

**GENDER PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES
AMONG SOME CASTE/ETHNIC GROUPS OF
POKHARA, NEPAL**

A Dissertation

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in

SOCIOLOGY

By

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APPROVAL LETTER

I certify that this doctoral dissertation entitled “**Gender Perceptions and Practices Among Some Caste/Ethnic Groups of Pokhara, Nepal**” has been written by Mrs. Gyanu Chhetri (Bista) under my guidance and supervision. Mrs. Chhetri has, in regular consultation with me and two other co-supervisors, made necessary revisions in it by incorporating most of the constructive comments and suggestions received from two distinguished internal evaluators of Tribhuvan University. In my opinion, this document is now satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology. I, therefore, strongly recommend the final version of this doctoral dissertation for approval and acceptance by Tribhuvan University.

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RECOMMENDATION

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that, in my opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

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Feb. 11, 2007

DEDICATED TO

My Parents

My mother, Yashoda Devi Bista, who did not have an opportunity to go to school despite being born and raised in Kathmandu, the capital city of the country, due to social prejudice towards girls' education at her time.

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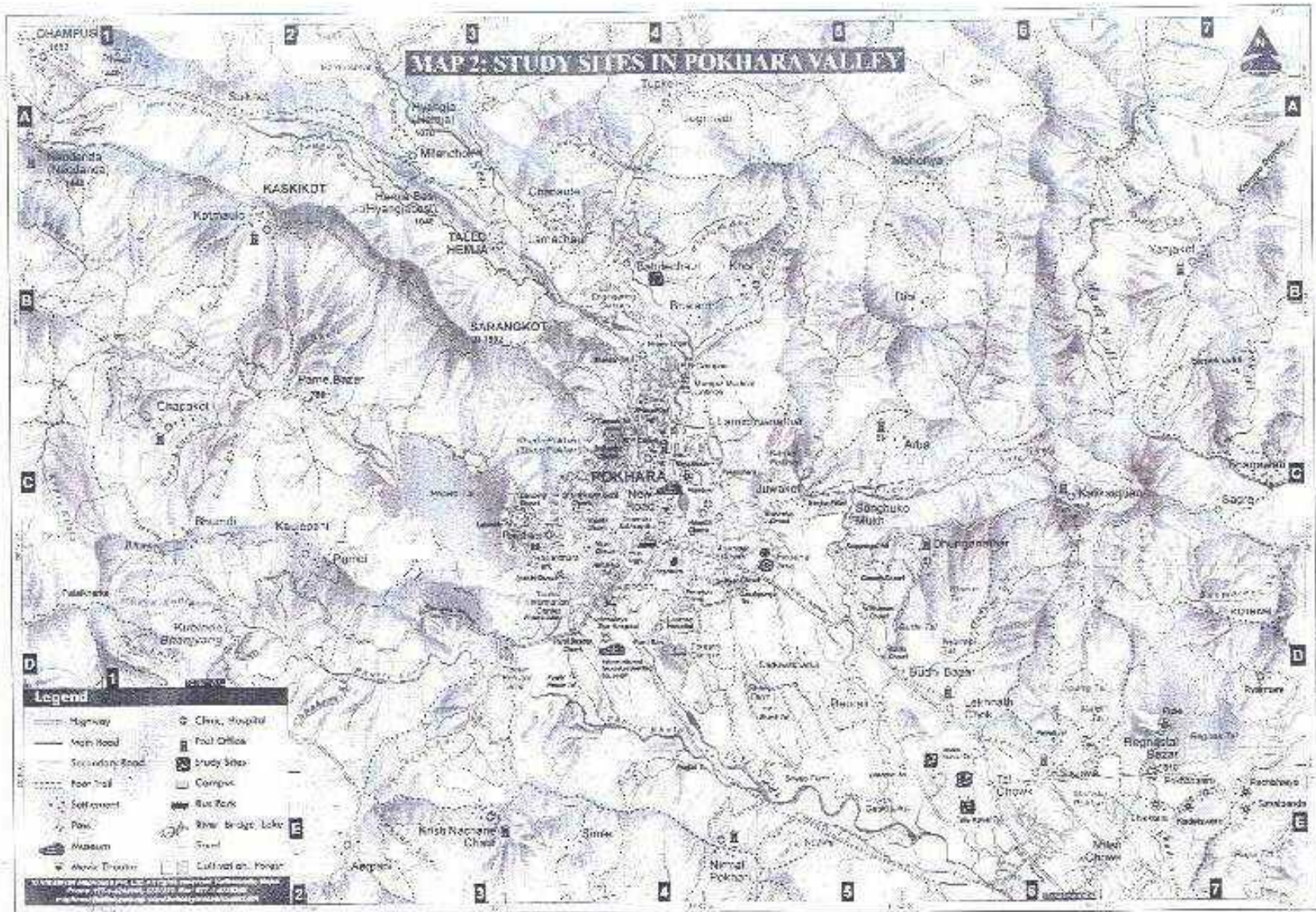
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study examines the prevailing gender perceptions and practices among people of different caste/ethnic groups in Nepal. Bahun, Chhetri, Kumal and Gaine living in Pokhara valley are the groups of people selected for this study. Caste/ethnicity is employed as independent variable whereas people's perception and practices on gender discrimination, equity and empowerment are taken as dependent variables. Intervening variables between these two are age, sex and educational status of the people selected for the study. Though societal norms and values guide people's perceptions and practices the study examines how social forces -internal as well as external, influence people's perception and practices on gender. The study discusses a number of issues including how gender is constructed among different caste/ethnic groups of people, whether these people perceive the presence of gender discrimination in their societies, how gender discrimination is manifested and also the ways suggested by the people under study about doing away with such discriminatory thoughts and practices.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Women's issues and gender equity has drawn the attention of many all over the world. Agencies at the national and international level—governmental and non-governmental—have been talking about improving the lot of women and disadvantaged groups of people through various programs including empowerment. Ever since the observance of the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985), global conferences on women held in various places have attracted thousands of women from every corner of the world to address the problems, to come together to work for a future of gender equality, development and peace. The UN Decade for Women in particular gave rise to the Women In Development (WID) approach which emphasized that women were an untapped resources for economic development. The essence of the WID approach was to ascertain what women actually want and do

within a society and then provide them with opportunities, skills and resources to enhance their participation.

This study uses empirical data to analyze gender perspectives and issues, which have drawn the attention of academics, activists, development professionals, policy makers and researchers alike in recent years. I will assess gender perception and practices in Nepali society and examine gender issues in development in the context of Nepali social and cultural realities—i.e., the norms and values as well as the behaviours emanating from them. It is argued that the gender perspectives and gender issues and the related practices in development programs and projects in Nepal are mostly informed by external (which may be called the ‘Western’) perceptions and definitions. The intriguing questions before us are: How far such concepts and perceptions about gender explain the associated ideas and practices in Nepali society? How appropriate or adequate are the external perceptions and models in talking about as well as in promoting gender-balanced ideology and practices in this country? What social and cultural factors would have to be accounted for in making gender discourse and practice understood better by people from all walks of life in the country? This research seeks to answer these questions.

In the context of Nepal, even within a single cultural group, there are people with different social and economic status. For example people are educated or uneducated, they are rich or poor and they are the residents of urban or rural areas and so on. Even within the households, people are related to each other by blood or by marriage. In another words, family members may be consanguineal kin or affinal kin. Within the family members also, some women may be considered sacred and accorded higher status while others may be taken as dangerous (see Bennett 1983). However, the favourable attitude towards and treatment of daughters compared to daughters-in-law changes once the daughter gets married, after which she is then treated as an 'outsider'. Thus women's self image and decision making power depended on their different roles as mothers/ mothers-in-law and daughters/ daughters-in-law (Shrestha 1999). Brahman/Chhetri (high-caste Hindu) women in Far West Nepal during their menstrual and childbirth impurity are untouchables like the low-castes. During these periods these women are confined to a small and

separate huts known as "*Chhau Ghar*" (Cameron, 1998). Such is not the case of educated women of the same caste group in urban areas in particular and women of any caste/ethnic group in any other region in the country.

As such, gender, which is about socially and culturally constructed differences and relations between men and women, varies across space, cultures and societies through time. The study on the role and position of women in various communities in Nepal could be cited to argue that gender perceptions, roles and relations tend to vary markedly among different cultural groups (Acharya and Bennett 1981).

In Nepali society, gender perception and practice as such is inherent in social institutions like marriage, family, kinship and socialization, in religion, in rituals and even within legal provisions. Beginning from initiation rites to death rituals, in distribution of household resources and opportunities, right to spouse selection, choosing residence after marriage, decision-making in household and in the community men and women are accorded different roles and they are expected to behave differently. In the songs sung by Nepali women during *Teej* festival (fasting of Hindu women for their husband's long life), one can find many instances of differential attitudes and behaviours of parents towards their sons and daughters and daughters and daughters-in-law. These are some of the examples of gender discriminatory practices, which may shape perception of the people on the subject. Therefore, stories of gender discriminations at the local level have to be heard; and the perceptions about gender relations and empowerment need to be understood. These could be steps towards a well grounded and contextualised discourse on gender issues in Nepal.

Societal norms and values guide people's perception and practice on gender. That is why social practices in Nepali and western societies are not alike. Social norms, values and socialization process are different in these societies. As such social norms and values relating to gender issues vary accordingly. People act and behave the way they are socialized and as expected by the society to which they belong to. Besides, societal norms and values also influence the creation of gender roles for any given time. Once defined and accepted by the society, such roles are

taken on by individuals as given. Of course, with the passage of time norms and values may also change and consequently the gender roles too may get redefined. But in general, the gender perceptions and practices of any society- once defined tend to be passed on from one generation to the next with little changes. However, when some social force which could be internal or external to the society intervene, a change in the social harmony (i.e. performed roles and accepted relations) will occur in the society and/or in the social practices. Therefore, it can be said that gender as social construction is created and recreated over time according to the course of social forces. As such people tend to change their attitude and practice according to the new definition and perception on the subject. For example, with the government of Nepal passing the Bill of equal parental property rights for both sons and daughters, the existing norms and values of Nepali society relating to inheritance of parental property will change from “sons only” to “sons and daughters.” Such new definition of rights to parental property will gradually become established norms and values of the society. With such established norms and values of inheritance of parental property for both the sons and the daughters, the new generation is going to be socialized differently compared to their parents. They would accept the inheritance of parental property to the sons and daughters not as recreated social reality but rather as a prevailing social norm and value of the society they live in. Consequently, the perception of gender equity and practices emanating from such inheritance rules put into force will have become a commonly accepted norm in the society.

There are distinct ways of seeing the world across cultures. Milton (1996) makes a distinction between “culture” and “cultural perspectives”. Cultures are limited to particular groups of people and thus we talk of a Sherpa culture, an American culture, etc. In contrast, within a given culture there can be groups holding on to different cultural perspectives—depending on their social, educational, and other backgrounds. Besides, a cultural perspective may not necessarily be confined within one culture. Thus, as Milton argues, a single culture can include many different cultural perspectives and any particular cultural perspective may prevail in a number of cultures. I propose that gender equality can be seen as an example of such a cultural perspective. Nepali people may be subscribing to various cultural

perspectives—some endemic to this society while others having a wider space of influence. Given this, different social and cultural groups in Nepal are likely to adopt a particular perspective on a given issue like gender equality and thus as Milton argues (1996) there may be one gender related cultural perspective held by different social and cultural groups in Nepal.

Development organizations (projects, INGOs etc.) incorporate gender concerns in their program/activities at their donor's interest (see Note 1). Activists on the ground of the NGOs funded either directly by the donors or partnering with INGOs transform donors' intentions into action. The way gender is perceived and defined in development discourse in Nepal may not always be based on local perceptions. The need of locals including the nature of gender equity tends to be defined externally. The discussion of gender in development is primarily focused on the idea of women's participation in development activities, in decision-making, and empowerment. In order to understand gender discrimination or equity in Nepali context it would be necessary to identify factors which would enhance or hinder women's participation in development activities, in decision-making and the indicators of empowerment in the local context.

The researcher believes that the discourse on gender and development in Nepal is mostly informed by western perception of gender equity. Concepts of gender equity developed in a different social cultural environment are adopted in the developmental practices in Nepal. Various approaches of development, e.g. welfare approach, equality approach, participatory approach, empowerment approach, equity approach, gender mainstreaming approach (WID, WAD, GAD), etc., are used for addressing gender equality and equity. On the other hand, Nepal started to show concerns on addressing gender issues only after participating in International Conferences on women and gender. Commitments on improving women's condition and towards gender equality were made at International level following UN instruments on the same. Women cells were created under various Ministries. Ministry of Women was established in 1995 shortly after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Country Strategy Paper was prepared. Income generating program for women started during early 1980s such as Production Credit

for Rural Women (PCRW). Similar program for women known as *Jagruti* was carried out throughout the country as a national program in early 2000s.

Gender equity may be perceived as desirable by all in Nepal. But there may not be one definition of gender equity agreed by all. People may or may not agree on definition of gender equity in their own context. It will be clear if we look at the issue closely. Debate in favour of and against the equal parental property for sons and daughters in Nepal could be one example of this. However, the issue of gender equity, which has been raised in Nepal in recent decades, has drawn attention from all. But people's perceptions and definition of gender equity may vary according to their cultural background -caste/ethnicity, social background -social status, educational level and place of residence (urban/rural) and by socioeconomic background like economic status of the people. Those advocating to the idea of desirable change in the definition of gender equity would mean discrimination persists but they may or may not want to challenge the existing norms and values. While those favouring undesirable change would mean that they want to contain the discriminatory practices whatsoever.

There may be gaps between people's perception and practice of gender equity in everyday lives. Nepali people could be considered to belong to one of the following three groups on the basis of their perception and practice on gender issues. I will call these groups as (i) Traditionalist, (ii) Activist and (iii) Passivist. It is argued that there are people who want to maintain status quo and therefore look for options for defending prevalent norms and values enhancing discriminatory practices. These are the people I consider *Traditionalists*. They are against any change because by maintaining the status quo their interests are best served. The second group consists of people who have knowledge of gender discrimination in various aspects of Nepali society. These people desire gender equity and change. These people are *Activists*. Within *Activists* also, some people are explicitly active. They work as a pressure group and challenge the existing discriminatory practices. They want change, as they often claim, for those who are suffering from the prevalent practices. The third group consists of people who live divided life between their knowledge of gender discrimination and yet practice to contain it. Such people could be called

Passivist. They have knowledge about the discriminatory practices but can not go against and therefore tolerate it. I would call these people *Passive Activists* because they also want the change but they somehow can not do it themselves and say “*ke garne (what to do?)*”. They have no other choices and can not afford to loose what they have. But these people in the long run could join the Activists when they either think that they have come a long way and could not tolerate any more or carry it any further.

We can not simply list men or women in one group or the other as Traditionalists or Activists because neither of them is homogenous. There are various caste groups, e.g., Brahman/Chhetri, Dalits and Ethnic groups (Janajati) in Nepal. I have taken these as *Cultural Groups*. People within each of these Cultural Groups may be educated or uneducated; belong to middle or poor class, resident of rural or urban areas etc. However, “gender” discrimination is an issue for all of these groups and such peoples’ perception on gender may vary because of their ‘membership’ in one or the other of such groups within the various Cultural Groups.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

Gender issues in Nepali society are systematically tied with the basic social structure in which cultural values are deeply embedded. Nepali society in the rural context seems to have a value system that tends to keep females segregated from men and also inhibit them from interacting readily with outsiders whether they be men or women. The traditional norms and values of Nepali society and culture seem to distinguish separate spheres of activities designated for males and females. Females were and still are “excluded” from a number of activities/work. So are the people belonging to the so-called “lower” castes. For example, girls or daughters are seen as a liability by many—as potential costs to their parents or guardians, at their natal homes. The services they render at their natal home is “invisible”. *Parai gharko naso* (belonging to other’s household)-is the form in which they are believed to have been “given or bestowed” to their parents/guardians at their natal homes.

Females, not until recently, have not had title to parental property/land. Their access to income is limited, while their long-day’s work in and around households

goes unrecognized as “work”. Local people themselves tend to have accepted a definition of “work” which tends to exclude activities that do not bring in cash income (paid work) or which do not involve interactions with outsiders (e.g., meetings), etc. The fact that most women and quite a few men in rural areas of Nepal say “*Hamro kehi kaam chhaina*” (we have no work) when asked by outsiders or researchers as to what kind of work they were engaged in, is an evidence for this.

Given the above background, the main objective of the research is to understand and explain how gender is constructed, perceived and is reflected in practices among different groups of people in Nepal. This involves looking at the ideas of gender and its practices within the historical, social, cultural, and economic realities in the Nepali context.

Within the above framework of general objective, the specific objectives are to:

-) understand how gender is constructed among the different groups of people in Nepali society?
-) explore and examine how gender role is perceived by people belonging to different age, sex, education and caste/ethnicity.
-) understand varying perceptions of the groups of people under study on the prevalence of gender discrimination in the society.
-) present an analysis of how people think discrimination can be done away with

1.4 Theoretical Perspectives

Our social world is a constructed reality. It is humanly created world of objects. As portrayed by symbolic interactionists, “society does not exist as something ‘out there’; rather society is continually created and recreated moment-by-moment as we interact with one another” (Zanden, 1988:34). We relate to one another and integrate our activities because we acquire the capacity to do so as members of society. We strive to make sense out of our world by attributing

meanings to people, objects, and events. “Meaning is not something that inheres in things: it is a property that derives from, or arise out of, the interaction that takes place among us in the course of our daily lives” (Blumer, 1969 cited in Zanden, 1988: 35). Alfred Schultz (1971 cited in Zanden, 1988: 35) pointed out that, “there are, no such things as facts. We select facts from our universe of experience through the activities of the mind, and for this reason all “facts” are human creations”. The capacity of human beings, i.e. people, to create and use symbols, are emphasized by the Symbolic interactionists. Symbols not only allow us to name objects in our habitat, but also to designate one another: each person is given a name, categories of people are formed by age, sex, occupation, etc., and roles are prescribed. Gender as such is a social, cultural construct, a symbol given to categorize people.

Unlike the Structural-functional and Social Conflict paradigms, which share a macro-level orientation, and approach to society as one investigates a city from the windows of a helicopter, the Symbolic-Interaction paradigm having a micro-level orientation concerns with small-scale patterns of social interaction within specific settings. For instance, it is like exploring a city at the street level noting social patterns that characterize the interaction of individuals in public place such as *Ratna Park or New Road*. Symbolic-Interaction, therefore, is a theoretical framework based on the view of society as a highly variable product of the continuous interaction of individuals in various settings. It draws attention to the fact that society is composed of the countless everyday social actions and reactions of human beings. People interact with one another in terms of symbolic meanings e.g. gender. People respond to others according to their subjective understanding of what they perceive. Sociologists guided by this approach view society as a complex mosaic of subjective perceptions and responses. Max Weber, one of the four founding fathers of Sociology, emphasized the importance of understanding society, as it is subjectively perceived by individuals. Image of society, in the Symbolic-Interaction paradigm, is an ongoing process of social interaction in specific settings based on symbolic communication. Individual perceptions of reality are variable and changing.

Symbolic Interactionism focuses on the nature of interaction, the dynamic patterns of social action and social relationship. Interaction itself is taken as the unit

of analysis: attitudes are relegated to the background. Both the human being and the social structure are conceptualized as more complex, unpredictable and active than in the conventional sociological perspectives. Societies are composed of interacting individuals who not only react but perceive, interpret, act and create. The individual is not a bundle of attitudes but a dynamic and changing actor, always in the process of becoming and never fully formed. Social milieu is not something static 'out there', always influencing and shaping people but essentially an interaction process. Individual's self (which is an aspect of social process) arises in the course of social experience and activity. Thus the entire process of interaction is symbolic, with constructed meanings. The meanings people share with others, their definition of the social world and their perception of and response to reality emerge in the process of interaction (Abraham 1988: 209-210).

Herbert Blumer finds symbolic interaction referring to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction between human beings. According to him the peculiarity is in the sense that "human beings interpret or define each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Thus human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions" (Blumer cited in Abraham, 1988:210).

If sociologists are to understand social life, they must understand what people actually say and do. Bhattachan emphasized that people should get primacy over theory, data and observer (1997: 22). He argued that people's perspectives must be employed to look at how local people perceive themselves and to a new culture. But "people" is a general term, which by itself is gender neutral. There are different sex, age, caste/ethnic, economic class and kin groups within the "people". Therefore, to really understand people, we have to get down to their level and put emphasis on their own experiences not merely as people *per se* but as specific and different categories of people. This is more so in trying to examine and understand "gender" because gender construct is a highly variable product of society. Even within people's experiences some sociologist have emphasized "central life experiences" in the study of Nepali people (Mishra cited in Bhattachan, 1997:21). Women's experience of difference, inequality, and oppression, as portrayed by Third-Wave Feminism, varies

by their social location. This is why post-modernist feminism concerns mainly with differences among women and focuses on the factual and theoretical implications of differences of women.

On the basis of above theoretical perspective, it is argued that:

1. Society is above individual and thus societal norms and values guide/shape people's perception and practice on gender.(Durkheim's *sui generis*)
2. Gender is a social and cultural construct and therefore its perception and practice varies among different groups of people (Gender Difference Theory). There are differences among women within caste/ethnicity, age, economic class and kin position in the family (Post-modernist Feminism)
3. Gender as created social reality is recreated/redefined as people interact with one another (Symbolic Interactionism).

1.5 Conceptual Framework

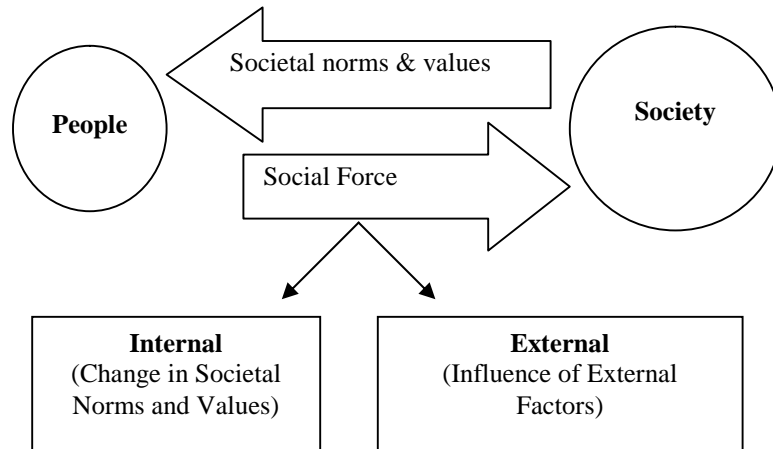
If societal norms and values guide people's practices of gender, social forces redefine or reconstruct the existing gender perceptions and practices. In other words, gender construction is social cultural whereas once constructed and defined, gender are reconstructed or redefined through social forces over time. For example, gender related policy, legal provisions, programs/projects etc. are some of such social forces which can change people's practice on gender. Government policy of encouraging girls' education and program/projects involving women in development activities (forming various groups of women e.g. user groups, saving/credit groups, Mothers Group, etc) redefine peoples' attitude and perception towards girls and women. Similarly, technological development, media and migration are other factors, which create social forces that may influence changes in gender practices. Thus society and people create and recreate gender. The former (i.e. society) guides people through societal norms and values whereas the latter (i.e. people) redefines it through social forces. Thus the cycle of gender re/construction goes on forever.

Though there is agreement across society and culture on the need of gender equity, the way gender equity is defined and perceived and the indicators of gender

equity and empowerment may vary accordingly. Thus in the present study, I have taken gender perceptions (which includes definition of gender and indicators of gender equity and empowerment) as dependent variable. Similarly, I have taken caste/ethnicity as an independent variable. Educational level and age are selected as intervening variables within the caste/ethnic groups. If gender is defined according to the social and cultural reality and its solution (equity and empowerment) is also perceived in its own context (Figure 1).

Where gender is viewed as a social and cultural construct, its perception among people can be expected to vary across societies and cultures. However, as the prevalent discourse of gender (in development and academic field) in Nepal is mostly informed by external perceptions. Analysis of gender perceptions and practices at the grass root level will testify whether or not the external perceptions of gender are applied in the context of social and cultural realities in Nepal. Gender discrimination may or may not have been perceived as a serious issue in rural Nepal. Women and men in Nepal may or may not be in the state of living a divided life (i.e. gap between the perceived gender equity issue and the existing gender discrimination in practice). Thus gender practices may or may not be perceived as something, which needs to be changed urgently by all in Nepal.

Part III: Re/Construction of Gender



Individual and society is the two sides of a coin and thus is reciprocally related in a fundamental way: each pre-supposes the other. People's perception and practice on gender is guided by society they live in. Social norms and values have tremendous influence on people's perceptions, attitudes and behaviour relating to gender. People around us (society) shape and direct our behaviour, role we play and rules we follow. However, Action-oriented Sociologists say that, it is a mistake to see society as strictly external to people because people create, sustain and change society and simultaneously be shaped by society. They stress that society is always shaped by the actions of individuals. Question can be raised as to what extent do social forces shape individual behavior, and to what extent do individual actions shape society? Answers tend to focus on two factors, (1) *Social structure*, the organization of society, which substantially limits the options open to people; (2) *Individual action*, the tendency of people to interpret their surroundings, make their own choices, and behave in often distinctive ways that influence society (Light et al. 1989:14)

From interactionists, it becomes clear that humans are active beings who construct social reality rather than passive beings who merely respond to the dictates of societal constraints. Therefore, gender as a socially and culturally created reality is re-created by human beings-people in the influence of social forces. Social forces in

any society can be grouped into two as External and Internal social forces. Some examples of external social forces in this study context are: (1) Development interventions in the area. (2) Legal policy such as inheritance rights for sons and daughters, fixation of legal age of marriage, legalization of abortion etc. (3) Feminist activism e.g. for children getting citizenship through their mother; reservation for women in the parliament, in decision-making position in administration and in the political parties etc. Internal social forces develop or erupt from within the society as people are informed and influenced by: (1) education; (2) mobility; and (3) social interaction overtime. Education raises people's consciousness and consciences, mobility broadens people's horizon of interaction with various groups of people, and social interaction help people to increase their access to information (and information is power) and build self confidence. Thus internal social forces help people to change their perceptions and practices on gender by questioning the relevance of prevalent social norms and values of the society and hence redefining them according to their need.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Development organizations carry out gender analysis in addressing gender issues in their work. Frameworks developed for practitioners such as, Gender Analysis Framework, Gender–Roles Framework, Triple–Roles Framework, Social–Relations Framework etc. are used for carrying out gender analysis at organization's management level as well as at the field levels. Whether such frameworks for gender analyses have made significant contributions to combat gender inequities can only be understood through research/studies in the context of social and cultural realities of the particular society.

The present research will contribute in this area by undertaking a systematic analysis of gender perceptions of the rural people. The gaps in gender perceptions between the organizations working for gender equitable society and the local people at the grassroots level will be evident from this research.

In countries like Nepal with diverse culture and socio-economic disparities, development organizations/interventions should know where to focus in addressing

gender issues. It is important therefore, to know how gender equity, as an indicator for measuring people's perception on gender issues is perceived in the West, by the development organizations in Nepal and by the caste/ethnic groups in Nepal. For example, if gender equity is defined as a right to equal salary for both men and women performing the same job, for the western societies, it could be right to equal shares of parental property for Nepali society in the present context. Answers to the research questions sought by the study are helpful in understanding gender perceptions in a particular social and cultural context. Without understanding people's perception on gender issues and equity, development interventions would be like "*eka tira ko betha eka tira ko okhati*" meaning, treatment without diagnosing the problem.

1.7 The Research Area

The present study is carried out in Batulechaur and Lekhnath of Pokhara valley. Batulechaur lies in the north of Pokhara City whereas Lekhnath lies at the adjacent of the Prithvi highway some ten kilometers east from the centre of Pokhara City. Batulechaur has been part of ward no. 16 since Pokhara was a municipality and it continues to be as the municipality has been upgraded to Sub-Metropolitan City.

Lekhnath is a new and emerging urban centre transformed into a Municipality in 1997. These two sites were selected for the study because of their own characteristics. Batulechaur holds the oldest and biggest Gaine settlement in the country. Gains, classified at the lowest rung among hill *dalits*, have been living at the close proximity with the Chhetris since their arrival in the area five generations ago. Chhetris are the majority among the caste/ethnic groups found in Batulechaur. Lekhnath occupies the biggest Kumal settlements in the district. Kumals classified as janajatis, have been living at the close proximity with the Bahun caste group in the area for a long time. I required a research site where people's perception on gender issues could be assessed on the basis of their affiliation to particular caste/ethnic groups. For this reason, Pokhara valley was a proper place for my research.

The researcher wanted to do Ph D. research among the Gains of Batulechaur, where she had conducted the field research for her Masters Thesis. Gains being dalit

and classified at the bottom of the Hindu caste hierarchy, she wanted to compare their perception and practice with the high caste group-Bahun and Chhetris. The researcher found that Kumals were living at the close proximity with Bahuns in Ritthevani, she wanted to include them too. This led her choosing Bahun and Chhetri from higher caste group, Gaine from lower caste dalit group and Kumal from Janajati or ethnic group for analysis of gender perceptions and practices across society and culture.

According to the 2001 Census the population of Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City (PSMC) is 1,56,312 of which 79,563 is male and 76,749 is female. Of the total population 41,369 of Lekhnath Municipality (LM) 19,475 is male and 21,894 is female (CBS 2002 b.Table 1 pp.20-21). The total number of households in PSMC is 9,362 and of LM is 37,305. From population and number of households it becomes clear that Lekhnath Municipality is quite smaller than Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City in terms of its population as well as number of households in it.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Nepali society seems to have a value system, which can be differentiated in the context of characteristics like rural-urban, caste/ethnicity, religion, and class positions. Gender perceptions of people vary according to such characteristics. The study on the role and position of women in various communities in Nepal (Acharya and Bennett 1981; Strii Shakti 1995) is evident that gender perceptions, roles and relations tend to vary markedly among different caste and ethnic groups in Nepal. Therefore, from the study of a particular social cultural segment, Nepali society as a whole can not be generalized. Perceived gender equity concerns may or may not correspond to all the societies of Nepal, which varies in social, cultural, economic, religious, political and even ecological context.

1.9 Organization of the Study

This dissertation has been divided into eight chapters followed by a list of references and appendices. Chapter one presents the statement of the research problem, objectives and research questions, theoretical perspectives, conceptual

framework, research area and limitations of the research. Chapter two provides a review of literature on gender particularly in its relation to sociology, the symbolic interactions, its premises and gender as an approach to development. Gender issues and situation in Nepal and its commitments at the international arena, genders in Nepal's development plans and gender perceptions across societies are other aspects addressed in the literature review chapter. Chapter three describes the research methods of the study. Sources of data, sample of the research, tools and techniques of data collection, selection of key-informants, type of information, and data analysis are described in this chapter. This chapter describes a new method used in this research the Thematic Apperception Test, which is perhaps the first in sociological research in Nepal. The chapter concludes with experiences and lessons learnt in the field. Chapter four explains the context of research, selection of geographical area and study population. From the physical setting to demographic, caste/ethnic, socio-economic and development context are pictured in this chapter.

The research findings are discussed in chapters five through seven. Chapter five has discussed gender perceptions. Age, sex, education and caste/ethnic variance are employed to look at peoples' perception on gender. Peoples' perception on male and female, husband and wife, son and daughter, marriage and family are discussed from varying perspectives. Awareness of gender discrimination and empowerment of the subordinated group are discussed in this chapter. Chapter six drawing out from Thematic Apperception Test method applied on switched gender roles, provides gender role perceptions and practices among the selected groups of people on the basis of their age, sex, education and caste/ethnicity. Chapter seven highlights on the prevalent gender practices among the selected group for the research. This includes division of labour among the family members, decision-making power of the members, control over household resources as well as over own earning. Summary of findings and conclusion is presented in chapter eight. A list of references, photographs and appendices are provided at the end of this dissertation. Appendices and notes are provided to supplement the information wherever needed without breaking the flow in the text.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Sociological Understanding of Gender

Gender of a person in Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, (1988) is defined as “culturally and socially constructed”. Sex of a person is biologically determined while gender is socially and culturally constructed. Thus there are two sexes-male and female and two genders-masculine and feminine. The principal theoretical and political issue is whether gender is related to or determined by biology. Sociologists and Anthropologists have argued that gender is a social and cultural construct (Moore 1994, Lorber 1994). Given this argument, it would mean that each society and culture could have its own definition and perception about gender. Therefore, gender could mean different things for different people depending on the kind of society or culture they belong to among other considerations.

Although 19th century medical theories suggested that female personality was determined by female anatomy and reproductive functions, feminists have challenged this view. Anthropologists have shown cultural specificity of notions about gender. Margaret Mead in a number of cross-cultural studies has shown that, although gender differentiation is wide-spread, social tasks of women and men are highly variable.

The term gender in Sociology is used to refer to the different roles men and women play in society; to the different ways they are expected to think and act. “Male” and “female” are biological categories; “masculine” and “feminine” are cultural classifications. It is socially assigned status, produced by culturally agreed-on definitions. A person begins to acquire gender at the moment of birth, when the parents announce the sex of the baby. Gender then continues to develop through socialization as parents themselves serve as children’s main models for appropriate gender roles. Beyond family, Schools and Media support and supplement cultural notions about male female differences. Social Psychologists treat gender-identity as the product of childhood socialization.

Gender as defined by Schlegel is, “the way members of the two sexes are perceived, evaluated, and expected to behave” (1992) A distinction between general and specific meanings of gender can be drawn. Particular characters ascribed to men and women by virtue of their sex can be taken as the general meaning, and defining gender according to a particular location in the social structure is the specific meaning of gender.

Gender is a human invention, like language, kinship, religion, and technology. Just like other social categories gender organizes human social life in culturally patterned ways. Gender organizes social relations in everyday life as well as in major social structures (Acker 1988, 1990 cf. Lorber 1994:6).

The gendered microstructure and the gendered macrostructure reproduce and reinforce each other. The social reproduction of gender in individuals reproduces the gendered societal structure; as individuals act out gender norms and expectations in face-to-face interaction, they are constructing gendered systems of dominance and power.

Lorber (1994) commented that, “bodies differ in many ways physiologically, but every child categorized as a ‘girl’ or a ‘boy’ and every adult as a ‘woman’ or ‘man’ are completely transformed by social practices to fit into the salient categories of a society the most pervasive of which are ‘female’ and ‘male’ ”. In the social construction of two genders, one (male) is constructed to be superior, the other (female) to be inferior.

Women are socialized to put their families first, to consider their roles as wife and mother more important than their occupational roles. Traditionally and emotionally, women have the greater commitment in marriage- and therefore less power. (Walum, 1977:174).

The longer a wife works the better her job, the more power she has in the family. Most couples believe a small child needs a full-time mother. If the new mother stops working, she is likely to become economically and socially dependent on her husband. Moreover, she may fall behind her male colleagues at work, miss promotions, and perhaps lose seniority and pension benefits. Even if a woman goes

back to work after her maternity leave, the chances are she is the one who will take the day off if the child is sick. She is less likely than her husband or her male colleagues to work overtime or take work home (Poloma, 1972).

In sociology of gender, a careful examination of the family is essential because family-household tasks are at the core of traditional gender roles in a society. Socialization into gender roles begins within the family, e.g., children model the gender roles as enacted by adult family members (Davidson et al. 1979). Household task allocation also affects the opportunities and limitations on the use of time not spent in household work, e.g., one working full-time outside the home, has daily access to the social world. Task assignment during one phase of the life cycle may also affect options for other phases. For example, women bearing several children and staying at home to care for them until they reach school age will be ineligible by that time for some occupations and careers (see Davidson et al.1979 for job ineligibility).

Gender, which is a central contradiction in social life, is also in interplay with other contradictions such as caste and class (Thiruchandram 1997). Caste system is taken as an agent acting through which the mechanisms for the subordination of women are constructed. Gender specific social aspects have been taken into consideration in the caste arrangements for sociological analysis (Srinivas 1962, Yalman 1963). Gender is also analyzed within the structure of caste (Ganesh 1985). The fundamental principle of pure and impure as argued by Dumont separates the castes in a hierarchical order and also becomes the operating concept for caste specific gender relations (Dumont cited in Thiruchandram 1997:13). However, the caste system in India and Nepal is not maintained any longer with rigidity as in the past. As a result of the modernizing and westernizing trends, as Thiruchandram thought, some of the barriers of separation and purity have broken down. Occupations are no longer dependent on caste ranking. New specialization and professionalism have broken the caste monopoly of certain occupations. Intercaste marriages are taking place; people intermix in public transportations and eat together in hotels and restaurants (Beteille cited in Thiruchandram 1997:15). Dumont has seen the caste system as neither challenging nor maintaining the prevailing socio-

political order. The manner in which caste system operates contains a “minimum rejection” of the system, a mixture in which traditional and modern features co-exist (Dumont cited in Thiruchandram 1997:15).

The concept of class is generally explained within two major approaches in Marxist and non-Marxist Sociological theory.

1. Class as composed of stratas which are clearly identifiable and social inequalities are based on those social entities which manifests into hierarchies. The hierarchies correspond to the access to unequal life chances that one group is capable of achieving.

2. It also assumes that class development depends on occupational structure and that belonging to a certain class is determined by the occupations placement and the degree to which that class exercises control over other’s work (Wright 1985 cited in Thiruchandram 1997:9).

Thiruchandram finds two problems of both Marxist and Weberian Social Scientists in dealing with class analysis:

1. The class position of women is defined as dependent on a male household breadwinner

2. They take the family as a unit of analysis for a married woman and even for a spinster and widow. When a woman’s class position is analyzed, the criteria of the place they occupy in the system of social relations of production shift to their position vis-a-vis husband and family.

Feminists have identified the family as basis of women’s subordination. Yet researchers and theoreticians have ignored the fact that the family is the important site of gender inequality (Thiruchandram 1997).

2.2 Gender/Feminist Theories and Their Premises

2.2.1 The Symbolic-Interactions and Gender

Symbolic-Interaction paradigm having a micro-level orientation concerns with small-scale patterns of social interaction within specific settings. It views society as a

highly variable product of the continuous interaction of individuals in various settings. It draws attention to the fact that society is composed of the countless everyday social actions and reactions of human beings. People interact with one another in terms of symbolic meanings. People respond to others according to their subjective understanding of what they perceive. Sociologists guided by this approach view society as a complex mosaic of subjective perceptions and responses. Max Weber, one of the four founding fathers of Sociology, emphasized the importance of understanding society, as it is subjectively perceived by individuals.

Unlike the Structural-functional and Social Conflict paradigms, which share a macro-level orientation, and approach society “as one investigates a city from the windows of a helicopter” (...) the Symbolic-Interaction paradigm has a micro-level orientation. It concerns with small-scale patterns of social interaction within specific settings. It is as one explores a city at the street level noting social patterns that characterize the interaction of individuals in public place e.g. parks.

Symbolic-Interaction paradigm is a micro-level framework for studying patterns of individual interaction within specific situations. At this level of analysis, society is seen as highly variable and constantly changing. Image of society, in the Symbolic-Interaction paradigm, is an ongoing process of social interaction in specific settings based on symbolic communication; individual perceptions of reality are variable and changing.

Our social world is a constructed reality. It is humanly created world of objects. As portrayed by symbolic interactionist, “society does not exist as something ‘out there’; rather society is continually created and recreated moment-by-moment as we interact with one another” (Zanden, 1988:34). We relate to one another and integrate our activities because we acquire the capacity to do so as members of society. We strive to make sense out of our world by attributing meanings to people, objects, and events. “Meaning is not something that inheres in things: It is a property that derives from, or arise out of, the interaction that takes place among us in the course of our daily lives” (Blumer, 1969 cited in Zanden, 1988: 35). Alfred Schultz (1971) pointed out “there are, strictly speaking, no such things as facts. We select

facts from our universe of experience through the activities of the mind, and for this reason all “facts” are human creations” (cited in Zanden, 1988: 35).

