

THE RURAL WOMEN OF NEPAL

An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of 8 Village Studies

by
MEENA ACHARYA
and LYNN BENNETT



THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN NEPAL

volume II part 9

**THE RURAL WOMEN OF NEPAL:
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SUMMARY OF 8 VILLAGE STUDIES**



The Status of Women in Nepal

Volume II: FIELD STUDIES

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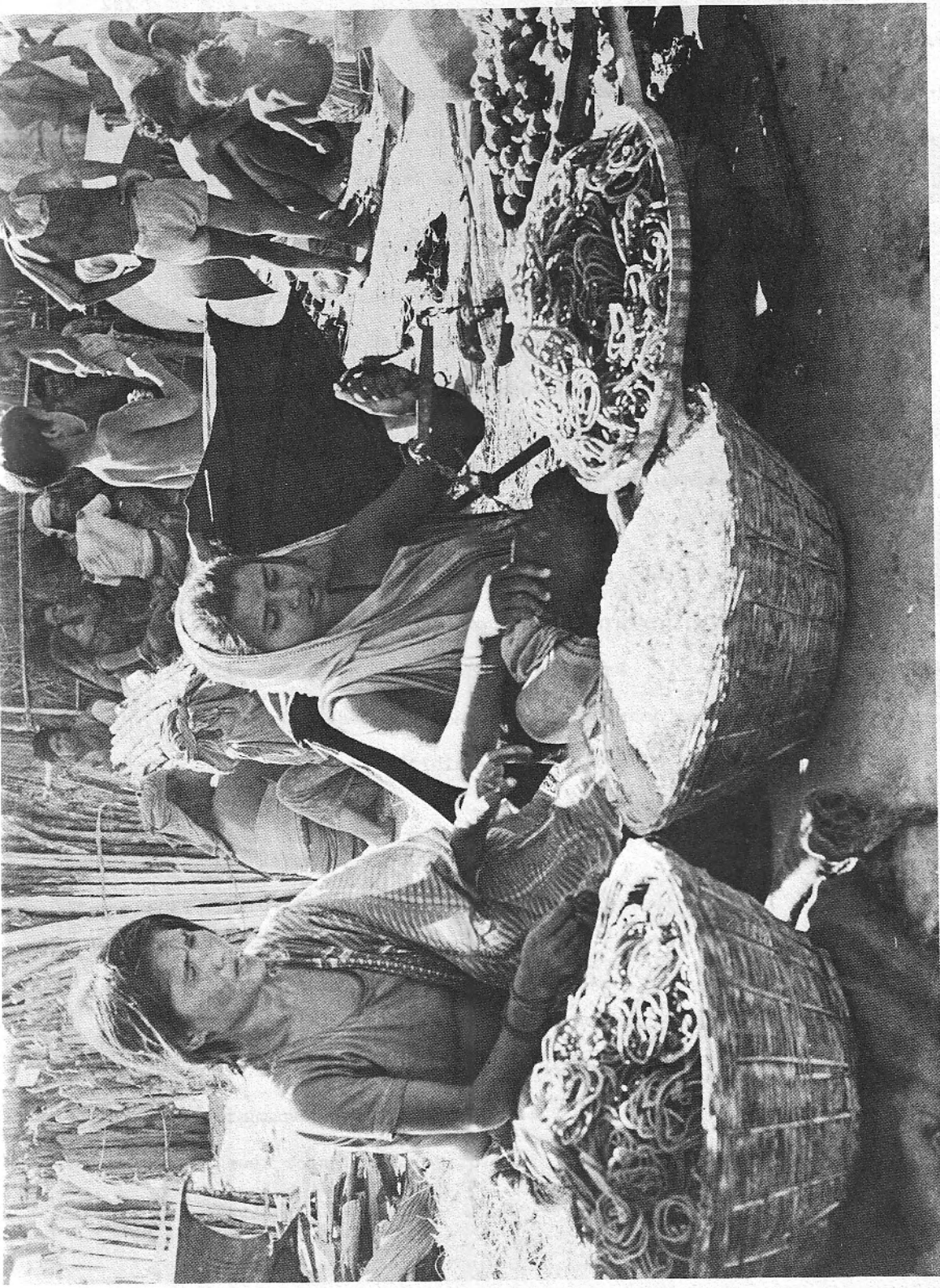
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A Hill woman and a local Terai woman form a partnership to sell sweets in the weekly haat bazaar.

Nirmal Tuladhar

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 the 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 I (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:

<u>Region/District</u>	<u>Community</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
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, Chetri, and low caste Sarki)	Lynn Bennett
5. Western High Mountains (Mustang)	Baragaonle (Tibetan-Speaking People)	Sidney Schuler
6. Eastern Middle Hills (Sankhuwa Sabha)	Lohorung 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 field-work.

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

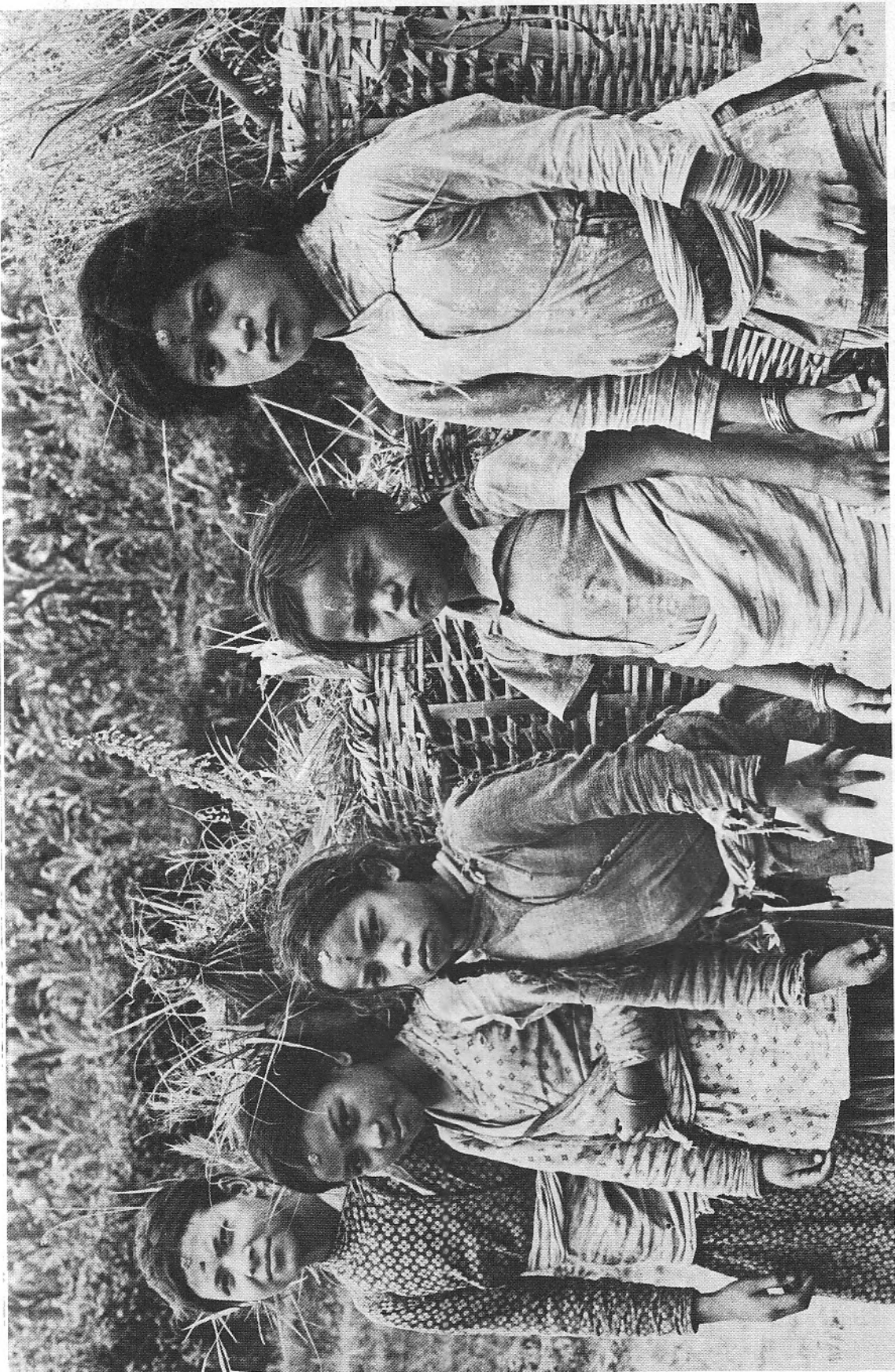
Phase II findings and provide guidelines for a National Plan of Action to increase both the productivity and the status of Nepalese women.

It is our sincere hope that this pioneer research work on the 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



Girls start a life of work at an early age.

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 interdisciplinary 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 (WSSC). 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 is duly acknowledged. Mr. Govinda Sharma, Mr. Vishnu Nepal and Mr. Bishnu Bhakta Shrestha helped in 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 are 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 of 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 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



AUTHORS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We would like to acknowledge the contribution of the National Computer Center (NCC) in Nepal and the Council for Social Development (CSD) and the Consyst Group of New Delhi, India for their assistance in the data processing. In particular we owe our thanks to Mr. Narendra Shrestha who oversaw the data editing process and above all to Mr. Venketaramani whose efforts to get our computer results under the most difficult circumstances went far beyond his contractual responsibilities.

For their invaluable assistance in the collection of the time allocation data and the other quantitative data during the field work period we would like to acknowledge our research assistants, Ms. Manju Saha who worked in Sirsia and Mr. Bishnu Bhakta Shrestha who worked in Bakundol. We also owe our gratitude to the research assistants who assisted our colleagues in their respective research sites. To our colleagues themselves who carried out the primary research in six of the eight villages and worked with us in designing the methodology, to Augusta Molnar, Bina Pradhan, Drone Rajaure, Charlotte Hardman, Indira Shrestha and

Sidney Schuler, the magnitude of our appreciation for their support can hardly be expressed. They were the core of the "Status of Women Team" without whom this volume would not have been possible.

The reader, noting the beautiful photographs interspersed throughout this volume and the other village monographs will join us in thanking Ane Haaland who documented six of the villages and Nirmal Tuladhar who took the photographs for Sirsia.

We would like to add our voices to Mr. Dhungana's words of thanks to our colleagues in CEDA and especially to Mr. Madhukar S.J.B. Rana, Mr. Sant Bahadur Gurung and Dr. Govind Ram Agrawal who as CEDA Directors during various stages of this project have assisted us in many ways. To Mr. Thomas Rose and Dr. Laurie Mailloux of the USAID Mission who worked so long and hard to bring about the publication of this study and entire Volume II series, we offer our sincere appreciation. Shiva Gautam's untiring efforts in co-ordinating the process of manuscript preparation are also greatly appreciated. A particularly warm and deeply felt thanks goes to the former Director of AID, Mr. Samuel Butterfield for his intellectual enthusiasm for the project and constant support of our efforts to achieve a quality product.

We would also like to thank the Nepal Rastra Bank for supporting the Status of Women project by releasing its officers to participate in this endeavor.

We are also greatly indebted to our excellent typists Mr. Ganesh Bahadur Pandey, Mr. Triratna Tuladhar and Mr. Badri Manandhar who were able to prepare the final manuscript and its many tables in record time. For the patient typing and re-typing of the many drafts we extend our thanks to Mr. Hari Rai, Mr. Dibya Giri and Mr. Prem Rai. We would also like to thank Ms. Elizabeth Gould for the long hours she spent editing this volume.

Lynn Bennett
Meena Acharya

April 1981

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The findings presented here are based on eight village studies conducted among the Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai, Kham Magar, Parbatiya (Brahman, Chetri and low caste Sarki), Newar (Jyapu), Tamang, Tharu and Maithili communities spread over each ecological zone and the breadth of Nepal.¹ Each study involved an integrated methodology combining qualitative data collection methods, quantitative surveys and a random hour observational time allocation study.²

While it is an injustice to the complexity and multiplicity of the factors affecting women's status in rural Nepal (detailed by the authors in each of the village monographs) and an extreme over-simplification of the aggregate data examined in this summary volume, a few outstanding conclusions from the village communities studied can be boldly stated here:³

1. At present rural women's total work burden is extremely high at an average of 10.81 hours per day compared to 7.51 hours per day for men. While our employment survey revealed that women had worked only 24.8 percent of the total person days of paid employment in the 8 village sample, this is not because women are under employed, but rather because they are primarily engaged in non-market subsistence production.
2. Rural Nepalese women not only contribute more time, but also generate more income than men to the total household economy (50 percent versus 44 percent with 6 percent contributed by children) even when conservative measures of income contribution based on actual household production rather than imputed wage rates are employed.

¹ See monographs in this series by A. Molnar, B. Pradhan, C. Hardman, D. Rajaure, I. Shrestha, L. Bennett, M. Acharya and S. Schuler.

² See Chapter I of this volume and the Field Manual: Guidelines for the Collection and Analysis of Data on the Status of Women in Rural Nepalese Communities prepared by the CEDA/Status of Women Project team, Centre for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, 1979 (Bound Mimeo).

³ See Chapter V of this volume for a more complete and detailed summary of findings.

3. Women are primarily responsible for the farm enterprise both in terms of labor contribution (9.91 hours versus 5.86 hours per day) and management decisions (which they make on their own in 42 percent of the cases while men do so in 28 percent) -- although there are some areas in which men play a dominant role, there are many times when decisions are a joint enterprise.
4. The outside world of government agencies, politics, the market economy, etc. is predominantly understood and controlled by men who spend more time and make more decisions in these spheres. Because of women's socialization, lack of control over productive resources and drastically lower levels of literacy (5 percent according to National survey; 9.4 percent as compared to 52.3 percent for males in the current sample), they related to this world and the entire development process mainly through the mediation of men.
5. There are significant variations between communities in the extent of women's participation in the wider market economy and the overall household decision-making process. These variations fall into a consistent pattern suggesting that women's household decision making input in a given community is directly related to the strength of the dichotomy between the "inside" private domestic sphere characterized as the proper domain of women and the "outside" male sphere of politics, commerce and wider public concerns. Women in those village communities characterized as highly dichotomous (based on cultural and economic criteria) including the Maithili and Parbatiya have considerably less decision making responsibility than those in communities characterized as non-dichotomous including the Lohorung Rai, Baragaonle and Kham Magar. The Newar, Tamang and Tharu fall between these two groups.
6. Female entrepreneurship and the cultural and economic conditions which foster it, appear to be among the most important factors affecting inter-community variation in women's status. Other variables consistently associated with higher female status were a high proportion of girls in school, later age of marriage, greater proximity of natal home and high female mobility.
7. Findings from all communities studied suggest that neither the cost of education nor the conservatism of the parents is the main cause for the significantly lower percentages of female enrollment encountered in the

sample villages. Rather it is the family's dependence on girl's labor at home and in the fields that is the primary reason given for keeping girls out of school. This is supported by the time allocation data which show that girls begin working longer hours than boys from age five and by the time they reach the 10 - 14 age group their work burden is 7.31 hours per day -- nearly equal to that of an adult male. However, because much of their time is spent in the relatively unproductive task of animal herding, children in this age group contribute only 6 percent of the household income.

8. In none of the communities studied do women ordinarily have formal ownership or legal control over productive resources, despite their greater contribution to the economy. Although, throughout Nepal there are cultural norms that provide some sort of long term security for women (and almost invariably encourage high fertility), they are subject to considerable individual variation, leaving women in all communities less secure than men and more vulnerable to loss of their basic subsistence requirements.
9. The age of marriage is increasing. Remarriage is fairly common among all groups at 16 percent for women and 30.5 percent for men. The greater economic independence of women from the Baragaonle, Rai and Magar communities and their greater freedom of choice in marriage partners is not accompanied by higher marital instability. In these villages only 15 percent of the women have been married more than once. Instead, contrary to expectation, the highest percentages of second marriages were found among the Newar Jyapu (24.4 percent) and the Tamang (36.2 percent) -- the two Tibeto-Burman speaking groups most strongly influenced by Indo-Aryan culture which generally discourages remarriage even in the case of widowhood.
10. Women's roles in subsistence agriculture and the market economy, including their considerable decision making responsibilities, are not reflected in any development agency strategies for extension, training, credit, employment, etc. Instead these strategies are targeted almost exclusively toward men, resulting not only in a failure to mobilize the full productive potential of women, but in the tendency to actually lower their relative status by not reaching through the inside/outside dichotomy to draw women into the highly complex and increasingly important structures of the development process and the wider spheres of society.

Recommendations

1. Targeted Integration: To fully mobilize women in the development process and provide them increasing (rather than the current decreasing) opportunity to lead secure productive lives, women should be specifically targeted with in each development sector.
2. Access to Productive Resources and Employment: To increase women's access and security of control over productive resources and employment, policies and programs should:
 - (a) educate rural communities regarding women's present legal rights over movable property,
 - (b) give top priority to generating non-agricultural income sources for women,
 - (c) modify credit procedures specifically for women to eliminate discriminatory land based collateral requirements,
 - (d) take into account present work burdens and labor availability by emphasizing increased efficiency and economic productivity and allowing for seasonal fluctuations, and
 - (e) make equal land inheritance a long term goal.
3. Training, Extension and Functional Adult Education: In order to deal with the problems raised by the inside/outside dichotomy, special efforts to involve women in all kinds of training and extension are required. These include: (a) the paramount need to recruit culturally appropriate local women, (b) amending present educational requirements for extension personnel, (c) relying mostly on mobile training units that conduct training in the village, (d) providing functional skills, and (e) adapting flexible training schedules.
4. Specialized Women's Agencies: The current movement to make specialized women's agencies more responsive to rural women's real needs must be strengthened so that these agencies can truly act at the grass-roots level where women can be organized around concrete income-generating activities as well as their traditional agricultural roles.
5. Appropriate Technology: In order to reduce women's current work burden and expand traditional female domestic tasks into viable local commercial

ventures, it is imperative to develop improved technologies for food processing, water collection, food storage, composting, seed selection, and cash crop processing along the lines outlined on a priority basis far exceeding present efforts.

6. Equal Pay: To maintain consistency with HMG's current legislation, to improve productivity, and to be equitable, current district policies which set discriminatory pay scales for identical daily labor by sex should be changed to base pay scales on the type or amount of work rather than the sex of the worker.
7. Recognition of Supportive Customary Laws: Where customary laws are more supportive of women's rights than current national laws, such laws need be legally recognized. At the same time, existing legal rights for women should be made accessible to rural women through a substantial increase in legal aid services and much greater publicity.
8. Diversified, Area-Specific Programming: The great diversity of Nepal's rural women and the conditions in their communities strongly reinforces the need for decentralized, area-specific programming for women based on the economic, cultural and resource possibilities available in each locality.
9. Recognition of Women's Economic Contribution and Improved Data Gathering Techniques: Women's substantial and extensive participation in the rural economy (documented by this study and so plainly visible in the fields and farms of the country) should be more clearly reflected in planning documents. In addition, data gathering techniques and categories (such as those employed by the census) should be modified to more accurately measure women's contribution.
10. Planning, Supervision and Evaluation: In order to successfully implement the kinds of policy changes recommended here and truly integrate women into the development process, special women's cells with the authority to supervise and review project plans and implementation should be established in key planning bodies and ministries.



Tamang woman on her way to the field carrying a hoe.
Tamang women spend 3.47 hours per day in
agricultural labor.

Ane Haaland

CHAPTER I

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY¹

Research Objectives and Theoretical Perspectives

This volume is the outcome of three years research 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, a 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. The second phase was planned as a series of intensive field studies on the dynamics of the day to day life of village women, their part in the production process and the diversity of ways in which women's roles and status have been defined within the conceptual structures of different ethnic groups in Nepal.

Specifically, the objectives of the first phase were:

1) to analyse the existing data base and identify the information needed for a comprehensive and meaningful analysis of women's life and work, 2) to examine the existing legal code to identify the areas where it reflects modern egalitarian ideals and those areas where traditional patriarchal views still prevail, 3) to evaluate the effects of past national development efforts on women, 4) to assess the strength and weaknesses of the existing institutions dealing with women and 5) to present an annotated bibliography of the available literature on women in Nepal. The first phase was completed with the publication of five monographs in Volume I on these areas.

¹Portions of this chapter are taken from the introduction to the Field Manual: Guidelines for the Collection and Analysis of Data on the Status of Women in Rural Nepalese Communities which was prepared by the CEDA Status of Women Project team as a handbook for the Phase II field studies.

During the second phase of the project 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 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. Following Quinn (1977) we felt that to posit a "key" explanation of women's status -- either within a single community or cross-culturally -- would not only be a gross over-simplification of the relationship between the sexes, but would amount to an unwarranted reductionist approach to the study of human society. The fact that some degree of female subordination/male dominance is apparent in almost all cultures (Ortner, 1974; Rosaldo, 1974; Reiter, 1975; Kessler, 1976) as well as in Nepal, did not allow us to assume that either the configuration or the causal nexus of sexual inequality would everywhere be the same. We felt that even within a single community in Nepal it would be difficult to disentangle the complex inter-relationship between the factors which influence the relative status of men and women in that community.

One of the reasons for the complexity of the sexual stratification as a phenomenon is that unlike other types of identification such as caste or class, it functions within the family unit. Although occasionally class or caste differences do cut across the boundaries of the family as in cases of inter-caste marriage, generally, family members all share a single rank or identity within such systems. In contrast to class or caste ranking, sexual stratification is internal to the family; the presence of both sexes within the family is in most instances part of the very definition of the family and the basis for its continued existence. Between any ranked categories there are functional and ideological interdependencies -- for example, those between Brahmans and Untouchables noted by Harper (1964). This interdependency is likely to be more marked in the case of sexual stratification because sexual roles penetrate almost as many aspects of social, economic, emotional and religious life as the family itself does. Because the intimacy of the two categories of beings -- male and female -- is so great, many more cross cutting roles and contexts of interaction exist and hence, the nature of the ranking or hierarchy established is much more complex and ambiguous than that which prevails in other types of social stratification. Beneath the surface of what may appear to be simple male dominance spring a thousand qualifications.

It was, then, 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. Status is a function of the power, authority and prestige attached to a given role by society and everyone, male and female, must play a number of different roles in the course of a lifetime (in a single day or even simultaneously at a given instant). Therefore, 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. Kinship roles are perhaps the simplest example. If we are analysing a woman's status on the basis of data about her restricted and humble position as a wife, we should not forget to look at her revered role as a mother or her role as a beloved sister when we are attempting to assess her overall status in the community.

Nor should we forget the importance of context. For example, the role of wife may be played by expressing great deference to her husband and other senior affinal¹ males in the public sphere but it still allows for the exercise of a good deal of influence over these same men in the private domestic sphere. (Rogers, 1975). Here we are dealing with the important distinction between power and authority noted by Tiffany (1979) and roughly parallel to the distinction between role and status. In contrast to authority which is socially conferred and formally recognized, power is gained by the individual through informal means in the course of enacting, and manipulating, a given role. Although the role itself may allow for the exercise of considerable power, it may confer low status and have little prestige or authority attached to it.

It is true that in all of the communities studied men did have higher overall status than women. Men's roles in the family generally conferred greater automatic authority and prestige than parallel roles of women, and males occupied most of the formal positions in the community. In addition, the premise of male pre-eminence was present to some degree in the dominant ideology of every group. However, as recent anthropological writings² have forcefully demonstrated,

¹Affines are relations related through marriage.

²See: Tiffany (1979), Rogers (1975), Bennett (1977), Ardner (1975).

it is particularly important in the study of women to pay careful attention to the informal systems and alternative ideologies also present in every culture. For it is these networks (often invisible to the ethnographer at first) and sets of values (sometimes in direct contradiction to the dominant expressed ideology) that can be and are manipulated by women — or low castes or, for that matter, any group whose status is low within the dominant formal structures of society — to achieve what is often significant power. In our view, the stereotype of the oppressed and helpless village woman is neither ethnographically correct, theoretically sound nor practically useful. And while there is much in what we observed in the villages to confirm that stereotype and support the commonly held impression of simple "male dominance", there is also much that qualifies it and reveals the ways in which rural women actually exercise some degree of power not only in the domestic sphere, but in the wider community as well.

From the point of view of development, it is our conviction that 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 complexities 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 | 4. Educational |
| 2. Familial | 5. Legal |
| 3. Political/Community | 6. Ideological/Religious |

In formulating these "dimensions" we were influenced by Giele's (1976) typology of six major areas of control, or access to opportunity as determining factors in 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 field work — that all the dimensions overlapped in numerous ways and that the divisions we had made were ultimately arbitrary. Almost all of us have re-organized and re-defined 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 own disciplines.

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 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. Rosaldo has perhaps expressed this point of view most eloquently:

It now appears to me that women's place in human social life is not in any direct sense a product of the things she does (or even less a function of what she biologically is) but the meaning her activities acquire through concrete social interactions. ... Gender in the human must ... be understood in political and social terms with reference not to biological constraints but instead to local and specific forms of social relationship and in particular, of social inequality (1980).

This approach requires that the researcher become immersed in the ideology and world view of a given community as well as in the particulars of social, political and economic organization which attempt to embody that world view. Following Quinn (1978) and others, it is based on the premise that the nature of the relation between the sexes can only be adequately understood within the context of a specific culture.

This conviction led the research team to attempt to cover in depth as many cultural groupings as possible within the resource constraints of the project. As a result field studies were conducted in the following communities:

<u>Community</u>	<u>Region/District</u>	<u>Village Name</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
1. Maithili (Mixed Castes)	Eastern Terai Dhanusha	Sirsia	Meena Acharya
2. Parbatiya (Brahman, Chetri & low caste Sarki)	Central Middle Hills Kavre Palanchowk	Bakundol	Lynn Bennett
3. Lohorung Rai	Eastern Middle Hills Sankhuwa Sabha	Pagnma	Charlotte ¹ Hardman
4. Kham Magar	Far Western Middle Hills Rolpa	Thabang	Augusta Molnar ¹
5. Newar (Jyapu and others)	Kathmandu Valley Lalitpur	Bulu	Bina Pradhan
6. Tharu	Far-Western Inner Terai Dang Deokhuri	Sukhrwar	Drone Rajaure
7. Baragaonle (Tibetan-speaking peoples)	Western High Mountains Mustang	Kagbeni	Sidney Schuler ¹
8. Tamang	Central Middle Hills Sindhu Palchowk	Katarche	Indira Shrestha

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 the status of women vis-a-vis men in that household (Acharya, 1979). Many Indian authors have written about the fact (Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, 1975; Jain, 1980) that women in poorer households play a much more powerful role in the decision making process within both the household and the community than do women of wealthier households. 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 in relation to men.

All the sample households have been classified in 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 a household than land holdings since land is only one source of income. In fact, although the landlord class retains much of its former prestige and influence as a vestige of traditional systems of

¹These individuals who were already in Nepal doing doctoral research on women in the respective villages informally joined the project team as "co-operating anthropologists".

social stratification, in many parts of Nepal this group appears to be losing its economic predominance. Members of the emerging mercantile and professional class are in many cases economically better off than all but the largest land owners. 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 the economic classification used in the current analysis is that the sample households have been stratified according to village economic standards and not national or international standards. By Nepalese national or international standards all Nepalese villages are relatively poor. If international scales had been used most of the households in the eight village sample would have fallen into the bottom economic bracket with only very few in the middle economic range.

The economic stratum of each household was determined on the basis of household production and income data collected in the "70 series" questionnaires designed by the Team.¹ Using the average 1977 per capita income for Nepal of Nepalese Rs 1,320² 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 percent (or 330 Rupees) below or above the national average. So, our cut off points were Rs 990 for the bottom stratum and Rs 1,650 for the top stratum.³

The second methodological departure in our research design was the

¹See Field Manual, Appendix IV for the full set of these questionnaire forms.

²At the time of the study the Nepalese Rupee Rate of Exchange with the US Dollar was \$1=Rs 12.

³In seven out of the eight villages this definition gave us the expected distribution between bottom, middle and top stratum households. In Kagbeni, however, all but two of the households were found to be in the top stratum. 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 reclassified by the researcher into three economic strata applicable to the village. For the aggregate analysis the original strata definition was retained.

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. Considering the multi-disciplinary nature of the team -- with linguists, economists and anthropologists in our number -- and the fact that our research design was developed as a group effort, it is not surprising that it represents an attempt to combine the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. It is perhaps important to note however, that from the very beginning there was very little of the mutual epistemological suspicion and disparagement of rival techniques which so often characterizes the partnership of the economist and the anthropologist. There were, of course, important differences in perspectives and assumptions which had to be confronted and worked out, but in general the combining of approaches was more the result of mutual enthusiasm than reluctant compromise.

We all felt that quantitative data were essential to our understanding and analysis of certain key dimensions, most notably the economic. Moreover, we felt that since our study was intended to serve as a basis for planning, policy formulation and the eventual development of concrete programs for women, it would be more useful and effective if our findings were firmly based on "hard data". Our reasons for developing the detailed and comprehensive set of survey instruments which constitute the quantitative side of our approach were based both on theoretical and practical concerns.

At the same time we did not want to limit our understanding of Nepalese women, their status and their problems in each community to what numbers alone could tell us.¹ We wanted to gain a more holistic and indepth knowledge of rural women's lives. We wanted, in so far as possible, to let the women themselves articulate their own view of their situation and their needs. Moreover, we knew that our quantitative data from each community would be far more revealing if each of us understood something of the social, cultural and

¹ A recent study has shown that questionnaire surveys in Nepal can yield valid data for only a limited range of subjects - those which are non-threatening, conceptually unambiguous and appropriate for public discussion. This method was shown to be particularly unreliable for gathering information on rural attitudes and opinions, which are crucial to assessing the position of women. The study recommends the use of multiple types of data gathering techniques after rapport is established and in fact cites the Status of Women Project methodology as an example of how this can be done. For further discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of various types of data gathering techniques see The Use and Misuse of Social Science Research in Nepal, by Campbell, Shrestha and Stone, Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu: Gorkha Sansthan Press, 1979.

political context within which those data were collected and could be most meaningfully interpreted.

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 field work ranged from six months to several years (as 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 where they lived, but also because in several villages¹ 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 Manual² was prepared containing sets of "leading questions" for each of the six dimensions. The Manual also contained a "Key Informant Schedule" on certain topics such as child rearing practices,³ legal awareness and kinship terminology where the number of people interviewed was not as important as having good rapport with the respondent 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. In this connection it is perhaps important to note that several of the team members

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

²Field Manual: Guidelines for the Collection and Analysis of Data on the Status of Women in Rural Nepalese Communities. Center for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, 1979 (Bound Mimeo).

³The schedule used by the team was a revised version of one prepared by Mrs. Bashundhara Dhungel of CNAS and generously shared with the Status of Women team.

reported that they were quite certain that they would not have been able to gather the kind of comprehensive and accurate quantitative data sought through our structured survey instruments without the close relationship and confidence established through their extended residence in the village.

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 in Figure 1.1 shows the locations of the research sites and the communities included. Although the statistical results obtained from the sample population covered by the eight village studies can not be generalized on the national level, the sample does represent a fairly balanced cross section of Nepal's unusually diverse rural population.

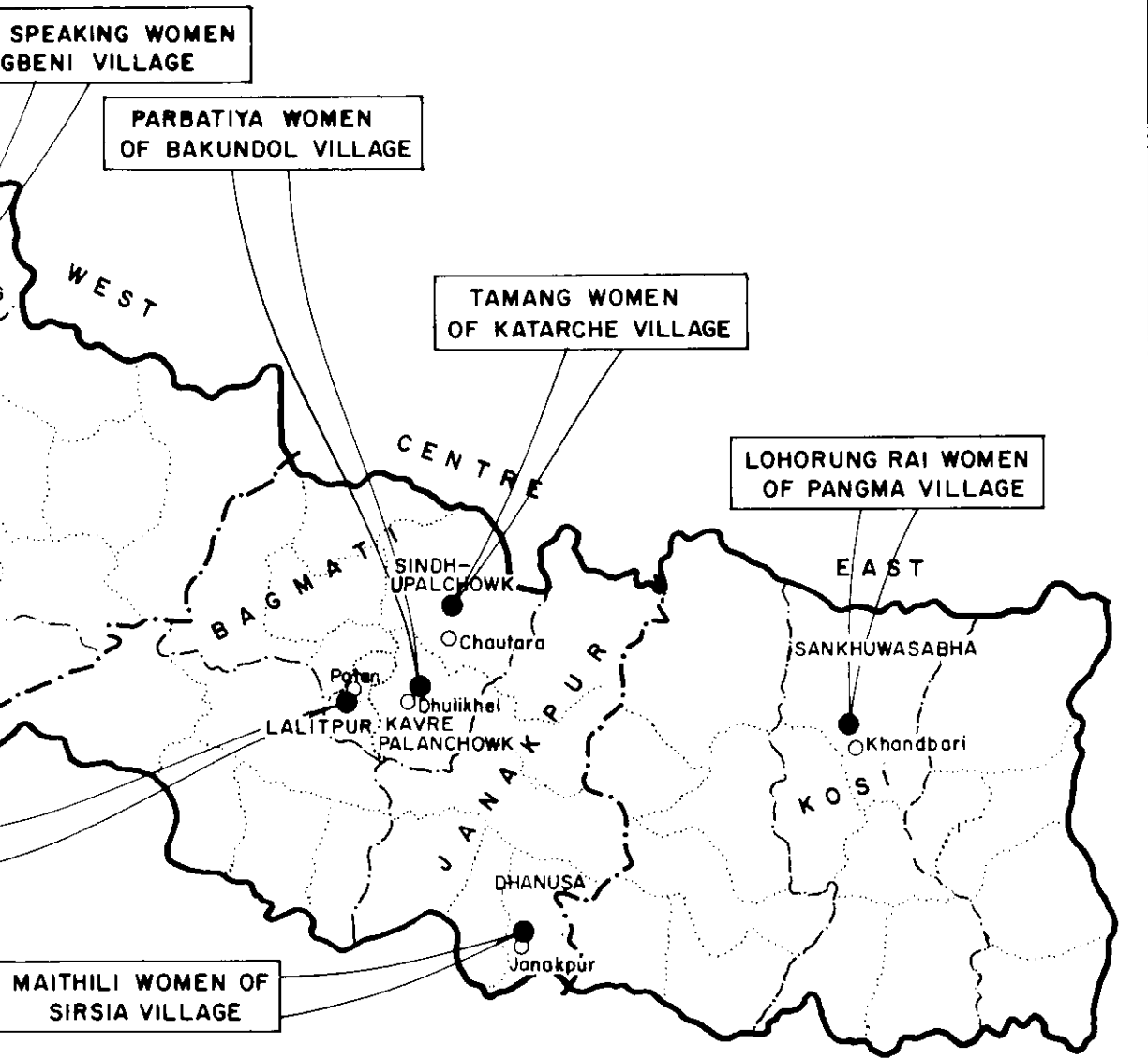
Within each village¹ a random sample of 35 households was selected making a total of 280 households in all. Since the villages were of varying sizes the proportion of the total population represented by our sample ranged between 20 and 100 percent. In three of the villages (Sirsia, Bakundol and Bulu) 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 normally ate from the same kitchen³ and who had lived in the household for at least six months during the previous year.

¹By "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 many villages and is usually too large and unwieldy to study in-depth.

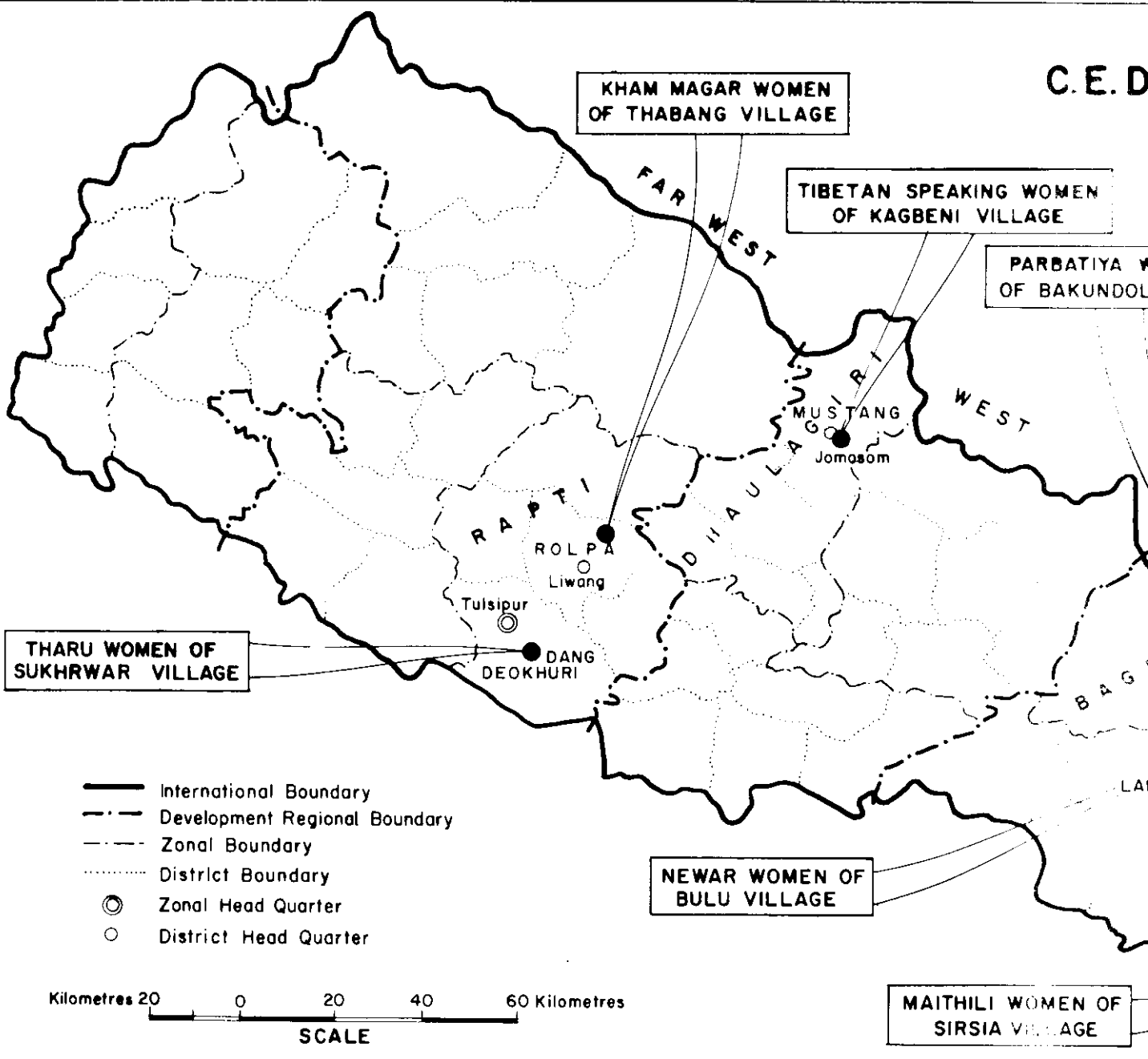
²A smaller sample was selected for the Time Allocation Study because our methodology required that certain sub-groups of households be visited on alternate days within the period of one hour. We were concerned that we would not be able to visit more than six households within an hour so we limited the sample to 4 groups of six or 24 households in all. 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.

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

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



C.E.D



Survey Instruments

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

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 and lineage identity of the households, composition of the households and family structure.
2. Time Use Data: Observational time allocation 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 made for each of the 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 ~~wage/salary income~~ and income transfer from absent family members.
4. Household Assets: The schedule on property holdings included questions on communal 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, animals and cash bank deposits as well as jewelery, valuable clothing, household utensils and 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, panchayat meeting attendance, voting participation, attitudes towards and involvement in extension and local 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 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 500 Rupees 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 the 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 men 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 consequently, the contribution of women to household subsistence in developing countries, has been discussed by various authors (Boserup 1970, U.N. 1978). Acharya (1979) discussed these issues in the specific context of Nepal in Volume I, Part 1 of the present Status of Women Project. The new household economists have gone a step further and developed the concept of 'full income', which includes an estimation of the economic value of home production in addition to market income (Becker, 1965). While appreciating the emphasis placed by proponents of the new household economics on the importance of household production, we felt that their use of imputed wage rates in the estimation of 'full income' was not appropriate for Nepal. Instead, we have tried to capture the physical production within the household to the maximum extent and to document which family members are responsible for that production. To do this we developed detailed schedules on household production and food processing and collected data on the time use patterns of all members within the household.

Collection of data on the production of physical goods involved problems of valuation for aggregation. There has been much debate on the problems of valuation. There are several alternative methods by which these goods can be valued: (1) To use the market price of the same or similar goods, (2) To take the cost of production of a particular good as its value, (3) To use the replacement cost, i.e. the cost of purchasing these goods in the market.

All these methods have their advantages and disadvantages. For example, many of the goods produced in the household are non-traded goods in many developing countries. Moreover, none of the methods are adequate to capture the qualitative aspects of certain types of goods produced. The second method as advocated by many proponents of new household economics involves the costing of time and the calculation of an opportunity cost of labor. Most of the authors agree that for valuation of physical goods either the first or the third method is the best. We had no intention of setting a monetary value for 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. Therefore, we adopted a combination of first and third methods in estimating the economic value for goods produced for household consumption. Trade 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 labor force participation rates, in the first phase of the project (Acharya, 1979) revealed the inadequacy of conventional statistics for assessing women's actual economic role in Nepalese villages. Therefore, in order to support long range economic planning, to stimulate the re-formulation 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. 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

¹It 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.

reproductive activities. In fact, we felt that the whole question of what is "productive" activity -- the whole definition of work itself -- needed to be re-assessed on the basis of fresh observation of what village families do with their time to meet their subsistence needs and, if possible, surpass them.

A number of alternatives existed for selecting a methodology for the collection of time allocation data. The main choice was between the recall method, where individuals are asked to tell the researcher in sequence how much time they spent in various activities on the previous day, and the observation method, where the researcher actually records the activities of each family member as they are occurring.¹ The advantages and disadvantages of each approach have been thoroughly discussed in recent literature (Boulier 1977; UNESCO 1978; Asia Society 1978; Birdsall 1980). The recall method allows a larger sample and takes less research time per inquiry but is generally considered less accurate than direct observation. In fact Peet, who at the time we began our study was, to our knowledge, the only researcher who had undertaken an extensive time allocation study in Nepal, reported that he had found recall data fairly unreliable -- partially because the villagers he studied were not used to thinking in clock time. "To try to get an informant to estimate how much clock time he had spent on a task was most difficult and subject to significant error in some cases" (Peet, Personal Communication).²

In the end we decided to use direct observation -- not however, the time consuming technique of recording the activities of a single household for an entire day, but through random spot checks of several households several times a day. This approach had earlier been used by Erasmus in Mexico (1955) and has been used by Werner in Brazil (1978). We adopted our methodology from an unpublished paper by Johnson (1974)³ who had used this technique to gather time allocation data on the Machiguenga community in Peru. This method may be described in the following stages:

¹A third approach used in several Western countries is to have the informants keep their own daily time use records. This methodology however, has been found to be impractical in developing countries and the high rate of illiteracy among the rural population makes this self recording technique infeasible for Nepal.

²For a discussion of Peet's time allocation findings on Nepal see "An Anthropological Approach to the Study of the Economic Value of Children in Java and Nepal", by M. Nag, B. White and C. Peet, in Current Anthropology, Vol. 19, No.2, June - 1978, pp. 293-306.

³The findings of this study appeared in published form in 1975 as "Time Allocation in a Machiguenga Community" IN: Ethnology 14: 301-10.



Maithili women carry vegetables home from the bazaar.

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 necessary in order to maintain uniformity in the definition of activities. Our list included 97 activities classified in 12 major categories.¹ We were fortunate because so many of our team members were already familiar with the basic work and leisure patterns of their communities and could use this knowledge in the preparation of the list. The fact that each sub-activity had its own unique code gave us the flexibility to re-define certain major conceptual categories such as "productive work" and "domestic work" as the appropriate boundaries of these terms emerged during the course of our analysis.
2. Selection of the sample households in the survey sites (which had already been selected according to the criteria 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 composition of the village was also reflected in the sample distribution.
3. These 24 sample households were divided into four groups (A, B, C and 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 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. Subsequently, each group of households was 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, Sukhrwar, 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

¹See Appendix A for complete list and code numbers for all 97 sub-activities.

Kagbeni study was carried out over an eight month¹ period and the remaining three studies (in Thabang, Pangma and Bakundol) cover a full year.

4. 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 in six month studies and 52 weeks in one year studies. This means that each household was visited 78 times in the six month studies and 156 times in the one year studies. The total number of households covered in the eight villages was 96. (For details on parameters of each field study see Table 1.1).
5. The field workers were provided with Form 'A' (Figure 1.2) 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'.³ Form 'A' has a pre-coded and pre-defined activity list on the vertical column and a 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.

One major category of activity needs special clarification and that is "Extended Absence from Village". Johnson's study does not seem to have had a

¹This 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.

²In Kagbeni the researcher was unable to visit families before six a.m. because of the large Tibetan mastiffs which are let loose at night to protect households against thieves. Only after they are chained in the morning is it feasible or polite to venture out and visit homes. Therefore, the period of observation for this village was only 14 hours. Similarly, the researcher in Sukhrwar village was able to begin his observation only at 5 a.m. and so 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.

³As 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 absent members were doing.

TABLE 1.1

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	Sukhrwar	Sirsia	
Ethnic Group	Bara-gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	
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
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
Starting Dates	1/1/1978	26/2/1978	27/2/1978	26/2/1978	1/8/1978	4/8/1978	25/1/1979	31/7/1978	
Number of sample households	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	192
Sample population for TAS study	110	123	133	146	115	119	307	168	1,221
Observation points per week per household	3	3	3*	3	3	3	3	3	3 random times per week
Total observations per person in each village	(34x3) 102	(52x3) 156	(52x3) 156	(52x3) 156	(26x3) 78	(26x3) 78	(26x3) 78	(26x3) 78	Varies
Approximate total number of observations per village	11,220	19,188	20,748	22,776	8,970	9,282	23,946	13,104	129,234

* 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 effect on the time allocation patterns that emerge.

Form A

FIGURE 1.2

Daily Activities

Village No. Household No. Month Date Hour

Activity Code and Person Description Code and Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	-
Code Activity*										
01010										
01020										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										
-										

* Activity list is given in Appendix A.

means of recording observations on household members who were absent and sleeping away from home on the day their households were visited, unless he included such cases under "Visiting" or "Other". But, in Nepal short term seasonal migration is an important economic phenomenon that we wanted to record. Moreover, we were particularly interested in the frequency with which married women visited their natal homes for social and ritual purposes as this is an important support network for them. So we decided to record this information but with the provision that such "Out Of Village" observations could not be used in the same way as "In-Village" observations were to calculate daily time use patterns. This is obvious because such information, reported to us by other household members, was of a much more general and less time specific nature than the spot check observations we were able to make of activities in the village. For example, if someone was reported to be out of the village on a trading expedition we had no way of knowing what that individual was doing at that particular randomly selected hour, the way we did for individuals who were in the village. Hence, these two types of information have been carefully differentiated in our tabulations.

Limitations of the Time Allocation Data

1. Concurrent activities were also recorded. This meant that, if a woman was observed for instance winnowing grain with a baby tied to her back, the researcher would mark both activities in the column beneath her name for that day. But our definition of double activities was very strict. For example, in cases where children were simply playing with their younger siblings or present in the same courtyard with them we did not count this as "child care" although there may have been some element of supervision involved. We counted only feeding, carrying or direct attendance as "Child care". Since our observations were spot (moment) observations the occurrence of double activity was limited. When time use data is collected over a longer observation period or reported sequentially there is much more probability of encountering double activity while very few activities can be concurrent within a specific moment. So, this method seemed to be best for minimizing the occurrence of simultaneous activities, although the problem of assigning time value to each of the simultaneous activities still remains. For this study we counted two activities performed concurrently by a single individual as separate activities.
2. The question of intensity of work is a perpetually unanswered question in all time allocation studies. In our study all activities are assumed to

be of equal social value and therefore we saw no need or practical means for standardizing the working hours by energy expenditure.

3. The data collected by this method represented the frequency of observations for 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 implicit 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 performing activity A more than B. This data does not provide information on the 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 patterns.

In conclusion it should be noted that we expect our survey data to be immensely valuable particularly as a tool for understanding the economic roles played by women in the various communities we studied. Yet, it is important to emphasize that we have never intended that our quantitative data be used as "measures" of women's status -- as if there could be some universal scale. Rather we have conceived of certain data collected in our survey as "indicators".¹ By this distinction we have tried to convey our conviction that the quantitative data we have collected must always be related to the specific realities of each group under consideration and their own perception of the relationship between the sexes. In other words, quantitative data become truly meaningful only after the researcher has used his or her in-depth knowledge of the community to set those data in context and interpret their significance.

Explanatory Notes on Tables

The following notes are to provide an aid in interpreting the numerous Tables contained in Chapters II, III and IV and the appendices:

1. In some cases figures have been rounded off. Hence, totals may not tally with their component units.

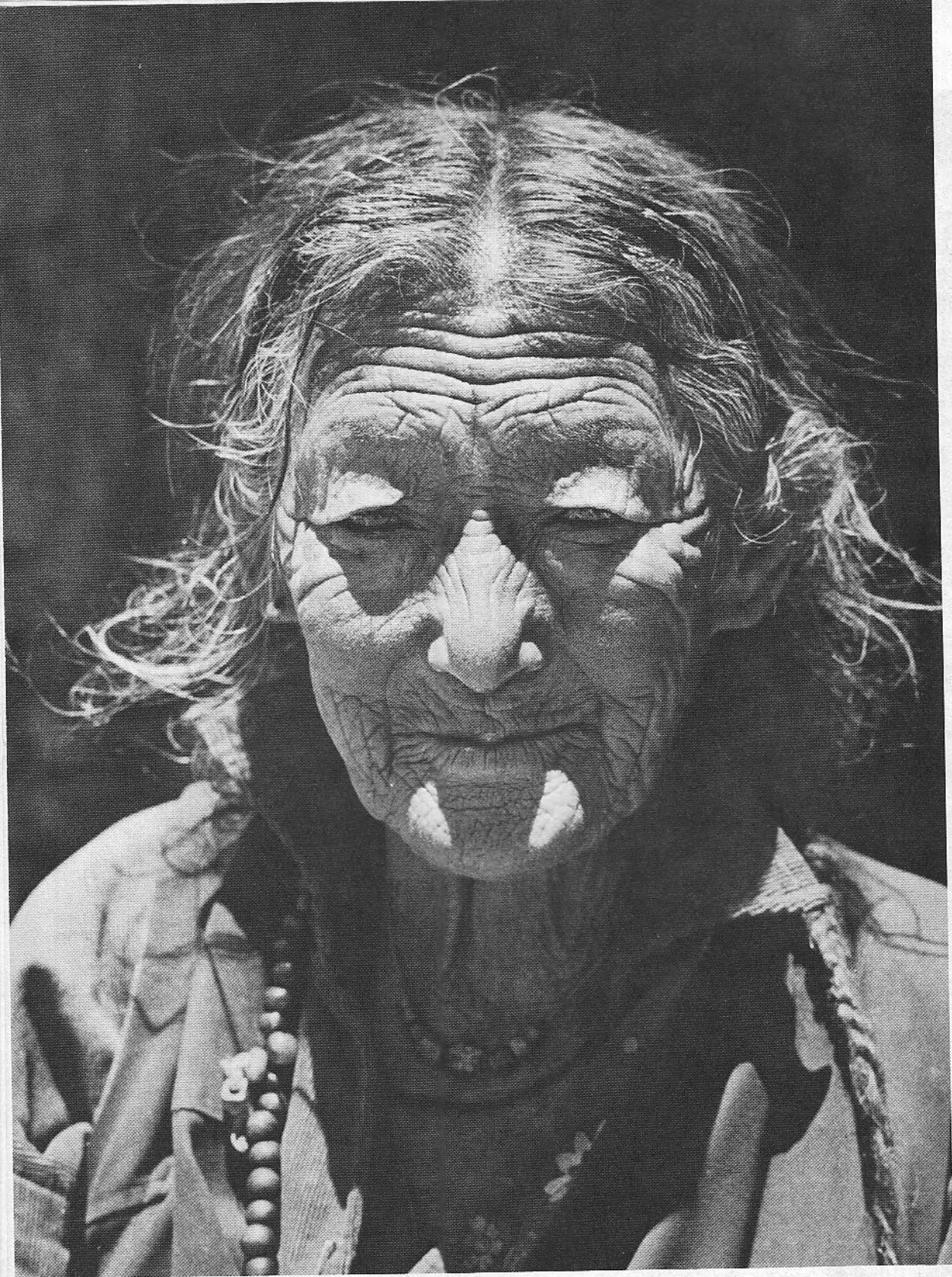
¹Such as degree of participation in the household decision making, involvement in the market economy and political participation in community affairs.

2. A dash (-) indicates no observation in the category.
3. Unless otherwise mentioned all Tables represent the aggregate data for all eight villages studied.
4. Those Tables which specify "Six Villages" in the heading represent the aggregate data for all villages except Kagbeni and Sukhrwar
5. The Nepal Census definition of 'adult' as all those age 15 and above and has been adopted in this study. Therefore "15 and above" and "adult" have been used interchangeably.



Newar woman prepares a meal on her mud chulo.

Ane Haaland



The face of a Baragaonle woman.

Ane Haaland

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The communities covered by the Status of Women field studies may be classified culturally into three groups: 1) the Indo-Aryan (represented by the Parbatiya Brahman, Chetri and low caste Sarki of Bakundol in the middle hills and the Maithili speaking people of various castes from Sirsia village near Janakpur in the Terai, 2) the Tibeto-Burman (represented by the Lohorung Rai of Pangma village, the Kham Magar of Thabang, the Tibetan-speaking Baragaonle people of Kagbeni and the Tamang of Katarche village, 3) a third "inter-mediate" group encompassing communities which combine influences from both the cultures (represented by the predominantly Jyapu Newar village of Bulu and the Tharu of Sukhrwar in the Dang valley). In Nepal's 1971 population of 11.54 million people, these groups (classified by mother tongue) constituted more than 81 percent of the population. In addition to important intra-community variations, there are also of course many other distinct communities within each one of these three larger groupings which this study cannot claim to have covered. Our study has probably covered the most orthodox Hindu of the Indo-Aryan groups found in Nepal, and a few of the less studied Tibeto-Burman groups.

Economic Structure

As mentioned in the Introduction, all eight villages studied are represented by 24 households each in the time allocation data and 35 households in other data. The population covered however varies from village to village (Table 2.1). The overall distribution of households between economic strata (Table 2.2) displays an unconventionally high proportion of households (30 percent) in the top economic stratum. The middle economic stratum also contains almost the same proportion of households while about 40 percent of the households are in the bottom economic stratum. A look at the cross tabulation on households by village and economic strata reveals that none of the villages display the conventional pyramid with few households in the top stratum and successively more in the middle and bottom. This is probably due to our definition of top, middle and bottom income groups, which was quite conservative.

TABLE 2.1
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE

Particulars	All Nepal		District				
	Respective Language Speaking Population (In '000)	Percentage to Total	Name	Population (In Number)	Respective Language Speaking Population (In Number)	Village Studied Name	Sample Population* (In Number)
Tibetan dialects and others	2,141	18.53	Mustang	26,944	4,820	Kagbeni	162
Rai	232	2.01	Sankhuwa Sabha	114,313	16,403	Pangma	232
Magar	288	2.49	Rolpa	162,955	24,214	Thabang	181
Nepali	6,061	52.45	Kavre Palanchok	245,165	117,434	Bakundol	224
Newari	455	3.94	Lalitpur	154,998	69,872	Bulu	187
Tamang	555	4.80	Sindhu Palchok	206,384	61,905	Katarche	176
Tharu	496	4.29	Dang Deokhuri	167,820	72,475	Sukhrwar	403
Maithili	1,327	11.49	Dhanusha	330,601	284,707	Sirsia	235
Total	11,555	100.00	-	1,409,180	651,830	-	1,800

Sources: (1) Population Census of Nepal, 1971, CBS, Kathmandu.

(2) Mechi Dekhi Mahakali, Vols. 1-4, HMG, Ministry of Communication, Kathmandu, 1974.

* This is for the larger 35 household sample.

TABLE 2.2

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Village	Economic Strata			All Strata
	Top	Middle	Bottom	
Kagbeni	33	1	1	35
Pangma	8	15	12	35
Thabang	7	8	20	35
Bakundol	8	20	7	35
Bulu	9	13	13	35
Katarche	5	9	21	35
Sukhrwar	5	14	16	35
Sirsia	9	5	21	35
All Villages	84	85	111	280

The distribution of population among the three economic strata is pyramidal, although the pyramid is not very sharp. Twenty-eight percent of the population were in the top economic stratum, 32 percent in the middle and 40 percent in the bottom (Table 2.3).

Asset Structure

All the communities are agriculture oriented and land constitutes their main asset. The proportion of land in the total household assets, however, varies from 57.21 percent for the Baragaonle community in Kagbeni (where trading and seasonal migration is important) to 91.43 percent for the Maithili community in Sirsia. Animals and land together constitute more than 80 percent of the household assets in all the villages studied except for Kagbeni where these assets account for 75.7 percent of the total (Table 2.4).

As to the amount of assets, Kagbeni tops the list with per household asset of 101,134 rupees. The Tamang village of Katarche with per household assets of 22,111 rupees is at the bottom. The inter-strata difference in per household asset holdings is greatest in the higher income villages i.e. Kagbeni and Sirsia. The Tamang community of Katarche also displays considerable inequality while in other villages the differences between the asset holdings of top and bottom strata households are less significant. As a consequence the inter-strata differences in the total amount of per household asset holdings is very mild, i.e. the asset holdings of a top economic stratum household are only twice that of a household in the middle stratum and about four times that of a household in the bottom stratum (Table 2.5). At the aggregate level land and animals constitute more than 85 percent of the household assets (Table 2.6). This indicates a relative homogeneity of the majority of sample households in terms of level as well as the structure of wealth.

Income and Production

The production data display the same predominance of agriculture with more than 48 percent of the total income generated by this sector. Inclusion of kitchen gardening and other allied sectors such as animal husbandry, hunting and gathering and domestic food processing brings the contribution to total

TABLE 2.3

SAMPLE POPULATION BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Village	Economic Strata			All Strata
	Top	Middle	Bottom	
Kagbeni	154	6	2	162
Pangma	47	100	85	232
Thabang	43	42	96	181
Bakundol	58	127	39	224
Bulu	39	78	70	187
Katarche	28	23	125	176
Sukhrwar	57	173	173	403
Sirsia	78	27	130	235
All Villages	504	576	720	1800

TABLE 2.4
ASSET STRUCTURE BY VILLAGE

(In percent)

Particulars Village	Asset Holding in Rupees	Total	Land & Building	Animals			Agricul- tural Implements	Transport Vehicles	Gold & Silver	Others
				Major	Minor	Total Livestock				
Kagbeni	3539700	100.0	57.2	7.3	11.2	18.5	1.3	-	15.5	7.5
Pangma	1508671	100.0	79.0	4.9	1.5	6.4	0.7	-	4.5	9.4
Thabang	878060	100.0	57.1	16.5	10.5	27.0	0.8	-	5.7	9.3
Bakundol	1933090	100.0	89.5	1.9	0.4	2.3	0.3	-	3.7	4.2
Bulu	1957168	100.0	90.5	0.8	0.3	1.1	0.4	-	3.0	5.0
Katarche	773894	100.0	77.8	6.5	3.8	10.3	0.2	-	5.1	6.6
Sukhrwar	1200043	100.0	66.3	19.2	1.5	20.7	1.7	-	5.6	5.7
Sirsia	2375485	100.0	91.4	3.6	0.1	3.7	0.1	0.5	3.5	0.8
All Villages	14166111	100.0	76.1	6.3	4.1	10.4	0.7	0.1	7.0	5.7

TABLE 2.5
PER HOUSEHOLD ASSET HOLDINGS BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND VILLAGE

(In rupees)

Economic Strata	Village									
	Kagbeni	Pangma	Thabang	Bakundol	Bulu	Katarche	Sukhrwar	Sirsia	All Villages	
Top	104,555	49,067	56,014	90,243	74,606	72,577	57,579	182,608	94,317	
Middle	86,100	55,134	22,039	47,104	67,921	12,487	40,768	54,592	45,536	
Bottom	3,300	24,093	15,483	38,437	33,562	14,220	21,337	21,859	21,572	
All Strata	101,134	43,105	25,087	55,231	57,564	22,111	34,287	67,871	50,775	

TABLE 2.6
PER HOUSEHOLD ASSET HOLDINGS AND ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In rupees)

No. of H.H. in the Strata	Types of Asset	Land & Building	Livestock			Agricultural Implements	Transport Vehicles	Gold & Silver	Other	All Assets
			Major	Minor	Total					
84	Economic Strata Top	68247 (72.36)	5935 (6.29)	5775 (6.12)	11710 (12.41)	684 (0.73)	100 (0.11)	8454 (8.96)	5122 (5.43)	94317 (100.0)
85	Middle	37185 (81.66)	2309 (5.07)	456 (1.00)	2765 (6.07)	305 (0.67)	29 (0.06)	2241 (4.92)	3011 (6.61)	45536 (100.0)
110	Bottom	17246 (79.95)	1814 (8.41)	469 (2.17)	2283 (10.58)	158 (0.73)	16 (0.08)	787 (3.65)	1081 (5.01)	21572 (100.0)
279	All Strata	38676 (76.17)	3206 (6.32)	2063 (4.06)	5268 (10.38)	362 (0.71)	46 (0.09)	3538 (6.97)	2885 (5.68)	50775 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

household production of agriculture and allied sectors to 81.4 percent. Of the total income 18.6 percent is generated outside the household sector. Income derived from food processing is highest in the top economic stratum and lowest in the bottom economic stratum perhaps because those in poorer households have less to process. Manufacturing contributes only about 2 percent of the total household income in all the economic strata (Table 2.7).

Villages however, do show a substantial difference in the sectoral origin of their per household income. Farm production contributes 63.6 percent of the total household income in Sirsia as compared to only 38.6 percent in Kagbeni. The contribution of manufacturing is highest in Thabang and Kagbeni at about 3 percent and lowest in Sirsia at 0.05 percent. When agriculture, animal husbandry and allied sectors are considered together however, a similar pattern emerges for all villages. These sectors together contribute more than 80 percent of the income in all the villages except in Kagbeni, Bakundol and Katarche. Even in these villages the above three sectors contributed about 70 percent of the total household income (Table 2.8).

The average annual household income for the eight village sample was 10,074 rupees. In the bottom stratum the average income at 5,129 rupees was less than a third of the annual income of top stratum households which was 16,871 rupees. The greatest variation in household income levels however, occurred between villages with a high of 18,025 rupees in Kagbeni and a low in Katarche of 5,238 rupees. The Kagbeni average was highest because, as mentioned earlier, all but two of the households in this village were in the top economic stratum. Kagbeni also displays the most extreme gap between the rich and poor households with the average income of the top stratum households more than six times that of the bottom stratum. However, Kagbeni was not the wealthiest village in an over all sense. The Tharu village of Sukhrwar showed the highest average household incomes for all three strata at 24,615 rupees for the top and 16,052 rupees and 9,289 rupees for the middle and bottom respectively (Table 2.9).

Production for subsistence constitutes the dominant part of the total production activities. On the aggregate 69.4 percent of the income was generated in the subsistence sector. Only 14.8 percent of the total household production was sold. Wage and salary constituted only 11.7 percent of the income while 12.0 percent of the income was generated through sale of home produced goods and trading profit accounted for 6.9 percent of the total income. Thus, on the whole only 30.6 percent of the income was generated through market intervention. This underscores the predominance of the household economy in all these communities.

TABLE 2.7
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Economic Strata	Sectors	Household Production							Wage/ Salary/ Income	Invest- ment Income/ Trading	Total Household Income
		Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufac- turing	Food Processing				
		(In rupees)	(In rupees)	(In rupees)	(In rupees)	(In rupees)	(In rupees)	(In rupees)			
TOP N = 84	Total	672028	20030	116754	61076	27713	232305	121151	166119	1417176	
	Per Household	8000 (47.4)	238 (1.4)	1390 (8.2)	727 (4.3)	330 (2.0)	2766 (16.4)	1442 (8.6)	1978 (11.7)	16871 (100.0)	
MIDDLE N = 85	Total	423548	31675	71033	37605	14062	125261	106213	19907	829304	
	Per Household	4983 (51.1)	373 (3.8)	836 (8.6)	442 (4.5)	165 (1.7)	1474 (15.1)	1250 (12.8)	234 (2.4)	9757 (100.0)	
BOTTOM N = 110	Total	263528	22048	40201	36673	10558	81893	100419	8897	564217	
	Per Household	2396 (46.7)	200 (3.9)	365 (7.1)	333 (6.5)	96 (1.9)	745 (14.5)	913 (17.8)	81 (1.6)	5129 (100.0)	
ALL STRATA N = 279	Total	1359104	73753	227988	135354	52333	439459	327783	194923	2810697	
	Per Household	4871 (48.4)	264 (2.6)	817 (8.1)	485 (4.8)	188 (1.9)	1575 (15.6)	1175 (11.7)	699 (6.9)	10074 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 279 sample households.

TABLE 2.8
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY VILLAGE

Village	Sectors		Household Production						Wage/ Salary/ Income	Invest- ment Income/ Trading	Total Household Income
	Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufac- turing	Food Processing					
Kagbeni	Total	243320	200	40894	33780	18986	116060	35630	142000	630870	
	Per household	6952 (38.6)	6 (0.0)	1168 (6.5)	965 (5.4)	543 (3.0)	3316 (18.4)	1018 (5.6)	4057 (22.5)	18025 (100.0)	
Pangma	Total	165838	13941	24857	18599	6250	107979	33507	3454	374425	
	Per household	4738 (44.3)	398 (3.7)	710 (6.6)	532 (5.0)	179 (1.7)	3085 (28.8)	957 (9.0)	99 (0.9)	10698 (100.0)	
Thabang	Total	112152	3268	18354	18948	7185	28970	28589	14500	231966	
	Per household	3204 (48.3)	93 (1.4)	525 (7.9)	541 (8.2)	205 (3.1)	828 (12.5)	817 (12.3)	414 (6.3)	6627 (100.0)	
Bakundol	Total	159234	4844	45665	11252	7292	28306	94931	9449	360973	
	Per household	4550 (44.1)	139 (1.4)	1305 (12.7)	321 (3.1)	208 (2.0)	809 (7.8)	2712 (26.3)	270 (2.6)	10314 (100.0)	
Bulu	Total	111378	7015	23854	15908	4254	19502	37221	9280	228412	
	Per household	3276 (48.7)	206 (3.1)	702 (10.4)	468 (7.0)	125 (1.9)	573 (8.5)	1095 (16.3)	273 (4.1)	6718 (100.0)	
Katarche	Total	82402	2422	21164	16259	2198	15108	41061	2695	183309	
	Per household	2354 (44.9)	69 (1.3)	605 (11.6)	465 (8.9)	63 (1.2)	432 (8.2)	1173 (22.4)	77 (1.5)	5238 (100.0)	
Sukhrwar	Total	291162	39990	35778	18857	6027	59671	31404	13545	496434	
	Per household	8319 (58.7)	1143 (8.1)	1022 (7.2)	538 (3.8)	172 (1.2)	1705 (12.0)	898 (6.3)	387 (2.7)	14184 (100.0)	
Sirsia	Total	193618	2073	17422	1751	141	63863	25440	-	304308	
	Per household	5532 (63.6)	59 (0.7)	498 (5.7)	50 (0.6)	4 (0.0)	1825 (21.0)	727 (8.4)	8695 (100.0)		
All Villages	Total	1359104	73753	227988	135354	52333	439459	327783	194923	2810697	
	Per household	4871 (48.4)	264 (2.6)	817 (8.1)	485 (4.8)	188 (1.9)	1575 (15.6)	1175 (11.7)	699 (6.9)	10074 (100.0)	

* Based on 279 sample households. Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.9

PER HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND VILLAGE

(In rupees)

Economic Strata	Village									
	Kagbeni	Pangma	Thabang	Bakundol	Bulu	Katarche	Sukhrwar	Sirsia	All Villages	
Top	18,662	15,168	14,920	16,512	8,934	13,876	24,615	18,952	16,871	
Middle	12,150	11,824	6,876	9,685	7,553	3,228	16,052	7,823	9,756	
Bottom	2,852	6,310	3,626	5,025	4,151	4,042	9,289	4,506	5,129	
All Strata	18,025	10,698	6,627	10,314	6,718	5,238	14,184	8,695	10,074	

Note: Households were stratified on the basis of per capita income (and not on per household income) exclusive of value added income.

The subsistence and non-subsistence origin of income does not differ much between the three economic strata (Table 2.10). Villages however, do display significant differences in the proportion of income which is generated through market intervention (Table 2.11). This proportion was highest in Bakundol at 48.3 percent and lowest in Pangma at 17.6 percent. It is interesting to note that villages nearer to Kathmandu (i.e. Katarche, Bakundol, and Bulu) seemed to be much more market oriented than those of Terai i.e. Sirsia and Sukhrwar. Only in the Lohorung Rai village of Pangma was the percentage of income originating in the market lower than in these Terai villages. Wage and salary also constitute a much larger proportion of per household income in Bakundol, Katarche and Bulu than in other villages. In percentage terms, sales from domestic production is highest in Bakundol followed by Bulu.

Employment

In terms of the number of people employed outside the home, the findings from this study coincide fairly closely to the 1971 National Census figures for female labor force participation. While the latter shows that females accounted for 29.2 percent of the economically active population, the data in Table 2.12 show that 33.9 percent of the people in the 8 village study sample who took employment outside the home during the last year were women. In terms of person days worked, however, the level of female participation is lower at only 24.8 percent of the total. This means that on the average each female worker found approximately 55 days of paid employment while male workers found 86 days.

The sectorwise distribution of female employment shows a high concentration in agriculture which absorbed 50.2 percent of the female working days. In some communities, namely the Magar, Maithili and Rai, this concentration was extreme, accounting for 100, 93.9 and 92.4 percent of the female working days respectively. At the aggregate level women put in 36.4 percent of the total days of agricultural wage labor.

The next most important sector for female employment is cottage industry in which women worked nearly 61.1 percent of the total reported person days. This sector accounted for 19.9 percent of the total female working days. However, a village-wise examination shows that all the female input was concentrated in the Parbatiya, Baragaonle and Newar Jyapu villages where it accounted for 30.6, 79.5 and 50.4 percent respectively of female working days in these communities. Unlike

TABLE 2.10
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME AND PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Composition of Income Economic Strata		Subsistence Production	Market Income			Total Income	
			Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Investment Income/ Trading		
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)	(7)=(2)+(6)
TOP N = 84	Total	933291	196615	121151	166119	483885	1417176
	Per Household	11111 (65.9)	2340 (13.8)	1442 (8.6)	1978 (11.7)	5760 (34.1)	16871 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 85	Total	601498	101686	106213	19907	227806	829304
	Per Household	7076 (72.5)	1196 (12.3)	1250 (12.8)	234 (2.4)	2680 (27.5)	9756 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 110	Total	415580	39321	100419	8897	148637	564217
	Per Household	3778 (73.7)	357 (6.9)	913 (17.8)	81 (1.6)	1351 (26.3)	5129 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 279	Total	1950369	337622	327783	194923	860328	2810697
	Per Household	6990 (69.4)	1210 (12.0)	1175 (11.7)	699 (6.9)	3084 (30.6)	10074 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 279 sample households.

TABLE 2.11

HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME AND PRODUCTION* BY VILLAGE

Village	Composition of Income		Subsistence Production	Market Income			Total Income
	(1)	(2)		Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Investment Income/ Trading	
				(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)
							(7)=(2)+(6)
Kagbeni	Total	372049	81191	35630	142000	258821	630870
	Per Household	10630 (59.0)	2320 (12.9)	1018 (5.6)	4057 (22.5)	7395 (41.0)	18025 (100.0)
Pangma	Total	308663	28801	33507	3454	65762	374425
	Per Household	8819 (82.4)	823 (7.7)	957 (9.0)	99 (0.9)	1879 (17.6)	10698 (100.0)
Thabang	Total	169649	19228	28589	14500	62317	231966
	Per Household	4847 (73.1)	549 (8.3)	817 (12.3)	414 (6.3)	1780 (26.9)	6627 (100.0)
Bakundol	Total	186631	69962	94931	9449	174342	360973
	Per Household	5333 (51.7)	1999 (19.4)	2712 (26.3)	270 (2.6)	4981 (48.3)	10314 (100.0)
Bulu	Total	141921	39990	37221	9280	86491	228412
	Per Household	4174 (62.1)	1176 (17.5)	1095 (16.3)	273 (4.1)	2544 (37.9)	6718 (100.0)
Katarche	Total	134693	4860	41061	2695	48616	183309
	Per Household	3848 (73.5)	139 (2.6)	173 (22.4)	77 (1.5)	1389 (26.5)	5237 (100.0)
Sukhrwar	Total	390935	60550	31404	13545	105499	496434
	Per Household	11170 (78.8)	1730 (12.2)	897 (6.3)	387 (2.7)	3014 (21.2)	14184 (100.0)
Sirsia	Total	245828	33040	25440	-	58480	304308
	Per Household	7024 (80.8)	944 (10.9)	727 (8.3)	-	1671 (19.2)	9695 (100.0)
All Villages	Total	1950369	337622	327783	194923	860328	2810697
	Per Household	6990 (69.5)	1210 (12.0)	175 (11.7)	699 (6.9)	3084 (30.6)	10074 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages. * Based on 279 sample households.

TABLE 2.12

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY VILLAGE AND SEX

Kham Magar		Parbatiya		Newar		Tamang		Tharu		Maithili		All Villages	
Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed
58 (3.1)	3 (27.3)	708 (11.2)	17 (29.3)	478 (12.7)	24 (46.2)	394 (20.0)	10 (24.4)	1947 (46.0)	25 (35.7)	3420 (67.3)	16 (66.7)	7530 (28.8)	123 (40.5)
98 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	618 (40.8)	16 (61.6)	298 (24.1)	21 (70.0)	360 (35.0)	15 (42.9)	700 (44.4)	7 (43.8)	1605 (93.9)	11 (84.6)	4317 (50.2)	98 (62.8)
-	-	-	-	-	-	14 (0.7)	1 (2.4)	695 (16.4)	7 (10.0)	790 (15.5)	3 (12.5)	1499 (5.7)	11 (3.6)
-	-	-	-	-	-	22 (2.1)	1 (2.8)	740 (46.9)	5 (31.3)	45 (2.6)	1 (7.7)	856 (10.0)	8 (5.1)
-	-	970 (15.4)	7 (12.1)	120 (3.2)	2 (3.8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1090 (4.2)	9 (3.0)
-	-	464 (30.6)	3 (11.5)	620 (50.4)	5 (16.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1714 (19.9)	14 (9.0)
-	-	1029 (16.3)	17 (29.3)	882 (23.5)	13 (25.0)	310 (15.7)	7 (17.1)	261 (6.1)	12 (17.1)	-	-	2536 (9.7)	53 (17.4)
-	-	204 (13.5)	5 (19.2)	305 (24.8)	3 (10.0)	13 (1.3)	1 (2.8)	40 (2.5)	1 (6.2)	-	-	562 (6.5)	10 (6.4)
50 (2.7)	1 (9.1)	1174 (18.6)	5 (8.6)	150 (4.0)	1 (1.9)	200 (10.2)	1 (2.4)	440 (10.4)	4 (5.7)	145 (2.8)	3 (12.5)	2435 (9.3)	17 (5.6)
-	-	229 (15.1)	2 (7.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	60 (3.5)	1 (7.7)	289 (3.4)	3 (1.9)
1745 (94.2)	7 (63.6)	2413 (38.2)	10 (17.2)	1830 (48.7)	6 (11.5)	-	-	528 (12.5)	3 (4.3)	730 (14.4)	2 (8.3)	8391 (32.1)	36 (11.8)
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	120 (1.4)	1 (0.7)
-	-	-	-	254 (6.8)	4 (7.7)	1052 (53.4)	22 (53.7)	300 (7.1)	18 (25.7)	-	-	1606 (6.2)	44 (14.5)
-	-	-	-	-	-	633 (61.6)	18 (51.4)	-	-	-	-	633 (7.4)	18 (11.5)
-	-	22 (0.3)	2 (3.5)	40 (1.1)	2 (3.9)	-	-	65 (1.5)	1 (1.4)	-	-	1029 (4.0)	11 (3.6)
-	-	-	-	8 (0.7)	1 (3.3)	-	-	98 (6.2)	3 (18.7)	-	-	106 (1.2)	4 (2.6)
1853 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	6316 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	3754 (100.0)	52 (100.0)	1970 (100.0)	41 (100.0)	4236 (100.0)	70 (100.0)	5085 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	26116 (100.0)	304 (100.0)
98 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	1515 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	1229 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	1028 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	1578 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	1710 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	8597 (100.0)	156 (100.0)
50%	35%	19%	30%	25%	10%	34%	46%	27%	19%	25%	35%	25%	34%

TABLE 2.12

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY VILLAGE AND SEX

Sector/Sex		Village		Baragaonle		Lohorung Rai		Kham Magar		Parbatiya		Newar	
		Person Days Worked	No. of People Em-ployed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Em-ployed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Em-ployed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Em-ployed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Em-ployed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Em-ployed
Agriculture	Male	190 (10.8)	10 (45.5)	335 (29.3)	18 (69.2)	58 (3.1)	3 (27.3)	708 (11.2)	17 (29.3)	478 (12.7)	24 (46.2)		
	Female	43 (5.4)	4 (36.4)	597 (92.4)	18 (94.7)	98 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	618 (40.8)	16 (61.6)	298 (24.1)	21 (70.0)		
Domestic	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	Female	-	-	49 (7.6)	1 (5.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Cottage Industry	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	970 (15.4)	7 (12.1)	120 (3.2)	2 (3.8)		
	Female	630 (79.5)	6 (54.5)	-	-	-	-	464 (30.6)	3 (11.5)	620 (50.4)	5 (16.7)		
Construction	Male	38 (2.2)	3 (13.6)	16 (1.4)	1 (93.8)	-	-	1029 (16.3)	17 (29.3)	882 (23.5)	13 (25.0)		
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	204 (13.5)	5 (19.2)	305 (24.8)	3 (10.0)		
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	270 (15.3)	1 (4.5)	6 (0.5)	1 (3.9)	50 (2.7)	1 (9.1)	1174 (18.6)	5 (8.6)	150 (4.0)	1 (1.9)		
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	229 (15.1)	2 (7.7)	-	-		
Service in Organized Sector	Male	360 (20.4)	2 (9.1)	785 (68.8)	6 (23.0)	1745 (94.2)	7 (63.6)	2413 (38.2)	10 (17.2)	1830 (48.7)	6 (11.5)		
	Female	120 (15.1)	1 (9.1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Portering	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	254 (6.8)	4 (7.7)		
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Other	Male	902 (51.3)	6 (27.3)	-	-	-	-	22 (0.3)	2 (3.5)	40 (1.1)	2 (3.9)		
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (0.7)	1 (3.3)		
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	1760 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	1142 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	1853 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	6316 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	3754 (100.0)	52 (100.0)		
	Female	793 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	646 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	98 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	1515 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	1229 (100.0)	30 (100.0)		
Proportion of Female Participation to Total		31%	33%	36%	42%	50%	35%	19%	30%	25%	10%		

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

agriculture, which employs a larger number of people for a shorter periods during the peak seasons, cottage industry appears to provide relatively steady paid employment though to fewer people.¹

Though always to a lesser degree than men, women participate in all employment sectors including the organized sector -- which is usually the best paid and certainly the most prestigious one. Female participation however accounts for only 1.4 percent of the total person days worked in the organized sector.

When we examine the data by economic strata in Table 2.13 we see that even women from the top economic stratum are participating in outside income earning activities. However, their relative input constituted only 16.2 percent of the total wage labor days in this stratum as compared to 28.5 and 25.4 percent respectively for the middle and bottom strata. No women from the top stratum worked either in the domestic or the non-organized service sectors like shoe making, sewing etc. but they are found in all other sectors -- even portering. The single most important source of paid employment for women of the top stratum is cottage industry which absorbed 71.0 percent of their working days. For women in the middle and bottom strata the agricultural sector provides the largest number of working days. Women from the bottom stratum spend 72.9 percent of their total working days in this sector as opposed to only 15.4 and 33.4 percent respectively for the top and middle strata. Portering is the second in importance for bottom stratum women providing approximately 11 percent of their paid employment.

The series of tables on outside employment for each village by economic strata presented in Appendix F show that there is considerable variation between communities in the extent to which top stratum women (or men) will engage in paid labor. In the Tharu, Rai and Maithili villages not a single woman from the top stratum took paid employment. The extent of participation by middle stratum women also varies from 0 percent in the Maithili village to 80 percent of the total female working days in the Parbatiya community of Bakundol. The somewhat unusual phenomenon of higher participation by women from the middle stratum than by those from the bottom stratum in this village can be explained by the fact that most of the wage labor in Bakundol is performed by low castes. Interestingly, only 10 percent of the low caste fall into the bottom stratum

¹In the Parbatiya village employment in the cottage industry sector is entirely confined to low caste tailor women and a few households of Newar Ranjitkars who practice their traditional cloth dyeing trade.

TABLE 2.13

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

Sector	Economic Strata/Sex			Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	Person Days Worked	No. of People Employed	
Agriculture	Male	346 (5.2)	18 (31.0)	1045 (13.6)	41 (41.4)	6139 (52.0)	64 (43.5)	7530 (28.8)	123 (40.5)						
	Female	198 (15.4)	12 (50.0)	1028 (33.4)	37 (66.1)	3091 (72.9)	49 (64.5)	4317 (50.2)	98 (62.8)						
Domestic	Male	-	-	14 (0.2)	1 (1.0)	1485 (12.6)	10 (6.8)	1499 (5.7)	11 (3.6)						
	Female	-	-	581 (18.9)	4 (7.1)	275 (6.5)	4 (5.3)	856 (10.0)	8 (5.1)						
Cottage Industry	Male	7 (0.1)	1 (1.7)	938 (12.2)	5 (5.0)	145 (1.2)	3 (2.0)	1090 (4.2)	9 (3.0)						
	Female	910 (71.0)	7 (29.2)	554 (18.0)	4 (7.1)	250 (5.9)	3 (3.9)	1714 (19.9)	14 (9.0)						
Construction	Male	337 (5.1)	8 (13.8)	1187 (15.4)	17 (17.2)	1012 (8.6)	28 (19.1)	2536 (9.7)	53 (17.4)						
	Female	10 (0.8)	2 (8.3)	493 (16.0)	5 (8.9)	59 (1.4)	3 (3.9)	562 (6.5)	10 (6.4)						
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	986 (14.9)	6 (10.4)	994 (12.9)	5 (5.0)	455 (3.9)	6 (4.1)	2435 (9.3)	17 (5.6)						
	Female	-	-	229 (7.5)	2 (3.6)	60 (1.4)	1 (1.3)	289 (3.4)	3 (1.9)						
Service in Organized Sector	Male	3690 (55.8)	14 (24.1)	3231 (42.0)	17 (17.2)	1470 (12.4)	5 (3.4)	8391 (32.1)	36 (11.8)						
	Female	120 (9.4)	1 (4.2)	-	-	-	-	120 (1.4)	1 (0.7)						
Portering	Male	341 (5.2)	5 (8.6)	236 (3.0)	10 (10.1)	1029 (8.7)	29 (19.7)	1606 (6.2)	44 (14.5)						
	Female	44 (3.4)	2 (8.3)	140 (4.6)	3 (5.4)	449 (10.6)	13 (17.1)	633 (7.4)	18 (11.5)						
Other	Male	902 (13.7)	6 (10.4)	52 (0.7)	3 (3.0)	75 (0.6)	2 (1.4)	1029 (4.0)	11 (3.6)						
	Female	-	-	50 (1.6)	1 (1.8)	56 (1.3)	3 (3.9)	106 (1.2)	4 (2.6)						
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	6609 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	7697 (100.0)	99 (100.0)	11810 (100.0)	147 (100.0)	26116 (100.0)	304 (100.0)						
	Female	1282 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	3075 (100.0)	56 (100.0)	4240 (100.0)	76 (100.0)	8597 (100.0)	156 (100.0)						

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

while 61.5 percent of the high caste individuals do. This shows that in the Parbatiya community the poorest stratum contains a large proportion of high caste Brahman and Chetri women who, despite their economic hardship, avoid wage labor because of its low status (Bennett, 1981).

