The Newar Women of Bulu

- bina pradhan

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN NEPAL

volume II part 6

THE NEWAR WOMEN OF BULU

The Status of Women in Nepal

Volume II: FIELD STUDIES

Part 6

THE NEWAR WOMEN OF BULU

BINA PRADHAN

CEDA

Centre for Economic Development and Administration

Tribhuvan University

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WAS FUNDED BY A GRANT FROM
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FOREWORD

The CEDA Status of Women Project was a multidisciplinary Research endeavor carried out by Tribhuvan University's Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) under a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The overall purpose of the project as stated in the project agreement between His Majesty's Government and USAID was

> " ... to collect and generate information on the status and roles of a representative range of Nepalese women in order to support planning to facilitate the increased integration of women into the national development process."

To achieve this broad purpose both secondary and primary research was carried out in consecutive phases. Phase I was devoted to collection and analysis of available secondary data on Nepalese women in a number of specific areas which helped the project team to clarify its research objectives for the second phase comprising the field work. It also resulted in the publication of the following monographs comprising the Volume I Background Report on the Status of Women in Nepal:

1. Statistical Profile of Nepalese Women: A Critical Review, Volume I, Part 1 (by Meena Acharya)

2. Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women, Volume I, Part 2 (by Lynn Bennett with assistance from Shilu Singh)

3. Institutions Concerning Women in Nepal, Volume I, Part 3 (by Bina Pradhan)

4. Annotated Bibliography on Women in Nepal, Volume I, Part 4 (by Indira M. Shrestha)

5. Integration of Women in Development: The Case of Nepal, Volume I, Part 5 (by Pushkar Raj Reejal)

The present study is the outcome of the Project's Phase II which was intended " ... to develop methodologies and implement pilot socio-economic case studies of women in traditional rural communities." Altogether eight separate village studies on the Status of Women were carried out by the project researchers in the following communities:

Region/District	Community	Researcher
1. Eastern Terai (Dhanusha)	Maithili (Mixed Castes)	Meena Acharya
2. Central Middle Hills (Sindhu Palchowk)	Tamang	Indira M. Shrestha
3. Kathmandu Valley (Lalitpur)	Newar (Jyapu + Others)	Bina Pradhan
4. Central Middle Hills	Parbatiya (Brahman, Chhetri, and low caste Sarki)	Lynn Bennett
5. Western High Mountains (Mustang)	Baragaonle (Tibetan-Speaking People)	Sidney Schuler
6. Eastern Middle Hills (Sankhuwa Sabha)	Lohrung Rai	Charlotte Hardman
7. Far Western Inner-Terai (Dang Deokhuri)	Tharu	Drone Rajaure
8. Far Western Middle Hills (Rolpa)	Kham Magar	Augusta Molnar

Using both in-depth anthropological methods and quantitative survey techniques the researchers gathered comparative data on women's economic role and their status in the family and wider social group. Of particular importance in the project's effort to document the economic contribution of rural women was the observational time allocation study which each researcher conducted as part of his or her fieldwork.

The present monographs are the parts of the Volume II, Status of Women Field Studies Series which includes eight village studies written by the individual researchers. It also consists of a ninth monograph which analyses the aggregate data and summarizes the major findings of the village studies. The ninth monograph is an attempt to

distill the policy implications of the Phase I and Phase II findings and provide guidelines for a National Plan of Action to increase both the productivity and the status of Nepalese women.

It is our sincere hope that this pioneer research work on Status of Nepalese Women will contribute positively towards promoting equality of sexes in the Nepalese society.

All the members of the project team deserve thanks for their admirable research endeavor.

Dr. Govind Ram Agrawal
Executive Director

February, 1981

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project which is one of the first attempts to look at the present status of women in Nepal has been completed with the combined efforts of an inter disciplinary project team. Its success has to be attributed to a large number of people and it is not possible to identify their contribution in a compartmentalized fashion, as the project was quite broad in scope and also of a long duration encompassing about thirty-two months. CEDA would like to express its sincere appreciation to all those who have actively contributed to the successful completion of the project.

The project team had the privilege of working on specific issues with certain individuals and it is felt that their contributions be specially mentioned. The project team was constantly advised by a Board of Advisors consisting of Honorable Mrs. Kamal Rana as Chairperson, who is also the Chairperson of Women's Services Coordination Committee (WSCC). Her continuous interest and help in the project's success is highly appreciated. The other members of the Board, Honorable Dr. Ratna Shumsher Rana and Prof. Upendra Man Malla, Vice Chairman and Member of the National Planning Commission respectively, also provided valuable advice and guidance at different times to the project for which CEDA is greatly obliged.

The project team has worked very hard and it is basically their sincere dedication and commitment that have materialized in the final outputs. CEDA would like to express its special appreciation to Dr. Lynn Bennett who has contributed significantly both as a team member as well as in her capacity as Project Advisor. The other members of the team, Ms. Bina Pradhan, Ms. Meena Acharya, Ms. Indira Shrestha, Mr. Drone Prasad Rajaure, Dr. Augusta Molnar, and Ms. Sidney Schuler have also worked very hard from the beginning of the project to its end. Their individual monographs dealing with the different ethnic communities are the concrete evidence of their dedicated and committed efforts and admirable research endeavor. To all of them CEDA owes its deep gratitude and sincere obligation.

Apart from the team members, several other persons have also assisted the project with their expertise. Mr. Narendra Shrestha's contribution as programmer, Mr. Shalik Ram Sharma's as statistician, and the contributions of

Dr. Chaitanya Misra, Ms. Padma Shrestha and Ms. Basundhara Dongal in the project are duly acknowledged. Mr. Govinda Sharma, Mr. Vishnu Nepal and Mr. Bishnu Bhakta Shrestha helped in the tabulation of the field data.

Several United States Agency for International Development (USAID) officials have helped in project completion. Mr. Samuel Butterfield, the former Director of USAID to Nepal deserves special appreciation. Mr. Thomas Rose took keen interest in the project and helped in the later part of the project. Dr. Laurie Mailloux's continuous interest and help has been a great source of encouragement in expediting the project work. Mr. John Babylon and Mr. William Nance also helped significantly at different times.

On behalf of the project team and myself, I would like to express our sincere appreciation to our present Executive Director, Dr. Govind Ram Agrawal, who has taken keen interest and has been a constant source of inspiration for the project, right from the time of his taking over the leadership of CEDA. His academic and intellectual input along with the kind of administrative support so much required for the successful completion of the project is deeply and sincerely appreciated. Mr. Sant Bahadur Gurung, Deputy Director of our Centre has always been a great help to us at different, and sometimes difficult, times. Dr. Khem B. Bista and Mr. Madhukar Shumsher Rana, our former Executive Directors helped us extensively during their tenure of office, and we owe a deep sense of gratitude to them. Dr. Puskar Raj Reejal also contributed to the project by taking over the Directorship of the project at the earlier period and Mr. Devendra Raj Upadhaya's contribution as consultant to the project is also appreciated.

The project team also received substantial help from Mr. Devendra Gurung, Ms. Pavitra Thapa, Mr. Iswor Narayan Manandhar and Mr. Manoj Shrestha in their different capacities. Mr. Dibya Giri deserves our special acknowledgement for his patience and hard work in typing and retyping the manuscripts. Mr. Prem Rai's contribution for the project is also duly acknowledged.

Apart from the contributions of the above mentioned persons, several other individuals and institutions have helped us. The CEDA administration and other professional colleagues at our Centre are duly acknowledged in a collective way for their help and assistance.

The project materialized due to the sincere desire on the part of His Majesty's Government for finding out the present status of Nepalese women and to suggest measures for improvements. This challenging task was entrusted to CEDA for which we owe a deep and sincere gratitude to His Majesty's Government. We hope and believe that the output will be of immense help in designing and implementing the future programmes aimed at the upliftment of the status of women in our country.

Last, but not the least, the United States Agency for International Development Mission to Nepal deserves special thanks and appreciation for funding this research.

Mr. Bhavani Dhungana
Project Director

February 1981

METHODOLOGICAL FOREWORD[1]

Research Objectives and Theoretical Perspectives

This monograph is part of the Volume II field studies series which represents the final outcome of a three year research endeavor on the Status of Women in Nepal. As its name indicates the general objective of the project was to analyse and evaluate the role and status of Nepalese women. In particular the project sought to focus on rural women and their relation to the development process. These specific objectives entailed first of all, recognition of the fact that Nepalese women are not a homogeneous group and secondly, a commitment to document as accurately as possible the actual contribution women make to the rural economy. The result was a research design involving two distinct phases. The first phase was to be an analysis based on existing data of the macro-level variables affecting the over-all socio-economic position of women in Nepal. This phase was completed with the publication of five monographs in Volume I.

The second phase was planned as a series of intensive field studies on the dynamics of the day to day life of village women and the diversity of ways in which women's roles and status have been defined by different ethnic groups within Nepal. Specifically, the objectives set for the second phase were to investigate those areas where the existing information on rural women was either inadequate or inaccurate.

Extended field studies were carried out to collect both qualitative and quantitative data on women in eight different communities in various parts of Nepal. The development of a unified methodological approach to be used in these eight studies was made simpler by the fact that despite our varied

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[1]For fuller discussion of the theoretical perspectives on which the Status of Women study is based and of the methodologies used in data collection see Chapter I of the Aggregate Analysis (Acharya and Bennett), The Rural Women of Nepal: An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of Eight Village Studies, Volume II, Part 9, C.E.D.A., Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu. (1981).

backgrounds as economists, linguists and anthropologists all the project team members shared the basic theoretical assumption that the concept of "women's status" could not be treated as a unitary construct having a single explanation. (See, Aggregate Analysis).

It was one of our central hypotheses that, despite the title of our project, it is misleading to speak of the status of women -- even within a single group. We expected that if we looked carefully enough, our studies of the various communities in Nepal would all reveal a good deal of ambiguity in the relations between the sexes. Specifically, we expected that women's status vis-a-vis men (in a given community) would vary with women's many roles and the contexts within which these roles are enacted. Since status is a function of the power, authority and prestige attached to a given role by society and since everyone, male and female, must enact a number of different roles in the course of a lifetime (or indeed in a single day or even simultaneously at a given instant), we would expect the status of any one individual -- or any social category like male or female -- to be a complex configuration arising from these many roles and the various powers, limitations and the perceived values assigned to them.

From the point of view of development, it is our conviction that an effective integration of rural women into the development process must begin with a clear-eyed vision and an unbiased understanding of who these women are, what they do and what they want. We must know not only where they are vulnerable and in need of support, but also where they are strong so that this strength can be further encouraged.

Research Design and Methodology

To address these issues we needed an approach that would allow us to embrace the complexity of the phenomena of sexual stratification which we expected to -- and did -- encounter during our extended fieldwork. We decided that for purposes of data collection and for the initial stages of analysis we would distinguish the following "dimensions" of women's status:

1. Economic
2. Familial
3. Political/Community

4. Educational
5. Legal
6. Ideological/Religious

In formulating these "dimensions" we were influenced by Giele's (1976) typology of six major life options or areas of control or access to opportunity as determinants of women's over-all status. We modified the categories to make our "dimensions" more appropriate to the context of village Nepal and more useful to our basic focus on development issues. Yet we knew from the beginning -- and it became even clearer during the course of fieldwork -- that all the dimensions overlapped in numerous ways and that the divisions we had made were ultimately arbitrary. Almost all of us have ended up reorganizing the dimensions in the course of analyzing and writing up the data from our respective villages. Perhaps the main value of the "six dimensions" was to encourage each of us to look into aspects of village reality and the problem of women's status that are not usually dealt with in detail by our particular discipline.

In order to capture the diversity of the Nepalese situation and the multiplicity of factors affecting women's status it was necessary to make several departures from convention in our approach to the collection of field data.

The first departure was in the weight given to the cultural variable in the choice of survey sites. It is our conviction that the gender systems which essentially define male and female and their roles and relationships to each other within a particular ethnic group are socially constructed. This is not to deny that biological and ecological factors influence women's status and the relationship between the sexes. But it does mean that we must look beyond such factors if we are to either to account for the marked cross cultural variation in human gender systems or to fully comprehend the dynamics of the female role in any particular culture.

This conviction led the research team to attempt to cover in depth as many cultural groupings as possible within the resource constraint of the project. As a result eight communities were covered in the second phase.

Despite our emphasis on the importance of cultural factors we did not want to underestimate the role of economic

variables in the determination of women's status. It has been one of our hypotheses that substantial improvement in the economic status of a household might well be accompanied by an actual deterioration of status of women vis-a-vis men in that household (Acharya 1979). Therefore, for analytical purposes, we have classified all our quantitative data according to the economic strata. By inter-strata comparison we hoped to ascertain the role of economic factors in determining the status of women versus men.

All the sample households have been classified into three economic strata: top, middle and bottom. Income rather than property has been taken as a basis for this economic stratification. We considered income to be a better indicator of the actual economic well-being of the household than land holding since land is only one of the sources of income. In fact, although the landed gentry retains much of its former prestige and influence as a vestige of traditional systems of social stratification, in many parts of Nepal the landed gentry appears to be losing its economic predominance. Members of the emerging trading or bourgeois class are in many cases economically better off than the landed gentry. Moreover, classification of households according to land holdings alone would not capture the economic differentiation between landless but relatively well off businessmen and professionals on the one hand, and marginal farmers and landless laborers on the other.

Another consideration in economic classification in the current analysis is that the sample households have been stratified according to village economic standards and not national or international standards. The economic stratum of each household was determined on the basis of household production and income data. Using the average 1977 per capita income for Nepal of Rs. 1320 or $ 110 given by the Asian Development Bank (Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB, Economic Office, Asian Development Bank, Vol. X, No. 1, April 1979, p. 157) as the mid-point we established the middle stratum as being all those households whose per capita income was within 25% (or Rs. 330) below or above the national average. Thus our cut off points were

Rs. 990 for the bottom stratum and Rs. 1650 for the top stratum.[1]

The second methodological departure in our research design was the decision to use a balanced two pronged approach incorporating both in-depth anthropological and quantitative survey methods. This was a natural outcome of our equal concern to understand the cultural and the economic variables affecting women's status.

Qualitative Data Gathering

The most important element in our approach to qualitative data gathering was simply living with the people we wanted to learn about. Each researcher became a resident of the community he or she was studying, living with a local family and practicing techniques of participant observation and the unstructured interview with key informants. The period of fieldwork ranged from six months to several years (in the case of the co-operating anthropologists who had already been engaged in their own dissertation research in their communities). All the team members were fluent in Nepali and five of them were also able to communicate easily in the local language as well. This they reported was especially important, not only because it enabled them to understand casual comments and conversation in the family

[1] Interestingly in 7 out of the eight villages this definition gave us the expected distribution between bottom, middle and top strata households. In Kagbeni however, all but two of the households were found to be in the top strata. Although the people of Kagbeni do appear to be doing relatively well economically, it should also be remembered that the prices of basic food supplies and other commodities are very much higher in Kagbeni than in other areas studied so the increased income may not necessarily result in increased purchasing power or a higher standard of living. For the village monograph, the Kagbeni population was re-classified by the researcher into 3 economic strata applicable to the village. For aggregate analysis the original strata definition was retained.

where they lived, but also because in several villages[1] communication with women in particular would have been severely limited had the researcher not been able to speak the local language.

To guide the collection of descriptive, in-depth information a Field Manual was prepared containing sets of "leading questions" for each of the six dimensions. The Manual also contained "Key Informant Schedules" on certain topics such as child rearing practices,[2] legal awareness and kinship terminology where the number of people interviewed was not as important as having good rapport with the informant and being a sensitive listener. The Manual also included practical suggestions about how researchers might go about indirectly collecting certain types of sensitive information as well as how to informally cross check the quantitative survey data which they were also responsible for gathering.[3]

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[1]The Maithili speaking women in Sirsia, and the Tharu women in particular were unfamiliar with Nepali. Kham speaking Magar women, the Lohorung Rai, Newar and Tamang women and the Tibetian speaking women of Baragaon were fluent in Nepali but of course preferred communicating in their own language. Nepali was the mother tongue in only one of the 8 sites.

[2]The schedule used by the team was a revised version of one prepared by Mrs. Basundara Dungal of CNAS and generously shared with the Status of Women team.

[3]For further background on the type of qualitative data sought and approaches used see Field Manual: Guidelines for the Collection and Analysis of Data on the Status of Women in Rural Nepalese Communities, Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal. 1979. (Bound Mimeo).

Quantitative Data Collection

Site Selection and Sample Size

The sites for the eight village studies were purposively selected according to ethnic group and geographic area (Mountain, Hill and Terai). The map (Figure i) shows the locations of the research sites and the communities included.

Within each village[1] a random sample of 35 households was selected making a total of 280 households in all. In three of the villages (Sirsia, Bulu and Bakundol) which were of mixed caste populations the sample was stratified by caste. Within this sample a sub-sample of 24 households in each village was randomly selected for the observational time allocation study.[2] Households were defined to include all members who ate from the same kitchen[3] and who had lived in the village for at least 6 months during the previous year.

Survey Instruments

The team developed a series of survey instruments to generate quantitative information on the following aspects of the sample population:

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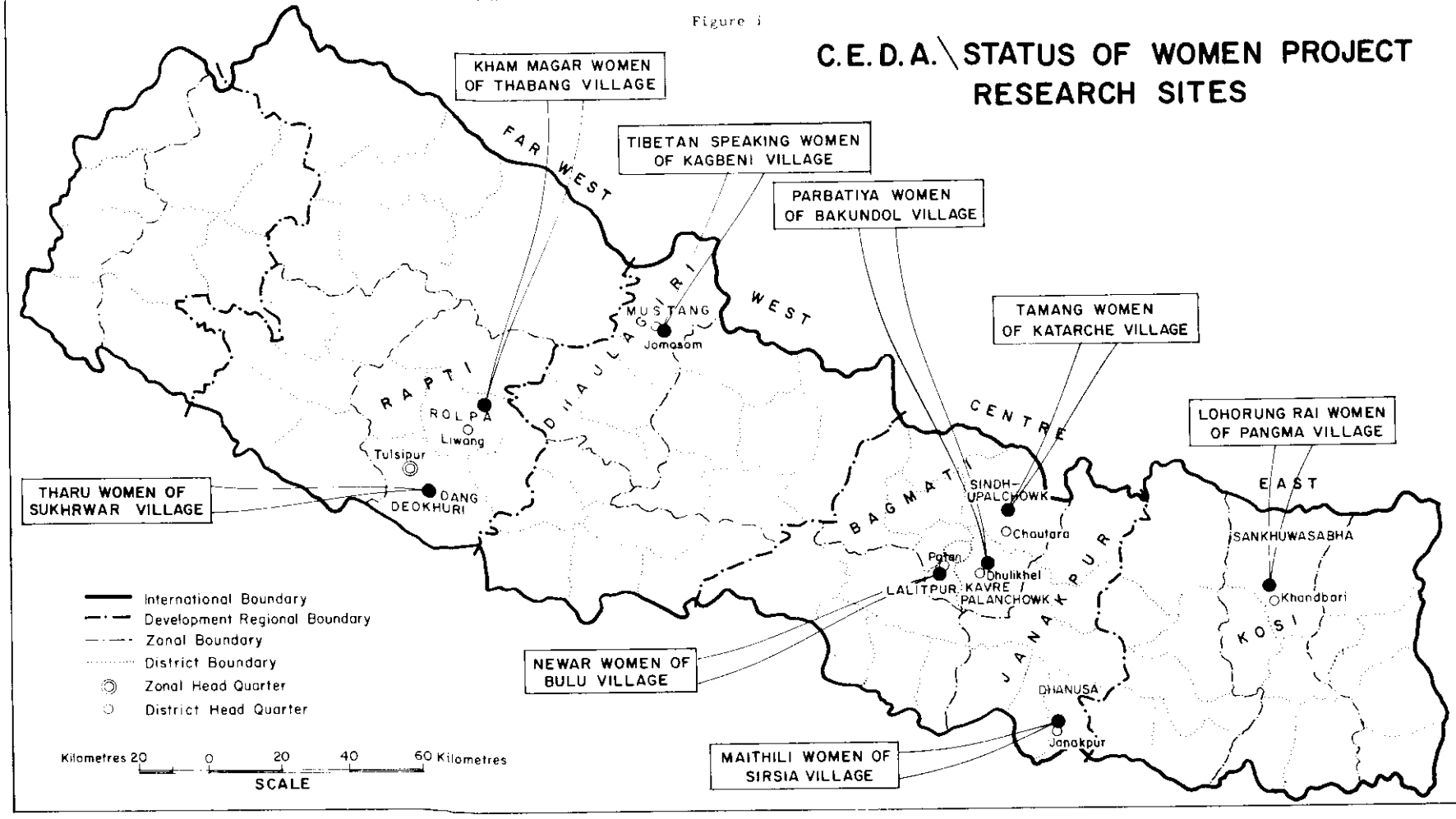
[1] By "village" we refer to a traditional residential unit locally known and named as such rather than to the larger administrative unit or panchayat which generally consists of several villages and is usually too large and unwieldy to study in depth.

[2] A smaller sample was selected for the Time Allocation Study because our methodology required that certain sub-groups of households be visited on alternate days within the period of one hour. We were concerned that we would not be able to visit more than six households within an hour so we limited the sample to 4 groups of six or 24 households. With the wisdom of hindsight we now realize that we could have visited more houses in an hour and included the entire 35 household population in the Time Allocation Study.

[3] In the case of communities like the Kham Magar where some family members spent extended periods in the families' high pasture dwelling, eating from the same kitchen meant sharing household food supplies.

Figure 1

C.E.D.A.\STATUS OF WOMEN PROJECT RESEARCH SITES



1. Demographic Variables: Besides the conventional demographic data on individuals such as sex, age, marital status, fertility history, education and literacy, this set of information includes data on marital history, type and forms of marriage, short-term mobility of household members as well as each individual's kinship position (relation to the household head) within the family. At the household level, information has been collected on the caste/clan and lineage identity of the households, composition of the households and family structure.

2. Time Use Data: Observational time use data was collected for all members of the sample households. (To be discussed below).

3. Income and Production: An attempt was made to capture the total household production with a detailed structured set of schedules matching the time-use categories. Five schedules were used each on different categories of income namely, agricultural production, industrial products and processed food, other production, (such as kitchen gardening, hunting and gathering) income from capital assets and wage/salary and income transfers.

4. Household Assets: The schedule on property holdings included questions on household property as well as personal property. It also included questions on rights of disposal of joint family property. The schedule was devised in detail to capture all likely items of household and personal assets including conventional items like land and animals, cash bank deposits as well as jewellery and valuable clothing, household utensils, furniture etc. There was also a schedule on women's independent income and their use of these earnings.

5. Credit: Access to and use of credit by men and women.

6. Employment: Employment opportunities and attitudes toward different kinds of work and employment outside the home differentiated by sex.

7. Exchanges at Marriage: Exchanges of cash, goods and labor between affinal families as part of the formalization of marriage.

8. Literacy and Education Levels: Educational attainment and attitudes to male and female education.

9. Social Images: Male/Female stereotypes and qualities appreciated in brides and grooms.

10. Women's Political Consciousness and Community Participation: Awareness of local, district and national political figures, voting records, panchayat meeting attendance, attitudes toward and involvement in extension and development activities.

11. Household Decision Making: This included seven different schedules covering decision making in the following areas: a) Household labor allocation, b) Agriculture, c) Cash and kind expenditure (food, gifts, travel, medicine etc.), d) Investment, e) Borrowing, f) Disposal of family food production, g) Disposal of other family resources.

It should be mentioned that data collection on personal property was problematic but instructive. In the process of interviewing we learned that the concept of "personal property" was ambiguous and irrelevant to the villagers. The data on exchanges in marriage were also found to be too complex for quantification in the way we had envisioned.

The project's questionnaires on decision making represent another innovation in data collection techniques. In these forms we avoided general questions such as "who makes decisions about buying clothing ?" Instead for each category of decision we asked what particular transactions or purchases had taken place in the past two weeks, month or year (depending on how important and frequent the type of transaction). After writing down the particular item decided (i.e. the sale of a hen, the taking of Rs. 500 loan or the purchase of a new cooking pot), we then asked questions about the stages of the decision making process. For each decision made we asked who had initiated it or suggested the idea, who had been consulted, who had finally executed the decision (and in the process decided the amount of money to spend for the purchase or to accept for the sale) and who if anyone had subsequently disagreed with the decision made. Since we are particularly interested in women's role in decision making and knew that in most communities men would be the culturally accepted "decision makers" in most spheres, we specifically administered this series to adult women -- trying whenever we could to talk to them when senior males were not present.

The fourth and most important departure from convention was our attempt to capture the full subsistence production of the household. The inadequacy of conventional statistics for the measurement of household production and subsequently, the contribution of women to household subsistence in developing countries, has been discussed by various authors (Boserup 1970, Lele 1975). Acharya (1979) discussed these issues in the specific context of Nepal in Volume I, Part 1 of the present Status of Women Project. For the field studies we tried to capture physical production within the household to the maximum extent. This is reflected in the detailed schedules on household production and food processing. Moreover we realize the importance of other activities within the household for the maintenance and reproduction of the household and have generated data on the time use patterns of all members within the household.

Collection of data on production of physical goods involved problems of valuation for aggregation. There are several alternative methods by which these goods can be valued. Most writers however, agree that for valuation of physical goods the use of market price or replacement cost is best. Since we had no intention of valuing the services produced within the household (i.e. services such as a mother's care for her own children for which we do not feel economic valuation is appropriate or feasible),we adopted a combination of first and third methods in valuation of the goods produced for household consumption. Traded goods were valued at the prevailing market price. Since much of the food processing involved home produced raw materials, the following procedure was adopted for the valuation of food processing done at home. The market cost of raw materials (e.g. paddy) and cash and kind cost involved in processing (milling charges if any) were deducted from the total market value of processed good (husked rice in this case) and the difference taken as the income generated by food processing

within the household.[1]

Non-traded goods like dried green vegetables were valued at the price of the cheapest vegetable in the off-season. Thus a conservative replacement cost approach was adopted for valuation of these goods.

The Time Allocation Study (TAS)

The Time Allocation Study (TAS) was in many ways the central component of the project's attempt to assess the actual economic contribution of rural women. Analysis of the available macro-level statistics, such as for example, labor force participation rates, in the first phase of the project (Acharya, 1979) revealed the inadequacy of conventional statistics for the assessment of women's real economic role in Nepalese villages. Therefore, in order to support long range economic planning, to stimulate the reformulation of government policy on women and to provide the kind of detailed, area specific information necessary for the incorporation of women into rural development programs, the team decided that micro-level data on women's work should be gathered to supplement the existing national level statistics.

We were particularly interested in the non-market, subsistence sector of the economy: the sector which is least amenable to conventional modes of economic measurement and where we hypothesized women's input to be the greatest.

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[1] It should be noted that the value added income from food processing activities such as liquor making, grinding, husking etc. was not included in the household income calculations used for determining economic strata. This is because the Asian Development Bank's per capita income figure used as a median for our stratification procedure was not based on such detailed accounting of home production income. The considerable amount of such income earned by these activities would have inflated the per capita income of the sample households relative to the national average.

This led us to focus on the household and to attempt to measure how its members — young and old, male and female — use their time in productive versus reproductive activities. In fact, we felt that the whole question of what is "productive" activity -- the whole definition of work itself -- needed to be reassessed on the basis of fresh observation of what village families do with their time to meet and if possible to surpass, their subsistence needs.

We adopted our methodology from an unpublished paper by Johnson (1974)[1] who had used the "spot check" technique of randomly timed household observations to gather time allocation data on the Machiguenga community in South America. This method may be described in the following stages:

1. Preparation of a detailed list of activities and their definitions is the first step in any attempt towards data collection on time allocation. A structured list of activities is a must for preserving uniformity in the definition of activities. Our list included 97 activities classified in 12 major categories.[2]

2. Selection of the sample households in the survey sites (which had already been selected as discussed above) was the next step. In villages with strict caste distinctions the households were classified according to the caste for sampling purposes and a random selection of households made within each group. Thus the caste distribution of the village households was also reflected in the sample distribution.

3. These 24 sample households were divided into four groups (A, B, C & D) of six households each. Each group consisted of six households because that was thought to be the maximum number of households which could be visited by the researchers

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[1]The findings of this study appeared in published form in 1975 as "Time Allocation in a Machiguenga Community" IN Ethnology 14:301-10.

[2]For complete list of all 97 sub-activities see Field Manual (CEDA 1979), Appendix VI or The Rural Women of Nepal: An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of Eight Village Studies, Vol. II, Part 9. (Acharya and Bennett, 1981).

within the specified hour. The researchers visited two groups of households each day at two different hours which were determined in advance by random selection. Each group of households was thus visited on alternative days for a period of six months in four villages and one year in another four villages.

We had wanted to cover the full agricultural cycle for all the village studies to obtain a complete record of the seasonal variation in women's and men's workloads. However, because of the limited time and funding available, the CEDA staff team members working in Sirsia, Sukrawar, Bulu and Katarche were only able to observe their sample households over a six month period. Fortunately we were able to time the field research to encompass most of the agricultural busy season and a portion of the winter slack season. The Kagbeni study was carried out over an eight month[1] period and the remaining three studies (in Thabang, Pangma and Bakundol) cover a full year.

The hours of daily visits for each group of households were selected randomly from within the universe of a 16 hour (4 a.m. to 8 p.m.)[2] day for 26 weeks. Thus each

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[1]This study was planned to cover a full year but had to be suspended when the research assistant, having been mistaken for one of the parties in a local faction, was murdered. His death was not related in any way to his role as a research assistant and theoretically someone else could have been trained to carry on the work. However, by the time the general shock and disruption caused by the murder had subsided in the community there had already been too long a gap in the data collection and the principal researcher decided to suspend the study.

[2]In Kagbeni the researcher was unable to visit families before six a.m. because of the large Tibetian mastifs which are let loose at night to protect households against thieves. Only after they are chained in the morning is it feasible to venture out and visit homes. Therefore the period of observation for this village was only 14 hours. Similarly the researcher in Sukhrawar village was able to begin his observation at 5 a.m. and covered only a 15 hour period. The reason we set our starting time so early is that we knew that in many communities women grind their flour at this time and also that during the summer months both men and women may begin work in the fields well before 6 a.m.

household was visited 78 times in six month studies and 156 times in one year studies. Total number of households covered in eight villages was 192. (For details on parameters of each field study see attached Figure ii).

4. The field workers were provided with Form 'A' (attached) and Code Sheets. Their job was to visit the households during the pre-determined hours (a chart of which was provided to them) and check the appropriate box on the Form 'A'.[1] Form 'A' has a precoded and predefined activity list on the vertical column and person code of the household members on the horizontal line. Field workers were asked to write the name of the household members in the horizontal line against appropriate person codes before visiting the households. (For more detailed discussion, see Aggregate Analysis).

The data collected by this method represented the frequency of observations of a given activity within the time horizon used. This was taken as the frequency of time distribution and the resulting time allocation data derived. There is an explicit assumption in this jump (which is supported by statistical probability) that if people devote in general more time to activity A than to activity B, people will be observed more times performing activity A than B. This data does not provide information on time intensity of operation A compared to operation B.

In other words, it was assumed if people spend more time cooking than washing their hands, we would encounter more people who were cooking at the moment of our spot check than people who were washing their hands. This assumption is valid provided the group of households being visited within the hour are more or less homogeneous in their major activity pattern.

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[1]As with Johnson's study our aim was to record "what each member of the household was doing before they became aware of our presence .... When members were absent, but nearby we went to observe them -- otherwise we relied on informant testimony about the activities of absent members, verifying where possible". Researchers report that other family members generally gave an accurate account of what members were doing.

TABLE i

PARAMETERS OF RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE CEDA/STATUS OF WOMEN TIME ALLOCATION STUDIES

	Code No.	115	121	123	124	226	228	237	239	All Villages
	Village	KAGBENI	PANGMA	THABANG	BAKUNDOL	BULU	KATARCHE	SUKPAWAR	SIRSIA	
	Ethnic Group	Baragaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	
1.	Daily period from which observation points were randomly chosen	14 hrs.	16 hrs.	16 hrs.	16 hrs.	16 hrs.	16 hrs.	15 hrs.	16 hrs.	Varies
2.	Number of months observed	8 mo. (34 wks.)	12 mo. (52 wks.)	12 mo. (52 wks.)	12 mo. (52 wks.)	6 mo. (26 wks.)	6 mo. (26 wks.)	6 mo. (26 wks.)	6 mo. (26 wks.)	Varies
3.	Starting Dates	1 Jan. 78	26 Feb. 78	27 Feb. 78	26 Feb. 78	1 Aug. 78	4 Aug. 78	25 Jan. 79	31 Jul. 78	
4.	Number of Sample households	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	192
5.	Sample population for TAS study	110	123	133	146	115	119	307	168	1221
6.	Observation points per week per household	3	3	3*	3	3	3	3	3	3 random times per week
7.	Total observations per person in each village	(34x3) 102	(52x3) 156	(52x3) 156	(52x3) 156	(26x3) 78	(26x3) 78	(26x3) 78	(26x3) 78	Varies
8.	Approximate total number of observations per village	11220	19188	20748	22776	8970	9282	23946	13104	129234

* Dr. Molnar the Researcher working in Thabang actually made 6 visits a week to each household and collected twice the number of observations on each individual. This "double data" however, has not been included in the aggregate study. Through an analysis of this data at a future time the Researcher hopes to evaluate whether an increased number of observation points has any affect on the time allocation patterns that emerge.

Form A

Daily Activities

Village No. | Household No. | Month | Date | Hour

Activity Code and Description \ Person Code and Name		01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	-
Code	Activity										
01010											
01020	Animal Husbandry										
	Agriculture										

Monograph Content and Format

Although in a certain sense the Field Manual and the quantitative survey instruments provided a broad analytical framework for the data collection effort, the extent of the analytical uniformity intended for the village studies should perhaps be clarified. This is especially necessary with regard to the qualitative aspect where a great deal of flexibility in terms of both data collection and interpretation was expected and in fact, encouraged. The Field Manual was intended to ensure that certain basic information was gathered on all six "dimensions" while allowing the individual researchers to concentrate their attention on those areas which particularly interested them or which emerged as central to understanding the status of women in the community where they worked. Thus each team member has organized his or her material in a different way to address those theoretical issues which he or she felt to be the most important from among those discussed in the Manual.

The quantitative data gathered through the questionnaires and schedules were of course uniform for all villages. The same surveys were administered at each research site and a set of standard tabulations were prepared for all villages. Nevertheless, the final decision as to which statistics or tables to incorporate in each monograph and how to interpret them was left to the individual author. Some have relied heavily on their quantitative data and in the course of their analysis developed new ways to present it in tabular or graph form. Others have preferred to concentrate on the presentation and analysis of their qualitative data gathered through participant observation. To facilitate comparison between the villages a standard set of tables on demographic and socio-economic aspects of each community have been included in the Appendices of the summary and aggregate analysis monograph.

Research Team

Status of Women Project

CEDA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION*

THE RESEARCH

This case study is one of the eight carried out for the project "The Status of Women in Nepal". The framework and methodology were the same for all eight studies (see Methodological Foreword) but the interpretation had to be adjusted for Bulu in the light of the field work carried out from August 1978 to March 1979.

It became clear, for example, that the economic stratification was not relevant in much of the data, and that a comparison of castes was not useful since the sample size for three of the four castes was so small as to provide no independently significant data.

Observation and data collection were considered equally valuable. In certain areas observation could not produce the required information, for example, information on marriage and separation. Similarly data collection alone could not produce the whole picture of such areas of life as decision-making.

The field work was made easier by the researcher being a Newar and a female. Even so, the villagers were suspicious at the beginning that she was from the government, sent to investigate their tax dues. It took about a month to gain their confidence and for them to give information about their lives. By the middle of the period in the field she was fully accepted and trusted, but even so it is highly probable that production yields were under-reported. The villagers instinctively average out production yields over several years, and tend to discount anything over this average so that the maximum is not given. They are also nervous that what they say will be too different from the figures given to the government tax office.

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*I would like to specially recognise the tremendous efforts put in by Ms. Lindsay Friedman in helping to get this monograph ready for publication under immense pressure of time. Without her help the work would not have been even in its present shape. I would also like to express my gratitude to Iswarananda Shrestacharya for his help in preparing the glossary for the Newari vocabulary.

LOCATION

Bulu is a peripheral village of the Kathmandu valley, lying near the southern foothills of the valley, a satellite settlement of Chapagaon in Lalitpur district.

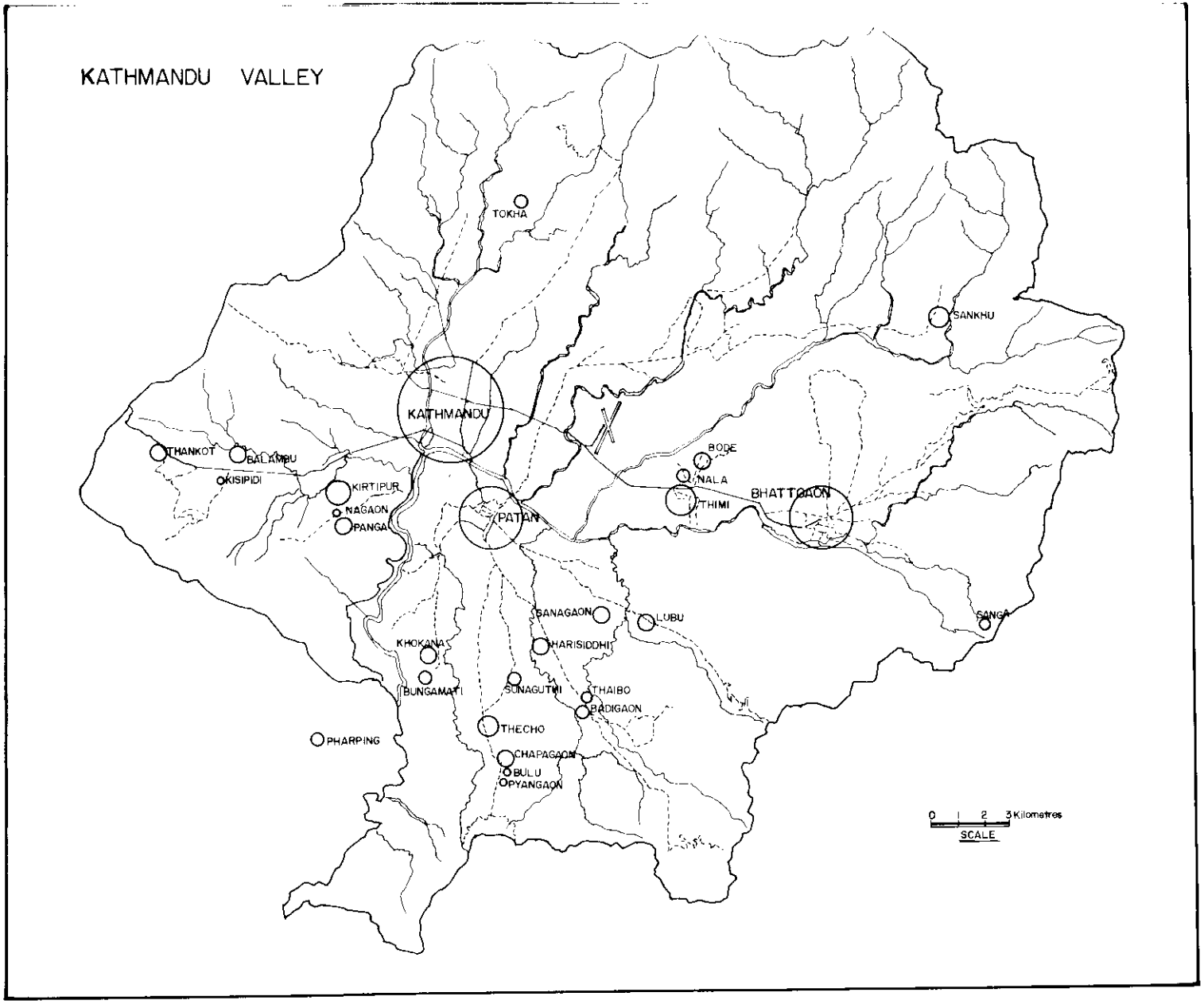
There is a ring road around Kathmandu city, on the south of which is Lalitpur (also called Patan), and at Lagankhel in Lalitpur a motorable dirt road branches south east off the ring road passing four villages, Sonaguthi, Thecho, Chapagaon and Bulu before ending at a small village, Lele. Bulu is a satellite settlement of Chapagaon in Lalitpur district (see Map of Bulu). There is a direct minibus service from Chapagaon to Lagankhel which takes about half an hour, as do taxis, but to get from Bulu to Kathmandu city centre, a distance of 13 kilometers, takes another three quarters of an hour in a bus from Lagankhel, as there is no direct transport there.

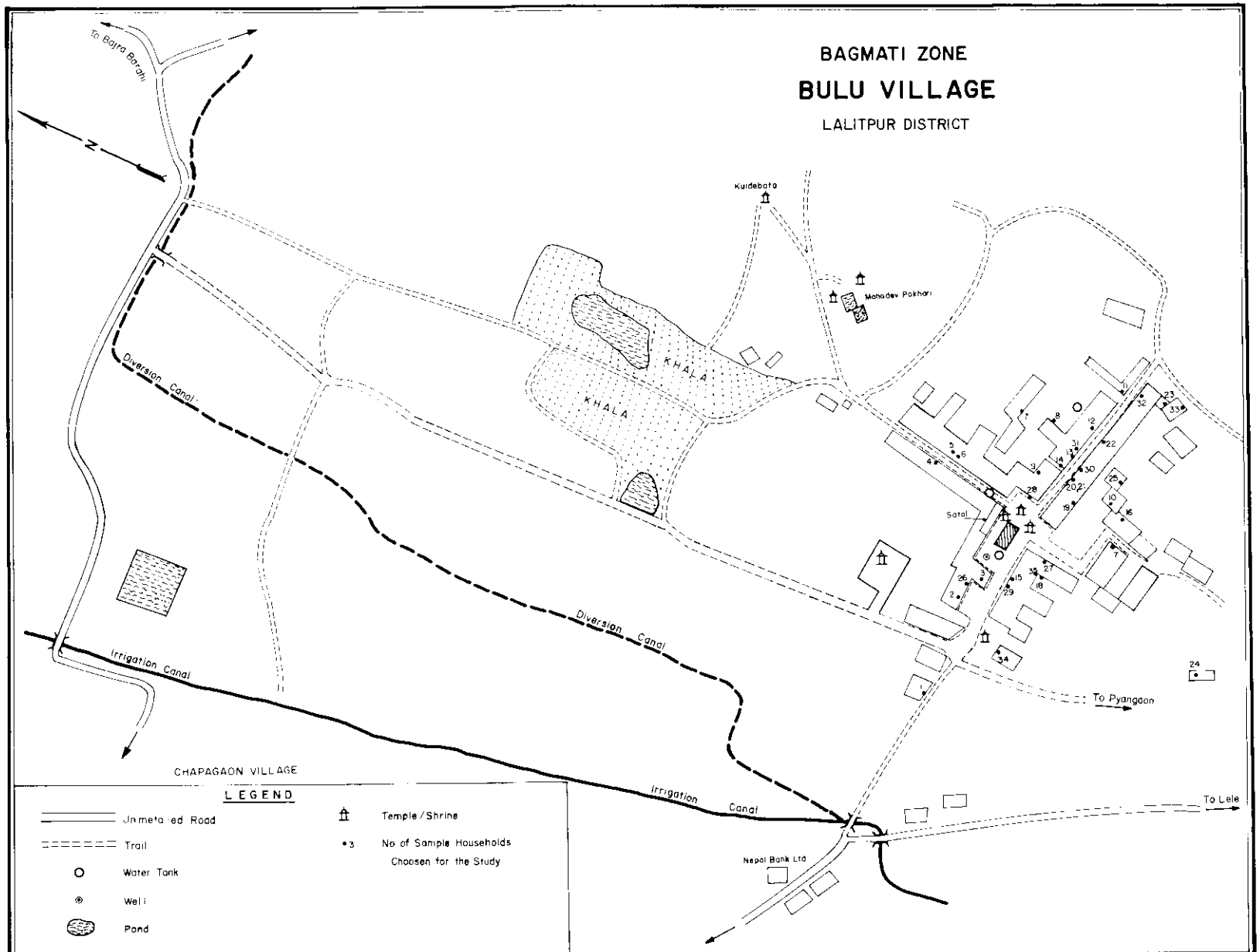
Bulu is a small village just off the dirt road. To the south of the village lies Pyangaon, a ten minute walk away, to the north Bajrabarahi, also about ten minutes away, and to the north-west Chapagaon, separated from Bulu only by the road. To the north-east are terraced cultivated fields mostly belonging to the Bulumi, the villagers of Bulu.

Bulu falls under the Chapagaon panchayat with its main administrative centre in Lalitpur. The offices of the district panchayat, the Chief District Officer (CDO), the district education office, the district court, the customs and excise office and various other government offices are all located in Lalitpur. For all official government matters, such as payment of land tax, selling or buying land or any disputes in the court, the villagers have to go to the district offices. The local village panchayat has very few administrative functions to perform as most of them are handled by the district offices in Lalitpur.

CLIMATE

The climate is similar to that of the Kathmandu Valley with two distinct seasons. The summer monsoon wet season is from mid-June to mid-September, the precipitation varying from year to year between 50" and 60" and the maximum temperature occasionally reaching 90°F. In 1976 the rainfall was exceptionally low, such that a few of the farmers reported that they could not even plant paddy, and the village output was said to be very low in comparison with preceding years.


KATHMANDU VALLEY
TOKHA
SANKHU
KATHMANDU
THANKOT
BALAMBU
OKISIPIDI
KIRTIPUR
NAGAON
PANGA
PATAN
BODE
NALA
THIMI
BHATTGAON
SANGA
LUBU
GANAGAON
HARISIDDHI
KHOKANA
BUNGAMATI
SUNAGUTHI
THAIBO
BADIGAON
THECHO
PHARPING
CHAPAGAON
BULU
PYANGAON
0 1 2 3 Kilometres
SCALE


BAGMATI ZONE
BULU VILLAGE
LALITPUR DISTRICT
To Bafra Barahi
N
Kuldebata
Mahadev Pokhari
KHALA
KHALA
Diversion Canal
Diversion Canal
Irrigation Canal
Irrigation Canal
Irrigation Canal
Satal
To Pyangaon
To Lele
Nepal Bank Ltd
CHAPAGAON VILLAGE
LEGEND
Unmetalled Road
Trail
Water Tank
Well
Pond
Temple/Shrine
No of Sample Households Choosen for the Study

This is the peak agricultural season for the villagers when a maximum amount of time is put in to paddy planting.

The three winter months, starting from mid-November, are cold and dry. The winter days are pleasant and sunny by day and cold at night. This is the time of year when the villagers have least work in the fields, and they sit out in the sun all day till sunset doing lājya, meaning leisurely work.

The months in between these two seasons are moderate and mild, with sun and very occasional rain, warm days and cool nights.

THE VILLAGE AND ITS SETTING

A typical Newar settlement as described by Kirkpatrick (1811), Bulu consists of a cluster of houses on a plateau, slightly higher than Kathmandu city, with terraced lowlands for cultivation. A stone-paved road through the village passes a small Bhairab temple on the right and leads to the central village square enclosed by three patis (buildings for community use).

One of these patis, to which a small Ganesh shrine is attached, is two storied, and most of the community religious activities take place in it. Adjoining the Ganesh shrine is a small Narayan temple. In the middle of the square is a raised brick and stone platform holding a water tank, constructed a few years ago mainly on the villagers' initiative, beside which is a well, which used to be the main water supply for the villagers but which has now been largely replaced by the water tank.

The houses of the village are attached one to another by a wall. Most have a small plot of land, or an arable yard, either attached to the house or nearby, called keba, literally meaning garden. Vegetables are grown in the keba on a kitchen garden scale, some households growing enough after their own needs have been met to sell a few and earn a few rupees every month.

The houses are poorly structured with bad ventilation and poor lighting, so that many are dark even during the day time. Houses are mostly four or five storied, each floor with a specific use. The ground floor is used mostly for keeping animals and sometimes a loom. The first floor is used either for living, or for storing if the house is spacious enough.

The second floor is for sleeping and the top floor is the kitchen where people usually cook and eat and, on some occasions, also hold feasts. Above the kitchen is the terrace which is used for drying grain, vegetables and clothes, and for basking in the sun. The staircases leading to each of the floors are rickety and precarious but children of three or four master them with skill and dexterity. The villagers spend very little of their time in-doors, since they are most of the time either in the fields or in the central village square or in their back-yards. Houses are used mainly for cooking, eating, storing and sleeping, which is probably one reason for their poor condition.

In each of the houses there is invariably a pit dug under the stair case on the ground floor. The pit is used for disposing of waste materials such as ashes, animal dung, grass, and for urinating in, since there are no toilets in any of the houses. When these waste materials are decomposed they are used as manure for the fields. When asked the reason for not having toilets in the houses, the answer was usually "Who will clean it?" or that it was too much of a bother. People say that in any case "khetko petma, petko khetma" (Nepali), meaning "what comes out of the field goes into the stomach, and what is in the stomach goes out to the fields." This seems to represent the life of the villagers who are attached to and totally dependent on the land for their existence. What is grown on the land is consumed and transformed into matter to be put back into the land. The villagers attach no stigma to dirt. They make productive use of it and any waste materials, always recycling them into the land.

To an outsider the village looks dirty and unhygienic with children defecating in the lanes nearby the houses and a lot of waste materials lying around.

The available health facilities in the village are inadequate. There is one government ayurvedic health center in Bajrabarahi, and a family planning clinic, run with the support of the Shanta Bhawan missionary hospital, which distributes contraceptive pills and provides for natal check-ups and examinations, but it is reported that very few women go to the clinic. Both health centres are poorly equipped with medicine, equipment and staff. There are also a few local dispensaries in Chapagaon which some of the villagers use. In case of emergency the nearest hospital is in Lalitpur and the other one in the district is Shanta Bhawan hospital. The villagers do not go to a hospital unless they are in a critical condition when it is usually already too late.

The villagers mostly use indigeneous healing methods or consult local healers and offer pujā (worship) to the deities which are identified with the particular ailment. Among the local health practitioners there are deo ma (women possessed by ajima, literally meaning "grandmother", or in other words goddess of protection) and birth attendants (aji).

Educational facilities are available. There is a high school up to class ten in Bajrabarahi about ten minutes walk from Bulu, one primary school up to class three in Pyangaon, about ten minutes walk away. Some children go to these schools and a few go to a high school in Thecho about twenty to thirty minutes walk from Bulu. The school enrollment is low in the village, in spite of the accessibility of schools and the recent government educational policy of providing free primary education. The impact of free primary education and of free text books seems to have been negligible.

Very little modernization in farming practices has been introduced. Most of the farmers use a mixture of chemical fertilizer and home made manure and have introduced "tapach" (called locally taichin), a new variety of paddy seeds. The centre which supplies the fertilizers and the improved variety of seeds is the Sajha office located in Chapagaon, about five minutes from Bulu. But the villagers report that they do not get a regular supply of the fertilizer and often it is not there when they need it. The only irrigation in and around the village are two canals, one of which (Raj kulo) runs along the road side by Chapagaon and the other is the water from the roadside canal diverted by an earth cut canal through the fields around Bajrabarahi into Bulu. With the construction of this canal one additional winter crop of potatoes has been made possible.

The nearest banking facility is also in Chapagaon.