Symbolic interactionists, as the name implies, emphasize the capacity that human beings have to create and use symbols. Symbols not only allow us to name objects in our habitat, but also to designate one another: each person is given a name, categories of people are formed by age, sex, occupation etc., and roles are prescribed. Gender as such is a social, cultural construct, a symbol given to categorize people.

From interactionists, we gain an image of humans as active beings who construct social reality rather than passive beings who merely respond to the dictates of societal constraints. Therefore, gender as a socially created reality can be re-created for gender equity in the society. Because, Cooley (1964) had said, individual and society are the two sides of a coin. Society and individual are reciprocally related in a fundamental way: each pre-supposes the other.

Socialization into gender role functions as a social force. Social forces refer to societal influences on peoples’ perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. People around us (society) shape and direct our behaviour, role we play and rules we follow.

As, questions such as how can people create, sustain and change society and simultaneously be shaped by society are addressed by the interactionists, I found myself interested to look at the problem of my research through action perspective. As action-oriented sociologists believe, it is a mistake to see society as strictly external to people. They stress that society is always shaped by the actions of individuals. Although these actions are often influenced by social forces in robot like fashion. Instead, human behavior is a creative process, based on how people interpret and redirect these social forces.

To what extent do social forces shape individual behavior, and to what extent do individual actions shape society? Answers tend to focus on one of two factors, or on some combination of the two. (1) *Social structure*, the organization of society, which substantially limits the options open to people; (2) *Individual action*, the tendency of people to interpret their surroundings, make their own choices, and behave in often distinctive ways that influence society (Light et al. 1989:14)

Although the interactionist perspective has been criticized as difficulty in dealing adequately with the large scale organizational aspects of society and with relations among societies; as the framework focuses on the subjective aspects of human experience and the situational context in which it occurs, the objective realities of stratification are often taken for granted (Zanden, 1988: 35-56). Gary Fine (1993) pointed out that, “contrary to the claims of many, symbolic interactionism is not moribund, but it has changed dramatically in recent years” (cited in Ritzer, 1996: 232). Four terms describe its position: considerable *fragmentation*; *expansion* of far beyond its traditional concern with micro relations; *incorporation* of ideas from many other theoretical perspectives; and *adoption* of its ideas by sociologists who are focally committed to other theoretical perspectives. Symbolic interactionists are deeply involved in some of the major issues confronting sociological theory in the 1990s--micro-macro, agency-structure, and so on (Ritzer, 1996: 232).

2.2.2 Other Theorists

The first wave of official feminism within the international development agencies sought to make women visible in development through Women in Development (WID) approach. In this approach accommodation of women’s issues has often been achieved through a process of pigeonholing. The shift from ‘women’ to ‘gender relations’ was an attempt by some feminist scholars and practitioners to bring the power relations between women and men into the picture. Although the terminology of gender, gender roles and gender relations has been widely adopted, its implications have not always been fully worked through. For some it remains just another word for ‘women’. For others, it has provided an excuse to abandon any measures intended specifically to benefit women. They argue that women-focused policies and projects go against the spirit of a gender analysis (Kabeer, 1994)

Though there are similarities in the way feminists approach the problem, there are disagreements among the feminists in the manner they are divided as Liberal, Radical, Marxist, Socialist and Eco-feminists (Thiruchandram 1997).

Radical Feminists (e.g. Mary Daly and Catherine MacKinnon) view social institutions as tools of male domination, which support patriarchy. The system of

patriarchy teaches women how to subjugate themselves and teaches men how to dominate. The solution to this subordination offered by Radical Feminists is women's recognition of their strength and value, the unification of women regardless of differences, and the empowerment of women through organized efforts within institutions where patriarchal values prevail. The central concern of this theory therefore is that gender inequalities are the outcome of patriarchy and it is the primary form of sexual inequality. Radical feminism is primarily a revolutionary movement for the emancipation of women. Women's subordination is seen to be universal and primary, as not having changed significantly over time or place. They see the relationships between the sexes as political. Thus they argue that any permanent change will necessitate transformation of sexual relationships i.e. the male domination of women in Sociology is seen by Radical feminist as part of male-defined, distorting male culture (Abbott and Wallace 1990). They want to participate in sociology to transfer the way knowledge is produced so that women's subjective understanding are revalued. They have also been concerned to uncover 'her story' to reveal the ways in which women's knowledge has been devalued historically. However, Radical feminists neither explain adequately the ways in which women are subordinated and exploited by men. Nor they take sufficient account of the different forms of patriarchal relationships in different societies and differences of women's experiences from different social class.

Socialist Feminists (e.g. Alison Jaggar and Nancy Fraser) combine Marxian and Radical feminism in an attempt at theoretical synthesis, breadth, and precision, and an explicit method for social analysis and change. Change can be achieved through increased consciousness of these structures and how they impact on social and individual levels and through the appropriate action to achieve the goals of the movement. They argue that gender, class, race, age and nationality all shape women's oppression, but they are not committed to any one of these oppression as being any more fundamental than any other. The specific forms of women's subordination in capitalist society are seen as specific to that particular socio-economic system. Women's lack of freedom is a result of the ways in which women are controlled in the public and domestic spheres. And women's emancipation will come about only

when the sexual division of labour is broken down in all spheres (i.e. the abolition of social relationships that construct people as workers and capitalist and as women and men).

Socialist Feminists are also of two types: one focus on capitalist patriarchy and the other domination in a wide range of contexts, including race, class, and gender, as well as forms of domination among nations in the world system. Change can be achieved through increased consciousness of these structures and how they impact on social and individual levels and through the appropriate action to achieve the goals of the movement. (Farganis 1994).

For some feminists, the only way women can create themselves culturally is to separate from men; for them, the lesbian is a metaphor for an independent, women identified woman (Kabeer, 1994:109). Other feminists argue that women's culture does not have to reject men and men's culture to liberate women. For African-American feminists like Alice Walker, what is needed is vision of strong, proud women who can be heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual. Walker has called this perspective "Womanist". For her Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender." (Walker, 1983).

Feminist writing from a racial ethnic perspective, such as Bell Hooks (1984) and Patricia Hill Collins (1989 cf Lorber, 1994:4) have argued that it is incorrect to build research and feminist theory on a binary opposition of women and men when race and social class produce many categories of women and men that from hierarchical stratification system in many societies. In that stratification system, race, class and gender intersect to produce domination by upper-class white men and women and subordination of lower-class women and men of colour?

Cultural feminist-Judith Butler (1990), Donna Haraway (1989, 1991), Jane Flax (1990) and Marjorie Garber (1992) for example- also challenge the concept of gender categories as dual and oppositional. Their theories are rooted in the French feminist critique of psychoanalytic concepts of gendered sexuality and language. Cultural feminists claim that sexuality and gender are shifting, fluid categories. By teasing out the intertwined strands of the socially constructed body, self, desire, and

symbolic representation, cultural feminists critique a feminist politics based solely on women as a subordinated status, presenting instead a more subversive view that undermines the solidity of a social order built on concepts of two sexes and two genders.

Eco-feminist (e.g. Vandana Shiva 1988) speaks from the experiences of Third world women. According to them, the modes of thinking and action of science and development are not universal and humanly inclusive, as they are made out to be. Modern science and development are projects of male, Western origin, both historically and ideologically (Shiva 1988: xvi). Because the development activity in the Third World superimposes the scientific and economic paradigm created by western, gender-based ideology on communities in other cultures. Ecological destruction and marginalization of women have been the inevitable results of most development programs and projects based on such paradigms. Women as victims of the violence of patriarchal forms of development have risen against it to protect nature and preserve their survival and subsistence. Indian women have been in the forefront of ecological struggles to conserve forests, land and water. The Eco-feminists believe that Indian women have challenged the western concept of nature as an object to exploitation and have protected her as *Prakriti*, the living force that supports life. They have also challenged the western concept of economics as production of profits and capital accumulation with their own concept of economics as production of sustenance and needs satisfaction. A science that does not respect nature's needs and a development that does not respect people's needs inevitable threaten survival. Women have begun a struggle that challenges the most fundamental categories of western patriarchy –its concepts of nature and women, and of science and development. Women's economic struggle in India has aimed at simultaneously at liberating nature from ceaseless exploitation and women from limitless marginalization.

Shiva (1988) noted that, development as a post colonial project has been a choice for accepting a model of progress in which the entire world remade itself on the model of the colonizing modern West, without having to undergo the subjugation and exploitation that colonialism entailed. The assumption was that western style

progress was possible for all. Development as the improved well-being of all, was equated with westernization of economic categories – of needs, of productivity, of growth. Concepts and categories about economic development and natural resource utilization that had emerged in the specific context of industrialization and capitalist growth in a centre of colonial power, were raised to the level of universal assumptions and applicability in the entirely different context of basic needs satisfaction for the people of the newly independent Third World countries.

The concept of gender as constructed was explored by American feminists in the 1970s, particularly Susan Kessler and Wendy McKenna (1978, 1985) building on Harold Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethodological analysis of how "Agnes" a transsexual, constructed a conventionally womanhood (cited in Lorber 1994).. They argued that gender and sex are socially constructed. Their important point, that there is neither an essential sex dichotomy nor an essential gender dichotomy, was absorbed into liberal feminism. But liberal feminism emphasized only the social construction of femininity and masculinity and their translation into family and work roles.

The work on psychoanalysis and politics that the French feminists were doing in the 1970s was not translated into English until 1980s. It was only in the 1990s that a full-fledged analysis of gender as wholly constructed, symbolically loaded, and ideologically enforced was taking place in American feminism.

Though all feminists are concerned to enable women to understand their situation and work towards liberating themselves. They have developed a number of theories that seek to uncover the causes of women's subordination and develop strategies for emancipating them. Yet they are not united.

Subordination of Women

Freud claimed that anatomy is destiny, but Aristotle believed that "destiny was determined by one's place in the social order, not only as a man or a woman but as a free man or a slave" (cf Lorber 1994:37). Western thinking as Lorber (1994) critiqued sees women and men as so different physically as to sometimes seem two species. The bodies, which have been mapped inside and out for hundreds of years,

have not changed, what has changed is the justification for gender inequality. As per Abdou Sarr, tradition, along with religion and law, is what has given power to men. And it is usually tradition which keeps women oppressed (cf. Underwood: 297).

According to Lorber (1994), there are two discrete sexes and two distinguishable genders in western societies because societies there are built on two classes of people, women and men. Practically every form to be filled out asks whether one is male or female, even though one's physiology and biology may be irrelevant to what the form is used for. Because everyone is gendered, everyone including transvestites, transsexuals, and hermaphrodites, dutifully ticks off one box (Lorber 1994).

Menstruation has been used as a pervasive justification for women's subordination (Delaney, Lupton and Toth 1977 cf Lorber 1994:7). Discrimination against women on the basis of their physiology is the use of menstruation to call into question women's intellectual and physical capabilities (Lorber 1994:47). Notions of pollution were replaced in 19th century Europe and America by scientific studies of the detrimental effects of higher education on women's ability to menstruate (Bullough and Voght 1973, Vertinsky 1990, cf Lorber 1994:47). In the late 1970s, as women increasingly entered athletic competitions, similar scientific studies showed that women who exercised intensely would cease menstruating because they would not have enough body fat to sustain ovulation (Brozan 1978 in Lorber 1994). The dangers of intensive training for women's fertility were exaggerated as women began to compete in arenas formally closed for them.

"Where women and men are different but not unequal, women's birth-giving is not a source of sub-ordination. Indeed, for much of human history, people worshipped goddesses of fertility." Peruvian women gain full adulthood around the time of menopause, reaping social and financial benefits and freedom from daily chores and from large extended families (E.A. Barnett 1988).

Rosaldo; Chodorow; and Ortner asked the question (Rosaldo et al.1974) that, why if our social worlds are so different from those of our ancestors, has the relation of the sexes continued to be asymmetrical? and how it is that social groups, which

change radically through time, continue to produce and reproduce a social order dominated by men?

They argued that the connection between a woman's reproductive system and her domestic role is not a necessary one. Biological factors may make certain sociocultural arrangements highly likely, but with changes in technology, population size, ideas and aspirations, our social order can change. The significance lying in their argument according to Rosaldo is that, insofar as women is universally defined in terms of a largely maternal and domestic role, we can account for her universal subordination.

An emphasis on women's maternal role leads to an universal opposition between "domestic" and "public" roles that is necessarily asymmetrical. Women confined to the domestic spheres, do not have access to the sorts of authority, prestige, and cultural value that are the prerogatives (in sovereign / privileged) of men.

Ortner emphasized that, the association between women and nature provides a cultural rationale for female subordination. Therefore Rosaldo (1974:8-9) wrote, women's biological, social role, and personality encourage cultures to define her as "closer to nature" than man, hence to be subordinated, controlled, and manipulated in the service of "culture's" end. Woman's social functions-and in particular her role in child care and reproduction – combine to make women universally the "second sex".

As per Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974) women have been trying to understand their own position and to change it ever since Simone de Beauvoir (1953) raised the question that why is women "the other" and are women universally the "second sex"? Women have become increasingly aware of sexual inequities in economic, social, and political institutions and are seeking to fight them (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974).

In anthropology a concern to understand and to change women's position has generated a number of important questions such as "are there societies which make women the equals or superior of men? Or are women "naturally" men's inferiors? Why women accept a subordinate standings?

The 19th century evolutionary theorists like Morgan (1951) and Bachofen (1961) had suggested that matriarchy was a principle of social organization in an earlier stage of human development. It is argued that there are or have been truly egalitarian societies (Leacock 1972 cf Rosaldo 1974) in which women have achieved considerable social recognition and power. But none has observed a society in which women have publicly recognized power and authority surpassing that of men (Rosaldo 1974, Ortner 1974). Women everywhere are excluded from certain crucial economic or political activities, that their roles as wives and mothers are associated with fewer powers and prerogatives than are the roles of men. All contemporary societies are to some extent male-dominated. Although degree of female subordination vary greatly, sexual asymmetry is an universal fact of human social life (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974).

The universal devaluation of women in Ortner's argument, could be explained by postulating that women are seen as closer to nature than men (P.83). Ortner sees woman closer to nature at three levels:

- 1 Woman's body and its functions (involved more time with "species life" in contrast to man's physiology, which frees him move completely to take up the projects of culture)

- 2 Woman's body and its functions place her in social roles that in turn are considered to be at a lower order of the cultural process than men's

- 3 Woman's traditional roles, imposed because of her body and its functions, in turn give a different psychic structure which like her physiological nature and her social roles, is seen as being closer to nature.

"The universality of female subordination, the fact that it exists within every type of social and economic arrangements and in societies of every degree of complexity, indicates that ... we are up against something very profound, very stubborn, something we can not rout out simply by rearranging a few tasks and roles in the social systems, or even by reordering the whole economic structure" (Ortner 1974:68).

Woman in reality is not closer to nature than man. Reasons she appears that way is considered to be her physical, social and psychological situation. The view of

her as closer to nature is in turn embodied in institutional forms that reproduce her situation. The implications for social change are similarly circular: “a different culture can only grow out of a different social actuality; a different social actuality can only grow out of a different cultural view” (Ortner 1974:87).

To cope with such situation, Ortner had suggested a way by “attacking from both sides”: changing the social institutions as well as cultural assumptions. Because according to Ortner, efforts directed solely at changing the social institutions can not have far reaching effects if cultural language and imagery continue to purvey a relatively devalued view of women. Similarly, efforts directed solely at changing cultural assumptions can not be successful unless the institution and base of the society is changed to support and reinforce the changed cultural view.

Is Male Dominance Universal?

Male dominance which had been treated as universal (Rosaldo, Chodorow and Ortner 1974), was reacted by people of certain Marxist evolutionary paradigm (Leacock 1981) and anthropologists with cases of Matriarchy and egalitarianism. Early human societies in Marxist evolutionary paradigm, were presumed to have been egalitarian, and factors of inequality were introduced in conjunction with the emergence of private property. Ortner (1996) argued that “it is not that those societies lack traces of ‘male dominance’ but the elements of ‘male dominance’ are fragmentary...”. Her point was to look again at some relatively egalitarian cultures. She wanted to rethink the significance of culturally unmarked elements of ‘male dominance’ in those cases. She had realized that, her mistake earlier (Is Female to Male ...) was to label a whole culture ‘male dominant’. If we look at the issue in Nepali context, a poor illiterate dalit man can not dominate a high caste elite woman as compared to her male counterparts. But at the same time this group of male i.e. dalits are dominating women of their own group.

Ortner (1996) found that the Andaman Islanders were ‘egalitarian’, despite the presence of certain items of special male privilege and authority. She argued that, since those items were not woven into a hegemonic order, they could not be treated as pervasively redefining the dominant egalitarianism. Two other cases of Indonesia

(Atkinson 1990 and Tsing 1990) have revealed similar patterns of gender equality. However, one could call such societies as Ortner said, “gender-egalitarian” and would not be wrong, but “the egalitarianism is complex, inconsistent, and –to some extent-fragile.”

Bhasin and Khan (1999) noted that feminism is articulated in different ways depending on local situations and issues, just as water takes the shape of a container it is in. Besides, a changing social landscape brings changes in the issues and forms of oppression and women’s subordination. This is why the meaning of feminism is one thing in the 17th century and different thing in the 1990s. For example, feminism as per the main slogan of 1995 Beijing Conference, means ‘looking at the world through women’s eyes’. Similarly, the demands in the 1990s are different from those in the 1970s and 1980s. However, the basic premise of the feminist theories is the power relation in gender which means men have more power than women. Young (1993) sees this superiority of men resting on patriarchy, the male privileging legal system and the sanctioning and justification of male dominance by religion.

Patriarchy literally means the rule of father but in feminism, it refers to a social system where men control members of the family, economic resources, and decision-making. Patriarchy has been used so commonly by feminists of every perspective to stand for "what oppresses women". Marxist Feminists have been developing a theory of women's subordination that connects psychological development, sexual dominance, production, procreation, childcare, and ideology (Hartsock 1983, Walby 1990, c.f.Lorber 1994:3). They wanted to look at patriarchy in all aspects of society at once to see how each form of men's exploitation of women supports and reinforce the others.

Patriarchy as a concept, explaining women’s subordination, is not always the same everywhere. Its nature can be and is different in different societies, classes, and periods in the history (Bhasin 1993). In another words, nature of patriarchy is not same for different societies of the same time and for same society at different times and for different classes. For example, the experience of patriarchy is not the same for women in the West (for Scandinavian, European, and American women), Africa,

Asia and South Asia. Similarly, in the Nepali context, it is not the same for women of ethnic groups and caste groups. Neither it is same for our great grand mothers, grand mothers, mothers, ours, and our daughters. Yet the broad principles of ‘men in control’, remains the same.

Bhasin (1993) noted that the family, religion, media and the law are the pillars of a patriarchal structure. Some feminists, as she thinks, believe that in order to control and subjugate women, there is institutionalized violence against women in many societies. Sylvia Walby calls such male violence ‘a structure’. As such all men in South Asia are privileged as men and accorded more rights by social, religious, legal and cultural practices in the area. Though all men do not benefit from patriarchy some feminists justify that it can not be equated with the subordination of women.

Although Lorber sees patriarchy, or men's domination and exploitation of women, as the salient feature of gender as a social institution in many societies including late 20th century post-industrial countries, gender is not synonymous with patriarchy or men's domination of women. Gender is a more general term encompassing all social relations that separate people into differentiated gendered statuses. She argued that, inequality of the statuses of women and men as a historical development and, as feminist research from a racial ethnic perspective has shown that, there are cross-cutting racial and class statuses within each gender status that belie the universal pattern of men's domination and women's subordination implied by the concept of patriarchy.

2.3. Gender and the Discourses on Development

2.3.1 Gender and Development (GAD)

Development is “not an easy concept to define” according to Kabeer (1994) “it is highly ideologically loaded”. Development means different things to different people. It can be a purposive and planned project, or process of social transformation, or the enhancement of individual choices, or equalizing of opportunities, and or redistributive justice. Some emphasize “ends”, others “means”,

and still others focus on the interrelationship between ends and means (Kabeer 1994).`

The Gender and Development approach as Rathgeber (1995) notes can be seen as a predictable analytical outcome of the WID approach. Let us look at how women were viewed in development process synchronically.

In the 1950s and 1960s, women's issues in development were subsumed under the question of human rights. They were viewed as objects to protect or make recommendations for but not necessarily to consult. In the early 70s Ester Boserup was the first to use gender variable systematically in her analysis for Role of Women in Economic Development. She analysed the changes in traditional rural practices as societies modernized and examined the different impact of those changes on the work done by men and women. Her work pointed out that modern development had neglected the women and left them behind. As a result, the concept of integration emerged and integrating Women in Development (WID) concept advanced. The term "WID" was initially used by the women's Committee of the Washington D.C., Chapter of the Society for International Development (Shrestha, 1994:29). Women in the 1970s were still not necessarily consulted but their key position in the development process, especially in population and food issues, was recognized. They were viewed as useful resources to be integrated in to the development process in order to make the particular projects more successful. The UN Decade for Women (1975-85) gave rise to the WID approach which emphasized that women were an untapped resource for economic development. In the 1980s, there has been a growing trend towards seeing women as agents and beneficiaries in all sectors and at all levels of the development process. According to Pietla, (1985), it was partly through an understanding of gender roles that such trend emerged (c.f. Brett, April, p.2).

The Decade's goal of 'integrating women in development' was based on the assumption that women were 'outside' the process of development and needed to be 'integrated' into the mainstream. A number of strategies aimed to document and quantify women's work, making it visible to planners. This was the 'expediency' approach. However, the research generated by the Decade showed that women were

not 'outside' development rather their contribution was central to 'development' (Antrobus n.d.) In 1985, the UN Decade culminated in a conference in Nairobi resulted in the adoption of the "Forward Looking Strategies". The Forward Looking Strategies took the main themes of the Decade for Women (equality, development and peace, with the sub-themes health, education and employment), and set out the obstacles facing women in each of these areas. It proposed general strategies for overcoming them, and made recommendations to governments and other bodies for creating greater opportunities for equality for women at all levels.

Rathgeber (1995) notes that WID put emphasis on providing women with opportunities to participate in male-defined and male-dominated social and economic structures where as GAD questions the assumptions implicit in these structures. Unlike in WID, where women were viewed as a problem and the focus was on them, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach focusing on the relationship between men and women, examines the unequal relation of power that impact women's full participation in development. It views women as agents of change rather than merely as recipients of development assistance, and stresses the need for women to organize themselves for effective political voices (Rathgeber 1990). GAD focuses on both the condition (material state) as well position (power relation between women and men) of women (Young 1993). The 'condition' and 'position' of women parallel to the distinction made by Molyneux (1985) between 'strategic gender interests' and 'practical gender interests'. Practical gender interests are concerned with alleviation of specific and concrete disadvantages faced by women and the strategic gender interests focuses on the analysis of women's subordination (Rathgeber 1995). GAD therefore, aims at equitable development by addressing women's practical gender needs (condition) as well as their strategic gender interests (position).

Even in the 1990s, development agencies giving special attention to women's needs tend towards WID programs. Most development agency programming is still operating within the realm of development such as capacity-building and institution-building. It is easier for them to accept a WID approach because it argues on grounds of efficiency and equity for female access to resource and decision-making (Rathgeber 1995).

From a postmodern feminist perspectives, one of the most significant underlying assumptions of GAD approach is that the situation both in condition and situation) of women is a function of multiple power relations. Rathgeber (1995) noted that there can never be a single voice of women both in the North and the South which can express all women's concerns or perspectives. Because there is no single "women's situation" their lives are affected by multiple variables such as class, caste/ethnicity, age, kin relation (position in the family) etc. Yet WID has been formulated on the assumption that there is a single women's voice which is "drawn largely from the experiences of white, middle-class women in the North" (Rathgeber 1995).

2.3.2 Perspectives of Development Organizations

SIDA (the Swedish bilateral agency) had started supporting projects aimed specifically at women as early as the 1960s (Rathgeber 1995). A WID office was set up by USAID in 1974 and UNDP in 1986. Although UNDP began giving minimal attention to women's concerns in the 1970s, a formal Division for Women in Development was established only in 1986 (Snyder 1992 cf Rathgeber). The Ford Foundation had recognized the importance of women's issues since the early 1970s. Ford Foundation's Grants for WID projects increased six times in 1980s (Flora 1983 and Kardam 1991 cf, Rathgeber 1995). CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) established a WID Directorate in 1984 and by late 1980s all the CIDA professional staff systematically underwent training in gender analysis.

Gender analysis, which is the systematic identification and examination of the social relationship of gender, is considered an important tool in examining the differences in women's and men's role, responsibilities and access and control over resources.

Past development approaches assumed equal opportunity and benefits for men and women. This resulted in having different impacts of development activities on women and men-often negative impacts on women (Tinker n.d.). The need of gender analysis was identified to facilitate women's participation in development, to overcome its negative impacts on women, to provide baseline data, and to help

understand true needs of women and men for development interventions. However, development needs are identified as practical needs (addressing condition) and strategic interests (addressing position) for women only not for men.

Gender training with its tools of gender analysis and gender planning has been institutionalized in most development agencies in the 80s (Rosi et.al.1994). Gender and development trend analyzes the nature and contribution of women inside and outside the household, sees women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance. It questions the underlying assumptions of current social, economic and political structures. It leads not only to the design of interventions which will ensure that women are better integrated into on-going development efforts but also to a fundamental re-examination of social structures and institutions (Rathgeber, 1988, cf. Rosi et. al. 1994:82).

In order to provide a framework for gender analysis to serve the needs of development practitioners, guides are prepared and frameworks are developed such as, Gender–Roles Framework, Triple–Roles Framework, Social–Relations Framework, Gender Relations Analysis, DPU Model, Harvard Model, Gender Analysis Framework etc (Oxfam 1994). Among them the Gender–Roles Framework, Triple–Roles Framework and Social–Relations Framework which emerged in the mid 80s are seen as part of the ‘first generation’ of efforts in the field.

The Mainstreaming Gender Equity Program (MGEP) of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has been assisting Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare (MWCSW) of Nepal in the critical area of mainstreaming gender considerations in national development since 1997. The objective of MGEP is to build a gender equitable society by improving the status of women in order to promote their active and meaningful participation in national development. MGEP responded to the recognition that mainstreaming gender equity was critical in ensuring women's contribution to public policy formulation and to participate in the decision making process. Number of activities is funded by MGEP in this regard. Inclusion of gender perspective in 2001 census, study of the civil service act and curriculum of public service examination are some examples.

2.4 Women and Gender in Nepal

2.4.1 Research Works

The Status of Women Study series published between 1979-1981 conducted by CEDA and supported by USAID provides the baseline information on women and gender in Nepal. The study revealed that women were the backbone of the economy of Nepal. Subsequent research on women also revealed that women were deprived of development benefits including access to health and education. The Status of Women Studies series based on both primary and secondary data examined the status of eight ethnic group women in eight villages of Nepal. Ethnicity was employed as the primary indicator of women's heterogeneity. Inside-outside dichotomy was treated as a determinant of women's activities as well as their access to public power. This was a pioneering study in examining women through the development paradigm, first extensive application of WID concept in Nepal, and using a multidisciplinary methodology, and inside-outside model of analysis. It confirmed the multifarious nature of women's situations, distinguished more dichotomized communities from less dichotomized communities. The series set an agenda for the understanding of Nepali women, and for practical development interventions in their favour (Upadhyaya, 1996:424).

An NGO in Nepal, (Shrii Shakti, 1995) attempted to provide an update of the Status of Women Studies of 1979-1981. Same villages were revisited. Besides two new sites: a Gurung village in Lamjung and Parbatiya village in Jumla district and other five sites in urban areas were included. The same methodology using ethnicity as the primary indicator of heterogeneity, and inside-outside dichotomy was used in the analysis. The study revealed that, women continue to contribute to the economy at a higher rate both in terms of household income and time input than men. Women's labour force participation expanded beyond the household to the market economy. As Upadhyaya, (1996) commented, women were displaced from traditional spheres of productive activity and authority. Due to commercialization and monetization, highly dichotomized communities are placing less value on women's unpaid labour. Compared to the earlier studies, levels of women's economic

household decision making were decreasing. On the other hand, women were showing increased disagreement with the choices and decisions made by their husbands. Upadhya (1996), hoped that such act of women which were perceived as disagreement only, "might lead to forms of gender-based social activism in the long term".

Acharya's (1994) and Singh's (1995) profile on Nepalese women pointed to the paucity of statistical information on women. Situations of Nepali women in the 1990s were improving but not to the mark relative to their men. Upadhya (1996) noted that "although there was a gradual change in women's conditions as a result of development interventions and urbanization, women benefited less than men".

A review study by Upadhya (1996) pointed to the fact that majority of the policy recommendations made in the status of women in Nepal, laid importance at improving women's daily lives with the prospect that it will positively affect women's social status in the long run. Policy recommendations are thus remain focused on women than gender with a tendency to "transform women into an abstract, homogenous target group, to be accessed via development intervention".

It is apparent that the term 'gender' is taken and understood as a synonym for 'women' and is used interchangeably in Nepal. Studies on gender however focus more on women, their problems, and subordination. Hardly any studies in and on Nepal talk about men in relation to women.

Caste/ethnicity has a major influence on gender relation in Nepal. Not all Nepali women are subordinated by men. The high caste Hindu women have less freedom of mobility and power in household as well as in community decision making compared to their men. While among ethnic communities gender roles are less stratified and women have more decision making power and freedom of mobility compared to high caste Hindu women. Low caste Hindu men popularly known as Dalits have lower social status compared to other high caste Hindu and ethnic communities' women and men. Throughout all communities however, gender inequity existed and in terms of access to property, formal education and knowledge women lag far behind men (UNICEF 1996, Acharya 1997).

There is disparity between women and men across class and caste/ethnicity in hierarchical society like Nepal.

Nepali society is segregated of sexes in terms of social contact. A Study by Chhetri and Rana (1995) found that to include rural women in development activities, support of their men and the elite is essential. Women's participation in development activities is constrained by the attitude of men towards women and among women themselves. As Kharel (1987) and Hobley (1986) experienced, without first convincing and taking permission from men it was very difficult to involve women in any kind of activity. Fisher and Malla (19987) felt that women avoid any contact with strangers because they are shy themselves. Therefore men should be incorporated in the framework along with women. A study by Hoskins (1980) revealed that women in the rural societies preferred to work along their men for own security and appreciation. However, a study by Shrestha, A.D. (1994) revealed that capacity of rural women in development activities varied. Thus gender issues are systematically tied with the basic social structure of any society in which cultural values are deeply embedded

2.4.2 Policy and Development Issues

UN Commission on the Status of women was created in 1946 to promote women's equality before the law. In 1972 in honour of the 25th anniversary of the Commission, 1975 was proclaimed the International Women's Year (IWY). The UN Secretary Kurt Waldheim in response to growing pressure from women inside and outside the UN, appointed the first woman -Helvi Sipila to a high ranking position as Assistant Secretary General in the UN System (for Social and Humanitarian Affairs) in 1972 (Tinker and Jaquette n.d). The 1975-1985 was declared the UN Decade for Women with the theme Equality, Development and Peace. Since 1975, four World Conferences have been held in Central America, Europe, Africa and Asia.

Helvi Sipila was the Secretary General for the first World Conference on Women i.e. Mexico City Conference. Major outcome of Conference was the Plan of Action. Lucille Mair was the Secretary General for the Copenhagen Conference. She was the first woman to hold the position of Under Secretary in the UN System. The

Copenhagen conference was held to assess the progress and revise goals of the UN decade for Women. It produced The Program of Action. The Nairobi conference was held to review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women. The major document it produced was The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the year 2000. The document provided guidelines for governments to follow to ensure better representation of women and women's interests in all of their programs. It emphasized the need for a woman's perspectives in human development and it also included concrete proposals for action (see UN 1985). The Nairobi Strategies were adopted by 157 countries including Nepal. The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing prepared the Platform for Action. The Platform for Action is based on twelve critical areas of concern for the advancement of women (UN 1996, WIN NEWS 2000). Those areas are- (1) Poverty alleviation, (2) Education and training (3) Health, (4) Violence against women, (5) Armed conflicts, (6) Economic opportunity, (7) Power and decision-making, (8) International mechanisms, (9) Human rights, (10) The media, (11) Environment, and (12) The girl child.

The declaration of International Women's Year and UN Decade for Women generated a strong interest and concern for issues and problems of women in Nepal. A National Committee on IWY was formed in 1975, Mothers Club was established in 1976, Women Services Co-ordination Committee was established in 1977 under then Social Services National Co-ordination Committee (SSNCC), and the National Plan of Action for women in Development was formulated in 1982 (Bhadra, n.d.).

Nepal participated in Nairobi Convention and signed the Forward Looking Strategy. In 1991 Nepal signed the ratification for CEDAW. In 1995 Nepal actively participated in the Beijing Conference. Immediately after Beijing participation, a Ministry of Women and Social Welfare was established in 1995. In 1999 June, within eight years of signing in 1991, Nepali Government submitted its initial report to the CEDAW Committee for which, a Shadow Report was also submitted by the NGOs simultaneously. The Minister of Women and Children organized a regional meeting/seminar in April 2000 to participate for the Beijing Plus Five in New York City.

Nepal's Country Report to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women have identified three crucial factors which emerged as national priority issues in relation to Women in Development since early 1980s (NPC 1995). They were that:

1. Women are vital and productive workers in the national economy,
2. Their access to productive resources remains limited, and
3. Women ought to be at the centre of poverty alleviation strategies.

The report stated that the vision of women in the 8th plan has tended to become sectoralized (see NPC 1995 for set of commitments made on WID). Six sets of commitments were made including revisualization of women as integral rather than sectoral beings. Other sets of commitments included women and rights and violence; poverty; health; education; and policy making and administration. Nepal was committed to take appropriate measures "to mobilise and involve women, both as key actors in, and beneficiaries of, development" (P32).

According to Nepal's commitments to the Beijing Declaration 1995, a Gender Equity and Women's Empowerment National Work Plan was formulated in 1997. Twelve sectors including women and poverty, education, health, violence, armed insurgency, economy, policy making, institutional structure, human rights, environment and children were asked for serious attention.

After five years of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, Beijing plus 5 (A Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly) was held on June 5-9, 2000 in New York to review implementation of Beijing Platform for Action globally. The theme was "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace" to review and assess progress towards gender equality and women empowerment.

The Country Report on Beijing Plus Five reviews Nepal's progress in implementing the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA). It highlights initiatives, achievements, constraints/ obstacles, emerging issues and future action commitments of Nepal in each of the 12 critical areas of concern identified by the BPFA for attaining gender equality and women empowerment. An overall progress assessment

along with priority agenda for future actions is also provided in the overview part of the report.

Various women's groups and NGOs took initiatives for the preparatory process for Beijing plus 5 session. Sancharika Samuha (SAS), as it claims to be women communicators felt however, that the efforts and review activities conducted by NGOs and Governmental organisations and the progress made at different level after the Beijing Conference have largely remained secular. They have not been fully disseminated and shared with the larger section of the society because of lack of integrated documentation and dissemination mechanism. SAS created a website with a feeling that it can play a crucial role in reviewing advocating and disseminating Post Beijing initiatives undertaken in Nepal by various women's organisations.

Women were included in development agenda since the first five-year plan (1956-1961) of Nepal. Women's reproductive role was highlighted and programs were formulated with a welfare approach. However, the focus was mainly protection-oriented and until the fifth plan (1975-1980) women were included in policies and programs as beneficiaries not as agents or participants in development process. Such programs re-enforced women's reproductive role mainly consisting of skill development for home making and childcare.

During the UN Decade for women, (1975-1985) the emphasis shifted to status-oriented programs which recognized women's productive role. Recommendations of Status of Women Studies' and concerns for women's issues at the national as well as international level were taken as an "instrumental in formulating a separate chapter on WID policy" in the sixth five-year plan (1980-1985) (Bhadra, n.d.). The emphasis was on "increasing efficiency of women". The seventh plan (1985-1990) emphasized on "participatory approach" with active and equal participation of women in addition to increasing their efficiency in productivity. Thus policy declaration of the seventh plan was to enable women to participate actively in the development process by providing appropriate opportunities, to foster self-reliance by increasing productive capacity and raise social and economic status.

The Eighth Plan (1992-1997) emphasized on "mainstreaming women in national development" in order to ensure their participation in every section of development, improve their social, economic, educational, political and legal status, increase their capacity in employment and opportunities in decision-making from local to national level. Separate sections were added to formulate plans and implement programs on WID in Ministry of Local Development (1980); Labour (1987); Agriculture (1992), Education; Water Resources (1993); and Women and Child Development Section in National Planning Commission was established in 1993 (this was dissolved later).

As per the commitment shown at the Beijing Conference, 1995, a Gender Equality and Empowerment National Work Plan was formulated in 1997. For the institutional development of the women's development sector, The Ministry of Women and Social Welfare was established. National Council for Women and Child Development was established in 1995 as a policy planning, co-ordinating and monitoring body.

A year after the establishment of Ministry of Women and Social Welfare, "Equal Right Bill" (*Muluki Ain Samshodhan Bidheyak*) popularly known as "Women's Property Right Bill" drafted and forwarded in 1996, tabled at the Parliament in 1998 and passed in 2000. "Pregnancy Protection Bill", formerly known as "Abortion Bill" was tabled at the Parliament in 1997 and passed in 2002.

During the eighth plan period though efforts in women development resulted in institutional building and extension of sectoral programs, there was lack of monitoring and evaluation system. Hence an accurate account of the women beneficiaries was not made. Planners have confessed that "Taking as a whole, the socio-economic status of Nepali women is still lagging behind (NPC 1998:720).

In the ninth plan (1997-2002) objective, women was the target for achieving its overall aim of poverty alleviation and human resource development. To involve women in development for building equalitarian society was to increase their access to political, economic and social sectors and reform legal provisions to ensure women's rights in making that access more effective. Policy and Implementation

Strategy on WID and Gender Equality was mainstreaming women in national development, elimination of gender inequality and empowerment of women.

Although WID was accepted as a national policy and several sectoral women development programs were implemented, institutional development efforts were carried out since the Sixth Plan planners have accepted the fact that women of Nepal were still “suppressed, exploited, neglected and forced to live insecure life”. Reason for this was identified as “illiteracy, ill health, poverty, orthodox traditions and discriminatory legal systems” (NPC 1998). “...because of economic and social inequality between men and women, women’s participation in development activities is not encouraging” (p.720). The progress in gender equality “was not to the mark” (p719). However, the Ninth Plan had formulated a Long-term Concept of Women’s Development. The Concept for creation of a developed society was defined on the basis of women’s empowerment and gender equality through mainstreaming women’s participation in each and every aspect of national development.

The current tenth plan (2003-2008 based on four pillars of poverty reduction seeks to address gender and caste/ethnic related disparities and facilitate social inclusion by mainstreaming the socially excluded. In implementing key sectoral programs the plan assures that, “attention will be paid to ensuring equity of access to such programs for all, with special attention to assuring access of women and deprived communities, with the explicit objective of reducing the existing gap between these groups and the rest of the population.” They thought that gender mainstreaming required a shift away from the traditional reliance on welfare measures to ensuring equal access for women to social and economic infrastructure and income and employment generating opportunities. The broad-based growth process of the plan is expected to create such opportunities. To ensure such equitable access, the plan envisages that women will need to be empowered by removing the social, legal, economic and other constraints, which have hampered their access to and use of resources.

Interventions to achieve the set goals include, the agricultural growth strategy which is expected to help landless women as well as deprived community groups,

expansion of literacy programs for women with the objective of raising female literacy to 55%, expansion of scholarship programs for girls, adopting measures to increase school attendance by girls, hiring of more female teachers, and correcting the existing gender bias in the school curricula. Among others are revision of existing discriminatory laws and providing legal assistance to women to enforce the provisions of the newly revised inheritance laws; affirmative action to increase women's role in public office, administration and community level participation and management; and introducing legal and other changes to prevent disorder against women, including a social education process. Women's development is regarded as a cross cutting theme running across the four strategic pillars. Each of the ministries responsible for program implementation is required to monitor the impact of their programs on women.