Those who were not working outside the household economy were asked to explain why they were not doing so. About 52 percent of the men said they were not engaged in paid employment because they had too much work at home (Table 2.14). About 18 percent said they were busy studying. Only 3.1 percent said that no suitable employment was available and another 1.6 percent said they were not qualified for the type of work available. Only these last two categories which constitute 4.7 percent of the male respondents may be considered as 'unemployment' in the conventional sense.

About 66.2 percent of the female respondents said work at home and child care responsibilities kept them away from seeking paid employment outside the home. Only 4.5 percent of the women gave study as cause for not working, while lack of suitable employment opportunities and qualifications for available work hindered 5.0 percent of the female respondents from seeking outside employment (Table 2.15). Inter-strata differences in responses are slight except as regards education and child care responsibilities. Inter-strata analysis showed about 7 percent of the women in the middle and 4.2 percent in the bottom and only 1.6 percent in the top strata having given education as their reason for not working outside the household. For top stratum women child care was a much more common reason for not taking outside employment reported in 13.6 percent of the cases (Table 2.16).

These findings suggest that people in Nepal -- men and women -- are over-worked and poor rather than underemployed. In the next chapter, analysis of the time allocation data will allow us to examine this conclusion further.

Inheritance Rights and Economic Status

Ownership and control over productive resources seem to be central to the inter-community variations in the status of women vis-a-vis men. In spite of the fact that throughout Nepal land inheritance is patrilineal, the communities studied in this series differ in respect to women's control over the total resources generated in the household and in their rights over land. The degree

TABLE 2.14

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY VILLAGE
MALE RESPONDENTS

(In number)

Reasons for Not Working	Village	Baragaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	All Villages
Too old, poor health		3 (8.6)	4 (6.9)	6 (13.0)	6 (23.1)	6 (15.0)	1 (11.1)	11 (18.0)	4 (9.5)	41 (12.9)
Too much work at home		19 (54.3)	35 (60.3)	20 (43.5)	12 (46.1)	6 (15.0)	3 (33.3)	48 (78.7)	22 (52.4)	165 (52.1)
Child care responsibilities, Lactation		1 (2.8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.3)
Studying, no time		-	17 (29.3)	8 (17.4)	6 (23.1)	16 (40.0)	4 (44.5)	2 (3.3)	3 (7.1)	56 (17.7)
Not qualified for work available		1 (2.8)	2 (3.5)	2 (4.4)	-	-	-	-	-	5 (1.6)
Social custom		-	-	1 (2.2)	-	-	-	-	5 (11.9)	6 (1.9)
Requires moving out of family or village		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No suitable employment available		2 (5.7)	-	3 (6.5)	2 (7.7)	-	1 (11.1)	-	2 (4.8)	10 (3.1)
Other		9 (25.7)	-	6 (13.0)	-	12 (30.0)	-	-	6 (14.3)	33 (10.4)
Total		35 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	61 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	317 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.15
REASONS FOR NOT TAKING OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY VILLAGE
FEMALE RESPONDENTS
(In number)

Reasons for Not Working	Village	Baragaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	All Villages
Too old, poor health		4 (11.1)	7 (8.8)	6 (9.8)	8 (14.8)	4 (8.5)	3 (14.3)	11 (14.7)	7 (15.2)	50 (11.9)
Too much work at home		18 (50.0)	54 (67.5)	21 (34.4)	35 (64.8)	17 (36.2)	10 (47.6)	57 (76.0)	20 (43.5)	232 (55.2)
Child care responsibilities, Lactation		6 (16.7)	5 (6.3)	12 (19.7)	9 (16.7)	5 (10.6)	3 (14.3)	3 (4.0)	3 (6.5)	46 (11.0)
Studying, no time		-	11 (13.7)	2 (3.3)	-	4 (8.5)	2 (9.5)	-	-	19 (4.5)
Not qualified for work available		-	3 (3.7)	-	-	1 (2.1)	-	-	-	4 (1.0)
Social custom		2 (5.5)	-	8 (13.1)	2 (3.7)	-	-	-	11 (23.9)	23 (5.5)
Requires moving out of family or village		-	-	1 (1.7)	-	-	1 (4.8)	-	-	2 (0.5)
No suitable employment available		-	-	11 (18.0)	-	-	2 (9.5)	4 (5.3)	-	17 (4.0)
Other		6 (16.7)	-	-	-	16 (34.1)	-	-	5 (10.9)	27 (6.4)
Total		36 (100.0)	80 (100.0)	61 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	47 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	420 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.16

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOUSE BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

Respondents/ Economic Strata	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Reasons for Not Working												
Too old, poor health	10 (9.2)	17 (15.6)	14 (14.1)	41 (12.9)	16 (12.8)	21 (13.6)	13 (9.2)	50 (11.9)	26 (11.1)	38 (14.4)	27 (11.2)	91 (12.3)
Too much work at home	63 (57.8)	54 (49.6)	48 (48.5)	165 (52.1)	70 (56.0)	90 (58.4)	72 (50.7)	232 (55.1)	133 (56.8)	144 (54.8)	120 (49.8)	397 (53.8)
Child care responsibilities/lactation	1 (0.9)	-	-	1 (0.3)	17 (13.6)	14 (9.1)	15 (10.6)	46 (10.9)	18 (7.7)	14 (5.3)	15 (6.2)	47 (6.4)
Studying, no time	12 (11.0)	30 (27.5)	14 (14.1)	56 (17.7)	2 (1.6)	11 (7.1)	6 (4.2)	19 (4.5)	14 (6.0)	41 (15.6)	20 (8.3)	75 (10.2)
Not qualified for work available	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	2 (2.0)	5 (1.6)	-	3 (2.0)	1 (0.7)	4 (1.0)	1 (0.4)	5 (1.9)	3 (1.3)	9 (1.2)
Social custom	1 (0.9)	-	5 (5.1)	6 (1.9)	7 (5.6)	3 (2.0)	13 (9.2)	23 (5.5)	8 (3.4)	3 (1.1)	18 (7.5)	29 (3.9)
Requires moving out of family or village	-	-	-	-	1 (0.8)	-	2 (1.4)	3 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	-	2 (0.8)	3 (0.4)
No suitable employment available	5 (4.6)	1 (0.9)	4 (4.1)	10 (3.1)	1 (0.8)	6 (3.9)	10 (7.0)	17 (4.0)	6 (2.6)	7 (2.7)	14 (5.8)	27 (3.7)
Other	16 (14.7)	5 (4.6)	12 (12.1)	33 (10.4)	11 (8.8)	6 (3.9)	10 (7.0)	27 (6.4)	27 (11.6)	11 (4.2)	22 (9.1)	60 (8.1)
Total	109 (100.0)	109 (100.0)	99 (100.0)	317 (100.0)	125 (100.0)	154 (100.0)	142 (100.0)	421 (100.0)	234 (100.0)	263 (100.0)	241 (100.0)	738 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

of women's control over household resources seems to depend in these communities on whether these resources are directly earned by women and also whether the man in the household who is the de-jure owner of the land is directly and consistently involved in working the land. Women in the Baragaonle and Kham Magar communities have their own sources of income and do not depend completely on land which is owned by men. This is reflected in the relatively higher sale of processed food and higher participation of women in trading in these communities. Particularly in Kagbeni and Thabang women are engaged in manufacturing as well as trading and have a higher degree of control over the household production because men are away trading (Kagbeni) or herding (Thabang) almost half of the year. In Sirsia and Sukhrwar, on the other hand, women have very little outside income of their own and work mostly on family farms. In these communities women have only nominal rights over even the daijo given to them by their natal family at marriage and pewa¹ which is given to them as their personal property. Schuler states that in Baragaonle society "women's primary access to property is through males" (1981). With the exception of personal clothing and ornaments, virtually all of the property -- including houses, fields, animals, equipment and furniture -- is normally inherited patrilineally from father to son. Daughters, on the other hand, are given a dowry at marriage. This dowry is carefully listed by a village scribe before a gathering of witnesses so that women get back all items if they are later divorced. Schuler proceeds to explain that since women spend much more time trading often with female relations from their natal family, they have full control over the income they earn. Moreover, men spend much more time than women migrating to plains of India. During the men's absence, women have greater control over the household resources. In the case of Kham Magar of Thabang, Molnar writes:

"Magar society is strongly patrilineal in ideology and stated rules of succession and inheritance. In actual practice, however, there is considerable flexibility in the application of these rules that gives women a means of controlling and even in some cases owning immovable property" (1981).

As she explains, this is mainly because the management of land and the agricultural enterprise is generally a female affair in Thabang. Males spend most of their time herding and or migrating to India in search of employment. Agriculture is the basic responsibility of the females.

¹ a) Daijo is property given to a woman by her natal household at marriage.

b) Pewa is anything given to her as personal property or anything she earns by herself.

The Sirsia village study (Acharya 1981) also states that "the inheritance system is patrilineal and the males of patriline inherit all property both landed and movable. Despite the Nepalese law, in Sirsia, a woman is not entitled to any share in the property. Widows and unmarried daughters can claim only maintenance". This presents a contrast to the Magar and Baragaonle communities where women have greater defacto control despite their general lack of formal ownership.

The Tharu, Newar and Parbatiya communities conform to the same basic pattern as the Maithili; that is, landed property is solely inherited by male descendants, while daughters may be given movable property at their marriage over which they have only nominal control.

About the Lohorung Rai village, Hardman writes: "The basic principle of inheritance is that each son should inherit an equal share of the household estate" (1981). Land is only "lent" not sold or given to an unmarried woman because on her death it returns to the male line. "Women, who marry, as most do, have little more than just rights in their husband's property. During his lifetime, she shares his inheritance. Married women are given rights over land and property sufficient for their support during their lifetime but never ownership" (1981).

Thus, common to all communities studied is the fact that women have no right to landed property and inheritance on their own. They must gain access to land and property by marriage and through male progeny. Divorced or childless women have no recognized rights of inheritance in either their affinal or in their natal households. While widows have usufruct rights to land during their lifetime, a divorced woman does not even have this. The only sources of property for a woman are daijo, from her natal household at marriage and pewa. Therefore, in communities where divorce is an accepted fact of life (Kagbeni, Katarche, Thabang and Sukhrwar) a careful account is maintained on these items of women's property however minimal it may be and women are supposed to get back this property if divorced. In Hindu communities like Bakundol and Sirsia where ideally a woman can be married only once in her life, no one keeps track of such property and a divorced woman often becomes a destitute.

Women who have greater access to independent income earning activities, like trading and sale of processed food, obviously have greater economic independence and therefore other life options apart from being a mother and wife. Although in all Nepalese communities motherhood is universally the most highly

valued state, there are other life options for women in Kagbeni and Thabang if marriage fails or if a woman is unable to have children. Women may engage in trading and choose to live alone or with any household or person they choose. In Kagbeni such a woman may become a female religious celibate. Nevertheless, even in these communities such women are economically insecure. Their position is far more precarious than that of a man in similar position but with rights to inherit property (Schuler 1981).

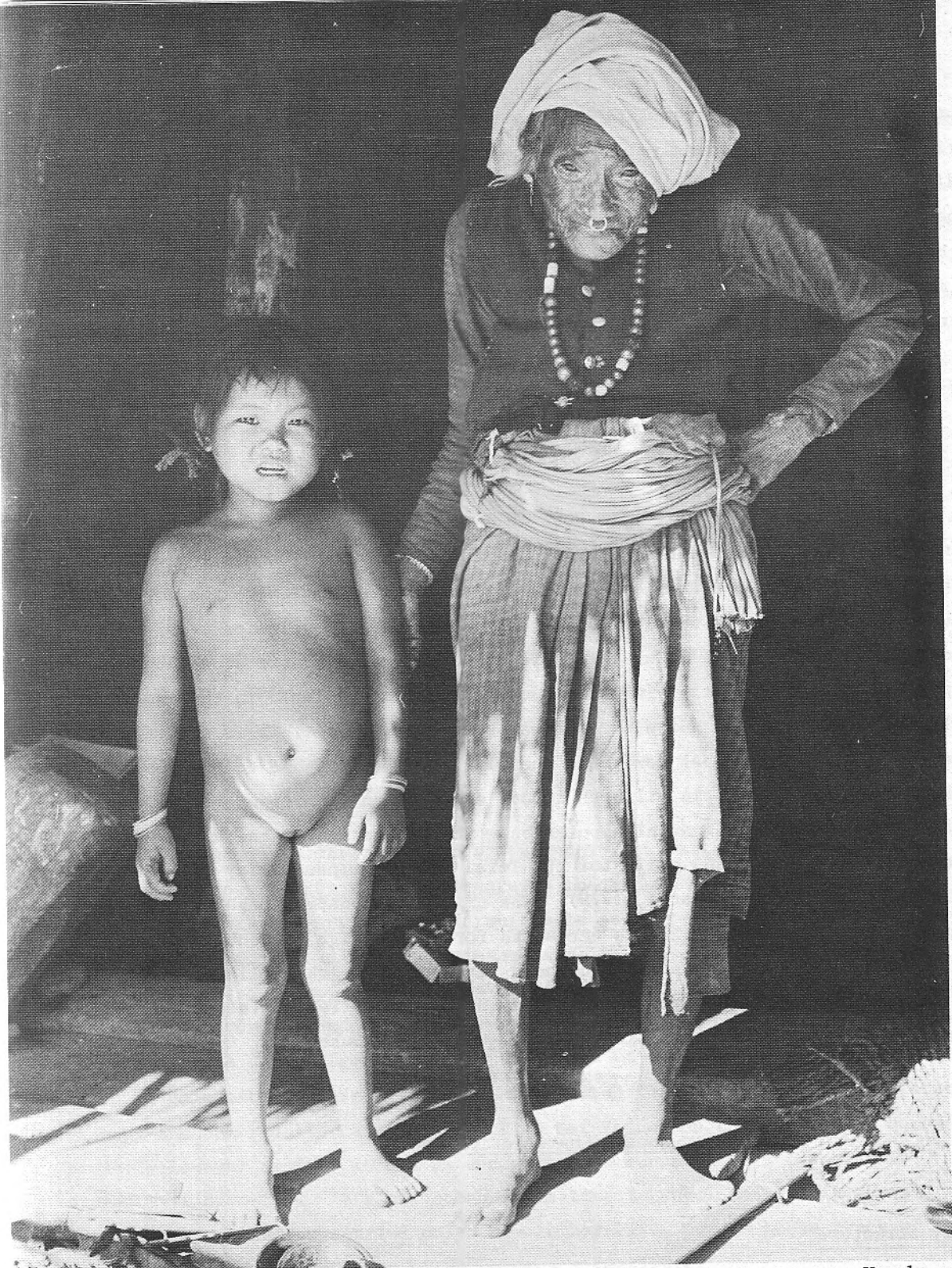
Demographic Characteristics

Of the total sample size of 1,800, 48.4 percent were men and 51.6 percent women. Age-wise 41.2 percent of the sample population was below fifteen while 4.7 percent of population was above 59. This pattern is similar to the 1971 Census figures which show that 40.46 percent of the total population were children of below 15 years of age. People of 60 and above constituted about six percent of the population in the Census year. The sex ratio in the sample population was 93.8 males per hundred females (Table 2.17). This is significantly different from the all Nepal sex ratio and might be attributable to the greater weight of hills and mountain villages in our sample than the weight of hills and mountain population in all Nepal population. The sex ratio for the hills and mountains in 1971 was 97.63 while for the Terai and Kathmandu valley it was 106.7 and 106.3 respectively (Acharya, 1979). The disproportionately high number of females in the over-all data is accounted for by the high percent of women in Pangma (Table 2.18). The average household size for the eight village sample is 6.4, however comparison between villages reveals a range from a minimum of 4.6 in Kagbeni to a maximum of 11.5 in the Tharu village of Sukhrwar.

Social Characteristics

Family Structure

One basic social characteristic of traditional agricultural societies is the predominance of factors other than economic ones in social interaction. Caste, clan, and family alliances are very strong. The influence of these factors on women's status in particular communities has been discussed in the respective



Lohorung Rai grandmother with granddaughter.
Only 5% of the female population reach age 60.

Charlotte Hardman

TABLE 2.17
SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE GROUP

Age Group	Sex		Number		Total	Column Percentage		Sex Ratio
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	
0 - 1	52	50	102	6.0	5.4	5.6	104.0	
2 - 4	87	78	165	10.0	8.4	9.2	111.5	
5 - 9	120	142	262	13.8	15.3	14.6	84.5	
10 - 14	96	116	212	11.0	12.5	11.8	82.8	
15 - 24	164	177	341	18.8	19.0	18.9	92.7	
25 - 34	122	137	259	14.0	14.7	14.4	89.1	
35 - 49	132	127	259	15.1	13.7	14.4	103.9	
50 - 59	59	56	115	6.8	6.0	6.4	105.3	
60 +	39	46	85	4.5	5.0	4.7	84.8	
Total	871	929	1800	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.8	

TABLE 2.18
 SAMPLE POPULATION BY VILLAGE AND SEX

(In number)

Particulars Village	Male	Female	Total
Kagbeni	81 (50.0)	81 (50.0)	162 (100.0)
Pangma	102 (44.0)	130 (56.0)	232 (100.0)
Thabang	89 (49.2)	92 (50.8)	181 (100.0)
Bakundol	104 (46.4)	120 (53.6)	224 (100.0)
Bulu	93 (49.7)	94 (50.3)	187 (100.0)
Katarche	81 (46.0)	95 (54.0)	176 (100.0)
Sukhrwar	202 (50.1)	201 (49.9)	403 (100.0)
Sirsia	119 (50.6)	116 (49.4)	235 (100.0)
All Villages	871 (48.4)	929 (51.6)	1800 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

case studies. Among these factors, family structure is one which is amenable to quantitative analysis and its influence on women's behavior has been taken up in this study. A household with one conjugal unit, i.e. husband, wife and their unmarried children and/or either of the parents all living together, was defined as nuclear, while a household consisting of a single person living alone, or a man or woman living with his/her unmarried children, or siblings living together was classified as "other". Households containing more than one conjugal unit were classified as extended.¹

Most households in agricultural societies go through a cycle in which the extended family breaks up into nuclear families which in time themselves form into extended families as sons marry and bring in wives. At any given moment certain households are nuclear and others extended. Depending upon how long families tend to remain in the extended stage, there may be a predominance of either extended or nuclear households in a given community. The strength of the joint family ideal varies considerably between the communities we studied. In some communities households never become nuclear because before the eldest generation separates, the next generation already have their own married sons living with the family. This phenomenon was observed in the Tharu community of Sukhrwar where 74.28 percent of households were found to be in the extended category. In most other communities in Nepal, however, this cycle seems to move more rapidly and households generally split before the third generation is married. In other communities the households split even earlier -- soon after a son is married and has a child. As is evident from the Table 2.19, in most of the communities studied the overwhelmingly large majority of households were nuclear while in Sirsia the distribution of households between the nuclear and extended families was almost 50:50.

In the Tibeto-Burman group of communities, particularly the Lohorung Rai of Pangma, Tamangs of Katarche and Baragaonle of Kagbeni, the percentage of extended families was relatively low. According to Schuler, in spite of the strong ideology of cooperation among the brothers and between parents and their children, most of the households end up being nuclear because of another conflicting ideology i.e., that there should be only one female running the household. According to Molnar, the Kham Magar people prefer to separate their married sons as soon as the sons have their own children. Parents begin contemplating this separation even before their sons are married.

¹A polygynous or polyandrous marriage was considered a single conjugal unit.

TABLE 2.19

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY VILLAGE AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

(In number)

Family Structure Village	Nuclear	Extended	Others	Total
Baragaonle	23 (65.7)	5 (14.3)	7 (20.0)	35 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	23 (65.7)	4 (11.4)	8 (22.9)	35 (100.0)
Kham Magar	17 (48.6)	8 (22.8)	10 (28.6)	35 (100.0)
Parbatiya	21 (60.0)	11 (31.4)	3 (8.6)	35 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	24 (68.6)	9 (25.7)	2 (5.7)	35 (100.0)
Tamang	24 (68.6)	4 (11.4)	7 (20.0)	35 (100.0)
Tharu	8 (22.8)	26 (74.3)	1 (2.9)	35 (100.0)
Maithili	18 (51.4)	17 (48.6)	-	35 (100.0)
All Villages	158 (56.4)	84 (30.0)	38 (13.6)	280 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.20
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY VILLAGE AND ECONOMIC STRATA/FAMILY STRUCTURE

Village	Economic Strata/ Family Structure		Top			Middle			Bottom			
	Nuclear	Extended	Others	Total	Nuclear	Extended	Others	Total	Nuclear	Extended	Others	Total
Baragaonle	21 (63.6)	5 (15.2)	7 (21.2)	33 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	-	-	1 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	-	-	1 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	6 (75.0)	-	2 (25.0)	8 (100.0)	8 (53.3)	4 (26.7)	3 (20.0)	15 (100.0)	9 (75.0)	-	3 (25.0)	12 (100.0)
Kham Magar	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)	1 (14.2)	7 (100.0)	4 (50.0)	1 (12.5)	3 (37.5)	8 (100.0)	10 (50.0)	4 (20.0)	6 (30.0)	20 (100.0)
Parbatiya	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	-	8 (100.0)	8 (40.0)	9 (45.0)	3 (15.0)	20 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	-	-	7 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	7 (77.8)	2 (22.2)	-	9 (100.0)	8 (61.5)	5 (38.5)	-	13 (100.0)	9 (69.2)	2 (15.4)	2 (15.4)	13 (100.0)
Tamang	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	-	5 (100.0)	4 (44.4)	1 (11.1)	4 (44.4)	9 (100.0)	17 (80.9)	1 (4.8)	3 (14.3)	21 (100.0)
Tharu	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	-	5 (100.0)	2 (14.3)	12 (85.7)	-	14 (100.0)	4 (25.0)	11 (68.7)	1 (6.3)	16 (100.0)
Maithili	3 (33.3)	6 (66.7)	-	9 (100.0)	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	-	5 (100.0)	13 (61.9)	8 (38.1)	-	21 (100.0)
Total	51 (60.7)	23 (27.4)	10 (11.9)	84 (100.0)	37 (43.5)	35 (41.2)	13 (15.3)	85 (100.0)	70 (63.1)	26 (23.4)	15 (13.5)	111 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

In an overall analysis 30 percent of the households were found to be of the extended category and 56.4 percent in the nuclear category. About 14 percent of the households were classified as "other".

According to the present classification of the households by economic strata no consistent pattern emerges as to the relation of wealth to family structure in the sample villages (Table 2.21). About 48 percent of the sample population, however, lived in extended families while only 45 percent lived in nuclear ones (Table 2.24). On the aggregate level proportionately more household and people in the middle economic stratum seem to prefer to live in extended households than those of either top or bottom economic strata. The effect of family structure on male and female work patterns will be taken up in Chapter III.

Marriage and Residence Patterns

In contrast to many other quantitative socio-demographic studies we collected a large amount of data on marriage patterns, including age of marriage, form of marriage, type of rituals, number of marital unions, reasons for marriage termination, as well as related variables such as the distance to women's natal homes and frequency of their visits. In our opinion this is the most neglected area in socio-demographic statistics, but one which is very crucial to the analysis of women's status in Nepal. Since marriage is almost universal for both males and females in Nepal, the relative behavioral freedom allowed to women in establishing the marriage relation and subsequently within the marital union makes a great difference in a woman's life. The data on marriage patterns reveal that the degree of freedom allowed to women in these matters differs widely from community to community.

Marital Status

Of the female sample of 929, 50.4 percent were never married (Table 2.25). In light of the fact that 41.6 percent of the female population were below 15 years of age the proportion of unmarried females among the adult population is negligible on the whole. About 54 percent of males are unmarried in the total male population and 40.8 percent of the total male sample are below 15 years of age. About 43 percent of the male population and 42 percent of the female population were presently married. While 6.4 percent of the women in the sample were

TABLE 2.21

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Family Structure	Economic Strata			All Strata
	Top	Middle	Bottom	
Nuclear	51 (60.7)	37 (43.5)	70 (63.1)	158 (56.4)
Extended	23 (27.4)	35 (41.2)	26 (23.4)	84 (30.0)
Others	10 (11.9)	13 (15.3)	15 (13.5)	38 (13.6)
All	84 (100.0)	85 (100.0)	111 (100.0)	280 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.22

SAMPLE POPULATION BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

(In number)

Economic Strata	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Top	249 (28.6)	255 (27.5)	504 (28.0)
Middle	260 (29.8)	316 (34.0)	576 (32.0)
Bottom	362 (41.6)	358 (38.5)	720 (40.0)
All Strata	871 (100.0)	929 (100.0)	1800 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.23

POPULATION BY FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Family Structure	Economic Strata			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Nuclear	265 (52.6)	188 (32.6)	403 (56.0)	856 (47.6)
Extended	216 (42.8)	348 (60.4)	255 (35.4)	819 (45.5)
Other	23 (4.6)	40 (7.0)	62 (8.6)	125 (6.9)
All	504 (100.0)	576 (100.0)	720 (100.0)	1800 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.24

POPULATION BY VILLAGE AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

(In number)

Village	Family Structure			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Others	
Baragaonle	116 (71.6)	29 (17.9)	17 (10.5)	162 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	170 (73.3)	33 (14.2)	29 (12.5)	232 (100.0)
Kham Magar	85 (47.0)	63 (34.8)	33 (18.2)	181 (100.0)
Parbatiya	108 (48.2)	108 (48.2)	8 (3.6)	224 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	107 (57.2)	70 (37.4)	10 (5.4)	187 (100.0)
Tamang	127 (72.2)	27 (15.3)	22 (12.5)	176 (100.0)
Tharu	52 (12.9)	345 (85.6)	6 (1.5)	403 (100.0)
Maithili	91 (38.7)	144 (61.3)	-	235 (100.0)
All Villages	856 (47.6)	819 (45.5)	125 (6.9)	1800 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.25
 MARITAL STATUS BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
 (For Total Population)

Marital Status/ Sex Economic Strata	Male				Female				(In number)	
	Never Married	Presently Married	Widowed and not Remarried	Divorced and not Remarried	All	Never Married	Presently Married	Widowed and not Remarried		Divorced and not Remarried
Top	126 (50.6)	113 (45.4)	7 (2.8)	3 (1.2)	249 (100.0)	121 (47.4)	112 (43.9)	16 (6.3)	6 (2.4)	255 (100.0)
Middle	134 (51.5)	118 (45.4)	7 (2.7)	1 (0.4)	260 (100.0)	167 (52.9)	124 (39.2)	23 (7.3)	2 (0.6)	316 (100.0)
Bottom	208 (57.5)	140 (38.7)	12 (3.3)	2 (0.5)	362 (100.0)	181 (50.6)	150 (41.9)	20 (5.6)	7 (1.9)	358 (100.0)
All Strata	468 (53.7)	371 (42.6)	26 (3.0)	6 (0.7)	871 (100.0)	469 (50.4)	386 (41.6)	59 (6.4)	15 (1.6)	929 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.26

MARITAL STATUS BY VILLAGE AND SEX

(For Population of 10 Years and Above)

Particulars	(In number)									
	Male					Female				
	Never Married	Presently Married	Widowed and not Remarried	Divorced and not Remarried	All	Never Married	Presently Married	Widowed and not Remarried	Divorced and not Remarried	All
Village										
Baragaonle	20 (32.3)	38 (61.3)	3 (4.8)	1 (1.6)	62 (100.0)	18 (31.0)	33 (56.9)	4 (6.9)	3 (5.2)	58 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	42 (53.8)	34 (43.6)	2 (2.6)	-	78 (100.0)	44 (45.8)	38 (39.6)	12 (12.5)	2 (2.1)	96 (100.0)
Kham Magar	23 (34.8)	37 (56.1)	6 (9.1)	-	66 (100.0)	25 (33.8)	37 (50.0)	8 (10.8)	4 (5.4)	74 (100.0)
Parbatiya	27 (36.0)	46 (61.3)	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	75 (100.0)	33 (37.9)	47 (54.0)	6 (6.9)	1 (1.2)	87 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	25 (38.5)	37 (56.9)	2 (3.1)	1 (1.5)	65 (100.0)	23 (33.3)	37 (53.6)	7 (10.2)	2 (2.9)	69 (100.0)
Tamang	24 (39.3)	33 (54.1)	2 (3.3)	2 (3.3)	61 (100.0)	18 (27.3)	40 (60.6)	5 (7.6)	3 (4.5)	66 (100.0)
Tharu	30 (24.6)	86 (70.5)	6 (4.9)	-	122 (100.0)	33 (25.6)	87 (67.4)	9 (7.0)	-	129 (100.0)
Maithili	18 (21.7)	59 (71.1)	4 (4.8)	2 (2.4)	83 (100.0)	5 (6.3)	66 (82.5)	8 (10.0)	1 (1.2)	80 (100.0)
All Villages	209 (34.2)	370 (60.5)	26 (4.2)	7 (1.1)	612 (100.0)	199 (30.2)	385 (58.4)	59 (9.0)	16 (2.4)	659 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

widows, only 3.0 percent of the men were widowers. This may be attributable to demographic factors such as the greater survival rate of women in higher age groups as well as less frequent occurrence of widow remarriage in the orthodox Indo-Aryan communities. A larger percentage of women than men were currently divorced. This is probably due to the fact that if men are not happy with their wives they may simply bring in another wife. If the first wife does not want to share her household with another woman she may leave and thus become 'divorced'. The proportion of unmarried males was highest in the bottom economic stratum while the highest percentage of unmarried females was in the middle economic stratum. Whether these variations are due to demographic factors such as age structure, etc., or other socio-economic factors needs to be studied further. The proportion of widows who had not remarried was also higher for the females of middle and top economic strata as compared to females of the bottom stratum. The proportion of divorcees, both men and women, was highest in the top economic stratum.

Age at First Marriage

On the whole 9.4 percent of the male population and 22.5 percent of the female population were married before they completed 14 years (Table 2.27). Only 2.4 percent of the women had married after reaching age 25, while 6.4 percent of men had done so. The majority of the women (63.1 percent) were married between age 14 and 20 while the largest proportion of men (61.8 percent) were married between age 17 and 25. The proportion of child marriages (i.e. marriage below 14) was higher for both boys and girls of top and bottom economic strata than for those from middle economic stratum.

A cross tabulation of age at first marriage with age group indicates that on the whole the incidence of early marriage is declining (Table 2.28). Compared to 8.8 percent of females of 50 years and above who were married while they were between 1 and 9 years of age, only 0.9 percent of the 10-14 age group are married at present. Similarly 51.2 percent of the females in the 35-49 age group were married by the time they had completed 16 years, while the comparable proportion for the females of 15-34 age group was 34.3 percent. A similar decline is discernible in 15-34 and 35-49 age groups of males.

This trend is not however, universal across the communities studied. For example, the percentage of married women is higher for the lower age groups in the Tibetan speaking community of Kagbeni. Schuler reports that this phenomenon is attributable to the improved economic situation in the area. In the past

TABLE 2.27
 AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
 (For Ever Married Population of 10 Years and Above)

(In number)

Age at First Marriage	Sex/Economic Strata		Male				Female			
			Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
			()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
1-9	4	-	2	6	12	8	6	8	26	
	(3.5)		(1.3)	(1.5)	(9.3)	(4.1)	(4.1)	(4.6)	(5.8)	
10-13	11	7	13	31	20	37	18	37	75	
	(9.5)	(5.6)	(8.5)	(7.9)	(15.5)	(21.4)	(12.2)	(21.4)	(16.7)	
14-16	23	32	33	88	26	49	48	49	123	
	(19.8)	(25.6)	(21.7)	(22.4)	(20.2)	(28.3)	(32.4)	(28.3)	(27.3)	
17-20	44	55	57	156	50	51	60	51	161	
	(37.9)	(44.0)	(37.5)	(39.7)	(38.8)	(29.5)	(40.5)	(29.5)	(35.8)	
21-25	29	26	32	87	15	26	13	26	54	
	(25.0)	(20.8)	(21.1)	(22.1)	(11.6)	(15.0)	(8.8)	(15.0)	(12.0)	
26+	5	5	15	25	6	2	3	2	11	
	(4.3)	(4.0)	(9.9)	(6.4)	(4.6)	(1.2)	(2.0)	(1.2)	(2.4)	
Total	116	125	152	393	129	148	173	450		
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.28

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY AGE GROUP

(For Females of 10 Years & Above)

(In number)

Age at First Marriage	Age Group	10-14	15-34	35-49	50+	Total
	Never Married		110 (94.8)	90 (28.7)	2 (1.6)	7 (6.9)
1-9		1 (0.9)	9 (2.9)	7 (5.5)	9 (8.8)	26 (3.9)
10-13		5 (4.3)	31 (9.9)	23 (18.1)	16 (15.7)	75 (11.4)
14-16		-	68 (21.6)	35 (27.6)	20 (19.6)	123 (18.7)
17-20		-	81 (25.8)	42 (33.1)	38 (37.3)	161 (24.4)
21-25		-	32 (10.2)	13 (10.2)	9 (8.8)	54 (8.2)
26+		-	3 (0.9)	5 (3.9)	3 (2.9)	11 (1.7)
Total		116 (100.0)	314 (100.0)	127 (100.0)	102 (100.0)	659 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

brothers could not afford to take separate wives and so they generally entered polyandrous unions sharing a single wife and leaving many women in the community unmarried. Under the currently improved economic conditions most men take individual wives and thus a higher percentage of younger women are getting married.

Individuals between the ages of 1-9 years who were already married were reported in Bakundol and Sirsia for both males and females and also in Bulu for females (Table 2.29). The Parbatiyas of Bakundol and the Maithili people of Sirsia had by far the largest proportion of girls married before age 16. These villages represent the most orthodox Hindu groups covered by the study with the greatest concern about maintaining the sexual purity of their women. In Bakundol 74.1 percent of the females were married before 17 years of age while in Sirsia 95.9 percent of the females were married before they reached 17. The lowest proportion of marriages before 17 was reported in Kagbeni, the extreme of the Tibeto-Burman group. The Kham Magar of Thabang also married only 14.3 percent of their female population before they reached 17 years of age. In other villages between 30 and 55 percent of the female respondents reported having been married before age 17. There was a marked association between the degree of Indo-Aryan influence on the community and the proportion of early marriages. Similar patterns though less pronounced, are discernible for males also. Male marriages however, are more frequent in 17-20 or higher age group in all the villages. Except for Sirsia, more than 50 percent of the males reported getting married after 16. In Sirsia 70.3 percent of the males were married before completing 17 years.

Type of Marriage

Marriages may be classified into various types and sub-types. The major types are monogamous, polygynous and polyandrous. Each of them may be further classified into sororal-polygynous¹ and non-sororal polygynous, levirate² monogamous and sororal monogamous,³ fraternal polyandrous⁴ or non-fraternal

¹Sororal polygyny is the simultaneous marriage of two sisters to one husband.

²Levirate is the marriage of a woman to her deceased husband's brother.

³Sororal monogamy is the marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister.

⁴Fraternal polyandry is the simultaneous marriage of brothers to a single wife. In non-fraternal polyandry the woman marries several unrelated men.

TABLE 2.29

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY VILLAGE AND SEX

(For Ever Married Population of 10 Years and Above)

Sex/Age at First Marriage Village	(In number)													
	Male					Female								
	1 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 16	17 - 20	21 - 25	26+	Total	1 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 16	17 - 20	21 - 25	26+	Total
Baragaonle	-	1 (2.8)	8 (22.2)	14 (38.9)	11 (30.6)	2 (5.5)	36 (100.0)	-	1 (2.9)	2 (5.7)	17 (48.6)	10 (28.5)	5 (14.3)	35 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	-	-	3 (8.3)	13 (36.1)	16 (44.5)	4 (11.1)	36 (100.0)	-	3 (6.0)	15 (30.0)	25 (50.0)	7 (14.0)	-	50 (100.0)
Kham Magar	-	2 (4.8)	3 (7.1)	15 (35.7)	14 (33.3)	8 (19.1)	42 (100.0)	-	-	7 (14.3)	27 (55.1)	10 (20.4)	5 (10.2)	49 (100.0)
Parbatiya	1 (2.1)	6 (12.5)	12 (25.0)	12 (25.0)	12 (25.0)	5 (10.4)	48 (100.0)	8 (14.8)	5 (9.3)	27 (50.0)	12 (22.2)	2 (3.7)	-	54 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	-	2 (5.1)	10 (25.7)	20 (51.3)	5 (12.8)	2 (5.1)	39 (100.0)	1 (2.2)	12 (26.7)	13 (28.9)	15 (33.3)	4 (8.9)	-	45 (100.0)
Tamang	-	4 (11.1)	8 (22.2)	14 (38.9)	8 (22.2)	2 (5.6)	36 (100.0)	-	6 (12.8)	17 (36.2)	17 (36.2)	6 (12.7)	1 (2.1)	47 (100.0)
Tharu	-	3 (3.2)	17 (18.5)	53 (57.6)	17 (18.5)	2 (2.2)	92 (100.0)	-	6 (6.3)	30 (31.2)	45 (46.9)	15 (15.6)	-	96 (100.0)
Maithili	5 (7.8)	13 (20.3)	27 (42.2)	15 (23.4)	4 (6.3)	-	64 (100.0)	17 (23.0)	42 (56.7)	12 (16.2)	3 (4.1)	-	-	74 (100.0)
All villages	6 (1.5)	31 (7.9)	88 (22.4)	156 (39.7)	87 (22.1)	25 (6.4)	393 (100.0)	26 (5.8)	75 (16.7)	123 (27.3)	161 (35.8)	54 (12.0)	11 (2.4)	450 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.30

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY AGE GROUP

(For Males of 10 Years and Above)

(In number)

Age at First Marriage \ Age Group	0 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 34	35 - 49	50 +	Total
Never married	258 (100.0)	96 (100.0)	112 (39.0)	10 (7.6)	2 (2.0)	478 (54.9)
1 - 9	-	-	4 (1.4)	2 (1.5)	-	6 (0.7)
10 - 13	-	-	12 (4.2)	9 (6.8)	10 (10.2)	31 (3.5)
14 - 16	-	-	42 (14.6)	25 (18.9)	21 (21.4)	88 (10.1)
17 - 20	-	-	82 (28.6)	46 (34.9)	28 (28.6)	156 (17.9)
21 - 25	-	-	33 (11.5)	29 (22.0)	25 (25.5)	87 (10.0)
26 - 99	-	-	2 (0.7)	11 (8.3)	12 (12.3)	25 (2.9)
Total	258 (100.0)	96 (100.0)	287 (100.0)	132 (100.0)	98 (100.0)	871 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.



Uncertainty mars the face of a 14 year old Parbatiya bride about to be carried to her husband's village and family in a sedan chair. Ane Haaland

polyandrous, etc. In Nepal all types of marriages except non-fraternal polyandry are found. Due to the small size of our sample, however, quantitative analysis is limited to a comparison of the major types of marriages found in Nepal.

Polygynous marriages are those marriages whereby a man takes two or more wives. Polyandry is often portrayed as the opposite of this, i.e., a woman taking several husbands. As Schuler has pointed out however, it is important to emphasize that, certainly in Nepal, this is not the case. Rather, polyandry as practiced among the Baragaonle people involves a woman being married to several men of a household and is as problematic for women as a polygynous marriage (see Schuler, 1981).

It is evident from Table 2.31 that polygynous marriages are still prevalent in Nepal, but the percentage of such marriages is not very high. About 6.5 percent of the marriages in the sample were polygynous. Only one community in the sample, the Tibetan speaking people of Kagbeni, practices polyandrous marriage. Polygynous and polyandrous marriages are more characteristic of wealthier than poorer households. This may be due to the fact that women in the wealthier families have a greater stake in maintaining the marital relationship because this is the only way they can gain access to property. In poorer households a woman would have less to lose by leaving a problematic marriage. No pattern, however, is noticeable in the inter-community variation in the types of marriage. There is a higher proportion of polygynous marriages in Katarche and Thabang which are Tibeto-Burman groups and in Sirsia which is Indo-Aryan (Table 2.32). Several factors seem to be contributing towards polygynous marriages, the most important of which seems to be the inability of the couple to produce sons.

Residence Patterns and Women's Support from Their Natal Home

Although the 'patrilocal' residence pattern (i.e. transfer of the bride to the husband's household) is more or less universal in Nepal, it is more traumatic for women in some communities than in others. There are several reasons for this.

In the communities where women are permitted or even encouraged to communicate with their future marriage partners, where they are related by birth or where they generally marry within the same village, women do not suddenly face a completely new environment and unknown people, at the time of marriage. In other

TABLE 2.31
 TYPE OF PRESENT MARRIAGE FOR CURRENTLY MARRIED
 POPULATION BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

Sex/Economic Strata	(In number)							
	Male			Female				
	Top	Middle	Bottom	Top	Middle	Bottom		
Type of Present Marriage			All Strata			All Strata		
Monogamous	95 (84.1)	115 (97.5)	135 (96.4)	345 (93.0)	96 (85.7)	118 (95.2)	142 (94.7)	356 (92.2)
Polygynous	8 (7.1)	3 (2.5)	5 (3.6)	16 (4.3)	11 (9.8)	6 (4.8)	8 (5.3)	25 (6.5)
Polyandrous	10 (8.8)	-	-	10 (2.7)	5 (4.5)	-	-	5 (1.3)
All marriages	113 (100.0)	118 (100.0)	140 (100.0)	371 (100.0)	112 (100.0)	124 (100.0)	150 (100.0)	386 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.32

TYPE OF PRESENT MARRIAGE BY VILLAGE

(For Females of 15 Years & Above)

(In number)

Type of Marriage Village	Monogamous	Polygynous	Polyandrous	Total
Baragaonle	28 (84.8)	-	5 (15.2)	33 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	38 (100.0)	-	-	38 (100.0)
Kham Magar	31 (86.1)	5 (13.9)	-	36 (100.0)
Parbatiya	45 (95.7)	2 (4.3)	-	47 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	37 (100.0)	-	-	37 (100.0)
Tamang	32 (80.0)	8 (20.0)	-	40 (100.0)
Tharu	85 (97.7)	2 (2.3)	-	87 (100.0)
Maithili	53 (86.9)	8 (13.1)	-	61 (100.0)
All Villages	349 (92.1)	25 (6.6)	5 (1.3)	379* (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* 171 cases of not applicable married females.

communities however where marriage partners must be completely unrelated and preferably from another village -- e.g., the Parbatiya and Maithili -- marriage means an almost total change in a woman's life situation. In most of the Tibeto-Burman communities in Nepal cross cousin marriages, i.e. between cousins whose related parents are siblings of the opposite sex, are socially preferred. Of the eight communities covered by this study, this preference is found among the Tharu, Kham Magar, Tamang, Lohorung Rai and Baragaonle people.

Generally, the continuation of an existing inter-family relationship as in case of cross-cousin marriage, provides women strong support in her affinal household. In some cases, however, it can be problematic for women. As Molnar describes the Kham Magar case:

"This dual affiliation can place a woman in a situation where she has conflicting loyalties to members of two lineages. In the event of dispute between two lineages her position becomes ambiguous because relatives know she can be swayed in either of two directions The natal family may also interfere in a woman's affairs even when she would prefer to make her own decision Interference from her natal relatives may also endanger her marriage if she is a recent bride" (1981).

On the other hand in the Tharu community, where exchange marriages are preferred, natal households may not support a woman who wants to end her current marriage because to do so would put them in "debt" to the husband's family.

Distance to natal home may be another factor which contributes to the hardships of a woman's transfer to her affinal household at marriage. Except for the Parbatiya community in Bakundol no woman reported her natal household to be at a distance of more than a day's walk (Table 2.33). More than 87 percent of the Magar women and 72 percent of the Baragaonle women were married to the men from the same village. About 90 percent of the women in the aggregate sample were married to the men of the same village or to men from nearby villages at a distance of less than six hours walk. Although at the individual village level wealthier women in some communities tended to marry further than their poorer sisters, at the aggregate level there does not seem to be a distinct relationship between the wealth of the household and distance to the natal home of the affinal women (Table 2.34).

At the initial stages of marriage support from natal household is very helpful in establishing a woman's position in her affinal household. The frequency and duration of a woman's visits to her natal home decline slowly as

TABLE 2.33

DISTANCE TO NATAL HOME BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Village	Distance to Maiti	Same Village	1 - 6 Hours	6 Hours 1 Day	2 Days	3 Days	4 Days and Above	Total
Baragaonle		29 (72.5)	11 (27.5)	-	-	-	-	40 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai		5 (9.8)	32 (62.7)	14 (27.5)	-	-	-	51 (100.0)
Kham Magar		42 (87.5)	5 (10.4)	1 (2.1)	-	-	-	48 (100.0)
Parbatiya		2 (3.7)	40 (74.1)	5 (9.3)	3 (5.5)	2 (3.7)	2 (3.7)	54 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu		12 (26.1)	34 (73.9)	-	-	-	-	46 (100.0)
Tamang		12 (26.1)	26 (56.5)	7 (15.2)	-	-	1 (2.2)	46 (100.0)
Tharu		39 (40.6)	57 (59.4)	-	-	-	-	96 (100.0)
Maithili		2 (2.9)	58 (84.1)	9 (13.0)	-	-	-	69 (100.0)
All villages		143 (31.8)	263 (58.4)	36 (8.0)	3 (0.7)	2 (0.4)	3 (0.7)	450 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.34

DISTANCE TO NATAL (MAITI) HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Distance to Maiti Char	Economic Strata			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Same Village	52 (40.0)	38 (25.9)	53 (31.0)	143 (31.9)
1 - 6 Hours	70 (53.8)	91 (61.9)	100 (58.5)	261 (58.3)
6 Hours - 1 Day	7 (5.4)	13 (8.8)	16 (9.3)	36 (8.0)
2 Days	-	3 (2.0)	-	3 (0.7)
3 Days	-	2 (1.4)	-	2 (0.4)
4 Days and above	1 (0.8)	-	2 (1.2)	3 (0.7)
Total	130 (100.0)	147 (100.0)	171 (100.0)	448 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

she advances in age. In the current sample while 77.4 percent of the women between 15 and 24 years of age had spent some time in their natal household during the last year, only 64.5 percent of the women in the 45 and above age group had done so (Table 2.35).

A higher proportion of women from the top and middle economic strata visited their natal households than women from the bottom economic stratum (Table 2.36). However, women from the middle economic stratum generally had shorter visits to their natal households. Village level analysis shows that a relatively larger percentage of married women in Terai villages were unable to visit their natal households. In the Maithili village this is probably because for each visit, long or short, women must return with gifts for their affines and this means expense for their natal families. Almost 35 percent of the married women in the Tamang community had not spent the night in their natal households during the survey year. However, this may well be due to the fact that a large percentage of women in Katarche, the Tamang village, had married within the village and were thus able to visit informally every day. The proportion of women visiting their natal households was largest in the Newar Jyapu community. In all but Kham Magar communities most women limited their time in these visits to less than 30 days. Moreover, for almost 39 percent of the women these visits were for periods shorter than two weeks (Table 2.37).

If her natal household is nearby allowing frequent visits and ready support from her natal relatives, a woman has greater flexibility in her behavior towards her affines. Whereas, in the case of Brahman-Chetri women an extended return to the natal home in the case of a broken marriage is a disgrace both for the woman and her natal family, women in Tibeto-Burman communities can more easily go back to their natal households in between two marriages.

Choice in Marriage and Freedom to Remarry

Another possible factor in the relative ease of the marriage transition for women in Tibeto-Burman communities is their greater freedom to participate actively in the choice of life partners. However, the degree of socially accepted freedom for women regarding their choice of marriage partners differs from community to community in all groups. The degree of freedom is reflected not only in the data on whether or not women had choice in the selection of their initial marriage partner, but also in the incidence of remarriage as well as the form of remarriage in different communities.

TABLE 2.35

TIME SPENT IN MAITI BY AGE GROUP

(In number)

Time Spent in Days	Age Group			Total
	15-24	25-44	45+	
0	19 (22.6)	59 (27.2)	44 (35.5)	122 (28.7)
1-14	30 (35.7)	81 (37.3)	53 (42.7)	164 (38.6)
15-30	11 (13.1)	27 (12.4)	8 (6.5)	46 (10.8)
31-90	6 (7.2)	18 (8.3)	8 (6.5)	32 (7.5)
91+	18 (21.4)	32 (14.8)	11 (8.8)	61 (14.4)
Total	84 (100.0)	217 (100.0)	124 (100.0)	425 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.36

TIME SPENT IN MAITI BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Time Spent in Days	Economic Strata			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
0	30 (27.5)	37 (25.3)	55 (32.4)	122 (28.7)
1-14	29 (26.6)	69 (47.3)	66 (38.8)	164 (38.6)
15-30	17 (15.6)	11 (7.5)	18 (10.6)	46 (10.8)
31-90	8 (7.4)	16 (11.0)	8 (4.7)	32 (7.5)
91+	25 (22.9)	13 (8.9)	23 (13.5)	61 (14.4)
Total	109 (100.0)	146 (100.0)	170 (100.0)	425 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.37

TIME SPENT IN MAITI BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Village	Time Spent in Days					Total
	0	1 - 14	15 - 30	31 - 90	91 +	
Baragaonle	2 (11.1)	4 (22.2)	2 (11.1)	-	10 (55.6)	18 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	5 (9.8)	34 (66.7)	3 (5.9)	2 (3.9)	7 (13.7)	51 (100.0)
Kham Magar	4 (8.3)	5 (10.4)	11 (22.9)	9 (18.8)	19 (39.6)	48 (100.0)
Parbatiya	9 (16.7)	22 (40.7)	10 (18.5)	7 (13.0)	6 (11.1)	54 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	3 (6.5)	22 (47.8)	6 (13.1)	8 (17.4)	7 (15.2)	46 (100.0)
Tamang	16 (34.8)	17 (37.0)	5 (10.9)	2 (4.3)	6 (13.0)	46 (100.0)
Tharu	46 (47.9)	49 (51.1)	1 (1.0)	-	-	96 (100.0)
Maithili	37 (56.1)	11 (16.7)	8 (12.1)	4 (6.0)	6 (9.1)	66 (100.0)
All villages	122 (28.7)	164 (38.6)	46 (10.8)	32 (7.5)	61 (14.4)	425 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Contrary to the wide-spread beliefs among the urban elite in Nepal, women in most of the rural communities studied seem to have considerable freedom to enter into second marriages. Almost 16 percent of the women and 30.5 percent of the men in the sample had been married more than once (Table 2.38). The incidence of third and fourth marriages for women was far less than for men. Nevertheless, from this data it is evident that it is not a very rare phenomenon for a woman to think of breaking off marital ties, which are not to her liking. As shown in Table 2.40, a marriage relationship may be severed for various reasons. While according to female reporting slightly less than six percent of the broken marriages in our sample were due to desertion or elopement by the female partners, men reported female desertion or elopement in nearly 11 percent of the cases. According to the male reporting, desertion by the spouse is found in all the villages except Thabang (Table 2.41). In all the villages except Sirsia, there were women who reported that they had deserted their previous husbands (Table 2.42). It is interesting to note that second and third marriages for women are culturally acceptable in all communities except among the orthodox Hindu high castes represented in this study by the Brahmans and Chetris of Bakundol and the Brahmans of Sirsia. Even in these Hindu villages women of the middle and lower castes could decide to break their marital union and enter another without loss of social standing. In the Bakundol sample 7.1 percent of the low caste Sarki women had entered into second unions while none of the high caste women had done so. In Sirsia also there were no second marriages among the Brahman women, but almost 10 percent of the middle and low caste women had married more than once. In three of the Tibeto-Burman sample villages i.e., the Baragaonle, Rai and Magar, only about 15 percent of the women had been married more than once. The Jyapu Newar of Bulu and the Tamang of Katarche seem to have the largest percentage of women who have married more than once. This finding was quite contrary to our expectations since among the Tibeto-Burman speaking groups the Newar and Tamang have been most strongly influenced by Indo-Aryan culture which generally discourages female remarriage even in the case of widowhood. The greater instability of marriages in the more Hinduized Tibeto-Burman speaking communities is possibly due to the greater proportion of arranged marriages in these communities as compared to other Tibeto-Burman groups.¹

Marriages in Nepal can be by parental arrangement with or without consent of the marriage-partners, by capture with or without consent of the bride, or by

¹ Although data for the Tharu do not support this conclusion, this is because among the Tharu most of the 'arranged marriages with own consent' were reported as 'own choice' by the respondents (see Rajaure, 1981).

TABLE 2.38
 NUMBER OF MARITAL UNIONS BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (For Ever Married Population of All Ages)

Number of Marital Unions	Sex/Economic Strata		Male				Female			
			Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
			(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
First	81 (65.9)	90 (71.4)	109 (70.8)	280 (69.5)	112 (83.6)	126 (84.6)	149 (84.2)	387 (84.1)		
Second	27 (21.9)	25 (19.8)	30 (19.5)	82 (20.4)	18 (13.4)	17 (11.4)	22 (12.4)	57 (12.4)		
Third	10 (8.1)	8 (6.4)	12 (7.8)	30 (7.4)	2 (1.5)	4 (2.7)	4 (2.3)	10 (2.2)		
Fourth +	5 (4.1)	3 (2.4)	3 (1.9)	11 (2.7)	2 (1.5)	2 (1.3)	2 (1.1)	6 (1.3)		
All Marriages	123 (100.0)	126 (100.0)	154 (100.0)	403 (100.0)	134 (100.0)	149 (100.0)	177 (100.0)	460 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.39
 NUMBER OF MARITAL UNIONS BY VILLAGE AND SEX
 (For Ever Married Population of All Ages)

Village	Sex/No. of Unions		Male				Female				Total
	Marriage I	Marriage II	Marriage III	Marriage IV & More	Total	Marriage I	Marriage II	Marriage III	Marriage IV & More		
Baragaonle	26 (61.9)	11 (26.2)	4 (9.5)	1 (2.4)	42 (100.0)	34 (85.0)	5 (12.5)	1 (2.5)	-	40 (100.0)	
Lohorong Rai	30 (83.3)	5 (13.9)	-	1 (2.8)	36 (100.0)	44 (84.6)	6 (11.5)	2 (3.9)	-	52 (100.0)	
Kham Magar	29 (67.4)	11 (25.6)	1 (2.3)	2 (4.7)	43 (100.0)	41 (85.4)	7 (14.6)	-	-	48 (100.0)	
Parbariya	26 (54.2)	16 (33.3)	4 (8.3)	2 (4.2)	48 (100.0)	49 (90.7)	5 (9.3)	-	-	54 (100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	19 (48.7)	12 (30.8)	7 (17.9)	1 (2.6)	39 (100.0)	31 (68.9)	10 (22.2)	1 (2.2)	3 (6.7)	45 (100.0)	
Tamang	16 (43.3)	6 (16.2)	13 (35.1)	2 (5.4)	37 (100.0)	30 (63.8)	15 (31.9)	2 (4.3)	-	47 (100.0)	
Tharu	82 (89.1)	9 (9.8)	1 (1.1)	-	92 (100.0)	90 (93.8)	3 (3.1)	3 (3.1)	-	96 (100.0)	
Maithili	52 (81.3)	12 (18.7)	-	-	64 (100.0)	68 (90.7)	6 (8.0)	1 (1.3)	-	75 (100.0)	
All villages	280 (69.8)	82 (20.4)	30 (7.5)	9 (2.3)	401 (100.0)	387 (84.7)	57 (12.5)	10 (2.2)	3 (0.6)	457 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.40

REASONS FOR TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE

(For All Marriages)

(In number)

Current Status of Marriage/Reasons for Termination	Sex	
	Male	Female
I. Not Terminated	380 (68.0)	381 (70.2)
II. Terminated	179 (32.0)	162 (29.8)
Terminated because of:		
1. Death of Spouse	75 (13.4)	86 (15.8)
2. Desertion or Elopement by Spouse	59 (10.6)	12 (2.2)
3. Desertion or Elopement by Self	14 (2.5)	32 (5.9)
4. Male Infertility	-	1 (0.2)
5. Female Infertility	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)
6. Mutual Consent	12 (2.1)	4 (0.7)
7. Advent of Co-wife	5 (0.9)	13 (2.4)
8. Intra-Familial Disputes	7 (1.2)	3 (0.6)
9. Others	6 (1.1)	10 (1.8)
Total Marriages	559 (100.0)	543 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.41

REASONS FOR TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE BY VILLAGE

Reasons for Termination	(Males)										(In number)		
	Village	Baragaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	All Villages			
Not Terminated		36 (60.0)	34 (79.1)	39 (63.9)	47 (61.9)	35 (52.2)	39 (53.4)	86 (83.5)	64 (84.2)	380 (68.0)			
Death of Spouse		10 (16.7)	7 (16.3)	9 (14.8)	14 (18.4)	7 (10.4)	8 (11.0)	12 (11.6)	8 (10.5)	75 (13.4)			
Desertion and Elopement by Spouse		7 (11.7)	2 (4.6)	-	12 (15.8)	16 (23.9)	16 (21.9)	4 (3.9)	2 (2.7)	59 (10.6)			
Desertion and Elopement by Self		1 (1.6)	-	4 (6.6)	-	5 (7.5)	3 (4.1)	-	1 (1.3)	14 (2.5)			
Female Infertility		-	-	1 (1.6)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.2)			
Mutual Consent		6 (10.0)	-	6 (9.9)	-	-	-	-	-	12 (2.1)			
Husband Brought in Another Wife		-	-	1 (1.6)	1 (1.3)	-	2 (2.7)	1 (1.0)	-	5 (0.9)			
Intra-Familial Disputes		-	-	1 (1.6)	2 (2.6)	1 (1.5)	3 (4.1)	-	-	7 (1.2)			
Others		-	-	-	-	3 (4.5)	2 (2.8)	-	1 (1.3)	6 (1.1)			
Total		60 (100.0)	43 (100.0)	61 (100.0)	76 (100.0)	67 (100.0)	73 (100.0)	103 (100.0)	76 (100.0)	559 (100.0)			

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.42
REASONS FOR TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE BY VILLAGE

Reasons for Termination	(Females)										(In number)	
	Village	Baragaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	All Villages		
Not Terminated		33 (70.2)	37 (58.7)	38 (67.8)	47 (79.7)	35 (55.5)	38 (56.7)	86 (81.9)	67 (80.7)	381 (70.2)		
Death of Spouse		7 (14.9)	18 (28.6)	11 (19.6)	8 (13.6)	8 (12.7)	6 (9.0)	13 (12.4)	15 (18.1)	86 (15.8)		
Desertion and Elopement by Spouse		3 (6.4)	1 (1.6)	1 (1.8)	-	2 (3.2)	3 (4.5)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.2)	12 (2.2)		
Desertion and Elopement by Self		2 (4.3)	4 (6.4)	3 (5.4)	1 (1.7)	9 (14.3)	8 (11.9)	5 (4.7)	-	32 (5.9)		
Male Infertility		-	-	-	-	-	1 (1.5)	-	-	1 (0.2)		
Female Infertility		-	-	-	-	-	1 (1.5)	-	-	1 (0.2)		
Mutual Consent		1 (2.1)	-	2 (3.6)	-	-	1 (1.5)	-	-	4 (0.7)		
Husband Brought in Another Wife		1 (2.1)	2 (3.1)	1 (1.8)	3 (5.0)	-	6 (8.9)	-	-	13 (2.4)		
Intra-Familial Disputes		-	1 (1.6)	-	-	1 (1.6)	1 (1.5)	-	-	3 (0.6)		
Others		-	-	-	-	8 (12.7)	2 (3.0)	-	-	10 (1.8)		
Total		47 (100.0)	63 (100.0)	56 (100.0)	59 (100.0)	63 (100.0)	67 (100.0)	105 (100.0)	83 (100.0)	543 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

the couple's own choice. Cases of elopement have been included in own choice marriages for the current analysis. Marriage by capture implies use of force by the bridegroom (though some times this is only for show and the girl has previously agreed) and is found only among Tibeto-Burman groups. Of all marriages 51.3 percent for males and 56.6 percent for females were marriage by arrangement. More than 40 percent of the males were married by their own choice and same was true of the 36.4 percent of the females (Table 2.43).

Once again contrary to general belief, it seems that in Nepal arranged marriages are the most prevalent form of marriage only in the orthodox Hindu communities (Table 2.44). All other communities which allow second marriages for women without loss of ritual status also allow for a woman's choice of her initial marriage partner. This freedom of choice is greatest among the Tibeto-Burman speaking groups, i.e. among the Magar, Baragaonle, Tamang and Rai in our study. In these groups social gatherings among young people of marriageable age are culturally accepted. (see Magar, Rai, Tamang and Baragaonle studies) so both girls and boys have greater opportunity to meet and make their own choice of life partners.

Marriage by capture involved 8.3 percent of the ever-married males and 7.0 percent of the ever-married females. This form of marriage is still in practice in Kagbeni, Pangma, Bulu, Katarche and Sukhrwar. The Kham Magar of Thabang reported that this form of marriage was no longer current amongst them though it had been practiced in the past. In some cases the use of force in capture marriage is merely symbolic, in others not so. According to Schuler (1981) in Kagbeni, marriage by capture is "an attempt by the male to bring about a marriage, which in normal course of affairs would not have taken place". In some cases the couple may like each other and problem is only the superior social or economic standing of the girl, while in others it may be that the girl is actually not interested in the suitor or dislikes his family. Sometimes then, the force is real and the girl may even be raped when captured. In the Lohorung Rai or Tharu villages, on the other hand, capture is merely symbolic and a way of reducing the cost of marriage (Hardman, 1981; Rajaure, 1981). In either case, however, the woman has the choice to accept or not to accept her captor.

There seems to be an inverse relationship between the freedom of choice in marriage for females and the economic standing of their households. Women from the bottom and middle strata had a greater percentage of "own-choice" marriages (Table 2.43). Despite Schuler's and Hardman's descriptions of capture marriages as a way for a poor man to get his chosen partner without paying the cost

TABLE 2.43
FORM OF MARRIAGE BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX

Sex/Form of Marriage	(In number)						
	Male			Female			
	Own Choice	Captured	Arranged	Own Choice	Captured	Arranged	
Economic Strata						Total	
Top	55 (38.7)	10 (7.1)	77 (54.2)	40 (31.3)	8 (6.2)	80 (62.5)	128 (100.0)
Middle	90 (45.2)	17 (8.6)	92 (46.2)	74 (38.5)	17 (8.9)	101 (52.6)	192 (100.0)
Bottom	80 (37.0)	19 (8.8)	117 (54.2)	83 (37.4)	13 (5.9)	126 (56.7)	222 (100.0)
All Strata	225 (40.4)	46 (8.3)	286 (51.3)	197 (36.4)	38 (7.0)	307 (56.6)	542 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.44

FORMS OF MARRIAGE BY VILLAGE/SEX

(For All Marriages)

(In number)

Sex/Form of Marriage	Male				Female			
	Own Choice	Captured	Arranged	Total	Own Choice	Captured	Arranged	Total
Village								
Kagbeni	14 (24.1)	14 (24.2)	30 (51.7)	58 (100.0)	13 (28.3)	11 (23.9)	22 (47.8)	46 (100.0)
Pangma	8 (18.6)	6 (14.0)	29 (67.4)	43 (100.0)	16 (25.4)	9 (14.3)	38 (60.3)	63 (100.0)
Thabang	41 (67.2)	-	20 (32.8)	61 (100.0)	41 (73.2)	-	15 (26.8)	56 (100.0)
Bakundol	32 (42.1)	-	44 (57.9)	76 (100.0)	10 (16.9)	-	49 (83.1)	59 (100.0)
Bulu	21 (31.4)	9 (13.4)	37 (55.2)	67 (100.0)	19 (30.2)	8 (12.7)	36 (57.1)	63 (100.0)
Katarche	20 (27.4)	15 (20.5)	38 (52.1)	73 (100.0)	15 (22.4)	8 (11.9)	44 (65.7)	67 (100.0)
Sukhrwar	83 (80.6)	2 (1.9)	18 (17.5)	103 (100.0)	79 (75.2)	2 (1.9)	24 (22.9)	105 (100.0)
Sirsia	6 (7.9)	-	70 (92.1)	76 (100.0)	4 (4.8)	-	79 (95.2)	83 (100.0)
All villages	225 (40.4)	46 (8.3)	286 (51.3)	557 (100.0)	197 (36.4)	38 (7.0)	307 (56.6)	542 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.



Baragaonle bride is comforted by her friend who offers her beer before her marriage.

Sidney Schuler

involved, or for a woman's natal household to reduce her marriage costs, the percentage of such marriages in the bottom stratum is not higher.

Although 36.4 percent of the female marriages in our sample constituted own choice marriages, the sample has not been weighted so it is difficult to say what percentage of Nepal's total female population have freedom in choosing their life partners. The same is true of other forms of marriage. On the basis of our own study and studies of other communities (McFarlane, 1976; Jones and Jones, 1976), it can be said that women in most Nepalese communities except in very orthodox Brahman and Chetri families, do have some choice at least in second or third marriages (Table 2.45). Women in all except orthodox Hindu communities may be married more than once with no loss of social or ritual status and women in the Tibeto-Burman communities all over Nepal appear have to greater freedom of choice in marital matters than those in Nepali speaking communities. There is a social stigma attached to the second or third marriages and own choice marriages in Nepali speaking communities, although this stigma does not prevent low caste and occasionally even high caste women¹ from entering into such unions.

Table 2.46 reveals that women do not lose ritual status by second or third marriages in most communities, while Table 2.47 shows that only about 49 percent of the marriages involved maximum ritual and about 20 percent involved no ritual.

However, third or second marriages are considered ritually inferior both for men and women in all the communities -- more so for women than for men. About 60 percent of the first marriage for males and 57.9 percent of the same for females involved maximum ritual. No third marriage for females involved maximum ritual. The degree of ritualization declines with the sequence of marriage both for males and females but this decline is much sharper in the case of females than for males.

The rituals differ from community to community. For Indo-Aryan group the kanayadan or 'gift of a virgin' is the central feature of the "maximum" ritual and obviously kanayadan cannot be performed if the woman has been married already and is no more a virgin. In communities where no kanayadan is involved (Kagbeni, Pangma, Thabang, Katarche, Sukhrwar) a kind of bride price even if only symbolic

¹For example the entire sub-caste of Jaisi Brahmans are made up of the offspring of Upadhyia Brahman widows who have remarried.

TABLE 2.45
FORM OF MARRIAGE BY SEQUENCE OF MARRIAGE AND SEX

Sex/Form of Marriage	(In number)						
	Male			Female			
	Own Choice	Captured	Arranged	Own Choice	Captured	Arranged	
Sequence of Marriage						Total	
Marriage I	137 (34.3)	19 (4.8)	243 (60.9)	144 (31.6)	27 (5.9)	285 (62.5)	456 (100.0)
Marriage II	67 (56.3)	16 (13.4)	36 (30.3)	43 (58.9)	9 (12.3)	21 (28.8)	73 (100.0)
Marriage III	21 (53.8)	11 (28.2)	7 (18.0)	10 (76.9)	2 (15.4)	1 (7.7)	13 (100.0)
All Marriages	225 (40.4)	46 (8.3)	286 (51.3)	197 (36.4)	38 (7.0)	307 (56.6)	542 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.46

LOSS OF RITUAL STATUS FOR FEMALES BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Ritual Status Village	Loss of Status	No Loss of Status	Total
Kagbeni (Baragaonle)	3 (7.5)	37 (92.5)	40 (100.0)
Pangma (Lohorung Rai)	-	51 (100.0)	51 (100.0)
Thabang (Kham Magar)	-	48 (100.0)	48 (100.0)
Bakundol (Parbatiya)	8 (14.8)	46 (85.2)	54 (100.0)
Bulu (Newar)	-	45 (100.0)	45 (100.0)
Katarche (Tamang)	-	47 (100.0)	47 (100.0)
Sukhrwar (Tharu)	-	96 (100.0)	96 (100.0)
Sirsia (Maithili)	-	75 (100.0)	75 (100.0)
All Villages	11 (2.4)	445 (97.6)	456 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.47
TYPE OF CEREMONY BY SEQUENCE OF MARRIAGE AND SEX

(In number)

Sex/Type of Ceremony	Male				Female			
	No Ritual	Minimum Ritual	Maximum Ritual	Total	No Ritual	Minimum Ritual	Maximum Ritual	Total
Sequence of Marriage								
Marriage I	42 (10.6)	115 (29.1)	238 (60.3)	395 (100.0)	53 (11.7)	137 (30.4)	261 (57.9)	451 (100.0)
Marriage II	53 (44.9)	43 (36.4)	22 (18.7)	118 (100.0)	41 (56.9)	29 (40.3)	2 (2.8)	72 (100.0)
Marriage III	23 (63.9)	11 (30.6)	2 (5.5)	36 (100.0)	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)	-	13 (100.0)
All Marriages	118 (21.5)	169 (30.8)	262 (47.7)	549 (100.0)	104 (19.4)	169 (31.5)	263 (49.1)	536 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

in nature seems to be involved. The ritual "purchase" of a bride can be performed only for the first marriage. Subsequent marriages involve no payment to the natal household of the bride, even though they might entail payment to the woman's previous husband. This payment however is more of an economic than ritual nature.

Fertility and Motherhood

As mentioned earlier and underlined by all the village study writers, the role of mother is highly valued in all Nepalese groups. Nevertheless, female role expectations differ widely from community to community. While for women of the higher caste Hindu communities there is no respectable alternative role to being a wife and mother, alternative role models do exist for women in the Tibeto-Burman speaking communities and if a woman decides not to marry and be a wife, she will have other channels of gaining social status. Nevertheless, even for the women in these communities there are no other roles equally coveted or acceptable as that of mother. Fertility is highly prized throughout Nepal. The average number of conceptions per woman for the sample population of 15 years and above was 4.2 while the average number of births per woman in the same age group equaled 3.9 (Table 2.48). Thus, the average fetal wastage rate was about seven percent. The number of children now alive at 2.8 per woman gives a survival rate of about 72 percent for children ever born to any adult woman. Therefore in terms of statistics a woman must give birth to at least 2.7 children to be assured of having at least 2 living children when she is fifty.

Inter-strata variations in the mean number of conceptions and the mean number of live births per woman are both insignificant, but this again may be due to our very conservative definition of top and middle strata or due to differences in the age structure of the female population in different economic strata. However, the variation in the number of male children now alive between the different economic strata is significant at the five percent significance level. From our survey data family structure does not seem to be a factor in fertility behavior (Table 2.49). The completed fertility rate in our sample population (as signified by the mean number of live births per woman of fifty years and above) at 5.5 is slightly less than the rate of 5.7 children ever born to women of 45-49 years of age as, reported in the Nepal Fertility Survey (Table 2.50). The mean number of children ever born to adult women at 3.85

TABLE 2.48

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS, BIRTHS AND CHILDREN NOW ALIVE
BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Economic Strata	Particulars	Number of Respondents	Con-ceptions	Live Births	Children Now Alive		
					Male	Female	Both
Top		133	3.93 (2.77)	3.60 (2.77)	1.15 (1.20)	1.21 (1.12)	2.36 (1.81)
Middle		149	4.43 (2.94)	4.05 (3.02)	1.37 (1.20)	1.54 (1.49)	2.91 (2.11)
Bottom		172	4.23 (2.64)	3.88 (2.70)	1.56 (1.25)	1.37 (1.36)	2.93 (1.99)
Overall		454	4.21 (2.78)	3.85 (2.83)	1.38 (1.23)	1.38 (1.34)	2.76 (1.99)
F (2,451)			1.13	0.88	4.33**	2.95	3.75**

Figures in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

** Significant at 5 percent.

TABLE 2.49

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS, BIRTHS AND CHILDREN NOW ALIVE
BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

Particulars Family Structure	Number of Respondents	Con-ceptions	Live Births	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Both
Nuclear	197	4.41 (2.69)	4.10 (2.76)	1.41 (1.22)	1.38 (1.27)	2.79 (1.86)
Extended	223	4.08 (2.86)	3.68 (2.88)	1.39 (1.24)	1.32 (1.40)	2.71 (2.08)
Others	34	3.91 (2.80)	3.59 (2.82)	1.15 (1.16)	1.74 (1.40)	2.88 (2.11)
Overall	454	4.21 (2.78)	3.85 (2.83)	1.38 (1.23)	1.38 (1.34)	2.76 (1.99)
F (2,451)		0.96	1.31	0.66	1.43	0.16

Figures in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

TABLE 2.50
 AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS, BIRTHS AND CHILDREN NOW ALIVE
 BY AGE GROUP

Particulars Age Group	Number of Respondents	Con- ceptions	Live Births	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Both
15-19	28	1.11 (0.57)	0.43 (0.84)	0.21 (0.50)	0.21 (0.50)	0.43 (0.84)
20-24	65	1.68 (0.94)	1.37 (1.13)	0.54 (0.64)	0.63 (0.72)	1.17 (1.04)
25-29	83	2.89 (1.42)	2.65 (1.57)	1.13 (0.92)	1.13 (1.02)	2.26 (1.34)
30-49	177	5.36 (2.71)	4.93 (2.68)	1.73 (1.29)	1.83 (1.44)	3.56 (1.99)
50+	101	5.76 (2.60)	5.51 (2.70)	1.82 (1.24)	1.58 (1.44)	3.40 (1.90)
Overall	454	4.20 (2.78)	3.85 (2.83)	1.38 (1.23)	1.38 (1.34)	2.76 (1.99)
F (4,449)		66.91*	65.08*	26.68*	19.29*	42.71*

Figures in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

* Significant at 1 percent.

however, is higher than the level of 3.3 reported in the Nepal Fertility Survey (Table 2.51). Similarly, the number of children still alive at 2.8 per woman is also higher than the 2.4 children reported in the above mentioned survey. These figures, however, are not strictly comparable because women above 49 have been included in the calculation of the average fertility variables in the current analysis, while in the Nepal Fertility Survey they are not.

In view of the relatively small sample of literate women, the data on the effect of literacy on fertility behavior cannot be considered conclusive. Inter-group variations in mean number of conceptions and live births as between women who had some schooling and those with no schooling are both significant at a one percent confidence level (Table 2.52). The variation in the mean number of children now alive (both male and female) within the same group is also significant at a one percent level.

Inter-village variations in the mean number of conceptions is significant at a five percent confidence level. Similarly, the difference between the inter-village variations in the mean number of live births and children now alive are (both) significant at a one percent confidence level (Table 2.53). In view of the effect of the age structure of the female population on the mean fertility indicators, the completed fertility rates for women of 50 years and above is probably a more accurate scale of inter-village variations in fertility behavior (Table 2.54). The number of conceptions is uniformly very high in all the villages except Kagbeni. Despite the relatively greater exposure of Bakundol and Katarche to family planning programmes due to their proximity to Kathmandu, these villages display the highest number of conceptions per woman. Sukhrwar, the Tharu village, also shows a relatively high conception rate.

Several reasons can be given for the relatively lower number of conceptions and births per female in the Baragaonle community. Among the most important of these is the fact that in this community alone among the villages studied the role of the female religious celibate is socially accepted and respected. According to Schuler about six percent of the entire female population and about eight percent of the adult females live as religious celibates. The lower level of fertility is perhaps also due to the relatively higher mean age of marriage in Kagbeni compared to other villages studied and the high proportion of women living alone simply because they never married or have divorced and not remarried.

Paradoxically, in view of the proximity of these villages to the urban medical-care systems, the fetal wastage rate is highest among the Parbatiya of

TABLE 2.51
 COMPARATIVE FIGURES ON CHILDREN BORN ALIVE
 TO EVER MARRIED WOMEN

Age Group	Current Survey	National Fertility Survey*
15-19	0.42	0.3
20-24	1.34	1.4
25-29	2.65	2.9
30-34)		4.1
35-39)		5.1
40-44)	4.93	5.5
45-49)		5.7
50+	5.51	-
All Women Above 15	3.85	3.3**

* Source: Nepal Fertility Survey.

** Does not include women of above 50 years.

TABLE 2.52
 AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS, BIRTHS AND CHILDREN NOW ALIVE
 BY LEVEL OF SCHOOLING

Particulars Educational Level	Number of Respondents	Con-ceptions	Live Births	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Both
No Schooling	442	4.27 (2.78)	3.92 (2.82)	1.40 (1.23)	1.40 (1.35)	2.80 (1.99)
Primary	11	1.73 (1.27)	1.18 (1.60)	0.55 (0.69)	0.36 (0.67)	0.91 (1.04)
Secondary	1	3.00 (0.00)	3.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	2.00 (0.00)	3.00 (0.00)
Overall	454	4.21 (2.78)	3.85 (2.83)	1.38 (1.23)	1.38 (1.34)	2.76 (1.99)
F (2,451)		4.67*	5.18*	2.67	3.34**	4.95*

Figures in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

* Significant at 1 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

TABLE 2.53

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS, BIRTHS AND CHILDREN NOW ALIVE
BY VILLAGE

Particulars Village	Number of Respondents	Con- ceptions	Live Births	Children Now Alive		
				Male	Female	Both
Baragaonle	40	3.13 (2.09)	3.00 (2.12)	0.98 (1.00)	1.03 (0.89)	2.00 (1.34)
Lohorung Rai	52	4.65 (2.63)	4.50 (2.83)	1.39 (1.11)	1.69 (1.53)	3.08 (2.06)
Kham Magar	49	3.65 (2.78)	2.92 (2.56)	1.25 (1.27)	1.02 (1.07)	2.27 (1.86)
Parbatiya	54	4.57 (3.08)	3.85 (3.92)	1.24 (1.12)	1.59 (1.62)	2.83 (2.19)
Newar, Jyapu	46	4.80 (3.40)	4.44 (3.37)	1.41 (1.28)	1.52 (1.53)	2.94 (2.13)
Tamang	48	4.40 (3.04)	4.13 (3.28)	1.56 (1.43)	1.42 (1.37)	2.98 (2.39)
Tharu	96	4.54 (2.66)	4.41 (2.67)	1.71 (1.22)	1.56 (1.29)	3.27 (1.84)
Maithili	69	3.62 (2.28)	3.17 (2.44)	1.20 (1.24)	1.04 (1.16)	2.25 (1.71)
Overall	454	4.21 (2.78)	3.85 (2.83)	1.38 (1.23)	1.38 (1.34)	2.76 (1.99)
F (7,446)		2.49**	3.22*	2.19**	2.50**	3.27*

Figures in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

* Significant at 1 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

TABLE 2.54
 AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONCEPTIONS, BIRTHS AND CHILDREN
 ALIVE PER FEMALE AGED 50 AND ABOVE BY VILLAGE

Particular Village	Number of Respondents	Conceptions	Live Births	Children Now Alive		Fetal Wastage Rate (%)	Survival Rate (%)
				Male	Female		
Baragaonle	9	3.67 (2.44)	3.44 (2.40)	0.89 (1.36)	1.11 (0.93)	2.00 (1.66)	6.27
Lohorong Rai	16	5.25 (2.79)	5.12 (2.99)	1.56 (0.89)	1.31 (1.66)	2.87 (2.12)	2.48
Kham Magar	9	5.44 (2.74)	4.89 (2.80)	1.78 (1.48)	1.56 (1.08)	3.33 (2.06)	10.12
Parbatiya	11	6.09 (3.14)	5.45 (3.01)	1.27 (1.19)	2.27 (2.20)	3.54 (2.51)	10.51
Newar, Jyapu	9	5.33 (2.91)	4.89 (3.30)	1.11 (0.78)	1.33 (1.50)	2.44 (1.33)	8.26
Tamang	14	6.86 (2.63)	6.71 (2.64)	2.57 (0.85)	1.86 (1.35)	4.43 (1.70)	2.19
Tharu	19	6.42 (1.98)	6.42* (1.98)	2.42 (1.17)	1.68 (1.20)	4.10 (1.33)	-
Maithili	14	5.93 (1.98)	5.64 (2.21)	2.07 (1.39)	1.43 (1.28)	3.50 (1.70)	4.90
Overall	101	5.76 (2.60)	5.51 (2.70)	1.82 (1.24)	1.58 (1.44)	3.41 (1.90)	4.34

Figures in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

* Sukhrwar data was collected by male colleague. Evidently he was not able to capture the fetal wastage rate.



"There are no other roles as coveted ... as motherhood." — Nirmal Tuladhar
A Maithili woman with her son.

Bakundol and one of the highest among the Jyapu Newar of Bulu. One would have expected to find lowest wastage rates in these areas. The survival rate (as reflected by the ratio of children now alive to live births) is also uniformly low -- the lowest being in Bulu at 49.9 percent and the highest in Thabang at 68.1 percent. It is hard to interpret these differences in terms of existing medical facilities alone. Food and nutritional levels and also climatic hardships which are beyond the scope of present study, definitely affect these variables.

Literacy and Education

Male and Female Literacy Rates

According to the 1975 estimates, five percent of the female population in Nepal of 10 years and above were literate and 95 percent illiterate. In the current sample 9.4 percent of the female population in the age group of 15 and above were literate while male literacy in the same age group was 52.3 percent bringing the overall literacy rate to 30.3 percent (Table 2.55). Because of differences in age cohorts between the national sample survey and the current sample figures, comparison is not possible. In the 5-14 age group of the present sample, 41.7 percent of the males and 12.0 percent of the females were literate. The difference in male and female literacy rates seems to be lower in our sample than for 1975 national estimates. This is particularly surprising because the current sample does not include urban areas. Village level analysis shows the literacy rate of the adult female population to be highest in Bakundol of Kavre district adjoining the Kathmandu valley at 15.7 percent, the lowest female literacy rate 3.6 was found in the Tamang village of Katarche, also not far from the capital. Male literacy was also highest at 79.7 percent in Bakundol and lowest at 31.2 percent in Katarche. Interestingly, the lowest male literacy rate in Katarche at 31.2 percent is almost double the female literacy rate in Bakundol which ranks highest in inter-village comparison of female literacy rates (Table 2.56).

Comparison of male-female literacy rates between the economic strata among the adult population reveals that, while there is no substantial difference in literacy rates among top and middle strata males, the literacy rate falls sharply for males of the bottom economic stratum. The same is true for the female literacy rate. The male literacy rate is about five times that of females

TABLE 2.55
LITERACY PATTERN BY SEX AND AGE GROUP

Age Group	Sex/Literacy		Male			Female			Both	
	Li- terate	Ill- literate	Li- terate	Total	Li- terate	Ill- literate	Total	Li- terate	Ill- literate	Total
5 - 14	90 (41.7)	126 (58.3)	31 (12.0)	216 (100.0)	227 (88.0)	258 (100.0)	121 (25.5)	353 (74.5)	474 (100.0)	
15 +	270 (52.3)	246 (47.7)	51 (9.4)	516 (100.0)	492 (90.6)	543 (100.0)	321 (30.3)	738 (69.7)	1059 (100.0)	
Total	360 (49.2)	372 (50.8)	82 (10.2)	732 (100.0)	719 (89.8)	801 (100.0)	442 (28.8)	1091 (71.2)	1533 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.56
LITERACY PATTERN BY VILLAGE AND SEX
(For Sample Population of 15 Years and Above)

Sex/Literacy Village	Male			Female			Both		
	Li- terate	III- terate	Total	Li- terate	III- terate	Total	Li- terate	III- terate	Total
	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
Baragaonle	17 (32.7)	35 (67.3)	52 (100.0)	3 (6.8)	41 (93.2)	44 (100.0)	20 (20.8)	76 (79.2)	96 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	46 (75.4)	15 (24.6)	61 (100.0)	12 (15.0)	68 (85.0)	80 (100.0)	58 (41.1)	83 (58.9)	141 (100.0)
Kham Magar	38 (65.5)	20 (34.5)	58 (100.0)	8 (13.1)	53 (86.9)	61 (100.0)	46 (38.7)	73 (61.3)	119 (100.0)
Parbatiya	51 (79.7)	13 (20.3)	64 (100.0)	11 (15.7)	59 (84.3)	70 (100.0)	62 (46.3)	72 (53.7)	134 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	34 (63.0)	20 (37.0)	54 (100.0)	5 (9.3)	49 (90.7)	54 (100.0)	39 (36.1)	69 (63.9)	108 (100.0)
Tamang	15 (31.2)	33 (68.8)	48 (100.0)	2 (3.6)	54 (96.4)	56 (100.0)	17 (16.3)	87 (83.7)	104 (100.0)
Tharu	41 (39.0)	64 (61.0)	105 (100.0)	6 (5.6)	102 (94.4)	108 (100.0)	47 (22.1)	166 (77.9)	213 (100.0)
Maithili	28 (37.8)	46 (62.2)	74 (100.0)	4 (5.7)	66 (94.3)	70 (100.0)	32 (22.2)	112 (77.8)	144 (100.0)
All villages	270 (52.3)	246 (47.7)	516 (100.0)	51 (9.4)	492 (90.6)	543 (100.0)	321 (30.3)	738 (69.7)	1059 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

in both top and middle economic strata, while it reaches more than seven times that of females in the bottom stratum (Table 2.57). From this it would appear that resource constraints on the household affect female literacy rates much more than male literacy rates.

