits and vegetables, and fishing and hunting was key strategy of livelihood of people of that time. Hunting and gathering type of society had relatively lower level of division of labor in which work distribution was based on physical capabilities than purely gender-specific. Difficulties in hunting and gathering gave rise to horticulture and herding, a more refined type of human survival-strategy. After agriculture evolved as the main survival strategy, people were no longer compelled to move frequently from one place to another. Towns and small cities developed. Women were specifically assigned to perform household work and men were supposedly defined as outside-home workers. As a result, men became successful in enhancing their access to more resources.

Industrial capitalist society produced more inequalities. People came to be stratified in terms not only of income but also of education, occupation, property, etc. Specialized division of labor fueled inequality to grow. One of the most important dimensions of inequality in modern societies is gender inequality, which is created in a different way so that it does not have common way to solve it. Gender refers to a set of culturally conditioned traits associated with maleness or femaleness. Gender roles are the set of behavior considered appropriate for individuals of a particular society. Hunting and gathering societies sent men out to hunt while cared for the home, in early agrarian societies there was a less rigid division of labor. In early horticultural societies women had than they did in hunting and gathering societies or in later feudal societies. Since hunting and gathering to agrarian production, the division of labor by sex becomes more varied, although women tend to specialize in household tasks and men in tasks that take them outside the home.

After looking at the basic ideas on gender, women, violence, domestic violence, etc. the researcher is encouraged to study the type and extent of violence against women in a particular local area of Nepal. Also, the researcher has come to realize different forms of violence against women taking place in different areas of Nepal, both in Hill and Madhesh region, as reported by national daily newspapers of Nepal in different times. Thus, this research basically focuses on studying domestic violence targeted to women in contemporary Nepal, and tries to make it a sociological analysis.

1.2 Statement of The Problem

Worldwide, Gender Based Violence (GBV) is reported as the leading cause of death of women between ages 19 and 44 years, which is more devastating than war, cancer, or other accidents. In South Asia, 40 percent to 70 percent of women and girls report experiencing some form of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, and half of all women face violence in home. GBV is a global challenge that violates basic human rights and human security. Besides the individual suffering, it carries high cost for society and is a major obstacle to development (The South Asia Foundation, 2010:1).

The Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS, 2011) findings show that about 22 percent of women (15-49 years) have experienced physical violence at least once since the age of 15 years, and 9 percent women experienced physical violence within the 12 months prior to the survey. Twelve percent of women of the same age group reported having experience of sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. Overall, 1/3 of ever-married women report ever having experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence from their spouse and 17 percent report having experienced one or more of such violence in the past 12 months (MoHP, New Era and ICF International, 2012).

Among ever-married women, who had experienced spousal violence (physical or sexual) in the past 12 months, more than two in five reported experiencing physical injuries. It is not common for women in Nepal to seek assistance from any source to fight against violence they have experienced. Nearly 2 in 3 women have never told anyone about the violence they have experienced. The NDHS 2011 results also show that 23 percent of ever-married women report ever experiencing physical violence from their husband, 14 percent report sexual violence, and 16 percent report emotional violence (MoHP, New Era and ICF International, 2012). The NDHS 2011 amply clarifies that the prevalence of violence against women still continues to an unacceptably higher level.

Various population-based studies in Nepal have indicated domestic violence as a reason for poor health, insecurity, and inadequate social mobilization among women (Shrestha,2023). Legal provisions in Nepal have targeted to discourage domestic violence and punish the culprit. The Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act (2009) emphasizes respect for the right of every person to live in a secure and dignified

manner, prevention and control of violence occurring within the family or outside, making such violence punishable, and providing protection to the victims of violence. Further, it gives authority to the individuals to file complaints, provide legal remedies (including interim protection orders and compensation), and create service centers for counseling and rehabilitation, as well as defining penalties for perpetrators (Nepal Law Commission, 2009). The Three-Year Plan of Nepal (2010/2011–2012/2013) also has aimed to eliminate types of gender-based violence and discrimination against women and promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment (National Planning Commission, 2011). It has implemented a national action plan (2010) against gender-based violence with the Prime Minister's declaration of 2010 as the gender-based violence-free year (Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Minister, 2009) and introduced a hospital-based one-stop crisis management center in 15 selected districts (Ministry of Health and Population [MOHP], 2010), and now it is extended to 66 districts of Nepal, with service centers established for victims of gender-based violence (NHSSP project under MOHP, 2020).

For the first time in 2011 AD, a domestic violence module was included in the NDHS, recognizing the seriousness of the problem of gender-based violence in Nepal. The results show that 23 percent of ever-married women report ever experiencing physical violence from their husband, 14 percent report sexual violence, and 16 percent report emotional violence. Overall, more than a quarter of ever-married women (28 percent) have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from their husband, while nearly one-third have experienced (32 percent) physical, sexual, and/or emotional violence. Nine percent of ever-married women have experienced both physical and sexual violence, and 6 percent have experienced all three forms of spousal violence (MoHP, New Era and ICF International, 2012). Studies have shown the existence of different types of gender-based domestic violence in an alarming rate in Nepal. However, the data on gender-based violence seems to be highly disaggregated as the data has not shown the specificity of a regional or local aspects or societies. Besides, there exists to be a contradiction between policy attempts of Nepal government and the alarming rate of data produced by Ministry and other authorized agencies on gender-based violence. Therefore, it is significant to conduct research on woman violence in Madhesh region representing two different societies residing in Madhesh.

In addition to this, a study on gender-based violence (GON, 2012) identifies women's economic dependency on men, primarily fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons as key structural factor of exacerbating woman's vulnerability to violence. This explanation seems to be underestimating the violence faced by economically independent women. It also indicates that either economically independent women are out of risk of gender-based violence, which needs to be examined. Furthermore, the study states that 61.3% women, who had experienced violence had not shared or discussed their experiences with anyone. Besides, women who faced economic violence were more likely to share their experience with someone than those who faced sexual, emotional or physical violence. The factor, which convinced women not to share their experience of violence with others or which discouraged women to share their experience of sexual, emotional and physical violence with others need to be explored. Finally, the same report identified exclusion of women from educational and employment opportunities as important contributor to women's vulnerability to violence. It indicates that the educated or employed women were unlikely to face the violence. Therefore, this study equally emphasizes to explore whether the educated and employed women were facing violence.

Various laws, policies and plans are formulated to protect and control the domestic violence in Nepal but data shows the continuity of domestic violence. It may be because Nepali society is diverse in terms of social and cultural practices, the case of domestic violence, which may have connection with specific social and cultural nexus, is likely to differ. So, this study focuses in addressing some specific questions such as;

1. What are the major types of domestic violence that the women in Madhesh region have experienced? and
2. What is the social reason behind violence against women?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research aims in general to assess the practice of domestic violence in Madhesh region. It more specifically attempts to:

1. describe types of domestic violence against women and its underlying causes in Madhesh region, and
2. analyze the circumstances that have induced violence against women in family.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Sociology aims to depict society as it is. While depicting society, it shows the chain or network of relationship and brings into discussion the relationship, causal factors and impacts. Following the same line, this research aims to show how families have worked with reference to their treatment of women, particularly the daughter-in-law, applying the gender perspective. This study therefore seems significant in exploring the gender relationship in the families of Madhesh-based Nepali societies. It, in some ways, shows the relationship between husband and wife as well, and has equal chances of updating the gendered aspects of family sphere. Despite the fact that many research has done and quantify the domestic violence in Nepal, however, the in-depth study of domestic violence of Madhesh region is still lacking. Hence, this research has significance to carry the in-depth study of Madhesh region and propose some of social reason for occurring the domestic violence.

1.5 Organization of the Study

The study is organized in five chapters. Chapter I basically gives the introduction to research topic, identifies the research problem, and states the objective. Chapter II makes a detail review of related literature, particularly the sociological theories on gender-based violence, and makes a conceptual framework of research. It further reviews some empirical studies on the same research topic in Nepal as well as in other countries. Chapter III provides a methodology, which was followed during research. It chooses research design, gives introduction to area of research, sampling, and tools of data collection and data analysis. Chapter IV discusses different forms of gender-based domestic violence taken place in different areas of Madhesh, narrates how women have experienced types of violences, and analyzes social reasons of such violence. The last chapter provides a summary, and connects major findings with relevant sociological theories on gender-based domestic violence.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON PATRIARCHY AND FEMINISM

Woman is the companion of man gifted with equal mental capacity. She has the right to participate in the minutest details in the activities of men, and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him. (Mahatma Gandhi, 1917).

Literature review is the vantage point of any work because science cannot be produced in vacuum. This chapter makes a review of different sociological theories such as patriarchy, feminism, and gender relations, which are core to analyze types of violence and oppression, including gender-based violence.

2.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy and gender relationships are connected. The former concerns more with the exercising of power by male over female and practice his supremacy against the women while the latter concerns with ideas about being and working as a male or female. However, patriarchy and its manifestation were the key backdrop for the rise of gender theories. Millett (1969) writes as patriarchy is understood as the unequal power relationship between men and women in which male domination over female exists. Millett further writes that family is the chief institution of patriarchal society so the role of family is prototypical. Family encourage its own family member to adjust and comfort, as well as acts as the unit of patriarchal state where the members of the family is ruled by its family head. Traditionally, patriarchy has provided the father as total ownership over wife and wives and children including power of physical abuse, and murder and sale also.

In the process of human civilization, different kinds of social structure and order have been established. Some of them were equal while others were unequal. The concept of patriarchy is new, but it took a long time nearly 2500 years for being consolidated (Lerner, 1986). Mason and Taj (1987) take patriarchy as a set of social institutions that deny women the opportunity to be self-supporting, thereby making them dependent on male relatives for survival, and that otherwise favor men in the interfamilial allocation of resources and power.

Eisenstein (cited in Beechey, 1979) defines patriarchy as sexual hierarchy which is manifested in the woman's role as mother, domestic laborer and consumer within the family. Patriarchy is understood differently by scholars. Millett (1969) describes the role of patriarchy in socializing children in an unequal basis, and the reproduction of women subordination in all societies. It is more authoritarian, oppressive and discriminatory than other forms of inequalities. Jones (2000) highlights how women are oppressed in different social, political, economic, and cultural environments, and men took advantage of controlling full access to power, management of resources and benefits, and the manipulation of public and private power structures.

Patriarchy is all about the "form of social organization in which men maintain greater influence over political decision-making and greater control over resources, relative to women. patriarchy may exist at the level of the family, local community, or society-at-large—typically all three levels simultaneously" (von Reuden, 2024). Despite the fact patriarchy and unequal gender relationship are targeted to exploit the women, evolved gender differences help explain but do not determine and certainly do not justify patriarchy. Nautiyal and Bagwari (2022) define patriarchy as a social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependence of wives and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line.

Arguments on patriarchy helps us believe that women have not been allowed to enjoy the freedom to do things they want to do at their own. It means that the women need to take permission from either husbands or fathers or brothers. Women are supposed to be obedient to men despite the degree of patriarchy varies depending on societies. As a result, women and men came to access education, work, status and services and opportunities unequally in all families, communities and societies. Scholars in general attempt to outline the form and degree of inequality and oppression faced by women caused by types of social organizations, however, feminists try to make society more favorable for all to live in an equal basis. And, feminism looks for significant theoretical, policy and applied efforts to make gender-friendly society.

Patriarchies involve the ranking of men within and across families and generations. This process of social ranking involves the agency of both men and women. In recent years, the term patriarchy has assumed a central place in feminist literature. Though, there are other ways of understanding gender inequalities, it is argued that patriarchy is

the most appropriate means of grasping the scale of gender prejudices and inequalities. In this section, the discussion on patriarchy will be primarily derived from Sylvia Walby, Gerda Lerner, Kamala Bhasin and Veronica Beechy.

According to Walby, 'patriarchy captures the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of different aspects of women's subordination within the household, family and society' (Walby 1990). To Walby (1990) patriarchy is composed of six structures: the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions (Walby 1990:20). The view of Walby shows that patriarchy directly impacts women's violence where male is involved in each as a doer.

Veronica Beechey (1979), Patriarchy is developed within feminist writings has different concept and meanings like Kate Millet, (1969) says as patriarchy has been used to refer male domination focusing mainly on the system of male domination and female subordination (Cited in Beechey 1979). This article explores about the Patriarchy and different concept that is right and simply helpful to see this study but explores the domestic violence between the different communities.

The concept of patriarchy has different meanings within the Marxist feminists also such as Juliet Mitchell (1974 cited in Beechey 1979) uses patriarchy as the kinship system in which men exchanges women and accordingly the symbolic power has been displayed by fathers within that system and that power resulted into the interiorized psychology of woman. The ideology is very helpful to see this stud, where domestic violence occurs due to that system where power has interiorized the female which is resulting in the different forms of violence.

Patriarchy literally means the rule of the father. It was originally used to describe a specific type of "male-dominated family" or the large household, which included family members including the slaves and domestic servants all under the rule of the Patriarch. In the recent times, it is used to refer to the unequal power relationships by which men dominate woman or a system whereby women are subordinated in a number of ways. "The subordination that experience at a daily level, regardless of the class we

might belong to, takes various forms-discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, violence- within the family, at the work place, in society" (Bhasin, 1993)

Lerner (1986) argued that the patriarchy has a history of nearly 2500 years with some changes in the position of woman. She further states that the basic units of patriarchy was patriarchal family, which expressed and incessantly generated its rules and values for men and against women. Patriarchy has developed a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit woman.

Walby (1990) says that the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relation in paid work, patriarchal relations in state, male violence, patriarchal relations in cultural institution, etc. help to form patriarchy. Thus, male violence against women cannot be understood outside the patriarchal social structure. Rape and wife beating, which are analogous conventionally and are considered individual acts, are social facts, which can be best analyzed in terms of patriarchal social structures. (Walby,1990:20,128).

Beechey (1979) explains patriarchy as the oppression and subordination of women, which is understood only by penetrating our look beneath the particular experiences and manifestations of women's oppression. The production and reproduction of subordination need to be analyzed with particular institution's material organization and the form of ideology and power relations which prevail in within it.

All the feminist scholars view patriarchy as a system which results in woman's domination, subordination, oppression and their ultimate violence. Bhasin emphasizes that subordination of female regardless of women's any other identity or status. Lerner raises the different forms of subordination of women in different civilizations. Walby sees patriarchy as rooted in the system of social structures. Veronica connects women's oppression with material condition of a socio-political and cultural structure. After looking how these scholars take patriarchy, I perceive it as a system, which creates and perpetuates the subordination, domination and control of women by the available structure.

2.2 Feminist Theories

Ritzer (2000) finds feminist theory beginning with three basic questions; firstly, '*And what about the women*', secondly, '*Why then is all this as it is*', thirdly, '*How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for women and for all people*', and finally, '*What about the difference among women*'. All these questions expect women-centered perspective to get answered. The first question looks descriptive, which describes the disadvantaged situation of women, while the second intends to explore the reason behind that disadvantage. The third seeks to transfer the situation so that not only the women but also all human beings can feel fairly treated, and the fourth question realizes the social location-specific subordination of women.

The subordination of women, which is the result both of gender inequality and difference, can be described from different perspectives.

2.2.1 Radical Feminism

Radical feminists are radical by nature who advocates for a radical restructuring of society in order to eradicate male supremacy over women. It defines society as a system of patriarchy that exploits women. It views men as ruling class and women as ruled class. Patriarchy is a system which preserves men-centric social norms and controls women-self. Thus, radical feminists seek to struggle against the patriarchal social structure in order to liberate women from all types of oppression and prejudices. Any type of violence against women, rape or sexual harassment is the result of patriarchal socialization of men and women. Radical feminists blame the social structure than legal or class structure of a society for the subjugation of women.

Radical feminists believe that the most fundamental form of oppression in all societies is oppression of women. Patriarchy established male as a desired character by viewing women as other. This variant does not view that all men are oppressors and all women are oppressed, but maintains that the patriarchal system established men as dominant group and women as dominated group. Radical feminists describe women as everywhere oppressed group. Domination exists in all societies in terms of class, gender, caste, race, ethnicity, or age, but women are more oppressed than others. The feminist theory focuses on issue of gender inequality and the unequal sex roles, which

is centrally controlled, used and oppressed by men in multiple ways. Patriarchy by radical feminists define as a form of violence which is not only overt as physical, but is also hidden and complex. It can be seen in the field of fashion and beauty, in motherhood, monogamy and chastity, and in heterosexuality exposed in workplace, in the form of unpaid household work (Ritzer, 2000).