THE VILLAGE HISTORY

Bulu is also known as Shivapur, the town of the god Shiva, also called Mahadev and Pashupati. There is an image of Mahadev towards the north of the village but it is said that the village is dedicated to the Mahadev in Pashupatinath in Kathmandu, the most revered Hindu temple in Kathmandu. The Bulumis claim that the original Pashupatinath used to be in Bulu and for this reason until recently used to take daily offerings of milk and jasmine flowers to Pashupatinath in Kathmandu. There is no evidence to support this claim except

that there is a guthi in Bulu which is dedicated to Mahadev (see The Guthi in Chapter 2).

The founding of the settlement is attributed to the Lalitpur King Siddhinarsingh Malla. Inscriptions on copper plate are said to mention its establishment in 1614 (Wright 1877:233, H.M.G. 1975:104). The name 'Bulu' suggests it was established late, "bulu" in Newari meaning "slow or dull" which could be extended to mean "late". The people of Chapagaon, half jokingly, half seriously, call the Bulumis slow and dull.

The story goes that the Bajrabarahi deity of the temple in Bajrabarahi, the village ten minutes walk to the north of Bulu, which now comes under the jurisdiction of the people of Chapagaon, used to belong to Bulu. Even to-day the Bulumis celebrate the festival of Bajrabarahi on the first day of the month of Chaitra (March to April). It is said that on this particular day some time in the past, some Chapagaon people went to the temple, where the deity was being looked after by some Bulumis, and tricked the Bulumis into accepting papa (childish term for sweetmeats) in exchange for the deity which they took away. To this day people from Chapagaon distribute sweetmeats to the Bulumis at Bajrabarahi during their annual festival, and in the evening they take the deity to Chapagaon. They tease the Bulumis for their stupidity and the Bulumis tease them for their cunning.

THE PEOPLE

The Newars are probably the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu valley and to-day they form the bulk of its population. In Bulu all 96 households are Newar, of whom 81.3 percent are Jyapus, 13.5 percent Shresthas, 5.2 percent Desars and 2.1 percent Naus. The Jyapus, who used to be called "Jyaphu"* (Oldfield 1974:147, 148), are thought by many to reflect the "purer" Newari culture, because they have maintained much of the cultural heritage of the valley in carpentry, carving, weaving and pottery. They are most

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*Jya, means "work" and phu means "capable", Jyaphu meaning "capable of hard work".

respected, however, as agriculturalists who have made the valley one of the most fertile areas in the world.*

There is the further possibility that they have some connection with the primitive Aryans whose religious and cultural practices (Tilak 1956:40-41) seem to be remarkably similar. The religious and cultural practices of the Bulumi, which are the same as other Jyapus, in worshipping the power of nature as a manifestation of divine will and energy with elaborate sacrifices, their skills in spinning, weaving, metal and wood work and pottery, their highly developed agricultural practices, and their social institutions all show some similarity with those of the primitive Aryans.

It is said that the greatest civilization in the whole of the Himalayas, with the exception of Kashmir, was the Valley of Nepal, that is, the Kathmandu Valley. The question still remains as to who the people were who created this civilization. Regmi concludes that they must have been Newars (1956: 13-14). Today the Newars are a heterogeneous mixture of racial types speaking a Tibeto-Burman language and with religious and cultural practices, amongst the Jyapus in particular, which resemble those of the ancient Aryan civilization. How this unusual combination has arisen has still to be uncovered.

VILLAGE LIFE

The villagers work hard all year round. Men and women are out in the fields, planting, caring for their crops and harvesting during the farming seasons, and while their parents are in the fields the children either look after their younger siblings or take the animals out to graze. They are almost totally self-sufficient for food.

When they are not farming they, the women mainly, are weaving cotton, wool or straw for clothing or other items of general use.

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*Taking an average for 1955/56 through 1960/61 the paddy yield per hectare of arable land in Japan was 4.56 tons and 2.54 tons in China (Ishikawa; 1967: 70) which is the highest in the world. Around the eighteenth century the paddy yield in the Kathmandu Valley had already reached 4 muris per ropani of land which is 3.9 tons per hectare (Hamilton; 1819:225). Today, the average yield of Bulu is 4.3 tons per hectare.

The Jyapu women all over the valley wear the same kinds of saris, which they weave themselves, made out of coarse black cotton with a red border of an inch or an inch and a half, which does not show the dirt and which stands up to hard wear. They also weave the shawls made out of their own sheep's wool that they wear in the winter.

Although everyone works hard and expects to work hard, people know how to relax also. During the slack agricultural seasons especially, when there is less work in the fields, and in the evenings, men, women and children sit together, families and neighbours, in the village square or in their back yards, chatting, gossiping, joking, often quite bawdy but never disrespectful of their elders. Men and women pass round the hukka (hubble-bubble pipe).

There are plenty of festivals, all with a religious base, which fall, fortuitously or not, in the slack agricultural season. Although there is no surplus for any of the villagers, indeed more often there is barely enough to meet the minimum requirements, during these festivals, usually as a part of the ritual, a considerable amount of food is eaten and liquor and rice beer drunk by all, even the children.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

In 1974/75 the total village population was 400 (H.M.G. 1975:104); now it is 538 in 96 households. This shows an increase in population of 25.7 percent over a period of five years, which means an annual increase of 6.1 percent. This is an exceptionally high rate of population growth compared with the national average of 2.7 percent and is probably the result of two causes. One is that many women marry into the village, and the other is that the installation of a water tank has reduced waterborne disease and resulted in a reduction in child mortality. In this case study 35 households, which is about 36 percent of all households, were taken for sampling.

These 35 households were selected on the basis of stratified random sampling to include all of the four castes: 27 Jyapu households, 5 Shresthas, 2 Desars and 1 Nau. In the middle of the field work the Nau family migrated from the village so that only part of the data, those on Time Allocation, could be collected. Apart from that, the sampling for the Shresthas and the Desars in particular, is so small that few conclusions about these two castes have been drawn from the data alone. Data from them have been used mainly to

support observations made in the field. The sample then is basically a sample of Jyapus and the significant data from the sample are basically those from the Jyapu caste, which is appropriate since Bulu is really a Jyapu village.

Of the total population of 187 people in the 35 households, 94 are males and 93 females. All except the Nau household and one Shrestha family are farmers by profession.

For uniformity of the study these sample households were classified into top, middle and bottom economic strata according to the cash and kind income of the household (for the basis of classification see the Methodological Foreword). This classification produced 9 households containing 39 persons in the top economic stratum, 13 households with 78 persons in the middle and 12 households with 70 persons in the bottom economic stratum (Tables 1.1 and 1.2 and Figure 1.1). The overall sex ratio for the sample households is 98.9 males per 100 females. This sex ratio is slightly higher than the national sex ratio which is 101.4 males per 100 females, and different also from the census figures for Lalitpur district which show 103 males per 100 females. But the sex ratio varies with economic stratum and age. In the top economic stratum the proportion of females is higher: 69.6 males per 100 females, but the proportion of females in the older age group is less. In the middle and bottom economic strata the ratio of males to females is higher. For all strata the proportion of males is quite high between the age of 2-9 years which falls sharply between 10-14 years. This is probably because boys around 10 to 14 quite often get jobs as servants and some go to Kathmandu and Lalitpur to study, staying with relatives, and return to the village for marriage between 15 and 24 years of age. The reduction in the proportion of males in subsequent age groups suggest a slightly higher death rate for males than females, as there are very few males who ever migrate from the village or if they do they mostly do so with their families. The lower proportion of males to females may also be due to women marrying into the village from outside.

Contrary to the pattern of extended family structures of urban Newars, in Bulu the nuclear family structure is the base of the family system. Of the total sample population of Bulu, 57.2 percent live in nuclear families (Table 1.3). Even those that are categorised as extended do not contain a large number of family members, since the households categorised as extended families contain only parents with their married sons. The largest household size in the sample is 11 members, and the average is 5.34. This average household size conforms to the average all Nepal household size of 5.53.

TABLE 1.1

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group \ Sex	Male		Female		Total		Sex Ratio Males per 100 Females
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
0-1	2	2.2	5	5.3	7	3.7	40.0
2-4	10	10.8	7	7.4	17	9.1	142.9
5-9	16	17.2	13	13.8	29	15.5	123.1
10-14	11	11.8	15	16.0	26	13.9	73.3
15-24	17	18.3	16	17.0	33	17.7	106.3
25-34	11	11.8	12	12.8	23	12.3	91.7
35-49	16	17.2	17	18.1	33	17.7	94.1
50-59	7	7.5	8	8.5	15	8.0	87.5
60 & Above	3	3.2	1	1.1	4	2.1	300.0
Total	93	100.0	94	100.0	187	100.0	98.9

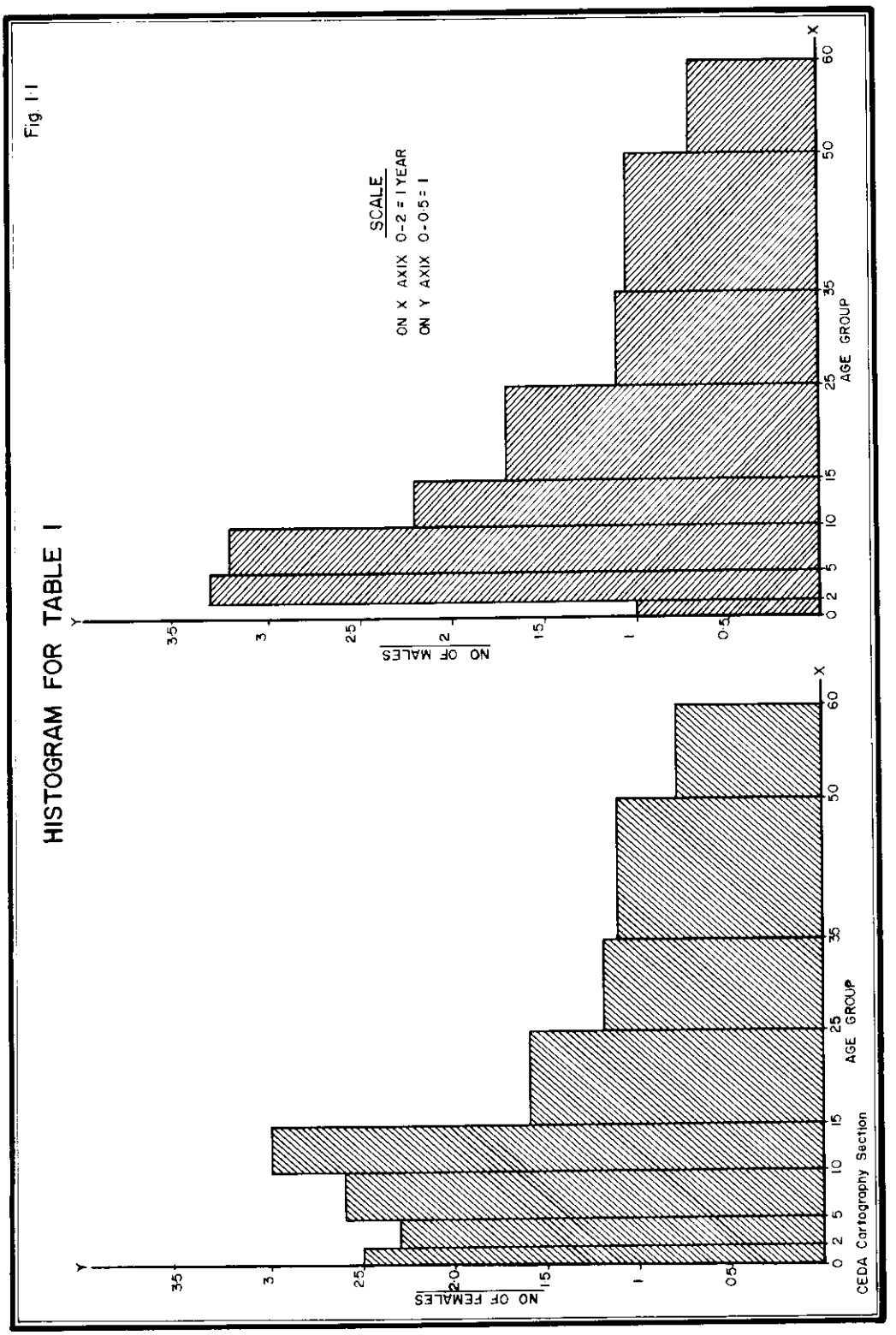


Fig. I-I
HISTOGRAM FOR TABLE I
SCALE
ON X AXIX 0-2 = 1 YEAR
ON Y AXIX 0-0-5 = 1
NO OF MALES
NO OF FEMALES
AGE GROUP
CEDA Cartography Section

TABLE 1.2

RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES BY AGE AND ECONOMIC STRATA

Economic Strata / Age Group	Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-1	1	0	1	2(50.0)	0	3	2	5(40.0)
2-4	0	1	5	3(166.7)	5	3(166.7)	10	7(142.9)
5-9	1	2(50.0)	9	5(180.0)	6	6(100)	16	13(123.1)
10-14	2	5(40)	3	4(75.0)	6	6(100)	11	15(73.3)
15-24	6	6(100)	6	6(100)	5	4(125)	17	16(106.3)
25-34	1	1(100)	7	7(100)	3	4(75)	12	12(91.7)
35-49	2	3(66.7)	6	8(75)	8	6(133.3)	16	17(94.1)
50-59	3	4(75.0)	2	2(100)	2	2(100)	7	8(87.5)
60 & Above	0	1	2	0	1	0	3	1(300)
Total	16	23(69.6)	41	37(110.8)	36	34(105.9)	93	94(98.9)

TABLE 1.3

SAMPLE POPULATION BY FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(In numbers)

Economic Strata \ Family Structure	Family Structure			
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	Total
Top	21 (53.8) (19.6)	18 (46.2) (25.7)	0	39 (100.0) (20.9)
Middle	40 (51.3) (37.4)	38 (48.7) (54.3)	0	78 (100.0) (41.7)
Bottom	46 (65.7) (43.0)	14 (20.0) (20.0)	10 (14.3) (100.0)	70 (100.0) (37.4)
All Strata	107 (57.2) (100.0)	70 (37.4) (100.0)	10 (53.4) (100.0)	187 (100.0) (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages i.e. first row percentages and second column percentages.

Conceptions, Births and Fertility

From the demographic data that was generated it was not possible to calculate the mortality rate for children, but it was possible to arrive at the fertility rate for the sample female population. The average fertility rate of the sample female population is 4.43. If we take the age specific fertility rate for those in the age group 15-19 there were no births and for those in 20-24 years the average number of births is 1.50. For females between the age of 30 and 49 years the number of children was 6.52 which is the highest of all age groups, and after that age fertility declines (4.89) (Tables 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6). This is probably because of the high incidence of separation and remarriages between the age of 14 and 24. Chance of separation or divorce is directly related to having children. In fact women regard it better not to have children immediately after marriage. But the actual average number of surviving children is 2.93 which suggests the chance of survival is about 60 percent. The fertility rate for the females in the top economic stratum and in the nuclear family seems to be slightly higher than for the females of poorer economic strata and in extended family structures. The average fertility of Bulu coincides with that of the Lalitpur district average of 2.03 (National Census 1971).

Literacy and Education

There is a general awareness in the village that education is important for the future of the children and prestige is attached to the attainment of education. Those children who go to school get special care and attention compared with those who do not. It is, invariably, the male children that get preference in schooling over the female children. Of the total sample population in the 5-14 age group all the females are illiterate (Table 1.7). In the 15 and above age group only five females are literate of whom 2 have received formal education, one in a Buddhist Bihar (monastry) in Patan, and the other in a primary school but only for a brief period. Even if the girls are sent to school for primary education they drop out after a few months. Of the total sample population above the age of 5 years 49.1 percent of the males are literate compared to only 3.1 percent of the females. Of these 21.5 percent of the males and 1.2 percent of the females received formal education. This alarming discrepancy of literacy between males and females is mainly because of the high input of female labour in the household economy. This

will be clear in the section on the time use patterns of the household members in Chapter 3. This suggests that the free primary education and distribution of books have had no or little impact on the female education in the rural areas.

TABLE 1.4

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS AND BIRTHS PER ADULT FEMALE BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Conception/Birth / Economic Strata	Number of Respondents	Conception	Birth	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Total
Top	12	5.50	5.00	1.08	1.83	2.92
Middle	19	4.63	4.26	1.63	1.37	3.00
Bottom	15	4.47	4.20	1.40	1.47	2.87
Village Average	46	4.80	4.43	1.41	1.52	2.93

TABLE 1.5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS AND BIRTHS PER ADULT FEMALE BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

Conception/Birth / Family Structure	Number of Respondents	Conception	Birth	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Total
Nuclear	25	5.40	5.20	1.52	1.64	3.16
Extended	19	4.26	3.68	1.37	1.37	2.74
Others	2	2.50	2.00	0.50	1.50	2.00
Village Average	46	4.80	4.43	1.41	1.52	2.93

TABLE 1.6

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS AND BIRTHS PER ADULT FEMALE BY AGE GROUP

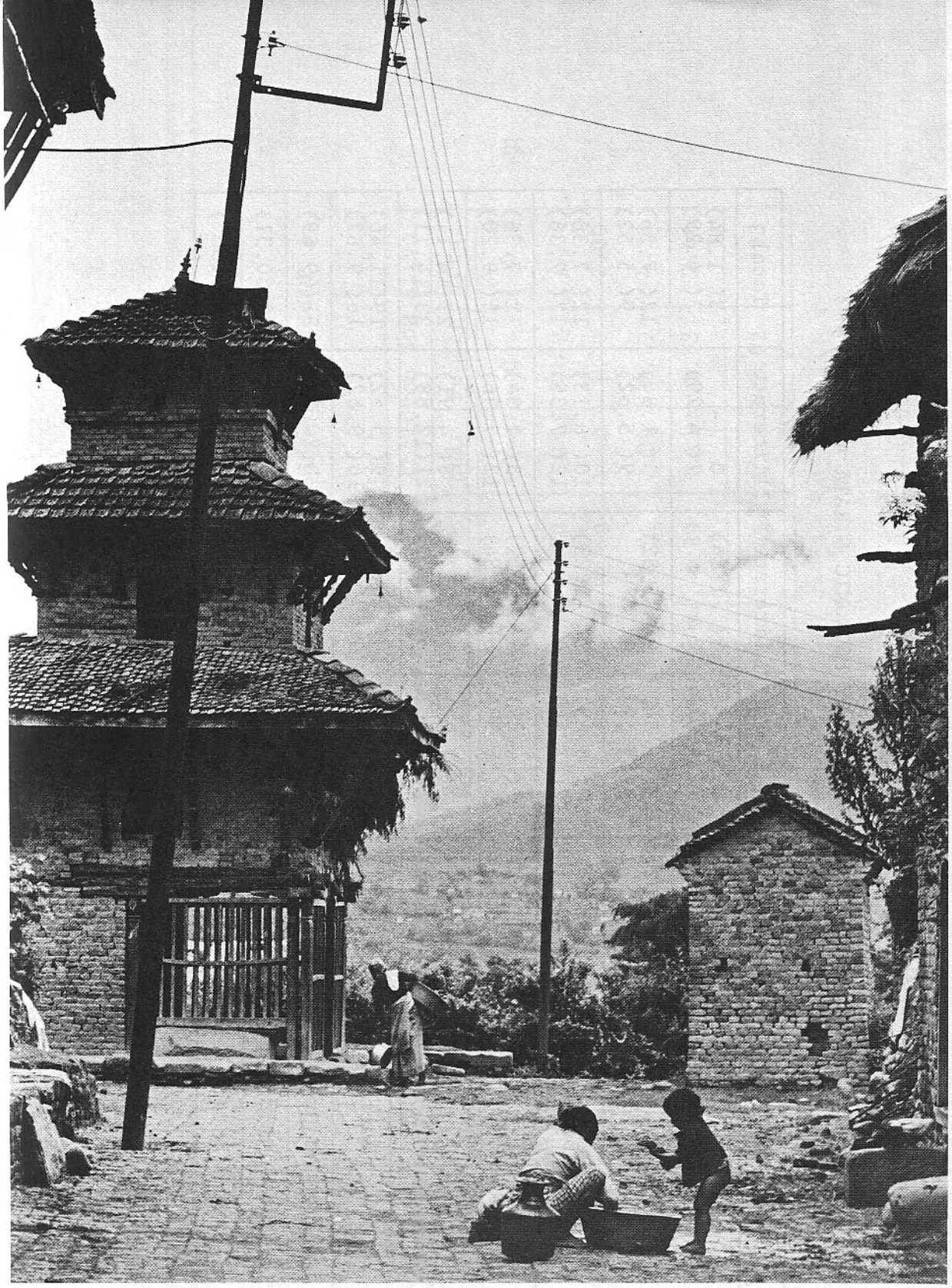
Age Group / Conception/Birth	Number of Respondents	Conception	Birth	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Total
15-19	3	1.00	0	0	0	0
20-24	6	1.50	1.50	0.67	0.50	1.17
25-29	7	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
30-49	21	6.86	6.52	2.09	2.29	4.38
50+	9	5.33	4.89	1.11	1.33	2.44
Village Average	46	4.67	4.43	1.41	1.52	2.93

TABLE 1.7

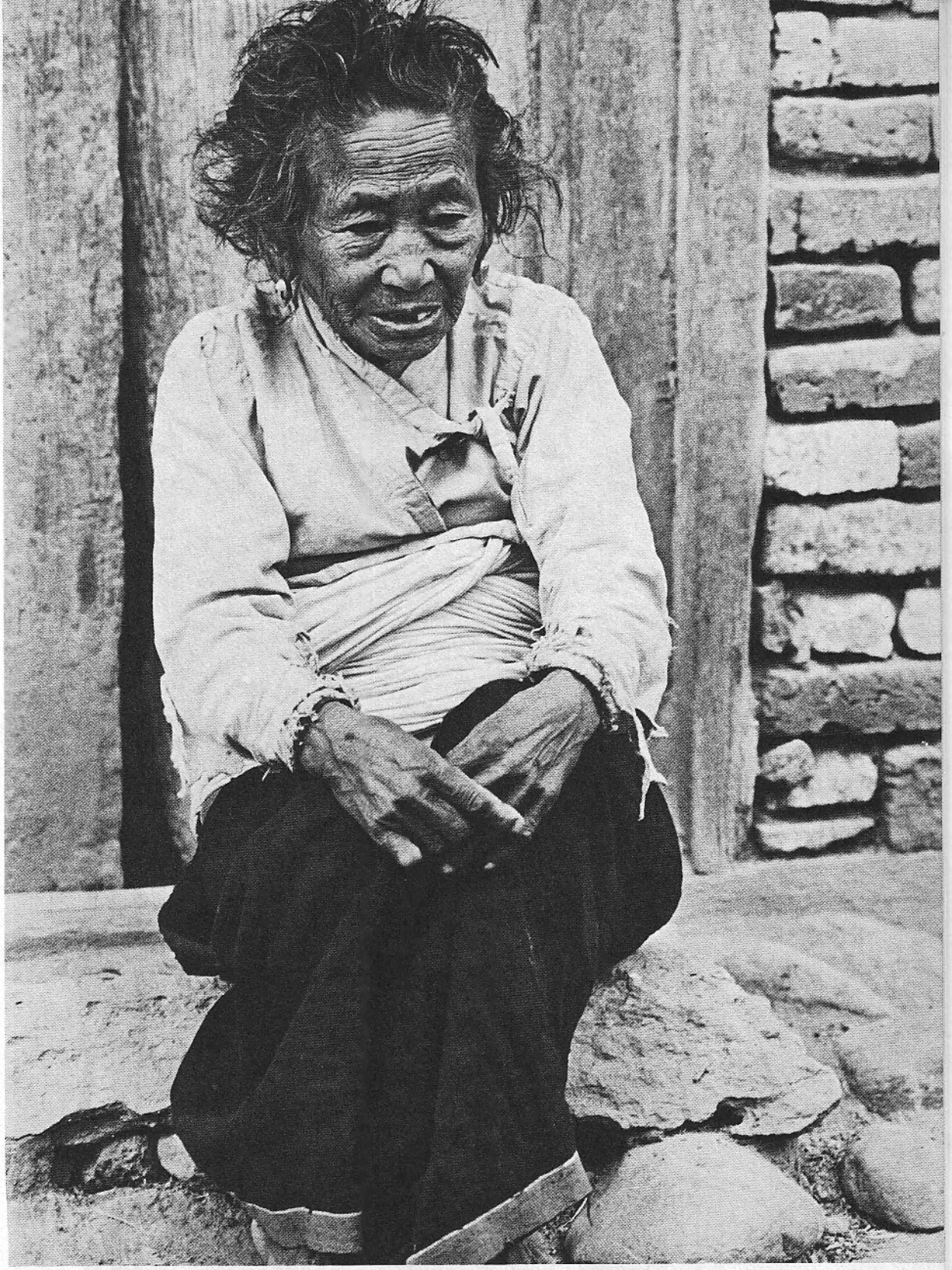
EDUCATION AND LITERACY PATTERN BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

Age		Sex	Schooling	No Schooling	Literate	Illiterate	Total
5-14	Top	M	3(1.84)	0 -	3(1.84)	0 -	3(1.84)
		F	0 -	7(4.29)	0 -	7(4.29)	7(4.29)
	Middle	M	9(5.52)	3(1.84)	9(5.52)	3(1.84)	12(7.36)
		F	0 -	9(5.52)	0 -	9(5.52)	9(5.52)
	Bottom	M	2(1.23)	10(6.13)	2(1.23)	10(6.13)	12(7.36)
		F	0 -	12(7.36)	0 -	12(7.36)	12(7.36)
Above 15	Top	M	5(3.07)	7(4.29)	9(5.52)	3(1.84)	12(7.36)
		F	1(0.61)	14(8.59)	3(1.84)	12(7.36)	15(9.20)
	Middle	M	10(6.13)	13(7.98)	15(9.20)	8(4.91)	23(14.11)
		F	1(0.61)	22(13.50)	2(1.23)	21(12.88)	23(14.11)
	Bottom	M	4(2.45)	15(9.20)	10(6.13)	9(5.52)	19(11.66)
		F	0 -	16(9.82)	0 -	16(9.82)	16(9.82)
Total	Top	M	33(21.47)	48(29.45)	48(49.08)	33(20.25)	81(49.69)
	Middle	F	2(1.23)	80(49.08)	5(3.07)	77(47.24)	82(50.31)
	Bottom	T	35(21.47)	128(78.53)	53(132.52)	110(67.48)	163(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.



Part of the village.



Nearly a life-time of hard work.

Cheerful in spite of her personal load.

Tattoo decorations.

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DIMENSION

Based on cross cultural studies it has often been argued and theorised that female power, value and status is a function of the relative integration or separation of the domestic and public spheres. In societies where domestic and public spheres are "integrated" the authority concentrates around a hierachy of males (Lamphere 1973: 100; Rosaldo 1973). Although this may be true of many societies, an "inside - outside" dichotomy between the sexes does not necessarily mean that females do not have power, value or status. In this particular community under study there is a quite clear demarcation of domestic and public spheres of activities between females and males, but power seems to be shared. For an understanding of this community it is in fact more useful to distinguish three kinds of spheres: domestic, which means activities within the household, community, which means activities and social relations between households within the village, and the public sphere which means interaction outside the village. This chapter is concerned with women in the domestic and community spheres, and shows their relationships, roles and influence in the family and society.

The role and status of women vis-a-vis men in the family and community is a complex one. It is very difficult to demarcate where male dominance and power start or vice versa. Although women have no legitimate authority in the society their power and influence are acknowledged, and it has impact also on certain public spheres of activities which appear to be the domain of men only. Without any defined legitimacy it is difficult but crucial to understand "where" and "how" they exert their influence.

The Newars of Bulu can said to be very well organised, both at the family and community level. At the community level guthi, philanthropic institutions, are the basis of their organisation for the purely functional purpose of providing religious and social services to the community at large. Each of the family households chooses to join one or another guthi according to their preference. At the family level kinship or blood relationship is the basis of their organisation and each household family is born into a particular group. Both organisations attach a great deal of respect and reverence to age and seniority.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the guthi and kinship organisation of the Newars of Bulu and how they group themselves together. It attempts to extract the roles of women in the society and see how these relate to the roles of men and how the women participate and play their roles in relation to men. It examines the influence of women on family structures and marriage patterns and describes the child rearing and caring practices and the process of socialization in reinforcing the role of women in the domestic sphere.

THE GUTHI

A guthi is a philanthropic institution set up in the society with the specific objective of providing religious and social welfare services to its members (guthiyārs). At the same time it also has the function of preserving the norms and values of the community, so that any deviation results in either a social boycott by other members of the society of the defaulting member or household, or in a fine decided by the thakali, head of the guthi, and other members. Each caste has its own guthi, and there are many different types of guthi, set up with different objectives. All are religious, but some are purely religious, while others have also the objective of providing social services to the community.* In Bulu there are four types of guthi, the first is the sanāā or si guthi, the second is the sāāthnu guthi, the third is the maraa asthā guthi and the fourth is the mahadev guthi. Membership of these guthis does not depend on blood relationship. Every household is free to join whichever guthi they wish, but usually households continue to be members of the guthi organized or chosen by their fathers or grandfathers. Membership is barred to thyākamachās (step children) brought into a household by a previously married daughter-in-law, and descendents of the thyākamachās. However, the services and facilities provided by the guthi are given also to such thyākamachās on payment of five pathis (12.5 kilos) of paddy to the guthi every year. The several thyākamachās in the village, though receiving the services, cannot join in the rituals and religious ceremonies of the guthi.

Normally marriages are allowed between members of a guthi. The organization pattern of these guthis follows

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*For details of these types of guthi see Nepali 1965: 191-197.

that of the dewāli which is discussed later in this chapter under Kinship Organization. It follows the same hierarchical pattern as in the kinship organization: the eldest among the member households becomes the head, or the thakali, and the seven subsequent elders are given their position or status according to their age, and are called nwaku, swaku, peku, nyāku, khuku, nhaekuu, and cyaku. Each guthi has its own set of rules and customs, which all the members adhere to and follow strictly.

Sanāā or Si Guthi

Sanāā guthi is the guthi associated with services for the dead. The main purpose of this guthi is to provide funeral services to the household in which the death has occurred.

Altogether there are four such sanāā guthis in the village, two Jyapu sanāā guthis, one Shrestha and one Desar. If anyone from the member households dies the other members of the guthi help the bereaved household in the cremation. The corpse is carried on a bamboo frame and covered with dewaa (special material for a shroud), and taken to Bajrabarahi for cremation in a procession. Dewaa is the symbol of death and is kept within the guthi and used for members of the guthi who die, each sanāā guthi having its own dewaa. Among the Jyapus the deity Bhairab is worshipped, and their Bhairab image is a head of Bhairab made of copper. The dewaa and the deity are kept in a box in three guthis, and in an earthen vessel covered with an earthen bowl in the other.

The guthi ceremony is observed once a year. Each of the member households takes it in turn to organize and prepare the ceremony, which involves pujā (worship) to the deity and feasting, and this is referred to as pāā. The household to which the pāā falls also keeps the deity and the dewaa in their house for that year. Among the two Jyapu groups of sanāā guthi the first have 38 households as members and the second have 33 households which means that each household has pāā once in every 38 or 33 years.

The guthi is run and maintained from income from the land donated to the guthi and from the monetary contributions made by each of the member households. Contributions are collected from all the guthiyars according to expenses incurred, and the amount is handed over to the next pāālāā,

the one who takes the paa. As the money would otherwise be lying idle with the paalaa for the whole year until the next guthi ceremony, the guthi has evolved a system of making loans available to its members at the rate of 12 percent interest. Any guthiyar is entitled to a loan, but if the paalaa himself is in need, he gets priority.

It is interesting to note that females do not participate directly in such guthis; they only make thwa, rice beer, for the guthi. It is reported that in bygone days females used to attend and participate in the guthi, but nowadays they are not allowed to for reasons of pregnancy and children.

Sanlu Guthi

The sanlu guthi is organized in three groups, each group observing the guthi ceremony separately. This is a purely religious guthi and was formed quite recently to offer prayers and puja to Karnamaya (Nep. Rato Machendra Nath) the giver of grains and water, in Bungamati. The ceremonies of this guthi are observed in turns, starting with the oldest household. Saalhuu means that the first day of the month is devoted to the worship of the deity, and on the first day of each month representatives from each of the member households go together to Bungamati in the morning. After the puja they have a picnic and return home in the afternoon or early evening. The jatra (festival) of Karnamaya is a great day of worship and festivity for the guthiyars. Each household prepares for the puja and the festivities. The paa household prepares the puja samagri for the worship and the food for the members to be eaten after the puja. In this guthi females are also allowed to participate, and the preparation of the puja samagri and thwa for the guthi is made by the females of the paalaa's household. Women may also join in worship of the deity.

This guthi is run and maintained by contributions from the members households, both cash and kind.

Maraa Astha Guthi

There is land in this guthi. The paalaa receives rent from this land and expenses are met from this rent. The guthi receives 3 muris (150 kilos) of paddy from Chapagoan and 30 pathis (75 kilos) from Bulu. All Jyapu households of the village are members of this guthi. Because it is such a

large guthi three households take pāā in turns. The ceremony of this guthi (chait yā jatrā) is observed once a year on the eighth day of the full moon in Chaitra (March-April) and lasts for two consecutive days. It is said that this was the day when Bajrabārāhi was stolen by the villagers from Chapagaon and the Bulumis were given papa (sweetmeats) in exchange for the deity. Even to-day the practice of distributing papa to the Bulumis by the Chapagaon people is still observed. The first day is observed in Bajrabārāhi, where at least one member from each Jyapu household from Bulu gather together to eat rice. On that day they have to feed all the pwaa or the chyames (the un-touchables who have the responsibility of looking after the Bajrabārāhi temple). On the second day the male household heads only have a feast in the community building (sataa) situated in the central square of the village. After the jātrā the deity is taken back to Chapagaon.

This is a community development kind of guthi through which the guthiyars are obliged to take part in community work. For instance if the guthiyars decide to undertake some public works, such as repairing or building a sataa all its members have to contribute and participate in the work.

> In 1968/69 (2024/25) through this guthi, the guthiyars decided to construct a canal for irrigation. The labour for its construction was mobilized through this maraa astha guthi. All the villagers dug the canal, which was about 4000 feet in length and involved about 400 workers. Since then the canal is cleaned once a year by the guthiyars, as it is a earth cut canal and gets silted with mud and leaves during the monsoons. The construction and maintenance of this canal has led to the villagers being able to grow an additional crop of potatoes annually on the pakha bwa land. At present the villagers are renovating the sataa through the guthi.

If the member does not participate in this work he is made to pay a fine of a day's wage at the on-going market rate. Women participate in such work by taking food and drinks for the men.

Mahadev Guthi

The fourth type of guthi is the mahadev guthi which is responsible for performing an annual pujā at the only

Mahadev, or Shiva, image in the village (see Chapter 1 for the explanation of the alternative name for Bulu of Shivapur). The guthi owns land from which the income is used for carrying out this puja. Five or six households, including one of the Shrestha households, comprise this guthi. Each of the member households takes the annual performance of the guthi puja in turn on the first day of Marg (January-February). The paalaa takes an offering of puja with a silver bel-patra (leaf of the bel-fruit tree) contributed by the Jyapus, and a silver janai (Nep. sacred thread) contributed by the Shresthas to the Pashupatinath temple in Kathmandu. This puja is taken to the south gate of Pashupatinath Temple because Bulu lies to the south of Kathmandu. It is taken to Pashupatinath in order to underline the idea that the Mahadev in Bulu and the Mahadev in Pashupatinath are one and the same. The villagers believe that the record or evidence to their claim that the original Pashupatinath belonged to Bulu is in Pashupatinath.

Thus guthis in this village are functional organizations at the community level based on religion, which makes them readily acceptable to the villagers as institutions for their well-being.

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

Newars are organized in patrilineal descent groups, and all of the castes in Bulu are divided into patrilineal lineage groups (dewali) so that every individual belongs to a dewali. Each dewali confirms its identity by gathering together at certain times to perform ritual worship (dewali puja) of its particular ancestral deity (degu dyaa). There are five Jyapu dewali groups in Bulu, each with their particular ancestral deity, one Desar dewali group and a dewali group composed of the thirteen Shrestha families in the village.

Each dewali group consists of several families, joint and nuclear, who trace their descent to a common male ancestor. Only those born into the lineage are entitled to membership of the dewali, and the line of descent is perpetuated through fathers to sons, as is inheritance. Daughters automatically lose membership of their natal dewali on marriage, but they become members of their husband's dewali at a special ritual called dutiyegu. Although there are no written rules in the dewali, the members abide strictly by its unwritten codes and prescriptions, and

follow carefully its customs and practices. Inter-marriage within the dewali is strictly prohibited, as inter-marriage within seven generations is not allowed.

All members have a definite hierarchical position in the dewali group which is determined by seniority, based on generation and age. The head of the dewali is called the thakali or nayaa, and the subsequent 8 seniors in the hierarchy are called nwaku, swaku, peku, nyaku, khuku, nhaekuu and cyaku. These titles are like numbers assigned to the members on the basis of seniority. The female counterpart of the nayaa is the nakii, who derives her position as nakii from her husband's position as nayaa. On the death of the husband she ritually loses her status, and the wife of the second in the hierarchy takes her place. Although she loses her ritual position as nakii, depending on her personality, she may retain the respect. These eight seniors in the dewali are assigned a special status, and the thakali has unquestioned authority, respected for his experience and age. He performs and heads all ceremonies and rituals. In his absence the second in the hierarchy or his representative, his son or a near relative, takes his place. The relationship between the members of a dewali is called phukii and when two families say that they are phukii it means they are the descendents of the same lineage group and that there are well defined and binding social obligations between the families on important occasions, such as birth, death, marriage, and many other social events. Also, the period of pollution arising from a birth or death within one family is binding to all the families within the dewali group. Each of the families within a dewali has its specific responsibilities and obligations in assisting a phukii family in need. For instance, at a death the phukii families are obliged to take offerings of food to the bereaved family and all the other families in the group share the mourning. At a birth all the families get together and participate in the feast and give offerings to the mother and child. At a marriage the family is obliged to invite the other phukii families of its dewali, who in fact regard it as their right to be invited, and the phukii participate actively, both in the preparation and in the celebration. If it is the marriage of a daughter who is leaving her family, the bride has to give 10 betelnuts to the phukii heads, symbolizing the breaking away from her original descent group. In her husband's house the bride is welcomed as a newcomer with a special ceremony (lasakusa). Once she is married into another family all her social ties and obligation in her

original dewali are dissolved, such that, for example, she is no longer obliged to keep the death or birth pollution of her natal dewali, nor is she permitted to take part in its dewali puja or degu puja. However, all the obligations and privileges she has lost in her original dewali are replaced by those of her husband's dewali. On marriage her relationship is established with her husband's phukiis by again giving 10 betelnuts. Thus the betelnut in rituals observed by the Newars is very significant. It symbolises both breaking away and establishing relationships, depending upon the situation.*

On occasions of worship and feasts connected with the dewali, each of the members receives a part of the sacrificed goat, and occupies a particular position according to seniority and relative status with each of the families. The head of the sacrificed goat in the degu puja, or in any religious ritual, is regarded as sacred and important. Specific parts of the head are offered ritually to each of the eight senior members at a feast known as siikaya bhuu. The right eye is offered to the nayaa, the left eye to the nwaku, the right ear to the swaku, the left ear to the peku, the nose to the nyaku, the tongue to the khuku, the right jaw to the nhaekuu and the left jaw to the cyaku. Theoretically, or ritually, only those born into the dewali are allowed to sit in the line of hierarchy, and those who do not belong to the original line of the descent group are barred from it. Females married into the dewali are accepted in the line but they occupy places only after the male members. Originally any thyakamacha (children of a woman by a previous husband brought by her to the house of her remarriage) are not accepted into the dewali. Lately, most of the dewali groups have overcome the restriction by making the rules more flexible. For example, there are a number of instances where women marrying into a dewali have children from previous marriages in a different dewali (see Kinship Charts for the village), and these children have been accepted into their mother's new dewali by paying five pathis of paddy (equivalent to approximately 99.8 kilos). The Newars of Bulu

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*Among the upper class Newars, when a child is born, information as to whether it is a boy or a girl is sent to the mother's natal home in the form of betelnuts. If the child is a boy ten whole betelnuts are sent, and if it is a girl ten halved betelnuts.

have adapted themselves to changing times, so that these children are usually accepted both ritually as well as socially nowadays. Previously, although they were fully accepted socially, they were not ritually accepted into the dewali. However, the fact that ritually there is a condition before being accepted into the dewali does imply that there is still some stigma attached to them. This may have far reaching implications in matters of crucial family concern or in determining the relative position or status of the family and its members.

Within these dewali groups of descent, if any of the families do not agree with the rules, or if a disagreement arises over the acceptance into the dewali of some "outsider", or if there is a quarrel between families, there can be a split in the dewali. A split in the dewali is treated with great seriousness, as it means that the family or families splitting, break off all relationships with the rest of the dewali. A splitting family or families, can form a separate dewali group. The ancestral deity would be the same as the original one, and the relationship between these two dewali groups is called bā-phukii.

In Bulu now all the different dewali groups of the three different castes use the same site for their degu pujā. This dewali ground (degu khyaa), on which stand three stone images, is on a hill top to the northeast of the village, about five minutes walk from the main village square. The Jyapus and Desars observe their dewali puja on the fifth day of the full moon in the month of Marg (November-December) and the Shresthas observe theirs on the first day of the full moon in Marg.

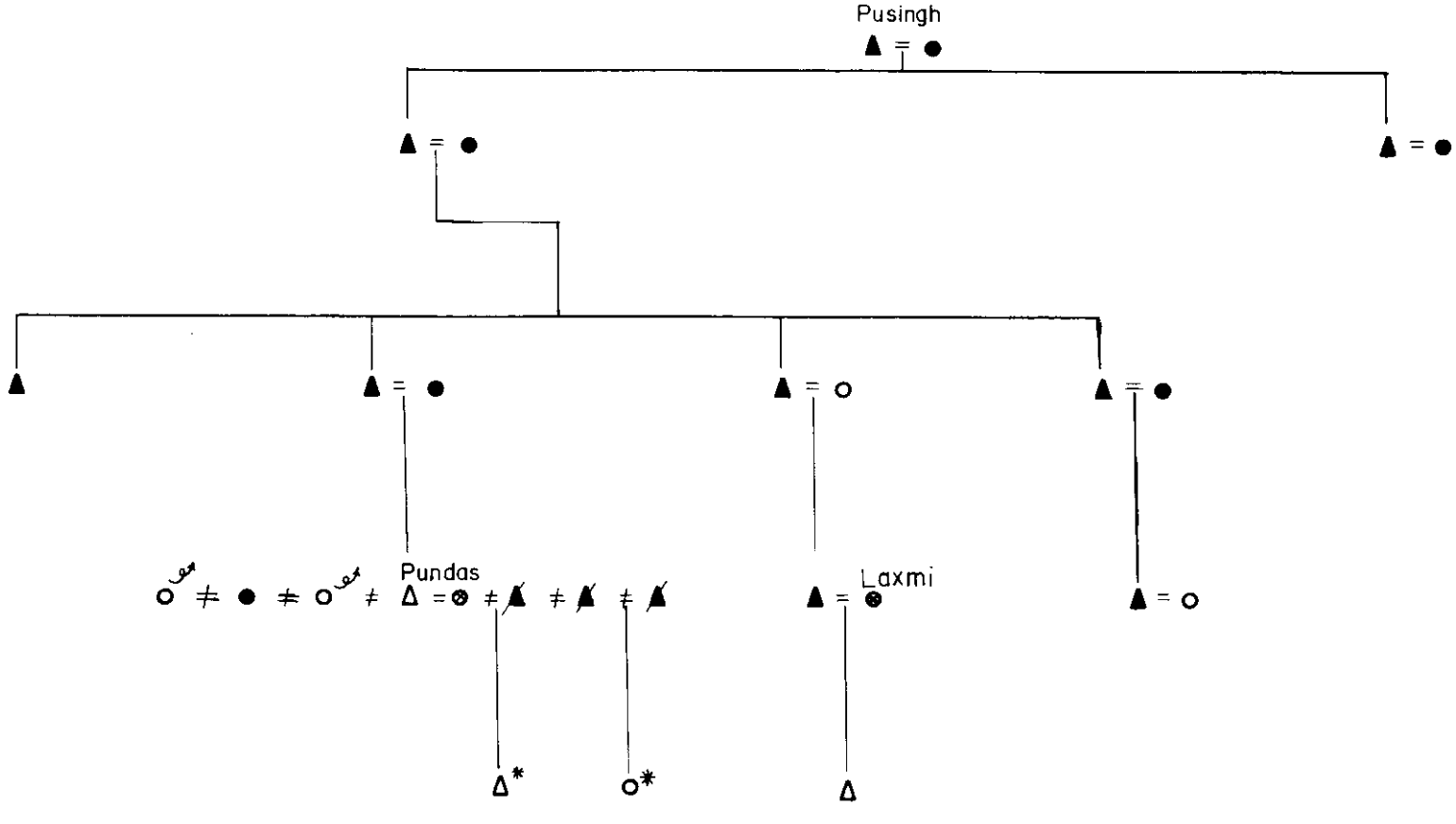
The Jyapus in the community can trace their genealogy back three generations, which shows five distinct lineage groups. All the original groups, except for Group 1, have been split into numerous groups. It is said that originally the five dewali groups of the Jyapus belonged to three khalaas (groups of families). They are taajaa khalaa (big family group) consisting of a large number of families; bwasi khalaa (carpenter group), some of whom are carpenters even to-day; and kwapu khalaa (group from the end part of the village), families residing towards the end part of the village. The three stone images represent the three khalaas.