It is also noteworthy that while the younger generation of the male population (5-14 age group) has a relatively smaller proportion of the literate population compared to adult males, the case is reversed in the case of females. While only 9.4 percent of the adult female population is literate 12.0 percent of the female population in the 5-14 age group were reported as literate (Table 2.55). Economic strata-wise the highest proportion of literate female children (10-14 age group) are found in the middle income stratum (18.0 percent), while only 6.5 percent of the female children are literate in the bottom economic stratum (Table 2.58).

Schooling

The schooling pattern is also heavily skewed against girls. While 39.2 percent of the boys in the 5-9 age group were reported to be in the primary level, only 12.0 percent of the girls in the same age group were in that level (Table 2.60). Not surprisingly, the difference in the proportion of male and female children attending school increases in the 10-14 age group compared to the younger age cohort of 5-9. This could point to the fact that as female children become more nearly capable of taking on adult work families withdraw them from school to increase the household labor pool.

The wealth of the household seems to have a positive effect on female schooling rate but only to a certain extent. As in the case of literacy, the positive effect of an increased household income status on female schooling rates at the lower income levels is reflected in the fact that a larger proportion of women in the top and middle economic strata had received some schooling. However, in our sample this income effect seems to taper off at higher income levels. This is evident in the fact that while 7.0 percent of the women in the middle income stratum had received some schooling only 6.4 percent of the women in the top economic stratum had been to school. Male schooling rates on the other hand seem to be positively correlated with income level for all income groups (Table 2.61). The schooling patterns of children (Tables 2.62 and 2.63) in both the 10-14 and 5-9 age cohorts indicate a positive effect of income on schooling rates. But the proportion of girls with higher education in 10-14 age group is insignificant. The lone girl in secondary school in this sample belongs to the top economic stratum (Table 2.62).

TABLE 2.57
LITERACY PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Sample Population of 15 Years and Above)

Sex/Literacy Economic Strata	Male			Female			Both		
	Li- terate	Illi- terate	Total	Li- terate	Illi- terate	Total	Li- terate	Illi- terate	Total
	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
Top	94 (60.6)	61 (39.4)	155 (100.0)	18 (11.5)	138 (88.5)	156 (100.0)	112 (36.0)	199 (64.0)	311 (100.0)
Middle	103 (61.7)	64 (38.3)	167 (100.0)	23 (12.4)	163 (87.6)	186 (100.0)	126 (35.7)	227 (64.3)	353 (100.0)
Bottom	73 (37.6)	121 (62.4)	194 (100.0)	10 (5.0)	191 (95.0)	201 (100.0)	83 (21.0)	312 (79.0)	395 (100.0)
All Strata	270 (52.3)	246 (47.7)	516 (100.0)	51 (9.4)	492 (90.6)	543 (100.0)	321 (30.3)	738 (69.7)	1059 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.58
LITERACY PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
(For 5-14 Age Group)

Sex/Literacy Economic Strata	Male			Female			Both		
	Li- terate	Ill- literate	Total	Li- terate	Ill- literate	Total	Li- terate	Ill- literate	Total
Top	31 (54.4)	26 (45.6)	57 (100.0)	8 (13.1)	53 (86.9)	61 (100.0)	39 (33.1)	79 (66.9)	118 (100.0)
Middle	28 (49.1)	29 (50.9)	57 (100.0)	16 (18.0)	73 (82.0)	89 (100.0)	44 (30.1)	102 (69.9)	146 (100.0)
Bottom	31 (30.4)	71 (69.6)	102 (100.0)	7 (6.5)	101 (93.5)	108 (100.0)	38 (18.1)	172 (81.9)	210 (100.0)
All Strata	90 (41.7)	126 (58.3)	216 (100.0)	31 (12.0)	227 (88.0)	258 (100.0)	121 (25.5)	353 (74.5)	474 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.59
LITERACY PATTERN BY VILLAGE AND SEX
(For 5-14 Age Group)

Sex/Literacy Village	Male			Female			Both		
	Li- terate	Illi- terate	Total	Li- terate	Illi- terate	Total	Li- terate	Illi- terate	Total
Baragaonle	4 (22.2)	14 (77.8)	18 (100.0)	1 (4.2)	23 (95.8)	24 (100.0)	5 (11.9)	37 (88.1)	42 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	16 (51.6)	15 (48.4)	31 (100.0)	8 (22.9)	27 (77.1)	35 (100.0)	24 (36.4)	42 (63.6)	66 (100.0)
Kham Magar	11 (57.9)	8 (42.1)	19 (100.0)	6 (28.6)	15 (71.4)	21 (100.0)	17 (42.5)	23 (57.5)	40 (100.0)
Parbatiya	15 (50.0)	15 (50.0)	30 (100.0)	9 (25.0)	27 (75.0)	36 (100.0)	24 (36.4)	42 (63.6)	66 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	14 (51.9)	13 (48.1)	27 (100.0)	-	28 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	14 (25.5)	41 (74.5)	55 (100.0)
Tamang	6 (24.0)	19 (76.0)	25 (100.0)	-	24 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	6 (12.2)	43 (87.8)	49 (100.0)
Tharu	17 (39.5)	26 (60.5)	43 (100.0)	1 (1.7)	58 (98.3)	59 (100.0)	18 (17.6)	84 (82.4)	102 (100.0)
Maithili	7 (30.4)	16 (69.6)	23 (100.0)	6 (19.4)	25 (80.6)	31 (100.0)	13 (24.0)	41 (76.0)	54 (100.0)
All villages	90 (41.7)	126 (58.3)	216 (100.0)	31 (12.0)	227 (88.0)	258 (100.0)	121 (25.5)	353 (74.5)	474 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.60
EDUCATIONAL PATTERN BY SEX AND AGE GROUP

Age Group	Sex/Education Level		Male				Female*			
	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total	
5 - 9	73 (60.8)	47 (39.2)	-	-	120 (100.0)	125 (88.0)	17 (12.0)	-	142 (100.0)	
10 - 14	34 (35.4)	57 (59.4)	5 (5.2)	-	96 (100.0)	84 (72.4)	31 (26.7)	1 (0.9)	116 (100.0)	
15 +	346 (67.1)	92 (17.8)	65 (12.6)	13 (2.5)	516 (100.0)	510 (93.9)	25 (4.6)	8 (1.5)	543 (100.0)	
Total	453 (61.9)	196 (26.8)	70 (9.5)	13 (1.8)	732 (100.0)	719 (89.8)	73 (9.1)	9 (1.1)	801 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* No female had higher education.

TABLE 2.61
 EDUCATIONAL PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
 (For Sample Population of 15 Years and Above)

Sex/Education Level Economic Strata	Male					Female*			
	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total
Top	88 (56.8)	38 (24.5)	24 (15.5)	5 (3.2)	155 (100.0)	144 (92.3)	10 (6.4)	2 (1.3)	156 (100.0)
Middle	104 (62.3)	28 (16.8)	30 (17.9)	5 (3.0)	167 (100.0)	171 (91.9)	13 (7.0)	2 (1.1)	186 (100.0)
Bottom	154 (79.4)	26 (13.4)	11 (5.7)	3 (1.5)	194 (100.0)	195 (97.0)	2 (1.0)	4 (2.0)	201 (100.0)
All Strata	346 (67.1)	92 (17.8)	65 (12.6)	13 (2.5)	516 (100.0)	510 (94.0)	25 (4.6)	8 (1.4)	543 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* No female had higher education.

TABLE 2.62
 EDUCATIONAL PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
 (For 10-14 Age Group)

Sex/Education Level Economic Strata	Male				Female			
	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total
Top	6 (20.0)	22 (73.3)	2 (6.7)	30 (100.0)	16 (55.2)	12 (41.4)	1 (3.4)	29 (100.0)
Middle	6 (25.0)	17 (70.8)	1 (4.2)	24 (100.0)	27 (65.9)	14 (34.1)	-	41 (100.0)
Bottom	22 (52.4)	18 (42.9)	2 (4.7)	42 (100.0)	41 (89.1)	5 (10.9)	-	46 (100.0)
All Strata	34 (35.4)	57 (59.4)	5 (5.2)	96 (100.0)	84 (72.4)	31 (26.7)	1 (0.9)	116 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.63

EDUCATIONAL PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
(FOR 5-9 AGE GROUP)

(In number)

Sex/Education Level Economic Strata	Male			Female		
	No School- ing	Primary	Total	No School- ing	Primary	Total
Top	11 (40.7)	16 (59.3)	27 (100.0)	22 (68.7)	10 (31.3)	32 (100.0)
Middle	19 (57.6)	14 (42.4)	33 (100.0)	44 (91.7)	4 (8.3)	48 (100.0)
Bottom	43 (71.7)	17 (28.3)	60 (100.0)	59 (95.2)	3 (4.8)	62 (100.0)
All Strata	73 (60.8)	47 (39.2)	120 (100.0)	125 (88.0)	17 (12.0)	142 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.



Ane Haaland
A Chetri girl from Bakundol returns from school. 15.7% of the adult female population in the village are literate. This is highest literacy rate encountered in the 8 villages studied.

Inter-village comparison of the educational status of the adult population reveals that schooling levels are very low in all the villages. Pangma, the Lohorung Rai village, had the highest proportion of school-educated women and Thabang, the highest proportion of women who had been through secondary schooling, while the Tharu community of Sukhrwar had lowest percentage of educated women (Table 2.64). The proportion of school-educated girls in the 5-14 age group is highest among the Baragaonle of Kagbeni and second highest among the Lohorung Rai of Pangma. In the Parbatiya village of Bakundol 25 percent of the girls of 5-14 age group had been to school, while the Newar of Bulu and Tamang of Katarche had no school-educated girls in that age group. The non-Hinduized Tibeto-Burman villages (i.e., Pangma, Kagbeni and Thabang) although in relatively less accessible areas compared to other villages, had a greater proportion of school-educated girls in the 5-14 age group. These villages also have a larger proportion of male children in the similar age cohort in school. About 83 percent of male children and 62.5 percent of female children in Kagbeni had received school education or were attending school (Table 2.65). A more liberal attitude towards female education in the non-Hinduized Tibeto-Burman groups is also evident from the responses in these villages to the survey on attitudes towards male and female education discussed below.

Attitudes Towards Education for Girls and Boys

The question on the perceived need for educating boys was answered positively by 95.8 percent of the male respondents and 96.9 percent of the female respondents in the eight village sample. On the question of educating girls, only 74.7 percent of the males and 67.1 percent of the females interviewed saw the value of female education (Table 2.66).

Respondents from the bottom stratum seemed most negative toward female education. In this group the difference between the number of people wanting to educate the boys and those wanting to educate the girls was highest as compared to other strata (Table 2.67).

Although in all the villages studied, the proportion of people wanting to educate the boys is higher than those wanting to educate the girls, this difference is highest in the case of Pangma and lowest in Katarche (Table 2.68). These reported attitudes however, are inconsistent with the schooling figures for children in the 5-14 age group in both these villages.

As to the level of education desired for sons and daughters, 59 percent of the males and 53.3 percent of the females wanted to educate boys beyond the

TABLE 2.64

EDUCATIONAL PATTERN BY VILLAGE AND SEX

(For Sample Population of 15 Years and Above)

Village	Male						Female*			(In number)
	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total	
Baragaonle	35 (67.3)	17 (32.7)	-	-	52 (100.0)	40 (90.9)	4 (9.1)	-	44 (100.0)	
Lohorung Rai	30 (49.2)	12 (19.7)	19 (31.1)	-	61 (100.0)	70 (87.5)	7 (8.8)	3 (3.7)	80 (100.0)	
Kham Magar	36 (62.1)	8 (13.8)	6 (10.3)	8 (13.8)	58 (100.0)	56 (91.8)	2 (3.3)	3 (4.9)	61 (100.0)	
Parbatiya	36 (56.2)	11 (17.2)	14 (21.9)	3 (4.7)	64 (100.0)	62 (88.6)	7 (10.0)	1 (1.4)	70 (100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	35 (64.8)	7 (13.0)	11 (20.4)	1 (1.8)	54 (100.0)	52 (96.3)	1 (1.8)	1 (1.9)	54 (100.0)	
Tamang	41 (85.4)	6 (12.5)	-	1 (2.1)	48 (100.0)	55 (98.2)	1 (1.8)	-	56 (100.0)	
Tharu	75 (71.4)	25 (23.8)	5 (4.8)	-	105 (100.0)	107 (99.1)	1 (0.9)	-	108 (100.0)	
Maithili	58 (78.4)	6 (8.1)	10 (13.5)	-	74 (100.0)	68 (97.1)	2 (2.9)	-	70 (100.0)	
All Villages	346 (67.1)	92 (17.8)	65 (12.6)	13 (2.5)	516 (100.0)	510 (93.9)	25 (4.6)	8 (1.5)	543 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* No female had higher education.

TABLE 2.65
EDUCATIONAL PATTERN BY VILLAGE AND SEX
(For 5-14 Age Group)

Village	Sex/Education Level		Male				Female					
	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	Total
Baragaonle	3 (16.7)	15 (83.3)	-	18 (100.0)	9 (37.5)	15 (62.5)	-	24 (100.0)				
Lohorung Rai	8 (25.8)	22 (71.0)	1 (3.2)	31 (100.0)	22 (62.9)	13 (37.1)	-	35 (100.0)				
Kham Magar	7 (36.8)	11 (57.9)	1 (5.3)	19 (100.0)	15 (71.4)	5 (23.8)	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)				
Parbatiya	17 (56.7)	12 (40.0)	1 (3.3)	30 (100.0)	27 (75.0)	9 (25.0)	-	36 (100.0)				
Newar, Jyapu	13 (48.2)	12 (44.4)	2 (7.4)	27 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	-	-	28 (100.0)				
Tamang	17 (68.0)	8 (32.0)	-	25 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	-	-	24 (100.0)				
Tharu	26 (60.5)	17 (39.5)	-	43 (100.0)	58 (98.3)	1 (1.7)	-	59 (100.0)				
Maithili	16 (69.6)	7 (30.4)	-	23 (100.0)	26 (83.9)	5 (16.1)	-	31 (100.0)				
All Villages	107 (49.5)	104 (48.2)	5 (2.3)	216 (100.0)	209 (81.0)	48 (18.6)	1 (0.4)	258 (100.0)				

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.66

ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION BY RESPONDENTS

(In number)

Question	Is it important for boys and girls to go to school ?					
Answers Respondents	Boys			Girls		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Male	230 (95.8)	10 (4.2)	240 (100.0)	177 (74.7)	60 (25.3)	237 (100.0)
Female	247 (96.9)	8 (3.1)	255 (100.0)	171 (67.1)	84 (32.9)	255 (100.0)
Both	477 (96.4)	18 (3.6)	495 (100.0)	348 (70.7)	144 (29.3)	492 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.67

ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Question		Is it important for boys and girls to go to school ?					
Answers		Boys			Girls		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Economic Strata							
Top		147 (99.3)	1 (0.7)	148 (100.0)	120 (81.1)	28 (18.9)	148 (100.0)
Middle		144 (96.0)	6 (4.0)	150 (100.0)	106 (71.6)	42 (28.4)	148 (100.0)
Bottom		186 (94.4)	11 (5.6)	197 (100.0)	186 (94.4)	11 (5.6)	197 (100.0)
All Strata		477 (96.4)	18 (3.6)	495 (100.0)	412 (83.5)	81 (16.5)	493 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.68

ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION BY VILLAGE

(Total Respondents)

(In number)

Question Answers Village	Is it important to send girls and boys to school ?					
	Boys			Girls		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Baragaonle	61 (100.0)	-	61 (100.0)	55 (90.2)	6 (9.8)	61 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	57 (98.3)	1 (1.7)	58 (100.0)	29 (50.0)	29 (50.0)	58 (100.0)
Kham Magar	45 (77.6)	13 (22.4)	58 (100.0)	37 (66.1)	19 (33.9)	56 (100.0)
Parbatiya	63 (98.4)	1 (1.6)	64 (100.0)	49 (76.6)	15 (23.4)	64 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	57 (96.6)	2 (3.4)	59 (100.0)	34 (57.6)	25 (42.4)	59 (100.0)
Tamang	58 (100.0)	-	58 (100.0)	56 (96.6)	2 (3.4)	58 (100.0)
Tharu	73 (100.0)	-	73 (100.0)	47 (65.3)	25 (34.7)	72 (100.0)
Maithili	63 (98.4)	1 (1.6)	64 (100.0)	41 (64.1)	23 (35.9)	64 (100.0)
All Villages	477 (96.4)	18 (3.6)	495 (100.0)	348 (70.7)	144 (29.3)	492 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

10th class (Table 2.69). Comparable percentages for girl's education were 32.3 and 34.2 respectively (Table 2.70). The number of people wanting higher education for boys seemed positively related with the wealth of the household (Table 2.71). In the case of girls, however, the percentage of people wanting to educate their girls to higher levels was highest in top economic stratum, but lowest in the middle economic stratum (Table 2.72).

The percentage of people wanting to educate their boys to higher levels (more than 10 years) was highest among the Kham Magar of Thabang (at 84.1 percent). In this respect Thabang was followed closely by the Lohorung Rai of Pangma where 82.4 percent of the villagers interviewed wanted higher education for their male children. Sirsia, the Maithili village, ranked third in this respect (Table 2.73). Regarding attitudes towards female education, the Magar of Thabang also seemed most willing to give higher education to their girls. Inter-village comparison shows that the percentage of respondents wanting higher education for girls was lowest in Pangma (Table 2.74). This, however, is in conflict with the fact that the proportion of school-educated girls in the 5-14 age group in Pangma (37.1 percent) was second only to that in Kagbeni.

Few respondents wanted less than three years of education for their children. About 97 percent of the people wanted more than 3 years education for boys while for the girls the corresponding figure was 86.5 percent. The majority of respondents expressed the desire to educate their children to between third and tenth class. About 53 percent felt this was sufficient for girls and 40.3 percent felt it was sufficient for boys (Tables 2.73 and 2.74). Even in this sub-group a larger percentage wanted a higher level (8 to 10 years) for boys and lower level (3 to 7 years) for girls.

Consistently, through all economic strata and through all villages people expressed less desire to educate girls than boys. This is manifested in two ways: (1) fewer people are willing to send girls to school and (2) even among those who do send girls to school, there are very few who want as much education for their girls as for boys.

An explanation for this phenomenon is offered by the tables on reasons for not sending girls to school (Table 2.75) and for wanting less education for girls than for boys (Table 2.79). The highest proportion of respondents (30 percent) said that girls are needed for house work so they cannot be sent to school. Another 19.7 percent gave their need of girl's labor for farm work as the reason for keeping girls out of school. To 18.2 percent of the respondents it seemed

TABLE 2.69

DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR BOYS BY RESPONDENTS

(In number)

Level of Education	Respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
Less than 3 Years	9 (4.1)	2 (0.9)	11 (2.5)
3-7 Years	21 (9.4)	23 (10.6)	44 (10.0)
8-10 Years	61 (27.5)	72 (33.2)	133 (30.3)
More than 10 Years	49 (22.1)	44 (20.3)	93 (21.2)
As much as possible	82 (36.9)	76 (35.0)	158 (36.0)
Total	222 (100.0)	217 (100.0)	439 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.70

DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR GIRLS BY RESPONDENTS

(In number)

Level of Education	Respondents		
	Male	Female	Total
Less than 3 Years	22 (12.0)	28 (15.0)	50 (13.5)
3-7 Years	69 (37.7)	54 (28.9)	123 (33.2)
8-10 Years	33 (18.0)	41 (21.9)	74 (20.0)
More than 10 Years	30 (16.4)	32 (17.1)	62 (16.8)
As much as possible	29 (15.9)	32 (17.1)	61 (16.5)
Total	183 (100.0)	187 (100.0)	370 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.71

DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR BOYS BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Level of Education \ Economic Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Less than 3 Years	1 (0.7)	5 (3.8)	5 (3.1)	11 (2.5)
3-7 Years	15 (10.3)	7 (5.3)	22 (13.6)	44 (10.0)
8-10 Years	37 (25.5)	39 (29.5)	57 (35.2)	133 (30.3)
More than 10 Years	41 (28.3)	26 (19.7)	26 (16.0)	93 (21.2)
As much as possible	51 (35.2)	55 (41.7)	52 (32.1)	158 (36.0)
Total	145 (100.0)	132 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	439 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.72

DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR GIRLS BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Level of Education	Economic Strata			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Less than 3 Years	7 (5.6)	19 (16.9)	24 (18.0)	50 (13.5)
3-7 Years	35 (28.0)	48 (42.9)	40 (30.1)	123 (33.2)
8-10 Years	25 (20.0)	16 (14.3)	33 (24.8)	74 (20.0)
More than 10 Years	37 (29.6)	12 (10.7)	13 (9.8)	62 (16.8)
As much as possible	21 (16.8)	17 (15.2)	23 (17.3)	61 (16.5)
Total	125 (100.0)	112 (100.0)	133 (100.0)	370 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.73

DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR BOYS BY VILLAGE

(Both Respondents)

(In number)

Desired Level of Education Village	Less Than 3 Years	3 - 7 Years	8 - 10 Years	More Than 10 Years	As Much as Possible	Total
Baragaonle	-	14 (23.7)	18 (30.5)	27 (45.8)	-	59 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	1 (1.8)	1 (1.8)	8 (14.0)	17 (29.8)	30 (52.6)	57 (100.0)
Kham Magar	1 (2.3)	-	6 (13.6)	1 (2.3)	36 (81.8)	44 (100.0)
Parbatiya	2 (3.2)	7 (11.1)	15 (23.8)	8 (12.7)	31 (49.2)	63 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	3 (5.2)	1 (1.8)	22 (38.6)	22 (38.6)	9 (15.8)	57 (100.0)
Tamang	2 (4.1)	11 (22.4)	17 (34.7)	12 (24.5)	7 (14.3)	49 (100.0)
Tharu	1 (1.7)	10 (17.2)	35 (60.4)	2 (3.5)	10 (17.2)	58 (100.0)
Maithili	1 (1.9)	-	12 (23.1)	4 (7.7)	35 (67.3)	52 (100.0)
All Villages	11 (2.5)	44 (10.0)	133 (30.3)	93 (21.2)	158 (36.0)	439 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.74

DESIRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR GIRLS BY VILLAGE
(Both Respondents)

(In number)

Desired Level of Education Village	Less Than 3 Years	3 - 7 Years	8 - 10 Years	More Than 10 Years	As Much as Possible	Total
Baragaonle	1 (1.8)	14 (25.0)	15 (26.8)	26 (46.4)	-	56 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	5 (8.9)	24 (42.9)	17 (30.4)	5 (8.9)	5 (8.9)	56 (100.0)
Kham Magar	3 (8.1)	-	5 (13.5)	-	29 (78.4)	37 (100.0)
Parbatiya	8 (13.3)	25 (41.7)	8 (13.3)	11 (18.4)	8 (13.3)	60 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	9 (25.7)	13 (37.2)	4 (11.4)	7 (20.0)	2 (5.7)	35 (100.0)
Tamang	3 (6.1)	13 (26.5)	12 (24.5)	12 (24.5)	9 (18.4)	49 (100.0)
Tharu	15 (31.9)	31 (66.0)	1 (2.1)	-	-	47 (100.0)
Maithili	6 (20.0)	3 (10.0)	12 (40.0)	1 (3.3)	8 (26.7)	30 (100.0)
All Villages	50 (13.5)	123 (33.2)	74 (20.0)	62 (16.8)	61 (16.5)	370 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.75

REASONS FOR KEEPING GIRLS OUT OF SCHOOL BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND RESPONDENTS

(In number)

Reasons	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata					
	Economic Strata/ Respondents		Total	Male		Total	Female		Total	Male		Total	Female		Total
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
They are needed for farm work	12 (37.5)	11 (23.9)	23 (29.5)	9 (16.1)	15 (21.1)	24 (18.9)	12 (14.5)	19 (17.6)	31 (16.2)	33 (19.3)	45 (20.0)	33 (19.3)	45 (20.0)	78 (19.7)	
They will have to mix with boys at School	-	2 (4.4)	2 (2.6)	2 (3.6)	1 (1.4)	3 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	-	1 (0.5)	3 (1.8)	3 (1.3)	3 (1.3)	3 (1.3)	6 (1.5)	
They are going to get married off and leave the family soon	7 (21.9)	11 (23.9)	18 (23.1)	10 (17.9)	10 (14.1)	20 (15.8)	20 (24.1)	14 (13.0)	34 (17.8)	37 (21.6)	35 (15.6)	37 (21.6)	35 (15.6)	72 (18.2)	
It is difficult to marry off girls who have been to School	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1.2)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.1)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	2 (0.5)	
They are not likely to join service or salaried job	1 (3.1)	2 (4.4)	3 (3.8)	7 (12.5)	5 (7.0)	12 (9.4)	-	8 (7.4)	8 (4.2)	8 (4.7)	15 (6.6)	8 (4.7)	15 (6.6)	23 (5.8)	
They are needed for house work	7 (21.9)	14 (30.4)	21 (26.9)	15 (26.8)	22 (31.0)	37 (29.1)	23 (27.7)	38 (35.2)	61 (31.9)	45 (26.3)	74 (32.9)	45 (26.3)	74 (32.9)	119 (30.0)	
It costs too much	3 (9.4)	3 (6.5)	6 (7.7)	5 (8.9)	6 (8.5)	11 (8.7)	16 (19.3)	15 (13.9)	31 (16.2)	24 (14.0)	24 (10.7)	24 (14.0)	24 (10.7)	48 (12.1)	
Their husband will take care of them	1 (3.1)	3 (6.5)	4 (5.1)	4 (7.1)	4 (5.6)	8 (6.3)	4 (4.8)	4 (3.7)	8 (4.2)	9 (5.3)	11 (4.9)	9 (5.3)	11 (4.9)	20 (5.1)	
Others	1 (3.1)	-	1 (1.3)	4 (7.1)	8 (11.3)	12 (9.4)	6 (7.2)	9 (8.3)	15 (7.9)	11 (6.4)	17 (7.6)	11 (6.4)	17 (7.6)	28 (7.1)	
Total	32 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	78 (100.0)	56 (100.0)	71 (100.0)	127 (100.0)	83 (100.0)	108 (100.0)	191 (100.0)	171 (100.0)	225 (100.0)	171 (100.0)	225 (100.0)	396 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.76

REASONS FOR KEEPING GIRLS OUT OF SCHOOL BY VILLAGE

(Both Respondents)

Village	Kagbeni	Pangma	Thabang	Eakundol	Bulu	Katarche	Sukhrwar	Sirsia	All Villages
Reasons									
They are needed for farm work	2 (20.0)	10 (11.9)	20 (43.5)	9 (24.3)	14 (18.7)	5 (29.4)	13 (17.1)	5 (9.8)	78 (19.7)
They will have to mix with boys at school	-	2 (2.4)	-	2 (5.4)	2 (2.7)	-	-	-	6 (1.5)
They are going to get married off and leave the family soon	6 (60.0)	15 (17.9)	1 (2.2)	8 (21.6)	14 (18.7)	1 (5.9)	13 (17.1)	14 (27.5)	72 (18.2)
It is difficult to marry off girls who have been to school	-	2 (2.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.5)
They are not likely to join service or salaried job	-	8 (9.5)	-	1 (2.7)	4 (5.3)	1 (5.9)	7 (9.2)	2 (3.9)	23 (5.8)
They are needed for house work	2 (20.0)	25 (29.8)	20 (43.5)	10 (27.1)	22 (29.3)	6 (35.2)	27 (35.5)	7 (13.7)	119 (30.0)
It costs too much	-	6 (7.1)	4 (8.6)	6 (16.2)	15 (20.0)	1 (5.9)	-	16 (31.4)	48 (12.1)
Their husband will take care of them	-	7 (8.3)	-	-	4 (5.3)	1 (5.9)	2 (2.7)	6 (11.8)	20 (5.1)
Others	-	9 (10.7)	1 (2.2)	1 (2.7)	-	2 (11.8)	14 (18.4)	1 (1.9)	28 (7.1)
Total	10 (100.0)	84 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	37 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	76 (100.0)	51 (100.0)	396 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.77

REASONS FOR KEEPING GIRLS OUT OF SCHOOL BY VILLAGE

Village Reasons	(Male Respondents)									(In number)	
	Kagbeni	Pangma	Thabang	Bakundol	Bulu	Katarche	Sukhrwar	Sirsia	All villages		
They are needed for farm work	1 (20.0)	3 (10.0)	7 (43.7)	4 (23.5)	6 (16.7)	2 (25.0)	6 (17.6)	4 (16.0)	33 (19.3)		
They will have to mix with boys at school	-	1 (3.3)	-	1 (5.9)	1 (2.8)	-	-	-	3 (1.8)		
They are going to get married off and leave the family soon	3 (60.0)	9 (30.0)	-	4 (23.5)	5 (13.9)	-	9 (26.5)	7 (28.0)	37 (21.6)		
It is difficult to marry off girls who have been to school	-	1 (3.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.6)		
They are not likely to join service or salaried job	-	2 (6.7)	-	1 (5.9)	1 (2.8)	1 (12.5)	2 (5.9)	1 (4.0)	8 (4.7)		
They are needed for house work	1 (20.0)	9 (30.0)	7 (43.8)	3 (17.6)	9 (25.0)	3 (37.5)	10 (29.4)	3 (12.0)	45 (26.3)		
It costs too much	-	2 (6.7)	2 (12.5)	3 (17.7)	11 (30.5)	-	-	6 (24.0)	24 (14.0)		
Their husband will take care of them	-	1 (3.3)	-	-	3 (8.3)	-	2 (5.9)	3 (12.0)	9 (5.3)		
Others	-	2 (6.7)	-	1 (5.9)	-	2 (25.0)	5 (14.7)	1 (4.0)	11 (6.4)		
Total	5 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	36 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	34 (100.0)	25 (100.0)	171 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

REASONS FOR KEEPING GIRLS OUT OF SCHOOL BY VILLAGE

(Female Respondents)

Reasons	(In number)									
	Village	Bara-gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parba-tiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	All Villages
They are needed for farm work		1 (20.0)	7 (13.0)	13 (43.4)	5 (25.0)	8 (20.5)	3 (33.3)	7 (16.7)	1 (3.8)	45 (20.0)
They will have to mix with boys at school		-	1 (1.9)	-	1 (5.0)	1 (2.6)	-	-	-	3 (1.3)
They are going to get married off and leave the family soon		3 (60.0)	6 (11.1)	1 (3.3)	4 (20.0)	9 (23.1)	1 (11.1)	4 (9.5)	7 (26.9)	35 (15.6)
It is difficult to marry off girls who have been to school		-	1 (1.9)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.4)
They are not likely to join service or salaried job		-	6 (11.1)	-	-	3 (7.7)	-	5 (11.9)	1 (3.8)	15 (6.7)
They are needed for house work		1 (20.0)	16 (29.6)	13 (43.4)	7 (35.0)	13 (33.3)	3 (33.3)	17 (40.5)	4 (15.4)	74 (32.9)
It costs too much		-	4 (7.4)	2 (6.6)	3 (15.0)	4 (10.2)	1 (11.1)	-	10 (38.5)	24 (10.7)
Their husbands will take care of them		-	6 (11.1)	-	-	1 (2.6)	1 (11.1)	-	3 (11.6)	11 (4.9)
Others		-	7 (12.9)	1 (3.3)	-	-	-	9 (21.4)	-	17 (7.5)
Total		5 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	39 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	225 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.79

REASONS FOR RELATIVELY LOWER DESIRED EDUCATION LEVEL

FOR GIRLS BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Reasons	Male						Female						Total									
	Top		Middle		Bottom		Top		Middle		Bottom		Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata			
	(15.9)	(4.7)	(8.1)	(5.6)	(8.1)	(3.7)	(16.1)	(15.3)	(3.4)	(12.9)	(2.4)	(16.1)	(15.3)	(17.6)	(16.8)	(11.6)	(4.5)	(22.8)	(14.7)	(3.1)		
They are needed for farm work	10	7	10	7	7	27	9	18	11	11	38	19	28	18	19	28	18	65	38	11	38	
They will have to mix with boys at school	3	-	7	-	-	10	2	4	2	2	8	5	11	2	5	11	2	18	8	2	8	
They are going to be married off and leave the family soon	11	24	33	24	24	68	9	18	15	15	42	20	51	39	20	51	39	110	42	15	42	
It is difficult to marry off girls with too much education	-	2	-	2	2	2	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	2	2	4	2	-	2	
They are not likely to join service or salaried job	8	13	19	13	13	40	5	12	10	10	27	13	31	23	13	31	23	67	27	10	27	
They are needed for house work	17	19	33	19	19	69	15	35	24	24	74	32	68	43	32	68	43	143	74	24	74	
It costs too much	2	9	10	9	9	21	5	11	7	7	23	7	21	16	7	21	16	44	23	7	23	
Their husband will take care of them	3	1	5	1	1	9	4	7	5	5	16	7	12	6	7	12	6	25	16	5	16	
Others	9	11	7	11	11	27	7	11	11	11	29	16	18	22	16	18	22	56	29	11	29	
	(14.3)	(12.8)	(5.7)	(12.8)	(12.8)	(9.9)	(12.5)	(9.3)	(12.9)	(12.9)	(11.2)	(13.4)	(7.4)	(12.9)	(13.4)	(7.4)	(12.9)	(10.5)	(11.2)	(12.9)	(11.2)	
Total	63	86	124	86	86	273	56	118	85	118	259	119	242	171	119	242	171	532	259	85	259	
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

useless to educate girls because they were going to be transferred to their husband's households at marriage and the natal family would not benefit from their education. Contrary to current assumptions, only 12.1 percent of the people reported the cost of education as a prohibiting factor in female education (Table 2.75).

Irrespective of economic strata, it is evident that girls are not sent to school because they are needed for house and farm work and because no direct benefit accrues to the natal household from their education. In all the villages except Sirsia and Kagbeni the need for girl's labor on the farm and in the house together topped the list of reasons for not sending girls to school. The second most prominent factor in this list was the girl's eventual transfer to her affinal household at marriage. In Kagbeni this factor was first in the list, but the number of people who answered this question was very small because most of them were in fact sending their girls to school. Only in Sirsia was the cost of education at the top of the list of factors hindering female education, followed by the girl's eventual transfer to her affinal household (Table 2.76). The pattern of answers to the question on why a lower level of education was desired for girls than for boys follows the some basic pattern.

Although some of the facts of actual school attendance contradict the reported attitudes towards education, overall analysis of the literacy rates, desired level of education and causes for not sending girls to school or for desiring lower level of education for girls than for boys, brings into relief the following facts:

1. The need for female child labor in the farm and household is the major cause in hindering the spread of female education irrespective of the wealth of the household.
2. In communities where fewer restrictions have been imposed on women by tradition and culture (Kagbeni, Pangma, Thabang) there is greater willingness to educate girls. The continued association of women with their natal household and greater possibility of support from daughters in old age provides another incentive to female education in these communities. Women in these communities are looked upon as assets rather than liabilities to their natal households and this appears to be related to their greater access to schooling. According to Molnar, better appreciation of female education in Thabang is also related to a general desire to raise the community status of the Kham-Magar vis-a-vis other

communities in Nepal (1981). Women of Kagbeni, on the other hand, who come into greater contact with outside world as part of a trading group or operating by themselves in the cities like Pokhara and Kathmandu, feel a more intense need for literacy and education. Hence, the perceived value of female education is directly related to its use in everyday life.

3. In contrast to these communities, the perceived value of female education in other communities covered in this study is lower because there is no apparent direct relationship between the later life style of women and education. In Indo-Aryan communities (Bakundol and Sirsia) ideally all women, either educated or uneducated are secluded within the household and expected to come into little contact with the outside world. Education, while generally highly valued in Hindu groups, is still regarded as a luxury for women rather than as a potential economic asset.
4. On deeper analysis attitudes towards female education are also related to the relative structure of the economy. The more the economy is oriented towards subsistence farm production, the less need for women to come into contact with outside world and the less the perceived need of female education.

Cultural Images and Ideals of Male and Female

The foregoing analysis shows that women from various ethnic groups in Nepal have different marriage practices and different degrees of freedom in the choice of marriage partners, different economic opportunities and differential access to property. Sirsia and Bakundol, the most orthodox Hindu Indo-Aryan groups, are on one end of the spectrum with strict control over women's sexual behavior while Thabang and Kagbeni are on the other end with little concern over the sexual purity unless a liaison resulted in unwanted offspring. This together with women's greater economic independence in the non-Hinduized Tibeto-Burman groups (to be discussed in Chapter III) seem to have resulted in giving women more social respect and status in these societies.

Perceived Male and Female Characteristics

An attempt was made to capture this difference statistically by asking two sets of questions. The first set of questions included several on positive

qualities and some others on negative qualities of an individual. Concern over the family, obedience, kindness, co-operation and conformity to religion were classified as positive and selfishness, laziness, stubbornness and quarrelsomeness as negative for this analysis. Respondents were asked whether these qualities better characterized men, women -- or whether they applied to both sexes equally. The process of the interview itself was instructive in revealing the fact that generally people do not think in abstract terms and these questions were sometimes confusing and sometimes very amusing to the respondents. Nevertheless relying on the statistical probability that the deviations in either direction cancel each other, it is interesting to note that distinct patterns do emerge in each sex's opinions about their own characteristics and those of the opposite sex. It reveals the fact that women's opinions about themselves and about men are different from men's opinions.

According to the data in Table 2.80, men had a more positive image of women than they did of their own sex. Women's overall rating of men was negative and their rating of themselves was higher. When the combined responses of both sexes are examined the female sex is attributed with many more positive characteristics than the male sex. Women emerged as more concerned about their family, more obedient to superiors, kinder and more religious while men were perceived as more trust worthy and co-operative. On the negative side men were thought to be more selfish and lazy than women while women were rated as more quarrelsome and stubborn.

Village-wise comparison combining the responses of both sexes in Table 2.81 reveals that men have an overall negative image in all four of the Tibeto-Burman communities and that the only communities which see men as having more positive characteristics than women are the Tharu and the Maithili. When the data are examined by the sex of the respondent we see that in the four Tibeto-Burman communities men's own image of their sex is low and in some cases even negative, though not as negative as the women's view of them (Tables 2.82 and 2.83). Interestingly, it was only in the Parbatiya community where the overall assessment of male and female characteristics was reversed depending on the sex of the respondents. In other words men rated themselves more highly than women while women did just the opposite.

Ideal Husbands and Wives

The answers to questions on ideal husbands and wives provided another set of data on social attitudes. The most highly rated quality in a husband was his



A Maithili woman old enough to disregard purdah.

Nirmal Tuladhar

TABLE 2.80

MALE AND FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS

Questions	Respondents/Answer				Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Combined Responses of Both Sexes											
	Men		Women		Both Same		Total		Men		Women		Both Same		Total		Men		Women		Both Same		Total	
	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)	(In number)	(Percentage)
Who is more trustworthy?	117 (52.0)	44 (19.6)	64 (28.4)	225 (100.0)	85 (35.3)	78 (32.4)	78 (32.3)	241 (100.0)	202 (43.3)	122 (26.2)	142 (30.5)	466 (100.0)	202 (43.3)	122 (26.2)	142 (30.5)	466 (100.0)	202 (43.3)	122 (26.2)	142 (30.5)	466 (100.0)	202 (43.3)	122 (26.2)	142 (30.5)	466 (100.0)
Who is more concerned about their family?	57 (24.5)	112 (48.1)	64 (27.4)	233 (100.0)	76 (29.9)	111 (43.7)	67 (26.4)	254 (100.0)	133 (27.3)	223 (45.8)	131 (26.9)	487 (100.0)	133 (27.3)	223 (45.8)	131 (26.9)	487 (100.0)	133 (27.3)	223 (45.8)	131 (26.9)	487 (100.0)	133 (27.3)	223 (45.8)	131 (26.9)	487 (100.0)
Who is more obedient towards superiors?	59 (26.1)	100 (44.2)	67 (29.7)	226 (100.0)	34 (13.6)	146 (58.4)	70 (28.0)	250 (100.0)	93 (19.5)	246 (51.7)	137 (28.8)	476 (100.0)	93 (19.5)	246 (51.7)	137 (28.8)	476 (100.0)	93 (19.5)	246 (51.7)	137 (28.8)	476 (100.0)	93 (19.5)	246 (51.7)	137 (28.8)	476 (100.0)
Who is more kind?	26 (11.3)	143 (61.9)	62 (26.8)	231 (100.0)	33 (12.9)	168 (65.9)	54 (21.2)	255 (100.0)	59 (12.1)	311 (64.0)	116 (23.9)	486 (100.0)	59 (12.1)	311 (64.0)	116 (23.9)	486 (100.0)	59 (12.1)	311 (64.0)	116 (23.9)	486 (100.0)	59 (12.1)	311 (64.0)	116 (23.9)	486 (100.0)
Who is more cooperative?	97 (42.0)	49 (21.2)	85 (36.8)	231 (100.0)	66 (26.2)	89 (35.3)	97 (38.5)	252 (100.0)	163 (33.7)	138 (28.6)	182 (37.7)	483 (100.0)	163 (33.7)	138 (28.6)	182 (37.7)	483 (100.0)	163 (33.7)	138 (28.6)	182 (37.7)	483 (100.0)	163 (33.7)	138 (28.6)	182 (37.7)	483 (100.0)
Who is more concerned and involved in religious matters?	65 (28.0)	102 (44.0)	65 (28.0)	232 (100.0)	62 (24.6)	137 (54.4)	53 (21.0)	252 (100.0)	127 (26.2)	239 (49.4)	118 (24.4)	484 (100.0)	127 (26.2)	239 (49.4)	118 (24.4)	484 (100.0)	127 (26.2)	239 (49.4)	118 (24.4)	484 (100.0)	127 (26.2)	239 (49.4)	118 (24.4)	484 (100.0)
I. Sub-Total (Positive Image)	421 (30.6)	550 (39.9)	407 (29.5)	1378 (100.0)	356 (23.7)	729 (48.5)	419 (27.8)	1504 (100.0)	777 (26.9)	1279 (44.4)	826 (28.7)	2882 (100.0)	777 (26.9)	1279 (44.4)	826 (28.7)	2882 (100.0)	777 (26.9)	1279 (44.4)	826 (28.7)	2882 (100.0)	777 (26.9)	1279 (44.4)	826 (28.7)	2882 (100.0)
Who is more selfish?	61 (27.2)	58 (25.9)	105 (46.9)	224 (100.0)	84 (34.2)	66 (26.8)	96 (39.0)	246 (100.0)	145 (30.8)	124 (26.4)	201 (42.8)	470 (100.0)	145 (30.8)	124 (26.4)	201 (42.8)	470 (100.0)	145 (30.8)	124 (26.4)	201 (42.8)	470 (100.0)	145 (30.8)	124 (26.4)	201 (42.8)	470 (100.0)
Who is more lazy?	99 (43.2)	50 (21.8)	80 (35.0)	229 (100.0)	132 (52.8)	53 (21.2)	65 (26.0)	250 (100.0)	231 (48.2)	103 (21.5)	145 (30.3)	479 (100.0)	231 (48.2)	103 (21.5)	145 (30.3)	479 (100.0)	231 (48.2)	103 (21.5)	145 (30.3)	479 (100.0)	231 (48.2)	103 (21.5)	145 (30.3)	479 (100.0)
Who is more stubborn?	56 (24.8)	126 (55.8)	44 (19.4)	226 (100.0)	86 (36.0)	99 (41.4)	54 (22.6)	239 (100.0)	142 (30.5)	225 (48.4)	98 (21.1)	465 (100.0)	142 (30.5)	225 (48.4)	98 (21.1)	465 (100.0)	142 (30.5)	225 (48.4)	98 (21.1)	465 (100.0)	142 (30.5)	225 (48.4)	98 (21.1)	465 (100.0)
Who is more quarrelsome?	56 (24.2)	111 (48.1)	64 (27.7)	231 (100.0)	70 (28.6)	95 (38.8)	80 (32.6)	245 (100.0)	126 (26.5)	206 (43.3)	144 (30.2)	476 (100.0)	126 (26.5)	206 (43.3)	144 (30.2)	476 (100.0)	126 (26.5)	206 (43.3)	144 (30.2)	476 (100.0)	126 (26.5)	206 (43.3)	144 (30.2)	476 (100.0)
II. Sub-Total (Negative Image)	272 (29.9)	345 (37.9)	293 (32.2)	910 (100.0)	372 (38.0)	313 (31.9)	295 (30.1)	980 (100.0)	644 (34.1)	658 (34.8)	588 (31.1)	1890 (100.0)	644 (34.1)	658 (34.8)	588 (31.1)	1890 (100.0)	644 (34.1)	658 (34.8)	588 (31.1)	1890 (100.0)	644 (34.1)	658 (34.8)	588 (31.1)	1890 (100.0)
III. Overall Image (I-II)	149 (31.8)	205 (43.8)	114 (24.4)	468 (100.0)	-16 (3.1)	416 (79.4)	124 (23.7)	524 (100.0)	133 (13.4)	621 (62.6)	238 (24.0)	992 (100.0)	133 (13.4)	621 (62.6)	238 (24.0)	992 (100.0)	133 (13.4)	621 (62.6)	238 (24.0)	992 (100.0)	133 (13.4)	621 (62.6)	238 (24.0)	992 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.81

OPINIONS OF BOTH SEXES (COMBINED) ON OWN AND
OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS BY VILLAGE

Village	Positive Characteristics		Negative Characteristics		Overall Characteristics			Both Same	Image	Total		
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same				Men	Women
Baragaonle	149 (45.2)	172 (52.1)	9 (2.7)	330 (100.0)	163 (74.1)	54 (24.5)	3 (1.4)	220 (100.0)	-14 (12.7)	118 (107.3)	6 (5.4)	110 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	50 (14.5)	224 (64.9)	71 (20.6)	345 (100.0)	115 (49.8)	52 (22.5)	64 (27.7)	231 (100.0)	-65 (57.0)	172 (150.9)	7 (6.1)	114 (100.0)
Kham Magar	69 (20.6)	135 (40.3)	131 (39.1)	335 (100.0)	86 (40.4)	38 (17.8)	89 (41.8)	213 (100.0)	-17 (13.9)	97 (79.5)	42 (34.4)	122 (100.0)
Parbatiya	110 (27.8)	201 (50.8)	85 (21.4)	396 (100.0)	67 (25.4)	135 (51.1)	62 (23.5)	264 (100.0)	43 (32.6)	66 (50.0)	23 (17.4)	132 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	74 (22.0)	149 (44.2)	114 (33.8)	337 (100.0)	58 (27.0)	83 (38.6)	74 (34.4)	215 (100.0)	16 (13.1)	66 (54.1)	40 (32.8)	122 (100.0)
Tamang	64 (18.3)	137 (39.1)	149 (42.6)	350 (100.0)	73 (31.9)	72 (31.4)	84 (36.7)	229 (100.0)	-9 (7.4)	65 (53.7)	65 (53.7)	121 (100.0)
Tharu	162 (40.2)	125 (31.0)	116 (28.8)	403 (100.0)	42 (15.1)	97 (34.9)	139 (50.0)	278 (100.0)	120 (96.0)	28 (22.4)	-23 (18.4)	125 (100.0)
Maithili	99 (25.7)	136 (35.2)	151 (39.1)	386 (100.0)	40 (16.7)	127 (52.9)	73 (30.4)	240 (100.0)	59 (40.4)	9 (6.2)	78 (53.4)	146 (100.0)
All Villages	777 (26.9)	1279 (44.4)	826 (28.7)	2882 (100.0)	644 (34.1)	658 (34.8)	588 (31.1)	1890 (100.0)	133 (13.4)	621 (62.6)	238 (24.0)	992 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 2.82
MEN'S OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE
SEX CHARACTERISTICS BY VILLAGE

Village	Opinion/Sex		Positive Characteristics			Negative Characteristics			Overall Image			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
Baragaonle	93 (57.4)	63 (38.9)	6 (3.7)	162 (100.0)	79 (73.1)	26 (24.1)	3 (2.8)	108 (100.0)	14 (25.9)	37 (68.5)	3 (5.6)	54 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	24 (16.9)	81 (57.0)	37 (26.1)	142 (100.0)	37 (39.0)	27 (28.4)	31 (32.6)	95 (100.0)	-13 (27.7)	54 (114.9)	6 (12.8)	47 (100.0)
Kham Magar	33 (19.8)	75 (44.9)	59 (35.3)	167 (100.0)	39 (36.5)	19 (17.7)	49 (45.8)	107 (100.0)	-6 (10.0)	56 (93.3)	10 (16.7)	60 (100.0)
Parbatiya	63 (32.8)	89 (46.4)	40 (20.8)	192 (100.0)	29 (22.6)	66 (51.6)	33 (25.8)	128 (100.0)	34 (53.1)	23 (36.0)	7 (10.9)	64 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	40 (24.4)	65 (39.6)	59 (36.0)	164 (100.0)	28 (26.2)	42 (39.3)	37 (34.5)	107 (100.0)	12 (21.0)	23 (40.4)	22 (38.6)	57 (100.0)
Tamang	36 (22.6)	59 (37.1)	64 (40.3)	159 (100.0)	30 (28.8)	34 (32.7)	40 (38.5)	104 (100.0)	6 (10.9)	25 (45.5)	24 (43.6)	55 (100.0)
Tharu	85 (41.4)	60 (29.3)	60 (29.3)	205 (100.0)	19 (13.2)	71 (49.3)	54 (37.5)	144 (100.0)	66 (108.2)	-11 (18.0)	6 (9.8)	61 (100.0)
Maithili	47 (25.1)	58 (31.0)	82 (43.9)	187 (100.0)	11 (9.4)	60 (51.3)	46 (39.3)	117 (100.0)	36 (51.4)	-2 (2.8)	36 (51.4)	70 (100.0)
All Villages	421 (30.6)	550 (39.9)	407 (29.5)	1378 (100.0)	272 (29.9)	345 (37.9)	293 (32.2)	910 (100.0)	149 (31.8)	205 (43.8)	114 (24.4)	468 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

(In number)

TABLE 2.83
WOMEN'S OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS BY VILLAGE

Village	Opinion/Sex		Positive Characteristics			Negative Characteristics			Overall Image			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
Baragaonle	56 (33.3)	109 (64.9)	3 (1.8)	168 (100.0)	84 (75.0)	28 (25.0)	-	112 (100.0)	-28 (50.0)	81 (144.6)	3 (5.4)	56 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	26 (12.8)	143 (70.4)	34 (16.8)	203 (100.0)	78 (57.4)	25 (18.4)	33 (24.2)	136 (100.0)	-52 (77.6)	118 (176.1)	1 (1.5)	67 (100.0)
Kham Magar	36 (21.4)	60 (35.7)	72 (42.9)	168 (100.0)	47 (44.4)	19 (17.9)	40 (37.7)	106 (100.0)	-11 (17.7)	41 (66.1)	32 (51.6)	62 (100.0)
Parbatiya	47 (23.0)	112 (54.9)	45 (22.1)	204 (100.0)	38 (28.0)	69 (50.7)	29 (21.3)	136 (100.0)	9 (13.2)	43 (63.3)	16 (23.5)	68 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	34 (19.6)	84 (48.6)	55 (31.8)	173 (100.0)	30 (27.8)	41 (38.0)	37 (34.2)	108 (100.0)	4 (6.2)	43 (66.1)	18 (27.7)	65 (100.0)
Tamang	28 (14.7)	78 (40.8)	85 (44.5)	191 (100.0)	43 (34.4)	38 (30.4)	44 (35.2)	125 (100.0)	-15 (22.7)	40 (60.6)	41 (62.1)	66 (100.0)
Tharu	77 (38.9)	65 (32.8)	56 (28.3)	198 (100.0)	23 (17.2)	26 (19.4)	85 (63.4)	134 (100.0)	54 (84.4)	39 (60.9)	-29 (45.3)	64 (100.0)
Maithili	52 (26.1)	78 (39.2)	69 (34.7)	199 (100.0)	29 (23.6)	67 (54.4)	27 (22.0)	123 (100.0)	23 (30.3)	11 (14.5)	42 (55.2)	76 (100.0)
All Villages	356 (23.7)	729 (48.5)	419 (27.8)	1504 (100.0)	372 (38.0)	313 (31.9)	295 (30.1)	980 (100.0)	-16 (3.1)	416 (79.4)	124 (23.7)	524 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

wealth and ability to provide for the family. Education was rated next while capacity to work hard and the social respectability of his family followed as the third and fourth most valued qualities in a husband (Table 2.84). For brides the most highly rated qualities were the capacity to work hard, deference to her in-laws, beauty and respectable family background in that order (Table 2.85).

However, village-wise comparison reveals no separate pattern in the answers to these questions which would distinguish the Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan groups (Tables 2.84, 2.85). With the exception of Thabang and Bulu all communities gave wealth as the most highly rated asset in a bridegroom (Table 2.86). The Magar of Thabang however, rated the capacity to work hard as the most desirable quality in a bridegroom while the Newar put similar value on the respectability of the groom's family. In Bakundol, Bulu, Katarche and Sukhrwar people rated education as the second most desirable quality for a bridegroom. In five out of eight villages, the capacity to work hard was the most important quality sought after in a bride. In Sirsia and Kagbeni however, beauty was rated highest while in the Newar community of Bulu deference to in-laws was rated highest (Table 2.89).

In spite of women's greater involvement in entrepreneurial activities and economic independence in Tibeto-Burman communities, in none of the villages are women seen as provider to the family. Only a very small percent of men or women thought that brides should provide for the family. This seems to follow from the fact that in none of the communities studied did women have full access to land or rights of inheritance.

In sum, we find in Chapter II that five of the communities studied (Pangma, Thabang, Katarche, Sukhrwar, and Sirsia) are predominantly subsistence oriented while in the other three villages (Bakundol, Kagbeni, and Bulu) market intervention is involved in the generation of 38 to 48 percent of the household income. All women in these communities work very hard (to be discussed in Chapter III) but their economic independence and control over property varies according to whether they participate in the direct marketing of what they produce or not. Obviously when women participate directly in the market, they have greater control over the income. When they produce goods solely for the common household pool and these goods are marketed by men or used by the household, then women have little control over the income and thus less economic independence.

TABLE 2.84
 OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL HUSBAND BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Economic Strata/ Respondents	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Opinions												
Should be wealthy and provide well for family	44 (28.9)	52 (31.1)	96 (30.1)	38 (19.2)	58 (25.7)	96 (22.7)	61 (23.2)	69 (24.0)	130 (23.6)	143 (23.3)	179 (26.3)	322 (24.9)
Should be good looking	15 (9.9)	20 (12.0)	35 (11.0)	11 (5.5)	21 (9.3)	32 (7.5)	17 (6.5)	28 (9.8)	45 (8.2)	43 (7.0)	69 (10.1)	112 (8.7)
Should be educated	28 (18.4)	29 (17.4)	57 (17.9)	34 (17.2)	33 (14.6)	67 (15.8)	40 (15.2)	38 (13.2)	78 (14.2)	102 (16.6)	100 (14.7)	202 (15.6)
Should be from reputable family	20 (13.2)	16 (9.6)	36 (11.3)	28 (14.1)	25 (11.1)	53 (12.5)	29 (11.0)	36 (12.5)	65 (11.8)	77 (12.6)	77 (11.3)	154 (11.9)
Should love his wife	6 (3.9)	9 (5.4)	15 (4.7)	13 (6.6)	16 (7.1)	29 (6.8)	16 (6.1)	25 (8.7)	41 (7.5)	35 (5.7)	50 (7.4)	85 (6.6)
Should have a good reputation in the village	14 (9.2)	15 (9.0)	29 (9.1)	23 (11.6)	27 (11.9)	50 (11.8)	31 (11.8)	22 (7.7)	53 (9.6)	68 (11.1)	64 (9.4)	132 (10.2)
Should be hard working	13 (8.6)	16 (9.6)	29 (9.1)	30 (15.2)	27 (11.9)	57 (13.5)	48 (18.3)	39 (13.6)	87 (15.8)	91 (14.9)	82 (12.1)	173 (13.4)
Should be respectful of his parents	4 (2.6)	7 (4.2)	11 (3.4)	9 (4.5)	5 (2.2)	14 (3.3)	8 (3.0)	10 (3.5)	18 (3.3)	21 (3.4)	22 (3.2)	43 (3.3)
Others	8 (5.3)	3 (1.7)	11 (3.4)	12 (6.1)	14 (6.2)	26 (6.1)	13 (4.9)	20 (7.0)	33 (6.0)	33 (5.4)	37 (5.5)	70 (5.4)
Total	152 (100.0)	167 (100.0)	319 (100.0)	198 (100.0)	226 (100.0)	424 (100.0)	263 (100.0)	287 (100.0)	550 (100.0)	613 (100.0)	680 (100.0)	1293 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.85

OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL WIFE BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Economic Strata/ Respondents	Top			Middle			Bottom			All Strata		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Opinions	2	2	4	8	8	16	8	12	20	18	22	40
Should help the family by working outside	(1.3)	(1.2)	(1.3)	(4.0)	(3.5)	(3.7)	(2.9)	(4.1)	(3.5)	(2.8)	(3.2)	(3.1)
Should be pretty	33	33	66	27	27	54	49	44	93	109	104	213
	(21.4)	(20.5)	(21.0)	(13.4)	(11.8)	(12.6)	(18.0)	(15.0)	(16.5)	(17.4)	(15.2)	(16.3)
Should be able to bear many children	2	1	3	3	2	5	7	10	17	12	13	25
	(1.3)	(0.6)	(1.0)	(1.5)	(0.9)	(1.2)	(2.6)	(3.4)	(3.0)	(1.9)	(1.9)	(1.9)
Should be hard working	42	46	88	49	61	110	68	78	146	159	185	344
	(27.3)	(28.6)	(27.9)	(24.4)	(26.6)	(25.6)	(25.0)	(26.6)	(25.8)	(25.4)	(27.1)	(26.2)
Should be from a reputable family	23	23	46	24	28	52	32	29	61	79	80	159
	(14.9)	(14.3)	(14.6)	(11.9)	(12.2)	(12.1)	(11.8)	(9.9)	(10.8)	(12.6)	(11.7)	(12.1)
Should be respectful of In-laws	16	27	43	34	43	77	44	52	96	94	122	216
	(10.4)	(16.8)	(13.6)	(16.9)	(18.8)	(17.9)	(16.2)	(17.8)	(17.0)	(15.0)	(17.9)	(16.5)
Should take care of her children	4	2	6	13	11	24	11	13	24	28	26	54
	(2.6)	(1.3)	(1.9)	(6.5)	(4.8)	(5.6)	(4.0)	(4.4)	(4.3)	(4.5)	(3.8)	(4.1)
Should be respectful of the husband	5	7	12	15	17	32	17	16	33	37	40	77
	(3.3)	(4.3)	(3.8)	(7.5)	(7.4)	(7.4)	(6.3)	(5.5)	(5.8)	(5.9)	(5.9)	(5.9)
Others	27	20	47	28	32	60	36	39	75	91	91	182
	(17.5)	(12.4)	(14.9)	(13.9)	(14.0)	(13.9)	(13.2)	(13.3)	(13.3)	(14.5)	(13.3)	(13.9)
Total	154	161	315	201	229	430	272	293	565	627	683	1310
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.86
OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL HUSBAND BY VILLAGE

(Both Respondents)

Opinions	(In number)									
	Village Bara- gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parba- tiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithali	Total	
Should be wealthy and provide well for family	35 (54.7)	53 (30.5)	10 (6.2)	54 (29.6)	8 (4.5)	46 (35.1)	65 (30.5)	51 (26.7)	322 (24.9)	
Should be good looking	16 (25.0)	6 (3.5)	-	7 (3.8)	10 (5.7)	10 (7.6)	23 (10.8)	40 (20.9)	112 (8.7)	
Should be educated	5 (7.8)	15 (8.6)	9 (5.6)	29 (15.9)	40 (22.6)	20 (15.3)	60 (28.2)	24 (12.6)	202 (15.6)	
Should be from reputable family	4 (6.2)	30 (17.2)	18 (11.2)	31 (17.2)	7 (3.9)	4 (3.1)	16 (7.5)	44 (23.0)	154 (11.9)	
Should love his wife	-	2 (1.2)	14 (8.7)	26 (14.3)	13 (7.4)	20 (15.3)	4 (1.9)	6 (3.1)	85 (6.6)	
Should have a good reputation in the village	1 (1.6)	4 (2.3)	40 (24.9)	23 (12.6)	44 (24.9)	4 (3.1)	15 (7.0)	1 (0.5)	132 (10.2)	
Should be hard working	2 (3.1)	31 (17.8)	45 (27.9)	6 (3.3)	31 (17.5)	24 (18.3)	14 (6.6)	20 (10.5)	173 (13.4)	
Should be respectful of his parents	1 (1.6)	3 (1.7)	16 (9.9)	-	19 (10.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.1)	43 (3.3)	
Others	-	30 (17.2)	9 (5.6)	6 (3.3)	5 (2.8)	2 (1.5)	15 (7.0)	3 (1.6)	70 (5.4)	
Total	64 (100.0)	174 (100.0)	161 (100.0)	182 (100.0)	177 (100.0)	131 (100.0)	213 (100.0)	191 (100.0)	1293 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.87
OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL HUSBAND BY VILLAGE
(Male Respondents)

Opinions	(In number)								
	Village	Bara- gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parba- tiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili
Should be wealthy and provide well for family	16 (59.3)	22 (30.6)	4 (4.8)	26 (29.2)	2 (2.4)	19 (32.8)	31 (28.2)	23 (25.6)	143 (23.3)
Should be good looking	7 (25.9)	3 (4.2)	-	2 (2.2)	3 (3.6)	5 (8.6)	9 (8.2)	14 (15.6)	43 (7.0)
Should be educated	2 (7.4)	6 (8.3)	3 (3.6)	15 (16.9)	17 (20.2)	8 (13.8)	34 (30.9)	17 (18.9)	102 (16.6)
Should be from reputable family	1 (3.7)	9 (12.5)	13 (15.7)	17 (19.1)	5 (6.0)	3 (5.2)	10 (9.1)	19 (21.1)	77 (12.6)
Should love his wife	-	2 (2.8)	7 (8.5)	10 (11.2)	6 (7.1)	8 (13.8)	1 (0.9)	1 (1.1)	35 (5.7)
Should have a good reputation in the village	-	3 (4.2)	21 (25.3)	12 (13.5)	21 (25.0)	1 (1.7)	9 (8.2)	1 (1.1)	68 (11.1)
Should be hard working	1 (3.7)	12 (16.6)	24 (28.9)	4 (4.5)	16 (19.0)	13 (22.4)	9 (8.2)	12 (13.3)	91 (14.9)
Should be respectful of his parents	-	1 (1.4)	6 (7.2)	-	11 (13.1)	-	1 (0.9)	2 (2.2)	21 (3.4)
Others	-	14 (19.4)	5 (6.0)	3 (3.4)	3 (3.6)	1 (1.7)	6 (5.4)	1 (1.1)	33 (5.4)
Total	27 (100.0)	72 (100.0)	83 (100.0)	89 (100.0)	84 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	110 (100.0)	93 (100.0)	613 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.88
 OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL HUSBAND BY VILLAGE
 (Female Respondents)

Opinions	Village										(In number)	
	Bara- gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parba- triya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	Total			
Should be wealthy and provide well for family	19 (51.4)	31 (30.4)	6 (7.7)	28 (30.1)	6 (6.5)	27 (37.0)	34 (33.0)	28 (27.7)	179 (26.3)			
Should be good looking	9 (24.3)	3 (2.9)	-	5 (5.4)	7 (7.5)	5 (6.8)	14 (13.6)	26 (25.8)	69 (10.1)			
Should be educated	3 (8.1)	9 (8.8)	6 (7.7)	14 (15.1)	23 (24.7)	12 (16.4)	26 (25.3)	7 (6.9)	100 (14.7)			
Should be from reputable family	3 (8.1)	21 (20.6)	5 (6.4)	14 (15.1)	2 (2.2)	1 (1.4)	6 (5.8)	25 (24.8)	77 (11.3)			
Should love his wife	-	-	7 (9.0)	16 (17.2)	7 (7.5)	12 (16.4)	3 (2.9)	5 (4.9)	50 (7.4)			
Should have a good reputation in the village	1 (2.7)	1 (1.0)	19 (24.4)	11 (11.8)	23 (24.7)	3 (4.1)	6 (5.8)	-	64 (9.4)			
Should be hard working	1 (2.7)	19 (18.6)	21 (26.9)	2 (2.1)	15 (16.1)	11 (15.1)	5 (4.9)	8 (7.9)	82 (12.1)			
Should be respectful of his parents	1 (2.7)	2 (2.0)	10 (12.8)	-	8 (8.6)	1 (1.4)	-	-	22 (3.2)			
Others	-	16 (15.7)	4 (5.1)	3 (3.2)	2 (2.2)	1 (1.4)	9 (8.7)	2 (2.0)	37 (5.5)			
Total	37 (100.0)	102 (100.0)	78 (100.0)	93 (100.0)	93 (100.0)	73 (100.0)	103 (100.0)	101 (100.0)	680 (100.0)			

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.89

OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL WIFE BY VILLAGE

(Both Respondents)

Opinions	(In number)									
	Village	Bara-gaonle	Lohorung Raj	Kham Magar	Parba-tiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	Total
Should help the family by working outside	-	2 (1.2)	2 (1.2)	3 (1.6)	15 (8.6)	-	15 (10.3)	3 (1.6)	40 (3.1)	
Should be pretty	27 (45.0)	11 (6.4)	3 (1.8)	13 (7.0)	22 (12.7)	57 (26.6)	23 (15.9)	7 (2.3)	213 (16.3)	
Should be able to bear many children	-	13 (7.6)	8 (4.8)	-	1 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	-	2 (1.0)	25 (1.9)	
Should be hard working	23 (38.3)	35 (20.5)	54 (32.1)	49 (26.5)	41 (23.6)	60 (28.1)	42 (29.0)	40 (20.7)	344 (26.2)	
Should be from a reputable family	4 (6.7)	32 (18.7)	4 (2.4)	29 (15.7)	7 (4.0)	36 (16.8)	3 (2.1)	44 (22.8)	159 (12.1)	
Should be respectful of In-laws	-	28 (16.4)	43 (25.6)	45 (24.3)	51 (29.3)	11 (5.1)	3 (2.1)	35 (18.2)	216 (16.5)	
Should take care of her children	-	3 (1.7)	13 (7.7)	14 (7.6)	16 (9.2)	3 (1.4)	5 (3.4)	-	54 (4.1)	
Should be respectful of the husband	-	13 (7.6)	4 (2.4)	14 (7.6)	18 (10.3)	5 (2.3)	21 (14.5)	2 (1.0)	77 (5.9)	
Others	6 (10.0)	34 (19.9)	37 (22.0)	18 (9.7)	3 (1.7)	41 (19.2)	33 (22.7)	10 (5.2)	182 (13.9)	
Total	60 (100.0)	171 (100.0)	168 (100.0)	185 (100.0)	174 (100.0)	214 (100.0)	145 (100.0)	193 (100.0)	1310 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.90
 OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL WIFE BY VILLAGE
 (Male Respondents)

Opinions	Village										(In number)
	Bara-gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Kham Magar	Parbatiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tamang	Tharu	Maithili	Total		
Should help the family by working outside	-	2 (2.9)	1 (1.2)	3 (3.4)	5 (6.0)	6 (8.8)	-	1 (1.1)	18 (2.8)		
Should be pretty	14 (48.3)	9 (13.1)	3 (3.5)	9 (10.3)	10 (11.9)	12 (17.6)	25 (22.5)	27 (29.0)	109 (17.4)		
Should be able to bear many children	-	7 (10.1)	4 (4.7)	-	-	-	1 (0.9)	-	12 (1.9)		
Should be hard working	12 (41.4)	10 (14.5)	27 (31.4)	21 (24.2)	20 (23.8)	21 (30.9)	28 (25.3)	20 (21.5)	159 (25.4)		
Should be from a reputable family	1 (3.4)	14 (20.3)	2 (2.3)	12 (13.8)	4 (4.8)	2 (2.9)	22 (19.8)	22 (23.7)	79 (12.6)		
Should be respectful of In-laws	-	11 (15.9)	19 (22.1)	17 (19.5)	24 (28.6)	1 (1.5)	6 (5.4)	16 (17.2)	94 (15.0)		
Should take care of her children	-	2 (2.9)	8 (9.3)	8 (9.2)	7 (8.3)	1 (1.5)	2 (1.8)	-	28 (4.5)		
Should be respectful of the husband	-	2 (2.9)	2 (2.3)	7 (8.1)	11 (13.1)	12 (17.7)	2 (1.8)	1 (1.1)	37 (5.9)		
Others	2 (6.9)	12 (17.4)	20 (23.2)	10 (11.5)	3 (3.5)	13 (19.1)	25 (22.5)	6 (6.4)	91 (14.5)		
Total	29 (100.0)	69 (100.0)	86 (100.0)	87 (100.0)	84 (100.0)	68 (100.0)	111 (100.0)	93 (100.0)	627 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 2.91

OPINIONS ABOUT IDEAL WIFE BY VILLAGE

(Female Respondents)

Opinions	Village										(In number)	
	Bara- gaonle	Lohorung Rai	Khem Magar	Parba- tiya	Newar, Jyapu	Tanang	Tharu	Maithili	Total			
Should help the family by working outside	-	-	1 (1.2)	-	10 (11.1)	9 (11.7)	-	2 (2.0)	22 (3.2)			
Should be pretty	13 (41.9)	2 (2.0)	-	4 (4.1)	12 (13.3)	11 (14.3)	32 (31.1)	30 (30.0)	104 (15.2)			
Should be able to bear many children	-	6 (5.9)	4 (4.9)	-	1 (1.1)	-	-	2 (2.0)	13 (1.9)			
Should be hard working	11 (35.5)	25 (24.5)	27 (32.9)	28 (28.6)	21 (23.4)	21 (27.3)	32 (31.1)	20 (20.0)	185 (27.1)			
Should be from a reputable family	3 (9.7)	18 (17.6)	2 (2.4)	17 (17.3)	3 (3.3)	1 (1.3)	14 (13.6)	22 (22.0)	80 (11.7)			
Should be respectful of In-laws	-	17 (16.7)	24 (29.3)	28 (28.6)	27 (30.0)	2 (2.6)	5 (4.8)	19 (19.0)	122 (17.9)			
Should take care of her children	-	1 (1.0)	5 (6.1)	6 (6.1)	9 (10.0)	4 (5.2)	1 (1.0)	-	26 (3.8)			
Should be respectful of her husband	-	11 (10.8)	2 (2.4)	7 (7.1)	7 (7.8)	9 (11.7)	3 (2.9)	1 (1.0)	40 (5.9)			
Others	4 (12.9)	22 (21.5)	17 (20.8)	8 (8.2)	-	20 (25.9)	16 (15.5)	4 (4.0)	91 (13.3)			
Total	31 (100.0)	102 (100.0)	82 (100.0)	98 (100.0)	90 (100.0)	77 (100.0)	103 (100.0)	100 (100.0)	683 (100.0)			

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.



Lynn Bennett

Men and women share work on the land. Women contribute 55% of the total time devoted to agriculture labor, as shown in Figure 3.5.

Women have different socio-cultural and economic roles in different communities. Some of these roles are more conducive to women's independence and equality than others. It is hard to say which of the two sets of factors, economic or socio-cultural are more important in determining the overall status and role of women in a given society. The two sets seem to go hand in hand re-enforcing each other. Women who have greater economic independence also generally have more freedom in social behavior and more life options and vice versa.

However, economic variables are the most concrete and the most amenable to immediate intervention, while change in social variables can be achieved only over the long term. This study therefore concentrates on the analysis of the economic contribution and work patterns of women and their decision making roles in the household and policy recommendations for more realistic and effective intervention in the rural economy. As mentioned in the first chapter, an understanding of time use patterns and the household decision making process is crucial to understanding the role of women in the economy.

THE STRUCTURE OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE VILLAGE ECONOMY

Female Labor Force Participation and the Definition
of Productive Activity in Light of Time Allocation Data on
Rural Nepalese Villages

The results of the time allocation studies carried out in the eight villages covered by the project show very clearly that women make an enormous contribution to the rural economy. In fact, if we adopt the rather narrow definition of economic participation used in Nepal's Census, we find that women do almost as much work that would qualify them as part of the active labor force as men do. According to the instructions used in both the 1961 and 1971 Census, "economic activity is defined as working in agriculture, trade, industry (weaving, oil pressing, sewing and manufacture of domestic utensils and weapons), and services (teaching, working as porters and servants) and receiving cash or kind in the form of wage salary or profit" (Acharya 1979). The Census instructions further specify that individuals who had performed any of these activities without pay for their own households for more than 7-8 months of the previous year should be counted as part of the active labor force in the category of "unpaid family workers". Applying the Census definition to the 12 major activity categories used in the time allocation study, the following four categories¹ qualify as conventional "economic activity":

1. Animal Husbandry
2. Agriculture
3. Manufacturing (i.e. weaving, basketry, pottery etc.)
4. Outside Income-Earning Activity (i.e. wage + salary work, trade, business, hotel/teashop etc.)

¹See Appendix A for a complete detailed breakdown of types of sub-activities included in these categories.

The aggregate data for six villages¹ presented in Table 3.1 shows that women spend nearly as much time in these four categories of activities as men do. Women's average daily input in conventional "economic" activities is 4.62 hours as compared to the 5.81 hours per day spent by men in these activities. This suggests that the project's initial doubt as to the accuracy of the available female labor force participation rates (Acharya 1979) was justified. Of course the data presented here were gathered using techniques very different from (and much more labor intensive than) those used in the Census. Moreover, despite the variety of ethnic groups and geographical regions represented in the sample, the data gathered in the Status of Women study cannot claim to be statistically valid at the national level. Nevertheless, the marked discrepancy revealed by this study between the relative time input of men and women into strictly defined "economic activities" and the relative male and female labor force participation rates reported in the National Census cannot be ignored. The Census participation rates of 82.9 percent and 35.1 percent for men and women respectively show women's labor force participation to be only 42 percent of men's, while the project's time allocation data suggests that (even when conventional definitions are employed) the actual level of women's participation is closer to 80 percent of men's.

The problem however, with the National Census figures on female labor force participation is much more than a matter of accuracy in reporting. From the project's inception it has been our position that the very definitions used in current macro-level economic data collection efforts (such as the National Census) are themselves inadequate and thus preclude the possibility of accurately reflecting certain crucial sectors of the economy in developing countries (generally those sectors where women's input is the highest) (Acharya 1979). This is because conventional measures were designed for western industrialized economies where most of what is produced enters the market and most workers earn a wage or salary for what they do. In these economies household-based subsistence production is negligible so it has been possible to conceive of "work" or "economic activity" or "employment" as primarily occurring outside the home and involving payment by an outside employer. In Nepal and other developing countries however, a substantial portion of what is produced is consumed by the household unit that

¹Although TAS data was collected for 8 villages aggregates tables have been compiled only for those villages where the 16 hours a day observation period was used (i.e. Pangma; Thabang; Bakundol; Bulu; Katarche; Sirsia. The remaining two villages (Kagbeni and Sukhrwar) are included only for inter-village comparison.

produced it and many people work not for wages but simply to raise what they and their family will eat. Home production is often more important than market production. As we have seen in Chapter II (Table 2.12) this is certainly true in the villages covered by the current study where only 30.6 percent of the average household income was generated through market intervention. Theoretically, if it were carefully applied without automatically counting female workers as "housewives", the category of "unpaid family worker" should capture much of this phenomenon. However, many of the activities which produce goods essential to the economic survival of the household (such as fuel and water collection, food processing etc.) are not included under the Census definition of economic activity. Hence, the unpaid family worker's input in these areas is not registered. Moreover, if one adopts the household production model put forth by new household economics (Becker, 1965; Gronau, 1973; Evenson 1976), then even essential services (such as cooking, cleaning, child care etc.) which contribute to household welfare or 'utility' must also be considered as economic because they are performed during the time which could have been devoted to market production, and they enter the household calculation as alternatives to market production.

There are then several different ways of measuring individual economic input depending on how broad (or bold) a definition of "economic activity" one is willing to allow. Figure 3.1 shows the variation in the relative daily time input of males and females which result when three successively more encompassing definitions of "work" are employed. According to the strict Census definition discussed above the average man spends 36 percent of his time¹ in economic activity while the average woman spends 29 percent. If time spent in what we have called "expanded economic activities"² producing essential goods such as water, fuel, shelter etc. is included, women's average daily time input is seen to be slightly higher than men's. (6.80 hours versus 6.72 hours). However, if

¹The total time referred to here is the 16 hour period between 4 a.m. and 8 p.m.

²Expanded economic activities include: 1) Gathering and Hunting 2) Fuel Collection and Preparation 3) Water Collection 4) Household Construction and 5) Food Processing. Originally 1, 2, 4 and 5 had been included along with Manufacturing, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Outside Income-Earning Activity in a category called "Productive Activities" and 3 had been classified under "Domestic Activities". For this analysis however, in order to be consistent with the Census definition, 1, 2, 4 and 5 were removed and the category of "Productive Activities" which was renamed as "Conventional Economic Activities". However, it did not seem appropriate to classify these former productive activities (i.e. 1, 2, 4 and 5) all under "Domestic", so the distinction was made between "Expanded Economic" and "Domestic".

TABLE 3.1

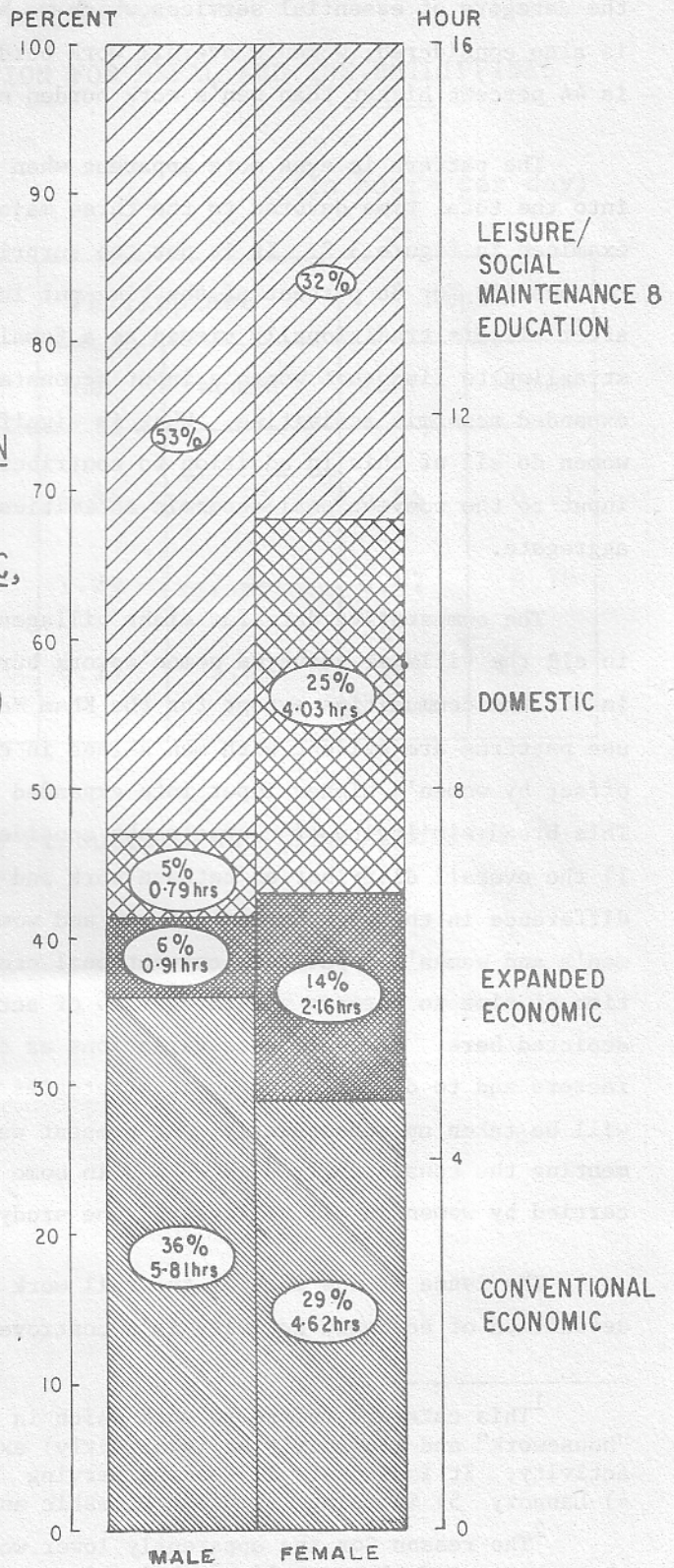
TIME USE PATTERN BY SEX

(For Population of 15 Years and Above)

(Six Villages)

			(In hours per day)		
			Sex		
			Male	Female	Both
Activities					
N	Conven- tional Economic	Animal Husbandry	1.43	0.97	1.17
		Agriculture	2.73	2.74	2.73
		Manufacturing	0.42	0.45	0.44
		Outside Income Earning Activities (In-Village)	1.24	0.46	0.81
E	1.	Sub-Total for Conventional Economic Activities	5.81	4.62	5.15
U	Expanded Economic	Hunting and Gathering	0.17	0.05	0.32
		Fuel Collection	0.24	0.38	0.11
		Water Collection	0.07	0.67	0.40
		Household Construction	0.25	0.08	0.16
		Food Processing	0.18	0.97	0.62
B	2.	Sub-Total for Expanded Economic Activities	0.91	2.16	1.60
W	Domestic	Cooking/Serving	0.27	0.05	1.25
		Washing Dishes	0.03	0.39	0.23
		Cleaning House	0.04	0.46	0.27
		Laundry	0.02	0.15	0.09
		Shopping	0.24	0.17	0.20
		Other Domestic	0.04	0.13	0.09
		Child Care	0.16	0.69	0.45
O	3.	Sub-Total for Domestic Activities	0.79	4.03	2.57
I.		Sub-Total for Work Burden (1 + 2 + 3)	7.51	10.81	9.32
	4.	Education	0.43	0.10	0.25
	5.	Personal Maintenance	1.45	1.12	1.27
	6.	Social Activities	0.31	0.16	0.23
	7.	Leisure	6.30	3.81	4.93
II.		Sub-Total for Social Maintenance/Leisure (4+5+6+7)	8.49	5.19	6.68
III.		Total In-Village Activities	16.00	16.00	16.00

Figure 3.1
MALE/FEMALE TIME USE PATTERN
 IN
CONVENTIONAL ECONOMIC,
EXPANDED ECONOMIC, DOMESTIC,
 and
LEISURE ACTIVITIES
 (For Adult Population of 6 Villages)



the category of essential services which we have called "Domestic Activities"¹ is also considered, women's overall work burden reaches 10.81 hours a day which is 44 percent higher than men's work burden of 7.51 hours.

The pattern is even more apparent when the ratio of male to female input into the total time devoted to the three major categories of in-village work is examined in figure 3.2. It is not too surprizing to find that women are responsible for 86 percent of the time put into domestic activities. Housework, after all, is traditionally viewed as a female sphere. Nor is it particularly stratling to find that women's input accounts for 74 percent of the time spent in expanded economic activities. What is significant, however, is the fact that women do all of this in addition to contributing 49 percent of the total time input to the conventional economic activities observed in the six village aggregate.

The comparative data for eight villages presented in figure 3.3 shows that in all the villages surveyed women's work burden was higher than men's. Moreover, in all the communities except for the Kham Magar village,² similar overall time use patterns are evident with men's lead in conventional domestic activities offset by women's higher input into expanded economic and domestic activities. This broad similarity of course masks considerable inter-village variation in: 1) the overall distribution between work and leisure time, 2) the degree of difference in the work burdens of men and women, 3) the degree of difference in men's and women's input into conventional economic activities and 4) the allocation of time to various sub-categories of activities within the major groupings depicted here. Some of these variations as they relate to socio-cultural factors and to different economic strategies prevalent in the communities studied will be taken up subsequently. At present we are interested primarily in documenting the consistently high -- and in some cases, staggering -- work burden carried by women in all villages in the study.