The key conclusion drawn by radical feminist is that the men as a group dominate woman as another group, and men are advantaged by subordination woman. This type of dominating system is called patriarchy, which drastically differs from any other system of social inequality. Gender inequality is not the result of capitalism, it was existed before capitalism. Thus, radical feminists argue for a root-and-branch restructuring of patriarchal society. Since society is patriarchal, legal reform or legal equality is inefficient to wipe-out discrimination against women. Women are over-socialized and are obedient to the given social system. Thus, they cannot revolt the existing norms and values. They have a false consciousness that the norms and values they consider their own are actually imposed on them by patriarchal system. Also, some of the radical feminists doubt on consensual heterosexual relationship. They often advocate for a complete separation of male and female sexes.

2.2.2 Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism considers gender inequality as a distinct product of capitalism, where someone has to control the labor, and male was privileged to dominate the entire labor force (Walby, 1991). In the past, men and women lived in kin structures and women had relative autonomy to take decisions because they were independently working as gathers, crafters, stores, and distributors of essential materials. But the successive modes of productions gradually made women as subservient to men. Men attempted to control the resources, and the development of technologies also directly benefited men. Thus, men took a systematic advantage over women. Since then, the practice of men as property-owners and women as a wife cum servant started. In the labor market also, men made regulations to control and exploit women and their labor. The political system was created to safeguard these systems of male-domination against women. Marxists claim that the freedom of women can be assured only after the destruction of property-rights through class revolution (Lengermann and Brantley, cited in Ritzer, 2000)

Marxist feminism takes capitalism as the root cause of women's oppression. They find capitalism and patriarchy as mutually reinforcing. Capitalism relies on unpaid domestic labor, which is key to the exploitation of women and to the rise of patriarchy. Thus, it is not actually the men, but the capitalism that oppresses women. Since capitalism survives on the exploitation of labor, the role of women is supportive for producing classism. According to Marxist feminists, the nuclear family is the development of capitalism, where women work as housewife without being paid, and at the same time work in reproducing the labor force by producing children as workers and mothers for the next generation. They also mark that workers are oppressed by exploitative capitalist structure, and women are doubly oppressed by capitalism and by patriarchy.

Women's contributing role to sustain capitalism is argued in two ways. On the one hand, they are caring their husband means they are servicing the worker-turned-husband in capitalist production, and on the other hand, they are producing children and are caregiving their family means they are producing labor for coming generation and socializing their children so that the next generation is also prepared for sustaining capitalist mode of production. They argue that the provision of unequal division of labor is bringing similarities between capitalism and patriarchy. Patriarchy as a male dominated sexual division of labor provides indispensable functions for the perpetuation of the capitalistic mode of production, and capitalism functions to provide the material basis for patriarchy (Wasley Lomire, 1989).

Men are assigned the task of economic production, whereas women are assigned to perform the role of reproduction of the workforce. Value given to material goods produced by men indicates that the capitalist system is benefitting both the men and capitalist production process. Women's involvement in domestic work such as childcare, kitchen management, family care, etc. is not acknowledged in a capitalist society because these activities lack the real exchange value. Women's domestic work is devalued because domestic works are unpaid works. Besides, women by capitalism are used as reserve of cheap labor. In shortage of real labor, capitalists use women, not permanently but temporarily, as cheap labor. After being exploited by bourgeoisie, husbands return home being frustrated, which is likely to result in violence in home. In this way, capitalism is strengthening the patriarchal oppression.

This review of Marxist feminism raises question on whether the women supposed to be studied here are exploited in the same way as Marxist feminists say.

2.2.3 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism gives value to freedom for women. And, the freedom can be ensured by participation of women in public institutions in the political level and the labor market in the economic level. The restriction of women in home promotes their dependence on men particularly the husbands. So, if the women are allowed to enter into the outside world gender equality both in home and outside can be ensured.

Liberal feminists advocate women's property rights, which ultimately emancipate women. Modern capitalist society is predominantly meritocratic, and women can take advantage of that meritocracy in case they are provided an opportunity to join. Women are not less deserving than men but are deliberately excluded from the process. Denial of women in job market and the segregation they face during payment, i.e. women are low-paid, is the clear example of exclusion of women in the market. The exclusion of women however is the result of gendered-socialization in home. Children are socialized in a way that the boys are made strong role models and girls are made weak role models. So, liberal feminist advice to maintain gender neutrality while making a division of labor in home and office setting.

Liberal feminism is also known as egalitarian feminism because it advocates for equal rights in each platform of society. This variant demands political equality, which guarantees women's right to vote and lead. It also promotes their access to education, work and right to choose their marriage partner. It ultimately demands for equal treatment of women in the same way as men are treated. Thus, the liberal feminism seems more a reformist than revolutionary type of feminism. It does not challenge the existing socio-cultural and economic pattern of society, but speaks for legal reforms. Thus, liberals are pretty sure that each and every individual is equally capable of self-fulfillment irrespective of whether they belong to any social context such as caste, class, ethnicity, gender, etc. "What they simply plead for is equality. Equality, they hope, can be achieved through state intervention by pursuing a variety of social reforms and ensuring equal opportunities for women" (Luintel, 2018).

Feminism just sees the deprivation of equal rights. It sees the denial of equal rights for education and employment and disadvantage because of prejudices against woman (Walby, 1991). To conclude, liberal feminism is the authentic version of liberal democratic path to gender equality and women's liberation.

2.2.4 Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism tries to mix-up of the class and gender components of society. As Luintel (2018) says, it blends the Marxian concept of 'class oppression' and the radical feminist concept of 'gender oppression' (Luintel, 2018). Radical feminism views women are exploited ruthlessly by men and the entire patriarchal structure, while Marxist feminism view women as an under-class human category, exploited by the capitalist political and socio-economic structure. Thus, if exploitation of women is understood by only gender or only class basis, the discourse on patriarchy in modern times would not be complete.

Though men are the cause of woman oppression, sometime women themselves are creating obstacles of women empowerment and oppression. As we have seen in day-to-day life in our societies of developing countries a girl from very early childhood oppressed by her own mother and after marriage by laws especially mother-in-law, sister-in-law or other female members of the family. And, if she is employed, she is oppressed by the office structure, be it controlled by male boss or the female boss. Thus, women in their family suffer not only from their husbands or male members but also from mother-in-law and sister-in-law as well. Because a capitalist structure demands the exploitation of worker in home and in office.

Theories on gender view social world by highlighting the factors of social inequality, oppression and injustice. It is believed that the voice of women is unheard not only by the society, but also by social sciences. These theories focus on analyzing how power in society is exercised to oppress the girls and women in particular. Key theories on gender rest on gender differences, gender inequality, gender oppression and structural oppression.

2.2.5 Gender Differences

Gender difference version revolves around the basic idea about how different positions are assigned to men and women in social settings. In the family, men and women are assigned to do different works, which is also known as sexual division of labor. In an office setting, it is normally that the women, who are provided sanitation-related and caregiving works, while men are provided managerial works. It means that the areas of work differ depending on whether the individuals are men or women. Feminists argue that both men and women learn the same thing about thinking and doing differently from each other.

2.2.6 Gender Inequality

Inequality theorists believe that status or experience of men and women does not only differ but also is unequal to each other. Individuals have different capacity, but the society is behaving unequally to them depending on their sex. For example, women have the same strength of handling managerial work or of giving logical reasoning, but they are denied to lead the managerial position and to be the leaders. The reluctance of women to be a leader or to claim private property is the result of society's unequal treatment to them. Society is allowing men for some tasks, but are rejecting women for the same task. This is how women are unequally treated. The shoving of women in the private or household premises by excluding them to participate fully in public life is the example of inequality. Feminists often say that heterosexual marriage is in favor only of men and not of women, because married women have more stressful life than unmarried women and married men. These feminists advocate for reverting the sexual division of labor in the public and private spheres of social life.

2.2.7 Gender Oppression

Gender oppression is a high-level explanation of unequal social practices about sexual division of labor as it argues that women are deliberately isolated, oppressed and abused by men. It revolves around power dynamics of society and is close to radical feminism. Radical feminism believes that the self of a woman is rejected by patriarchal societies by making deliberate attempts of oppression in family or outside. Physical and other

types of violence are the results of patriarchy, which can be defeated by making a strong alliance with women in both the private and public spheres. This variant advocates for a separatist network, and confront patriarchal oppressions.

2.2.8 Structural Oppression

Structural oppression is that variant, which define women's oppression as a result of social networks of patriarchy and capitalism. Here comes the Marxist ideas in which working class is exploited in capitalism, and the same is happening in the field of gender. Inter-sectionality theory is also close to this theory as oppression and inequality crosscut variables like class, gender, race, age, ethnicity, and alike. The gender wage gap is the clear example of how a patriarchal cum capitalist society is oppressing women.

2. 3 Empirical Review on Violence Against Women

In this section, I review some of the empirical data-based literature on violence against women, particularly on Nepali society, and some policy frameworks.

Violence against women has been a global problem. It is said that about 1 in 3 (35%) of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. Most of this violence is intimate partner violence. Worldwide, almost one third (30%) of women who have been in a relationship report that they have experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partners (Baral, Uprety and Lamichhane, 2016). This study highlights some crucial cases of violence committed by the intimate ones to their women counterparts.

The government of Nepal carried out a study on gender-based violence in Nepal and finds almost half of women (48%) experiencing violence in their lifetime, and over a quarter had experienced violence in the past 12 months. Talking about the different forms of violence in life time, emotional violence (40.4%) was most commonly reported, followed by physical violence (26.8%), sexual violence (15.3%) and economic abuse/violence (8%). While discussing the forms of violences in 12 months, emotional (23.9%), physical (10.6%), sexual (6.7%) and economic (2.4%) were

reported by the respondents. The report also shows that Dalit/religious minority women were significantly more likely to report experiencing violence in their lifetime than indigenous (*Janajatis*) or upper caste groups. The same study finds social exclusion as less commonly reported, but 11 percent of women had been denied access to health services, and eight percent had been denied access to places of worship. A large percentage of women (61.3 percent) who had experienced violence had not shared or discussed their experiences with anyone. Women who faced economic violence were more likely to share their experiences with someone than those faced sexual, emotional or physical violence. (GoN, 2012)

The United Nations Population Fund says that 48 percent of Nepali women are living with some form of violence in their life, with 15 percent sexual violence. Gender-based-violence starts from home and ranges from banning of menstruating women and girls from households to female infanticide and early marriage of girls. The true scale of gender-based violence is underreported because many girls and women suffer in silence.²

According to WOREC (2018), domestic violence was the highest reported category of crime against women at 65 percent among all reported cases. According to earlier reports, 76 percent of the violence suffered by women was attributed to husbands, while 24 percent was attributed to family members. Women suffer verbal, physical, and mental abuse and suffer mistreatment and unfair treatment related to their dowry, their inability to give birth to male child or being infertile after years of marriage. In addition, women are denied basic needs and are thrown out of their homes. (Anbesi, WOREC, 2018)

Being a predominantly patriarchal society, Nepal has been preserving social norms and values that may often lead to domestic violence. The 'women should do' norms like women must greet their in-laws after waking up, girls and women must cook the food and wash the kitchen utensils after taking food, women must wash the dirty clothes of entire family and clean the homerooms, wife must eat after husband and all other family members eat, etc., indicate that women are facing inequality in their home and are prone to any form of domestic violence in case they fail to meet the patriarchal family obligations.

² Equaltimes.org/gender-based-violence-in-Nepal-the

UCL and CHEHPA (2013) tried to map about the seeking care and support of the woman who have suffered from GBV. The study also identified the barriers and opportunities for both the woman who are care seeking, and for those who are improving the policy and programmatic environment. This report is an empirical finding of six woman who suffered abuse (trafficking, accusation of witchcraft, dowry related violence etc.) and also about them who came into the contact of service providers. The six woman of this study have suffered the abuse either from their own family or their own community. Two woman out of six suffered domestic and dowry-related violence from their husband while two were abused from their own community members. And rest two, who are accused for witchcraft and widow abuse, were abused by their own children along with others of the society. The violence from husband or family members are long term, where woman rarely seek any kinds of outer support unless they engulfed into the acute and severe series of abuse. In this study, the woman who suffered violence related to dowry started just few days after her marriage but it continues long. The two woman mentioned that legal service provided for the violence sufferer is inadequate as well as cumbersome to handle it. (UCL and CREHPA, 2013). In addition to the above six cases of GBV, the study has also collected the GBV information from different sources like Police Office, National Women Commission. The data collected from Police headquarter (Naxal, Kathmandu, Nepal) conveys that the rate of domestic violence is higher than the other types of GBV cases. The number of the domestic violence cases are 55.4 % in 2009/10, 57.2 % in 2010/11 and 67.4% in 2011/12. Similarly, the study has also collected the cases of GBV from National Women's Commission which reported total 155 number of cases of domestic violence in 1010/11 and 273 number of cases in 2011/12. In both police headquarter and in National Women's Commission, the filed domestic violence cases were higher than the cases of other types of GBV violence. The study is very comprehensive and informative. The empirical findings from different sources sufficiently clarify that the rate of VAW is intolerable; at the same time, it also indicates that domestic violence is higher than other types of VAW. However, this study did not give emphasis to look at the diverse and complex form of the domestic violence of different caste and ethnic group. The study also lack to provide the prevalence of different form and types of domestic violence in Madhesh region.

NDHS 2011 has provided the disaggregated data of domestic violence in terms of poverty, ecological zone but regarding Madheshi and Hill people the data is not disaggregated. In 2016, the NDHS survey provides province-wise description which in some extent outlines the prevalence of violence in both Madheshi and Pahadi communities since in province to majority of the population dwellings are Madheshi. It had given the proportion of domestic violence of Tarai region which simply do not covers the Madheshi people as a whole because in Tarai total population of Madheshi is 64% whereas rest populations are Hill people as well. NDHS 2011 reports that the ever experiences physical violence of woman in the Tarai (28.1 percent) is higher than the woman of Mountain (17.4 percent) and Hill (16.8 percent). In terms of experience of physical violence in 12 month prior to the survey, Tarai woman (12 percent) experienced twice than the mountain zone (6 percent). (MoHP, New Era and ICF International, 2012). But simply providing the information of Terai by different national reports do not reflect the situation of Madheshi.

Based on the above given facts it is quite necessary to bring the real scenario or picture of domestic violence also of woman of Madhesh region in Nepal. The block of the populations particularly the Madheshi woman are not studied yet in-depth in terms of domestic violence. However, the study will cover the woman of Madhesh region, representation of both Madheshi and Pahadi. Domestic violence has negative health consequences for victims, especially with respect to the reproductive health of women and the physical, emotional, and mental health of their children. So, domestic violence issue is a big problem in Nepal and it is quite rational to bring this type of study so that it will be helpful in the nation building process. It can also be helpful for any government agencies to make policies or clauses on behalf of women. It is in this backdrop this proposed research aims to capture the forms and prevalence of violence faced by survivor women in two seemingly diverse societies of Madhesh region.

2.4 Policy Review

Nepal has ratified a number of regional and international convention on woman's rights gender equality, and social inclusion. In addition to this, Nepal has implemented Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act (BS2066) 2009, and Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Regulations (BS 2067) 2010. This Act enforce respect for the right of every person to live in a secure and dignified manner, prevention

and control of violence occurring within the family or outside, making such violence punishable, and providing protection to the victims of violence. This Act also provides authority to the individuals to file complaints, provide legal remedies (including interim protection and compensation), and creates service centers for counseling and rehabilitation, as well as defining penalties for perpetrators (Nepal Law Commission, 2009)

2.4.1 State Promoting Patriarchy in Nepal

Tamang (2000) explored that the women of Nepal are not only excluded in the patriarchal model of household but also from the patriarchal model of state. The women who are excluded and subordinated by religion practices and principles are also historically supported by provisions of law of Nepal. The civil code 1854 did not provide any protection for women with regard to their property rights. Instead, lots of bad practices were running during Rana time such as Polygamy, child marriage. To this period of Rana rule, Acharya states that “this is a period in which women were utterly oppressed and treated like slaves (Acharya, 1988:67 as cited in Tamang 2000). According to Thapa; “Prior to the political change of 1951, the social, political, legal, economic and religious factors had made Nepalese women weaker, more exploited and devoid of any sort of freedom” with such ‘social evils’ as polygamy and child marriage (Thapa 1985: 18 as cited in Tamang 2000). Until 1951, no any amendment was formulated against these mal- practices.