Kinship Group 1 (Figures 2.1a, b, c, d) belong to the kwapu khalaa which has retained its original structure, size

I N D E X

Kinship Organization for Jyapus Group I

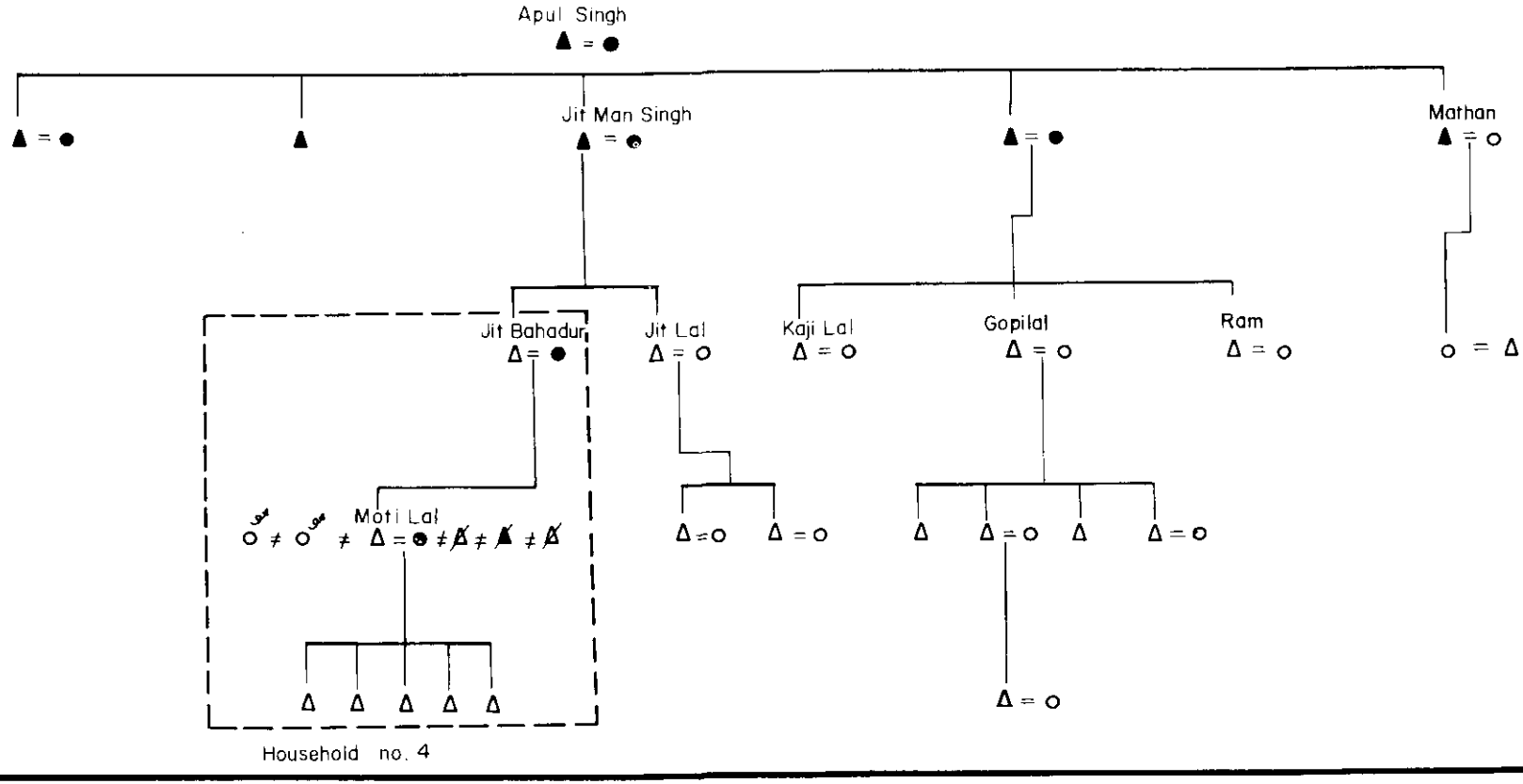
Fig. 2: Ia



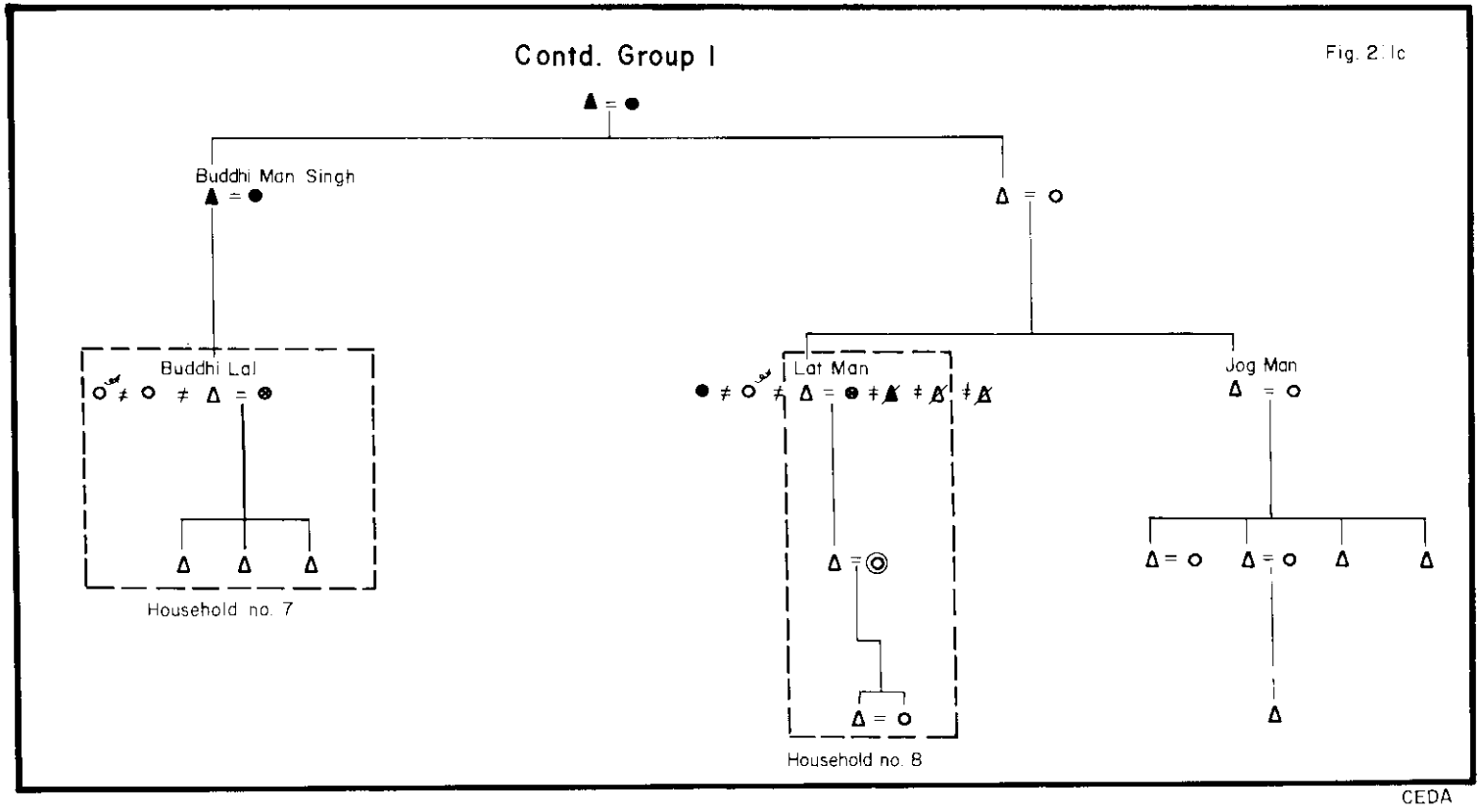
* These thyākāmachās have not been accepted into the Dewali

Contd. Group I

Fig. 2.1b



CEDA


Contd. Group I
Fig. 2: Ic
Buddhi Man Singh
Buddhi Lal
Household no. 7
Lat Man
Household no. 8
Jog Man
CEDA

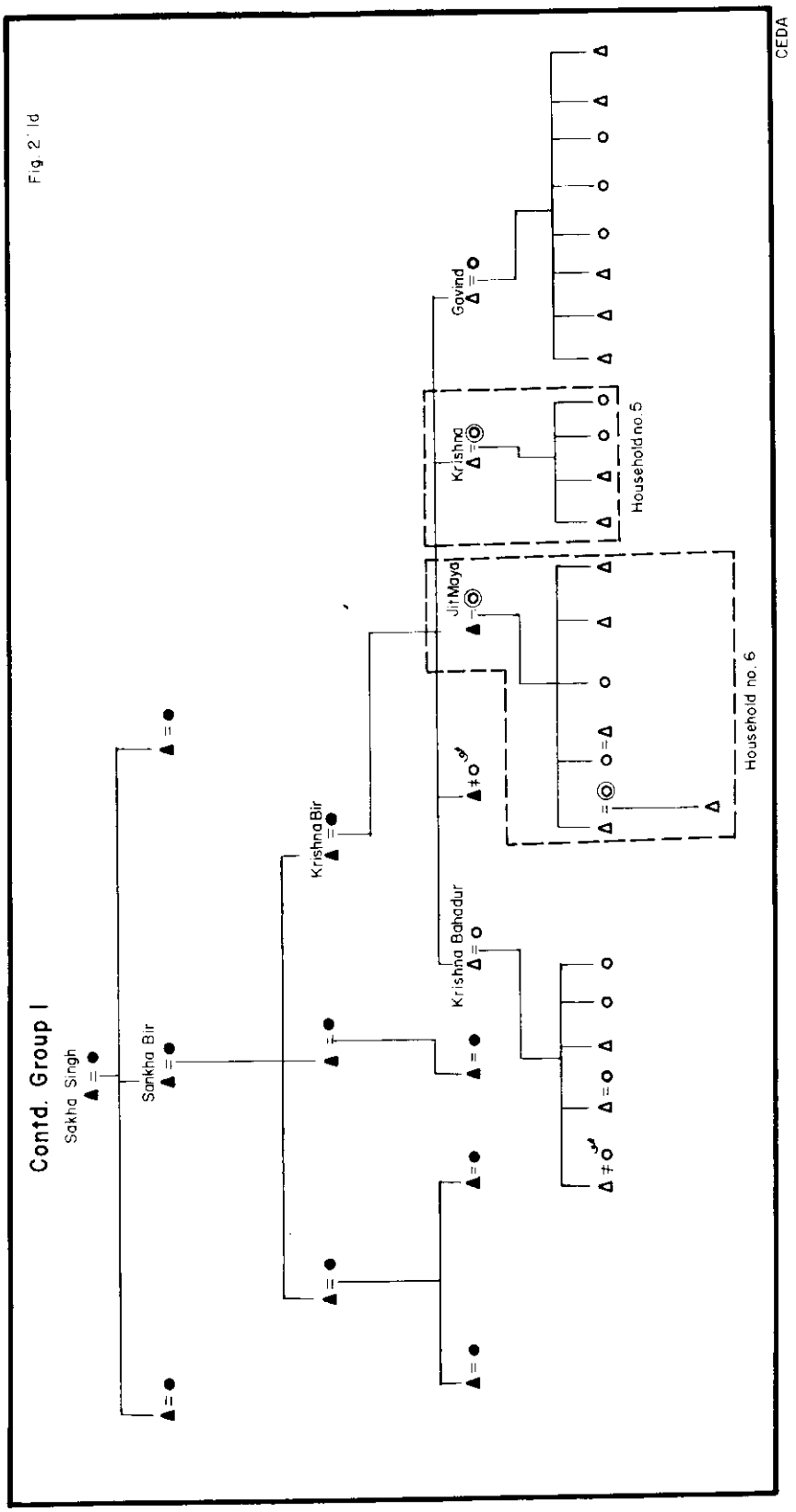
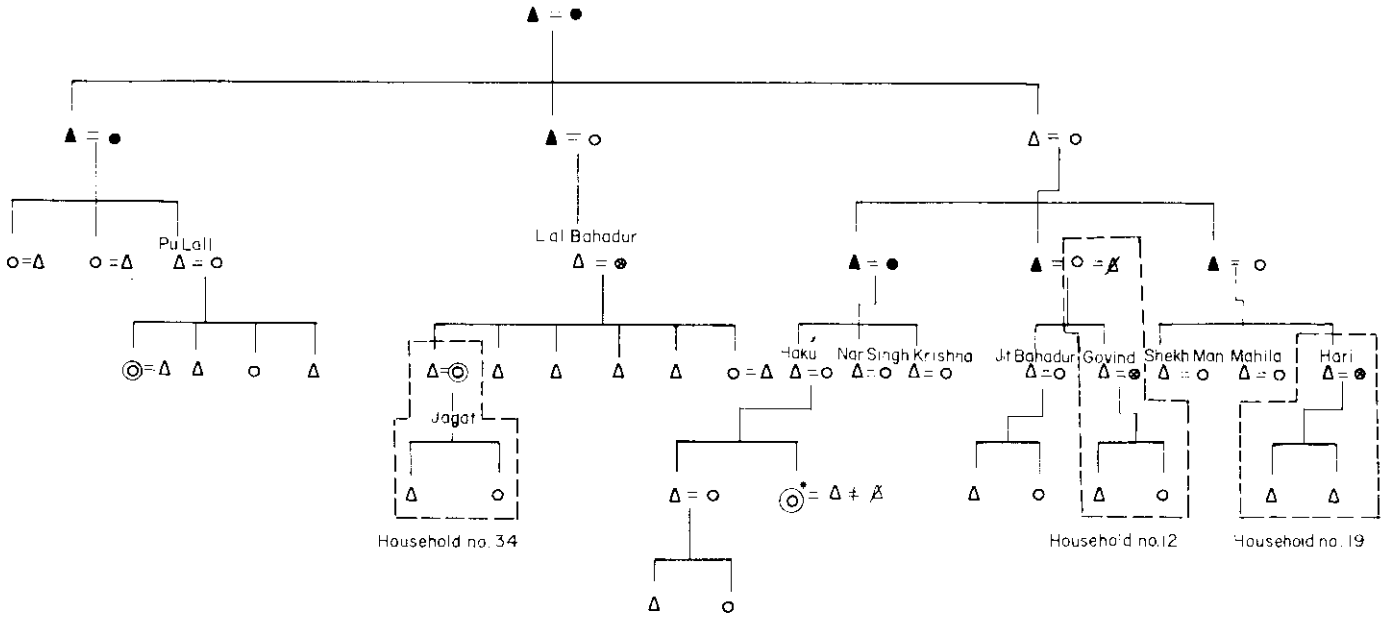


Fig. 2.1d
Contd. Group I
Sakha Singh
Sankha Bir
Krishna Bir
Krishna Bahadur
Jit Maya
Krishna
Govind
Household no. 5
Household no. 6
CEDA

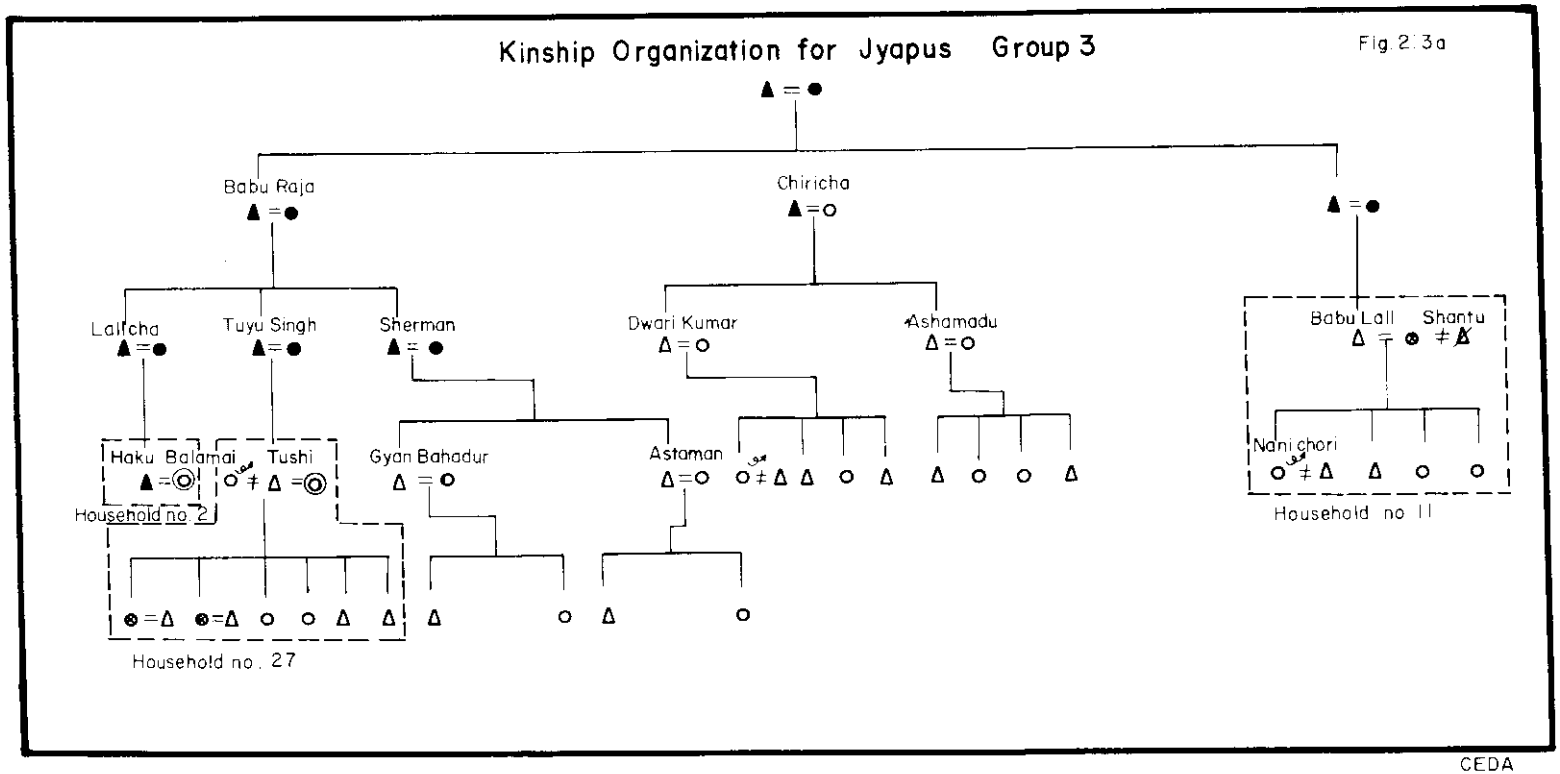
Kinship Organization for Jyapus Group 2

Fig. 2: 2



* Gyanu Maya married to Mohan Bahadur H.H no. 18 in group 5. She is an illicit child. Her mother was already six months pregnant when she married Haku.

CEDA


Kinship Organization for Jyapus Group 3
Fig. 2.3a
Babu Raja
Chiricha
Laltcha
Tuyu Singh
Sherman
Dwari Kumar
Ashamadu
Babu Lall
Shantu
Haku Balamai
Tushi
Gyan Bahadur
Astaman
Nani chori
Household no. 2
Household no. 27
Household no. 11
CEDA

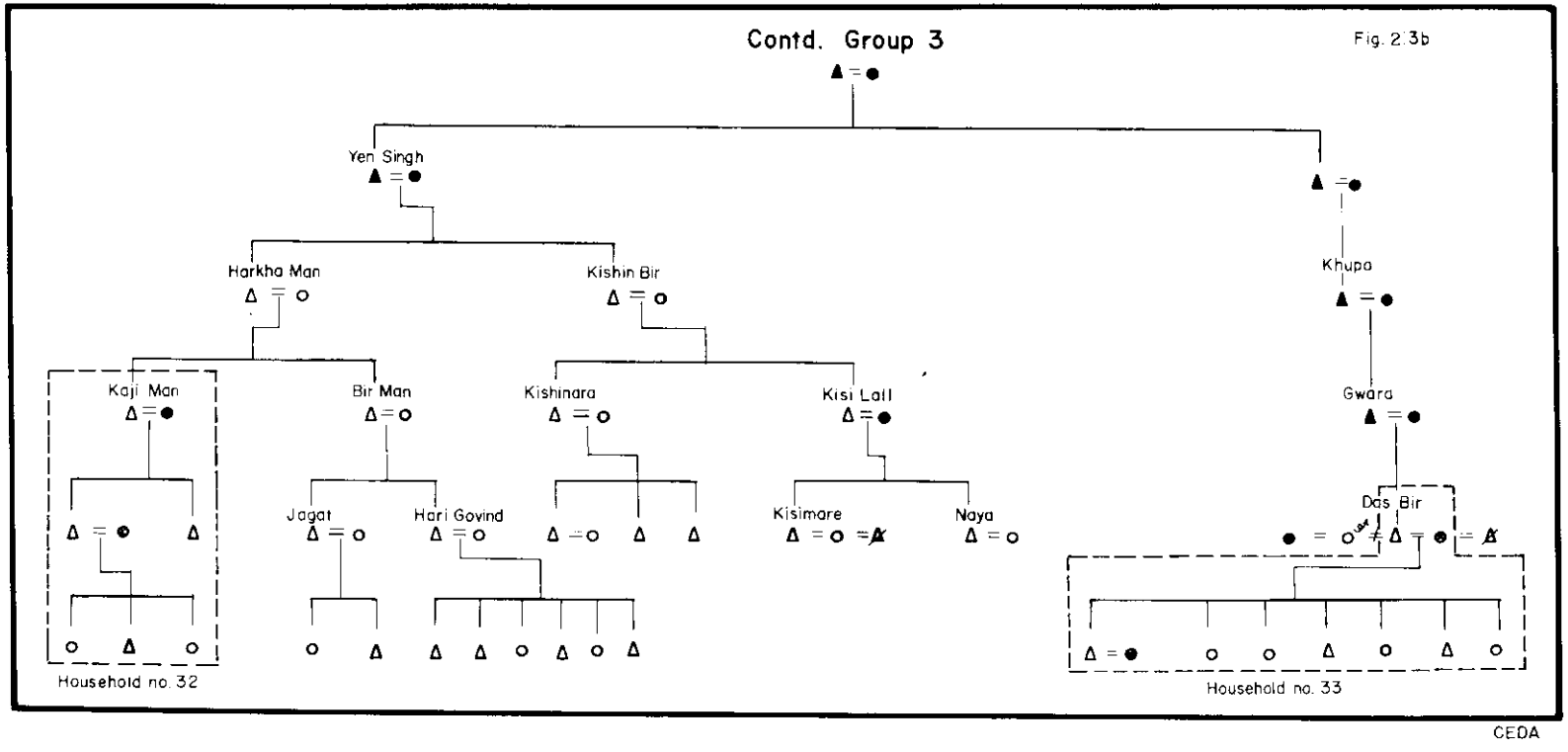
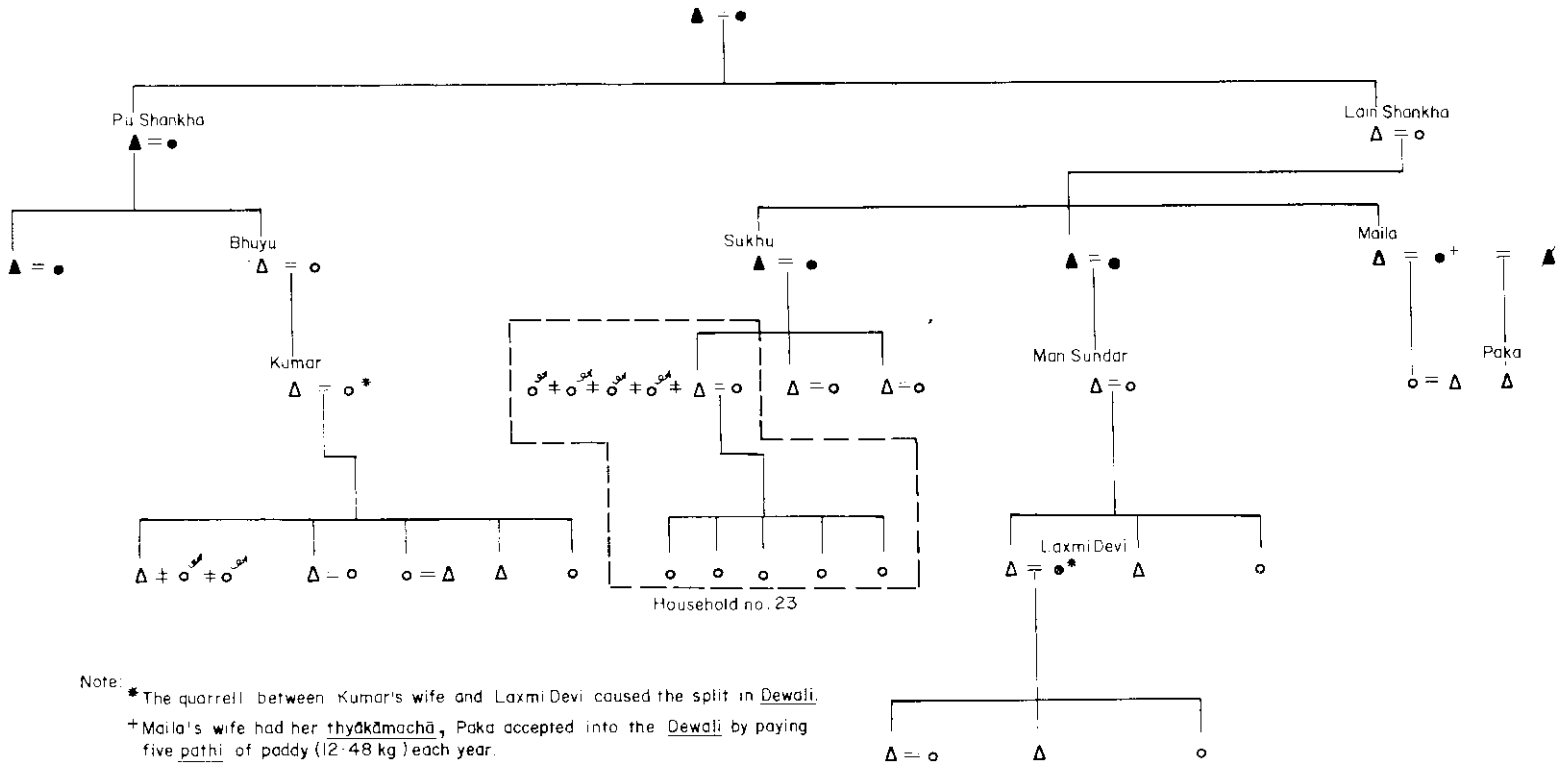

Contd. Group 3
Fig. 2.3b
Yen Singh
Harkha Man
Kishin Bir
Kaji Man
Bir Man
Kishinara
Kisi Lall
Jagat
Hari Govind
Kisimare
Naya
Household no. 32
Khupa
Gwara
Das Bir
Household no. 33
CEDA

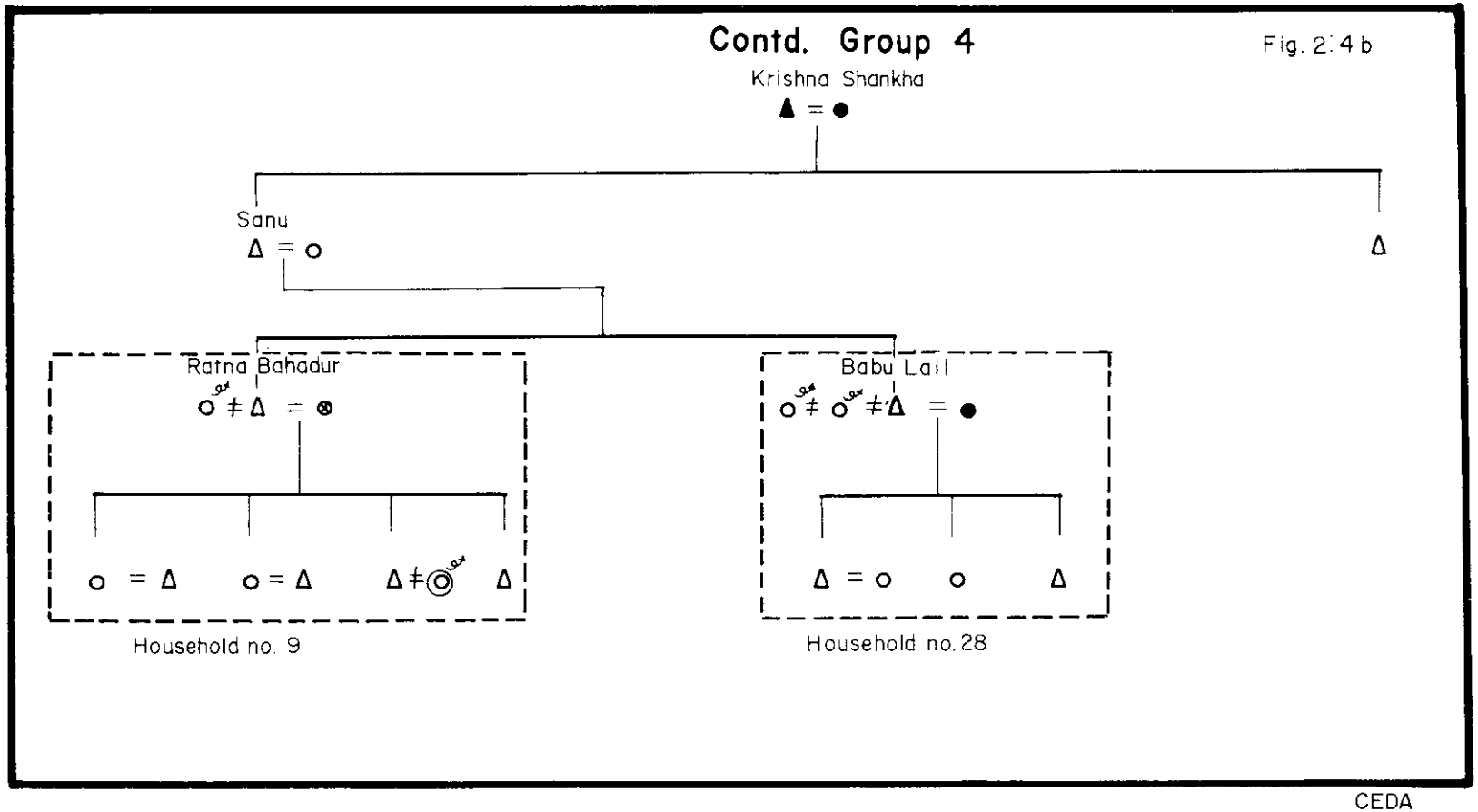
Fig. 2.4a

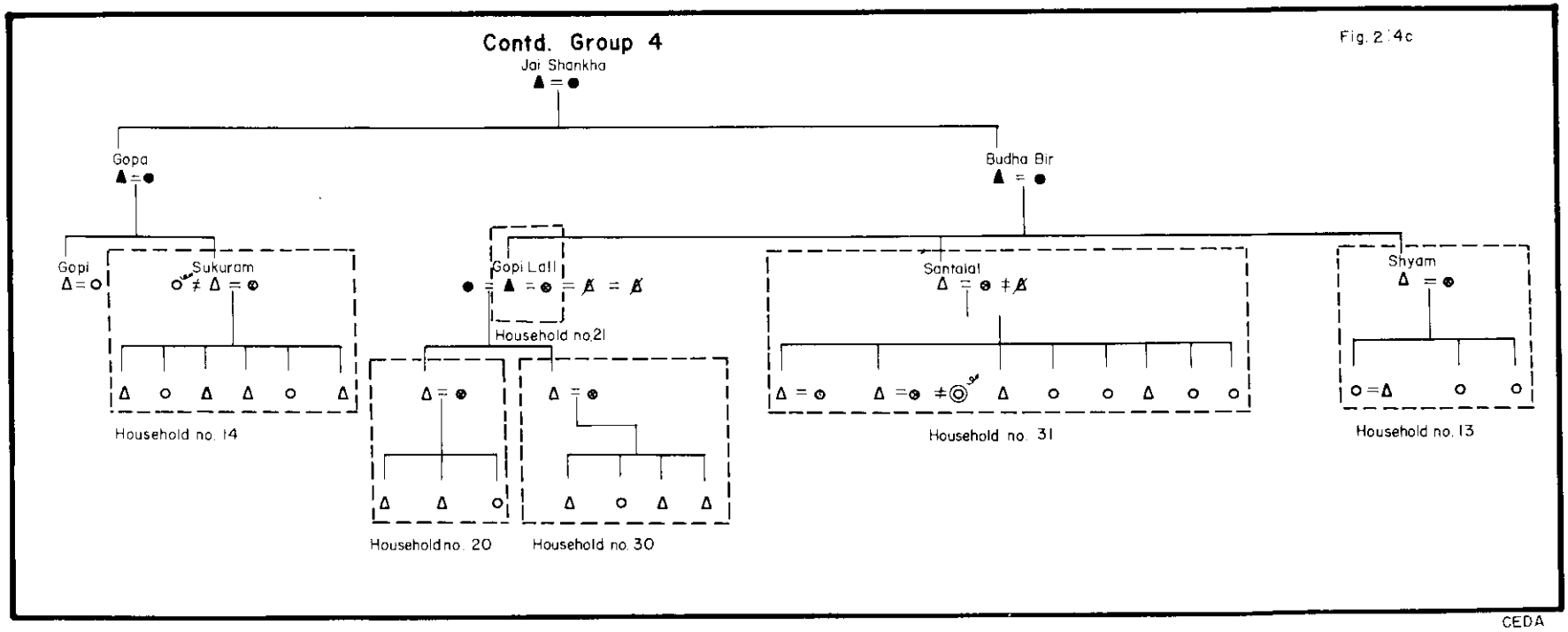
Kinship Organization for Jyapus Group 4



Note:
* The quarrell between Kumar's wife and Laxmi Devi caused the split in Dewali.
+ Maila's wife had her thyākāmachā, Paka accepted into the Dewali by paying five pathi of paddy (12·48 kg) each year.

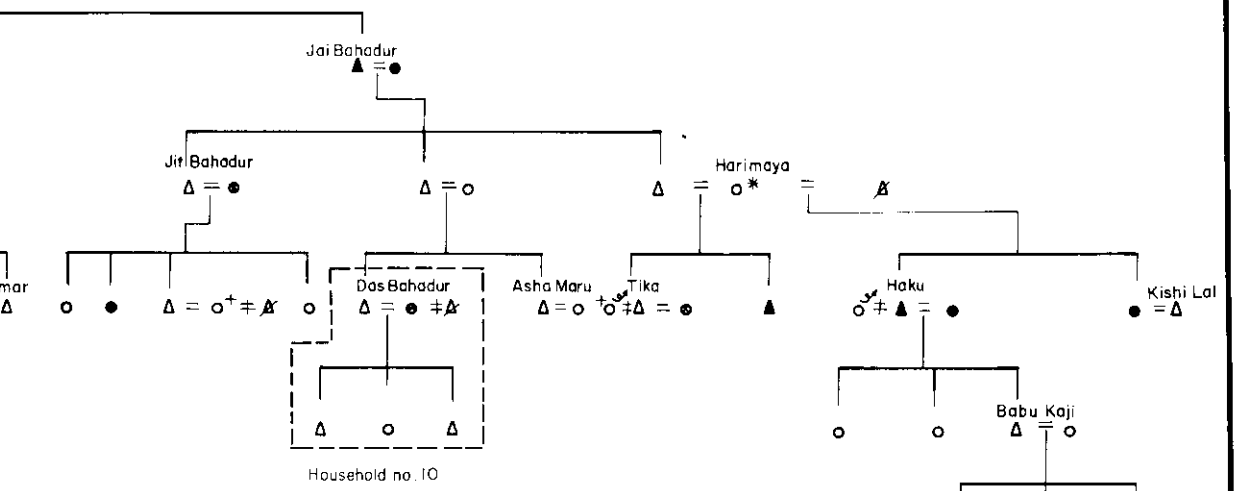
CEDA


Contd. Group 4
Fig. 2.4 b
Krishna Shankha
Sanu
Ratna Bahadur
Babu Lall
Household no. 9
Household no. 28
CEDA


Contd. Group 4
Fig. 2.4c
Jai Shankha
Gopa
Budha Bir
Gopi
Sukuram
Gopi Lall
Household no.21
Santalal
Shyam
Household no. 14
Household no. 20
Household no. 30
Household no. 31
Household no. 13
CEDA

Jyapus Group 5

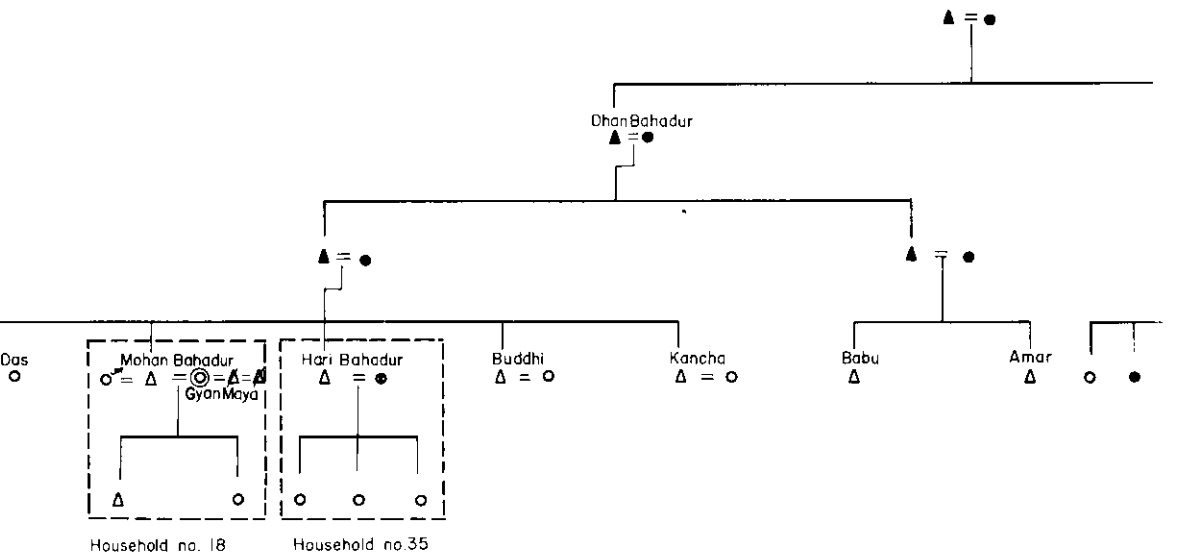
Fig. 2:5



aya brought a son and a daughter, thyākāmachās, to Bulu when she was remarried to Tika's father.
was accepted into the Dewali by paying five pathi (12·48 kg.) of paddy and the daughter is married to
Lall who is the oldest in the village. This did not agree with Jit Bahadur and hence the split.
previous wife who first eloped to Thecho then married Jit Bahadur's son.

CEDA

Kinship Organization for Jyapus Gr



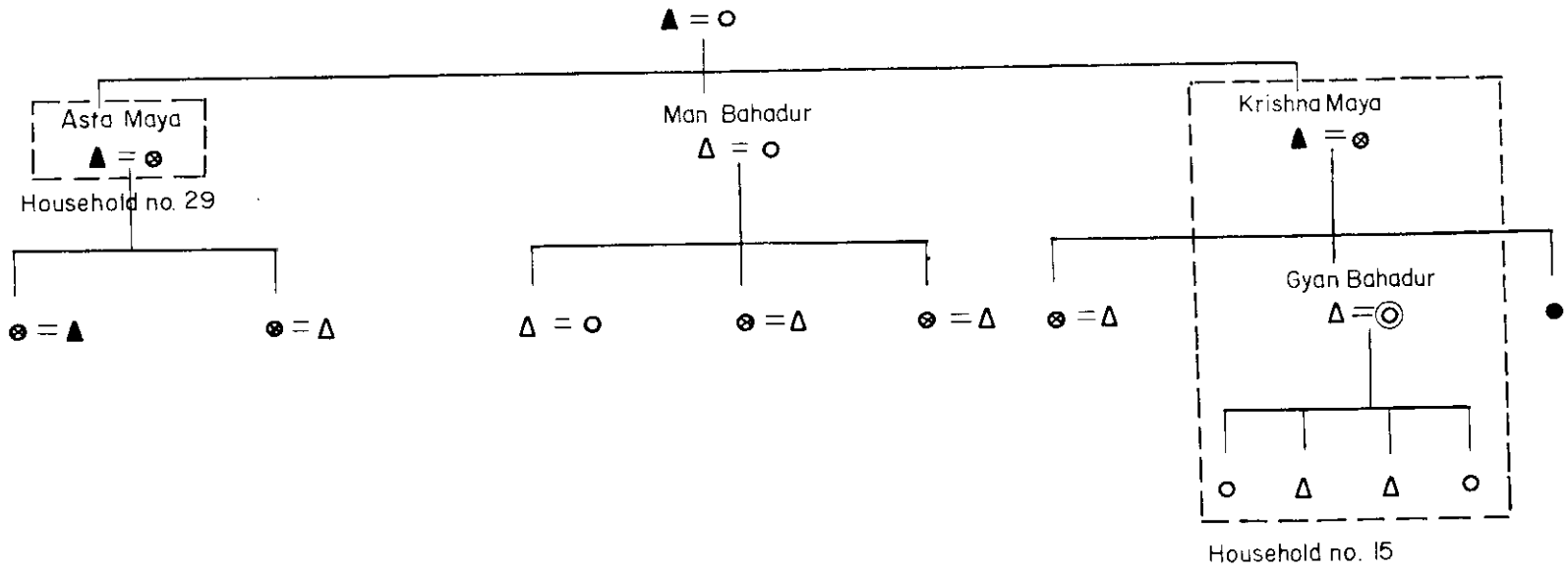
Note:

* Hari maya brought a so
Haku was accepted into
Kishi Lall who is the o

\+ Tika's previous wife w

Kinship Organization for Shresthas Group 6

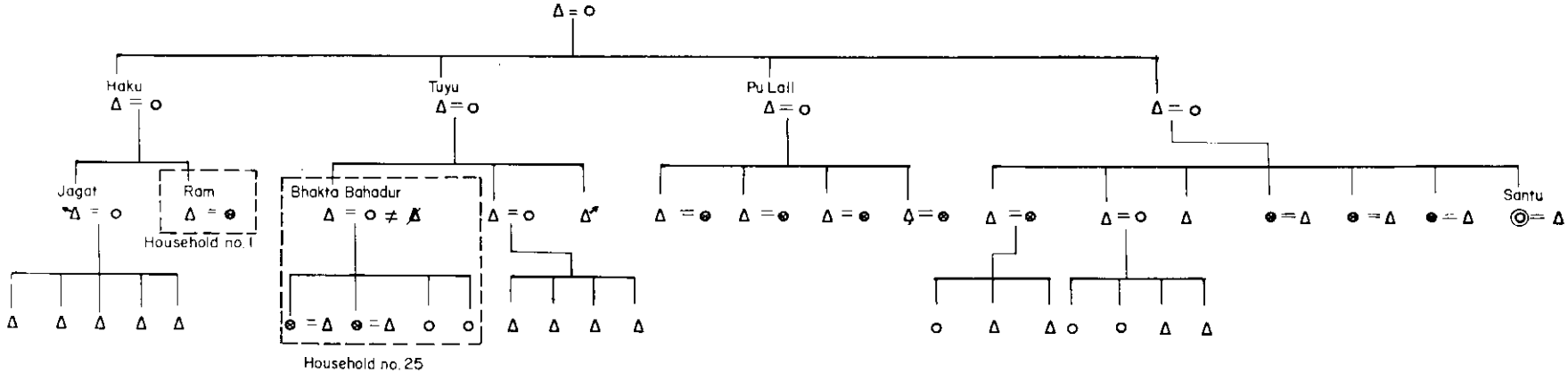
Fig. 2:6a



CEDA

Contd. Group 6

Fig. 2.6b



CEDA

and customs. Group 4 (Figures 2.4 a, b, and c) are probably from the bwasi khalaa, as there are a few carpenters among the households of this group e.g. Ratna Bahadur of Household 9 (Figure 2.4 b) and Chandra Bahadur (Figure 2.4 a). The remaining Kinship Groups 2, 3, and 5 are probably from the taajaa khalaa. The bwasi and taajaa khalaa were divided into several dewali sub-groups who introduced changes and showed greater flexibility and adaptability than the kwapu khalaa.

The Kinship Organization Charts show the five Jyapu lineage (dewali) groups and the one Shrestha lineage group. There is no lineage chart for the Desars since they were unable to remember their ancestors far enough back. Each group represents the descendents of a common ancestor, and each sub-group is headed by men of the same generation who might be brothers, cousins or more remotely related, such that they do not know their relationship necessarily but claim it, and worship at the same dewali. All households of the 35 sample are shown in the charts, except Households 28 and 16. The head of Household 28 is the sole descendent of a thyākamachā who was not accepted into one of the five dewali groups. The original ancestor of Household 16 came from another village, Khokana, in order to provide assistance and service to the maraa astha guthi. In return the villagers gave the family land to support themselves, and the descendents, who include Household 16, observe their own separate dewali. These charts show the number of marriages, whether the women are endogamously or exogamously married, and how families group together after splitting from large family units. Details of households outside the sample have not been shown, except where there is a particularly interesting family relationship, and in particular not all daughters have been shown, since the society is patrilineal and descent is from father to son.

Causes of splits in kinship groups are numerous, but three are prominent. One is that, as families multiply, the group becomes so large and unmanageable that it splits into sub-groups, families with the closest blood relationships aligning together in sub-groups. Another is inter-family quarrels, not infrequently quarrels between the women of the families. And the third common reason for a split is a woman with thyākamachā (children from a previous marriage and a different dewali group).

For example, Figure 2.5 shows examples of two reasons for splitting. First of all the dewali group became too big and therefore unmanagable so the families of Dhan Bahadur and Jai Bahadur divided into two dewali groups. Subsequently the youngest son of Jai Bahadur married Harimaya, who had a daughter and son from a previous marriage. These children were accepted into the dewali group by the payment of 5 pathis of paddy. However, Jit Bahadur, the eldest son, unlike his younger brother, did not accept these children and for that reason split from the rest of the family to observe a separate dewali.

An interfamily dispute occurred in the family shown in Figure 2.4a. The descendents of Lain Saukha and those of Pu Shaukku split, and set up separate dewali groups during the time of the field study. The reason was a dispute between the two branches of the family. The two daughters-in-law, wives of the eldest son of Kumar, had eloped some time before. Laxmi Devi, the daughter-in-law of Man Sundar of the other branch and junior in generation to the wife of Kumar, quarrelled with the wife of Kumar and accused her of being the cause of the elopement of her two daughters-in-law. This was a serious accusation since one of the criteria for the selection of a husband for a woman is the character of the future mother-in-law. So the two branches split.

At present, of the five Jyapu groups, Group 1, descendents of four brothers (or men with parallel relationship) belong to one dewali; Group 2, descendents of one man, have four or five dewali groups; Group 3, descendents of two brothers, also have four or five dewali groups; Group 4, descendents of three brothers, have five dewali groups; and Group 5, descendents of one man, have four dewali groups. (This is not shown on the Kinship Chart).

That Group 1 has remained so closely knit, that it belongs to one dewali in spite of being descended from four brothers, and in contrast to the other groups, particularly Groups 2 and 5 who are descendents of one man each, is obviously significant. Inquiry and observation pointed to the main reason being the characters of the women in the group. They were less independent and less aggressive than

the women of the other groups, which further substantiates the hypothesis that it is the women who are largely responsible for the dividing of families into separate dewali groups.

Women in other groups are often quite powerful characters.

> For example, Shantu, of Household 11 in Group 3 (Figure 2.2a) was widowed and had her eldest daughter, Nani Chori, staying with her after Nani Chori left for her thaache (natal home) following disputes between her husband's household and her natal household. Mohan Bahadur, an ex-policeman, of Household 18 (Figure 2.5) started spreading rumours that Nani Chori was having an affair with some man in the village. This enraged Shantu who went to Mohan Bahadur's house and dragged him by the collar to the central square in the village. There she demanded that he give proof of this affair or she would beat him publicly with the pleats of her sari (parsi mugha). This is symbolic of disgracing a man, and the effect on Mohan Bahadur was to make him withdraw all he had said, apologize and prostrate himself at her feet, calling her cirmaa (mother's younger sister).

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Most families are nuclear in structure (Table 2.1). In the sample 107 people live in nuclear families and 70 in extended families with 10 people living in neither type of structure, that is, they do not live in conjugal units but are widows living either alone or with their children. Even those families categorized as extended are not extended in the sense that many extended families in other communities in Nepal are. They are parents with their married sons, as well as other children, and there are no examples of households containing aunts, uncles or other relatives, only parents and married sons.

In the sample households the largest family size was eleven members and the average was five, for all castes and economic strata.

Clearly sons and their wives separate from the parents' house relatively quickly, leaving the joint family and

TABLE 2.1

SAMPLE POPULATION BY FAMILY STRUCTURE AND CASTE

Caste \ Family Structure	Family Structure			
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	Total
Shrestha	9 (56.2) (8.4)	7 (43.8) (10.0)	0	16 (100.0) (8.6)
Jyapu	91 (59.5) (85.0)	52 (34.0) (74.3)	10 (6.5) (100.0)	153 (100.0) (81.8)
Desar	5 (31.2) (4.7)	11 (68.8) (15.7)	0	16 (100.0) (8.6)
Nau	2 (100.0) (1.9)	0	0	2 (100.0) (1.0)
All Castes	107 (57.2) (100.0)	70 (37.4) (100.0)	10 (53.4) (100.0)	187 (100.0) (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages: the first are row percentages, the second column percentages.

starting their own nuclear family at the slightest pretext. This is largely because of the wives. Women do not tolerate much interference from their mother-in-law, and if she, or any other member of the family, tries to dominate or be bossy then the daughter-in-law will try to persuade her husband to leave. If she cannot persuade him she will put pressure on him by leaving the house and returning to her natal home, and will refuse to return until she has got her way. She usually succeeds, but in the cases that she does not the marriage ends in a divorce, either with the wife eloping with another man or the husband taking another wife. Even in families with a single parent, usually a mother, the married son leaves to set up his own nuclear household.

> The three brothers in Households 20, 21 and 30 (see Figure 2.4c) separated from their single step mother and set up nuclear households with separate kitchens in the same building.
>
> The man in Household 19 (Figure 2.2a) separated with his mother from his two brothers. He later separated from his mother, although they live in the same building with her in the top floor with a separate kitchen and the son living on the floor below with his kitchen.

Separation from the joint family also occurs because of disagreement between daughters-in-law.

> The man in Household 13 (Figure 2.4c) separated from his brother in Household 31 mainly because of jealousy between the two sisters-in-law. On one occasion the women of Household 13 was given a sari of inferior quality by her brother-in-law and this sparked the conflict that led to separation.

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Newars of Bulu, as with other Newars, is regarded as an institution essential to perpetuate the family line of descent, and essential also for both social and economic reasons. Socially marriage ensures the conditions for the growth of children, who can perform ritual functions during life and after death, and it is through the institution of marriage that a man enters into social relationships and obligations in the society. Until

a man is married he is not so fully bound by social norms and obligations, that is to say, a failure on the part of an unmarried man to fulfill a certain social obligation may be excused, whereas a married man is strictly bound by the norms. Economically marriage is viewed as a security in times of illness and old age, and as a means of obtaining labour for the household. In many cases the reason given for a marriage was to add working hands to the household. In one of the sample households, for example, the mother pleaded with her two sons to marry as she could not manage the work of the household alone, as they had a fairly large plot of land.

Among the Newars of Bulu marriage is a universal affair. There are very few women who remain unmarried for life. In fact no women were reported to have remained unmarried over the age of 40. In the sample households there is only one woman who has not been married by the age of 34 (Table 2.2). There are only two women in the whole village who have remained unmarried to the age of 35, but they indicated their intention of remaining unmarried.

It is socially acceptable for men and women to marry several times, but there is no polyandry or polygamy in the society. It appears unlikely, furthermore, that either ever existed, inspite of the speculations by Hodgson (1880: 129-30) and Nepali (1965: 238) that polyandry may have existed among the Newars. Hodgson does not substantiate his statement, but Nepali explains his hypothesis from the kinship terms used by a woman to her husband and her husband's brothers. She calls her husband bhāāta and his elder brother dara bhata, translated by Nepali "elder husband", and his younger brother kijā bhata, translated by Nepali as "younger husband". Nepali further states that in the term for conjugal house, bhāāta pinigu chẹ, pini is a plural marker for bhāāta, indicating that the literal translation is "husbands' house" and implying plural husbands in the conjugal house. He also interprates the bẹẹkegu ceremony, the birth purification ceremony, where the mother places the new born child on the father, as the ceremony identifying the father of the child.

The arguments of Nepali are weak. The use of darā bhata and kijā bhata are paralled by tātā bhata, tāā bhata, meaning husband's elder sister, and kẹ bhata, meaning husband's younger sister, and show only the relationship of the woman to her husband's kin relations. Equally the marker pini is used in similar constructions to bhata pinigu chẹ and does not imply

TABLE 2.2

MARITAL STATUS BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

(In number of persons)

Age Group/ Sex / Status	5 - 9 Years		10 - 14 Years		15 - 19 Years		20 - 34 Years		35 - 49 Years		50 & Above Yrs.		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Never Married	16 (39.1) (100.0)	13 (36.1) (92.9)	11 (26.8) (100.0)	15 (41.7) (100.0)	11 (26.8) (100.0)	7 (19.4) (70.0)	3 (7.3) (17.6)	1 (2.8) (5.5)	0	0	0	0	41 (100.0) (50.6)	36 (100.0) (43.4)
Presently Married I	0	0	0	0	0	2 (6.9) (20.0)	10 (45.4) (58.9)	15 (51.7) (83.3)	8 (36.4) (50.0)	9 (31.0) (52.9)	4 (18.2) (40.0)	3 (10.4) (33.3)	22 (100.0) (27.2)	29 (100.0) (34.9)
Presently Married II	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (27.3) (17.6)	1 (16.7) (5.6)	6 (54.5) (37.5)	5 (83.3) (29.4)	2 (18.2) (20.0)	0	11 (100.0) (13.6)	6 (100.0) (7.2)
Presently Married III	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (100.0) (30.0)	0	3 (100.0) (3.7)	0
Presently Married IV and Above	0	1 (33.3) (7.1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100.0) (6.2)	1 (33.3) (5.9)	0	1 (33.3) (11.1)	1 (100.0) (1.2)	3 (100.0) (3.6)
Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (50.0) (6.3)	2 (28.6) (11.8)	1 (50.0) (10.0)	5 (71.4) (55.6)	2 (100.0) (2.5)	7 (100.0) (8.4)
Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	1 (50.0) (10.0)	1 (100.0) (5.9)	1 (50.0) (5.6)	0	0	0	0	1 (100.0) (1.2)	2 (100.0) (2.4)
Total	16 (19.8) (100.0)	14 (15.9) (100.0)	11 (13.6) (100.0)	15 (18.3) (100.0)	11 (13.6) (100.0)	10 (12.2) (100.0)	17 (21.0) (100.0)	18 (23.2) (100.0)	16 (19.5) (100.0)	17 (20.7) (100.0)	10 (12.3) (100.0)	9 (10.9) (100.0)	81 (100.0) (100.0)	83 (100.0) (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages: the first are row percentages, the second column percentages.

plurality, for example, in ma pinigu che "mother's house", where there is only one mother or pāsa pinigu che "friend's house", where there is only one friend.

The placing of the child on the father's lap in the beekegu ceremony could be interpreted as the recognition of the fatherhood of the man rather than as an identification of the father.

Equally there is no polygamy and there are no men who have two wives simultaneously. All families of all castes and economic strata are monogamously married. It has been said that division of labor in agriculture limits women to concentrating on sowing, weeding and harvesting and that under this type of system there is a high incidence of polygamy (Boserup 1970: 7). Among the Newars of Bulu there is certainly this kind of division of labor in agriculture but polygamy does not exist, and such a generalization does not seem appropriate.

On marriage the woman leaves her natal home (thaache) and goes to live with her conjugal family. This has far reaching implications on her legal rights and social obligations. Legally she loses her right to property in her own thaache while she gains rights through her husband to the property of her husband's family. Legally she has no say on any matters of seriousness. From the time of her marriage onward, her position in her thaache becomes that of an outsider, and any involvement or interference in the household matters of her thaache is kept to a minimum. This sudden change of attitude and relationship is automatic and does not have to be enforced from either side.

Socially all her obligations of birth and death pollution are broken with her thaache after her marriage but she assumes the same social obligations in her conjugal family. Her new relationship prohibits her from taking any part in ancestral worship, such as dewali, and in the communal feasts of her thaache, but she participates fully in those of her husband's family.

However, although socially and legally she becomes detached from her natal family, she still maintains a close affinity and attachment to her thaache. Nepali (1965: 233) deals in some detail with the emotional attachment of a married daughter to her natal home and vice versa. Because of this emotional attachment, specially when the parents of

the woman are still living, the support she receives from her thaache, moral, financial or otherwise is quite remarkable. For a Newar woman her last resort and refuge in time of distress or ill-treatment from her affinal family or desertion by her husband is invariably her thaache. This emotional attachment of a married woman to her natal home and the support she receives from it is very important in balancing the power structure in her affinal family and in her relationship and her behavior to her husband. Apart from these special events in her life, every now and then she visits her natal home for short periods. During the first few years of marriage the visits to the natal home are more frequent and as she grows older her visits become less frequent and the duration shorter (Table 2.3). Women between 15 and 44 years of age go on more visits and stay longer than women over 45 years old.