The government is committed to involving local communities in the management of primary schools and health centres. However, the planners did not find it necessary to specify who constitute the 'local communities'. Whenever the gender-neutral term such as 'people', 'villager', 'community people', 'local people', 'local community' etc. are used, women do not consider themselves included in it. A study by Chhetri and Rana (1994) revealed that women do not find it necessary to involve themselves in community management activities as long as their men are around and until they are specifically involved in. The plan is ambitious in poverty alleviation by reducing number of poor people or alleviating poor people from the poverty line. However, the issue of feminization of poverty and reducing female poverty is not addressed seriously.

After the restoration of democracy in 1990 number of changes have taken place in the area of women and gender in Nepal. Amendment of legal code (*Muluki Ain*) on granting inheritance right for daughters (though conditional) passing of abortion bill in 2059 B.S.(also conditional), and formation of National Women's Commission are among these important changes. The Women's Commission has prepared a draft to correct the gender discrimination prevalent in the constitution of Nepal and submitted to the Prime Minister for necessary amendment of the constitution. Among other suggestions in the proposed amendment in the constitution

include citizenship of a child through (both father and) mother; women's participation in the constitutional positions and in political arena; and the first child instead of the first son of the king to succeed the throne. An official of Ministry of Information and Communication had assured that legal amendment to increase women's participation in the Civil Service was underway (Kantipur, March 15, 2003).

Enforcement of legal provision is equally important as the amendment of law itself. Without raising public awareness and proper dissemination of information the legal provision would be meaningless. For example, though the constitution grants equal rights to people of all castes, cases of caste-based discrimination are reported often times. Though abortion is legalized health workers are unaware of the new provision in one hand and on the other women accused of abortion crimes earlier, are still held behind the bars (See Note 5).

The Royal Nepal Army recently had recruited female soldiers. The reasons for this as perceived by one of the Maoist leader was: to arrest the increasing participation of women in the people's war; to use the ladies as a lure to control committed Maoist fighters and to either distract them from their mission or make them surrender; to provide employment to women of the families who are against this and have been displaced from their villages; and in line with the global practice of having women in the army (Yami 2004). Whatever the purpose may be, female recruitment in RNA can be taken as an example of women entering into so called men's work domain as army traditionally.

Government efforts on plans, policies and commitments on improving the condition and position of women to bridge the gender gap will only be fruitful if they are implemented effectively. Literature on women and gender in Nepal reveals that historically (vertically) women's condition and position have been improved but women in general lag far behind men if compared horizontally.

2.5 Emerging Commonalties and Differences on Gender Perceptions between Societies

Regarding gender perceptions there are certain commonalties and variations between societies of the North and of the South. Gender as a familiar part of daily life deliberates social expectations of how women and men are supposed to act. However, issue raised in relation to gender varies across space, time, culture and caste/ethnic affiliation. Let us look at some examples where gender issue is raised differently. Following Lorber (1994) talking about gender for most people in developed countries is the equivalent of fish talking about water. Gender is so much the routine ground of everyday activities that questioning its taken-for-granted assumption and presupposition is like thinking about whether the sun will come up. As gender is constantly created and re-created out of human interaction, everyone is doing gender constantly without thinking about it (West and Zimmerman 1987 cf Lorber 1994:13). In modern societies, taking one ordinarily unremarked scenario, Le Moyne (1990) wrote, “if a couple are in a car together, he is much more likely to take the wheel, even if she is more competent driver”. Men drive cars because men and machines are considered a natural combination (Scharff 1991). The connection between ability to drive and social power is explicit in Saudi Arabia, which forbids women from driving cars at all (Le Moyne 1990).

During the early days of the automobile, feminists co opted the symbolism of mobility as emancipation. According to Sandra Gilbert (1983 cf Lorber 1994:51) women’s ability to drive was physically, mentally, and even sensually liberating during World War I.

Western women were hired as a computer programmer in the 1940s because “the work seemed to resemble simple clerical tasks. Once programming was recognized as ‘intellectually demanding’, it became attractive to men” (Donato1990:170 cf Lorber 1994:50). From this illustration, it becomes clear that in the west, within the ‘outside work’ there are perceived spheres of work activities designated for females and males. Thus in the western societies, outside jobs tend to be segregated by gender. “Man’s work” and “woman’s work” are separate. Not only

work sphere but wage earned also differed for males and females. Every dollar men earned in 1977 in the U.S., women earned only 55 cents (Census Bureau, 1978 cf Bassis, et al 1980). Modern industrialized workplaces as noted by Baren and Bielby (cited in Lorber, 1994:194-195) have different segregation patterns. One group of researchers studying the organization of work in over 400 firms in California from 1959 to 1979 found that, "men and women rarely shared jobs assignments. The organizations ranged in size, extent of bureaucracy, and mixture of occupations, yet in virtually all of them, women worked with women and men worked with men.

Occupational gender segregation does not result in separate but equal jobs. Rather women's work tends to be lower in pay, prestige, and even fringe benefits e.g. health insurance (Perman and Stevens 1989 cf Lorber 1994:197). Gender segregation was not only visible in outside work and wages but it was also present within power structure. Muriel F. Siebert is the first woman to buy a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. After 25 years in 1992 receiving an award of accomplishments, she had said, "despite the numbers of women coming into high finance, the professions, and government, the arenas of power are still overwhelmingly dominated by men" (Henriques 1992 quoted in Lorber, 1994:225).

If the gendered division of labour seems currently impervious to change, even more paradoxical is the extent of gender segregation in paid work in modern industrialized economies. Anyone who takes even a cursory look around any place of work in industrialized countries can see that workers doing the same or similar jobs tend to be the same gender and racial ethnic group. Lorber sites an example of a handbag factory in New York City (1994:194). According to her in a walkthrough the various departments one might reveal that, the workplace as a whole seems integrated by race, ethnic group, and gender, but the individual jobs are markedly segregated according to social characteristics.

Women workers in primary sector are felt to be entitled only to supplementary wages, whether they are married or single, because they are considered not legitimate workers but primarily wives and mothers. Employers tend to view men as better workers than women, because they are expected to earn more money when they

marry and when they have children. Social characteristics e.g. race, ethnicity, national origin and gender are used by employers to create segregated labour markets. This shows how segregation supports gender stratification.

Entering into the job market is perceived as economic necessity in Nepali society. A survey carried out among female industrial workers by Basnet in 1991 (cited in Acharya 1994:76) indicated that 71% of female employees worked because of poverty and almost 29% had no other breadwinners in the family. Such income earned by male or female becomes family income rather than individual's. Concepts like "Who keeps money?" may not be equally appropriate for Nepali society as it would be for the societies in the West while looking at gendered control over resources. Nepali men bring their salary (mostly in cash) home and give it to their mother or wife to keep. Keeping money may be woman's domain but her control over it may depend on the attitude of her son or husband towards her. There have been cases of women eloping with another man with all the property entrusted to her by her husband. Similarly, the husband may marry another woman and the first wife can become out of his house in no time. But instances like this do not happen in equal terms. Then what is the use of the money the wife is given to keep if there is no power for her to spend it? It is merely safeguarding the money without having control over it.

There are obvious differences of perception between women of developed and developing countries and of urban and rural areas. Class is, or can be, a barrier between women. Caste/ethnicity and kin position in the family adds to this barrier for Nepali women. However, no matter where they are located in the globe, women had to and have been fighting for their rights for equality. Women in Canada were not treated women as 'persons'. They had to fight in order to be treated as 'persons' (See Photo 1 and 2). American women had to fight for the suffrage whereas in Nepal voting right was given to both men and women at the same time since the first general election in 1959. But Nepali women had to fight for equal inheritance right for daughters in par with sons until not long ago. They are fighting for equal right of citizenship to pass on to their children.

With the system of social security, need of children's support in the old age is not felt by the parents in the western societies as it is felt in Nepal. This is the sole reason for preferring son to daughter by women and men in Nepal. Women without children and /or son are looked down compared to women with children and /or son. Similarly, spinsters are subject to ridicule. When a couple gets divorced or a man marries more than once it would be the women who are usually blamed for.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

Site Selection

Two sites in Pokhara Valley were selected for the study. They were Batulechaur of Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City ward 16 and Ritthevani of Lekhnath Municipality ward 2 (See map). Batulechaur was selected for Ganes and Chhetris while Ritthevani was selected for Kumals and Bahuns in their co-existence. Ganes and Kumals belonging to different caste/ethnic groups and having their own traditional occupations have adopted multiple livelihood strategy. The researcher wanted to access gender issues as perceived and practiced by the so-called high caste Bahun and Chhetris, low caste Dalit Ganes and ethnic community Kumals of West Nepal. For this, she selected Bahun, Chhetri, Gane and Kumal community for her research. And the above mentioned sites were not only suitable but also were the best for her purpose.

The researcher wanted to go back to the Ganes and Batulechaur where she had conducted her Master's research in 1984. She wanted another site with community having traditional occupation as of the Ganes and living in the proximity of caste groups as Ganes with the Chhetris. There she found Kumal Gaon in Ritthevani of Lekhnath area, which was transformed into Municipality in 1997. Kumals in Ritthevani co-existed with Bahuns, the kind of combination she was looking for. While undertaking a gender research in the Churia hill Forest Development Program in 2001 with the research team in Siraha, Saptari and Udayapur districts, she had also thought of doing a hill Tarai comparative study on gender issues for her Ph.D. It would have been interesting study had she been successful in her plans. Hindrance to it was time, resource and gender of the researcher for carrying out fieldwork in the environment, where mobility in the country due to the Maoist insurgency was not only difficult but almost impossible at places. All these factors constrained her from doing so.

3.1 Sources of Data

While undertaking this research, data/information collection was made at various levels and from different possible sources to fully explicate the social and cultural norms and values which may have a bearing on the prevailing perceptions and practices on gender. At the Policy/plan level -review of documents including five-year plans relating to gender and women's empowerment was done. At the Institutional level, HMG Line Agencies and NGOs working in the study area were visited and necessary information was collected. At the Community level, women /mothers groups and local elites were interviewed. Household census was taken among the four selected caste/ethnic groups in the area. Household survey was conducted among the selected households. Selected respondents were interviewed in the survey at individual level.

Primary data was collected from the selected respondents, knowledgeable persons and local elites through survey, interview and group discussions. Public life, daily activities of people, gender segregation and their mobility were carefully observed and recorded. Officials and field staff of Pokhara and Lekhnath Municipalities were interviewed in order to get to know their perspective on Gender and Development work in the area. Secondary data/information were collected from various organizations through review of the official records, published documents, books and research articles relevant to the study.

3.2 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

Some of the tools/field instruments prepared for field were field-tested in Tal Chowk area of Lekhnath Municipality. Fieldwork was carried out in Batulechaur, Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City, Ward 16 and Rithepani, Lekhnath Municipality Ward 2 of Pokhara Valley in January-March 2002. A fieldworker does not just be present in the community of the research but must explain and justify one's presence to the members. For this it becomes necessary to build rapport with the community people. The researcher had visited the research sites before starting the household census and met people in the process of rapport building.

3.2.1 Household Census

Household Census was conducted in Batulechaur and Ritthepani of Lekhnath for obtaining information regarding demographic composition of the selected caste/ethnic groups in the study sites. Preliminary information was collected through household census for Bahuns and Kumals in Rithepani and Chhetri and Gains in Batulechaur. The census includes population composition by age, sex, educational level, marital status, age at marriage and occupation of the family members as well as primary and secondary occupation of the household.

3.2.2 Household Survey

From the household census, respondents were selected for household survey purposively. From the household census a table was developed on the demographic characteristics of the Bahun, Kumal, Chhetri and Gaine population in the study area. Then respondent from the household was selected for survey on the basis of their age, sex and educational status purposively. Unlike other surveys, household head was not selected for respondent automatically (See Table 3.1 for selection of respondents).

Household survey methods in this study was used for obtaining background information, extensive socio-economic profile, division of labour in household work, economic activities, community activities, and demographic features. The survey provided respondents' household information such as household resource and its ownership, access to and control over resources and decision-making in the household in one hand and it depicted respondent's perception on gender equity, discrimination and empowerment on the other. Respondent's personal attitude towards marriage and family, children, preference of child's sex, gender role, property rights, aspirations for children's partner etc. were collected from this method.

In surveys two sorts of questionnaires are used -a standardized and open - ended questions (Giddens 1993). In my survey questionnaire the researcher used a standardized set of questions, to which a fixed range of responses was provided. As closed questions do not allow respondents of verbal expression and the information they provide is likely to be restricted in scope (Giddens 1993:687), open-ended

questions were also included in the survey questionnaire wherever it was necessary. Thus respondents were not limited to fixed-choice responses only. They were given the opportunities to express their views in their own words as far possible. To avoid ambiguous responses, simple questions were framed.

Though surveys continue to be widely used in sociological research for several reasons (Marsh 1982) it is often experienced as obtrusive and time-consuming for the respondents (Goyder 1987). According to Goyder, little is known about those respondents who do not respond to surveys or refuse to be interviewed when the researcher turns up on the doorstep. However, at one instance, they tried to avoid me as they found out how much time it took at their neighbour's interview. Another instance was that, in the beginning they agreed to respond but as the researcher proceeded they were restless. The wife wanted her husband to go to the shop to relieve their son. In this situation, somehow the researcher managed to retain them by offering cigarettes and finished with them. After this the researcher made sure before she started with another respondent that they did not have to leave in a while.

3.2.3 Interviews

Though checklists of open-ended questions were prepared in advance specific questions were brought up during the interview. This 'probing' technique facilitated the process of obtaining information in depth which would not otherwise have been possible in structured interviews (Malla 1992; Campbell et al. 1979). Semi-structured interviews were held with local people for understanding peoples' attitudes, opinions, perceptions on gender issues, and development (local construction of femininity, masculinity and gender).

Key Informant interviews were carried out with knowledgeable and elderly females and males for obtaining information regarding history and development in the area, people's perception on gender discrimination and equality, and on traditional occupation of Kumals and Gaines in the area. The key informant or 'subject' in the words of Denzin (in Silverman 1997:101) as he notes "is more than can be contained in a text and a text is only a reproduction of what the subject has told us. What the subject tells us is itself something that has been shaped by prior cultural

understandings". Following May (1993:5) "If we believe ourselves to be the product of our environment-created by it- then to some extent we are the mirror image of it. As Silverman (1997:102) notes, "Interactionist research starts from a belief that people create and maintain meaningful worlds."

3.2.4 Group Discussions

It is often said that "village tea-shops" and "*chautara*" (resting place under a tree) were the ideal place for group discussion (Joshi 1995; Malla 1992). But those are only suitable places for male researcher and male respondents. Female members in rural Nepal are not expected to gather in a tea-shop and participate in the discussion with outsiders especially with male strangers. The researcher had conducted group discussions at their courtyard, at ritual ceremony and work places separately for females and males. Group discussions were conducted to collect information regarding female and male perceptions on gender, gender equity, women's empowerment and their indicators, and changing gender roles and relations at the local level. The advantage of group discussion in the words of Joshi (1995:92) was that 'people corrected one another'.

3.2.5 Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT)

The researcher has applied the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) method in this research and perhaps for the first time in sociological research in Nepal. TAT was originally used in Psychology. It was developed and introduced by Henry A. Murray at the Harvard in the 1930s (Murray 1943). TAT consists of set of cards showing an ambiguous representation, generally drawn of human figures. The respondent is asked to tell a story about each card and result is recorded. Respondents tend to identify with one or more of the figures, and reveal some of their own self-concepts and deep wishes in the process of storytelling (Nazarea 1999). The virtue of TAT relies upon the tendency of people to interpret an ambiguous human situation in conformity with their past experiences and present wants (conscious or unconscious). Beatrice D. Miller used TAT among the Tibetans in exile in Delhi, India during her stay with her husband in India in 1970-1972. She had used it for understanding the Tibetan's range of perception and variations of cognition (see

Miller 1978). According to her "there are a few areas that are central for insight into some of the values and perceptions that contribute to the high degree of Tibetan adaptability to changed circumstances" (Miller 1974). TAT has been used extensively in the study of human motivation (McAdams and Vaillant 1982; McClelland and Pilon 1983; McClelland 1985; Biernat 1989; Weinberger and McClelland 1990; Winter 1991).

Virginia D. Nazarea, an Anthropologist and Professor, modified the original TAT method at the Ethno biology /Biodiversity Laboratory at the University of Georgia, USA. According to her "When used in comparative, cross-cultural investigations, TATs are modified to make the figures and situations more familiar to the respondents" (Nazarea 1999:94). She used TAT in her research to collect stories and to disaggregate people's perceptions on the topic, based on gender, ethnicity and age. For her study, Nazarea took photographs of scenes around her study area depicting various production strategies and human relations with plants and with other humans. The photographs were used as stimuli to elicit cultural conceptions of human-environment interactions and to identify culturally relevant indicators of sustainability and quality of life. She had used her students of different nationality, educational background, age and gender to collect TAT for her research. This according to her was done to look at the researcher's biasness on the research.

Though her scoring was roughly based on Fine's scoring scheme (Fine R. 1955 cited in Nazarea), she also developed the scoring system in the laboratory for her study, which focused on culturally relevant indicators of sustainability and quality of life. Major themes and subthemes were identified after reading the responses. In Fine's scheme, scoring was done simply as the presence and absence of previously identified categories. The major themes in Nazarea's scoring differed drastically from Fine's (See Nazarea 1999).

Respondents in TAT are shown a set of pictures or stimulus and asked to tell a story about each picture/stimulus. The premise is that respondents tend to identify with the things depicted in the picture/stimulus and reveal some of their own self-conscious or unconscious wishes in the process of story telling.

The researcher used the TAT to collect data/information from the field on gender role perceptions based on gender, caste/ethnicity, education and age. For this she used two photographs depicting switched gender roles where a woman is ploughing the field and a man is grinding corn in the house (See Chapter VI). Respondents were shown the photographs one by one and their reaction - emotion, expression, question, body language etc was observed and noted as they looked at the photographs. They were asked to tell a story. They were also stimulated to relate the photographs with their own past experiences and present wants. As they took telling story about the photographs literally, they were asked whether those activities depicted in the photographs were and would be practiced in their area. Their responses on each photograph were collected in their own words as far as possible.

Respondents selected for TAT were from adults to the elderly females and males with no education, and with Secondary School education or over. Uniform sample of twenty five % of respondents from each caste/ethnic groups under study-Bahun, Chhetri, Gaine and Kumal; and fifty percent from each sex were selected for comparing the effects of age, sex, education on gender role perception (See Chapter VI).

3.2.6 Life History

An African proverb, which goes like "When a knowledgeable old person dies the whole library disappears", sheds light on the importance of elderly people's knowledge and knowing about their life histories. According to Giddens (1993), "life histories consist of biographical material assembled about particular individuals-usually as recounted by themselves. Life histories shade over into oral history more generally-verbal accounts of the past supplied by those who lived through the events. No other methods of research can give us as much detail about the development of people's beliefs and attitudes over time." Life histories therefore have been widely used in anthropology and sociology (Bertraux 1981).

Kathryn March's book on Tamang women of Rasuwa which is an outcome of twenty-five years of acquaintances of American women with Nepali Tamang women is life histories of Tamang women retold by the author. Comparing her work of

women's narratives with Holmer's epic-narrative March (2002) wrote, "The stories of the Tamang women should also be read as an epic-meant to be heard and reheard, told and retold" (p1). "The tales of Tamang women are epics because what they tell is larger than any one telling larger even than the sum of all possible tellings." (March 2002:12).

Life history was collected for more intensive information from the elderly people before it gets disappeared. This includes local peoples' accounts of differential treatments within their families and villages, marital life and their access to power and resources. Two of my respondents I collected life histories of have already departed from this material world.

3.2.7 Case study

In an attempt to have a better understanding of the factors which inhibit Nepali women to challenge the existing/prevaling gender discrimination, case studies have focused on information about childhood socialization, natal family environment, schooling, marriage and formation of own family, etc. In order to explicate a historical perspective on the subject Case Studies and Life Histories were collected.

3.2.8 Observation

While collecting data/information in the field with other tools and techniques of data collection, observation was also made in order to record normal scene in everyday life in the study area. It included everyday activities performed by women and men, their body language and manner in the public places, women's interaction with community people and mobility of women and men

The research questions raised in this study are answered by obtaining information at three different levels, viz., household/family, community/society and cultural beliefs and practices. As I have argued above, this study also attempts to find out why some groups of people or individuals contain gender discrimination in spite of the fact that they are aware of such discriminations.

While undertaking this research, information is gathered at various levels and from different possible sources to fully explicate the social and cultural norms and

values which may have a bearing on the prevailing perceptions and practices on gender. More specific issues explored are: lack of confidence among women, their submissive nature, male biased educational system, religious beliefs and practices, and lack of opportunities and space for women in the public spheres.

Triangulation

All research methods have their advantages and limitations (Giddens 1993). Therefore I have combined several methods using each to check and supplement the information obtained from the others.

3.3 Sample of the Study Population

In the beginning of the field work, household census was taken in order to select the respondents for the Survey. Census was conducted among the Gaines and Chhetris in Batulechaur and Kumals and Bahuns in Ritthevani. Their total population from the household census was 2046. Each member of the Population was plotted in a sheet of paper according to her/his age, sex and educational level. Thus a demographic table was prepared on their age, sex and educational composition. Age was arranged in two broad age groups '20 to 49' (20-49) and '50 and over' (50 +) for each sex. Rationale for selecting population 20 years and older was to collect gender perception of the adults and elderly population. Similarly, I chose two categories from the educational level-i.e. 'population with no education' (no education) and 'population with high school education and over' (high +) to see the influence of education on people's perception on gender. Respondents for household survey were thus selected purposively from the respective strata of the household census on their percentile basis. From among the 423 households and 2046 population identified by the household census, 205 Households/Respondents were selected for the Survey with specific purpose in the research context (See Table 3.1 and 3.2 for sample selection).

Table 3.1. Universe and Sample of the Study Population

Criteria		Universe			Sample		
Age	Education	Gender			Gender		
		Female	Male	Both	Female (%)	Male (%)	Both (%)
20-49	No Education	161	37	198	32 (20.0)	23 (62.2)	55 (27.8)
	Secondary School and over	134	263	397	31 (23.1)	63 (23.9)	94 (23.7)
50 +	No Education	98	51	149	20 (20.4)	21 (41.1)	41 (27.5)
	Secondary School and over	3	29	32	2 (66.6)	13 (44.8)	15 (46.9)
Total		396	380	776	85 (21.5)	120 (31.6)	205 (26.4)

Source: Field Survey 2002

Note: Sample % calculated from the universe.

Purposive sampling as Neuman (1997:206) notes, "is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations...a researcher uses it to select unique cases that are especially informative."

Among the 205 Respondents of the study 85 were females and 120 were males. This sample is comprised of 48.5 % of the total 423 households of different caste/ethnic groups under study.

Table 3.2. Criteria of Respondents Selection for the Study

Criteria	Sex							
1. Sex	Female				Male			
Total	396				380			
Selected	85				120			
%	21.5				31.6			
Criteria	Age							
2. Age	20-49 years		50 +years		20-49 years		50+years	
Total	295		101		300		80	
Selected	63		22		86		34	
%	21.4		21.8		28.7		42.5	
Criteria	Education							
3. Edu.	No Edu	With Edu	No Edu	With Edu	No Edu	With Edu	No Edu	With Edu
Total	161	134	98	3	37	263	51	29
Selected	32	31	20	2	23	63	21	13
%	20.0	23.1	20.4	66.6	62.2	23.9	41.1	44.8

Source: Field Survey 2002. No Edu=No Education, With Edu=With Education

The researcher has used the sample of 205 for both as a Respondent as an individual and as a Respondent Household. Studies have revealed that though household heads are mostly male members of the house they are not necessarily knowledgeable on all aspects of household matters (Malla 1992; Hobley 1990). According to Hobley (1990) household member's knowledge on specific areas relating to household matters depended on their gender. While selecting respondent from the household members the researcher did not just pick household head but priority was placed on the most elderly females and males, most educated females

and young adult males with no education. The researcher had prioritized this group for her respondents from among those who met the selection criteria because they were only quite a few.

While taking household census all the Bahuns and Kumals of Lekhnath-2 were enumerated. Similarly, all the Gains of Batulechaur were covered in the study. Yet Chhetris of Batulechaur were partially covered in the census. As Batulechaur is densely populated by the Chhetris, I have covered only those Chhetris residing along the Mahendra Gufa Marga starting from Deep in the South to Madan-Ashrit Marga in the North and adjoining settlements to the East and to the West. It is one of the reasons for the highest proportion of Chhetris in the study universe and in the sample (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Percentage of Respondents by Caste/Ethnic Groups and Sex

Caste/ Ethnic Group	Sex		Total	
	Female	Male	No	%
Bahun	22	29	51	25
Chhetri	21	40	61	30
Gaine	20	29	49	24
Kumal	22	22	44	21
Total (%)	85 (41.5)	120 (58.5)	205	100

Source: Field Survey 2002

3.4 Data Analysis

Raw data collected through various methods were transferred into computer in SPSS and tables were generated accordingly for analysis and interpretation. Tables, graphs, figures, diagrams are composed from the data/information fed in the SPSS program. Household as well as individual is taken as the unit of analysis for the study. Household is the unit of analysis on family occupation, household resources and their ownership, division of labour in household work, economic activities and

community activities etc. Information regarding perception on gender role, equity, discrimination, empowerment, attitude towards marriage and family, preference over child's sex and on property rights the unit of analysis is individual. Responses on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) conducted for gender role perception on the basis of respondent's age, gender, and education was analyzed qualitatively. SPSS method was also used in the quantitative analysis of the TAT responses.

3.5 Field Experience / Lessons Learnt

During the fieldwork while collecting data through household survey, one day The researcher and Sanjaya, who was helping in the survey, were stopped in Rithepani by two young men who were carrying gun in their back-pack. They inquired about us as who we were, why we were there, were we relatives of the house we just got out from etc. The researcher explained about her research project and the reason they were there. Those men told the researcher to wait until their friends come there. After an hour or so their friends-about seven appeared from across the ditch. They had arrested a young Brahman woman. Until then the research team had suspected the young men who had stopped them as Maoists but now they came to know that they were security personnel in civil dress. The chief of the group approached the research team and the researcher told him about themselves and the research work. He then apologized for holding the research team and let them go. On their way back once they reached the graveled road just outside the settlement they saw four-armed security in the chautari pointing their riffle to all four sides and there was a truck full of Army standing by the side. There was a raid and people were being arrested in suspicion of Maoists.

In Batulechaur, while the researcher was interviewing a Chhetri woman, her husband and a neighbour kept answering for her. The neighbour in fact was a distant uncle of this man. He was knowledgeable person and seemed to know everything. This Chhetri woman was doing her household chores while the researcher was talking to her. The researcher let Sanjaya and Kshitiz, (who were helping her in the survey) to do household survey with her and herself kept that old man and the husband engaged with her talking about what he knew about the land and the people. In front

of those men the respondent woman kept saying '*ma ke janam*' i.e. what would I know in the process of survey. But when they did not disturb her she was answering all the questions in the survey. The researcher visited this couple often times she passed by them. Later, this woman was so much opened to the researcher that she shared her moments of ups and downs of marital life without any hesitation. But she would not speak such things in front of her husband. As her husband hardly left her alone the researcher had to find some moments of just she and the researcher herself to dig into her past. Piniero (2002) had similar experience of building rapport during her fieldwork in Cotacachi, Equador. She wrote, "as soon as I established rapport with these women, they became open and were willing to share even some highly personal information."

The researcher was not living among the respondents in the sites of her research because it was in the close proximity of our house in Pokhara valley. Thus she was making daily trips back and forth to the sites taking turn. This hindered her from the opportunity of a maximum interaction with her subjects and participant observation had she lived with the community. The researcher being a female and a daughter-in-law in the family also raised different social expectation that she live with her family and make daily trips for the same. Moreover, the on going armed conflict had restricted the researcher's movement.

Gender of the researcher not only makes difference in 'obtaining information from the opposite sex in the field' (for instance, see Pandey 2003:). But it also effects and raises concern of the family members on the type of living arrangements for the female researcher due to differential socialization patterns and social expectations for males and females and daughters and daughters-in-law. Chhetri's illustration on keeping daily field notes is relevant here-

"Eating with Tibetans, playing with them, teaching their children, watching movies on videos on Friday nights, chatting with them at afternoon tea or during evening walks, have not only remained in my memory (and will remain) but also gave me opportunities to look at closely and understand the Tibetan people" (Chhetri 1990:52-53).

For female researchers especially married ones the phrase like 'watching movies on Friday nights' would raise series of questions and suspicion towards her. Therefore it is no wonder that 'Leela Dube had conducted her field-work under the protective umbrella of her father-in-law' and 'Radcliffe-Brown himself had to advise some of his female students to carry guns in the field to defend themselves from the possibility of any attack intended to harm them physically' (Dube Leela and Sarsby Jacquie cited in Pandey 2003:65).

CHAPTER IV

SETTING OF THE STUDY

Present study was carried out in Batulechaur and Lekhnath of Pokhara valley in Kaski district, West Nepal.

4.1 Physical Setting

Pokhara is a beautiful picturesque valley of Kaski district of Nepal. It is situated at 855 meters above sea level and is located to the south of Annapurna Himalayan range and the famous Fish-Tail peak-*Machhapuchhre*. It extends about nine-km north to south and five-km east to west (Adhikari and Seddon 2002). Kaski district lies between 28° 6'-28° 36'N latitudes and 83° 40'-84° 12' longitudes. Kaski contains a diversity of landscape and climatic regions (CBS 1995a). If Nepal is known by Mount Everest and as the birthplace of Buddha, Pokhara is known by its famous pick Fish-Tail and the Fewa Lake. Pokhara is known for eight lakes accounting for 3.68 sq miles in area. According to Gurung (2002:10) Phewa Tal (lake) is three miles long and covers an area of 1.85 sq miles. It is larger than all the rest put together. Begnas Tal and Rupa Tal are the other larger lakes of the eight. Mairi, Khalte, Gunde, Dipang and Kamalpokhari are among others. Pokhara is one of the most frequented localities outside Kathmandu Valley (Gurung 1980). The famous Phewa Lake and Machhapuchhre have given Pokhara its identity. Ekai Kawaguchi in his book *Three Years in Tibet* wrote, "In all my travels in the Himalayas I saw no scenery so enchanting as that which enraptured me at Pokhara" (quoted in Gurung 2002). This expression by Kawaguchi is self-explaining for the beauty of Pokhara.

The earliest reference to Pokhara was made by William Kirkpatrick while describing the main route from Kathmandu to Beni. Kirkpatrick had visited Kathmandu in 1793. He had written "To Pokhara; at 3 cos, cross by a wooden bridge the river Seti, a very deep, but narrow (gorge)" (quoted in Gurung 1980:146). Other early reference of Pokhara was made by Francis Buchanan Hamilton, Brian Hodgson, and Oldfield in their own context. Francis Buchanan Hamilton described Pokhara as

"a considerable town... which is a mart frequented by merchants from Nepal (Kathmandu), Palpa, Malebum & C.". Brian Hodgson wrote about Pokhara while discussing lakes in the Himalayas. He wrote "Three or four (lakes) in Kumaon and two or three in Western Nepal (Pokra)". Henry Ambrose Oldfield wrote about Pokhara valley as being "much larger than the Valley of Nepal (Kathmandu)...the largest of these lakes (in Pokhara) is said to be two day's journey round" (quoted in Gurung 1980:146-7). Toni Hagen who had coverage of over 14,000 kilometres on foot in Nepal and as a scientist his observations of Pokhara deserves special significance. He wrote "Pokhara area shows the greatest contrasts in landscape. Nowhere in the world, can the highest mountains reaching 8,000 meters level be admired from such a short distance and from the tropical lowland without any intermediate mountain ranges. Pokhara is certainly one of the most extraordinary and most beautiful places in the whole world"

Perceval Landon referred to Pokhara as the second city of Nepal outside the Kathmandu group and estimated its inhabitants at 10,000. He wrote-

" It is not a place of wealth or of political importance, but its size, its fertile soil and its position on the central east-west road of Nepal combines with its official character to make it a town that is destined to play no small part in the future industrial development of Nepal." (Quoted in Gurung 1980:147).

However, Gurung (1980:149) clarified on Landon's population size and soil fertility and Oldfield's on the size of the valley as they were based on hearsay accounts and also evoked due to their particular fascination about Pokhara valley. One should not be detracted by that.

Until the twelfth century, the Pokhara valley was uninhabited. The first Shah King came to Kaski with many mulch cattle as the whole Pokhara valley was available for grazing (Subedi 1999:10 cited in Adhikari and Seddon 2002:18). But at present, Pokhara is the largest urban centre of Western Nepal. It was declared an urban centre in 1959 when the population was estimated to be 4,000. At present its population has reached over hundred fifty thousands. The history of Pokhara City according to Parajuli (2002) shows that its settlement was initiated from

Bindhyabasini and Batulechaur with Thakuri, Brahman, Chhetri, Kami, Damai, Sarki and Gaine as early settlers. Newars, mostly traders migrated and settled in Pokhara city to promote their trade and business after the 18th century only (Gurung 1965). According to Tucci (1971 cited in Parajuli 2004), the temple art and architecture of Pokhara indicated that the origin of Pokhara town was not very old. Until 1893 Pokhara was a village town as described by Ekai Kawaguchi the Japanese Buddhist Scholar who was the first recorded foreigner and a Japan to visit Pokhara in 1893 (Kawaguchi 1909 cited in Parajuli 2004). But according to Gurung (1980:147) Kawaguchi had made his visit to Pokhara during his trip to Tibet from Kathmandu in 1899. In this case perhaps we have to rely Parajuli who has cited the first hand source i.e. Kawaguchi 1909.

According to Gurung (1965) no historical reference about Pokhara was made prior to the 16th century Shah ruler of Kaski king Kulmandan Shah. From the aforementioned historical, cultural and settlement reference it becomes clear that Pokhara developed itself into a new urban centre of West Nepal attracting people of all castes in short period of time. Eradication of malaria in mid –1960s and opening up of the Prithvinarayan highway in the 1970s had accelerated the urbanization process of Pokhara valley.

Originally settlements in Pokhara as elsewhere can be found as clustered by caste/ethnicity. For example (Parajuli 2004), Bahun and Chhetri settlements were clustered in Batulechaur, Baidam, Simalchaur, Kundahar and Chhinedanda. Similarly, Gains were and still are clustered in Batulechaur. Newars were found mainly in the market area of Singhanath Tole, Moharia Tole, Bhairab Tole, Ganesh Tole, Terchhapatti Tole and Sanghu ko Mukh. Gurungs dominated in the newly developed settlements e.g. Bagar, Deep, Rambazar, Chhorepatan and Banjhapatan.

Batulechaur lies in the northern part of Pokhara valley. It is situated at 975 meters above sea level (Gurung 1980: 165,171). It is ward 16 of Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City. Batulechaur is the only settlement in Pokhara where Chhetris and Gains co-existed since immemorial past. Recalling his childhood Adhikari wrote, "The area to the north, beyond the K.I. Singh bridge was virtually uninhabited, until

one reached the Chhetri-dominated villages of Lamachaur and Batulechaur. Between the bridge and these villages, there were only a few shop-houses along the track. Otherwise, the whole area was open" (Adhikari and Seddon 2002). During the time of Kulmandan Shah in the 16th century Batulechaur was designated as the winter capital because the rulers of Kaski lived mainly in Kaski kot. Kaski kot (1788 m) had a small stone shrine and *maulo* for animal sacrifice during Dasain. The early rulers of Kaski used to move between Kaski kot in summer and Batulechaur in winter. The extensive orange orchards and the large village of Gaine (minstrels) at Batulechaur are credited to the past royal patronage (Gurung 1980:171-172).

Kulmandan Shah also known as Jagati Khan had seven sons. He had given his second son Kalu Shah to rule Lamjung in request of Indo Aryan Hindu people who wanted a Chhetri king in Lamjung. Kalu Shah ruled for 3 months and then got killed by the Ghale kings. His brother Yashobrahma Shah, the seventh son of Kulmandan Shah, later replaced him. Drabya Shah the youngest son of Yashobrahma established control of Gorkha by defeating Magar and Khadka kings. The first son of Kulmandan Shah Jalal Shah took over the kingship of Kaski after his father. Though Kaski was one of the more powerful among the *chaubisi rajya* of the Gandaki region (24 petty states) it was losing strength due to constant wars against its neighbours Nuwakot (Syangjya), Parbat and Lamjung. King Jalal Shah was killed in the war against jointly attacked by Nuwakot and Parbat (Adhikari and Seddon 2002:16). Prithvinarayan Shah who is known as the great king of modern Nepal was the descendant of Drabya Shah.

According to Adhikari and Seddon (2002:18) Gains were brought from Tanahun to entertain the king and his court. They stayed near Royal palaces. The rulers of Kaski who were known for patronizing learning and scholarship, had brought learned Brahmins from Parbat. It seems that Brahmins and Chhetris were the first spontaneous settlers of the Pokhara valley. Based on the interview with elderly Bahun and Chhetri males in the area, among the Bahuns and Chhetris of Batulechaur the immigrant Gains were known as the *chhattis-kurias* or thirty-six households.

After Batulechaur other settlements began to develop in Pokhara (Adhikari and Seddon 2002:18). The earliest population of Batulechaur can be derived from Gurung (2002:24 and 26). According to him, Batulechaur was one of the 33 *thum* (revenue division). On average, there were ten villages and five hundred houses in each *thum*. The total population of Batulechaur in 1954 was 3732. In 1961 it reached 3994 of which 2137 were females and 1857 were males.

Lekhnath lies between 28 6'N-28 11'N latitudes and 84 6' E-84 16'E longitudes. Its elevation ranges from 490 meters to 1,217 meters above sea level (Oli 1999). Lekhnath adjoins Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City. Lekhnath lies in 8 kilometres east of Pokhara City centre. Prithvi Highway, which linked Pokhara to Kathmandu and Tarai from Mugling, runs through Lekhnath area. Ritthepani area is linked through a motorable dirt road from Lekhnath *Chowk* (junction) on the Highway. Along this road numbers of shops have been coming up each new day. Urbanization in Lekhnath area began after opening up of this Highway and transform of Lekhnath VDC to Municipality in 1997.

Lekhnath is known as the city of seven lakes. Lakes in Lekhnath Municipality and their area in hectare are-Begnas Lake (373 hectare), Rupa Lake (115 h), Khaste Lake (13.57 h), Dipang Lake (8.98 h), Gunde Lake (4.98 h), Nyureni Lake (2.83 h) and Maldi Lake (1.17 h). Dipang Lake the fourth biggest lake in Lekhnath is being developed as Honeymoon Lake. Lekhnath Municipality had leased the lake to a private sector called Dipang Agro-Tourism Pvt. Ltd. for 20 years in 2055 for the all round development of Dipang Lake.

According to the Household Survey conducted by Lekhnath Municipality in January/February 1998 (cited in Bhurtel 2000: 36) among the thirteen settlements of Lekhnath Municipality Ward number 2 the Kumal Gaun was one of the largest clusters, consisting of largest population (14.86%) and the second largest number of households (14.13%). Community in the Lekhnath area is heterogeneous. Kumals in Lekhnath thus live in the neighbourhood of mixed caste groups.

In the days of Ranas Lekhnath Kumals were given *Kipat (Birta)* land for their service. The *Kipat* land was given near Pandit Thar. There was a huge *Rittha* tree

and under it was *pani ko mool* (natural water source). So the place was named after the *Rittha* tree and water source hence called Ritthevani. Kumal Gaon, Pandit Thar, Gachha fant, Jalukini Danda, Bhunkuna, Kalimati, tin Tahara and Mare Khahare are toles (settlements) in Lekhnath –2

There were two boarding (private) schools and three Public primary schools. There was no health post in the area. The Ward 2 Committee office was moved to Ward 3. Due to budget constraints there was only one Secretary for Ward 2, 3 and 6.

Thus the biggest Gaine and Kumal settlement in Pokhara lies in Batulechaur and Lekhnath respectively. At the closest proximity were the Chhetris with the Gains in Batulechaur and Bahuns with the Kumals in Ritthevani, Lekhnath. In a study by Gurung (2002:72) the ethnic/caste distribution showed that Batulechaur had dominance of Chhetris. Adhikari and Seddon (2002) showed that Arghaun (Lekhnath) had dominance of Bahuns and Kumals.