In democratic Panchayat era, in 1963 the government (King) terminated the 1854 civil code and introduced a new code in its place. This new code emphasized two main points: a) equality before the law and b) special privileges for women (Vaidya and Manandhar 1985:290-91 as cited in Tamang 2000). So, this new *Muluki Ain* is said to be Nepali’s “Magna carta”, which provided opportunity to the women like that of women from developed countries and giving women as citizens opportunity in political, economic, social and cultural areas not only legally but also constitutionally (Nepali 2037:3 as cited in Tamang 2000). During Panchayat era the New *Muluki Ain* was amended in total eight times but the law for women could not erase the exclusionary practices. Tamang, in her articles ‘Legalizing state patriarchy in Nepal’, has, very beautifully and comprehensively, presented that how constitution of Nepal, especially

of Panchayat period, exclusionary for them. She argues that Panchayat era was an important time in the history of gender in Nepal and that the state and law played central roles in the structuring of a particular form of patriarchy – a shift from “family patriarchy” to “state patriarchy”.

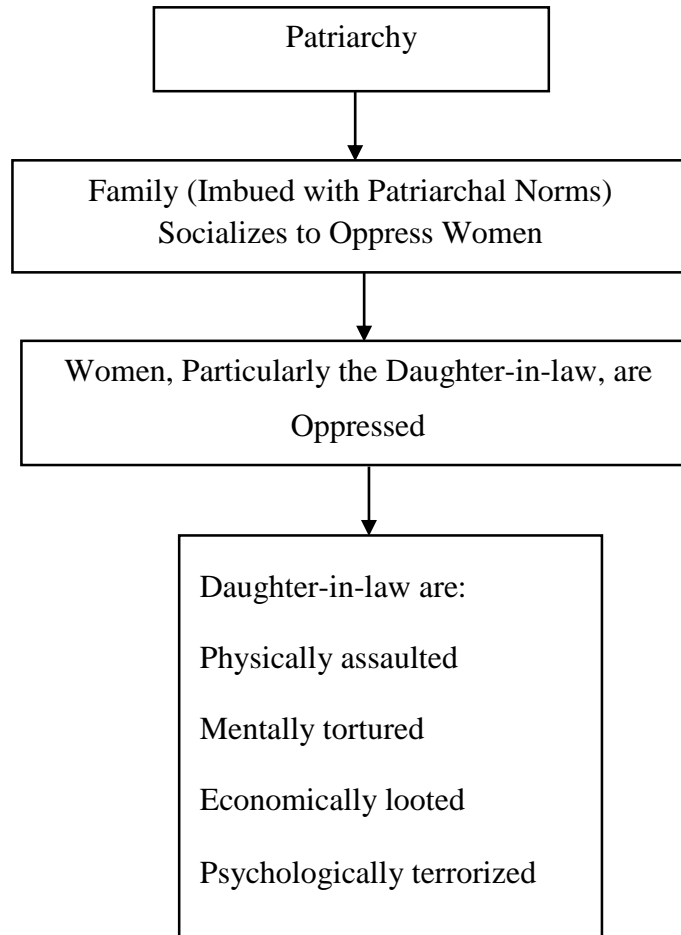
The deprivation from the property right is economic violence. So how state is cheating some of the violence is clearly presented through this article of Tamang. But I do not agree with what Nepali has said about the women’s place comparing them with Magna Carta. This is overstatement as comparing Nepali women with *Magna Carta* in those time whereas Nepali women are not mentally and psychologically free in comparison to their male counterpart even in the present day. Tamang has shown the legalizing procedures of Nepal and through those process Nepalese women are deprived of the most of the access to power but she has not considered the diversity of Nepalese women. She also has kept all the women in a single basket by applying a single looking-glass. In the whole legalizing process, there is a generalized discussion about the women of Nepal, but Madheshi women are not included in that caste-based stratification in the old Muluki Ain or other documents that provide the detail about the legalizing process of the women of Nepal. Tamang too did not speak even a single sentence about those matters.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

I would like to draw, based on the literature that is reviewed about, a conclusion that the women in Nepal are suffering from subjugations made by the patriarchal type of social structure. The cases of subjugations are high in home-settings because patriarchy starts to be implemented in a family before it is practiced somewhere outside. Also, because home is a place where an individual learns and practice the existing social norms. Besides, I have conceptualized that the Madhesh region, which consists of people, both the migrants and indigenous, has given fertile space to violence against women. It is primarily the patriarchy, which is decidedly contributing to oppress women in their own home, and the daughters-in-law have been the key target of violence of multiple types.

The framework that I have made while proposing this research goes on like this.

Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The research design applied here is descriptive and explanatory. Since the first objective of this research aims to discuss the form of violence against women that have existed in two socio-culturally different types of families, achieving this objective demands a detail description of women's experience of violence in their home-setting. We can also call it a narrative research design, because a story in detail is collected to know the relationship between married women and other in-laws in home so as to explore whether there exists any form of violence between two sides, particularly the violence faced by women. This research shows the detail on what and how do married women experience violence in economic, emotional, physical and social aspects of a family life.

Second objective of this study is about analyzing the patterns of violence, and it needs to explain the data on the pattern of violence and give arguments to it. It tries to explore why women are made victims of violence. It identifies some underlying causes of violence, which demands more in-depth study of the married women. The in-depth interview method of data collection, which by nature is in-depth, makes this research explanatory as well.

3.2 Selection of Research Area and Its Rationale

In order to achieve the objectives of this research work, four different regions i.e. Hathilet, Paraul, Basahiya and Dhalkebar, each two from Mahottari and Dhanusha districts respectively, of Madhesh Province, were purposively selected by the researcher. These places were chosen for research site because I could make an easy access for representation of woman of both diverse community. Madhesh region. Hathilet was once a VDC (Village development Committee), and is incorporated into the Bardibas municipality now. And, Paraul was the VDC of Mahottari district, and now it has been made one ward of Balwa municipality. Basahiya was once a VDC and now is a part of Janakpur sub-metropolitan city, and Dhalkebar was once a VDC and is now incorporated into Janakpurdham sub-metropolitan city.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

This research is purely qualitative. It provides deeper insights into the problematized research issues such as violence against women in home. It engages itself in collecting and analyzing non-numeric data while interacting with respondents and analyzing their ideas, concepts, opinions and experiences about social life. It goes for asking open and flexible types of questions, which cannot be put easily into numbers. Also, the experiences of respondents are very difficult to quantify. Besides, this research does not intend to collect data from a large population. Some quantitative data can be seen in the document, but these data give only the demographic details of respondents, and place they are living.

Key sources of data throughout the research are primary. It means that the data in order to achieve the research objectives are collected by the researcher by directly visiting the respondents in the place accessible to them. In this research, secondary data was either unavailable or less relevant as well, because, on the one hand, the cases of domestic violence are not recorded yet in in-depth way, and on the other hand, all the recorded cases of victims of domestic violence may not be easily accessible. Therefore, the collection of primary data demanded the researcher to go to the place, where original data could be found. And, the first-hand data surrounding on domestic violence were accessed by married women of four different areas as mentioned above.

3.4 Universe, Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Total population of four selected areas of this study based on 2011 census was 30,599 while the number of female populations was 15,406 (CBS, 2012). Because all households may not have been practicing domestic violence, or all the females may not have faced violence in home, or all the cases of domestic violence are unrecorded, there is no specific guideline of fixing the sample size. Also, because the victims of domestic violence may not feel it good replying to a researcher, the size of sample was not fixed while collecting data in the early stage. Thus, in order to make sure that the respondents would reply without hesitation about their living with or without facing violence in home, snowball type of sampling was chosen by the researcher.

Following the snowball method helps to find the authentic respondent because the respondents help the researcher not only to find other respondent but also to convince other respondent to give true information or authentic details to the researcher. While applying the snowball sampling, each respondent has equal chance of trusting the researcher because the person familiar to him or her had replied to the researcher about the similar case. While collecting data on sensitive issues like domestic violence, a snowball sampling seems to be more reliable than other types of sampling. It again means, despite the fact that domestic violence is a highly sensitive issue, any respondent referred to the researcher by the respondent's familiar circle has fewer chance of saying 'no' to respond the researcher. Finally, the researcher makes 28 cases altogether from four different societies thinking that it would be sufficient size of sample to collect data for this type of qualitative research.

3.5 Data Collection Tools and Techniques

Qualitative research demands qualitative tools of data collection. Since this research aims to discuss the type and chain of domestic violence and compare it with two socio-culturally different segments of Madhesh region, the tools to be applied while collecting data should be more qualitative than other common types of qualitative data collection tools. I also felt that I need to give more time to the respondent. Therefore, In-depth interview, which expects a detailed interaction in between a researcher and the respondent, is chosen as the proper tool of data collection for this entire research work.

3.5.1 In-depth Interview

Interview is the most reliable tool of collecting qualitative data. It helps to gather necessary information openly and flexibly from any type of respondents. Researchers of qualitative genre apply this tool in order to make an in-depth study of ordinary to highly sensitive issues. It makes a good rapport with respondent of any type. A good rapport between a researcher and respondent is more likely to accumulate genuine information as required. Respondents have high chance of sharing their issues or experiences to researcher if the former is convinced by the latter that the issues should be documented without breaching the principle of confidentiality. By applying the tool, this research tried to investigate how married women had suffered from domestic violence, particularly by their husbands. Both the nature and extent of violence faced by women have been explored and analyzed.

Moreover, a face-to-face (FTF) interview is more likely to yield authentic information from the respondents because the interviewee is closely observed by the interviewer and is therefore unlikely to exit from giving true information to the interviewer. Choosing this type of interview had a strong logical ground, firstly; the interview questions are not fully structured and can be flexibly stretched as required in an open interview, secondly; a respondent can hardly tell a lie during FTF interview than telephone interview or any other online interviews, and thirdly; neither a respondent nor a researcher during FTF interview can underestimate the other side, and it can collect information in detail. A checklist, (see annex 1) in order to cover a wide area of domestic violence, as a guideline was followed while taking interview. FTF interview was decidedly helpful while collecting respondent's experiences, behaviors, thought and perceptions regarding domestic violence.

3.6 Presentation and Analysis of Data

Qualitative data gives information about the quality aspects of social life. It refers the experience and behavior of people being studied. Thus, the information collected from different respondents were first typed one by one systematically as per the research questions. Since the study fully relies on qualitative data collected via in-depth interview, all the data is analysed thematically. Before that, data is organized thematically. In this regard, the major steps this research follows while analyzing the data goes on like this. Firstly, data is organized based on the similarity of meaning it gives. Then, the data will be shown under relevant topics. Thirdly, patterns of data will be discussed. And finally, the collected data will be analyzed with reference to relevant sociological theory or literature. To be specific, this research is more a narrative of analysis, which involves in identifying, analyzing and interpreting respondent's stories.

While making a narrative analysis, the researcher puts poignant statements of respondents into quotes. It may include a brief or a large portion of an interview. The researcher tries to put the statements in quotes as original as the respondents said. The setting of the interview and respondent has been clearly mentioned at the end of the quote. In addition to a narrative analysis, the data presented in this research also follows a case-study analysis. While making a case-study analysis, this research illustrates the

scenario of violence, which includes background information of the respondents, relevant facts about types of violence, and the most important issues surrounding the domestic violence targeted to married women.

3.7 Limitations of the Study

This research has followed the basic research processes, it however has some limitation. Major limitations include the following.

1. This study covers a geographically-bound area of two districts, where only four villages were chosen. It means that the data collected here do not necessarily reflect the scenario of domestic violence of entire Nepali society.
2. The study makes a study of Madheshi women of Madhesh region in terms only of the violence faced by married women by their home in-laws. It does not take into account other types of violence like violence faced by other members or violence made by daughter-in-law to her in-laws in home.
3. The respondent could not reach a large number of samples. It means that the number of samples for this study is 28 only, and can be taken as insufficient.
4. Also, this research gives ample examples of women that have been made victims of violence in domestic setting. It does not take into account violence against women outside home or in the public premises.
5. Finally, this research may seem gender-biased since it has exposed the violence faced by women only. In this modern age, it is increasingly that men, boys, and husbands have also been the victims of violence in their own home. This research has not made the agenda of raising the type and extent of violence experienced by men.

3.8 Processing the Interview in the Field

This research is about the domestic violence of the woman of Madhesh region. It is about the experiences and feelings of the woman regarding violence faced in their household by different perpetrators of their own family members. Since the issues of woman violence is very sensitive, it is quite difficult to record the cases, particularly, cases of domestic violence. However, being a female researcher, it was not very

challenging work for me to approach, communicate, understand and build a confidence with them. In addition, similar cultures, language of Madhesh region along with the being a female supported me to be familiar with them.

My research is very sensitive, so initially, I moved my every step very carefully. In some cases, it was very difficult to convince family members, especially head of the household and/or husband, or the parent in-laws to take permission for interview. In Madhesh region, it is not possible to talk with a woman without taking permission of the head of household or other elder members of the houses. At the same time, I lied with the head of the family members about my purposes to meet with the victims. They could never give permission to talk with their daughter in law if they become aware about my purpose.

Once I selected my research site, I planned properly to meet with some key persons who can provide me some clue regarding the person who can help me to find out at least one cases of that particular village so that I could find out further cases by taking help of that particular one case. So, I have adopted the snowball sampling method to find out the cases for my thesis.

When I entered in Paraul village, it was very hot days. Some people are playing card in a balcony. I asked with them about a school teacher, Manoj Kumar Purbe (my one neighbor has told me that Manoj sir will help me in Paraul for my purposes). The people who are playing card has called upon Manoj Purbe and I moved with him for further talk. I shared to Manoj sir about my purpose of data collection and also said that I have to know about the problems of woman there. I did not share my clear purpose of data collection about domestic violence to Manoj sir also. Because if I had shared it, then from the very next day, it could have been difficult to enter in that village again. I asked with Manoj to provide me a name who can help me to find out the cases. I further asked with him to make meet with LGCDP (Local governance Capacity Development Program) supervisor if she is female (because I was very much aware with the LGCDP supervisor who are organizing and mobilizing the woman for empowering them). LGCDP was a state-led program funded by different donors including DFID. The project was running in all the VDCs of 75 then districts and there was a social mobiliser in each then VDCs. Very happily, Manoj sir help me to meet with Manju Sah, a LCGDP

supervisor working for Paraul VDC. I shared her my purpose clearly to her because she was the person who know the village very well. I asked her to provide me at least 2 to 3 cases so that further I could find myself. She provided the name of first 2 cases and then I returned back to my home.

Next day, I reached there at noon because I know that all the female become engage in kitchen work before noon. And since it was hot days, they take rest during afternoon so that I can communicate with her freely. For first case, Manju Jee herself bring me there and make me meet with her and introduce her. The first one hour was taken to introduce her only and since she was a school teacher, I start to ask the problem about school girls in her school. It was quite difficult to start the interview with her because her mother-in-law comes time and again to check our communication. After one hour of our causal communication, I shared her about my purposes and I assure her that even her name will not be revealed in the thesis but please share me what types of experiences of violence you have experienced in your life. Then she took about 2 hour more to shared me about her experiences of violence. The next day also I went in her house and spent more 2 hours with her to complete the data. Then after I asked with her the name of other case if she know. He provided me the name of other four to five person. Actually, in those time the woman used to go to open place for deification. During that time the woman who had the same problem became intimate and so most of them became aware about each other problem. Then, I selected the cases of violence so that I can reach to different ethnic group. The third day, my confidence level became high and I became aware about the processing of cases. I completed further 4 cases in Paraul. So, all together 5 cases I taken from the Paraul. On an average, each in-depth interview took 4 to 5 hours to get completed.