Most women in Bulu are exogamously married and come from neighboring villages such as Thecho, Chapagaon, both less than an hour's walk, or Sonaguthi. This is to be expected since the Shresthas and Desars are both small communities in the village and have little choice from within the village, and the Jyapus, as explained above in the section on kinship, are proscribed from marrying blood relations less than seven generations back and there are only five separate Jyapu kinship groups in the village. So 74 percent of the women come from outside the village (Table 2.4). The majority of them, however, are from Thecho, so that 63 percent of the women in the sample are less than an hour's walk from their thaache, 8.7 percent are between one and three hours from their thaache and only one women is over three hours away.

Types of Marriage

There are four types of marriage known in Bulu, but only three of them are currently practiced. The traditional form of marriage is too elaborate and expensive for the present situation and no such marriage has taken place during the last eight to ten years, few of the present younger generation even knowing how it is performed. The three types that have replaced it and are currently practiced are:
1. marriage through a matchmaker (lami), 2. elopement, 3. casting of love spells (mwahani yayegu) leading to elopement. The traditional way is 4. niphaku or nhyaphaku.

TABLE 2.3

TIME SPENT IN NATAL HOME BY AGE GROUP

(15 Years and Over)

(In number of days)

Time / Age Group	Days					
	0	1 - 14	15 - 30	31 - 90	90 and Above	Total
Years:						
15 - 24	1 (11.1)	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	2 (22.2)	3 (33.4)	9 (100.0)
25 - 44	0	11 (50.0)	2 (9.1)	5 (22.7)	4 (18.2)	22 (100.0)
45 and Over	2 (13.3)	9 (60.0)	3 (20.0)	1 (6.7)	0	15 (100.0)
Total	3 (6.5)	22 (47.8)	6 (13.1)	8 (17.4)	7 (15.2)	46 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.4

DISTANCE TO NATAL HOME BY CASTE

(In numbers of women)

Distance \ Caste	Shrestha		Jyapu		Desar		Nau		All Castes	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Same Village	1	16.7	11	30.6	0	0	0	0	12	26.1
Less than 1 Hour	4	66.6	21	58.3	3	100.0	1	100.0	29	63.0
1 - 3 Hours	1	16.7	3	8.3	0	0	0	0	4	8.7
3 - 6 Hours	0	0	1	2.8	0	0	0	0	1	2.2
Total	6	100.0	36	100.0	3	100.0	1	100.0	46	100.0

Marriage Through a Lami

The lami arranges the marriage of a man and woman for the payment by the two families of either a blouse or a sari and a few rupees. The groom's family gives jewelry worth ½ to 3 tolas of gold to the bride and optionally some clothes. On a pre-arranged night the groom's family go to the bride's house and are given simple food without feasting or rituals and take the bride away to their own house. The bride has to stay at least four days continuously in the groom's house to complete the marriage. After these four days she then returns to her natal house as a married woman. If she returns in under four days then the marriage can be terminated (is not considered completed). If she leaves (her husband) or elopes with another man she has to return the jewelry to her husband, but the question of re-paying marriage expenses does not arise in such types of marriages.

Elopement

A man and woman may fall in love and agree to get married, sometimes with their parents' consent and sometimes without telling their families. In the case of elopement also a period of four days of continuously living together is considered a validation of the marriage, so that if a couple have eloped without their parents' consent they will stay in hiding for four days and after this period the girl cannot be taken away from the man she has eloped with. If the girl's parents or family disapprove of the union they may try to get her back before the lapse of four days, and if they succeed, the union can be treated as null and void; and girl will be considered still a virgin and can be given away in marriage like any other unmarried girl. It was said that in a period of four days there is every possibility of the girl getting pregnant. In some cases the girl's parents have tried to take their daughter back even after more than four days of hiding, and have sometimes been successful sometimes not. The usual, or ritual, duration of time for the validation of a marriage is, therefore, four days, but some elopements may, in specific cases, not be considered marriages even after more than four days.

Casting of Love Spells

For this kind of marriage arrangement a lami is also employed. But in this case she is employed by the man to cast a love spell (mwahani) on the woman he wants to marry, usually on a woman who has refused consent to marriage with him. The lami castes the spell to make the woman fall in love with the man and then if it is successful, they usually

elope. It is not clear how this works, by hypnotic, psychological or other means, and it deserves, perhaps, a separate study. Though there has been no attempt to find out the number of unsuccessful attempts with mwahani, clearly this method of making an unwilling woman agree to marry a man does often work, since there are a number of such mwahani marriages in Bulu.

> For example, Mohan Bahadur of Household 18 won the love and consent to marriage of his wife, Gyan Maya, in this way. He related how he fell in love with her and was determined to marry her in spite of the fact that she was already married to a man in Chapagaon and was in love with him, and refused Mohan Bahadur's proposal to elope with him. He decided to employ a lami, in this instance a relative. The lami, on payment of a blouse for her services, and Mohan Bahadur successfully used mwahani to win over Gyan Maya, who left her husband in Chapagaon to elope with Mohan Bahadur. She happened to have been illegitimate, born shortly after her mother got married (to Hakku Singh in Kinship Group 2), but neither her illegitimacy nor her elopement with Mohan Bahadur has affected her status in society in any way. She is fully accepted as the proper wife of Mohan Bahadur, who is himself more than satisfied by his decision to use mwahani. He says she is the best wife any man could have; amongst other things she and her four year old daughter migrate seasonally with him to the brick factory at Harishiddi, the mother earning 12 rupees a day and the daughter 2 to 3 rupees a day. Mohan Bahadur is proud of his wife for contributing substantially to the household income.

Traditional Marriage (Niphāku) or (Nhyāphāku)

Of these two traditional forms of marriage niphāku is slightly less expensive and elaborate than nhyaphāku.

The lami arranges an agreement between two families and then the two families decide which of the two traditional forms they will follow. For both forms the groom's family has to give the bride jewelry worth 2 to 5 tolas of gold and clothes, and the bride's family has to present the couple with a set of clothes each and enough household

utensils to cook for themselves and set up a new household. This gift from the natal home is called kwasa (Nep. daijo).

For the wedding itself the two families have to invite all those who are related consanguinally on each side, all blood relatives of phukii families and all those families whose weddings they themselves have attended. All the families invited have to bring presents, the nature and type of which depend on how many members of the particular family have been invited. If all members (bhwa paa or bhwachii) have been invited the present is more substantial, and therefore expensive, and if only one member has been invited it is less expensive. The wedding feast then, entails great expense, mainly for the families of the bride and groom, but also for those invited. Furthermore, it continues a process of further expense in obligations from those who have been invited.

The groom's uncle has a special obligation towards the groom's family in this traditional marriage. He has to provide and prepare for the bride's family food consisting of 32 waa (pancakes), 2½ pathi (8.9 kilos) of chiura (beaten rice), 1½ dharni (3.6 kilos) of cooked meat and a variety of pulses and vegetables to make twelve kinds of dishes.

These obligations are the same for both forms of traditional marriage. In a nhyāphāku marriage there is the additional expense of having to send a special invitation to those families which are closely related. Families invited in this way (bhwa paa or bhwachii; meaning "invitation for the entire family") are presented with a special kind of sweetmeat (lākhā) four to five inches in diameter made of flour and ghee and coated with sugar. The act of presenting this sweetmeat (lākhā biyegu) obligates the bhwa paa families to give specific presents to the bride, for example, a large brass or copper water pot, or a large brass bowl.

This traditional form of marriage is no longer taking place and has not taken place for around ten years simply because no one can afford it. In current marriages the daughter is given to the man's family with no ritual at all, or with a minimum of ritual, or else the couple elope. Since this is now the practice there is, of course, no loss of status for the woman.

The significance of elopement as the current most common form of marriage in Bulu is different from most

explanations given by anthropologists about this form of marriage in other societies. It has been said that elopement is a safety valve providing an escape from restrictive customs and that elopements take place in every known society when family or social disapproval blocks a fervently desired marriage (Hoebel and Weaver 1979: 384). In Bulu this may sometimes be the reason for elopement, but it is not the main reason for it. In direct opposition to this theory are the fairly numerous examples of parents in Bulu encouraging their children to elope. In Bulu elopement is a safety valve from inflation and the soaring prices which make the villagers unable to cope with the heavy expenditure involved in the traditional form of marriage. It is a reflection of the economic condition of the village, where people produce very little surplus from agriculture and usually only enough for their subsistence needs, and where there are few employment opportunities to enhance purchasing power. The recent trends of marriage patterns and the forms of marriage now existent in Bulu are an expression of the conditions in which the villagers now live.

Age at Marriage

A relationship seems to exist between the freedom and status of women and the age at which they first marry. In societies where women are relatively restricted and have relatively low status it appears they get married at an early age. In Nepalese society where "middle class values" prevail the women who marry early have fewer choices than those who marry later. In Bulu both men and women, particularly of the younger generations, marry at a later age than Brahman-Chetri village women or the Maithili women of Sirsia, Dhanusa (see Bennett 1981 and Acharya 1981), and this ties in with the relatively high degree of freedom of choice and social status that the women of Bulu have. The younger men and women of the sample were married between the ages of 17 and 20 whereas the older women were married between the ages of 10 and 13 (see Table 2.5). This shows a trend towards later marriage, therefore greater choice, and perhaps higher status, for women in this society. Some of the women, but not particularly of the younger generation, were married even later, between the ages of 21 and 25. As Table 2.5 shows, men marry later than women.

TABLE 2.5

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

(In number of persons)

Age Group/Sex \ Age at First Marriage		Age (Years)						
		1-9	10-13	14-16	17-20	21-25	26 and Above	Total
10-19 Years	Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	0	0	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0	0	3 (100.0)
20-29 Years	Male	0	0	2 (16.7)	9 (75.0)	1 (8.3)	0	12 (100.0)
	Female	0	3 (25.0)	3 (25.0)	5 (41.7)	1 (8.3)	0	12 (100.0)
30-39 Years	Male	0	0	1 (16.7)	4 (66.6)	1 (16.7)	0	6 (100.0)
	Female	0	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)	2 (26.0)	2 (25.0)	0	8 (100.0)
40-49 Years	Male	0	1 (9.1)	3 (27.3)	4 (36.3)	3 (27.3)	0	11 (100.0)
	Female	1 (7.7)	4 (30.8)	3 (23.0)	4 (30.8)	1 (7.7)	0	13 (100.0)
50 and Above Years	Male	0	1 (10.0)	4 (40.0)	3 (30.0)	0	2 (20.0)	10 (100.0)
	Female	0	4 (44.5)	3 (33.3)	2 (22.2)	0	0	9 (100.0)
Total	Male	0	2 (5.1)	10 (25.7)	20 (51.3)	5 (12.8)	2 (5.1)	39 (100.0)
	Female	1 (2.2)	12 (26.7)	13 (28.9)	15 (33.3)	4 (8.9)	0	45 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Choice in Marrying

Table 2.6 shows the degree of choice in marriage of males and females. It is perhaps unexpected to find that the figures for males and females choosing their spouse are more or less the same: 31.4 percent of the males (22.4% without parent's consent plus 9% with parent's consent) and 30.1 percent of the females (20.6% plus 9.5% with parent's consent). The main difference between the sexes arises in arranged marriages where males are married without their consent in only 20.9 percent of the cases and with consent in 34.3 percent of the cases, whereas 33.4 percent of the females had marriages arranged without their consent and only 23.8 percent with their consent.

It should be noted that captured with own consent, a category of marriage set up by the Status of Women team before details of Bulu marriage customs were known means in this study mwahani marriages. Mwahani marriages fit this category because, not only does the woman elope voluntarily if the mwahani has been successful, but it was found that in several instances women claimed that they had been persuaded into marriage by mwahani when in fact they had agreed to elope but wanted their parents and family to believe that they were not responsible for their participation in the elopement.

Overall, however, the difference between males and females in the amount of choice and agreement is not so great. Of the males 65.7 percent (22.4% plus 9.0% plus 34.3%) either chose or consented to their marriage and 53.9 percent (20.6% plus 9.5% plus 23.8%) of females chose or consented. If mwahani marriage (capture with own consent) are also added, the figures for males are 77.5 percent and for females 65 percent.

The category "captured without own consent" shows negligible figures since there is no tradition of marriage by capture amongst the Newars and it is extremely difficult

TABLE 2.6

FORM OF MARRIAGE BY SEX

(For All Marriages)

(In number of persons)

Form of Marriage \ Sex	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Own choice without parent's consent	15	22.4	13	20.6	28	21.6
Own choice with parent's consent	6	9.0	6	9.5	12	9.2
Captured with own consent (Mwahani marriages)	8	11.9	7	11.1	15	11.5
Captured without own consent	1	1.5	1	1.6	2	1.5
Arranged without own consent	14	20.9	21	33.4	35	26.9
Arranged with own consent	23	34.3	15	23.8	38	29.3
Total	67	100.0	63	100.0	130	100.0

for women to be taken off without her or her family's consent.*

Arranged marriages are more common than own choice marriages in all economic strata and among all castes (Tables 2.7 and 2.8), though the samples for Newars and Shresthas are too small to be conclusive evidence.

There is no loss of ritual status among any of the sample in any form of marriage.

DIVORCE AND SEPARATION

Women, as well as men, can marry any number of times without loss of status in the society, and divorce and separation for Jyapu women, as well as men, is very easy. If a woman wants to end her marriage she simply leaves her husband and returns to her natal home (thaache) and stays away indefinitely. Eventually the husband usually takes another wife and the departed wife gets married again, either by eloping or by her family arranging another marriage for her. Previously the breaking of the marriage was indicated by the wife returning to the husband the whole betelnuts given to her at marriage by her husband as a token of the marriage bond between them. Since the giving of betelnuts at marriage no longer takes place this symbol is no longer used to mark the breaking of a marriage. If the husband wishes to end the marriage he sends his wife back to her thaache and never asks her to return. It is the custom among the Newers of Bulu that if a wife spends some time at her thaache she should not return to her husband's house unless he asks her. This is especially strong for women who have not been married very long.

Women may choose to end their marriage at the slightest pretext, and the reasons for doing so are numerous. The most common reason is difficulty with the mother-in-law. If she

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*In Table 2.6 there is one entry each for male and female under "captured without own consent". This involved one marriage in which the female was captured without her consent, but the male involved in this marriage was, by default, also categorised as "captured without own consent".

TABLE 2.7

FORM OF MARRIAGE BY CASTE AND SEX

(For All Marriages)

(In number of persons)

Form of Marriage and Sex / Caste	Own Choice		Captured		Arranged		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Shrestha	2 (9.5)	2 (10.5)	0	0	2 (5.4)	5 (13.9)	4 (6.0)	7 (11.1)
Jyapu	18 (85.7)	15 (79.0)	9 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	31 (83.8)	29 (80.6)	58 (86.6)	52 (82.5)
Desar	1 (4.8)	2 (10.5)	0	0	4 (10.8)	2 (5.5)	5 (7.4)	4 (63.4)
Nau								
All Caste	21 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	37 (100.0)	36 (100.0)	67 (100.0)	63 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.8

FORM OF MARRIAGE BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

(For All Marriages)

(In number of persons)

Form of Marriage and Sex / Economic Strata	Own Choice		Captured		Arranged		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Top	6 (28.6)	5 (26.3)	1 (11.1)	3 (37.5)	6 (16.2)	9 (25.0)	13 (19.4)	17 (27.0)
Middle	12 (57.1)	10 (52.6)	2 (22.2)	3 (37.5)	16 (43.3)	14 (38.9)	30 (44.8)	27 (42.9)
Bottom	3 (14.3)	4 (21.1)	6 (66.7)	2 (25.0)	15 (40.5)	13 (36.1)	24 (35.8)	19 (30.1)
All Strata	21 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	37 (100.0)	36 (100.0)	67 (100.0)	63 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

cannot get along with her mother-in-law a woman will return to her thaache. She will try to persuade her husband to separate from his parents and if she is successful she will return to him. But if she is not she will usually find another husband. Another common cause for divorce arises from inter family disputes.

> Nani Chori, daughter-in-law in Household 9, returned to her thaache and stayed there almost three years. The dispute with her affines was not settled so she eloped with another man from within the village and her husband married another woman. If Nani Chori had been stronger she might have persuaded her husband to separate from her mother-in-law.

In some cases a woman leaves her husband because he fails to satisfy her material needs.

> For example, one family promised to give its new daughter-in-law a pair of gold earring on marriage. Even after a year the earring were not forthcoming so the wife went back to her thaache and never returned to her husband's house.

In many cases, of course, the woman simply does not like her husband's behavior and ends the marriage. Whatever the reason, however, there is no loss of status for the woman and she is free to marry again.

RE-MARRIAGE

Women, as well as men, can re-marry without any social stigma or loss of status, and in the sample there are three older women who had married four times (Tables 2.9 and 2.10). Most women re-marry if they are deserted by their husband or widowed, or if they do not like their present marriage, unless they are older (in the sample the 7 unmarried widows are all over 35 years of age and most are over 50).

Of the married women 63.1 percent are in their first marriage, 13.1 percent in their second and 4.3 percent in their fourth. Men re-marry as frequently as women, if not a little more: 55 percent of the sample married men are in their first marriage, 27.5 percent in their second, 7.5 percent in their third and one man has been married four or more times.

TABLE 2.9

PRESENT MARITAL STATUS BY CASTE AND SEX

(For Population of 10 Years and Above)

(In number)

Caste & Sex / Ever Married	Shrestha		Jyapu		Desar		Nau		All Caste	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Presently Married I	4 (18.2) (100.0)	4 (13.8) (66.7)	16 (72.8) (50.0)	22 (75.7) (61.1)	1 (4.5) (33.3)	2 (7.0) (66.7)	1 (4.5) (100.0)	1 (3.5) (100.0)	22 (100.0) (55.0)	29 (100.0) (63.1)
Presently Married II	0	0	9 (81.8) (28.1)	5 (83.3) (13.9)	2 (18.2) (66.7)	1 (16.7) (33.3)	0	0	11 (100.0) (27.5)	6 (100.0) (13.1)
Presently Married III	0	0	3 (100.0) (9.4)	0	0	0	0	0	3 (100.0) (7.5)	0
Presently Married IV and Above	0	0	1 (100.0) (3.1)	2 (100.0) (5.6)	0	0	0	0	1 (100.0) (2.5)	2 (100.0) (4.3)
Widowed	0	2 (28.6) (33.3)	2 (100.0) (6.3)	5 (71.4) (13.9)	0	0	0	0	2 (100.0) (5.0)	7 (100.0) (15.2)
Divorced	0	0	1 (100.0) (3.1)	2 (100.0) (5.5)	0	0	0	0	1 (100.0) (2.5)	2 (100.0) (4.3)
Total	4 (10.0) (100.0)	6 (13.0) (100.0)	32 (80.0) (100.0)	36 (78.3) (100.0)	3 (7.5) (100.0)	3 (6.5) (100.0)	1 (2.5) (100.0)	1 (2.2) (100.0)	40 (100.0) (100.0)	46 (100.0) (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages: the first row percentages, the second column percentages.

TABLE 2.10

REASON FOR TERMINATING MARRIAGE

(In number of persons)

Reason \ Marriage/Sex	Marriage I		Marriage II		Marriage III		All Marriages		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Not Terminated	18 (46.2)	26 (57.8)	12 (60.0)	8 (57.1)	5 (62.5)	1 (25.0)	35 (52.2)	35 (55.5)	70 (53.8)
Death of Spouse	3 (7.7)	5 (11.1)	2 (10.0)	3 (21.4)	2 (25.0)	0	7 (10.5)	8 (12.7)	15 (11.5)
Desertion of Spouse	4 (10.2)	2 (4.5)	3 (15.0)	0	1 (12.5)	0	8 (11.9)	2 (3.2)	10 (7.7)
Desertion by Self	5 (12.8)	3 (6.7)	0	1 (7.2)	0	2 (50.0)	5 (7.5)	6 (9.5)	11 (8.5)
Elopement by Spouse	5 (12.8)	0	3 (15.0)	0	0	0	8 (11.9)	0	8 (6.8)
Elopement by Self	0	2 (4.4)	0	1 (7.2)	0	0	0	3 (4.8)	3 (2.3)
Intra Familial Disputes	1 (2.6)	1 (2.2)	0	0	0	0	1 (1.5)	1 (1.6)	2 (1.5)
Others	3 (7.7)	6 (13.3)	0	1 (7.1)	0	1 (25.0)	3 (4.5)	8 (12.7)	11 (8.5)
Total	39 (100.0)	45 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	67 (100.0)	63 (100.0)	130 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

These figures, however, though they come from the total sample survey, do not reflect the marriage pattern of the three castes; they reflect the marriage pattern of the Jyapus. Although the sample size of Desars and Shresthas is not large enough to conclude anything, Table 2.9, showing marriage patterns by caste, does reflect the observations made and information collected in the village outside the sample that the Shresthas do not frequently re-marry.

Of the marriages that were terminated (60 in all) one quarter (15) were ended through the death of male or female, over half (32) through desertion or elopement and under a quarter (13) for other reasons (Table 2.10). It is of some importance to note that of the 32 marriages ended by desertion or elopement, 25 of these were on the initiative of the women and only 7 on the initiative of the man. In other words, where a marriage is ended directly by husband or wife it is usually the wife who does so.

Not only is a woman free to divorce, separate and remarry and have her children by a previous husband accepted into her new husband's dewali group, but even if she is pregnant by her previous husband, both she and the child subsequently will be fully accepted into her husband's dewali group. In fact in such cases the problem of the children being accepted does not arise, since any children, whoever the biological father, born within a household are considered as belonging to the lineage of that household.*

> For example, the woman of Household 9 was married when she was already six months pregnant from her previous marriage in Thecho, and after a few months a daughter was born. Both the mother and the child were accepted. At present the daughter is 21 years old, married into household 11. Due to some inter-family disputes she left her first husband's home and is now remarried in another household in Bulu without any loss of status.

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*It is believed among the Newars in general that a new born baby does not belong to any caste or creed. Hence a new born baby with its umbilical cord (before the cord is cut) is accepted into any caste. Even if a child is born from a low caste parent, for example Kami or Cheme, he or she will be accepted even by the highest caste, for example a Brahman.

WOMEN IN THE SOCIETY

Bulu women emerge from this account of the society as very different from the ideal Hindu women. They are independent, self-confident and outspoken. They have relatively little influence in the guthi, but have overwhelming influence in the kinship systems, at the dewali group level and at the family level. They are most often the cause of splits in the dewali groups and are usually able to persuade the husband, often with a kind of blackmail, to leave his parents' household to set up an independent household, which is probably the main reason for the majority of Bulu households being nuclear rather than extended.

Their independence is the result of three main factors. The first is the total and unquestioning support at all times and under all circumstances of the natal home, so that a woman can retreat there at anytime for as long as she wishes without pressure being put on her to return to her husband. The second is the minimal importance given to ritual concerning women, for example "pollution" during menstruation, and elaborate marriage ceremonies which means that women have a greater freedom, to work, freedom to marry and re-marry by elopement without putting financial burdens on their own families or future husband. Thirdly divorce or separation and re-marriage are completely acceptable, socially and ritually, within the society so that a woman can leave her husband at any time she chooses without any social or ritual disadvantages. Her children by a previous husband are socially acceptable to the new family group and nowadays provision is being made for them to become ritually acceptable also. So that women much more than men break up marriages. In the sample, for example, three quarters of the marriages that were ended by desertion or elopement were done so by the wife. Three women in the sample were in their fourth marriage, a situation fully acceptable to the society.

The relative ease of social restrictions seems to be encouraged by flexibility in the society together with the pressures of inflation and poverty. People cannot afford the luxury of "pollution periods" when a woman cannot work at maximum, they cannot afford expensive marriage ceremonies, and they are realistic enough to realise that if a woman has children by a previous husband they must adapt the ritual to fit the circumstances.

Dewali puja.

Women taking a break from their work in the fields to do puja.

Infants with their care-takers.

Thinking about all the work that has to be done.

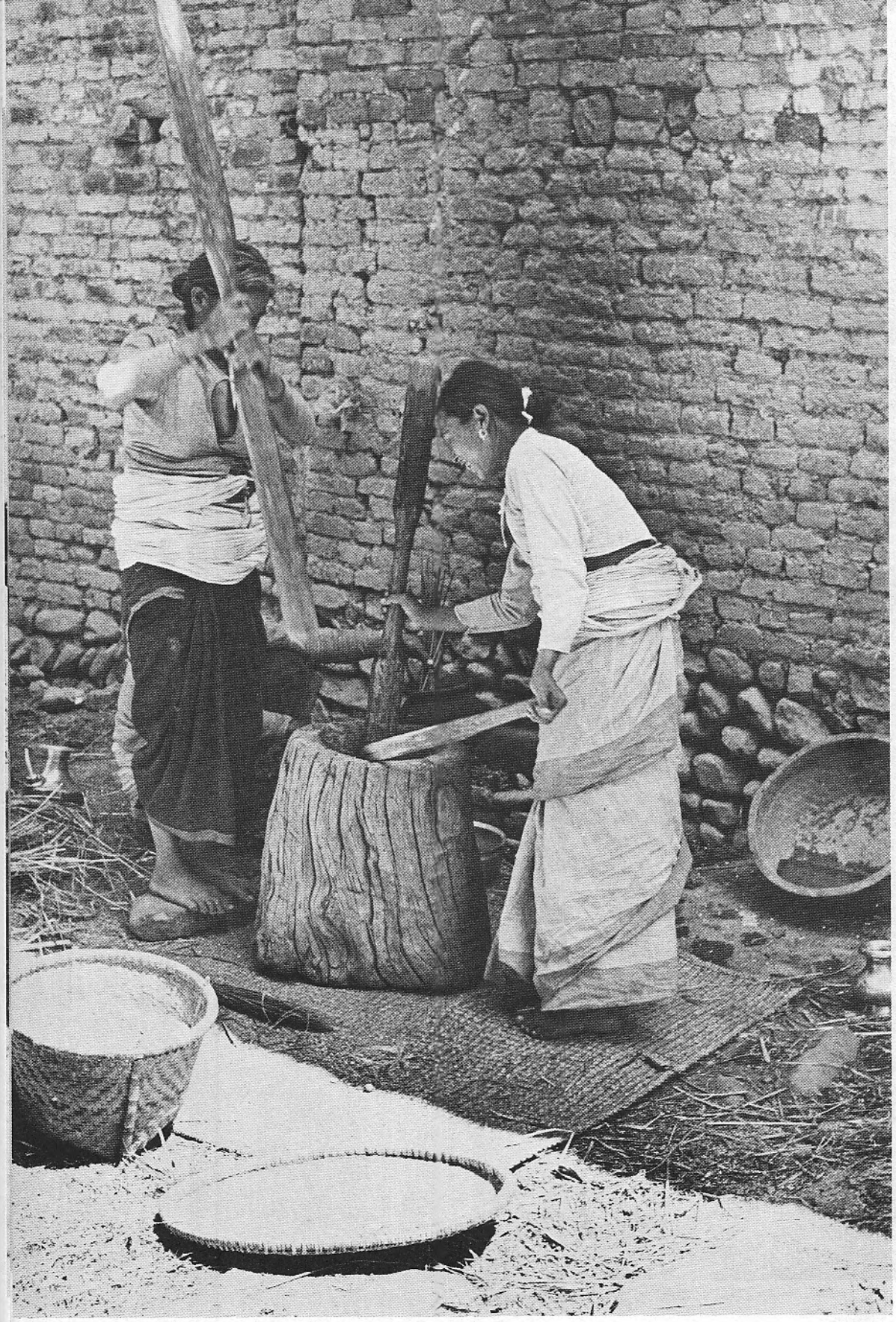


Photo by: Jaya Roy

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC DIMENSION

It has been widely felt that women have been left out of the main stream of economic development. Female peasant farmers, the female rural poor, or the female small farmers, have been ignored, or rather do not exist for the policy makers and planners. Nepal is no exception to this. Women have been viewed mainly as breeders and feeders, and not as producers or performers of a variety of community services in the rural villages. Even today programmes for the small farmer or rural poor focus on the males, and if there is anything for the women it is like a tail added to the whole programme and even to the whole development process. Because women's contribution to the household economy is unpaid, the economic activities of the female farmers are neglected or are not taken into account. A detailed description and analysis of women's contribution in the economy of the society is probably the single most important factor which will bring out women's value and therefore bring about a change in the status of women. There are a number of studies which suggest that women's contribution to subsistence is a crucial variable in determining their status, for example, according to Sandy (1973:204) there is a high correlation between female status and female contribution to subsistence. The focus of this chapter, therefore, will be to examine the role of women in the subsistence household economy.

In order to do this each of the households has to be viewed as an economic unit of production, in which each of the household members contributes according to his or her capacity. Within the household economy women's contribution, in terms of their services and input of time, has to be treated and recognized as an economic contribution, and set side by side with the monetary contribution made by the males in the household. Bulu is a self sufficient economy at a subsistence level towards which women contribute a large and crucial part. This chapter will depict the general village economy and its agricultural practices, the household as an economic unit of production, the male and female contributions in the various activities of the household, the division of labour, household production and the share of women in its production. Their role and influence in the overall decision making process will also be discussed.

THE VILLAGE ECONOMY

Bulu village economy is basically self sufficient at a subsistence level. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Of the sample households 80 percent depend on agriculture for their existence, in other words, agriculture accounts for 80 percent of the household production, and there are only two households whose occupations are other than agriculture. Within the household and the village, the villagers produce their basic necessities: food, shelter and clothes are all produced within the village. Each peasant household is an independent producer using predominantly family labour supplemented by reciprocal labour for consumption requirements of the household. Among the peasant households a few are supported entirely by various outside sources of income, some are supplemented by outside sources but the majority are self sufficient, some producing enough for a small surplus to sell in the market, others merely producing just enough, or too little, for their own culturally defined needs.

Almost every household makes sure that it owns two types of land: lakha bwa (Nep. khet) land (wet land with easy access to water) which yields crops such as rice, wheat, potatoes, and pākhā bwa (Nep. pako) land (dry land with little access to water) which yields crops such as corn, potatoes and oilseeds. If a household does not own lakha bwa land it exchanges pākhā bwa land for lakha bwa land with another household on a basis of tenancy.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND PRODUCTION

In this study, the 35 households have been classified into "top", "middle" and "bottom" economic strata on the basis of their levels of annual per capita income (cash and kind) according to criteria set up for a uniform classification for all case studies in this series (for details see Methodological Foreword). According to this classification there are 9 households in the top economic stratum, 13 in the middle and 12 in the bottom economic stratum (Table 3.1).

TABLE 3.1

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA*

	No. of Persons	No. of House-holds	Total Income (in Rupees)	Average per Capita (in Rupees)	Average per Household (in Rupees)
Top	39	9	72715.0	1864.5	8079.5
Middle	78	13	90409.0	1159.0	6954.5
Bottom	69	12	45786.0	663.6	3815.5
All Strata	186	34	208910.0	1123.2	6144.4

*This table excludes the value added, whereas Tables 3.2 and 3.3 include the value added.

For the top economic stratum households the average per capita income is 1,864.5 rupees, for the middle economic stratum it is 1,159 rupees and for the bottom economic stratum households 663.6 rupees. The average per capita for the whole village is 1,123.2 rupees. The difference of the average per household between the top and the middle is only marginal and that between the bottom and the middle is not very great; only between the bottom and the top is the difference nearly double. According to the National Planning Commission Survey on Employment Income Distribution and Consumption Pattern in Nepal the basic minimum requirement per person per day is estimated at 2 rupees. According to this estimate the national per capita income would be 1,330 rupees. In relation to this annual income even the top economic stratum is only marginally above the basic minimum requirement, and those in the low economic stratum are well below the national average basic requirement. This suggests that the people in Bulu subsist at a bare minimum.

These statistics, backed by observation in the field, suggest that the people of Bulu are fairly homogeneous with more or less common practices in regard to culture and economy.

The economic standing of the Shresthas in the village, however, is relatively higher than that of the other castes. Out of the five Shrestha households in the sample three belong to the top economic stratum and two to the middle stratum. Observations during the field study support this, as the Shrestha families are better off in terms of their land holdings and ownership of other forms of assets. The one Shrestha household headed by a single female living alone has the highest per capita income in the village - 3,613 rupees; whereas the two Jyapu female headed households have per capita incomes of 2,994 rupees and 2,385 rupees. Quite contrary to the findings of Youssof and Buvenic (1978) the female headed households seem to be quite well off, although a sample of these households is too small to draw final conclusions from. The two main factors which contribute to this are that the widows in the village receive a share of their husband's property and the inheritance from the affinal home which would have gone to the husband if he were alive, and women without husbands seem to be in a position to work more outside the household.

The criterion the villagers themselves use to distinguish the higher economic stratum is slightly different from that of this study. The staple food of the village is rice. This is supplemented by maize or wheat by most households, as they do not have enough rice to last throughout the year. Most villagers prefer rice to maize or wheat as it is considered a better and more prestigeous food, and those households which produce enough paddy for consumption throughout the year are regarded as "well-to-do". There are few households that fall into this category.

SOURCES OF INCOME

As has already been stated the main occupation of the villagers is agriculture, hence the major source of income is derived from agriculture and other sources are only supplementary.

The most important supplementary source of income is from wages, for example, wages from agriculture, construction, weaving, brickmaking, carpentry. During the off-agricultural seasons most of the men go out to work daily on construction and brickmaking, and men in some of the households seek off-season wage employment outside the village as far as Patan or Kathmandu. For employment in brickmaking some families even migrate for the dry season to nearby villages such as

Harsiddhi. Among such families the females also work at brickmaking.

Another important source of wage income for many households is weaving for wages. Weaving, which is done almost exclusively by women, provides materials necessary for home consumption besides an income for many households. Some of the households earn as much as 4,000 rupees per annum from weaving for wages. Among the sample households there is only one which depends for its livelihood on income from wages, in this case wages from brickmaking, and only a few households in the whole of the village.

Apart from these two sources of income, agriculture and wages, there are a few households which derive supplementary income from salaries and pensions. No woman is in a salaried job. There is only one household in the sample which receives a pension, and from observation, it appears that there are no other households in the village which have this kind of income.

The whole village economy, therefore, consists of a subsistence sector and a market sector. The income derived from the market sector which comprises production sales, wages and salaries and investment incomes and trading, is less (38%) than that of the income derived from the subsistence sector (62%). (See Tables 3.2 and 3.3). Thus, the village economy is the economy of household production.

Subsistence Sector

Income from agriculture predominates in the subsistence sector which comprises farm production, kitchen gardening, animal husbandry, hunting and gathering (in this case mainly fuel collection), manufacturing (mainly cloth weaving) and food processing.

The total farm production for the sample households amounts to 11,378 rupees for all economic strata, which means per household production is 3,276 rupees, constituting 48.7 percent of the total household income. Broken down into economic strata, for those households in the top stratum it constitutes 44.8 percent, for those in the middle stratum 51.9 percent and for those in the bottom stratum 49 percent.

Income from kitchen gardening is only a fraction of the total income. It constitutes on average only 3.1 percent per

TABLE 3.2

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME *

(In rupees)

Economic Strata \ Sectors		Household Production							Wage/ Salary/ Income	Investment Income/ Trading	Total
		Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting, Gathering and Fuel Collection	Manufacturing	Food Processing	Total			
TOP N = 9	Total	36004	2120	12414	4096	3208	7694	65536	12003	2870	80409
	Per Household	4001	235	1379	455	356	855	7281	1334	319	8934
	Row %	(44.8)	(2.6)	(15.4)	(5.1)	(4.0)	(9.6)	(81.5)	(14.9)	(3.6)	(100.0)
MIDDLE N = 13	Total	50937	2931	8036	6552	744	7782	76982	14999	6210	98191
	Per Household	3918	225	618	504	57	599	8554	1154	478	7553
	Row %	(51.9)	(3.0)	(8.2)	(6.7)	(0.7)	(7.9)	(78)	(15.3)	(6.3)	(100.0)
BOTTOM N = 12	Total	24437	1964	3404	5260	302	4026	39393	10219	200	49812
	Per Household	2036	164	284	438	25	335	4377	852	17	4151
	Row %	(49.0)	(4.0)	(6.8)	(10.6)	(0.6)	(8.1)	(79)	(20.5)	(0.4)	(100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 34	Total	111378	7015	23854	15908	4254	19502	81911	37221	9280	228412
	Per Household	3276	206	702	468	125	573	20212	1095	273	6718
	Row %	(48.7)	(3.1)	(10.4)	(7.0)	(1.9)	(8.5)	(80)	(16.3)	(4.1)	(100.0)

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE 3.3

HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME AND PRODUCTION *

(In rupees)

Economic Strata \ Composition of Income		Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/ Salary Income	Investment Income/ Trading	Total	
TOP N = 9	Total	48256	17280	12003	2870	32153	80409
	Per Household	5361	1920	1334	319	3573	8934
	Row %	(60.0)	(21.5)	(14.9)	(3.6)	(40.0)	(100.0)
MIDDLE N = 13	Total	61059	15923	14999	6210	37132	98191
	Per Household	4697	1225	1154	478	2856	7553
	Row %	(62.2)	(16.2)	(15.3)	(6.3)	(37.8)	(100.0)
BOTTOM N = 12	Total	32606	6787	10219	200	17206	49812
	Per Household	2717	565	852	17	1434	4151
	Row %	(65.5)	(13.6)	(20.5)	(0.4)	(34.5)	(100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 34	Total	141921	39990	37221	9280	86491	228412
	Per Household	4174	1176	1095	273	2544	6718
	Row %	(62.1)	(17.5)	(16.3)	(4.1)	(37.9)	(100.0)

* Based on 35 sample households.

household for all economic strata. For the top stratum it is slightly less and for the lower stratum slightly more.

Animal husbandry accounts for a considerable amount of income for the top economic stratum (15.4%), but considerably less for the middle and bottom strata (8.5% and 6.8% respectively). This is because the slightly better off households can afford to buy and maintain major animals (buffaloes, cows) while the lower two strata can only afford minor animals (sheep, goats, fowls).

Income from fuel gathering (hunting and gathering) in relation to economic strata is in the reverse order from that of animal husbandry. For the bottom economic stratum it constitutes 10.6 percent at the household income, for the middle 6.7 percent and for the top 5 percent. The reason for this is that the poorer households collect fuel wood for sale as well as for household use whereas the richer households collect fuel mainly for household use.

Income from manufacturing is also negligible. It is 4 percent for the top economic stratum households and only 0.6 percent for the bottom economic stratum. The richer households can afford to install better looms (desi tāā) and weave for wages as a supplementary income, whereas the poorer households usually only possess a very simple indigenous loom (che tāā) and weave mainly for the consumption of the household. There are very few households in the middle and bottom economic strata who weave for wages.

The contribution to household income from food processing, such as husking, grinding, brewing, constitutes a fairly significant part of the total income. For all households it constitutes an average of 8.5 percent of the household production. For the top economic stratum households it is slightly higher (9.6%) than for the middle and bottom strata (7.9% and 8.1% respectively). Although income computed from food processing is not a visible or tangible part of the income it does, nevertheless, constitutes an important contribution to the household income.

Market Sector

The market sector comprises income from wages and salaries, investment income from trading and sales from household production. Bulu has a higher percentage of income from sales (average for all strata 7.5%) than any of

the other seven villages studied in this series except Bakundol, and the top economic stratum has considerably more (21.5%) than the lower two strata. Wages and salaries (16.4%) are also more than those of some of the other villages. This is presumably because Bulu is closer to an urban area.

It is interesting to note in the breakdown of income from wages and salaries (Table 3.4) that the higher the economic stratum the greater is the income from salaries and the lower the economic stratum the greater is the income from wages. This is very much in keeping with the general belief that people divert from agriculture to other fields with an improvement in their economic status, and that the poorer section of the people, those with less landholdings, have to depend on temporary and spasmodic sources of income. However, as the sample is rather small and as the people of Bulu are fairly homogeneous it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusion from this. But observations of several cases indicate that as people become better off they tend to seek regular employment in areas other than agriculture.

Although income derived from trading is only marginal for households of all economic strata, for the households in the top and middle economic strata it is more (3.6% and 6.4% respectively) than for those of the bottom economic stratum (0.4%) (See Table 3.3). This is consistent with field observations that trading is mainly of grains and so those who have surplus grains, or those who can afford to buy grains at cheap prices to sell when prices rise, are the economically better off. Hence the higher the economic stratum the greater is the income from trading, and vice versa.

ASSET STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

The assets of the sample households have been categorized into seven: land/building, major animals, and minor animals, agricultural equipment, transport vehicles, gold and silver, and miscellaneous.

The major asset that all households possess is land and buildings (90.5% of all assets) and other asset holdings are a negligible fraction of the total (Table 3.5). Even the poorest of the poor possess a building, are protected under a roof, however delapidated it may be. They too, of course, possess some kind of land, be it lakha bwa, pākha bwa or keba (small piece of land adjoining the house). Of all the

TABLE 3.4

SOURCES OF INCOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

(In rupees)

Economic Strata	Income / Sex	Salary	Pension	Income Transfers	Wages	Total
Top	Male	7125 (71.0)	0	0	2913 (29.0)	10038 (100)
	Female	0	0	0	1965 (100)	1965 (100)
	Both	7125 (59.4)	0	0	4878 (40.6)	12003 (100)
Middle	Male	4272 (35.0)	757 (6.2)	600 (4.9)	6584 (53.9)	12213 (100)
	Female	0	0	0	2676 (100)	2676 (100)
	Both	4272 (28.9)	757 (5.1)	600 (4.0)	9260 (62.2)	14889 (100)
Bottom	Male	0	0	0	7985 (100)	7985 (100)
	Female	0	0	0	3234 (100)	3234 (100)
	Both	0	0	0	11219 (100)	11219 (100)
All Strata	Male	11397 (37.7)	757 (2.5)	600 (2.0)	17482 (57.8)	30236 (100)
	Female	0	0	0	7875 (100)	7875 (100)
	Both	11397 (29.9)	757 (2.0)	600 (1.6)	25357 (66.5)	38111 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.5

ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In rupees)

No. of Households	Economic Strata \ Assets		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agricultural Equipment	Transport Vehicles	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(4)+(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)=(3)+(6)+(7)+(8)+(9)+(10)
9	Top	Total Assets	603320 (89.9)	6900 (1.03)	720 (0.12)	7620 (1.12)	2750 (0.41)	150 (0.02)	20661 (3.1)	36955 (5.5)	671456 (100)
		Average Assets/ Household	67036 (90)	767 (1.3)	80 (0.11)	847 (1.1)	306 (0.4)	17 (0.02)	2296 (3.1)	4106 (5.5)	74606 (100)
13	Middle	Total Assets	798221 (90.4)	5650 (0.63)	3125 (0.35)	8775 (0.99)	3356 (0.38)	0	26252 (2.97)	46369 (5.25)	882973 (100)
		Average Assets/ Household	61402 (90.4)	435 (0.6)	240 (0.4)	675 (1.0)	258 (0.4)	0	2019 (3.0)	3567 (5.3)	67921 (100)
12	Bottom	Total Assets	370139 (91.9)	3065 (0.76)	2720 (0.68)	5785 (1.44)	1880 (0.47)	0	11600 (2.88)	13335 (3.31)	402739 (100)
		Average Assets/ Household	30845 (91.9)	255 (0.8)	227 (0.7)	482 (1.4)	157 (0.5)	0	967 (2.9)	1111 (3.3)	33562 (100)
34	All Strata	Total Assets	1771680 (90.52)	15615 (0.80)	6565 (0.34)	22180 (1.13)	7986 (0.41)	150 (0.01)	58513 (3.0)	96659 (4.94)	1957168 (100)
		Average Assets/ Household	52108 (90.5)	459 (0.8)	193 (0.3)	652 (1.1)	235 (0.4)	4 (0)	1721 (3)	2843 (4.9)	57564 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

sample households only one does not possess land and the householder depends for his livelihood entirely on the income from his shop. Thus land and buildings are the life blood of the villagers. Of their total assets the top economic stratum have 34.1 percent in land and buildings, the middle stratum 45.1 percent and the bottom stratum 20.9 percent.

There seems to be a fairly even distribution of land holding in the village. There are very few households with large holdings: 3 households (9%) only have holdings of more than 20 ropanis of land (one has land between 28 and 32 ropanis, 1 has between 24 and 28, 1 between 20 and 24), and three households (9%) have between 16 and 20 ropanis, which means that only 18 percent have more than 16 ropanis. And 6 households (18%) average holdings of less than 4 ropanis (one of which has no land at all). More than half of the households (54%) have between 4 and 16 ropanis, with the highest number (29%) having between 4 and 8 ropanis (Table 3.6 and Figure 3.1). The average size of holding per household is 10.33 ropanis and the mean size is 8.3 ropanis.

After land and buildings the next most important assets is "other assets" which includes household utensils, radios and cassettes, but it totals only 4.9 percent of the total. The middle stratum households own most (48%), the top stratum fewer (38%) and the bottom stratum very few (13.8%).

Gold and silver totals 3 percent of the total assets. Its distribution amongst the different economic strata (35.3%, 44.9% and 19.8% for the top, middle and bottom strata respectively) is contrary to the belief that the better off the households the more gold and silver they will own. It also confirms observations that even the poorest households have some gold or silver, either inherited or acquired, since gold in particular is an important gift to be able to offer women at marriage.

Livestock is an unexpectedly low proportion of the total assets (1.1%), even though all households regard it as essential to possess animals of some sort, either major animals like buffaloes or cows or minor animals like goats, sheep or fowls. Animals are kept, not for their direct use, but for the derived use of the waste materials from the animals as manure for the fields.

There is a direct relationship between the size of the land holdings and number and size of animals owned by a

TABLE 3.6

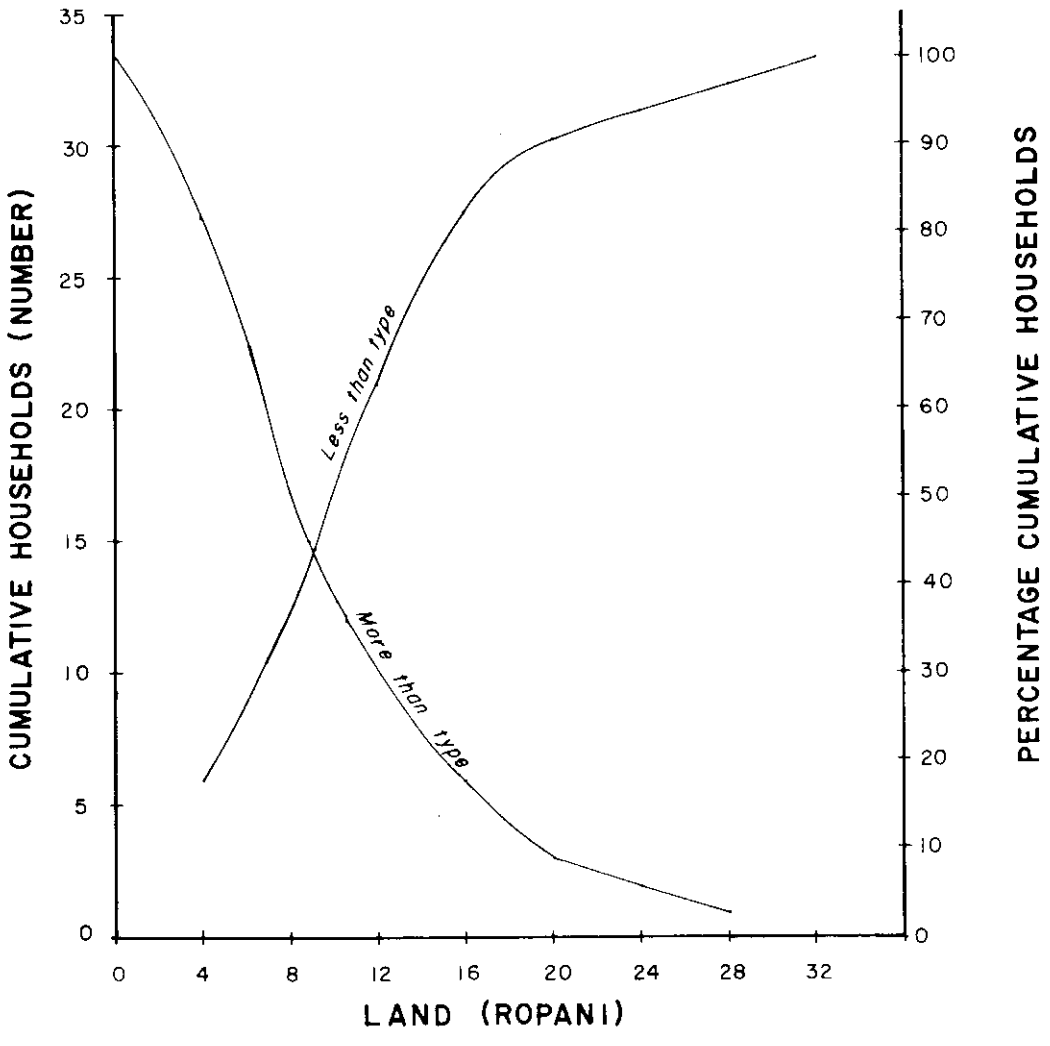
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO LAND HOLDINGS

Land (In ropanis)*	Households		Cumulative Households (Less than type)		Cumulative Households (More than type)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
0.01 - 4.00	6	18	6	18	34	100
4.01 - 8.00	10	29	16	47	28	82
8.01 - 12.00	5	15	21	62	18	53
12.01 - 16.00	7	20	28	82	13	38
16.01 - 20.00	3	9	31	91	6	18
20.01 - 24.00	1	3	32	94	3	9
24.01 - 28.00	1	3	33	97	2	6
28.01 - 32.00	1	3	34	100	1	3
Total	34	100	-	-	-	-

* 1 hectare = 19.65 ropanis.

Fig. 3.1

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO LAND HOLDING



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household. The larger the holding the greater the number of animals and the bigger they are. It is rather expensive to possess large animals, and they involve heavy work, and hence lower income households avoid having more than one or two major animals. This is compensated for by having a large number of minor animals, such as goats and sheep, which are less expensive to maintain and involve less heavy work, but which nevertheless are important in providing manure.

Agricultural equipment is used very little and is hence only a very minor asset (0.4% of the total).

Under the heading "Transport" in Table 3.5 comes the one bicycle owned by a household in the top economic stratum.

The overall distribution of assets among the different economic strata confirms field observations that the people of Bulu are economically fairly homogeneous, but it is unexpected in the finding that the middle stratum owns more (45.1%) of the total assets than the top stratum (34.3%). That the bottom stratum owns considerably less (20.6%) is, of course, to be expected.

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

Since agriculture is the main source of livelihood it is essential to discuss its practices in the village.

Nine months of observation and investigation only confirms the general view that, with their tradition bound technology, the Jyapus of Bulu have reached a maximum in agricultural production.

The average paddy yield per unit of land varies from a minimum of 1.5 muris to a maximum of 10 muris (Table 3 7), and the average for the sample is 4.6 muris. It is a striking fact that the average yield is inversely related to the size of holding: the bigger the holding the smaller the yield per unit of land and the smaller the holding the bigger the yield. The correlation coefficient is .8.