The issue of how much of the full work burden should be included in the definition of economic activity is a controversial one. As suggested earlier,

¹This category refers to work which in western countries is considered as "housework" and (correctly or incorrectly) excluded from measures of economic activity. It includes: 1) Cooking/Serving 2) Dish Washing 3) House Cleaning 4) Laundry 5) Shopping 6) Other Domestic and 7) Child Care.

²The reason for the apparently lower work burden among Kham Magar men is that they spend almost half of their time out of the village herding animals in the high pastures. The data in figure 3.3 represents only in village activity.

TABLE 3.2

COMPARATIVE TIME ALLOCATION FOR NEPAL AND THE PHILIPPINES

(In hours per day)

Country and Sex Activity	Philippines		Nepal	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Market Production	6.86	2.55	6.65	6.11
Home Production	1.29	7.44	0.87	4.70
Work Burden	8.15	9.99	7.51	10.81

Source: Quizon Rural Home Production and CEDA Status of Women Study Data.

Figure 3.2

RELATIVE MALE / FEMALE TIME INPUT TO TOTAL
(IN-VILLAGE)

WORK BURDEN BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY

(For Adult Population of 6 Villages)

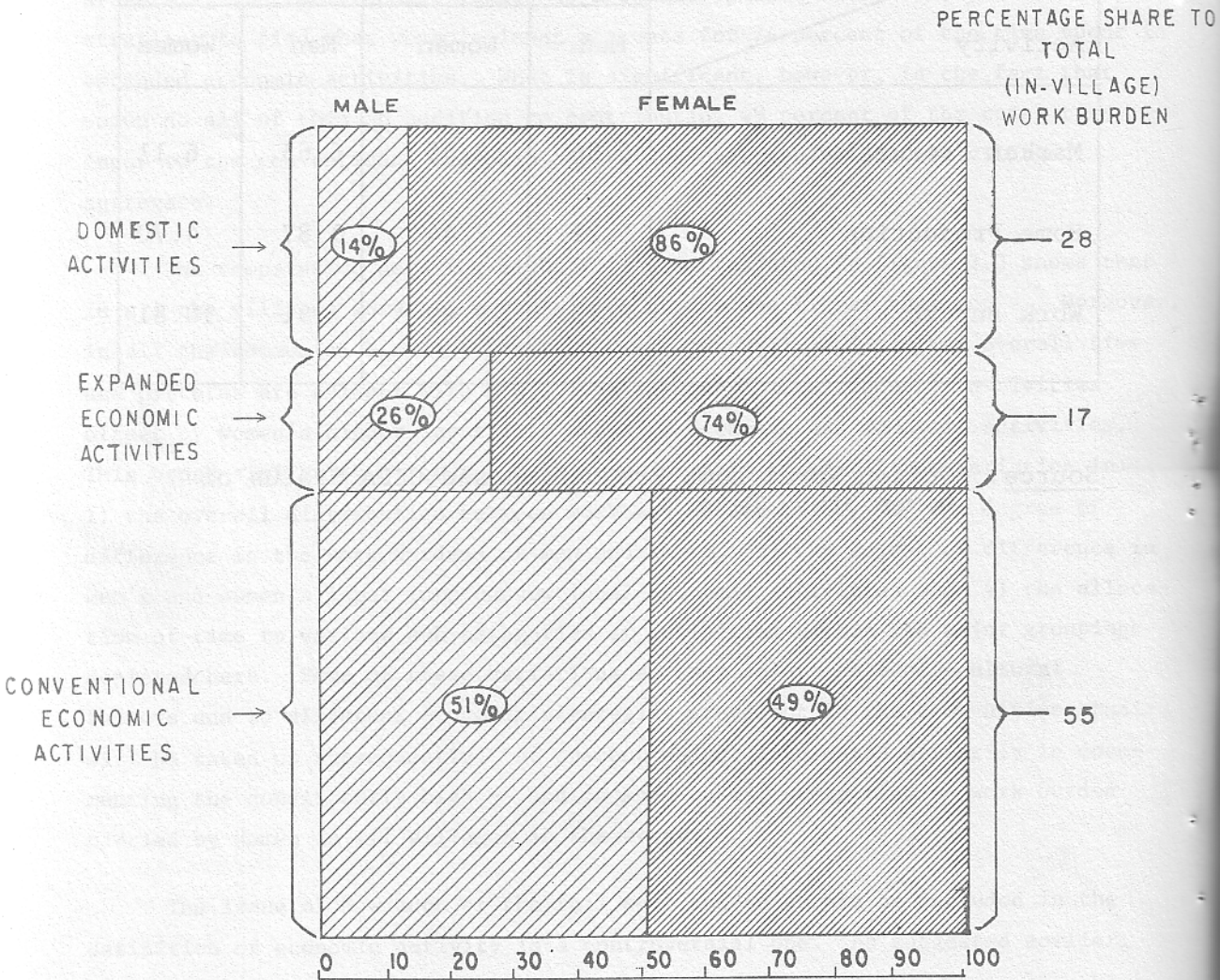


Figure 3.3

MALE/FEMALE TIME USE PATTERN BY VILLAGE (For Adult Population)

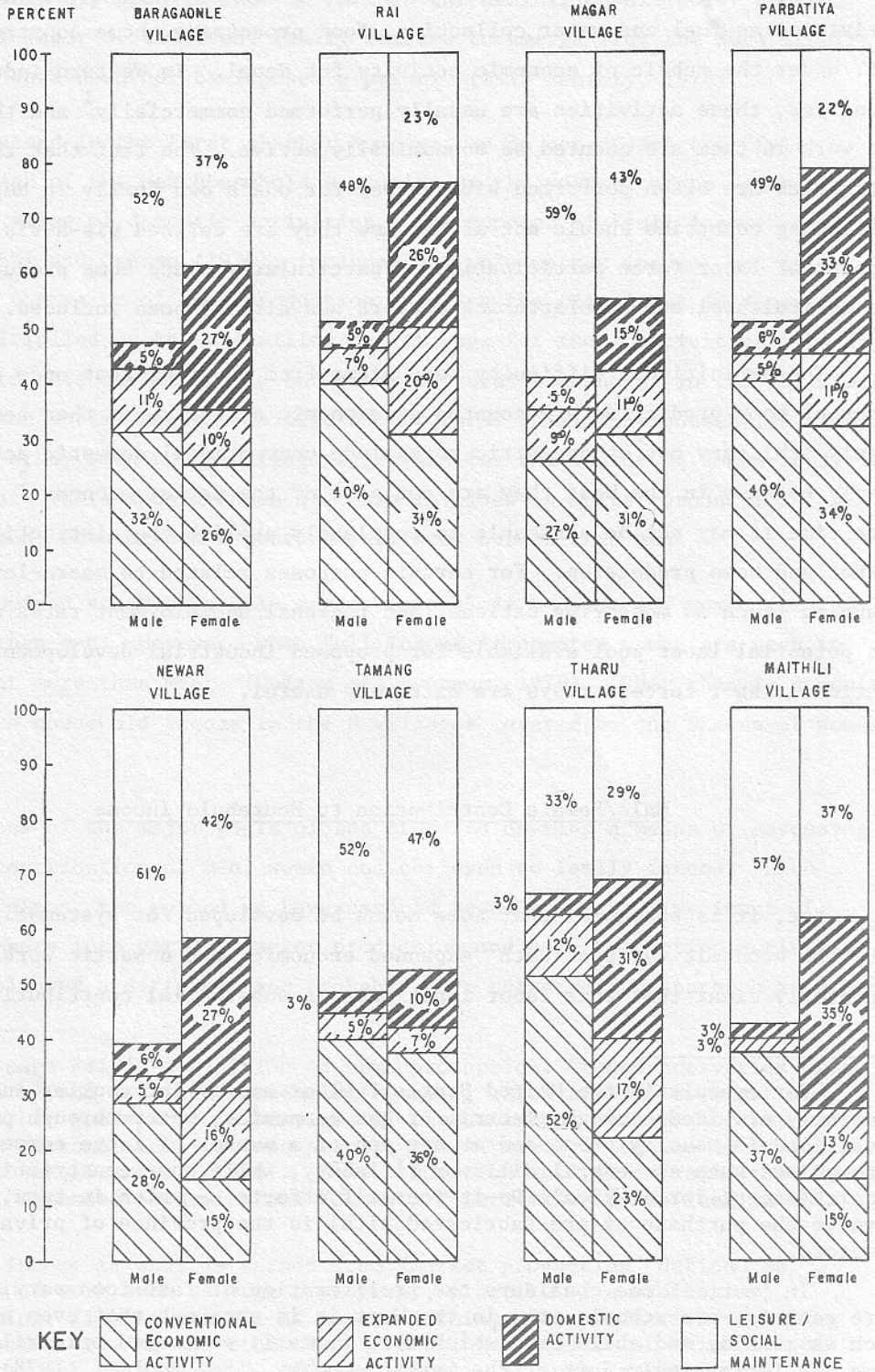


TABLE 3.11

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Maithili Village)

Sex and Age Group		(In percent)				Total
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	53.84 (3680)	27.84 (1903)	7.27 (497)	11.05 (755)	100.00 (6835)
2.	Agriculture	76.70 (108363)	19.94 (28172)	1.83 (2585)	1.53 (2162)	100.00 (141282)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	77.15 (107850)	19.52 (27288)	1.82 (2544)	1.51 (2111)	100.00 (139793)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	55.00 (819)	40.00 (596)	2.50 (37)	2.50 (37)	100.00 (1489)
3.	Hunting and Gathering (includ- sive of Fuel Collection)	42.25 (599)	51.64 (732)	0.94 (13)	5.16 (73)	100.00 (1417)
4.	Manufacturing	59.09 (59)	40.91 (41)	-	-	100.00 (100)
4.1.	Rope/Basketry	57.83 (52)	42.17 (38)	-	-	100.00 (90)
5.	Food Processing	44.97 (21211)	52.50 (24800)	0.51 (241)	1.94 (915)	100.00 (47167)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	11.73 (4656)	84.92 (33711)	0.28 (111)	3.07 (1219)	100.00 (39697)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	2.33 (6)	90.70 (221)	2.32 (6)	4.65 (11)	100.00 (244)
5.3.	Cooked Food and Others	66.76 (4317)	31.74 (2052)	0.41 (27)	1.09 (70)	100.00 (6466)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		68.04 (133912)	28.28 (55648)	1.70 (3336)	1.98 (3905)	100.00 (196801)
II. Wage and Salary		74.64 (11891)	25.36 (4040)	-	-	100.00 (15931)
III. Total Household Income (I+II)		68.54 (145803)	28.06 (59688)	1.57 (3336)	1.83 (3905)	100.00 (212732)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

it appears to depend largely on the degree of importance attached to home production versus market production. Even within the conventional market-oriented framework, however, there is considerable justification for including such activities as fuel and water collection, food processing, home construction, etc. under the rubric of economic activity for Nepal. In Western industrialized countries, these activities are usually performed commercially¹ and therefore those who work in them are counted as economically active. The fact that these same activities are often performed without pay for one's own family in Nepal and other developing countries should not affect how they are defined vis-a-vis the concept of labor force participation -- particularly since home production in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors has already been included.

The definitional difficulty here stems from the fact that once certain types of home production are counted as economic activity, it then becomes not merely arbitrary but ethnocentric to exclude conventional domestic activities simply because in the West they are not part of the market economy.² At the same time it may not be advisable to completely abolish the distinction between market and home production. For certain purposes related to macro-level economic planning (such as measuring national and regional unemployment rates or assessing the potential labor pool available for proposed industrial development), conventional labor force surveys are extremely useful.

Male/Female Contribution to Household Income

Yet, it is essential that some means be developed for systematically assessing the economic value of both "expanded economic" and domestic work. For it is abundantly clear that this labor input makes a substantial contribution to the

¹For example in the United States fuel or energy for cooking and heating is generally provided through electric or gas companies; water through public utilities; food is usually processed at any one of a number of large commercial enterprises such as General Mills or Pillsbury, while home construction and repair (except for America's Do-it-yourself efforts -- which in turn, often involve the purchase of pre-fabricated kits) is the province of private contractors.

²In fact, if one considers the proliferation of fast food services, day care centers, pre school, etc. in the West it is apparent that even services such as cooking and child care which were formerly performed primarily in the home are increasingly part of the market economy. See Boulier (1978) for an excellent discussion.

overall quality of life enjoyed by the members of a given household. One way to deal with this problem is to adopt the model of the new household economics. An advantage of this approach is that it "allows the definition of 'work' and the utilization of labor of different family members to emerge from the data itself; categories of work need not be imposed a priori" (Asia Society, 1978).

As discussed in the first chapter, however, we do not accept the "full income" approach of the new household economics as the most accurate means of assessing the value of domestic activities. The concept of "full income" developed by Becker (1965) and Gronau (1976), includes not only market income, but an estimation of the value of home production based on the time spent in domestic activities multiplied by the prevailing market wage for those activities. Quizon (1978) has used this definition in her study of rural households in the Phillipines.¹ Comparing Quizon's time allocation figures for rural Phillipine households sampled in the Laguna study with the 6-village aggregate for the status of women study it is evident that, while Nepali women are more involved in market production than Phillipine women, both have a higher overall work burden than men.

In the Quizon study when only market income² is considered, women earn 66 percent less than men. However, when full income is counted women are seen to earn 10 percent more than men. (Quizon and Evenson, 1978). What then is women's contribution to household income in the 8 villages covered by the Status of Women study ?

It was one of the major goals of the study to develop a means of assessing the relative contribution of men, women and children to family income. Like that used by Quizon, the method we have used is based upon the time input of all family members into various market production and home production activities. However, we followed a different and probably more conservative approach in order

¹Quizon uses Reid's definition of home production: "those activities which are carried on by and for the (household) members, which activities might be replaced by market goods or paid services if circumstances such as income, market conditions and personal inclinations permit, the services delegated to someone outside the household group" (1934). Home production activities would thus seem to cover both "expanded economic" and "domestic" activities as defined in this study.

²Market income is what is earned from "market production" defined as "various types of work such as wage employment, practice of a profession, business, farming, fishing as well as income-earning home production including weaving, gardening, sewing and other handicrafts, the product of which is sold wholly or partly for cash income". (Quizon 1978). As such market production activities coincide quite closely with the category of "conventional economic activities" used in the present study.

TABLE 3.3

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

Sex and Age Group		(In percent)				
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	Total
1.	Animal Husbandry	46.95 (69119)	34.01 (50069)	8.45 (12440)	10.59 (15590)	100.00 (147218)
2.	Agriculture	45.79 (458271)	48.98 (490197)	1.86 (18615)	3.37 (33728)	100.00 (1000811)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	45.54 (343496)	49.20 (371102)	1.88 (14180)	3.38 (25495)	100.00 (754273)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	76.24 (15999)	22.10 (4638)	0.55 (115)	1.11 (233)	100.00 (20985)
3.	Hunting and Gathering (including Fuel Collection)	43.70 (40589)	48.76 (45289)	1.93 (1793)	5.61 (5211)	100.00 (92882)
4.	Manufacturing	43.05 (15698)	54.57 (19899)	0.91 (332)	1.47 (536)	100.00 (36465)
4.1.	Textile	9.09 (1744)	89.51 (17170)	-	1.40 (268)	100.00 (19182)
4.2.	Rope/Basketry	51.27 (4439)	45.00 (3897)	1.77 (153)	1.96 (170)	100.00 (8659)
4.3.	Tools and Utensils	55.94 (1209)	42.91 (927)	0.77 (17)	0.38 (8)	100.00 (2161)
4.4.	Leather Work	97.51 (4159)	1.81 (77)	0.68 (29)	-	100.00 (4265)
4.5.	Sewing	32.81 (577)	65.63 (1155)	0.78 (14)	0.78 (14)	100.00 (1760)
4.6.	Others	45.04 (99)	50.45 (111)	-	4.51 (10)	100.00 (220)
5.	Food Processing	10.75 (30054)	84.73 (236878)	0.91 (2544)	3.61 (10092)	100.00 (279568)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	9.00 (9135)	86.05 (87336)	0.94 (954)	4.01 (4070)	100.00 (101495)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	8.06 (3634)	86.39 (38946)	1.25 (564)	4.30 (1938)	100.00 (45082)
5.3.	Liquor Making	11.16 (13246)	87.91 (104343)	-	0.93 (1104)	100.00 (118693)
5.4.	Food Preservation	19.86 (877)	78.01 (3446)	1.42 (63)	0.71 (31)	100.00 (4417)
5.5.	Dairy Products	36.36 (741)	54.55 (1111)	-	9.09 (185)	100.00 (2037)
5.6.	Others	32.74 (2284)	63.72 (4445)	0.88 (61)	2.66 (186)	100.00 (6976)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		39.42 (613731)	54.10 (842332)	2.29 (35724)	4.19 (65157)	100.00 (1556944)
II. Wage and Salary		78.04 (164171)	20.13 (42337)	0.68 (1430)	1.15 (2414)	100.00 (210352)
III. Trading		60.33 (58220)	39.67 (38283)	-	-	100.00 (96503)
IV. Total Household Income (I+II+III)		44.86 (836122)	49.52 (922952)	1.99 (37154)	3.63 (67571)	100.00 (1863799)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

* Based on the 192 sample households included in the Time Allocation Study.

TABLE 3.4

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Baragaonle Village)

Sex and Age Group		(In percent)				Total
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	62.95 (17533)	30.64 (8534)	4.18 (1164)	2.23 (621)	100.00 (27852)
2.	Agriculture	59.29 (108394)	35.65 (65175)	1.78 (3254)	3.28 (5997)	100.00 (182820)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	55.93 (102139)	38.35 (70035)	2.01 (3671)	3.71 (6775)	100.00 (182620)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	85.25 (170)	14.75 (30)	-	-	100.00 (200)
3.	Hunting and Gathering	89.41 (20618)	8.63 (1990)	0.39 (90)	1.57 (362)	100.00 (23060)
4.	Manufacturing	29.37 (4240)	69.38 (10017)	0.31 (45)	0.94 (136)	100.00 (14438)
4.1.	Textile	8.70 (1134)	91.30 (11904)	-	-	100.00 (13038)
4.2.	Rope/Basketry	32.85 (460)	65.69 (920)	0.37 (5)	1.09 (15)	100.00 (1400)
5.	Food Processing	10.36 (7981)	84.98 (65464)	1.55 (1194)	3.11 (2396)	100.00 (77035)
5.1.	Roasting/Grinding	6.67 (1496)	88.33 (19817)	2.50 (561)	2.50 (561)	100.00 (22435)
5.2.	Liquor Making	16.44 (8976)	79.45 (43380)	-	4.11 (2244)	100.00 (54600)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		48.82 (158766)	46.49 (151180)	1.77 (5747)	2.92 (9512)	100.00 (325205)
II. Wage and Salary		88.85 (25770)	10.03 (2910)	-	1.12 (325)	100.00 (29005)
III. Trading		54.4 (44336)	45.6 (37164)	-	-	100.00 (81500)
IV. Total Household Income (I+II+III)		52.53 (228872)	43.89 (191254)	1.32 (5747)	2.26 (9837)	100.00 (435710)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.5

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Lohorong Rai Village)

(In percent)

Sex and Age Group		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	Total
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	52.86 (7360)	29.24 (4072)	11.77 (1639)	6.13 (854)	100.00 (13925)
2.	Agriculture	44.24 (53070)	51.37 (61623)	1.68 (2015)	2.71 (3251)	100.00 (119959)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	44.19 (48902)	51.41 (56884)	1.69 (1865)	2.71 (3002)	100.00 (110654)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	75.00 (6979)	25.00 (2326)	-	-	100.00 (9305)
3.	Hunting and Gathering	43.68 (5422)	48.79 (6056)	2.81 (349)	4.72 (586)	100.00 (12413)
4.	Manufacturing	52.05 (1783)	47.58 (1650)	0.37 (13)	-	100.00 (3426)
4.1.	Textile	3.03 (17)	96.97 (556)	-	-	100.00 (573)
4.2.	Rope/Basketry	61.87 (989)	37.41 (598)	0.72 (11)	-	100.00 (1599)
4.3.	Tools/Utensils	81.25 (1019)	18.75 (235)	-	-	100.00 (1254)
5.	Food Processing	7.04 (4295)	89.18 (54402)	1.24 (756)	2.54 (1550)	100.00 (61003)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	5.21 (894)	90.35 (15503)	1.54 (265)	2.90 (496)	100.00 (17159)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	6.61 (40)	89.62 (546)	0.47 (2)	3.30 (20)	100.00 (609)
5.3.	Liquor Making	4.71 (1980)	95.29 (40103)	-	-	100.00 (42083)
5.4.	Food Preservation	22.86 (18)	74.28 (60)	2.86 (2)	-	100.00 (81)
5.5.	Dairy Products	29.63 (317)	66.67 (714)	1.23 (13)	2.47 (27)	100.00 (1071)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		34.13 (71930)	60.64 (127783)	2.27 (4772)	2.96 (6241)	100.00 (210726)
II. Wage and Salary		46.76 (9221)	53.24 (10498)	-	-	100.00 (19719)
III. Trading		20.00 (135)	80.00 (539)	-	-	100.00 (674)
IV. Total Household Income (I+II+III)		35.17 (81286)	60.06 (138820)	2.07 (4772)	2.70 (6241)	100.00 (231119)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.6

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Kham Magar Village)

Sex and Age Group		(In percent)				Total
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	50.68 (8794)	40.97 (7109)	3.77 (654)	4.58 (795)	100.00 (17352)
2.	Agriculture	28.25 (24669)	64.59 (56401)	2.05 (1790)	5.11 (4462)	100.00 (87322)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	28.25 (24669)	64.59 (56401)	2.05 (1790)	5.11 (4462)	100.00 (87322)
3.	Hunting and Gathering (Inclu- sive of Fuel Collection)	32.26 (4490)	56.57 (7873)	2.73 (380)	8.44 (1174)	100.00 (13917)
4.	Manufacturing	16.52 (793)	81.81 (3926)	0.10 (5)	1.57 (75)	100.00 (4799)
4.1.	Textiles	10.40 (400)	87.97 (3381)	-	1.63 (62)	100.00 (3843)
4.2.	Rope/Basketry	80.95 (29)	16.67 (6)	1.19 (0.50)	1.19 (0.50)	100.00 (36)
4.3.	Sewing	40.00 (368)	60.00 (552)	-	-	100.00 (920)
5.	Food Processing	10.62 (1478)	88.50 (12316)	-	0.88 (122)	100.00 (13916)
5.1.	Liquor Making	7.69 (1012)	92.31 (12152)	-	-	100.00 (13164)
5.2.	Food Preservation	18.18 (82)	78.79 (356)	-	3.03 (14)	100.00 (452)
5.3.	Others	-	100.00 (300)	-	-	100.00 (300)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		29.30 (40224)	63.82 (87625)	2.06 (2829)	4.82 (6628)	100.00 (137306)
II. Wage and Salary		74.94 (12916)	25.06 (4320)	-	-	100.00 (17236)
III. Total Household Income (I+II)		34.39 (53140)	59.49 (91945)	1.83 (2829)	4.29 (6628)	100.00 (154542)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.7

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Parbatiya Village)

Sex and Age Group Sources of Income		(In percent)				Total
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	
1.	Animal Husbandry	37.19 (10915)	47.42 (13917)	5.82 (1708)	9.57 (2809)	100.00 (29349)
2.	Agriculture	36.32 (38438)	59.74 (63225)	0.73 (773)	3.21 (3397)	100.00 (105833)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	36.34 (37192)	59.72 (61119)	0.73 (747)	3.21 (3285)	100.00 (102343)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	-	100.00 (3490)	-	-	100.00 (3490)
3.	Hunting and Gathering	55.15 (4484)	38.68 (3145)	2.88 (234)	3.29 (268)	100.00 (8131)
4.	Manufacturing	79.69 (4503)	18.63 (1053)	0.61 (34)	1.07 (60)	100.00 (5650)
4.1.	Rope/Basketry	59.26 (483)	37.04 (302)	-	3.70 (30)	100.00 (815)
4.2.	Leather Work	97.51 (4159)	1.81 (77)	0.68 (29)	-	100.00 (4265)
4.3.	Sewing	30.91 (149)	67.27 (323)	0.91 (4)	0.91 (4)	100.00 (480)
4.4.	Others	52.00 (47)	40.00 (36)	-	8.00 (7)	100.00 (90)
5.	Food Processing	18.62 (3281)	73.79 (13002)	1.04 (183)	6.55 (1154)	100.00 (17620)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	18.97 (1649)	74.64 (6488)	0.82 (71)	5.57 (484)	100.00 (8692)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	18.46 (1367)	61.54 (4555)	3.08 (228)	16.92 (1252)	100.00 (7402)
5.3.	Food Preservation	7.69 (112)	92.31 (1344)	-	-	100.00 (1456)
5.4.	Dairy Products	50.00 (35)	50.00 (35)	-	-	100.00 (70)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		36.99 (61621)	56.63 (94342)	1.76 (2932)	4.62 (7688)	100.00 (166583)
II. Wages and Salary		84.10 (52641)	15.90 (9953)	-	-	100.00 (62594)
III. Trading		100.00 (2429)	-	-	-	100.00 (2429)
IV. Total Household Income (I+II+III)		50.38 (116691)	45.03 (104295)	1.27 (2932)	3.32 (7688)	100.00 (231606)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.8

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Newar Village)

(In percent)

Sex and Age Group		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	Total
Sources of Income						
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 (includ- ing 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)	84.76 (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)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.9

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Tamang Village)

Sex and Age Group		(In percent)				Total
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	40.45 (6873)	36.52 (6205)	8.05 (1368)	14.98 (2545)	100.00 (16991)
2.	Agriculture	31.32 (20348)	62.04 (40307)	1.20 (780)	5.44 (3534)	100.00 (64969)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	31.16 (19738)	62.19 (39394)	1.20 (760)	5.45 (3452)	100.00 (63344)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	100.00 (1625)	-	-	-	100.00 (1625)
3.	Hunting and Gathering	22.34 (2687)	62.77 (7550)	0.53 (64)	14.36 (1727)	100.00 (12028)
4.	Manufacturing	50.70 (818)	46.48 (750)	0.70 (11)	2.12 (34)	100.00 (1613)
4.1.	Rope/Basketry	51.51 (538)	45.46 (475)	0.76 (8)	2.27 (24)	100.00 (1045)
4.2.	Sewing	50.00 (180)	50.00 (180)	-	-	100.00 (360)
5.	Food Processing	26.56 (2977)	70.31 (7881)	0.78 (88)	2.35 (263)	100.00 (11209)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	13.33 (589)	80.00 (3536)	-	6.67 (295)	100.00 (4420)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	25.00 (1096)	70.00 (3069)	2.50 (110)	2.50 (110)	100.00 (4385)
5.3.	Liquor Making	29.51 (693)	68.85 (1617)	-	1.64 (39)	100.00 (2349)
5.4.	Food Preservation	33.33 (18)	66.67 (37)	-	-	100.00 (55)
I.	Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)	31.55 (33703)	58.70 (62693)	2.16 (2311)	7.59 (8103)	100.00 (106810)
II.	Wage and Salary	80.88 (19198)	16.97 (4028)	0.19 (45)	1.96 (465)	100.00 (23736)
III.	Trading	81.80 (327)	18.20 (73)	-	-	100.00 (400)
IV.	Total Household Income (I+II+III)	40.65 (53228)	51.01 (66794)	1.80 (2356)	6.54 (8568)	100.00 (130946)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.10

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Tharu Village)

(In percent)

Sex and Age Group		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	Total
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	56.32 (14158)	21.70 (5455)	10.20 (2564)	11.78 (2961)	100.00 (25138)
2.	Agriculture	57.39 (129445)	35.42 (79891)	3.68 (8300)	3.51 (7917)	100.00 (225553)
3.	Hunting and Gathering	43.89 (5309)	50.18 (6070)	1.02 (123)	4.91 (594)	100.00 (12096)
4.	Manufacturing	50.00 (2164)	44.68 (1933)	2.89 (125)	2.43 (105)	100.00 (4327)
4.1.	Rope/Basketry	50.67 (1733)	42.88 (1466)	3.45 (118)	3.00 (103)	100.00 (3420)
4.2.	Tools and Utensils	47.72 (433)	50.76 (460)	1.01 (9)	0.51 (5)	100.00 (907)
5.	Food Processing	4.49 (1800)	89.28 (35790)	0.75 (301)	5.48 (2197)	100.00 (40088)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	3.30 (929)	89.44 (25168)	0.82 (231)	6.44 (1812)	100.00 (28140)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	3.97 (270)	92.72 (6304)	-	3.31 (225)	100.00 (6799)
5.3.	Liquor Making	-	100.00 (1993)	-	-	100.00 (1993)
5.4.	Food Preservation	32.00 (689)	64.00 (1377)	4.00 (86)	-	100.00 (2152)
5.5.	Dairy Products	100.00 (896)	-	-	-	100.00 (896)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		49.76 (152876)	42.04 (129139)	3.72 (11413)	4.48 (13774)	100.00 (307202)
II. Wage and Salary		75.58 (17036)	11.17 (2518)	6.15 (1385)	7.10 (1600)	100.00 (22539)
III. Trading		90.40 (5650)	9.60 (600)	-	-	100.00 (6250)
IV. Total Household Income (I+II+III)		52.25 (175562)	39.36 (132257)	3.81 (12798)	4.58 (15374)	100.00 (335991)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

TABLE 3.11

MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

(In Maithili Village)

Sex and Age Group		(In percent)				Total
		Male (15+)	Female (15+)	Male Child (10-14)	Female Child (10-14)	
Sources of Income						
1.	Animal Husbandry	53.84 (3680)	27.84 (1903)	7.27 (497)	11.05 (755)	100.00 (6835)
2.	Agriculture	76.70 (108363)	19.94 (28172)	1.83 (2585)	1.53 (2162)	100.00 (141282)
2.1.	Agriculture (Exclusive of Kitchen Gardening)	77.15 (107850)	19.52 (27288)	1.82 (2544)	1.51 (2111)	100.00 (139793)
2.2.	Kitchen Gardening	55.00 (819)	40.00 (596)	2.50 (37)	2.50 (37)	100.00 (1489)
3.	Hunting and Gathering (includ- sive of Fuel Collection)	42.25 (599)	51.64 (732)	0.94 (13)	5.16 (73)	100.00 (1417)
4.	Manufacturing	59.09 (59)	40.91 (41)	-	-	100.00 (100)
4.1.	Rope/Basketry	57.83 (52)	42.17 (38)	-	-	100.00 (90)
5.	Food Processing	44.97 (21211)	52.50 (24800)	0.51 (241)	1.94 (915)	100.00 (47167)
5.1.	Husking/Drying	11.73 (4656)	84.92 (33711)	0.28 (111)	3.07 (1219)	100.00 (39697)
5.2.	Roasting/Grinding	2.33 (6)	90.70 (221)	2.32 (6)	4.65 (11)	100.00 (244)
5.3.	Cooked Food and Others	66.76 (4317)	31.74 (2052)	0.41 (27)	1.09 (70)	100.00 (6466)
I. Sub-Total for Household Production (1+2+3+4+5)		68.04 (133912)	28.28 (55648)	1.70 (3336)	1.98 (3905)	100.00 (196801)
II. Wage and Salary		74.64 (11891)	25.36 (4040)	-	-	100.00 (15931)
III. Total Household Income (I+II)		68.54 (145803)	28.06 (59688)	1.57 (3336)	1.83 (3905)	100.00 (212732)

Figures in parentheses indicate contribution in value terms (Rs.).

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

50 percent is contributed by adult women, while adult men and children between age 10-14 contribute about 44 percent and six percent respectively.¹

Examination of the village level data on contribution to household income in Tables 3.4-3.11 shows that women maintain their lead in contribution to household production in the Rai, Magar, Parbatiya and Tamang communities. The highest proportionate female input was the home production valued at 87,625 rupees contributed by Kham Magar women which was 45 percent higher than the 40,224 rupees worth contributed by adult men in that community. Men and women make about equal contributions in this area in the Baragaonle community but women's relative contribution decreases in the Tharu and Newar communities until finally in the Maithili community women's contribution falls to only 28 percent of the household production. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of women's contribution to household production is the high value of their work in all aspects of food processing. At the aggregate level women's food processing labor creates approximately 13 percent of the entire household income. In some villages, notably the Baragaonle and the Rai, these activities account for 15 percent and 23 percent respectively of the household income. The reason for the extraordinarily high figures in these two communities can be found in the detailed breakdown of the food processing data. The value added which Baragaonle and Lohorung Rai women create by their commercial liquor making is worth 43,380 and 40,103 rupees respectively.

In most villages the aggregate pattern of male predominance in contributing income from wage, salary and trading work is maintained. Once again, however, the Baragaonle and the Rai distinguish themselves. While Baragaonle men do have a strong lead over women in wage salary earnings, women contribute 45.6 percent of the income earned from trading. In the Lohorung Rai community women not only show a substantial lead in trading, but they also lead in wage salary income.

The village level data on contribution to household income also show that children between the ages of 10 and 14 contribute from a low of 3.4 percent in the Maithili community to a high of 8.61 percent among the Tharu. This is lower than would be expected judging by the time allocation data presented by age group

¹The major difference between the Laguna and Nepal data on total household income is the much smaller relative contribution made by Nepalese children. This may be due to some extent to the fact that household members up to and including age 17 seem to have been classified as children by the Laguna study while the Status of Women study followed the Nepal Census classification which counts individuals 15 and above as adults.

for the six village aggregate in Table 3.12. According to this data, males in the 10-14 age group put in 3.63 hours per day in labor force participation activities, nearly 62.4 percent of the time input of male adults. The input of girls is even higher at 4.17 hours per day or 90 percent of the adult female input. The work burden of girls in the 10-14 age group is similarly high at 7.31 hours per day -- almost a full working day. Interestingly, the overall work burden of boys at 4.83 hours per day in that age cohort is only 66 percent that of girls. This is mainly because of boys' much lower involvement in subsistence domestic and conventional domestic activities. This data helps to explain the findings in Chapter II which indicate that the major reason rural families do not send their daughters to school is that their labor is needed at home and on the farm. The higher work input of females starts at an early age and even in the 5-9 age group the total work burden of girls at 3.39 hours per day is more than an hour higher than that of boys.

Looking at the detailed breakdown of children's time input into various conventional economic activities we find what is perhaps the reason for the relatively low percentage of the household income contributed by children. By far the largest proportion of children's work time goes into in-village herding. The aggregate average is 2.45 hours per day for both sexes in the 10-14 year age group and 1.13 hours per day for the 5-9 year age group. Village-wise examination shows that in some villages the daily time input is much higher reaching 5.73 hours per day for Tamang girls in the 10-14 age groups and 5.70 hours per day for Tamang boys of 5-9. (See Appendix I, Tables 2 and 3). A look at Table 2.11 however, shows us that, despite the fact that animal husbandry absorbs 12.5 percent of the adult work time and nearly 40 percent of the work time of children between 5 and 14 years of age, it produces only 8.1 percent of the total average household income. Therefore, part of the reason for children's relatively low contribution to the household income is that one of their major tasks is the undemanding -- but also fairly unproductive -- work of minding the family's animals.

Economic Strata, Family Structure and Position in the
Family Hierarchy as Factors in the Allocation of Time

The time allocation data presented in Table 3.13 do not reveal any sharp differences in work patterns between villagers of different economic strata as these were defined in the current study. There is a slight increase in time

TABLE 3.13
TIME USE PATTERN BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Population of 15 Years and Above)
(Six Villages)

Activities	Economic Strata/Sex												(In hours per day)		
	Top				Middle				Bottom						All Strata
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Animal Husbandry	3.60	0.91	1.21	1.31	1.13	1.21	1.48	0.81	1.11	1.43	0.97	1.17	1.43	0.97	1.17
Agriculture	2.55	2.51	2.53	2.65	2.72	2.66	3.18	2.90	3.02	2.73	2.74	2.73	2.73	2.74	2.73
Manufacturing	0.15	0.35	0.26	0.36	0.43	0.49	0.38	0.33	0.46	0.47	0.45	0.44	0.47	0.45	0.44
Outside Income Earning Activities (In-Village)	1.08	0.58	0.80	1.61	0.46	0.90	1.21	0.39	0.71	1.24	0.46	0.81	1.24	0.46	0.81
Sub-Total for Conventional Economic Activities	5.38	4.35	4.80	5.74	4.74	5.20	6.15	4.64	5.31	5.81	4.62	5.15	5.81	4.62	5.15
Hunting and Gathering	0.19	0.36	0.29	0.22	0.34	0.28	0.30	0.44	0.38	0.24	0.38	0.32	0.24	0.38	0.32
Fuel Collection	0.19	0.07	0.12	0.19	0.05	0.12	0.13	0.05	0.08	0.17	0.05	0.11	0.17	0.05	0.11
Water Collection	0.07	0.70	0.42	0.06	0.73	0.43	0.09	0.56	0.35	0.07	0.67	0.40	0.07	0.67	0.40
Household Construction	0.20	0.05	0.11	0.25	0.10	0.17	0.28	0.07	0.17	0.25	0.08	0.16	0.25	0.08	0.16
Food Processing	0.19	0.30	0.59	0.17	1.00	0.62	0.18	0.98	0.62	0.18	0.97	0.62	0.18	0.97	0.62
Sub-Total for Expanded Economic Activities	0.83	2.08	1.53	0.89	2.24	1.62	0.98	2.11	1.61	0.91	2.16	1.60	0.91	2.16	1.60
Cooking/Serving	0.33	1.90	1.23	0.29	2.35	1.40	0.25	1.72	1.06	0.27	2.05	1.25	0.27	2.05	1.25
Washing Dishes	0.03	0.53	0.31	0.02	0.40	0.23	0.03	0.31	0.18	0.03	0.39	0.23	0.03	0.39	0.23
Cleaning House	0.05	0.50	0.31	0.04	0.47	0.27	0.04	0.41	0.24	0.04	0.56	0.27	0.04	0.56	0.27
Laundry	0.03	0.14	0.09	0.02	0.20	0.12	0.02	0.10	0.06	0.02	0.15	0.09	0.02	0.15	0.09
Shopping	0.33	0.14	0.22	0.20	0.15	0.18	0.23	0.23	0.22	0.24	0.17	0.20	0.24	0.17	0.20
Other Domestic	0.05	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.13	0.09	0.03	0.12	0.08	0.04	0.13	0.09	0.04	0.13	0.09
Child Care	0.13	0.64	0.41	0.22	0.78	0.52	0.11	0.60	0.39	0.16	0.69	0.45	0.16	0.69	0.45
Sub-Total for Domestic	0.86	4.96	2.67	0.83	6.49	2.81	0.71	3.66	2.23	0.79	5.03	2.57	0.79	5.03	2.57
Sub-Total for Work Burden (I+2+3)	7.07	10.51	9.00	7.46	11.57	9.62	7.84	10.20	9.15	7.91	10.81	9.32	7.91	10.81	9.32
Education	0.99	0.02	0.18	0.66	0.16	0.39	0.16	0.07	0.11	0.43	0.10	0.25	0.43	0.10	0.25
Personal Maintenance	1.59	1.36	1.46	1.51	1.03	1.26	1.30	1.07	1.17	1.45	1.12	1.27	1.45	1.12	1.27
Social Activities	0.36	0.21	0.28	0.33	0.18	0.25	0.25	0.12	0.18	0.31	0.16	0.23	0.31	0.16	0.23
Leisure	6.59	3.90	5.08	6.04	3.15	4.48	6.45	4.54	5.39	6.30	3.81	4.93	6.30	3.81	4.93
Sub-Total for Social/Maintenance/Leisure (4+5+6+7)	8.93	5.49	7.00	8.54	4.53	6.38	8.16	5.80	6.85	8.49	5.19	6.68	8.49	5.19	6.68
Total 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	16.00	16.00	16.00

Work Burden

spent in labor force participation in the middle and bottom strata for both sexes. The overall work burden of males also increases as economic standing decreases. However, the uniformly high time input of middle stratum women into both subsistence and conventional domestic activities puts their overall work burden considerably above either the top or the bottom strata women.

Although women in the top economic stratum spent the least amount of time in labor force or subsistence domestic work, they spent more time than either middle or bottom strata women in cooking, washing dishes, cleaning house and doing laundry. Despite the fact that the participation of bottom stratum women in conventional economic activities is quite high, they also have the greatest amount of leisure time -- partly because they appear to spend considerably less time in most domestic activities.

Looking at the detailed breakdown of Manufacturing and Outside Income Earning activities shown in Table 3.14 we note immediately that textile work is by far the single most important activity for women and that it is especially important to poor women. Rope/basketry and leather work on the other hand are particularly important to men in the middle and bottom strata.

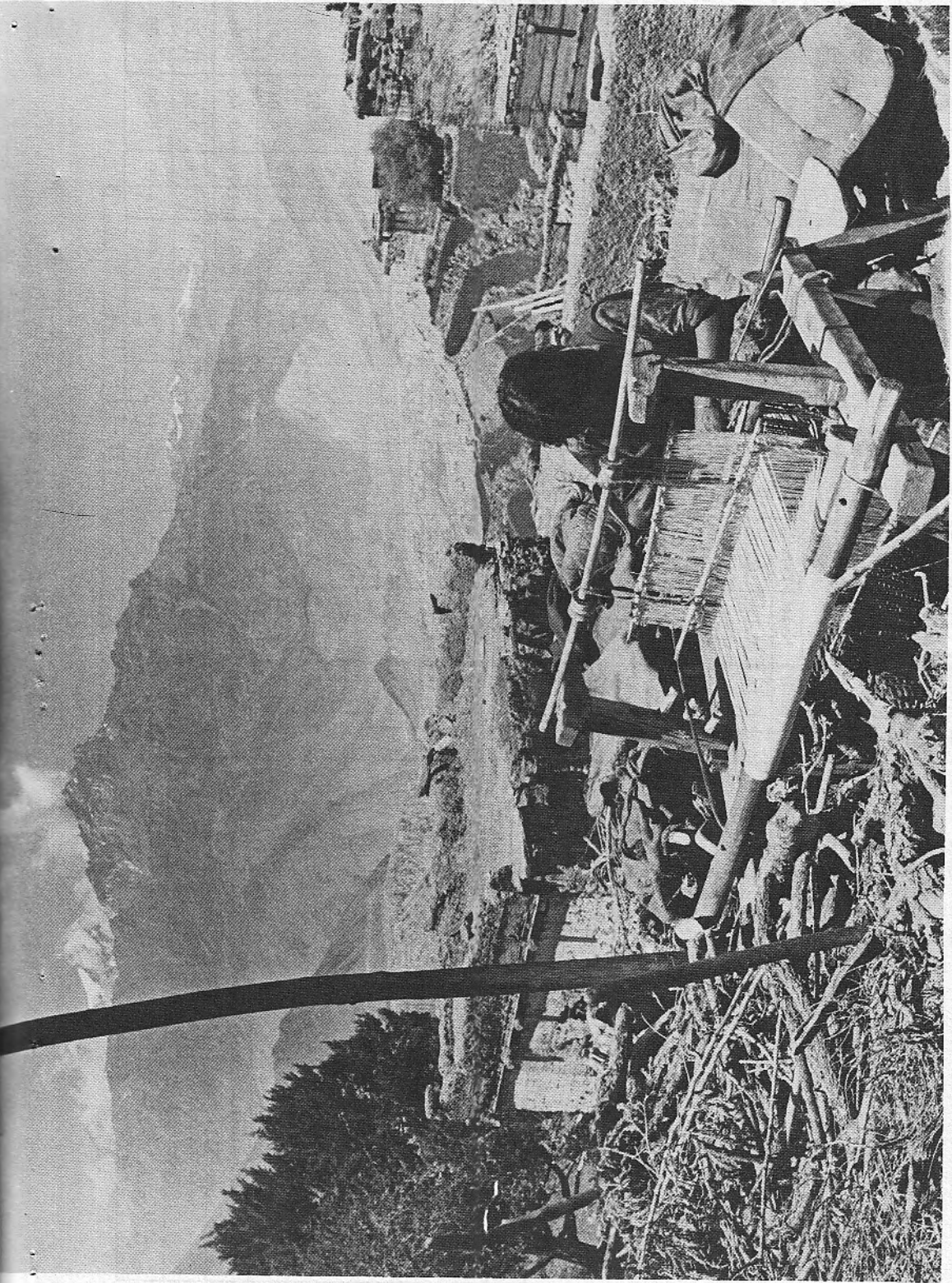
The fact that the aggregate data show women spending almost as much time as men in salaried work is somewhat misleading. Not only are all of these salaried women concentrated in the top stratum, but examination of the village-wise breakdown of this particular category shows that only in the Kham Magar village of Thabang are any women working for salaries. The pattern for wage employment is more as expected with women in the top stratum doing very little, women in the middle and bottom strata doing much more and the overall male input substantially above that of females. Women's involvement in trade and business, though slightly higher in the top stratum, was fairly consistent throughout. As to running hotels, tea shops etc. however, only the top and middle strata women were involved.

The data in Table 3.15 show that both women and men in extended families have a substantially lower work burden than men and women in either nuclear families or the residual category which includes female-headed households, single people living alone, etc. This residual group is by far the hardest working. In fact, women in this group work longer hours in productive or "conventional economic" activities than men from any group. However, like women in the lowest economic stratum, they cut their time input into domestic activities by nearly



Male panchayat officials from the Kham Magar village of Thabang talking to the female upa-pradhan from an adjoining panchayat.

Ane Haaland



A Baragaonle woman weaves in the winter sun.

Ane Haaland

TABLE 3.15

MALE/FEMALE TIME USE PATTERN FOR ADULTS BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

(Six Villages)

(In hours per day)

Categories	Family Type and Sex		Nuclear		Extended		Other	
	N=125 Male	N=126 Female	N=97 Male	N=99 Female	N=17 Male	N=17 Female		
1. Productive*	6.87	6.15	6.59	5.70	7.31	7.37		
2. Domestic	0.93	4.84	0.65	4.81	1.44	3.64		
I. Work Burden (1+2)	7.81	11.00	7.24	10.51	8.76	11.01		
3. Education	0.50	0.05	0.37	0.20	0.23	0.00		
4. Personal Maintenance	1.22	1.07	1.82	1.26	1.26	0.92		
5. Social Activity	0.37	0.16	0.24	0.17	0.22	0.16		
6. Leisure	6.10	3.72	6.33	3.86	5.54	3.92		
II. Social/Maintenance/ Leisure (3+4+5+6)	8.19	5.00	8.76	5.49	7.24	4.99		
Total (I+II)	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00		

* These tabulations and those in Tables 3.16 - 3.17 are from preliminary stage of the analysis before work activities had been broken up into (1) Conventional Economic Activities, (2) Expanded Economic, and (3) Domestic. The category of productive activities includes all of (1) in addition to food processing, construction, fuel collection and hunting and gathering from (2). Work burden is the same.

an hour a day so their total work burden is almost the same as that of women in nuclear families.

The data in Tables 3.16 and 3.17 give some indication of the effect of an individual's position in the family hierarchy on the disposition of his or her time. For males we see that among the major kinship categories,¹ married males under the authority of a senior male in an extended family worked the longest hours. They put in much less time in domestic activities than did male household heads but made up for it in productive activities. One would expect that the senior male in an extended family would have to spend very little time in domestic work judging from the data in Table 3.15. However, the relatively high input of male household heads into domestic work is consistent with the fact that many of them head nuclear or single person families where men do more of the domestic work.

Among the major kinship categories for women it is, as expected, junior affinal women (i.e. the daughters-in-law) in extended families who worked the longest hours. Interestingly however, it is the unmarried adult women in the family who put in the longest hours of productive or "conventional economic" work which generally brings them outside of the house into the fields, forests or market place. This is consistent with the fact that even in orthodox Hindu communities unmarried women are allowed much more mobility in their natal home, than they will subsequently enjoy once they have entered their husband's village. Although generalization is risky due to the small number of individuals in the sub-sample, the data on mothers and paternal aunts does suggest that women do get some respite from their heavy work burden when their sons or nephews become household heads. Women who must live with their daughters, i.e. mothers-in-law to the household head, however, appear to have to work very hard even in their old age to justify their maintenance.

Somewhat contrary to the findings of Buvinic and Youssef (1978) on the heavy workloads of female household heads, this study found that the 10 percent of the female population who were household heads actually worked slightly shorter hours than their counterparts who were the wives of household heads. They did

¹This excludes those residual categories such as Brother-in-law, Other Relatives etc. for both the males and females where the N is too small to allow us to generalize from the data.

TABLE 3.16

TIME USE PATTERN BY RELATION TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD

(FOR ADULT MALES)

(Six Villages)

(In hours per day)

Activity	Work Burden			Leisure/Social Maintenance				In-Village Total
	Productive	Domes-tic	Work Burden	Educa-tion	Personal Maintenance	Social	Leisure Maintenance	
Relation to Household Head	6.50	1.04	7.55	0.01	1.53	0.34	6.57	16.00
Household Head N = 119								
Unmarried Brother, Son, Nephew, Grand-Son N = 58	6.92	0.65	7.57	1.25	1.27	0.35	5.57	16.00
Married Brother, Son, Nephew, Grand-Son N = 53	7.21	0.67	7.88	0.38	1.49	0.20	6.07	16.00
Brother-in-Law, Son-in-Law Grand-Son-in-Law N = 2	4.84	1.12	5.95	.0	3.72	.0	6.33	16.00
Father-in-Law + Other Relatives N = 7	8.16	0.98	9.14	0.98	1.19	0.35	4.34	16.00

however, spend a higher proportion of their work time in conventional economic activities outside the home.¹

A Model of the Rural Economy from the
Perspective of the Village Household

The data thus far presented on time allocation and contribution to household income do show rather forcefully that Nepalese women are important as producers in the rural economy and that they play a crucial role in the subsistence strategy of every village household. However, both these related sets of data are much more interesting and useful as guides for policy formulation and program development when they are examined in greater detail with more attention to the variation between communities. In the following section we will look at the detailed breakdown of the time allocation and household income data using an explanatory model of the village economy which was developed in the attempt to understand women's economic role in one of the case studies.² It is certainly not a very sophisticated or highly technical model and yet it does offer a possible framework for inter-village comparison and for analysis of the inter-relations between women's economic role and their overall position/status in a given social group.

This model is developed from the perspective of the rural household and conceives of the village economy as operating in three concentric spheres or sectors. Each sphere offers a set of possible strategies for increasing the family subsistence level or "welfare" and most rural households combine various strategies from all three spheres in the attempt to maximize their welfare.

At the center of this model in "Sphere I" is the Family Farm Enterprise. This is essentially the rural household as a unit of production and consumption. Its domain encompasses all those economic strategies which are anterior to involvement in the market economy - i.e. household subsistence production and the "maintenance" of the farm family members and homestead. In terms of time

¹This finding though based on data about the female household heads themselves rather than all adult women living in such households, is similar to that of Mueller for women in female headed households in rural Botswana who "show about the same time allocation to work as women in male headed households". The main difference is that they do less work in agriculture and more wage labor, but they do not work longer hours because the male head is absent (or non-existent)". Eva Mueller, "Time Use in Rural Botswana", Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979.

²This discussion of the three sphere model is based on Bennett's The Parbatiya Women of Bakundol, (1981) published in this series.

allocation activities encompassed by this sphere, the "conventional economic" activities are animal husbandry¹ and agriculture while all the "expanded economic" and "domestic" activities are seen as maintaining or reproducing the farm family unit itself.

The next sphere is the Local Market Economy which encompasses activities carried out in the village or nearby bazaar for which household members receive market income in cash or kind. This Sphere II coincides with the time allocation categories of "manufacturing" and "outside income earning activities".²

The distinguishing feature between Sphere II and Sphere III of the village economy is not the type of activity involved but the locus of the activity. The third sphere is that of the Wider Economy beyond the village and locality which household members enter through short term or long term migration.³ Any employment or work including portering, army service, trade, agricultural labor that required a household member to spend the night outside the village was considered as participation in Sphere III.

For the present analysis the most significant feature of these three spheres of the village economy is the fact that women participate to very different

¹"Animal husbandry" includes both the category of "in-village" livestock related activities (which could be observed using the spot check method and which therefore allowed the calculation of time input in terms of hours per day) and the "out of village" category of herding (which allows time input to be calculated only in terms of percent of total days observed). The daily time input to Sphere I given in Figures 3.5 (etc.) does not include time spent on animal husbandry outside the village, though it is possible to show the relative male/female input in terms of person days.

²It is possible to argue that, since Sphere I or the family farm enterprise has been defined primarily in terms of non market subsistence production, a proportion of the time devoted to this sphere equal to that proportion of home production which reaches the market (14.8 percent according to the data in Table 2.10) should be counted as participation in the local market economy (Sphere II). This could easily be done. However, the fact that a certain portion of farm production is sold may make very little difference in the extent of women's participation in the wider economy unless they have some input into the decisions about what to sell and are involved in the actual marketing process. In fact, examination of the decision making data to be taken up in Chapter IV as well as the discussion of female entrepreneurship in this chapter, reveals that it is in those communities where women participate most fully in the market economy, i.e. the Baragaonle, Rai and Kham Magar, that they also have the greatest input into the disposal of the household's marketable surplus.

³The statistics given in the present study for Sphere III are only for short term migration since no household members were included in the time allocation sample unless they had been present in the household for at least six months during the previous year.

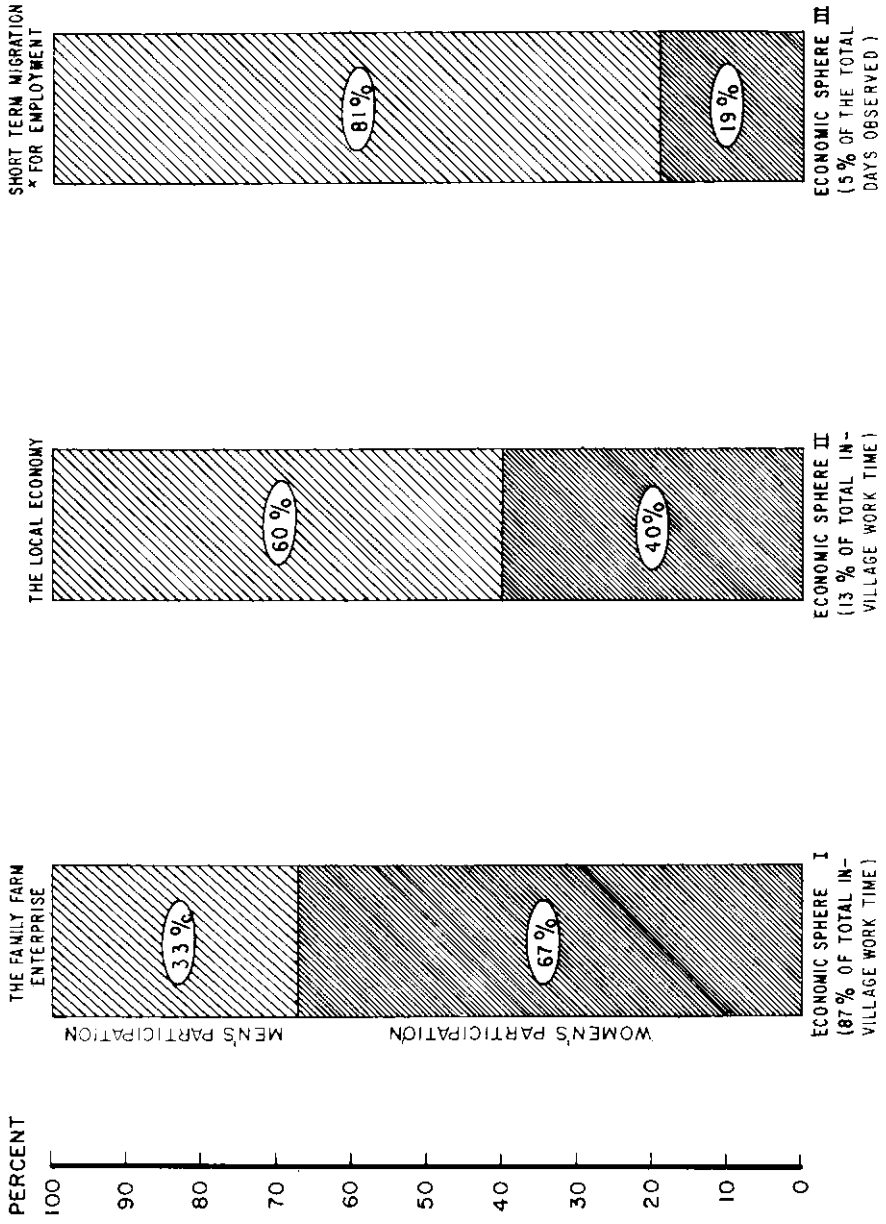
degree in each of them. As Figure 3.4 shows, women put in substantially more time than men into the family farm enterprise while their relative input is successively lower in the local market economy and in employment outside the village. What this reveals is a pattern familiar in many parts of the developing world whereby men leave the major part of the subsistence farming to women and try to find some way either within the village or beyond to earn cash to supplement the family income. This does not mean that rural Nepali men are not involved in farm production. They are. The aggregate time allocation figures show that on the average men spend 1.43 hours a day in animal husbandry and 2.73 hours a day in agriculture. What it does mean is that men are much more likely to combine their work on the family farm enterprise with work in the market economy either within the village on a daily basis or beyond the village on a seasonal basis. They can do this not only because their socialization, greater mobility and generally greater access to capital and education (see Table 2.55 - 2.59) equip them better to participate and compete in the market economy, but because female labor is available within the family to assure that whatever land and livestock resources the household has are fully utilized to provide as much of a subsistence base as possible. What Figure 3.4 and the time allocation data as a whole tell us is that rural families are almost all combining strategies from all three spheres to survive, but that it is primarily the male household members who are pursuing those economic strategies which require that they move beyond the family farm and beyond the village.

The Inside/Outside Dichotomy

In a sense this pattern is a version on a larger scale of the inside/ outside or private/public dichotomy between the sexes which has been invoked by a number of anthropologists (Rosaldo, 1974, 1980; Sandey, 1974; Ortner, 1974) to help explain the phenomenon of male dominance or sexual asymmetry. The argument is that women's involvement with child bearing and hence child rearing and domestic work has led to their relative exclusion from the "public" sphere of politics and commerce and hence from positions of power and authority in society at large.

There are problems with this formulation which have to do principally with the way in which we conceptualize the domestic domain and therefore the nature of women's role within it. While still maintaining the explanatory value of the domestic/public dichotomy, Rosaldo in a recent article cautions against the tendency to see women's involvement with the domestic as a biological necessity

Figure 3.4
PARTICIPATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE THREE SPHERES OF THE VILLAGE ECONOMY
 (For Adult Population of 6 Villages)



* Exclusive of Out-of-Village herding.

based on women's child bearing role rather than as the "product of the mutual accommodation of human history and human biology" (1980). Following Yanagisako (1979), she stresses the need to break away from "traditional assumptions which inform a mode of thought that sees in all domestic groupings an unchanging nurturant and altruistic core -- in opposition to the more contingent bonds that make for more encompassing social order" (1980). It is this idealization of the domestic sphere as somehow permeated by "the affective and moral convictions generated by the experience of 'mothering'" (Yanagisako 1979) combined with the tendency to seek in the experience of motherhood (which is presumed to be culturally invariable) the universal biological core of the family, which often blinds us to the fact that the domestic sphere is as political and instrumental as the public sphere and just as much a product of social construction.

In order to understand the actual dimensions of women's role in any society it is necessary to move beyond such limited traditional views of the domestic and "acknowledge that the family is as much an integral part of the political and economic structures of society as it is a reproductive unit" (Yanagisako 1980). Sweet (1967) and Rogers (1975) in fact, both suggest that, particularly in peasant societies, the domestic sphere is actually more important than the public sphere in terms of real power. In this view women, through their dominance of the domestic have considerable informal power, while men are left with only the appearance of power attached to their positions of formal authority in the public domain. For the moment we can reserve judgement on the extent to which this analysis, based on data from contemporary Greek and French peasant societies, reflects the situation in rural Nepal. The conclusions drawn by Rogers and Sweet that male dominance is essentially a "myth" in the peasant societies they studied, is based on the observation that in these societies women do in fact dominate the domestic sphere and that because the state controls most of the important extra-domestic decisions, the public domain which men do control involves relatively little actual power. In the course of the present analysis we will be reviewing data on household decision making and control over family resources that should help us determine which sex -- if any -- actually dominates the domestic sphere in Nepal. The issue of the degree of actual power inherent in the public sphere in rural Nepalese society however, can be addressed immediately. Despite the many problems yet to be worked out in the evolution of "panchayat democracy", there is no question that village panchayat governments are arenas of real rather than ceremonial power in Nepal. Partly because of problems of access and lack of sufficient administrative framework and partly due to an explicit policy of decentralization and public participation, the central state government

does not appear to have subsumed the power to make decisions about many significant local issues. If in addition, we consider the varied forms of traditional community co-operation including labor exchange, revolving credit groups, teenage social groups, local religious institutions, irrigation and water control systems, (See Campbell, 1978), not to mention inter-village and inter-region trading partnership and other commercial ventures, it is clear that Roger's characterization of the public domain as unimportant in peasant societies "because there are few extra-domestic decisions of importance to community life which are within the power of peasants to make" (1975), does not hold for Nepal.

Since the public domain is a locus of real power in Nepal, women's relative exclusion from this sphere in the communities studied can be expected to have significant adverse impact on their position in these communities. Of course in Nepal women are not specifically banned from participation in the public domain as they are, for instance, in orthodox Muslim societies. Moreover, their involvement with the domestic sphere does not -- except perhaps among the wealthier families in the Maithili community studied -- entail any kind of physical confinement within the house. On the contrary women throughout Nepal and certainly in the hill and mountain regions, are very visible and very busy out in the fields and forests. Hence the inside/outside dichotomy as it is used in this study refers not literally to the inside of the house or family courtyard versus outside in the fields and the bazaar, but to the inside and outside of the household as an economic unit.

Among the most important consequences of the fact that women spend most of their time on the inside - i.e. in household subsistence production - is the fact that they are largely dependent on men as mediators with the outside - i.e. the market economy, legal system, government bureaucracy, etc. It is generally the men who are socialized and in some cases formally educated, to be able to understand and manipulate these complex structures and institutions. Increasingly as development proceeds, opportunities and power depend on knowing how to make various systems such as the land records office, the agricultural development bank, the co-operative society or even the health service, work.¹

¹It should be noted here that access to these systems can be almost as difficult for the poor, uneducated village male as it is for most women. For discussion of the kinds of factors that affect the interaction between government health service personnel and their village clients see Linda Stone, 1979. Problems of access to the courts for both men and women are discussed in Bennett's "Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women".

Women's Involvement in the Public Sphere: An Examination of Community Participation and Political Awareness

The responses to our survey on women's political awareness as well as our own observations, indicate that in most of the villages women are not well integrated into the existing formal political structures -- even at the local level.¹ Forty-three percent of the women questioned did not know the official name of their own Panchayat and 54 percent did not know what ward they lived in. There was a fairly high level of awareness about the identity of the village headman or Pradhan Panch who was known by 83 percent of the respondents. However, as Table 3.18 shows, the aggregate figures mask a good deal of variation between villages on this question with a range from only 48 percent awareness in the Newar village to 100 percent awareness in both the Baragaonle and Kham Magar villages. The latter two communities display the highest degree of over-all knowledge of the village panchayat structure followed by the Tamang, Rai and Maithili groups in the middle range with the Parbatiya, Tharu and Newar groups showing the lowest level of awareness.

Table 3.20 shows that, even though most village panchayats had complied with the regulations current at the time of the survey² and nominated at least one woman member, most village women were unaware of this fact. Only in the Tamang village and to a lesser extent in the Parbatiya village does there appear to have been more than minimal contact between the female representative and the women of the village. This would seem to suggest that the nomination of a single woman to what remains in most communities an essentially male institution is not sufficient to integrate women and their interests into the formal structure of local politics. When women were questioned about their current participation or willingness to participate in this structure the response again showed a low level of involvement. While 69 percent of the women had voted at least once in their lives,³ 91 percent had never attended a panchayat meeting and only 15 percent expressed willingness to accept if they were nominated as member of the village panchayat (Tables 3.21, 3.23, 3.25).

¹The Status of Women Project findings in this area are similar to those of the "Social Networks of Nepali Women" report by Kokila Vaidya, Bashundara Dhungel and Raymond W. Carlow, FP/MCH Project, Kathmandu, 1970, (Mimeo). This study presents other very interesting data on women's mobility, market contact, access to media etc. which support the current analysis of women's position in terms of the inside/outside dichotomy.

²This regulation has been amended and is no longer in effect.

³This survey was taken before the National Referendum and does not reflect female participation in that polling.

TABLE 3.18
WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF LOCAL POLITICS BY VILLAGE

Questions Responses	Which Panchayat does your village belong to ?			Who is your Pradhan Panch ?			What number Ward do you live in ?			Village Politics Total		
	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total
Village												
Baragaonle	31 (88.6)	4 (11.4)	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	101 (96.2)	4 (3.8)	105 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	20 (60.6)	13 (39.4)	33 (100.0)	29 (87.9)	4 (12.1)	33 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	14 (42.4)	33 (100.0)	68 (68.7)	31 (31.3)	99 (100.0)
Kham Magar	31 (100.0)	-	31 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	-	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	3 (10.0)	30 (100.0)	88 (96.7)	3 (3.3)	91 (100.0)
Parbatiya	7 (21.9)	25 (78.1)	32 (100.0)	25 (78.1)	7 (21.9)	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	4 (12.5)	32 (100.0)	36 (37.5)	60 (62.5)	96 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	1 (3.0)	32 (97.0)	33 (100.0)	16 (48.5)	17 (51.5)	33 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	1 (3.0)	33 (100.0)	18 (18.2)	81 (81.8)	99 (100.0)
Tamang	27 (81.8)	6 (18.2)	33 (100.0)	29 (87.9)	4 (12.1)	33 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	10 (33.3)	30 (100.0)	66 (68.8)	30 (31.2)	96 (100.0)
Tharu	16 (47.1)	18 (52.9)	34 (100.0)	26 (76.5)	8 (23.5)	34 (100.0)	34 (100.0)	1 (3.3)	30 (100.0)	43 (43.9)	55 (56.1)	98 (100.0)
Maithili	17 (50.0)	17 (50.0)	34 (100.0)	29 (82.9)	6 (17.1)	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	19 (59.4)	32 (100.0)	65 (64.4)	36 (35.6)	101 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.19
WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF LOCAL POLITICS BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Questions	Which Panchayat does your village belong to ?			Who is your Pradhan Panch ?			What number Ward do you live in ?			Village Politics Total		
	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total
Economic Strata												
Top	54 (65.9)	28 (34.1)	82 (100.0)	76 (92.7)	6 (7.3)	82 (100.0)	53 (65.4)	28 (34.6)	81 (100.0)	183 (74.7)	62 (25.3)	245 (100.0)
Middle	40 (50.6)	39 (49.4)	79 (100.0)	61 (78.2)	17 (21.8)	78 (100.0)	25 (32.5)	52 (67.5)	77 (100.0)	126 (53.8)	108 (46.2)	234 (100.0)
Bottom	56 (53.8)	48 (46.2)	104 (100.0)	82 (78.1)	23 (21.9)	105 (100.0)	38 (39.2)	59 (60.8)	97 (100.0)	176 (57.5)	130 (42.5)	306 (100.0)
All Strata	150 (56.6)	115 (43.4)	265 (100.0)	219 (82.6)	46 (17.4)	265 (100.0)	116 (45.5)	139 (54.5)	255 (100.0)	485 (61.8)	300 (38.2)	785 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.20
WOMEN'S CONTACT WITH FEMALE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT MEMBERS

Questions	Are there currently any women members of your Village Panchayat ?		If your village has a woman member in the Village Panchayat how often do you talk to her ?				Total Number of Responses
	Actual Situation*	No. of Women Aware of Situation	No. of Women Who Frequently talk with Female Representative	No. of Women Who Rarely talk with Female Representative	No. of Women Who are Unaware of Female Representative and so never talk with Her	(II+III)	
Particulars	(I)	(II)	(IIa)	(IIb)	(III)		
Community							
Baragaonle	No female representative	35 (100)	N/A	N/A	N/A	35 (100)	
Lohorung Rai	Female representative present	2 (6)	1 (3)	1 (3)	32 (94)	34 (100)	
Kham Magar	Female representative present	2 (7)	2 (7)	-	26 (93)	28 (100)	
Parbatiya	Female representative present	14 (44)	5 (16)	9 (28)	18 (56)	32 (100)	
Newar, Jyapu	Female representative present	5 (15)	-	5 (15)	28 (85)	33 (100)	
Tamang	Female representative present	19 (58)	8 (24)	11 (33)	14 (42)	33 (100)	
Tharu	No female representative	-	N/A	N/A	N/A	34 (100)	
Maithili	No female representative	29 (91)	N/A	N/A	N/A	32 (100)	

* At the time of this survey it was national law that each panchayat have at least one woman representative. This law has since been repealed.

N/A means that the question is not applicable.

TABLE 3.21

WOMEN'S VOTING PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL PANCHAYAT BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Question Response Village	Have you ever voted in a Village Election ?			
	Regu- larly	Once or Twice	Never	Total
Baragaonle	-	2 (5.9)	32 (94.1)	34 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	1 (2.9)	29 (85.3)	4 (11.8)	34 (100.0)
Kham Magar	19 (57.6)	3 (9.1)	11 (33.3)	33 (100.0)
Parbatiya	7 (21.9)	19 (59.4)	6 (18.7)	32 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	-	26 (78.8)	7 (21.2)	33 (100.0)
Tamang	5 (15.1)	18 (54.6)	10 (30.3)	33 (100.0)
Tharu	6 (17.6)	21 (61.8)	7 (20.6)	34 (100.0)
Maithili	5 (14.3)	24 (68.6)	6 (17.1)	35 (100.0)
All Villages	43 (16.0)	142 (53.0)	83 (31.0)	268 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.22

WOMEN'S VOTING PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL PANCHAYAT BY
ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Question Response	Have you ever voted in a Village Election ?			
	Regu- larly	Once or Twice	Never	Total
Economic Strata				
Top	14 (17.1)	32 (39.0)	36 (43.9)	82 (100.0)
Middle	12 (15.0)	54 (67.5)	14 (17.5)	80 (100.0)
Bottom	17 (16.0)	56 (52.8)	33 (31.2)	106 (100.0)
All Strata	43 (16.0)	142 (53.0)	83 (31.0)	268 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.23

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL PANCHAYAT BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Question Response Village	Did you ever attend Panchayat meetings? If so, how often ?			
	Occasion-ally	Rarely	Never	Total
Baragaonle	3 (8.6)	3 (8.6)	29 (82.8)	35 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	1 (2.9)	-	33 (97.1)	34 (100.0)
Kham Magar	4 (14.3)	1 (3.6)	23 (82.1)	28 (100.0)
Parbatiya	-	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	1 (3.1)	2 (6.3)	29 (90.6)	32 (100.0)
Tamang	4 (12.5)	3 (9.4)	25 (78.1)	32 (100.0)
Tharu	-	-	29 (100.0)	29 (100.0)
Maithili	-	-	34 (100.0)	34 (100.0)
All Villages	13 (5.1)	9 (3.5)	234 (91.4)	256 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Note: There was no woman who attended Panchayat Meetings regularly.

TABLE 3.24

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL PANCHAYAT BY
ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Question	Did you ever attend Panchayat meetings? If so, how often ?			
Response Economic Strata	Occasion- lly	Rarely	Never	Total
Top	7 (8.7)	4 (5.0)	69 (86.3)	80 (100.0)
Middle	1 (1.3)	3 (3.9)	73 (94.8)	77 (100.0)
Bottom	5 (5.1)	2 (2.0)	92 (92.9)	99 (100.0)
All Strata	13 (5.1)	9 (3.5)	234 (91.4)	256 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Note: There was no woman who attended Panchayat Meetings regularly.

TABLE 3.25

WOMEN'S WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL PANCHAYAT BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Question Response Village	If you were to be nominated would you like to serve in your Village Panchayat ?			
	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Total
Baragaonle	4 (11.8)	30 (88.2)	-	34 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	4 (11.8)	29 (85.3)	1 (2.9)	34 (100.0)
Kham Magar	1 (3.8)	22 (84.6)	3 (11.6)	26 (100.0)
Parbatiya	9 (28.1)	17 (53.1)	6 (18.8)	32 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	2 (7.1)	16 (57.2)	10 (35.7)	28 (100.0)
Tamang	11 (37.9)	18 (62.1)	-	29 (100.0)
Tharu	-	25 (83.3)	5 (16.7)	30 (100.0)
Maithili	5 (20.0)	17 (68.0)	3 (12.0)	25 (100.0)
All Villages	36 (15.1)	174 (73.1)	28 (11.8)	238 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.



Male panchayat officials from the Kham Magar village of Thabang talking to the female upa-pradhan from an adjoining panchayat.

Ane Haaland

When the data are disaggregated by economic strata (Table 3.22, 3.24, 3.26 and 3.28), it appears that women in the top stratum are more knowledgeable about panchayat affairs than women in the lower strata. However, their greater awareness is not reflected in a higher level of actual participation. Although slightly more top stratum women had attended panchayat meetings, their voting participation was the lowest and women from bottom stratum showed a slight lead in willingness to serve on the panchayat body.

The village-wise breakdown of these data in Tables 3.21, 3.23 and 3.25 show a similar lack of correlation with the data in Table 3.18 on the level of awareness. For example, despite the fact that Baragaonle women seem very knowledgeable about the local political framework, they show the lowest level of voting participation (six percent) recorded for any group; 82 percent said they had never attended a panchayat meeting and 88 percent said they would not serve as a panchayat representative if nominated. Surprisingly on the other hand, although they knew relatively little about the particulars of their own panchayat government and none of them had ever attended a panchayat meeting, 71 percent of the Parbatiya women had voted in at least one election and 28 percent said they would be willing to accept nomination to the local panchayat.

Clearly the survey data alone cannot reveal the complexities of women's relationship to even the formal structures of local politics let alone claim to document the actual political power women are able to exercise indirectly through traditional informal means in some communities.¹ But it does indicate that what the time allocation data show us about women's relatively lower participation in the "outside" or market spheres of the economy is matched by their low level of involvement in the formal political structures of the local community. When we look at the data on women's awareness of district and national level politics in Table 3.27 and 3.28 the level of their involvement in this aspect approaches zero.

¹For an excellent discussion of the dynamics of an unusual group political action carried out by the women in one of the communities studied See Chapter V of Molnar's monograph in this Series The Kham Magar Women of Thabang. The account documents how Kham women temporarily banded together over a threat to their traditional right to brew liquor which, as will be discussed subsequently, is an important economic strategy for them. They temporarily entered the unfamiliar male arena of formal politics as well as using the own traditional informal means of gossip and ridicule to secure a negative vote on awarding the exclusive government liquor contract to one of the male faction leaders. Despite this remarkable instance of "female solidarity", Molnar points out that subsequently many women withdrew their support when male family members were jailed during the ensuing power struggle. Clearly family interests prevailed over "female solidarity" in this case.

TABLE 3.26

WOMEN'S WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL PANCHAYAT BY
ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Question	If you were to be nominated would you like to serve in your Village Panchayat ?				
	Response	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Total
Economic Strata					
Top		14 (17.9)	56 (71.8)	8 (10.3)	78 (100.0)
Middle		6 (8.1)	60 (81.1)	8 (10.8)	74 (100.0)
Bottom		16 (18.6)	58 (67.4)	12 (14.0)	86 (100.0)
All Strata		36 (15.1)	174 (73.1)	28 (11.8)	238 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.27
WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF DISTRICT AND NATIONAL POLITICS BY VILLAGE

Questions Responses Village	Who is C.D.O. of your district ?			Who is Jilla Savapati of your district ?			Who is Chairman of your district ?			Who is your Prime Minister ?			(In number) District and National Politics - Total		
	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total
Baragaonle	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	140 (100.0)	140 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	2 (6.1)	31 (93.9)	33 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	2 (1.5)	129 (98.5)	131 (100.0)
Kham Magar	2 (7.4)	25 (92.6)	27 (100.0)	2 (7.4)	25 (92.6)	27 (100.0)	1 (3.8)	25 (96.2)	26 (100.0)	2 (7.7)	24 (92.3)	26 (100.0)	7 (6.6)	99 (93.4)	106 (100.0)
Parbatiya	2 (6.2)	30 (93.8)	32 (100.0)	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	2 (1.6)	126 (98.4)	128 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	-	32 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	-	31 (100.0)	31 (100.0)	-	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	-	125 (100.0)	125 (100.0)
Tamang	7 (22.6)	24 (77.4)	31 (100.0)	1 (3.0)	32 (97.0)	33 (100.0)	-	33 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	-	31 (100.0)	31 (100.0)	8 (6.3)	120 (93.7)	128 (100.0)
Tharu	-	28 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	-	25 (100.0)	25 (100.0)	-	28 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	-	28 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	-	109 (100.0)	109 (100.0)
Maithili	-	26 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	-	26 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	-	29 (100.0)	29 (100.0)	-	29 (100.0)	29 (100.0)	-	110 (100.0)	110 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

C.D.O. - Chief District Officer.

Jilla Savapati is the District Panchayat Chairman.

Chairman of District refers to the now defunct position of Chairman of the District Back-to-Village Campaign Committee.

TABLE 3.28
WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF DISTRICT AND NATIONAL POLITICS BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Questions	Who is C.D.O. of your district ?			Who is Jilla Savapati of your district ?			Who is Chairman of your district ?			Who is your Prime Minister ?			District and National Politics :		
	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total
Responses															
Economic Strata															
Top	3 (3.8)	75 (96.2)	78 (100.0)	2 (2.6)	76 (97.4)	78 (100.0)	-	81 (100.0)	81 (100.0)	-	80 (100.0)	80 (100.0)	5 (1.6)	312 (98.4)	317 (100.0)
Middle	6 (8.0)	69 (92.0)	75 (100.0)	2 (2.8)	70 (97.2)	72 (100.0)	-	74 (100.0)	74 (100.0)	-	75 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	8 (2.7)	288 (97.3)	296 (100.0)
Bottom	2 (2.2)	89 (97.8)	91 (100.0)	1 (1.1)	92 (98.9)	93 (100.0)	1 (1.1)	90 (98.9)	91 (100.0)	2 (2.2)	87 (97.8)	89 (100.0)	6 (1.6)	358 (98.4)	364 (100.0)
All Strata	11 (4.5)	233 (95.5)	244 (100.0)	5 (2.1)	238 (97.9)	243 (100.0)	1 (0.4)	245 (99.6)	246 (100.0)	2 (0.8)	242 (99.2)	244 (100.0)	19 (1.9)	958 (98.1)	977 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

C.D.O. - Chief District Officer.

Jilla Savapati is the District Panchayat Chairman.

Chairman of District refers to the now defunct position of Chairman of the District Back-to-Village Campaign Committee.

TABLE 3.29
WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR WOMEN BY VILLAGE

Questions	Have you ever heard of N.W.O.?		Have you ever heard of W.S.C.C.?		Awareness of Women's Institutions : Total		(In number)	
	Is Aware	Not Aware	Is Aware	Not Aware	Is Aware	Not Aware		
Village								
Baragaonle	3 (8.6)	32 (91.4)	35 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	3 (4.3)	67 (95.7)	70 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	-	26 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	-	24 (100.0)	-	50 (100.0)	50 (100.0)
Kham Magar	8 (30.8)	18 (69.2)	26 (100.0)	5 (19.2)	21 (80.8)	13 (25.0)	39 (75.0)	52 (100.0)
Parbatiya	1 (3.1)	31 (96.9)	32 (100.0)	-	32 (100.0)	1 (1.6)	63 (98.4)	64 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	1 (3.1)	31 (96.9)	32 (100.0)	1 (3.1)	31 (96.9)	2 (3.1)	62 (96.9)	64 (100.0)
Tamang	1 (3.0)	32 (97.0)	33 (100.0)	-	33 (100.0)	1 (1.5)	65 (98.5)	66 (100.0)
Tharu	1 (3.0)	32 (97.0)	33 (100.0)	-	29 (100.0)	1 (1.6)	61 (98.4)	62 (100.0)
Maithili	2 (6.1)	31 (93.9)	33 (100.0)	-	31 (100.0)	2 (3.1)	62 (96.9)	64 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

N.W.O. - Nepal Women's Organization.

W.S.C.C. - Women's Services Coordination Committee.

TABLE 3.30

WOMEN'S AWARENESS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR WOMEN BY ECONOMIC STRATA

Questions	Have you ever heard of N.W.O.?				Have you ever heard of W.S.C.C.?			Awareness of Women's Institutions : Total		
	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total	Is Aware	Not Aware	Total
Economic Strata										
Top	7 (8.9)	72 (91.1)	79 (100.0)	79 (100.0)	1 (1.3)	77 (98.7)	78 (100.0)	8 (5.1)	149 (94.9)	157 (100.0)
Middle	4 (5.5)	69 (94.5)	73 (100.0)	73 (100.0)	2 (2.7)	71 (97.3)	73 (100.0)	6 (4.1)	140 (95.9)	146 (100.0)
Bottom	6 (6.1)	92 (93.9)	98 (100.0)	98 (100.0)	3 (3.3)	88 (96.7)	91 (100.0)	9 (4.8)	180 (95.2)	189 (100.0)
All Strata	17 (6.8)	233 (93.2)	250 (100.0)	250 (100.0)	6 (2.5)	236 (97.5)	242 (100.0)	23 (4.7)	469 (95.3)	492 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

Even the specialized agencies which have been created expressly to draw women into political life and to give them skills needed for greater economic participation, seem to have had scant success in penetrating into the daily lives of rural Nepalese women. Only 6.8 percent of the women in the 8 village sample had ever heard of the Nepal Women's Organization and 2.5 percent knew of the Women's Services Coordination Committee. Surprisingly, the one village where these institutions did seem to be known was Thabang which is four days walk from the nearest road head and definitely the most remote of all the communities studied. Among the Kham women questioned, 30.8 percent had heard of the Nepal Women's Organization and 19.2 percent knew of the Women's Services Coordination Committee.

Women were also asked where they went to learn skills such as weaving, sewing, knitting, rug making etc. By far the largest percentage said that they learned at home or from other villagers. Only 7.1 percent reported that they had learned from the Women's Affairs Training Centre or other training institutions (Table 3.31). In fact this proportion would have been much lower had it not been for the responses of the Lohorung Rai women of Pangma, 27.3 percent of whom reported that they had learned skills in an institutional setting.¹ The data in Table 3.32 suggest that women from wealthier households do have greater access to institutional training. While only 4.7 percent of the bottom stratum women had received institutional training, 11 percent of the top stratum women had done so.

Women's Involvement in the Wider Economy: An Examination of
Dichotomous and Non-Dichotomous Communities

Sphere I: The Family Farm Enterprise

Before we consider the practical implications of women's relative isolation from the wider spheres of society, let us turn for a moment to the "inside" and examine in greater detail the economic sphere where women are the major

¹Examination of the Tharu responses in Table 3.31 suggests that this question was not understood by Tharu women. Despite the active involvement of Tharu women in basketry and other crafts documented by Rajaure (1981), 93.1 percent of the women gave the answer "No Place" when asked where they had learned these skills. This is an instance where informal observation of the community is far more reliable than an improperly understood questionnaire.