Then after I moved to Hathilate. I asked with Manju about the LGCDP supervisor of Hathilate, so that s/he can help me there. She provided the name and mobile number of Sambhu Sah who was the LGCDP supervisor for Hathilate VDC. But unfortunately, I could not meet with him face to face but communicated in mobile. However, Shambhu jee gave me the detail of Ranju Shrestha, who became the first point there to help me. Hathilate was far from my own village so I have to stay there overnight and I stayed in

the house of Ranju for three nights. Ranju jee provide me one name whose case was very much familiar there. I met her at 5 o'clock, after her office. And since I was staying in Hathilate, it was opportunity for me to take the interview even evening or night or early in the morning also. There also, each case took 4 to 5 hours in an average to complete. The first case was so interesting. And she was feeling very fresh by sharing me her case. I took her case in 3 sitting about 7/8 hour.

In all the cases either of Paraul or in Hathilate, the interviewee starts slowly in sad mood and enters in sobering and tearing while sharing their experiences of evil past. And I have to do the role of psychological councilor also to raise their confidence again and make them positive towards their life.

After two years, I thought to take some cases from Dhanusha district also. I met with a staff of woman department of Janakpurdham Sub-metropolitan, who provided the name of two persons (community worker) for Dhalkebar and Basahiya. There was a project from CMC Nepal (Centre for Mental Health Council Nepal), which is working for woman in violence, and providing different kinds of support (legal, psycho-social counselling or health related help) to them with the coordination of OCMC (One-stop crisis Management Centre) and other as well. She provided the name of two CPSW (Community psycho-social worker), namely, Neera Bishwakarma for Dhalkebar and Kiran Sah for Basahiya.

After communicating with Neera Jee, I went to Dhalkebar. She provided the name of different woman violence cases. But since my cases were domestic violence only, I selected 9 cases there and started to take the interview. I felt somehow easier to find out the cases in Dhalkebar. Neera jee called most of the cases in open field where it would be better to communicate separately together me and respondent only. About 3 to 4 hours took to interview with the respondent there. There was no fear of the permission of their family members since Neera jee helped me to find out the cases.

After completing interview in Dhalkeber, I moved to Bashiya with Kiran Sah. She also helped me to find out the cases. In Basahiya, most of the cases was under the support of Kiran jee project, so it became easy to take interview with them. But in some of the

cases, it was quite difficult to enter in their house. However, by pretending different way to their in-law, I took about 3 cases there. Most of the victims are staying separately or with their own parents, so in that case it was easy to take case in their home or other spaces.

Likewise, the cases of Paraul and Hathilate, the interviewee of Basahiya and Dhalkebar also starts sharing their experience in sad mood and enters in sobering and tearing while sharing their experiences of evil past. And I have to do the role of psychological councilor also to raise their confidence again and make them positive towards their life

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN MADHESH

Domestic violence against women is widely marked. However, daughters-in-law than other family members have been the major target of such violence in Nepal. The type and intensity of violence differs, but the common types of violence are unnecessarily blaming the daughters-in-law for damaging their personal property and beating them off. This chapter describes the cases of violence faced by daughters-in-law in some areas of Madhesh Province.

4.1 Types of Violence Against Women

Women are prone to types of violence, starting from commonly visible types like physical violence to more complex and invisible like financial, sexual and emotional violence.

4.1.1 Physical Violence

Physical violence is the major type of violence around the world. It is prevalent in underdeveloped countries and societies with low literacy rate. Physical violence is committed more by male than female because the gendered socialization socializes women as obedient and docile character while males are as physically strong and ready to fight as well. This research tried to find what type of physical violence women had faced in their home giving an equal emphasis on the underlying causes.

a. Physical Violence Resulted in Injury

Out of 28 respondents in total, 26 were suffering from some forms of physical violence. All the 26 respondent's experiences about physical violence are narrated below.

"Beaten up by my husband is very common to me. He slaps me on my face. He kicks me ruthlessly wherever he likes. He becomes tired while beating me up. Sometimes, I also lose my consciousness while being beaten-up. My face, lips, nose, ear, etc. are injured so many times. Animals are also loved, but I am not loved as a wife by him."

HK, R1.

The story above indicates that the beating of wife has become taken-for-granted event in that home. While beating the wife, the husband did not seem to be worried of wife's health or unhealthiness. It can be said that the physical violence is chosen as a simple tool of exercising power in a family. Physical violence has become the easiest tool to terrorize wife. The beating husband was not scared of death of his wife once she was ruthlessly beaten and lost consciousness.

While analyzing the case, I feel that the perpetrator had no genuine cause of beating his wife. It was basically the gender inequality, which could have worked effectively for a husband to control his wife. It compels me think that society has not become advanced yet; people are enjoying using physical power to control their counterparts. It also informs that animals are more loved than wives by some husbands. Frequently beating up the wife means either the husband is ignorant of the impact of violence against his wife, or is feeling proud that he is victorious in front of her. Normally, the husbands are seen beating up their wives. But in some families, a woman is beaten up by other members including the male members. Here is a story of a young woman, whose husband is working in abroad, but the wife is physically tortured by rest of the family members.

"I have so many wounds in my body. My father-in-law beats me up. He advises his youngest son to beat me. He does not allow me to go out of this home. I complained the local police about their wrongdoings to me, but I did not get the support from the police. My husband could defend me but he is not doing so, I don't know why. They might have characterized me negatively with him. " BDL, R4.

It is shameful to see that the husband has gone to some foreign country to earn and promote family economy, but his wife is living with tortures given by the same family. The reason is unknown but the husband living in abroad is said to be less sensitive to wife's concerns and is more loyal to head of the family. Husband is not listening to wife's pains but looking for family gains means that patriarchy has rooted the mindset of entire family members that the daughter-in-law should be controlled, even by the junior member. It is also evident that the police administration, because it declined to register the case of complaint made by a woman, is practicing patriarchy than rule of law.

In this modern age, no one wants to be limited in household work. The modern education has taught people to be industrious, work outside and earn, but many families are still keeping women inside the household premises only. There exists a conflict of interest, about whether to send wife or daughter-in-law for job outside, between new generation women and traditional families. Many women have victim of this conflict of interest in home. Below is the story shared by an employee woman:

"My husband feels that sending his wife to work somewhere outside is his fault. You know, it is difficult to live without earning in this age. Being an employee, I need to work with many people in an office, and I sometimes return home late, which my husband cannot tolerate. He scolds me and beat when I return home from work. He feels humiliated and dominated having an employed wife." R6.

Socialization is stronger than formal education, which is evident from above story. In this modern age, some husbands are not willing to send their wife to work outside than doing only the family care. Even if husbands are educated, they fail to realize that the wife also has some personal choices i.e. working outside and earn money, which again contributes to family economy or prestige of the couple. Modern education has taught many good things to people, but husbands are still susceptible about their wife, which is quite contradictory. In order to control wife, husbands try to be innocent and think unnecessary about their wife. No one in this age is unclear that an office has some specific official objectives than romantic objectives.

Some families accept violence more than others. The acceptance of violence against women is key to understand what patriarchy is. Below is a story of a woman, who is restricted to give advice to family matters but is compelled to obey and tolerate the torture.

"Beating up women is the culture of this house. From the early days of my coming to this home as a bride, I am continuously beaten. Women are not given to take part on the discussion of family matters. Sometimes, I cannot control my eagerness and start talking to him about making a better future like how to be rich, how to better educate children, what to buy, where to go for shopping, etc. he stops me. If I say, please listen to me, he attacks me. Once, he broke both my legs. R7.

It is said that religious families look rigid but they lack violence because violence does not come under religion. Similarly, educated families also reject violence because they think that use of logic or argumentation is the best solution for solving any problems. But some families are unnecessarily using violence against people, particularly to women and daughter-in-law. These households refuse to give importance to women to make them planners and discussants of family matters. In these families, household decisions are exclusively made by males. Looking at the experience of R7, "I would like to say that since women are taken passive workers than contributors of family prosperity, how society can still expect that family grows if a woman is suppressed. So many times, I am beaten by my husband in front of my son also. My leg was broken once due to his battering. So many times, my son did mediation between us to bring me together again. My husband has brought four wives since now. I don't know we woman are human being or animal"

Here, we can see how patriarchy has given free will to a man. A male can do whatever he wants. Even four wives are possible for him and also battering to me if any mistake happens from a woman.

We can see some men are beyond the control of anyone in society. And, whatever they can do the most is to torture their wife than others. A respondent said how she is raped frequently.

"He (my husband) enjoys torturing other people. He gives torture to his daughter as well. He drinks (alcohol) a lot and starts quarreling with others. His first priority after being drunk is sex. If I refuse to sleep with him when he is drunk, he beats me a lot. Sometimes the neighbors hear about my suffering and come to settle our family disputes, but he attacks the locals as well. This is too much; I don't like him anymore."

Case details of R11 looks as if society tolerates the drunkards. I would like to argue that because society is patriarchal, it still lacks strict rules of conflict management at the local level and is tolerating the violence against women. Some people still think that people can be terrorized by using physical power, and they are taking control over women's peaceful life. They often make sex as a tool of bargain. In many societies, making public the issue of sexual relationship between husband and wife is taken as taboo, and women have been victim of that.

The last respondent said that she was also survived with multiple attacks by her husband. She had spoken like this:

"I am not ready for sexual intercourse in a daily basis. Now, he is engaged with another woman. I cannot tolerate this. When I make complaining his activities, he beats me. These days, he intends to kick me out and beat me regularly." R28.

Looking at the expression of R28 above, it can be said that women are taken by men only for sexual pleasure. The value of women lies, except in sexual pleasure, in social, economic and political sphere. Sexual life can be made pleasant if each party understands each other. Since men intend only to harass and subjugate women, sexual life becomes painful. A woman needs to fulfill, as per patriarchal ethos, what her husband demands, which any woman cannot do. Therefore, whatever cause is shown, women cannot be liberated till patriarchy exists.

b. Women were blamed for not being loyal to culture

One respondent shares her suffering as:

"I am declined to speak on the household issues. I feel I am important for this house. I work a lot here, but I am restricted to do the work as per my wish. My husband and my mother-in-law beat me often citing my failure to cover my head fully by the Ghunghat. I am also not permitted to talk to guests and neighbors coming to this family. I am surprised that none in this family want me being close to some other members of the same family." BS, R2.

It is very interesting that a daughter-in-law is attempted by all family members to keep isolated from others. It compels us to think that in case she becomes too close to anyone she may share her bitter stories to them and she may be supported by them. Again, it is very easy for anyone to blame a daughter-in-law citing her failure to comply with social norms and culture. Even a worker has freedom while working, but she was not permeated to work in her own style. Excluding daughter-in-law to speak on household matters indicate that she is least important in household planning. What a misfortune! her work is accepted but her ideas are rejected. Daughters-in-law are strictly supervised

so as to ensure their less sharing and weak relationship with other members, growing relationship between daughter-in-law and others may be a threat to perpetrators of violence.

Looking at the story of BS, I came to draw some conclusions like, leadership of women is not accepted at all. Women are expected to perform all the assigned duties, but their rights are curtailed because right to talk to anyone or right to communication is restricted. The families are following the patriarchal norms, which are unfavorable to women's freedom, particularly the daughters-in-law, and physical violence looks like it is a family consent to oppress daughters-in-law.

c. More Intelligent Daughters-in-Law are Intolerable

Joining the name of a woman to any man is the traditional way of insulting women in patriarchal societies like Nepal. Here goes one story told by an educated woman:

"All the family members feel proud if I am beaten up. You know why? My husband is illiterate and I am more educated. They do not want to see me clever. It is very easy for them to beat me because my husband is in India and they share with him false things about my personal life. Now he is convinced that I have extra-marital relationship with others, it became easier for them to beat me again and again." R5.

The best way to damage woman's character is by attaching her name with other man. Patriarchal societies socialize all in a rigid way that a married woman cannot openly talk to others. Husbands are also socialized in a way that they cannot bear their wife talking more to some new man. Before knowing the reality about whether there exists unnecessary relationship between wife and some new men, the husbands start suspecting and torturing women. Besides, a clever wife is not easily digested by the patriarchal family. On the one hand, there exists gap and misunderstanding between husband and wife because they are not living together due to financial reasons, and on the other hand, patriarchal societies expect husbands more educated than wives. The ultimate is the women, who become the real victim. This leads me to conclude that the mistrust or gap of understanding between husband and wife becomes a fueling factor for gender inequality and oppression in home.

People do not only exercise power against women and control them but they also want to show others that they are controlling their wife. Let's see how R8 shares her bitter experience of physical torture.

"I am beaten by my husband alone in my home and sometimes in front of other family members. I am a school teacher, but my husband does not like me earning outside. He feels dominated that his wife also earns. He always forces me to resign from teaching. He terrorizes me by beating me heavily so that I stop earning, and he receives the full honor of earning. At the same time, he has affair with another lady of the same office of my husband. He used to beat me in minor mistakes and sometime without any reason. I feel very guilt, scared and very low from inside, If I get a little bit late from my working duty. " R8.

We have read that the husband and wife are two wheels of the same cart. But in practice, it is not felt by everyone. In case this fact is realized, the family would have more happiness and progress. This truth however is not accepted by the family of R8. The worst was taking place in her home. She was the school teacher, who perhaps teaches students to stop violence, but she is beaten in home. A teacher is normally honored by the large public, but the same school teacher is beaten by her family members in home. It implies that many families are trying to maintain male supremacy at any cost, may be forcefully if needed.

A wife, who earns needs to be loved in general. A teacher, who provides knowledge to children needs to be respected, but a teacher, who is carrying a highly prestigious job and is supposed that he is also respected by her family, is beaten. It indicates that the husbands are so selfish, jealous and intolerable their wife's success and wider reputation. I would like to say after listening to voice of R8 that conflict in a family is the result not of poverty but of patriarchal thinking of its members. At the same time, I realized that how a wife feels guilty and low, though she has not done any mistake rather than little bit late from her office which is indeed no any mistake. In what a patriarchal territory a woman is confined, where she is not able to differentiate what is right and what is wrong. Rather, she is living is a life with taken for granted.

Violence against women exists not only in ordinary families but also occurs in families of political leaders. Here is how a wife of a former Chairperson of a VDC says:

"My husband has a dominating character. He is aggressive. If I do not fully obey him, he starts beating. To save my life, I sometimes go to neighbor's house, where my children join. While returning to home the other day, he again beats me for leaving home the last day and informing the neighbors about family circumstances. He consumes too much alcohol, but he is supported by his mother." R9.

We can put a big question mark on the activities of political leadership and their preservation to patriarchal ethos. Political leaders are supposed to bring positive change in society by making people aware of their rights and concerting those rights into action. But we see many of them are violating human rights both in home and the public. The case of a woman narrated above indicates that the political leaders are using force in their home to control women. Change cannot be a slogan to sing, but to apply, and the husband, who was beating his wife being drunk, indicates that Nepali women are facing serious cases of violence not only because they belong to an ordinary family, but also the politically dominant families are also promoting violence against women.

In above woman's case, the alcoholic sons and his mother had a uniform voice to oppress her. It is the case of structural oppression of women. How can we make our society women-friendly since political families continue violence against women. Once children see that their mother is beaten by father, they firstly have chance of being hostile to father, and secondly may have equal chance of practicing patriarchy in the future. It finally means that the use of violence against women in home is the continued practice of patriarchal oppression.

Patriarchal norms socialize people in a very negative way. Men learn only that the women should be controlled. They do not accept women more talented than or superior to men. And, it becomes an issue of quarrel if a wife looks smarter than the husband. Let's see how an employed woman was behaved in home.

"My husband is never happy with my work. My income is higher than my husband's regular income. He always makes complains on whatever I do. Physical torture is the only thing that he knows to deal with me. He does not like me working with office staffs." R10.

Looking at the situation of 10th case above, the family has taken daughter-in-law as a household worker only. The husband, who is supposed to love and respect his wife, is jealous of the wider scope of his wife. The case also shows that the employed wife is still devalued in some Nepali households. An employed person understands the value of income, but the husband, despite the fact that both the couple are earning, he is not honoring the regular earning wife. Violence is seldom accepted, but a husband may be taken not much bad if he is forcing his wife to go for earning, but the opposite has taken place here, where an employed wife is beaten, so the husband cannot be taken as good. Finally, a man can compete with the outsiders, but not with his wife about who earns more. In order to ensure family prosperity, husband must respect earning wife. In order to prove his supremacy, he could have earned more than to charge or terrorize wife.

d. Women are Taken as Second-Grade Human

All men and women are born free and have similarities than differences during birth. But they are differently taught and behaved after birth. Then a situation comes in which men are considered superior and women are taken as weak and less intelligent. It means that men are made first grade human and women are made second grade human. Women or their real status is misunderstood. This inequality results in violence against women. Here goes one story shared by a woman:

"He beats me when I say 'no' to sex. He does not feel that I have fragile health. Often, I am busy in household work, and feel exhausted. But he forces me to do sex. If I refuse, he attacks me. Both the physical and sexual violence go together." R12.