> For example, the size of the holding of Household 27 is 16.63 ropanis and the yield per unit is 3.7 muris, similarly Household 2 has 9.50 ropanis and a yield of only 1.5 muris, whereas Household 9 has a land holding of only 5 ropanis but its yield

TABLE 3.7

PADDY PRODUCTION

Household Number	Paddy Production* (Muris)	Khet Land** Owned (Ropanis)	Average Yield (Muri/Ropani)
1	0	0.00	0.0
2	16	9.50	1.7
3	9	2.50	3.6
4	40	8.00	5.0
5	40	8.75	4.6
6	30	7.50	4.0
7	31	8.00	3.9
8	20	4.00	5.0
9	50	5.00	10.0
10	10	3.00	3.3
11	7	3.00	2.3
12	17	4.50	3.8
13	25	3.13	8.0
14	12	3.00	4.0
15	50	8.00	6.3
16	14	3.50	4.0
17	10	2.00	5.0
18	0	0.00	0.0
19	15	5.00	3.0
20	9	2.00	4.5
21	9	2.25	4.0
22	30	8.00	3.8
23	21	2.25	9.3
24	NA***	NA	NA
25	60	13.25	4.5
26	27	7.69	3.5
27	61.25	16.63	3.7
28	5	2.00	2.5
29	20	7.00	2.9
30	20	3.00	6.7
31	35	4.50	7.8
32	21	6.06	3.5
33	39	8.00	4.9
34	10	2.75	3.6
35	12	4.00	3.0
Total	775.25	177.19	4.4

* 1 muri = 49.9 kg
** 1 hectare = 19.65 ropanis
*** NA = Data Not Available

per unit of land is 10 muris, and Household 23, with a holding of 2.25 ropanis, has a yield of 9.3 muris.

Although the method of cultivation seems uniform throughout the village, the main reason for higher yields on small holdings is probably because the farmers with small holdings put a maximum effort into their farming simply in order to meet consumption requirements; they cultivate intensively out of necessity. Households with bigger land holdings do not need to put in this intensity of effort to meet their consumption needs. Also the smaller the holding the more time and detailed attention is the farmer able to give to the land, but this does not necessarily mean lower cost in production. This finding of an inverse relationship of size of holding and size of yield has important implications in the optimum and desirable size of holding for the maximization of production yield per unit of land. Of course, other factors, such as climate and soil conditions, are also important in deciding the amount of the yield.

Apart from this, however, it seems clear that, within the present technology and traditional know-how, the yield per unit of land has reached a maximum. Unless a drastic or major technological change or break-through is made, there is no way to increase paddy production.

This is because it appears the Jyapu farmer is, and has been for a long time, getting the most out of his land within the limits of his technology. Hodgson (1847) said that the Newars were the best cultivators in Asia, and Nepali (1967) is of the opinion that "a Newar farmer is an expert cultivator" and that in comparison with the Indian farmer the Jyapu raises more crops on the same land.

A Newar farmer never allows land to lie fallow for more than a month or two and raises at least two main crops and two subsidiary ones. His skill lies in mixed farming. His pattern of farming depends on the type of land he has, which may be either lakha bwa, low land which is wet and fertile, or pākhā bwa, higher land which is drier and not so fertile, and on the climate. Only if some drastic efforts and technological improvements are introduced can the yield be increased.

Crop Rotation

All the low land of the village with facility of irrigation and certainty of flooding during the monsoons (lakha bwa

land) is appropriated for the cultivation of rice. Its lowness and wetness, as compared with the higher land, means it is fertile and productive.

On this lakha bwa land, after the harvesting of the paddy, which is the main crop of the village, wheat or potatoes are grown, and along with potatoes, vegetables such as garlic, are cultivated on the outer side of the potato plants, allowing no wastage of land under cultivation. On the higher land (pākha bwa), which is less fertile, corn is cultivated, and after that is harvested oilseeds are planted by most of the villagers and millet by a few. After the oilseeds are harvested potatoes are then planted. This started only after the construction of a canal through the maraa astha guthi. Soyabeans and pulses are sown on the sides of corn plants.

Most villagers have a small plot adjacent to their houses (keba), the size of which varies, on which they grow chillies, radishes and other vegetables. Land is seldom left fallow, given that it has a minimal fertility and enough water, and the rotation of crops is practised with the maximum of appropriateness in relation to the fertility of the soil and availability of water. Thus, because of the pattern of crop rotation, the leisure periods over the year fluctuate with the sowing and harvesting times of the cultivated crops.

On the lakha bwa land wheat is sown around December and harvested around May. Some who do not grow wheat grow potatoes, but most cultivate both. Potatoes are planted in January-February and harvested in May-June. The land is allowed to remain fallow for about two weeks and around June-July, with the onset of the "small rains", the earth is turned and the fields are prepared for paddy cultivation. The women do the breaking of the clods as the men dig up the soil. At this time the paddy seeds are sown. In June-July when the rains are heavy and the fields are flooded, the women transplant the seedlings. If the rains are late, the planting can go on until the end of July. In 1978, during the time of this field study, the rains were late in coming and the villagers' anxiety and concern that the crop yield would not be good was at its height. In that year the mela (festival) of Karnāmaya, the giver of rain and protector of the crops, which takes place only once every twelfth year, occurred. The villagers thought that this was the reason for the scanty and delayed rains, and many villagers went to offer prayers to Karnāmaya.

The harvesting of the paddy is done around November.

In the pākhā bwa land corn is planted in April-May (Baisakh) just before the rice planting season, and is harvested in August-September. Then oilseeds are planted around October and harvested around January. In January-February potatoes are planted and in April-May are harvested and the field is ready once again for planting corn.

At present some of the households have experimented on having multiple crops simultaneously. Wheat is planted with oilseeds, so some of the fields have both the crops growing simultaneously. The results, farmers report, are satisfactory, but it is said that this practice is suitable only for relatively small plots of land.

Method of Cultivation

The method of cultivation is purely manual and labour intensive using very few implements. The only agricultural implements that are in use are hoes (kuu and kukiichā) for turning the earth, a wooden mallet fixed to a long shaft (khattąą muga) for breaking up the clods of earth, and a weeding iron cum sickle (iicā) for weeding and cutting grass.

Bullocks are not used for ploughing, except for one (Jyapu) householder. Different writers have different views on the reason for not using bullocks. One reason given is that it is because of the technological backwardness of the Newars (Chattopadhyaya 1923). Regmi writes that the absence of a method of ploughing by bullocks is because of the discovery that the soil had to be penetrated very deep for cultivation, and this could be done only by a hoe (1969:37). The reason given by the villagers themselves is that it is a sin to use bullocks for ploughing as Bulu is a land devoted to Mahadeva for whom the bull is the baą (carrier).

However, the reason given by Regmi is the most likely one, as the iron hoe with its sharp, flat blade penetrates deeper into the soil than does the plough drawn by bullocks. Kirkpatrick states that "this mode, though very laborious, is said to be fully as productive to the farmer, as that of ploughing" (1811: 100).

Once the ploughing is completed by men, women of various ages break up the clods. The cultivation of paddy involves the maximum efforts of the villagers as it is done meticulously with a larger input of labour than for any other crop. Thus June to August is the busiest period for the villagers, when

many households experience a shortage of labour and the wage rates are at their highest. To overcome this the villagers have evolved their own indigeneous labour supply system which will be discussed presently.

The villagers take immense care of the young rice plants. The planting takes a few weeks, and after that weeding is done by women in order to facilitate the healthy growth of the rice plants. They watch carefully until the roots are strong, and in the later stages, when the plants are heavy with grains, if there is strong wind or rain, the villagers tie the plants in bundles so as to make them stand straight and not droop the grains into the water.

After the paddy is harvested it is threshed by men in the traditional way by beating small bundles of paddy plants on a stone. The chaff is separated from the grains by winnowing with a large fan. Nowadays some of the farmers with larger holdings use threshing machines. It is reported that these machines are no more efficient and labour saving than threshing by hand. But threshing by hand does not release the paddy completely from the straw, hence the need for a double threshing of some of the harvests. The only advantage of the machine is that it threshes the paddy completely in one operation.

Use of Fertilizer

Traditionally the villagers used mainly home made manure of two kinds and kaca (black soil). One kind of manure is that of the waste materials deposited in the pit underneath the staircase on the ground floor of every house. All waste materials are disposed of in the pit and the ashes from the wood fires used for household cooking are mixed into it. Household members also urinate in the pit. The contents of this pit are said to be the best for the fields, and for vegetable cultivation this type of manure is used.

The other kind of manure used is animal manure. Bedding of mainly grass and dried leaves is spread out for the animals, and when it is trampled and mixed with animals dung it is used as manure in the fields. For this reason almost all households own animals, either buffaloes or goats and sheep, or both. Children and women of the household collect grass and dried leaves for the purpose of both bedding and fodder. On an average a child over the age of 9 collects daily between 2 and 5 dokos (baskets) of grass. This is one

of the reasons for the high participation of children in animal husbandry as shown in the Time Allocation Data.

In addition to the use of these two kinds of manure human excreta also goes into the fields as manure, since most of the villagers defecate in the fields.

In the past one of the practices of fertilizing the soil was by applying kaca (black soil) in the fields. The kaca was obtained by digging the earth very deep, about 10 to 20 feet deep. The black soil obtained at this depth is said to be very good for fertilizing the fields, and was used by Jyapu farmers all around the valley. However, obtaining the kaca is very laborious, and with the introduction of chemical fertilizers, almost all Jyapus, including those in Bulu, have abandoned the practice.

After ploughing and breaking the clods of soil fertilizer is spread in the fields.

The present practice in the village is to use a mixture of one or other of the kinds of manure described above and chemical fertilizers. It was reported by the villagers that the use of chemical fertilizer has hardened the soil. It was also reported that when chemical fertilizer was first used yields increased, but lately, because of the hardened soil which makes the breaking of the clods difficult, and because of the lack of a regular supply and inadequate quantity of the fertilizers, the yields have subsequently been decreasing gradually. From their experience the villagers believe that there has to be an appropriate mixture of fertilizer and manure in order to keep the soil from getting hardened, and also that it is necessary to maintain the use of manure, since the supply of chemical fertilizers is haphazard and irregular and hence undependable. They also realise that once fertilizer has been used it has to be continued, since the use of manure alone becomes ineffective in fertilizing the soil once chemical fertilizer has been applied.

Labour Systems

Although the main source of labour in the village is family labour, there are four other kinds of labour in the village. For normal household and agricultural work the household members provide their own labour. But the large supply of labour required during agriculturally active seasons, or at other special times, is met by exchange labour

(bwala), labour help from families or relatives (gwāāli), wage labour (jyalā), contract labour, and community labour.

Bwala Labour

Bwala is more or less the same as the parma labour of other communities under study. Family labour is exchanged on a reciprocal basis. Each year, specially during the planting and harvesting time, every household mobilizes bwala labour from other households in addition to their own family labour. Agreements are made between several households to work in each household in turn on a reciprocal basis. If female labour is required the female of the household mobilizes females of other households to work for her in exchange for her labour for them at other times. If male labour is required the men do the same. A day's female labour is not exchangeable for a day's male labour, so they seek their own sexes for exchange. Sometimes, when one male labour day cannot be repaid in male labour then two female labour days are given in exchange, because the wage rate for a male is twice that of a female. There is also the belief that a male's productivity is twice that of a female in all kinds of operations. Although this may be true in some heavy operations like ploughing, a value of two to one has been given even to labour activities such as weeding and planting in which female labour is known to be more efficient and skilled than male labour.

The mobilization of bwala labour is not organised on a permanent basis, and any year any household may join a different group. When a person or household enters into such a labour system, the obligations and conventions are observed and followed almost as a ritual and with total responsibility.

Under the bwala system the labourers start their work very early in the morning. Usually by 6 or 7 o'clock they are all working in the fields having had their morning meal. During the day the family receiving labour has to provide food. This must consist of flattened rice (baji), meat, baked pulses, liquor and rice or corn beer which is made in their homes. They work till late in the evening, returning only at dusk. This kind of labour is organised mainly during the rice planting and harvesting seasons.

Gwāāli Labour

Gwāāli labour is help that a person or a family gets from its close relatives and neighbours. There is no obligation on the recipient to repay this labour and usually such kind of labour is given to people who are sick, disabled or old. If a household consists of a single elderly person, male or female, often his or her sons and daughters or close kin come to help with the work of the household. Under gwāāli labour too, those who give their labour are provided with the same kind of food and drinks given for bwala labour.

Jyālā Labour

Jyālā is wage labour. Some households hire labour by paying the ongoing market wage rate. Under the jyālā system too the labourers are provided with food and drinks during the day.

Contract Labour

There is a fourth type of labour which is contract labour. Under this system certain kinds of operations in the field which need to be accomplished within a given period of time are contracted to labourers with a promise to pay a certain sum of money. The mode of payment may be either a lump sum on completion of the contracted work, or payment in parts according to the work completed. Under this system the contracting party is not obliged to provide food. The main aim of the contract is to accomplish the assigned task within the contracted period of time, and how it is completed is left to the labour who has been contracted. This type of labour is not very common but is practised by some of the better off households.

Community Labour

There is another type of labour which could be called community labour. Such labour has been mobilised recently through guthi in the village to benefit the village as a whole. For example this kind of labour was mobilised for the construction of a village canal. It is compulsory for all the able-bodied members of each household to participate in the work and if any able member is found not to be participating he is liable to a fine equivalent to the prevalent wage rate which is about 10 to 12 rupees. In this labour it is mainly the men who participate, while women from

every household prepare and contribute food and drinks for the participants. Nowadays labour is mobilised every year to clean the canal just before or during the rainy season, as otherwise it gets blocked.

This is clearly an important potential for building and strengthening community work.

WAGE RATES

Based on the traditional division of labour there seems to be a general myth regarding the working capability of the sexes. It is generally believed that, because males are more efficient in heavy work, males are also generally more productive or efficient. For this reason men are paid more than three times the wage of women. The prevalent wage rate for men is 10 rupees and for women only 3 to 4 rupees (Table 3.8). The wage rates have been accepted in the village for almost all kinds of agricultural operations. Even in weeding and planting, where women usually perform more efficiently than men, the prevalent wage rate is 7 rupees for men and 3 rupees for women. It is actually believed that a man's input of a day's labour is equivalent to the input of 2 days labour by a woman. This is one of the reasons for exchanging two women days labour to one man day's labour. It contrasts with Parbate (non-Newar) villages where the wage rate is 5 rupees per day for women. Wages paid in neighbouring Parbate villages are generally higher for both men and women, as the food provided during the day's work is not a elaborate as that provided by the Newar households, and drinks are not served.

Wage rates vary, however, with different kinds of labour and between agricultural seasons. For agricultural labour, such as rice planting, ploughing and field preparation, the wage rate is 10 rupees for men and 3 or 4 rupees for women. During the slack season the wage rate is only 7 or 8 rupees for men. In construction the wage rate is 12 rupees during the busy season and 10 rupees during the slack season. It is 4 rupees for women throughout the year.

For animal husbandry, such as carrying manure, the wage rate for men is 10 rupees during the busy season and 7 rupees during the slack season, and for women it is 3.50 rupees throughout the year. (For details of wage rates see Table 3.8).

TABLE 3.8

PREVAILING MALE AND FEMALE WAGE RATES

(In rupees)

Types of Work	Male		Female	
	Busy Season	Slack Season	Busy Season	Slack Season
Rice Planting	10	8	3-4++	3-4
Ploughing	10	7-8	*	*
Field Preparation	10	7-8	3-5	3-5
Weeding	7	*	3	*
Portering	10	7	*	*
Tailoring	7+	7+	*	*
Construction	12	10	4	4
Skilled Construction	10-12	10-12	*	*
Husking Grain	*	*	*	*
Animal Husbandry	10	7	3.50	3.50

\+ The rate is for a pair of men's Nepali trousers and top. Rates differ according to the type of clothes made.

++ In Parbate villages the wage rate is 5 rupees.

* There are no prevalent wage rates for such operations, either because such type of work is never done for wages, or the work is performed by a specific sex.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

There is a clear division of labour in Bulu according to sex and age (see Appendix: Division of Labour). This is obvious from observation and is supported by the time allocation data of the study. The different tasks in the household were presumably divided between the sexes, as in many societies, on the basis of the physical and biological make-up of the male and female, so that men are considered suitable for certain kinds of activities and women for others. The division of labour also seems to have been based on what could be called the natural aptitude of the sexes. These traditional bases of the division of labour between the sexes have been extended in present times to a situation where the long and tedious work, the drudgery, is performed by females and the heavy and income-earning types of work by men. Besides, the division of labour is also governed by the socialization process of the up-bringing of the children. This all adds up to the cultural myth that men are more capable and productive than women.

Work is divided according to age group as well as sex so that certain types of work are almost invariably performed by certain age groups. Most animal husbandry, for example, is done by girls between the age of 5 and 14. They spend a lot of time herding and collecting fodder, as opposed to boys and women who spend much less time on this, while men do neither, and instead do all the milking and butchering.

In agriculture, although women perform almost at par with men, there are certain operations which are performed exclusively by men and others exclusively by women. For instance, in land preparation the ploughing and flooding of the fields is done exclusively by men, so that in the absence of men of the household, labour is hired for it. Similarly, the breaking of the clods of soil is done almost exclusively by women, by men only occasionally.

The collection and preparation of the organic fertilizer, the animal manure, is mostly done by women because it is the women who clean the animal sheds. Men were observed to prepare manure in only a few households. Girls of about 12 years old do a lot of this work either by themselves or helping their mother. The manure is carried to the fields by men but is spread in the fields and in the vegetable gardens by women, who know how much to apply and what materials mixed in the manure will make good fertilizers. But it is

significant that men do the spreading of the relatively recently introduced chemical fertilizer while women continue to do the manuring. Women, as well as men themselves, feel that men know more about the chemical fertilizers than women do. This has arisen mainly because it is the men who buy the fertilizers, and any technical know-how about its application has been and is taught to men. No attempt has been made to educate women about chemical fertilizers, or any kind of new agricultural practice for that matter.

In planting operations the seed beds are prepared by both men and women, whereas the sowing and transplanting is done exclusively by women, and both sexes acknowledge that women are better planters than men. Weeding is also mostly done by women and girls over the age of 14 years. The irrigation work for the fields is done by men, women doing it only in the absence of a male member of the household. In harvesting men do the cutting, bundling and threshing of paddy, while women do the drying of the crop residue, the storing or bagging of the grains, the threshing of wheat and the cleaning of the grains. In Bulu, almost all the seed selection is done by women (see Table 3.19). The detailed breakdown of the Time Allocation Data in Table 3.10 shows men spending some time on this activity but this is mainly because men help the women with storing and packing.

The guarding and protecting of the crops is done by both men and women, but the Time Allocation Data show men spending more time than women on this activity. Vegetable cultivation is done almost exclusively by women in the village.

Fuel is collected from the forest and farm mostly by girls, but everybody else, that is, men, women and boys, also occasionally do so. The men tend to fetch heavier wood from the forest while twigs, branches and leaves are collected by the others.

In the manufacturing activities like weaving cloth and straw mats, women predominate, doing almost all the weaving of cloth, though men do weave mats.

All the food processing activities, such as threshing, winnowing, husking, drying, roasting, grinding, making chiura and making liquor is entirely the responsibility of the women.

In the domestic work, the cooking and serving, cleaning, washing, fetching of fuel and water, is done mostly by women.

TABLE 3.9

TIME USE PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(FOR POPULATION 15 YEARS AND ABOVE)

(In hours)

Activities \ Economic Strata / Sex	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Animal Husbandry	0.74	0.12	0.43	0.55	0.73	0.64	0.39	0.49	0.44	0.53	0.56	0.54
Agriculture	1.37	1.20	1.28	1.71	0.96	1.34	2.10	0.86	1.46	1.77	0.97	1.37
Fuel Collection	0.00	0.08	0.04	0.07	0.13	0.10	0.12	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08
Hunting and Gathering	0.31	0.35	0.33	0.34	0.63	0.48	0.29	0.66	0.48	0.32	0.59	0.46
Manufacturing	0.16	0.93	0.54	0.26	0.17	0.21	0.04	0.78	0.42	0.17	0.48	0.33
Food Processing	0.16	1.47	0.82	0.43	1.42	0 92	0.35	1.46	0.92	0.36	1.44	0.91
Outside Income Earning Activity	2.69	0.23	1.46	1.46	0.37	0.91	2.60	0.56	1.55	2.00	0.41	1.20
(In-Village) Construction	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01
1. Sub-Total for Productive Activities	5.46	4.38	4.92	4.82	4.42	4.62	5.92	4.85	5.37	5.25	4.55	4.90
Cooking/Serving	0.08	1.98	1.03	0.43	2.08	1.26	0.39	2.16	1.30	0.36	2.09	1.24
Cleaning Dishes/Pots	0.00	0.16	0.08	0.00	0.29	0.15	0.00	0.16	0.08	0.00	0.23	0.12
Cleaning House/Mud Plastering	0.00	0.47	0.23	0.00	9.68	0.10	0.00	0.23	0.12	0.00	0.25	0.13
Laundry	0.00	0.35	0.17	0.00	0.37	0.19	0.00	0.25	0.13	0.00	0.33	0.17
Fetching Water	0.00	0.16	0.08	0.00	0.42	0.21	0.00	0.43	0.22	0.00	0.38	0.19
Shopping	0.12	0.04	0.08	0.12	0.02	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.06	0.11	0.03	0.07
Other Domestic Activity	0.08	0.31	0.19	0.12	0.20	0.07	0.04	0.20	0.12	0.09	0.21	0.15
Child Care	0.08	0.62	0.35	0.58	1.53	1.06	0.25	1.15	0.71	0.40	1.27	0.84
2. Sub-Total for Domestic Activities	0.35	4.06	2.20	1.25	5.11	3.18	0.76	4.62	2.75	0.96	4.79	2.89
I. Work Burden (1 + 2)	5.81	8.44	7 13	6.07	9.53	7.89	6.68	9.47	8.12	6.21	9.34	7.79
3. Education	1.21	0.00	0.60	0.84	0.64	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.09	0.36
4. Personal Maintenance	0.94	1.86	1.40	0.79	1 13	0.96	1.05	1.01	1.03	0.89	1.21	1.05
5. Social Activities	0.27	0.31	0.29	0.51	0.29	0 40	0.21	0 14	0.17	0.38	0.24	0.31
6. Leisure	7.77	5.39	6.57	7.79	4.89	6.34	8.06	5.38	6.69	7.87	5.12	6.48
II. Sub-Total (3+4+5+6)	10.19	7.56	8.87	9.93	6.47	8.20	9.32	6.53	7.88	9.79	6.66	8.20
III. Total for In-Village Activities (I + II)	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00

Small girls between the age of 8 and 15 do some of the work on their own. Cooking is mostly done by the 8 to 15 year old girls. In the domestic work men help with the shopping, doing most of the major shopping. It was also observed during the field study that men do some cooking. If the woman is out working, in the fields or elsewhere, then the man in the house usually does the cooking.

Most of the wage earning activities, such as construction and agriculture, are done by men. Women also do agricultural labour for wages but not to the same extent as men, as the wage rate is not attractive enough.

Trading is done exclusively by men, although women sell in the shops and share equally in the up-keep of the business.

HOUSEHOLD TIME ALLOCATION

The household is central to the subsistence economy of Bulu. It is both a unit of consumption as well as of production, and the household consumption is met by the household production. A household can be viewed as a factory which produces the goods for its own consumption at home from a combination of goods and services, together with the "time" it takes in producing these goods. Thus the household production function would be the total "work time" of the household plus the goods that go into its production. In this process "time" has to be viewed as a scarce resource applicable for alternative uses, and each member of the household allocates its scarce resource "time" in such a way that the household achieves its maximum welfare. This approach is very much in line with the thinking of the "New Home Economics" advocates such as Becker, Evenson, King and others. In applying it to the analysis of the rural village of Bulu it adds a realistic dimension to the role played by women in the rural economy of Nepal, and as soon as "input of time" is taken as a scarce factor of production the contribution made by women in household production comes out as factor indispensable to the welfare of the household.

In all of their household activities women have to be recognised as producers. As such, they contribute the most towards the welfare of the household members, and time spent on household activities cannot be taken as "leisure". This contribution cannot be overlooked if any meaningful efforts towards rural development are to be made. Most current interpretations of "economic activity" are narrow and limited and have not even begun to consider, let alone include,

household activities. Until recently all time other than that spent on "income generating activities" has been considered as "non-economic" or "leisure". This traditional, conservative definition of "economic activity" would treat food processing such as grinding and pounding rice, fetching water from long distances, fuel and fodder collection and the household agricultural work performed by women as "non-economic" or as "leisure", which is clearly ridiculous and unrealistic. In this study those activities which result in a tangible benefit to the household are included under economic activities and can be called "home economic activities". But till to-day in Nepal the programmes for women designed at the national or central level are based on the assumption that women are housewives and have "leisure time" at their disposal. If strategies for the development of rural Nepal, particularly of the women, are based on such an assumption they will be doomed to failure. If we look into the history of the programmes for women, we see that they have had neither impact in integrating women into development nor in tackling the fringes of the problems that rural women are faced with (Pradhan 1979). Thus, this analysis of women as indispensable contributors to the household economy will have a whole new set of implications for framing rural development strategies and in redefining "economic activity".

Household Time Budgets

In Bulu, as in any other ethnic group under study in this project, the daily activities of the household members can be divided into three major groups: (a)market production, (b) home production, and (c) social/maintenance and leisure. Market production refers to various types of activities which fetch tangible income. These include wage employment, the practice of a profession such as teaching or carpentary, the trading of farm products, weaving and vegetable cultivation.

The second category of household activities includes all those activities which are carried out within the household by its members. Among these, an exhaustive list of day-to-day activities has been drawn up and classified into productive and domestic. Productive activities include animal husbandry, agriculture, fuel and fodder collection, fetching water, manufacturing (weaving cloth, mats, ropes etc.), food processing. Domestic work includes cooking and serving, cleaning the dishes and pots, cleaning the house, laundry,

shopping, child care and rearing.* The productive and the domestic together form the work burden of each household member. An attempt has been made to value the goods produced for household consumption by using the prevailing market prices and replacement cost (for details see Methodological Foreword page vii). Although this approximation may not be an exact valuation of the home production activities, it has been taken as the best approximation in the absence of any other for an analysis of the rural economy. Services produced at home have not been given any economic valuation because there is no appropriate method of valuation in the absence of market prices for services such as child care or other domestic services. Even the opportunity cost of such services can be said to be zero, as alterative opportunities of employment do not exist in view of the high unemployment problem. Women especially have little or no opportunity for entering the market sector.

The third category of activities is social/maintenance, which includes education, personal care and maintenance, and social activities such as visiting friends or relatives or taking part in festivities, and leisure, which includes eating and sleeping.

Between these various activities the household members consciously or unconsciously budget most of their time.

Time Use Patterns

In order to study the budgeting of the time input into various activities of the household economy and to frame a time use pattern, Time Allocation formed one of the major parts of the Status of Women study. The study treats each household as unique, exhibiting its own pattern of time allocation. The details of the methodology is given in the Methodological Foreword of this monograph. The comparison of time use among men, women and children and between married and unmarried women reveals some important determinants of behaviour.

On the whole if men work slightly more in productive areas than women, women work more than men in domestic areas. The main determining factor for this behaviour is the traditional

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*For the detailed breakdown of activities included in the survey on Time Allocation STudy see Field Manual (1979).

concept of what men should do and what women should do. It is considered more appropriate for men to be involved in economic activities than women, therefore the local economic activities, such as trading and seeking employment outside the home, are dominated by men. Women are considered more appropriate for domestic work and hence their high participation in this activity. In addition, greater employment opportunities for men in the market economy attracts them away from domestic work. An educated person tends to move away from agriculture and farming.

Marriage and marital relationships are determinants in the amount of time devoted to various activities. An unmarried or married daughter spends far more time on productive work than a married daughter-in-law, while a daughter-in-law devotes more time to domestic activities. The number of children a woman has is also a determining factor.

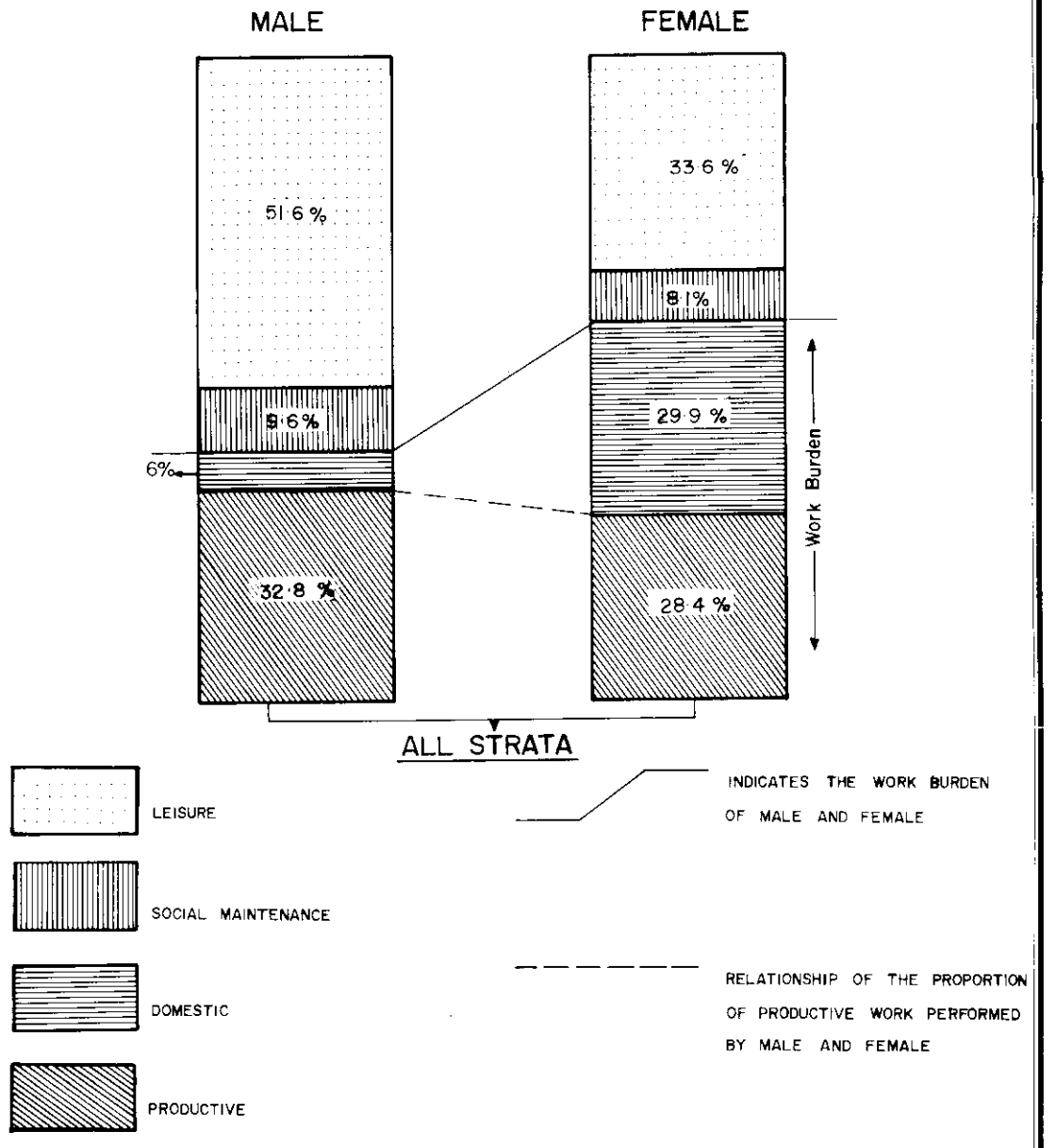
Adults

For the village as a whole adult males over the age of 15 spend slightly more time (32.8%) in productive activity than women (28.4%) (see Table 3.8). This is mainly because the local economic activity is almost entirely dominated by men and there are better outside employment opportunities for men than women. Women do not normally go to seek for outside employment, and clearly there are very few employment opportunities for women, quite apart from the fact that their household activities leave only 32 percent of the day, or 5.12 hours, for "leisure", which includes eating and sleeping. On agriculture adult males spend almost twice the time as females do (11.1% compared to 6.0%, or 1.78 hours compared to .97 hours per day).

If we look at the input of time in agriculture according to economic strata (Table 3.9 and Figures 3.2 and 3.3)men and women in the top economic stratum contribute almost the same amount of time (men 8.5% and women 7.5%). But in the middle and bottom economic strata the men do about double the amount of agricultural work to that of the women (men of the middle and bottom strata 10.7% and 13.2% respectively and females of the same strata 6.0% and 5.4%). Because of the small size of the sample and the homogeneous nature of the village it is difficult to draw any conclusion from this. One of the reasons for the wide difference in the input of time into agricultural activities by men and women is that men do all the terrace up-keeping and repair of the fields before cultivation. They

Fig. 3·2

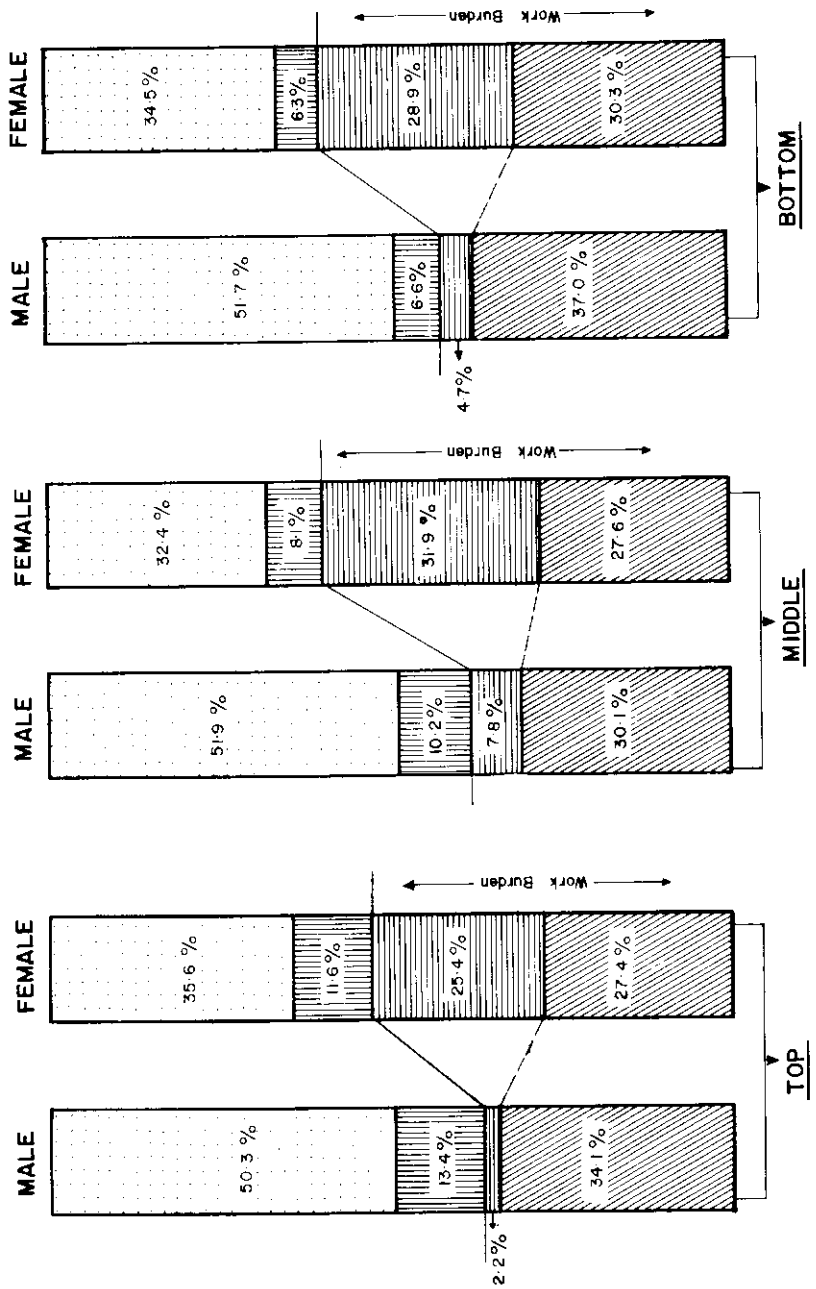
BAR CHART SHOWING ACTIVITY PATTERN BY SEX FROM THE AGE OF 15 YEARS.



CEDA Cartography Section

Fig. 3.3

BAR CHART SHOWING ACTIVITY PATTERN BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX FROM THE AGE OF 15 YEARS



CEDA Cartography Section

also do all the flooding of the rice fields in the absence of rain. The year this field study was undertaken, in 1977/78, it was a drought year, which is another reason for the high input of time into agriculture, which otherwise would have been taken care of by monsoon rains. In addition, the ploughing and threshing is almost all performed by men (Table 3.10), such that, in the absence of their own household men, women hire male labour for this particular activity. Observation and experience in the field backed by the data show that men do twice as much agricultural work as women. The men do the heavier work and women the lighter work as well as process the agricultural produce.

Food processing, including seed selection and manufacturing (in Bulu it is mainly weaving) is almost entirely done by women of the household. This pattern is true for all economic strata. On average an adult female over the age of fifteen spends 3 percent of her time on weaving and 9 percent of her time in food processing as compared to the corresponding male's time of 1.1 percent on manufacturing and 2.2 percent on food processing. Women also spend more time on animal husbandry (3.5%) and fuel and fodder collection (4.3%) than men (3.3% and 2.5% respectively).

Women do almost all the domestic work. They spend about one third of their day (29.9%), or 4.78 hours, in this activity, while men spend very little of their time (6%), .96 hours, in domestic work. It was observed, however, that older men who are less fit for agricultural work often cook and take care of the young children while the able women of the household go out to work in the fields.

There is a difference in the allocation of the time of women according to their relationship within the household. Married daughters who have returned to their natal home are most involved in productive activities, particularly manufacturing, which means weaving (8.87 hours), and little time in domestic activities, whereas daughters-in-law spend only half this amount of time in weaving but double that of the married daughters in domestic activities (6.67 hours) (Table 3.11). The total work burden for the daughters-in-law is slightly more than that of the married daughters (11.33 hours compared to 10.80 hours). Wives and women heading the household without a husband spend the same amount of time in productive activities, but wives spend more time on domestic activities than female heads of households. Wives also have more social activities or obligations so female heads of households have more time left for leisure (6.38 hours) than wives (4.48 hours). Of all categories of women the daughters-in-law have least leisure (3.96 hours).

TABLE 3.10

DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

(For Population 15 Years and Above)

(In hours)

Activity \ Economic Strata / Sex	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
1. Animal Husbandry												
Herding	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.05	0.11	0.25	0.16	0.20	0.18	0.07	0.12
Care and Feeding of Animals	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.06
Fodder Collection	0.47	0.08	0.27	0.14	0.51	0.33	0.04	0.29	0.17	0.16	0.37	0.27
Castration/Breeding	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.01	0.01	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.01	0.01
Milking	0.16	-	0.08	0.05	-	0.02	0.00	-	0.00	0.05	-	0.02
Other	0.08	0.00	0.04	0.13	0.08	0.10	0.06	0.00	0.03	0.10	0.04	0.07
Sub-Total	0.74	0.12	0.43	0.55	0.73	0.64	0.39	0.49	0 44	0.53	0.56	0 54
2. Agriculture												
Land Preparation	0.08	-	0.04	0.00	-	0.00	0.12	-	0.06	0.05	-	0.02
Terrace Upkeep & Repair of Irrigation	0.35	0.00	0.17	0.36	0.00	0.78	0.52	0.66	0.29	0.41	0.02	0.21
Collection & Preparing Organic Fertilizer	0.04	0.27	0.15	0.14	0.05	0.09	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.09	0.07	0.08
Carrying & Spreading Organic Fertilizer	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.02	0.05	0.19	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.04	0.07
Weeding Planting Operations	0.04	-	0.02	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.01	-	0.01
Weeding	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.02
Irrigation	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.07	0.09	0.12	0.06	0.09	0.00	0.06	0.08
Harvesting	0.04	0.23	0.14	0.08	0.02	0.10	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.12	0.09
Threshing & Cleaning Grain	0.47	0.27	0.37	0.61	0.34	0.47	0.66	0.37	0.51	0.10	0.34	0.22
Horticulture	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.12	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.09	0.05
Kitchen Gardening	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Seed Selection & Storage	0.00	0.08	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02
Guarding/Protection of Crops	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.10	0.00	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.06
Other	0.23	0.19	0.21	0.26	0.15	0.41	0.20	0.14	0.17	0.24	0.15	0.19
Sub-Total	1.37	1.20	1.28	1.71	0.96	1.34	2.10	0.86	1.47	1.78	0.97	1.37
3. Hunting and Gathering												
Hunting Wild Animals, Birds, etc.	0.31	0.35	0.33	0.34	0.63	0.48	0.29	0.66	0.48	0.32	0.59	0.46
Collection of Medicinal Herbs	0.00	0.08	0.04	0.07	0.13	0.10	0.12	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08
Sub-Total	0.31	0.43	0.37	0.41	0.76	0.58	0.41	0.70	0.56	0.39	0.69	0.54
4. Manufacturing												
Textile	0.04	0.70	0.37	0.00	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.58	0.29	0.01	0.32	0.17
Rope/Basketry	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02
Sewing	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.12	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.05
Other	0.08	0.19	0.14	0.12	0.09	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.05	0.08	0.11	0.09
Sub-Total	0.16	0.93	0.55	0.26	0.17	0.22	0.04	0.78	0.41	0.19	0.48	0.33
5. Food Processing												
Husking	0.12	0.89	0.51	0.15	0.86	0.51	0.16	0.15	0.67	0.15	0.96	0.56
Roasting, Grinding, etc.	0.00	0.23	0.12	0.02	0.13	0.08	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.12	0.07
Liquor Making	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.10	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.08	0.05
Food Preservation	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.03	0.02	-	0.04	0.02	-	0.03	0.02
Other	0.04	0.31	0.17	0.23	0.29	0.26	0.16	0.16	0.08	0.18	0.25	0.22
Sub-Total	0.16	1.47	0.82	0.43	1.42	0.93	0.35	1.46	0.92	0.36	1.44	0.92
6. Local Economic Activity												
Government Service	0.70	-	0.35	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.11	-	0.06
Wage Labour	1.83	0.23	1.03	0.73	0.13	0.43	2.52	0.53	1.49	1.45	0.27	0.86
Trade	0.00	-	0.00	0.04	-	0.02	0.04	-	0.02	0.03	-	0.02
Hotel, Teashop, Beer House, Store	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.65	0.23	0.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.35	0.12	0.24
Entertainment (for Wages)	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.03
Other	0.12	-	0.06	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.02	-	0.01
Sub-Total	2.69	0.23	1.46	1.46	0.37	0.91	2.60	0.57	1.55	2.00	0.41	1.20
7. Construction	0.04	-	0.02	0.01	-	0.01	0.02	-	0.01	0.02	-	0.01
TOTAL	5.47	4.38	4.93	4.83	4.41	4.63	5.91	4.86	5.36	5.87	4.55	5.00

TABLE 3.11

ACTIVITY OF WOMEN ACCORDING TO RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD

(In hours)

Activities \ Relationship	Mother/ Paternal Aunt	Unmarried Daughter	Married Daughter	Consanguinal Woman	Spouse	Daughter-in-law	Affinal Woman	Female Head
1. Productive Activities								
Animal Husbandry	0.18	3.12	0.00	2.67	0.33	1.16	0.45	0.44
Agriculture	0.39	0.31	1.16	0.36	1.06	1.30	1.08	1.10
Hunting & Gathering	0.64	0.44	1.16	0.50	0.71	0.82	0.71	0.53
Manufacture	0.00	0108	4.24	0.27	0.45	0.07	0.41	0.63
Food Processing	1.74	0.38	0.39	0.51	1.66	1.23	1.60	1.58
Local Economy	0.18	0.21	1.93	0.27	0.47	0.07	0.41	0.34
Construction	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sub-Total	3.11	4.54	8.87	4.57	4.68	4.65	4.66	4.63
2. Domestic Activities								
Domestic	2.10	1.19	1.54	1.30	4.25	3.76	4.19	2.21
Child Rearing	2.47	1.15	0.00	1.24	1.23	2.80	1.45	0.34
Others	1.28	1.20	0.39	1.18	1.08	0.75	1.04	2.29
Sub-Total	5.85	3.54	1.93	3.72	6.56	7.32	6.67	4.84
Work Burden (1+2)	8.96	3.07	10.80	8.29	10.24	11.96	11.33	9.47
3. Education	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
4. Social Activities	0.55	0.17	0.19	0.21	0.27	0.07	0.24	0.15
5. Leisure	6.99	7.59	5.01	7.37	4.48	3.96	4.43	6.38
Total	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00

Children 10 - 14 Years

The overall picture of the children of this age is that they contribute considerably to the household, in both productive and domestic work, particularly the girls, who spend nearly half the day (45.68% or 7.31 hours) in working activities, boys spending less than half that time (19% or 3.05 hours) working (see Table 3.12 or Figures 3.4 and 3.5). The type and amount of work they do is governed by the parent as a model, by their capabilities as children and by the economic situation of their household. For example, the girls with their mother as model, spend much more time in domestic activities than the boys (14.14% or 2.26 hours as opposed to 3.58% or .57 hours). Education is not considered useful for girls so they spend no time on education, as opposed to boys who average daily one and a half hours (8.20%) on it.

Looking at their "productive" activities, all children spend a lot of time on animal husbandry, a job suitable for children since it requires less skill than some other kinds of work, girls spending more than twice the amount of time (3.71 hours or 23.1%) to boys (1.19 hours or 7.45%). The reason for the long hours in this kind of work is that the animals have to be herded, that is taken out some distance for grazing and watched for a long time (female time on herding is 1.69 hours, male time is .72 hours) and fodder collection is time consuming (female time on fodder collection is 1.90 hours, male time is .31 hours), for example, during the wet season the girls make 3 or 4 trips a day to collect fodder. But not all girls and boys spend the same amount of time on animal husbandry. Children of the top economic stratum spend much less time on it (girls in the top stratum average 2.86 hours, or 17.86%) than children of the middle and bottom strata (girls in the middle and bottom strata average 5.33 hours, or 33.33%, and 3.2 hours, or 20.24%, respectively) (see Table 3.13). This high input of child labour in animal husbandry is supported by the study in Nepal made by Nag, White and Peet (1977:5,6). According to them girls of the age of 9 to 11 spend 4.7 hours on animal care, those of 12 to 14 spend 3.5 hours, and those of 6 to 8 spend 2.2 hours.* The input of boys of the same ages

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*It is interesting to find that boys in Bangladesh from the households with large land holdings spend 3.7 hours a day on animal care as compared to 0.9 hours by the girls (Cain 1980:238).

Fig. 3·4

BAR CHART SHOWING ACTIVITY PATTERN BY SEX FOR THE AGE GROUP 10-14 YEARS.

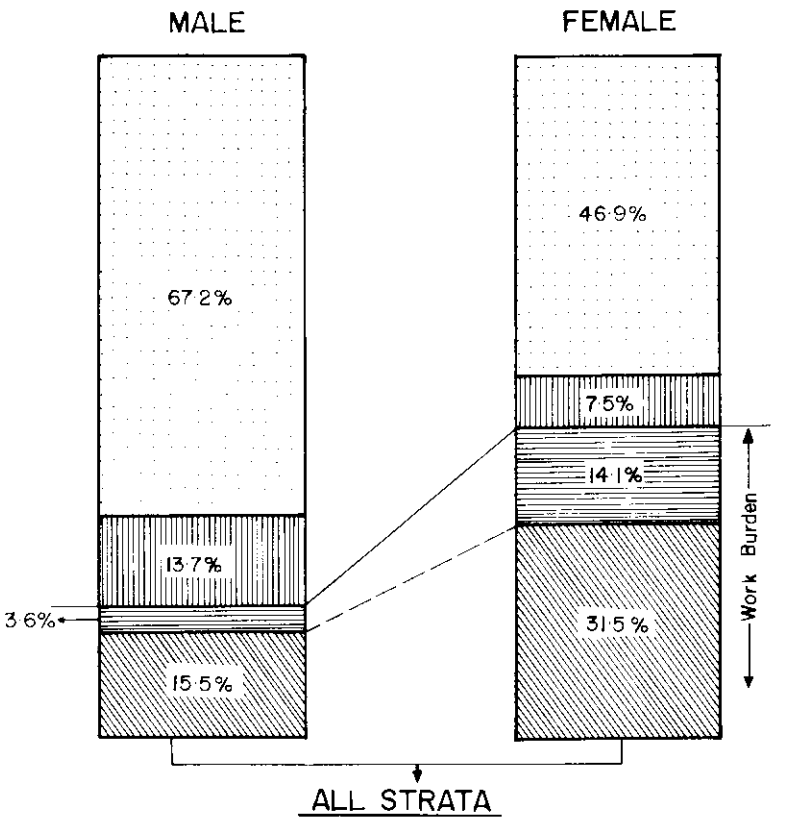

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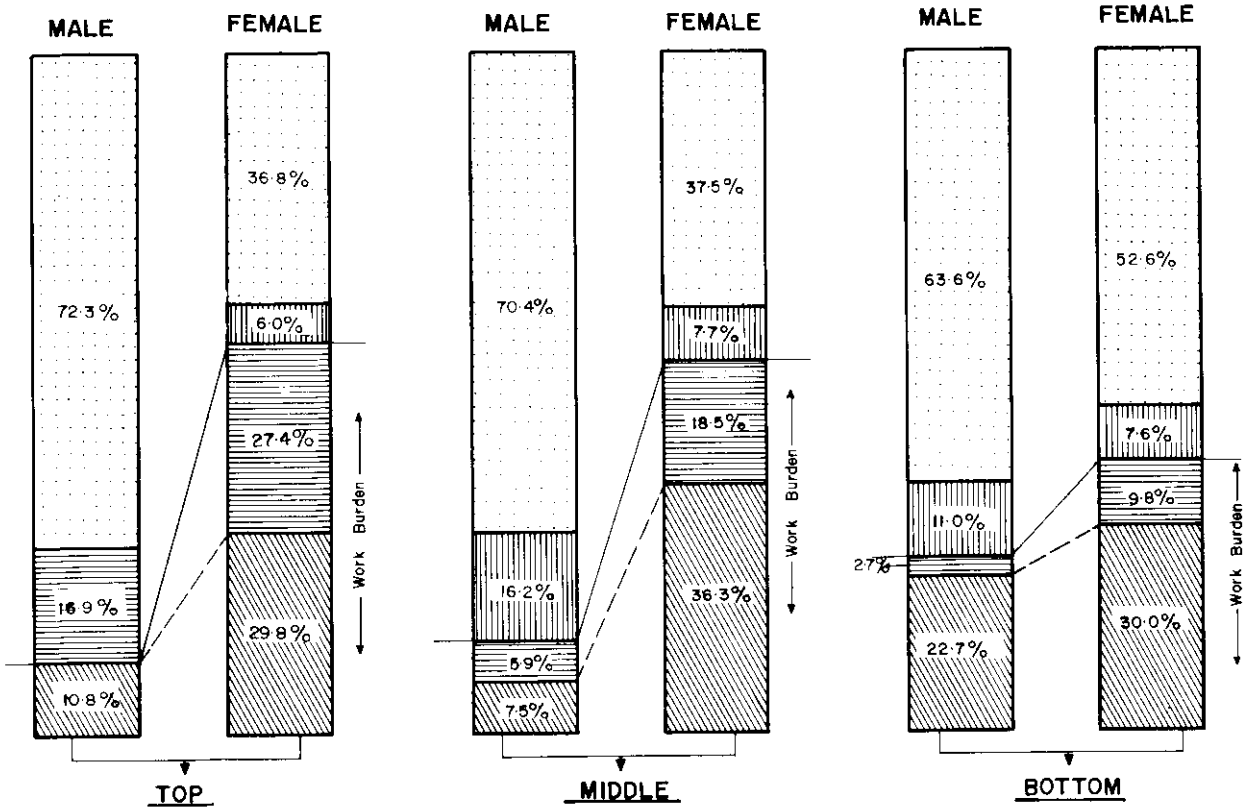
Fig. 3·5

BAR CHART SHOWING ACTIVITY PATTERN BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX FOR 10-14 AGE GROUP.