TABLE 3.31

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO HANDICRAFTS TRAINING BY VILLAGE

(In number)

Questions	If you or any other women in your village want to learn skill such as weaving, sewing, knitting, rug making etc., where would you go ?					
Answer	Learn at Home	Learn from Villagers	WATC or Other Training Institutions	No Place	Do not Know	Total
Village						
Baragaonle	2 (5.9)	30 (88.2)	2 (5.9)	-	-	34 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	-	1 (3.0)	9 (27.3)	4 (12.1)	19 (57.6)	33 (100.0)
Kham Magar	-	3 (9.1)	3 (9.1)	1 (3.0)	26 (78.8)	33 (100.0)
Parbatiya	7 (21.9)	3 (9.4)	1 (3.1)	18 (56.2)	3 (9.4)	32 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	20 (60.6)	6 (18.2)	1 (3.0)	5 (15.2)	1 (3.0)	33 (100.0)
Tamang	4 (12.1)	2 (6.1)	-	22 (66.7)	5 (15.1)	33 (100.0)
Tharu	-	-	-	33 (97.1)	1 (2.9)	34 (100.0)
Maithili	7 (20.0)	3 (8.6)	3 (8.6)	9 (25.7)	13 (37.1)	35 (100.0)
All Villages	40 (15.0)	48 (18.0)	19 (7.1)	92 (34.5)	68 (25.4)	267 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 3.32

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO HANDICRAFTS TRAINING BY ECONOMIC STRATA

(In number)

Question & Answer Economic Strata	If you or any other women in your village want to learn skill such as weaving, sewing, knitting, rug making etc. where would you go ?					
	Learn at Home	Learn From Villagers	WATC or Other Training Institutions	No Place	Do Not Know	Total
Top	14 (17.1)	32 (39.0)	9 (11.0)	15 (18.3)	12 (14.6)	82 (100.0)
Middle	14 (17.7)	6 (7.6)	5 (6.3)	34 (43.1)	20 (25.3)	79 (100.0)
Bottom	12 (11.3)	10 (9.4)	5 (4.7)	43 (40.6)	36 (34.0)	106 (100.0)
All Strata	40 (15.0)	48 (18.0)	19 (7.1)	92 (34.5)	68 (25.4)	267 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

contributors. Both in terms of income produced and time expended, our findings substantiate the widely acknowledged importance of household based farm production to the Nepalese economy. Table 2.11 shows that 81.4 percent of the average per household income in the eight village sample was derived from household production. If we subtract the 1.9 percent of this which is earned from manufacturing (which we have included in Sphere II, the local market economy), we find that Sphere I or the family farm enterprise produces 79.5 percent of the average annual household income. In terms of time input the data in Figure 3.5 show that conventional economic farm production activities, i.e. animal husbandry and agriculture, together with "expanded economic" activities, absorb 59 percent of the adult work time. When domestic activities are included, the family farm enterprise takes up fully 87 percent of the work time. The remaining 13 percent of the work time is spent in Sphere II, the local market economy which together with what is produced by Sphere III, out-of-village employment activities, contributes about 18.6 percent of the annual household income.

Figure 3.5 shows the detailed breakdown of the relative input of males and females into the total time absorbed by each of the sub-activities within the two in-village spheres of the economy. Interestingly, within the category of expanded economic activities it is only in home construction and hunting and gathering where the male input is substantial. And, consistent with the inside/outside dichotomy, for domestic work the only activity dominated by men is shopping which involves contact with the bazaar.¹ In terms of the average daily time input of men and women, the data on the two left hand columns of Figure 3.5 show that adult women are devoting 9.91 hours a day to the family farm enterprise while men spend 5.86 hours a day.

Spheres II and III: The Local Market Economy & Short Term Migration for Employment

Even when the data are disaggregated by village (see Figures 3.6 - 3.13), the pattern of higher female input in Sphere I holds for all communities ranging from a low of 54 percent in the Baragaonle community to a high of 73 percent in the Kham Magar community.² However, when we look more closely at the

¹The data in Table 3.13 indicate that women from the lower economic strata have more access to the bazaar. Bottom stratum women spend 30 percent more time shopping for their family than top stratum women.

²The proportion of male input in Sphere I would be slightly higher and probably more comparable to that of men in other communities if the data on "out of village herding" (of which men do 71 percent) could be included in this calculation.

Figure 3.5

WORK BURDEN BY SEX & TYPE OF ACTIVITY

(For Adult Population of 6 Villages)

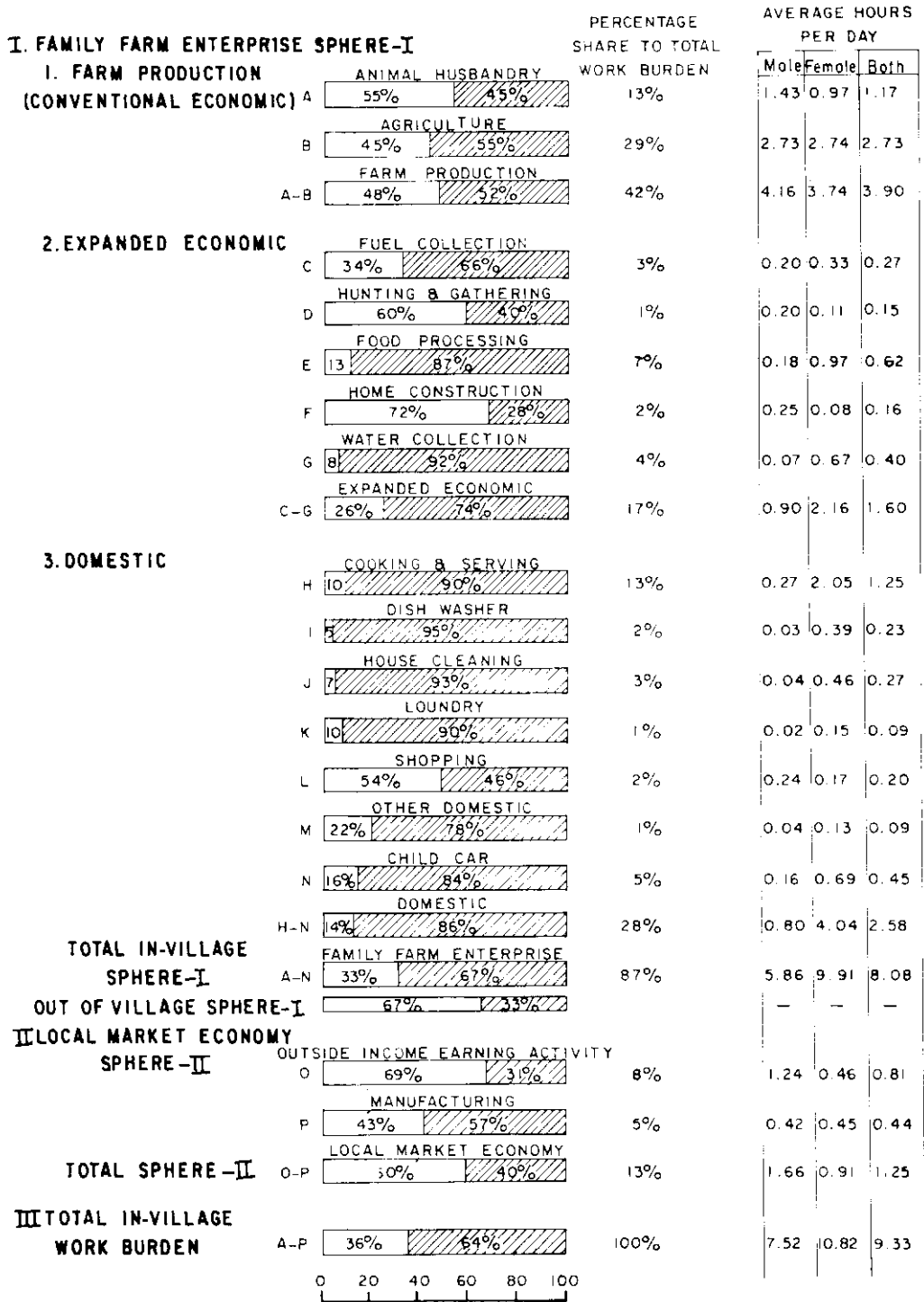


Figure 3.6

WORK BURDEN BY SEX & TYPE OF ACTIVITY (For Adult Population of Baragaonle Village)

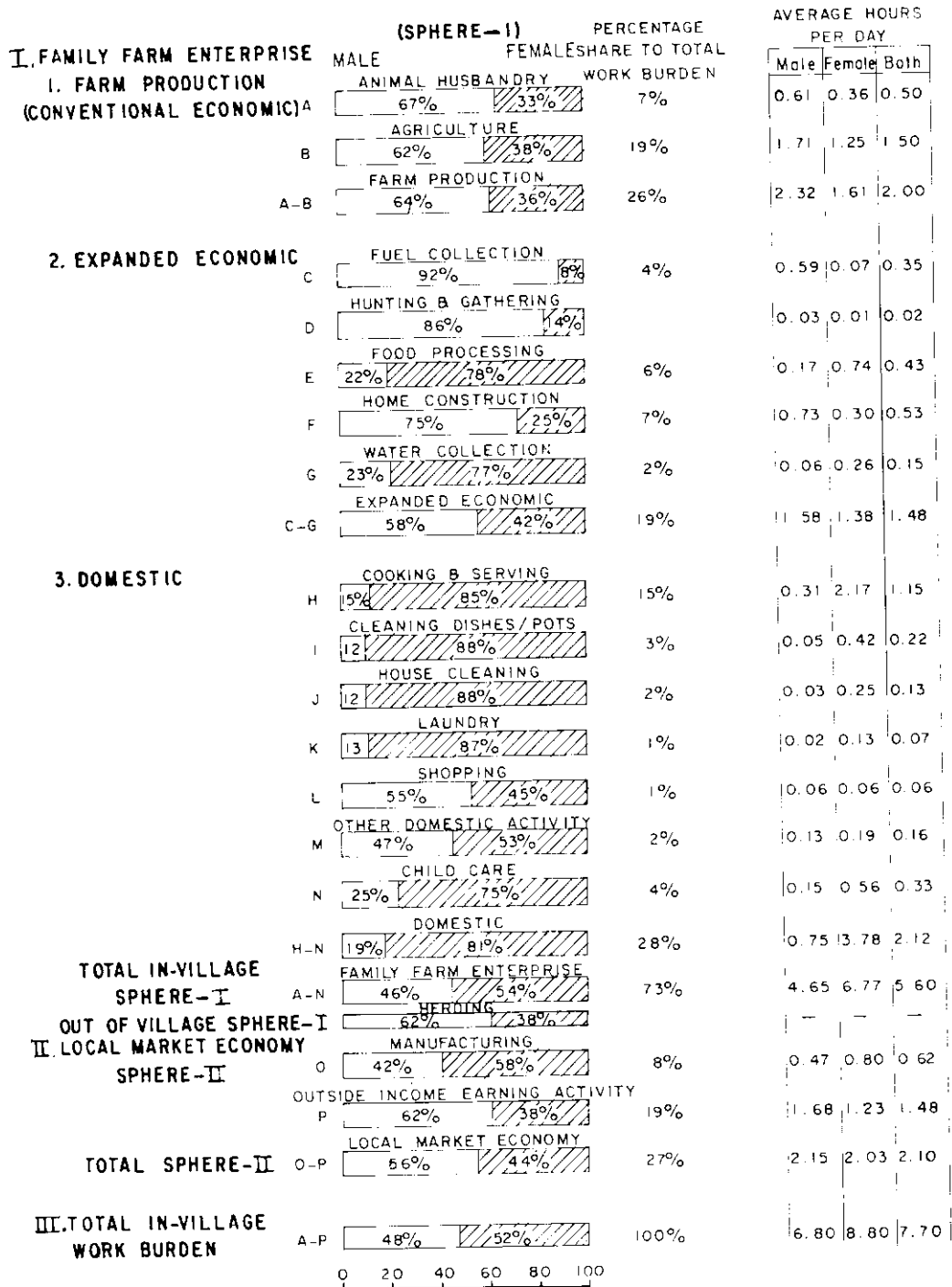


Figure 3.7

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE/FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY LOHORUNG RAI VILLAGE

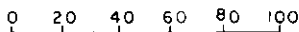
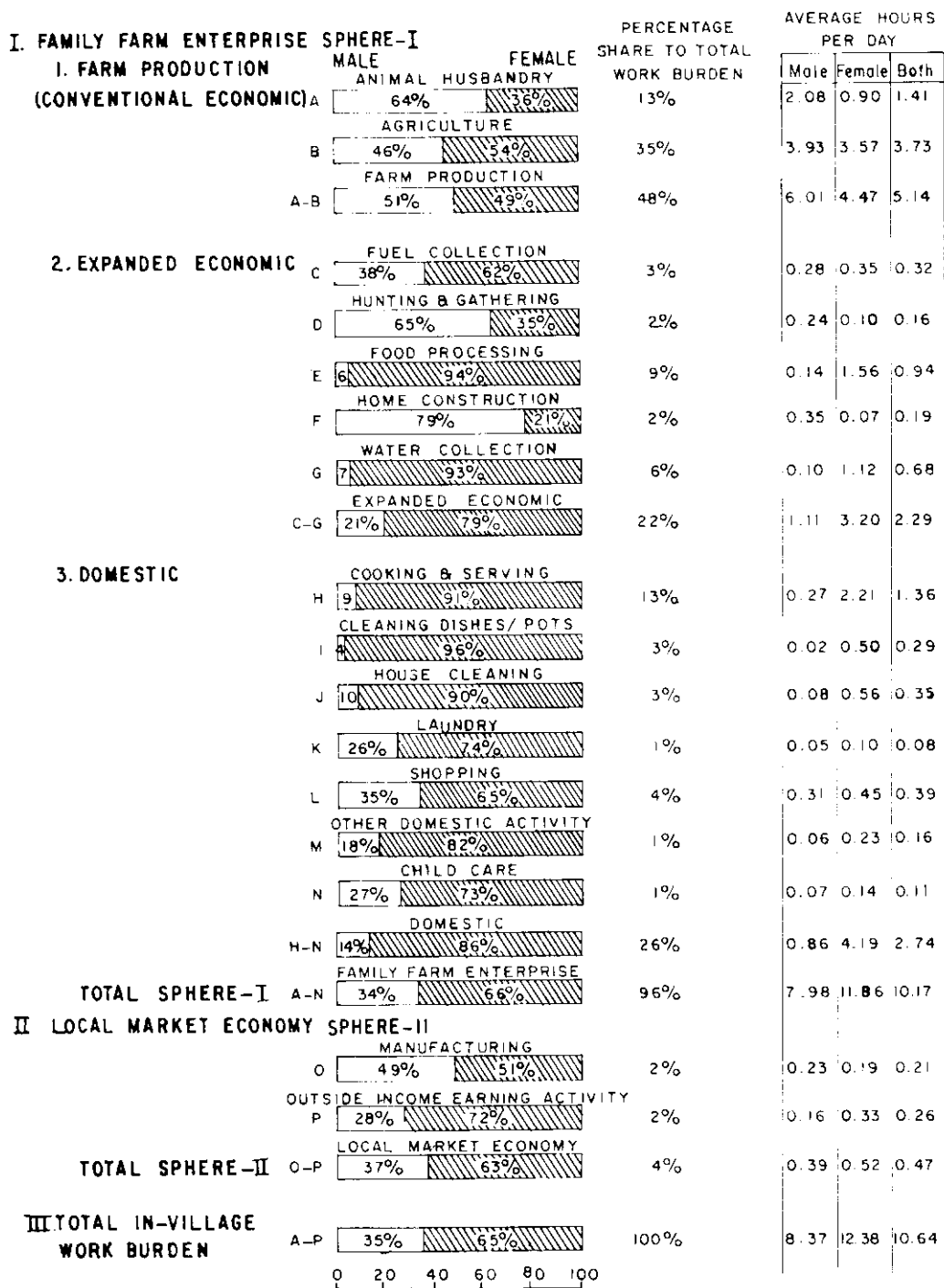


Figure 3.8

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE / FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY (For Adult Population of Kham Magar Village)

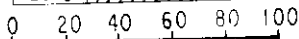
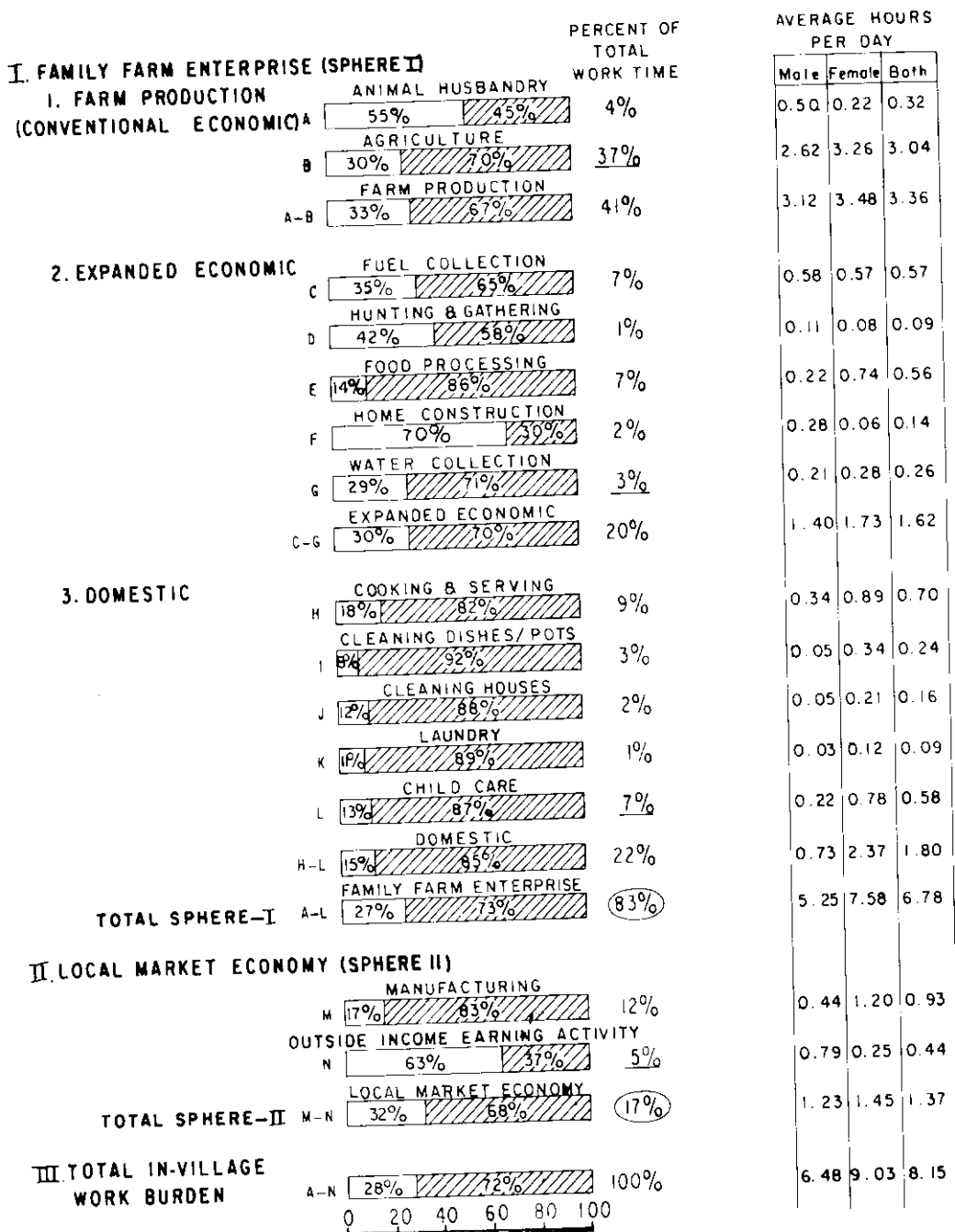


Figure 3.9

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE/FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY (For Adult Population of Parbatiya Village)

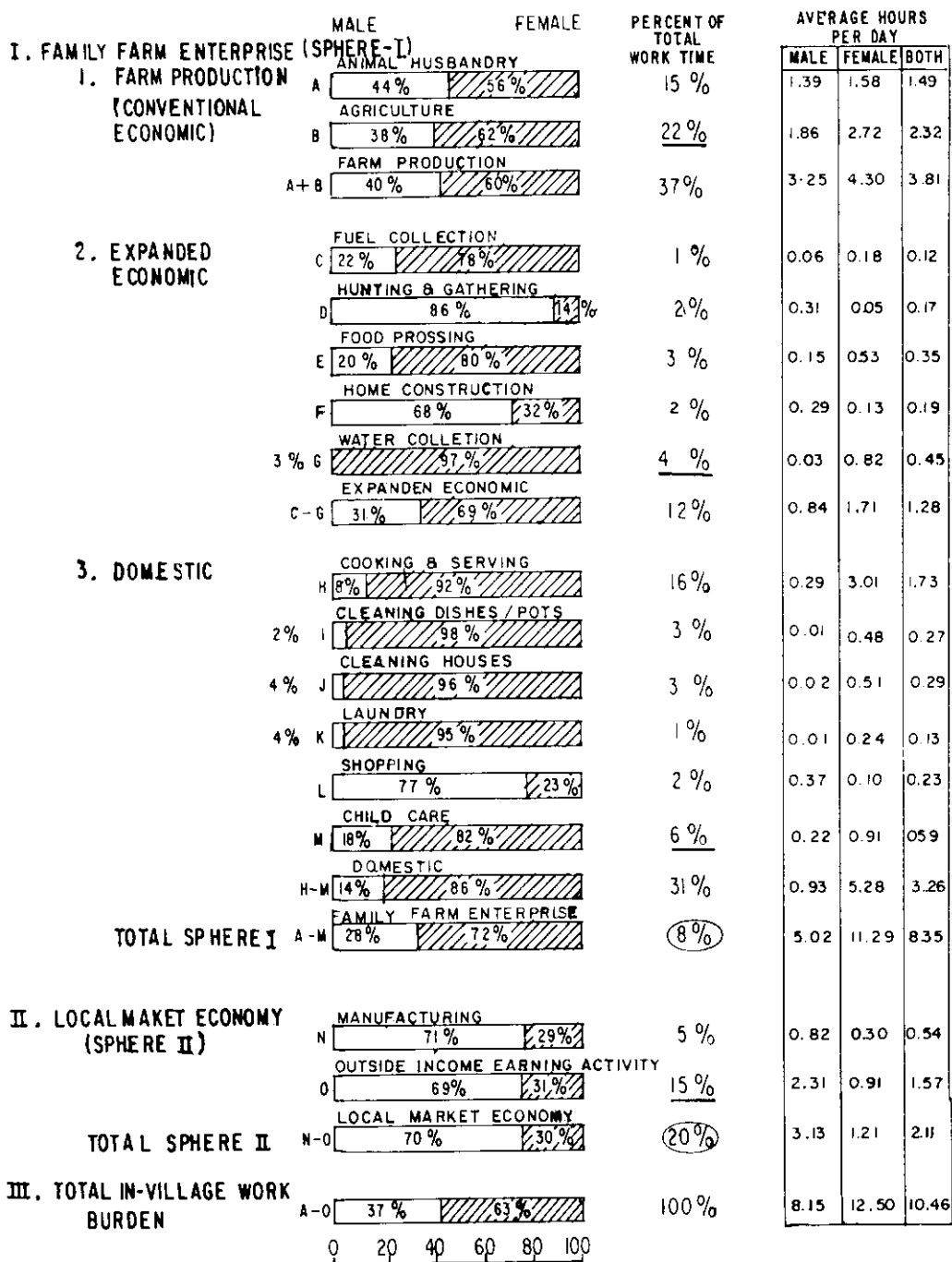


Figure 3.10

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE / FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY (For Adult Population of Newari Village)

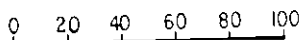
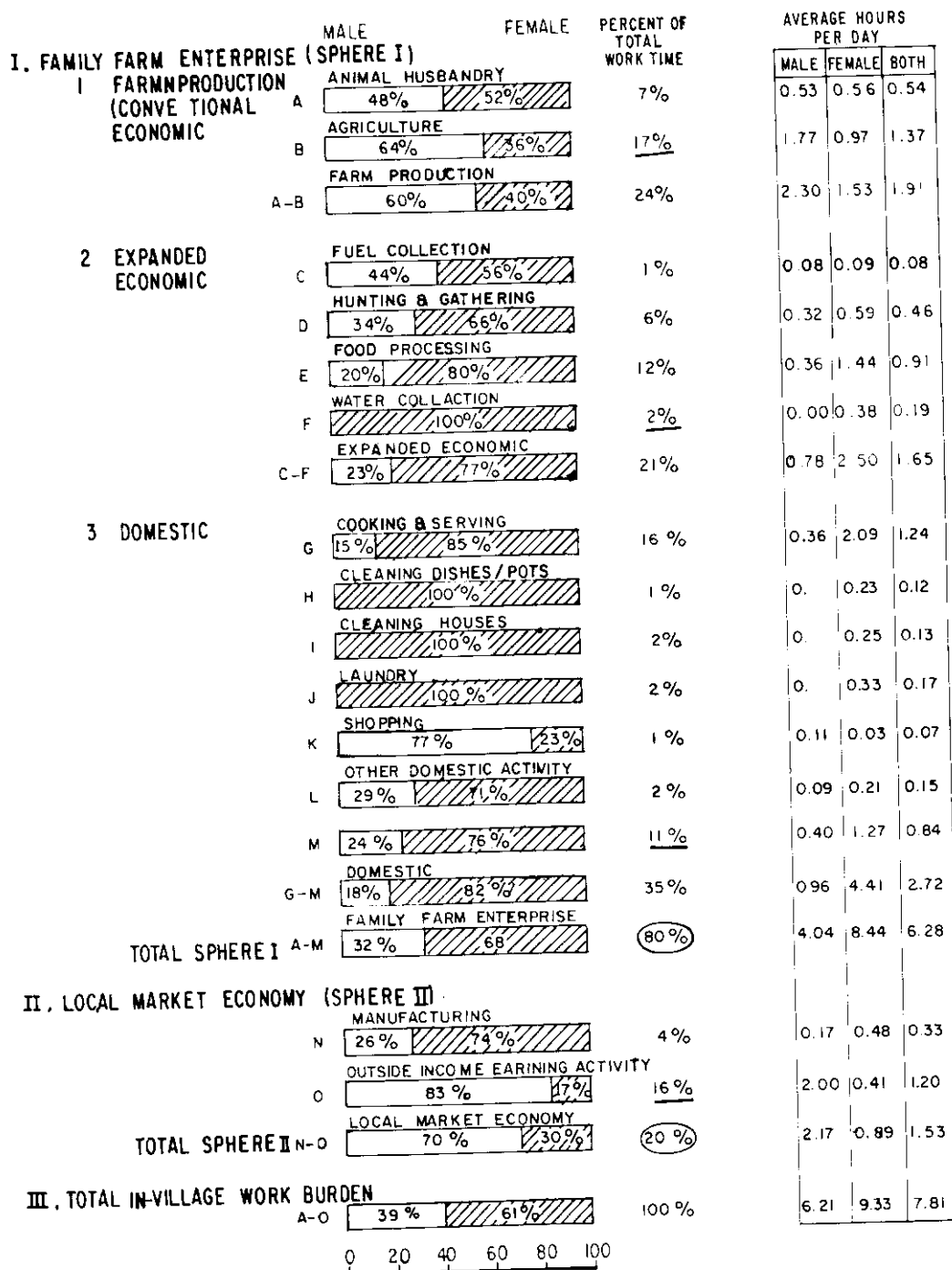


Figure 3.11

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE/FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY (For Adult Population of Tamang Village)

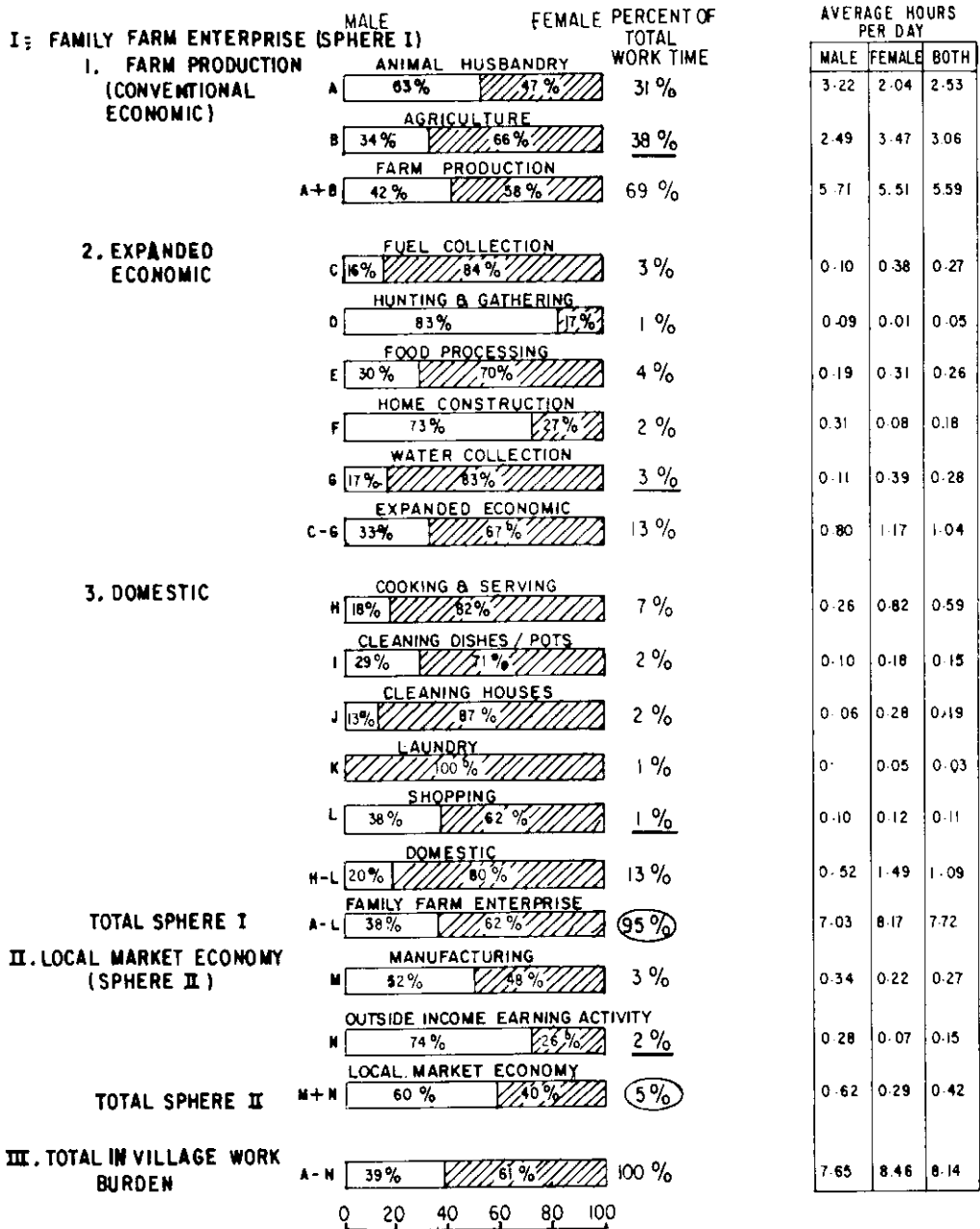


Figure 3.12

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE/FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY

(For Adult Population of Tharu Village)

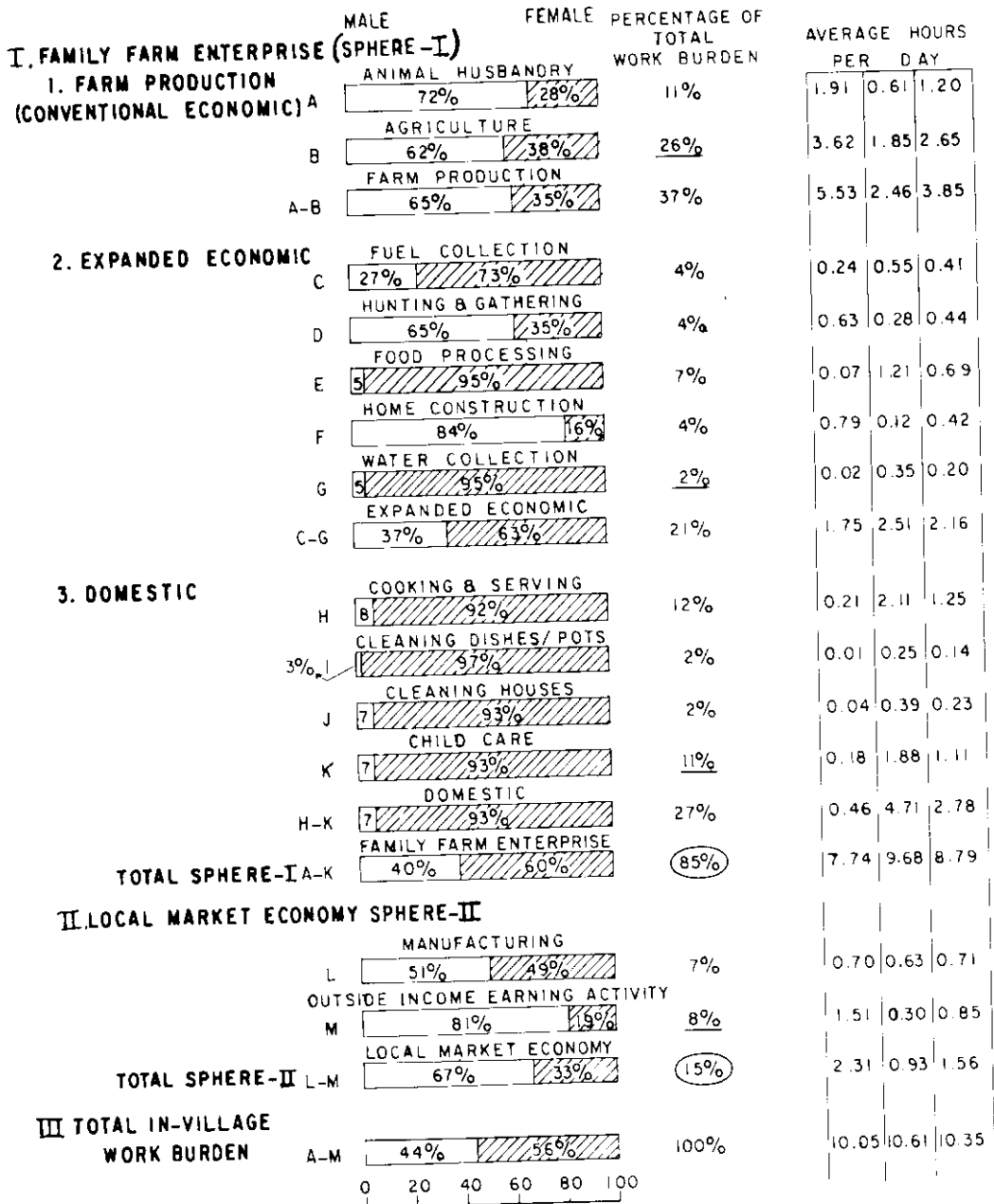
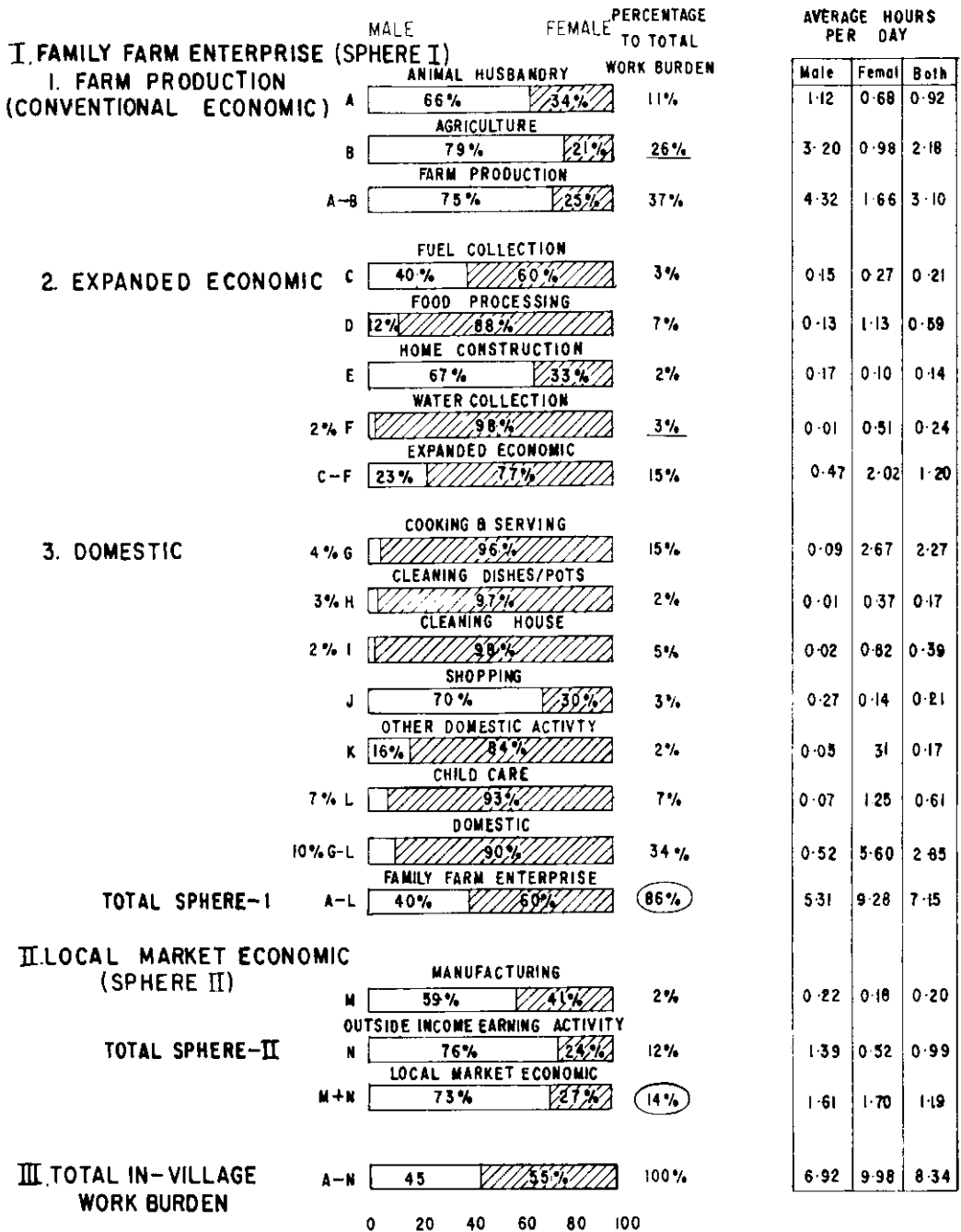


Figure 3.13

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE/FEMALE IN-VILLAGE WORK BURDEN BY ACTIVITY (For Adult Population of Maithili Village)



0 20 40 60 80 100

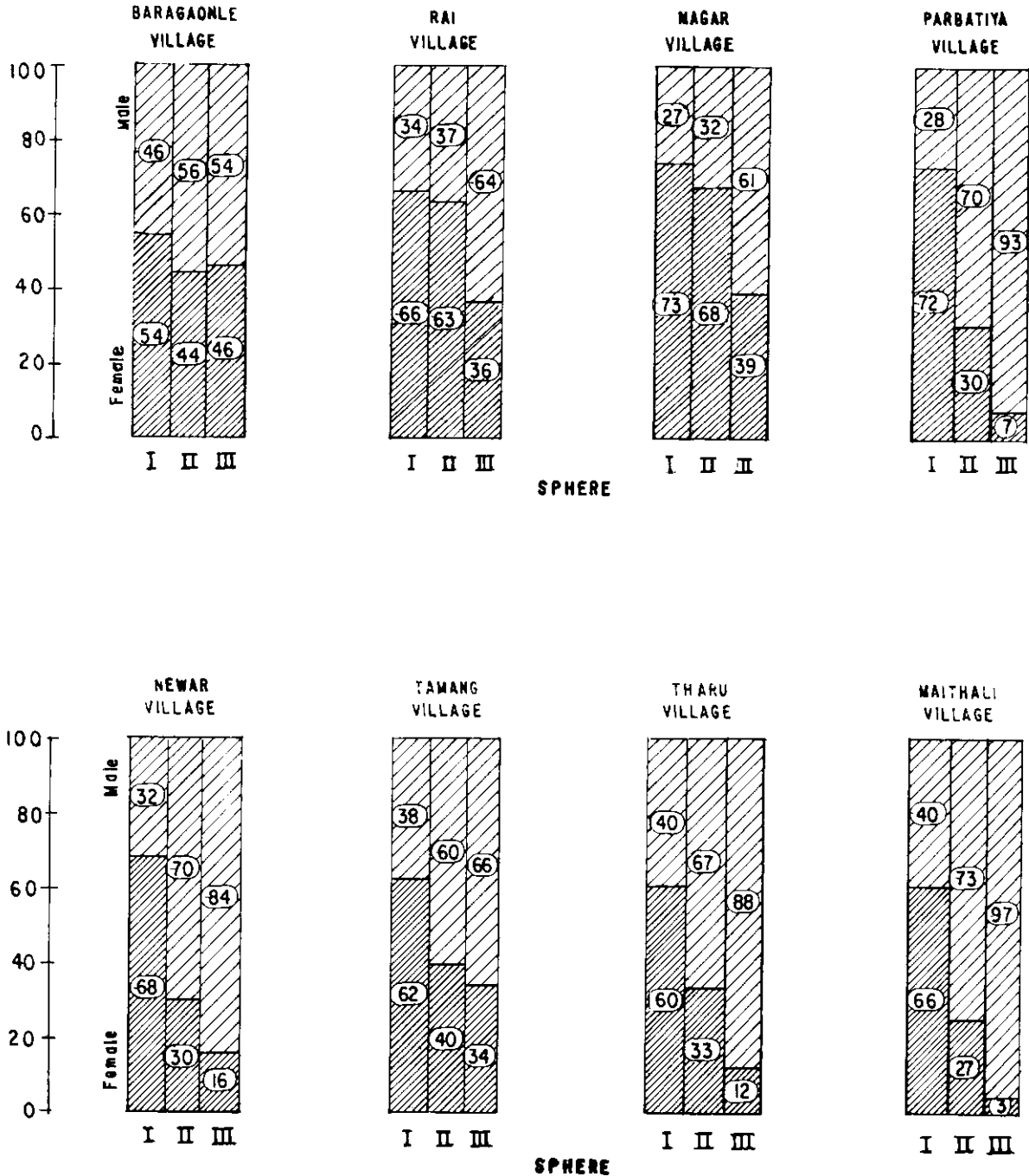
village level data we find that, despite women's uniformly high involvement with the "inside", there are significant inter-community variations in the degree to which women participate in the "outside" spheres of the economy. In fact, an examination of the comparative data in Figure 3.14 reveals two fairly distinct patterns. One pattern displayed by the Maithili, Tharu, Parbatiya and to some degree, the Newar, indicates the presence of a fairly strong inside/outside dichotomy in that women in these communities are much less involved than men in activities related to the market economy. In all these communities the proportion of women's input into Sphere II is between 33 percent and 27 percent of the total while their relative input to Sphere III is even lower ranging from 16 percent among the Newar to only 3 percent in the Maithili community. The second pattern is that found among the Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai, Kham Magar and, to a lesser degree, the Tamang communities. In all of these Tibeto-Burman speaking non-Hindu groups the inside/outside dichotomy appears to be fairly weak. Women are contributing between 68 percent and 40 percent of the time spent in Sphere II and 46 percent to 34 percent of the time spent in Sphere III.

In terms of our three sphere model then, it is possible to distinguish two groups which we may for this discussion identify as "dichotomous" and "non-dichotomous". Actually, the dichotomous pattern is most strongly manifested by the Parbatiya and Maithili communities -- both the most representative of mainstream Indo-Aryan culture and orthodox Hindu religious traditions of all the groups analyzed in this study. The Jyapu Newar of Bulu are of course, strongly Hindu and the basic outlines of their social structure and family organization reveal their close affinity with the Indo-Aryan cultural tradition. Yet they speak a Tibeto-Burman rather than an Indo-Aryan language and display certain sets of values and practices -- especially regarding marriage and the relative lack of emphasis on strict control of female sexuality -- which definitely set them apart. The Tharu of Dang Deokuri, though they do speak an Indo-Aryan language, are from Mongoloid rather than Indo-Aryan stock (Rajaure 1977) and moreover, appear to have been little influenced by Hindu orthodoxy. Hence, the relatively strong dichotomous pattern evident among the Tharu probably springs from a different cultural configuration supporting different values and perceptions about the proper role of women than those expressed by the Hindu tradition.

Among the non-dichotomous group the Tamang, though they identify themselves as Buddhists and have many cultural and religious ties with Tibet, have been the most influenced by Hindu values. The extent of this influence, of course, varies greatly depending upon the degree to which Tamang settlements in a given

Figure 3.14

RELATIVE MALE / FEMALE TIME INPUT IN THREE SPHERES OF RURAL ECONOMY BY VILLAGE (Percentage Shares)



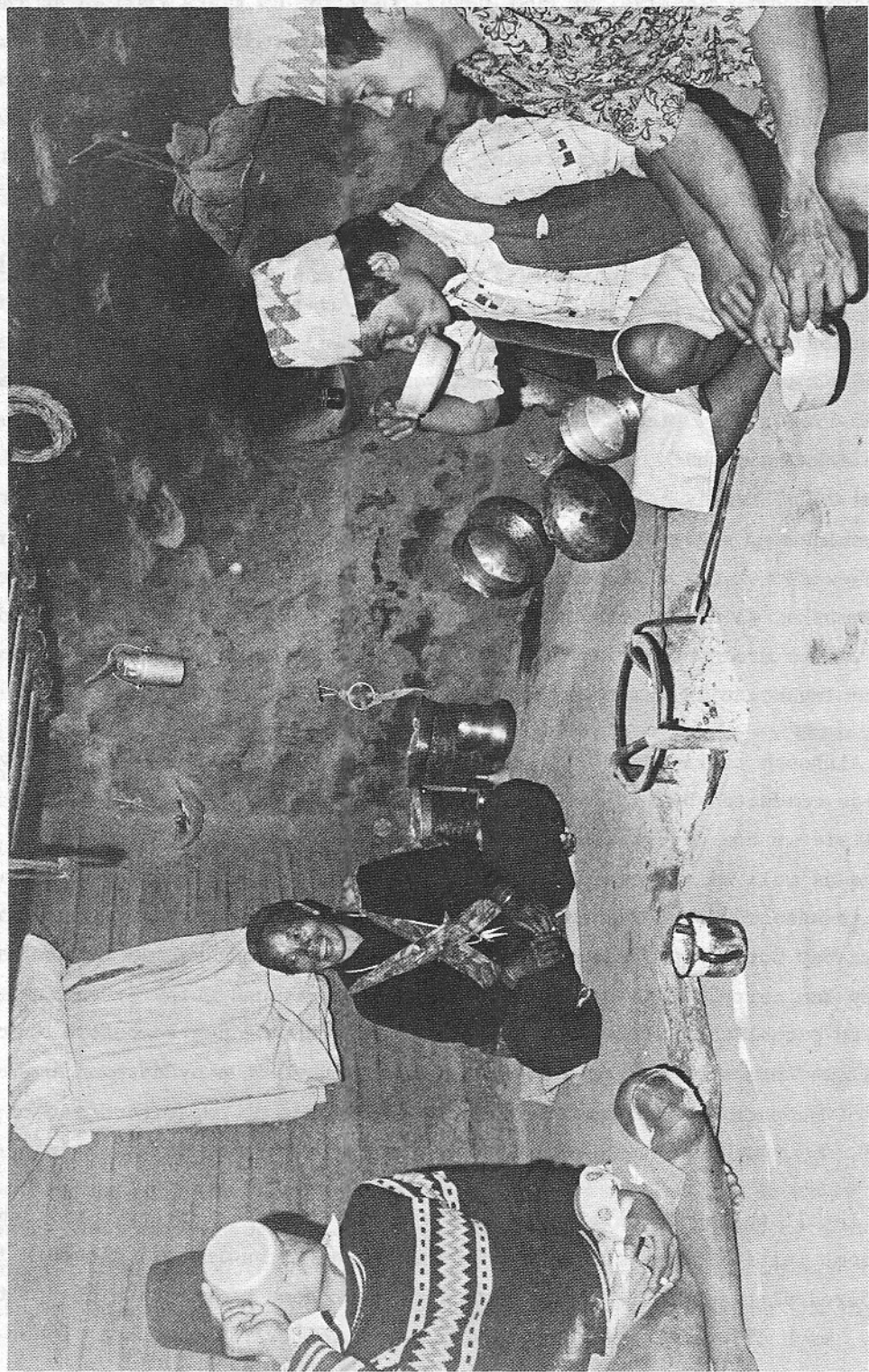
SPHERE I= FAMILY FARM ENTERPRISE
 SPHERE II= LOCAL MARKET ECONOMY
 SPHERE III= SHORT TERM MIGRATION EMPLOYMENT

area are interspersed with Brahman, Chetri, Newar and other more Hinduized Tibeto-Burman tribal groups like the Gurung. Although the Tamang of Katarche definitely fall into the non-dichotomous group in terms of their time allocation patterns, the involvement of women in the market economy is not as pronounced in this community as it is among the other Tibeto-Burman groups, i.e. the Kham Magar, Baragaonle and Lohorung Rai, included in the study. Likewise the Newar and Tharu do not display quite as strong an inside/outside dichotomy as that found among the Parbatiya and the Maithili communities. So in a sense, the Tamang on the one hand and the Tharu and Newar on the other hand could be classed as an intermediate group both in terms of the diverse cultural influences evident in their social organization and in terms of the relative intensity of the inside/outside dichotomy evident in their time allocation patterns.

Whether we choose to consider only the two polar groupings, i.e. dichotomous and non-dichotomous, or to include the intermediate group as well, it is obvious that the validity of these classifications depends upon their usefulness in explaining inter-community variations in women's status and their access to power. Hence one important "test" of the present analytical framework will come when we examine the decision making data in Chapter IV to see whether in fact there is any association between the extent of women's input into household decision making and the strength of the inside/outside dichotomy in a given community.

The Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai and Kham Magar Villages

Before this however, it will be helpful to set out briefly some of the economic and social factors discussed by the individual village study writers which help to explain why and how women in some communities are highly involved in the wider market economy while in other communities their productive work is largely confined to the household unit to which they belong. Not surprisingly, similar patterns regarding women's economic roles emerge most clearly when we examine those communities clustered at one end or the other of the dichotomous/non-dichotomous spectrum. For example, the authors writing about the Rai, Magar and Baragaonle villages each mention the emphasis placed on female entrepreneurship in the community they studied. In all three groups women brew beer and liquor which they sell either in the village or at local fairs in addition to participating in the marketing of home produce and manufactured goods. Schuler reports that Baragaonle women form partnerships with friends or sisters to secure enough capital to buy the supplies they need for the temporary "inns" they run during



Young Kham Magar men gather in a female entrepreneur's house to exchange news over a kuri of beer.

the annual summer festival at Muktinath. They set up tents from which they sell beer and food usually managing to make several hundred rupees profit between them in just a few days.¹ Likewise, during the winter season many Baragaonle women set up trailside hotels or open small shops in Pokhara and support themselves and their children by brewing and selling beer or carding wool (1981). Some more adventurous Baragaonle women who are either unmarried or who can leave their children with relatives even go in the company of other villagers on winter trading trips to India selling sweaters and other woolen items purchased from North India mills (1981).

Hardman writes that Lohorung Rai women who are renowned for the special type of liquor they brew called Saruwa, regularly visit the weekly hath bazaars in the area from which "some women in Pangma bring in an annual income of as much as 2,000 rupees in liquor sales" (1981). Women sell not only liquor but eggs, chickens, vegetables, fruit, yeast cakes, home rolled cigarettes and fiber or cane-work -- either produced at home or purchased along the way for resale in the market (1981). Although Lohorung men also attend these weekly markets their visits are "primarily for social reasons" and, except for the sale of large animals, it is the women who handle all the market transactions.

Although carried out on a smaller scale, Molnar describes the thriving business conducted by some of the women in Thabang -- particularly young unmarried women, widows and divorced women -- who brew beer and liquor for sale in the village as well as at local fairs. Although prices are higher at fairs and the beer is watered down, "since the number of rounds of liquor a teenage boy or man can buy for his peers determines his prestige, women can sell as much liquor as they can carry" (1981). She writes that "entrepreneurship ... enables young girls to establish their economic independence to some degree before marriage and allows them some choice after marriage (in that it provides) an important means of support for a woman who chooses to divorce or separate from her husband" (1981).

In all three communities a woman's natal family is expected to supply her with some initial grain or capital so she can begin business. Although it is considered virtuous for a daughter to turn over some of her earnings to the family, much of what she earns is expected to go towards purchase of her own

¹The seasonality data in Appendix H, Figure 6 shows the sharp jump in "outside income earning activities" for both males and females during this festival.

clothes and jewelery and other personal property that she can take with her in marriage. All three groups attach prestige to being a good business woman. Schuler even notes that young women with reputations for turning a good profit will be more sought after as brides (1981).

Women who are able to earn money and thus make a measurable contribution to the household enterprise may be expected to have higher status within the household since they would be perceived as equal partners rather than as dependents. However, the most important effect of the tradition of female entrepreneurship on women's status is probably the fact that it provides women with a measure -- however meagre -- of economic security which opens the possibility of leaving an unhappy marriage and living alone or supporting themselves if they are widowed or remain unmarried. As discussed earlier, land is inherited patrilineally from father to son in all the communities studied and throughout Nepal. Thus in both dichotomous and non-dichotomous communities women's access to the most important productive resource is always through males and in both types of communities men retain a definite position of economic dominance. However, women's dependency upon the land -- and, therefore, on the men who control it -- is more extremely marked in those communities we have defined as dichotomous where the tradition of female entrepreneurship is absent and where women's interaction with the market economy is generally looked down upon.

The Maithili and Parbatiya Villages

Where the inside/outside dichotomy is more pronounced -- as in the Maithili and Parbatiya communities -- the only respectable economic role open to women is as an unpaid family worker within the household unit -- i.e. in Sphere I of the economy. In fact the inside/outside dichotomy reaches its maximal expression in the Maithili village with the cultural ideal of purdah which restricts women -- especially in the early years of marriage -- to the courtyard of their husband's homes and requires that they cover their faces when they venture out. There is, of course, no purdah practiced in the hills of Nepal among the Parbatiya Hindus. Yet the same belief in the need to control the behavior -- and protect the sexual purity -- of in-married affinal women is manifest in this community in a number of ways, especially among the high

castes.¹ Patterns of extreme deference to affines (which include washing the feet of the husband and mother-in-law and drinking the water each day) decree that the young wife must be silent, self-effacing and obedient in the family. Above all she must be modest and retiring in her interaction with the rest of the village -- particularly with its male members.² For unmarried pubescent girls³ and young married women in either the Maithili or the Parbatiya communities to engage in entrepreneurial activity which required them to travel to fairs outside the village accompanied only by a few girl friends or to engage in conversations and monetary transactions with unknown men, would be almost unthinkable. Such shameless behavior would lower not only the reputation of the girl but also the prestige and honor of her family.

Although it is possible to see some Maithili women in the local weekly markets vending family produce, there are two important differences between this phenomenon and what occurs amongst the Rai, Baragaonle and the Magar. First, the Maithili women entrepreneurs are never from high status families and most importantly, they are all older married women who have reached the stage where they no longer have to observe strict *purdah*. The one younger woman in Sirsia who does run a small shop (and who incidentally was eager to learn to read and write and do sums) is socially stigmatized by the rest of the village and perceived as a "loose" woman. In Bakundol there is not a single high caste Parbatiya woman who engages in any form of entrepreneurial activity, although

¹For analysis of the various ritual complexes in Brahman Chetri culture such as the Tij-Rishi Panchami festival, the Gupha Basne female puberty rite, the menstrual segregation and purification rituals etc., which symbolically express the dangers of uncontrolled female sexuality and provide ritual means for restraining that sexuality and channelling it towards the continuation and prosperity of the women's affinal group see Bennett, Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters: The Social and Symbolic Roles of Women Among the Brahmans and Chetris of Nepal. Columbia University Press, forthcoming. See also by the same author, "The Wives of the Rishis: An analysis of the Tij Rishi Panchami Women's Festival" IN:Kailash Vol. IV, No. 2, 1976, pp. 183-207; "Sitting in a Cave: An Analysis of Ritual Seclusion at Menarche Among the Brahmans and Chetris of Nepal" IN:Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. VI, No. I, December 1978, pp. 31-45.

²In contrast to all the other groups studied the marriage patterns in both the dichotomous communities show strong preference for brides from outside the village (See Table 2.33). This means that for a newly married women all the members of her husband's village are strangers in any case and she has no ready-made friends and alliances with whom casual conversation, joking and exchange of confidences would be easy and acceptable.

³In the Maithili community there are in fact few girls past puberty who remain unmarried. Consistent with the ideological concern about female sexual purity manifest in these two communities, the data in Table 2.29 on age of child marriage shows the highest rates of child marriage in the Maithili community followed by the Parbatiya.

two low caste tailor women make and sell a few baby caps and men's topis from scraps left over from the family tailoring trade and some Newar Ranjitkar women engage in their family's traditional dyeing and cloth printing craft.

Among all the groups studied the Parbatiya women seemed to have the fewest skills and lowest involvement in home manufacturing. None of them knew how to weave cloth -- though many expressed interest in learning -- and none of the low caste Sarki women participated with the men in the lucrative caste occupation of shoe-making (except for one woman who collects and prepares for sale a certain leaf used in the tanning process). Similarly, among the high caste who earn a considerable part of their income from the sale of dairy products, it was always the men and never the women who were involved in the marketing aspect.

The most prestigious work for both Maithili and Parbatiya women is domestic work -- cooking, cleaning, food processing, child care, etc. -- that can be done in their own compound. Few families in either community can afford the luxury of completely exempting their women from outside work. The time allocation data reveal that even in the Maithili community where female seclusion is the ideal, women do work outside the home in the fields -- though less than women in any other community studied. As far as possible, however, women in both communities remain within the household as an economic unit by working only in their own family's fields or, in the Parbatiya village, joining exchange labor groups which involves no monetary transaction. It is considered demeaning if a household must allow it's women to perform wage labor for others and only among the very poor or the low castes in either community do women work for wages (See Appendix F, Tables 4 and 8).

Tamang Village

Among the communities we have classified as "intermediate" in terms of their cultural traditions, only the Tamang fall into the non-dichotomous group. As in the Baragaonle, Rai and Magar communities, the maintenance of strict control over female sexual purity is not a central theme in Tamang society. Of course, as in all these groups, high value is placed on stable relationships and marital chastity; nevertheless women may divorce and remarry with no loss of social or ritual status and moreover the mobility and social contacts of unmarried girls are not closely restricted as they are in the Maithili and Parbatiya communities. However, in contrast to the other non-dichotomous groups studied, the Tamang do not appear to have a tradition of female entrepreneurship. Indira Shrestha, (personal communication) reports that the women in Katarche do not brew

beer or liquor for sale at local fairs like the Rai, Magar and Baragaonle women, although they do attend the fairs freely. She speculates that the reason Katarche women only brew for occasional home consumption rather than for sale may be the lack of surplus grain in the community where the per household income was the lowest of all the villages studied. Her impression was that there would be no ideological resistance among the Tamang to the idea of female entrepreneurship were the capital available. Reports of active small farmer groups composed primarily of female Tamang weavers in Rasuwa district supports this conjecture and suggests that Tamang communities in other areas may already have traditions of female entrepreneurship -- or at least be receptive to the idea.

The Tamang women of Katarche are however, fairly active in the labor market. The only community where the proportion of female paid labor days was larger was Pangma where, according to Table 2.12, the Lohorung Rai women were responsible for 35 percent of the total days of paid employment. In Katarche the corresponding figure for Tamang women was 34 percent. While in most villages the agricultural sector absorbs the greatest part of the paid female labor force, in Katarche portering is the most important, providing over 61 percent of the paid employment for women. Shrestha (personal communication) reports that most of the portering work available in the area is for a slate mine which in 1978 paid women a maximum of 7 rupees per trip (depending on the weight of the load) for transporting large slate pieces to the district headquarters in Chautara. The women travel to the mines, pick up the stone, return to spend the night in Katarche which is on the way and the next day deliver their load to Chautara. Apparently, women were willing to accept what amounted to a mere 3.50 rupees a day because it was the only way to earn cash locally. Although, according to Figure 3.19, the women of Katarche have one of the highest rates of short term migration for employment (at 8 percent of the observed person-days), they are less able than men (who were out for employment 18 percent of the person days observed) to seek higher paying portering jobs with trekkers or other types of employment which require that they be absent from the village for extended periods.

Tharu Village

The Tharu community also seems to lack a strong tradition of female entrepreneurship. Although Tharu women do brew liquor it is almost exclusively for home consumption rather than for sale. Moreover, Rajaure reports that although some women do sell mats and baskets they have made, most of the basketry and other craft work produced by the Tharu (men as well as women) in Sukhrwar are for household use or ceremonial exchange rather than for sale (1981). He



Tharu girl searches for lice in her grandmother's hair.

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notes that in general Tharu women are cut off from interaction with the market economy beyond the village. For example, he writes, "when kitchen gardening is for home use it is done by women, when it is for market sale it is done by men" (1981). As in many other communities but particularly the ones which we have characterized as dichotomous, Tharu men are the mediators with the outside world. In the past the Tharu more than most autochthonous groups in Nepal have tried to maintain their distance from the dominant Hindu culture which surrounds them. However, according to Rajaure,

"due to the increased penetration of the government administration in the day-to-day affairs of the villages, Tharu have now started realizing that there must be at least one or two literate men (our emphasis) in the house to deal with different government agencies like the revenue office, land administration forest department, district court or village panchayat" (1981).

Tharu women continue to be shielded from these alien structures. Indicative of their unusually high degree of isolation are the data in Table 3.33 which show the number of overnight trips to commercial centers, pilgrimage spots, etc. taken by men and women in various communities. During the study year not a single Tharu woman in the 35 household sample had gone anywhere overnight except to visit relatives in other villages. Although only the Baragaonle and Tamang women showed very high mobility, the Tharu women's lack of exposure to the outside world seems extreme when compared even to the Maithili women, 14 percent of whom had taken at least one trip despite the restrictions of purdah.

Within the village however, Tharu women have considerable personal freedom in their day-to-day social interaction. Of all the communities studied the Tharu appear to be the least restrictive in terms of female sexual behavior¹ and there is a great deal of flexibility about divorce and remarriage (Rajaure 1981). Through their natal family Tharu women also have access to at least some capital resources. But, they do not ever own any land. In fact, in many ways Tharu customary law is far more strict about maintaining male control over ancestral

¹Rajaure notes for example that there is really no concept of illegitimacy among the Tharu and the child of an unwed mother who later marries someone other than her lover will be claimed without hesitance by her new husband and be accorded full inheritance rights. Neither she nor the child will suffer any loss of social or ritual status (1981). This is in sharp contrast to the Baragaonle where Schuler writes, "the very existence of the categories "legitimate" and "illegitimate", the fact that they are used as a basis for denying access to inherited property and the fact that illegitimacy diminishes marital eligibility, all reveal the presence of underlying ideas that in some ways contradict or belie the permissive attitudes towards premarital sex" (1981).

TABLE 3.33
 MOBILITY PATTERN - NUMBER OF TRIPS* BY VILLAGE
 (For Population of 10 Years and Above)

Trips and Sex Village	No Trips		1 - 3 Trips		4 - 9 Trips		10 and Above		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Baragaonle	17 (27.9)	29 (50.0)	43 (70.5)	29 (50.0)	1 (1.6)	-	-	-	61 (100.0)	58 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	58 (74.4)	75 (78.1)	17 (21.8)	17 (17.7)	2 (2.6)	2 (2.1)	1 (1.3)	2 (2.1)	78 (100.0)	96 (100.0)
Kham Magar	28 (42.4)	52 (70.3)	21 (31.8)	12 (16.2)	7 (10.6)	7 (9.5)	10 (15.2)	3 (4.0)	66 (100.0)	74 (100.0)
Parbatiya	22 (28.9)	53 (60.9)	19 (25.0)	19 (21.8)	6 (7.9)	3 (3.5)	29 (38.2)	12 (13.8)	76 (100.0)	87 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	45 (70.3)	60 (88.2)	18 (28.1)	7 (10.3)	-	1 (1.5)	1 (1.6)	-	64 (100.0)	68 (100.0)
Tamang	33 (54.1)	40 (60.6)	19 (31.1)	25 (37.9)	5 (8.2)	-	4 (6.6)	1 (1.5)	61 (100.0)	66 (100.0)
Tharu	83 (68.0)	129 (100.0)	29 (23.8)	-	7 (5.7)	-	3 (2.5)	-	122 (100.0)	129 (100.0)
Maithili	57 (68.7)	69 (86.3)	16 (19.3)	10 (12.5)	4 (4.8)	-	6 (7.2)	1 (1.2)	83 (100.0)	80 (100.0)
All Villages	343 (56.1)	507 (77.1)	182 (29.8)	119 (18.0)	32 (5.3)	13 (2.0)	54 (8.8)	19 (2.9)	611 (100.0)	658 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* This does not include trips to visit relatives.

property than either the National Code or the customary laws of other groups studied.¹ Tharu women appear to have less chance than women in other groups of gaining temporary control over ancestral property as widows or as the heirs of sonless men. Moreover, as in most of the communities studied, a Tharu woman has no disposal rights over what she is given as dowry and may not sell ornaments given to her by her husband's family (Rajaure 1981). Yet because of the support they receive from their natal family, Tharu women do have at least a marginal degree of economic independence. Rajaure writes that each year during the Maghi festival every married and unmarried Tharu woman receives between one and ten pathi² of rice and some black lentils from her brothers. With this she may buy an animal to raise. Since the animal is fed from family resources (either natal or affinal) she must turn over between 50 and 75 percent of the profits to the household but she may keep the rest (1981). Another similar tradition among the Tharu mentioned by Rajaure is that not only will a woman's family take her back if she divorces her husband, but "in addition she may be given a small amount of cash cereals called kharaune once or twice a year which she can sell or barter for minor things" (1981). In addition to such traditional support network the data in Table 2.12 show that among the middle and bottom economic strata households, women are active in the local labor market -- particularly in the agricultural and domestic service sectors -- where they perform 27 percent of all the paid employment in the village.

Newar Village

Like Tamang and Tharu women, the Newari women of Bulu are also not highly involved in entrepreneurial activities. They too brew liquor but almost exclusively for home consumption rather than for sale. Moreover, although the women of Bulu do participate in commercial weaving activities, Bina Pradhan reports

¹For one thing Rajaure reports that a son cannot force a split of the estate as he can in Nepali law (1981) which means that large coparcenary groups containing several generations are the norm. Other practices reported by Rajaure which also keep ancestral property intact and under male control are: 1) Junior leverite or the practice of marrying the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother (1981), 2) Putkar lena of the adoption of a "son" to marry a widowed daughter-in-law (1981), 3) bringing in a son-in-law to inherit in the absence of male issue (this is done by all groups in Nepal), 4) if all else fails, the reversion of the ancestral property to male collateral lineage members. As for the new national law allowing equal inheritance of ancestral property to unmarried daughters over 35, Rajaure writes that the "Tharus are unaware and ideologically unprepared to accept (it)" (1981).

²A pathi is equivalent to approximately 1.25 bushels.

that they do so usually only as wage laborers paid on a per meter basis¹ rather than as entrepreneurs who handle the marketing process and keep the profits. Table 2.12 shows the importance of weaving as a cottage industry which provided 50.4 percent of all the paid employment for women in the village. But according to Pradhan (personal communication) with the "letting out" system now operating in Bulu it is the middle man or sauji who provides the raw materials and markets the products. These individuals from Patan or Kathmandu are the ones who really interact with the outside market economy -- and the ones who make the profit. Under these circumstances the women's weaving work, though it does provide an important source of income, is hardly distinguishable from other types of wage labor. Table 2.12 shows that construction work (which is mostly brick making in the winter slack season) provides 25 percent of the paid employment for females while agricultural labor provides 24 percent. Pradhan reports that the low female wage rate of only 4 rupees per day as compared to 10 rupees per day for men discourages women from agricultural wage work if there is any alternative.²

In the case of the Maithili and Parbatiya communities the concentration of women's productive efforts on the "inside" household subsistence sphere and their limited participation in the market economy as marginal wage laborers could be at least partially explained by the presence of the strong Hindu ideological concern with female sexual purity and the consequent restrictive female behavioral norms in both groups. However, in the case of the three "intermediate" communities including the Tamang and Tharu as well as the Newar, a similar though perhaps less marked tendency is observed with regard to the concentration of women's productive efforts in the household subsistence sphere. In these groups this pattern cannot be explained in the same way for, as we have already seen, both Tamang and Tharu women have considerable leeway in working out their marital situations and neither group is particularly preoccupied with female sexual purity. Since the Newar of Bulu are Hindu we might expect the same emphasis on control of female sexuality to manifest itself among them as we found among the high caste Parbatiya and Maithili Hindus. And in fact, as Allen (1975) has shown in his analysis of the Kumari cult, the ideal of female purity is of central ideological importance to Newari Hindus as well. However, Newari culture -- at least as manifest among the

¹55 to 75 paisa per meter depending on the complexity of the design.

²This discrepancy between male & female wage rates is also found among the Parbatiya, Tamang, Tharu but not among the Baragaonle. It should be noted that the government's wage rates set for each district invariably offer lower wages for female laborers.

Jyapu peasants of Bulu -- appears to have developed both the ritual means of softening the behavioral implications of this ideal¹ as well as a high degree of tolerance for deviation from it. Bina Pradhan, for example, reports that divorce and remarriage are commonplace in Bulu and do not affect women's social or ritual status. In fact 31 percent of the ever-married female population had been married more than once (See Table 2.39). Moreover, she reports, women with strong personalities are sometimes even able to get their offspring by a former marriage accepted as full ritual members of their present husband's lineage groups.

It is evident from the discussion then that the economic distinction we have made between dichotomous and non-dichotomous communities is cross cut by an important cultural variable: the degree of ideological importance placed on maintaining control over female sexuality. In other words, although when the extreme examples of dichotomous and non-dichotomous groups are examined there does appear to be a relationship between the strength of the inside/outside dichotomy and the degree of concern with female sexual purity, this association is not strongly maintained in the "intermediate" group.

Inter-Community Variations in Economic Strategies and Sexual Division of Labor

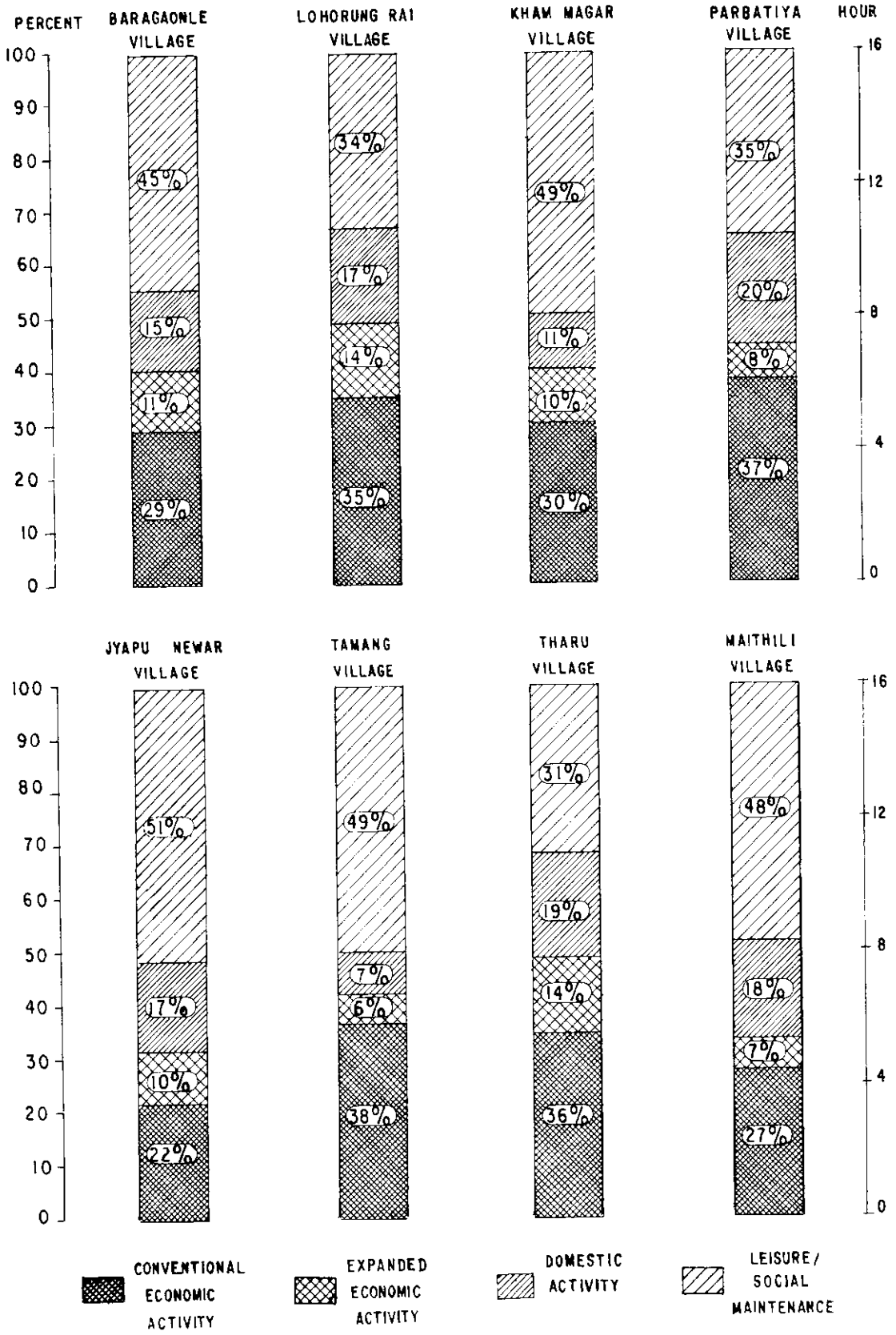
Moreover, it is important to emphasize that, even if we consider only the economic dimension, those communities which we have categorised together as dichotomous or non-dichotomous on the basis of the extent to which their female members participate in the market economy, remain in certain other respects very diverse. A detailed village-wise examination of the time allocation data reveals significant differences in the economic strategies and in the sexual division of labor practiced by different communities within the same group. For example, neither the dichotomous nor the non-dichotomous communities display a uniform pattern in either the over-all ratio of work to leisure time (see Figure 3.15) or the distribution of the work burden between the sexes (See Figure 3.3). In other words, the dichotomous group contains communities such as the Newar where only 49 percent of the time is devoted to work activities as well as communities like the Tharu and the Parbatiya where the work burden reaches 69 and 65 percent respectively. One might perhaps, expect that there would be a uniformly high

¹See for example, Allen's analysis of the Ihi or "mock marriage" ceremony for pre-pubescent girls which is used as the rationale for the practice of widow remarriage while maintaining the ideological emphasis on absolute and eternal marital chastity for women.

Figure 3.15

MALE / FEMALE COMBINED TIME USE PATTERN BY VILLAGE

(For Adult Population)



disparity between male and female work burdens in the dichotomous group. While this is true for the Parbatiya and the Maithili and to some extent the Newar villages, the Tharu village on the other hand, appears to be one of the most egalitarian in terms of the distribution of work and leisure time between the sexes.

The non-dichotomous group is just as variable with the Tamang community displaying a relatively low over-all work burden which is fairly evenly distributed between the sexes while the Lohorung Rai have a high work burden disproportionately carried by female members.

Both the time allocation data and the household income data suggest that in terms of the inside/outside dichotomy there is no clear relationship between the relative importance of the family farm enterprise to the over-all economy of a given community and the degree to which women's time tends to be devoted exclusively to that sphere. In other words, the non-dichotomous group where women are involved in the market economy includes communities like the Lohorung Rai where the family farm is central and absorbs 63.4 percent of the in-village time of adults (or 96 percent of the adult work time), as well as communities like the Baragaonle where only 40 percent of the in-village time (or 73 percent of the in-village work time) is devoted to the family farm (See Figures 3.16 and 3.17).

Likewise, the dichotomous group includes both the Tharu and Maithili communities where the dependency on and time input into Sphere I is very high as well as the Parbatiya and Newar communities where there is considerable involvement in the market economy. According to Table 2.13 the Tharu and Maithili communities derive roughly 78 percent and 80 percent of their respective average household incomes from household subsistence production (i.e. Sphere I), while the Parbatiya and Newar villages derive only 51 and 62 percent respectively from this source. Similarly, the time allocation data presented in Figure 3.16 show that 58.7 percent of the total in-village time of Tharu adults is devoted to Sphere I activities, while among the Newar this sphere absorbs only 37.1 percent of the total in-village time. Further examination of Figure 3.16 reveals a similar though much less marked contrast between the Maithili and the Parbatiya.

In sum, these data reveal a decisive lack of fit between the relative importance of the family farm enterprise and the strength of the inside/outside dichotomy. The obverse of this, or in other words, the similar lack of association between the degree of a community's over-all involvement in the market economy (Sphere II and III) and the extent of women's involvement in the market economy,

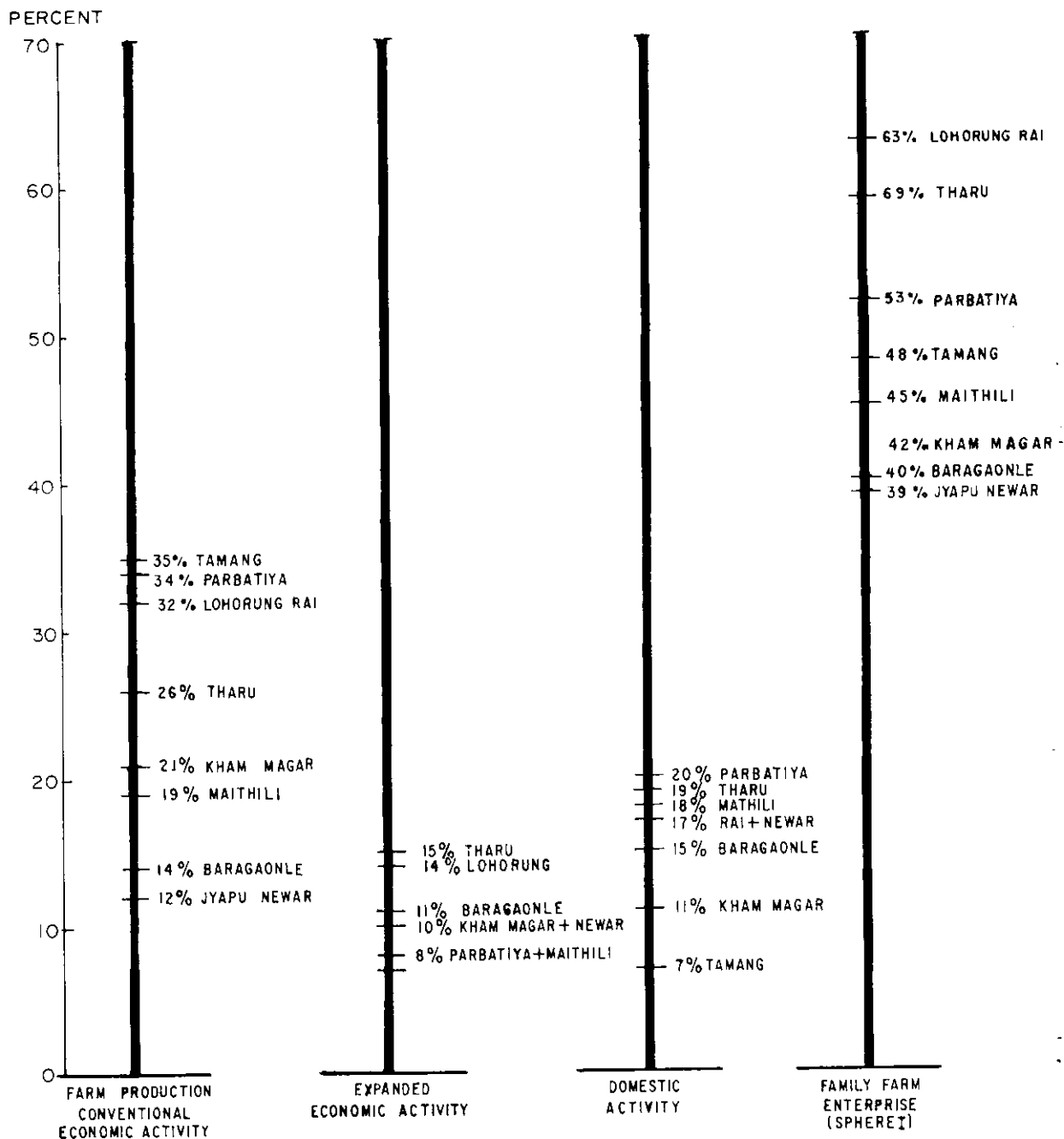


Lohorung Rai women work the Dhiki, or foot mill to husk the family's rice.

Charlotte Hardman

Figure 3.16

PROPORTION OF TOTAL IN-VILLAGE
TIME DEVOTED TO SPHERE I BY VILLAGE
(For Adult Population)



PERCENT

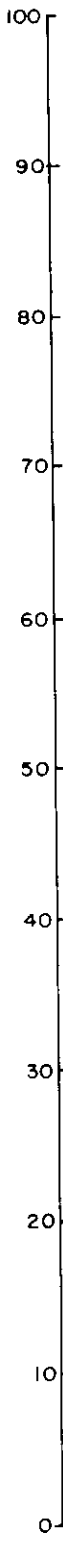


Figure 3.17

PROPORTION OF TOTAL IN-VILLAGE WORK TIME DEVOTED TO SPHERE I BY VILLAGE (For Adult Population)

FARM PRODUCTION CONVENTIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY + EXPANDED ECONOMIC ACTIVITY + DOMESTIC ACTIVITY = FAMILY FARM ENTERPRISE (SPHERE I)

69% TAMANG

48% LOHORUNG RAI

41% KHAM MAGAR

37% THARU+MAITHILI
36% PARBATIYA

26% BARAGAONLE

24% JYAPU NEWAR

22% LOHORUNG RAI
21% NEWAR+THARU
20% KHAM MAGAR
19% BARAGAOLE

15% MAITHILI
13% TAMANG
12% PARBATIYA

35% JYAPU NEWAR
34% MAITHILI

31% PARBATIYA

28% BARAGAONLE
27% THARU
26% LOHORUNG RAI

22% KHAM MAGAR

13% TAMANG

96% LOHORUNG RAI
95% TAMANG

86% MAITHILI
85% THARU
83% KHAM MAGAR

80% PARBATIYA & NEWAR

73% BARAGAONLE

is shown in Figures 3.18 and 3.19 for Sphere II and Figure 3.19 for Sphere III. We see that dichotomous and non-dichotomous communities are almost equally dispersed at all levels of over-all involvement in the market economy despite the marked difference observed in women's involvement.

Most striking is the variation in short term migration patterns evident in Figure 3.20 between the non-dichotomous communities -- particularly the contrast between the Lohorung Rai and the Kham Magar. The time allocation data in Table 3.34 show that the Kham Magar villagers of Thabang spent fully 45.2 percent of the total person-days observed out of the village while the Lohorung Rai were absent only 7.1 percent of the time. The other two non-dichotomous communities, the Baragaonle and the Tamang, had relatively high rates of short term migration -- though not as high as the Magar.¹ The Baragaonle were absent from the village 36.3 percent of the time and the Tamang 28.5 percent. However, the reasons for absence in all three communities varied. Among the Kham Magar, herding animals in the high pastures -- often entailing extended stays in a second family residence -- accounted for 32.1 percent of the time spent out of the village.² Migration for employment took up only 2.2 percent of the person-days observed. Herding in the high pastures is also an important economic strategy for the Tamang,³ but it absorbed only 11.1 percent of their person-days. More important for the Tamangs of Katarche was employment outside the village which accounted for 24.1 percent of the person-days observed in the time allocation study. Among the Baragaonle people employment outside the village was also important -- far more so than herding which took up only 2.2 percent of the

¹Since 76 percent of the days spent outside the village by the Kham Magar are devoted to income earning activities, the over-all proportion of time devoted to work activities is probably higher than the 51 percent shown in Figure 3.16 for in-village observations in that community.

²Given the amount of time spent on transhumant animal husbandry among the Kham Magar, it was surprising to find in Table 2.11 that animal husbandry contributes only 7.9 percent of the total average household income in that community. Molnar (1981) mentions however, that family members resident in the high pasture homesteads also sometimes raise some agricultural crops there in addition to spinning and weaving wool produced by the animals. Since the same "spot check" observation method could not be used for household members who were out of the village. We do not know for sure the actual distribution of time between agricultural, animal husbandry and manufacturing activities (not to mention leisure and domestic work). However, it is clear that it is inaccurate to describe all the time spent in the high pastures as "herding".