It is also that some people are born only for sex and pleasure-seeking activities. The experience shared by R12 indicates that the husband was less sensitive to wife's poor health and her disinterest to sleep with him anytime he wishes. The only weapon he could use is force and rape. This case raises some sensitive issues, which in this contemporary age cannot tolerate. In order sex to take place between spouses, there should be understanding with each other. Or, lack of understanding between spouse for sexual activities becomes marital rape, which could damage the health condition of any side. As the R12 said that the marital rape is common in her life, and it has further damaged her already poor health, I would like to describe this situation as the climax of patriarchy, where husbands cannot prove themselves superior by doing any good work than start torturing their wife and damage their life and public image.

Next respondent shared the experience of physical and sexual violence made by her husband as:

"He beats me a lot. The main reason for his attack is my refusal to have frequent sex with him. He tells me that a wife is only for sex. If I ignore to join him when he is willing for it, he takes revenge on me at any time. He has slapped me a lot. I have so many scars on my face." R13.

This case made me think broadly on sex-related issues in Nepali society. Many people lack ideas on how to make conjugal life funny. Because of lack of knowledge that there exists gap between married couples. In case knowledge on health, reproductive health, marital relationships are kept in the curriculum, people would have gained knowledge about it, and have applied in their life. Which could benefit not only the husband and wife, but also the men and women. On the contrary, patriarchal society fails to realize the importance of curriculum and textbooks on such topic, and women have become victims.

Next story looks slightly different. A woman, who was uncared by husband expressed her pain in her words like:

"I have not faced any type of physical and sexual violence, but he hardly comes to my bed as a husband. I am a woman and a wife. I also have some interests. But he does not feel it. Many of my dreams are unfulfilled due to his unwillingness to keep relation with me. The reality is that he was ready to marry with my sister. But once marriage between them was fixed, my sister eloped with her boyfriend. And, I was compelled to marry him for some social reasons. We have a big age gap as well. Anyway, I got a baby from him. And he does not like me anymore. Now, he is engaged with another woman.

The story shared by R14 above indicates the real exercise of patriarchy. Firstly, a girl was forced to marry with an unknown man in the name of social ritual. She had to sacrifice her dreams in front of the patriarchal norms and rituals that a bridegroom cannot be return emptyhanded in the fixed bride elopes with some other man. Secondly, he made her pregnant and left aside without being close to her. The patriarchal society fulfilled its objective of subjugating woman by allowing the husband to make her

pregnant and leave aside. Again, a woman was made a machine to reproduce child by this patriarchy. Thirdly, the husband is in relationship with some other woman, and both the previous wife and the society have to accept the fact.

e. Patriarch is Friendly to Society and Unfriendly to 'Women as Wives'

Some people trust people outside than family members. Some trust other more than their wife. As a result, women become the ultimate victim. Here is one story shared by a woman.

"My husband listens to other family members more than me. He listens to those, who backbite me. He takes hashish and alcohol outside, and after coming home he scolds and beats me a lot. All the family members enjoy backbiting daughter-in-law and making her weeping. One day my husband beat me a lot while I was pregnant. I could not bear the pain of his beating and went to my maternal home to save myself." R15.

Listening to the words expressed by R15 reminded me some gentlemen who look good outside because they listen to outsiders, but are worse in home because they fail to understand the dreams and aspiration wife. The patriarchal society is structured in a way that people outside work for fueling for the quarrel between husband and wife so that wife can be strictly monitored and exploited. The patriarchal family does not only enjoy looking at the victimized women, but also keeps on insulting her.

In day-to-day life, women in general are treated as second sex. In case they become disabled, their marginalization gets doubled or more. Here is one story of a paralyzed women, who is beaten by family members.

"After seven years of my marriage, I got paralyzed. My legs could not raise my body up. I thought my husband deserves to get second marriage, so that he would get love and support from new wife. But things got changed. I became heavy load for the family. My beloved husband, sister-in-law and mother-in-law became harsh to me. Later, they started beating me." R25.

Words above are sufficient to understand how much a woman loves her husband. Realizing her inability to accompany her husband due to paralysis, she assented him to marry next woman. But how could a patriarchal family tolerate a paralyzed woman in

home without any contribution from her. Women should have shown sympathy to her, but that could not happen. Since patriarchy is by nature oppressive to all women, it can never be friendly to a disabled woman. Patriarchy has provoked women to fight against women.

f. Masculinity Feels Proud of Marital Rape

Many men do not understand the difficulties and transitional life a pregnant woman undergoes. Husbands also fail to realize the importance of his pregnant wife or a child-bearing wife, her needs, and his 'father-to-be' stage. In case a pregnant woman is hurt, it may likely to cause miscarriage. Here goes a story of a woman, who was tortured many times when she was pregnant.

"My husband consumes alcohol and tortures me for sex. He raped me when I was not ready for sex during my pregnancy. I tried to convince him not to be too wild since I have baby in my belly. But he never listened to me. One day I cried a lot in mid night, people nearby came to know that I was beaten by him. I was told not to make this issue public." C16.

Patriarchal society has given so many excuses to men. Drinking alcohol by men is widely accepted. If a man commits mistake when he was drunk, he is easily forgiven. Since women are taken as tiny subjects, their pregnancy stage is also mocked, and sometimes overgeneralized as they should not exaggerate the difficulties of being pregnant. A man cannot feel what a pregnant woman feels. The negligence made by a husband to his pregnant wife is costly for both, but the direct cost goes to the wife. It is same like a proverb, 'a knife does not know the pain of a chopping board.' It means that everywhere the patriarchal society has victimized the women. People's attempt of convincing the wife not to bring terrible family issues outside means that society is giving unnecessary rights and discounts to men in absence of women.

One respondent said that she stopped being tortured once she complained her case to her brother. The story goes on like this:

"When I became adolescent, I used to imagine like 'my husband would be like this or that'. But exact opposite happened in my life. I had seen many men loving and caring

their wife. But my husband always tortures me. One day, I informed my brother that I am beaten regularly by my husband. Once they two visited after my complaint, he stopped torturing me. I am scared that he may stop calling me when he returns to abroad work. Last time also, he was told by his parents that I was in relation with some other men here". C17.

The most effective means of oppressing women in this patriarchal society is associating her name with a new man and degrading her sacred character. A woman is supposed to live most of her life with her husband. And if a husband fails to treat her positively, who is there to love and care her? This is the misery of many women in Nepal, particularly in Madhesh, who are living without the love, care, respect and dignity that they deserve to get from the dearest ones. One interesting fact is found here, when she made a complaint with her brother, and the brother complained her husband, the latter stopped torturing. It means that if there exists a strong control mechanism to stop man bullying any women, it would work effectively and all women can live a smooth life. However, this story also verifies that the patriarchal society is lacking a proper men-controlling rules and regulations. There should be a fear-factor for male in order to stop them doing misconduct both to women and their own wife.

g. Beating wife to Mask Husband's Wrongdoings

Some people have multiple affairs with opposite sex. Some have extra-marital affairs. In case people know about that affair or if people having extra-marital affair are complained by any of the side, they try to escape from that or try to defend them saying no to that affair or if they fail to convince, then start beating or threatening the other side. This can be done both by males or females, but more particularly it is done by males because of the benefit they are given by patriarchal structures. A proverb, 'a muscular man can have countless girlfriends', is giving more discount to male to keep more than one sexual partner. R18 says her experience in this way:

"I find him with unknown girls, and suggest him to stay away from them. He says ok, but he repeats the same again and again. When I cannot tolerate him enjoying with other girls, and tell him that I will disclose his relationship with others to the public, he beats me a lot. He won't be improved; he won't stop beating me."

Beating wife has been the easiest tool for husbands to hide their wrongdoings. Making multiple sex partners by male is the product of patriarchal society, which takes male as stronger and women as feeble. In a patriarchal society, a married woman is always scared of making extra-marital affair with any man, but a man can do this easily with any woman or a girl. So, this again is patriarchy, which is worshipping the men, and the men are becoming aggressive to women.

Here is a story of another woman, who was living with multiple assaults in the past, let's see how she describes her agony as:

"My husband was a drunkard. He never left me unbeaten when he has drunk. The worst thing was that I should make him sexually satisfied when he was drunk. In case I fail to satisfy him, I should be ready for any damage in my body including my reproductive organs. Now, he is in a police custody. He is accused of stealing the copper from the factory, where he worked." R19.

The story above shows that a bad-tempered man is likely to involve in multiple misconducts. The man, more a sadist than a husband as the respondent said above, who was sexually abusing his wife, was caught by police for robbery. In my view, he was kept in the custody for a simple reason, just stealing some copper from the factory, but what about the daily torture he has given to his wife? He comes out of the custody after sometime, and may again manhandle his wife. I do not think that he would be punished. Because the patriarchal structure is not easily ready for punishing the males. Likewise, the victimized women are not encouraged to file a case of violence against them, so that their husband would be punished.

Physically assault can never be good. It may sometimes result in disability. One woman shared her experience of torture in these words:

"I cannot hear well by my left ear, which is almost damaged by his punch. After a few years of marriage, he started making romance with other woman, and the tragedy started. None of my body part was left unbeaten, till I continued debating with him about his extra-marital relationship. Now, I stopped quarreling with him. We have neither trust and harmony with each other, nor are we living separately." C20.

After hearing the painful story shared by R20 above, I started thinking, if data on disability is collected by making a question 'why disability', the data on prevalence of disability would be higher, and more male were found to be responsible for causing disability to women. I would like to add patriarchy responsible not only for oppressing women, but also for making them disabled.

The next respondent, who was living with wounds in her head, replied as:

"I have so many wounds in my head. The problem started when I gave some money as a loan to my brother without taking consent from my husband. The money was sent by my husband who was working abroad as a foreign labor. From that day, I am constantly beaten. I told him I won't do it again, but he started suspecting me." R21.

We have seen that many women are doing good both in domestic and official sectors. They know how to handle social, cultural, economic and political issues in private and public settings. But many women are denied to make independent decisions despite their proven ability to deal with multiple issues. The response recorded above indicates that the woman was suffering from multiple wounds in her heads and the injuries were made by her husband. We know that human beings have several alternative paths to minimize the gap or find resolution to any dispute, but physical violence is chosen by men as their first path to deal their wife. In case soft path was chosen to convince her not to do this anymore instead of beating her ruthlessly, she would have stopped taking decision in absence of her husband, or she would not have been seriously injured, and she would have more respect to the husband. But patriarchal society does not care about how disadvantaged life women have lived and this disadvantage cannot be transformed into advantage.

h. Women beaten for Bringing Small Amount of or no Dowry

In some families, the only quarrel is between husband and wife. And, it is mostly that the husband uses physical force against the wife. Let's see how R22 replied to me:

"My husband behaves me like an enemy. He keeps up beating me daily. My head was broken once. He is a drug addict and he has relationship with many women, which

makes me irritating. I am scared that I may suffer from some sexually transmitted diseases, and I refuse to sleep with him, in return, he beats me a lot. He is always in need of money, and he blames me for not bringing enough dowry to this home." R 22.

If one side misunderstands the other side, the relationship transforms into enmity. And the same is applied in husband-wife relationship. That enmity results in damaging the physical body to injury and death of one or both sides sometimes. The above case indicates that drug addicts are not only living openly in society, but also bringing risks in many people's life. It is very common that a woman can refuse to sleep with a drug addict and deny sexual intercourse. Here, the drug-addict husband deserves to be punished by the wife despite the fact that I am not advocating for any type of punishment to anyone, but the opposite is taking place. If we analyze why the opposite happens or why women are punished, the answer is such that the patriarchal has over-socialized women in which they have to be obedient to men and live a highly tolerant life. The practice of taking dowry from maternal home to husband's home by the bride during marriage is the prime example of patriarchal prejudice against women.

In some societies women also oppress women. Here is the case in which a woman was assaulted by her female in-laws:

"My body has digested a lot of physical assaults. Many times, my mother-in-law and sister-in-law have beaten me. They sometimes bite me as well. They complain with me about my parents for not giving enough dowry." C 23.

Some cases of physical violence commonly take place in all societies. But attacking a woman by other women within a family takes place in few societies like Nepal. The traditional Nepali families, which give unnecessary respect to men and his family, compel a bride from the first day of her marriage to worship husband and his sides without any compromise. The continuous practice of worshipping of husband, including the massaging of husband and other female members, by the newly married wife becomes the routine. And, if she fails to serve the members as expected, she is assaulted. Here, the reason of beating or biting is unknown, but the oppressing one woman by other women of the same family means that the family of husband is considered as superior and it is thought to be eligible for exercising power against daughter-in-law.

Society makes so many pretensions to oppress women. The biggest irony is that the women are often compared with goods. Many women are tortured citing their failure to bring enough dowry during their marriage. Another respondent said:

"I was harassed immediately after marriage for not bringing motorbike and other expensive goods as dowry. Later, they started giving me mental and physical torture. I feel always insecure in this home. My husband has manhandled me many times. One day, he pushed me from backside, and my arm broke". C26.

Women are shown as cheapest beings by patriarchal society. The measurement of women in terms of whether they go to bridegroom's home with sufficient dowry is the worst practice of patriarchy. Women have some unique capacities, which men do not have. Thus, they should be highly valued. But in practice, the dignified status of women is devalued measuring them with market goods. Husbands seem happy receiving two gains at the same time; wife and dowry, but in real they cannot be happy, because they are habituated of underestimating the value of womanhood. The women, who was responding that she was pushed from backside, was injured, and could have died, but it did not happen. But the day is not too far because the husband, who was attacking her from backside, may again attack her in an unknown place or during the dark. I would like to say again that patriarchy is the real risk for every woman.

i. Patriarchy is Using Women Against Women

It is widely heard that women are the enemies of women. Patriarchy has developed the principle of 'divide and rule' by which women can be divided and ruled by men. Here is another story about woman oppressing other woman.

"I am blamed for not bringing quality goods as dowry and beaten by mother-in-law. I do lots of household and become tired, but no one permits me take rest. Sometimes, I fail to do the work in a given speed or deadline, and am punished. All the family members enjoy when I am scolded and beaten." R27.

The story above raises few concerns. Firstly, patriarchal society has hierarchized women in layers in which the senior women can make command over the junior women and rule over them. In the name of insufficient dowry, the mother-in-law mostly gives

tortures to daughter-in-law. Secondly, patriarchy has made women fool by providing them false knowledge. For example, by creating a gap between women in the name of senior and junior, patriarchy provokes women to fight with each other. Once women engage fighting with each other, men observe it and take full enjoyment, because it is not men but women are damaging each other. Thirdly, patriarchy considers women as objects by neglecting the fact that capacity of each individual varies, and women also need rest after doing heavy work. A woman is characterized as lazy or weak for she not being able to do work in time. By this, some women gain little advantage by making junior women as their servant, while the maximum advantage goes to men, because lack of unity among women and conflict between them is the best way for men to rule women.

4.1.2 Emotional/ Mental Violence

Emotional violence refers to a deliberate attempt of hurting someone. It causes huge mental stress in an individual. In the cases of domestic violence against women, a woman is emotionally harmed like belittled, intimidated insulted. This section includes some stories shared by women about the emotional abuse that they have faced in their home and the causes of abuse against women.

a. Patriarchal Dictatorship Starts at Kitchen

Kitchen is the place, where food, the first basic need of human survival, is cooked and served to all family normally by a woman. A woman should be honored for preparing food, doing household work like caring to all and making home clean or well-sanitized, but is blamed for not listening to their husbands. One respondent said:

"He (the husband) does not know the cost of household management. He always puts questions on how I manage household activities. He says that I have to follow his ideas blindly or I must be ready for separation. My father-in-law is in favor of my separation with my husband. I cannot imagine living separately with him." R1.