CEDA Cartography Section

TABLE 3.12

TIME USE PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(For Children 10-14 Years)

(In hours)

Activities \ Economic Strata / Sex	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Animal Husbandry	1.54	2.86	2.20	0.57	5.33	2.47	1.58	3.24	2.50	1.19	3.71	2.45
Agriculture	0	0.38	0.19	0.44	0.10	0.30	0.33	0.34	0.34	0.33	0.29	0.31
Fuel Collection	0	0.19	0.10	0	0.10	0.04	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.12	0.19	0.16
Hunting and Gathering	0	0.38	0.19	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.10	0.30	0.21	0.07	0.26	0.17
Manufacturing	0	0.38	0.19	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.02	0	0.07	0.03
Food Processing	0.19	0.57	0.38	0.06	0.19	0.11	0.05	0.30	0.19	0.07	0.31	0.19
Outside Income Earning Activity (In-Village)	0	0	0	0.06	0	0.04	1.34	0.34	0.78	0.69	0.21	0.45
Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1. Sub-Total for Productive Activities	1.73	4.76	3.26	1.20	5.81	3.04	3.63	4.80	4.28	2.48	5.05	3.76
Cooking/Serving	0	0.57	0.29	0.06	0.38	0.19	0.24	0.76	0.53	0.14	0.64	0.39
Cleaning Dishes/Pots	0	0.19	0.10	0	0.10	0.04	0	0.08	0.04	0	0.10	0.05
Cleaning House/Mud Plastering	0	0	0	0.06	0	0.04	0	0.08	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.03
Laundry	0	0.19	0.10	0	0.10	0.04	0	0.04	0.02	0	0.07	0.03
Fetching Water	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.19	0.11	0	0.12	0.06
Shopping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.02	0	0.02	0.01
Other Domestic Activity	0	0.38	0.19	0	0.10	0.04	0.14	0.08	0.11	0.07	0.12	0.10
Child Care	0	3.05	1.53	0.82	2.29	1.75	0.05	0.30	0.19	0.33	1.14	0.74
2. Sub-Total for Domestic Activities	0	4.38	2.20	0.95	2.95	1.75	0.43	1.56	1.06	0.57	2.26	1.42
I. Work Burden (1 + 2)	1.73	9.14	5.46	2.15	8.76	4.79	4.06	6.36	5.34	3.05	7.31	**5.18**
3. Education	2.31	0	1.15	1.71	0	1.03	0.76	0	0.34	1.31	0	0.66
4. Personal Maintenance	0.39	0.95	0.67	0.88	1.24	1.03	1.00	1.22	1.12	0.88	1.19	1.04
5. Social Activities	0.19	0.38	0.29	0.13	0.10	0.11	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.10	0.12	0.11
6. Leisure	11.37	5.52	8.43	11.13	5.90	9.04	10.12	8.34	9.13	10.66	7.38	9.02
II. Sub-Total (3+4+5+6)	14.27	6.86	10.54	13.85	7.24	11.21	11.94	9.64	10.66	12.95	8.69	10.82
III Total for In-Village Activities (I + II)	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00

TABLE 3.13

TIME USE PATTERN IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(For Children 10-14 Years)

(In hours)

Activity \ Economic Strata/Sex	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Herding	-	-	-	0.06	1.33	0.57	1.39	2.02	1.74	0.72	1.59	1.16
Care and Feeding	0.19	0.76	0.48	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.02	0.10	0.06
Fodder Collection	0.19	1.90	1.05	0.51	3.62	1.75	0.19	1.22	0.76	0.31	1.90	1.11
Castration/ Breeding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shearing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Milking	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Butchering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1.16	0.19	0.67	-	0.38	0.15	-	-	-	0.14	0.12	0.13
Total	1.54	2.86	2.20	0.57	5.33	2.47	1.58	3.24	2.50	1.19	3.71	2.45
Total number of hours observed	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

in animal care is almost the same. Much less time is spent by children on preparing manure and caring for animals, presumably because these jobs are slightly more skilled, and though they help the adults, they are not able to take over these jobs on their own.

They spend considerable time (girls .45 hours, or 2.8%, and boys .19 hours, or 1.2%) on fuel collection, a simple job, in particular the children of the bottom economic stratum (girls .53 hours, or 3.33%, and boys .33 hours, or 2.09%).

Based on expectations as adults boys spend much more time than girls on income earning activities (4.32% or .69 hours, as opposed to 1.34% or .21 hours), and of the girls only those from the bottom stratum work for wages (.34 hours or 2.16%).

Looking at their time spent on "domestic" activities, as mentioned already girls put in more than twice the amount of time to boys. Girls in all economic strata spend roughly the same amount: an average of 1.14 hours, or 7.14 percent on looking after children, and .64 hours, or 4.02 percent on cooking. Children in the bottom economic stratum spend considerably less time on child-care (girls .30 hours, or 1.90%) than children of the higher strata (girls of the top stratum 3.05 hours, or 19.05%, and girls of the middle stratum 2.29 hours, or 14.29%). This is because they have to earn money for the family and take up income earning activities instead of looking after their siblings.

Children between 10 and 14, then, spend a great deal of time on productive and domestic work, particularly the girls, and in terms of their economic value to the household they do not merit being categorised as minor contributors, for example the work burden of an adult male is 6.21 hours or 38.8 percent, whereas the work burden of a girl of this age group is 7.31 hours, or 45.68 percent. It is only in the type of work they do that they can be separated from adults.

Children 5-9 Years

Children, particularly girls, contribute a lot of labour to the household, mainly in animal husbandry (21% of their waking day for girls and 1.02 percent for boys) (see Tables 3.14 and 3.15 and Figures 3.6 and 3.7). Food processing, cooking and caring for children also takes some of their time.

Fig. 3·6

BAR CHART SHOWING ACTIVITY PATTERN BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX FOR 5-9 AGE GROUP.

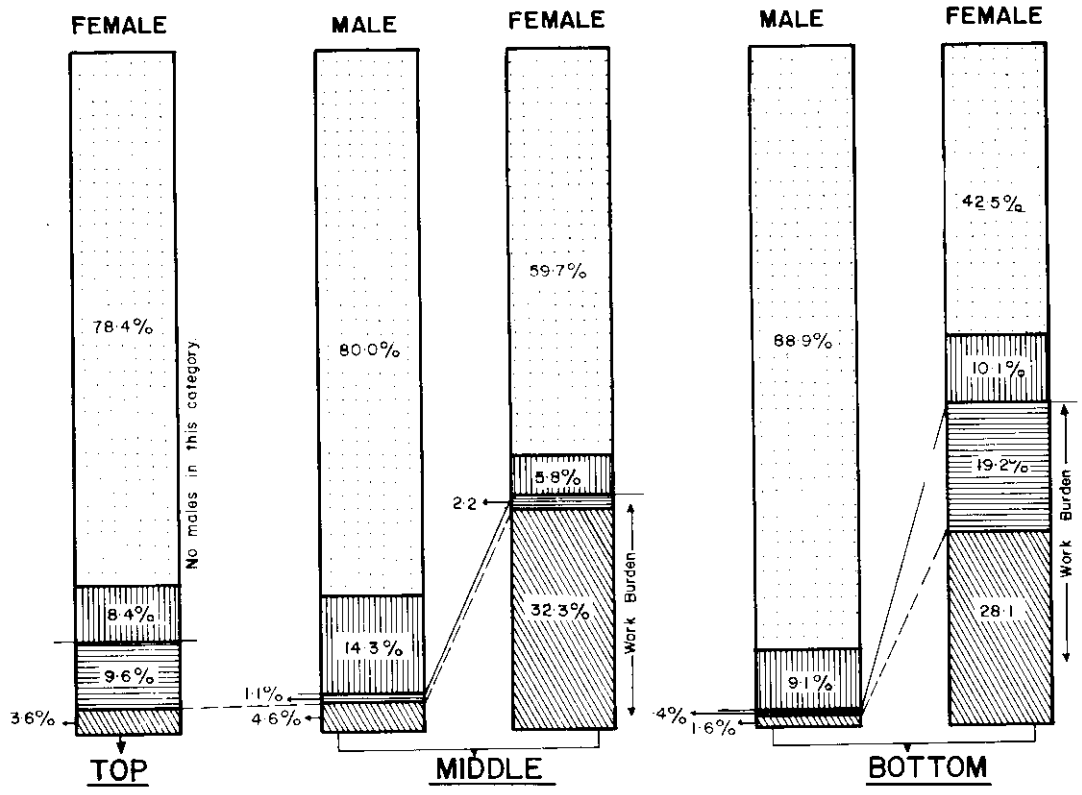


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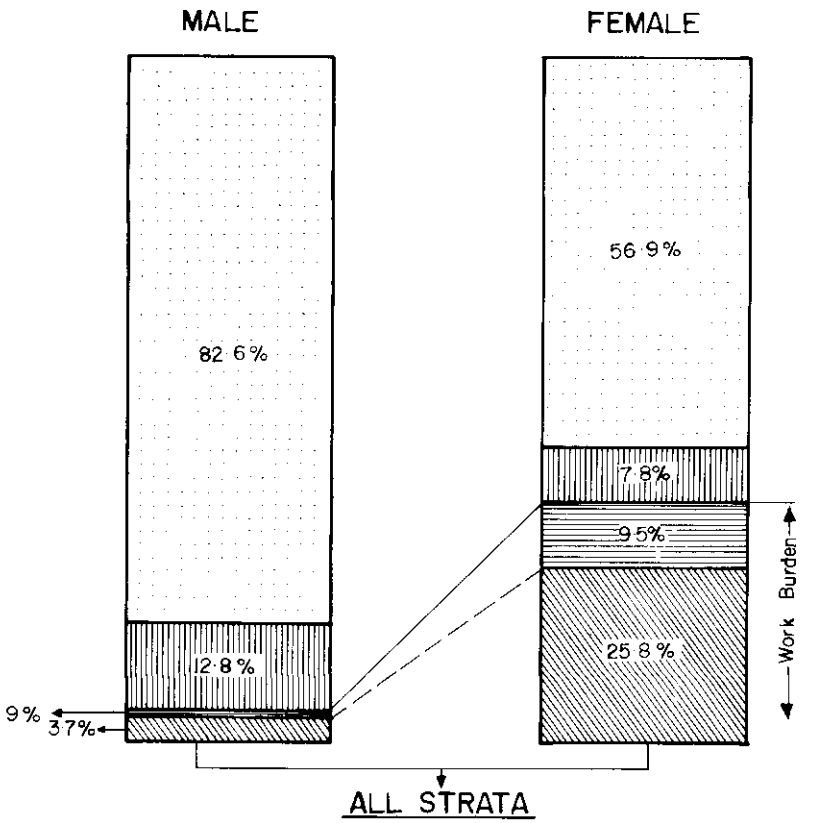
Fig. 3·7

BAR CHART SHOWING ACTIVITY PATTERN BY SEX FOR THE AGE GROUP 5-9.



CEDA Cartography Section

TABLE 3.14

TIME USE PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(For Children 5-9 Years)

(In hours)

Activities \ Economic Strata / Sex	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Animal Husbandry	0	0	0	0.23	4.32	1.31	0	3.83	1.53	0.16	3.40	1.30
Agriculture	0	0.19	0.19	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.13	0.13	0.13
Fuel Collection	0	0	0	0.03	0.42	0.13	0	0	0	0.02	0.20	0.08
Hunting and Gathering	0	0	0	0.03	0.07	0.04	0	0	0	0.02	0.03	0.02
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0.03	0	0.02	0	0	0	0.02	0	0.01
Food Processing	0	0.19	0.19	0.13	0.21	0.15	0.13	0.48	0.27	0.13	0.30	0.19
Outside Income Earning Activity (In-Village)	0	0.19	0.19	0.15	0	0.11	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.13	0.07	0.11
Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1. Sub-Total for Productive Activities	0	0.58	0.58	0.73	5.17	1.91	0.26	4.50	1.95	0.60	4.14	1.84
Cooking/Serving	0	0	0	0.05	0.14	0.08	0	0.29	0.12	0.04	0.17	0.08
Cleaning Dishes/Pots	0	0	0	0	0.77	0.02	0.06	0	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.02
Cleaning House/Mud Plastering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laundry	0	0.19	0.19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.03	0.01
Fetching Water	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shopping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Domestic Activities	0	0	0	0.03	0.07	0.04	0	0	0	0.02	0.03	0.02
Child Care and Rearing	0	1.35	1.35	0.10	0.07	0.09	0	2.78	1.11	0.07	1.24	0.48
2. Sub-Total for Domestic Activities	0	1.54	1.54	0.18	0.35	0.22	0.06	3.07	1.26	0.19	1.51	0.62
I. Work Burden (1 + 2)	0	2.12	2.12	0.91	5.52	2.13	0.32	7.57	3.21	0.74	5.65	2.46
3. Education	0	0	0	1.09	0	0.80	0	0	0	0.78	0	0.51
4. Personal Maintenance	0	1.35	1.35	1.19	0.92	1.12	1.46	1.63	1.53	1.27	1.24	1.26
5. Social Activities	0	0.19	0.19	0.18	0.14	0.17	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.15	0.13	0.14
6. Leisure	0	12.34	12.34	12.62	9.42	11.78	14.16	6.71	11.19	13.06	8.97	11.63
II. Sub-Total (3+4+5+6)	0	13.88	13.88	15.09	10.48	13.87	15.68	8.43	12.79	15.26	10.35	13.54
III. Total for In-Village Activities (I + II)	0	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00

TABLE 3.15

TIME USE PATTERN IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(For Children 5-9 Years)

(In hours)

Sex / Economic Strata	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Herding	-	-	-	0.23	2.41	0.80	-	3.16	1.26	0.16	2.25	0.90
Care and Feeding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fodder Collection	-	-	-	-	1.91	0.50	-	0.67	0.27	-	1.14	0.40
Castration/ Breeding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shearing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Milking	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Butchering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	-	0.23	4.32	1.31	-	3.83	1.53	0.16	3.39	1.30

Animal husbandry for children means mostly herding and looking after grazing animals and, for girls but not boys, in collecting fodder for them, 2 or 3 trips during the wet season. The long hours in animal husbandry (for girls of the middle economic stratum they average as much as 4.32 hours a day) are not necessarily harsh for them. From the age of 5 or 6, children go out herding with their brothers and sisters and they play as they care for the animals. Little girls in particular are often given a small animal, such as a goat or sheep, as a pet by the parents and they have full responsibility for the animal.

> In some cases at Dasai the parents wished to sell the goat belonging to the little girl, but in each case the child had become so attached to it that she refused to let it go.
>
> In another case a little girl refused to eat for almost a day, as she was so upset when her goat died.

Children from poorer households are sometimes taken by their parents to be apprenticed in income earning work, such as brick making, construction or carpentering, and at the same time to help the parent or parents and earn a little money, a wage one half or a third of that of the parents'. The average time of all children spent on this is .11 hours a day.

Little girls barely 6 or 7 years old have a lot of responsibility for their younger siblings, carrying them round on their back and watching them, and average 1.24 hours a day on child care. They also help their mothers a little in the cooking, but average only .17 hours on this.

The total work burden, then, for girls of this age is high (5.65 hours, or 35.29%) and for little boys much less (0.74 hours or 4.65%), and their economic value is obviously high. There is no substitute for their labour in the household, and it is no surprise to find, therefore, that no girls of this age go to school or spend any time on education (Table 3.14). Some boys do go to school (average daily time is 0.78 hours or 4.88%), particularly the middle stratum boys (average daily time is 1.09 hours or 6.83%), and villagers seem to realise the necessity of education. But it is just too expensive for them. Not only can they not afford to lose the children's labour, but they cannot also afford the peripheral expenses of schooling. The government provides

TABLE 3.16

RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

BY AGE AND ECONOMIC STRATA

Activities / Economic Strata	15 Years and Above			
	Education	Productive	Domestic	Work Burden
Top	7.6%	34.1%	2.2%	36.3%
Middle	5.3%	30.1%	7.8%	37.9%
Bottom	0.0%	37.0%	4.7%	41.7%

Activities / Economic Strata	10-14 Years			
	Education	Productive	Domestic	Work Burden
Top	14.5%	10.8%	0.0%	10.8%
Middle	10.7%	7.5%	5.9%	13.4%
Bottom	4.8%	22.7%	2.7%	25.4%

the school, the teacher and text-books, but the children have to be provided with stationery, and with clothes and food appropriate for a school situation. There is no way that the advantages of education can offset the loss of labour, particularly of the girls, even if schooling expenses could be met.

Education and the Work Burden

Education is an important variable which determines the input of time into productive and domestic activities, and there is, as would be expected, a negative correlation between the amount of time spent on education and that spent on productive and domestic activities, in other words on the total work burden.

The higher the economic strata for all age groups the more able they are to allow potential labour time to be put into education (Table 3.16).

Seasonal Variation in Work Schedule

The time allocation data show clearly how the agricultural cycle results in seasonal variations in the activity patterns of men and women. The seasonal peaks coincide with the rice planting, corn harvesting, rice harvesting, and wheat sowing periods* (Appendix C). Both men and women are busy in the first half of August and from the third week of August to mid-September, and their heaviest work period, the rice harvesting season, is from mid-October to the first week of November. From mid-November to the first week of December they are busy, but not to the same extent, with wheat sowing, and in January they have another still less intense working period planting potatoes and harvesting oilseeds.

The peak periods for the females in manufacturing and food processing coincide with the harvesting times of corn, rice and oilseed (Appendix D). The women are busy from mid-August to mid-September, which is the time of the harvesting of corn, from the beginning of October to the third week of November, which is the rice harvesting season, and in January which is the time of oilseed harvesting.

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*The year this study was conducted the rice planting was shifted from the normal period of June-July to August because of the late monsoon. When the data gathering was started some of the households had already completed the planting while some were waiting for the monsoon and planted only in the later part of August.

The domestic work burden also peaks during the periods of the planting and harvesting of those crops. This is mainly because women in the households have to prepare food and thaa (rice beer) at these times to feed the workers in the fields (Appendix G).

Men fit their income earning activities in between their heavy agricultural working periods. The peak time for income earning activities for the males is from the beginning of August to mid-September, that is, after the rice planting season.

After this it is more or less uniform except for a short period from the last week of October to the third week of November, which is the rice harvesting time. Women are not much involved in income earning activities, but there is a peak for them between the last week of September and mid-October and another short one of a week towards the end of October, which is the slack season in agriculture after the corn harvesting and before the rice harvesting (Appendix E).

Although female leisure time is much less than that of the males their peak leisure times vary inversely with the peak agricultural seasons. In mid-August, when agricultural work is slack, their leisure is at a peak, and when agricultural work is heavy, from the end of August to the middle of September, leisure for both males and females is lowest. It starts rising again until just before the harvest season of rice and falls when the demand for agricultural labour for harvesting is at a maximum. After the rice harvesting season leisure for both males and females rises and reaches a peak towards the end of December and the beginning of January, when agricultural work is slackening. Once again, from the third week of January and the beginning of February, during the potato planting and oilseed harvesting season, the leisure time falls and rises again soon after (Appendix H).

The agricultural cycle of planting and harvesting various crops governs the life of the village and the lives of the villagers, and if any intervention strategy is to be successful the seasonal variations in work and leisure patterns must be taken into account.

Children between the ages of 6 and 14 do most of the fodder collection and herding of animals, and the amount of time they spend on this activity is significant. The implication of "where", "when" and "how much" fodder for animals is

collected has a bearing on the conservation and preservation of forests. In addition to this, the seasonal variation and involvement of children in animal husbandry will have to be borne in mind if education for such children is to be seriously planned.

The annual cycle of animal husbandry is not shown on a graph, since the period of observation did not cover the whole year. Appendices B, I, and J show only that it is high from the beginning of August to the end of November, that it is slack in December and picks up again in January. Enquiry and observation, however, brought out the fact that fodder is collected from farm areas for a period of eight months, from March or April to the end of November, and is at its maximum from June to November, the monsoon season. During the rest of the year, from December to the end of March, which is the dry season, fodder is collected from the forest, and the amount of the fodder is less because of the distance that has to be travelled to the forests. During this period the forest fodder is supplemented with agricultural by-products from the farm. Overall then it can be estimated that of the fodder used for animals only one third is forest fodder.

Male and Female Contributions to Household Income

Assessment of the relative male and female contributions to household income was one of the major focuses of this study, as it was our conviction that a proper and true assessment of the female contribution had never been made in the national accounting system in Nepal, as is the case with many other countries, developed and developing. The conventional definition of "economic activity" is too narrow to encompass female activities in household production, such as fetching water, collecting fuel, manufacturing goods at home, hunting and gathering, food processing. Through the Time Allocation Study an attempt has been made to give economic value to such activities which account for a significant portion of the household income and of the welfare of the household members. Such household activities are categorised here as "home economic activities" as distinct from "market economic activities" which the conventional definition covers. The economic value of the home economic activities have been derived by taking the market price and replacement cost for the physical goods produced in the household economy.* The male and female

*See Field Manual 1979 for the valuation method.

contributions to household income were derived by distributing the total household income between various members of different sex and age groups according to the proportion of time spent by each group in the various types of activities. For this purpose the activities in the questionnaires for the collection of production data (Form 72) were designed to match the various categories of activities in the time allocation questionnaires.

Domestic services, such as cooking and child care, have not been included in the assessment of the male and female contributions to household income as it was felt that valuation of such services would be improper. Such services have infinite value, of course, but to give them some fictitous economic value would be artifical and unjustifiable, since such services have not entered the market economy and the wage rates or opportunity costs for them would be impossible to determine. Thus, although the Time Allocation Study and measurements of relative male and female contributions to household income have made use of the approach of the new household economics, there is not the same "full income" approach, as used in the Laguna Study in the Philippines (Backer 1965; Gronau 1976, 1977 and Evenson 1976). This study takes into account only the physical or tangible contributions to household income, and the value of the intangible services has been left out, as they are both not able to be valued in this way, and are invaluable.

Of the total household income, including wages, salaries and trading, the relative contribution of adult females (37.5%) is considerably less than that of males (57.4%). But if household production only, and not wages, salaries and income from trading, is taken into account, the contribution of females is only minimally less (9%) than that of males, since women's contribution in food processing in particular is very high (78%) (see Table 3.17).

The areas of household income in which women contribute relatively most are weaving (97.1%), food processing (78%) and water and fuel collection (59.4%). In these home economic activities women contribute two to three times more of the total household income than men (12.6% as compared to 4.5%). Girls make a significant contribution in animal husbandry (28%) which almost equals that of adult males. Of the market income, from wages, salaries and trading, men's contribution is far beyond women's (16% of the total household income as compared to 3.1%).

TABLE 3.17

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In percentages)

Sources of Income \ Sex and Age Group	Male 15+	Female 15+	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	Total
1. Animal Husbandry	30.47 (2979)	32.61 (3188)	8.96 (876)	27.96 (2733)	100.00 (9776)
2. Agriculture	62.42 (45612)	34.72 (25371)	1.54 (1125)	1.32 (965)	100.00 (73073)
2.1 Agriculture (exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	62.54 (42650)	34.70 (23665)	1.55 (1057)	1.21 (825)	100.00 (68197)
2.2 Kitchen Gardening	40.00 (1950)	40.00 (1950)	-	20.00 (976)	100.00 (4876)
3. Hunting and Gathering: (including fuel collection)	33.42 (3282)	59.42 (5835)	2.12 (208)	5.04 (495)	100.00 (9820)
4. Manufacturing	17.49 (369)	80.87 (1708)	-	1.64 (35)	100.00 (2112)
4.1 Textile	1.83 (32)	97.25 (1680)	-	0.92 (16)	100.00 (1728)
4.2 Rope/Basketry	46.16 (118)	46.15 (117)	-	7.69 (19)	100.00 (254)
4.3 Others	39.34 (51)	59.02 (77)	-	1.64 (2)	100.00 (130)
5. Food Processing	19.27 (2222)	78.07 (9001)	0.50 (58)	2.16 (249)	100.00 (11530)
5.1 Husking/Drying	13.05 (442)	84.78 (2872)	0.27 (9)	1.90 (64)	100.00 (3387)
5.2 Roasting/Grinding	13.04 (418)	86.96 (2790)	-	-	100.00 (3208)
5.3 Liquor Making	13.33 (600)	86.67 (3904)	-	-	100.00 (4504)
5.4 Food Preservation	-	100.00 (221)	-	-	100.00 (221)
5.5 Others	39.19 (82)	55.41 (116)	1.35 (3)	4.05 (9)	100.00 (210)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)	51.23 (54464)	42.43 (45103)	2.13 (2267)	4.21 (4477)	100.00 (106311)
II. Wage and Salary	79.10 (15498)	20.78 (4070)	-	0.12 (24)	100.00 (19592)
III. Trading	100.00 (5250)	-	-	-	100.00 (5250)
IV. Total Household Income (I + II + III)	57.35 (75212)	37.49 (49173)	1.73 (2267)	3.43 (4501)	100.00 (131153)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (rupees).

*Based on the 24 sample households included in the Time Allocation Study.

Contributions towards household income have been calculated on the basis of the production data (Questionnaire Form 72, see Field Manual 1979) and the time allocation data, which was derived from the frequencies of activities observed for each group of persons. The heads or items of activities in the time allocation form (Questionnaire Form A) and the production forms were made to coincide. From the frequency of observations for each of the groups of persons in the time allocation data, an adjusted frequency was derived by assigning the weightage of 1 for the adults and .5 for the children on the assumption that productivity of children is less than that of adults. A percentage of time spent on various activities by each group was then derived from the adjusted frequency. As the household is a unit of production, the household production or income is a function of the time input into each of the items of production by the various groups. The total production from each of the activities was distributed to different groups of persons according to the proportions of their time spent on them. For this reason the figures for the sub-activities may not add up to the figure for the activity.

The procedure was different for wages, salaries and trading where the figures show the actual percentage of the total household income from those activities.

If these female contributions were included in the national accounting system the per capita household income, consequently the national per capita income, would show a significant increase, possibly as much as 12 percent, since Bulu women probably contribute less than women in many other parts of Nepal. The demonstration of this, however, would be something of an academic exercise and would not help particularly to improve the lot of anyone. But what is important is for women's contribution to be known and recognized so that development efforts directed towards the rural areas and the rural poor should utilize them.

DECISION MAKING PATTERNS

The whole process of decision making in the household is a complex one, and it is difficult to pinpoint which of the members has made a particular decision. The relationships between the household members are so inter-linked that the influence of the members and the authority of the decision maker overlap. This element of influence plays a very significant role in the decision making process, so that while gathering information for the survey during the field study an attempt was made to include both the influence factor, that is the source and pressure to take a particular action, and the ultimate decision maker. In every day operations there are always defacto and dejure decision makers. Although men are culturally accepted as "the decision maker" in the household, the decisions that men make are usually prompted or suggested by other members of the household, in particular by the wives. This influence factor is not easily obtainable from a questionnaire survey, and a participant observation method was essential for finding the less obvious factors. For example, when asked directly a question such as "Who made this decision?" the answer was invariably the husband or the head of the family. But in actual practice the women of the house, particularly the wives, exercised a great deal of influence. The husbands of this community almost always consult their wives informally before taking a major decision.

The status of women is obviously reflected to a considerable extent by the degree to which they make decisions in areas important in the household. To examine these, three main areas of decision making have been distinguished: farm management, comprising mainly labour allocation and agriculture; minor income and expenditure in the household, which covers day to day income and expenditure; and major income and expenditure comprising capital transactions, borrowing,

and other family resource allocations, all of which are connected with the outside market economy.

Farm Management

Labour Allocations

Labour, whether exchange labour or the hiring of labour, is of equal responsibility for females and males. Questionnaires backed by observation show that women, as well as men, have control over their own labour, both in terms of freedom to go and work for anyone in exchange for their labour, and in selling their own labour for wages; in both types of arrangements they are made with people of their own sex (Table 3.18). Equally the arranging or hiring of female labour is done by females, and the hiring of male labour by males. In the 121 cases of labour arrangements, women made 38 percent of the decisions, men 36.4 percent and the remaining 25.6 percent were decided jointly.

Agriculture

The traditional pattern of cultivation mostly decides what crops, grains or vegetables in the kitchen garden are to be planted, but where decisions are made, these are made mainly by women (Table 3.18). They also make most of the decisions regarding whether or not to use improved grain and vegetable seeds (Table 3.19), probably because they make liquor out of grain and are aware of the quality and appropriateness of different kinds of seeds, and because they are totally responsible for the kitchen gardens.

Decision on amounts and kinds of fertilizers to be used show up an interesting fact. In kitchen gardens the fertilizer used is natural manure and women make overwhelmingly most decisions about it (87.4%). Fertilizer for grains is different in being partly natural and partly chemical. It was clear that women made the decisions regarding the natural fertilizer and men about the chemical fertilizer, women making fewer decisions about the application of fertilizer to grains, for example, since chemical fertilizer is used for grains. This is perhaps, an example of how the lack of participation of women outside the community, the lack of government sensitivity and an absence of government to consider social behaviour patterns in development planning has led to women being excluded from the dissemination of information on new technology in agriculture. If government policy does not change in this respect women will soon be contributing less

TABLE 3.18

DECISIONS ON LABOUR AND AGRICULTURE

Area of Decision Making \ Decision Makers	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total
I. Labour Allocation	44 (36.4)	46 (38.0)	31 (25.6)	0	121 (100)
a. Arrange Exchange Labour	7 (22.6)	5 (16.1)	19 (61.3)	0	31 (100)
b. Arrange Wage Labour	7 (25.9)	8 (29.6)	12 (44.5)	0	27 (100)
c. Decide Other's Work	0	0	0	0	0
d. Decide Own Work	30 (47.6)	33 (52.4)	0	0	63 (100)
II. Agricultural Decisions	190 (27.7)	264 (38.4)	50 (7.3)	183 (26.6)	687 (100)
A. Grains	175 (34.1)	135 (26.3)	49 (9.6)	154 (30.0)	513 (100)
a. What to Plant	0	8 (4.9)	0	154 (95.1)	162 (100)
b. Whether to use Own or Improved Seed	1 (3.7)	19 (70.4)	7 (25.9)	0	27 (100)
c. Amount and Kind of Fertilizer	174 (53.7)	108 (33.3)	42 (13.0)	0	324 (100)
B. Kitchen Garden	15 (8.6)	129 (74.1)	1 (0.6)	29 (16.7)	174 (100)
a. What to Plant	1 (1.9)	25 (47.2)	0	27 (50.9)	53 (100)
b. Whether to use Own or Improved Seed	2 (11.1)	14 (77.8)	0	2 (11.1)	18 (100)
c. Amount and Kind of Fertilizer	12 (11.7)	90 (87.4)	1 (0.9)	0	103 (100)
C. Whether to Invest in Improved Farming Methods	0	0	0	0	0
Labour Allocation and Agricultural Decisions - Total	234 (29.0)	310 (38.4)	81 (10.0)	183 (22.6)	808 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.19

DECISIONS ON SEED SELECTION

If own seed was used, who did the seed selection ?				
	Male	Female	Both	Total
Food grains	7 (4.3)	151 (93.2)	4 (2.5)	162 (100.0)
Kitchen Garden	5 (9.4)	48 (90.6)	0	53 (100.0)
Total	12 (5.6)	199 (92.6)	4 (1.8)	215 (100.0)

than they have done up to now, and not only they, but the whole society, will suffer by it. The impact of development will be adverse.

Overall in agriculture women have total control of the kitchen gardens, which means vegetables, by making all decisions concerning them. And they make almost all decisions on seed selection (92.6%) and more than men on what grains to plant. It is only in the use of chemical fertilizer, in which they have not been initiated, that they make almost no decisions.

Minor Income and Expenditure

Household Income

In this small sample men have slightly more control over money (45.5%) overall than women (33.3%), and it is mostly the men who actually spend the money in the bazaar (57.6%) as opposed to women (21.2%). However, the more interesting feature emerges (Table 3.20) that the higher the economic strata the more control do the women have over income and expenditure.

Household Expenditure

As mentioned earlier, decision making is the socially recognized prerogative of the male in this society and the figures on decision making on household expenditure (Table 3.21) support this (male decisions 57.9%, female decisions 32.3%). However, most of the suggestions (61.5%) originated from women, far fewer (33.9%) from men, and even in those decisions which were suggested and finally made by men, women were consulted. Only a minute proportion of decisions were made in spite of women's opposition (3.1%). The decision making patterns show generally a remarkable degree of consultation and cooperation for all items of household expenditure, with the women often initiating and the men usually putting on their official stamp of approval. The only exception to this is in education where most decisions originate from men (80%) who finalise them in spite of some opposition from women, and in the giving of small gifts, such as grains or vegetables to neighbours or relatives, which is almost entirely at the discretion of the women. Decisions on social or religious expenditure is mostly governed by custom.

TABLE 3.20

CONTROL OVER HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Economic Strata	Who Keeps Money ?					Who goes to Bazaar ?				
	Male	Female	Both	Tradi-tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi-tional	Total
Top	3 (33.3)	4 (44.5)	2 (22.2)	0	9 (100)	4 (44.5)	3 (33.3)	2 (22.2)	0	9 (100)
Middle	6 (46.2)	4 (30.8)	3 (23.0)	0	13 (100)	7 (53.8)	3 (23.1)	3 (23.1)	0	13 (100)
Bottom	6 (54.5)	3 (27.3)	2 (18.2)	0	11 (100)	8 (72.7)	1 (9.1)	2 (18.2)	0	11 (100)
All Strata	15 (45.5)	11 (33.3)	7 (21.2)	0	33 (100)	19 (57.6)	7 (21.2)	7 (21.2)	0	33 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.21

DECISIONS ON HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE

Areas of Decision Making \ Stages in Decision Making Process / Decision Maker	Who Suggested ?					Who was Consulted ?					Who Decided					Who Disagreed ?				
	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total
I. Food and Small Household Necessities	43 (28.7)	102 (68.0)	5 (3.3)	0	150 (100)	72 (48.0)	13 (8.7)	1 (0.6)	64 (42.7)	150 (100)	125 (67.9)	50 (27.2)	9 (4.9)	0	184 (100)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	0	148 (8.6)	150 (100)
a. To cook a particular food grain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27 (79.4)	5 (14.7)	2 (5.9)	0	34 (100)	-	-	-	-	-
b. How much to spend on food and small Household Necessities	43 (28.7)	102 (68.0)	5 (3.3)	0	150 (100)	72 (48.0)	13 (8.7)	1 (0.6)	64 (42.7)	150 (100)	98 (65.3)	45 (30.0)	7 (4.7)	0	150 (100)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	0	148 (98.6)	150 (100)
II. Clothing and Household Durables	49 (42.2)	64 (52.2)	3 (2.6)	0	116 (100)	58 (50.0)	25 (21.6)	3 (2.6)	30 (25.8)	116 (100)	77 (66.4)	29 (25.0)	10 (8.6)	0	116 (100)	0	2 (1.7)	0	114 (98.3)	116 (100)
a. How much to spend on clothing	38 (44.7)	47 (55.3)	0	0	85 (100)	44 (51.8)	20 (23.5)	2 (2.4)	19 (22.3)	85 (100)	61 (71.8)	24 (28.2)	0	0	85 (100)	0	0	0	85 (100)	85 (100)
b. How much to spend on Household Durables	11 (35.5)	17 (54.8)	3 (9.7)	0	31 (100)	14 (45.2)	5 (16.1)	1 (3.2)	11 (35.5)	31 (100)	16 (51.6)	5 (16.1)	10 (32.3)	0	31 (100)	0	2 (6.5)	0	29 (93.5)	31 (100)
III. Education and Health	18 (54.6)	14 (42.4)	1 (3.0)	0	33 (100)	6 (18.2)	15 (45.5)	3 (9.1)	9 (27.2)	33 (100)	22 (66.7)	9 (27.3)	2 (6.0)	0	33 (100)	0	3 (9.1)	0	30 (90.9)	33 (100)
a. On Medical Treatment	6 (33.3)	11 (61.1)	1 (5.6)	0	18 (100)	4 (22.2)	6 (33.3)	1 (5.6)	7 (38.9)	18 (100)	10 (55.6)	7 (38.9)	1 (5.5)	0	18 (100)	0	1 (5.6)	0	17 (94.4)	18 (100)
b. On Education	12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)	0	0	15 (100)	2 (13.3)	9 (60.0)	2 (13.4)	2 (13.3)	15 (100)	12 (80.0)	2 (13.3)	1 (6.7)	0	15 (100)	0	2 (13.3)	0	13 (86.7)	15 (100)
IV. Gifts/Religious Expenditure and Travel	21 (23.9)	58 (65.9)	3 (3.4)	6 (6.8)	88 (100)	19 (21.6)	15 (17.1)	6 (6.8)	48 (54.5)	88 (100)	20 (22.7)	48 (54.5)	7 (8.0)	13 (14.8)	88 (100)	1 (1.1)	6 (6.8)	0	81 (92.1)	88 (100)
a. Small Gifts/Loans in cash or kind	3 (7.1)	39 (92.9)	0	0	42 (100)	3 (7.2)	4 (9.5)	0	35 (83.3)	42 (100)	3 (7.1)	37 (88.1)	0	2 (4.8)	42 (100)	0	1 (2.4)	0	41 (97.6)	42 (100)
b. Social/Religious	4 (19.0)	9 (42.9)	2 (9.5)	6 (28.6)	21 (100)	8 (38.1)	3 (14.3)	3 (14.3)	7 (33.3)	21 (100)	2 (9.5)	4 (19.0)	6 (28.6)	9 (42.9)	21 (100)	0	2 (9.5)	0	19 (90.5)	21 (100)
c. Travel	14 (56.0)	10 (40.0)	1 (4.0)	0	25 (100)	8 (32.0)	8 (32.0)	3 (12.0)	6 (24.0)	25 (100)	15 (60.0)	7 (28.0)	1 (4.0)	2 (8.0)	25 (100)	1 (4.0)	3 (12.0)	0	21 (84.0)	25 (100)
Household Expenditures Sub-Total (I to IV)	131 (33.9)	238 (61.5)	12 (3.1)	6 (1.5)	387 (100)	155 (40.0)	68 (17.6)	13 (3.4)	151 (39.0)	387 (100)	244 (57.9)	136 (32.3)	28 (6.7)	13 (3.1)	421 (100)	2 (0.5)	12 (3.1)	0	373 (96.4)	387 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Major Income and Expenditure: Capital Transactions, Borrowing and Other Family Resource Allocations

The questionnaire data show clearly that men dominate all aspects of major decisions such as buying and selling land, borrowing and disposing of household resources; that is, they make the first suggestion more often than women (60.5% as opposed to 38.1%), women are sometimes consulted (33.3%) but men make the final decision (65.2%) much more often than women (23.6%) (Table 3.22).

These data, however, obscure the fact that in major decisions such as selling land or major animals, women are invariably consulted and their judgement and opinion is counted on. The kind of consultation is such that only field observation, as opposed to questionnaires, can reveal it, the women preferring to deny their role and keep a low profile.

> For example, one of the sample households was selling a water buffalo. The male head of the household was bargaining for a higher price from his customers while the latter in turn were trying to bargain for a cheaper price. In the process it was the seller's wife who was prompting him from the background on what price to ask for. When the customers realised that she was playing a crucial role in determining the price they then started to ask for her approval of the price they had offered. The immediate answer came from the women "hami aimai lai ke thaha re waha lai sodhnus na", literally meaning "what do we women folk know, why don't you ask him (meaning her husband)?" The transaction did not take place until she had agreed on the price the customers offered.

In the decisions to borrow the wives are invariably consulted and the husbands do not enter into a transaction unless it is approved by the women.

> For example Kisimere had borrowed seven hundred rupees from his si guthi funds without telling his wife. During the guthi, when all the members had gathered for the occasion, the guthi thakali reminded the man to repay his loan as a year had already passed. Kisimere denied having borrowed seven hundred rupees and said that he had

TABLE 3.22

CAPITAL TRANSACTIONS, BORROWING AND OTHER FAMILY RESOURCE ALLOCATION DECISIONS

Area of Decision Making \ Stage of Decision Making Process / Decision Maker	Who Suggested ?					Who was Consulted ?					Who Decided ?					Who Disagreed ?				
	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total
I. Capital Transactions	29 (63.0)	16 (34.8)	1 (2.2)	0	46 (100)	13 (28.3)	15 (32.6)	10 (21.7)	8 (17.4)	46 (100)	36 (78.3)	3 (6.5)	6 (13.0)	1 (2.2)	46 (100)	0	2 (4.3)	3 (6.5)	41 (89.2)	46 (100)
a. Buy & Sell Land and Major Animals	13 (65.0)	7 (35.0)	0	0	20 (100)	8 (40.0)	4 (20.0)	6 (30.0)	2 (10.0)	20 (100)	17 (85.0)	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)	0	20 (100)	0	2 (10.0)	1 (5.0)	17 (85.0)	20 (100)
b. Others (such as starting cottage industry, trading, etc.)	16 (61.5)	9 (34.6)	1 (3.9)	0	26 (100)	5 (19.2)	11 (42.3)	4 (15.4)	6 (23.1)	26 (100)	19 (73.1)	2 (7.7)	4 (15.4)	1 (3.8)	26 (100)	0	0	2 (7.7)	24 (92.3)	26 (100)
II. Borrowing	17 (65.4)	8 (30.8)	1 (3.8)	0	26 (100)	5 (19.2)	11 (42.3)	1 (3.9)	9 (34.6)	26 (100)	18 (69.2)	7 (26.9)	1 (3.9)	0	26 (100)	0	1 (3.8)	0	25 (96.2)	26 (100)
III. Disposal of Household Resources	43 (57.3)	32 (42.7)	0	0	75 (100)	11 (14.7)	23 (30.7)	12 (16.0)	29 (38.6)	75 (100)	62 (58.5)	32 (30.2)	10 (9.4)	2 (1.9)	106 (100)	0	5 (6.7)	0	70 (93.3)	75 (100)
a. Selling Food Grains	28 (66.7)	14 (33.3)	0	0	42 (100)	4 (9.5)	15 (35.7)	9 (21.4)	14 (33.4)	42 (100)	45 (61.6)	19 (26.0)	7 (9.6)	2 (2.8)	73 (100)	0	3 (7.1)	0	39 (92.9)	42 (100)
b. Selling Vegetables	10 (45.5)	12 (54.5)	0	0	22 (100)	3 (13.6)	7 (31.8)	2 (9.1)	10 (45.5)	22 (100)	9 (40.9)	10 (45.5)	3 (13.6)	0	22 (100)	0	0	0	22 (100)	22 (100)
c. Selling Small Animals	5 (45.5)	6 (54.5)	0	0	11 (100)	4 (36.4)	1 (9.1)	1 (9.1)	5 (45.4)	11 (100)	8 (72.7)	3 (27.3)	0	0	11 (100)	0	2 (18.2)	0	9 (81.8)	11 (100)
Investment, Borrowing and Other Family Resource Allocations Sub-Total (I-III)	89 (60.5)	56 (38.1)	2 (1.4)	0	147 (100)	29 (19.7)	49 (33.3)	23 (15.7)	46 (31.3)	147 (100)	116 (65.2)	42 (23.6)	17 (9.5)	3 (1.7)	178 (100)	0	8 (5.4)	3 (2.1)	136 (92.5)	147 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

borrowed only five hundred. During the ensuing confusion news about it reached his wife, Tarmaya. She did not approve of her husband's conduct and went to the gathering and abused him in front of all the members of the si guthi. She sided with the guthi members and in due course of time made him repay the amount due. The whole event was most humiliating for Kisimere but he had to endure it because he had wronged his wife by not consulting her.

INCOME EARNING FOR WOMEN

It has often been argued by writers that "opportunities for earning money incomes go hand in hand, the family status of women who do not divorce or leave the family in case of widowhood is likely to improve because male relatives will treat them better knowing that they have an alternative to staying with them" (Boser: 1977, xi - xii). In Bulu, although women do not have many opportunities for earning money incomes, their status in the family is high in comparison with some of the communities in this study and with those of some other communities in third world countries because women have the choice of leaving or staying with the husband and his family as they enjoy the freedom of divorce and multiple remarriage.

Income Earning Activities

There are very few opportunities for women in outside employment or income earning activities. In addition, the prevailing wage rates in and around the village discriminate against women and discourage them from seeking wage employment.

The only activity available which can bring any sort of worthwhile income is weaving, which a lot of women do during the slack agricultural season, and even that is not attractive because it is poorly paid, but at least the rate is the same for men and women. For one meter of material woven 55-75 paisa is paid, the amount depending on the complexity of the design. There are three main drawbacks to weaving apart from the poor rates of pay. The first is that most households cannot afford to buy a loom for their own house and so they cannot weave independently; the second is that procuring raw material, such as thread, often puts them at the mercy of a middleman, since raw materials are not available locally,

only in Patan or Kathmandu, and most women are not able to go there,for reasons of time and money; the third, and perhaps most serious drawback, is that the main market for their product is Kathmandu, where the business has already been captured by the middlemen. In other words they are mostly at the mercy of middlemen to procure raw materials and sell their products, which reduces the already low rates of pay.

As already suggested, agriculture and brickmaking, which is categorised as construction, bring little income, since the wage rates for women are so low that it is not worth their while to work for them. For the same reason few women work on construction sites. The only other source of minor income, and that negligible, is from selling vegetables grown on a kitchen garden scale, and eggs from household fowls. Occasionally, when in sudden and immediate need of cash, women may sell a small amount of grain from the household store, for which they do not usually need their husband's permission since they are mostly responsible for storing the grain.

Women have complete control over the income from these various little sources, and may choose either to spend it in the household or on themselves. The tendency is for older women to spend it on the household and younger women to spend it on themselves. Girls between the ages of 10 and 14 often save the money they earn from wages to buy something for themselves during Dasai or big festivals in the village.

Outside Employment

Table 3.24 shows the number of days worked in various activities, and it is clear that cottage industry, meaning weaving, is the activity in which women in the top and bottom strata are employed for the maximum number of days. Five women were employed 620 man-days, that is, 51.2 percent of employment is in this category. Men were employed more on agriculture, construction and government service in the organised sector (13.1 percent, 23.2 percent and 48.7 percent respectively). After cottage industry for women comes construction, which includes brick making, (25.2%) and then agriculture (23%).

Among the women in the top economic stratum 91.6 percent and 7.2 percent of the employment is in cottage industry and agriculture respectively. For those women in the middle economic stratum the percentage of employment is more in construction (64%) and less in cottage industry and agriculture (19.2% and 16.7%).

TABLE 3.24

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT

Economic Strata	Particulars \ Sector and Sex	Agriculture Labour		Cottage Industry		Construction		Service in Non-organized Sector		Service in Organized Sector		Portering		Other		All Types of Paid Employment	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Top	Total Person-days Worked	9	30	0	380	285	5	150	0	720	0	0	0	0	0	1164	415
	No. of People Employed	2	5	0	2	3	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
	% of Total Person-days Employed	0.8	7.2	0	91.6	24.5	1.2	12.9	0	61.9	0	0	0	0	0	100	100
Middle	Total Person-days Worked	127	78	0	90	390	300	0	0	1110	0	114	0	30	0	1771	468
	No. of People Employed	10	6	0	1	3	2	0	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	20	9
	% of Total Person-days Employed	7.2	16.7	0	19.2	22.0	64.1	0	0	62.7	0	6.6	0	1.7	0	100	100
Bottom	Total Person-days Worked	357	170	120	150	199	0	0	0	0	0	140	0	10	8	826	328
	No. of People Employed	13	8	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	24	11
	% of Total Person-days Employed	43.2	51.8	14.5	45.7	24.1	0	0	0	0	0	16.9	0	1.2	2.4	100	100
All Strata	Total Person-days Worked	493	278	120	620	874	305	150	0	1830	0	254	0	40	8	3761	1211
	No. of People Employed	25	19	2	5	12	3	1	0	6	0	4	0	2	1	52	28
	% of Total Person-days Employed	13.1	23.0	3.2	51.2	23.2	25.2	4.0	0	48.7	0	6.8	0	1.1	0.7	100	100

In the bottom economic stratum 45.7 percent of the female employment is in cottage industry, 51.8 percent in agriculture and none in construction. Although the division of household by economic strata is not distinct, these data, backed by observation, show that the women in poorer households do more agricultural and construction work than those in better off households, and women relatively better off are engaged in cottage industry and little in agriculture.

Similarly, men from better off households are more in government service in the organised sector while men from poorer households work more in agriculture than those from better off households. In construction work men of all strata participate equally.

This suggests that with better economic conditions both men and women seek employment outside agriculture.

For those who did not seek employment the main reason given by both males and females was that there was too much work at home. Other reasons given by males were old age or poor health, and education, and by females child care responsibilities (Table 3.25).

It is interesting to note that no females gave their reasons for not seeking employment as cultural or family restrictions or control. This supports the view that women have control over their own labour (see Decision Making section in this chapter).

USE OF CREDIT

In the village as a whole very few people take credit or loans from any source, least of all women, and none of them are in the top economic stratum. In the sample only relatively few men take loans (22.7%) and they are mostly from the bottom economic stratum. No females from the top economic stratum have taken any loans (Table 3.26).

Among the sample households, of the 3 women who borrowed money, one did so in order to help her husband repay his debts, borrowed from an institution, in this case from the bank, for which all the procedures were completed by the husband; the other two took loans from relatives, in both cases brothers. Among the men some of the loans (21.4%) were institutional loans, one from the bank and two from the guthi, a more informal procedure, but most were taken from friends, neighbours or relatives.

TABLE 3.25

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME

(In number of persons)

Reasons for not Working \ Respondents	Male Respondents	Female Respondents	Total Respondents
1. Too old, poor health	6 (15.8)	4 (8.9)	10 (12.1)
2. Too much work at home	5 (13.2)	18 (40.0)	23 (27.1)
3. Child care responsibilities, lactation	0	5 (11.1)	5 (6.0)
4. Studying, no time	17 (44.7)	2 (4.5)	19 (22.9)
5. Not qualified for work available	-	-	-
6. Social custom	-	-	-
7. Husband/Brother/Father/ Son does not approve	-	-	-
8. Mother-in-law or female member of household does not approve	-	-	-
9. Requires moving out of family or village	-	-	-
10. No suitable employment available	-	-	-
11. Other	10 (26.3)	15 (33.3)	25 (30.1)
Total	38 (100.0)	45 (100.0)	83 (100.0)

TABLE 3.26

CREDIT USE BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

(In row percentage)

Economic Strata \ Sex		Responses		
		Have Taken Personal Credit	Have Not	Total
Top	Male	2(40.0)	3(60.0)	5(100.0)
	Female		9(100.0)	9(100.0)
	Both	2(14.3)	12(85.7)	14(100.0)
Middle	Male	4(40.0)	6(60.0)	10(100.0)
	Female	2(15.4)	11(84.6)	13(100.0)
	Both	6(26.1)	17(73.9)	23(100.0)
Bottom	Male	6(50.0)	6(50.0)	12(100.0)
	Female	1(5.9)	16(94.1)	17(100.0)
	Both	7(24.1)	22(75.9)	29(100.0)
All Strata	Male	12(44.4)	15(55.6)	27(100.0)
	Female	3(7.7)	36(92.3)	39(100.0)
	Both	15(22.7)	51(77.3)	66(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of the total.