³Table 2.11 shows that 11.6 percent of the average household income in Katarche comes from animal husbandry. Part of that is of course derived from buffalo and poultry which are tended in the village and absorb approximately 2.53 hours a day of adult work time.

Figure 3.18

PROPORTION OF TOTAL IN-VILLAGE
TIME DEVOTED TO SPHERE II BY VILLAGE
(For Adult Population)

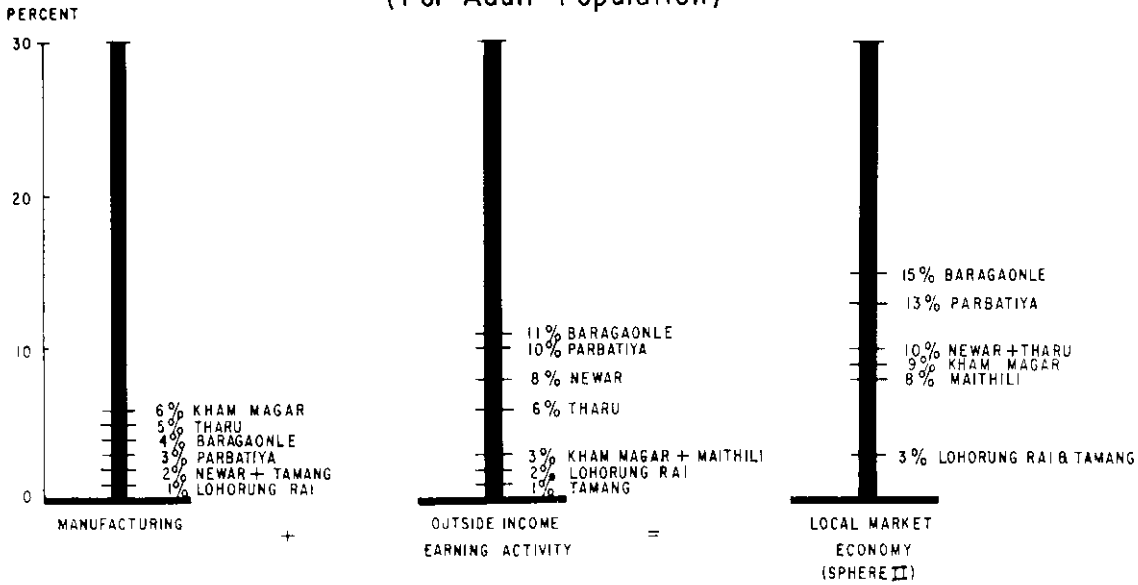


Figure 3.19

PROPORTION OF WORK TIME DEVOTED
TO SPHERE II BY VILLAGE
(For Adult Population)

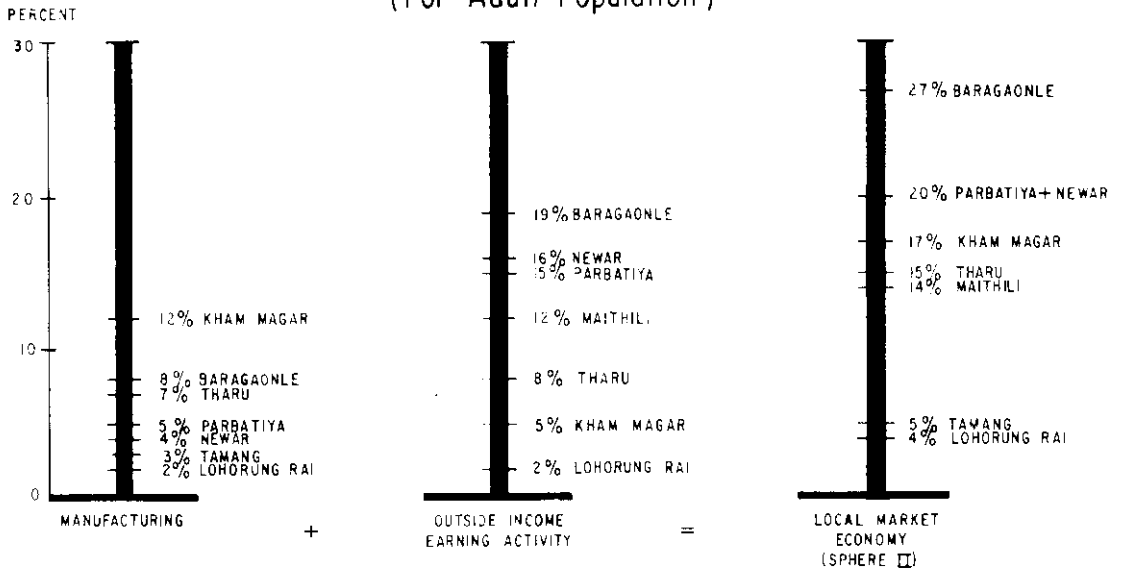
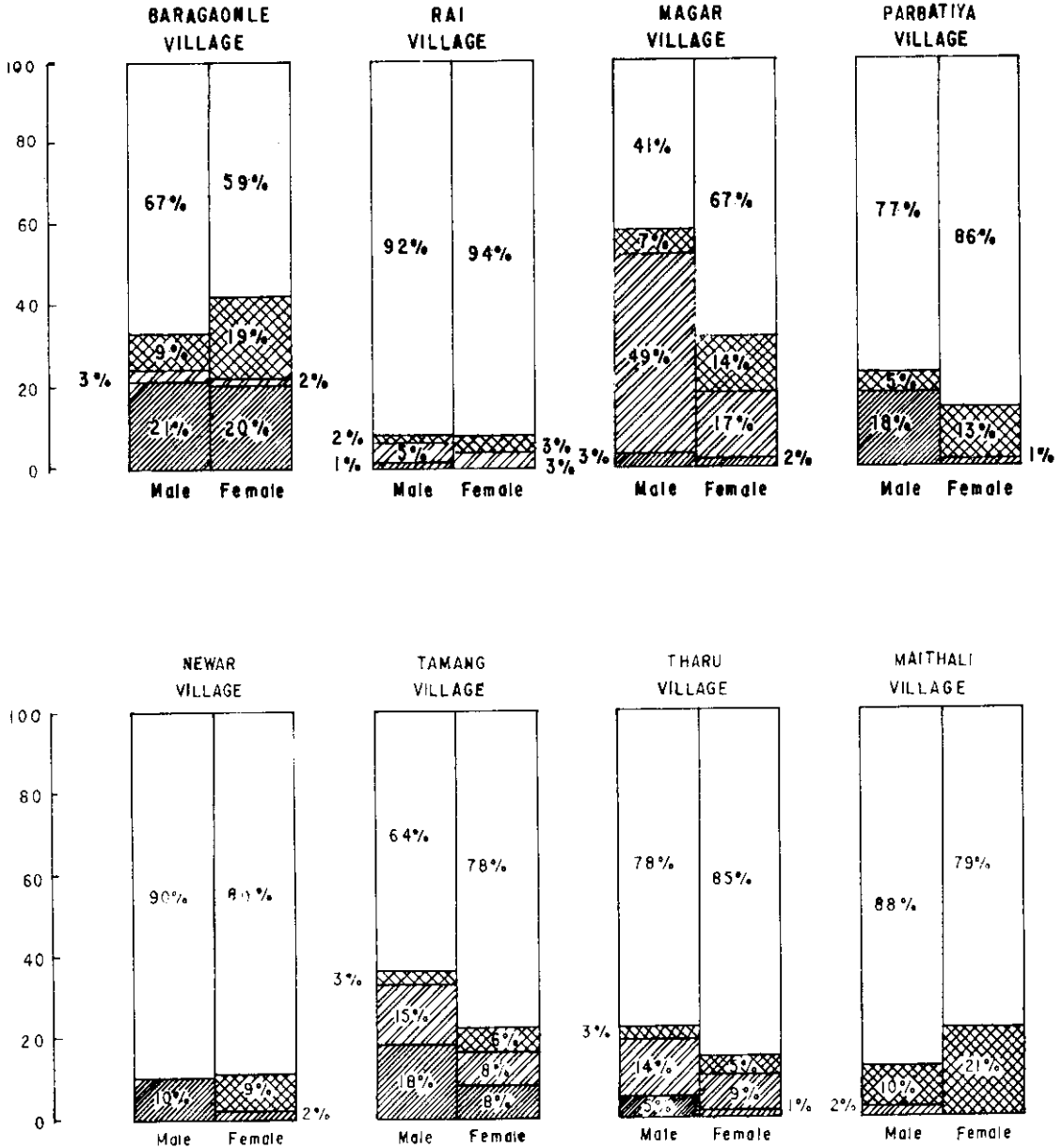


Figure 3.20

PROPORTION OF DAYS OUT OF VILLAGE
TO TOTAL DAYS OBSERVED & REASONS
FOR ABSENCE BY SEX & VILLAGE



KEY

	% OF OBSERVATION IN VILLAGE
	% OF OUT OF VILLAGE OBSERVATION FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION
	% OF OUT OF VILLAGE OBSERVATION FOR HERDING
	% OF MIGRATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

person-days observed. However, in contrast to the Tamangs who generally migrated for wage work or other menial work such as rickshaw driving or domestic service in Kathmandu (Indira Shrestha, personal communication), the Baragaonle people of Kagbeni spent most of their time out of the village (and 19.3 percent of the total person-days observed) engaged in trade or business. As Schuler has pointed out (1978, 1981) seasonal migration to engage in the sweater trade in India or run pack trains between Jomsom and Pokhara (mostly by men) or to run a hotel or spin wool in Pokhara (mostly by women) during the winters is a crucial element in the over-all economic strategy of this high mountain community. Fully 77 percent of all the households in Kagbeni had sent at least one member out of the village for trading or business during the winter of 1978 (Schuler 1981).¹

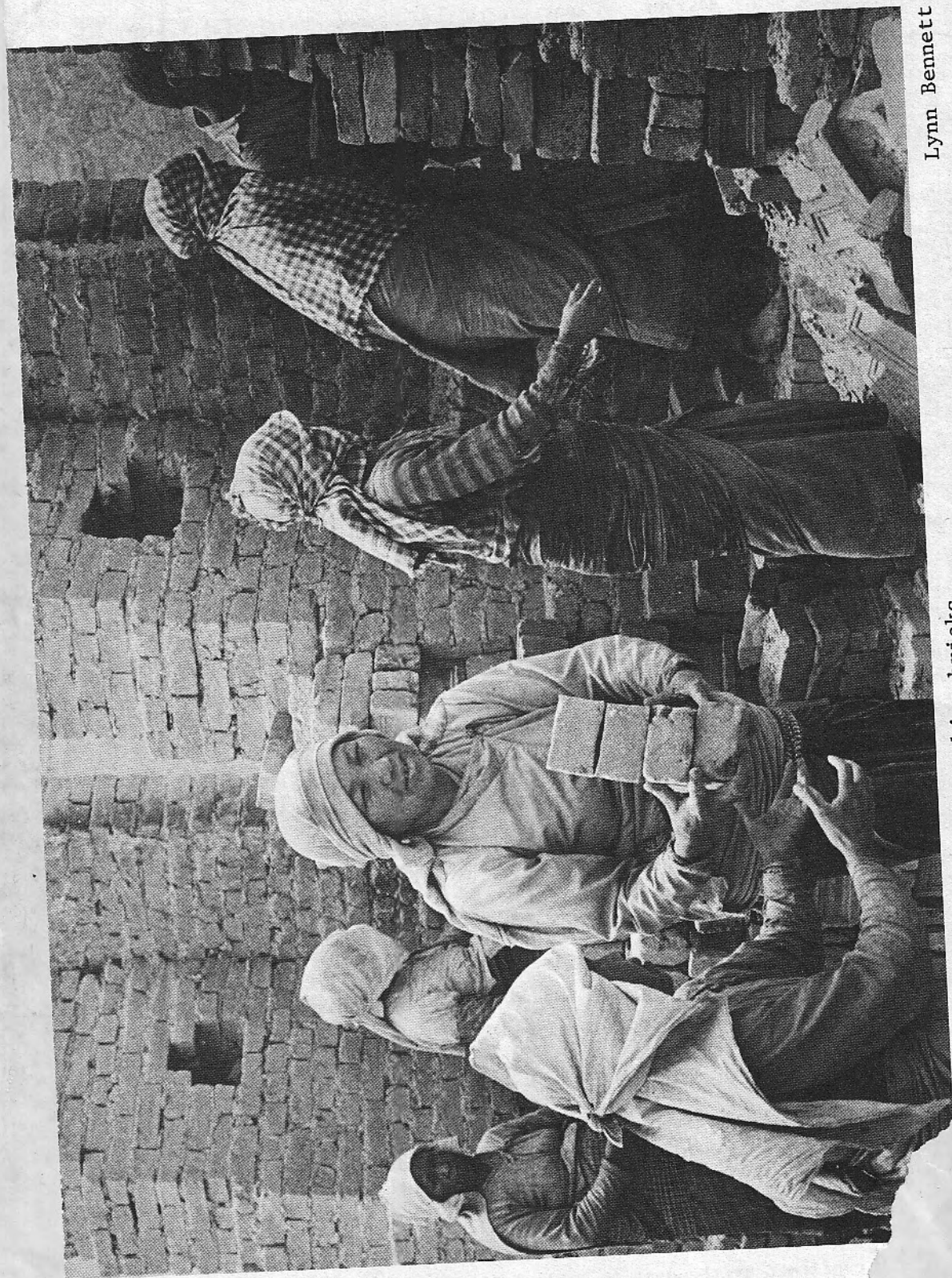
The dichotomous communities show somewhat more homogeneity in terms of the extent of short term migration ranging from a high of 18.4 percent of the person-days observed among the Parbatiya to a low of 10.7 percent among the Newar. However, the reasons for absence from the village are as diverse as those among the non-dichotomous communities.

Out of village herding appears to be important only for the Tharu who spent 11.7 percent of the observed person-days in this activity. Most of the relatively small proportion of time spent by the Tharu in "out of village employment" was, according to Rajaure, devoted to running mule trains.² Among both the Parbatiya and the Newar, employment outside the village is important for males accounting for 17.6 and 10.1 percent of their person-days respectively. However, only among the Parbatiya males (and this is with respect to all groups in the sample) was salaried employment significant amounting to 5.4 percent. For both the Parbatiya and the Newar communities studied, slack season work in the Kathmandu valley making bricks is important. Almost all of the out of village female employment in these two groups were women who had migrated with their husbands -- and sometimes even their children -- to live temporarily in small huts of unbaked brick and work in the brick factories. Among the dichotomous communities the Maithili have by far the lowest rate of migration for employment with this activity accounting for only 2 percent of the observed man days and .01 percent

PROPORTION

¹The data in Appendix H, Figure H.7 reveals the magnitude of the phenomenon of seasonal migration in Kagbeni. When the time allocation study began in mid- of the men and a large part of the female population were "out of village" but almost all had returned by late June for the peak agricultural seasonal fluctuation in agricultural work load shown in Figure H.2 is the most extreme of all villages included in the study.

confirmed by the data in Table 2.12 which show "portering" as a category for 300 person-days of paid employment among the Kukhrwar sample. It is noted that the activity recorded under this category was actually pack



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women find seasonal work making bricks.

of the woman days. The Maithili community however, leads all other groups in the amount of time spent visiting relatives in other villages. Of the total number of days observed women spent 20 percent and men spent 10 percent "outside the village for social and educational purposes".¹ As expected, the pattern of women spending more time than men visiting their relatives was maintained in all the communities except the Tharu who apparently rarely need to leave the village overnight to visit their relatives since 40 percent of the marriages take place within the village (Table 2.33). As reported earlier and emphasized by all the case study writers, the tradition of maintaining contact with their natal relatives through visits to their maiti or parental home is an important source of support for Nepali women in all groups. Slightly more than 71 percent of all the married women in the aggregate sample had made at least one overnight visit to their maiti during the survey year (Table 2.37).

Division of Labor

A brief look at Figures 3.21 - 3.23 shows great inter-community variation in actual patterns of division of labor between the sexes. Obviously, since female participation in the local market economy and in short term migration for employment was used as the basis for distinguishing dichotomous from non-dichotomous communities, these two groups appear clustered together toward the lower and upper ends respectively on the scales showing the relative female participation in Sphere II and Sphere III in Figure 3.21. Also, as mentioned earlier, female input into Sphere I, the family farm enterprise, is uniformly higher than that of men as is their share of the expanded economic and domestic chores. The one notable exception to this is in the Baragaonle community where women do only 42 percent of the expanded economic work. This is partly due to the fact that fuel collection which as shown in Figure 3.22 is primarily a female task in all the other communities but is done almost exclusively by male Baragaonles since it involves extended over-night trips to distant forest areas (Schuler, 1981). The breakdown of expanded economic activities shows that in all communities home construction is a male task while water collection and food processing is women's work -- though even here there is considerable variation in the strictness with which the sex typing of tasks is observed. For example Newar men were never observed carrying water while Magar men did 30 percent of this work even though both communities considered it a "female" task. In the area of fuel collection and hunting and

¹Education accounted for less than 2 percent of the time for males and none of the time for females.

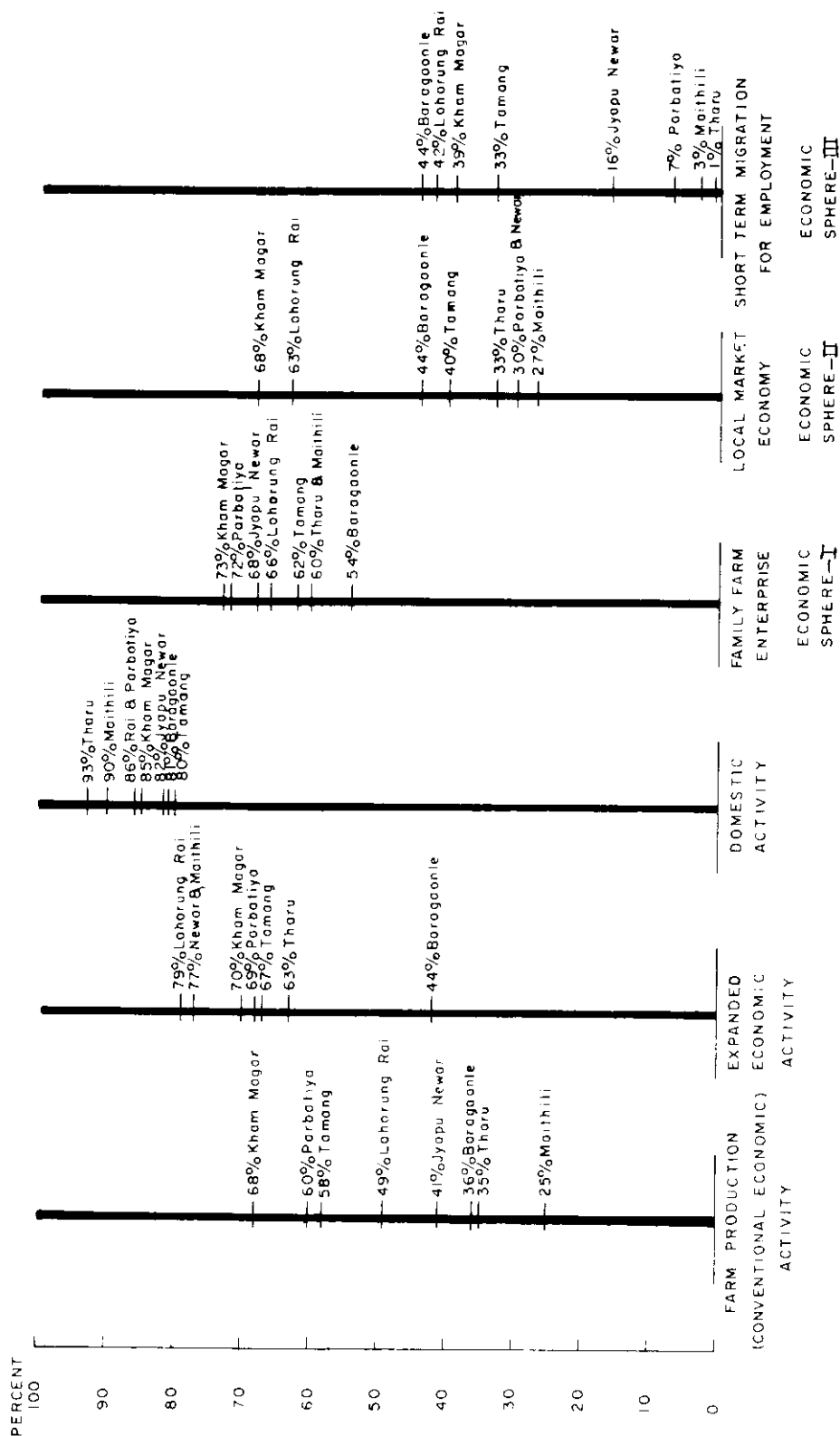
TABLE 3.34
REASONS FOR BEING OUT OF VILLAGE BY SEX
(Total Sample Population)

Lohorung Rai			Magar			Parbatiya			Newar, Jyapu			Tamang	
Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
99 (5.2)	220 (3.0)	519 (4.0)	3588 (48.9)	1444 (17.4)	5032 (32.1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	395 (14.9)	240 (7.9)
-	-	-	68 (0.9)	-	68 (0.4)	233 (3.1)	-	233 (1.6)	-	-	-	-	-
-	5 (0.1)	5 (0)	-	1 (0)	1 (0)	403 (5.4)	-	403 (2.7)	-	-	-	1 (0)	1 (0)
1 (0)	4 (0.1)	5 (0)	-	1 (0)	1 (0)	21 (0.3)	-	21 (0.1)	-	-	-	9 (0.3)	2 (0.1)
6 (0.1)	1 (0)	7 (0.1)	-	-	-	217 (2.9)	95 (1.2)	312 (2.1)	-	-	-	190 (7.2)	39 (1.3)
28 (0.5)	10 (0.1)	38 (0.3)	142 (1.9)	132 (1.6)	274 (1.8)	439 (5.9)	4 (0.1)	443 (2.9)	289 (10.1)	56 (1.9)	345 (6.0)	290 (11.0)	205 (5.7)
35 (0.6)	20 (0.3)	55 (0.4)	210 (2.8)	134 (1.6)	344 (2.2)	1313 (17.6)	99 (1.3)	1412 (9.4)	289 (10.1)	56 (1.9)	345 (6.0)	490 (18.5)	243 (3.1)
334 (5.8)	240 (3.3)	574 (4.4)	3798 (51.7)	1578 (19.0)	5376 (34.3)	1313 (17.6)	99 (1.3)	1412 (9.4)	289 (10.1)	56 (1.9)	345 (6.0)	885 (33.5)	483 (15.0)
4 (0.1)	11 (0.2)	15 (0.1)	149 (2.0)	196 (2.3)	345 (2.2)	60 (0.8)	-	60 (0.4)	-	-	-	51 (19.3)	? (0.1)
2 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	366 (5.0)	985 (11.6)	1351 (8.6)	64 (0.9)	492 (6.5)	556 (3.7)	5 (0.2)	268 (9.1)	273 (4.7)	12 (0.5)	14 (4.6)
101 (1.7)	234 (3.2)	335 (2.6)	3 (0)	2 (0)	5 (0)	215 (2.9)	524 (6.9)	739 (4.9)	-	-	-	13 (0.5)	3 (1.0)
107 (1.8)	246 (3.3)	353 (2.7)	518 (7.1)	1183 (14.2)	1701 (10.9)	339 (4.6)	1016 (13.3)	1355 (9.0)	5 (0.2)	268 (9.1)	273 (4.7)	76 (2.9)	17 (5.7)
441 (7.6)	486 (6.6)	927 (7.1)	4316 (58.8)	2761 (33.2)	7077 (45.2)	1652 (22.2)	1115 (14.6)	2767 (18.4)	294 (10.3)	324 (11.0)	618 (10.7)	961 (36.4)	661 (21.7)
787 (100.0)	7333 (100.0)	13120 (100.0)	7343 (100.0)	8312 (100.0)	15655 (100.0)	7448 (100.0)	7614 (100.0)	15062 (100.0)	2854 (100.0)	2935 (100.0)	5789 (100.0)	2644 (100.0)	3057 (100.0)

Village & Sex Activities		Baragaonle			Lohorung Rai			Magar			
		Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	
I. Out of Village for Income-Earning	1. Out of Village for Herding (Sphere I)	99 (2.6)	61 (1.7)	160 (2.2)	299 (5.2)	220 (3.0)	519 (4.0)	3588 (48.9)	1444 (17.4)	5032 (32.1)	
	2. Out of Village for Employment (Sphere III)	a. Army Service	1 (0)	-	1 (0)	-	-	-	68 (0.9)	-	68 (0.4)
		b. Salaried Employment/ Other Employment	39 (1.0)	-	39 (0.5)	-	5 (0.1)	5 (0)	-	1 (0)	1 (0)
		c. Business/Trade	777 (20.2)	650 (18.3)	1427 (19.3)	1 (0)	4 (0.1)	5 (0)	-	1 (0)	1 (0)
		d. Wage Work	5 (0.1)	4 (0.1)	9 (0.1)	6 (0.1)	1 (0)	7 (0.1)	-	-	-
		e. Other Work/Seeking Employment	6 (0.2)	40 (1.1)	46 (0.6)	28 (0.5)	10 (0.1)	38 (0.3)	142 (1.9)	132 (1.6)	274 (1.8)
Sub-Total for "Out for Employment (a+b+c+d+e)		828 (21.5)	694 (19.6)	1522 (20.6)	35 (0.6)	20 (0.3)	55 (0.4)	210 (2.8)	134 (1.6)	344 (2.2)	
Sub-Total for "Out of Village for Income Earning" (1+2)		927 (24.1)	755 (21.3)	1682 (22.8)	334 (5.8)	240 (3.3)	574 (4.4)	3798 (51.7)	1578 (19.0)	5376 (34.3)	
II. Out for Social/ Education	3. School	89 (2.3)	2 (0.1)	91 (1.2)	4 (0.1)	11 (0.2)	15 (0.1)	149 (2.0)	196 (2.3)	345 (2.2)	
	4. Visit to Relatives	1 (0)	170 (4.8)	171 (2.3)	2 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	366 (5.0)	985 (11.6)	1351 (8.6)	
	5. Other Reasons	249 (6.5)	490 (13.8)	739 (10.0)	101 (1.7)	234 (3.2)	335 (2.6)	3 (0)	2 (0)	5 (0)	
	Sub-Total for "Out for Social/Education" (3+4+5)		339 (8.8)	662 (18.7)	1001 (13.5)	107 (1.8)	246 (3.3)	353 (2.7)	518 (7.1)	1183 (14.2)	1701 (10.9)
III. Total Days Out of Village (I+II)		1266 (32.9)	1417 (40.0)	2683 (36.3)	441 (7.6)	486 (6.6)	927 (7.1)	4316 (58.8)	2761 (33.2)	7077 (45.2)	
IV. Total Days Observed		3849 (100.0)	3545 (100.0)	7394 (100.0)	5787 (100.0)	7333 (100.0)	13120 (100.0)	7343 (100.0)	8312 (100.0)	15655 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

Figure 3.21
 *PROPORTION OF FEMALE INPUT TO TOTAL TIME SPENT IN COMPONENTS OF FAMILY FARM ENTERPRISE
 AND THE THREE ECONOMIC SPHERES BY VILLAGE



* FIGURES GIVEN FOR SPHERE III REPRESENT NOT TIME IN HOURS BUT PERCENTAGE OF PERSON DAYS OBSERVED

Figure 3.22

PROPORTION OF FEMALE INPUT TO TOTAL TIME SPENT IN EXPANDED ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY VILLAGE

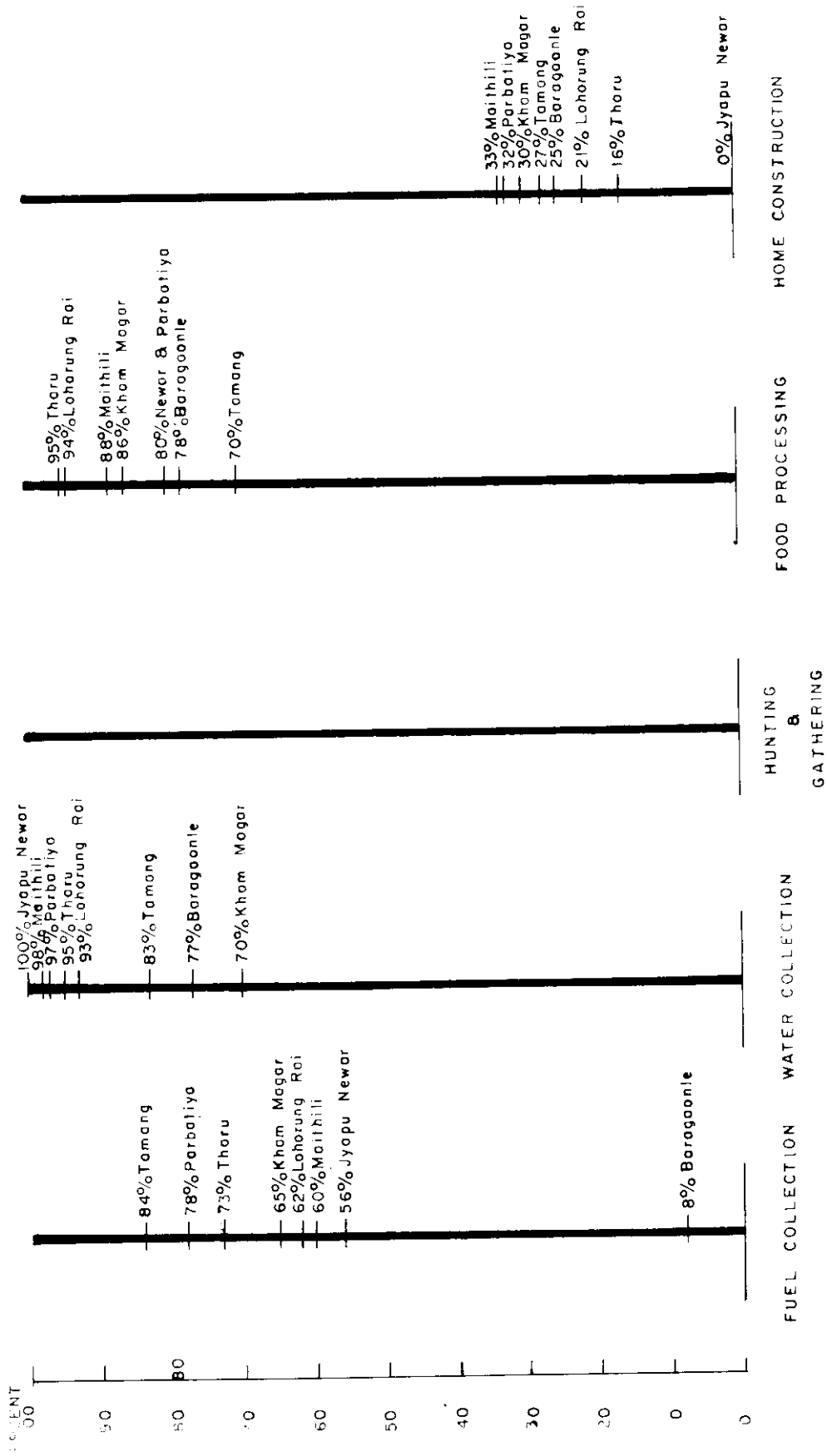
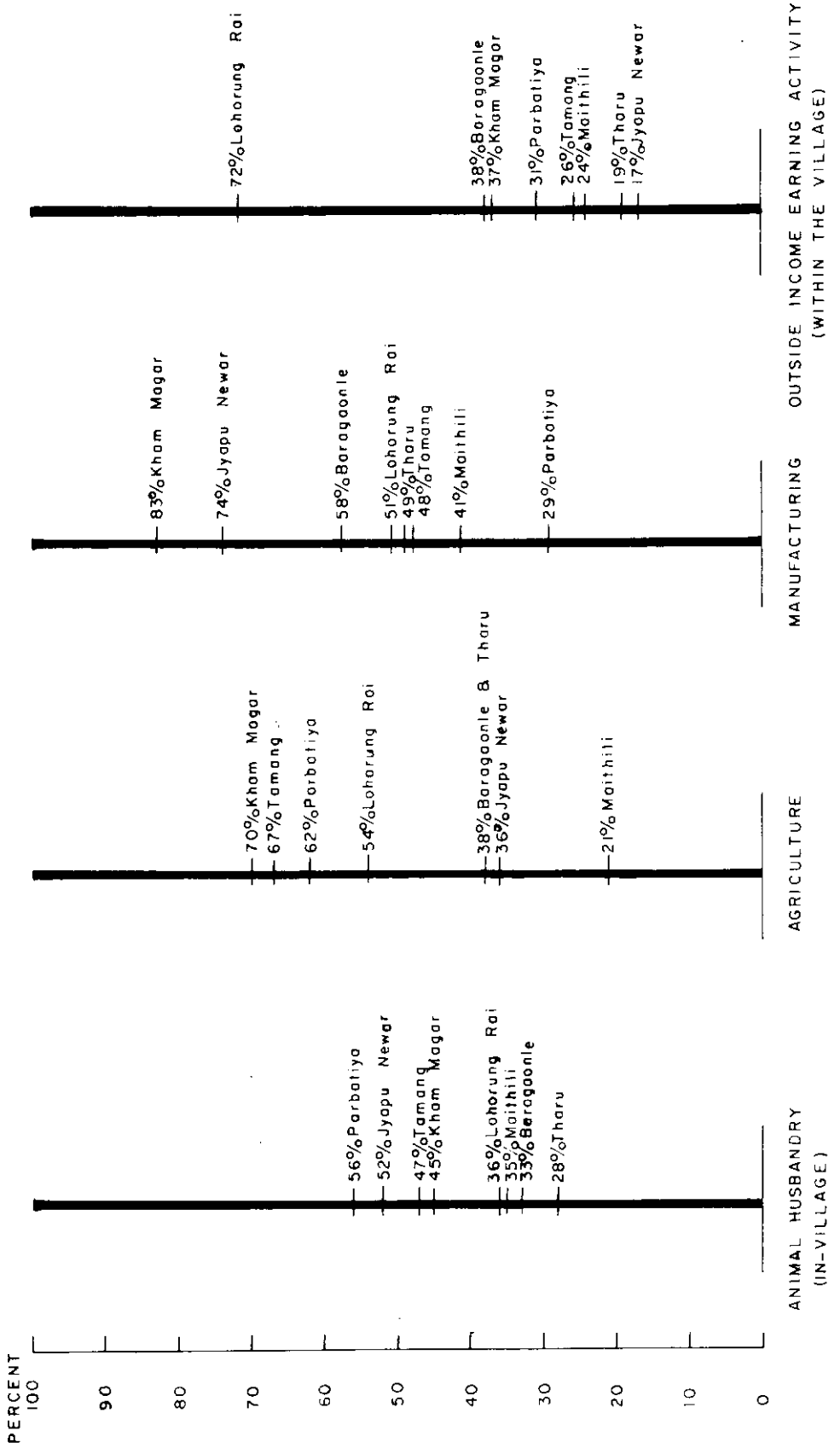


Figure 3.23

PROPORTION OF FEMALE INPUT TO TOTAL TIME SPENT IN
CONVENTIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY VILLAGE





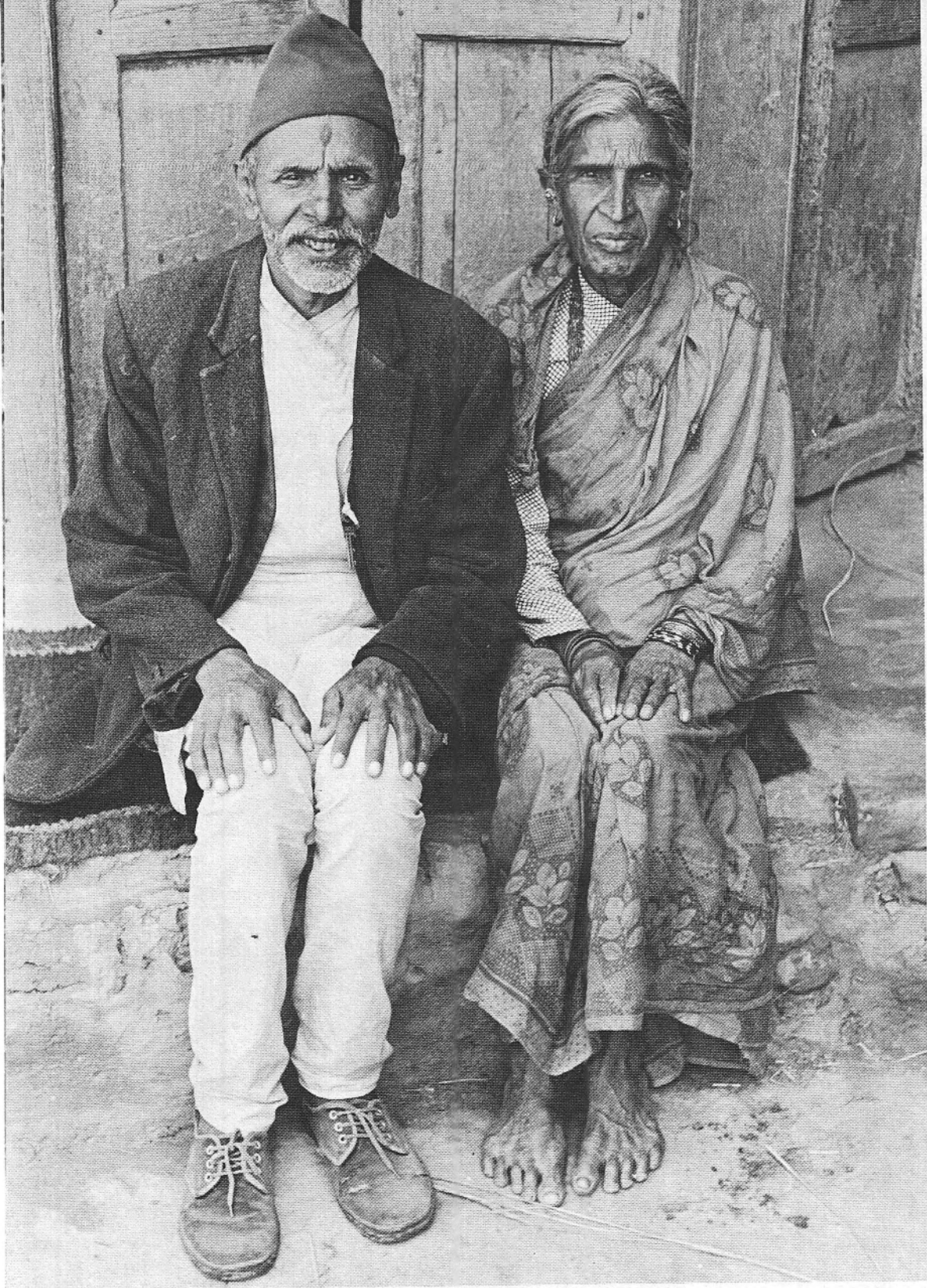
A Tamang man prepares the evening meal. Among all the villages studied the distribution of work and leisure time was most equally divided between men and women in the Tamang community.

gathering the sexual stereotyping of jobs seems much less rigid within communities and much more variable between communities.

When we turn to what is conventionally defined as "economic activity"¹ the range of variation in relative male/female time input between communities is even greater. For example, Figure 3.23 shows a range in the relative female input into agriculture of between 21 percent and 70 percent with the lowest female participation observed in the Maithili village and the highest among the Magars.

Likewise the female input into manufacturing ranges from a low of 29 percent in the Parbatiya village (where low caste Sarki males are active as shoe makers) to a high of 83 percent in the Magar village of Thabang where weaving is an important female task.

¹As mentioned earlier "economic activity" is defined for this analysis in accordance with the census definition of Labor Force Participation.



Brahman couple from Bakundol.

Ane Haaland

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING PROCESS

Earlier in setting out the three sphere model of the village economy as a framework for the analysis of the time allocation data, an implicit question was raised: How does women's consistently higher time input in the most important unit of production in the rural economy affect their status vis-a-vis men? To rephrase the question in more operational terms, is women's high time input into the family farm enterprise associated with (or reflected in) a commensurately high input into household decisions about the management of the productive process and the disposal of what is produced? Or is the degree of women's input into the decision making process associated with other factors including specifically, the level of women's participation in the outside economy? Implicit in the formulation of the inside/outside dichotomy in relation to the three sphere model is the hypothesis that women in communities which encourage their economic participation in the wider spheres of society will tend to have a higher status vis-a-vis men than women in groups where their economic input is largely confined to non-market production within the household unit.

Another important variable which has emerged in the preceding discussion of the different communities studied, is the degree of cultural emphasis on (and behavioral enforcement of) the ideal of female sexual purity. Freedom of choice in marriage partners, the ability to divorce and remarry and to control one's own sexual and reproductive behavior -- all of which are closely associated with the above variable -- are of course in themselves important indicators of female status. Our question here is whether or not this variable is linked with another important indicator of status, i.e. participation in household decision making. It is our second hypothesis in this Chapter that women in communities where there is a high level of ideological concern with female sexual behavior will have less input into the most important areas of household decision making which concern the household's relation to the market economy and the disposal of major economic resources. In order to explore these hypotheses further, it is first necessary to examine the data on household decision making which we have taken in

this analysis as one of the most important indicators of status -- along with others such as control over landed property, political and community participation and those indicators mentioned above concerning marital and sexual behavior.

The decision making data are extremely complex in that the relative male/female input can be analysed either in terms of the stages of the decision making process or the areas of decision making.¹ The stages include: 1) the suggesting or initiating role, 2) giving advice in the consulting role, 3) making and carrying out the decision (the executing role) and finally, in some cases, 4) expressing disagreement with the decision that has been made (the dissenting role). The three major areas covered are: 1) Farm Management Decisions 2) Domestic Expenditure and 3) Disposal of Household Production and Major Capital Transactions. Each of this major categories are further divided into specific sub-categories.

Farm Management Decisions

Household Labor Allocation

The area of Farm Management includes a number of decisions related to the allocation of household labor and others related to agriculture.² The data on Labor Allocation presented in Table 4.1 shows a substantial input from women in this area with women solely responsible for 39.4 percent of the decisions and deciding jointly with men in about another 11 percent of the cases.

Exchange Labor

In the specific area of organizing the family's participation in exchange labor groups, women appear on the aggregate level to have about equal responsibility with men, each sex handling the task alone in about 35 percent of the cases. However, the aggregate data masks several very different patterns at the village level. In both the Tharu and Maithili communities men handle 100

¹See Chapter I for discussion of the methodology used in the collection of decision making data.

²Data on the stages of the decision making process were not collected for farm management decisions.

TABLE 4.1

LABOR ALLOCATION DECISIONS BY SEX AND VILLAGE

(In number of decisions)

Decision & Sex Village	Arrange Exchange Labor						Arrange Wage Labor						Decide Other's Work Outside the Home						Decide Own Work Outside the Home						All Labor Allocation Decisions (a + b + c + d)						
	Male		Female		Tr.*		Male		Female		Tr.*		Male		Female		Tr.*		Male		Female		Tr.*		Male		Female		Tr.*		
Baragaonle	1 (4.8)	19 (90.4)	1 (4.8)	17 (60.7)	1 (3.6)	-	10 (35.7)	17 (60.7)	1 (3.6)	-	28 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 (22.4)	36 (73.5)	2 (4.1)	-	-	49 (100.0)		
Lohorong Rai	2 (6.7)	19 (63.3)	3 (10.0)	8 (44.4)	-	3 (16.7)	7 (38.9)	8 (44.4)	-	18 (100.0)	3 (16.7)	11 (22.4)	15 (39.5)	23 (60.5)	38 (100.0)	15 (39.5)	23 (60.5)	38 (100.0)	15 (39.5)	23 (60.5)	38 (100.0)	15 (39.5)	23 (60.5)	38 (100.0)	15 (39.5)	23 (60.5)	38 (100.0)	15 (39.5)	23 (60.5)	38 (100.0)	
Kham Magar	-	13 (37.2)	5 (14.3)	11 (31.4)	12 (34.3)	12 (34.3)	-	-	11 (31.4)	12 (34.3)	35 (100.0)	-	-	-	5 (100.0)	3 (80.0)	12 (80.0)	15 (100.0)	3 (3.3)	41 (45.6)	17 (18.9)	29 (32.2)	3 (3.3)	41 (45.6)	17 (18.9)	29 (32.2)	3 (3.3)	41 (45.6)	17 (18.9)	29 (32.2)	
Parbatiya	10 (29.4)	17 (50.0)	5 (14.7)	7 (20.6)	2 (5.9)	2 (5.9)	16 (47.1)	7 (20.6)	2 (5.9)	34 (100.0)	2 (5.9)	30 (63.8)	17 (36.2)	32 (69.6)	46 (100.0)	30 (63.8)	14 (30.4)	32 (69.6)	46 (100.0)	30 (63.8)	14 (30.4)	46 (100.0)	30 (63.8)	14 (30.4)	46 (100.0)	30 (63.8)	14 (30.4)	46 (100.0)	30 (63.8)	14 (30.4)	46 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	7 (22.6)	19 (61.3)	5 (16.1)	8 (26.7)	12 (44.5)	-	9 (25.0)	8 (26.7)	12 (44.5)	31 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	31 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30 (47.6)	33 (52.4)	63 (100.0)	44 (36.4)	46 (38.0)	31 (25.6)	121 (100.0)		
Tamang	11 (37.9)	9 (31.0)	9 (31.0)	4 (26.7)	2 (13.3)	-	9 (62.1)	4 (26.7)	2 (13.3)	29 (100.0)	-	11 (37.9)	18 (62.1)	29 (62.1)	29 (100.0)	11 (37.9)	18 (62.1)	29 (62.1)	29 (100.0)	11 (37.9)	18 (62.1)	29 (62.1)	11 (37.9)	18 (62.1)	29 (62.1)	42 (41.2)	49 (48.0)	11 (10.8)	102 (100.0)		
Tharu	33 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	8 (81.1)	8 (81.1)	-	33 (100.0)	-	8 (81.1)	14 (18.9)	12 (7.7)	60 (100.0)	6 (7.7)	12 (14.3)	13 (11.7)	13 (11.7)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	7 (6.0)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	6 (5.2)	
Maithili	17 (100.0)	-	-	1 (3.8)	1 (3.9)	-	24 (92.3)	1 (3.8)	1 (3.9)	17 (100.0)	-	26 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	6 (85.7)	26 (100.0)	6 (85.7)	6 (14.3)	1 (7.7)	7 (100.0)	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	7 (100.0)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)	6 (85.7)
All Villages	81 (35.2)	82 (35.7)	42 (18.3)	56 (29.3)	30 (15.7)	24 (12.6)	81 (42.4)	56 (29.3)	30 (15.7)	230 (100.0)	24 (12.6)	118 (56.2)	92 (43.8)	109 (51.7)	210 (100.0)	210 (48.3)	109 (51.7)	211 (100.0)	102 (48.3)	109 (51.7)	211 (100.0)	102 (48.3)	211 (100.0)	102 (48.3)	211 (100.0)	102 (48.3)	211 (100.0)	102 (48.3)	211 (100.0)	102 (48.3)	211 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentage to the total.

* Traditional, no decision necessary.

percent of the exchange labor arrangements. In the Tamang and Newar communities men manage slightly more of these than women, though in fact the responsibility seems to be shared fairly equally between the sexes. This sharing of responsibility is particularly evident in the Newar village where 61.3 percent of the households said both sexes participated in arranging exchange labor. In the remaining four communities -- the Parbatiya, Magar, Rai and Baragaonle -- it is the women who take the major responsibility for this task led by the Baragaonle women who handle 90.4 percent of the exchange labor arrangements on their own.

Wage Labor

Wage labor arrangements, on the other hand, are more clearly the province of men. According to the aggregate data in Table 4.1, they handle it alone without female assistance in 42.2 percent of the households while women handle wage labor arrangements alone in 29.3 percent of the cases. Again however, there is a wide variation between communities. As with exchange labor, men alone are responsible for almost 100 percent of the wage labor arrangements in the Tharu and Maithili communities. Men predominate also among the Tamang and Parbatiya, while in the Newar and Rai communities the task is shared fairly evenly. Only among the Kham Magar and the Baragaonle do women take a substantial lead in arranging wage labor.

Allocation of Household Labor

The next area of decision making to be considered involves the ability to determine one's own participation in either exchange labor or wage work outside the family and to control the labor allocation of other family members.¹ Data for Kagbeni were not available and apparently in the Newar village all labor allocation decisions are made by the individuals themselves. Examination of the data in Table 4.1, for other village however, reveals two distinct patterns. In the Parbatiya, Tharu and Maithili villages most of the decisions about the labor allocation of other household members were made by men -- up to 100 percent in the Maithili village. Among the Rai, Magar and Tamang on the other hand, most

¹ Respondents were asked who in the household had gone out to work for either exchange labor or wage work during the last month. Once the names and person codes were recorded, the respondents were then asked "Who decided that Ram (or Sanu Maya, etc.) should do that work?" The answers were categorized as to whether the individual had made the decision to work himself (or herself) or whether he or she had been assigned to the work by a male or a female member of the household.

of these decisions were made by women -- again up to 100 percent in the Kham Magar village. Hence, the aggregate figures which show a fairly even distribution between the sexes of decision making power in this area actually mask two very different patterns which to a large extent coincide with the dichotomous and non-dichotomous distinction.

The sex distribution among those who decided on their own to engage in exchange or wage labor outside the home is similar. It is fairly even if we look at the aggregate data (51.7 percent men and 48.3 percent women) but again in the dichotomous Parbatiya, Tharu and Maithili communities most of those deciding their own labor allocation outside the home are men while just the opposite is true for the non-dichotomous Rai, Tamang and Kham Magar communities. The Newar community retained its egalitarian pattern. Just as none of the Newari informants reported deciding on the labor allocation of other household members so, amongst those who decided on their own to engage in either exchange or paid labor outside the home, there is an almost equal percentage of men (47.6 percent) and women (52.4 percent).

When all the labor allocation decisions are considered together we again see that the distribution of male/female input by village coincides fairly closely with the dichotomous, non-dichotomous distinction. The following patterns emerge:

1. Male pre-eminence which occurs strongly among the Tharu, Maithili and to a lesser extent in the Parbatiya community which are all dichotomous.
2. Equal male and female input which occurs among the Tamang and very strongly among the Newar which are both "intermediate" communities.
3. Female pre-eminence which is the pattern among the non-dichotomous Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai and Kham Magar communities studied.

Agricultural Decisions

The aggregate data on agricultural decision making displayed in Table 4.2 show that women's input in this area is commensurate with their major time input into agricultural production. They make 42.1 percent of the agricultural decisions on their own and decide jointly with male household members in another 12.6 percent of the cases. The data also reveal that tradition plays a significant part in agricultural decision making, serving as the basis for 20.1 percent of the decisions recorded.

Crop Choice

As shown by the data in Table 4.2 the largest proportion (39 percent) of planting decisions were made according to tradition rather than as deliberate calculated "decisions" on the part of either male or female household members. This is particularly true for the Baragaonle, Newar, Tamang and to a lesser extent, the Tharu and Maithili communities. In the Rai village of Pangma planting decisions were clearly the province of women. 68.7 percent of these decisions were made by women alone and women and men decided jointly in another 27.2 percent of the cases. Amongst the Newars of Bulu, those decisions that were not made on the basis of tradition were made almost exclusively by women on their own (15.3 percent of the cases). Parbatiya women also displayed a fairly strong role in planting decisions which they made on their own in 57 percent of the cases while men did so in only 40 percent. Among the remaining communities only the Baragaonle and the Maithili showed a tendency toward male pre-eminence in this area of decision making while the Tamang and the Tharu men and women appeared to share the planting decisions fairly equally.

Seed Selection: Own or Improved

For this category of decision only the Baragaonle showed substantial dependence on "tradition". In all others except the Maithili where men took the lead, seed selection decisions appear to be primarily a female responsibility. The aggregate data in Table 4.2 show that women decided on their own what type of seed to use in 60.4 percent of the cases while men decided on their own in only 20.7 percent of the cases. As to who actually performs the task of seed selection in cases where the family decides to use their own seed, Table 4.3 shows that this work is done by women alone in 81.2 percent of the households, by both sexes in eight percent and by men alone in only 10.8 percent of the household.

Fertilizer: Kind, Amount and Application

The aggregate data in Table 4.2 show that men and women have an almost equal input in decisions about fertilizer use, though women have a slight lead. Unfortunately however, these data represent the combined responses on chemical fertilizer and organic manure and therefore mask the presence of a fairly strong sexual division of responsibility in this area. Reports from field observations made by project researchers indicate that in all the communities where chemical fertilizer is in common use it is men who decide on and apply them

TABLE 4.2
 AGRICULTURAL DECISIONS (GRAINS AND KITCHEN GARDEN) BY SEX AND VILLAGE

Decision & Sex Village	What Crop to Plant?			Whether to Use Own or Improved Seed?			Amount & Kind of Fertilizer					All Agricultural Decisions (a+b+c)							
	Male		Female	Male		Female	Both		Male	Female	Both	Traditional		Male	Female	Both	Total		
		Traditional	Both	Total (a)		Traditional	Both	Total (b)		Traditional	Both	Total (c)		Traditional	Both	Total		Traditional	
Baragaonle	8 (10.1)	71 (89.9)	-	79 (100.0)	6 (8.0)	69 (92.0)	-	75 (100.0)	12 (7.7)	-	143 (92.3)	155 (100.0)	26 (8.4)	-	26 (8.4)	283 (91.6)	309 (100.0)		
Lohorung Rai	10 (4.1)	66 (68.7)	66 (27.2)	743 (100.0)	5 (2.1)	7 (2.8)	12 (5.0)	242 (100.0)	4 (0.9)	318 (67.9)	125 (26.7)	468 (100.0)	19 (2.0)	703 (73.8)	203 (21.3)	28 (2.9)	953 (100.0)		
Kham Magar	21 (21.9)	19 (19.8)	56 (58.3)	96 (100.0)	11 (11.8)	-	8 (8.6)	93 (100.0)	-	-	33 (84.1)	61 (100.0)	32 (12.8)	93 (37.2)	97 (38.8)	28 (11.2)	250 (100.0)		
Parbatiya	90 (40.0)	129 (57.3)	6 (2.7)	225 (100.0)	85 (37.8)	-	14 (6.2)	225 (100.0)	222 (58.6)	136 (15.9)	21 (5.5)	379 (100.0)	397 (47.8)	391 (47.2)	41 (5.0)	-	829 (100.0)		
Newar, Jyapu	1 (0.5)	33 (15.3)	-	215 (100.0)	3 (6.7)	2 (4.4)	7 (15.6)	45 (100.0)	186 (43.6)	198 (46.1)	43 (10.0)	427 (100.0)	190 (27.7)	264 (38.4)	50 (7.3)	183 (26.6)	687 (100.0)		
Tamang	16 (10.7)	121 (81.2)	-	149 (100.0)	28 (19.5)	17 (11.8)	50 (34.7)	144 (100.0)	16 (6.4)	98 (39.4)	53 (21.3)	249 (100.0)	60 (11.1)	159 (29.3)	103 (19.0)	220 (40.6)	542 (100.0)		
Tharu	59 (25.2)	43 (18.6)	10 (4.3)	234 (100.0)	16 (7.8)	-	11 (6.3)	205 (100.0)	41 (29.5)	58 (41.7)	4 (2.9)	139 (100.0)	116 (20.1)	277 (47.9)	27 (4.7)	158 (27.3)	578 (100.0)		
Muslim	45 (30.0)	17 (11.3)	40 (26.7)	150 (100.0)	94 (66.0)	-	26 (15.7)	166 (100.0)	238 (80.4)	45 (16.6)	8 (3.0)	271 (100.0)	357 (60.0)	108 (18.4)	74 (12.6)	48 (8.2)	587 (100.0)		
All Villages	250 (18.0)	420 (30.2)	178 (12.8)	1391 (100.0)	248 (20.7)	95 (8.0)	110 (10.9)	1195 (100.0)	699 (32.5)	853 (39.7)	287 (13.4)	2149 (100.0)	1197 (25.3)	1995 (32.1)	595 (12.6)	948 (20.0)	4735 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.3

SEED SELECTION BY SEX AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Question Sex	Who Does Seed Selection ?			
	Male	Female	Both	Total
Village				
Baragaonle	16 (22.5)	40 (56.4)	15 (21.1)	71 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	1 (0.4)	225 (93.8)	14 (5.8)	240 (100.0)
Kham Magar	15 (7.1)	178 (84.4)	18 (8.5)	211 (100.0)
Parbatiya	21 (10.0)	184 (88.1)	4 (1.9)	209 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	12 (5.6)	199 (92.6)	4 (1.8)	215 (100.0)
Tamang	38 (26.4)	66 (45.8)	40 (27.8)	144 (100.0)
Tharu	16 (7.8)	178 (86.8)	11 (5.4)	205 (100.0)
Maithili	39 (23.8)	115 (70.1)	10 (6.1)	164 (100.0)
All Villages	158 (10.8)	1185 (81.2)	116 (8.0)	1459 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

while women have almost the complete responsibility for preparation and application of organic manure.

This pattern is evident in Table 4.4 on the division of labor for the task of fertilizer application where the data on chemical and traditional fertilizer were recorded separately. In the four communities (Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai, Kham Magar and Tamang) where chemical fertilizer is not yet in use, the work of fertilizer application is shared fairly equally by men and women. In the Magar community the task is performed by both sexes in 96.1 percent of the household while for the Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai and Tamang communities, 84.5, 77.4 and 65.3 percent of the households respectively reported that both sexes participated. In all the other communities where chemical fertilizer has been introduced women's labor input is concentrated in the application of traditional manure while men do most of the chemical fertilizer application and the percentage of households reporting that the task is shared by both sexes is much lower. In the Parbatiya village 37.1 percent of the households reported fertilizer application as a joint task while in the Jyapu Newar, Tharu and Maithili villages the percentage dropped to 16.7, 7.5 and 6.3 respectively.

Returning to the data on decisions about fertilizer use in Table 4.2 where responses on chemical and traditional manure are combined, the village-wise pattern of male/female predominance once again shows a fairly high degree of correspondence with the dichotomous/non-dichotomous distinction. Male input was higher among the Maithili (80.4 percent versus 16.6 percent) and to a lesser extent among the Parbatiya (58.6 versus 35.9 percent). Once again the Newar showed a fairly even distribution between male and female input. Women had clear predominance in the Lohorung Rai and Kham Magar villages and their relative lead over men was evident in the Tamang and Tharu villages as well. Only amongst the Baragaonle where 92.3 percent of the decisions were based on tradition in any case, was there a reversal of the expected pattern of female predominance in the non-dichotomous communities.

Looking at the village-wise data for all agricultural decisions in Table 4.2 we find that only amongst the Maithili where men make 60 percent of the agricultural decisions on their own and the Baragaonle where "tradition" was the basis of 91.6 percent of all decisions was there a substantial departure from the general pattern of female predominance in agricultural decisions.

TABLE 4.4

FERTILIZER APPLICATION BY SEX AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Village	Sex		Male	Female	Both	Total
	Type of Fertilizer					
Baragaonle	Traditional		2 (2.8)	9 (12.7)	60 (84.5)	71 (100.0)
	Chemical		-	-	-	-
	Mixture		-	-	-	-
	Total		2 (2.8)	9 (12.7)	60 (84.5)	71 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	Traditional		11 (4.7)	40 (17.2)	182 (78.1)	233 (100.0)
	Chemical		-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (100.0)
	Mixture		-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (100.0)
	Total		11 (4.7)	42 (17.9)	182 (77.4)	235 (100.0)
Kham Magar	Traditional		6 (2.9)	2 (1.0)	200 (96.1)	208 (100.0)
	Chemical		-	-	-	-
	Mixture		-	-	-	-
	Total		6 (2.9)	2 (1.0)	200 (96.1)	208 (100.0)
Parbatiya	Traditional		1 (2.9)	28 (82.4)	5 (14.7)	34 (100.0)
	Chemical		12 (63.2)	5 (26.3)	2 (10.5)	19 (100.0)
	Mixture		15 (11.3)	56 (42.1)	62 (46.6)	133 (100.0)
	Total		28 (15.1)	89 (47.8)	69 (37.1)	186 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	Traditional		4 (21.0)	14 (73.7)	1 (5.3)	19 (100.0)
	Chemical		1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	-	8 (100.0)
	Mixture		78 (44.1)	66 (37.3)	33 (18.6)	177 (100.0)
	Total		83 (40.7)	87 (42.6)	34 (16.7)	204 (100.0)
Tamang	Traditional		13 (9.4)	37 (26.8)	88 (63.8)	138 (100.0)
	Chemical		-	-	-	-
	Mixture		-	-	6 (100.0)	6 (100.0)
	Total		13 (9.0)	37 (25.7)	94 (65.3)	144 (100.0)
Tharu	Traditional		5 (3.9)	112 (87.5)	11 (8.6)	128 (100.0)
	Chemical		13 (92.9)	1 (7.1)	-	14 (100.0)
	Mixture		3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	-	4 (100.0)
	Total		21 (14.4)	114 (78.1)	11 (7.5)	146 (100.0)
Maithili	Traditional		1 (10.0)	9 (90.0)	-	10 (100.0)
	Chemical		39 (83.0)	8 (17.0)	-	47 (100.0)
	Mixture		13 (33.3)	20 (51.3)	6 (15.4)	39 (100.0)
	Total		53 (55.2)	37 (38.5)	6 (6.3)	96 (100.0)
All Villages	Traditional		43 (5.1)	251 (29.9)	547 (65.0)	841 (100.0)
	Chemical		65 (73.0)	22 (24.7)	2 (2.3)	89 (100.0)
	Mixture		109 (30.3)	144 (40.0)	107 (29.7)	360 (100.0)
	Total		217 (16.8)	417 (32.3)	656 (50.9)	1290 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.



Ane Haaland

On the ground floor of her house a Newar woman prepares compost for the family's fields. Family members contribute to the organic matter along with the animals which are kept in the same place.

Domestic Expenditures

Having seen that in most communities and especially in the non-dichotomous ones, women's high labor input in agricultural production is reflected by a commensurate role in farm management decisions, we now turn to examine their role in determining the disposal of what they help to produce. Of the remaining two major decision making areas, i.e. "Domestic Expenditures" and "Disposal of Household Production and Major Capital Transactions", we would expect women's input to be higher in the former since most of the kinds of decisions covered relate to the traditional female sphere within the family.

Control Over Household Cash and Shopping Responsibility

As shown in Table 4.5, 46.9 percent of the households in the aggregate sample reported that women kept the household cash, while 39.2 percent reported that men did so. In Kagbeni where often husbands and wives live separately during winter migration, 60 percent of the households reported that both sexes keep some of the household cash supply. Among the Newars both sexes keep the money in 21.2 percent of the households and, although men keep the cash in 45.5 percent of the households, women do so in 33.3 percent. Therefore, after the Baragaonle, the Newar community appears to be the most egalitarian in this area. The only major departure from the pattern of female control in the remaining villages are found in the Maithili and Tharu communities where men retain sole control over the household cash in 74.3 percent and 94.3 percent of the households respectively.

Regarding the responsibility for doing the family shopping, the aggregate data in Table 4.5 show that men's predominance in this area is less than might be expected given that the bazaar is in the "outside" or public sphere. Household shopping was reported as an exclusively male task in 46.5 percent of the household and as a female task in 37 percent, while the remaining 16.5 percent reported it as a shared task. When the data are examined by village the familiar pattern emerges. The non-Hindu, Tibeto-Burman speaking groups, i.e. the Baragaonle, Rai, Magar and Tamang, show either strong female control in this area (in 91.4 percent of the Rai households women do all the shopping) or else a fairly egalitarian distribution of shopping responsibility (51.5 percent of the households in the Kham Magar community reported that both men and women did the shopping). Among the remaining groups where shopping was predominantly a male task the Newar showed the highest level of role sharing even though in 57.6 percent of

TABLE 4.5
HOUSEHOLD MONEY KEEPING AND MARKETING BY SEX AND VILLAGE

Village	Sex			Who Keeps Money ?			Who Goes to Bazaar ?			(In number)
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Baragaonle	4 (11.4)	10 (28.6)	35 (100.0)	21 (60.0)	20 (57.1)	35 (100.0)	12 (34.3)	20 (57.1)	35 (100.0)	3 (8.6)
Lohorong Rai	1 (2.9)	31 (88.6)	35 (100.0)	3 (8.5)	32 (91.4)	35 (100.0)	2 (5.7)	32 (91.4)	35 (100.0)	1 (2.9)
Kham Magar	9 (27.3)	22 (66.7)	33 (100.0)	2 (6.0)	5 (15.2)	33 (100.0)	11 (33.3)	5 (15.2)	33 (100.0)	17 (51.5)
Parbatiya	10 (29.4)	24 (70.6)	34 (100.0)	-	8 (23.5)	34 (100.0)	21 (61.8)	8 (23.5)	34 (100.0)	5 (14.7)
Newar, Jyapu	15 (45.5)	11 (33.3)	33 (100.0)	7 (21.2)	7 (21.2)	33 (100.0)	19 (57.6)	7 (21.2)	33 (100.0)	7 (21.2)
Tamang	9 (27.3)	19 (57.6)	33 (100.0)	5 (15.1)	8 (24.2)	33 (100.0)	8 (24.2)	17 (51.5)	33 (100.0)	8 (24.3)
Tharu	33 (94.3)	2 (5.7)	35 (100.0)	-	4 (11.4)	35 (100.0)	30 (85.7)	4 (11.4)	35 (100.0)	1 (2.9)
Maithili	26 (74.3)	9 (25.7)	35 (100.0)	-	8 (22.8)	35 (100.0)	24 (68.6)	8 (22.8)	35 (100.0)	3 (8.6)
All Villages	107 (39.2)	128 (46.9)	273 (100.0)	38 (13.9)	101 (37.0)	273 (100.0)	127 (46.5)	101 (37.0)	273 (100.0)	45 (16.5)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

the household shopping was done only by men. In the Parbatiya, Maithili and Tharu communities men's exclusive control in this area becomes increasingly marked reaching a peak in the Tharu community where men do all the shopping in 85.7 percent of the households.

Food and Small Household Necessities

As would be expected women dominate the daily household decision about what foodgrain to cook -- whether to cook an expensive or preferred foodgrain such as rice, or to save the family store of rice and cook a cheaper less preferred grain such as corn or barley. Table 4.6 shows that women make 72.1 percent of these decisions and that the pattern of female pre-eminence is maintained in all but the Tharu and Newar communities.

The data on small purchases of food and household necessities (such as tobacco, kerosene, matches etc.) suggest that this is also generally an area of female control -- though not to the same extent as a cooking decision. However, the village level data show that in the dichotomous Parbatiya, Maithili, Newar and Tharu community men's input is greater than women's -- though the Tharu respondents reported that 40.6 percent of their decisions were based on tradition. Tradition was also the basis for 46.4 percent of these kinds of decisions in the Kham Magar village with most of the remaining decisions being made jointly by men and women. Only among the Baragaonle, Rai and to a lesser extent among the Tamang, do women generally decide and execute transactions on small household necessities.

However, when we look at the data in Table 4.7 on the stages of the decision making process for food and small household necessities¹ we see that in every group women took the lead in initiating such transaction. According to the aggregate data men were consulted much more frequently than women (44 percent of the cases versus 9.2 percent) and this holds for every village except the Kham Magars of Thabang. However, a large percentage of cases (40.4 percent) were decided without any consultation. This is particularly true in the Baragaonle village where 97.1 percent of the decisions were taken without seeking the advice of any other household member. It is notable that the level of reported consensus

¹The columns under the heading of "decided" represent the summary data on both cooking decisions (which were not broken down into stages) and the decision on food and household necessities. For this reason the total number of responses is greater than in the other columns.

TABLE 4.6

MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING ROLES FOR FOOD AND
SMALL HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES BY VILLAGE

Decision/Sex Village	To Cook a Particular Foodgrain				Purchase of Food and Household Necessities				(In number of decisions)				
	Male		Female		Both		Total		Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total
Baragaonle	-	27 (79.4)	7 (20.6)	34 (100.0)	22 (12.6)	123 (70.3)	18 (10.3)	12 (6.8)	175 (100.0)				
Lohorung Rai	-	34 (97.1)	1 (2.9)	35 (100.0)	14 (8.0)	149 (85.1)	12 (6.9)	-	175 (100.0)				
Kham Magar	-	31 (88.6)	4 (11.4)	35 (100.0)	5 (7.3)	9 (13.0)	32 (46.4)	23 (33.3)	69 (100.0)				
Parbatiya	-	34 (100.0)	-	34 (100.0)	113 (67.7)	53 (31.7)	-	1 (0.6)	167 (100.0)				
Newar, Jyapu	27 (79.4)	5 (14.7)	2 (5.9)	34 (100.0)	98 (65.3)	45 (30.0)	7 (4.7)	-	150 (100.0)				
Tamang	4 (12.1)	27 (81.8)	2 (6.1)	33 (100.0)	20 (19.8)	44 (43.6)	16 (15.8)	21 (20.8)	101 (100.0)				
Tharu	23 (79.3)	6 (20.7)	-	29 (100.0)	34 (33.6)	24 (23.8)	2 (2.0)	41 (40.6)	101 (100.0)				
Maithili	2 (5.7)	30 (85.7)	3 (8.6)	35 (100.0)	73 (46.8)	68 (43.6)	10 (6.4)	5 (3.2)	156 (100.0)				
All Villages	56 (20.8)	194 (72.1)	19 (7.1)	269 (100.0)	379 (34.6)	515 (47.1)	97 (8.9)	103 (9.4)	1094 (100.0)				

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.7
MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON SMALL FOOD ITEMS AND HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex	Suggested					Consulted					Decided*					Disagreed					
	Male	Female	Both	Tradi-tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi-tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	
Village																					
Baragaonle	29 (16.6)	128 (73.1)	18 (10.3)	-	175 (100.0)	-	5 (2.9)	-	170 (97.1)	175 (100.0)	22 (10.5)	150 (71.8)	25 (12.0)	12 (5.7)	209 (100.0)	-	-	-	175 (100.0)	175 (100.0)	
Johorong Rai	25 (14.3)	149 (85.1)	1 (0.6)	-	175 (100.0)	47 (26.9)	38 (21.7)	-	90 (51.4)	175 (100.0)	14 (6.7)	183 (87.1)	13 (6.2)	-	210 (100.0)	1 (0.6)	2 (1.1)	-	172 (98.3)	175 (100.0)	
Kham Nagar	21 (30.4)	17 (24.6)	28 (40.6)	3 (4.4)	69 (100.0)	7 (10.1)	7 (10.2)	31 (44.9)	24 (34.8)	69 (100.0)	5 (7.3)	9 (13.0)	32 (46.4)	23 (33.3)	69 (100.0)	-	-	-	69 (100.0)	69 (100.0)	
Parbatiya	6 (3.6)	161 (96.4)	-	-	167 (100.0)	128 (76.6)	-	14 (8.4)	25 (15.0)	167 (100.0)	113 (56.2)	87 (43.3)	-	1 (0.5)	201 (100.0)	-	6 (3.6)	-	161 (96.4)	167 (100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	43 (28.7)	102 (68.0)	5 (3.3)	-	150 (100.0)	72 (48.0)	13 (8.7)	1 (0.7)	64 (42.6)	150 (100.0)	125 (67.9)	50 (27.2)	9 (4.9)	-	184 (100.0)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	-	148 (96.6)	150 (100.0)	
Tamang	13 (12.9)	87 (86.1)	-	1 (1.0)	101 (100.0)	41 (40.6)	13 (12.9)	10 (9.9)	37 (36.6)	101 (100.0)	24 (17.9)	71 (53.0)	18 (13.4)	21 (15.7)	134 (100.0)	5 (5.0)	-	-	96 (95.0)	101 (100.0)	
Tharu	27 (26.7)	71 (70.3)	3 (3.0)	-	101 (100.0)	74 (73.2)	9 (8.9)	3 (3.0)	15 (14.9)	101 (100.0)	57 (43.9)	30 (23.1)	2 (1.5)	41 (31.5)	130 (100.0)	-	1 (1.0)	-	100 (99.0)	101 (100.0)	
Maithili	29 (18.6)	127 (81.4)	-	-	156 (100.0)	112 (71.8)	16 (10.2)	11 (7.1)	17 (10.9)	156 (100.0)	75 (39.3)	98 (51.3)	13 (6.8)	5 (2.6)	191 (100.0)	10 (6.4)	-	-	146 (93.6)	156 (100.0)	
All Villages	193 (17.6)	842 (77.0)	55 (5.0)	4 (0.4)	1094 (100.0)	481 (44.0)	101 (9.2)	70 (6.4)	442 (40.4)	1094 (100.0)	435 (32.8)	678 (51.0)	112 (8.4)	103 (7.8)	1328 (100.0)	17 (1.6)	10 (0.9)	-	1067 (97.5)	1094 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

* Represents summary data on both small food items + household necessities and cooking decisions.

about the decisions taken was very high at 97.5 percent, although some informants may have been reluctant to disclose family disagreements.

Clothing and Household Durables

According to the data in Table 4.8, men lead in the decision making regarding the purchase of clothing and household durables (such as pots and pans, radios, bedding, etc.). This pattern varies only among the Rai and to a lesser extent among the Tamang and the Kham Magar. The combined data on the two areas in Table 4.9 shows that the Lohorung Rai women are solely responsible for these decisions in 73.9 percent of the cases (versus 13.7 percent by men) while the Tamang women decided these matters in 36.1 percent of the cases (versus 27.8 percent by men). The Kham Magar village showed the highest proportion of decisions made jointly (35 percent) with a substantial percentage of decisions based on tradition (32 percent) and women leading in the remaining cases (17.3 percent versus 5.7 percent). Interestingly, the only non-dichotomous community where men dominate this area of decision making are the Baragaonle and this could be due to the fact that it is mostly men who go on trading trips to India where both clothing and a variety of household goods are cheaper.

Table 4.9 shows that on the aggregate level women lead in suggesting the purchase of clothing and household durables and that, while still consulted less often than men, their advice is sought more frequently in this area (in 21.3 percent of the cases) than for food and small household necessities (only 9.2 percent of the cases).

Education and Health

Women's role in the actual decision to spend family resources on medical treatment (whether Western or traditional) is much less significant than expected. Table 4.10 shows that women made these decisions on their own in only 22.1 percent of the cases while men did so in 46.8 percent of the cases. However, village-wise examination of the data reveals that by now familiar pattern of the greatest male predominance in the dichotomous Hindu communities (the Maithili and the Parbatiya), moving to successively greater female participation in the "intermediate" communities (starting with the Tharu where the heavy dependence on "tradition" in medical matters overshadows the male lead) and ending with female predominance in two of the Tibeto-Burman non-dichotomous communities (i.e. the Baragaonle and the Rai). The data on educational decisions follows essentially the same pattern though because of the low number of such decisions in many

TABLE 4.8

MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING ROLES FOR CLOTHING AND HOUSEHOLD DURABLES BY VILLAGE

Decision/Sex Village	How Much to Spend on Clothing					How Much to Spend on Household Durables				
						(In number of decisions)				
	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total
Baragaonle	79 (51.3)	36 (23.4)	32 (20.8)	7 (4.5)	154 (100.0)	-	3 (30.0)	2 (20.0)	5 (50.0)	10 (100.0)
Lohorong Rai	20 (16.5)	89 (73.6)	12 (9.9)	-	121 (100.0)	2 (5.0)	30 (75.0)	7 (17.5)	1 (2.5)	40 (100.0)
Kham Magar	5 (5.9)	14 (16.5)	34 (40.0)	32 (37.6)	85 (100.0)	-	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	-	2 (100.0)
Parbatiya	115 (86.5)	8 (6.0)	10 (7.5)	-	133 (100.0)	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	-	-	21 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	61 (71.8)	24 (28.2)	-	-	85 (100.0)	16 (51.6)	5 (16.1)	10 (32.3)	-	31 (100.0)
Tamang	19 (28.8)	24 (36.4)	12 (18.2)	11 (16.6)	66 (100.0)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	6 (100.0)
Tharu	36 (39.6)	24 (26.4)	15 (16.5)	16 (17.5)	91 (100.0)	3 (15.8)	2 (10.5)	5 (26.3)	9 (47.4)	19 (100.0)
Maithili	70 (58.8)	23 (19.3)	22 (18.5)	4 (3.4)	119 (100.0)	12 (70.6)	3 (17.6)	1 (5.9)	1 (5.9)	17 (100.0)
All Villages	405 (47.4)	242 (28.3)	137 (16.1)	70 (8.2)	854 (100.0)	54 (37.0)	47 (32.2)	27 (18.5)	18 (12.3)	146 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.9

MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON CLOTHING AND HOUSEHOLD DURABLES BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex Village	Suggested			Consulted			Decided			Disagreed			Total	No one	Total			
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both				Total	Traditional	Total
Baraganole	68 (41.5)	51 (31.1)	44 (26.8)	4 (2.5)	13 (7.9)	11 (6.7)	79 (48.2)	39 (23.8)	34 (20.7)	79 (48.2)	39 (23.8)	34 (20.7)	164 (100.0)	12 (7.3)	164 (100.0)			
Lohorung Rai	27 (16.8)	130 (80.7)	4 (2.5)	63 (39.2)	35 (21.7)	6 (3.7)	22 (13.7)	119 (73.9)	19 (11.8)	22 (13.7)	119 (73.9)	19 (11.8)	161 (100.0)	1 (0.6)	161 (100.0)			
Kham Nagar	22 (25.3)	42 (48.3)	22 (25.3)	3 (3.4)	12 (13.8)	32 (36.8)	5 (5.7)	15 (17.3)	35 (40.2)	5 (5.7)	15 (17.3)	35 (40.2)	32 (36.8)	32 (36.8)	87 (100.0)			
Parbatiya	101 (65.6)	53 (34.4)	-	60 (39.0)	63 (40.9)	4 (2.6)	135 (87.7)	9 (5.8)	10 (6.5)	135 (87.7)	9 (5.8)	10 (6.5)	154 (100.0)	-	154 (100.0)			
Newar, Jyapu	49 (26.4)	64 (55.2)	3 (2.6)	58 (50.0)	25 (21.6)	3 (2.6)	77 (66.4)	29 (25.0)	10 (8.6)	77 (66.4)	29 (25.0)	10 (8.6)	116 (100.0)	-	116 (100.0)			
Tamang	19 (26.4)	51 (70.8)	2 (2.8)	32 (41.5)	15 (20.8)	6 (8.1)	72 (100.0)	26 (36.1)	13 (18.0)	72 (100.0)	26 (36.1)	13 (18.0)	72 (100.0)	13 (18.1)	72 (100.0)			
Tharu	56 (50.9)	53 (48.2)	1 (0.9)	59 (53.6)	27 (24.5)	8 (7.3)	110 (100.0)	39 (35.5)	20 (18.2)	110 (100.0)	39 (35.5)	20 (18.2)	110 (100.0)	25 (22.7)	110 (100.0)			
Maitthali	51 (37.5)	67 (49.3)	15 (11.0)	75 (53.2)	23 (16.9)	26 (19.1)	82 (60.3)	26 (19.1)	23 (16.9)	82 (60.3)	26 (19.1)	23 (16.9)	136 (100.0)	5 (3.7)	136 (100.0)			
All Villages	393 (39.3)	511 (51.1)	91 (9.1)	354 (35.4)	213 (21.3)	96 (9.6)	1000 (100.0)	459 (45.9)	164 (16.4)	1000 (100.0)	459 (45.9)	164 (16.4)	1000 (100.0)	88 (8.8)	1000 (100.0)			

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.10

MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING ROLES FOR EDUCATION AND HEALTH BY VILLAGE

Village	Decision/Sex		On Medical Treatment				On Education					
			Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total
Baragaonle	-	8 (32.0)	13 (52.0)	4 (16.0)	25 (100.0)	1 (50.0)	-	1 (50.0)	-	-	2 (100.0)	
Lohorung Rai	11 (23.9)	27 (58.7)	2 (4.3)	6 (13.1)	46 (100.0)	5 (20.8)	7 (29.2)	7 (29.2)	5 (20.8)	24 (100.0)		
Kham Magar	-	-	8 (66.7)	4 (33.3)	12 (100.0)	2 (28.6)	-	5 (71.4)	-	7 (100.0)		
Parbatiya	71 (80.7)	14 (15.9)	1 (1.1)	2 (2.3)	88 (100.0)	22 (73.3)	2 (6.7)	3 (10.0)	3 (10.0)	30 (100.0)		
Newar, Jyapu	10 (55.6)	7 (38.9)	1 (5.5)	-	18 (100.0)	12 (80.0)	2 (13.3)	1 (6.7)	-	15 (100.0)		
Tamang	5 (38.4)	4 (30.8)	-	4 (30.8)	13 (100.0)	1 (33.3)	-	1 (33.3)	1 (33.4)	3 (100.0)		
Tharu	11 (21.2)	2 (3.8)	2 (3.8)	37 (71.2)	52 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	-	-	-	2 (100.0)		
Maithili	38 (65.5)	7 (12.1)	6 (10.3)	7 (12.1)	58 (100.0)	-	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	-	3 (100.0)		
All Villages	146 (46.8)	69 (22.1)	33 (10.6)	64 (20.5)	312 (100.0)	45 (52.2)	12 (14.0)	20 (23.3)	9 (10.5)	86 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

villages, community-wise interpretation becomes more difficult. At the aggregate level male predominance in deciding educational matters is even more pronounced with men deciding on their own in 52.2 percent of the cases.

Turning to the data on stages of the decision making process in Table 4.11 we see that in 47.7 percent of the cases women played the leading role in initiating family decisions to spend money on medical treatment or education even though the final decision about what to do and how much to spend was taken by men in 48 percent of the cases. Only among the Newar of Bulu was the male role in initiating such matters greater than that of females.

Small Gifts and Loans, Travel, Religious and Social Obligations

Small Gifts and Loans

The data in Table 4.12 reveal the presence in all the villages studied of informal inter-household exchange networks primarily controlled by women. These exchanges between women in different households include both cash -- usually in the form of small non-interest loans of under 10 or 15 rupees but sometimes also small amounts given as a gift to a visiting daughter -- and kind. The constant reciprocal gifts and loans of small amounts of grain, freshly brewed beer or seasonal vegetables between neighbor women in Thabang reported by Molnar (1981) and observed among the Parbatiya women of Bakundol is, according to the data presented here, a common phenomenon. The only villages which deviate slightly from the general pattern of strong female control in this area are the Maithili where male input is almost equal to female and the Tharu where 81.4 percent of these exchanges are reported as based on tradition. These "invisible" support networks between women of different households suggest that women's low level of participation in the formal political structures of the community evident in Tables 3.18 - 3.27 may belie their actual involvement in village affairs. For these exchanges not only provide some security to women and households facing temporary economic hardships,¹ but, as pointed out by Molnar (1981), they also serve as the basis for and expression of the more visible local political alliances between men.

¹For an insightful discussion of the importance of these informal networks and the effect on women and children of the increasing erosion of these traditional support systems in the process of modernization in Third World countries, see Eva Mueller, "The Women's Issue in Measuring Household Economic Status and Behavior in Developing Countries," paper prepared for workshop on "Women in Poverty: What Do We Know?", 1978, mimeo.