Household activities in Nepali society are mostly carried out by female. The gendered division of labor has, in general, located the women in household premises and the men to office work. It plainly seems that women are the expert of how to manage household

activities. The intervening of woman, as said by R1 above, indicates that daughter-in-law have to work under unnecessary pressure or control of others. In case she fails to obey the patriarchal rule, she should be ready for divorce. It also indicates that a daughter-in-law is not getting emotional support by the patriarchal family.

b. Women are Perceived as Sexually Unpredictable

Many women are not given freedom to talk to other people outside home. If they talk to men outside family, it is taken as unusual. It means that women are suspected a lot for having sexually unpredictable nature. The R2 shared her experience as:

"I had taken a Sangini vaccine to control pregnancy. That vaccine caused unusual bleeding. My mother-in-law makes it an issue of debate in front of other family members, and humiliates me as if the bleeding was the result of extra-marital affair. Father-in-law is also persuaded by her. My husband is also becoming hostile to me. It is intolerable."

The suspecting of women in Nepali society is a traditional custom. And, living with someone, who suspect about the character or a married woman, is emotionally painful.

The R3 has good relationship with her husband, but other family were negative to her. He shared her experience as:

"Parents-in-law intervene me while I talk to anyone. Even they don't like me speaking frankly with my husband. They feel that any person with whom I talk is sexually motivated. They suspend my personal mobile phone at any time they wish."

Patriarchal structure has attempted a lot to damage women's image. Social norms are made so as to control women within the household premises. There become virtuous if they are limited to household premises, and become immoral if they talk to other men. The experience of R3 shows that in case a woman is loved by her husband, the patriarchal family cannot digest it. I would like to conclude that the patriarchal family does not digest a successful marital life.

The higher is the status of wife the high is her chance of being tortured. Here is one story of how inferiority complex of a husband resulted in his wife:

"I am working in a cooperative and he is working as a peon in other office that is not tolerable for him. He blames me for being romantic to my office staffs and gives extreme mental torture." R10.

The next story is about a woman, whose husband is a drunkard. She said:

"He threatens me to go out of his house. He verbally abuses me and my parents. He blames me saying that I have sexual relationship with my sister's husband. It is all about damaging my relationship with my kinship circle". R13.

Men often hurt their wife by blaming them unnecessarily. The most unbearable for any woman is being charged for having extra-marital relationship with an outsider. This has been the trend of degrading woman's morality in the public sphere.

c. Men are Insensitive to Women's Reproductive Health

A woman living with mental anxiety shared her experience of torture in this way:

"I was not given enough food during pregnancy. I was suspected by all of my family members for being pregnant. Even my husband was not taking my side. He pressurized me to live with my parents. I was depressed a lot during pregnancy. I am not relieved yet. He is insensitive to me, kids and the family." R12.

A woman lives in a great transition during pregnancy time. She expects extra love and care in that period. She is more likely to get mad if not cared or if constantly criticized. She may go into permanent depression. But a patriarchal society and husbands are insensitive to women's suffering.

The next woman shared her mental stress as:

"My husband interrogates me always about whether I have made any sexual relationship before and after marriage. It makes me humiliating. I have to satisfy an alcoholic husband during night. One night I could not tolerate his sexual abuse and cried. The case became widespread. I cannot show my face in front of others from that date. People blame we wives than the criminal husbands" R16.

Backbiting culture has jeopardized women's marital life. One woman said how her husband was misinformed about his wife by his parents:

"I had a very pleasant life before. But once my husband went to gulf country for earning, my in-laws started backbiting me and misinformed my husband that I am in relationship with other man. Recently, I am told that my husband is living with another woman. I am living with massive level of mental and emotional torture now." " R17.

d. Women are Taken as Passive Recipients

A woman, who was obliged to marry with a man, narrated her psychological suffering as:

"As per our custom, a groom in the day of marriage cannot be returned without a bride. My sister, who was fixed as bride, eloped with her partner, and I was made the bride in her place. There exists 15 years age-gap with my husband. We do not have understanding between us. He thinks like a grandfather, and I do not like his thinking. No similarity in thinking and doing between us." R14.

The gap of understanding between a couple is a problem throughout the life.

e. Dowry has Causal Relationship with Torture Against Women

A woman, who was tortured for not bringing too much dowry during marriage, said:

"I am full of mental and emotional (clarify) pain. He demanded a motorbike as a dowry from my parents during marriage. But my parents were not that rich to give a bike. These days, he is regularly consuming drugs and alcohol, and abuses me. I know he is also under a huge social pressure. He speaks dirtily about me and my parents." C15.

Many women in Madhesh are criticized for not bringing enough goods and cash as dowry. One woman, who was regularly tortured for not satisfying her in-laws, expressed her pain as:

"Everyone in this family scold me. My father had given 10 lakh rupees in cash as dowry during marriage. But husband's family is still asking for bike. I am tired listening to their greed." R26.

The next woman, whose family spend a lot in her marriage is also blamed for additional goods as dowry. She said:

"Altogether 28 lakh rupees was spent in my marriage. 20 lakh was spent for buying goods and 8 lakh was given as dowry to my husband. Most of the amount was taken as loan. Due to heavy expense incurred during my marriage, my father is depressed. I was happy only for 10 days of my marriage. Then after, my mother-in-law started to talking everywhere that my father had not given good utensils and materials. All the time she shouts at me and scold me and my parents." R27.

The last respondent expressed her stress as:

"I was the single child of my parent. My husband was also living with my parents because all the property of my parents will be transferred to me and my husband. At the beginning the marriage was very happy. But after 10 years of my marriage, my husband started dating with another girl. I am totally disturbed." R28.

f. Other General Issues that Resulted in Emotional Violence

A respondent with full of tears said:

"My husband is a policeman. I work as a peon in a school. We were in love before, and did arrange marriage. I got a baby few years after marriage. Since I became a mother, he stopped loving me. People say that he is in living together with a girl. I am betrayed." R18.

Many women in Nepal failed to get continuous love and care once they become mothers. Reasons vary, but the husbands, who stop caring their wife like before can be claimed as selfish. Women are loved till they produce children, then, they are considered as less important.

"My husband is a drunkard. He stopped taking responsibility of me and the kids. He has not given me citizenship, and I cannot do any job outside. Now, he is accused of stealing copper from the factory, where he worked, and is jailed. I feel worse being married to this man." R19.

Many women in Nepal are stressed by the extra-marital affair of their husband. Below is the story of a woman, who looked highly exhausted:

"Few years after marriage, my husband started an affair with another woman and the real tragedy started. Now, he is formally living with that woman. The family members appreciate him and criticize me. They threaten me to leave their home. I have not received a single rupee from this family. Working as a peon in a school, I have managed the cost of my kids." R20.

A woman, who provided loan to her relative without taking consent from her husband, shared her pains in this way:

"My husband was in gulf country. Once, I gave some money that he sent to me from abroad to my brother as a loan, which I failed to inform in time. Then, my husband became angry and the mistrust started to grow. Now, he has come to home, and we have scarcity of money. I tried a lot to convince him. I started a small restaurant-like business (bhuja, Pakaura), which is sufficient to cover our family cost, but the mistrust between still exists. I am punished for a small mistake." R21.

Here are few lines shared by a woman:

"My husband is a drug addict. He is also a porn movie-addict. My father-in-law sent him abroad so that he stops drug. But he returned home. Currently, we live together, but he forces me to satisfy him like a porn-star. I feel insecure living with him. He is also asking motorbike with my father and giving mental torture for Motorbike." R22.

This indicates how husbands exploit wife in Nepal.

"My husband is in relationship with another women, whom the family members accept. He has not slept with me for 6 months. I am betrayed." R23.

After 5 years of marriage, my husband started an affair with a neighbor woman, and they married. I accepted that because a man can marry two or more women in my community (Islam). He again married to another women. He continued marrying another two women, and left home. I am alone now. It is difficult for me to manage the cost of children." R24.

If a husband is busy in marrying several women one after another irrespective who looks after the previous wives and children, all the wives and children become victim of a single man. Polygamy is also a practice of patriarchal oppression.

Another disabled woman replied how he was neglected by family members:

"I was physically fit before marriage. But after some time, my legs stopped working. I thought of my husband and allowed him to marry a new woman. But after his second marriage, he stopped talking to me. Nowadays, none in this family put concern about me." R25.

Disabled people in general are marginalized, but women with disability are doubly marginalized.

Due to economic hardships, many husbands are living outside home as earners and wives are living in home. This small gap if increases, becomes harmful to women. Because the family and society start hurting her by making several attempts of assaults, be it emotional or physical assaults. A case below is about a woman, whose husband was in foreign work. She said how her family members keep on intimidating her.

"My father-in-law keeps on reproaching me. Local police helped to settle this issue. But later, the community started blaming me for quarreling with father-in-law. My husband became indifferent to me after this event." R4.

It is painful for an individual being annoyed by anyone. But it has been the reality of Nepali women being harassed without a genuine reason by the patriarchal society. Society cannot digest any woman, who speaks against oppression in family. Despite looking at whether a woman is right or wrong, society too becomes hostile citing that her family is hostile to her.

Disrespecting someone also come under emotional violence. Here is how a woman is ordered like a worker:

"My mother-in-law always shouts at me. She never speaks politely with me. She humiliates me like a slave in front of others. I am criticized for not obeying them. I don't like being insulted by her in front of guests." R5.

Some women are respected for being employed, while some are discouraged for the same reason. Few words shared by a woman, who was criticized for working outside, are quoted below.

"I am always threatened to quit the job by family members. I feel proud of being employed among my circle, but all the family members are negative to it. I doubt which to quit; the job or the family. My husband during the sexual intercourse harasses me attaching my name to different persons of my office and gives me tension. If I do overtime work in office, then I have to be ready for being insulted. I am living not for myself, but just for my kids, family and society. I tried to damage myself, but I could not kill due to my responsibility to my two kids. I would not have survived if I did not have kids." R6

Verbal abuse is one unique way of harassing women. Here is another story:

"My husband scolds me with vulgar words like 'prostitute'. He already has three wives and is preparing to bring another new wife in the age of 70 years. It is my fate in this life being insulted by my husband." C7.

For some women, mental stress has been the only reality to accept in their life.

The next woman said:

"I want to depart him (husband), but living with small kids without a husband is more challenging for me. I am a teacher ... I have to work outside home which is not tolerable to my husband. Because he has an affair with a girl in his office (cooperative), he suspects me that I too have an affair with someone in my office. He harasses me and scolds me by attaching my name with different staffs of my office. I am living a hellish life." C8.

The most challenging for R8 is neither could she spit nor could she swallow. Neither was it easy for her to live with them nor will it be easy for her living with small children.

Nepali women's situation in family has been that they have to choose the worse of the worst. One respondent said:

"Either I have to tolerate the criticisms or I have to depart him. First option is better for me." C9.

It seems clear from the version of R9 that society is too negative for the divorcees. So, Nepali women prefer to tolerate the oppression in family than to choose for next life.

Some women face more stress than normal women. Here goes one story, which is about the threat of life.

"I cannot share with you all the tortures that he has given to me. He threatened to take my life so many times. He quarrels with my natal family as well. Many times, I have escaped my death. I have lived with him for all 26 years with risks." R11.

Living with agony given by the husband for a prolong period has disastrous for mental and psychological wellbeing of any person.

4.1.3 Financial or Economic Violence

Financial violence involves making a person financially dependent by making a total control over financial resources, restricting the access to money or withholding employment. It creates so many barriers to women to earn money, spend for their living, and to plan for financial management inside home. In this section, I narrate in brief about the cases of financial violence that the daughter-in-law have faced in their home.

a. Patriarchy Discards Women's Personal Needs

The first respondent said:

"I am simply given food to eat, but not given money in need. I don't have enough cloths and simple cosmetics, which I need to join social functions. I sometimes sell the grains in absence of family members." R1.

Financial needs of a woman are not understood by patriarchal family.

b. Patriarchy Makes Women Economically Vulnerable

My husband is not giving money for household expenditure. I often need to go for my father for my personal expenses. In case there is no salt in home, I need to wait for others." R2.

Too much dependency of a woman on in-laws.

My husband is working in abroad (gulf country). I have many things to handle personal as well as social. But he does not send me money directly. I need to rely on father-in-law and it makes me feel embarrassed. He gives me much less money than I required. If I need one thousand rupees, he gives not more than only one hundred. Also, I am not allowed to do job outside. They do not take me positively if I work outside. I am unnecessarily controlled." R3.

Right to job of a woman is curtailed by the patriarchal family.

c. Patriarchy is Looting Women's Income

Some women are exploited economically. Here is the story of one respondent, who earning was seized by the intimate partners:

"My husband does not give me proper cloths to wear even if he brings it for others including our kids. I work outside as a labor, but I am not allowed to keep money with me. I am not allowed to spend my income to satisfy my personal need. My in-laws grab all the money that I have earned from the daily wages." R5.

Above case shows women not getting new clothes during special occasions. Also, her small income was also looted.

Another respondent said:

"I work as an assistant accountant in an Agriculture Farm from 20 years. My husband disturbed me a lot expecting that I resign from job. Though I am economically independent, I cannot spend a single rupee without his consent. When I get salary, I need to submit it to him." R6.

Full control of a woman by husband. Discouraging for doing job and seizing her income, double exploitation of woman.

Next respondent said:

"When I was young, I was not supported financially by my husband. Now my children are grown-up, and they are providing me financial support." R7.

Not supported financially by husband before but supported by children in later life.

A school teacher said how she was financially controlled:

"My husband has his own income, but he always inspects my money. I am a school teacher, and I deserve to utilize it. But in reality, I cannot spend it without taking his permission. He takes my salary as his own." R8.

d. No Self-control of Personal Income

Next woman said:

"I am earning some money from my agriculture field. My husband is unwilling to give me money that I need. Instead, I have given him money sometimes." R9.

Women want to be self-dependent financially, but are dictated. They can earn a lot if they are set free.

A woman having higher income than her husband replied as:

"In order to escape physical violence and dependency on husband or family, I started earning. I earn little more than my husband. I do not have financial crisis but since I earn more than my husband, my husband feels guilt and so do violence on me." R10.

Confidence level of a woman was found high since she was employed. Even the employed women are looted.

A woman living separately with her husband expressed her financial situation as:

"We worked long hours in our own hotel, but all the income was under his control. Now, he lives with his second wife, and I have my own cottage-type of hotel. I have no financial problem." R11.

Next woman, who is separated from her husband, said:

"I had so many financial hardships in the past. My husband used to work in gulf country as a labor, but did not send me single penny. Back to home, he has become drunkard and I am living with my kids. I am working as a helper in a photo studio. I do not have any financial problem. My parents have given me small land (5 dhur land) where I have built a small house. I am staying in my own house with my kids and I have registered a file of divorce with my husband." R12.

Women living with husbands are living under financial dictatorship. But they feel liberated once they live separately.

"I am looking for a job. I am an uneducated woman. I am very poor. I am not given money from family. My husband did not get success from foreign employment. Due to increasing financial loss, he has become alcoholic." R13.

It seems there is no financial violation against woman.

e. Women are Given Unnecessary Economic Stress

Another woman shared her financial problem as:

"I do not have money. I do not have a job. My husband does not give me money. He did not send me a single penny while he was working in abroad. Currently, I am working in a cooperative and taking care of my daughter. My husband is in love with another woman, whom he needs to care." R14.

A woman with two kids shared her financial problem as:

"We had a love marriage. But he is no more with me. I am living with two babies. He is not taking care of these children. I have started working in a shop. I do not have the financial violence. But I was not provided economic support in the past as well." R17.

Not taking financial responsibility of two kids and a mother.

A woman taking care of a baby replied:

"I work as a labor in my neighborhood. I am taking care of my baby in my own. I have not got any support from husband and his family."

Next respondent said:

"I have opened a restaurant and doing good economically. But my husband takes all the earning in the evening. He does not work and earn. He works as a seasonal labor somewhere, but I do not get money from him" R21.

A husband is not giving money, but is seizing money from wife.

Next woman said:

"My husband did marriage third time with a woman and living with that woman forever. I have no financial support from my husband or his family. Currently, I am living with my own parents with 5 kids (4 daughter and one son). I am suffering from financial problem to take care of these kids."R24.