4.2 Development Context: Socioeconomic Conditions in the District

Kaski district ranked 71 in the ranking of all districts carried out by ICIMOD in collaboration with SNV in 1997. The 75 districts of Nepal were categorised into three groups as worst (with ranks 1 to 25), intermediate (with ranks 26 to 50), and the best (with 51 to 75) by arranging the 75 districts in ascending order. In other words, the bottom 25 districts were classified as worst, top 25 districts as best, and the remaining 25 districts as intermediate.

Based on weighted scores on ranking of districts Kaski was ranked 5th from top among the 25 best districts after Kathmandu (75), Manang (74), Jhapa (73) and Lalitpur (72)). Five sets of ranks-CDI, GDI, HDI, PSDI and IDI were used for development indicators (Tables/Maps 2 to 6). These five indices were constructed "on the understanding that they comprehensively reflect the prevailing socioeconomic conditions in the districts" (ICIMOD and SNV, 1997:9). Kaski ranked 71st according to the Overall Composite Index of Development (Table/Map 2). According to Gender Discrimination Index also Kaski ranked 71st after Manang (75), Kathmandu

(74), Jhapa (73), and Lalitpur (72) (Table/Map 47). Ranked by Health and Development Index (Table/Map 48), Kaski ranked 72nd after Kathmandu (75) Mustang (74), and Lalitpur (73). According to Primary Sector Development Index (Table/Map 49) Kaski ranked 72nd after Kathmandu (75), Lalitpur (74), and Bhaktapur (73). Kaski ranked 53rd by Infrastructural Development Index (Table/Map50).

For un-weighted scores (ICIMOD: 12) the 75 values of each of the 39 basic indicators were superimposed on the 39 Tables/Maps (Tables/Maps 7 to 45). Kaski district ranked 73 according to Women's Empowerment Index (Table/Map 4), 69 according to Poverty and Deprivation Index (Table/Map 3), 69 according to the Socio-economic, Infrastructural Development Index (Table/Map 6), and 45 according to Natural Resources Endowment Index (Table/Map 5).

Kaski ranked 2nd with 12.38 % after Kathmandu (11.86 %) according to the Child Illiteracy Rate (Illiterate children of 10-14 years as a percent of the total children in the same age group) (Table/Map 7). It also ranked 2nd with 12.95 % after Manang (10.59 %) according to Child Labour Rate (working children of 10-14 years as a percent of the total children in the same age group) (Table/Map 8). According to Gender Imbalance Ratio in Literacy Status (ratio of females to males among the literate population of 15+ years, multiplied by their sex ratio of the same age group) Kaski ranked 4th with ratio of 50.10 (Table/Map 10) after Kathmandu (61.34), Jhapa (53.26), and Lalitpur (52.96). Kaski ranked 13th with 28.21 % (Table/Map 11) according to Gender Imbalance Ratio in Non-agricultural Occupations (ratio of females to males among the population 15+ years engaged in non-agricultural occupations multiplied by the sex ratio of the same age group). It ranked 4th (56.84 %) according to the Overall Literacy Rate (literate population 6 years and above as a percent of the total population in the same age group) (Table/Map 15). According to Percentage Share of Females in Literacy (Literate female population of 10+ years as a percent of the total literate population in the same age group) Kaski ranked 2nd with 39.55 % after Syangja (39.59 %) (Table/Map 33). Kaski ranked 6th (Table/Map 34) according to Percentage Share of Females in Non-agricultural Occupations (female population of 15+ years engaged in non-agricultural occupations as a percent of the

total population in the same age group engaged in the same activities). Kaski ranked 2nd with 3.44 after Manang (6.99) (Table/Map 35) according to Percentage Share of Elected Females at District Level (number of females elected on to VDCs, DDCs and Municipalities as a percent of the total members elected). According to Percentage Share of Girls Enrolled in Primary Level (number of girls enrolled at primary level) Kaski ranked 3rd (Table/Map 37) with 48.82 % after Bhaktapur (49.97 %) and Manang (49.81 %). But according to Percentage of Girls Dropouts at Primary Level (average percentage of girl dropouts from grades 1 to 5) Kaski ranked 58th under worst district (Table/Map 38) with 20.73 %.

Kaski ranked 37th, with 3.73 % (Table/Map 9) under Intermediate district according to Child Marriage Rate (married children of 10-14 years as a percent of the total children in the same age group)

Of the 39 indicators for un-weighted scores Kaski scored 23 **best**, 9 **intermediate** and 7 **worst**. The indicators in which Kaski scored worst were-

percentage of landless and marginal farm households 41.07 % (Table/Map 13), percentage of farm households with agricultural credit 7.67 % (Table/Map 20), farm size 0.57 hectare (Table/Map 21), livestock per farm household 2.95 (Table/Map 22), percentage of irrigated area 7.57 (Table/Map 24), percentage of girl dropouts at primary level 20.73 (Table/Map 38), and percentage of area with slopes above 30 degrees 73.52 (Table/Map 39).

4.3 Caste/Ethnic Context

Nepal from the ancient time has been a country of different caste/ethnic groups with distinct language and culture. From the very historical period, Nepal has been the meeting ground of the Indo-Aryan people from the South and Mongolian people from the North.

Different ethnic groups constitute the cultural pluralism or diversity. In the context of diversity of Nepal, flexibility is the strength of the society. Nepal is one of the rarest countries in the world if we consider its smallness in areas and largeness in cultural diversity. Nepali culture of today is the culture blended in the past. Nepali

society could absorb and adapt new ideas, new modes and new styles from abroad without threatening its basic values and underlying principles.

The earliest documented caste organization comes from Kathmandu valley at the time of King Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395) during 14th century. In order to reform Nepali society population were divided into 64 occupational caste groups on the basis of their work and were ranked under clean and untouchable caste groups. Caste principles and codes of conduct were introduced according to the Manusmriti Code of Hindus (Bista 1991). During this time not only the division of labour in the society was based on the membership of the group in the caste hierarchy but rules for the clothing, ornamentation and construction of houses also varied for different caste groups (See Gellner 1999).

According to Sharma (2004) efforts were made by the Hindu rulers of Nepal at times to maintain social order in their state. Occupational caste hierarchy was also reinforced during Shah period, by Ram Shah, the King of Gorkha (r. 1606-1636) who is also known for his social reform in the history of Nepal. After the unification of modern Nepal, King Prithvi Narayan Shah also declared Nepal the garden of four Jat and thirty six varna. In the Nepali social context, Jat commonly means caste in the hierarchical, stratified sense of the Hindu caste system. "One can not choose one's jati; it is defined by birth" (Quigley 1993).

A Civil Code was promulgated on January 5, 1854 at the time of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana. The Code was promulgated in order to protect the social norms, social order and social tradition according to the Varna system. Different codification of law was elaborated in this Code. All castes were paraphrased into for *Varnas* and thirty six *Jats*. Whole Nepali society was divided into five hierarchical divisions according to the Code. They are-*Tagadhari* (Wearers of the holy cord); *Namasinya Matawali* (Non-enslavable Alcohol-Drinkers; *Masinya Matawali* (Enslavable Alcohol-Drinkers; *Pani nachalne choi chhito halnunaparne* (impure but 'touchable'); and *Pani nachalne choi chhito halnuparne* (untouchable) respectively (Höfer 2004:9). Under this Code punishment also varied for different caste according to their hierarchy (Vaidya and Manandhar 1985). The Civil Code of

1963 A.D. popularly known as Naya Muluki Ain (New Civil Code) has removed such caste hierarchical divisions. It has treated all citizens equally before the law. However, often times it is reported that caste-based discrimination prevails in practice (see Sharma, Chhetri and Rana 1994).

4.3.1 Bahun and Chhetri

In the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy based on pollution and purity, Bahun and Chhetri are placed on the first category of the Hindu caste system.

Bahun and Chhetri were classified under the first *cord wearing* category, Kumal under the third *enslavable* category and Gaine were categorized under the fifth and last *untouchable* category. Within the untouchables, Gaine were categorized after Kami, Sarki, Kadara (stemming from unions between Kami and Sarki) and Damai and above Badi, Pode and Chyame,

Bista classified the Hindu caste hierarchy in four different views as *Classical Model*, *Nepali Model viewed by Bahun-Chhetri*, *Nepali Model viewed by the Majority*, and *Secular Hierarchy viewed by Majority and practiced by all*. In Bista's classification Bahun and Chhetri were placed in the first category in the hierarchy and Gaine at the bottom in all four models. Kumal could be placed in the middle in first two models. They belong to the *Chokho Jaat* (clean caste) in model three and to the *Common, Poor and Backward* (Matwali and ethnic communities) in model four (see Bista 1991:43).

Bahuns and Chhetris are the major caste groups in Nepal by their number (Table 1). In 1991 census Brahman are classified as of Hill and Tarai as their origins. Chhetris are not classified as such with their origin in Tarai. Hill Brahman (Bahun) were second to the Chhetris in the total population of Nepal. Both Bahun and Chhetri percentage have declined in 2001 census (CBS 2002).

Bahuns and Chhetris are Aryan people. As they wear sacred thread they are also regarded as "twice-born" high castes. They come from the south and west (Mierow, 1997). According to Bista (1991:38) "A majority of Bahun priests are the descendants of caste Brahmans who came mainly from the plains...most were forced

to emigrate from hostile invasions of the plain states. In particular, there were to be many who were running away from the religious persecutions of the Moslems." However, Bahun Pundits are "the writers, the repository and the interpreters of (Nepali) history." (Bista 1991:37).

Regarding the origin of Chhetri Bista wrote, "In all my research, I have been unable to discover any genuine evidence that any Thakuri (aristocratic) family has its origins in India. Instead there is some evidence of distinctly Nepali origins for most Thakuris and Chhetris. Bista cites the presence of clan and family tutelary deities of Nepali people and their non-bahun priests as an example for this (1991:37-38).

Mierow in her thirty years acquaintance with Pokhara observed that Brahmin religious teachers were educated in Sanskrit schools. "They were well-versed in the most ancient religious literature in the world". She remarked "If the lists of teachers and professors at the campuses and university (in Pokhara valley) are studied with a critical eye, we will find that Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars are in the majority" (Mierow 1997:85).

4.3.2 Gaine

Gaine is a group of people of Nepal whose traditional occupation is singing and fishing. They are known for singing on *Sarangi*, to make their living. They have been defined as "a particular caste of begging singers" (Turner, 1931:138), "a caste group who make their earning by singing on Sarangi and begging from place to place" (Gyawali, 2040:199).

In the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy based on pollution and purity Gains were placed under Shudra varna and at the bottom of the hierarchy-untouchable castes category. They were placed below Kami, Sarki Kadara and Damai. Castes below Gains in the untouchable caste category were Badi, Pore and Cyame (See Höfer 1979).

In the total population of Nepal Gaine constituted 0.02 % in 1991 and 0.03 % in 2001. The 2001 Census of Nepal has identified 5887 Gains living in Nepal. They are scattered in 18 Districts of Nepal. Kaski District stands in number one where

majority of the Gaine settlements is found. In Kaski, their biggest and oldest settlement is in Batulechaur of Pokhara (HMG, 2031). The Voters List of Regional Planning Commission, Pokhara had identified 37 Gaine households in Pokhara and their population was 92 in 2039 B.S. The first Sociological study on the Gainses of Batulechaur was done by Gyanu Chhetri. She conducted her field work in 1984. There were 34 Gaine households and their population was 154 (85 females and 69 males) in 1984 (see Chhetri 1985).

In the 1991 Census the Occupational caste constituted 15.62 % of the Hill caste (68.36 %) and 20.12 % of the total population of Nepal (CBS 1995b: 313). Among the Hill Occupational caste Gaine constituted 0.23 %.

Prior to the arrival of newspapers, radios and magazines to tell about events, Gainses went from place to place singing about battles and acts of bravery. "Almost every culture has had these singing newscasters from earliest times until the newspapers and radio slowly replaced them" (Mierow:1997: 80). Gainses composed songs instantly on any events. They also composed song on the Narayanhiti Massacre of June 1st, 2005. Adhikari recalled that Gainses had composed song after the construction of Prithvi Highway, which connected Pokhara to Kathmandu. They sang "bato ta China ko gadi German ko" which means the vehicle is made in Germany and the road is made by the Chinese (Adhikari and Seddon 2002).

As there is no written historical documents on the origin of Gainses we have to rely upon the oral history or legends. Gainses claim their ancestry with Gandharva Rishi. Although we lack historical documents, to support this claim, legends support the belief, that, Gainses are descendants of Gandharva Rishi. Instead of "Gaine" They prefer to call themselves "Gayak", "Gandharva" and most recently "Gandhar".

A caste 'Gayana' (to sing), mentioned among the other caste groups in Jayasthiti Malla's social division, suggests that Gainses were present in Nepal during the medieval period and they were given the job of singing. Singing, and dancing have been the source of entertainment of people from the ancient time. As time passes by, the job of entertaining people became the profession as such. In the process of social reform in the Nepali society, we can find that, singers, players of

different musical instruments and dancers were categorized into fixed caste hierarchy according to their occupations (Sharma, 1976).

According to Dharma Raj Thapa the folk artist/singer of Batulechaur, Pokhara Gaines were brought to Nepal by Kul Mandan Shah as porters from Gadh Chittaudh, India (2030). Similar to Gaines, the Langa and Manganiyar, a Muslim community of Rajasthan, India, also make their living by singing and playing Sarangi. Gaines, Hindu by religion, have custom of singing Jayamalpatta and sword dancing of the Muslim king Jayamalpatta (India) on their marriage ceremony (Thapa, 2030). This suggests that, Gaines of Nepal have some sort of relationship with the Muslims of India.

Rulers of the *chaubise rajya* in Nepal had their own bards attached to their court. Thus events were remembered in songs and brave men were given credit of their bravery (Mierow 1997:80). In the unification campaign of Modern Nepal, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had employed Gaines to encourage and inspire the military youths by their *karkha* (heroic songs) and also entertain them. They were to lead the procession while seeing-off or receiving the soldiers upon their return from the battlefield. These Gaines also had received *Pagari* (hat like) from the king as a reward (see Chhetri, 2042 for Role of Gaines in National integration). They were given lands near the king's winter palace in Batulechaur in exchange for their songs praising the ruler, immortalizing him and his deeds. Mierow remembers that Gaines had built picturesque red houses with thatched roofs (Mierow 1997:80-81). Those beautiful red houses are being replaced by concrete and block houses with tin roofs (see Photo 4).

After the unification, Gaines were limited to make their livelihood by singing *karkha*. No attention was paid to this group, as it was then expected that these Gaine people would be able to make their lives happy with their singing profession. It was also thought that, their profession would always be welcomed. Hence, they were prohibited by *Sanad* (regulation) to do other type of works such as ploughing (agriculture) and business (Thapa, 2032:137). They were not allowed to own any

tangible property until the new Civil Code (1963) was implemented. Hence, no land would be registered under their names (Pandey 2038; Thapa 2036).

4.3.3 Kumal

Kumals are a group of people in Nepal whose traditional occupation is clay-pot making. Kumal constituted less than 1 % in the total population of Nepal in both the census of 1991 and 2001. Among the Occupational Caste that originated in the hill, Kumal constituted 3.88 % (CBS, 1995b: 321 Table 10). The two Occupational castes people Kumal and Gaine combined together constitute 4.11 % of the Hill Occupational caste.

Kumals of Lekhnath say that in the beginning, there was no caste as such. They made earthen pots, which turned out to be not good ones. Earthen pots once broken can not be put together. For making such *ku-mal* (bad-stuff), they were hence called Kumal. Elderly Kumal themselves and an educated Brahman of the area testified to the fact that Kumals were given the name for making *ku-mal*. According to the educated Brahmin, water is accepted from Kumals because they are of same caste as Darai and Tharu. He said that Kumals are lower to Bhujels and Gurungs but parallel to Magars.

Kumals of Lekhnath, Kaski trace their origin mainly to Putalikheta of Syangja district, Balyang of Kaski and Khalte of Tanahu district. Kumals of Lekhnath are grouped into 5 clans namely-1) Gotakme, 2) Laure, 3) Chitaura Rana (Magar), 4) Karki and 5) Soladevi-Kumbhakaran (Thakuri).

According to the Kumals of Lekhnath, there are Madhise Kumals, Pahade Kumals and Newar Kumals. They say that there are Tharu Kumals and Darai Kumals. This coincides with what others say about Kumal types. Kattel (2001) mentioned three types of Kumals in his M. Phil Thesis as Jat Kumals (Pahadi Kumals), Newar Kumals (Prajapati) and Tarai Kumals (Madhise Kumal or Pandits). According to Pathak (2003) Kumals of Gadhwara, Dang 'claim themselves to be Tharu Kumal'. Lekhnath Kumals call themselves Pahade Kumal. According to them, food habits differ for Kumals residing in different parts of the country. For example, Newar Kumals eat he-buffalo (Ranga) but Pahade Kumals do not. As elderly Kumals

reported, they do not live along the roadsides. Because of the need of soil, water and firewood in the pot making occupation, Kumals settled at the close proximity of river, soil and forest.

In the days of Ranas Lekhnath Kumals were given *Kipat (Birta)* land. Elderly Kumals as well as Bahuns testified to this fact. The *Kipat* land was given where the proper Ritthevani spring was situated. Bhurtel also mentioned that "an elderly man (Kumal) vividly remembered that a small hillock covered with *Rittha* trees contained a spring that provided a good drinking water to the villagers (Bhurtel 2000:61). The place was near the present day Pandit Thar (Bahun settlement). There was a huge *Rittha* tree (*Sapindus mukorossi*) and under it was *pani ko mool* (natural water spring). So the locality was named after the *Rittha* tree and water spring. Hence the locality got a name Ritthevani.

Kumal Gaon, Pandit Thar, Gachha fant, Jalukini Danda, Bhunkuna, Kalimati, tin Tahara and Mare Khahare are *toles* (settlements) in Lekhnath -2. I have used the name Ritthevani and Lekhnath area interchangeably for the study purpose. According to an elderly Gurung male who was also the VDC Chair at the time of field work told me that though the Kumals were the early settlers of Ritthevani, they were dominated by Bahuns and Chhetris in the area. The businessmen of Pokhara with whom Kumals used to buy clothes took lands from Kumals on nominal price. In the words of Gurung, "*sano thailima dherai jagga lieka*" this means huge lands were taken for small payment.

Among the castes in the neighbourhood, Kumals of Ritthevani place themselves at the bottom in the hierarchy of Brahman, Jaisi, Chhetri, Khatri, Gurung and Magar respectively. The Gurungs, Magars and Tamangs in the area have taken Kumal girls as their wives but Kumals have not taken any from them.

Pathak (2003) in his study on Kumals of Dang found that more than 50 % Kumals had abandoned their traditional occupation of making clay pots in past few years. Only 41.27 % of the population was engaged in pottery. Pottery was being replaced by wage labour, going to India, services and business. Kattel (2001) had similar findings. He wrote, "I have seen wheels of pottery in all houses and people

informed that more than 80 % people were involved in this occupation until 1993." According to him the pottery totally stopped after 1994. Causes for Kumal's displacement as taken by him were the introduction of Community Forestry Program, the Soil Conservation Project and introduction of the market in the region. Plastic utensils substituted clay pots because they were cheap and durable.

Basyal in her study (2057 B.S.) of Kumals of Balebang village of Pali VDC ward 9, Arghkhanchi district found that out of 69 household with 425 populations none of the Kumal household was doing clay pot making as their primary occupation. Only 6 households were engaged in clay pot making as a secondary occupation in order to supplement their household income and upon their neighbours' demand. Causes provided for the abandonment were problems relating to firewood, colour, market, lack of interest of the young generation, and sustenance of the family expenditure.

According to an elderly Gurung male who was also the VDC Chair at the time of field work told me that though the Kumals were the early settlers of Ritthevani, they were dominated by Bahuns and Chhetris in the area. The businessmen of Pokhara with whom Kumals used to buy clothes took lands from Kumals on nominal price. In his own words, "*sano thailima dherai jagga lieka*" which means huge lands were taken by Bahuns and Chhetris by paying only small amount to the Kumals.

He further asserted that, Kumals until not long ago used to carry their clay pots to sell in Dhunge Sanghu fair in Pokhara held on the first day of the Nepali month Magh (January). Later they switched to vegetable farming and pig raising. "They would have become rich had they not spend a lot of their earnings in alcohol." Gurung said that there was some Christian influence on the Kumals but not on the Bahuns and Chhetris. However, no Kumals reported to have converted their religion into Christianity in the household census.

Kumals who were said to be victims of development (Kattel 2001) does not fit well in the context of Lekhnath Kumals. Whether they get displaced or not depend on the type of development endeavours undertaken by the society they live in. In the case of Lekhnath with the advent of the irrigation canal from Bijayapur tributaries in

2040 B.S.(1983/1984) land use pattern changed drastically among the local people including the Kumals. Bhurtel (2000:43) reported that there was a dramatic change on the overall economy of the Kumal village (or of Ritthevani). With the advent of irrigation canal those Bahuns and Kumals of Lekhnath having good size of land had switched to horticulture and benefited economically to a great extent.

Studies have shown that some traditional occupations are in the verge of extinct. Gaine (Chhetri 2042; 1989; Parajuli 2004), Kami, Sarki and Damai (Chhetri 1999; Sharma, Chhetri and Rana 1994; Pokhara 2000) and Kumal (Basyal 2057; Bhurtel 2000; Kattel 2000; Pathak 2003) are some example of this.

4.4 Demographic Context

Though the history of census taking in Nepal goes back to 1911 information on caste and ethnicity was published only in the 1991 census. It took Nepal 80 years to realize the importance of including the social component such as caste and ethnicity in the publication of census data. Gurung wrote in the Social Demography that earlier censuses of Nepal had question on ethnicity/caste in the census schedules. The question on ethnicity/caste had appeared in item no. 6 in 1911, item no.7 in 1920 and 1930, item no. 4 in 1941, and item no. 2A in 1952/54 censuses. However data on ethnicity/caste were not published in the census reports for various reasons. "Questions relating to mother tongue and religion were first introduced and reported in 1952/54 census. Thus, linguistic data used to be the only basis to estimate relative size of various ethnic/caste groups" (Gurung 1998:4). According to Dahal there could be several reasons for remaining CBS a little skeptical on providing data on language, religion and caste/ethnicity. CBS never published the information collected on ethnicity/caste officially for such data were sensitive in nature, which could harm the Hindu nationalist sentiments. Such data on caste/ethnicity were not considered useful for planning so they were not included in the 1961, 1971 and 1981 censuses. Unstable Government from 1950 to 1990 "did not provide space for the participatory political culture of people considering their language, religion and culture." It was only after the democratic government formed in 1990 "encouraged the CBS to provide information on caste/ethnicity in Nepal" (Dahal 2003:87-88). However, it is

difficult to obtain reliable information on ethnic/caste groups of Nepal historically. According to Dahal (2003:88-89) it was difficult for two reasons. One is that, the history of Nepal was the history of small kingdoms and principalities before king Prithvinarayan Shah conquest them. Second is that, Anthropological survey has not been carried out yet in Nepal "to note the various ethnic/caste groups and their mother tongues".

In the 1991 census, over two-third of Nepal's population (67.2%) is made up of people of hill origin. They were in vast majority in all elevation zones except the Tarai. People of hill origin constituted 96.9% of Hill, 93.8% of Mountain, 83.1% of Inner Tarai and 30.9% of Tarai population (Gurung 1998, Table 21 p. 48). One fifth of the hill originated caste live in Tarai region but most of the people originated in Tarai do not live in the hills or mountains (HMG/Ministry of Population and Environment, 2002).

The 1991 census officially provided data/information on caste/ethnicity for the first time. Gurung (1998) wrote, "the census lists ethnic/caste groups without indication as to their ethnic or caste category. The names are in cohorts of ten according to their region of nativity commencing from the Tarai to hill and mountain zones. Within each zonal group, there is no sequencing of names in alphabetical order nor by rank size of population." According to Gurung (1998:41) among those listed as ethnic/caste group, three were religious groups and one was language group. Some Tarai caste groups were separately listed while other Tarai and hill ethnic groups were excluded. Presumably, they were lumped under 'others' category.

Caste/ethnic classification of population of Nepal varied in the same source at different times and other institutions relating to caste/ethnic issues. For example, CBS recorded 60 caste/ethnic groups in 1991 census while National Ethnic Groups Development Committee had identified 65 caste/ethnic groups in Nepal. And the latest 2001 census has identified 103 caste/ethnic groups in Nepal including "unidentified group". Out of 60 caste/ethnic groups identified by the 1991 census 29 were from the Hills, and 29 from the Tarai and 2 from the mountain as their origin. Chhetri and Bahun of the hill dominated all others. Of the 68.36 % Hill caste Bahun

and Chhetri constituted 35.66 % and 44.32 % respectively. Similarly, of the 30.93 % Tarai caste Tarai Bahun constituted 7.21 % (CBS, 1995b). Chhetri constituted 16.1% followed by 12.9% Hill Brahmins. The same caste groups constituted 15.8% and 12.7% respectively in the 2001 census (Table 1).

The ethnographic map by Gurung (1998:46) depicted core areas of ethnic/caste groups. Two main trajectories were identified for significant dispersal of people from their native area. One was move from west to east with expansion of Gorkhali state led by hill castes and the other was north-to-south with malaria control in the lowlands. Such dispersal of people from their native area has brought significant changes in caste/ethnic composition of population in Nepal.

Looking at ethnic/caste dominance in geographical regions Gurung (1998) had revealed Chhetri dominance in the Western as well as in the Eastern Mountain, Hill and Inner Tarai region. Bahun dominance was noted in the Central Hill and Central Tarai. In Kathmandu Valley, Central Hill, Newar dominance was noted followed by Chhetri and Bahun (Appendix 1). If we look at caste/ethnic dominance by district, Chhetri dominance can be found in 22 districts with their absolute majority (over 50%) in 7 districts. Bahun dominance is in 9 districts including Kaski. Bahun has no absolute majority in any district.

Dahal (C.B.S 2003) has identified 11 groups which are numerically dominant in certain districts of Nepal. The Bahuns and Chhetris are highest in number in 10 and 21 districts respectively. These two groups comprise the largest single cluster in 31 districts (41.3% of Nepal). In 10 districts, the population size of the hill Bahuns is the highest. Chhetris are highest in number in 21 districts (Appendix 2). Kalikot district was Chhetri majority in 1991 census but it moved to Bahun majority in 2001 census. This reduced Chhetri majority district from 22 to 21 and increased Bahun majority district from 9 to 10 in 2001 census (See Dahal 2003, Table 3.6 p.99).

Caste/ethnic groups selected for this study are Bahun, Chhetri, Gaine and Kumals. According to the 2001 census their composition in the total population is as follows (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Population of Selected Caste/Ethnic Groups in Nepal 2001

Caste/Ethnic Group	Population 2001			
	Total	Percent	Female	Male
Brahman	2896477	12.74	1469562	1426915
Chhetri	3593496	15.80	1818787	1774709
Gaine	5887	0.03	3030	2857
Kumal	99389	0.44	50506	48883
All Nepal	22,736,934	100.0	11,377,556	11,359,378

Source: CBS 2002 Vol. I Pp.72-73.

In 1991 census, composition of selected Bahun, Chhetri, Gaine and Kumal groups in Kaski district was 90759, 43148, 376 and 1441 respectively. According to 2001 census among the total households of 85075 and population of 380527 in Kaski district, about 50% of them are in Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City alone. About one-tenth are in Lekhnath Municipality. And the rest are distributed within 43 Village Development Committees of the district (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Distribution of Households and Population in Study District and Municipalities 2001

Municipalities	Total no. of Households	Population		
		Total	Female	Male
Kaski Total	85,075	380,527	195,532	184,995
Pokhara	37,305	156,312	76,749	79,563
Lekhnath	9,362	41,369	21,894	19,475

Source: CBS 2002 p.103 (VDC/Municipalities)

Table 4.3 Caste/Ethnic Composition of Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City 2001

Caste/Ethnic Group	Popn.	Caste/Ethnic Group	Popn.	Caste/Ethnic Group	Popn.
1. Brahman–Hill	35679	27. Yadav	190	55. Rajbanshi	11
2. Gurung	33795	28. Kumal	184	56. Haluwai	11
3. Chhetri	23985	29. Hajam/Thakur	169	57. Jirel	11
4. Newar	15710	30. Brahman Tarai	143	58. Badhae	10
5. Magar	12829	31. Dura	131	59. Rajbhar	10
6. Damai/Dholi	4746	32. Chhantel	124	60. Kamar	10
7. Kami	4601	33. Sunuwar	70	61. Danuwar	8
8. Tamang	4153	34. Koiri	69	62. Gaderi	8
9. Thakuri	2394	35. Kayastha	67	63. Dhanuk	7
10. Sarki	2307	36. Marwadi	62	64. Chidimar	7
11. Muslim	1896	37. Bhote	55	65. Dhimal	6
12. Sonar	1700	38. Nurang	45	66. Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	5
13. Thakali	1696	39. Rajput	43	67. Adibasi/Janajati	5
14. Sanyasi	1514	40. Gangai	43	68. Lepcha	5
15. Rai	1327	41. Bangali	42	69. Punjabi/Sikh	5
16. Unidentified		42. Kanu	40	70. Musahar	4
Dalit	1247	43. Chamar/Harijan/Ram	35	71. Mali	4
17. Unidentified		44. Dhobi	25	72. Bing/ Binda	3
Caste	1191	45. Sudhi	23	73. Kisan	3
18. Gharti/Bhujel	1049	46. Kewat	20	74. Jhagar/ Dhagar	2
19. Tharu	702	47. Chepang(Praja)	16	75. Brahmu/Baramu	2
20. Baniya	460	48. Bote	16	76. Badi	2
21. Sherpa	383	49. Kurmi	15	77. Santhal/Sattar	1
22. Gaine	245	50. Kumhar	14	78. Thami	1
23. Kalwar	235	51. Darai	14	79. Tajpuriya	1
24. Teli	219	52. Mallah	13	80. Raji	1
25. Majhi	213	53. Lohar	12	81. Hayu	1
26. Limbu	199	54. Kahar	12	82. Dhunia	1
				Total=156,312	

Source: CBS Census 2001\Table 11\kaski.htm

Caste/Ethnic composition of Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City reveals that among the 156, 312 population of Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City there are 82

caste/ethnic groups. Among them the top five major Caste/Ethnic groups include Bahun, Gurung, Chhetri, Newar and Magar. Bahun among the caste groups and Gurung among the ethnic groups have dominated the area numerically (Table 4.3).

In Lekhnath Municipality there were 48 Caste/Ethnic groups. The total population is 41,369. The Caste/Ethnic composition shows that Bahuns have dominated the area numerically (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Caste/Ethnic Composition of Lekhnath Municipality 2001

Caste/Ethnic Group	Popn.	Caste/Ethnic Group	Popn.	Caste/Ethnic Group	Popn.
1. Brahman – Hill	14466	17. Rai	267	33. Rajbhar	7
2. Gurung	6402	18. Brahman – Tarai	242	34. Kurmi	6
3. Chhetri	6074	19. Gaine	183	35. Gangai	6
4. Kami	2724	20. Muslim	136	36. Kumhar	5
5. Magar	2340	21. Sherpa	121	37. Thami	5
6. Damai/Dholi	1366	22. Tharu	95	38. Chhantel	5
7. Newar	1257	23. Limbu	56	39. Kamar	5
8. Kumal	923	24. Thakali	56	40. Dhimal	3
9. Tamang	904	25. Nurang	42	41. Kayastha	2
10. Sonar	900	26. Teli	38	42. Bote	2
11. Gharti/Bhujel	665	27. Chamar/Harijan/Ram	33	43. Kewat	1
12. Sarki	634	28. Dura	26	44. Lohar	1
13. Unidentified Dalit	506	29. Hajam/Thakur	22	45. Dhobi	1
14. Unidentified Caste	30	30. Baniya	16	46. Majhi	1
15. Thakuri	431	31. Yadav	15	47. Danuwar	1
16. Sanyasi	339	32. Kalwar	8	48. Haluwai	1
				Total	41,369

Source: CBS Census 2001\Table 11\kaski.htm

The top five major caste/ethnic groups according to their presence are Gurung, Chhetri, Kami and Magar. Kumals fall in the 8th place in this demographic hierarchy.

When we look at the population of selected caste/ethnic groups in this study by arranging them from their population in the country in general to its smaller administrative unit i.e. at the ward level in particular, Table 4.5 becomes evident.

Table 4.5 Population of the Selected Caste/Ethnic Groups at different level

Caste/Ethnic Groups	*1 Nepal	*2 Kaski	*3 Pokhara.	*4 Lekhnath	*5 Pokhara-16 Batulechaur	*6 Lekhnath-2 Ritthevani
Bahun-Hill	2896477	90759	35679	14466	-	423
Chhetri	3593496	43148	23985	6074	879	-
Gaina	5887	376	245	183	258	-
Kumal	99389	1441	184	923	-	450

Source: *1=CBS 2002 Vol. I Pp.72-73

*2=CBS 1999 (Statistical Year Book 1999, Table 1.6 P.54)

3 and 4=CBS Census 2001\Table 11\kaski.htm

*5 and *6=Household Census (Field Survey) 2002

Household census carried out in the field work revealed that there were 423 Bahuns and 450 Kumals in Ritthevani of Lekhnath Municipality Ward no. 2. Similarly, in Batulechaur, Pokhara Sub-Metropolitan City Ward no. 16, there were 879 Chhetris (see chapter 3 for Chhetris in the area) and 258 Gains. Percentage distribution of the population according to gender is provided in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Population of the Selected Groups in the Study Area by Gender

Caste/Ethnic Group	Population					
	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Bahun	208	49.2	215	50.8	423	100.0
Chhetri	455	51.8	424	48.2	879	100.0
Gaine	124	48.1	134	51.9	258	100.0
Kumal	232	51.6	218	48.4	450	100.0
Total	1019	50.7	991	49.3	2010	100.0

Source: Household Census, 2002

4.5 Socio-Economic Conditions of the Study Population

Educational Composition

According to the Household Census conducted in the study area, the total population of Bahun, Chhetri, Gaine and Kumal was 2010. Educational composition of the population reveals that among the illiterates 76% were females while males were only 24%. 18.72% of the population (six years and above) had SLC and higher education. Among these 6.8% were females and 11.92 % were males (see table 7). Female percentage is higher among the illiterates while among the literates male percentage is higher. As the level of education increased percent of females decreased drastically in comparison to the males. Among the 50 who had Bachelors and 21 who had Masters there were only 8 and 1 females respectively. None of the Gaine females had SLC (see note 1). Among the Kumals the highest educational level achieved was I.A. by 5 females and 2 males. Chhetris are behind the Bahuns in educational achievement for both genders (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Educational Composition of the Population in the Study Area

Educational level	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Illiterate	310	16.87	98	5.33	408	22.21
Literate:	637	34.67	792	43.11	1429	77.78
Just Literate	103	5.61	91	4.95	194	10.56
Primary	222	12.08	229	12.46	451	24.55
Lower Secondary	88	4.79	103	5.60	191	10.39
Secondary	103	5.60	152	8.27	255	13.88
SLC	67	3.64	90	4.89	157	8.54
Higher Secondary	49	2.66	67	3.64	116	6.31
Bachelors	8	0.43	42	2.28	50	2.72
Masters	1	0.05	20	1.08	21	1.14
Total (Population 6 years & over)	947	51.55	890	48.44	1837	100

Source: Household Census, 2002

In the past, in Pokhara, only a few Newars were traders and merchants and all the other residents depended on farming. Rice was not available to all. Only privileged families had rice for two meals. Others supplemented their meals with millet and maize. After the opening of road from Pokhara to Tarai and to India, rice became easily available. Today, the economy of Pokhara is a non-farm economy. Large parts of income for most houses are from trade, commerce, services tourism and remittances from abroad (See Adhikari and Seddon 2002).

Occupational Composition

Household census conducted in the study area showed that agriculture was occupation for majority of women and men. Among the 41 % involved in agriculture 65% were females and 35 % were males. Among the 298 engaged in service, 55 men and 6 women were working abroad. None of the Gaijans was found working abroad. Overwhelming majority can be noted of women in labour and caste-based traditional occupation and of men in service. Of the 25 engaged in caste-based traditional occupation 12 and 9 were Gaijan women and men respectively and 4 were Bahun Priests. None of the Kumals was found engaged in the caste-based traditional

occupation of clay pot making. Across all four caste/ethnic groups under study no men were found having household work as their occupation and women with social work (See Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Occupational Composition of the Population in the Study Area

Occupation	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Column %
Agriculture	438	65	231	35	669	41.44
Service	63	21	235	79	298	18.46
Business	27	46	32	54	59	3.65
Labour	23	70	10	30	33	2.04
Caste-based Occupation	12	92	13	8	25	1.54
Household Work	39	100	-	-	39	2.41
Social Work	-	-	3	100	3	0.18
Student	229	47	259	53	488	30.23
Total (Population 10 years +)	831	51	783	49	1614	100

Source: Household Census, 2002

Looking from educational level of the population involved in the particular kind of occupation it becomes clear that there is absolute majority of the illiterates and just literates in agriculture sector. Majority in the labour sector is illiterates. Majority of those with education of secondary school and over is engaged in service followed by agriculture and business. Among the 25 engaged in traditional occupation 17 are from illiterate groups. Four with secondary education were Bahun Priests. And the rest 21 were Ganes. Among the 39 who had reported household work as their occupation all of them were women. Similarly, social work was reported only by men (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9. Occupational Composition of the Population by Educational Level

Education	Agr	Ser	Bus	Lab	Tra	HW	SW	Total
Illiterate	274	31	16	21	17	24	-	383
Just Literate	141	34	7	2	2	2	-	188
Primary	47	21	5	8	1	3	-	85
Lower. Sec.	59	25	2	2	1	2	-	91
Secondary	63	63	12	-	4	4	1	147
S.L.C.	57	44	5	-	-	2	1	109
Higher Secondary	25	40	6	-	-	2	1	74
Bachelors	3	22	6	-	-	-	-	31
Masters	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	18
Total	669	298	59	33	25	39	3	1126

Source: Household Census, 2002

Agr= Agriculture; Ser= Service; Bus= Business; Lab= Labour; Tra= Traditional;
HW= Household Work; SW= Social Work

Household Resources

In the context of rural Nepal household resource consists mainly of land, house and livestock. Among the 205 respondent households selected for the study, none of the 49 Gaine households owned any *khet* land. Among the rest 156 respondent households 20 households had no land. Majority (75%) of them was the Chhetris. Of the 61 Chhetri households 25 % were landless and 39 % had land up to 5 ropani only. Of those having land more than 10 ropani majority were Bahun (33%) followed by Chhetri (23 %) and Kumal (27 %) (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 Land Ownership of the Respondents by Caste/Ethnic Group

Land (in Ropani)	Caste/Ethnic Group							
	Bahun	%	Chhetri	%	Kumal	%	Total	%
Land less	3	5.88	15	24.59	2	4.55	20	12.82
1-5	15	29.41	24	39.34	20	45.45	59	37.82
6-10	16	31.37	8	13.11	10	22.73	34	21.79
11-15	9	17.65	8	13.11	7	15.91	24	15.38
16-20	4	7.84	2	3.28	3	6.82	9	5.77
20+	4	7.84	4	6.56	2	4.55	10	6.41
Total	51	100.00	61	100.00	44	100.00	156	100.00

Source: Field Survey 2002

Note: 1 Ropani=0.05 hectare

Most of the landowners (85 %) were male. Among them 74 % were the heads of the household. Kumals (88 %) exceeded Bahun (73 %) and Chhetri (63 %) in the ownership of land by male household heads (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11 Land Ownership by Gender and Relation to the Household

Land Owner	Caste/Ethnic Group							
	Bahun	%	Chhetri	%	Kumal	%	Total	%
Household Head-Male	35	72.92	29	63.04	37	88.10	101	74.26
Household Head-Female	6	12.50	3	6.52	2	4.76	11	8.09
Other Male	3	6.25	10	21.74	1	2.38	14	10.29
Other Female	4	8.33	4	8.70	2	4.76	10	7.35
Total	48	100.00	46	100.00	42	100.00	136	100.00

Source: Field Survey 2002

All Bahun and Kumal respondents had their own house, while one Chhetri and 2 Gains did not own a house. Of the 23 who had more than one house, 57 % were Chhetris and 30 % were Bahuns (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 House Ownership by Caste/Ethnic Group

Number of House	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
0	-	1	2	-	3
1	44	47	47	41	179
1+	7	13	-	3	23
Total	51	61	49	44	205

Source: Field Survey 2002

From table 4.13 it becomes clear that among the 89 who had inherited land from their parents 83 % were males and 17 % were females. Among females the number inheriting land is higher than those who had bought the land themselves. Similarly, among the 66 who had inherited parents' house 80 % are males. Those who had bought/built their house themselves are double to those who had inherited from their parents.