TABLE 3.27

SOURCES OF BORROWING

Sources / Sex	Institutional	Money Lender	Relative	Friend & Neighbour	Total
Male	3(21.4)	3(21.4)	1(7.3)	7(50.0)	14(100)
Female	1(33.0)	-	2(66.7)	-	3(100)
Both	4(23.5)	3(17.7)	3(17.6)	7(41.2)	17(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of the total.

Most of the loans have collateral pledged (75) and this is usually land or house. The woman who took a bank loan did this, but the other two women did not have collateral.

TABLE 3.28

TYPE OF COLLATERAL PLEDGED

	Land/House	No Collateral	Total
Male	9(75.0)	3(25.8)	12(100)
Female	1(33.3)	2(66.7)	3(100)
Both	10(66.7)	5(33.3)	15(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of the total.

More than half of both men and women (54%) gave their reason for not taking personal loans as having no need of them. More women than men voiced a dislike of taking a loan even if it were readily available (22.9% of the women as opposed to 13.3% of the men), and several men claimed their reason for not taking a loan was that it was not available

(26.7%), by implication indicating they would like to be able to, whereas a smaller percentage of women (11.4%) expressed the same desire.

TABLE 3.29

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING PERSONAL LOANS

	Not Available	No Need	Did not like	Others	Total
Males	4(26.7)	8(53.3)	2(13.3)	1(6.7)	15(100)
Females	4(11.4)	19(54.3)	8(22.9)	4(11.4)	35(100)
Both	8(16.0)	27(54.0)	10(20.0)	5(10.0)	50(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of the total.

If loans were made available the majority of the villagers would use them for buying land or buildings (38.5% of the males and 32.5% of the females). A few of the males (15.4%) said they would use a loan for trading, and some of the females (10.8%) said they would use one to buy a loom for their household, women of the top economic strata showing most enthusiasm for this (22.2%) (see Table 3.30).

Most villagers indicated no need or use for loans for other purposes, such as improvements in cultivation methods, buying animals, education of children, consumption and social and cultural needs. This clearly indicates the villagers' preference for the productive use of loans, that is, for either enhancing their assets or increasing their incomes. They do not want loans for consumption purposes.

Most villagers claimed they did not take institutional loans because they did not need them (32.4%) and a few because they did not like the idea of any such loan (12.2%). Of the rest, who might have considered them, a sizeable number (27%) said that the system and procedure of pledging collateral was too cumbersome and lengthy and that officials were unhelpful (this comes under 'Others' in Table 3.31), and quite a number (10%) claimed that they did not even know the procedures for procuring an institutional loan. A few (8.1%) thought the

TABLE 3.30

USES TO WHICH VILLAGERS WOULD APPLY LOANS

Economic Strata \ Sex		USES									
		Buy Land or Building	Start Cottage Industry	Finance Improvement Methods Cultivation	Buy Animals	Educate Children	Meet Consumption Need	Meet Social/ Religious Obliga-tions	Other	Do Not Need/Wish	Total
Top	Male	1(25.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(50.0)	1(25.0)	4(100.0)
	Female	2(22.2)	2(22.2)	-	-	1(11.1)	-	-	2(22.2)	2(22.3)	9(100.0)
	Both	3(23.1)	2(15.4)	-	-	1(7.7)	-	-	4(30.7)	3(23.1)	13(100.0)
Middle	Male	3(33.3)	-	-	2(22.2)	-	-	-	2(22.2)	2(22.2)	9(100.0)
	Female	6(40.0)	1(6.7)	-	-	2(13.3)	-	1(6.7)	-	5(33.3)	15(100.0)
	Both	9(37.5)	1(4.4)	-	2(8.3)	2(8.3)	-	1(4.2)	2(8.3)	7(29.2)	24(100.0)
Bottom	Male	6(46.1)	-	-	-	1(7.7)	1(7.7)	1(7.7)	-	4(30.8)	13(100.0)
	Female	4(30.8)	1(7.7)	1(7.7)	-	1(7.7)	1(7.7)	-	-	5(38.4)	13(100.0)
	Both	10(38.5)	1(3.8)	1(3.8)	-	2(7.7)	2(7.7)	1(3.9)	-	9(34.6)	26(100.0)
All Strata	Male	10(38.5)	-	-	2(7.7)	1(3.8)	1(3.8)	1(3.9)	4(15.4)	7(26.9)	26(100.0)
	Female	12(32.5)	4(10.8)	1(2.7)	-	4(10.8)	1(2.7)	1(2.7)	2(5.4)	12(32.4)	37(100.0)
	Both	22(34.9)	4(6.3)	1(1.6)	2(3.2)	5(7.9)	2(3.2)	2(3.2)	6(9.5)	19(30.2)	63(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of the total.

TABLE 3.31

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING INSTITUTIONAL LOAN

Economic Strata \ Sex		No Need	Do Not Like	Too Much Interest	Repayment Schedules too Strict	Forms Difficult to Write	Do not know how to get Credit	Others	Total
Top	Male	4(66.6)	-	-	1(16.7)	-	-	1(16.7)	6(100.0)
	Female	7(70.0)	1(10.0)	-	1(10.0)	1(10.0)	-	-	10(100.0)
	Both	11(68.8)	1(6.2)	-	2(12.5)	1(6.3)	-	1(6.2)	16(100.0)
Middle	Male	4(33.3)	2(16.7)	1(8.3)	-	1(8.3)	-	4(33.4)	12(100.0)
	Female	3(18.8)	4(25.0)	1(6.2)	1(6.2)	1(6.3)	1(6.2)	5(31.3)	16(100.0)
	Both	7(25.0)	6(21.4)	2(7.2)	1(3.6)	2(7.1)	1(3.6)	9(32.1)	28(100.0)
Bottom	Male	2(12.5)	-	4(25.0)	-	-	2(12.5)	8(50.0)	16(100.0)
	Female	4(28.6)	2(14.3)	-	1(7.1)	-	5(35.7)	2(14.3)	14(100.0)
	Both	6(20.0)	2(6.7)	4(13.3)	1(3.3)	-	7(23.3)	10(33.4)	30(100.0)
All Strata	Male	10(29.4)	2(5.9)	5(14.7)	1(2.9)	1(2.9)	2(5.9)	13(38.2)	34(100.0)
	Female	14(35.0)	7(17.5)	1(2.5)	3(7.5)	2(5.0)	6(15.0)	7(17.5)	40(100.0)
	Both	24(32.4)	9(12.2)	6(8.1)	4(5.4)	3(4.1)	8(10.8)	20(27.0)	74(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of the total.

interest rates too high, others that repayment schedules were too strict (5.4%) or that written transactions were too difficult (4.1%).

Certainly it was generally felt that taking loans from friends, neighbours or relatives was much easier, quicker and more flexible in repayment schedules than taking institutional loans.

POTENTIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG WOMEN

Despite the fact that women's contribution to market income is negligible, potential entrepreneurial quality among the Newar women in Bulu is not lacking. An association with the village over nine months has revealed the quality of enterprise among the women, particularly unmarried daughters and widows who are not so closely connected with a man. It is mostly these women who make frequent visits to Kathmandu and Patan to procure raw materials and deposit their produce with the middlemen in these areas. It was observed also, outside the sample households, that unmarried daughters perform most of the work in the household. Women constantly express their desire to be able to undertake income earning activities. An example which took place in the village will illustrate this.

> Nani Maya, daughter of Jit Bahadur in kinship Group 5 (Figure 2.5), has remained unmarried and is 34 years old. She does most of the household work. Previously she did not own a loom though she very much wanted to install one in order to be able to weave. Neither her father nor her brothers paid any heed, so she took a loan of 700 rupees on her own from her brother-in-law in Thecho and installed a loom in her house. After a year she paid back the loan from the wages she earned from weaving.

It would, therefore, not be inappropriate to say that women's participation in outside economic activities are kept to a minimum largely because of the lack of opportunities.

WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

In the subsistence economy of Bulu agriculture, or farm production, dominates overwhelmingly, and the villagers gear all their activities, annual work cycle and whole life style to this. They are remarkably skilled within the limits of their traditional technology, and cultivation is so intensive that they produce from the land an average paddy yield per unit of

land which is one of the highest in the world. There is, furthermore, a high correlation (.8) between the smaller size of landholding and the higher production yields.

In this subsistence production women's contribution is considerable. In productive activities their input (of labour and time) is about the same as that of men. Men's input in agricultural activities is almost twice as much as women's, but women's contribution to home economic activities is three or four times greater than men's.

Children, particularly female children, also make a significant contribution to the household economy, mainly in animal husbandry and agriculture. Female children spend more than twice the amount of time on animal husbandry than men for example. It is clear that they have a high economic value in this society and that there is no substitute for their labour.

Most of the farm management decisions are made by women, in particular decisions on seed selection and vegetable cultivation. Almost all decisions about seeds are made by women and the whole process of vegetable cultivation, selection, planting, manuring and selling, are under their control. Decisions about natural manure are all made by women, but the relatively recently introduced chemical fertilizers are under the perview of men. This points to an inadequacy of development programmes in involving only men, since traditionally fertilizers have always been the responsibility of women.

Women contribute little to the household from the market sector. There are four factors behind this. One is that there is no incentive, since wage rates discriminate against them (10 rupees for men as opposed to 4 rupees for women). A second is that there are limited opportunities for income earning activities. A third is that there is no substitute for women's labour in the household, and lastly women like to keep a low profile in public and prefer to work around the house.

Woman transplanting paddy.

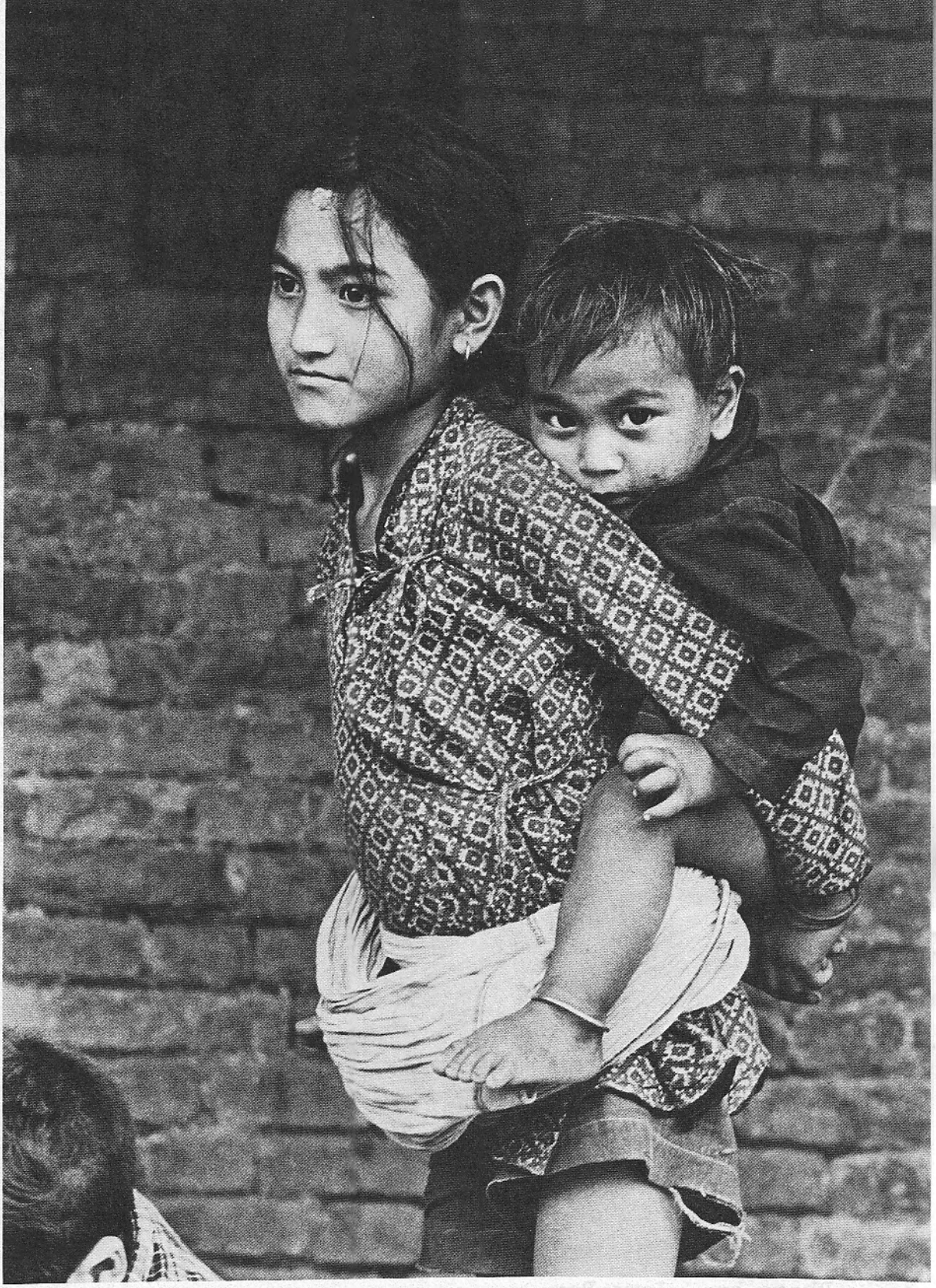
Making manure.

Carrying manure to the fields.

Taking the animals for grazing.

Work is sometimes fun.

Threshing oil seeds.



Waiting for the mother to come home.

Photo by: Jaya Roy

CHAPTER IV

IDEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS DIMENSION

The ideological values and religious beliefs of a society dominate the socialisation process in the upbringing of any man or woman in the society, and mould from childhood the behaviour and character of each member of the society. The imprint or the impact of this in childhood is carried throughout life and explains or gives an insight into the patterns of behaviour of the society or community.

NORMS, VALUES AND IDEALS

A Newar woman of Bulu does not fit into the accepted norms or values of the ideal Hindu woman. According to these values and norms of behaviour women are supposed to stay indoors, should not mix with men or participate in public life, should be modest and soft spoken and refrain from smoking or drinking in public. Such women are dominated by men throughout their lives. During her pre-marriage stage and as a child, such a woman is under the jurisdiction of her father, after marriage she is under the control of her husband and in old age under that of her son (Ullrick 1977:99). These norms seems to exist among the Brahman and Chetri women of Bakundol (Bennett, personal communication).

In contrast to these norms of behaviour the women of Bulu are assertive and expressive. Most of the time they are outdoors, either in the fields, or in the central village square, or in the back yards of their homes. These are the places they do their work, either drying grains in the sun, or doing food processing, or weaving, or knitting mats. At times, specially in winter when they have more leisure from their agricultural work, they sit in groups gossiping or voicing their opinions about events, either a dispute between households, or an individual's behaviour or some community undertaking. It is a common sight to see all the men, women and children sitting and talking and joking with each other. In this way the villagers are informed about everything that goes on in the village and in each household.

> For instance, when a water tank was to be installed in the central square by raising funds from the villagers, the households situated further away from the square voiced their opinion that, while the idea was a good one, it was not equally fair

> to all villagers from the point of view of distribution. So men and women of these households refrained from contributing, and instead got together and installed their own water tank nearer their locality. It was reported that women initiated this idea, getting the men to implement it, since fetching water is women's concern. Because of this communal effort there are now three water tanks in the village. Even to-day every woman takes care to clean the surrounding areas of the water tanks to make sure the drains do not get blocked. They have kept the tanks strictly for drinking purposes and do not allow anyone to wash clothes or dishes with the water from them. On one occasion when one of the women washed dirty clothes with the water from the tank she was opposed by a whole host of women. In this sort of event they are talkative to the extent of being abusive.

It is quite normal for women to use abusive language to children and to people, men or women, younger than them, either as a rebuke or in joking.

Women also smoke cigarettes or hukā (hubble-bubble pipe) in public, and when they are gathered around the square or back-yards the husbands and other men will offer the hukā to the women around them. They also drink with men. In fact alcohol is one of the most essential items for all occasions and ceremonies, and a large portion of the grains produced go for making liquor (aelāā) and beer (thwą). Younger women drink with more restraint than older women, who occasionally get tipsy, but drinking by women is taken as quite normal behaviour and is not considered improper in any sense. In fact, some families encourage children to drink by giving them baji (beaten rice) mixed with liquor.

Neither men nor women were ever heard idealising the images of the Goddess Sita or Laxmi.* Many people did not know the full story related to them although they were aware that they were goddesses. Even for those who had heard of or knew the scriptures, these divine characters were just people in books, to be worshipped, not idealised or imitated. The

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*Sita and Laxmi represent the ideal woman in Hindu mythology.

most common deity worshipped by the villagers is Karunāmaya, in Patan who is believed to be the giver of rain and good harvests. As already mentioned in Chapter 2, the saalhnu guthi is mainly dedicated to the worship of the Karunāmaya, and different groups of villagers go to Patan to offer prayers and pujā on the first day of every (Nepali) month - saalhnu meaning the first or the beginning. The villagers know the details of the story and character of the Karunāmaya. It is said the Karunāmaya represents uni-sex, and ceremonies for both sexes, for instance, ihii for girls and kayata pujā (initiation into manhood) for boys, are performed for the deity.

The villagers also worship Ajimā, a deity particularly concerned with the protection of children. Ajimā is worshipped in many manifestations, first as the protector of children, then in the form of Chwāsa Ajimā as the protector of a locality (Pradhan 1980:95), also as a healer of ailments. When people get ill Ajimā is offered prayers and pujā. Such pujā is mostly done by the women in the households.

There are a few women who are accepted as healers. The villagers believe that they are possessed by the Ajimā deity and have the power of healing illness, and they are known as dyaa maj. Maj is a respectful and loving form of addresse for women, and dyaa is "one with divine qualities". So the translation could be either "the women with divine qualities", or "possessed by the god", or "a woman capable of healing", or the "healer". The treatment of a dyaa maj is mainly the performing of jhareyāyegu (a brushing away of the illness with a broom). She recites or chants a mantra over some water and gives it to the patient to drink. This is normally done for 3 days continuously, or for seven or 21 days, depending on the nature of the ailment. She also recommends offering prayer and pujā to Ajimā.

The images of Karunāmaya and Ajimā seem to tally more with their life style than the Hindu religious ideals of a Sita, Parvati, Laximi or Goma, who seem more the ideals of the urban women.

RELIGIOUS ROLES OF WOMEN AND POLLUTION BELIEFS

Religious activities, like performing pujā, or fasting, are rarely undertaken by women. Even when they do perform pujās, at Tij* or Ekadasi**, the pujās are not as elaborate as

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*Special festival for women.

**The eleventh day of the lunar calendar which is considered a holy day, when many women fast.

those of the Brahman and Chetri women. Most of the religious worship of the villagers is associated with annual festivals around the year. Many of them coincide with those observed by the Newars of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Patan, such as Desain, Dipavali, Sitinakha, Gathāmuga, Yāmāripuni, Ghiu-chaku puni or Maghe Sakranti and Gaijatra. On these different festivals different deities are worshipped, and different traditional dishes are prepared. In addition to these festivals there is a special festival in the month of Chait peculiar to the village and not found among other Newars. It is called Bulumi yā Jātrā, festival of the Bulumis.

This jātrā lasts for three days. The first day is the initiation of the jātrā, on which all the households do purification rituals, like cleaning the house, washing themselves and preparing for the main pujā the next day. In the morning pujā is offered at Bajrabārāhi temple, since this jātrā is of the Bajrabārāhi deity, the preparation for which is all done by the women of the households. The second day is the main jātrā. Pujā is performed with a sacrifice of goats and buffaloes, and offerings of cooked rice to the deity. The deity is then put in the deity palanquin and, accompanied by traditional music, is taken around the village, mainly by the males, while the women and children watch. Relatives of the villagers from the neighbouring villages, such as Chapagaon and Thecho, come to watch the jātrā and participate in the festivities. At midnight of this day a goat is sacrificed. On the third day pujās are performed by women from various households, the deity is again taken around the village and finally put back in its place of worship. This marks the conclusion of the festival.

On religious occasions, the purification rituals are done by women and the main parts of the pujā by men.

Unlike many other Newars, including Jyāpus, the Jyāpus of Bulu do not have the ihii ritual as part of their custom (the implications of which are discussed in Chapter 2), but the Shresthas of Bulu do. But the ritual associated with the attainment of puberty (bārā) is observed by them. There is a difference between baara taegu and baara chwonegu. In the latter, when the girl actually menstruates for the first time, she is kept in isolation for twelve days in a closed room and barred from seeing any light or any man, and on the twelvth day a ritual is performed to indicate her physical entry into womanhood. Baara taegu is to have a girl go through the ritual of baara even before she attains puberty. This is done for convenience, so that if there is a baara

ritual in a relative's or a neighbour's house, younger girls are taken to join the girl in baara. For these girls who have not yet menstruated it is not necessary to observe all twelve days. They are kept in isolation with the main person in baara for a few days only, and the final ritual is completed on the twelfth day.

There is a similar ritual for boys (kaeta pujā) marking the entry of males into adulthood and the end of childhood, which means the boy is ready to assume the responsibility of setting up a family. These days this ritual also has been shortened.

It appears that, as the economic condition of the villagers has deteriorated, the importance given to the observation of rituals and ceremonies has also declined. This deterioration could be attributed either to the actual decline in productivity, or to inflation and an increase in population, or a mixture of both.

Pollution beliefs, which are very strong and a matter of great concern among the Brahmans and Chetris, are not treated with much seriousness, and the women of Bulu do not feel strongly about them.

Among the Brahmans and Chetris and those belonging to the upper or upper middle class, the period of menstruation is treated as polluting and there are heavy restrictions placed on women to keep them from polluting others, specially men. Women are kept in virtual isolation for four days. Negligence in observing the restrictions is considered a grave sin. But the Jyapus in Bulu take pollution restrictions lightly. The women go about quite normally doing their daily chores and work, and very often nobody in the household is aware that she is menstruating. When asked if the women do or do not observe the pollution period the answer is invariably "yāe māāgulā khaa, yānā cwanąą sādhe lą, sunąą jimita nakii?" A colloquial translation of this is "theoretically we should observe it, but who has the time for such frivolities? Who will feed us?" This has the very meaningful implication that Hindu ideals and beliefs, and adhering to them strictly, comes with a certain level of affluence. These pollution practices are of relatively little importance in a community like Bulu, where the daily life of the villagers is centered around trying to meet basic needs, priority is not given to "such frivolities".

THE IMAGE OF THE MALE AND FEMALE

Male and female opinions about the attributes of the ideal husband coincide (Table 4.1). Above all he should have a good reputation in the village, should be educated and, slightly less important, should be hard working. For a Bulumi a good reputation means that the man is not a drunkard, a gambler, a wife-beater or unreliable in some such way. It is considered fairly important, particularly by the men, that the man should have respect for his parents, but love for his wife and his looks are way down in priority. It is interesting and unexpected to find that the two attributes of least importance are that he should be rich and from a reputable family. It is perhaps so far outside the realm of possibility for a man to be rich in Bulu that the responses to this question simply show the realism of the villagers; there is no way that a man could be rich or in a position to "provide well for his family" in Bulu so that it is almost irrelevant to consider the possibility seriously. It is outside the realm of possibility or imagination for any Bulumi that a woman should not have to work hard and that she could be economically dependent on the husband. That the least important attribute, being from a reputable family, is unexpected is because in many communities in Nepal this is considered highly important. In Bulu, however, there are perhaps two reasons for its low priority. One is that in such a small community where everybody knows everybody, where rules for who may marry who are fixed, where there is not inter-caste marriage, the problem of finding out about the family simply does not arise. The other explanation is that it reflects the freedom of choice of both males and females in the society to marry whom they wish, and, since the choice therefore is more an individual choice and not a family choice, the family of the male is of little importance. In other words, a marriage does not reflect so much a family making an alliance with another family through a marriage, it reflects more an individual aligning with another individual.

Attitudes about the ideal wife are similarly shared by men and women (Table 4.2). Most important of all is that she should be respectful to her in-laws. This is obviously crucial in holding a family together in a society organised as Bulu is, and is recognised equally by men and women. It is also considered of great importance that a wife is hard working; if she is not, clearly the welfare of the whole family will be affected. All other qualities are considered relatively unimportant compared to these two. It is considered hardly relevant, slightly more by women than men, that the ideal wife is pretty, and that she has respect for the husband, though

TABLE 4.1

OPINIONS ABOUT THE IDEAL HUSBAND

Opinions \ Respondents	Male	Female	Both
Should provide well for family, be rich	2(2.4)	6(6.5)	8(4.5)
Should be good looking	3(3.6)	7(7.5)	10(5.6)
Should be educated	17(20.2)	23(24.7)	40(22.6)
Should be from a reputable family	5(6.0)	2(2.2)	7(4.0)
Should love his wife	6(7.1)	7(7.5)	13(7.3)
Should have a good reputation in the village	21(25.0)	23(24.7)	44(24.9)
Should be hard working	16(19.0)	15(16.1)	31(17.5)
Should have respect for his parents	11(13.1)	8(8.6)	19(10.7)
Others	3(3.6)	2(2.2)	5(2.8)
Total	84(100)	93(100)	177(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

TABLE 4.2

OPINIONS ABOUT THE IDEAL WIFE

Respondents / Opinions	Male	Female	Both
Should help the family by working outside	5(6.0)	10(11.1)	15(8.6)
Should be pretty	10(11.9)	12(13.3)	22(12.6)
Should be able to bear many children	0	1(1.1)	1(0.6)
Should be hard working	20(23.8)	21(23.3)	41(23.6)
Should be from a reputable family	4(4.8)	3(3.3)	7(4.0)
Should have respect for her in-laws	24(28.6)	27(30.0)	51(29.3)
Should take care of her children	7(8.3)	9(10.0)	16(9.2)
Should have respect for her husband	11(13.1)	7(7.8)	18(10.3)
Others	3(3.6)	0	3(1.7)
Total	84(100)	90(100)	174(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

this is considered more desirable by the men. Taking good care of her children and helping the family by working outside are also of some, but little, importance. Her family background is of no importance, as is the case with the ideal husband and for the same hypothesised reasons, and being able to bear many children totally irrelevant.

These attributes of men and women reflect the findings of Chapters 2 and 3, that is, how the society is organised and the way it is economically maintained, and the specific place and contributions of the men and women. Women are crucial in holding a family together, hence they should have a cooperative or respectful attitude to their in-laws; their labour in different ways, whether agricultural or food processing, is crucial for the economy of the household, hence they must be hard working. All else is of little importance.

> For example, when asked why beauty or love is so unimportant in their view, the villagers gave answers such as "kwāā bwayāā nae majiu", "māyā yānāā pwāā jai makhu" meaning that one cannot earn a living with a beautiful face, and love cannot fill a stomach.

The general position of women is also confirmed by the opinions of both men and women about "women" (Table 4.3). They are considered by both to be more concerned about the family and kinder and less selfish than men, all qualities associated with involvement in the family. They are also thought to be much more obedient than men but less trustworthy, stubborn and lazy, which reflects the situation of the superficial or public adherence to the principle of men giving the orders but women actually doing what they please, to the extent of leaving the husband if their life with him does not suit them. In other words, men are considered by both sexes to be more reliable and pliable than women, even though they may be slightly more quarrelsome. In spite of their admission to stubborness and untrustworthiness women still claim that they are more cooperative than men, while men claim that they are.

FERTILITY AND MOTHERHOOD

In Hindu religion having a son is very important. One reason is that it ensures that the patrilineal line of descent is continued, and the other is that it is a son who ensures peace and salvation to the soul of the deceased by performing sradha (annual death ceremony) after the death rites.

TABLE 4.3

OPINIONS ABOUT MEN AND WOMEN BY RESPONDENTS

Questions \ Respondents and Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
1. Who is most trustworthy?	15 (60.0)	3 (12.0)	7 (28.0)	25 (100.0)	11 (47.8)	4 (17.4)	8 (34.8)	23 (100.0)	26 (54.2)	7 (14.6)	15 (31.2)	48 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerned about their family?	4 (14.3)	19 (67.9)	5 (17.8)	28 (100.0)	3 (9.7)	22 (71.0)	6 (19.3)	31 (100.0)	7 (11.9)	41 (69.5)	11 (18.6)	59 (100.0)
3. Who is more obedient?	6 (22.2)	15 (55.6)	6 (22.2)	27 (100.0)	2 (6.4)	19 (61.3)	10 (32.3)	31 (100.0)	8 (13.8)	34 (58.6)	16 (27.6)	58 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	0	18 (64.3)	10 (35.7)	28 (100.0)	1 (3.4)	21 (72.4)	7 (24.2)	29 (100.0)	1 (1.8)	39 (68.4)	17 (29.8)	57 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	8 (28.6)	2 (7.1)	18 (64.3)	28 (100.0)	6 (20.0)	10 (33.3)	14 (46.7)	30 (100.0)	14 (24.1)	12 (20.7)	32 (55.2)	58 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	7 (25.0)	8 (28.6)	13 (46.4)	28 (100.0)	11 (37.9)	8 (27.6)	10 (34.5)	29 (100.0)	18 (31.6)	16 (28.1)	23 (40.3)	57 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	40 (24.4)	65 (39.6)	59 (36.0)	164 (100.0)	34 (19.6)	84 (48.6)	55 (31.8)	173 (100.0)	74 (22.0)	149 (44.2)	114 (33.8)	337 (100.0)
1. Who is more selfish?	13 (52.0)	1 (4.0)	11 (44.0)	25 (100.0)	13 (50.0)	0	13 (50.0)	26 (100.0)	26 (51.0)	1 (2.0)	24 (47.0)	51 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	1 (3.7)	14 (51.9)	12 (44.4)	27 (100.0)	4 (13.8)	16 (55.2)	9 (31.0)	29 (100.0)	5 (8.9)	30 (53.6)	21 (37.5)	56 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	3 (10.7)	19 (67.9)	6 (21.4)	28 (100.0)	3 (11.5)	16 (61.6)	7 (26.9)	26 (100.0)	6 (11.1)	35 (64.8)	13 (24.1)	54 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	11 (40.8)	8 (29.6)	8 (29.6)	27 (100.0)	10 (37.0)	9 (33.3)	8 (29.7)	27 (100.0)	21 (38.9)	17 (31.5)	16 (29.6)	54 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	28 (26.2)	42 (39.3)	37 (34.5)	107 (100.0)	30 (27.8)	41 (38.0)	37 (34.2)	108 (100.0)	58 (27.0)	83 (38.6)	74 (34.4)	215 (100.0)

In many communities with Hindu religious beliefs begetting a son is associated with privilege and high status in the society. Women who do not conceive a child, specially a male child, are considered to have an incomplete life and a purposeless marriage. Also, among the upper middle class people in urban areas pollution rituals for women who have had sons are not so strict, since they believe that the conception of a son purifies the womb. A woman in such societies without children often has to endure certain kinds of humiliation and degradation, depending on her particular ethnic group. According to Shrestha (1980:68), also among the Tamangs of Katarche men often take a second wife because of a woman's failure to beget a son. This taking of a second wife because of the first wife's failure to produce a son has been legalised in the National Code (Mulki Ain).

Among the Newars of Bulu it is not considered of such importance for a woman to have children, and people are more relaxed regarding fertility and motherhood. Although conception and pregnancy are taken as a natural outcome of marriage and it is considered normal for a woman to conceive any time five or six years or more after marriage, people consider it better for a woman to have children late, because, it is said, a woman without a child has greater mobility in terms of leaving her husband and finding another man if she cannot get along with him or his family.* Even if a woman does not have children for a prolonged period after marriage she does not seem to be desperate and go to consult doctors or local practitioners (Pradhan: 1980:88).

Childlessness is never severely criticised and does not affect a woman's status in her household or in the village. It was reported that it had never been a cause for a divorce. There are several households in the village, one of which is in the sample, who do not have children but this does not seem to be a major concern for the couple.

Though having children is important and useful for the household, particularly for the women, a woman's life is not centered around it. Her value or status is not derived from identification with a man, father, husband or son, and so it is not essential for her to have a son.

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*For details of the attitude of women regarding fertility, motherhood, child caring and rearing practices, see Pradhan 1980:86-104.

In fact, in contrast to other ethnic groups, particularly Parbate Brahmans and Chetris and middle and high caste Newars, the Bulumis show a strong preference for girls rather than boys as the first child. This seems to be true also for the Newar groups of Sanogaon (Dhungel 1978). Eleven out of fifteen female informants said that they preferred a girl as first child, three preferred a boy and one was indifferent. The preference for the first born to be a girl is that the girl can do kijā pujā (worship of the brother). Among the Jyapu, unlike the other Newars, only an elder sister can perform kijā pujā to brothers, not a younger sister to older brothers. Also, mothers like to have daughters to help them with their work, and fathers like to have sons to help them with their work.

SEX ROLE SOCIALISATION PROCESS

In bringing up children there is no attempt to segregate girls from boys, and there is no marked preference shown for either sex, apart from mothers having their daughters help them more and fathers their sons.

The villagers spend most of their time out-doors and children play together, not only with their own brothers and sisters, but also with other children of the neighbourhood. Adults discuss freely all topics in front of children, ranging from sex to agricultural work, and even children of seven or eight sometimes take part in the discussions. From the age of five or six girls and boys go with their brothers and sisters, or with the children of the neighbours, to look after small animals grazing. There is free mixing on equal terms between girls and boys and they grow up without inhibitions towards the opposite sex. From the age of about six they are expected to work, herding animals, fetching fodder and looking after their sibling, and the idea that they have to work for a living is ingrained from this age. Parents tell their children "jyā mayāka, mhitā jaka nae dai makhu", meaning one cannot expect to be fed just by playing and without doing any work, and work is part of their childhood.

However, certain kinds of jobs are allocated to girls and others to boys. For minor purchases normally, it was observed, boys are sent out as much as possible, rarely girls. When quite young, girls are taught to help their mother cook, and when the mother goes to fetch water she takes her young daughter with her, making her carry a small pot. Boys, on the other hand, go with their father to his work and watch and learn

by helping him. Sometimes, when old enough and capable of doing the work, the boy is paid half or a quarter of the wage of his father.

Boys are encouraged towards education and girls towards domestic and child care. The idea behind educating boys rather than girls is that as men they are the ones who have to face the outside world, going out to work and dealing with the administration, so they need literacy and numeracy. The main reasons for not educating girls (Tables 4.4 and 4.5) are that they are needed for work, farm work as well as domestic, that it costs too much and they are anyway going to get married eventually. Men, on whom the ultimate responsibility of total income and expenditure of the household rests, give the cost as the main reason for not educating girls, whereas women, who are responsible for the domestic part of the household, put domestic work as the most important reason. They are probably saying the same thing in their different ways, and clearly both sexes are in agreement that, though education may be desirable in theory, in practice there is no way that the girls can be spared. The question of education being a waste because a future husband will support the girl hardly arises. Women seem to be so independent in spirit and in practice that that sort of outlook arises in neither men's nor women's minds. Women do, however, give marriage as a good reason as to why girls need not be educated, but they seem to interpret marriage here to mean domestic and agricultural activities that will absorb all of a woman's time, so that any education a girl might have had will not be put to use.

Everybody looks after children; men, women and other children. But, as in most societies, women have the prime responsibility of making sure they are fed and bathed and cared for. They very often delegate the child minding to older sisters and sometimes older brothers, though they often carry their young children on their back, tied on securely with a long strip of material, as do the other children. Men carry their children around also, and play with them, but this is when they have no work to do and in the absence of the mother and older siblings. There is no serious attempt to toilet train the children who urinate anywhere up to the age of 2 or 3 and defecate on the sides of the streets up to about 7 or 8 years of age. There is no stigma or fear attached to dirt, so that children pick up scraps of food from the ground and put them in their mouth without anyone ever suggesting they should not.

TABLE 4.4

REASONS FOR KEEPING GIRLS OUT OF SCHOOL

Respondents / Reasons	Male	Female	Both
They are needed for farm work	6(16.6)	8(20.5)	14(18.7)
They will have to mix with boys	1(2.8)	1(2.6)	2(2.7)
They will have to get married	5(13.9)	9(23.1)	14(18.7)
It would be difficult to get them married	0	0	0
They are not likely to get a suitable job afterwards	1(2.8)	3(7.7)	4(5.3)
They are needed for house work	9(25.0)	13(33.3)	22(29.3)
It costs too much	11(30.6)	4(10.3)	15(20.0)
Their husbands will take care of them	3(8.3)	1(2.6)	4(5.3)
Others	0	0	0
Total	36	39	75

TABLE 4.5

REASONS FOR RELATIVELY LOWER DISTRICT EDUCATION LEVEL FOR GIRLS

Respondents / Reasons	Male	Female	Both
They are needed for farm work	7(17.95)	7(23.33)	14(20.29)
They will have to mix with boys at school	2(5.13)	1(3.33)	3(4.35)
They will get married	5(12.82)	6(20.0)	11(15.94)
It is difficult to marry off girls with too much education	1(2.56)	1(3.33)	2(2.90)
They are not likely to get a suitable job afterwards	5(12.82)	1(3.33)	6(8.70)
They are needed for house work	10(25.64)	8(26.67)	18(26.09)
It costs too much	4(10.25)	4(13.33)	8(11.59)
Their husband will take care of them	3(7.69)	1(3.33)	4(5.80)
Others	2(5.13)	1(3.33)	3(4.35)
Total	39(100)	30(100)	69(100)

Discipline of children in general is not a separate system imposed on the children from outside. They are exposed to the discipline of their lives in which they from very early on become apprentices of their parents and little by little get absorbed into the society as contributing members.

Mother and daughter enjoying each other.

Little girl bringing home the fodder.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL AND LEGAL DIMENSION

Various anthropological and cross-cultural studies (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1976; Kessler 1976; Schlegel 1977) have shown that in most societies of the world women have been identified with the domestic and familial world and men with the public and political world. In this respect the Newar community of Bulu is no exception. In this respect Newar women are never "political actors". The formal political and public acts are left to the men, and women do not come out in front, even though they are powerful forces within their own domains. Their participation in and awareness of village level or district level panchayat activities is minimal to the point that they are ignorant or apathetic about all matters of government. They have dissociated themselves from public political participation outside the village for the reasons that this sphere is beyond their control and that it affects them little, if at all, in their daily lives.

On the other hand they are active, although not necessarily visible actors, in the spheres that affect their own lives and life styles, about which they are fully aware. This will become clear as their lack of involvement and participation in politics outside the village is set against their awareness and involvement in matters which directly concern them.

POLITICAL AWARENESS

A few women (22%) are aware of the politics most closely connected with the village, panchayat politics, but district and national politics are totally outside their orbit and they know nothing about them (100% unaware) (Table 5.1). That very few women have heard about the Nepal's Women's Organization (3%) is not necessarily surprising, since during a nine month stay in the village there was not one mention or rumour of any activity that was being conducted or organized by the Nepal Women's Organization. There is no Nepal Women's Organization office anywhere nearby, the nearest one probably being in Patan, and apparently no representative had come to the village or tried to involve the women of Bulu.

There have been no women from the village represented in any panchayats. But there is a woman representative from

TABLE 5.1

WOMEN'S POLITICAL AWARENESS

Level of Politics \ Response	Aware	Not Aware	Total
Panchayat Politics	5(22.9)	84(77.1)	109(100)
District and National Politics	0	125(100)	125(100)
Nepal Women's Organization	2(3.1)	62(98.4)	64(100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Chapagaon in the local panchayat. To the questions on whether or not there are or have ever been any women representatives in the local panchayat and in the district level panchayat, the answers were mostly that they do not know (82%, see Table 5.2). Only 5 out of 33 women responded that they knew, and only 3 of them knew that before also there had been a woman representative. When the procedure regarding her selection was asked 3 of the 5 knew that she had been nominated, while 2 said, wrongly, that she had been elected. All these five women knew of the present woman representative, but only one had ever contacted her and that once only. However, most of the women outside the sample households knew about the panchayat woman representative, Nhuchhe Kumari Desar, because they narrated how she was nominated.

> Certain women said that Nhuchhe Kumari Desar was nominated because she was the daughter of a rich merchant from Chapagaon who had connections with the Pradhan Panch. They said that she was not very well educated, but knew how to read and write, and that she was a busy woman with three sons and a shop to look after in her husband's house. Her brothers, they said, were well educated, with good connections in Kathmandu society and were friends of an ex-minister. Nhuchhe Kumari herself, when interviewed, did not seem to know how she had been nominated. She said she had not really tried to get nominated, and that a letter of nomination had been sent by the Back-to-Village National Campaign. She did not

TABLE 5.2

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL AND DISTRICT PANCHAYAT

Question \ Answer	One or More than One	None	Total	Do not Know	Total Respondent
Are there any women represented in your Panchayat ?	5(15.2)	1(3.0)	6(18.2)	27(81.8)	33 (100)
Has there ever been a woman member of your Panchayat that you can remember ?	3(9.1)	3(9.1)	6(18.2)	27(81.8)	30 (100)
Has there been a local woman from this village who became a member of the district level Panchayat or was in any other post ?	0	0	0	33(100)	33 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

remember how many times the panchayat had met nor how many times she had attended the meetings herself. According to her, the best way for her to show understanding and participation at a meeting is to say "samarthan chha", meaning "I support this", to all proposals put forth by the other Panchas, all male. Apart from attending such meetings she does not seem to take any part in panchayat activities, nor does she seem to be interested in the promotion of the welfare of the women of the panchayat.

According to Nhuchhe Kumari she was nominated to attend a seven-day training conducted by the Women's Affairs Training Centre. She did not know the subject of the training, and out of the seven days, she attended only the first and the last days of the training. She said that she received 35 rupees and a certificate for the training.

According to the requirement of the Class Organization Act she was supposed to be a member of the Nepal Women's Organization, but she was not sure whether or not she was a member. She did not remember applying for membership, and her answer was vague "Yes, maybe I am a member".

Clearly most women want to assume no rule in the formal political scene, even in the local panchayat. Only a minimal number (7%) said they would like to be nominated to represent the panchayat; the rest mostly actively disliked the idea (57.2%) or did not know (35.7%) (see Tables 5.3 and 5.4). Furthermore, they do not attend panchayat meetings (Table 5.5). On the other hand, they do participate in the elections to the village panchayat, the reason being perhaps that this is a more hidden and less marked activity which does not thrust them into the foreground.

TRAINING PROGRAMMES

No women in Bulu seem to have had any access to the training services in skill development provided by the various institutions for women. They apparently have no knowledge of such institutions and would expect to learn their skills either at home or from other villagers, some not even knowing where they could learn (Table 5.7). This is

TABLE 5.3

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LOCAL PANCHAYAT

Response / Question	Elected	Nominated	Some Elected, Some Nominated	Total	Do not Know	Total
How did she become a member of the Panchayat ?	2(40.0)	3(60.0)	0	5(100)	0	5(100)

WOMEN'S CONTACT WITH POLITICIANS

Response / Question	Once a Week or More	Once or Twice a Month	Every Few Months	Once or Twice a Year	Almost Never	Total
If your village has a woman Panchayat member, how often do you talk to her ?	0	0	0	1(20.0)	4(30.0)	5(100)

TABLE 5.4

WOMEN'S WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE LOCAL PANCHAYAT

Question \ Answer	Yes	No	Do not Know	Total
If you were to be nominated would you like to represent your village Panchayat ?	2(7.1)	16(57.2)	10(35.7)	28(100)

TABLE 5.5

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE LOCAL PANCHAYAT

Question \ Answer	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	Total
Do you attend Panchayat meetings ? If so, how often do you attend ?	0	1(3.1)	2(6.3)	29(90.16)	32(100)

TABLE 5.6

WOMEN'S VOTING PARTICIPATION IN THE LOCAL PANCHAYAT

Question \ Answer	Regularly	Once or Twice	Never	Total
Have you ever voted in a village election ?	0	26(78.8)	7(21.2)	33(100)

TABLE 5.7

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO HANDICRAFTS TRAINING

Question \ Answer	Learn at Home	Learn from Villagers	From Others	No Place	Do not Know	Total
If you or any other women in your village want to learn a skill such as weaving, sewing, knitting, rug making, where would you learn it ?	20(60.6)	6(18.2)	1(3.0)	5(15.2)	1(3.0)	33(100)

somewhat disappointing in view of the fact that all the institutions for women have emphasized skill development as one of the main programmes for rural women (Pradhan 1979). If these skill training programmes have not reached a village only 13 kilometres away from Kathmandu city, the hope of extending the services to periphery villages seems remote.

Clearly women in Bulu are not only unaware of, but also apathetic to, the out village and panchayat politics. This is mainly because the panchayats have never synchronised their purpose and functions with the life of the villagers. The villagers operate on one wave length while the panchayats operate on another, and their interests never coincide. For instance, there is a rampant complaint that fertilizer is not supplied on time, which affects the agricultural output, but the panchayats never seem to do anything about it. According to the villagers the panchayat people only collect local taxes but never provide any services. The water tax is collected but the water system, or irrigation canal which runs past the fields of the villagers, has never been improved. The villagers are of the opinion that the panchas and organization people come to the village only when they need to deliver a speech, or to get voluntary labour. There has been no effective delivery of services of any kind in the village. They tend to dissociate themselves from politics, therefore, not because of ignorance, but because the panchayat demonstrates no concern or relevance to their lives. This observation was supported by a visit to the village during the time of the referendum. At that time the general topic of discussion and speculation concerned the announcement made by His Majesty on the referendum. The women were well aware of what was happening but were uninterested in participating, as they believed that whatever happened in the referendum would not affect their lives.

Women's passivity in out village politics contrasts strikingly with their awareness and participation, either directly or indirectly, in domestic and community level politics. In matters that directly affect them, although their role may be unrecognised, and although they may have no authority themselves, women can prod men into action that suits or favour them the most. This aspect of women's role in local level politics has been emphasised by Collier (1976:89-96). In Bulu, the usual pattern in the domestic sphere is that when a woman cannot get on with her mother-in-law or sister-in-law, her natural desire is to break away from the family to lead an independent life with her husband. If she cannot persuade her husband to leave his family she goes to her natal home. This is a threat to her husband to leave and in this way she

exercises legitimate power to get her husband to act her way. The support by her natal home plays a vital role in women's ability to assert power.

Besides this kind of active role in family politics, women exercise influence and power in community level decisions through informal gossip and by expressing opinions in the open with their neighbours. Women align with other women with common interests and compel the men to take action in their favour. The case of the construction of water tanks is a good example of this (see Chapter 2). Thus women can be perceived as "social actors whose choices affect the options open to politically active men" (Collier 1976:76).

LEGAL AWARENESS

The general pattern of inheritance in the village is through patrilineal descent groups. The sons get an equal share in the property of the father on his death, or, if the father chooses to divide the property during his life time, he keeps a share and divides the rest equally among his sons, and on his death the son who performs the after-death rituals gets the share of the father. The usual practice in the village is that, if the mother dies, the youngest son is obliged to perform the death rites, and, if the father dies, the eldest son is obliged to undertake the rites. Alternatively, the father may choose to make a will leaving a portion of his share to a favourite son and the rest to the son who performs the rituals. Married daughters do not normally get a share of the parental property. However, the villagers are aware of the legal provision for a daughter to get a share if she stays unmarried until the age of 35. There are three women in the village who are unmarried and have reached this age, and the fathers of all three are willing to give a share to these daughters. One of the fathers said that he would make a will in his unmarried daughter's name in case the brothers did not give her a share upon his death.

If a couple do not have a son the property will go to the closest kin descendent who performs the death rituals. In such a case the property does not automatically go to the daughters, since daughters, married or unmarried, cannot perform the death rite. If the parents make a will, however, in a daughter's favour she can inherit her father's property. The female head of Household 2 has no sons but four daughters, all of whom are already married. She says that she will will all the property to her daughters after putting aside a share for her closest male kin relation to perform the death rituals.

Although the sons may get their share of the parental property either during the life of the parents, or on the death of one or both parents, the closest kin relation who performs the death rituals gets his share only after the death. If the closest kin does not perform the death rituals, the community or the household members decide who should replace him, and whoever does receives the share of the property.

A woman has exclusive rights over her kwasa and pewa, and may choose to use them in any way she likes. The husband or the husband's family do not have any right to use them. Some households may use the kwasa but only if they get the woman's consent or under special circumstances, they use it by paying the market price to the daughter-in-law. Under normal circumstances the kwasa is left unused in the joint household and, when the couple separate from the joint family, the woman will use it to set up the new household.

In the event that the wife or the husband decides to divorce, the wife claims her kwasa back and the husband claims the gold ornaments back given to the wife at the time of marriage.

> For instance, when the son in Household 9, got formally divorced from his wife he returned the kwasa to her and got back from her the pair of gold earrings which was given to her at the time of marriage. On his second marriage he gave these earrings to his new wife, and the ex-wife, when she eloped with another man in the village, took her kwasa along with her.

Although there are no cases of polygamy in the village now, there are well defined customary laws, which people know, protecting the rights of the first wife.

If a man takes a second wife without divorcing the first wife, the latter can claim half of her husband's property, and her children, too, have a right to a share of the property. Socially and ritually, also, it was said, the first wife gets preference. This is clearly a deterrant to a woman to marry a man with a wife he will not or cannot divorce. In a community like Bulu where land and household production are the decisive factors in income this customary law discourages the practice of polygamy, which it might not do in communities which have sources of income other than household production.

Marriage and divorce have already been discussed in Chapter 2, but jari, compensation for marriage expenses to a husband when his wife leaves him, was not mentioned. At some time in the past there was a sum of 81 rupees fixed for jari, but as much as 200 rupees was recently paid. However, payment of jari is no longer common, probably because elopement has replaced the more expensive traditional form of marriage, and a quarter of the sample simply did not know about jari (Table 5.8).

Most women are well aware of the provisions in customary law and in the National Code (Mulki Ain) regarding inheritance and their rights as wives (Table 5.8). Most knew they had the right to do whatever they pleased with their kwasa, sell it or give it away to anyone they might choose. There are instances when women have fought and challenged the husband when he was going to sell her kwasa.

> The male head of Household 17 is a known drunkard in the village. He is so addicted to liquor that he goes to the extent of selling grains and household utensils to obtain it, and he sold off his wife's earrings which he had given her at the time of their marriage. She had another pair of earrings which her parents had given her. When he was about to sell them too, the wife gathered a few other women around her and abused him, saying that she would cut off his hand if he sold the earrings. She challenged him to touch them and declared she would be worthless if she did not chop off his hands. The husband did not dare, and the other men and women supported the wife and ridiculed him publicly.

Women are well aware that a daughter unmarried at the age of 35 is entitled to a share of the family property like a son, even though she cannot perform the death rituals, and equally aware that a married daughter can only inherit if a will is made to that effect or if the parents give her a share while they are alive.

Most of the women (91%) said they knew their husband would not take a second wife even if they gave him their permission, and all knew they had a right to half of their husband's property if he did so.

The only legal right to which they are entitled and about which they were totally ignorant was the right to

TABLE 5.8

LEGAL AWARENESS

Questions \ Responses	Yes	No	Do not Know	Total Respondents
1. Can you sell or give away your kwasa (Nep. daijo) and pewa under Nepali law ?	32(97)	1(3)	0	33
2. Can kwasa or pewa be used legally by your husband or parents-in-law ?	32(97)	1(3)	0	33
3. Do unmarried daughters get a share of the family property ?	32(97)	1(3)	0	33
4. Can you inherit your father's property if you have brothers ?	31(94)	2(6)	0	33
5. Can you claim a share of your husband's property if he brings another wife ?	33(100)	0	0	33
6. Can your husband take a second wife if you give him permission ?	3(9)	30(91)	0	33
7. If your husband divorces can you get a share of his property ?	0	32(97)	1(3)	33
8. If you go off with another man does your lover have to pay a jari ?	25(76)	0	8(24)	33

alimony for five years after a husband has divorced his wife. This is perhaps because there has never been any similar sort of provision in their customary law.