A husband was busy in reproducing but not feeling responsible for child-caring. He looked economically mischievous.

A disabled woman said:

"I am not cared by my husband. I am a disabled and I want to make disability identity card and receive some disability allowance. But my family members are not giving me citizenship." R25.

Next woman said"

"My natal family has given some property and land. I don't have financial problems despite no financial support from my husband and his family." R28.

A male is entitled as so-called bread earner in a society. But if a woman suffers from domestic violence, the male or husband forget his responsibilities. In such cases, most of the time, a male become so irresponsible.

4.1.4 Sexual Violence Against Women

Sexual violence refers to a situation in which someone intends to forcefully take part in a sexual activity without taking consent from other side. It includes sexual harassment, rape, and rape culture. Sexual harassment includes the non-consensual engagement in sexually-motivated activities like grabbing, pinching, or rubbing the body parts. It further includes making sexual remarks on others, sexual staring, and exposing sexual organs to other. Rape refers to non-consensual vaginal or anal penetration of someone with body parts or any object. Rape culture means the environment, which takes sexual violence as a normal activity and is justified. It is rooted in patriarchal societies and is promoted or fueled by patriarchal norms on gender inequalities and oppression. This section highlights some issues in which women were made victims of sexual violence.

a. Women's Sexual Desires is Underestimated

First respondent said:

"I have not felt sexual assault, but he does not understand my desires. Sexual relation is an important part successful married life. But he takes it as a machinery work." R1.

It shows that the husband is one-sided during sexual intercourse. He thinks only of his pleasure and not about the pleasure of his wife.

R2 and R3 also said that there was not mutual exchange during sexual contact. It again means that husbands are selfish during sex as well.

Sexual relation should be in mutual exchange but response of R2 and R3 shows that woman not a human being having her own feelings and emotion. Rather woman is an object of patriarchal system where a male can do as per their own wish and desire. The desire and feeling of woman do no matter.

b. Women are Given Torture than Pleasure During Sex

One respondent said that she was compelled to be ready for forceful sex. "He never comes gently with me. He rather forces me for it when he comes from work. He takes it negative if I am not ready immediately." R5.

It is so surprising that what types of concepts there is in society. If a wife rejects for sexual relation, then the husband suspects on her. Otherwise, the sexual relation happens forcefully without caring of the feelings of a wife.

A woman said that her husband made unnecessary sexual remarks to her. "He wants to keep sexual relation me but before starting this relation he gives me much mental torture by attaching the different person's name of my office. He suspects that I have another sexual partner. He however fails to make it happen with me as well." R6.

In her case, the husband keeps sexual relation as per his desire but since she is working in a cooperative, sexual relation is very brutal type. The woman is working outside from home in a office and her husband is a business man whose shop is nearby the home. Husband feels inferior if wife works in office. The husband feels low and humiliated if a wife becomes happy with other colleague of the office. And the whole frustration of this husband comes during their sexual relation. In this case also a husband can fulfill his own desire but the woman stay in mental trauma.

c. Husbands are Unwilling to Listen Sexual Interest of their Wives

Another woman said: "We never talked on sexual matters when I was young and when we were together. I am old now and my husband has done four marriages so it was not easy a mutual and normal relations of husband wife between us. I was compelled to keep quiet about my sexual desires." R7.

How a male takes a woman as his property. He has freedom to do as many marriages and wife as he like. And as a owner treat with his animal and property, he treat the same with his wives to. He goes with his wives for sexual relations as per his desire. It is up to him with whom and how he keeps sexual relations with which wife. And a woman keeps quiet during the sexual relation like an animal. It is the extreme side of patriarchy. Next respondent said: "Even during sex, he takes my name with some other males of my office. I have hardly enjoyed a really married life with him." R8.

Actually, a woman has to suffer a lot if he works outside the home. Definitely there is possibilities of male staffs also. And a wife talking and working with another male is

not tolerable to a husband. It is because a woman does not have her own existence alone. A husband feels degraded if a wife works outside and that frustration comes during their sexual relation as well.

A woman said that she was given pressure by her husband during sex. As she said:

"He is not kind in sex. He is wild and aggressive. I am forced to tolerate his sexual styles and activities. I feel pain during the time." R9.

It seems as if the respondent above was experiencing marital rape. A woman does not have her own desire and feelings.

R20 and said that her sexual life was lack of charm. There was no pleasure in doing sex. This is because her husband has done second marriage and she is abandoned by him and whole in laws family.

d. Husbands Giving Torture to Wives by not Making Sexual Contact

Next respondent also said that she was suspected by her husband about her sexual relationship with others. According to her:

"I don't have sexual relation with him for months. However, it depends on the mood of my husband. I have no interest to sleep with him because even during the contact he needs verification that I have no sexual relationship with others or my office staffs. He considers me as a prostitute." R10.

A working woman has to face many tortures in different way and even at the time of their sexual relation. If a wife works outside, talk with other male and most importantly if she earns more than his husband, then a wife definitely comes under the violence. And it is the inferiority guilt and frustration come during their contact as well.

R21 said, "My husband doesn't love me and have no sexual relation between us because of money issue which I have given to my own brother without taking consent of my husband. However, there are a lot of other violence except sexual one"

This case is somehow different than others where husband has not done another marriage and yet he has not sexual contact with her. But again, the mode of patriarchy where a woman could not take her own decision single. Here, because she has given some money to his own brother has led this case towards the divorce between them.

e. Marital Rape is Common

Next respondent's remarks were also like marital rape. In her words:

"When he drinks alcohol, he needs sex. He beats me if I refuse to sleep with him when he is drunk. Even sex with him is more like a rape. He did not leave me immediately after operation of my uterus." R11.

A male allowed easily to drink and to take drug if he wants. And after taking the alcohol or drug, he become unconscious and do with his wife as he like. In such case marital rape is obvious. Many women are surviving with marital rape.

Another woman's words verify this:

"He says that I need to be always ready for sex as per his desire. I should be polite and obedient to him even if he is drunk. He beats me in the midnight if I refuse to have sex with him." R12.

She is also facing marital rape. And she has to fulfill the desire of his husband very obediently. Patriarchal society has made a husband so brutal and inhumane.

Next woman said:

"In order to prove himself as brave, he comes after drinking alcohol and asks for sex. Being drunk he is highly insensitive to sexual organs. He sometimes demands sex while I was breast-feeding my child." R13.

Again, this is the case of marital rape. The patriarchal society demands a man with superpower. And firstly, he shows this power upon his wife. A wife is his object so he can use it as he like. This is the mindset of patriarchal society.

Next woman said that she was lacking love during sex. In her words:

"I expect that my husband should be sexually sensitive to me. I feel as if he could talk to me openly on sexual matters, enjoys with me, listens to my wishes, etc. He never is kind to me. He has a girlfriend with whom he wants to marry after our divorce." R14.

She does not have sexual relation with his husband because he has another girlfriend with whom he wants to marry. Sexual contact does never happen if a husband does not like. And it is very simple to a male to be indifferent with his wife and move on with another woman. This is because male is given patriarchal authority to do whatever he likes.

R15 said: "He forces me for sexual intercourse during my menstruation. After taking drugs and hashish he starts shouting at me using vulgar words."

This case is again a case of marital rape. A husband has that power to do what he likes. He is such a inhumane that he does not care the health problem of his wife. If he desires then he can achieve whatever he likes from his wife.

Next woman said: "He offend me during sex. I was scared of my fetus being damaged during pregnancy sex. I was beaten a lot for rejecting sex during that time." R16.

Again, the case of marital rape and the inhumane behavior of husband displayed over a wife from this case.

"I did not want sex during my pregnancy, but I could not save myself. I was beaten harshly for ignoring his sexual desires during that time." R17.

She is also facing the marital rape. Even in her pregnancy period, she is not left by her husband. R18 said that there was no mutual understanding during sex. So, it was neither good nor bad. My husband has already done second marriage with whom he is living in Kathmandu now. In almost all the cases of domestic violence, either a woman is suffering from brutal sexual relation or ignorant from her husband. The ignorance occurs, if the husband is engaged with other woman otherwise in most of the cases wife is facing marital rape. In this case, her husband has already done second marriage so she is abandoned by her husband and other family members as well.

Many men offend women after taking alcohol. They become proud of being toxic and demand sex with woman. Many women have become victim of these sexual offenses. One woman said, "I cannot sleep with a drunkard man, but he beats me and forces me for quenching his sexual thirst." R19.

"He is a drug addict, and he becomes violent during sex. I don't like his rough treatment during sex." R22.

R23 and R24 were out of sexual contact with her husband.

In the both of the cases of 23 & 24, husbands have relation with another woman and that's why they are not making any sexual contact with their own wives.

A disabled woman expresses her pain as, "I am physically paralyzed now. I am left by him. My husband has done second marriage as well. I am facing other forms of violence too much" R25.

A woman herself is the victim of patriarchal society but if she is disabled then her pain multiplied here. Here, the husband has done second marriage very easily, when his wife became disabled. She is facing a lot of other forms of violence except sexual violence.

A woman, who was forced to have sex during menstruation and illness, shares her bitter experience of sexual abuse as: "I become painful during menstruation, but he does not understand it. He forces me for sex during such times". R26.

This is the case of marital rape which is seen very common in the domestic violence sufferer woman

R27 and R28 also shared similar views about their sexual life. Both of them were unheard during sexual intercourse. Both have faced difficulties and violence during the period. Wives' feelings and desires are always ignored which we can see through a lot of cases including these two.

4.2 Analyzing the Causes of Violence Against Women

Looking at the data on how women in four different settlements of Madhesh region are entitled to be the victims of domestic violence, this chapter analyzes the types of violence that the women have faced under different headings and sub-headings.

4.2.1 Physical Violence Against Women in Madhesh

Physical violence, being the most common form of violence against women in the study area, resulted in 26 out of the total 28 women. The topic physical violence against women is elaborated with the help of six different conceptual categories below.

a. Husband-only Involved Cases of Physical Violence

In cases of domestic violence against women, the husband is reported to be the major perpetrator. The husband, while giving physical torture to his wife, may do so in absence of other people i.e. privately or in presence of other people inside or outside the family i.e. publicly. In this research, out of the total 26 cases of physical violence faced by women, 19 of them were committed by husband-only. If we convert this case into percentage, the husband-only involved cases of physical violence comprise 73% of the total cases of domestic violence against women. Now, let's see whether the violence took place in between husband-and-wife-only or in front of others.

b. Took Place only in Between Husband and Wife

Physical violence made by husbands against their respective wives was also looked in terms of whether they took place in between husband and wife only or it took place among other people. Out of the total 19 cases of physical violence, none of them took place only between husband and wife. It is widely said that the fight between husband and wife should be limited to themselves, so that nobody comes in between husband and wife, and their relationship could be improved. But it could not happen so.

c. Took Place in Front of Others

All the 19 physical types of domestic violence against women perpetrated by their respective husbands in front of family members indicate some social realities. Beating a wife in front of others means firstly that the husband wants to claim his superiority over his wife. Secondly, the husband seems to have received a family support in controlling his wife, otherwise, he would not have dared to beat her in presence of other members. Thirdly, a husband has in mind that the terrorizing of wife is good because it would be difficult for her to discard her husband anymore. If the husband had not beaten her wife in front of others even if the wife has harmed the husband, she would have chance of improving her habit, but men lack minimum sympathy to women, and beat in front of others.

d. Involvement of in-Laws only Except Husband

We have heard that sometimes women are beaten by in-laws in a family rather than by their own husbands. In Nepali society, a woman is beaten by sister-or-mother-in-law. But they are also beaten by other in-laws. In this research, 4 women were not beaten by their husband but by their in-laws-only. They all said that they were beaten sometimes individually and sometimes collectively by the family members. For example, some men were living in abroad, while their wife is beaten by other member of family like mother-in-law. In some cases, father-in-law and brother-in-law were also found causing physical assault to a daughter-in-law. The reason behind giving physical torture to a woman by family-in-law is to make her powerless in front of all members of a patriarchal family.

e. Violence Combinedly made by Husband and in-Laws

Out of total 26 cases of physical violence against women reported in this research, 3 cases were made combinedly by the available family members including their husband. The involvement of family members in beating a woman indicates that there is family consensus on physical violence against women. In my view, this type of violence, where all family members are involved, is the most severe form of physical type of domestic violence against women. It can also be said that the family is producing a culture of violence, encouraging its members to join violence, and socializing them to practice violence against women.

f. General form of Violence

Violence results in different forms. Some violences are simple, which do not make any damage to person's body, so that they are easily digested. Because these forms of violence are taken for granted, they occur frequently. But some physical violences are brutal and destructive in nature, result in injury and require medication of the injured. Out of 26 cases of physical violence, 17 cases are general types of violence, which were often taken place but not causing serious damage of organ and life of the victim. Slapping, beating, pushing, pulling the hair, etc. were some types, which were frequently taking place.

g. Violence Causing Damage of Body Parts, Injury or Illnesses

Some types of physical violence like biting or hitting on sensitive organs, causing scars on damage in skin, fracture of leg, damaging the hearing ability, etc. cause serious injury and chronic illness to the victim. The cases of severe physical violence against women recorded were 9 in which 2 women hardly escaped their death, while 1 case witnessed the fracture in her leg, 1 lost her hearing ability, 3 women were severely beaten during pregnancy.

h. Violent Culture

This is a concept that I invented while collecting data for this research and writing this dissertation after reviewing the literature on violence. I have read about rape culture while reviewing the literature on sexual violence against women in which the society does not make serious concern on rape case, rather takes it simply, which cause or promote rape culture. Following the same line, I have found that the family and society are not making significant effort to resist violence against women but are taking it simply. As a result, violence against women is increasing day by day. In some cases, I have found that the society, which should have honored the woman, who resisted violence made by her father-in-law, was questioned her revolutionary character of struggling with him. People being hostile to woman, who struggled against the violence she has faced, neighbors discouraging C16 not to disclose her violence with other people, police officer's failure to register a complain made by C4 about the torture given her father-in-law, the same women being blamed by community for quarreling with her father-in-law, etc. are few examples of violent culture, which is the product of patriarchal society. It further indicates that the patriarchal society is preserving and reproducing violent culture against women.

4.2.2 Emotional or Mental Violence Against Women in Madhesh

Emotional violence refers to non-physical behaviors to frighten someone. It includes activities like harassing, blackmailing, insulting, threatening, or pressurizing someone so that he or she can be fully controlled like a toy. In cases of domestic violence against women, a woman is emotionally harmed means she is belittled, intimidated, ridiculed

or insulted. This section lists out some forms of emotional violence faced by women and analyzes how women were made the victims of emotional or mental violence in their own family.

a. Harassment and Disrespect

Harassment is an act of ridiculing so as to make someone upset. In psychological types of domestic violence against women, a man or the entire patriarchal family defames women. In this research, none of the women were respected by family members. Many of them were found harassed either by husband or family members. They were disrespected as they were often called as 'prostitute' (C7), blamed for quarreling with senior family members (R4), called with dirty languages (C15), etc. This allows me to conclude that patriarchy harasses women in general and the weakest women in particular the most.

b. Threat for Divorcing and Killing

Many women in this research were found threatened to live separately. Causes vary, but they were threatened to take their life. The C1 was threatened to live separately or as a divorcee, the C11 and C22 were threatened to take life, and the c13 was threatened to leave. Everyone knows that the women do both the reproductive and productive activities by which not only the men but also the family is taking benefit. But women are threatened as valueless or workless beings. Men have in mind that the divorce is injurious to women, it is equally harmful to men, family and children. But the patriarchal society terrifies women that she only becomes the victim of divorce.

c. Shouted and Criticized

All the respondents in this research in some ways were criticized for not following the patriarchal norms. They are criticized for not obeying their husbands or seniors, are insulted in front of outsiders or guests, humiliated like slaves, criticized for not caring their husband, criticized for not satisfying husband, etc. Many of the women were criticized for not bringing dowry from their natal home during marriage. A woman in home is not only a worker, but also a wife, a mother, and a responsible member of a given family, but she is often shouted like a slave and criticized for not catching them

up while working or following the social and cultural practices as before. Patriarchy is a product of a specific society and it may be replaced by some other forms of practice, which is not realized by men. In order to control women like a menial worker, family makes several attempts to criticize her in terms of the words she has spoken, activities she has carried out, and ways of working she has followed, among many others.

d. Mistrust/Suspect and Damaging the Public Image

One cannot tolerate in case he or she is mistrusted or suspected by the close circle. Women also become victim of unnecessary suspects and mistrusts made by their nearest and dearest ones. If a woman is mistrusted, she is more likely to be suspected again and again. It in the long run damages her image in the public. In this research, all the 28 responding women were mentally oppressed, and many of them were found depressed due to lack of trust by their families and unnecessary suspects about their marital relationship. The side-effect of Sangini Vaccine resulted in the over-bleeding of R2 was suspected by family members as the result of abortion she made after keeping extra-marital sexual relationship with another men. The feeling of R2, R6, R8, R10, R12, R13, R16, and R17 being over-suspected by the family members, including their husband in some cases, shows that women are deliberately embarrassed as weaker beings. Society also judges women in terms of how they are behaved by their given family and its members. If a woman is mistrusted, she would also be suspected by the public, and her public image would also be damaged. Thus, I view that the patriarchal society and its manifestations in a family keeps on damaging the women's social profile thereby making them pessimistic to this beautiful life. A woman is suspected means a man is also involved in that suspensive case. But patriarchal society suspects and blames only the women for being involved in the same case that the men have involved.