Table 4.13 Source of Property for Caste/Ethnic Groups by Gender

Property	Source	Bahun		Chhetri		Gaine		Kumal		Total	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Land	Parental	5	10	6	30	-	-	4	34	15	74
	Bought	5	28	1	9	-	-	-	4	6	41
House	Parental	2	5	5	24	5	13	1	11	13	53
	Bought/Built	11	33	4	27	10	19	3	29	28	108

Source: Field Survey 2002

Cattle are mainly owned by the family. Seventy eight percent of the big cattle and 96 % of the small cattle is family owned. Among the individual owner majority are male (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14 Family and Individual Ownership of Cattle

Cattle	Family	Individual	
		Female	Male
Large	78 %	2.9 %	19 %
Small	96.1 %	1 %	2.9 %

Source: Field Survey 2002

Census 2001 format is followed for the definition of large and small cattle. The large cattle include cow, buffalo, oxen and small cattle include goat, pig, chicken and ducks. Source of the large cattle was *patrik* (inherited) for 37 % Kumals whereas it is only 5 % for the Chhetris. Bahuns did not have any large cattle from inheritance. Among the 44 Kumal households 20 % did not have any large cattle. Similarly 39 % each for Bahun and Chhetri households there were no large cattle. Gaines did not have any cattle at all. Compared to Bahuns (60 %) and Chhetris (61 %), Kumals (80 %) had larger ownership of large cattle. In Lekhnath, Kumals were more into vegetable farming. Not a single Kumal household was found in Lekhnath who was engaged in their so-called traditional occupation of clay-pot making. I had noticed that one Kumal household had the wheel kept aside by the house ready to throw in my initial field visit (see photo 1). Second time when I went there for household census the wheel was gone. This was the only and the last household engaged in clay pot making in Ritthevani, Lekhnath area.

Table 4.15 shows that most of the household of all caste/ethnic groups had radio, cassette and Television. Telephone facilities was found higher among Chhetris, nominal among the Bahuns and Kumals. Gaines had no telephone in their house.

Table 4.15 Household Accessories by Caste/Ethnic Groups

Accessories	Caste/Ethnic Groups									
	Bahun		Chhetri		Gaine		Kumal		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Phone	4	47	17	44	-	49	2	42	23	182
Radio	50	1	56	5	31	18	34	10	171	34
Cassette	40	11	40	21	22	27	23	21	125	80
T.V.	42	9	49	12	29	20	23	21	132	62
Motor Bike	10	41	16	45	1	48	4	40	31	174
Bicycle	9	42	14	47	9	40	12	32	44	161
Fan	28	23	23	38	2	47	4	40	57	148
Heater	3	48	6	55	2	47	1	43	12	193
Fridge	4	47	9	52	-	49	3	41	16	189

Source: Field Survey 2002

Chhetris owned more motor bikes than bicycles. Among the 49 Gaine households only one had a motor bike and 9 had bicycles. Only 9 % Kumals and 4 % Gains had fan while 55 % Bahuns and 38 % Chhetris had the same facilities. There were only 2 Gaine and one Kumal households who had owned a heater. None of the Gains reported to have a fridge in their house while nine Chhetri households in the same locality had it.

CHAPTER V

GENDER PERCEPTIONS: AGE, SEX, EDUCATION AND CASTE/ETHNIC PERSPECTIVES

Perceptions of people on any one of the things or practices around us can vary according to people's characteristics based on age, sex, educational exposure and caste/ethnicity. Thus I argue that people's perception on the concept as well as practices related to gender also varies accordingly.

5.1 Perception on Male and Female

The differences between females and males are perceived differently by different groups of people. In this study perceived gender differences were assessed according to respondents' sex, education and respondents' affiliation to particular caste/ethnic group. The highest frequency of responses was observed on the difference of freedom between females and males among all groups. Freedom in this context was defined as freedom of movement and freedom in making decisions. For females, allocation of work, decision-making power, educational opportunity, and rights were other differences after freedom. For males the difference after freedom was in decision-making, education, work and rights. Looking at this from educational perspective, it is revealed that the respondents with no education perceived major differences between females and males in freedom, work, education, decision-making and rights. The respondents with secondary school or higher education also perceived that freedom was the major difference between females and males followed by decision-making, access to education, work and authority. Among the respondents with and without education, their perception differed by their gender. Women respondents in no education group found that females and males differed in work. Women respondents with education found that the difference between females and males was in decision-making power and work. Among men respondents with no

education the difference in work was highest while among men respondents with education it was in decision-making (See Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Perceived Differences between Females and Males by Respondents' Education and Sex

Differences in:	Frequency by Respondent's Education and Sex					
	No Education		Secondary School and Over+		Total	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Decision making	8	9	9	20	17	29
Property right	3	2	4	4	7	6
Freedom	29	20	17	34	46	54
Work	29	10	9	14	38	24
Marriage Condition	1	-	-	-	1	-
Residence	1	-	-	2	1	2
Obeying Spouse	1	-	-	-	1	-
Education	11	8	4	21	15	29
Right/Authority	6	4	4	10	10	14
Food (access)	1	-	-	2	1	2
Household Headship	-	1	-	-	-	1
Opportunity	-	1	-	-	-	1

Source: Field Survey 2002

When girls drop out of school they are generally married off while this may not be the case for the boys. As per prevailing custom on residence after marriage, women go to husband's house after marriage. Women become heads of the household only after their husband's death. In certain situations they also become heads of the

household just as when their husbands are away from home for study, employment or other reasons.

5.2 Perception on Husband and Wife

Not only females and males but also husbands and wives are perceived differently. Difference of work between husband and wife was perceived as highest by both female and male respondents. Next to difference in work was freedom and decision-making. Among women respondents in general the frequency of perceived differences between husband and wife in terms of work and freedom was higher among females with no education than those with education. In contrast, this frequency was higher among the men respondents with education as compared to men without education (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Perceived Differences between Husband and Wife by Respondent's Education and Sex

Differences perceived in:	Frequency by Respondent's Education and Sex					
	No Education		Secondary School +		Total	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Work	42	33	17	57	59	90
Freedom	15	6	9	19	24	25
Other	6	13	2	7	8	20
Total	63	52	28	83	91	135

Source: Field Survey, 2002.

Note: 'Other' includes decision making, obeying spouse, keeping more than one spouse, change in residence after marriage, right/authority, and ownership of property. Because of the multiple responses it exceeds total number of respondents.

This study also attempted to examine whether there were perceived differences about husband and wife by respondents belonging to different caste/ethnic groups. The survey results indicate that most of the respondents held similar

perceptions on the subject irrespective of their caste/ethnic group affiliations (See Table 5.3).

Majority of the respondents concur that there were differences between husband and wife in terms of their work, freedom enjoyed by them and their decision making authority and/or roles.

Table 5.3 Perceived Differences between Husband and Wife by Respondent's Caste/Ethnicity

Differences in:	Respondent's Caste/Ethnicity							
	Bahun (51)		Chhetri (61)		Gaine (49)		Kumal (44)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work	28	55	49	80	42	86	33	75
Freedom	15	29	12	20	5	10	18	41
Decision making	8	16	-	-	1	2	7	16
Other	6	12	2	3	5	10	-	-

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Note: 'other' include, obeying spouse, keeping more than one spouse, *hak/adhikar* (right/authority), and choice of residence. Percentage exceeds hundred because of the multiple responses.

In the communities under study, childcare is perceived as female's domain in work; the husband (as head of the household) is generally considered as the boss and chief decision-maker of the household. He may also keep more than one wife. Girls must move to her husband's household after marriage and are supposed to obey their husbands. Women generally work longer hours but have less *hak/adhikar* (right/authority). In contrast men stay in their natal house after marriage, do not have to respect or obey their wives, and are considered to have more rights. Women not only have less right than men but also do not have equal opportunities. Among 205 respondents under the study, only 16% held the view that women were and should be treated as equals- that is, both females and males should have equal access to

opportunities in life. It is also interesting to note that a greater proportion of both female and male respondents (86% and 83% respectively) in the study opined that women were subject to discrimination (See Table 5.4 for details).

Table 5.4 Opinions about Opportunities for Females and Males

Equal Opportunity available for Females and Males	Respondent's Sex					
	Female		Male		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Yes	12	14	20	17	32	16
No	73	86	100	83	173	84
Total	85	100	120	100	205	100

Source: Field Survey, 2002

This research also made an attempt to identify the factors that were held by the people under study as responsible for the prevailing discriminations against women (or gender differences in terms of access to opportunities). Tradition, attitude towards females and males, education system, culture and religion were identified as factors related to the prevalent gender differences in the society by a significant number of respondents (See Table 5.5).

Among the factors considered responsible for prevalent gender differences, tradition and attitude towards female and male which was identified by both female and male respondents, was significantly high.

It becomes evident from the discussion above that most of the respondents in the communities under study feel that gender based discriminations are conspicuous and that several factors account for the prevalence of such differences. In spite of such a reality, respondents were found to be optimistic about the possibility of reducing the discriminations against females in the society by means of better education for both sexes.

Table 5.5 Factors Considered Responsible for Prevalent Gender Differences by Sex of the Respondents

Factors	Female (N=85)	Male (N=120)	Total (N=205)
Tradition	81%	87%	84
Attitude towards Females and Males	62%	63%	62
Education System	35%	47%	42
Culture	39%	39%	39
Religious Values	31%	44%	39

Source: Field survey 2002.

Note: Percentages do not add up to 100 because many respondents had identified more than one factor.

Respondents differed in their ideas about whether the prevailing gender based differences should or should not be continued. For instance, about the social difference between females and males 62% respondents said that it needed timely change while 17% said that radical change needed on the discriminatory practices between females and males. For some, such differential practice is a tradition and it should be continued. Others said that they were aware about the discriminations but felt that they had no choice but to accept them. It is interesting to note that among the respondents who said that the discriminatory practices needed timely change, and needed radical change, proportion of male respondents is higher than of the female respondents (See Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Perception towards Changing the Gender Discriminatory Practices

Perception	Respondent's Sex		
	Female (N=85)	Male (N=120)	Total (N=205)
Tradition should be continued	20%	8%	13%
Know about the discrimination but have no choice	10%	7%	8%
Needs timely change	55%	67%	62%
Needs radical change	15%	18%	17%

Source: Field Survey, 2002

5.3 Perceived Needs and Preference for Sons and Daughters

It could be argued that gender based discrimination in Nepal has its roots in the prevailing social and cultural norms and values in the society. One area where this becomes quite obvious is in terms of high preference for sons and /or a felt need of sons among parents in general. The patriarchy that dominates the social relations in Nepali society tends to accord a subordinate position and value to the females. For instance when parents want to have children, generally they prefer to have sons rather than daughters. This study found that irrespective of their educational status, parents had stronger desire to have sons (See Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Felt Need of Son and Daughter by Respondent's Education and Sex

Need of		Number of Respondents by Education and Sex							
		No Education (N=96)			Secondary School & Over (N=109)			Total (N=(205))	
		F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M
Son	Yes	48	42	90	21	59	80	69	101
	No	4	2	6	12	17	29	16	19
Daughter	Yes	52	39	91	31	69	100	83	108
	No	-	5	5	2	7	9	2	12

Source: Field Survey, 2002

The data presented in Table 5.7 indicates that the need for a son was felt more by respondents who had no formal education. Within this category the proportion of female respondents is higher than of the males. Among those saying yes for daughter, proportion of educated respondents is higher to those respondents without education. However, when looked carefully, there is not much difference in the felt needs of sons and daughters between illiterate and educated respondents. This indicates that absence of education alone may not be the only reason for a high desire for sons in the family. Social and cultural norms and values attached to son's role in the family

and society may be equally influential in shaping the feelings of parents. Daughters are also desired by the parents but for reasons that are different than that for the sons (See Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Stated Reasons for the Need of Sons and Daughters by Respondent's Education and Sex

Need of Sons	Education			
	No Education		Secondary School & over	
	Female (no.)	Male (no.)	Female (no.)	Male (no.)
Sons take part in happiness and sorrow	2	2	2	2
They help parents in old age	14	15	3	9
They carry over clan names	11	15	10	28
They perform funeral rites	16	8	6	16
Sonless ness is looked down by the society	5	2	-	4
Need of Daughters				
Daughter manage all the household work	27	21	19	37
To take care the younger siblings	-	8	1	2
Daughter is Laxmi of the house	6	-	2	9
For procreation	6	5	3	14
Daughter loves her parents more than a son	13	5	6	7

Source: Field Survey, 2002

Most of the respondents felt that a son is needed in order to continue family clan names and to perform the after death rituals for the parents. Due to the lack of social security in the old age from the state, couples feel that they need to bear son in

order to support them in their old age. In Nepali society, a son normally lives with his parents while a daughter goes away to live with her husbands after marriage. Thus parents argue that sons take part in the parents' happiness as well as in their time of sorrow or in ups and downs of their lives. For their roles and responsibilities towards family as determined by the society, the presence of sons in a family is considered very important. Thus parents in general and women in particular who can not bear a son are looked down by the society. Women with only daughters are looked down in comparison to women who have both sons and daughters. At the same time their position in the society is better than of those women who have no children at all. Thus women's status is raised after childbirth especially as when they give birth to sons (See also Bennett, 1983).

The data presented in Table 5.8 also shows that many parents do feel a need for daughters as well. The respondents in this study identified some interesting reasons for the felt need of a daughter by the parents (See Table 5.8 for details). The reasons for the felt needs of daughters seem to be related to the fact that women generally have a heavier workload in their families (See Chhetri and Rana, 1995). Given this, daughters are said to be needed to share their mother's workloads. Women respondents said that they need daughters with whom they could share their feelings and sorrows. According to them daughters care, love, and understand mothers more than sons do. Most new parents wish that they had son for their first child. Some of those who have daughter(s) only say that daughters are good for the first child because they are considered to bring fortune to the family. They are also taken as *gharko shova* (beauty and charm of the house).

While many respondents had their own reasons for arguing why a son or a daughter was needed in the family, some respondents (35) felt that it was not always necessary for parents to have a son, while some (14) indicated that there was no need of a daughter (See Table 5.9). These respondents too gave their reasons for such responses.

Table 5.9 Stated Reason for No Need of Son/Daughter by Respondent's Education and Sex

No need of Sons	Education			
	No Education		Secondary School & over	
	Female (no.)	Male (no.)	Female (no.)	Male (no.)
Daughters are the same as sons	2	2	12	17
Sons listen to their wives and do not love parents	2	-	-	-
No need of Daughters				
Daughters do not carry over clan names and also they do not perform funeral rites for parents.	-	3	-	3
No need of a daughter when you have a son		1	-	-
Daughter will suffer when she goes to other's house after marriage		1	2	3

Source: Field Survey 2002

Among the 35 respondents who had said *chhora nabhae pani hunchha* i.e. no need of son (Table 5.9) majority were educated. They said that there is no difference between son and daughter. Daughters can do what son can do provided they are given the same opportunity. Reasons provided by those who said no need of daughter were that they (daughters) have to go to other's house after marriage. As parents they do not want their daughters to suffer from such practice (Table 5.9). For others, the reason was that daughters do not carry their parents' clan names. They also argued that daughters can not perform after death rites for their deceased parents even though there are reports now that daughters in some parts of the country have performed after death rites for their parents (See Appendix 7).

This study also made an attempt to understand if the respondents (both educated and non-educated had a preferred parity order for son and/or daughter (See Table 5.10).

Table 5. 10 Respondent’s Preference Order by their Education and Sex for Son/Daughter

Preferred Order and Sex of the Child	Education and Sex of the Respondents				
	No Education		Secondary School & Over		Total
First Child:	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Son	43 (83%)	34 (77%)	17 (52%)	52 (68%)	146 (71%)
Daughter	9 (17%)	10 (23%)	16 (48%)	24 (32%)	59 (29%)
Total	52 (100%)	44 (100%)	33 (100%)	76 (100%)	205 (100%)
Second Child:					
Son	8 (15%)	12 (27%)	15 (45%)	23 (30%)	58 (28%)
Daughter	44 (85%)	32 (73%)	18 (55%)	53 (70%)	147 (72%)
Total	52 (100%)	44 (100%)	33 (100%)	76 (100%)	205 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2002

Most of the respondents preferred son (71%) for their first child and daughter (72%) for second child. Among those respondents who preferred sons majority had no education and more than half of them (56%) were females. Among the educated group 75% males wanted son for their first child (See Table 5.10). In the educated

group, 40% females and 60% males wanted daughter for their first child. Similarly, for the second child, daughters were preferred by larger proportion of respondents with no education. Son for second child was preferred mostly by educated females. From educational point of view, son first was preferred by no education group and son second was preferred by educated group. Similarly from gender perspective, both females as well as males wanted son first (female 41% and male 59%) and daughter second. They wanted both son and daughter but in different birth order.

Education is commonly considered a vehicle for raising women's status. Case studies on non-formal education conducted in Nepal have reported on positive effects of education of girls and women on social and economic development of the human society (CEFA 2003). With regard to children's education, 98.5% of the 205 respondents in the present study also felt it necessary to send their daughters to school. Reasons to send sons (82%) as well as daughters (66%) to school included the need to make them capable for the future. Other benefits of education for daughters as stated by the respondents were that the educated daughter will educate entire family (16%), nobody will dominate her (12%) and that she would be able to serve the country (3%). The parents wanted to educate both sons and daughters as far as they could afford. Thus the level of education desired by the respondents for sons and daughters did not differ much (See Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Levels Desired by the Respondents to Educate their Sons/Daughters

Level	For Son	For Daughter
As long as parents can afford	66%	65%
Ph.D.	2 %	1%
Masters Degree.	4%	3%
Bachelors Degree	12%	6%
Higher Secondary	2%	4%
S.L.C.	14%	20%
No Response	-	1%
Total (N=205)	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2002

Most of the respondents in this study argued that it was necessary to educate their sons and daughters in order to make them capable and independent in the future. The proportion of respondents holding such attitude in relation to the education of their sons and daughters was 94% and 89% for sons and daughters respectively.

A review of 20-research and/or evaluation literature prepared between 1990 and 2004 on Girl's education in Nepal commissioned by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) had revealed a different picture on girl's education. According to the study, "Social and cultural beliefs, practices and attitudes often do not favour girls in their pursuit of education to the same extent as boys... 'Why invest in a resource that will soon be someone else's?' " Such attitude was reported by Bista to be common in most communities in Nepal (Bista 2004:6). Another study by Koirala and Acharya (2005) discussed forces that hindered girl's access to education. Hindering forces for Brahman girls of Kaski district included parent's interest for early marriage of their daughters and absence of role model girls and women in the village. Similarly, forces that hindered Kshatri (Chhetri) girls of Doti from access to education included regular absence for 10 days in schools during monthly periods, domestic workload and early marriage as well. However, 82% and 94% respondents in the present study including Bahuns and Chhetri among others, of Kaski perceived education as means for making both sons and daughters capable for the future life. This indicates that the traditional perception of education for children as an investment is changing. Investing on education for sons has also become a one way investment with no or very little return to the parents. Respondents in the group discussion said that their sons going out to cities in search of better education have also found work and therefore stayed there after completing their study. They get used to new lifestyle and also start their own family there. Thus many do not really return to live with their parents. Elderly parents live on their own. Even if they are taken away by their son(s) they have hard time adjusting to the so-called modern social environment of the cities.

5.4 Factors Considered as Critical in Selection of Spouse for Daughters and Sons

In Nepali society traditionally parents arrange marriage by finding out spouse for their daughters and sons. In the process of looking spouses for daughters and sons, number of factors is considered in the selection process. When the ages of son and daughters are close it is usually the daughters who are married off first. Practice in Nepali society is that you send your daughter first and bring daughter-in-law afterwards. While trying to find a match for a daughter, groom's education, habit/nature, and family background are considered important. The person is expected to be of good habit and sober in nature. *Bhaladmi* (gentle), non-alcoholic, non-smoking, not chewing *khaini* (tobacco), and having good moral character are some of the major criteria for selecting a son-in-law. If he is employed and so is earning that is even better because he can support his wife on his own income. One who can not support (economically) his wife is considered *namarda* (not a man). Matching caste status is another factor considered important for a man to qualify as a groom along with his family background. Whether the groom comes from a well to do family with good status in the society or from poor and with minimum or no social recognition makes a difference in the selection process.

Among the criteria used in selecting partner for their daughters, education was placed in the first priority by majority of the respondents. Other criteria in the first priority list were income, caste and family background of the prospective groom (See Table 5.12).

**Table. 5.12 Criteria Used in Selection of Spouse for Children (Son-in-Law/
Daughter-in-Law) in Priority Order**

Criteria	For	Priority Order of Criteria and Percent of Respondents (N=205)								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	NR
Education	SiL	30	18	20	11	5	5	4	5	2
	DiL	15	16	17	10	12	9	8	7	6
Habit/Nature	SiL	27	19	10	13	8	7	7	5	4
	DiL	45	25	9	7	6	4	2	1	1
Income	SiL	14	18	19	13	14	12	6	2	2
	DiL	1	5	5	10	17	19	21	15	7
Caste	SiL	10	11	13	16	10	14	13	7	6
	DiL	4	13	20	18	12	12	8	8	5
Family Background	SiL	7	10	13	11	14	13	14	12	5
	DiL	9	14	12	14	14	9	9	13	6
Age	SiL	6	13	11	15	17	15	17	4	2
	DiL	9	12	21	21	13	9	10	3	2
Look	SiL	4	3	6	8	8	14	15	36	6
	DiL	12	12	11	11	9	13	10	17	5
Economic Condition	SiL	3	8	7	12	20	13	16	15	6
	DiL	1	4	4	7	14	18	21	19	12

Source: Field Survey 2002.

Legend: SiL= Son-in-Law; DiL= Daughter-in-Law; NR= No Response

In selection of spouse for son, i.e. daughter-in-law (Table 5.12) 45% of the respondents stated that they would place habit/nature in the first priority. Education was placed in the first priority by 15% respondents followed by beauty of the bride. Some respondents found family background and age important and thus placed them in the first priority. Caste and economic condition of the bride's family did not get much attention. The most important criteria in looking for a bride is her character. All other ascribed qualities of a girl to become a bride are often shadowed by her character. Most of the respondents noted that good habit, manner and a good character were among the most desired qualities of a girl to become their daughter-in-law.

Thus family members are cautious that their daughters are well disciplined and remain under control until they are married off. Table 5.13 and 5.14 shows distribution of respondents according to the criteria of their first priority in selecting spouse for children.

Table 5. 13 First Priority in the Selection of Spouse for Daughter (Son-in-Law) by Respondent's Age, Sex, Education and Caste/Ethnicity

First Priority	Characteristics and percent of Respondents									
	Age		Sex		Education		Caste/Ethnicity			
	20+	50+	Female	Male	No Edu	With Edu	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal
Education N=61	72	28	44	66	30	70	46	31	13	10
Habit N=56	77	23	39	61	45	55	18	29	41	12
Income N=27	85	15	48	52	67	33	-	15	33	52
Caste N=20	45	55	55	45	70	30	35	35	5	25
Family b/g N=15	67	33	67	33	53	47	33	40	7	20
Age N=13	77	33	48	62	54	46	8	62	22	8
Look N=9	56	44	56	44	56	44	22	11	11	56
Eco.Con N=6	83	17	-	100	50	50	-	-	50	50

Source: Field Survey 2002

The younger generation put education on the first priority for the spouse of their daughter or for their son-in-law and habit for the spouse of their son or for their daughter-in-law. Same pattern is noticed among the older generation. According to sex, female respondents give first priority on habit for both son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while males give higher priority to education for son-in-law and habit for daughter-in-law. Looking at the issue from educational perspective, respondents with no education put habit in the first priority for both son-in-law and daughter-in-law. Those with secondary school education and over emphasize the need for education for son-in-law and good habits for daughter-in-law. The pattern indicates that education is a must for boys and good habit for girls than education. Marriage is universal and education of a girl does not seem to fall under first priority for marriage. Although caste did not get much emphasis as of habit and education, it fell under sixth position out of eight categories in the priority list.

Respondents who put caste in the first priority were from older generation i.e. of 50 years of age and over, as well as respondents with no education, and females. Among the caste/ethnic groups who put caste in the first priority were Gaine, Kumal, Bahun and Chhetri respectively.

Table 5. 14 First Priority in the Selection of Spouse for Son (Daughter-in-Law) by Respondent's Age, Sex, Education and Caste/Ethnicity

First Priority/	Characteristics and percent of Respondents									
	Age		Sex		Education		Caste/Ethnicity			
	20+	50+	Female	Male	No Edu	With Edu	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal
Education (N=31)	71	29	29	71	19	81	52	26	19	3
Habit N= (94)	78	22	45	55	49	51	23	28	31	18
Income N= (2)	100	-	100	-	50	50	-	-	50	50
Caste N= (9)	67	23	44	56	67	23	22	22	22	4
Family b/g N= (19)	47	53	47	53	63	37	32	58	-	10
Age N= (20)	70	30	25	75	50	50	5	60	20	15
Look N= (25)	80	20	52	48	44	66	8	8	16	68
Eco.Condt N= (3)	67	33	33	67	67	66	33	-	67	-

Source: Field Survey 2002

Legend: Family b/g=Family background

Disaggregating gender perception by caste/ethnicity in selecting spouse for their children shows that criteria for son-in-law vary between caste/ethnic groups. Majority of Bahun and Chhetri put education in first priority for son-in-law. Gaine chose good habit and Kumal chose income for the same. The groom had to be educated and earning so that he could support his wife, i.e. the daughter of the respondents. But for daughter-in-law all four groups have same criteria that is, good habit in the first priority.

When respondents of all caste are grouped together, we find that majority placed education in the first priority for son-in-law and habit for daughter-in-law. Next to education, they had habit and education; and this was followed by income and beauty for son-in-law and daughter-in-law respectively.

Men are thus expected to support the family as breadwinner and women to nurture, obey the husband and remain faithful to him. It is not expected that wife's income support the husband fully. *Swasni palne* is the responsibility of a husband after he gets married. But *logne palne* is contrary to the prevailing social norm. Wife's income is taken as to supplement the household or husband's income only. Thus the criteria considered in selecting bride and groom seems to reflect the norms and values prevalent in the society.

Ranking of criteria considered in the selection shows that for majority age of the son-in-law should be higher to daughter. He should be from equal ranking caste/ethnic group. The economic condition of his family is also expected to be better than of the bride's family. He should be better educated and his family background ought to be equal to the bride's family. Besides, he should be of good nature. He must be as good looking as the bride and his income must be higher (Table 5.15).

Table. 5.15 Distribution of Respondents by Ranking of Criteria in Selecting Spouse for Children (Son-in-Law/Daughter-in-Law)

Criteria	For	Ranking of Criteria and percent of Respondents (N=205)					
		Equal	Higher/ Better	Lower/ Less	Does not Matter	No Response	Total
Age	SiL	25	66	4	1	4	100
	DiL	16	9	72	1	3	100
Caste	SiL	82	8	2	3	5	100
	DiL	84	2	5	5	4	100
Eco Cond.	SiL	44	46	2	2	6	100
	DiL	61	14	10	8	7	100
Education	SiL	20	74	1	2	3	100
	DiL	48	9	36	5	2	100
Family b/g	SiL	59	31	2	3	5	100
	DiL	67	20	3	6	4	100
Habit/Nature	SiL	29	63	2	2	4	100
	DiL	23	71	1	2	3	100
Income	SiL	20	72	2	3	3	100
	DiL	38	15	31	12	4	100
Look	SiL	57	25	4	7	7	100
	DiL	37	52	2	4	5	100

Source: Field Survey 2002

Legend: Eco.Cond.=Economic Condition; Family b/g=Family background;

SiL=Son-in-law; DiL=Daughter-in-law

While selecting daughter-in-law, ranking of criteria varied from that of son-in-law's (Table 5.15). For majority of the respondents, spouse for son or daughter-in-law

should be of younger in age and equal in caste status. Similarly, ranking of other criteria included -similar economic condition, educational status, status of family background and similar level of income. Daughter-in-law should be better looking or more beautiful and should be good in habit and nature.

After spouse is selected and marriage is over, expectation of parents from daughter and son's spouse begin. Respondent's expectations differed for the sons' and daughters'-in-laws. They wanted their sons-in-law to listen to their daughters while daughters-in-law to listen to their sons. Parents of sons expected their sons to be listened to and so do the parents of daughters. Thus same act to be right or wrong depends on whose side the parents are. If one's daughter dominates her husband it becomes right and the same by a daughter-in-law becomes wrong or taken differently. Similarly, if son-in-law helps his wife in domestic chores her parents are happy, but they are not happy in the same manner for their own son helping his wife in domestic work.

Thus whether the behaviour of a male or of a female towards their spouse is the subject of acceptance or of rejection depends on their kinship position in the family (Table.5.16). When a husband listens to his wife it pleases her parents and at the same time it is annoying to his parents. Thus the consanguineal kin or blood relatives i.e. daughter and son get primacy over the affinal kins (related through marriage) i.e. son-in-law and daughter-in-law in this case. In cases like this kinship relations seem to override gender relations.

Table 5.16. Respondent's Perception by their Educational Status towards Daughters and Sons Listening to their Spouses

Respondent's Education	No. of Respondents and their Perceptions on			
	Daughter listened to by her husband		Son listened to by his wife	
	Good	Bad	Good	Bad
No education	87	9	96	-
Secondary	69	1	69	No response 1
Higher Secondary	22	1	23	-
Bachelors	9	-	9	-
Masters	7	-	7	-
Total N=205	194	11	204	1

Source: Field Survey 2002

Majority of the respondents (75%) thought that when sons-in-law listen to their wives relationship between them would be good. For others (5%) it would make their daughters happy. Similarly, 91% respondents thought that when daughters-in-law listen to their husbands it would make their relationship good and lasting. Some thought that husband is the head of the household so the wife must listen to him. Others (3.4%) and incidentally those mostly with no formal education said that husbands listening to their wives was not good because people call the husbands *joitingre* (hen-pecked) and the wives *pothi baseko* or hen crowing. Both respondents with and without any education said that good things should be listened from wives (15%) as well as from husbands (7%) (Table 5.17).

Table 5.17. Perceived Reasons on Listening to Spouse

When daughter is listened to by her husband:	Respondents with No Education		Respondents With Education	
	No.	%	No.	%
Builds good relation-family will not break	68	71	85	78
Daughter will be happy	7	7	3	3
People call it <i>pothi baseko & Joitingre</i>	7	7	1	1
Daughter is older than her husband	2	2	-	-
Should listen in good things	12	13	20	18
Total	96	100	109	100
When son is listened to by his wife:				
Builds good relation -family will not break	86	90	100	92
He is the head of the household so must be obeyed	3	3	2	1
Should listen in good things	7	7	7	7
Total	96	100	109	100

Source: Field Survey 2002

5.5 Perception of Marriage and Family

Society is composed of individuals and families. Individuals in the family are basically related by birth and/or by marriage. Thus they are consanguineal and/or affinal kins. Marriage is the source of both of these relations. In the survey, question was posed as why marriage is done in the society? Out of 205 respondents 56% said that marriages take place in order to run the society, while for another 20% it was for mutual help. In societies like Nepal marriage is a prerequisite in the formation of a family. The notion of couples living together and childbirth out of wedlock are against the norms and values of most of the societies. In this regard Davis also wrote that, "Always and everywhere...the married pair are expected to have children, and children outside of wedlock are discouraged. In many cultures the marriage is not regarded as full-fledged and permanent until after a child is born" (Davis 1981:398). Similar expectation is noted when 16% of the respondents said that marriages are done to maintain one's lineage (Table 5.18). To maintain one's lineage or clan or pedigree implies the need for reproduction. This relates to Johnson's definition of marriage which for him "is a stable relationship in which a man and a woman are socially permitted, without loss of standing in the community, to have children" (Johnson 1960:146). In patrilineal societies like Nepal, lineage is passed/continued through sons. For some respondents, reasons of marriage were to form a family and for help in the old age. Gender disaggregation on the issue revealed that marriage for both females (21.5%) and males (34.6%) was a social fact and was done for the continuity of the society. For 11% females it was for mutual help whereas for 10% males it was to maintain their lineage. This shows that males wanted to maintain their lineage (*bansha*) while females wanted mutual support from the husband and his family members.

Table 5. 18 Perceived Reason of Marriage

Reason	Caste					Sex		
	Bahun (no.)	Chhetri (no.)	Gaine (no.)	Kumal (no.)	Total (no.)	Female (no.)	Male (no.)	Total (no.)
To continue society	22	31	30	32	115	44	71	115
For mutual help	17	7	10	6	40	22	18	40
To form family	3	5	-	6	14	5	9	14
Maintain lineage	9	16	8	-	33	13	20	33
For support in old age	-	2	1	-	3	1	2	3
Total	51	61	49	44	205	85	120	205

Source: Field Survey 2002

Regarding perception on the need of family, 72% of the respondents thought that family was needed for help/co-operation and safety. To others it was for care in the sickness and for pleasure (*ramailo*). The need of family was felt for help by 29% females and 43% males. While it was for care in the sickness for 7% females and for pleasure for 6% males. People do not want to be looked down by the society. Thus 4% thought that they need family for social standing. Among these the percentage for male and female was 60 and 40 respectively. According to the caste/ethnicity of the respondents it was highest for Chhetri followed by Bahun, Gaine and Kumal that family was needed for help (Table 5.19).

Table 5. 19 Perceived Need of Family

Reason	Caste					Sex		
	Bahun (no.)	Chhetri (no.)	Gaine (no.)	Kumal (no.)	Total (no.)	Female (no.)	Male (no.)	Total (no.)
For help and safety	39	45	35	29	148	59	89	148
For pleasure	1	10	7	2	20	7	13	20
To care in the sickness	9	3	2	5	19	5	14	19
For social standing	-	2	1	7	10	4	6	10
To form society	2	1	4	1	8	1	7	8
Total	51	61	49	44	205	85	120	205

Source: Field Survey 2002

5.6 Awareness of Gender Discrimination in the Family

As the term gender is used synonymously for women, the concept of gender equity and gender equality is also often used synonymously. Nevertheless, gender equity and gender equality have different meaning. Gender equality following IUCN Nepal's Strategy for Integrating Gender and Social Equity (2003) means that,

"Gender equality is the end goal where women and men are treated the same. However, because of current disparities, equal treatment of women and men is insufficient as a strategy to reach gender equality. Treating men and women the same can perpetuate existing disparities.... Gender equity is the process of being fair to women and men. Because of current inequities and disparities, being fair often requires treating women and men differently, in order to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from being treated equally."

Gender equality according to UNDP definition, (n.d.) also "refers to norms and values, attitudes and perceptions required to attain equal status between women and men without neutralising the biological differences between being women and men". While gender equity refers to "fairness in women's and men's access to socio-economic resources". Thus, equality relates to the status, rights and responsibilities for both women and men. Whereas equity is a quality of being fair and just. That is a stage in the process of achieving equality. In other words, equality is the goal and equity is the process. Equity leads to equality but equality does not necessarily mean equity.

The survey in this study also asked whether or not the respondents had equal opportunities with other members of their family, whether their belonging to particular caste/ethnic group, age, sex and educational level made any difference on their availability of opportunities. Nearly three quarter of the respondents reported that they had equal opportunities. Females were less than one third of them (Table 5.20).

Table 5.20 Opportunity in the Family by Respondents' Caste and Sex

Equal Opportunity available	Sex	Caste				Total (no.)
		Bahun (no.)	Chhetri (no.)	Gaine (no.)	Kumal (no.)	
Yes	Female	8	11	6	10	35
	Male	28	35	27	20	110
	Total	36	46	33	30	145
No	Female	14	10	14	12	50
	Male	1	5	2	2	10
	Total	15	15	16	14	60
Total	-	51	61	49	44	205

Source: Field Survey 2002

In all the four caste/ethnic groups under the study, male members enjoyed equal opportunity more than females. Such opportunity in the family was not available to 83% of females among the total respondents and 59% among the female respondents. It is evident that gender discrimination prevailed in all the caste/ethnic groups under the study. Opportunities enjoyed equally were related to freedom of mobility, better food and clothing (*khana/launa*), educational facilities, choice of occupation/work, decision-making and property inheritance/ownership. Similarly, opportunity not enjoyed equally by the reported percentage of respondents were freedom of mobility, decision-making and educational facilities.

Opportunities in the family were not divided equally among the members. For example, male heads of the household had most of the opportunities available to the household. Sons and daughters were next to the head in getting opportunities in the family respectively. Wives, daughters-in-law and head females had the least opportunities among others respectively.

Respondents believed that such discriminations could be minimized or removed. Role of society was considered as most crucial in removing such discriminations. Role of the head of the household, especially male heads, was perceived as most important among all the family members on removing discrimination between family members (Table 5.21).

Table 5.21 Actors in the Elimination of Gender Discrimination

Role of	Respondents	
	No.	%
Society	87	42
Household Head Males	67	34
Family	25	12
Males	12	6
Government	9	4
Household Head Females	5	2
Total	205	100

Source: Field Survey 2002

The respondents thought that the role of family along with society and Government was very important in reducing gender discrimination in the family. Male household heads in a patriarchal society have tremendous power in the management of household affairs. They can make their family adopt the principles of gender equality. Societal attitude towards sons and daughters, government's policy regarding girl child and boy child, differential treatment of family towards sons and daughters are considered as the major cause of gender discrimination prevailing in the families across the society.

Very few respondents considered the role of females as important in the elimination of gender discrimination even if they were the heads of the household. This is so because the rule of the head males is taken as normal while that of head females considered as resulting from unusual circumstances. Besides, children in the family also listened to their fathers more than to their mothers. Tendency according to the respondents was that *ama lai hepchhan, terdainan* (mothers are not listened to) because they are not educated and also do not go to office to work and bring cash income. Respondents also felt that mothers do not punish children as hard as fathers do and also they can not be as rigid as fathers in the matter of children's discipline. Thus members in the family are discriminated against on the basis of their social characteristics. Society, family, government and household heads were considered to have major roles in the elimination of discrimination between the members of the family.

It is an accepted fact that females, are generally dominated by males though not universally. Among the respondents 165 (80%) thought that females were dominated by males (Table 5.22). Disaggregating the data by sex showed that of the 165 respondents saying 'yes' to male domination, 56% were males and 44% were females. But among the total respondents by sex, it was 86% of the female respondents and 77% of the male respondents. Among those, the proportion of Bahuns was the highest followed by Chhetris and Ganes of both sexes. Male domination was felt by more respondents of younger age group (20 to 49 years) compared to respondents of the older age group (50 years and over). The difference was almost three times higher (See Table 5.22). Looking at this from the gender perspective both females and males saying 'yes' to male domination was higher than saying 'no' to it. Disaggregating it from respondent's educational status and sex, showed that female respondents with no education found male

domination more than the respondents of the same sex with education. On the other hand among male respondents those with education were more than without it who perceived that females were dominated by males. Thus both the discriminated (females) as well as the discriminators (males) accepted that males dominated females in their communities.