TABLE 4.11
 MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON EDUCATION AND HEALTH BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex Village	Suggested										Consulted						Decided						Disagreed							
	Male		Female		Both		Traditional		Total		Male		Female		Both		Traditional		Total		Male		Female		Both		No one		Total	
Baragaonle	2 (7.4)	4 (14.8)	15 (55.6)	6 (22.2)	27 (100.0)	2 (7.1)	25 (92.6)	27 (100.0)	1 (3.7)	8 (29.6)	14 (51.9)	4 (14.8)	27 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	27 (100.0)
Loherung Rai	29 (41.4)	35 (50.0)	2 (2.9)	4 (5.7)	70 (100.0)	12 (17.1)	9 (12.9)	70 (100.0)	16 (22.8)	34 (48.6)	9 (12.9)	11 (15.7)	70 (100.0)	27 (38.6)	27 (38.6)	12 (17.1)	9 (12.9)	11 (15.7)	34 (48.6)	70 (100.0)	16 (22.8)	34 (48.6)	9 (12.9)	11 (15.7)	27 (38.6)	27 (38.6)	12 (17.1)	9 (12.9)	11 (15.7)	70 (100.0)
Kham Majjar	5 (26.3)	4 (21.0)	9 (47.4)	1 (5.3)	19 (100.0)	13 (68.4)	4 (21.0)	19 (100.0)	2 (10.5)	-	13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	19 (100.0)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	19 (100.0)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	19 (100.0)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	19 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	19 (100.0)
Parbatiya	42 (35.6)	72 (61.0)	4 (3.4)	-	118 (100.0)	17 (14.4)	12 (10.2)	118 (100.0)	93 (78.8)	16 (13.6)	4 (3.4)	5 (4.2)	118 (100.0)	77 (65.2)	12 (10.2)	17 (14.4)	4 (3.4)	5 (4.2)	93 (78.8)	16 (13.6)	4 (3.4)	1 (0.8)	2 (1.7)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	109 (92.4)	118 (100.0)	109 (92.4)	118 (100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	18 (54.6)	14 (42.4)	1 (3.0)	-	33 (100.0)	3 (9.1)	9 (27.2)	33 (100.0)	22 (66.7)	9 (27.3)	2 (6.0)	-	33 (100.0)	6 (18.2)	15 (45.5)	3 (9.1)	9 (27.2)	33 (100.0)	22 (66.7)	9 (27.3)	2 (6.0)	3 (9.1)	3 (9.1)	-	30 (90.9)	33 (100.0)	30 (90.9)	33 (100.0)		
Tamang	6 (37.5)	7 (43.8)	1 (6.2)	2 (12.5)	16 (100.0)	2 (12.5)	2 (12.5)	16 (100.0)	6 (37.5)	4 (25.0)	1 (6.2)	5 (31.3)	16 (100.0)	7 (43.8)	5 (31.2)	2 (12.5)	2 (12.5)	16 (100.0)	6 (37.5)	4 (25.0)	1 (6.2)	5 (31.3)	16 (100.0)	-	16 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	
Tharu	22 (40.7)	29 (53.7)	-	3 (5.6)	54 (100.0)	8 (14.8)	7 (12.9)	54 (100.0)	36 (66.7)	3 (5.6)	8 (14.8)	37 (68.5)	54 (100.0)	36 (66.7)	3 (5.6)	8 (14.8)	2 (3.7)	37 (68.5)	36 (66.7)	3 (5.6)	2 (3.7)	2 (3.7)	-	-	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	
Maithili	21 (34.4)	25 (41.0)	10 (16.4)	5 (8.2)	61 (100.0)	24 (39.3)	9 (14.8)	61 (100.0)	22 (36.1)	6 (9.8)	8 (13.1)	7 (11.5)	61 (100.0)	22 (36.1)	6 (9.8)	24 (39.3)	9 (14.8)	7 (11.5)	22 (36.1)	6 (9.8)	8 (13.1)	2 (3.3)	2 (3.3)	-	56 (91.8)	61 (100.0)	56 (91.8)	61 (100.0)	61 (100.0)	
All Villages	145 (36.4)	190 (47.7)	42 (10.6)	21 (5.3)	398 (100.0)	81 (20.4)	77 (19.3)	398 (100.0)	171 (43.0)	69 (17.3)	81 (20.4)	53 (13.3)	398 (100.0)	171 (43.0)	69 (17.3)	81 (20.4)	53 (13.3)	171 (43.0)	69 (17.3)	81 (20.4)	8 (2.0)	8 (2.0)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	380 (95.5)	398 (100.0)	380 (95.5)	398 (100.0)	398 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.12
 MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING ROLES FOR GIFTS, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND TRAVEL EXPENDITURES BY VILLAGE

Decision & Sex	Small Gifts/Loans in Cash or Kind						Travel						Social and Religious					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both	Traditional	Both
Village																		
Baragaonle	13 (9.6)	27 (20.0)	88 (65.2)	4 (2.6)	7 (5.2)	135 (100.0)	22 (33.3)	11 (16.7)	25 (37.9)	8 (12.1)	66 (100.0)	1 (0.7)	24 (16.6)	119 (82.0)	1 (0.7)	145 (100.0)		
Lohorung Rai	2 (1.3)	4 (2.6)	137 (90.2)	9 (5.9)	9 (5.9)	152 (100.0)	10 (25.6)	18 (46.2)	28 (17.9)	4 (10.3)	39 (100.0)	21 (17.8)	72 (61.0)	12 (10.2)	13 (11.0)	118 (100.0)		
Kham Magar	5 (6.2)	6 (7.4)	10 (12.3)	6 (7.4)	60 (74.1)	81 (100.0)	1 (7.7)	2 (15.4)	8 (61.5)	2 (15.4)	13 (100.0)	1 (3.4)	1 (3.5)	16 (55.2)	11 (37.9)	29 (100.0)		
Parbatiya	8 (6.7)	-	100 (83.3)	-	12 (10.0)	120 (100.0)	65 (73.0)	18 (20.2)	-	6 (6.8)	89 (100.0)	60 (72.3)	11 (13.3)	4 (4.8)	8 (9.6)	83 (100.0)		
Newar, Jyapu	3 (7.1)	-	37 (88.1)	-	2 (4.8)	42 (100.0)	15 (60.0)	7 (38.0)	1 (4.0)	2 (8.0)	25 (100.0)	2 (9.5)	4 (19.0)	6 (28.6)	9 (42.9)	21 (100.0)		
Tamang	-	4 (20.0)	12 (60.0)	4 (20.0)	4 (20.0)	20 (100.0)	2 (18.2)	3 (27.2)	2 (18.2)	4 (36.4)	11 (100.0)	4 (12.9)	8 (25.8)	6 (19.4)	13 (41.9)	31 (100.0)		
Tharu	8 (7.8)	-	11 (10.8)	-	83 (81.4)	102 (100.0)	15 (44.1)	1 (2.9)	-	18 (53.0)	34 (100.0)	5 (14.3)	3 (8.6)	21 (60.0)	6 (17.1)	35 (100.0)		
Maithali	7 (30.4)	5 (21.8)	8 (34.8)	3 (13.0)	3 (13.0)	23 (100.0)	5 (55.6)	3 (33.3)	-	1 (11.1)	9 (100.0)	32 (57.1)	8 (14.3)	14 (25.0)	2 (3.6)	56 (100.0)		
All Villages	46 (6.8)	46 (6.8)	403 (59.7)	46 (6.8)	180 (26.7)	675 (100.0)	135 (47.2)	63 (22.0)	43 (15.0)	45 (15.8)	286 (100.0)	126 (24.3)	131 (25.3)	198 (38.2)	63 (12.2)	518 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

(In number of decisions)

Travel

In decisions to use family finances for business or social travel it is men who take the lead deciding on their own in 47.2 percent of the cases. Among the Rai and Tamang however, women make more travel decisions than men and among the Baragaonle and Kham Magar the highest percentage of these decisions are made jointly by men and women.

Religious and Social Obligations

This category includes decisions to get a son or daughter married, to spend family resources to earn religious merit by performing special ceremonies, giving donations to monasteries or gifts to Brahmans. Looking at the aggregate data in Table 4.12, this area of decision making appears to be shared fairly evenly between the sexes with about one fourth of the decisions made by men, one fourth by women and nearly 40 percent taken jointly. Once again however, the most orthodox Hindu communities, i.e. the Maithili and the Parbatiya, showed strong male predominance even in this area.

When decisions of gifts, travel and religious and social matters are considered together in Table 4.13, women are seen to lead not only in initiating, but also in giving advice and making the final decisions in this area. Once again however, this pattern is reversed for the decision making stage amongst the Parbatiya, Maithili and to a lesser extent the Tharu communities.

Disposal of Household Production and Capital Transactions

Sale Versus Consumption of Foodgrain Production

Among the most important decisions that must be made each year by every farm family are those concerning the sale of foodgrains. Families with surplus must decide whether to sell immediately after harvest when the price is lower or to wait for better prices later and risk loss to rodents or insects. Families who produce just enough or less than enough for subsistence may decide to sell some of their rice harvest (which for most families is the preferred foodgrain),¹ so they can buy more of a cheaper grain like corn or barley with the money. In

¹Molnar notes that the Kham Magar are an exception here and they prefer corn or a mixture of rice and corn.

TABLE 4.13

MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON GIFTS, RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND TRAVEL BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex Village	Suggested						Consulted						Decided						Disapproved														
	Male			Female			Both			Traditional			Total			Male			Female			Both			Traditional			Total					
	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)	Count	Percentage	(In %)			
Baragaonle	47	(13.6)	(36.4)	170	(49.1)	(49.1)	3	(0.9)	(0.9)	15	(4.3)	(4.3)	327	(94.5)	(94.5)	346	(100.0)	(100.0)	36	(10.4)	(10.4)	123	(35.6)	(35.6)	171	(49.4)	(49.4)	16	(4.6)	(4.6)	346	(100.0)	(100.0)
Lohorung Rai	46	(14.9)	(77.3)	9	(2.9)	(4.9)	15	(4.9)	(32.7)	101	(32.7)	(19.4)	60	(19.4)	(44.0)	309	(100.0)	(100.0)	33	(10.7)	(10.7)	227	(73.5)	(73.5)	23	(7.4)	(8.4)	26	(8.4)	(8.4)	309	(100.0)	(100.0)
Kham Magar	19	(15.4)	(55.3)	29	(16.3)	(13.0)	16	(13.0)	(2.4)	3	(2.4)	(10.6)	13	(10.6)	(65.0)	123	(100.0)	(100.0)	7	(5.7)	(5.7)	13	(10.6)	(24.4)	30	(24.4)	(59.3)	73	(59.3)	(59.3)	123	(100.0)	(100.0)
Parbatiya	72	(24.6)	(56.2)	6	(2.1)	(17.1)	50	(17.1)	(20.2)	59	(20.2)	(21.2)	62	(21.2)	(52.1)	292	(100.0)	(100.0)	133	(45.5)	(45.5)	129	(44.2)	(64.2)	4	(1.4)	(8.9)	26	(8.9)	(8.9)	292	(100.0)	(100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	21	(23.9)	(65.9)	3	(3.4)	(6.8)	6	(6.8)	(21.6)	19	(21.6)	(17.0)	15	(17.0)	(54.6)	88	(100.0)	(100.0)	20	(22.7)	(22.7)	48	(54.5)	(8.0)	7	(8.0)	(14.8)	13	(14.8)	(14.8)	88	(100.0)	(100.0)
Tamang	6	(9.7)	(43.5)	5	(8.1)	(38.7)	24	(38.7)	(32.3)	20	(32.3)	(11.3)	7	(11.3)	(41.9)	62	(100.0)	(100.0)	6	(9.7)	(9.7)	23	(37.1)	(19.4)	12	(19.4)	(33.8)	21	(33.8)	(33.8)	62	(100.0)	(100.0)
Tharu	55	(32.2)	(50.9)	10	(5.8)	(11.1)	19	(11.1)	(20.5)	35	(20.5)	(31.6)	54	(31.6)	(32.7)	171	(100.0)	(100.0)	28	(16.4)	(16.4)	15	(8.8)	(12.3)	21	(12.3)	(62.5)	107	(62.5)	(62.5)	171	(100.0)	(100.0)
Maithili	32	(36.4)	(43.5)	10	(11.3)	(6.8)	6	(6.8)	(37.5)	33	(37.5)	(23.9)	21	(23.9)	(9.1)	88	(100.0)	(100.0)	44	(50.0)	(50.0)	19	(21.6)	(21.6)	19	(21.6)	(6.8)	6	(6.8)	(6.8)	88	(100.0)	(100.0)
All Villages	298	(20.1)	(54.7)	233	(15.8)	(9.4)	139	(9.4)	(18.3)	271	(18.3)	(15.9)	235	(15.9)	(56.3)	1479	(100.0)	(100.0)	307	(20.7)	(20.7)	597	(40.4)	(40.4)	287	(19.4)	(19.4)	288	(19.5)	(19.5)	1479	(100.0)	(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

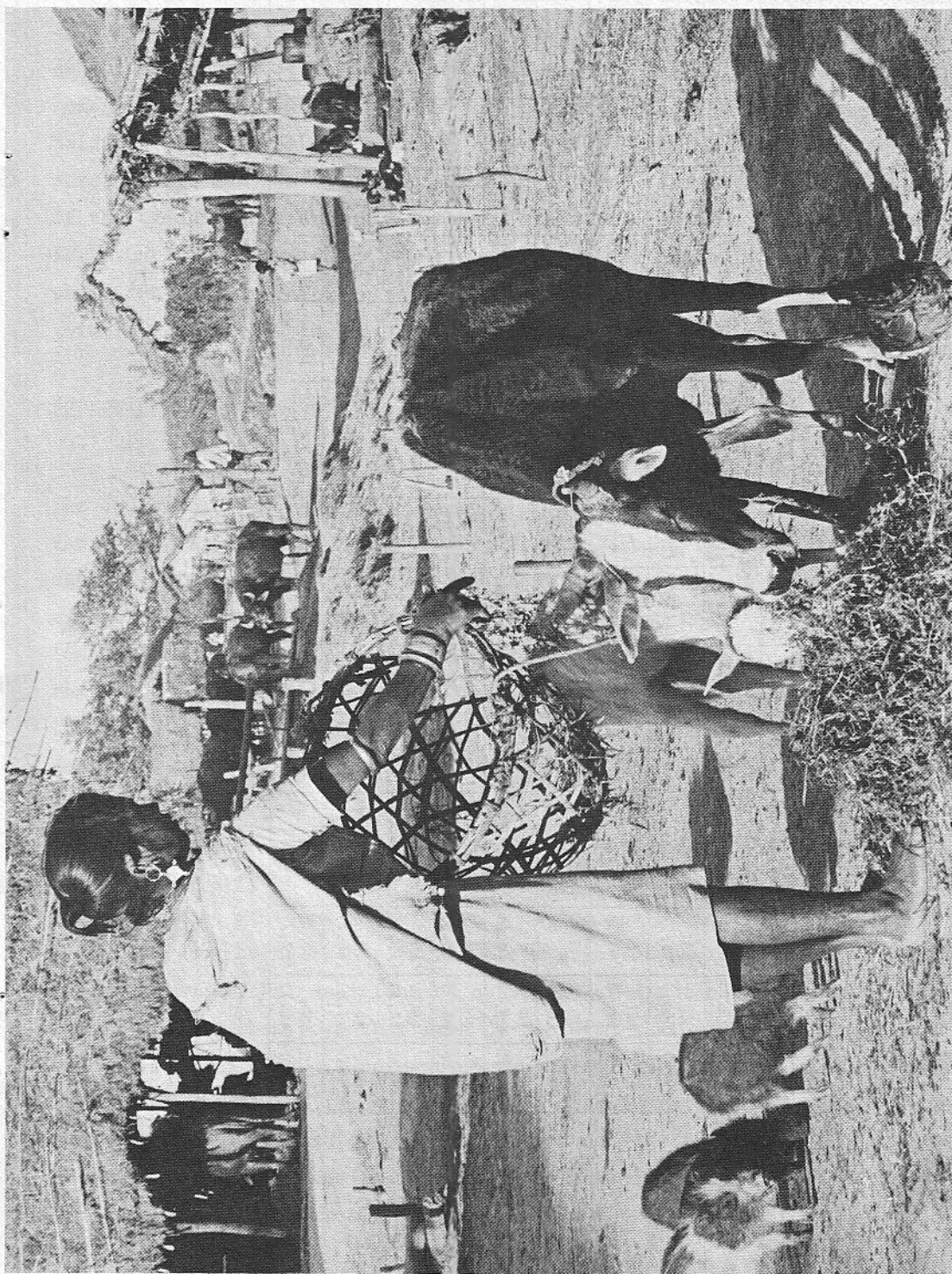
communities where beer and liquor are brewed each family must decide how much of their annual grain harvest can be used for this purpose.

The aggregate data in Table 4.14 shows that women participate equally with men in these kinds of decisions. At the village level however, this pattern is only maintained in the Tamang community. Otherwise, except for the Parbatiya village (where men decide on 86.1 percent of the grain sales), and the Newar village (where men handle 61.6 percent), all the rest of the communities show varying degrees of female predominance in this area. As we would by now expect this predominance is most marked in the non-dichotomous Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai and Kham Magar villages. This is consistent not only with women's generally high decision making involvement in these communities but also with the fact that women in all three communities must use grain to brew liquor for sale so they take an active interest in the disposal of the family supplies. What is surprising is women's substantial lead in grain sale decisions in two dichotomous communities, i.e. the Tharu and the Maithili, where women's decision making input has generally been low. This may be due to the fact that in both these Terai communities the greater amount of surplus grain has created an informal "monetary" system where small quantities of grain are either exchanged for cash or directly bartered for goods and services. In the Maithili village of Sirsia women were often observed selling or exchanging small amounts of grain on their own -- sometimes openly, sometimes covertly depending on their position in the household hierarchy. Likewise, we recall Rajaure's account of the annual gifts of grain given to sisters at the Tharu Maghi festival and the karauni grain set aside for divorced women living temporarily in their natal home. These observations suggest that women's involvement in these communities may be more often in small informal sales within the village rather than major transactions in the market place.

Vegetables and Small Animals

Kitchen gardening is in most communities considered a female task and according to the data in Table 4.14 women make most of the decisions about selling vegetable produce. Forty-two percent of these decisions are made by women on their own as opposed to 31.4 percent made by men. Only in the Baragaonle and Maithili communities do men predominate in this area.

The sale of small animals such as goats, chicken and pigs is primarily a male concern except among the Lohorung Rai and the Kham Magar where women handle 67.9 percent and 41.2 percent of these transactions on their own.



Feeding livestock.

TABLE 4.14

MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING ROLES IN DISPOSAL OF HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION BY VILLAGE

Village	Decision & Sex		To Sell Food Grains					To Sell Vegetables					To Sell Small Animals															
			Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total											
				(%)		(%)			(%)		(%)			(%)		(%)			(%)									
Baraganle	2	(5.1)	21	(53.9)	16	(41.0)	-	39	(100.0)	2	(22.2)	1	(11.1)	5	(55.6)	9	(100.0)	7	(38.9)	4	(22.2)	6	(33.3)	1	(5.6)	18	(100.0)	
Lohorung Rai	5	(9.4)	35	(66.1)	13	(24.5)	-	53	(100.0)	4	(18.2)	12	(54.5)	6	(27.3)	22	(100.0)	6	(21.4)	19	(67.9)	3	(10.7)	-	-	28	(100.0)	
Kham Magar	-	-	11	(64.7)	6	(35.3)	-	17	(100.0)	-	-	1	(100.0)	-	-	1	(100.0)	1	(5.9)	7	(41.2)	6	(35.3)	3	(17.6)	17	(100.0)	
Parbatiya	62	(86.1)	5	(6.9)	5	(6.9)	-	72	(100.0)	2	(66.7)	-	-	1	(33.3)	3	(100.0)	34	(75.6)	10	(22.2)	1	(2.2)	-	-	45	(100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	45	(61.6)	19	(26.0)	7	(9.6)	2	(2.8)	73	(100.0)	9	(40.9)	10	(45.5)	3	(13.6)	22	(100.0)	8	(72.7)	3	(27.3)	-	-	11	(100.0)		
Tamang	11	(45.8)	10	(41.7)	2	(8.3)	1	(4.2)	24	(100.0)	-	-	2	(100.0)	-	-	2	(100.0)	1	(33.3)	-	-	-	-	2	(66.7)	3	(100.0)
Tharu	26	(29.5)	45	(51.1)	15	(17.1)	2	(2.3)	88	(100.0)	9	(29.0)	15	(48.3)	3	(9.7)	31	(100.0)	21	(42.0)	11	(22.0)	4	(8.0)	14	(28.0)	50	(100.0)
Maithali	40	(36.0)	53	(47.8)	18	(16.2)	-	111	(100.0)	7	(46.6)	4	(26.7)	4	(26.7)	15	(100.0)	2	(25.0)	1	(12.5)	5	(62.5)	-	-	8	(100.0)	
All Villages	191	(40.0)	199	(41.7)	82	(17.2)	5	(1.1)	477	(100.0)	33	(31.4)	45	(42.9)	18	(17.1)	105	(100.0)	80	(44.4)	55	(30.6)	25	(13.9)	20	(11.1)	180	(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

Looking at the combined data on disposal of household production in Table 4.15, we see that although there is considerable variation between communities, at the aggregate level men and women have almost equal roles in making the final decisions. Men took the lead in initiating transactions in this area while women were consulted in slightly more of the cases. As in most areas of household decision making the level of consensus appears to be fairly high at 95.1 percent with females disagreeing with completed transactions in only 2.7 percent of the cases. Interestingly however, the rate of female dissent is much higher in Parbatiya village where women make the fewest number of these decisions on their own (12.5 percent versus 81.7 percent for males) and also participate jointly in fewer of the decisions (5.8 percent) than in any other village.

Borrowing

According to the aggregate data in Table 4.16, men not only make most of the decisions to borrow (54.9 percent versus 15.7 percent made by women), but they also initiate the idea of a credit transaction in 65.1 percent of the cases. This pattern of male predominance holds in all villages in the sample except for the Kham Magar community where men reportedly never decide to take loans on their own while women do so in 28 percent of the cases. Even in the remaining villages the degree of female participation varies greatly. The lowest female involvement seems to be in the Parbatiya community where women made such decisions on their own in only 11.7 percent of the cases and decided jointly with men in another 2 percent of the cases. In most other villages except the Newar, joint decisions account for a substantial proportion of the responses with a high of 42.8 percent among the Baragaonle. Also, it is important to note that the proportion of cases where women's advice was sought (40.8 percent) is higher for borrowing than for many other areas of decision making. Nevertheless, the data reveal that decisions on household credit incur a higher level of female dissent than any other area of decision making. On the aggregate level women disagreed with 4.7 percent of the decisions taken and in some villages like the Parbatiya and the Tamang the rate of dissent reached 9.8 and 10 percent respectively. Once again we see the expected relationship between the proportion of female dissent of and the degree of male predominance in the decision making process in a given community.

Since the vast majority of landed property in Nepal is patrilineally inherited and since the National Legal Code explicitly states that debts contracted

TABLE 4.15

MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON DISPOSAL OF HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex Village	(In number of decisions)																			
	Suggested					Consulted					Disagreed									
	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total
Baragaonle	24 (57.2)	9 (21.4)	9 (21.4)	-	42 (100.0)	2 (4.8)	8 (19.0)	4 (9.5)	28 (66.7)	42 (100.0)	11 (16.7)	26 (39.4)	23 (34.8)	6 (9.1)	66 (100.0)	-	-	1 (2.4)	41 (97.6)	42 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	20 (29.4)	47 (69.1)	1 (1.5)	-	68 (100.0)	20 (29.4)	20 (29.4)	-	28 (41.2)	68 (100.0)	15 (14.6)	66 (64.1)	22 (21.3)	-	103 (100.0)	-	1 (1.5)	1 (1.5)	66 (97.0)	68 (100.0)
Kham Magar	5 (14.3)	27 (77.1)	3 (8.6)	-	35 (100.0)	2 (5.7)	20 (57.1)	5 (14.3)	8 (22.9)	35 (100.0)	1 (2.8)	19 (54.3)	12 (34.3)	3 (8.6)	35 (100.0)	-	-	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)
Parbatiya	65 (74.7)	22 (25.3)	-	-	87 (100.0)	16 (18.4)	51 (58.6)	11 (12.6)	9 (10.4)	87 (100.0)	98 (81.7)	15 (12.5)	7 (5.8)	-	120 (100.0)	2 (2.3)	8 (9.2)	2 (2.3)	75 (86.2)	87 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	43 (57.3)	32 (42.7)	-	-	75 (100.0)	11 (14.7)	23 (30.7)	12 (16.0)	29 (38.6)	75 (100.0)	62 (58.5)	32 (30.2)	10 (9.4)	2 (1.9)	106 (100.0)	-	5 (6.7)	-	79 (93.3)	75 (100.0)
Tamang	7 (30.4)	12 (52.2)	4 (17.4)	-	23 (100.0)	8 (34.8)	6 (26.1)	7 (30.4)	2 (8.7)	23 (100.0)	12 (41.4)	12 (41.4)	2 (6.9)	3 (10.3)	29 (100.0)	1 (4.3)	1 (4.4)	-	21 (91.3)	23 (100.0)
Tharu	106 (79.1)	22 (16.4)	5 (3.7)	1 (0.8)	134 (100.0)	55 (41.1)	41 (30.6)	22 (16.4)	16 (11.9)	134 (100.0)	56 (33.1)	71 (42.0)	22 (13.0)	20 (11.9)	169 (100.0)	-	-	1 (0.7)	133 (99.3)	134 (100.0)
Kaithili	35 (41.2)	40 (47.0)	10 (11.8)	-	85 (100.0)	35 (41.2)	12 (14.1)	20 (23.5)	18 (21.2)	85 (100.0)	49 (36.6)	58 (43.3)	27 (20.1)	-	134 (100.0)	4 (4.7)	-	-	81 (95.3)	85 (100.0)
All Villages	305 (55.6)	211 (38.4)	32 (5.8)	1 (0.2)	549 (100.0)	149 (27.1)	181 (33.0)	81 (14.8)	138 (25.1)	549 (100.0)	304 (39.9)	299 (39.2)	125 (16.4)	34 (4.5)	762 (100.0)	7 (1.3)	15 (2.7)	5 (0.9)	522 (95.1)	549 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.16

MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON BORROWING BY VILLAGE

(In number of decisions)

Stages & Sex Village	Suggested				Consulted				Decided				Disagreed			
	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	No one	Total	
Baragaonle	13 (61.9)	1 (4.8)	7 (33.3)	-	21 (100.0)	1 (4.8)	10 (47.6)	1 (4.8)	9 (42.8)	21 (100.0)	11 (52.4)	1 (4.8)	9 (42.8)	-	21 (100.0)	
Lohorung Rai	30 (62.5)	17 (35.4)	1 (2.1)	-	48 (100.0)	12 (25.0)	30 (62.5)	1 (2.1)	10 (20.8)	48 (100.0)	25 (52.1)	13 (27.1)	10 (20.8)	3 (6.2)	48 (100.0)	
Kham Magar	7 (28.0)	17 (68.0)	1 (4.0)	-	25 (100.0)	2 (8.0)	8 (32.0)	9 (36.0)	14 (56.0)	25 (100.0)	-	7 (28.0)	14 (56.0)	-	25 (100.0)	
Parbatiya	41 (80.4)	9 (17.6)	1 (2.0)	-	51 (100.0)	12 (23.5)	20 (39.2)	8 (15.7)	1 (2.0)	51 (100.0)	43 (84.3)	6 (11.7)	1 (2.0)	1 (2.0)	51 (100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	17 (65.4)	8 (30.8)	1 (3.8)	-	26 (100.0)	5 (19.2)	11 (42.3)	1 (3.9)	7 (26.9)	26 (100.0)	18 (69.2)	7 (26.9)	1 (3.9)	-	26 (100.0)	
Tamang	19 (63.3)	6 (20.0)	5 (16.7)	-	30 (100.0)	3 (10.0)	18 (60.0)	5 (16.7)	8 (26.7)	30 (100.0)	18 (60.0)	3 (10.0)	8 (26.7)	1 (3.3)	30 (100.0)	
Tharu	24 (82.8)	5 (17.2)	-	-	29 (100.0)	20 (69.0)	-	8 (27.6)	10 (34.5)	29 (100.0)	10 (34.5)	2 (6.9)	10 (34.5)	-	29 (100.0)	
Maithali	15 (60.0)	6 (24.0)	4 (16.0)	-	25 (100.0)	7 (28.0)	7 (28.0)	7 (28.0)	8 (32.0)	25 (100.0)	15 (60.0)	1 (4.0)	8 (32.0)	-	25 (100.0)	
All Villages	166 (65.1)	69 (27.1)	20 (7.8)	-	255 (100.0)	62 (24.3)	104 (40.8)	40 (15.7)	61 (23.9)	255 (100.0)	140 (54.9)	40 (15.7)	61 (23.9)	12 (4.7)	255 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

by a woman cannot be settled out of her husband's ancestral property,¹ it had been our expectation that major household borrowing such as that discussed above would be primarily in the hands of men. We therefore collected another set of data in an attempt to ascertain the availability and use of personal credit by both male and female household members. However, since the village household does function as an economic unit -- in the poorer stratum especially -- the focus is primarily on the common need to maintain a subsistence level, we feel that many respondents were not able to make the distinction between personal and household credit. It may not have made sense to them. Other than the small scale informal loan network discussed earlier (Table 4.12) very few major loans appear to be personal. Of the 455 persons interviewed only 38.9 percent had taken credit (Table 4.17). Of these, 61.6 percent were men and 32.4 percent were women. Of the males interviewed 56 percent had taken loans while only 26 percent of the females interviewed had done so. Most of the respondents (male and female) who had not borrowed said it was because they had no need of credit or they did not want to be in debt. There is no significant difference in the percentages of men and women who had not taken credit because of non-availability (Table 4.18).

The data in Table 4.19 on sources of credit show that somewhat surprisingly, the percentage of men and women taking credit from institutions was almost equal, though in absolute numbers more than twice as many men had gone to institutions. Women borrowers showed a much higher dependence than men on relatives as a source of credit. However, the key difference in male and female borrowing patterns emerges from the data in Table 4.20 on the type of collateral pledged. About 20 percent of the men pledged land in order to obtain credit while only 4.5 percent of the women did so. A higher percentage of women (74.6 percent) as compared to men (67.5 percent) pledged no collateral.

Earlier in Chapter III we discussed the need for villagers to understand the workings of the growing number of outside institutions and bureaucratic systems associated with the development process. It was mentioned that in most communities men were generally the ones who had the skills necessary to interact successfully with such systems. Looking at the data in Table 4.21 it is apparent that lack of

¹Mulki Ain, Chapter 1, 7, Part 3, Section 9 and also see Bennett, Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women, Vol. 1, Part 2, Center for Economic Development and Administration CEDA, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, 1977, p. 40 for fuller discussion of the implications of this law.

TABLE 4.17

CREDIT USE BY SEX AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Response		Have Taken Credit	Have Not	No Answer	Total
Village/Sex					
Baragaonle	Male	7 (41.2)	10 (58.8)	-	17 (100.0)
	Female	6 (21.4)	22 (78.6)	-	28 (100.0)
	Both	13 (28.9)	32 (71.1)	-	45 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	Male	23 (79.3)	6 (20.7)	-	29 (100.0)
	Female	10 (34.5)	19 (65.5)	-	29 (100.0)
	Both	33 (56.9)	25 (43.1)	-	58 (100.0)
Kham Magar	Male	7 (38.9)	11 (61.1)	-	18 (100.0)
	Female	9 (27.3)	24 (72.7)	-	33 (100.0)
	Both	16 (31.4)	35 (68.6)	-	51 (100.0)
Parbatiya	Male	23 (65.7)	9 (25.7)	3 (8.6)	35 (100.0)
	Female	16 (45.7)	18 (51.4)	1 (2.9)	35 (100.0)
	Both	39 (55.7)	27 (38.6)	4 (5.7)	70 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	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)
Tamang	Male	5 (33.3)	10 (66.7)	-	15 (100.0)
	Female	5 (18.5)	22 (81.5)	-	27 (100.0)
	Both	10 (23.8)	32 (76.2)	-	42 (100.0)
Tharu	Male	26 (74.3)	9 (25.7)	-	35 (100.0)
	Female	14 (37.8)	23 (62.2)	-	37 (100.0)
	Both	40 (55.6)	32 (44.4)	-	72 (100.0)
Maithili	Male	6 (33.3)	12 (66.7)	-	18 (100.0)
	Female	5 (15.1)	28 (84.9)	-	33 (100.0)
	Both	11 (21.6)	40 (78.4)	-	51 (100.0)
All Villages	Male	109 (56.2)	82 (42.3)	3 (1.5)	194 (100.0)
	Female	68 (26.0)	192 (73.6)	1 (0.4)	261 (100.0)
	Both	177 (38.9)	274 (60.2)	4 (0.9)	455 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 4.18

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING PERSONAL LOANS BY SEX AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Response Village/Sex		Number of Persons Who did not Borrow, Because				
		Not Available	No Need	Did not like to Borrow	Other	Total
Baragaonle	Male	1 (7.7)	9 (69.2)	3 (23.1)	-	13 (100.0)
	Female	-	21 (95.5)	-	1 (4.5)	22 (100.0)
	Both	1 (2.9)	30 (85.7)	3 (8.6)	1 (2.8)	35 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	Male	2 (33.3)	3 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	-	6 (100.0)
	Female	3 (13.0)	13 (56.5)	1 (4.4)	6 (26.1)	23 (100.0)
	Both	5 (17.2)	16 (55.2)	2 (6.9)	6 (20.7)	29 (100.0)
Kham Magar	Male	1 (10.0)	5 (50.0)	-	4 (40.0)	10 (100.0)
	Female	-	12 (48.0)	4 (16.0)	9 (36.0)	25 (100.0)
	Both	1 (2.9)	17 (48.6)	4 (11.4)	13 (37.1)	35 (100.0)
Parbatiya	Male	-	6 (66.7)	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	9 (100.0)
	Female	2 (11.1)	9 (50.0)	1 (5.6)	6 (33.3)	18 (100.0)
	Both	2 (7.4)	15 (55.6)	3 (11.1)	7 (25.9)	27 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	Male	4 (26.7)	8 (53.3)	2 (13.3)	1 (6.7)	15 (100.0)
	Female	4 (11.4)	19 (54.3)	8 (22.9)	4 (11.4)	35 (100.0)
	Both	8 (16.0)	27 (54.0)	10 (20.0)	5 (10.0)	50 (100.0)
Tamang	Male	-	6 (60.0)	-	4 (40.0)	10 (100.0)
	Female	6 (27.3)	8 (36.3)	2 (9.1)	6 (27.3)	22 (100.0)
	Both	6 (18.8)	14 (43.8)	2 (6.2)	10 (31.2)	32 (100.0)
Tharu	Male	1 (10.0)	4 (40.0)	5 (50.0)	-	10 (100.0)
	Female	-	12 (57.1)	8 (38.1)	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)
	Both	1 (3.2)	16 (51.6)	13 (42.0)	1 (3.2)	31 (100.0)
Maithili	Male	1 (9.1)	7 (63.6)	3 (27.3)	-	11 (100.0)
	Female	1 (3.9)	22 (84.6)	3 (11.5)	-	26 (100.0)
	Both	2 (5.4)	29 (78.4)	6 (16.2)	-	37 (100.0)
All Villages	Male	10 (11.9)	48 (57.1)	16 (19.1)	10 (11.9)	84 (100.0)
	Female	16 (8.3)	116 (60.4)	27 (14.1)	33 (17.2)	192 (100.0)
	Both	26 (9.4)	164 (59.4)	43 (15.6)	43 (15.6)	276 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 4.19

SOURCES OF CREDIT BY SEX AND VILLAGE

(In number)

Response Village/Sex		Sources				
		Institutional	Money Lender	Relatives	Friends and Neighbors	Total
Baragaonle	Male	-	7 (100.0)	-	-	7 (100.0)
	Female	-	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	-	6 (100.0)
	Both	-	12 (92.3)	1 (7.7)	-	13 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	Male	4 (10.8)	9 (24.3)	14 (37.9)	10 (27.0)	37 (100.0)
	Female	-	2 (18.2)	8 (72.7)	1 (9.1)	11 (100.0)
	Both	4 (8.3)	11 (22.9)	22 (45.9)	11 (22.9)	48 (100.0)
Kham Magar	Male	1 (12.5)	-	2 (25.0)	5 (62.5)	8 (100.0)
	Female	5 (50.0)	-	2 (20.0)	3 (30.0)	10 (100.0)
	Both	6 (33.3)	-	4 (22.2)	8 (44.5)	18 (100.0)
Parbatiya	Male	5 (14.3)	13 (37.1)	3 (8.6)	14 (40.0)	35 (100.0)
	Female	1 (6.2)	2 (12.5)	6 (37.5)	7 (43.8)	16 (100.0)
	Both	6 (11.8)	15 (29.4)	9 (17.6)	21 (41.2)	51 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	Male	3 (25.0)	3 (25.0)	-	6 (50.0)	12 (100.0)
	Female	1 (33.3)	-	2 (66.7)	-	3 (100.0)
	Both	4 (26.7)	3 (20.0)	2 (13.3)	6 (40.0)	15 (100.0)
Tamang	Male	-	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
	Female	-	-	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	5 (100.0)
	Both	-	2 (20.0)	3 (30.0)	5 (50.0)	10 (100.0)
Tharu	Male	7 (18.0)	5 (12.8)	14 (35.9)	13 (33.3)	39 (100.0)
	Female	-	-	8 (47.1)	9 (52.9)	17 (100.0)
	Both	7 (12.5)	5 (8.9)	22 (39.3)	22 (39.3)	56 (100.0)
Maithili	Male	6 (66.7)	-	1 (11.1)	2 (22.2)	9 (100.0)
	Female	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	-	-	5 (100.0)
	Both	10 (71.4)	1 (7.1)	1 (7.2)	2 (14.3)	14 (100.0)
All Villages	Male	26 (17.1)	39 (25.7)	35 (23.0)	52 (34.2)	152 (100.0)
	Female	11 (15.1)	10 (13.7)	29 (39.7)	23 (31.5)	73 (100.0)
	Both	37 (16.4)	49 (21.8)	64 (28.5)	75 (33.3)	225 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 4.20
TYPE OF COLLATERAL PLEDGED BY SEX AND VILLAGE

Village/Sex		Response		Number of Borrowers Who Pledged										Total
		Land House	Gold Silver	Labor	Animal	Others	No Collateral							
Baragaonle	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	
	Both	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	
Lohorung Rai	Male	-	4 (16.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 (83.3)	24 (100.0)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	
	Both	-	4 (11.8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30 (88.2)	34 (100.0)	
Kham Magar	Male	-	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	6 (75.0)	8 (100.0)	
	Female	-	5 (55.5)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (44.5)	9 (100.0)	
	Both	-	6 (35.3)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.9)	-	-	-	10 (58.8)	17 (100.0)	
Parbatiya	Male	6 (26.1)	2 (8.7)	-	-	-	-	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)	-	-	13 (56.5)	23 (100.0)	
	Female	1 (6.7)	3 (20.0)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (13.3)	-	-	9 (60.0)	15 (100.0)	
	Both	7 (18.4)	5 (13.2)	-	-	-	-	1 (2.6)	3 (7.9)	-	-	22 (57.9)	38 (100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	Male	9 (75.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (25.0)	12 (100.0)	
	Female	1 (33.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (66.7)	3 (100.0)	
	Both	10 (66.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (33.3)	15 (100.0)	
Tamang	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	
	Both	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	
Tharu	Male	7 (21.9)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 (78.1)	32 (100.0)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	
	Both	7 (15.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39 (84.8)	46 (100.0)	
Maithili	Male	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (100.0)	
	Female	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (100.0)	
	Both	2 (18.2)	9 (81.8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 (100.0)	
All Aillages	Male	23 (19.7)	12 (10.3)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.8)	2 (1.7)	-	-	79 (67.5)	117 (100.0)	
	Female	3 (4.5)	12 (17.9)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (3.0)	-	-	50 (74.6)	67 (100.0)	
	Both	26 (14.1)	24 (13.1)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)	4 (2.2)	-	-	129 (70.1)	184 (100.0)	

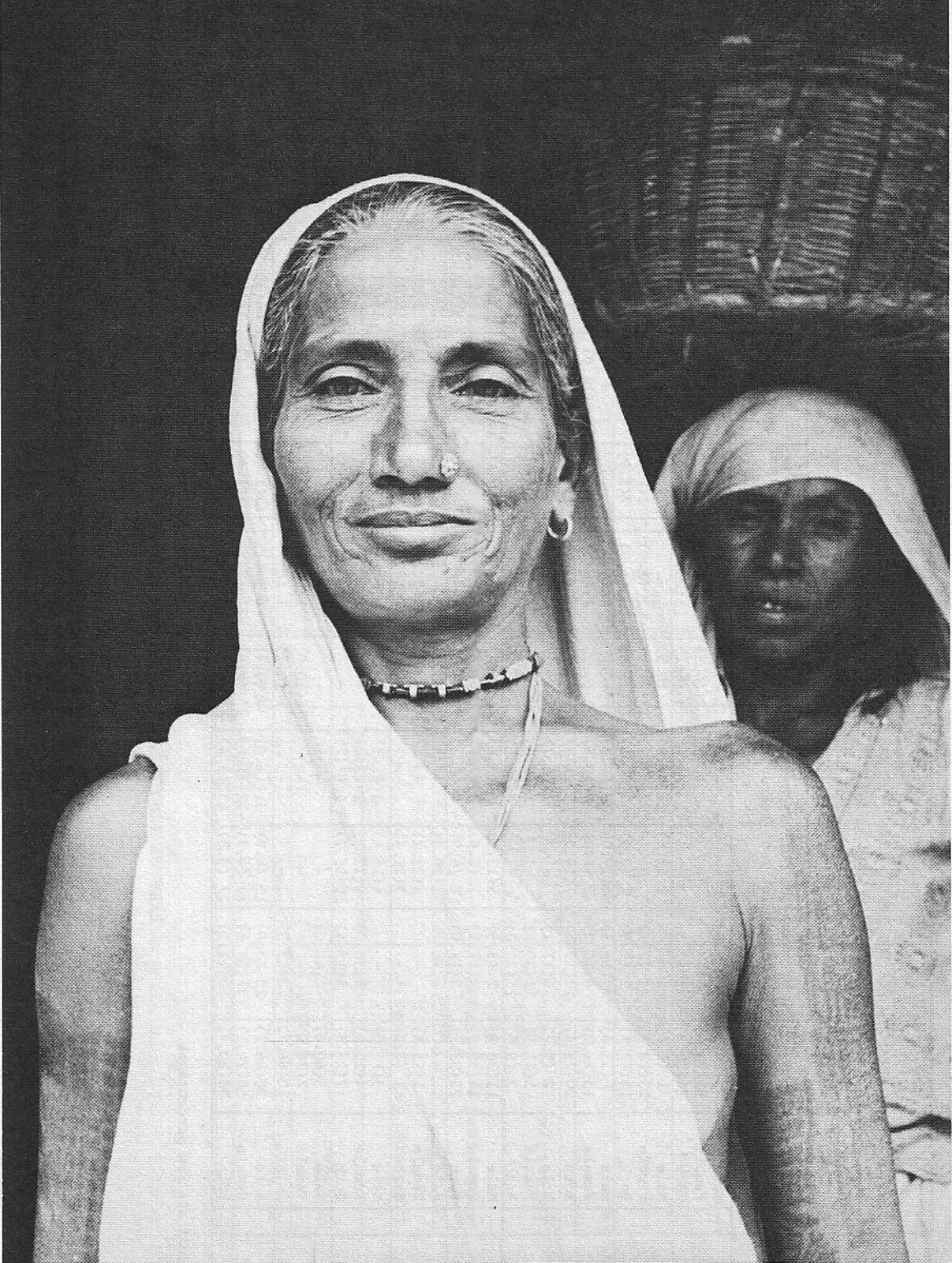
Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE 4.21
REASONS FOR NOT TAKING INSTITUTIONAL LOAN BY SEX & VILLAGE

Response		Reasons										Total
		No need	Do not like to borrow	Too much interest	Repayment schedules too strict	Forms difficult to write	No connections with Institutions	Not treated with respect	Do not know how to get credit	Other		
Baragaonle	Male	3(14.3)	1 (4.8)	-	-	1 (4.7)	4(19.0)	-	1 (4.8)	11(52.4)	21(100.0)	
	Female	11(23.9)	-	-	-	2 (4.3)	12(26.1)	1(2.2)	3 (6.5)	17(37.0)	46(100.0)	
	Both	14(20.9)	1 (1.5)	-	-	3 (4.5)	16(23.9)	1(1.5)	4 (5.9)	28(41.8)	67(100.0)	
Lohorong Rai	Male	1 (2.6)	-	1 (2.6)	22(57.9)	4(10.5)	-	-	1 (2.7)	9(23.7)	38(100.0)	
	Female	13(18.8)	2 (2.9)	-	22(31.9)	17(24.6)	2 (2.9)	2(2.9)	2 (2.9)	9(13.1)	69(100.0)	
	Both	14(13.1)	2 (1.9)	1 (0.9)	44(41.1)	21(19.6)	2 (1.9)	2(1.9)	3 (2.8)	18(16.8)	107(100.0)	
Kham Magar	Male	7(33.3)	4(19.1)	4(19.0)	3(14.3)	-	1 (4.8)	-	-	2 (9.5)	21(100.0)	
	Female	13(27.7)	9(19.2)	3 (6.4)	5(10.6)	2 (4.2)	4 (8.5)	1(2.1)	7(14.9)	3 (6.4)	47(100.0)	
	Both	20(29.4)	13(19.1)	7(10.3)	8(11.8)	2 (2.9)	5 (7.4)	1(1.5)	7(10.3)	5 (7.3)	68(100.0)	
Parbatiya	Male	2 (5.7)	6(17.1)	-	2 (5.7)	-	1 (2.9)	3(8.6)	7(20.0)	14(40.0)	35(100.0)	
	Female	5(13.9)	11(30.6)	-	1 (2.8)	-	-	-	17(47.2)	2 (5.5)	36(100.0)	
	Both	7 (9.9)	17(24.0)	-	3 (4.2)	-	1 (1.4)	3(4.2)	24(33.8)	16(22.5)	71(100.0)	
Newar, Jyapu	Male	11(30.6)	2 (5.5)	5(13.9)	1 (2.8)	1 (2.8)	-	-	2 (5.5)	14(38.9)	36(100.0)	
	Female	14(35.9)	7(17.9)	1 (2.6)	3 (7.7)	1 (2.6)	-	-	6(15.4)	7(17.9)	39(100.0)	
	Both	25(33.3)	9(12.0)	6 (8.0)	4 (5.3)	2 (2.7)	-	-	8(10.7)	21(28.0)	75(100.0)	
Tamang	Male	-	-	1(20.0)	-	3(60.0)	-	-	1(20.0)	-	5(100.0)	
	Female	1(11.1)	-	2(22.2)	-	-	2(22.2)	-	1(11.1)	3(33.4)	9(100.0)	
	Both	1 (7.2)	-	3(21.4)	-	3(21.4)	2(14.3)	-	2(14.3)	3(21.4)	14(100.0)	
Tharu	Male	3(11.5)	-	4(15.4)	3(11.5)	-	-	-	-	16(61.6)	26(100.0)	
	Female	4(15.4)	8(30.8)	6(23.1)	1 (3.8)	-	-	-	-	7(26.9)	26(100.0)	
	Both	7(13.5)	8(15.4)	10(19.2)	4 (7.7)	-	-	-	-	23(44.2)	52(100.0)	
Maithili	Male	3(60.0)	2(40.0)	-	-	-	1(10.0)	-	-	-	5(100.0)	
	Female	7(70.0)	-	-	-	-	1(6.7)	-	-	-	10(100.0)	
	Both	10(66.7)	2(13.3)	-	-	1 (6.7)	1 (6.7)	-	1 (6.6)	-	15(100.0)	
All Villages	Male	30(16.1)	15 (8.0)	15 (8.0)	31(16.6)	9 (4.8)	6 (3.2)	3(1.6)	12 (6.4)	66(35.3)	187(100.0)	
	Female	68(24.1)	37(13.1)	12 (4.3)	32(11.3)	23 (8.2)	21 (7.5)	4(1.4)	37(13.1)	48(17.0)	282(100.0)	
	Both	98(20.9)	52(11.1)	27 (5.8)	63(13.4)	32 (6.8)	27 (5.8)	7(1.5)	49(10.4)	114(24.3)	469(100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

(in number)



Nirmal Tuladhar

Portrait of a Maithili woman whose confident bearing belies the fact that among the eight villages sampled Maithili women showed the lowest level of participation in overall household decision making.

skills in dealing with formal credit institutions affected women far more than men. If we consider the number of responses citing bureaucratic difficulties such as inability to fill out forms, lack of connections with the office personnel, lack of knowledge of the procedure for getting credit or simply the feeling that the institution staff did not treat them respectfully, female responses outnumber male nearly 3 to 1.

Capital Transactions

Buying and Selling Land and Major Animals

Like credit transactions, major capital transactions in land and large animals are largely the province of men. Since landed property is inherited patrilineally in all the communities studied, the right to dispose of ancestral property lies almost invariably with men, so this is the expected pattern. The data in Table 4.22 show that men make these decisions on their own in 59 percent of the cases (versus 11.1 percent made by women alone). This pattern holds for all the villages, although the degree of male pre-eminence is much greater in the Parbatiya and Newar communities where men alone made 91.1 percent and 85 percent respectively of these decisions. In other communities there was a greater percentage of joint decisions ranging from a high of 63 percent among the Kham Magar to 18.4 percent among the Rai. The smaller percentage of joint decisions amongst the Rai (where as we have seen, female participation in decision making is generally high) is offset by the fact that this community shows the highest proportion (31 percent) of major capital transaction decisions made by women alone.

Entrepreneurial and Other Capital Transactions

This category includes decisions to start up or improve a cottage industry, open a tea stall, beer shop or hotel, engage in trade, buy gold or jewelry, sell home produced craft items, family ornaments or other movable property. The aggregate data in Table 4.22 show that this is an area where women have substantial control over the decision making process, making 54.5 percent of the decisions on their own (versus 24.4 percent by men). As we would expect from our earlier discussion of the importance of female entrepreneurship among the Baragaonle, Rai and Magar groups studied, women in these communities show the highest input in this area of decision making. Lohorung Rai women lead (deciding about such matters on their own in 73.7 percent of the cases), followed by Baragaonle and

TABLE 4.22
MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING ROLES IN CAPITAL TRANSACTIONS BY VILLAGE

Decision/Sex Village	Major Capital Transactions (Land and Major Animals)				Entrepreneurial and Other* Capital Transactions				(In number of decisions)	
	Male	Female	Both	Tradit- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradit- tional	Total
Baragaonle	26 (61.9)	4 (9.5)	12 (28.6)	-	42 (100.0)	32 (9.8)	227 (69.4)	60 (18.3)	8 (2.5)	327 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	33 (43.4)	24 (31.6)	14 (18.4)	5 (6.6)	76 (100.0)	7 (18.4)	28 (73.7)	2 (5.3)	1 (2.6)	38 (100.0)
Kham Magar	7 (25.9)	-	17 (63.0)	3 (11.1)	27 (100.0)	2 (4.9)	25 (61.0)	2 (4.9)	12 (29.2)	41 (100.0)
Parbatiya	71 (91.0)	3 (3.9)	4 (5.1)	-	78 (100.0)	55 (83.3)	8 (12.1)	3 (4.6)	-	66 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	17 (85.0)	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)	-	20 (100.0)	19 (73.1)	2 (7.7)	4 (15.4)	1 (3.8)	26 (100.0)
Tamang	11 (39.3)	4 (14.3)	9 (32.1)	4 (14.3)	28 (100.0)	2 (22.2)	3 (33.3)	3 (33.4)	1 (11.1)	9 (100.0)
Tharu	28 (63.6)	-	11 (25.0)	5 (11.4)	44 (100.0)	16 (51.6)	3 (9.7)	5 (16.1)	7 (22.6)	31 (100.0)
Maithili	20 (43.5)	4 (8.7)	17 (37.0)	5 (10.8)	46 (100.0)	-	1 (14.2)	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)	7 (100.0)
All Villages	213 (59.0)	40 (11.1)	86 (23.8)	22 (6.1)	361 (100.0)	133 (24.4)	297 (54.5)	82 (15.0)	33 (6.1)	545 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

* Includes decision to 1) start cottage industry, 2) open tea stall or hotel, 3) engage in trade, 4) buy gold or jewellery, 5) sell items manufactured in home, 6) sell family ornaments and other movable property.

Kham Magar women (69.4 percent and 61 percent respectively). Tamang women also show pre-eminence over men in this area but not by the same margin as in the other non-dichotomous communities. Among the dichotomous communities only the Maithili women follow the aggregate pattern of higher female input -- although the sparse number of such decisions in this community and among the Tamang make interpretation of the data from either community somewhat uncertain. The remaining three dichotomous communities, the Parbatiya, Newar and Tharu, show the familiar pattern of male-predominance.

It is important to note that the number of such entrepreneurial decisions reported for the Baragaonle village, Kagbeni, is much higher than for any other community, confirming our earlier observation about the importance of trade and entrepreneurship in that community. The next highest number of entrepreneurial decisions reported was for the Parbatiya community of Bakundol whose large contingent of male untouchable Sarki engage in shoe-making activities and whose male high caste citizens are active in the dairy business.

The data in Table 4.23 for the overall area of capital transaction show definite male predominance in five out of the eight villages. However, because of the high number of entrepreneurial decisions reported for Kagbeni and the marked control of Baragaonle women in this area, the aggregate data shows only a slight male lead for capital transaction decisions. For the initiating role the same pattern of male predominance in five out of the eight communities is evident although because of the significantly higher input of Baragaonle women, the aggregate data show a slight female lead in this area.

Overview of Decision Making in Light of the Inside/Outside Dichotomy

The eight village summary data presented in Tables 4.24 and 4.25, give us a broad overview of female participation in decision making. In terms of stages of the decision making process shown in Table 4.24 women make their greatest contribution in the suggesting role, initiating the decision making process in 53.7 percent of the cases. Their role in giving advice on the other hand, was low in all of the villages with an average of only 18.5 percent of the decisions involving consultation with women. In a surprisingly high 41.4 percent of the cases decisions were made without consulting other household members. Nevertheless, the level of expressed consensus in most communities remained high with disagreement arising in only 3.3 percent of the cases. It should be noted however, that respondents were probably not always willing to report on household disagreements. Moreover, it is obvious that unexpressed or indirect dissent could

TABLE 4.23

MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON CAPITAL TRANSACTIONS BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex Village	Suggested										Consulted						Decided						Disagreed							
	Male		Female		Both		Tradi- tional		Total		Male		Female		Both		Tradi- tional		Total		Male		Female		Both		Tradi- tional		Total	
	(19.0)	(64.5)	(14.9)	(55)	(2.6)	(3)	(1.6)	(369)	(100.0)	(11)	(3.0)	(3.8)	(14)	(338)	(91.6)	(100.0)	(58)	(15.7)	(72)	(19.5)	(8)	(2.2)	(369)	(100.0)	(1)	(0.3)	(0.3)	(367)	(99.4)	(100.0)
Baragaonle	70	238	55	6	369	6	338	369	58	231	72	8	369	1	1	-	367	369	369	1	1	-	367	369	1	1	-	367	369	369
Lohorung Rai	40	71	3	-	114	-	25	114	40	52	16	6	114	2	1	-	111	114	114	2	1	-	111	114	2	1	-	111	114	114
Kham Magar	22	33	8	5	68	7.3	35	68	9	25	19	15	68	-	1	-	67	68	68	-	1	-	67	68	-	1	-	67	68	68
Parbatiya	113	30	1	-	144	-	54	144	126	11	7	-	144	5	10	5	124	144	144	5	10	5	124	144	5	10	5	124	144	144
Newar, Jyapu	29	16	1	-	46	-	8	46	36	3	6	1	46	-	2	3	41	46	46	-	2	3	41	46	-	2	3	41	46	46
Tamang	20	13	4	-	37	-	5	37	13	7	12	5	37	-	1	-	36	37	37	-	1	-	36	37	-	1	-	36	37	37
Tharu	67	5	3	-	75	-	3	75	44	3	16	12	75	1	-	-	74	75	75	1	-	-	74	75	1	-	74	75	75	75
Maithili	33	10	9	1	53	1.8	6	53	20	5	20	8	53	1	3	-	49	53	53	1	3	-	49	53	1	3	-	49	53	53
All Villages	394	416	84	12	906	1.3	474	906	346	337	168	55	906	10	19	8	869	906	906	10	19	8	869	906	10	19	8	869	906	906

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

TABLE 4.24
MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON ALL CATEGORIES BY VILLAGE

Stages & Sex Village	Suggested						Consulted						Decided						Disagreed							
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total			
		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		
Baragaonle	253 (22.1)	318 (27.8)	16 (1.4)	53 (4.6)	1144 (100.0)	19 (1.7)	39 (3.4)	1033 (90.3)	1144 (100.0)	255 (16.3)	350 (22.4)	341 (21.9)	614 (39.4)	220 (10.5)	318 (15.1)	81 (3.8)	1560 (100.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1141 (99.7)	1 (0.1)	1144 (100.0)
Lohorung Rai	217 (23.0)	688 (72.8)	19 (2.0)	253 (26.8)	945 (100.0)	306 (32.4)	36 (3.8)	350 (37.0)	945 (100.0)	220 (10.5)	318 (15.1)	81 (3.8)	1486 (70.6)	220 (10.5)	318 (15.1)	81 (3.8)	2105 (100.0)	8 (0.8)	11 (1.2)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	925 (97.9)	1 (0.1)	945 (100.0)
Kham Nagar	101 (23.7)	208 (48.8)	26 (6.1)	71 (16.7)	426 (100.0)	26 (6.1)	132 (31.0)	197 (46.2)	426 (100.0)	115 (8.7)	204 (34.9)	546 (41.1)	204 (34.9)	115 (8.7)	204 (34.9)	546 (41.1)	1329 (100.0)	-	2 (0.5)	-	2 (0.5)	-	2 (0.5)	424 (99.5)	2 (0.5)	426 (100.0)
Parbatiya	440 (43.4)	511 (50.5)	50 (4.9)	243 (24.0)	1013 (100.0)	383 (37.8)	97 (9.6)	290 (28.6)	1013 (100.0)	1226 (59.1)	82 (3.9)	49 (2.4)	719 (35.6)	594 (42.2)	126 (9.0)	199 (14.1)	2076 (100.0)	28 (2.8)	50 (4.9)	9 (0.9)	9 (0.9)	9 (0.9)	9 (0.9)	926 (91.4)	9 (0.9)	1013 (100.0)
Newar, Jyapu	220 (41.2)	294 (55.1)	6 (1.1)	117 (21.9)	534 (100.0)	184 (34.5)	36 (6.7)	197 (36.9)	534 (100.0)	594 (42.2)	126 (9.0)	199 (14.1)	488 (34.7)	594 (42.2)	126 (9.0)	199 (14.1)	1407 (100.0)	2 (0.4)	20 (3.7)	3 (0.6)	3 (0.6)	3 (0.6)	509 (95.3)	3 (0.6)	534 (100.0)	
Tamang	90 (26.4)	203 (59.5)	27 (7.9)	78 (22.9)	341 (100.0)	119 (34.9)	49 (14.4)	95 (27.8)	341 (100.0)	201 (19.6)	181 (17.7)	289 (28.2)	354 (34.5)	201 (19.6)	181 (17.7)	289 (28.2)	1025 (100.0)	6 (1.8)	6 (1.8)	-	6 (1.8)	-	329 (96.4)	6 (1.8)	341 (100.0)	
Tharu	357 (52.9)	272 (40.4)	23 (3.3)	141 (20.9)	674 (100.0)	319 (47.3)	100 (14.9)	114 (16.9)	674 (100.0)	479 (33.1)	121 (8.4)	498 (28.1)	441 (30.4)	479 (33.1)	121 (8.4)	498 (28.1)	1449 (100.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	671 (99.6)	1 (0.1)	674 (100.0)	
Maithili	216 (35.8)	315 (52.1)	15 (2.5)	98 (16.2)	604 (100.0)	303 (50.2)	129 (21.4)	74 (12.2)	604 (100.0)	736 (55.0)	193 (14.4)	83 (6.2)	327 (24.4)	736 (55.0)	193 (14.4)	83 (6.2)	1339 (100.0)	21 (3.5)	13 (2.2)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	568 (94.0)	2 (0.3)	604 (100.0)	
All Villages	1894 (33.3)	3048 (53.7)	182 (3.2)	1054 (18.5)	5681 (100.0)	1659 (29.2)	618 (10.9)	2350 (41.4)	5681 (100.0)	3826 (31.1)	1835 (14.9)	1996 (16.3)	4633 (37.7)	3826 (31.1)	1835 (14.9)	1996 (16.3)	12290 (100.0)	67 (1.2)	104 (1.8)	17 (0.3)	17 (0.3)	17 (0.3)	5493 (96.7)	17 (0.3)	5681 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages to the total.

never be captured through a survey. As pointed out earlier, the highest level of dissent occurred in the two villages where males make the largest percentage of the decisions on their own. Fully 46.7 percent of all the cases of dissent occurred in the Parbatiya village and 36 percent occurred in the Maithili village.

As for the female input in the actual decision stage, we must turn to Table 4.25 for a breakdown of the data by area of decision making. Among the three major categories, women's input is greatest in farm management decisions reflecting their active role in the agricultural production process. Although men show a slight lead in the sub-category of labor allocation decisions, women are solely responsible for 41.3 percent of the overall farm management decisions (versus 28.1 percent for men) and they participate jointly with men in another 12.3 percent. These proportions seem quite commensurate with the 52 to 48 ratio of female to male time input into farm production activities shown in Figure 3.5.

In the category of domestic expenditures women also lead in decision making though not by as great a margin as in farm management. Moreover, there are several sub-categories such as Education and Health, and Clothing and Household Durables, as well as Shopping in which men show a marked predominance over women.

In keeping with their general lack of ownership of productive property, women have the lowest input in the third category of decisions regarding the disposal of household production and major capital transactions. Men's pre-dominance is particularly marked in the sub-category of borrowing (where they decide on their own in 60.9 percent of the cases versus 14.4 percent for women) and transactions in land and major animals (59 percent for males versus 11.1 percent for females).

The aggregate of all areas of decision making should be interpreted with caution because of the fact that there are naturally many more small decisions on farm management and domestic expenditures than there are major decisions about land sales etc. Thus, although it appears that women have a greater overall input into household decisions than men because they decide on their own in 39.7 percent of the cases while men do so in only 32.2 percent of the cases, it must be remembered that these aggregate figures include a host of small relatively unimportant decisions along with a few very important ones -- all of which have been given equal weight. As we have already seen, women tend to have more input in the first two categories of farm management and domestic



The community where women appear to have the clearest pre-eminence in the household decision making process is the Lohorung Rai village of Pangma where women made 71.2% of all the recorded decisions on their own. Lohorung women here shown carding wool for family use.

Ane Haaland

Village & Sex		Baragaonle			Lohorung Rai			Magar			
		Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	
I. Out of Village for Income-Earning	Activities										
	1. Out of Village for Herding (Sphere I)	99 (2.6)	61 (1.7)	160 (2.2)	299 (5.2)	220 (3.0)	519 (4.0)	3588 (48.9)	1444 (17.4)	5032 (32.1)	
	2. Out of Village for Employment (Sphere III)	a. Army Service	1 (0)	-	1 (0)	-	-	-	68 (0.9)	-	68 (0.4)
		b. Salaried Employment/ Other Employment	39 (1.0)	-	39 (0.5)	-	5 (0.1)	5 (0)	-	1 (0)	1 (0)
		c. Business/Trade	777 (20.2)	650 (18.3)	1427 (19.3)	1 (0)	4 (0.1)	5 (0)	-	1 (0)	1 (0)
		d. Wage Work	5 (0.1)	4 (0.1)	9 (0.1)	6 (0.1)	1 (0)	7 (0.1)	-	-	-
		e. Other Work/Seeking Employment	6 (0.2)	40 (1.1)	46 (0.6)	28 (0.5)	10 (0.1)	38 (0.3)	142 (1.9)	132 (1.6)	274 (1.8)
Sub-Total for "Out for Employment (a+b+c+d+e)		828 (21.5)	694 (19.6)	1522 (20.6)	35 (0.6)	20 (0.3)	55 (0.4)	210 (2.8)	134 (1.6)	344 (2.2)	
Sub-Total for "Out of Village for Income Earning" (1+2)		927 (24.1)	755 (21.3)	1682 (22.8)	334 (5.8)	240 (3.3)	574 (4.4)	3798 (51.7)	1578 (19.0)	5376 (34.3)	
II. Out for Social/ Education	3. School	89 (2.3)	2 (0.1)	91 (1.2)	4 (0.1)	11 (0.2)	15 (0.1)	149 (2.0)	196 (2.3)	345 (2.2)	
	4. Visit to Relatives	1 (0)	170 (4.8)	171 (2.3)	2 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	366 (5.0)	985 (11.6)	1351 (8.6)	
	5. Other Reasons	249 (6.5)	490 (13.8)	739 (10.0)	101 (1.7)	234 (3.2)	335 (2.6)	3 (0)	2 (0)	5 (0)	
	Sub-Total for "Out for Social/Education" (3+4+5)		339 (8.8)	662 (18.7)	1001 (13.5)	107 (1.8)	246 (3.3)	353 (2.7)	518 (7.1)	1183 (14.2)	1701 (10.9)
III. Total Days Out of Village (I+II)		1266 (32.9)	1417 (40.0)	2683 (36.3)	441 (7.6)	486 (6.6)	927 (7.1)	4316 (58.8)	2761 (33.2)	7077 (45.2)	
IV. Total Days Observed		3849 (100.0)	3545 (100.0)	7394 (100.0)	5787 (100.0)	7333 (100.0)	13120 (100.0)	7343 (100.0)	8312 (100.0)	15655 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE 4.25

MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN THE HOUSEHOLD DECISIONS ON ALL CATEGORIES BY V

Khang Rai			Kham Magar					Parbatiya					Newar, Jyapu			
Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional
3 (2.2)	9 (6.7)	135 (100.0)	3 (3.3)	41 (45.6)	17 (18.9)	29 (32.2)	90 (100.0)	88 (54.7)	55 (34.2)	7 (4.3)	11 (6.8)	161 (100.0)	44 (36.4)	46 (38.0)	31 (25.6)	-
3 (1.3)	28 (2.9)	953 (100.0)	32 (12.8)	93 (37.2)	97 (38.8)	28 (11.2)	250 (100.0)	397 (47.8)	391 (47.2)	41 (5.0)	-	829 (100.0)	190 (27.7)	264 (38.4)	50 (7.3)	183 (26.6)
6 (5.9)	37 (3.4)	1088 (100.0)	35 (10.3)	134 (39.4)	114 (33.5)	57 (16.8)	340 (100.0)	485 (49.0)	446 (45.0)	48 (4.9)	11 (1.1)	990 (100.0)	234 (29.0)	310 (38.4)	81 (10.0)	183 (22.6)
3 (3.5)	-	35 (100.0)	9 (27.3)	22 (66.7)	2 (6.0)	-	33 (100.0)	10 (29.4)	24 (70.6)	-	-	34 (100.0)	15 (45.5)	11 (33.3)	7 (21.2)	-
2 (2.9)	-	35 (100.0)	11 (33.3)	5 (15.2)	17 (51.5)	-	33 (100.0)	21 (61.8)	8 (23.5)	5 (14.7)	-	34 (100.0)	19 (57.6)	7 (21.2)	7 (21.2)	-
3 (6.2)	-	210 (100.0)	5 (7.3)	9 (13.0)	32 (46.4)	23 (33.3)	69 (100.0)	113 (56.2)	87 (43.3)	-	1 (0.5)	201 (100.0)	125 (67.9)	50 (27.2)	9 (4.9)	-
9 (1.8)	1 (0.6)	161 (100.0)	5 (5.7)	15 (17.3)	35 (40.2)	32 (36.8)	87 (100.0)	135 (87.7)	9 (5.8)	10 (6.5)	-	154 (100.0)	77 (66.4)	29 (25.0)	10 (8.6)	-
9 (2.9)	11 (15.7)	70 (100.0)	2 (10.5)	-	13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	19 (100.0)	93 (78.8)	16 (13.6)	4 (3.4)	5 (4.2)	118 (100.0)	22 (66.7)	9 (27.3)	2 (6.0)	-
3 (7.4)	26 (8.4)	309 (100.0)	7 (5.7)	13 (10.6)	30 (24.4)	73 (59.3)	123 (100.0)	133 (45.5)	129 (44.2)	4 (1.4)	26 (8.9)	292 (100.0)	20 (22.7)	48 (54.6)	7 (7.9)	13 (14.8)
8 (5.3)	38 (4.7)	820 (100.0)	39 (10.7)	64 (17.6)	129 (35.4)	132 (36.3)	364 (100.0)	505 (60.6)	273 (32.8)	23 (2.8)	32 (3.8)	833 (100.0)	278 (57.1)	154 (31.6)	42 (8.6)	13 (2.7)
2 (1.3)	-	103 (100.0)	1 (2.8)	19 (54.3)	12 (34.3)	3 (8.6)	35 (100.0)	98 (81.7)	15 (12.5)	7 (5.8)	-	120 (100.0)	62 (58.5)	32 (30.2)	10 (9.4)	2 (1.9)
0 (0.8)	-	48 (100.0)	-	7 (28.0)	14 (56.0)	4 (16.0)	25 (100.0)	43 (84.3)	6 (11.7)	1 (2.0)	1 (2.0)	51 (100.0)	18 (69.2)	7 (26.9)	1 (3.9)	-
- (8.4)	5 (6.6)	76 (100.0)	7 (25.9)	-	17 (63.0)	3 (11.1)	27 (100.0)	71 (91.1)	3 (3.8)	4 (5.1)	-	78 (100.0)	17 (85.0)	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)	-
2 (5.3)	1 (2.6)	38 (100.0)	2 (4.9)	25 (61.0)	2 (4.9)	12 (29.2)	41 (100.0)	55 (83.3)	8 (12.1)	3 (4.6)	-	66 (100.0)	19 (73.1)	2 (7.7)	4 (15.4)	1 (3.8)
8 (5.1)	6 (2.3)	265 (100.0)	10 (7.8)	51 (39.8)	45 (35.2)	22 (17.2)	128 (100.0)	267 (84.8)	32 (10.1)	15 (4.8)	1 (0.3)	315 (100.0)	116 (65.2)	42 (23.6)	17 (9.5)	3 (1.7)
2 (1.8)	81 (3.7)	2173 (100.0)	84 (10.1)	249 (29.9)	288 (34.6)	211 (25.4)	832 (100.0)	1257 (58.8)	751 (35.1)	86 (4.0)	44 (2.1)	2138 (100.0)	628 (42.6)	506 (34.4)	140 (9.5)	199 (13.5)

REGORIES BY VILLAGE - SUMMARY

Jyapu			Tamang					Tharu					Maithili			
Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Tradi- tional
31 (25.6)	-	121 (100.0)	42 (41.2)	49 (48.0)	11 (10.8)	-	102 (100.0)	113 (88.3)	15 (11.7)	-	-	128 (100.0)	53 (94.6)	2 (3.6)	1 (1.8)	-
50 (7.3)	183 (26.6)	687 (100.0)	60 (11.1)	159 (29.3)	103 (19.0)	220 (40.6)	542 (100.0)	116 (20.1)	277 (47.9)	27 (4.7)	158 (27.3)	578 (100.0)	357 (60.8)	108 (18.4)	74 (12.6)	48 (8.2)
31 (10.0)	183 (22.6)	808 (100.0)	102 (15.8)	208 (32.3)	114 (17.7)	220 (34.2)	644 (100.0)	229 (32.4)	292 (41.4)	27 (3.8)	158 (22.4)	706 (100.0)	410 (63.7)	110 (17.1)	75 (11.7)	48 (7.5)
7 (21.2)	-	33 (100.0)	9 (27.3)	19 (57.6)	5 (15.1)	-	33 (100.0)	33 (94.3)	2 (5.7)	-	-	35 (100.0)	26 (74.3)	9 (25.7)	-	-
7 (21.2)	-	33 (100.0)	8 (24.2)	17 (51.5)	8 (24.3)	-	33 (100.0)	30 (85.7)	4 (11.4)	1 (2.9)	-	35 (100.0)	24 (68.6)	8 (22.8)	3 (8.6)	-
9 (4.9)	-	184 (100.0)	24 (17.9)	71 (53.0)	18 (13.4)	21 (15.7)	134 (100.0)	57 (43.9)	30 (23.1)	2 (1.5)	41 (31.5)	130 (100.0)	75 (39.3)	98 (51.3)	13 (6.8)	5 (2.6)
10 (8.6)	-	116 (100.0)	20 (27.8)	26 (36.1)	13 (18.0)	13 (18.1)	72 (100.0)	39 (35.5)	26 (23.6)	20 (18.2)	25 (22.7)	110 (100.0)	82 (60.3)	26 (19.1)	23 (16.9)	5 (3.7)
2 (6.0)	-	33 (100.0)	6 (37.5)	4 (25.0)	1 (6.2)	5 (31.3)	16 (100.0)	13 (24.1)	2 (3.7)	2 (3.7)	37 (68.5)	54 (100.0)	38 (62.3)	8 (13.1)	8 (13.1)	7 (11.5)
7 (7.9)	13 (14.8)	88 (100.0)	6 (9.7)	23 (37.1)	12 (19.4)	21 (33.8)	62 (100.0)	28 (16.4)	15 (8.8)	21 (12.3)	107 (62.5)	171 (100.0)	44 (50.0)	19 (21.6)	19 (21.6)	6 (6.8)
42 (8.6)	13 (2.7)	487 (100.0)	73 (20.9)	160 (45.7)	57 (16.3)	60 (17.1)	350 (100.0)	200 (37.4)	79 (14.8)	46 (8.6)	210 (39.2)	535 (100.0)	289 (52.9)	168 (30.8)	66 (12.1)	23 (4.2)
10 (9.4)	2 (1.9)	106 (100.0)	12 (41.4)	12 (41.4)	2 (6.9)	3 (10.3)	29 (100.0)	56 (33.1)	71 (42.0)	22 (13.0)	20 (11.9)	169 (100.0)	49 (36.6)	58 (43.3)	27 (20.1)	-
1 (3.9)	-	26 (100.0)	18 (60.0)	3 (10.0)	8 (26.7)	1 (3.3)	30 (100.0)	10 (34.5)	2 (6.9)	10 (34.5)	7 (24.1)	29 (100.0)	15 (60.0)	1 (4.0)	8 (32.0)	1 (4.0)
2 (10.0)	-	20 (100.0)	11 (39.3)	4 (14.3)	9 (32.1)	4 (14.3)	28 (100.0)	28 (63.6)	-	11 (25.0)	5 (11.4)	44 (100.0)	20 (43.5)	4 (8.7)	17 (37.0)	5 (10.8)
4 (15.4)	1 (3.8)	26 (100.0)	2 (22.2)	3 (33.3)	3 (33.4)	1 (11.1)	9 (100.0)	16 (51.6)	3 (9.7)	5 (16.1)	7 (22.6)	31 (100.0)	-	1 (14.2)	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)
17 (9.5)	3 (1.7)	178 (100.0)	43 (44.8)	22 (22.9)	22 (22.9)	9 (9.4)	96 (100.0)	110 (40.3)	76 (27.8)	48 (17.6)	39 (14.3)	273 (100.0)	84 (39.6)	64 (30.2)	55 (25.9)	9 (4.3)
140 (9.5)	199 (13.5)	1473 (100.0)	218 (20.0)	390 (35.8)	193 (17.7)	289 (26.5)	1090 (100.0)	539 (35.6)	447 (29.5)	121 (8.0)	407 (26.9)	1514 (100.0)	783 (55.9)	342 (24.4)	196 (14.0)	80 (5.7)

(In number)

Total	Tharu				Maithili					All Villages					
	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total
102 (100.0)	113 (88.3)	15 (11.7)	-	-	128 (100.0)	53 (94.6)	2 (3.6)	1 (1.8)	-	56 (100.0)	389 (46.2)	332 (39.4)	72 (8.6)	49 (5.8)	842 (100.0)
542 (100.0)	116 (20.1)	277 (47.9)	27 (4.7)	158 (27.3)	578 (100.0)	357 (60.8)	108 (18.4)	74 (12.6)	48 (8.2)	587 (100.0)	1197 (25.3)	1995 (42.1)	595 (12.6)	948 (20.0)	4735 (100.0)
644 (100.0)	229 (32.4)	292 (41.4)	27 (3.8)	158 (22.4)	706 (100.0)	410 (63.7)	110 (17.1)	75 (11.7)	48 (7.5)	643 (100.0)	1586 (28.4)	2327 (41.7)	667 (12.0)	997 (17.9)	5577 (100.0)
33 (100.0)	33 (94.3)	2 (5.7)	-	-	35 (100.0)	26 (74.3)	9 (25.7)	-	-	35 (100.0)	107 (39.2)	128 (46.9)	38 (13.9)	-	273 (100.0)
33 (100.0)	30 (85.7)	4 (11.4)	1 (2.9)	-	35 (100.0)	24 (68.6)	8 (22.8)	3 (8.6)	-	35 (100.0)	127 (46.5)	101 (37.0)	45 (16.5)	-	273 (100.0)
134 (100.0)	57 (43.9)	30 (23.1)	2 (1.5)	41 (31.5)	130 (100.0)	75 (39.3)	98 (51.3)	13 (6.8)	5 (2.6)	191 (100.0)	435 (32.8)	678 (51.0)	112 (8.4)	103 (7.8)	1328 (100.0)
72 (100.0)	39 (35.5)	26 (23.6)	20 (18.2)	25 (22.7)	110 (100.0)	82 (60.3)	26 (19.1)	23 (16.9)	5 (3.7)	136 (100.0)	459 (45.9)	289 (28.9)	164 (16.4)	88 (8.8)	1000 (100.0)
16 (100.0)	13 (24.1)	2 (3.7)	2 (3.7)	37 (68.5)	54 (100.0)	38 (62.3)	8 (13.1)	8 (13.1)	7 (11.5)	61 (100.0)	191 (48.0)	81 (20.4)	53 (13.3)	73 (18.3)	398 (100.0)
62 (100.0)	28 (16.4)	15 (8.8)	21 (12.3)	107 (62.5)	171 (100.0)	44 (50.0)	19 (21.6)	19 (21.6)	6 (6.8)	88 (100.0)	307 (20.7)	597 (40.4)	287 (19.4)	288 (19.5)	1479 (100.0)
350 (100.0)	200 (37.4)	79 (14.8)	46 (8.6)	210 (39.2)	535 (100.0)	289 (52.9)	168 (30.8)	66 (12.1)	23 (4.2)	546 (100.0)	1626 (34.2)	1874 (39.5)	699 (14.7)	552 (11.6)	4751 (100.0)
29 (100.0)	56 (33.1)	71 (42.0)	22 (13.0)	20 (11.9)	169 (100.0)	49 (36.6)	58 (43.3)	27 (20.1)	-	134 (100.0)	304 (40.0)	299 (39.2)	125 (16.4)	34 (4.4)	762 (100.0)
30 (100.0)	10 (34.5)	2 (6.9)	10 (34.5)	7 (24.1)	29 (100.0)	15 (60.0)	1 (4.0)	8 (32.0)	1 (4.0)	25 (100.0)	140 (54.9)	40 (15.7)	61 (23.9)	14 (5.5)	255 (100.0)
28 (100.0)	28 (63.6)	-	11 (25.0)	5 (11.4)	44 (100.0)	20 (43.5)	4 (8.7)	17 (37.0)	5 (10.8)	46 (100.0)	213 (59.0)	40 (11.1)	86 (23.8)	22 (6.1)	361 (100.0)
9 (100.0)	16 (51.6)	3 (9.7)	5 (16.1)	7 (22.6)	31 (100.0)	-	1 (14.2)	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)	7 (100.0)	133 (24.4)	297 (54.5)	82 (15.0)	33 (6.1)	545 (100.0)
96 (100.0)	110 (40.3)	76 (27.8)	48 (17.6)	39 (14.3)	273 (100.0)	84 (39.6)	64 (30.2)	55 (25.9)	9 (4.3)	212 (100.0)	790 (41.1)	676 (35.1)	354 (18.4)	103 (5.4)	1923 (100.0)
1090 (100.0)	539 (35.6)	447 (29.5)	121 (8.0)	407 (26.9)	1514 (100.0)	783 (55.9)	342 (24.4)	196 (14.0)	80 (5.7)	1401 (100.0)	4002 (32.7)	4877 (39.8)	1720 (14.0)	1652 (13.5)	12251 (100.0)

expenditure which together account for 84 percent of all the cases. However, the remaining 16 percent of the decisions -- those regarding the disposal of household production and major capital transactions where men have the highest input -- may be more important as reflections of the actual distribution of power in the household.

Another problem with the interpretation of these data and one we have already encountered frequently, is the fact that the eight village aggregate usually masks important inter-community variations. It is necessary then to return to the village level data in Table 4.25 and so in doing to consider our earlier question. Is the degree of women's input into the decision making process in a given community associated with the level of women's participation in the outside economy? The foregoing analysis of the specific areas of decision making by village suggests that there is indeed an association. Repeatedly the pattern emerged of male predominance in the household decision making processes of dichotomous communities while the non-dichotomous communities displayed either equal male and female input or female predominance.

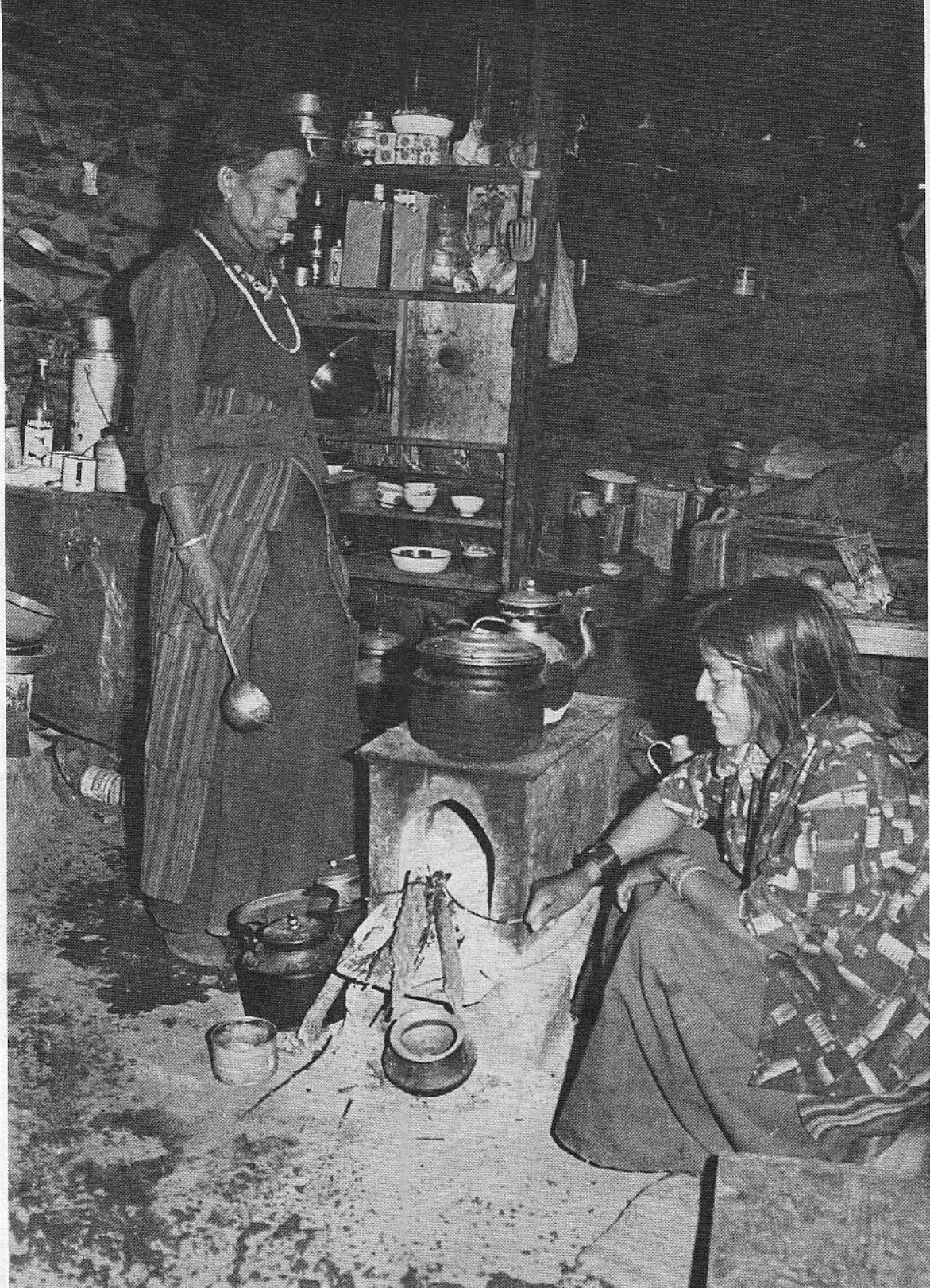
Reviewing briefly the three major areas of decision making shown on Table 4.25, we find that only in farm management decisions is there a deviation from this pattern with women either sharing equally or taking the lead over men in all communities except the Maithili. We would by now expect to find a strong male pre-eminence among the dichotomous communities in the third category involving major financial decisions about the disposal of household production and capital transactions. It is however, somewhat surprising to find that men in these communities also dominate the area of domestic expenditure. Even in the traditionally female domestic sphere, men in the Parbatiya, Newar, Tharu and Maithili communities decide on their own in these matters in almost twice the number of cases as women do. Moreover, the number of joint decisions ranges from a low of 2.8 percent in the Parbatiya community to only 12.1 percent among the Maithili. It would appear that women in non-dichotomous communities are the only ones who exert major influence or at least have equal say over the "inside" domestic sphere.