5. Neglected

Neglect means taking important person, object or issue as trivial. In a patriarchal society, women are neglected in all spheres of social life. In a family, a woman is neglected and not listened by others. Husband in a patriarchal family also fails to read what his wife desires. Many wives are failed to receive the required care. In this research, majority of the women replied that they were uncared as they deemed. The ways they were neglected were not being able to get love and support, the

underrecognizing of their work, denial to bring women into plans and discussions on family management issues, financial management, etc. Women have made significant contribution to their husband and families, but their contribution is not accepted. Moreover, patriarchal family keeps on assuming that everything in the family would be in tract even if it lacks women. In this way, the key target of patriarchal society is to minimize the crucial role of women in making the home like the real home.

4.2.3 Financial Violence Against Women in Madhesh

Financial violence takes place visibly and invisibly in home and outside. It is an act by which a person is made financially dependent on others by making him or her a total control over financial resources, restricting the access to money or withholding employment. It creates several barriers in women's life to earn money, spend for their living, and plan for financial management. In this section, I narrate some cases of how women have faced financial violence directly or indirectly in their home.

a. Direct Violence

Women in home are looted. They are looted in a sense that their personal income is forcefully seized by other family members, particularly the husbands. I call husband's seizing the personal income or material goods of their respective wife is a direct violence against them. In other words, direct financial violence against women includes not only the cases in which women's property is controlled by men or head of the household, but also the damaging of some documents such as academic certificates, citizenship card, marriage-related legal documents, etc. that are required to submit for employment are not given to them or are damaged, their material belongings are taken forcefully by others, their salary is taken to by husband, etc. In this research, among the 28 total respondents, 6 said that their income or property is either forcefully taken by their husbands or they have given to their husbands being frightened.

b. Indirect Violence

A clear majority of respondents i.e. 16 women out of 28 in total said that they had faced too much economic hardships. Firstly, they were not provided the minimum material resources such as food to consume, clothes to wear, money for kitchen goods and

household maintenance. Not giving a minimum amount of money in advance to a female kitchen-worker by making her too much dependent on husband or the head of the household to get salt, sugar, and spices is a kind of violence against them in my view. It is an indirect type of economic violence because women are blamed for not cooking in time or for not making the food delicious. Male's or household-head's failure in kitchen management by keeping the kitchen worker, i.e. women predominantly, under control and the torture faced by that worker due to mismatch between household planning and household activities is more a violence against working women than it seems in general. Likewise, giving less money than required to women for shopping household goods is another type of violence against women, because the cost of goods is high and they should be bought but the women, who have gone for shopping lack the required amount. It also gives other unnecessary stress to women. For example, if a married woman has not put Bindi in her forehead, bangle in her hand or Tilahari or Mala in her neck, she is questioned and sometimes harassed by society. But the same society fails to consider that many women do not have money to buy those culturally valuable symbolic objects required for a married woman. Equally shameful is the permission many women need to take from their respective husband to make expense on their personal or household goods.

Children, we know, are not personal property of an individual. The taking of responsibility of child education, health, food and nutrition, cloth, sports, freedom, and love, goes not only to the mother, but also a father is equally important to ensure these. However, this research has found a lot of men, father of children, not taking care of their respective children as required. Men are oppressing women, but many children are affected by the oppression. Also, some cases were seen that they were lacking the parental property in home. These scenarios are crystal clear to make me feel that the violence women have faced both directly or indirectly by a patriarchal family is proved highly expensive for the growth and development of a family.

4.2.4 Domestic Type of Sexual Violence Against Women in Madhesh

Sexual violence means enforcing or manipulating someone into unwanted sexual activity. Under the sexual violence a person forcefully takes part in a sexual activity without taking any consent from another person. Sexual violences are of types, but I

have included sexual harassment and rape by husbands, and rape culture and husband's reluctance to accept wife as sex partner as major types of sexual violence under this heading.

a. Marital Rape

Marital rape is the act in which the legal spouse makes sexual intercourse without taking consent from another spouse. Sexual relationship between a husband and wife is socially and legally valid, but it becomes an offense if any of the two sides fails to take the consent. So, even if the sexual activity is taking place in between the formal husband and wife, it becomes a marital rape, if it lacks a consensus. In this research, 13 women, which is almost a half of the total respondents, had survived with marital rape. The most frequent type of marital rape was more damage of female reproductive organs because of husband's (R5, R9, R11, R12, R19, R22, R26, R27, R28) insensitively playing with sexual organs of women. Besides, many women said that they were forcefully raped during pregnancy (R16, R17), menstruation (R15), breastfeeding their child (R13).

b. Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment includes the unpleasant behavior of someone to another person in which the inappropriate sexual remarks are made. These may, in between a husband and wife, include attaching someone's name with other opposite sex by either a husband or a wife. In this research, direct sexual harassment was made to 3 women, but suspecting them with different men was highly common. The respondents (R6, R8, R10) said that they were harassed not only during their quarrel with their husbands, but also during their intercourse with them in the night. Looking at this type of harassment I came to analyze that the husbands were maintaining double standard during the sexually pleasure-seeking game i.e. by blaming their wives and being engaged sexually with them. The patriarchy has constructed so many layers of oppression and harassment against women in which men oppress women sexually and verbally at the same time.

c. Indifference to Sex

Many things happen in between men and women or among anyone in this world. But one thing that takes place only in between a husband and a wife is sexual act. Thus,

sexual intercourse is considered as the most sacred activity, which should satisfy both the husband and wife. But we have read the news or heard in our society that many couples are indifferent to sexual nature and desire of each other's side. And, it is because we are living in a patriarchal society, the husbands, in order to exercise their power against women, are becoming hypocrite and are reluctant to feel the sexual desires of their respective husbands. It is all about torturing a wife. A wife is obediently waiting for her husband, who is expected to talk to her about sexual wishes, fantasies and stories, to make her excited for it to happen, and to make marital life more romantic and divine. Since they are deliberately left from this process, there is none with whom they can share their sex life. Thus, I have taken it as one major form of sexual violence because neither their sexual interest is listened by their husbands nor can they share with any other men. All women, except R4, were suffering, in one way or other way, from minimum sexual communication with their respective husbands.

d. Rape Culture

Rape culture is known basically as a culture, which is practiced by society by not making attempt of resisting the cases of violence. If a society formally resists the cases of rape, the cases of rape would be minimized, and the rapist would be excluded by the society. But this has not been the case in Nepali society in general and in Madhesh region in particular. Women are not speaking against marital rape because they think that it would be against their husbands. In my view, the socialization of women by making them weaker and obedient to husband, men, family and society, and of men by making them stronger and ruler of wife, women, family and society has given birth to rape culture and its promotion, preservation and reproduction. Thus, despite the lack of specific data on whether there exists rape culture or not, I have made a conclusion by looking at the types of sexual violences that the women have experienced, that the rape culture, whether visible or invisible, is the deliberate production of patriarchy.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF RESEARCH

This chapter presents the summary of the research, conclusion and the theoretical reflection of the findings of this research with the previous research. Those reviewed researches have provided insight for the research; however, findings of my research do support the previous research and at the same time it provides some platform to do in depth research which can explore the violence within violence.

5.1 Summary

This research, in previous section, has fully presented and analyzed the 28 collected cases of domestic violence of four places of Madhesh. All four forms of violence, that is, physical, mental, sexual and economic violence are found in the most of the cases. The theory has already provided the insights that patriarchy dominate, subordinate, oppress and control the woman. Since men thinks their full right on a woman and so violence is common to them. In 19 cases out of 28, the woman are suffering from physical violence through their husband only while in 4 cases the physical violence is done by their in laws only, and in rest of the cases they both, husband and in laws, involved in the physical violence, All most all the 28 cases are mentally and emotionally suffering from the violence. In terms of sexual violence, some cases are experiencing intolerable types of sexual relation which we can say a kinds of rape like, while others are neglected for sexual relation. In few cases, the husbands who are engaged with other woman except her wife used to avoid and neglect her wife for sexual relation. In economic violence, the perpetrator either seized the money earned by their wives or control to do job in outer space out of home. While in most of the cases, a husband or in laws are ignorant towards the financial need of a wife and daughter in law. Patriarchy and Patriarchal society is playing a great role for occurrences of violence against woman. In Madhesh, dowry is also a major reason for the violence against woman.

5.2 Conclusion

Patriarchy is a web where a woman get engulfed someway to suffer their life. Due to patriarchy not only a male but the surroundings of male are also involved in creating

the characters of patriarchy, i.e., suppression, oppression, domination and control of male over woman. Patriarchy shapes and encourages, through certain created values and beliefs, each of the family members in a family, and each individual of a society to act in such a way that change the real meaning of a human beings. Different society has different values and beliefs so in manifest in different way. Patriarchy has many facets, it change the real humanness, and about everyone is ready to play their role to sustain patriarchy. This study concludes with some major points regarding the relation of domestic violence and patriarchy.

5.2.1 Patriarchy is Multi-Faced

Major finding of this thesis is that all women has been the victim of violence in any or multiple forms within family. It can be generalized to all women particularly in Nepali context that among variant forms of domination and oppression, women cannot get rid of the multi-layered grids and channels of patriarchal oppression. A woman may escape the physical violence, but is prone to other economic violence. Likewise, a woman may not experience the any terror from her husband, but the masculine regime sends some other person, be it in the form of man or a woman, to exploit her mentally or physically. This has been the case of all respondents in this research, who were subject to multiple violences in their home.

5.2.2 Family is the Prime Location of Women's Oppression

Family has been the most fertile seedbed for the production and reproduction of different forms of oppression against women. In order to reproduce the violence, all the members of family are socialized to make women as inferior beings, and the cases of women being assaulted are either taken easily for granted or are concealed. Moreover, the women, who attempt to disclose their pain to others are threatened to be kicked out from the family. The fear of living as a divorcee and the likely pressure it gives to women to take care of their children, and their rare chance of being married with some other men and live a successful married life become the reality of many women for not to leave the oppressive family and husband but to tolerate or digest the torture they are given.

5.2.3 Patriarchy is Oppressive Firstly to Women, and to All

Patriarchy has been the great obstacle to the progress of men and family, which is failed to be aptly accepted by patriarchal consciousness. I have recorded many cases in this research, where a simple misunderstanding at the initial between a husband and a wife or the quarrel between a patriarchal family and its daughter-in-law is made chronic, and all the members have suffered to a less or great extent. After hearing many men's reluctance of returning to abroad work after being aware or a part of violence in home either directly or indirect, many husbands becoming a drug- or alcohol-addict and their degrading social image, many wives being frustrated of a marital cum family life, is beneficial neither to any husband, nor to a man, nor to any wife, nor to the family and society. In case families are out of patriarchal violence, they would have peace and harmony among all, and it has high chance of yielding progress and higher reputation.

5.2.4. Patriarchy has Damaged the Real Manhood

Patriarchy has converted men's real manhood to animalhood. It has given the false consciousness that they as strong and deserve to govern. Men are socialized to be wild and aggressive in order to claim the winner. However, their futile race of ruling the society has damaged themselves, family, children and potential to grow. The beating of wife, sexually assaulting her, behaving like a slave, threat to divorce, suspecting like a whore, encroaching her freedom, killing her womanhood, blaming her motherhood, locking her in a narrow kitchen, looting her personal income, competing with a 'poor' wife, terrorizing a 'poor' wife, none of these activities come under manhood.

5.2.5 Patriarchy is the Most Injurious Type of Socialization

Patriarchal socialization is stronger than formal education. Violence against women has been the culture, because people both the men and women are socialized to practice violence than reject it. It is seen in this research that the physical violence against women has been a fact to be accepted than opposed, and sexual assault of women has been the issue to hide than disclose. Therefore, violence of any type against women has become a part of common culture in a family setting. The ideas or practice of many men and women, which have been given space for discussion in this research, more tolerating they seemed to be, of not opposing the patriarchal oppression formally or

strongly indicate that their formal education has not helped them become revolutionary or change-agent. Patriarchy is man-made, so, it can be demolished, but neither the men nor the women, respondents of this research and their voice about them or their family members including their husbands, were neither reformist nor revolutionary to change the existing patriarchal structure, networks and relationships. We can say that the education is masculinized, but it can also be changed, and for this woman must have a revolutionary mind because they are the experts of what violence is and how the society affected by violence against women, they are more knowledgeable than the formal readers about oppression since patriarchy oppresses women more than men.

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ANNEX**CHECK LIST**

1. What was the behavior before marriage from mother, Father and other members of family?
2. What type of marriage held for your marriage?
 - (a) Love
 - (b) Arranged

If your marriage was arranged, then it happens in your consent or was it forceful?

3. If your marriage happen based in dowry then what was the forms of dowry?
 - (a) Cash
 - (b) goods or assets
4. How long you feel convenient in your father in law home after marriage and when the adverse situation started?
 - (a) Who was the first person from which you get that such behavior?
 - (b) What was the reason for misbehavior with you (dowry, your beauty, your work or other things?)
5. What types of misbehavior/violence done with you?

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE:

- (a) Push you, shake you, or throw something at you?
- (b) Slap you?
- (c) Twist your arm or pull your hair?
- (d) Punch you with his fist or with something that could hurt you?
- (e) Kick you, drag you, or beat you up?

- (f) Try to choke you or burn you on purpose?
- (g) Threaten or attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?
- (h) Physically force you to have sexual intercourse with him even when you did not want to?
- (i) Force you to perform any sexual acts you did

EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE:

- (a) Say or do something to humiliate you in front of others?
- (b) Threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you?
- (c) Insult you or make you feel bad about yourself?

SEXUAL VIOLENCE:

- a.) Sexual intercourse was forced against your will,
- b.) The way of sexual violence against your will

ECONOMIC VIOLENCE:

- a.) You are prohibited earn money by doing job, work or business.
 - b.) Withdraw money from your account without your permission or will.
 - c.) You became out from the home and abandon from all sorts of property.
5. What is the effect of violence in individual, family and societal level?
 6. Coping Mechanism and Help Seeking Behaviour:
 - a) What were you doing when you are misbehaved inside home from your husband or family members? From whom you do share all the incidents? (Probe: talk with friend, believe on god, do not care what happened, live alone, crying or quarrel equally?)

- b.) To whom you shared first about all the incidents occurred with you? (Friend, family members, neighbor,)? What long you tolerate all the things and then you shared first time with anyone?
- c.) How did the person helped you to whom you shared your pain? (gave you shelter to stay with them, called the police, contact you with lawyer, or gave you money)
- d.) To what extent you became satisfied with the help provided by different person?

7. Strategies Adopted to Come Out from Violence:

- a. How did you plan to get rid from the violence (compromise, divorce or others)?
- b. What strategies you thought or taken to come out from the violence? (Individual, family, community, institutional or legal or NGO/INGOs)
- c. Did you get the help as per your expectation from the above mentioned help seeking strategies?

8. Survival in Post Violence:

- a.) Now with whom you are living? (Alone, fathers home, separated or friend)
- b.) How is your livelihood maintained?
- c.) If you have children then with whom they are living?
- d.) Who is taking care of them?