Table 5.22 Perception on Prevalence of Male Domination over Female by Age, Sex, Education and Caste/Ethnicity of the Respondents

Characteristics of the Respondents		Yes (80%)		No (20%)	
		no.	%	No.	%
Age	20-49 (149)	123	83	26	17
	50 + (56)	42	75	14	25
Sex	Female (85)	73	86	12	14
	Male (120)	92	77	28	23
Education	No Education (96)	74	77	22	23
	With Education (120)	91	83	18	17
Caste/ Ethnicity	Bahun (51)	49	96	2	4
	Chhetri (61)	45	74	16	26
	Gaine (49)	41	84	8	16
	Kumal (44)	30	68	14	32

Source: Field Survey 2002

As women and men are not homogeneous groups all females are not dominated by males. In the context of Nepali society when we look across caste/ethnic groups female domination becomes visible. Domination of high caste females over low caste males is not yet revealed in other studies. Among the 156 (76%) respondents, 58% males and 42% females thought that female domination prevailed in their communities. From caste/ethnic perspective, it was highest for Chhetris followed by Gains and least were for the Kumals (Table 5.23).

Table 5.23 Perception on Prevalence of Female Domination over Male by Respondent's Age, Sex, Education and Caste/Ethnicity

Characteristics of the Respondents (205)		Yes (76%)		No (24%)	
		no.	(%)	no.	(%)
Age	20-49 (149)	116	78	33	22
	50 + (56)	40	71	16	29
Sex	Female (85)	65	76	20	24
	Male (120)	91	76	29	24
Education	No Education (96)	73	76	23	24
	With Education (120)	83	69	26	31
Caste/ Ethnicity	Bahun (51)	41	80	10	20
	Chhetri (61)	43	70	18	30
	Gaine (49)	42	86	7	14
	Kumal (44)	30	68	14	32

Source: Field Survey 2002

Reasons of male domination as perceived by the respondents were education, patriarchy, powerlessness, tradition, lack of awareness, and women not being able to work as equal to males. For female domination, the reason reported included poverty, education, belonging to lower caste, females being more sensitive to caste discriminatory practices, tradition, and use of excessive alcohol by lower caste males in the public.

What becomes evident is that male domination was prevalent across all the caste/ethnic groups under study although the degree of domination varied for age groups and educational statuses. It was also reported that domination by high caste/ethnic group females on both females and males belonging to the lower caste groups was a consistent pattern. Thus females of lower caste group in general and Gains in the context of present study were subject to male as well as female domination.

5.7 Perception on Empowerment

Empowerment is the "process of gaining control over the self, over ideology and the resources which determine power" (Batliwala 1993 quoted in Acharya 1997:42). However, Acharya finds it difficult to define empowerment in concrete terms because of its nature of an all comprehensive process. She writes, "It is all-embracing, because it must address all structures of power." According to Acharya empowerment in the context of Nepal can be viewed in four dimensions, viz., increasing women's access to economic opportunities and resources; increasing women's political power; raising women's consciousness; and strengthening women's self-confidence. Thus empowerment can be taken as a process from the powerlessness to gaining control over what is taken as power. The concept of empowerment as Kabeer (1994:224) noted is 'clearly rooted in the notion of power and in its reverse, powerlessness or the absence of power.' In social science literature three different interpretations of power are commonly found as 'power to', 'power over' and 'power within'. Luke (cited in Kabeer 1994) has distinguished between these three different interpretations of power. Thus power and empowerment have contextual meanings. Perhaps it is this idea that makes Agarwal (1994) to propose that land is the single most critical entry point for women's empowerment in South Asia.

The Gender Empowerment Measure score of Nepal indicates that women are much less empowered than men in the political, economic and professional domains. Recent reports have shown that women in rural areas are also much less empowered than those in towns and cities (See UNDP 2004).

Among the study population the word "empowerment" was heard by 48 % of the respondents. Of them 22% were Bahuns followed by 20% Chhetris. Among the 52% respondents who had not heard the word "empowerment", Kumals and Gaiques were 21% and 18% respectively. Among those who had heard the word 88% had heard the word from media. Bahuns were highest and Kumals were the least of them. Three quarter of the respondents (75%) said that empowerment was needed for women. On the other hand, 17% respondents said that it was needed for men. Disaggregating responses by caste/ethnic group showed that Chhetri were highest followed by Bahun, Gaique and Kumal in favour of empowerment for women. Similarly, responses broken down by sex,

45.37% men and 29.27% women advocated that empowerment was needed for women. Looking at it from age and educational perspective, younger age group as well as respondents with education of high school and over thought women needed empowerment more than men. Similar pattern can be seen on the need of empowerment for males. Younger age group, males and educated respondents in comparison to their counter criteria advocated for empowerment of men. But among caste/ethnic groups under study who said empowerment was needed for men Kumals exceeded them all (See Table 5.24).

The main reason of needing empowerment for women as perceived by 58% respondents was their backward position. Among these Chhetri were the highest (55%) followed by Gaine (31%) and Bahuns (30%). Other reasons of why women needed empowerment were over burden of work and responsibility (24%), illiteracy, powerlessness, discrimination of work by men, and that women are teachers within the home.

Table 5.24 Perception on the Need of Empowerment by Age, Sex Education and Caste/Ethnicity

Characteristics of the Respondents (N=205)		Empowerment needed for (Responses in Percentage)				
		Women	Men	Both	No Response	Total
Age	20-49	55.61	13.17	1.95	1.95	72.68
	50 +	19.02	3.90	0.98	3.41	27.32
Sex	Female	29.27	6.83	0.98	4.39	41.46
	Male	45.37	10.24	1.95	0.98	58.54
Education	No Education	33.17	7.80	0.98	4.88	46.83
	With Education	41.46	9.27	1.95	0.49	53.17
Caste/ Ethnicity	Bahun	21.46	1.95	0.98	0.49	24.88
	Chhetri	22.44	5.85	0.98	0.49	29.76
	Gaine	18.05	0.98	0.98	3.90	23.90
	Kumal	12.68	8.29	0.00	0.49	21.46

Source: Field Survey 2002

Answering to question on how women get empowered, 71% respondents said that women get empowered mainly through education. Among these, Bahuns were the highest followed by Kumals, Gains and Chhetris. Other measures of empowerment as revealed by respondents were skill development, training, work opportunity and money. However, respondents revealed that empowering the powerless of any sex could be done through education. Education alone was considered as the vehicle of empowerment by 67% of the respondents. Education in combination with other factors was considered as a way to ensure empowerment by 21% of the respondents. Other factors combined with education were not looking down at women, opportunity, skill, training, awareness, and money.

Means of empowerment of women as identified by the respondents were parents (39%), hard work of the individuals (20%), society (1%), and the rest was in combination

of parents with hard work, government and society. Thus parents were considered to be mainly responsible for the empowerment of women.

People's perception of male-female, husband-wife and son-daughter varied on the basis of their affiliation with certain caste/ethnic group, with or without education and belonging to particular sex. Attitude towards and expectation differed for son and daughter's spouses. Males enjoyed equal opportunities more than females in the family. Gender discrimination towards females was felt by females as well as by males. Both the discriminated and the discriminators reported that males generally dominated females but females were also reported to dominate males when males were from lower socio-economic bracket. Empowerment was perceived as the key to correct such imbalances between gender.

CHAPTER VI

GENDER ROLE PERCEPTIONS

Nepali society is heterogeneous and hierarchical in terms of age, sex, caste and economic class. Based on the social stratification, each group is expected to act and behave differently according to the norms, values and beliefs of the society. Different social groups have different needs, access to resources, control over resources, opportunities, benefits, priorities, and constraints.

Women and men act, think, and feel according to the norms, values and beliefs of the society. Social expectation of women and men reflects the tasks, responsibilities, and rights bestowed upon them. Gender roles are internalized through socialization at home, in the school, on television, in the community and in the nation at large. Development programs do not benefit men and women equally because of their differing roles and responsibilities in the household and in the community. Therefore, it is necessary to understand women's and men's differing roles and responsibilities which also affect women and men's participation in development activities. Gender roles and responsibilities have to be understood well in order to understand Nepali society and culture.

Gender is often used and taken as a synonym for sex in Nepali society. In order to understand women's and men's roles, relationships and their status in society, it is necessary to make a distinction between sex and gender to begin with. Basically, sex is biologically defined, whereas gender is a social construct. Thus, sex refers to the biological fact that a person is either a woman or a man. Gender refers to socially learned traits associated with, and expected of, women and men. In other words, sex is distinguished on the basis of fundamental biological characteristics. Gender is determined by the social and cultural system of the society. Therefore, to be women or men is a matter of sex, but to be masculine or feminine is a matter of gender. Masculine and feminine traits are assigned by the society. Some examples of gendered characteristics are that females are dependent, weak, emotional, cooperative, fragile,

caretaker, passive and so on. Similarly, male characteristics are –independent, strong, assertive, competitive, hard, bread-winner, aggressive and so on.

6.1 Gender Roles

Gender roles can be defined as roles society expects people to play on account of their sex. For example, in Nepali society women are expected to fulfil the household duties while men to fulfil their bread winning duties. Similarly, in the western context, women are expected to fill certain occupations and men to fill others. Thus, male nurses and female fire-fighters are still exception to the rule even in the western societies. Men wishing to be nurses and women wishing to be fire-fighters will discover that their wishes go against the expectations of many people.

Men and women are allotted different sets of gender roles by the society. Social positions involving leadership, power, decision-making, and interacting with outsiders have been traditionally given to men. Positions centering around dependency, family concerns, child care, and home management have been traditionally given to women. Labour is divided between sexes on the basis of their gender roles. Men are expected to be leaders, to take control, to make decisions, and to be active, worldly, unemotional, and aggressive. Through his actions, a man is said to determine his own status. Women, in contrast, are expected to be dependent, emotional, and unable to exercise leadership, think quantitatively, or make decisions.

Gender roles also exist with respect to interpersonal behaviour and responsibilities expected from them. For example, women are expected to take primary responsibility for matters pertaining to the home, even if she is employed. Thus, women and men are expected to fill different roles in virtually every area of life. Even if these roles are less rigidly defined than in the past compared to last two generations, they are still around.

Triple Roles

In development literature, gender roles are centred on three roles popularly known as Triple Roles. The triple roles are visible not only at household level but also at community level. Responsibilities of these triple roles divided between the sexes are related to production, reproduction and community roles. Production includes crop production, processing, marketing, wage employment, etc. Reproduction includes family care, child bearing and rearing, food, firewood and water collection, home maintenance, etc. In Social/Community Management roles, social activities at neighbourhood, community and organization, political participation, etc., are included. Women are expected to carry all of the three roles while men are eased with reproductive role.

Generally the division of labour between sexes in Nepali society is associated with unequal gender division of reward. Women get most of the burden of labour and drudgery. They are mostly confined to the unpaid domestic and agricultural works. Men, on the other hand, collect most of the income and rewards resulting from the labour such as cash cropping and wage employment (UNDP 2057 B.S.). Although basic differences in gender roles are deeply embedded in many societies and cultures, some changes have occurred in Nepali society. For example, women's work domain today is not always limited to within the four walls of the house, the farmlands, and the forest.

6.2 Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) on Gender Roles

Gender role expectations and perceptions vary across caste/ethnic groups, generations, sexes, and cultures. A modified "Thematic Apperception Test" (TAT) was used as a tool for perception analysis for this study (see chapter III). TAT is a good method for learning people's perception because people say what they believe. How people perceive is what they learn from their culture and in the process of their socialization. What people see, learn and do depends on the way they are socialized and their internalization of social norms. Depending on this (i.e. socialization) normality for one person or group may be abnormality for another. Benedict wrote

"Normality, in short, within a very wide range, is culturally defined. It is primarily a term for socially elaborated segment of human behaviour in any culture, and abnormality a term for the

segment that that particular civilization does not use. The very eyes with which we see the problem are conditioned by the long traditional habits of our own society." (Benedict quoted in Nanda 1999: v).

TAT for this study was designed to gauge variations in responses and reactions of women and men doing jobs that are traditionally restricted to them. A set of two photographs with switched gender roles, were shown to the respondents. One of the photographs was of a woman ploughing and the other was of a man grinding grains (See Photo 3). Each respondent was shown these photographs. The respondents were then asked to interpret the photographs and prompted for further information with questions concerning why they felt that way and if there were times when such activities may be acceptable. Whether or not they themselves would do those activities carried out in the photographs if they were needed. What would happen in the future in performing the tasks that have been restricted to each sex?

TAT was carried among 56 respondents. Respondents were selected on the basis of their age, sex and education from each caste/ethnic groups selected for the study (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Criteria Used For the Selection of TAT Respondents

Caste/Ethnic Group	Sex	Age Group	Education
	Male	20 –49 Years	No Education
			With Education
		50 and Over	No Education
			With Education
	Female	20 –49 Years	No Education
			With Education
		50 and Over	No Education
			With Education

Source: TAT 2003

Note: Table 6.1 was repeated for each caste/ethnic group.

The respondents composed 25% each from the caste/ethnic groups-Bahun, Chhetri, Gaine and Kumal. Each caste/ethnic group was further divided by their sex, age and educational level (Table 6.1). From gender perspective the respondents are composed of 50% females and 50% males (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Composition of the TAT Respondents by Age, Sex and Education

Sex		Age Group		Education	
Female	Male	20-49 years	50 years and over	With Education	No Education
28	28	29	27	36	20
(50%)	(50%)	(52%)	(48%)	(64%)	(36%)

Source: TAT 2003

6.3 Perceptions on Switched Gender Roles

A number of respondents in the course of TAT did not believe that the photographs were real. Some even asked whether the photographs were just posed for the purpose. For some it was totally beyond their expectation. Some also questioned where on earth, could such things happen. In contrast, for some others the photographs showed things that were progressive. TAT Analysis of the responses reveals that majority (64%) were against woman ploughing i.e. women taking up men's work. On the other hand, men doing women's work was accepted as normal activity by most of them. The differences in their opinions and reactions about switched gender roles were attributed to their caste/ethnicity, age, sex and educational level.

Table 6.3 Response on Women Ploughing

Characteristics	Can Women Plough? (N=56)			
		Yes (%)	No (%)	Total
Caste/Ethnicity	Bahun	11	14	25
	Chhetri	9	16	25
	Gaine	9	16	25
	Kumal	7	18	25
	Total	36	64	100
Sex	Female	11	34	50
	Male	25	25	50
	Total	36	64	100
Age Group	20-49 years	30	21	52
	50 years and over	6	43	48
	Total	36	64	100
Education	No Education	11	53	64
	With Education	25	11	36
	Total	36	64	100
Occupation	Agriculture	9	36	45
	Service	16	10	27
	Homemaker	4	14	18
	Business	2	2	3
	Student	5	-	5
	Singing	-	2	2
	Total	36	64	100

Source: TAT 2003

According to caste/ethnicity, the proportion of Bahun was the highest and that of the Kumal was the lowest to say "yes" for women ploughing. Among those who had rejected women's switched role, the proportion of Kumal was the highest and that of the Bahun was the lowest (Table 6.3). Females (79%) were against women ploughing while male were equally divided to both 'yes' and 'no' responses. The caste/ethnic group and sex broken down by age reveals that the younger generation was in favour of women ploughing while the older generation was against it.

Looking at the same issue from educational perspective, the information in Table 6.3 reveals that among those with no formal education 83% was against women's ploughing while 70% of those with formal education were in favour. Similarly, from occupational point of view, 80% of those involved in agriculture and 80% homemaker said women can not plough. Sixty percent of the service or job holders and 100% students said women can plough (Table 6.3).

Respondents who said "yes" to women's ploughing had supported their arguments with various reasons. The reasons were, if she can plough, males and females are equal, there is no work distinction between males and females, if women are compelled to plough they can do so, anybody can do own work, it is baseless to say that religion prohibited women from ploughing, and it would be nice if women could plough.

A 50-year-old Bahun male who had education of SLC reluctantly said that, "It is old *sanskar* that women should not plough, but it is not practiced as it used to be. "*Jat-bhat sabai ekainas hundai gayo, mahila le pani jote hunchha*" which means, caste barriers are being removed, women can also plough. Another 60-year-old illiterate Bahun male linking the issue of traditional gender role with the current situation of the country said that, "According to Hindu religion women should not plough. But these days we have to pay if we ask others to do it. Besides, when males are either killed in armed conflicts or wars or they just run away from home, in such situation if women do not plough who does then?"

There is popular belief which holds that if women plough it will cause landslide. According to a popular myth that was told to the researcher by some women, a long time ago in the past when a woman began to plough her own field, the Seti River could not see

it and hid herself underneath. The land where the woman ploughed in Pokhara was splitted and the place was called *Dhartifant* (splitted land). An illiterate Chhetri woman argued that a woman should not even touch a *halo* (plough) and ploughing by a woman is sinful and it will cause bad luck. On the other hand, a graduate 55 years old Bahun male opined differently. He said that according to tradition, elderly people used to say that women should not plough and that practice has been carried on

The reasons provided by the TAT respondents for the response that women can not plough included statements like: -we have to follow the tradition (28%), can not happen (17%), women are weak (11%), religion does not allow (8%), *pap lagchha* (sinful) (8%), it is very bad, should not do which is not in practice, women can do other work, and it causes bad luck (3%).

None of the women said they had ploughed before. Reason they gave were *chalan* (tradition) is that women can not do it (50%), women can not touch *halo* (29%), women are weak and they do not know how to do it (11%), and they were not required to plough (10%).

About men's grinding, almost all in the entire category – caste/ethnicity, sex, age, education and occupation, responded by saying 'yes, men can grind' (See Table 6.4).

Only two respondents had said that men can not grind. One of them (illiterate Chhetri female) said because it is women's work and the other (illiterate Bahun male) said if men do grinding their life would be shortened (*ayu ghatchha*).

Fifteen out of twenty eight males said that they had done grinding before. All of them did so when help was needed in the family. Rest of the men had not done grinding before because for some of them women did this work while for others they were not required to do so. In fact when grinding becomes mechanized, it is completely taken over by men; because they have the mobility to reach the mill and there is no physical exertion in grinding (Bhadra, 1997).

Table 6.4 Response on Men Grinding

Characteristics	Can Men Grind? (N=56)			
		Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Caste/Ethnicity	Bahun	23	2	25
	Chhetri	23	2	25
	Gaine	25	-	25
	Kumal	25	-	25
	Total	96	4	100
Sex	Female	48	2	50
	Male	48	2	50
	Total	96	4	100
Age Group	20-49 years	50	2	52
	50 years and over	46	2	48
	Total	96	4	100
Education	No Education	62	2	64
	With Education	34	2	36
	Total	96	4	100
Occupation	Agriculture	43	2	44
	Service	26	-	27
	Homemaker	16	2	18
	Business	4	-	4
	Student	5	-	5
	Singing	2	-	2
	Total	96	4	100

Source: TAT 2003

Among the respondents who said 'yes' to men's grinding 31% said it is normal and 24% said that men have done so before also. Other reasons included-if it is required men would do it (9%), anybody should do any work (6%), men should do it to help family (4%), and men do so when they have no choice (4%). Two percent provided other reasons such as, there is no restriction in work; if they can; if their heart says yes; one has to eat when no one is at home; when women can plough why not men can grind?; widower can do anything; and why can not men do own work? A 40-year-old Bahun

female with education said that, "In those days poor men used to grind grains. Even my son does when I am sick." According to a 55 years old Bahun male, who had Bachelors education, "by tradition there is no bar for men to grind if so required." Another Bahun male (51 years old and educated up to SLC) said: "If women can plough it is normal for men to grind. In poverty ridden and developing countries like ours grinding by men is normal". A Chhetri female (48 years old with Bachelors education) thought, "it helps in sharing domestic chore".

6.4 Practices on Switched Gender Roles

In the question asked only to females "would you plough if needed?" all caste/ethnic group put together 79% said 'no' and 21% said they would plough if needed. Among those 21% female saying 'yes' 33% were Bahun and 50% were Kumal. None of the Chhetri female said 'yes'. In the age group, all of the older generation and majority of the younger generation said 'no'. However, 38% of the younger generation expressed their willingness to plough if there was a need to do so. Among the educated groups those saying 'yes' and 'no' were 57% and 43% respectively. Ninety percent of those having no education, opposed to the idea of ploughing even when needed. In occupation all of those involved in service or job and business replied 'no' to ploughing. Among others saying 'no' were 66% of those involved in agriculture and 80% of the housewives (See Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Response on Whether Women Would Plough if Needed

Characteristics	Would you Plough if Needed (female only)? (N=28)			
		Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Caste/Ethnicity	Bahun	7	18	25
	Chhetri	3	25	25
	Gaine	-	22	25
	Kumal	11	14	25
	Total	21	79	100
Sex	Female	21	79	100
	Male	-	-	-
	Total	21	79	100
Age Group	20-49 years	21	36	57
	50 years and over	-	43	43
	Total	21	79	100
Education	No Education	7	68	75
	With Education	14	11	25
	Total	21	79	100
Occupation	Agriculture	14	29	43
	Service	-	18	18
	Homemaker	7	29	36
	Business	-	3	3
	Total	21	79	100

Source: TAT 2003

Of the 28 females, six said they would plough if they needed to. Their reasons were-why not and anybody can do their own work. But 79 % of the women refused to do so because most of them thought that women can not plough it was against the tradition and that they should not even touch *halo* (plough). While others said it is sinful, and also women were weak to perform the activity.

The reasons provided by the respondent women with no education included statements like: women can not do it, who says we can? we have rules, no I would not do it because we have such *chalan* (rule of the land) that women should not do ploughing, as

women are not supposed to touch *halo* (*plough*), I would not do it. But an educated woman (Bachelors) also refused as “no I would not do it because this is not accepted by the society.”

In response to the question asked to men only as "would you grind if needed?" all the males in the entire category said 'yes'. At the same time most of them expressed the idea that with technological development they might not need to do so. An illiterate Chhetri Female of 68 years said that, "Men can grind because such have been happening since long time. Nothing will happen with their grinding." While a 50-year-old Bahun male with SLC education said, "Grinding may be replaced by machine. Therefore men might not do it." "I used to do the grinding because it is good to do our own work. This develops feeling of helping each other in the family" (Bahun male 51years with SLC education). But another 50-year-old Bahun male with SLC education said, "No, I have not done because my wife and daughters used to do it. There was no need for me to do it." Another male also did not have to do grinding before but he had thought of doing it for a different reason. He said, "No, I have not done but I would do if I had to because one has to be independent" (Bahun male 55 years B.A.)

6.5 Perceptions on Switched Gender Roles in the Future

Regarding the answer to the question whether women would plough in the future 39% of the respondents said 'yes' and 61% said 'no'. Among those who said 'yes', the proportion of Bahun was the highest (57%) followed by Chhetri (43%). Similarly, 79% Kumal and 64% Gaine said 'no' to the question. Gender perspective in the issue revealed that majority of both females (54%) and males (68%) rejected the idea that women would plough in the future. However, 46% females and 32% males thought that women would plough in the future. In the age group, there was only slight difference between 'yes' and 'no' response among the younger generation while two third of the older generation said 'no'. Of those having no education 81% said 'no' while 75% of the educated said 'yes'. Within occupation, 76% of those involved in agriculture and 70% homemakers said 'no' while 100% students and 60% of the service or job holders said 'yes' in their response (See Table 6.6).

Table 6.6 Response on Whether Women Would Plough in the Future

Characteristics	Would Women Plough in the Future? (N=56)			
		Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Caste/Ethnicity	Bahun	14	11	25
	Chhetri	11	14	25
	Gaine	9	16	25
	Kumal	5	20	25
	Total	39	61	100
Sex	Female	23	27	50
	Male	16	34	50
	Total	39	61	100
Age Group	20-49 years	27	25	52
	50 years and over	12	36	48
	Total	39	61	100
Education	No Education	12	52	64
	With Education	27	9	36
	Total	39	61	100
Occupation	Agriculture	11	34	45
	Service	16	11	26
	Homemaker	5	12	18
	Business	2	2	4
	Student	5	-	5
	Singing	-	2	2
	Total	39	61	100

Source: TAT 2003

Those who had said women would plough in the future had their own reasons in saying so. Reasons according to them were, raising awareness (27%), everything is changing (18%), due to the current situation of the country (9%), issue of equality is raised (9%), and if required (9%). Rest of the respondents had reasons constituting five percent each were, if need arise and become aware, women and men understand each other, to break tradition, no work should be kept for male and female any more, and if ploughing with a pair of oxen continues in the future too.

A Chhetri female of 48 years of age who had Bachelors education said, "It is possible because society is changing. And thinking of gender equality may come up". But it was different for a Chhetri female who was 68 years old and she had no education. She said, "Everything is changing therefore women might plough later". A Bahun male 60 years old who had no education put it differently, "If one can do, there is no difference between females and males to do any kind of work ". In the current situation of the country where females are de facto heads of the household in rural Nepal women have no choice but to plough. A Bahun male 50 years old with SLC said, "All the males are away now women have to do it. Yes they can work, they will get the work done and it will produce food. When Bahun first ploughed people used to say him "*Jat falyo*" (stepped down from his caste status) and looked at this person negatively" (see Note 7).

Among the 34 respondents who said 'no' to women ploughing in the future, reason for 41% was cultural norms and values followed by technological development (24%). Similarly, 6% said land cracks down if women ploughed while another 6% said religion prohibits for women ploughing. Some said tractor is used for ploughing these days while others said there is no need to plough at all in the urban areas. A 40-year-old Bahun female with no education put her view; "Well it might not be practiced later too. If culture allows women to plough later they may do so but women should not plough." Similarly, another Chhetri female 45 years old with no education said, "I don't think women would plough; there is no such rule. How can such thing which is not done by any body, could be done"? But a Bahun male 55 years old, with B.A. education opined differently, he said: "In my opinion, it might not happen in the future too because traditional tools would be taken over by machines." A Bahun female, 63 years old with no education said that, "women did not weave *doko* (carrying basket), *namlo* (head band), and *syakhu* (kind of umbrella). Now females do them. So who knows females might do ploughing in the days to come.

Regarding men's grinding in the future, majority said 'yes' (Table 6.7). Of those saying 'no' mostly included technical reasons.

Table 6.7 Response on Whether Men Would Grind in the Future

Characteristics	Would men Grind in the Future? (N=56)			
		Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Caste/Ethnicity	Bahun	20	5	25
	Chhetri	20	5	25
	Gaine	25	-	25
	Kumal	21	4	25
	Total	86	14	100
Sex	Female	43	7	50
	Male	43	7	50
	Total	86	14	100
Age Group	20-49 years	47	5	52
	50 years and +	39	9	48
	Total	86	14	100
Education	No Education	59	5	64
	With Education	27	9	34
	Total	86	14	100
Occupation	Agriculture	38	7	44
	Service	23	3	27
	Homemaker	14	3	18
	Business	4	-	4
	Student	5	-	5
	Singing	2	-	2
	Total	86	14	100

Source: TAT 2003

The reasons provided by the men respondents for grinding in the future (86%) included statements like: if need arise, have been doing, anybody will do any work, if no one at home to do, if women are not home, if can do physically, with change occurring, and why can't do own work, etc.

6.6 Thematic Apperception Test on Switched Gender Roles

Looking at the photo of women ploughing, respondents had mixed reactions. A Bahun male of 42 years of age who has no formal education reacted to the photo, "All female should go ahead for such work." Another Bahun female (30) said: "She did right. I felt like doing it myself too when our *Hali* (plough man) used to take cigarette break". But an illiterate Bahun female (62) cautioned, "*yo jotne aimai nai ho? kina anuhar nadekhaeko ta? laj lagera mukh lukaeki ho. yesto afno chalan nai nabhaeka kam garne lai ke bhanne? jati gaharo pare pani halo jotnu bhanda ta aru kam gare ramro hunthyo hola ni!*" It means, "Is the person shown ploughing in the photo really a woman? Why is she not showing her face then? She is hiding her face out of shame. What to say to such person who does things which is not in one's practice? No matter how hard that would be it would have been nice for her to do other work than ploughing." Contrary to this an illiterate Bahun male (49 years) said, "woman can plough but women in our village have not yet dared to do such thing." However, a Bahun female of younger generation (30 years) without any education exclaimed, "What a surprise! Is she really ploughing or just posed for the photograph? This is not good. Such act should not be done." Another elderly Bahun female (60 years) assured herself that "She must be woman from the lower caste. In Bahun caste even male do not plough because they should not. So it is impossible for women in our caste to plough." A Kumal female (44 years and illiterate) expressed similar view. She said "What on earth I am seeing in this photo! Is it real or just a photo produced? In our place we can not even imagine of women ploughing." Another Kumal female (52 years and illiterate) sticking her tongue out exclaimed, "*Yesto ta hamile photo ma matra dekhyau. Garnai nahune kam gare. Baru gitti kutera pet pale hunthyo ni.*" Her reaction was that. "Such thing we are only seeing in photograph. They did what they should not have done at all. They could have rather sustained themselves by stone breaking in construction work."

However, a Kumal male of 50 years of age with 10 class of education was happy to see the photograph. He said, "You have taken a good and right kind of photograph. This photo should be shown to all places and also try to influence the women who say women can not plough." But another young illiterate Kumal male (35 years) reacted

differently. He said, "*Mahila le halo jotne ho bhane purush kina chahiyo? Hami ghar ma basera shreemati lai jotna pathae bhai halyo ni. Yesto garnu ta hundaina.*" Which means, if women start ploughing why do you need men? If so, we stay home and send our wives to plough. Such thing should not be done." A young illiterate Kumal male also expressed similar views. He showed the photograph to all the females of his household and said sarcastically, "Now you all should also plough like this". He said, "There is no such practice in our village and it also does not look good."

A Gaine female (60 years and illiterate) after looking at the photo said, "*ke ke hune ho! Jasle je gare pani hune, karbahi pani nahune. Pap-dharma ko khyal pani narakhne*" It means, "What will happen! Any body can do anything. There is no action against. They did not even think of a religious act and a sinful act."

On the contrary, A Kumal female of 20 years who was studying at Intermediate 2nd year put her view like this. "Now both females and males are equal. Any work could be done by male and female."

But an elderly illiterate Kumal male (78 years) recalled his past. He said, "*Mahila le halo jotne, ghar chhaune, sagar (malami) jane, mar hanne chalan patakai nahune ho. Aba ta jamana dherai farak bhai sakyo, je pani dekhna ra sunnu parne bhayo.*" This means, women at any cost should not do ploughing, put roofing of a house, participate in the funeral procession, and slaughtering (of animals and birds). But time has changed a lot that we have to see and hear just about anything."

An Elderly Kumal female with no formal education asserted: "No women in this village have ploughed. Rather the field will be left barren. Women would not plough. Women can not plough. It is prohibited by religion. If they do so it will cause landslide and things unexpected will happen. If women could plough they would have done it from the beginning. It was so since the god's time. So women should not plough."

In response to the question what would you do if you had to? She replied "Even if I had to I would not do it. One has to be strong enough to be able to plough and also should know how to do it. Now time has changed. Tractors are used for ploughing why women need to do it? Whatsoever women should not plough." Looking at the photo of a man grinding, she responded at ease, "Men can grind if needed. If there is no one at

home one has to grind corn, millet and has to eat. In the photo that old man is also doing it.” To the question would that happen in the future? She replied, “In future also it will rather not happen. Time has changed. These grinding on *janto* and ploughing with pair of oxen will be witnessed by our generation only. The generation after us will neither do it nor get to see it. They shall do other works but not ploughing and grinding. Because even we have given up such activities.”

A Chhetri woman of 45 years of age with no formal education could not believe that she was looking at a photo where a woman is ploughing. She thought it should not have happened. Surprised at the photo she laughed and said “*jamana ulto ayo. Kam satechhan*” (things have changed. Roles have been switched). Where would have this happened, is it in Nepal?. “*Aimai le ni ea pat dekhako, apatai parera po ho ki*” (what was the woman trying to show or was she in real need?).

When asked why they thought that the man in the photo might be doing the thing, most of the respondents thought of two causes for the man in doing so. The first cause was either there was no woman in the household at all or they were not around to do the grinding. And the second cause was that the man was helping his family. In any case the work of grinding is considered within women’s domain. Men are only helping women or doing the work out of their generosity. A Chhetri female of 45 years of age with no formal education felt pity looking at the photo where a man was grinding. She said, “Poor old man. Perhaps he has no one living with him.” This clearly shows that if he had women living with him he would not have to do the grinding.

From the response of the respondents themes and sub-themes are identified for both of their “yes” and “no” reasons for switched gender roles past, present and in the future. Table 6.8 is constructed from scoring the responses quantitatively.

Table 6.8 Themes Derived from the Responses

“Yes” for women ploughing (N=20)		
Theme:	Sub-Theme:	Percent
Gender Equality	Males and females are equal	35
	No work distinction between sex	20
Conditional	If she can or is able to	30
	If she is compelled to	15
Total		100
“No” for women ploughing (N=36)		
Theme:	Sub-theme:	Percent
Religious Beliefs	<i>Pap lagchha</i> (sinful)	8
	Hindu religion does not allow	8
	Women can not touch <i>halo</i> (plough)	6
Traditional Norms and Values	Following the "no" tradition	28
	Can not happen	17
	Land cracks	11
	It's very bad and causes bad luck	5
	Should not do which is not practiced before	3
	Can do other work	3
Biological Difference	Women are weak	11
Total		100

Source: TAT 2003

From the general and particular themes identified from the responses some dominant themes could be revealed as: traditional norms and values, religious beliefs, biological differences, gender equality, no work distinction for sex, and conditions that apply for the approval of the activity.

Disaggregating the dominant themes by age, sex, education, occupation and caste/ethnicity revealed some significant differences in the relevance to certain themes to different social characteristics. The proportion of respondents with education was higher in expressing that women can plough because males and females are equal.

Table 6.9 Disaggregation of Dominant Themes by Age, Sex and Education of the Respondents

Dominant Themes	Sex (%)		Age (%)		Education (%)	
	Female	Male	20-49	50 and over	No Edu.	With Edu.
Gender equality	-	12	9	3	2	11
No distinction for work	5	2	9	-	-	7
Condition apply	7	9	14	1	7	9
Traditional norms and values	25	18	18	25	37	5
Religious beliefs	9	5	2	12	14	-
Women are weak	4	4	4	3	4	4
Total (N=56)	50	50	56	44	64	36

Source: TAT 2003

Responses in the theme traditional norms and values is significantly high for respondents with no formal education, 50 and over age groups and the females. Similarly, response in religious belief is highest among the respondents with no education followed by the age groups 50 and over. It is surprising that none of the women said that males and females are equal in relation to gender roles. It is rather men who said so (See Table 6.9).

Disaggregation of dominant themes by caste/ethnicity reveals that, traditional norms and values is significantly higher among the Kumals followed by the Chhetris. Religious belief is higher among the Bahuns but only slightly in relation to the Chhetris

and Gains. Kumals had lowest religious beliefs regarding the switched gender roles and activities (See Table 6.10).

Table 6.10 Disaggregation of Dominant Themes by Caste/Ethnicity of the Respondents

Dominant Themes	Caste/ethnicity (%)			
	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal
Gender equality	4	4	5	-
No distinction for work	2	2	2	-
Condition Apply	7	5	2	2
Traditional norms and values	5	10	8	17
Religious beliefs	5	4	4	4
Women are weak	2	-	4	2
Total (N=56)	25	25	25	25

Source: TAT 2003

Looking at the dominant themes from occupational perspectives, it becomes evident that respondents involved in agricultural works opposed the most followed by homemakers on the switched gender roles and activities because they thought that it was against their religion and traditional values. The service holders were the ones who said that males and females are equal hence they can do (work) as they please (See Table 6.11).

Table 6.11 Disaggregation of Dominant Themes by Occupation

Dominant Themes	Respondents' Occupation (%)						
	Agriculture	Service	Homemaker	Business	Student	Singing	Total
Gender equality	2	7	-	2	2	-	12
No distinction for work	-	4	2	-	-	-	6
Condition Apply	4	7	2	-	3	-	16
Traditional norms and values	28	4	9	2	-	2	45
Religious beliefs	9	-	5	-	-	-	14
Women are weak	2	5	-	-	-	-	7
Total (N=56)	45	27	18	3	5	2	100

Source: TAT 2003

Although everyone believed that gender roles could be switched but no one expressed that stereotyped gender roles did not exist. This means that, most respondents acknowledged that each gender might do as they want but the work they were doing was still the work what was traditionally expected of women and men. Most of the men who said they did grinding were to help their family or when women were absent. The saying implies that grinding is women's job and men only help them. Similarly, women are also allowed to plough at special cases means that ploughing is men's job. Thus people's everyday action is shaped by gender role as prescribed by the society.

Every society and culture has norms relating to gender roles that women and men are restricted from some activities. In Nepali society and culture, women are not allowed

to plough, slaughter, and carry corpse and or take part in the funeral. In the culture of the non-Hindu Thakali also women are not allowed to plough. A 68 years old Thakali woman in Johmsom, Mustang who had received no formal education, and worked in her family's fields as well as cooking, and doing other work in her household reacted to the women ploughing in the photo. Her immediate reaction to the photo was "*naramro, naramro*" (not good). We can not plough, it is not good". She said, "Women should do the things that they are supposed to do. Even if their husbands died, the widows would not plough. They would have to call or hire other men to plough their field. In Thakali culture it was acceptable for men to grind grain, but females usually do it. The Thakali woman elaborated that while men sometimes grind grain, they do not do it well, so the task should be left to women". She stated that having men grind grain was not good because females are usually responsible for doing the task and therefore are better at it than men. In response to the question, "Does anything bad happen if men and women do these activities?" She replied, "No, if women plough or men grind, nothing bad happens. Yet the example she compared to was: "We could eat donkey's meat, nothing would happen, but it would still be bad. We should stay under our rules and customs", and yet she admitted, "nowadays things are changing." A strong message in her statement is clear that "norms are to be followed and if they are broken any thing could be done as eating donkey's meat" which is a norm in their culture that they do not eat donkey.

When circumstance compel women are allowed to do things that traditionally they are not supposed to. Under difficult circumstance ploughing by women are also highlighted in the media at times. They seem to be accepted by the society in concern. According to one daily report, in Bhojpur District as most of the men are displaced or have migrated out from the village, women in the village are ploughing their own field (See Appendix 3 and 4). Those women did plough not because they were interested to do so but they had no choice. In the Tarai (Banke District) during times of drought women dress up as men rally praying God *Indra* (King of heaven who provides rainfall) and plough the field in hopes of bringing rainfall. In such ploughing two women put themselves under the yoke in lieu of the pair of oxen while a third woman does the ploughing. The men in the village dress up as women and prepare snacks and feed women in the field (See Appendix 5 and 6). They believe that by doing so the god will

be pleased and provide rain. Elderly people say that in the past days women would plough a field at night naked for rain. A Chhetri woman in Pyuthan district ploughed her field with one oxen and the ploughing set was designed by her husband. The technique of ploughing with one ox was considered suitable for narrow terraces in the hills of Nepal (See Appendix 7).

A young Thakali girl (24 years old) with secondary school education in Jomsom (Note 8) thought that the ploughing woman in the photo was probably doing so because there was no man in her house to do it. Similarly, there is likely no woman in the man's house, and so he must do this work. She did not say that the people in the photo should stop doing such activities. She instead gave situations where they may have been compelled to do so. She conceded that, "traditionally ploughing and grinding would not be done by the opposite sex, but, if the home situation is so, then they could engage themselves in doing so. It can be acceptable and it should not make a difference."

TAT response of Masters' students (See Note 9) show that among the educated, of about the same age group of 20-29, perception on the same gender issue varied. This variance can be attributed to their socialization at home and at school or educational institution they were trained in. Some student looking at the photo of woman ploughing said, "it is the idea of the Radical Feminist" while a Bahun female raised in Jhapa said, "I would not be involved in any of such work (agricultural) because I feel it is insulting my study."

"It will be a revolutionary step towards gender equality. It will eradicate sex-based discrimination. I really support this type of atmosphere where both male and female can equally exchange sex-based division of labour" said a Newar female raised in Kathmandu. A Chhetri female also raised in Kathmandu had similar expression. For her, the woman ploughing in the photo was an example that women are equally capable of doing (so-called) men's work. But she said, "it is not acceptable in my society and perhaps I can not get away with that".