All in all then women are generally very well informed about matters that concern them directly, mostly those of customary law and the National Code, and very ignorant and apathetic about matters that are outside their immediate control or contact, mainly panchayat and district politics.

CHAPTER VI

AN OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The analysis of quantitative data and indepth observation of the Newar community of Bulu have confirmed our conviction, hypothesized at the start of the project while developing the methodology, that "women's status" in a community is a function of a composite number of variables and that all of these variables are interrelated. Women's status may be high or low depending on the community recognition and legitimacy of her freedom (power) in certain spheres. With freedom in these spheres she frames her strategies for influence in those spheres where her relative position and power is not recognised. There is not only an interrelation between various factors, but also an interplay of these factors in framing women's strategies in exercising power and influence. In assessing the overall "Status of Women" in Bulu their roles in various dimensions of life have to be considered, and it is also important to be aware of how the roles and positions in one dimension affect roles and positions in other dimensions. Isolation of factors will only give a partial and superficial picture of the position and role of women.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to give an overview of life in Bulu and the role and position of women in it, and to summarise their status in the light of this. The second half sets out policy and programme recommendations.

AN OVERVIEW

The Economy

1. The economy of Bulu is a subsistence rural economy in which 80 percent of the average household production is generated within the household, and 65 percent of household production comes from agriculture. Of the total household income at least 62 percent is from the subsistence sector and about 30 percent from the market sector. Within the subsistence household economy women are central to its production system.

2. Indigenous technology in agriculture has been developed to its limit and produces one of the highest maximum average yields of paddy production per unit of land in the world, comparable to those of some of the highest paddy producing

countries in Asia. The intensive cultivation technique of the local people has resulted in a very high correlation (.8) between a small size of land holding and a high output of paddy. In agriculture women have the same technical knowledge as men and participate equally, though differently.

Contributions to the Household

3. The people are homogeneous, both in terms of their cultural and religious practices and in terms of their economic situation. They live at a bare minimum with an average per capita income (Rs. 1123.2) matching the basic minimum requirements as estimated by the National Planning Commission (1978).

There is no correlation between economic strata and amount of household assets. Household assets, 90 percent of which are in land and buildings, are distributed more or less evenly, with the middle economic stratum holding more than the top economic stratum.

4. Construction, service in the organised sector, agriculture and weaving are the main areas for outside employment. Males work mainly in construction and in the organised sector. They work little in agriculture (12.7%) since most households are farmer tenants and use their own household labour, subsidising this with exchange, reciprocal labour with other households, which means that wage employment in agriculture is limited. For women weaving is the most important area of outside employment (50% of all women's paid employment). They weave for wages paid by a middleman who provides the raw materials and markets the finished product, and they necessarily lose most of the profit in the weaving to the middleman. The remaining paid employment is equally in construction, during the slack agricultural season, and agriculture. Wages, however, are so low in weaving and discriminating as well as low in construction and agriculture (4 rupees for women, 10 rupees for men) that there is no incentive for women to seek outside employment.

5. Women spend almost the same amount of time in productive activities as men (4.32 hours as opposed to 5.12 hours). Men's input of time into agriculture is higher than women's, although certain operations in agriculture are performed almost entirely by women, such as seed selection and vegetable cultivation. Food processing is entirely performed by women.

6. Females spend much more time on domestic activities than males - 87 percent more (females 4.47 hours and males .58

hours). The combination of these domestic activities with the productive activities means the total work burden of females is a lot higher than that of males (9.19 hours compared to 6.13 hours) and takes 57 percent of their waking day.

7. Children, particularly girls, contribute a lot in productive activities, particularly animal husbandry and fuel collection. Girls between the ages of 10 and 14 and 5 and 9 spend a lot more time on these activities than boys (3.71 hours as opposed to 1.19 hours and 3.40 hours as opposed to 1.32 hours respectively). Girls also contribute quite a bit in the domestic activities of cooking and child care. Children, therefore, and girls in particular have a high economic value in the household and there is no substitute for their labour.

8. A modified "full income" approach to the household income, both market and household income, produced the fact that men contribute 35 percent more than women, but in the household production women contribute nearly as much as men (83% of the male contribution), mostly in manufacturing, which means weaving for the household and for wages (81%), and food processing (78%). Neither manufacturing for the household nor food processing is accounted in the national accounting system. If this important contribution were accounted it would increase the G.D.P. of the country, indicating thereby the cost aspect of it.

Decision Making Roles

9. The high input of labour of women in the household production is reflected in the decisions made by the females. Their role in farm management decisions is important.

a. Females make most of the decisions on exchange and wage labour and have complete control of their own labour use.

b. In agriculture, although the cropping pattern is followed according to tradition women have a major say whether or not to use improved varieties of seeds (70% of the decisions are made by them).

c. Women are responsible for making almost all decisions on seed selection (93%).

d. Vegetable cultivation is completely under the control of the women, right from selecting the type of vegetables to be cultivated to marketing them.

e. Women share the decisions about the quantity, type and application of home made manures, which are prepared mainly by them, while men make most of the decisions regarding the use and application of chemical fertilizers. This is indicative that there is a lack of government sensitivity and failure of government to include social behaviour patterns in development planning, since women have been excluded from the dissemination of information on new technologies in agriculture.

f. Women share the decisions on household income and expenditure. Household income is controlled both by males and females equally, though it is mostly the men who make purchases in the bazar.

The decision on small household expenditure on items of daily purchase, such as food, clothing and durable and education and health are formally made by men but the suggestions to incur such expenses are invariable initiated by the women.

g. Decisions regarding small gifts and loans are almost entirely made by the women (88%).

h. Major domestic decisions, such as buying or selling land. investment expenditure, borrowing and the disposal of household resources such as grains, and the undertaking of entrepreneurial ventures are made by the males (65% by males, 24% by females and 10% jointly). But again the ideas are mostly suggested by women. Even when the men make the suggestion the women are invariably consulted. Women in fact generally prefer to keep a low profile and not reveal their influence directly; they prefer to operate under the shield of what appears to be male dominance. Men prefer the reverse.

The Society

10. Bulu is essentially a male-female dichotomous society but the male dominance is not as pronounced as in other dichotomous communities. Females share the power equally with males.

a. One of the main reasons for this is that there is relatively less emphasis in the society on the control of female sexuality and the importance of female purity and pollution, which is central to the ideological values of the Brahmans and Chetris and among the high caste Newars.

b. The Newars of Bulu show a high degree of tolerance in deviations in the performance of rituals. There is a minimum of ritual associated with female purity, pollution, and marriage. Even the prepuberty ritual of ihii, which is said (Allen 1975) to have been developed to soften the behavioural implications of the ideological importance of female purity and to tolerate to deviations from it, is not observed. This is mainly due to the relative freedom of sexuality of women as well as of men - and is also a reflection of the poor economic condition of the households.

11. There is considerable freedom for women in the choice of spouses, marriage, divorce and remarriage.

a. The majority of marriages take place as the choice of or with the consent of the bride or bridegroom (78% for males and 65% for females).

b. Elopement is the most prevalent form of marriage and is a safety valve from inflation and soaring prices which make villagers unable to cope with the heavy expenditure involved in traditional marriage.

c. 17.4 percent of the females are remarried, 13 percent in their second marriage and 4.4 percent in their fourth marriage. The adoption of children by a woman in a previous marriage into the household of a subsequent marriage is socially fully acceptable.

d. Divorce is simple. Of the 60 marriages terminated 53 percent ended by elopement or desertion.

e. There is no social stigma in divorce for a man or woman, and women are even encouraged to refrain from having children soon after marriage in order to make it easier for them to leave the husband and find another if the marriage does not suit them. Of all marriages ended by desertion or elopement, 78 percent were ended on the initiative of the woman.

12. The people in Bulu organize themselves in kinship or dewali groups at the familial level and in guthi systems at the community level. Within their social structure they show a great deal of adaptability and flexibility. An example of this is the way step-children from a different dewali group are accepted as ritual members of the dewali group into which their mother has married.

13. Within the social structure women emerge as dominant and powerful characters. Women often turn out to be the main cause

of splits in the dewali groups.

14. The nuclear family is the most common family structure and wives are the main initiators in the breaking of the extended family into nuclear units. A daughter-in-law does not tolerate much interference from her mother-in-law or senior members of the family.

15. One of the most important factors which gives the women their independence is the tremendous support they receive from their natal home (thaache). The unquestioning moral, financial and emotional support is remarkable. It is always there to support her and always gives her an alternative whenever the circumstances elsewhere, mainly in her husband's house, are not in her favour. This possible alternative also balances the power structure in her husband's family and in her relationship and her behaviour to her husband.

16. Although Bulumis are Hindu, their norms, values and ideals of the female are quite different from those of the "Hindu woman".

There are therefore, not the same sexual stereotypes in Bulu. For a woman to be from a reputable family, or to be beautiful is of no value to men or women compared to her capacity for hard work. It is almost outside the realm of possibility for a Bulumi that a woman should not have to work and there is no household that could support a non-working woman.

17. The life of a woman is not centered around fertility and motherhood. It is important, but not crucial, for a couple to have children, and separation does not take place because there are no children.

18. The socialization process is such that from early on children are exposed to the realities of their life. They mix freely with both sexes and all ages and are sheltered from little. They are given responsibilities and are exposed to the discipline of participation in household work in which they become apprentices of their parents until they are absorbed into the society as fully contributing members.

19. Women participate minimally in the public sphere of activities. They are either unaware of or apathetic to politics such as the panchayat.

a. Women's passivity in out village politics contrasts strikingly with their awareness and participation, either directly or indirectly, in domestic and community level politics.

b. They show no interest in the female representative of the panchayat, most (85%) had never spoken to her.

c. Although 79 percent had voted none had participated in local panchayat meetings, and most were unwilling to accept nomination to the village panchayat.

d. Very few women were aware of the existence of the various women's institutions, such as Nepal Women's Organization (NWO), Women's Services Coordination Committee (WSCC), the Women's Affairs Training Center (WATC). Women have no access to skill training.

20. Women are completely aware of those matters that concern them directly. Almost all the women are well informed of the legal provisions in both customary law and the National Code.

The Status of the Women of Bulu

Women of Bulu are forceful and assertive and exercise their "power" and influence in the community to further their own interests and make decisions in their own favour. Their power and influence in the community is not recognised, however, as legitimate authority in the society, and they operate behind the man under the shield of his social dominance, both in the familial as well as in the economic spheres. Even women themselves admit it and point out that it is the men who are the actors and performers, although women are the initiators. In the power structure there are certain variables in some spheres which support the assertiveness of women and with this support they balance, consciously or unconsciously, the greater power of men in other spheres. In the accepted definition of power and authority (Sandy 1976:190), the women of Bulu have the power and not the authority which in certain spheres is recognised and in others it is not.

Three underlying factors emerge to explain the relatively high status of the women in this community.

First the support system from her thaache (natal home), which is built in within the community, puts a woman in a strong bargaining position. Her thaache provides an unfailing protection and represents her interests in all times of need,

giving her strong moral and financial backing, and independence from her husband and his family. This kind of protection and representation of women's interests is similar to that of Sandy's "female solidarity groups" among some African communities as an important indicator of women's status (1974:192-202). But the structure of the support system is different, in that thaache support is family based with emotional attachment, whereas the solidarity group is a formalised community organization of a group of women.

This parental support system is also found in upper and middle class Newar families but it does not form the basis of women's power structure to the extent that it does in the Newar community of Bulu. For the upper or middle class Newar woman her natal home does provide an escape from her husband's home during times of quarrels or unpleasantness with her in-laws or with the husband, but ultimately, knowing that she must return to the husband's house because there are no other options for her, it is only a temporary sanctuary. The cultural practice and the ideological value system among the upper and middle class Newars are linked to the accepted norms of Hindu religious ideology which presents an essential duality (Wadley 1977:113-125, Bennett 1977) of the 'woman'. On one hand is "power", benevolent love, represented by mothers and sisters, and on the other is "danger" portrayed by the wife. Within these ideological values women have less power and socially her status is low. Freedom in marriage and sex is limited in these societies, and elopement is looked down upon. The natal home in these societies does not support the idea of the woman leaving the husband, in fact it is totally opposed to the idea, and she is advised to be docile and tolerant "like the mother earth" and return to her husband. In Bulu these ideological values, or cultural practices, are not found. A woman has alternatives, options. If she chooses not to go back to the husband her parents support and protect her until she chooses to join another man, or until she succeeds in getting her husband to act the way that is acceptable to her. The community recognises her freedom to marry whom, when and how she wishes.

A second variable which contributes towards the relatively high status of women is the socialization process of girls. Girls mix freely with boys, and, though they focus their time on different things and are apprenticed from an early age in "female activities" they participate with boys on an equal footing. They learn to respect and look up to their elders, just as boys do, and they listen to the talk, gossip and joking of men and women together. This leads to a generally positive self-image.

The third variable is the minimisation of ritual relative to other Newar societies. Upper and middle class Newars and, to a lesser extent perhaps, the urban Jyapus of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Patan, observe complex rituals related to religious beliefs, norms and ideals. This means, for example, that in these societies the concepts of "purity" and "pollution" are reflected in the social life of women and prohibit her from certain activities, and that marriage ceremonies involve complex exchanges of money. In Bulu, which is a homogeneous community, economically, socially and culturally, living at subsistence level, the pressure simply to get enough to live on and the absence of any dominant group to impose the observation of ritual seem to have led to a society where ritual which specifically affects women is relatively unimportant.

Women cannot be spared from their work in the house or the fields to observe the menstrual "pollution" period, marriages can no longer be performed in the traditional expensive style because of poverty and inflation. This means that women are relatively less bound and that their position balances more with that of men. They work when there is work to be done, not when they are free from "pollution"; they can leave their husband when they are dissatisfied with their marital situation because the dissolution of a marriage is simple, and they can marry another man because re-marriage is simple.

These variables, together with the labour input that all women make to the household, ensure that they have a powerful and independent, though interdependent, place within the community of Bulu. But, they are largely isolated from the world outside their community by self-imposed restraints, and they choose in general to have a low profile vis-a-vis men which further cuts them off from outside contacts. Their status as such within the society is not the hindrance to a better life, but rather the lack of incentives, lack of opportunities and heavy demands on their time.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In the context of women constituting half the population of the rural areas and being the main contributors and producers in the rural household economy, the country cannot afford to leave them out of the mainstream of development. The haphazard manner, so far, on the part of both the government and other institutions to "involve" women in the "process of development" is essentially ignoring the productive forces of woman-power in

the economy. As the economy of the country is a "collection" or "aggregation" of "village economies" (HMG 1980), it is all the more reason why they have to be integrated, rather than merely "involved" in the development of the country. The Sixth Plan approach to increase women's participation in development by undertaking additional programmes in agriculture in order to increase agricultural production and agricultural productivity is a wrong one.*

Re-emphasizing the recommendation put forth by Pradhan and Acharya (1980:8,9), the approach to integration of women in the overall development process has to take the form of the specific target group approach. Although the general target group approach to development of "small farmers" or "rural poor" does not exclude women, the "trickling down" or "trickling up" effect is not likely to work in the development programmes of the household economy, any more than it has worked in the larger context of the rich and the poor. It has become evident that women are the center of subsistance production and decision-making in the rural household. Any development strategy emphasizing the subsistance sector would necessarily have to intervene in the domain of women as they are the predominant participants in this sector. If this is not done then there will be a negative impact of development on women, as has been shown in a number of cross cultural studies (Kandiyoti 1977; Chinchilla 1977). Women's roles have already started to be reduced under the impact of development in Nepal.

2. As a part of the target group approach, sectoral allocation of investments must be made for males and females in each of the sectors. Each of these sectors must have specific targets of employment, delivery of inputs and services, extension programmes and recruitment for training etc.

3. At ministerial level within the sectorial allocation specific programmes for women must be identified, developed, and designed. As an interim strategy specific programmes in the form of projects have to be undertaken to mobilize and encourage women to participate in overall development.

4. Although full integration must remain a long term objective, any successful development strategy must incorporate

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*See for details, HMG Sixth Five Year Plan Part 3 Chapter 16. The plan mentions nothing about "how", "in what way" and "what kind of" programmes will be undertaken.

special separate programmes for women as an interim step towards achieving the ultimate goal of integrating women fully into the development process. Women participate minimally in politics and are apathetic towards government undertakings, and specific programmes must be instituted in the rural areas, according to available local resources and local skills, to draw them into the mainstream on an equal footing with men. As it stands now, if general development programmes are launched the total benefit will go to men because at this point the relationship of men and women to their environment is unequal.

Women are at a disadvantage from the point of view of educational attainment, of their heavy work burden and of self imposed restraints. These restraints arise from social attitudes towards women, such that in many communities in Nepal, less so in Bulu than some others, it is not acceptable for women to participate in matters outside the family, and even less acceptable to participate side by side with men.

5. As farm production is the overwhelmingly dominant sector in the household economy the first intervention strategy has to be in this direction. The section on women in the Sixth Plan (1981) lays down the policy that women's participation in development will be increased through "additional" programmes in agriculture in order to increase agricultural production. But in the Agricultural Section in the Draft Plan it says nothing about how, which, and in what way these "additional" programmes are to be set up.

If women are to participate in agriculture, they have to be integrated in the agricultural programmes of the country and made priority groups within the programmes as has been done for small farmers and the "deprived". Budgetary allocations have to be made for them in each of the programmes. For instance, small farmers have been made a priority group to receive agricultural loans but nothing has been said in the plan about loans for women. In addition to general policy, specific intervention programmes have to be undertaken according to the specific areas of women's involvement such as:

a. In line with the findings of this study intervention programmes on vegetable cultivation for women should be undertaken on a farming scale as an income earning activity for women. There should be concentrated training, inputs and credit facilities for women for vegetable cultivation. This has also seen suggested by Calkins (1976) in a study made in Trisuli, Nepal.

b. Seed selection and storing is an important operation in the agricultural process and determines the output of the following year, so special training should be organised for women on seed selection.

c. As most of the decisions on the use and application of manure are undertaken by women they must be set as a priority group in receiving training or information on any new technologies in fertilizers.

d. Women must also be set as a priority group in credit schemes for agricultural loans.

6. Because of the high participation of women and children in animal husbandry, women's involvement in it must be encouraged by making available to them feed supplies and marketing facilities for livestock products. Development of livestock has a very close interdependent relationship with forestry, fodder and arable crop (World Bank 1978:2-6). With planned livestock development programmes women can make significant contributions towards raising the nutritional level of the household. At the same time the additional manure will increase food crop output and household production and the sale of milk and milk products could increase household income.

7. Employment outside agriculture must also be created for women in cottage industries such as weaving, carpet making, basket making etc. Such programmes must be designed according to local skills and availability of resources.

8. Nepal has a great cultural and geographical diversity which must be taken into account in designing all programmes, including sectoral investment programmes for women. The local situation, skills, practices, and resources must be taken into account for any investment strategy.

9. The study shows that there is a lack of government sensitivity and failure of government to include social behaviour patterns in development planning. This has led to women being left out of the programmes and excluded from dissemination of information on new technologies. Government must be sensitive to such social and cultural behaviour when launching any development programmes.

10. The findings of the decision making process must be taken into account in framing development strategies and programmes.

11. Every programme and project in the rural economy must be designed to fit into the agricultural seasonal work schedule, and into the job allocations of the different age groups and the sexes, all of which show up clearly in the time allocation data of this study.

12. The definition of economic activities adopted in the census data reflects inadequately actual economic activities.* This again comes out clearly in the time allocation data. The conventional definition of "economic activity" and "labour force participation" fails to take into account the productive home economic activities of women. Excluding these activities from "economic activities" distorts the actual village employment situation. One of the errors made in the design of programmes in Nepal by various institutions, both government and non-government, is that they are based on the assumption that women have plenty of leisure. In order to bring out the actual situation and the realities of the rural economy there is a need to re-define "economic activity" in the collection and use of national census data. In addition to this, in absence of adequate data on women and their activities this aspect should be incorporated in the collection of national census data. Surveys conducted by various ministries and local department should also include information on women's relationship to the problems.

13. Economic activities re-defined to include home economic activities should be accounted in the national accounting system so that they are reflected in the G.D.P. of the country. This will show an increase in per capita income by the amount contributed by the household sector thereby indicating the cost aspect of it.

14. The high input of child labour and the contribution made by children, particularly girls, to household income reflect their high economic value. This has important policy implications. No matter what facilities of free schooling and books are offered, the villagers are unable to release their children for schooling under the present system. If educational opportunities are to be extended in the rural areas and female children are to be encouraged towards education, educational programmes have to be fitted into their work schedules. This may call for a change in school hours and instituting educational programmes locally.

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*This has been discussed in detail in the Background Report of this project by Acharya (1979).

15. This study shows that the various institutions concerning women, such as the Nepal Women's Organization (NWO), the Women's Affairs Training Center (WATC)*, the Mother's Club, have not developed a grassroots net-work adequate to reach rural women. This is clear from the ignorance about the existence of any of these institutions of the women of Bulu who have no access to any skill training programmes. It is important that these institutions develop their rural net-work. Appropriate programmes and action projects should be run by different women's organizations specifically for women, as they are a necessary complement to, though never a substitute for, involving women in rural development programmes.**

16. Action oriented research programmes on income generation for women should be carried out. Selection of such programmes have to be made on the basis of the ethnic and geographic features of each region of the country and tailored to the specific needs and resources of the community. It is proposed that such action programmes be initiated on an experimental basis or as pilot projects with close monitoring and impact evaluation so that in the process of implementation research feedback can be obtained. This kind of adaptive research coupled with action programmes can evolve practical and viable income generating programmes in the rural areas. Intervention programmes for the Newari women of Bulu should include weaving, agriculture, vegetable cultivation and animal husbandry.

17. One of the prerequisites to ensure proper implementation of rural development programmes is the development of appropriate institutions and organizations. Unless the bureaucratic institutions are conducive to the integration of women in the system, by evolving a system of delivering services simple enough to be understood by and accessible to the rural women, it is difficult to ensure that even the existing facilities and services will reach the women at large. Bureaucratic agencies are usually tradition oriented in their concepts about women. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the institutions or

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*WATC does have some grassroot networks for carrying out field training programmes with four regional centres in the four development regions. The details on institutions on women have been discussed thoroughly in the Background Report in this project (see Pradhan: 1979).

**See Pradhan (1979) for further discussion of existing programmes and recommendations.

government agencies charged with designing development programmes and providing services have never actually reached women at the grassroots. The same institutional frame-work and mechanism of delivering services to the well-off (who are rich, literate, aware) cannot be effective in reaching rural women any more than the rural poor (the targetted group of people who are poor, illiterate and unaware). Therefore, it is essential that appropriate institutions and organizations are developed specifically for rural women, or alternatively that the existing bureaucratic institutions evolve a system of delivering services simple enough to be understood by and accessible to rural women. If not development will by-pass the rural areas, particularly women.

18. To ensure the participation of women in local decision-making processes and in village development, group formations of village women (membership also open to males) at the local level have to be organised to undertake ventures for ensuring women's participation. In such group formation the role of different women's organizations looms large, in fact, they should direct their efforts towards this. In the long run such groups can become pressure groups to further the interests of women.*

19. Women and children are one of the factors in destruction of forest trees and plants, but they have not been fully considered in programmes related to forestry. It is important that women and children (of 10-14 years) receive appropriate informal training and dissemination of information on forest maintenance.

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*The concept of pressure groups have been recommended by Pradhan and Acharya (1977:15).

APPENDIX A

DIVISION OF LABOUR

Code

+ = Activity usually performed by this category of persons

S = Activity sometimes performed by this category of persons

0 = Activity rarely or never performed by this category of persons

Activity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Seasonal Variations
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY					
Herding	S	S	S from 5-6 yrs.	+ from 5-6 yrs.	
Care and feeding of animals in compound (Bigger animals like buffalo and cows)	+	+	S	+	
Fodder Collection	0	S	S	+	
Castration/Breeding	0	0	0	0	
Shearing	0	+	0	S from the age of 12 yrs.	
Milking	+	0	0	0	+ women
Butchering	+	0	0	0	

Activity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Seasonal Variations
AGRICULTURE					
Land preparation:					In the absence of a man it is performed by women or by hired labour
Ploughing	+	0	0	0	
Beating the clods	S	+	0	0	
Fetching water	+	0	0	0	
Terrace up-keep and repair of irrigation channels	+	0	0	0	If the men do not go women do
Collection and preparation of organic fertilizer	S	+	0	S from 12 yrs.	
Carrying + Spreading Fertilizer:	+	+	0	0	
Organic	+	+	0	0	
Chemical	+	S	0	0	+ If men are absent
Planting Operations:					
Seed bed preparation	+	+	0	0	
Sowing	0	+	0	+ from 15 yrs.	
Transplanting	0	+	0	S from the age of 12 yrs.	
Weeding	S	+	0	S	
Irrigation	+	S	0	0	+ women if men are absent

Activity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Seasonal Variations
Harvesting:					
Cutting/Bundling	+	+	0	0	+ women if men are absent
Drying crop residue	S	+	0	0	From family labour or gwali
Storing or bagging grain	0	+	0	0	Men do in the absence of women
Threshing/Cleaning grain	0	+	0	S from the age of 15 yrs.	In absence of men hired man labour
Threshing paddy	+	S	0	0	
Threshing wheat	S	+	0	0	
Kitchen gardening	0	+	0	5-6 yrs. watering	
Seed selection and storage	0	+	0	0	
Guarding/Protection of crops	+	+	S from the age of 15 yrs.	0	
HUNTING & GATHERING					
Hunting	0	0	0	0	
Fishing	0	0	0	0	
Gathering materials for craft production	+	0	0	0	

Activity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Seasonal Variations
Gathering wild edible food	0	0	0	0	
Collection of medicinal herbs	0	0	0	0	
Other hunting/ gathering fuel	S	S	S	+	
MANUFACTURING					
Cloth making	S	+	0	0	
Rope/Basketry/Mats	+	+	0	0	
Making + Repair of Tools + Utensils	0	0	0	0	
Leather work	0	0	0	0	
Sewing	+	S	0	0	
Other manufacturing					
FOOD PROCESSING					
Threshing:					
Paddy	+		0	0	
Wheat		+	0	0	
Winnowing	0	+	0	0	
Husking	0	+	0	0	
Drying	0	+	0	0	
Roasting	0	+	0	0	
Grinding	S	+	0	0	
Chiura making	0	+	0	S 10 yrs.	

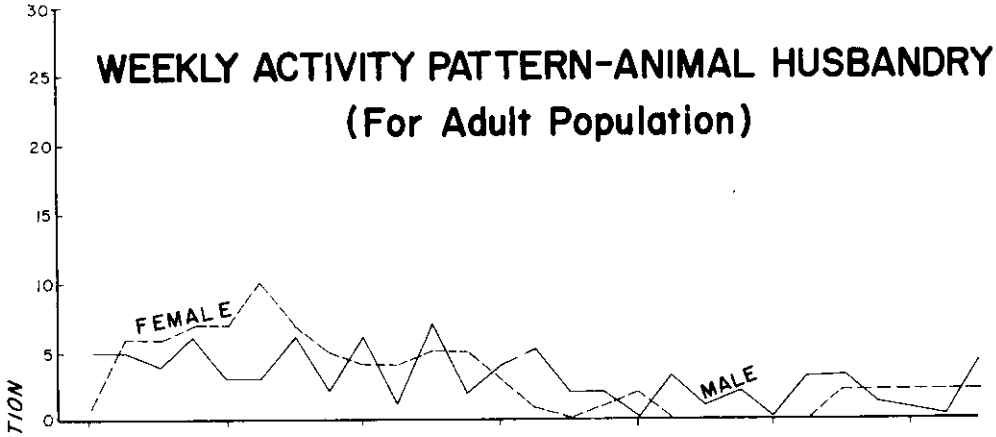
Activity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Seasonal Variations
Oil Pressing	0	0	0	0	
Liquor making	0	+	0	0	
Making of dried foods + pickles	0	+	0	0	
Preparation of dairy products, curd	+	0	0	0	Women do so only in the absence of men
Other food processing					
HOUSE WORK Cooking/Serving	S	+	0	+ 8-10 yrs.	
Cleaning dishes and pots	0	+	0	S 8-10 yrs.	
Cleaning house/ mud plastering	0	+	0	S 8-10 yrs.	
Washing clothes	0	+	0	S 8-10 yrs.	
Fetching or preparing fuel	S	+	+	+	
Gathering wood	+	S	S	S	
Chopping wood	+	S	0	0	
Making dung cakes	0	S	0	S	
Fetching water	0	+	0	+ from the age of 8 yrs.	

Activity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Seasonal Variations
Going to the bazaar for shopping:					
Small necessities	+	+	+	+	
Major purchases	+	S	0	0	
Other house work	S	+	S	+	
CONSTRUCTION					
Building and repairing house	+	0	0	0	
Construction + repair of compound, field walls etc.	+	0	0	0	
Well digging	+	0	0	0	
Construction of dhiki, mills	+	0	0	0	
Other construction					
Brick making	+	S	0	0	
INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITY					
Wage labour:					
Agricultural	+	+	0	S	
Other	+	S	0	0	
Trade/Business	+	0	0	0	
Hotel/Teashop,etc.	+	S	0	0	
Jhankri/Priest					
Other indigeneous healers	+	+	0	0	

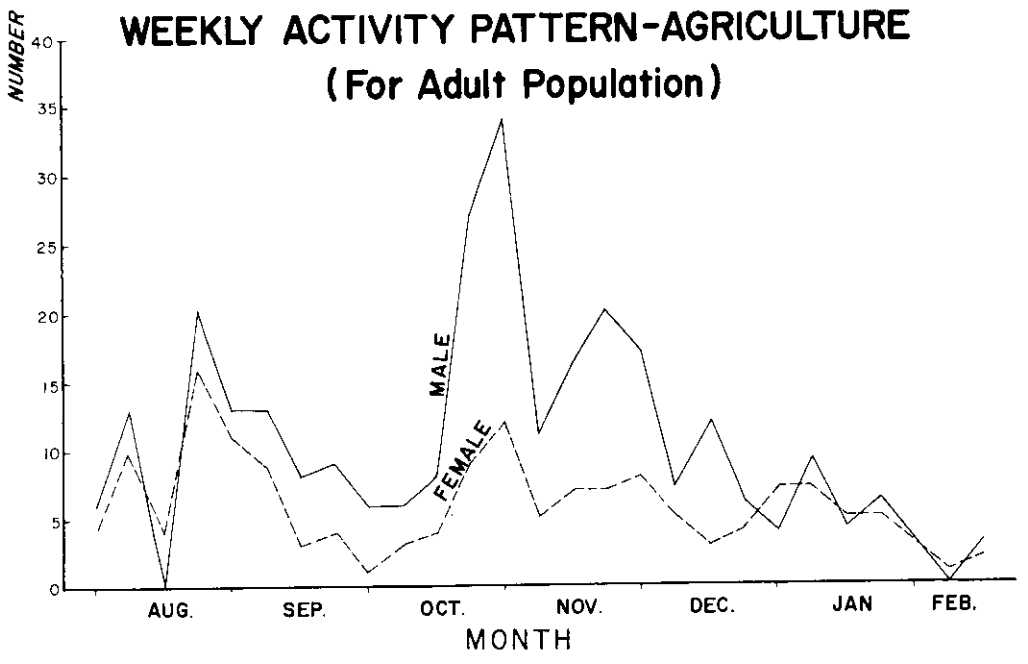
Photo by: Jaya Roy

Appendix B.

NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

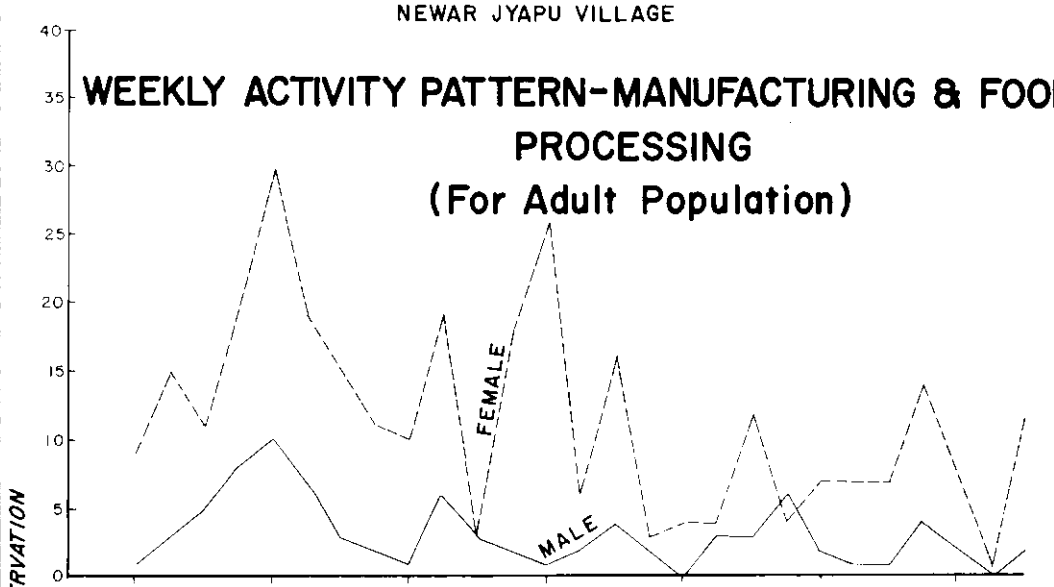


Appendix C.

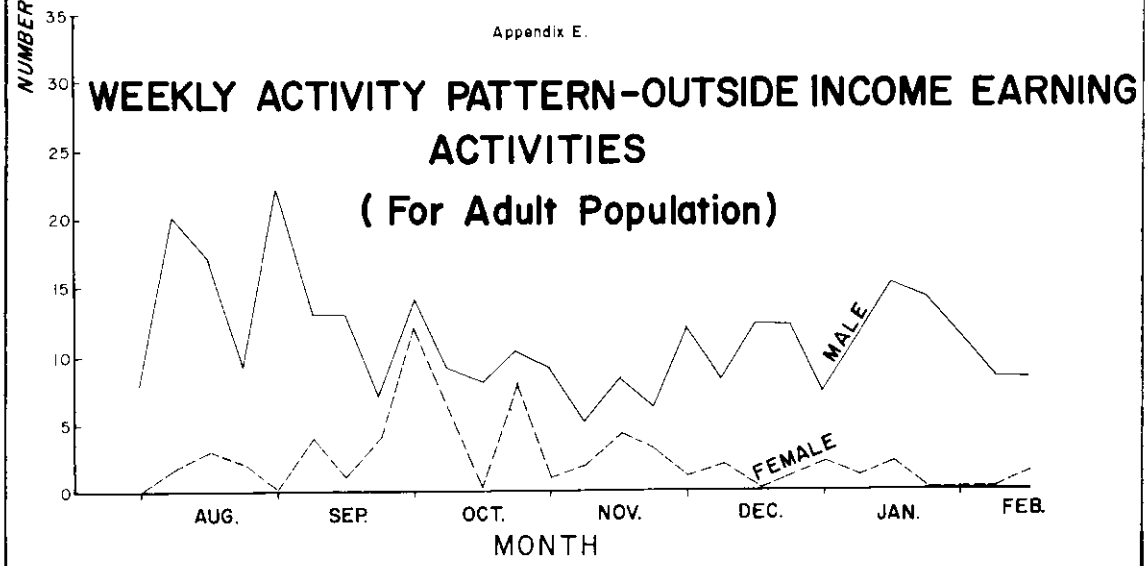


Appendix D.

NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE



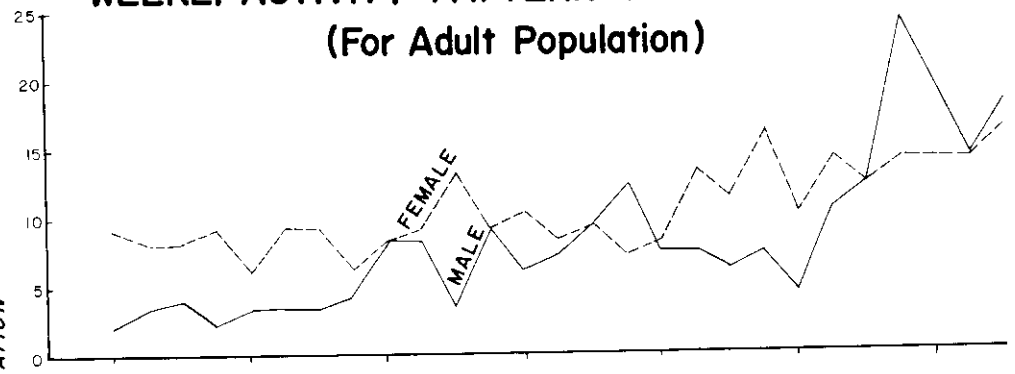
Appendix E.



Appendix F.

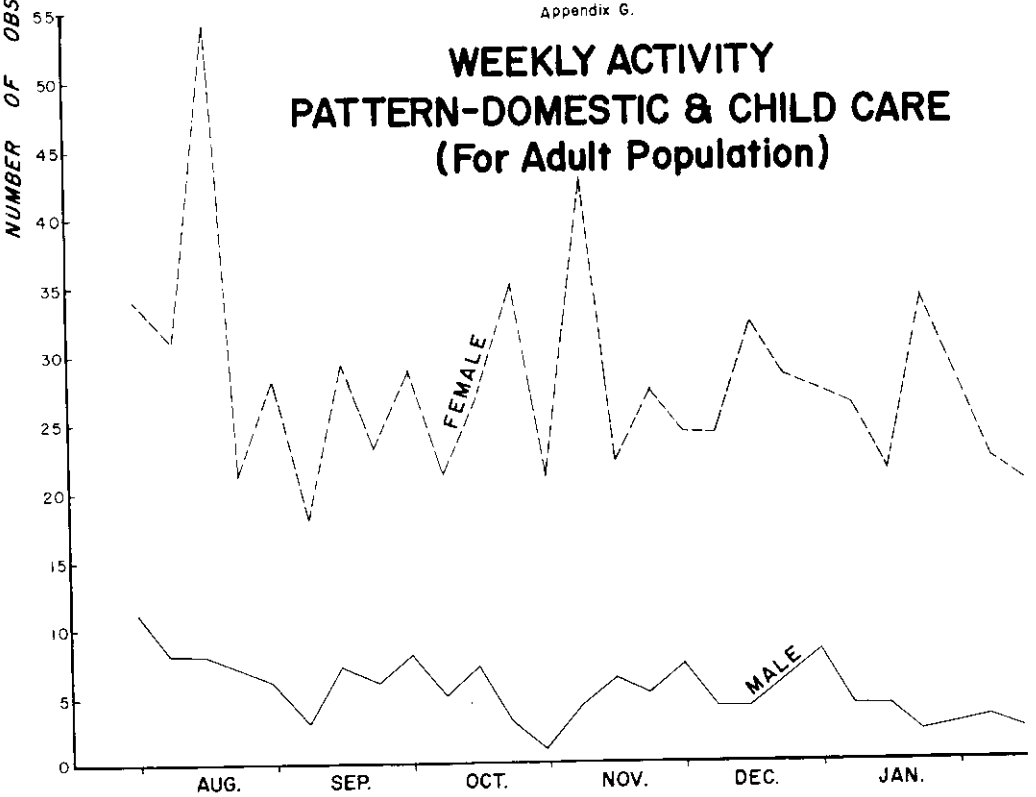
NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-OUT OF VILLAGE
(For Adult Population)



Appendix G.

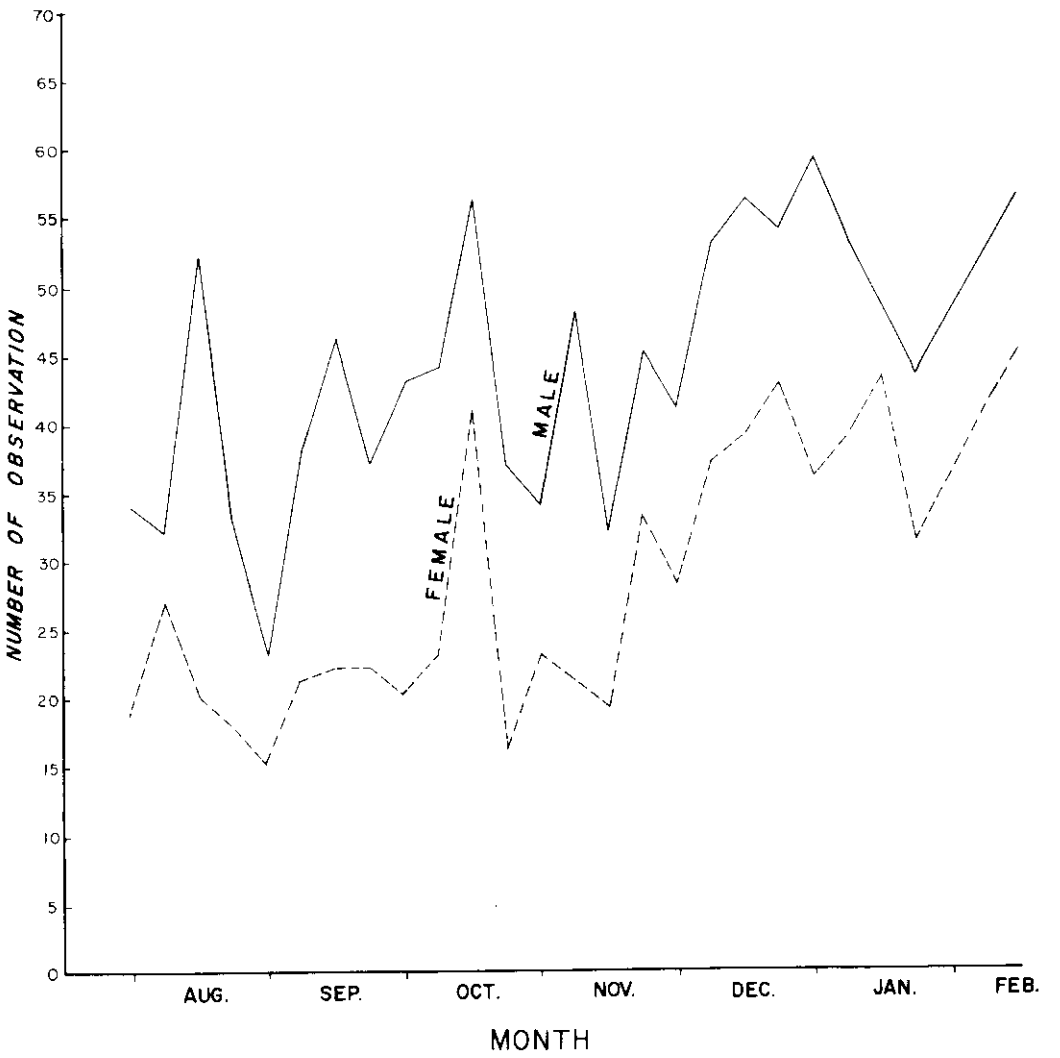
WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-DOMESTIC & CHILD CARE
(For Adult Population)



Appendix H.

NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

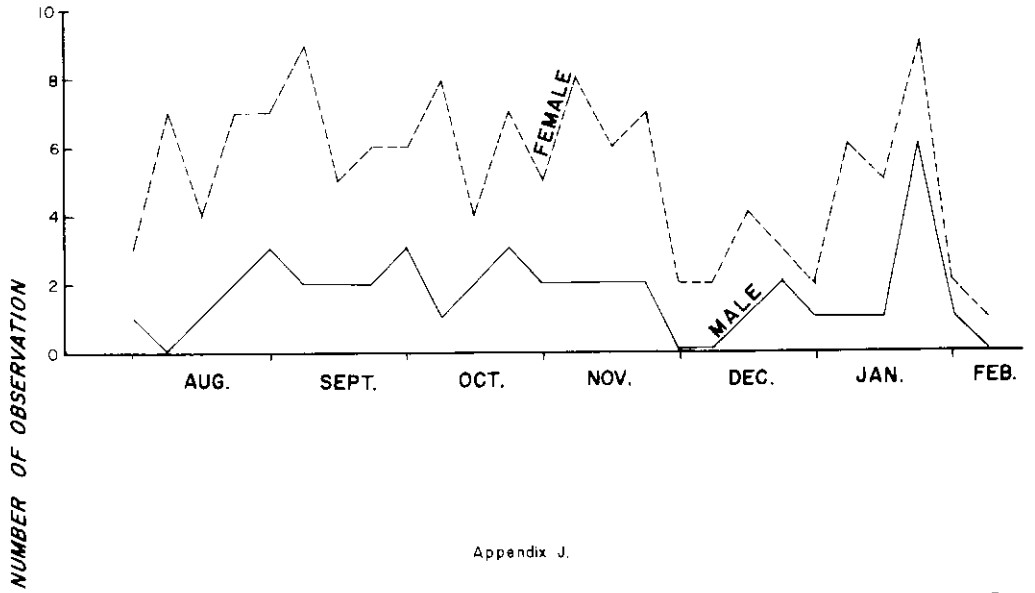
WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN – LEISURE
(For Adult Population)



Appendix I.

WEEKLY PATTERN OF ACTIVITIES- ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

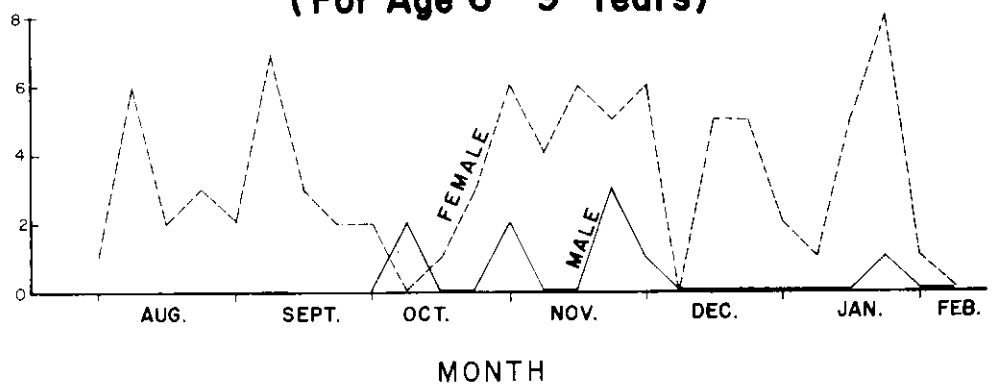
(For Age 10–14 Years)



Appendix J.

WEEKLY PATTERN OF ACTIVITIES-ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

(For Age 6–9 Years)



MONTH

GLOSSARY*

All words are Newari except those marked Nepali

aelāā	=	liquor
ajimā	=	female deity for protection
bāārāā	=	12 days seclusion
bāārāā cwanegu	=	goes into seclusion with onset of menstruation
bāārāā lāegu	=	kept in seclusion before onset of menstruation
bāhāā	=	conveyance
baji	=	beaten rice
Bajrabārāhi (Nep.)	=	deity in the incarnation of a wild boar
bā phukii	=	split relation of brothers
beekegu	=	purification ritual
bhāāta	=	husband
bhāāta pini gu che	=	husband's house
bhwachii	=	all members of the family
bhwapāā	=	invitation for the whole family
bulmi yā jātrā	=	festival of the people of Bulu
bwalā	=	labour exchange system
bwasi khalaa	=	group of families with profession of carpentry
chaitayā jātrā	=	festival in the month of Chait (March-April)

*The romanisation of Newari is that used by Iswarananda Shresthacharya (1976).

che taagaa = old type of handloom

chwaelā bhuu = initiation ritual in the dewali or guthi

chyames (Nep.) = low caste

cirmaa = step-mother or mother's younger sister

cwāsa = funeral pit

cyaku = eighth rank member in the dewali

daijo (Nep.) = gift to the bride at marriage

darā bhata = husband's elder brother

degu dyaa = ancestral deity

degu khyaa = place where the dewali is held

degu pujā = annual family get together to perform puja or cult of ancestral worship

desi tān = handloom

dewaa = special cover for the deceased (shroud)

dewali (Nep.) = lineage group (Newari: degu pujā)

dhārni = weight (2.4 kgs)

doko (Nep.) = basket made of bamboo

dutiyegu = special ritual observed to confer membership in the dewali

dyaa khaa = chariot for the deity

dyaa mai = women possed by the goddess Ajimā

ekadasi (Nep.) = eleventh day of the lunar month

garbha sudha (Nep.) = purification of womb

gathāā muga = festival that opens a series of festivals

ghyaacāku saalhuu = first day of Magha

guthī = philanthropic institution

guthiyār = members of a guthi

gwāāli = help labour

hāsā = winnowing tray made of bamboo also used for cleaning rice and other grains

hukkā (Nep.) = hookah

ihii = symbolic ritual marriage for girls

iicā = sickle

janai (Nep.) = sacred thread

jhāraeyāegu = indigenous method of healing

jātrā = festival; chariot festival

jyālā = wage labour

kacā = black soil

kaetā pujā = ritual initiation of boys (lit. loin-cloth worship)

karnāmaya = goddess of grains (Nep. Machendra Nath)

keba = garden or backyard

khatāā mugaa = agricultural equipment for breaking earth clods

khuku = sixth rank member of dewali

kijā bhata = husband's younger brother

kijā pujā = worship of brothers

kukiicā = agricultural instrument used for digging around plants

kulwa = canal

kuu = hoe

kwapu khalaa = group of families residing towards the end of the village

kwasa = gift to the bride at marriage

lakha bwa = land with easy access to water

lakha biyegu = a special sweetmeat given as a token of invitation at marriage

lami = negotiator of wedding, mediator

lasakusa = welcome accorded to the new bride

māāpinigu che = home

mahader guthi = philanthropic institution

mantra (Nep.) = sacred prayer

mokichaya =

muri (Nep.) = volume of measurement (49.9 kgs)

muujātrā = the main festival

mwahani = love spell

nakii = female head or leader

nāyaa = male head or leader

nhāekuu = seventh rank member of the dewali

niphāku = less

nwaku = second rank member of the dewali

nyāku = fifth rank member of the dewali

nyāphāku = more elaborate form of traditional marriage

pāā = turn

pāā (or pāhāā) = guest

pāālāā = one who takes the turn

pākhā bwa = dry land (Nep. pako)

pāpā = sweetmeat

parbate (Nep.) = people from the hills

parsi mugaa = bundle of sari folds

pāsāpinigu che = friend's house

pāthi (Nep.) = volume of measurement of grains (2.49 kilos)

peku = fourth rank member of the dewali

phukii = blood relationship of brothers

pini = possessive plural suffix

pujā samagri = materials required for religious performance

puni = full moon

pwaa = low caste

ropani (Nep.) = measurement of land (.051 hectares)

saalhnu guthī = guthi to celebrate and worship the karnāmaya deity on the first day of the lunar calendar

sanāā or siguthī = guthi relating to funeral rites

sataa = community building (Nep. pati)

Shivapur = place of the deity Shiva or Mahadev

siikayā bhuu = ritual feast

sitinakha = an annual festival

swaku = third rank member of the dewali group

taajaa khalaa = dewali group with large number of families

tatā bhata or tāā bhata = husband's elder sister

thaache = natal home

thakali = head of the family or organisation

thwa = rice beer

thyākamachā = children of a woman from a previous marriage

tij (Nep.) = special festival of females

waa = pancake made of pulses

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