Student with Women/Gender studies background found the photo very inspiring. A Newar female raised in Kathmandu said that generally females are regarded as weaker sex but the photo of woman ploughing explained clearly that females are not weak but

equally strong as males. She found the photo of man grinding with changed sex-based division of labour very indicative of the need for gender equality. She said, "It will inspire other men to get involved in household activities to help women. "I will surely involve myself in this type of activities, my chivalries encourage me to plough" she said confidently. A Bahun female student raised in Tarai said that photo of woman ploughing is a challenge of today's women to the men that they can do men's work as well as taking care of their children and household work. She said "I do not differentiate in male's and female's work. I have enough courage that I can do more not less work than the males. I can do works done by both the males and females".

A Chhetri female raised in Kathmandu had similar response that women are capable of doing all kinds of work be it cooking or ploughing the field. A Bahun male of Morang, Tarai perceived the act of man grinding differently. He said, "As grinding in my society is not done by males I don't think I will do it."

A Bahun male raised in village thought that the woman who was involved in men's work (ploughing) could be because her husband was dead or was away. Similarly, man is grinding because there is no woman in the family or his wife is dead or is sick. Another Bahun male raised in Makawanpur, Tarai guessed that her husband might have deserted the woman or he has gone to work abroad or has brought another wife home. He said, "when there was shortage of *hali* (ploughmen) I ploughed. When a Bahun can plough women too can do so." It seems that a Chhetri female raised in Kathmandu heard him. She said "I do not have land. If I buy land for farming later or if I get married to a farmer's household I am ready to plough". A Chhetri male raised in Bhaktapur had similar commitments. He said "I don't mind to do it for the construction of equal society". Another Bahun male found the photo inspiring. He thought that "if women want equality they should not only plough but also do other works done by men". At the same time he said "I have not done the grinding yet but I will do if needed. But women also should not fool around and ask men to do all the work and dominate them". However, a Newar female of Kirtipur perceived the issue differently. She did not like the photos because it is the work of the opposite sex. She said, "Men are physically strong and women are physically weak. Basically men bring income to the household from outside work and women do the inside work. If men do such work who will bring

income to the family and it becomes difficult to run the household. It is unfair to women that they have to do outside work after finishing the inside work".

Grinding is not as rigidly restricted to men as ploughing is to women. When a man does women's work it is taken as helping his wife. Some times it could become a matter of ridicule as *joitingre* (hen pecked). Whereas a woman doing man's work as ploughing it becomes a challenge. However, another Bahun female raised in Kathmandu reacted, "Looks like the women is not ploughing to challenge the existing norms and values rather she might have been compelled to do so in order to survive".

Though some key factors have influence on the perceptions and practice individual differences were noted on their perceptions. Socialization can be taken as an attribute to such variability. According to Hölfer, "Cultural orientations, socialization patterns, and consequently, individual's experiences mediated by learning processes differ across cultures" (Hölfer 2004:1). Thus what they say is what they learn in their socialization process at different stages of life. How they perceive is what they believe. How you look at things is what you see in it as Ani Doma sings, "*Fulko ankhama fulai sansar; kandha ko ankhama knadai sansara*", *jhulkincha hai chhaya bastu anusara...*"

Analysis of the TAT responses clearly shows that norms and values relating to gender roles are flexible in Nepali society. There are jobs that women or men should not do, but if the work needs to be done then there is no discrimination. Some kind of jobs may be traditionally unacceptable for men or women, but if the household condition requires it then it becomes okay. Thus if women plough out of compulsion it becomes acceptable to the society but no one otherwise let them do so. In other words, *mahila lai paryo bhane wa mahila le garyo bhane je pani hunchha natra tesai samanya awastha ma hundaina.*" As saying goes, "*ki padhera janinchha ki parera janinchha*". This means, one learns either by studying or by experiencing. Similarly, women take up male roles either by compulsion or by self-interest. Either way, it is conditional. That is, it is not acceptable under normal condition but in special cases it becomes acceptable. It is true in other cases also. Every now and then newspapers report that daughters or females are also performing death rites for their parents which is normally done by sons or males

(See Appendix 7). Such daughters are also reported to be honoured by the society (See Appendix 8).

Although performing death rites is considered as male's job, newspaper reported that such job was performed by women and elderly in Taplejung District where young women and men had left the village in fear of being abducted by the Maoist (See Appendix 9). However, the case was reported to be different in Salyan District, where a dead body was cremated after two days by bringing men from the neighbouring village (See Appendix 10).

A Bahun male of 21 years of age with Bachelor's of education reacted, "Where is this photo taken? This is not a woman ploughing. Is it real or just posed for photo?" This man who is of young generation and is also educated and yet expressed his disbelief about women ploughing. From the variety of responses one could very safely infer that deep rooted social norms and values are reinforced during the process of socialization and get internalized in one's personality and hence do not change overnight. However, there may be individual variation in taking time for changing one's attitude towards such deep-rooted norms and values in the society. Formal education does not appear to be the only means for influencing social change. Attitudinal change can also be derived from social interaction. Interaction between various social and cultural groups could be an important carrier of social development.

Despite living in the same area, the respondents had varieties of reactions on the photos showing switched gender roles. This can be attributed to several key differences between the respondents. First it is the age factor. Traditional custom is rapidly changing, so the age gap between respondents played key role in their responses. Secondly, the sex of the respondents also played a key role in supporting or refuting the new roles played by women and men especially by women. Thirdly, the differential educational levels had important role on gender role perceptions. Respondents with and without formal education within the young as well as the old generation of both the sexes had very different responses to the switched gender roles. This shows that gender perceptions are changing in areas such as Pokhara.

Ideas about gender roles are changing very drastically across a generation or two. The younger generation has the privilege of going to school. They have opportunity to interact with people of various social, cultural and family backgrounds in their study as well as in the work places. And it is likely because of this that their opinions were moving away from the traditional ideas held by the older generations who had no schooling or education. Perhaps within another generation of educated women and men in Nepal, the stereotypical male and female roles in Nepali society and culture will be even less recognized and practiced.

CHAPTER VII

PREVALENT GENDER PRACTICES IN EVERYDAY LIVES

People act and do what they believe and what they believe is what they learn. What they learn is what they have been socialized into. What they socialize into is what they see and learn from the family. Perceptions are built on what is practised and practice is directed by people's perceptions. How labour is divided among the family members, how and who makes decisions in the family, how resources are controlled and by whom depends on how people in the family are perceived by the society and what place they have in their culture.

7.1 Division of Work in the Family

Work in the family is divided between family members. Work is divided among the members according to their age, sex and relation to the household. Looking at the involvement of females and males in the household work the data in Table 7.1 revealed that it was only women, who always did cooking, dish washing, sweeping, washing clothes and food processing. Female proportion was higher than of the males in all the three categories of work frequency marked as always, mostly and sometimes. Men also did those works but sometimes only. Only few men did so mostly.

Some men were also found involved in the always category along with females in taking care of the children, sick persons and the animals. Household work was considered women's domain while men were only helping women members of the family. Men did not consider themselves responsible for household work as long as women were around. They were also doing cooking but sometimes only when women were away from home, sick or menstruating. Similar finding was noted by Regmi (2000:228) in his dissertation research that men collected water only when their women were sick, menstruating or were not at home. Though men did cooking and sweeping when women were considered polluted / untouchables during their menstruation periods, they did not take it as their work. Najia Zewari among the study of Afghan Muslim

found that men were reluctant to help their women in household work. According to her, "Most men do not help their women with household activities. Men consider it shameful to do women's work (Zewari 1999:392).

Table 7.1 Division of Household Work by Gender

Household Work	Caste/ Ethnic Group	No. of Household with Frequency of Work done by					
		Always		Mostly		Sometimes	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Cooking	Bahun	26	-	26	-	28	16
	Chhetri	24	-	38	1	34	14
	Gaine	27	-	27	1	20	15
	Kumal	35	-	15	2	24	16
	All	112	-	106	4	106	61
Dish Washing	Bahun	25	-	25	-	23	7
	Chhetri	27	-	36	1	26	14
	Gaine	30	-	25	-	19	12
	Kumal	24	-	22	2	26	9
	All	106	-	108	3	94	42
Sweeping	Bahun	27	-	25	1	20	10
	Chhetri	26	-	37	1	26	14
	Gaine	28	-	25	2	21	11
	Kumal	28	-	18	1	29	5
	All	109	-	105	5	96	40
Washing Clothes	Bahun	22	-	28	1	19	10
	Chhetri	23	1	37	1	23	14
	Gaine	29	-	25	-	17	12
	Kumal	27	-	17	2	27	3
	All	101	1	107	4	86	39

Table 7.1 Division of Labour in Household Work by Gender Continued.....

Household Work	Caste/ Ethnic Group	No. of Household with Frequency of Work done by					
		Always		Mostly		Sometimes	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Food Processing	Bahun	26	-	25	1	22	8
	Chhetri	30	-	32	3	24	8
	Gaine	33	-	22	-	17	8
	Kumal	26	-	23	-	27	4
	All	115	-	102	4	90	28
Child Care	Bahun	18	3	27	3	16	15
	Chhetri	26	4	24	1	13	11
	Gaine	26	1	21	1	16	9
	Kumal	15	2	25	5	19	20
	All	85	10	97	10	64	55
Care of the Sick	Bahun	10	10	15	17	16	17
	Chhetri	19	8	25	8	12	11
	Gaine	19	7	19	8	15	12
	Kumal	11	10	19	12	24	13
	All	59	35	78	45	67	53
Animal Care	Bahun	14	8	19	6	17	10
	Chhetri	13	8	30	5	14	18
	Gaine	2	-	1	1	1	1
	Kumal	18	5	19	3	22	12
	All	47	21	69	15	54	41

Source: Field Survey 2002

A study conducted by ICIMOD in eight countries in the Hindu Kush-Himalayas had also revealed that household works were carried out by women in all the villages of the study (Gurung 1999). Though studies have shown that women's work domain is not limited to within the four walls of the house, the farmlands and the forest (Groverman and Gurung 2001) practice is that household work is often considered under women's responsibility by both men and women themselves.

Table 7.2 Division of work in the Family by Relation to the Head

HH Works	Frequency of Work	Relation to the head and work frequency in decreasing order		
		1	2	3
Cooking	Always	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Sometimes	Wife	Daughter	Son
Sweeping	Always	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Sometimes	Wife	Daughter	Son
Dish Washing	Always	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Sometimes	Wife	Daughter	Head Male
Food Processing	Always	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Sometimes	Wife	Daughter	Head Male
Washing Cloth	Always	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Daughter
	Sometimes	Wife	Daughter	Head male
Child Care	Always	Wife	Son's Wife	Head Male
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Head Male
	Sometimes	Head M	Wife	Daughter
Care of the Sick	Always	Wife	Head Male	Head Female
	Mostly	Wife	Head Male	Head Female
	Sometimes	Wife	Head Male	Daughter
Care of Animal	Always	Wife	Head Male	Son's Wife
	Mostly	Wife	Son's Wife	Head Female
	Sometimes	Head M	Wife	Daughter

Source: Field survey 2002.

Disaggregating household works for family members by their relationship to the household head, it becomes clear that household works was mostly done by wives followed by daughters-in-law and daughters. Wives of the household head were always

and mostly involved in the entire category of works. Next to head's wives were daughters-in law in doing the household works. Daughters were performing relatively less amount of household works. Male head of the households also did child and animal care but sometimes only. Adult sons sometimes did cooking and dishwashing (See Table 7.2).

This study found that children also helped in the household work. In the question whether children helped in household work 167 (81.5%) said yes, 31 (15.1%) said no and 7 (3.4%) had no children in their household. Girls were reported helping in 148 (72%) households while boys were helping in 132 (64 %) households. Gender disaggregation of the children helping in the household work shows that more girls were helping in the household (Table 7.3). Girls' help in work at home was higher to boys' in number of household as well as in work type. Both father and mother received help from boys in their work whereas girls' help in father's work was not found. Due to the inside-outside dichotomy of women and men's work domain, girls were found helping in mother's work only. Boys were helping father in outside work and girls were in mothers' inside work. Boys also cooked food when their mothers were not cooking during menstruation. Girls' contribution in work at home was highest in helping mother followed by cooking food, fetching water and sweeping. They also worked in other's farm/field in exchange of labour. However, shopping and escorting outsiders to the house was done only by the boys. They were not found collecting firewood, doing childcare and going for labour exchange. They helped in work at home by cooking food and washing dishes and clothes. Nevertheless boys did not match the number of girls and volume of work they were doing at home (For details See Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Children's Help in Work at Home by Type of Work and Gender

Type of Work	Girls		Boys	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Help mother	59	14.75	19	4.75
Help father	-	-	19	4.75
Cook food	71	17.75	13	3.25
Wash Utensils	23	5.75	7	1.75
Wash clothes	23	5.75	3	0.75
Sweep	29	7.25	7	1.75
Fetch water	37	9.25	16	4
Collect firewood	2	0.5	-	-
Exchange labour	15	3.75	-	-
Care of cattle	3	0.75	20	5
Child care	1	0.25	-	-
Shopping	-	-	6	1.5
Escort outsiders	-	-	3	0.75
Household affairs	-	-	4	1
Total (N=400)	283	70.75	117	29.25

Source: Field survey 2002.

Note: The total in Table 7.3 exceeded the number of respondents of the study (205) because of their multiple responses in the survey.

In the work outside household or in the community activities males take part always and most of the times. Female participation is only sometimes. Female participate in the community activities only when their male members are not around or when they are asked to or invited for the same specifically. Looking at the participation in community activities from caste and gender perspective, it becomes clear that female participation is higher among the Chhetri followed by Kumal, Gaine and Bahun (See Table 7.4).

Table 7.4 Participation in Community Activities by Caste and Gender

Activities	Caste	Always		Mostly		Sometimes	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Road Construction / repair Activities	Bahun	1	23	-	3	3	-
	Chhetri	15	22	4	11	4	2
	Gaine	6	10	1	4	5	-
	Kumal	3	9	3	28	17	16
	All	25	64	8	46	29	18
	Water Activities	Bahun	2	30	-	1	1
	Chhetri	7	5	2	2	-	-
	Gaine	1	1	-	-	-	-
	Kumal	1	4	-	4	4	-
	All	11	40	2	10	5	1
Meeting	Bahun	5	18	1	2	2	-
	Chhetri	4	8	1	3	1	1
	Gaine	-	-	-	1	1	-
	Kumal	5	5	2	3	4	1
	All	14	31	4	9	8	2
Pati/Pauwa (Rest House)	Bahun	-	-	-	1	-	-
	Chhetri	9	11	4	8	2	1
	Gaine	1	1	-	-	-	-
	Kumal	-	-	-	-	-	-
	All	10	12	4	8	2	1

Source: Field Survey 2002

Community work in the area mostly included construction and repair of roads, drinking water activities, construction of *Pati/Pauwa* (Rest House) and community management meetings. In Lekhnath area, construction of *Pati/Pauwa* (Rest House) was not observed, and therefore, Bahuns and Kumals were not involved in it. Whereas in Batulechaur, Chhetris participated in the construction of the same. Gaines reported that they were not included in the community meetings and water management activities due to the social stigma attached to their caste. A similar discriminatory practice against Dalit is reported to prevail in other parts of Nepal also (see Cameroon, 2002). However, in road construction Gaines' participation was greater in labour contribution than of the Bahun's. Female participation in community activities was highest among the Chhetris and lowest among the Bahuns. A study carried out in Central Nepal also reported that Bahun women were not encouraged for the community work (Chhetri and Rana 1995). Participation in community meetings are reported to be dominated by men over women if there were any (Shrestha 1999).

Earlier studies carried out in other parts of Nepal have revealed that women even in their leisure/rest time, weave, knit, sow and weave leaf plates, make rope etc. (Chhetri and Rana, 1995; Regmi, 2000). The data on Table 7.5 of the present study reveals that women like to watch television in their leisure time while men like to go around. In the leisure time though women and men go around, watch television, take rest, talk with friends and read newspapers the nature of the use of leisure time varied for caste/ethnic groups and gender. Gaines did not report that they read books or newspapers or did social work in their leisure time.

Table 7.5 Use of Leisure time by Caste/Ethnicity and Gender of the Respondents

Activity	Bahun		Chhetri		Gaine		Kumal		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Read Books	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	2	1	5
Read Newspaper	6	7	2	5	-	-	-	-	8	12
Watch TV	4	3	8	6	5	8	2	1	19	18
Go around	4	11	5	12	5	8	6	6	20	37
Play	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Rest	2	1	2	5	5	6	3	5	12	17
Talk with friends	2	4	2	4	2	-	10	7	16	15
Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Compose Music/Song	-	-	-	1	1	6	-	-	1	7
Agriculture	-	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	2	4
Social Work	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
Household Work	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Source: Field Survey 2002

F=Female; M=Male

Women and men today (i.e. younger generation) do not have to do the work that their fathers and mothers (hence older generation) had to do in their time. Similarly, until about one generation ago women and men did not have the opportunity that women and men have today. A comparison of work and opportunity among mothers and daughters and fathers and sons show changes in the type of work and opportunity between generations vertically and between genders horizontally (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6 Comparison of Work and Opportunity across Generation and Gender

Type of work done by Older Generation		Type of work done by Younger Generation	
Mother	Father	Daughter	Son
Cook food	Make clay pot	Cook food	Cook food
Dhiki/Janto	Carry salt load	Wash dishes/clothes	grass cutting
Fetch water	-	Sweeping	Sweeping
Wash dishes/clothes	-	Work in khet	Go to meeting
Get up before dawn for work	-	Care of cattle	Business
<i>Dailo potne</i> (smear door-step)	-	Child care	Child care
Sweeping	-	-	Vegetable farming
<i>Ghar byabaha herne</i> (manage the household affairs)	-		Earn to run the household
Collect firewood	Collect firewood	-	Care of cattle
Work in khet	Work in khet		-
Carry clay-soil	Carry clay-soil	-	-
Carry clay pot to sell	Carry clay pot to sell	-	-
Care of cattle	Care of cattle		-
Begging	Begging	-	-
Fishing	Fishing	-	-
Labour	Labour	-	-
Child care	Child care		-

Table 7.6 Comparison of Work and Opportunity across ...Continued.....

Generation I Deprived of		Opportunity for Generation II	
Mother	Father	Daughter	Son
Education	Education	Education	Education
Freedom	Freedom	Freedom	Freedom
Good food	Good food	Take decisions	Take decisions
Go out with husband	Fancy clothes	Good food	Good food
Talk to outsiders	Using facility due to lack of money	Fancy clothes	Fancy clothes
Fancy clothes	Work in office	Work in office	Work in office
Choose spouse	Choose spouse	Talk to outsiders	To speak
Sleep until late	Health care	Choose spouse	Choose spouse
Work in office	-	Use modern facilities	Use modern facilities
Make decisions	-	-	-
Own property	-	-	-

Source: Field Survey 2002

Women of older generation had more work responsibilities compared to their contemporary men and women of younger generation. Due to the traditional occupation Kumal women and men were involved in the production and sale of clay pots in the area. Similarly, Gaine women and men were singing and begging on their *Sarangi* - a string instrument like violin (See Chapter 4). These occupational caste groups –Kumals and Gains among others - made their livelihood through hard works often putting their lives at risk. Numbers of Kumals were reported to have been killed in the tunnels collecting soil for making clay pots. Both women and men in generation-1 collected firewood. However, collection of drinking water, cooking food, doing *dhiki/janto*

(pounding/grinding of grains manually), washing clothes, doing dishes and *dailo potne* (smearing of main door threshold with red clay) was done only by wives until another wife, i.e. a new daughter –in-law is married to the house. Compared to generation-1 men of younger generation did share the household works considered of women only in the past such as sweeping and cooking. Due to the technological development and socio-economic changes, women and men of younger generation do not have to collect fire wood, fetch water from distant places and get up before dawn to do *dhiki/janto* any more as the older generation did. On the other hand, men of the younger generation also are doing most of the household work considered of women's only work in the past. Yet it was found that market related work/business and community work as going to meeting was done only by men. Compared to the older generation, women and men in the younger generation have more access to opportunities such as education and freedom. Nevertheless, the number of men doing household work i.e., women's work (See Table 7.1) and of educated women (See Table 4.7) is lower compared to the number of the other sex. And it also varied for Caste/Ethnic groups.

Difference of work and opportunity across generation at times of mother-daughter and father-son was caused mainly due to the technological development. Development in irrigation in the area, education, job opportunities, raising awareness and change of time were perceived for change from the time of the older generation to the younger generation, i.e., from mother's time to daughter's and father's to son's. Comparing own times of childhood days to that of children today respondents found change occurring mainly in work they had to do and facilities available to them. They had neither good food to eat nor good clothes to wear (*ramro launa, mitho khana paindainathyo*) but had heavy workload and had no freedom. They had to obey parents. Their schooling was late. They were not health conscious and yet they did not fall sick. There was no pollution as of these days. Children of today have what the respondents did not have during their times. They do not have to do what the respondents had to. They have less work. Their days are not as laborious. Their schooling starts in early years. They have modern facilities, good food and good and fancy clothes to wear. Most of the present day children do not obey their parents as their parents had done to their parents. They are health conscious yet, as the respondents perceived, they often fell sick due to pollution.

State has no responsibility towards its senior citizens in Nepal except the meagre allowance provided for them started by Communist Party Nepal-United Marxist-Leninist during their nine-month coalition government period in 1996. So parents lack social security from the state in their old and hard days. In response to the survey question regarding their responsibility towards their father and mother, 78% said ‘yes’ that they were obliged to support their parents. The remaining 22% showed no feeling of responsibility towards their parents at all. Caste/ethnic disaggregation shows that 100% Chhetri followed by Gaine felt that it was their duty to support and take care of their parents in their old age. Responsibilities of the respondents towards their parents were identified as support and taking care in sickness and performing rituals after death. Similarly, when they were asked if they also expect same from their children, 78% said yes and 22% said no. Comparison of the percentage reveals that respondents who were in favour of supporting their parents were expecting the same from their children. Respondents who had such expectations from sons and daughters were 78% and 77% respectively (See Table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Parents' Expectations from Children by Caste/ethnic Group

Expectation from Children	Caste/Ethnic Group				
	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
Yes	47	53	45	40	185
No	4	8	4	4	20
Total	51	61	49	44	205

Source: Field Survey 2002

Their expectations from sons (185) and daughters (183) were mainly *palne*, *herbichar garne and maya garne* (support, love and care) in their old age. Expectations of support from children in old age were highest among Bahuns—both from sons as well as from daughters. For care were highest among Gains; for treatment and love it was highest among Chhetris. From gender perspective, sons were expected to take care and support their parents while daughters were expected to give them love and care. Daughters were also expected to support their parents in case their brothers did not do so.

Thus taking care of parents was seen as son's responsibility in general and daughter's in some particular cases (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8 Expected Responsibility of Children by Respondent's Caste/Ethnic Group

Expectations	Expected from	No. of Respondents by Caste/Ethnic Group				
	Son=185 Daughter=183	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
Care	Son/s	5	10	26	10	51
	Daughter/s	19	12	31	7	69
Support	Son/s	35	32	15	30	112
	Daughter/s	17	14	4	8	43
Medical Treatment in Sickness	Son/s	6	11	4	-	21
	Daughter/s	4	17	6	-	27
Love	Son/s	1	-	-	-	1
	Daughter/s	7	10	24	-	41

Source: Field Survey 2002

For the 22% respondents who said they had no expectations from their children, the reasons were that they were not seeking any help from the children. They only expect good future for their children. They had not taken any help from their children so far. Thus they do not expect any help from them in the future too. All they wanted was their children to be happy, that's all.

In WID/GAD literature, women's work is divided into three categories namely productive, reproductive and community works. Some works such as motivating and helping school going children to do their homework, care of the sick, *pahunako satkar*, i.e., extending hospitality of the guests, etc., do not fit in those three categories. Besides, there is overlapping of women's work (also see March 2003). They have been doing multiple works simultaneously. Studies without considering their overlapping of work,

have revealed that village women have heavier workload than their men (Acharya and Bennett 1981, ILO 1986, Pandey 1990, Gurung and Banskota 1993, Chhetri and Rana 1994, SDC 1995, Strii Shakti 1995, Bhadra 1997, Acharya 2000). Nepali women's workload is not only reported to be heavier to their men but also much higher than the global average for women (NESAC 1998). Women also worked during their leisure time and also while talking to the visitors (see Chhetri and Rana 1994). Making leaf plates, weaving *gundri*, (hay mats), *dhakki* (baskets), *namlo* (headband used in carrying loads), *batti katne* (making cotton wicks for oil lamps used in worshipping) and making ropes, etc., are such activities that are performed in the leisure time. And these works of women can not be listed under any of the three categories of work mentioned above.

7.2 Decision-Making in the Family

Families not only divide works between members but decisions are also divided between and are made by the members in the family. As work is divided as inside and outside work, decision can also be taken as major and other decisions. Major decisions in the context of this research included major economic activities such as buying and selling of property, making investments, borrowing and lending money and work/labor of the family members. Similarly, other decisions, are related to education of the family members, clothing, health and food. Major decisions are made by males while other minor decisions are taken jointly by females and males (See Table 7.9).

Table 7.9 Decision-Makers in the Respondents' Family by Gender

Decision Making Area	Female	Male	Both
Buy/Sell Property	26	158	20
Education	33	144	-
Family Clothing	50	127	25
Investment	36	151	28
Borrow/Lend	34	147	18
Medical Treatment	38	135	14
Job/Labour	30	155	32
Food/Grocery	153	35	20

Source: Field Survey 2002

Men and women in the family have varying role and power in decision-making in the family based on their kinship position in the household. Unless we look at their kinship membership we can not tell which male member of the family makes major and most of the decisions. Similarly, we would not know which female has more decision-making power among the female members in the family. Therefore, gender and kinship membership is disaggregated for the family members in table 7.10 and 7.11 in order to understand more precisely about who decides on what in the household.

Table 7.10 Female Decision-Makers in the Respondents' Family

Decision Making Area	Relation to the Head					Total
	Head-F	Wi	Mo	Da	SoWi	
Buy/Sell Property	19	4	3	-	-	26
Children's Education	16	14	-	1	2	33
Family Clothing	15	27	1	3	4	50
Investment	18	12	2	2	2	36
Borrow/Lend	16	13	1	1	2	34
Medical Treatment	16	16	2	1	3	38
Job/Labour	20	6	1	-	3	30
Food/Grocery	22	103	4	3	20	153
Total	142 (36%)	195 (49%)	14 (3%)	11 (3%)	36 (9%)	398 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2002

Legend: Head-F =Head female, Wi =Wife, Mo= Mother, Da= Daughter, SoWi=Son's Wife.

Among the female decision-makers of the household most of them are head females and wives of the household heads (See Table 7.10). Among the male decision-makers it is the head males and sons (See Table 7.11). Male and female decision-makers in the family are listed under multiple decision-making area in Tables 7.10 and 7.11.

Table 7.11 Male Decision-Makers in the Respondents' Family

Decision Making Area	Relation to the Head					Total
	Head-M	Hu	So	Br	SoSo	
Buy/Sell Property	139	2	15	1	1	158
Kid's Education	124	2	17	-	1	144
Family Clothing	104	1	21	-	1	127
Investment	133	1	17	-	-	151
Borrow/Lend	128	1	17	1	-	147
Treatment	112	1	20	1	1	135
Job/Labour	129	1	23	1	1	155
Food/Grocery	27	1	6	1	-	35
Total	896 (85%)	10 (1%)	136 (13%)	5 (.5%)	5 (.5%)	1052 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2002

Legend: Head-M= Head Male, Hu= Husband, So= Son, Br=Brother, SoSo=Son's Son.

Looking at the final decision-making in the family from gender perspective the data in Table 7.12 show that of the final decision-makers, the number of males is almost five times higher than the females. Among them 91% are the heads of the households. Similarly, among female decision-makers, 62% are head females and they are almost three times higher than the wives of the heads of the households. Head females are those women who are head of the households by default; that is, in absence of their husbands due to death or because of their being away for long time. Wives of heads of households are those women whose husbands are the head of the households whether or not they are the permanent resident of the households.

Though discussions are held before reaching a decision on important matters in most of the household among family members, the actual decisions are not always made

in the consensus of all the family members. At times members do not agree on each other's decision. Sometimes some members want to make one decision while another member wants another. Though there could be different opinions about certain matter there may be person in the family whose opinion is respected willingly or unwillingly by all the family members. I have called these people as final decision-makers (See Table 7.12).

Table 7.12 Final Decision-maker by Gender, Caste/Ethnicity and Relation to the Household Head

Ethnicity and Relation	Female					Male				Total
	HF	Wi	Mo	So Wi	Total	HM	So	SoSo	Total	
Bahun	2	1			3	46	2		48	51
Chhetri	2	3	1	2	8	47	6		53	61
Gaine	16	3			19	27	2	1	30	49
Kumal	2	2		1	5	36	3		39	44
Total	22	9	1	3	35 (17%)	156	13	1	170 (83%)	205 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2002.

Legend: HF =Head female, Wi =Wife, Mo= Mother, SoWi=Son's Wife, HM= Head Male, So= Son, SoSo=Son's Son.

In another words, final decision-maker is the one whose decision is regarded as final among the family members. Sometime the head of the household or the person who usually makes the decision could be away or unavailable. In those situations, other persons make decisions. I have called them alternate decision-makers (See Table 7.13).

Table 7.13 Alternate Decision-makers by Gender, Caste/Ethnicity and Relation to the Household Head

Caste/Ethnic Group	Female					Male	Total
	Wife	Mother	Daughter	Son's Wife	Total	Son	Grand Total
Bahun	37	2	-	1	40	6	46
Chhetri	32	2	-	4	38	10	48
Gaine	23		8	3	34	8	42
Kumal	29	1	-	1	31	10	41
Total	121 (68%)	5 (3%)	8 (5%)	9 (5%)	143 (81%)	34 (19%)	177 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2002.

Legend: Wi =Wife, Mo= Mother, Da= Daughter, SoWi=Son's Wife, So= Son

When final decision-makers are not available other family members who have a say in the family, make decisions. Among the alternate decision-makers females were over four times higher to that of males. Most of them (85%) were wives of the household heads (Table 7.13). When the household head males (especially husbands) were away from home their wives made decisions. But mothers of household heads (especially widows) did not have any say in the family decision-making. Thus women's power position is systematically tied with their husband.

Though final decision-making was in the hands of the head males in all the Caste/Ethnic groups of the study, its degree varied (See Table 7.14).

Table 7.14 Percent of Final and Alternate Decision-makers for Caste/Ethnic Groups

Decision-makers	Bahun N=51	Chhetri N=61	Gaine N=49	Kumal N=44	Total N=205
Final Decision-maker-Head Male	46	47	27	36	156
Percent (Row %)	30%	30%	17%	23%	100%
Percent in Caste Total (Column %)	90%	77%	55%	82%	76%
Alternate Decision-maker- Head's Wife	37	32	23	29	121
Percent (Row %)	31%	26%	19%	24%	100%
Percent in Caste Total (Column %)	73%	52%	47%	66%	59%

Source: Field Survey 2002.

Among the final decision-makers the proportion of Bahun head males were the highest and Gains were the least in both caste and frequency total. Similarly, in alternate decision-makers, the proportion of wives of the household heads was highest for Bahuns and least for Gains (See Table 7.14).

7.3 Control Over Kitchen and Family Earning

From division of labor in household work, it was revealed that cooking food in the respondents' households was always done by females. Among females also to list in decreasing order it was done by household head's wives followed by daughters-in-law and daughters. Males cooked only occasionally. In Bahun Chhetri household males cooked during the menstrual period of female members in the household when there would be no other female to do the work. Kitchen was absolutely controlled by women in matters relating to what to cook, how much to cook and when to cook. Majority of them were wives of the household head followed by daughters-in-law and head females (See Table 7.15). Except the head male in one Gaine household no men were reported to have control over family kitchen.

Table 7.15 Control of Kitchen by Relation to Household Head

Relation to Household Head	No. of Household by Caste/Ethnic Group				
	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
Head F	6	4	10	-	20 (10%)
Head M	-	-	1	-	1 (1%)
Wife	38	35	26	27	126 (61%)
Mother	1	2	-	2	5 (2%)
Daughter	1	1	4	4	10 (5%)
Daughter-in-law	5	18	7	11	41 (20%)
Sister	-	1	1	-	2 (1%)
Total	51	61	49	44	205 (100%)

Source: Field Survey 2002

Data from Table 7.15 it becomes evident that women have control over family kitchen. However, most of the women who cooked food had no freedom to feed themselves first as they pleased before everybody else. Reasons provided by those who could not feed themselves before others was that they have to respect the elders thus wait till the elders eat. Those women who had to go outside for work (job) could eat even before others. Their reason was that when family members do not gather for food on time the cook should be allowed to eat when hungry. Thus major reason for those who said 'yes' on the question asked about eating by the person who cooked the food without waiting for others was that people do not come home on time. Therefore, those who cooked meal were allowed to feed themselves any time they pleased (See Table 7.16).

Table 7.16 Power of Kitchen Controller to self- feed and Perceived Reason for it

Kitchen controller have power to feed themselves as they please	Caste/Ethnic Group				
	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
Yes	46	44	32	31	153
No	5	17	17	13	52
Total	51	61	49	44	205
Reasons for "yes":					
Others are younger than the controller	-	-	3	-	3
Members do not come home on time	28	10	13	25	76
Allowed to	16	7	12	6	40
Should self-feed when hungry	1	12	3	-	16
Have to go to work	1	15	1	-	15
Total	46	44	32	31	
Reasons for "No":					
Can not eat before the elders they should be respected	4	14	15	11	44
Do not feel like/feel better after feeding the family	1	3	2	2	8
Total	5	17	17	13	52

Source: Field Survey 2002

Unlike what we used to hear from our mothers that daughters-in-law cook food and mothers-in-law control kitchen, among the respondent households 61% wives of the heads and 20% of the daughters-in-law had control over kitchen. Given this, two points become evident. One is that mother of household heads had no control over kitchen. And the other is that daughters-in-law were taking paid jobs outside the house and thus were less engaged in cooking work.

7.4 Control of Family Members Over Own Earning

Management of own earning among the family members was traditionally motivated. Though it was their own earning 66% of the 136 respondent households reported that their earning members of the family did not keep the money with them. Among them the proportion of Bahuns was the highest and Chhetri the least. In 46 % of the respondent households, earning family members gave all of their earning. In 32 % households, members gave three-fourths and the in the rest of the respondents households earning members were giving half to one-fourth only. Most of them (41%) gave to their wives while 37% gave to the head-males and 10% to the head-females (See Table 7.17). Thus among those who were given to keep the money there were more women (82) than men (54). Among those who gave their earning Chhetri and Gaines gave to their wives while Bahuns and Kumals gave the same to the household heads. This shows that among the Chhetris and Gaines major income earners were the heads of the household. And among the Bahuns and Kumals the younger generation was the major income earners who were giving it to the household head especially the head males.

Table 7.17 Control of Family Members over Own Earning

Keep own income	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
Yes	7	31	18	13	69
No	44	30	31	31	136
Total	51	61	49	44	205
Given to:					
Head-Female	6	-	5	3	14
Head-Male	20	10	6	14	50
Wife	14	15	16	11	56
Mother	1	1	-	2	4
Son	1	3	-	-	4
Son's Wife	2	1	4	1	8
Total	44	30	31	31	136
Proportion of income given:					
All	26	9	12	16	63
Three quarter	8	12	12	11	43
Half	7	8	5	1	21
A quarter	3	1	2	3	9
Total	44	30	31	31	136

Source: Field Survey 2002

Among those who gave their earning to keep to females, the proportion of Gains was highest followed by Bahuns. Looking at this from the keeper's side about the control of keeper over the purse or money shows that fifty five percent of the keepers of the

purse could spend the purse on their own. However, forty five percent of the keepers who were mostly women (mothers and or wives) could not spend the money on their own. They needed to seek permission to spend it because it was not their earning but of those who gave them to keep. Besides they have to ask the head of the household before doing anything (See Table 7.18). This shows that keeping purse alone does not denote power to spend it or control over it.

Table 7.18 Control of Keeper over the Purse

Keeper can spend the money on their own	Bahun	Chhetri	Gaine	Kumal	Total
Yes	25	16	14	20	75 (55%)
No	19	14	17	11	61 (45%)
Total	44	30	31	31	136 (100%)
Reasons to ask to spend the purse:					
It's their money	8	5	8	11	32
Have to ask the household head before doing anything in the family	11	9	9	-	29
Total	19	14	17	11	61

Source: Field Survey 2002

Table 7.18 shows that right of the person keeping the purse to use/spend it on own and right of the person bringing the money in to use/spend all of it on own varied for caste/ethnic groups. Thus the borrowed concept as who keeps the family purse denoting control over the purse does not seem to be applicable to the context of the present study population in particular and Nepali society in general. If the person who keeps the family money or purse does not have power to use it or spend it then the person is merely guarding the purse.

7.5 Control Over Household Resources

Household resources consisted of land, house and livestock. Among the 136 households having land 74% landholders were male household heads and 10% were other male members of the family (see chapter 4). Only 15% female had ownership of land. Similarly, house was owned by 80% males and 20% females. Of these 70% male and 12% female were the head of the households. It means only 8% female other than the head of the household had house under their names. Cattle were owned by the family in 78% of the households and not by the individuals. Thus control over them also lied with the family rather than with the individual male or female members of the family. Among the final decision makers in the family 83% were males and 17% were females. Decisions on buying and selling of property i.e., of land, house and livestock were made by one female in every 6 males (See Tables 7.10 and 7.11). Among these females 73% were head of the household. The point here is that family property (household resources) were owned by males and final decision-makers in the family were also males. However, majority of the owners both males and females could not sell the property they owned on their own. Reasons provided for this were that it belonged to their children and to the household (72%) and the owner needed to ask other members of the family (28%) prior to deciding them to sell. Due to the inheritance of parental property by the children (by sons only not until long ago) parents needed consent of the adult son to sell or transfer ownership of the immovable property. Besides, a wife needs consent of her husband and/or of son to sell the property under her name. In this context having access or even ownership of resources does not provide absolute control over them.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

People act and think according to the norm, values and beliefs of the society. However, their perception on gender issues may vary according to their age, sex, education and Caste/Ethnic groups. Yet they may be overlapping. Social expectations of women and men also vary according to the roles and responsibilities bestowed upon them. Gender role expectations, perceptions and practices vary across Caste/Ethnic groups, generations, sexes, and cultures.

-) Respondents' perception on male and female showed that the difference between male and female was freedom for all four Caste/Ethnic groups (i.e. Bahun, Chhetri, Gaine and Kumal) of the study. After freedom, for females the difference was in work, decision-making power, educational opportunity and in rights. For respondents with no education, the difference was in work, education, decision-making, and in rights. But for those respondents who had education of secondary school or over, the difference was in decision-making, education, and in rights. Area of differences between male and female were same for all groups of respondents, only their order of appearance varied.
-) Perceived difference between husband and wife, for all four Caste/Ethnic groups of the study and for both females and males was in work, freedom, and in decision-making.
-) Factors as referred to responsible for prevalent gender differences in the society were tradition, sex, educational system, culture and religion.
-) Significant number of respondents (93%) thought that provision of education could be an important key to eliminate gender differences.
-) Gender discriminatory practices in the society as 62% respondents said, needed timely change.
-) Though son preference was higher among the respondents with no education, the absence of education alone was not the reason for it. Social and cultural norms and values attached to son's role in the family and society was the prime reason for son preference even among the educated.

-) Daughters were desired but only after sons as first child. Both males and females wanted both sons as well as daughters but in different birth order. Desire for daughters was for reasons other than of sons.
-) Sons were needed to continue clan names and also to perform last rites for the parents whereas daughters were needed to share mother's workload, feelings and sorrows.
-) The prevalent notion of education for children as an investment of parents is changing. Bahuns (82%) and Chhetris (94%) perceived education as means for enabling both sons and daughters for their carrier in the future.
-) Criteria considered in selecting spouse for children reflected the norms and values in the society. In selection of spouse for children, majority placed education in the first priority for son-in-law and habit for daughter-in-law. Men are expected to *swasni palne* (supporting wife) after marriage whereas wife's income is taken as to only supplement husband's income.
-) Ranking the criteria of spouse selection, son-in-law had to be older than daughter, better educated, with better economic condition, equal caste status and family background. Similarly, for daughter-in-law, criteria ranking were lower age than of son, equal in caste status, education, income & family background and good in looking as well as in her character.
-) Marriage as considered by the female respondents is done for mutual help among members of the family and for male respondents it is done to maintain lineage.
-) Family was needed for help/cooperation and safety (72%).
-) In order to build and maintain good relationship between husband and wife people had different view towards their son's and daughter's behavior. In this relation 75% thought that it was good when sons-in-law listen to their wives. Similarly, 91% thought that it was good when daughters-in-law listen to their husbands. Thus same act of listening to spouse was perceived differently for sons and daughters.

- J In all four Caste/Ethnic group male members had opportunity more than of the female members in the family. Such deprived females were 83% of the total respondents and 59% of the female respondents.
- J Household head has the most crucial role in removing such discriminations.
- J Eighty percent of the respondents thought that females were dominated by males (86% of the females and 77 % of the males). Male domination was felt more by respondents of younger age group, males, Bahuns and Chhetris compared to the other. Though the degree of domination varied for age and educational status of the group, male domination was prevalent across all four Caste/Ethnic groups under study.
- J Among the 156 (76%) respondents 58% males and 42% females thought that female domination over male prevailed in their communities. Females of lower caste group in general and Gains in the context of this research were subject to male as well as female domination.
- J Among those who had heard the word “Empowerment” majority (42%) were Bahuns and Chhetris. They had heard it from the media (88%). Empowerment was needed for women (75%) and men (17%). Disaggregating by age, sex and Caste/Ethnicity showed that Gaine and Kumal, men (45%), younger age group, and respondents with education thought that women need empowerment more than men.
- J Need of women’s empowerment was felt by the respondents due to number of reasons such as women’s backward position (58%); their over burden of work and responsibility (24%); among others were illiteracy, powerlessness and discrimination in work.
- J As perceived by the respondents women get empowered, mainly through education (71%). Other measures were skill development, training, work opportunity and money. Education had to be combined with no looking down, opportunity, skill, training, awareness and money.

Analysis on gender roles perception and practice was carried out using Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) method. Photographs with switched gender roles, that is women and men doing jobs that are traditionally restricted to them, were shown to the respondents. TAT analysis of responses and reactions on the switched gender roles

- depicted varying results across age, sex, education and Caste/Ethnic groups. It shows that how people perceive is what they learn from their culture and their socialization.
-) Women's switched gender roles in ploughing was accepted by Bahuns and rejected by Kumals. This could be due to wider prevalence of education among the Bahuns compared to the Kumals.
 -) Female respondents were against women's ploughing (79 %). Half of the males were in favour and the other half were against the new role taken by the women in the photograph.
 -) Respondents of older generation were against and of the younger generation of all Caste/Ethnic groups and sex were in favour of women's switched gender role depicted in the Photograph. From educational perspective, (83%) of the respondents with no education were against and those with education (70 %) were in favour of women's switched gender role.
 -) Among the occupational group, respondents involved in agriculture (80 %) and homemakers (80.5) were against and others involved in service (60%) and students (100%) were in favour of it.
 -) Reasons in favour of women's switched gender role in ploughing were provided as- women can plough if they are able to, males and females are equal, there is no work distinction between gender, if women are compelled to, and anybody can do own work. Similarly, reasons against women's ploughing were provided as- one has to follow the tradition, it can not happen, women are weak, religion does not allow, it is sinful, and very bad. Women can do other works. If women plough it causes bad luck.
 -) Regarding men's grinding *janto*, (Stone Grinder) almost all respondents in the entire category seem to accept it easily. It was normal for them. They said that men have been doing so and would also do when needed.
 -) In response to whether they (women) themselves would do the ploughing if needed, 79% said 'no'. These were respondents with no education, of older generation, of Chhetri caste, and those involved in service and business occupation.

-) In response to whether women would plough in the future too, 61% of the respondents said 'no'. They were, Kumals (79%), males (68%), older generation (two thirds), those with no education (81%), those whose main occupation is agriculture ((76%), and housewives (70%). Among those saying 'yes' were Bahun (57%), females (46%), educated (75%), those, whose main occupation is service (60%), and students (100%).
-) Reasons for the positive response were raising awareness for gender equality, current situation of the country due to conflict, everything is changing, to break tradition, and there is no work distinction between sexes.
-) Dominant themes identified by TAT in favour of women's ploughing were gender equality (55%) and conditional (45%). Similarly, dominant themes against women's ploughing were traditional norms and values (67%), religious beliefs (22%) and biological difference between women and men (11%).
-) Looking at the dominant themes from the perspectives of age, sex, education, Caste/Ethnicity, significant differences can be noted on some social characteristics. For example, traditional norms and values followed by religion were higher among the respondents who had no education, of older generation, Kumals, females, and whose main occupation is agriculture. Similarly, dominant theme-gender equality was higher among males, with education, and of the respondents whose main occupation is service.
-) Although most believed that gender roles could be switched but none expressed that gender roles did not exist. They acknowledged that each gender might work as they please but the work they were doing was still gendered.
-) Grinding was not rigidly restricted to men as ploughing to women. It was acceptable for men to grind grain but women usually did it.
-) Norms and values relating to gender roles are flexible in Nepal. From the field data it becomes evident that at times women were allowed to do things that were traditionally restricted to them.
-) However, norms and values deep rooted and internalized through socialization by an individual can not be changed overnight.

-) Perception on the same issue varied and the variance could be attributed to socialization. It was taken as challenging to men by some while others thought it was an idea of radical feminist. For some it was a revolutionary step towards gender equality, yet others thought the woman perhaps had no choice but do it.
-) Interaction between social and cultural groups could be an important vehicle for change in gender perception.
-) Differences in responses according to respondent's age, sex, and education showed that gender perceptions are changing in Nepal.

People's perceptions are built on what is practiced and practice is directed by people's perceptions. Division of labour, decision-making and control of resources in the family depends on how members in the family are perceived by the society and place they have in their culture.

-) Household work was considered women's domain. In all the three categories of work frequency marked as always, mostly and sometimes (for this research) frequency of females was higher than of the males.
-) It was only women, who always did cooking, dish washing, sweeping, laundry and food processing.
-) Though some men did child care, care of the sick and animals sometimes, Bahun Chhetri men did cooking and other work only when their women were sick, away, or have become polluted because they were menstruating or given birth to a child. Men did not consider themselves responsible for household work they were only helping women. As long as women were around men did not consider themselves responsible for household work.
-) Daughters were relatively relaxed in carrying out household works compared to daughters-in-laws.
-) In 82% respondent households, children also helped in household work. However, girls' help in work at home was higher to boys' in number of households as well as in type and volume of work.

- J It was noted that boys helped both fathers and mothers, Girls helped in mother's work but their help in father's work was not found.
- J Males take part always and most of the times in the community activities or in works outside the households. Unless women were asked specifically or their men were away they do not take part in the community activities.
- J The nature of the use of leisure time varied for women and men respondents. Women liked to watch television while men liked to go around.
- J Present day women and men do not have to do the work that their mothers and fathers had to do in their time.
- J A comparison of work and opportunity across generation (father-son and mother-daughter) vertically, and between women and men horizontally showed that women of older generation had more work and less opportunity compared to their contemporary men, and to women of younger generation. Similarly, men of older generation had more work and they were deprived of the opportunity such as education and freedom available to the men of younger generation.
- J Men of younger generation shared the household works which were considered of women's only, in the past.
- J Nevertheless, the number of men doing household work or women's work was lower than of women. Similarly, the number of educated women was lower compared to the number of the educated men. This also varied for Caste/Ethnic groups
- J Technological and socio-economic development was perceived as the main cause for the difference of work and opportunity across generation.
- J Respondents who thought that it is their duty and would support their parents in their old age (78%) also expected the same from their children.
- J Sons were expected to take care and *palne* (support) their parents while daughters to provide them love and care. Daughters were also expected to support their parents if the sons did not do so. Support of parents was sons' responsibility in general and of daughters' in particular cases.

-) Family land was mostly owned by males (84%). Similarly, 80% house was registered under male's name.
-) Decision-making power in the respondents' family was found to depend on one's gender as well as kin position in the family. Major decisions in the respondents' family, in the economic activities such as buying and selling of property, investing money, borrowing and lending money, and work/labor of the family members, were made by males. Minor decisions relating to education, health, food and clothing, were taken by both females and males. Among the male decision-makers 85% were the head of the households followed by sons (13%). Among the female decision-makers 49% were the wives of the household heads and 36% were head of the households. Among the final decision-makers, males were five times higher (85%) than the females (17%). Among them 91% were heads of the households. Similarly, among females also 62% were head of the households. Among the alternate decision-makers, females were nearly four times higher (81%) than the males (19%). Among those females, 85% were wives of the household heads.
-) Kitchen was absolutely controlled by women. Of them majority (61%) were wives of the household heads.
-) Women working outside the household could eat even before others to go to work while homemakers waited till the rest were fed.
-) In the 66% respondent households, the earning members of the family did not keep the money with themselves. They gave their earning to keep to women (82%) more than to men (54%). Most of them gave their earning to their wives while others gave it to the household heads (37% to head males and 10% to head females). However, 45% of the keepers could not spend the money on their own. Thus keeping purse alone does not denote power to spend it or control over it.

CONCLUSION

Perceptions of people on the same thing may vary according to their characteristics based on age, sex, educational exposure and Caste/Ethnicity. Thus people's perception on male-female; husband-wife; son-daughter varied accordingly.

Gender categories of people such as female or male, husband or wife, and son or daughter are perceived differently by different groups of people depending on their respective social and cultural affiliations such as age, sex, educational attainment, and Caste/Ethnic backgrounds.

People tend to have social and cultural specific criteria in framing the differences between female and male, husband and wife, and son and daughter. Criteria for selection of spouse for son and daughter differed. But parents of both sides expected that their sons and daughters be listened by their spouse.

Son preference was higher among people with no education. But among the educated, the desire for sons was 3 times higher among males than females. This indicates that males may be more concerned about maintaining traditional norms and values- e.g. need of sons to give continuity of the family/clan names or to perform the after death rituals, etc. Social and cultural norms and values attached to son's role appear to be the primary reason for their felt need in the society.

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) analysis on switched gender roles showed that gender role perception is changing in Nepal. Women were doing work traditionally restricted to them under conditions in absence of men. Younger and educated women and men acknowledged that each gender might work as they please. Traditional norms and values regarding restricted gender roles was higher among the respondents who had no education, of older generation, among Kumal ethnic groups, among females, and among respondents engaged in agriculture.

People's perceptions are built on what norms and values are internalized in course of socialization. And people's practices are directed by the perceptions built on them. Thus people think and act according to the norms and values of the society. People's decision-making power, control of resources and given household work, depends on the

place they occupy in the family. For example, in the respondent households, husband and wife, son, daughter and daughter-in-law did not have same amount of power and control in the family. Household work was considered women's work domain men only help women or do the work when women are not around. Similarly, women take part in community activities only when they are asked specifically or when their men are not around. Male decision-makers were five times higher than the females and overwhelming majority of them were head of the households.

Keeping family purse or controlling kitchen does not denote power over it. For example, women in the respondent households were keeping money for their husbands and children but they were not left on their own in spending it. Similarly, kitchen was within women's domain but they were deprived of the power to feed themselves as they wished.

A comparison of work and opportunity between generation vertically (father-son and mother-daughter), and between gender horizontally (male and female), showed that women of older generation had more work and less opportunity compared to their contemporary men, and to women of younger generation. Similarly, men of older generation had more work and were deprived of the opportunity available to the men of younger generation.

NOTES

1. The role of women in development process had been an increasingly issue since the 1970s as donors had become aware that development was dependent on a recognition and appreciation of the role of women play as agents, beneficiaries, and sometimes victims, of development activities. In Jan. 1986 the DAC Expert Group on Aid evaluation agreed to attach questions related to women as both agents and beneficiaries of development to the "terms of reference" for evaluation studies commissioned by the participation agencies. They had agreed to report the results of those efforts in 1987. The Canadian International Development Agency had taken responsibility for overall reporting of the results. Fourteen donors (10 Bilateral i.e. Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, U.K. and West Germany) and 4 Multilateral i.e. EEC, IDB, World Bank and UNDP) submitted reports on reviews of their evaluations and using the DAC questions as a framework for analytical purpose.

2. Questions identified by the DAC Expert Group on Aid evaluation for impact on women were:

1. How were the interests and role of women taken into account at the design and appraisal stage? In what way did women participate in this process?
2. Were gender-specific data available or have they been developed since?
3. What are the effects, positive or negative, of the project concerning women's access to income, education and training, and with respect to workload, role in household and community, and health conditions?
4. Were significant factors concerning women overlooked at the appraisal stage?

(See OECD, 1989 for findings of the Expert Group)

3. Though abortion in Nepal is legalized through 11th amendment of the Muluki Ain (Civil Code) in 2059 B.S. (2002) challenge persist. At the dissemination workshop on Increasing Access to Safe Abortion Services in Nepal, an official of FWLD Sabin Shrestha revealed that "due to the prevailing discriminatory laws, abortion right is still dealt under Criminal Law and the provision of punishment for women in case of abortion beyond stipulated period is more severe than forced abortion".

4. A survey conducted by CREPHA, FPAN and FWLD (2004) in six districts-Kathmandu, Chitawan, Sunsari, Makawanpur, Nawalparasi and Morang revealed that only 26% of the population were aware of the legalization of abortion in Nepal.

5. A reproductive activist/doctor had encountered a pregnant woman and a nurse at a rural health camp in Western Nepal in 2003. Where the woman had heard about the abortion bill on the radio and wanted to abort her pregnancy but the nurse refused saying it is illegal. After the woman left the nurse told the doctor that, "We health workers don't know anything about making abortion legal. We knew there was a discussion going on in Kathmandu, but no one ever told us the law was passed." The Doctor's remark to this is worth noting. She wrote, "Having worked for more than a decade as a rights activist, researching, writing and lobbying the government to have abortion legalized, I believed we had made an enormous impact when parliament passed the bill. But if my co-worker in this clinic in western Nepal hasn't even heard of the bill, what was the value of our work?" She admitted that though passing the abortion bill was a giant leap toward saving thousands of women from unsafe abortion but the challenge lied in disseminating information about the new law and safe abortion to doctors, health workers, advocates, law enforcement officials and politicians (See Aruna Upreti, Kathmandu Post. May 2004).

6. The researcher had an opportunity to visit and observe a poultry farm in Athens Georgia, USA on April 29, 2002 along with Professor, Robert Rhoades (Anthropologist) of University of Georgia while he was taking his students on a trip. It was ConAgra Foods, which owned or licensed a number of brand names such as Hunt's, Van Camps, Healthy Choice, Chi-Chis, Wesson, Swiss Miss, Armour etc. In the farm 3,

40,000 chickens (they called birds) processed each day and 364 birds killed every minute. Though they said "we do not discriminate on the basis of race, sex etc" in the naked eye survey gender and racial segregation was clearly visible among the 1504 workers in the processing area. Majority of them was Asian, Mexican and Hispanic women. They were equally paid \$12 an hour. But among the 6 USDA inspectors all were males (five whites and one Hispanic). Though the researcher wanted to but the workers in the line hardly had any time to look at the visitors and speak. They had to catch up with the moving line as the actor Charlie Chaplin was catching up with the machine in his famous documentary "The Modern Times".

7. Shesh Kanta of Duradanda, Lamjung was the first Bahun (male) to plough. Kabita Poudel is the first female (Bahun) to plough. Dilli Ram Sapkota, 68 years old of Ritthevani, Lekhnath said that, "*Duradanda ka Shesh Kanta le halo jotna thaleko git pani haliyo*" (we composed and sung the song of ploughing by Shesh Kanta of Duradanda).

A daily newspaper Kantipur (April 28, 2004) also reported about the incident of ploughing by Bahun in Lamjung District. Pundit Toya Nath Adhikari an elite of Duradanda, Lamjung ploughed in 2007 B.S. In the history of Nepal Dura danda is known as "place of Halo Kranti". In those days high caste people would be outcaste for ploughing. boy cutted in rituals, festivals. Daughters-in-law from the family who ploughed were neither sent to their maitis/nor allowed to their homes. Even if they went to maitis food were given outside and were not allowed touching water. Those who went to behold the ploughing by foresaid pundit were not offered girls for marriage. Those seeking girls for marriage were asked if they had gone to see the ploughing. But in 3 yrs time things were taken positively and people started accepting the fact that everybody can plough and they praised such acts. Those who lied earlier saying they had not gone to the place where the ploughing activity was carried now said they were present. Maya Nath Poudel who had ploughed that day is happy to see most people ploughing these days.

8. In the course of teaching Gender Analysis to the students at Cornell-Nepal Study Program the researcher had asked the students to collect responses on switched gender roles as an exercise in the field for TAT on gender role perception. Alice

Cartwright and Kristin Krischner collected this response during their home stay in old Jomsom bazar, Mustang District on March 30, 2003. The Cornell-Nepal Study Program (CNSP), a pioneering joint venture between Cornell University and Tribhuvan University was initiated in Nepal in 1993. Courses are taught by faculty from Tribhuvan University Departments of Sociology/Anthropology and Botany. CNSP is the study abroad program of Cornell University in Nepal to draw together students from American Universities to live and study with Nepali students in residential program houses. Equal number of Nepali students of Sociology/Anthropology and Botany Departments coming from various parts outside the Kathmandu Valley are paired with American same sex student roommates. The goal is to give American undergraduates an initial exposure to academic study and cultural immersion in a developing country and give graduate students the opportunity to pursue research for their dissertations.

9. Tribhuvan University Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology had organized a Research Design Training Workshop for Masters' second year students of Kirtipur Campus in December 2003. In the Gender Analysis section of the Training Workshop the researcher had conducted TAT exercise among the students. Thirty-four students had participated in the exercise.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Ethnic/Caste Dominance by Geographic Regions, 1991

Elevation Zone	West		Central				East	
	Group	%	Group	%	Group	%	Group	%
Mountain	1.Chhetri	53.0	1.Tamang	42.7			1.Chhetri	21.8
	2.Bahun	12.4	2.Gurung	23.5			2.Rai	12.9
	3.Kami	10.0	3.Bahun	12.3			3.Limbu	10.5
Hill	1.Chhetri	42.4	1.Bahun	24.2	Ktm Valley: 1.Newar 2.Chhetri 3.Bahun	43.9 18.2 15.8	1.Chhetri	18.5
	2.Magar	14.2	2.Magar	19.0			2.Tamang	15.6
	3.Kami	14.0	3.Chhetri	14.5			3.Rai	14.3
Inner-Tarai	1.Chhetri	25.1	1.Tamang	25.4			1.Chhetri	17.9
	2.Tharu	20.1	2.Bahun	22.4			2.Tamang	15.1
	3.Magar	14.7	3.Chhetri	10.6			3.Magar	14.3
Tarai	1.Tharu	38.1	1.Bahun	12.1			1.Yadav	11.9
	2.Chhetri	15.4	2.Tharu	9.2			2.Muslim	8.4
	3.Bahun	10.0	3.Muslim	9.0			3.Tharu	6.7

Source: Gurung, 1994 cited in Gurung 1998 Table 23, P.54.

Appendix 2. Ethnic/Caste Dominance by District, 1991

Ethnic/Caste Group	No. of Districts	District Names	Majority Type	Population %
Chhetri	22 Absolute Majority -7 Majority -15	Bajhang	Absolute Majority	63.2
		Darchula	Absolute Majority	60
		Jumla	Absolute Majority	59.6
		Bajura	Absolute Majority	55.5
		Salyan	Absolute Majority	52.3
		Doti	Absolute Majority	51.9
		Achham	Absolute Majority	51.5
		Dadeldhura	Majority	49.8
		Baitadi	Majority	47.5
		Mugu	Majority	47.4
		Dolpo	Majority	44.9
		Humla	Majority	43
		Rukum	Majority	39.6
		Jajarkot	Majority	37.4
		Dailekh	Majority	35.1
		Dolakha	Majority	34.2
		Kalikot	Majority	28.4
		Kanchanpur	Majority	28.3
		Surkhet	Majority	28
		Ramechhap	Majority	26.5
		Okhaldhunga	Majority	24.9
		Udayapur	Majority	21
Bahun	9	Arghakhanchi	Majority	38.9
		Parbat	Majority	38.9
		Syangja	Majority	33.5
		Kaski	Majority	31.0
		Gulmi	Majority	30.4
		Chitawan	Majority	29.5
		Jhapa	Majority	25.3
		Morang	Majority	13.9
		Rupandehi	Majority	12.4

Source: Gurung 1994 cited in Gurung 1998 Appendix E, P. 58

महिलाले जोत्न थाले

■ शहीमान राई

भोजपुर, २७ आश्विन- वर्षाकोकालमा पस्दा हातमा हलोको रेलो बन्दिपको छ । पछ्यो राम्रैने विचारबाट तनरी पसिना पर्नेका छन् र जोत्नको छ जोत्नी बारी । तर तनरी ७० वर्षीया शहीमान राईको अरि उर्वरको छ जोत्नी खेतलाई मरेननेको सिक्न ।

उनी चारै होइन सरसकाममा ३० काम हाड्नेका आठमा गाउँका कतिपय महिला हलो जोत्न गर्नका छन् । गाउँबाट पुरुष विस्थापित भएपछि उनीहरूको काम भएका हुन नती सम्भवत ।

उई वर्षअघि पतिल गाउँ छुट्टैपछि बडा न. ३ निवसकी शहीमान राईको काम सधैरै निम्नै थियो हुन । बालक



हलको रेलो १० वर्षीया आमा रोजी राईको बारी जोत्न बस्न छिन । बाबुले गाउँ छोडेपछि उई वर्षदेखि आमासाथि जोत्नको काम गरेकी छी । हलो जोत्नकापन दलमा तिनेर सम्पूर्ण काम महिलाहरू गर्नुपर्ने छ । आठमा २७ वर्षीया पमा

नामा गाँउ गाँउ सबै छुट्टै भएकै छिन । हलगाउँ जोत्नमात्रैले गाउँबाट अरिबाले काममा आनी अघि सक्नेको ठगी बनाउछिन ।

आठमा, रोसानेलेपन दलनी * गाँउका अधिकांश पुरुष पलायन हुन । पुरुषको अनुपस्थितिमा महिलाहरू हलो जोत्नको काम गर्छन्, अक्षम हुन्छन् भने पुरुषको अनुपस्थिति जोत्नको छैन ।

महिलाहरू हलोको रेलो तपान्तरमा गाउँलेलाई अघिउने लगेको छैन । हलो जोत्न भन्ने उक्त वर्षदेखि बाबुमा हो । बाबुले अर्जित- हलो जोत्नको गाँउ छैन तर बाबु गाउँ फर्किने कहिले हो ? यसमा सबै जना चिन्तित छी ।

Appendix 4. In hope for rain Tharu women in Kohalpur, Banke District, Mid-West Nepal dressed up as men Ploughing. Men dressed up as women carrying snacks to feed the women dressed up as men. (Source: Kantipur July 5, 2004).



Appendix 5. Tharu women in Kohalpur Bazar, Nepalgunj, Banke District, dressed up as men praying God Indra in hope for rain (Source: Kantipur June 30, 2004).



असार १५ सम्म पनि पानी नपरेपछि अंग्रेखार डाँडेको कोहलपुर बजारमा बाह्र महिना पुरुषको भेषमा भगवान्लाई पुकार्दै । यसरी महिलाको पुरुषको भेषमा पुकारेपछि पानी पर्छ भन्ने जनविश्वास छ ।

सन् २००४ - महेन्द्र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय/काठमाडौं

Appendix 6. A Chhetri woman ploughing field with one oxen in Pyunthan District, Mid-West, Nepal. The ploughing set was designed by her husband (Source: Kantipur November 30, 2004)

एउटा जुवा, एउटाँ गोरु, हली श्रीमती

■ नुसराज खनाल
प्युठान

एउटा गोरु, एउटाँ हली। पचाह नसम्म रंग बिरंगी पुराना गोरुको छ यो श्रीमती। पचाहका साथै गोरुको अंगुलीसम्म उभारको पुराना निवासी दिनबाराको जिल्लाको एक ठो ठोका ठोका ठोका। एउटा गोरुलाई नामले छोटे जुवा र हलीसम्म तयार गरेका छन् उनले। स्थानीय जनार्दन सामुदायिक विकास केन्द्रका अध्यक्ष रहना श्रीमतीले केन्द्रकै जागोजनामा जेही दिनअघि सरभूकाम भसमाना या प्रविधि देखाए।

मकैखाले हली जोडेको यो पनि एउटाँ गोरुको कायालय प्रमुखहरू बाहेक देखिने



सलेका थिए। श्रीमतीले पनि प्रदर्शनका यस्ता जोका धक मानिदिए। हलीको अंग बसन्तसि एउटा गोरुको जोडे झालेको छन्। गाडका केही घण्टा पनि यो प्रविधि प्रयोग गर्ने भोलाका छन। फलही क्षेत्रमा खना-खना गरा, सिका हने हला एउटा गोरुको अंग प्रविधि कही उपयुक्त हुने जियो बताउछन्।

यसमूव जिल्लामै पहिलो पटक निजीस्तरमा शिजुनी बालका लागि घरमै हलु जुवाको विवरण गरेका थिए। तर अहिले गाडमा शिजुनी पुगेपछि उनको व्यवसाय धरासायी भएको छ। जेरी पन्ध्रसम्मै लोडेर नमुना गाडी बनाउने सुरु हो। कति मह्यता पाइन्छ, जिल्लामै सान्त्वणका भन्ने

एउटा गोरु जोडे महिला । स्रोत: कान्तिपुर

छोरीद्वारा बाबुको किरिया

■ पत्रकार चिमिरे

एकौटी चितवन, २ भाग- छोरा नभए न के भो । मरेपछि किरिया गर्ने छोरीहरू पनि न सक्षम छन् । बाबुआमाको किरिया गर्ने छोरा नै बाहेक भन्ने ठाउँ परम्परालाई चुनौती दिने यहाँका छोरी बाबुको किरियामा पर्नेका छन् ।

पञ्चथम पितावनको पटिहानी गाविस ५, एकौटीका स्वर्गीय नारायणप्रसाद शहातका पार छोरी शोभा लोकोमान्द्रले गर्ने दिउस कर्मबन्धन नै प्रारम्भिक किरियाका छन् । शहातका पछार दिनभरि निश्चल भएका थिए ।

समाजमा महिलाहरू पुरुषहरू कस भने सक्षम छैनन् भन्ने परम्परागत मान्यतालाई चुनौती दिन आफ्ना बाबुको किरिया गर्नेको उनीहरूको बलाए । छोरीले पनि उँर बना छुटल जसरी गर्न सक्छन् भन्ने देखाउन चाहन्थी । स्वर्गीय पताकाकी बाबुको छोरी इश्वरीले भनिन्, 'थुलिने त्यसलाई त्यसकारण उनले अक्षर मिलेको छ । म शहानी चुनौती छु । आफूहरूले बाबुको किरिया गर्नेको उँर केहीले अलाचमा गर्ने पनि आफू निश्चित



पितावनको पटिहानी गाविस ५, एकौटीका स्वर्गीय नारायणप्रसाद शहातको किरियामा बसिरहेका शोरीहरू ।
स्वीट पत्रकार चिमिरे

नभएको कारणले नै बाबुआ इश्वरीले भनिन्- 'मैले नै परम्परा(किरियाको) अभिप्राय राखी बाबुआर भन्नु पर्ने । त्यसैले यो हिम्मत गर्नुपर्ने परेको हो ।' उनले भने उनको २३ वर्षीया दिदी शोभा ३३ वर्षीयका १९ वर्षीया बहीना र १९ वर्षीया बहिना पनि बाबुको किरियामा किरियामात्र गरेका छन् । छोरी छोरी शोभा विवाहित आफ्नाले गंगो वनमा पर्नेको बान्सा । उनले भनि भन्ने पूरा गरेको छ । शोभाका शव मोगर चुरेछुल भन्ने इश्वरी भनिन् । त्यसैगरी बहीना ५५ कक्षाया र शोभाका बच्चा बान्सा चुरेछुल ।
किरियाकाब तहान, आफ्ना स्वर्गीय बाबुको लानलाई बाबुका जसवीनमिले जसोदरमा राखेर लिए । शोभाको किरियाकाब तहान जसवीनमिले बाबुको शव मोगर चुरेछुल दिन बाबुका छोरी इश्वरीले भनिन् ।
छोरीहरूले बाबुको किरिया गर्ने शहातको महाभारत किरिया मगाउने गरेन ३० वर्षीय शोभा शोभाकोबाई पनि निकै राम्रो बाबुको छ । छोरीले बाबुको किरिया अझै छैन भन्ने भने शोभाका पनि भैबिरका छैन, उनले भने- किरियाकाब गठ छोरा बा छोरी भन्ने नै छैन जसले किरिया गरे पनि छैन ।

सम्मानित भए किरिया बस्ने छोरीहरू

■ सुमानसि तामाङ

भारतपुर, २२ असोज- हालै पापुको किरिया बस्नेछा छोरीहरूलाई शुक्रवार कनकपुर र दोस्रो शोडाइ सम्मान गरिएको छ । महिला लेखक मन्त्र विद्यालयले उनीहरूलाई सम्मान गरेको हो ।

भारतको संस्कृत विद्यालयमा आन्तक पढ्दै गरेको सितवनका जमुना सार्थिले सम्मानित छोरीहरूलाई दोस्रोका शोडाइ र माना लगाइदिएन् । विभिन्न बस्ने प्रसन्नसमेत दिदै आएको सार्थिले छोरीहरूलाई सम्मान गरेपछि भनिन्- छोरीले किरिया गर्दाहुन्छ भन्ने कहीँ पनि

रोखिएको छैन, छोरीहरूले नै गरे एकबम ठीक गरे ।

भारतपुर रामनगरका गीता अधिकारी, महिषीदेव कुमारी र बिना गरी साहनाको पोहोती साता बाबु श्रीमधुनादको किरिया बस्नेछन् । दलुभाइ नभएका उनीहरूले रामवती पनि आफै दिए । यसैगरी सवारी दुर्घटनामा परेर गत बर्षी २३ गते पितृका बाद रामकुमार श्रेष्ठको किरिया बस्नेका थिए, चितवन क्षेत्रकीका २२ वर्षीया विन्दु र कोही उन्ले । श्रेष्ठका पनि छोरा विद्यन्त । बडै परिवारका ती छोरीहरूले सम्मानित काठमाडौँ गौरी उल्लास बपेको बताए ।

सम्मान पाएपछि गीताले भनिन्- या सम्मानले छोरा र छोरीबीच समानता स्थापना अरुलाई पनि प्रेरित गर्नेछ । किरिया बस्ने सुरुमा आलोचना सहनुपर्ने पनि पाइँ राखेले राम्रो बनेको उनले बताए । यसै काम भनेर तबुम्बा विरोध आउनु स्वाभाविक हो । ५२ कक्षा पढ्दै गरेको गीताले भनिन्- किरिया बस्ने पुरोपप्राप्त समाजलाई पुनीति दिनपाइ सकिँका हो । समाज रूपान्तरणको अर्को काम त गर्ने बाकी छ ।

किरिया बस्नेकी अर्की छोरी विन्दु श्रेष्ठले भनिन्-छासमरह छोरीले पनि काम गर्न सक्छन् भन्ने देखाउन किरिया

बस्नेका हो । छोरा र छोरीबीच समानता नगर्ने पनि शिक्षण पढाउनु सुरुवात विन्दुले आफ्नै गरिन् । बहिनी उन्ले यस वर्षको ५१ कक्षाको परीक्षापछि सकेपछि पढीसामा ८० प्रतिशतभन्दा बढी अंक ल्याएको थिएन । उन्ले अंक ल्याउन कताप चलाउने तिनै हालले पाउको दास्यकारमा पनि दास्यकी थिएकी थिएन ।

किरिया बस्ने लैंगिक समानताको गतिलो उदाहरण बनेपछि ती छोरीहरूलाई सम्मान गरिएको आघातक महिला लेखक मन्त्रकी अध्यक्ष सिमका अर्जुनले बताए । उक्त अवसरमा विभिन्न महिला संस्थाका प्रतिनिधिको उपस्थिति थियो ।

Appendix 9. Women and elderly performing death rites in Taplejung District, East Nepal (Source: Kantipur, January 17, 2004).



Appendix 10. In absence of men in the village, death rites performed by bringing men from neighbouring village in Salyan district, Mid-West, Nepal (Source: Kantipur July 23, 2003).

गाउँमा लोग्नेमान्छे नहुँदा दुई दिनपछि अन्त्येष्टि

सल्यान, ६ गाउँ (काग) - गाउँमा लोग्नेमान्छे नहुँदा स्थानीय कोटमीला गाउँमा २० किलोमिटर दूरीको मुल्की दुई दिनपछि अन्त्येष्टि गरिएको छ।

गौरीची, वेरोजगारी र अमरशोक जस्ता स्थानीय गाउँका मुखहरू रोजगारीका लागि भारततर्फ गएपछि गाउँमा बास छोडेर घाटसम्म पुऱ्याउने कने लोग्नेमान्छे बिएनन्। सोहीकारण शव दुई दिनपछि मात्र अन्त्येष्टि गरिको कोटमीलाका एक स्थानीयवासीले बताएका छन्।

उनी भन्छन्, दुई दिनसम्म शव उल्टुने गाउँमा लोने मानिस कोही नहुँदा यस्ताउन मानक शव छिनेकी गाउँबाट लोने मानिसलाई ल्याइ घाटसम्म पुऱ्याएर

अन्त्येष्टि गरिएको थियो। लोग्ने मानिसको अभाव भएपछि अहिले गाउँमा जाली गाइनेपछि तिनै सबै व्यावहारिक कार्य गरिँलात् नै गर्दै आएका छन्। उक्त क्षेत्रका पूर्ण गाउँघरमा देशी, तिनै तर तथा चाटनवेभन्दा अन्य समस्या आउँदैनन्।

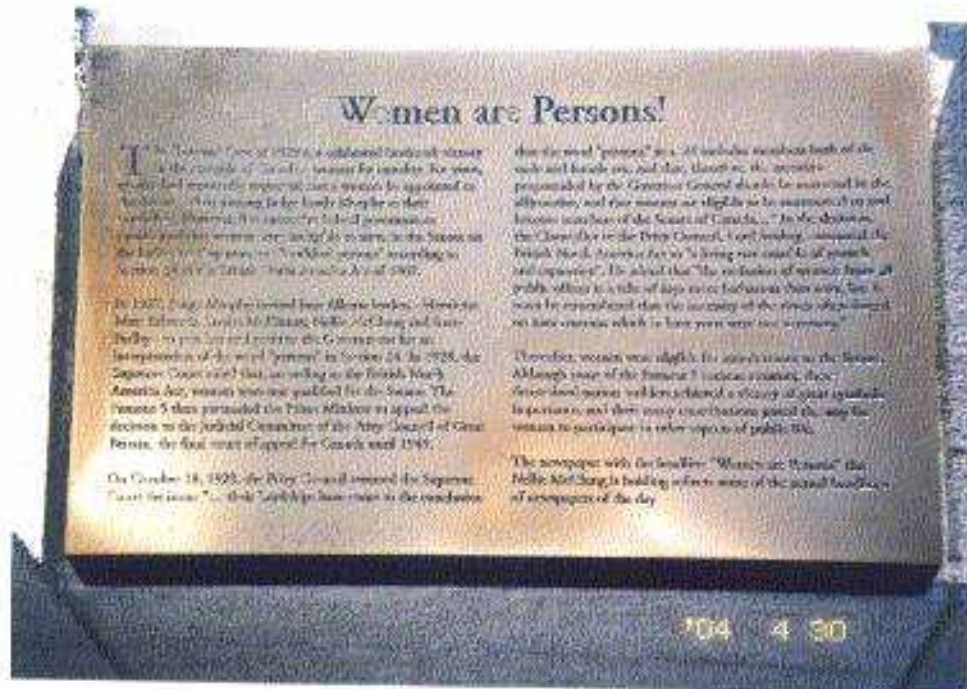
आर्थिक अवस्था कमजोर रहेका क्षेत्रका दुई छोरा र एक श्रीमती छन्। दुईमध्ये एक छोरा अहिले भारतमै छन् र अर्कोचाहिँ घरमै भए पनि आर्थिक समस्याका कारण किसानकर्म नगरिएको पनि स्थानीयवासीले कठोरपुस्ताइ बताए। सदरमुकाम खलगाउँसम्म करिब पाँच घण्टाको पैदल दूरी उत्तरतर्फ रहेको एकट कोटमीला माओवादी प्रभावित क्षेत्र मानिन्छ।

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photo 1. Statue of the Famous 5 near Parliament Building, Ottawa, Canada. Nellie McChung, one of the Famous 5 holding the Newspaper with the headline **Women are Persons!** (Photo by Ram B. Chhetri).



Photo 2. Closer look at the Newspaper with the headline 'Women are Persons'.



Women are Persons!

The "Times" issue of 1929, a celebrated battle of status in the courts of Canada, women for equality for years, and the Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929.

In 1927, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1927. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1927. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1927.

On October 18, 1929, the Privy Council issued the judgment "Law v. Canada" which established the equality of women in the workplace.

the word "persons" in a 1929 decision which both of the men and women, and the Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929.

Therefore, women were eligible for appointment to the Senate. Although some of the Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929.

The newspaper with the headline "Women are Persons" that the Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929. The Imperial Conference, a woman is appointed to the office of the Secretary for the British Empire in 1929.

1944 4 30

Photo 3. Photo used by the researcher for Thematic Apperception Test.
(Photo by S. P. Kattel).

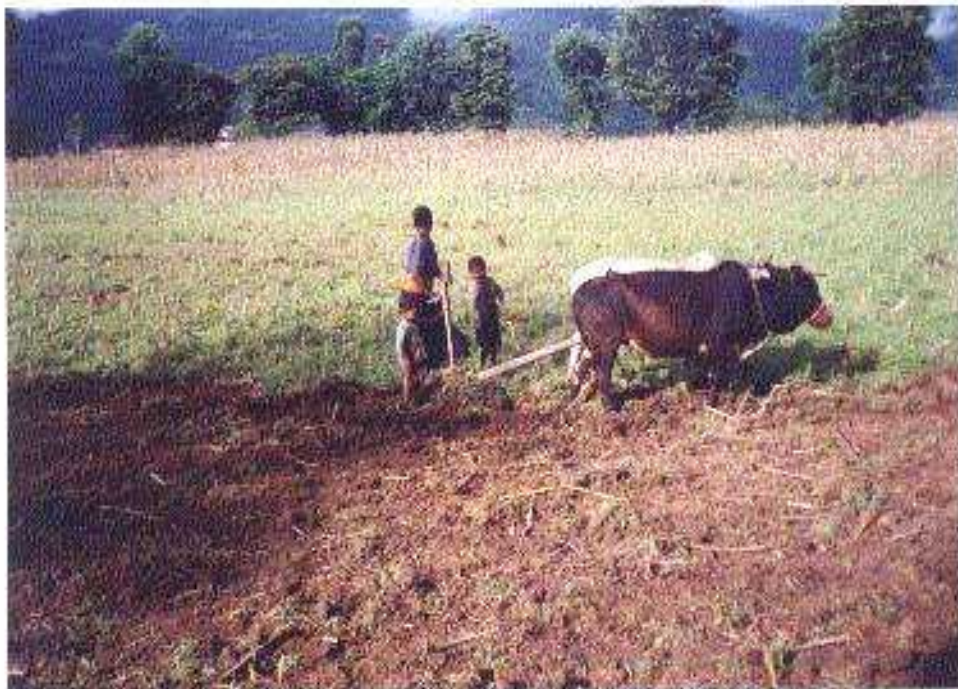


Photo 4. Gaine Settlement, Batulechaur (Photo by Gyano Chhetri).



Photo 5. Kumal Settlement, Rithepani (Photo by Gyanu Chhetri).