The split between dichotomous and non-dichotomous communities appears again when all the decision making areas are considered together. Thus, although the eight village aggregate shows women taking a slightly more active role in over-all decision making, this situation is reversed in the four dichotomous communities studied. Moreover, within this group it is the two orthodox Hindu communities where the inside/outside dichotomy is the strongest, that show the lowest over-all

female participation in decision making. Male decision making input reached its highest level in the Parbatiya community where 58.79 percent of the decisions were made by men on their own, 35.1 percent by women and only four percent jointly. Although the degree of disparity between male and female input is even higher in the Maithili village (55 versus 24.4 percent) this is offset somewhat by a higher number of joint decisions (14.4 percent) in this community.

Among the Newar the degree of male predominance in decision making is less marked (42.6 percent versus 34.3 percent) while among the Tharu, male and female inputs approach parity (33.1 percent versus 30.4 percent).

The community where women appear to have the clearest pre-eminence in the household decision making process is the Lohorung Rai village of Pangma where women make 71.2 percent of all the decisions on their own and participate with men in another 14.8 percent. Women also had substantial leads in the Baragaonle, Kham Magar and Tamang communities confirming the greater decision making role of women in the non-dichotomous communities. This is not of course to claim female participation in the market economy or more specifically, female entrepreneurship, as the cause of women's greater decision making role in these communities. Although we can say with considerable confidence that the two phenomena appear to be associated, it is difficult to determine a cause and effect relationship much less the direction of the causality. There are simply too many other intervening variables. Nevertheless, it is important to point out the ironic fact that among the cultural groups studied, it is those in which the inside/outside dichotomy is weak and women have greater access to the "outside", that they also appear to have greater power on the "inside" -- i.e. more say as to how the household functions internally and how it relates to the broader spheres of society.



Baragaonle women run a teashop for travellers.

Ane Haaland



Ane Haaland

Tharu mother prepares the family meal while holding her child.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS¹

Summary of the Most Salient Findings

The complexity and multiplicity of the factors affecting women's status in rural Nepal have been thoroughly analysed by the authors in each of the village monographs and the aggregate data examined in this summary volume. While it is not possible to adequately condense all these analyses, some of the salient findings on women's economic and decision making roles along with selected social and demographic characteristics related to women's status in the village communities studied are summarized here:

1. Women's Role in the Village Economy

1.1 Nepal's rural economy is subsistence oriented with 85 percent of the average household production in the eight village sample consumed by the family that produced it. Agriculture and allied sectors are responsible for more than 80 percent of the total household income while only 18.6 is generated outside the household. On the average about 70 percent of the household income is generated in the subsistence sector and only 30 percent through market intervention although in some communities like Bakundol this figure reaches a high of 48.3 percent while in others like Pangma it falls to a mere 17.6 percent. Thus household subsistence production in which women play a major role, emerges as the backbone of the Nepalese rural economy.

1.2 The sample population was relatively homogeneous in terms of level as well as structure of wealth. The household assets of the top stratum were only about twice those of the middle and a little less than four times those of the bottom. Inter-strata differences in household income level were also relatively mild with the average annual income of top

¹We would like to express our thanks to Laura McPherson of the USAID Mission and to Gabriel Campbell of the HMC/FAO Community Forestry Project in Nepal for their helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this Chapter. Many of their comments and suggestions have been incorporated.

stratum households only three times that of bottom stratum households. However, average per household income levels varied considerably between villages with a high in Kagbeni of 18,025 rupees and a low in the Tamang village of only 5,230 rupees. The Tharu village of Sukhrwar was the most prosperous with the highest income levels in all strata.

1.3 Of those who had taken employment outside the home during the survey year, 33.9 percent were women. In terms of person days worked however, the level of female participation is lower at only 24.8 percent of the total. This means that on the average each female worker found approximately 55 days of paid employment while male workers found 86 days. Agriculture was the most important sector for female employment absorbing about 50 percent of the female work days, followed by cottage industries which absorbed about 20 percent.

1.4 Only about 5 percent of the male and female respondents were "unemployed" in the conventional sense that there was no work available for which they were qualified. About 66 percent of the women and 52 percent of the men said they were too busy with home production to seek outside employment.

1.5 Even by the strict national census categories, the study reveals that the time women spend in economic activities is approximately 80 percent of men's (an average of 4.62 versus 5.81 hours per day).

1.6 When the provision of essential subsistence goods such as water or fuel (what we have called "expanded economic activities") is included in the measurement of economic activity, women's average daily time input is slightly higher than men's (6.80 hours versus 6.72 hours).

1.7 Including essential services ("domestic activities") in the analysis increases women's overall work burden to 44 percent higher than men's (10.81 hours versus 7.51 hours).

1.8 Women are responsible for 86 percent of the time put into domestic activities, 74 percent of the time spent in expanded economic activities in addition to 49 percent of the total time put into conventional economic activities.

1.9 By applying a conservative approach to the measurement of full income based on the value added of household production rather than imputed wage

rates, adult women in the eight villages studied are found to contribute 50 percent of the total family income while men and children between the ages of 10-14 contribute 44 percent and 6 percent respectively. Thus, women are seen to contribute 15 percent more than men to the village economy.

1.10 Most households combine economic strategies which can be analysed separately as, 1) the family farm enterprise, 2) participation in the local market economy, 3) short term migration to find employment in the wider economy beyond the village. Women put in substantially more time (9.91 hours versus 5.86 hours per day) than men into the family farm enterprise while their input into the local market economy (.91 hours versus 1.66 hours per day) and employment outside the village (9 percent versus 22 percent of the observed person days) is successively lower. Men are able to spend considerably more time in the market economy not only because of their socialization, greater mobility and greater access to education and capital, but because female labor is available within the family to assure that whatever land and livestock resources the household has are fully utilized to provide as much of a subsistence base as possible.

1.11 Since women are primarily involved inside the household understood as an economic unit (and not a physical boundary), they are frequently dependent on men as mediators with the outside world. This dependency deprives them of the opportunity to learn the skills necessary for dealing with the institutionalized forms of development increasingly being made available by the government.

1.12 Women's awareness of and participation in the formal structures of politics and government while varying somewhat by village community and economic strata, is extremely low.

1.13 There are significant differences between villages studied in the degree to which women spend time in the market economy in addition to their subsistence production work for the family farm enterprise. Women in the more "Hinduized" communities of the Maithili, Newar Jyapu and Parbatiya (Brahman, Chetri and low caste) reflect a greater dichotomy between the inside and outside and contribute only between 3 percent to 16 percent to the wider economy and 24 percent to 33 percent in the local market economy. In contrast, the most non-dichotomized societies

represented in the study are the Kham Magar, Baragaonle and Lohorung Rai communities which are the least influenced by Hindu values. In these villages women contribute between 40 percent to 68 percent and 34 percent to 46 percent to the local and wider market economy respectively. While not markedly "Hinduized" the Tharu and to a lesser extent, the Tamang communities are seen to be more economically dichotomized than not.

1.14 Quantitative and qualitative data show that a key factor in explaining these differences between communities is the high value placed on female entrepreneurship (including craft production and sale, beer brewing and sale, produce marketing, trading, etc.) among the non-dichotomous communities in contrast to the dichotomous communities where emphasis is placed on female sexual purity and behavioral control by affines. For the more Hinduized communities, female entrepreneurial market activity is considered degrading and, for all except the low caste women, would entail loss of respect and honor. Among the intermediate communities for the Tamang and the Jyapu Newar the lack of pronounced entrepreneurial activity appears less related to cultural values restricting women's outside interactions or protecting sexual purity than to lack of opportunities and resources -- as in both communities women perform wage labor. The Tharu stand alone as a community which restrict women's economic behavior outside the household while tolerating greater sexual freedom.

1.15 Dichotomous and non-dichotomous communities are almost equally dispersed at all levels of overall dependence on the farm enterprise or the market economy despite the marked difference observed in women's involvement in the market economy.

1.16 While certain types of labor are usually performed by women in all communities (notably farm maintenance, water collection, and food processing) and other types by men (including ploughing and house construction), there is considerable variation between and within communities studied with regard to sexual division of labor for fuel collection, animal husbandry, entrepreneurship, and wage employment.

2. Women's Role in the Decision-Making Process

2.1 Exchange Labor: In the Tharu and Maithili communities, men are entirely responsible for arranging exchange labor; among the Tamang and Newar it is shared almost equally; and among the Parbatiya, Magar, Rai, and Baragaonle, women take the major decision making responsibility.

2.2 Wage Labor: In 42 percent of the households wage labor is arranged only by men, in 29 percent only by women. In the Tharu and Maithili communities men take the entire responsibility, while women take the lead among the Rai and Baragaonle and elsewhere it is shared to various degrees.

2.3 Household Labor Allocation: Decision-making over the allocation of household labor, while appearing equal at the aggregate level, divides as follows: a) male pre-eminence among the dichotomous Tharu, Maithili and Parbatiya, b) equal male and female input among the Tamang and Newar, and c) female pre-eminence among the non-dichotomous Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai and Kham Magar communities studied.

2.4 Agricultural: Crop Choice: Although 39 percent of the decisions are "traditional" (requiring no explicit decision), women made more of these decisions in the Rai, Newar and Parbatiya communities, men more among the Baragaonle and Maithili, while both sexes shared crop decisions more or less equally in the Tamang and Tharu villages.

2.5 Agricultural: Seed Selection: In 60.4 percent of the cases women decided alone what type of seed to select, in 20.7 percent men alone, while the remainder were either shared, or in the case of the Baragaonle village decided on the basis of tradition.

2.6 Agriculture: Fertilizer: Women are almost universally responsible for organic manure decisions and application while men are responsible for chemical fertilizer decisions and application.

2.7 Thus, women's high labor input into agricultural production is reflected by a commensurate level of participation in farm management decisions in all communities except the Maithili.

2.8 Household Cash: Except among the Maithili and Tharu communities, more women than men keep the household cash in their control (aggregate: 47 percent women versus 39 percent men).

2.9 Shopping: While showing variation by community, more men than women are exclusively in charge of household shopping (46 percent men versus 37 percent women).

2.10 Daily Food Choice Decisions: (e.g. rice versus corn) are almost exclusively made by women except in the Maithili and Tharu villages.

2.11 Small purchases of food and household necessities were most often suggested by women but actually made by men -- although again there is variation.

2.12 Clothing and Household Durables: While men are more apt to make decisions regarding the purchase of clothing and household durables, there are some villages where women take the lead (Lohorong Rai and Tamang), and in all villages they are usually consulted in the process of decision-making.

2.13 Education and Medical Treatment: Although women frequently take the lead in initiating decisions regarding medical treatment (whether traditional or modern) and education, men were primarily responsible for making these decisions. Again, there is considerable variation between the dichotomous and non-dichotomous communities.

2.14 Small Gifts and Loans: In almost all of the communities, women are solely responsible for a considerable exchange of small gifts and loans whereby they maintain an active support network that often reflects the more visible local political alliances between men.

2.15 Religious and Social Obligations: While there are considerable differences between the dichotomous and non-dichotomous villages, aggregate data on decisions regarding religious and social expenditure show equal distribution between the sexes.

2.16 Disposal of Household Production: Decisions regarding the disposal of household production are shared fairly equally. In contrast to all other decision-making patterns between villages, this is a case in which the Maithili and Tharu women predominate over men in the decision-making process.

2.17 Vegetable Gardening and Sales are conducted primarily by women, while the sale of small animals is generally conducted by men -- again with male participation being more pronounced among the dichotomous communities and female control predominant in the non-dichotomous communities.

2.18 Major Household Loans are decided primarily by men except in the Kham Magar village, although women are usually consulted and do not always agree with the final decision.

2.19 Land and Major Animals: In consonance with men's legal rights to inherit ancestral property, land transactions are most often decided by men alone (91 percent of the cases among the Parbatiya), although joint decisions play a major role in some communities.

2.20 Aggregate data regarding entrepreneurial and other capital transaction decisions show that women predominate in this area, making 54.5 percent of the decisions alone (versus 24.4 percent by men).

2.21 It is evident from decision-making analysis that women in the economically defined non-dichotomous communities (Lohorung Rai, Baragaonle, and Kham Magar) have considerably more decision-making responsibility both outside and inside the household than women in the dichotomous communities (Maithili, Parbatiya, and Tharu), while in the remaining communities (Newar and Tamang) women's decision-making role falls in between.

3. Demographic and Social Characteristics

3.1 Of the total sample size of 1,800, 48.4 percent were male and 51.6 percent female. Age-wise 41.2 percent of the sample population was below fifteen while 4.7 percent of the population was above 59 years of age.

3.2 The average household size for the eight village sample is 6.4. However, comparison by village reveals a range from the minimum of 4.6 in Kagbeni to a maximum of 11.5 in the Tharu village of Sukhrwar. Only in Sukhrwar was extended family structure predominant constituting 74.2 percent of the households in that village. In Sirsia 50 percent of the households were extended and in the rest of the villages nuclear families were more common. At the aggregate level only 30 percent of the households were extended while 56 percent were nuclear. Nevertheless, 48 percent of the sample population lived in extended families while only 45.5 percent lived in nuclear ones.

3.3 Although 9.4 percent of the male population and 22.5 percent of the female population were married before they reached age 14, the age of marriage is declining. Compared to 8.8 percent of the females of 50



A Tamang woman nursing her baby.

Ane Haaland

years and above who were married before age nine, only 0.9 percent of the 10-14 year age group are married at present. However, in Bakundol and Sirsia the most conservative Hindu communities, 74.1 and 95.9 percent respectively of the females were married before age 17.

3.4 6.5 percent of the marriages in the sample were polygamous.

3.5 Visits to their natal families are important sources of support to married Nepalese women in almost all communities. The frequency of these visits declines with age. 77.4 percent of the married women between 15-24 had visited their natal home during the last year while only 64.5 percent of the women in the 45 and above age group had done so. 90 percent of the married women in the sample had married within six hours walk from their natal home. Thirty one percent married in the same village.

3.6 Almost 16 percent of the women and 30.5 percent of the men in the sample had been married more than once. The greater economic independence of the Baragaonle, Rai and Magar women is not accompanied by higher marital instability. In these three villages only 15 percent of the women have been married more than once. Instead, contrary to expectation, the largest percentage of second marriages were found among the Newar Jyapu (24.4 percent) and the Tamang (36.2 percent) -- the two Tibeto-Burman speaking groups most strongly influenced by Indo-Aryan culture which generally discourages remarriage even in the case of widowhood.

3.7 Of all marriages 51.3 percent for males and 56.6 percent for female were arranged by the couple's parents. However, arranged marriage was the predominate form only in the orthodox Hindu communities. Freedom to choose marriage partners was highest among the Magar, Baragaonle and Rai -- all groups where marital stability was slightly above the average.

3.8 The average number of conceptions per woman for the sample population of 15 years and above was 4.2 while the average number of live births per woman in the same age group was 3.9. Thus the average fetal wastage rate was about nine percent. The number of children now alive at 2.8 per woman gives a survival rate of about 72 percent for children ever born to any woman. The completed fertility rate (as signified by the mean number of live births per woman fifty and over) was 5.5 for the entire sample with a high of 6.7 in Katarche and a low of 3.44 in Kagbeni.

3.9 The overall female literacy rate for the sample population at 9.4 percent was higher than the 1975 national estimate of five percent but considerably lower than the male rate for the same sample of 52.3. The proportion of literate females is higher in the 5-14 age group (12 percent) than among adults (9.4 percent).

3.10 Findings from all communities studied suggest that it is neither the cost of education nor the conservatism of the parents that is the primary cause of the significantly lower percentage of female enrollment encountered. Rather it is the family's dependence on girl's labor at home and in the fields that is the primary reason given for keeping girls out of school. This is supported by the time allocation data which show that girls begin working longer hours than boys from age five and by the time they reach the 10-14 age group their work burden is 7.31 hours per day -- nearly equal to that of an adult male.

3.11 In communities where fewer restrictions have been imposed on women by tradition and culture (Kagbeni, Pangma, Thabang) there is greater willingness to educate girls. The continued association of women with the natal household and greater possibility of support from daughters in old age provides another incentive to female education in these communities. Women in these communities are looked upon as assets rather than liabilities to their natal households and this appears to be related to their greater access to schooling.

Recommendations

The implications of the study findings for development planning are discussed in detail in each of the village study monographs as well as in this final chapter. This brief summary of the main points includes both policy and program/project level implications with regard to women.¹

1. Targeted Integration: To fully mobilize women in the development process and provide them increasing (rather than the current decreasing) opportunity to lead secure productive lives, women should be specifically targeted

¹Although not extracted and analysed in our study, the detailed time allocation and farm management data on the entire household also has implications for rural development as a whole.

within each development sector. While there is an important need for specialized women's agencies and programs, it is almost more important that women be integrated into all the regular sectoral programs. Given the fundamental re-orientation this will require in many sectors, it is unlikely that such integration will occur at any meaningful level unless specific targets for employment, extension, delivery of inputs, recruitment for training and public participation are explicitly formulated for all sectors. We suggest a modest 10 percent to begin with.

In an earlier paper by two members of the Status of Women project team the need to treat women as a target group in the formulation of rural development strategies was discussed at length (Acharya and Pradhan 1979). Two important points made in that discussion should be re-emphasized here. First, "the implicit assumption that the new (participatory) strategy of rural development will automatically ensure its benefits to women ... (and) that if the family benefits, women benefit, may not necessarily be true" (1979). Concern with equal participation for the disadvantaged sectors of society cannot stop short at the household level. Our own study of the household decision-making process shows very clearly that, at least in those communities we have characterized as highly dichotomous, there are often marked disparities between men's and women's control over how common family resources are used. This disparity becomes even sharper when access to outside resources and opportunities is considered. In this latter area, rural development planners can intervene to encourage greater equity in the distribution of benefits.

At the same time "it must be emphasized that making women a target (group) does not mean isolating them from the families of which they are an essential and integral part, nor does it mean solving women's problems at the expense of the household as a whole" (Acharya and Pradhan, 1979). For rural women in all the communities we studied the welfare and stability of the family continues to be the focus of their aspirations and their labors. It is our belief that attention must be focussed on women because, as our research has now documented, they are the center of subsistence production and farm management decisions in the rural household. As rural development continues to increase the dependency of the farm enterprise on institutional inputs (such as new technologies and information), there is the very real danger that although women are responsible for applying these inputs in farm management, they will have only second hand access

to them. Without women's involvement, the pace of rural development is necessarily slowed and its success significantly hindered.

It is heartening to find a paragraph on the integration of women in the Sixth National Plan endorsing the concept of treating women as a specific target group at the policy level. However, the Plan stops at this point and the implications of this policy do not seem to have been worked out in detail. For example, in the section on education there is no separate target for the percentage of school age girls who should be in school. Rather enrollment targets are given only for children without specifying sex.

2. Access to Productive Resources and Employment: At present the practice of patrilineal inheritance¹ in all the communities studied and throughout Nepal determines that it is men who own and control the most important productive resources which is land. Moreover, in many of the communities studied women's control over even what little movable property they bring with them in marriage is not secure. While the long term goal should be to provide equal rights of inheritance, in the present context of rural Nepal where land holdings are already severely over-fragmented and often too small to be economically viable, this solution is not practical in the short run. Instead, immediate policy measures should be taken to:
 - a) educate rural communities regarding women's rights to movable stridhanam (dowry and personal effects) property and means devised (such as expanded legal aid services) to enforce the existing laws.
 - b) give top priority to women in the creation of and training for non-agricultural income generating work to provide some non-land economic resources within their control. For example, current policies which bestow monopoly distillery contracts for each district and region and make local brewing illegal should be changed to foster legal local brewing by women under government licenses given either to individuals or co-operative groups.

¹For fuller discussion of the complexities of the existing inheritance system and its implications for women see, Bennett, Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women, Status of Women Background Report, Volume I, Part 2, Center for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1979.

c) modify credit procedures specifically for women to eliminate land based collateral requirements. The current activities involving group loans to women under the Small Farmers Development Program (SFDP) are one step, but credit to individual women must also be made available.

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that in some communities small scale female entrepreneurship and cottage industry is already an important source of economic security. For women in stable families it allows them to meet some of their own personal expenses and make a measurable contribution to the household income -- a contribution which is becoming increasingly necessary to maintain living standards as the man/land ratio increases. For marginal women -- widows and divorcees -- it allows them to subsist on their own without dependency on often already over-burdened kin.

To develop such non-agricultural employment opportunities for women in other communities will encourage traditional skills and be an effective step towards local resource utilization. Most important, it provides a means of reducing the dependency on Nepal's finite land resources and at the same time a much more feasible and culturally acceptable way to bring about greater equity in the distribution of economic resources between men and women than any attempt to change the traditional land inheritance system in the near future.¹ The basis for such a policy is already present in the Sixth Plan which states that "women will be encouraged to work in cottage industries by the provision of the necessary training, capital and markets for their products through the co-operatives (Sajha)" (HMG 1980, trans Acharya). However, in terms of implementation, there is considerable doubt as to whether the Sajhas as they are presently constituted would be able to effectively deliver credit and training to women. The efforts of Nepal's Agricultural Development Bank (ADB/N) to recruit, train and place women group organizers for the Small Farmer Development Program are more promising and should be encouraged.

As part of the target group approach discussed above, sectoral investment targets should state explicitly how much employment each sector will generate for men and women. Such targets could provide a broad framework

¹This recommendation was earlier put forward in a paper presented before the Business and Professional Women's Club of Nepal Convention in November 1979. Lynn Bennett, "Nepal's Rural Working Women: Myths and Realities."

within which the detailed employment patterns implied by particular development projects and programs could be assessed and adjusted. One would not contend that every program and project should generate an equal number of jobs for men and women, but rather that an overall balance at the sectoral and national levels should be sought. At present women are involved in all the traditional sectors of the economy and care must be taken that improved technologies and structural reorganization do not displace them from these sectors. This again entails the need to direct both training and credit to women to enable them to become more productive and keep pace with the modernization process.

However, in recommending employment generation for rural women there are several questions that need to be asked in light of the time allocation and employment survey findings: 1) Given the existing level of technology and organization of production, is the Sixth Plan's assumption of surplus labor in the rural areas valid? 2) If so, at what seasons of the year, times of day, and from which economic strata and sex is this time available?

We know from the time allocation data that women's overall work burden in all communities is substantially higher than that of men. In line with this, the seasonality figures show that although there are slack periods when surplus labor is available, there is generally more surplus of male labor (at least in the sense of more leisure time) than of female labor throughout the year.

In terms of economic strata the labor surplus appears to be primarily among middle and top economic strata for whom provision of work is more difficult. Men and women in the higher economic strata will perform only certain kinds of work and must be offered higher payment. People from the lower strata on the other hand, appear to be more nearly fully employed, although there is an immediate need to increase the productivity of their work and their share of what is produced in the community.

In regard to generating of female employment, two relevant points emerge from these findings. First, in terms of time spent in home production women are already over employed and have little or no extra time available. Therefore, employment policies should place emphasis on increasing the efficiency and economic productivity of women's work time, rather than on filling in unemployed time with additional low productivity domestic or

public works activities. It should be recognized that the marginal productivity of labor in Nepalese labor is not zero at present. The income generated in outside employment activities must be more than the income foregone by not working at home and this may be possible only at higher levels of technology -- both material and organizational.

The second and final point is that the primacy of the agricultural labor demands must be recognized and employment schemes designed with enough flexibility to allow for considerable seasonal fluctuation in the labor pool.

3. Training, Extension and Functional Adult Education: The problem of the inside/outside dichotomy which to varying degrees in different communities effectively cuts women off from participation in the development process can only be overcome through special efforts to involve women in training and extension. All studies point to the need to recruit local women from the community to serve as extension personnel. This will require either amending the current recruiting standards to waive the education requirements at the lower levels of service or preferably, the creation of special pre-entry job categories for locally recruited personnel. After initial training and two or three years service as "Assistant" Auxillary Health Workers, ward level "Agricultural Assistants", etc., these local level extension personnel could become eligible for more extended training perhaps combined with special courses to prepare them for eighth class or SLC exams. An effective policy to encourage recruitment of local women would also require that explicit instructions to this effect and guidelines on the required qualifications -- and the degree of flexibility therein -- be issued from the central ministries or institutions to the regional and district offices responsible for the actual recruitment.

Another point to be considered in the recruitment of local level women is the importance of selecting women who are well integrated and respected in the local community. For example, age was revealed as an important status factor in all the communities studied and this suggests that the best and perhaps only way to reach rural women in some of the more dichotomous communities is through mature married women. Such women have the credibility and prestige to move into the domestic sphere and gain the trust of their fellow villagers -- male and female. In non-dichotomous communities such as the Rai, Kham Magar, Baragaonle and Tamang, unmarried girls may be effective as channels for the diffusion of information and

initiation of new income generating schemes. Since young women are allowed considerable mobility in these groups, they can be brought to centralized training centers. However, in more conservative villages like Sirsia and Bakundol, change agents should be mature married women and such women are rarely able to leave their own households, therefore, training in these communities must increasingly be brought to the villages rather than asking the trainees to come to urban training centres. Some steps have been made toward mobile training by the WATC and others¹ but much remains to be done to upgrade the skills of the trainers themselves, to ascertain and develop means of delivering training in areas that are relevant to the concerns and needs of village women. One serious constraint to effective mobile training programs is the fact that the TA and DA allowances provided are simply insufficient to motivate the trainees to spend extended periods in the field. In addition, ongoing support in terms of materials, supervision and regular remuneration must be provided for the trained extension workers once they are in place. On the policy level an important step which could do much to streamline and regularize training would be the creation of a specific budget category for training. Currently, training is budgeted under Category 8, "Grants and Prizes" or Category 9, "Contingency/Miscellaneous" or it is split between category 3, "TA/DA" and Category 7.5, "Expendable Materials". A separate category for training would highlight the critical importance of providing the departments with funds to do local level training.

In view of women's major role in agriculture, it is encouraging to learn that the Ministry of Agriculture is organizing a special training program for female JTAs. This program will fill a long standing need and will hopefully provide a model for other "technical" extension such as forestry and soil conservation which, unlike health, family planning and nutrition extension, have been viewed as purely male concerns to be directed solely towards male clients in the villages.

To be effective however, such special training programs for women may need to be supplemented with some initial support in terms of preferential placement after training. For example, many men in the Ministry of Agriculture express doubt that the 15 women currently being trained will actually accept placement and become practicing JTAs. A similar

¹For discussion see Pradhan, Institutions Concerning Women in Nepal, Status of Women in Nepal, Volume I, Part 3. Background Report.

problem has already been encountered in the ongoing training for Auxillary Health Workers. Women want the training, do well at it and then are unable to accept postings which place them long distances away from their families. Initial posting for female trainees near their homes or within a day or two walk would re-inforce greatly the benefits of such targeted training opportunities.

Bringing extension into women's sphere in the home and village is one important step towards overcoming the inside/outside dichotomy. The other complementary approach is to equip women with the skills they need to move out and interact with the structures of government, the judiciary and development bureaucracies. Women's adult education should be strengthened and focused around the reading, writing and accounting skills which are required to fill out loan applications, read extension materials and conduct business. The most productive approach would be to integrate literacy and numeracy training with practical on-the-job training in employment generation activities. For most women, unless their time spent away from household and agricultural chores can bring in some visable contribution to the family income, neither they nor their households will feel that the time is justified. The variation in seasonal workloads mentioned earlier as well as the daily schedule of essential domestic tasks must be kept in mind in the design of extension training or adult education for women (or men for that matter).

More flexible scheduling may also be needed in the formal education system if the enrollment of girls is to be increased. Both the time allocation findings and the data on attitudes towards female education show that the family's need for girl's labor is one of the major reasons girls are not sent to school. This suggests that perhaps up to fifth or sixth class, the length of the school day should be shortened from the current six hours to a more intensive two or three hours concentrated on basic literacy and numeracy skills. In compact villages where children would not have to travel long distances, perhaps evening literacy classes could be given as is presently being done in the Tharu village studied. Another factor which should be mentioned in connection with all education, training and extension efforts is the need for teachers and extension personnel to know how to communicate in the local language. In the Tharu, Maithili, Kham Magar and Baragaonle villages studied, learning is currently made even more inaccessible by the fact that Nepali texts and training materials are

used without someone who can interpret and explain their meaning in the local language. This reinforces the previously mentioned importance of local recruitment for teachers as well as extension personnel.

4. Specialized Women's Agencies:¹ The current movement to make specialized women's agencies more responsive to rural women's needs must be strengthened so that these agencies can truly act at the grassroots level where women can be organized around concrete income-generating activities as well as their traditional agricultural roles. One way in which this might be done is to re-orient the specialized women's training institutions such as the WATC, towards fulfilling the specific extension needs of various rural development projects now operating or in the planning stages. Almost all of these rural area development projects have among their stated objectives the involvement of women in various project activities and many have funds earmarked for this purpose. They are therefore, ready clients for the services of WATC and other non-specialized training institutions such as the Panchayat training institute, APROSC, ADB/N as well as departments which undertake training such as the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Cottage and Village Industries. To become more client oriented and deliver more effective services, these institutions must:

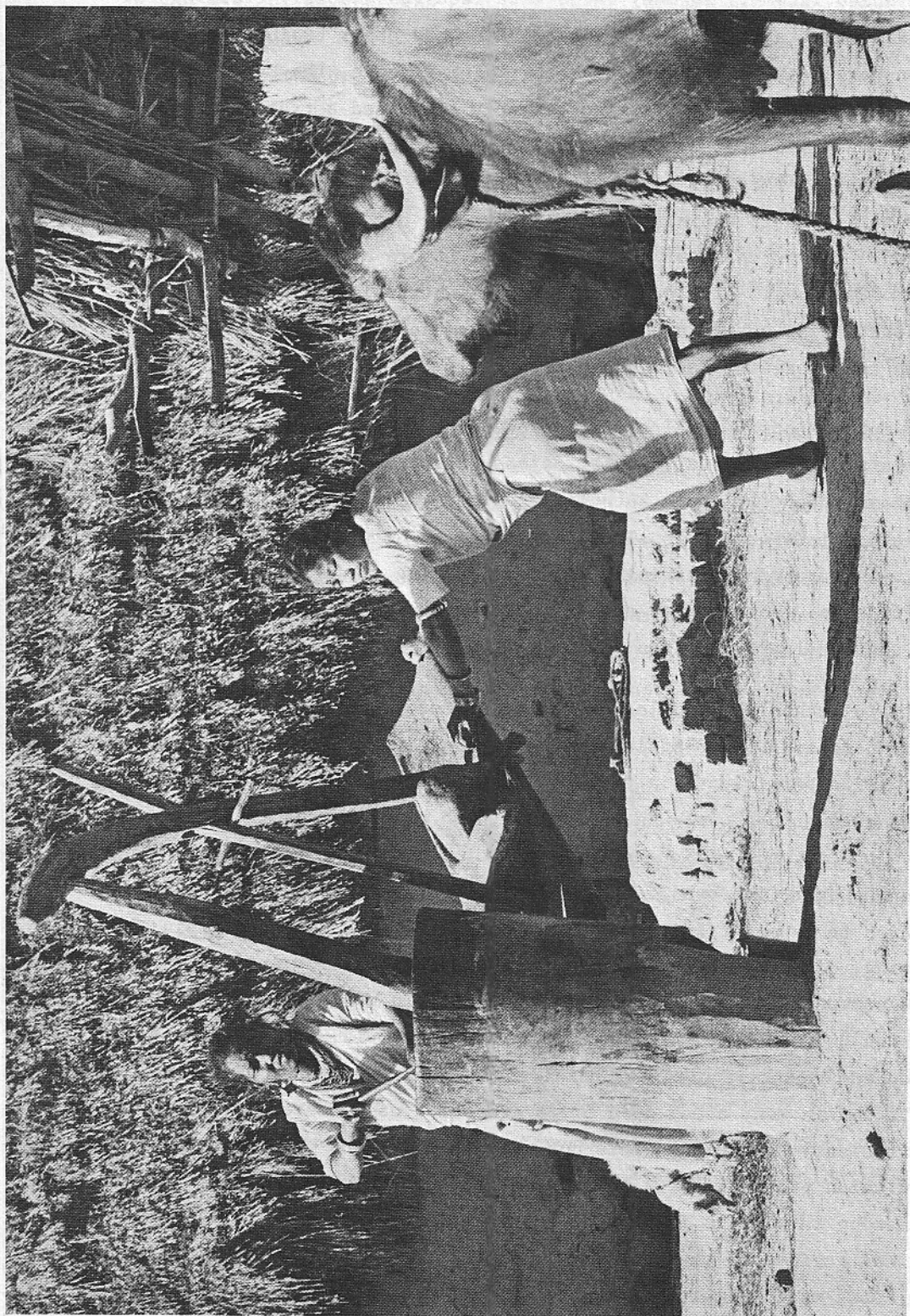
- a) develop a flexible approach to their curriculum and locus of work that would allow them to tailor their extension and training programs to the area needs and program specific goals of the rural development projects. This entails strengthening the ability of these institutions to carry out needs assessments of the potential trainees rather than coming in with ready made programs.
- b) strengthen their linkages with other departments and institutions so they have increased access to the technical expertise needed in specialized training, information about complementary activities being carried out in a given area and credit resources. We have already stressed that in order to attract busy rural women, training and extension programs must offer some means through which they can earn

¹For detailed analysis of the major women's institutions in Nepal and the structural and conceptual constraints which hinder their effectiveness, see Pradhan (1979) Institutions Concerning Women in Nepal which was published as part of the first phase of this project. The major recommendations in this area are based on her work.

increased income. In many cases this requires not only training but credit which at present women's agencies and other training institutions are usually not able to offer. For example, the Department of Cottage and Village Industries recently completed a training course for 40 women in cotton weaving in the Rapti Zone. Despite the proven local market for this product however, these women have not been able to utilize their training because they have no source of credit to finance the purchase of their own looms (Laura McPherson: Personal Communication). Linkages with lending institutions must be created so that these essential credit resources can be provided in tandem with the specially tailored training.

c) key into existing local organizations such as the Scouts, District Women's Organizations, Guthis, Sajhas, and traditional social groups such as the Rodhi etc. Such linkages not only help the training institution in that the local organization can do much of the ground work such as arranging a training site, recruiting trainees, organizing tiffin etc., but it also serves to strengthen the status and capabilities of the local organization.

5. Appropriate Technology: Unless women's current work burden is reduced through increasing their efficiency and productivity, women will have little or no time to participate in the extension, training and income-generating programs suggested above. On this basis high priority should be given to the development, adaptation and delivery of appropriate technology. In addition however, improved technologies will often be necessary as a basis from which to expand traditional female domestic tasks such as grain processing, oil pressing or weaving into viable local commercial ventures. In some communities the technologies currently in use are less efficient than those used in other parts of Nepal. For example, in Kagbeni the hand held wooden pounder is used for husking rice instead of the dhiki or footmill and in many areas open fires are still used instead of the more fuel-efficient mud chulas. This not only demonstrates the slowness of the diffusion process, but also suggests that there may be a great deal of variation in what is in fact appropriate in different cultural and ecological regions of the country. Hence, efforts to develop and adapt technologies must take into account not just one aspect of a given technology (say for example, the fuel efficiency of a stove) but the entire socio-cultural environment of the village into which it fits (which would



Tharu women pressing mustard seeds for oil.

Ane Haaland

perhaps include the need for heat and light in cold climates and ritual beliefs about the sacredness of the hearth, the need for continuous smoke to retard decay in thatch roofs etc.).

In the individual village studies almost every writer has pointed out the need for specific improved technologies for:

- a) local grain processing
- b) local oil presses
- c) improved stoves
- d) improved looms
- e) drinking water systems
- f) improved food storage
- g) improved composting
- h) seed selection
- i) improved agricultural product processing (i.e. food drying techniques and brewing with safe water - especially for the tourist market in Kagbeni).

It goes without saying that failure to involve rural women (as the primary users of these technologies) will inevitably slow their acceptance and development. To achieve such involvement a linkage should perhaps be established between the university's highly technical Research Center for Applied Science and Technology (RECAST) and institutions or projects involved in extensive village level work (such as perhaps a restructured WATC, the Small Farmer's Development Program, the Ministry of Forest's Community Forestry Project, etc.). The network of Women Workers or SFD Group Organizers etc. could provide a means for diffusion of improved technologies and also a crucial channel for feed back from the villages about how the technologies actually function in real life settings and what further adaptations are necessary.

In that many of the "appropriate technologies" currently produced or under design in Nepal are still being introduced to rural areas as pilots, adding the additional variable of women's ownership or control of the new technology should not present major programmatic difficulties. For example, if RECAST attempts some adaptive testing of improved chulas in a rural village, it is as easy to identify women to start with as it is to identify men. Similarly, if the ADB/N wishes to support a new water milling operation that has been effective in Kathmandu in a rural area, when the pilot is set up, it could easily be planned with local women instead of local men. The rural areas are extremely interested in new technologies, and if the bestower of these technologies requires that they

be women-managed, the communities would still accept them. With more sophisticated technologies requiring credit -- i.e. micro-hydro turbines, etc. -- the ADB/N could institute a loan guarantee program to support the women. Such measures are critical if the displacement of women from their traditional spheres of productive activity and authority is not to continue.

6. Equal Pay: The government has already legislated that in the organized sector "male and female workers shall be paid equal wages for equal work" (Nepal Law Translation Series, 1976). There is little that HMG can do about the tradition-based discrepancies between male and female wage rates that prevail in most of the communities studied in the non-organized sector. In some communities -- notably the Baragaonle -- women's pay for agricultural or construction labor is the same as men's. The government should follow the example of such communities and amend the current policy whereby each of the districts sets pay scales for casual labor which are lower for women than for men for the same work regardless of age or ability. To maintain consistency with HMG's legislation for the organized sector and to set a precedent for equal wage rates in local communities, districts should base their pay scales on the type or amount of work rather than the sex of the worker. To further re-enforce this commitment to equal pay HMG should require that registered construction contractors adhere to the existing legislation. If a contractor is found paying women less than men for equal work, their registration could be revoked and/or a fine imposed.

7. Recognition of Supportive Customary Laws: In addition to the long term goal of full equality for men and women in the national laws concerning marriage, divorce, citizenship, employment, child custody and inheritance,¹ there is an immediate need to recognize customary laws where they are supportive to women. In many areas the national legal code, based as it is on classical Hindu law, gives women fewer rights concerning divorce, remarriage, property rights for widows and the wife's rights to contract loans than the customary laws of groups such as the Tharu, Kham Magar and Baragaonle. Nepal's long tradition of legal tolerance must be continued and measures taken to assure

¹For discussion of these issues and recommended actions see Lynn Bennett, Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women Status of Women Background Report, Vol. I, Part 2, Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal 1979.

that the national legal code does not become a vehicle for the imposition of overly orthodox Hindu values.

For example, Rajaure writes:

"there are certain traditions and practices among the Tharu which fit the spirit of the new laws concerning women in the National Code However, because the dominant culture does not have such traditional practices, the Tharu tend to feel that these practices are inferior and surpress their existence. Efforts should be made to encourage and support such norms and traditions, and where possible, they should be given legal recognition" (1981).

Schuler also mentions the problems of interface with the National Code citing the case of a divorced Baragaonle woman who was denied the child support payments provided under national law on the grounds that her polyandrous marriage to the child's father was legally invalid (1981). Although not encouraged by current laws, polygamy which is more consistent with orthodox Hindu morality has been recognized as a fact of life. Legal structures -- though perhaps inadequate -- have been devised to deal with it. The same should be done for polyandrous marriage so that women currently in such unions do not lose the legal protection offered under the National Code.

The problems with the interface between the National Code and customary laws are numerous and many other examples could be cited from the case studies, but all point to the need for an expansion of the Women's Legal Aid Service Center. Without the possibility of legal support from an institution sympathetic to their needs and problems, rural women will continue to "fall between the cracks" -- unaware of the new rights which the National Code provides them and no longer protected by customary norms.

8. Diversified, Area-Specific Programming: The great diversity of Nepal's rural women, of the problems they face and the possibilities inherent in their varied situations have been pointed out by the authors of the separate village studies and emphasized in this summary volume. This diversity underlines the need for decentralized, area-specific programming for women based on the economic, cultural and resource conditions present in each locality. While certain broad policies for women can and should be formulated at the National level, Nepal's rich variety of cultural traditions and geographic conditions as well as HMG's commitment to

participatory development and decentralized planning, makes actual project and program development something that must be done on a small scale with careful attention to local opportunities and constraints.

9. Recognition of Women's Economic Contribution and Improved Data Gathering Techniques: Women's substantial and extensive participation in the rural economy documented by this study and so plainly visible in the fields and farms of Nepal should be more clearly reflected in planning documents. Moreover, the current methods for collecting national macro-level data (such as the Census) need to be amended to more accurately measure women's labor force participation.

Reading through the Plan documents it is evident that the extent of women's actual involvement in the National economy have not yet been fully realized in planning circles. For example, the draft Sixth Plan opens its section on women with the following sentence:

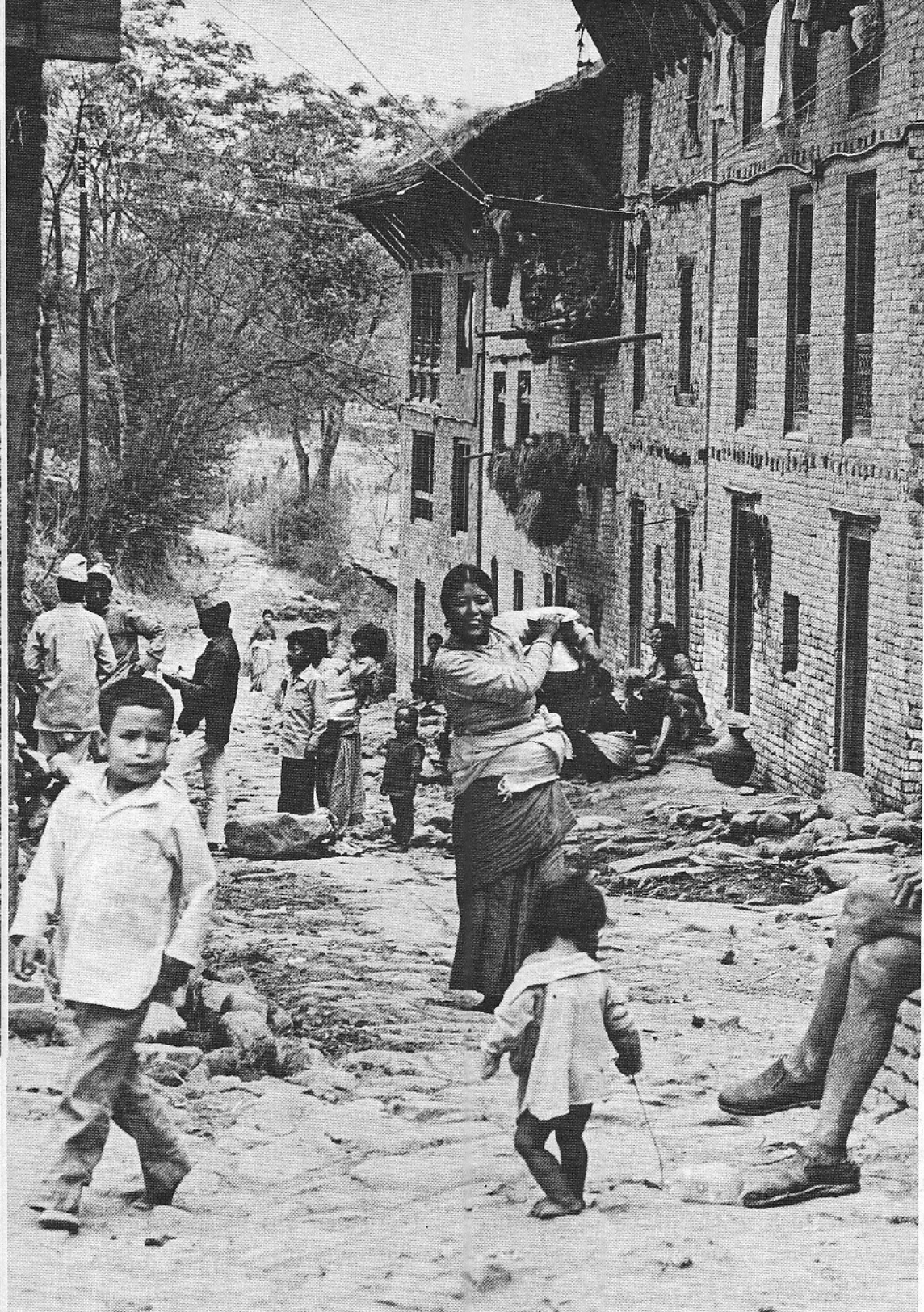
"Although in agriculture and cottage industries women play important roles, the percentage of economically active women is evidently quite low. Therefore, it is essential to adopt a policy of increasing the participation of women and intergrating them in the planning and implementation of projects during the Sixth Plan period".

The Plan goes on to say that an "attempt would be made to increase the participation of women in the development of agriculture by providing agricultural employment".

These passages show that the conventional definitions of "economic activity" and "labor force participation" have been uncritically accepted and with them the conclusions that women do little economically productive work. Therefore, it is assumed that women are in need of more employment -- in this case in the field of agriculture. Leaving aside the whole issue of definitions, the time allocation data from our study of eight communities show clearly that the conclusions implied by the above passages are incorrect. The need is not to provide more work to women but to increase their efficiency and release them for more productive work. The distinction between these two issues should be clearly recognized in the planning process. Only planning based on an unclouded perception of the existing economic situation in rural Nepal can be effective in intervening in that situation.

The inadequacy of the existing data to reflect the actual economic activity rates was discussed in detail in a monograph (Acharya, 1979) published as part of the first phase Background Report put out by this Project. The conceptual problems entailed by conventional definitions and data collection techniques have been further analysed in Chapter III of the present volume and are by now widely recognized (UN, 1978 and 1980; Mueller, 1977; Boulier, 1977; Asian Society, 1978; ICRW, 1980; Birdsall, 1980). Attempts are being made internationally to supplement ordinary census data based on useful but limited conventional definitions of labor force participation, with other types of surveys designed to better capture the economic realities of non industrialized developing countries. However, the need to re-evaluate current census data collection procedures and definitions and to institute regular collection of supplementary micro-level data has not yet been recognized in Nepal's development planning.

10. Planning, Supervision and Evaluation: Successful implementation of the policy changes recommended here would require constant supervision and evaluation. This would be unlikely to occur within the present government structure where women's issues are still regarded as essentially welfare issues. Too often these issues, if they are dealt with at all, are addressed by simply attaching an appendix for women onto existing programmes and projects. In order to assure that the integration of women does not continue to be an after thought, special women's cells should be instituted in key planning bodies and Ministries. These cells should be given the authority to supervise and review project plans and implementation to insure that adequate efforts are being made to incorporate women in the development process. It is encouraging to note that such a cell has already been established in the Ministry of Local Development. If this cell can demonstrate its utility by developing a comprehensive and practical set of project evaluation guidelines and participating constructively in the ministry's planning and evaluation process, other key institutions and ministries such as the National Planning Commission and the Ministries of Agriculture and Industry may be encouraged to follow suit.



Newar woman carries water home through main street of her village.
Carrying water is solely a female task among the Newars.

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Maithili woman with child.

Nirmal Tuladhar

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APPENDIX A

Detailed Breakdown of Activity Categories
with Code Numbers
From "Form A: Daily Activities"
for
Time Allocation Study

Form A: Daily ActivitiesCode - ActivitiesI. PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

A. Animal Husbandry:

- 01010 Herding
- 01020 Care and feeding of animals within compound (Medical treatment, shoeing, grooming)
- 01030 Fodder collection
- 01040 Castration/Breeding
- 01050 Shearing
- 01060 Milking
- 01070 Butchering
- 01080 Other

B. Agriculture:

- 02010 Land preparation (ploughing, use of kodale, harrowing, beating clods, slash and burn)
- 02010 Terrace upkeep and routine repair of irrigation channels
- 02030 Collecting and preparing organic fertilizer
- 02040 Carrying and spreading organic chemical fertilizer
- 02050 Planting operations (seed bed preparation, sowing, transplanting)
- 02060 Weeding
- 02070 Irrigation
- 02080 Harvesting (bundling, drying crop residue, storing or bagging grain)
- 02090 Threshing and cleaning grain
- 02100 Horticulture
- 02100 Kitchen Gardening
- 02120 Seed Selection and storage
- 02130 Guarding/protection of crops (infield and harvest)
- 02140 Other

Code - Activities

C. Hunting and Gathering:

- 03010 Hunting wild animals, birds etc.
- 03020 Fishing
- 03030 Gathering of materials for craft production (hemp, betels, bamboo, leaves etc.)
- 03040 Gathering of edible food (mushrooms, fruits, tobacco, nettles etc.)
- 03050 Collecting of medical herbs (juniper, jaributi)
- 03060 Other

D. Manufacturing:

- 04011 Textile (includes entire process from cleaning wool, through spinning, setting up loom, dyeing, weaving)
- 04012 Rope/basketry (grass mats, ropes, fish-nets, baskets etc.)
- 04013 Making and repair of tools and utensils (plough, kodales, teki, pots etc.)
- 04014 Leather work
- 04015 Sewing (in own home)
- 04016 Other

E. Food Processing:

- 04021 Husking/drying grains, post husking, winnowing
- 04022 Roasting, grinding, chiura making, oil pressing
- 04023 Liquor making
- 04024 Food preservation (drying of meat and vegetables, pickle making)
- 04025 Preparation of dairy products (ghee, curds, cheese etc.)
- 04026 Other

F. Participation in Local Economy:

- 10010 Government Service
- 10020 Wage labor (agriculture, construction, animal husbandry, portering, fuel gathering etc. when done for wages in cash or kind)

Code - Activities

- 10030 Trade (sale of food grains, dairy products and other food stuffs, livestock, manufacturing goods)
- 10040 Hotel, tea-shop, beer house, store
- 10050 Lending/Borrowing
- 10060 Medical and religious service (for wages)
- 10070 Entertainment (for wages)
- 10080 Other

G. Home Construction:

- 07010 Building and repairing own house
- 07020 Construction and repair of own compound or field walls, animal sheds and out-building
- 07030 Well digging
- 07040 Construction of own dhiki, mills, grinding stones etc.
- 07050 Other

II. DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES

H. Domestic Activities:

- 05010 Cooking/Serving
- 05020 Cleaning dishes and pots
- 05030 Cleaning house/Mud plastering
- 05040 Washing clothes and bedding
- 05050 Fetching or preparing fuel - (This was subsequently moved to "Hunting and Gathering")
- 05060 Fetching water
- 05070 Shopping
- 05080 Other

III. PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

I. Child Rearing and Child Care:

- 06010 Child birth/Recovery period
- 06020 Tending
- 06030 Feeding
- 06040 Bathing/Cleaning
- 06050 Oiling and massaging
- 06060 Other

Code - Activities

J. Education:

09010 Academic (In-Village)
 09020 Non-formal
 09030 Other

K. Other Activities:

11010 Grooming and personal hygiene
 11030 Sickness/Treatment
 11040 Eating

IV. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES/OBLIGATION AND LEISURE

L. Social Activities/Obligation:

11020 Ritual (for self or neighbour without pay)
 08010 Voluntary Labor
 08020 Political Service (Panchayat etc.)
 08030 Voluntary Community Service (school,
 committee, youth organization, women's
 organization etc.)
 08040 Other

M. Leisure:

11050 Drinking of alcoholic beverages
 11060 Gambling/Card playing
 11070 In-village visiting
 11080 Inter-village visiting
 11090 Sleeping
 11100 Other

V. EXTENDED ABSENCE FROM VILLAGE

N. Out of Village Employment/Production:

12010 Army Service
 12020 Government Service
 12030 Wage Labor
 12040 Trading
 12070 Herding
 12060 Miscellaneous Services/Employment

Code - Activities

O. Out for Social/Education:

12050	Attending school or training
12080	Other
12090	Visiting Relatives

APPENDIX B

Asset Structure by Economic Strata
for
Each of the Eight Villages Separately

TABLE B.1
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Baragaonle Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Assets		(In rupees)							
	Economic Strata	Strata	Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
33	TOP	Total Assets	2017100 (99.6)	256200 (98.8)	395600 (100.0)	651800 (99.5)	42500 (95.3)	513500 (93.5)	225400 (84.7)	3450300 (97.5)
		Average Assets/ Household	61124 (3.0)	7764 (3.0)	11988 (3.0)	19752 (3.0)	1288 (2.9)	15561 (2.8)	6830 (2.6)	104555 (3.0)
1	MIDDLE	Total Assets	6000 (0.3)	3000 (1.2)	100 (0.0)	3100 (0.5)	2000 (4.5)	35000 (6.4)	40000 (15.0)	86100 (2.4)
		Average Assets/ Household	6000 (0.3)	3000 (1.2)	100 (0.0)	3100 (0.5)	2000 (4.5)	35000 (6.4)	40000 (15.0)	86100 (2.4)
1	BOTTOM	Total Assets	2000 (0.1)	-	-	-	100 (0.2)	500 (0.1)	700 (0.3)	3300 (0.1)
		Average Assets/ Household	2000 (0.1)	-	-	-	100 (0.2)	500 (0.1)	700 (0.3)	3300 (0.1)
35	ALL STRATA	Total Assets	2025100 (100.0)	259200 (100.0)	395700 (100.0)	654900 (100.0)	44600 (100.0)	549000 (100.0)	266100 (100.0)	3539700 (100.0)
		Average Assets/ Household	57860	7406	11306	18711	1274	15686	7603	101134

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

TABLE B.2
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Lohorung Rai Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Assets		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
	Economic Strata	(In rupees)								
8	TOP	Total Assets	285000 (23.9)	39950 (54.3)	4386 (19.7)	44336 (46.2)	2324 (21.2)	23035 (33.9)	37844 (26.8)	392539 (26.0)
		Average Assets/ Household	35625 (3.0)	4994 (6.8)	548 (2.5)	5542 (5.8)	291 (2.7)	2879 (4.2)	4731 (3.3)	49067 (3.3)
15	MIDDLE	Total Assets	676895 (56.8)	23745 (32.3)	12788 (57.4)	36533 (38.1)	5608 (51.1)	34949 (51.4)	73030 (51.7)	827015 (54.8)
		Average Assets/ Household	45126 (3.8)	1583 (2.2)	853 (3.8)	2436 (2.5)	374 (3.4)	2330 (3.4)	4869 (3.4)	55134 (3.7)
12	BOTTOM	Total Assets	230700 (19.3)	9900 (13.5)	5115 (22.9)	15015 (15.7)	3033 (27.7)	9963 (14.7)	30406 (21.5)	289117 (19.2)
		Average Assets/ Household	19225 (1.6)	825 (1.1)	426 (1.9)	1251 (1.3)	253 (2.3)	830 (1.2)	2534 (1.8)	24093 (1.6)
35	ALL STRATA	Total Assets	1192595 (100.0)	73595 (100.0)	22289 (100.0)	95884 (100.0)	10965 (100.0)	67947 (100.0)	141280 (100.0)	1508671 (100.0)
		Average Assets/ Household	34074	2103	637	2740	313	1941	4037	43105

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

TABLE B.3
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Kham Magar Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Economic Strata	Assets		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
7	TOP	Total Assets	223840 (44.6)	52300 (36.1)	51900 (56.1)	104200 (43.9)	2360 (32.2)	26200 (52.4)	35500 (43.4)	392100 (44.6)	
		Average Assets/ Household	31977 (6.4)	7471 (5.2)	7414 (8.0)	14886 (6.3)	337 (4.6)	3743 (7.5)	5071 (6.2)	56014 (6.4)	
8	MIDDLE	Total Assets	96850 (19.3)	26600 (18.4)	7940 (8.6)	34540 (14.5)	2320 (31.7)	19800 (39.6)	22800 (27.9)	176310 (20.1)	
		Average Assets/ Household	12106 (2.4)	3325 (2.3)	993 (1.1)	4318 (1.8)	290 (4.0)	2475 (4.9)	2850 (3.5)	22039 (2.5)	
20	BOTTOM	Total Assets	180850 (36.1)	65950 (45.5)	32700 (35.3)	98650 (41.6)	2650 (36.1)	4000 (8.0)	23500 (28.7)	309650 (35.3)	
		Average Assets/ Household	9043 (1.8)	3298 (2.3)	1635 (1.8)	4933 (2.1)	133 (1.8)	200 (0.4)	1175 (1.4)	15483 (1.8)	
35	ALL STRATA	Total Assets	501540 (100.0)	144850 (100.0)	92540 (100.0)	237390 (100.0)	7330 (100.0)	50000 (100.0)	81800 (100.0)	878060 (100.0)	
		Average Assets/ Household	14330	4138	2644	6782	209	1429	2337	25087	

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

Table B.4
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Parbatiya Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Economic Strata	Assets		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
		Total Assets	Average Assets/ Household								
8	TOP	Total Assets		635375 (36.7)	10490 (29.1)	2677 (32.3)	13167 (29.7)	1771 (30.7)	27935 (38.8)	43697 (53.9)	721945 (37.3)
		Average Assets/ Household		79422 (4.6)	1311 (3.6)	335 (4.1)	1646 (3.7)	221 (3.8)	3492 (4.9)	5462 (6.7)	90243 (4.7)
20	MIDDLE	Total Assets		844400 (48.8)	23235 (64.4)	4650 (56.1)	27885 (62.8)	3101 (53.8)	38280 (53.2)	28418 (35.1)	942084 (48.7)
		Average Assets/ Household		42220 (2.4)	1162 (3.2)	232 (2.8)	1394 (3.1)	155 (2.7)	1914 (2.7)	1421 (1.8)	47104 (2.4)
7	BOTTOM	Total Assets		250200 (14.5)	2350 (6.5)	961 (11.6)	3311 (7.5)	894 (15.5)	5700 (7.9)	8956 (11.0)	269061 (13.9)
		Average Assets/ Household		35743 (2.1)	336 (0.9)	137 (1.7)	473 (1.1)	128 (2.2)	814 (1.1)	1279 (1.6)	38437 (2.0)
35	ALL STRATA	Total Assets		1729975 (100.0)	36075 (100.0)	8288 (100.0)	44363 (100.0)	5766 (100.0)	71915 (100.0)	81071 (100.0)	1933090 (100.0)
		Average Assets/ Household		49428	1030	237	1267	165	2055	2316	55231

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

TABLE B.5
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Newar Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Economic Strata	Assets										(In rupees)		
		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Transport Vehicles	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total				
9	Total Assets	603320 (34.1)	6900 (44.2)	720 (11.0)	7620 (34.4)	2750 (34.4)	150 (100.0)	20661 (35.3)	36955 (38.2)	671456 (34.3)				
	Average Assets/ Household	67035 (3.8)	767 (4.9)	80 (1.2)	847 (3.8)	305 (3.8)	17 (11.3)	2296 (3.9)	4106 (4.2)	74606 (3.8)				
13	Total Assets	798221 (45.1)	5650 (36.2)	3125 (47.6)	8775 (39.6)	3356 (42.0)	-	26252 (44.9)	46369 (48.0)	882973 (45.1)				
	Average Assets/ Household	61402 (3.5)	435 (2.8)	240 (3.7)	675 (3.0)	258 (3.2)	-	2019 (3.5)	3567 (3.7)	67921 (3.5)				
12	Total Assets	370139 (20.9)	3065 (19.6)	2720 (41.4)	5785 (26.1)	1880 (23.5)	-	11600 (19.8)	13335 (13.8)	402739 (20.6)				
	Average Assets/ Household	30845 (1.7)	255 (1.6)	227 (3.5)	482 (2.2)	157 (2.0)	-	967 (1.7)	1111 (1.1)	33562 (1.7)				
34	Total Assets	1771680 (100.0)	15615 (100.0)	6565 (100.0)	22180 (100.0)	7986 (100.0)	150 (100.0)	58513 (100.0)	96659 (100.0)	1957168 (100.0)				
	Average Assets/ Household	52108	459	193	652	235	5	1721	2843	57564				

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

TABLE B.6
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Tamang Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Economic Strata	Assets		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
		Total Assets	Average Assets/ Household								
5	TOP	Total Assets		272540 (45.3)	16900 (33.9)	24947 (84.4)	41847 (52.7)	650 (33.4)	24500 (62.3)	23350 (45.5)	362887 (46.9)
		Average Assets/ Household		54508 (9.1)	3380 (6.8)	4989 (16.9)	8369 (10.5)	130 (6.7)	4900 (12.5)	4670 (9.1)	72577 (9.4)
9	MIDDLE	Total Assets		93200 (15.5)	4400 (8.8)	1547 (5.2)	5947 (7.5)	206 (10.6)	3030 (7.7)	10000 (19.5)	112383 (14.5)
		Average Assets/ Household		10355 (1.7)	489 (1.0)	172 (0.6)	661 (0.8)	23 (1.2)	337 (0.9)	1111 (2.2)	12487 (1.6)
21	BOTTOM	Total Assets		236090 (39.2)	28600 (57.3)	3066 (10.4)	31666 (39.9)	1088 (56.0)	11785 (30.0)	17995 (35.0)	298624 (38.6)
		Average Assets/ Household		11242 (1.9)	1362 (2.7)	146 (0.5)	1508 (1.9)	52 (2.7)	561 (1.4)	857 (1.7)	14220 (1.8)
35	ALL STRATA	Total Assets		601830 (100.0)	49900 (100.0)	29560 (100.0)	79460 (100.0)	1944 (100.0)	39315 (100.0)	51345 (100.0)	773894 (100.0)
		Average Assets/ Household		17195	1426	844	2270	56	1123	1467	22111

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

TABLE B.7
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Tharu Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Assets		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri-cultural Equip-ment	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total
	Economic Strata									
5	TOP	Total Assets	196250 (24.7)	55050 (23.9)	4292 (23.4)	59342 (23.8)	4292 (21.5)	12748 (18.9)	15263 (22.5)	287895 (24.0)
		Average Assets/ Household	39250 (4.9)	11010 (4.8)	858 (4.7)	11868 (4.8)	858 (4.3)	2550 (3.8)	3053 (4.5)	57579 (4.8)
		Total Assets	385475 (48.4)	104050 (45.1)	8423 (45.8)	112473 (45.2)	8895 (44.5)	31196 (46.3)	32719 (48.2)	570758 (47.6)
14	MIDDLE	Average Assets/ Household	27534 (3.5)	7432 (3.2)	602 (3.3)	8034 (3.2)	635 (3.2)	2228 (3.3)	2337 (3.4)	40768 (3.4)
		Total Assets	214150 (26.9)	71450 (31.0)	5661 (30.8)	77111 (31.0)	6792 (34.0)	23470 (34.8)	19867 (29.3)	341390 (28.4)
		Average Assets/ Household	13384 (1.7)	4465 (1.9)	354 (1.9)	4819 (1.9)	425 (2.1)	1467 (2.2)	1242 (1.8)	21337 (1.8)
16	BOTTOM	Total Assets	795875 (100.0)	230550 (100.0)	18376 (100.0)	248926 (100.0)	19979 (100.0)	67414 (100.0)	67849 (100.0)	1200043 (100.0)
		Average Assets/ Household	22739	6587	525	7112	571	1926	1939	34287
		Total Assets								

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

TABLE B.8
ASSET STRUCTURE BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Maithili Village)

No. of H.H. Per Strata	Economic Strata	Assets										(In rupees)	
		Land/ Building	Major Animals	Minor Animals	Total Livestock	Agri- cultural Equip- ment	Transport Vehicles	Gold & Silver	Other Assets	Total			
9	TOP	Total Assets	1499300 (69.0)	60750 (71.8)	580 (27.0)	61330 (70.7)	836 (36.7)	8250 (65.7)	61560 (74.1)	12200 (64.5)	1643476 (69.2)		
		Average Assets/ Household	166589 (7.7)	6750 (8.0)	64 (3.0)	6814 (7.9)	93 (4.1)	917 (7.3)	6840 (8.2)	1355 (7.2)	182608 (7.7)		
		Total Assets	259640 (12.0)	5600 (6.6)	170 (7.9)	5770 (6.7)	452 (19.8)	2500 (19.9)	2000 (2.4)	2600 (13.7)	272962 (11.5)		
5	MIDDLE	Average Assets/ Household	51928 (2.4)	1120 (1.3)	34 (1.6)	1154 (1.3)	90 (3.9)	500 (4.0)	400 (0.5)	520 (2.7)	54592 (2.3)		
		Total Assets	412950 (19.0)	18240 (21.6)	1400 (65.1)	19640 (22.6)	992 (43.5)	1800 (14.4)	19550 (23.5)	4115 (21.8)	459047 (19.3)		
		Average Assets/ Household	19664 (0.9)	868 (1.0)	67 (3.1)	935 (1.1)	47 (2.1)	86 (0.7)	931 (1.1)	196 (1.0)	21859 (0.9)		
35	ALL STRATA	Total Assets	2171890 (100.0)	84590 (100.0)	2150 (100.0)	86740 (100.0)	2280 (100.0)	12550 (100.0)	83110 (100.0)	18915 (100.0)	2375485 (100.0)		
		Average Assets/ Household	62054	2417	61	2478	65	359	2375	540	67871		

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages to the respective column totals.

APPENDIX C

Composition of Household Income
by Economic Strata
for
Each of the Eight Villages Separately

TABLE C.1
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Baragaonle Village)

Economic Strata	Sectors	Household Production						Wage/Salary/Income	Investment Income/Trading	Total Income
		Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufacturing	Food Processing			
TOP N = 33	Total	242780	200	38284	33140	17436	110398	34630	139000	615868
	per Household	7357 (39.4)	6 (0.0)	1160 (6.2)	1004 (5.4)	528 (2.8)	3345 (17.9)	1049 (5.6)	4212 (22.6)	18662 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 1	Total	-	-	2610	600	1250	4690	-	3000	12150
	per Household	-	-	2610 (21.5)	600 (4.9)	1250 (10.3)	4690 (38.6)	-	3000 (24.7)	12150 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 1	Total	540	-	-	40	300	972	1000	-	2852
	per Household	540 (18.9)	-	-	40 (1.4)	300 (10.5)	972 (34.1)	1000 (35.1)	-	2852 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	243320	200	40894	33780	18986	116060	35630	142000	630870
	per Household	6952 (38.6)	6 (0.0)	1168 (6.5)	965 (5.4)	543 (3.0)	3316 (18.4)	1018 (5.6)	4057 (22.5)	18025 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE C.2
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Lohorung Rai Village)

Sectors Economic Strata		Household Production							Wage/ Salary/ Income	Invest- ment Income/ Trading	Total Income
		Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufac- turing	Food Processing				
TOP N = 8	Total	50567	4598	8532	5843	859	38500	10725	1720	121344	
	per Household	6321 (41.7)	575 (3.8)	1066 (7.0)	730 (4.8)	107 (0.7)	4813 (31.7)	1341 (8.9)	215 (1.4)	15168 (100.0)	
MIDDLE N = 15	Total	85558	6050	12279	7276	3592	47602	14222	780	177359	
	per Household	5704 (48.3)	403 (3.4)	819 (6.9)	485 (4.1)	239 (2.0)	3174 (26.9)	948 (8.0)	52 (0.4)	11824 (100.0)	
BOTTOM N = 12	Total	29713	3293	4046	5480	1799	21877	8560	954	75722	
	per Household	2476 (39.2)	274 (4.3)	337 (5.3)	457 (7.3)	150 (2.4)	1823 (28.9)	713 (11.3)	80 (1.3)	6310 (100.0)	
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	165838	13941	24857	18599	6250	107979	33507	3454	374425	
	per Household	4738 (44.3)	398 (3.7)	710 (6.6)	532 (5.0)	179 (1.7)	3085 (28.8)	957 (9.0)	99 (0.9)	10698 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE C.3
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Kham Magar Village)

Economic Strata		Sectors		Household Production						Wage/ Salary/ Income	Invest- ment Income/ Trading	Total Income
				Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufac- turing	Food Processing			
TOP N = 7	Total per Household	51392	1414	9320	5332	2724	14768	10690	8800	104440		
		7342 (49.2)	202 (1.4)	1331 (8.9)	762 (5.1)	389 (2.6)	2110 (14.2)	1527 (10.2)	1257 (8.4)	14920 (100.0)		
MIDDLE N = 8	Total per Household	27850	396	3040	4488	1465	8018	6420	3330	55007		
		3481 (50.6)	50 (0.7)	380 (5.5)	561 (8.2)	183 (2.7)	1002 (14.6)	803 (11.7)	416 (6.0)	6876 (100.0)		
BOTTOM N = 20	Total per Household	32910	1458	5994	9128	2996	6184	11479	2370	72519		
		1646 (45.4)	73 (2.0)	300 (8.3)	456 (12.6)	150 (4.1)	309 (8.5)	574 (15.8)	118 (3.3)	3626 (100.0)		
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total per Household	112152	3268	18354	18948	7185	28970	28589	14500	231966		
		3204 (48.3)	93 (1.4)	525 (7.9)	541 (8.2)	205 (3.1)	828 (12.5)	817 (12.3)	414 (6.3)	6627 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE C.4
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Parbatiya Village)

Economic Strata	Sectors	Household Production							Wage/ Salary/ Income	Invest- ment Income/ Trading	Total Income
		Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufac- turing	Food Processing				
TOP N = 8	Total	59780	1476	17918	3780	1440	7595	32107	7999	132095	
	per Household	7473 (45.3)	185 (1.1)	2240 (13.6)	472 (2.9)	180 (1.1)	949 (5.7)	4013 (24.3)	1000 (6.0)	16512 (100.0)	
MIDDLE N = 20	Total	82041	2632	25762	5959	3817	17291	54751	1450	193703	
	per Household	4102 (42.3)	132 (1.4)	1288 (13.3)	298 (3.1)	191 (2.0)	864 (8.9)	2738 (28.3)	72 (0.7)	9685 (100.0)	
BOTTOM N = 7	Total	17413	736	1985	1513	2035	3420	8073	-	35175	
	per Household	2487 (49.5)	105 (2.1)	284 (5.7)	216 (4.3)	291 (5.8)	489 (9.7)	1153 (22.9)	-	5025 (100.0)	
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	159234	4844	45665	11252	7292	28306	94931	9449	360973	
	per Household	4550 (44.1)	139 (1.4)	1305 (12.7)	321 (3.1)	208 (2.0)	809 (7.8)	2712 (26.3)	270 (2.6)	10314 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE C.5
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Newar Village)

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

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 34 sample households.

TABLE C.6
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Tamang Village)

Economic Strata		Sectors		Household Production							Investment Income/Trading	Wage/Salary/Income	Total Income
				Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufacturing	Food Processing				
TOP N = 5	Total	36080	1026	8911	3050	818	5297	13686	510	69378			
	per Household	7216 (52.0)	205 (1.5)	1782 (12.9)	610 (4.4)	164 (1.2)	1060 (7.6)	2737 (19.7)	102 (0.7)	13876 (100.0)			
MIDDLE N = 9	Total	11520	212	987	2850	244	2739	10174	327	29053			
	per Household	1280 (39.7)	24 (0.8)	110 (3.4)	317 (9.8)	27 (0.8)	304 (9.4)	1130 (35.0)	36 (1.1)	3228 (100.0)			
BOTTOM N = 21	Total	34802	1184	11266	10359	1136	7072	17201	1858	84878			
	per Household	1657 (41.0)	56 (1.4)	537 (13.3)	493 (12.2)	54 (1.3)	337 (8.3)	819 (20.3)	89 (2.2)	4042 (100.0)			
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	82402	2422	21164	16259	2198	15108	41061	2695	183309			
	per Household	2354 (44.9)	69 (1.3)	605 (11.6)	465 (8.9)	63 (1.2)	432 (8.2)	1173 (22.4)	77 (1.5)	5238 (100.0)			

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE C.7
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Tharu Village)

Economic Strata	Sectors		Household Production							Wage/Salary/Income	Investment Income/Trading	Total Income
	Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufacturing	Food Processing						
TOP N = 5	Total	74116	8632	9730	4669	1191	12207	7310	5220	123075		
	per household	14823 (60.2)	1726 (7.0)	1946 (7.9)	934 (3.8)	238 (1.0)	2442 (9.9)	1462 (5.9)	1044 (4.3)	24615 (100.0)		
MIDDLE N = 14	Total	138236	18209	17729	9340	2926	28494	4983	4810	224727		
	per household	9874 (61.5)	1301 (8.1)	1266 (7.9)	667 (4.2)	209 (1.3)	2035 (12.7)	356 (2.2)	344 (2.1)	16052 (100.0)		
BOTTOM N = 16	Total	78810	13149	8319	4848	1910	18970	19111	3515	148632		
	per household	4926 (53.0)	822 (8.8)	520 (5.6)	303 (3.3)	119 (1.3)	1185 (12.8)	1194 (12.8)	220 (2.4)	9289 (100.0)		
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	291162	39990	35778	18857	6027	59671	31404	13545	496434		
	per household	8319 (58.7)	1143 (8.1)	1022 (7.2)	538 (3.8)	172 (1.2)	1705 (12.0)	898 (6.3)	387 (2.7)	14184 (100.0)		

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE C. 8
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Maithili Village)

Economic Strata	Sectors	Household Production							Wage/Salary/Income	Investment Income/Trading	Total Income
		Farm Production	Kitchen Gardening	Animal Husbandry	Hunting & Gathering	Manufacturing	Food Processing				
TOP N = 9	Total	121309	564	11645	1166	37	35846	-	-	170567	
	per Household	13479 (71.1)	62 (0.3)	1294 (6.9)	130 (0.7)	4 (0.0)	3983 (21.0)	-	-	18952 (100.0)	
MIDDLE N = 5	Total	27406	1245	590	540	24	8645	664	-	39114	
	per Household	5481 (70.0)	249 (3.2)	118 (1.5)	108 (1.4)	5 (0.1)	1729 (22.1)	133 (1.7)	-	7823 (100.0)	
BOTTOM N = 21	Total	44903	264	5187	45	80	19372	24776	-	94627	
	per Household	2138 (47.4)	13 (0.3)	247 (5.5)	2 (0.0)	4 (0.1)	922 (20.5)	1180 (26.2)	-	4506 (100.0)	
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	193618	2073	17422	1751	141	63863	25440	-	304308	
	per Household	5532 (63.6)	59 (0.7)	498 (5.7)	50 (0.6)	4 (0.0)	1825 (21.0)	727 (8.4)	-	8695 (100.0)	

Figures in the parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

APPENDIX D

Household Subsistence Income and Production
by Economic Strata
for

Each of the Eight Villages Separately

TABLE D.1
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Baragaonle Village)

Composition of Income		Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/ Salary	Investment Income/ Trading	Total	
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6) = (3)+(4)+(5)	(7) = (2)+(6)
Economic Strata	Total	365847	76391	34630	139000	250021	615868
	per Household	11086 (59.4)	2315 (12.4)	1049 (5.6)	4212 (22.6)	7576 (40.6)	18662 (100.0)
TOP N = 33	Total	5150	4000	-	3000	7000	12150
	per Household	5150 (42.4)	4000 (32.9)	-	3000 (24.7)	7000 (57.6)	12150 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 1	Total	1052	800	1000	-	1800	2852
	per Household	1052 (36.9)	800 (28.0)	1000 (35.1)	-	1800 (63.1)	2852 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 1	Total	372049	81191	35630	142000	258821	630870
	per Household	10630 (59.0)	2320 (12.9)	1018 (5.6)	4057 (22.5)	7395 (41.0)	18025 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

*Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE D.2
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Lohorong Rai Village)

Economic Strata	Composition of Income	Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Investment Income/Trading	Total	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)	(7)=(2)+(6)
TOP N = 8	Total	96302	12597	10725	1720	25042	121344
	per Household	12038 (79.4)	1574 (10.4)	1341 (8.8)	215 (1.4)	3130 (20.6)	15168 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 15	Total	153434	8923	14222	780	23925	177359
	per Household	10229 (86.5)	595 (5.0)	948 (8.0)	52 (0.5)	1595 (13.5)	11824 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 12	Total	58927	7281	8560	954	16795	75722
	per Household	4910 (77.8)	607 (9.6)	713 (11.3)	80 (1.3)	1400 (22.2)	6310 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	308663	28801	33507	3454	65762	374425
	per Household	8819 (82.4)	823 (7.7)	957 (9.0)	99 (0.9)	1879 (17.6)	10698 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE D.3
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Kham Magar Village)

(In rupees)

Economic Strata	Composition of Income	Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Investment Income/Trading	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)	(7)=(2)+(6)	
TOP N = 7	Total	73802	11148	10690	8800	30638	104440
	Per household	10543 (70.7)	1593 (10.7)	1527 (10.2)	1257 (8.4)	4377 (29.3)	14920 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 8	Total	40250	5007	6420	3330	14757	55007
	Per household	5031 (73.2)	626 (9.1)	803 (11.7)	416 (6.0)	1845 (26.8)	6876 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 20	Total	55597	3073	11479	2370	16922	72519
	Per household	2780 (76.7)	154 (4.2)	574 (15.8)	118 (3.3)	846 (23.3)	3626 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	169649	19228	28589	14500	62317	231966
	Per household	4847 (73.1)	549 (8.3)	817 (12.3)	414 (6.3)	1780 (26.9)	6627 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE D.4
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Parbatiya Village)

Composition of Income		Subsistence Production	Market Income			Total	
			Production Sales	Wage/ Salary	Investment Income/ Trading		Total
Economic Strata	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6) = (3)+(4)+(5)	(7) = (2)+(6)
	Total	58305	33684	32107	7999	73790	132095
TOP N = 8	per Household	7288 (44.1)	4211 (25.5)	4013 (24.3)	1000 (6.1)	9224 (55.9)	16512 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 20	Total	106469	31033	54751	1450	87234	193703
	per Household	5323 (55.0)	1552 (16.0)	2738 (28.3)	72 (0.7)	4362 (45.0)	9685 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 7	Total	21857	5245	8073	-	13318	35175
	per Household	3122 (62.1)	750 (14.9)	1153 (23.0)	-	1903 (37.9)	5025 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	186631	69962	94931	9449	174342	360973
	per Household	5333 (51.7)	1999 (19.4)	2712 (26.3)	270 (2.6)	4981 (48.3)	10314 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE D.5
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Newar Village)

Composition of Income		Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/ Salary	Investment Income/ Trading	Total	
Economic Strata		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)	(7)=(2)+(6)
(1)							
TOP N = 9	Total	48256	17280	12003	2870	32153	80409
	per Household	5361 (60.0)	1920 (21.5)	1334 (14.9)	319 (3.6)	3573 (40.0)	8934 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 13	Total	61059	15923	14999	6210	37132	98191
	per Household	4697 (62.2)	1225 (16.2)	1154 (15.3)	477 (6.3)	2856 (37.8)	7553 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 12	Total	32606	6787	10219	200	17206	49812
	per Household	2717 (65.5)	565 (13.6)	852 (20.5)	17 (0.4)	1434 (34.5)	4151 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 34	Total	141921	39990	37221	9280	86491	228412
	per Household	4174 (62.1)	1176 (17.5)	1095 (16.3)	273 (4.1)	2544 (37.9)	6718 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 34 sample households.

TABLE D.6
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Tamang Village)

Economic Strata	Composition of Income	Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Investment Income/Trading	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)	(7)=(2)+(6)	
TOP N = 5	Total	51130	4052	13686	510	18248	69378
	per household	10226 (73.7)	811 (5.9)	2737 (19.7)	102 (0.7)	3650 (26.3)	13876 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 9	Total	18414	138	10174	327	10639	29053
	per household	2046 (63.4)	16 (0.5)	1130 (35.0)	36 (1.1)	1182 (36.6)	3228 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 21	Total	65149	670	17201	1858	19729	84878
	per household	3102 (76.7)	32 (0.8)	819 (20.3)	89 (2.2)	940 (23.3)	4042 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	134693	4860	41061	2695	48616	183309
	per household	3848 (73.5)	139 (2.6)	1173 (22.4)	77 (1.5)	1389 (26.5)	5237 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE D.7
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Tharu Village)

Economic Strata	Composition of Income	Subsistence Production	Market Income				Total
			Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Investment Income/Trading	Total	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)=(3)+(4)+(5)	(7)=(2)+(6)
TOP N = 5	Total per Household	91689 18338 (74.5)	18856 3771 (15.3)	7310 1462 (5.9)	5220 1044 (4.3)	31386 6277 (25.5)	123075 24615 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 14	Total per Household	183702 13122 (81.7)	31232 2231 (13.9)	4983 356 (2.2)	4810 343 (2.2)	41025 2930 (18.3)	224727 16052 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 16	Total per Household	115544 7221 (77.7)	10462 654 (7.0)	19111 1194 (12.9)	3515 220 (2.4)	33088 2068 (22.3)	148632 9289 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total per Household	390935 11170 (78.8)	60550 1730 (12.2)	31404 897 (6.3)	13545 387 (2.7)	105499 3014 (21.2)	496434 14184 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

TABLE D.8
HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME & PRODUCTION* BY ECONOMIC STRATA
(For Maithili Village)

Economic Strata	Composition of Income	Subsistence Production	Market Income			Total
			Production Sales	Wage/Salary	Total	
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) = (3) + (4)	(6) = (2) + (5)
TOP N = 9	Total	147960	22607	-	22607	170567
	per Household	16440 (86.7)	2512 (13.3)	-	2512 (13.3)	18952 (100.0)
MIDDLE N = 5	Total	33020	5430	664	6094	39114
	per Household	6604 (84.4)	1086 (13.9)	133 (1.7)	1219 (15.6)	7823 (100.0)
BOTTOM N = 21	Total	64848	5003	24776	29779	94627
	per Household	3088 (68.5)	238 (5.3)	1180 (26.2)	1418 (31.5)	4506 (100.0)
ALL STRATA N = 35	Total	245828	33040	25440	58480	304308
	per Household	7024 (80.8)	944 (10.9)	727 (8.3)	1671 (19.2)	8695 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* Based on 35 sample households.

APPENDIX E

Mobility Patterns

TABLE E.1
 MOBILITY PATTERN - NUMBER OF TRIPS BY AGE GROUP AND SEX
 (Aggregate)

Age Group \ Sex & Mobility	Male					Female				
	No Trips	1 - 3 Trips	4 - 9 Trips	10+ Trips	Total	No Trips	1 - 3 Trips	4 - 9 Trips	10+ Trips	Total
0 - 4	131 (94.3)	6 (4.3)	-	2 (1.4)	139 (100.0)	111 (87.4)	12 (9.4)	1 (0.8)	3 (2.4)	127 (100.0)
5 - 9	108 (90.0)	7 (5.9)	1 (0.8)	4 (3.3)	120 (100.0)	126 (88.7)	12 (8.5)	-	4 (2.8)	142 (100.0)
10 - 14	79 (82.3)	15 (15.7)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	96 (100.0)	95 (81.9)	16 (13.8)	3 (2.6)	2 (1.7)	116 (100.0)
15 - 24	101 (61.6)	40 (24.4)	8 (4.9)	15 (9.1)	164 (100.0)	142 (80.2)	26 (14.7)	3 (1.7)	6 (3.4)	177 (100.0)
25 - 39	72 (41.6)	66 (38.2)	13 (7.5)	22 (12.7)	173 (100.0)	133 (74.7)	34 (19.1)	5 (2.8)	6 (3.4)	178 (100.0)
40 +	91 (51.1)	61 (34.3)	10 (5.6)	16 (9.0)	178 (100.0)	137 (73.2)	43 (23.0)	2 (1.1)	5 (2.7)	187 (100.0)
Total	582 (66.9)	195 (22.4)	33 (3.8)	60 (6.9)	870 (100.0)	744 (80.3)	143 (15.4)	14 (1.5)	26 (2.8)	927 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE E. 2
 MOBILITY PATTERN - NUMBER OF TRIPS BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX (ADULTS)
 (Aggregate)

Economic Strata & Sex Mobility	Male				Female			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
No Trips	62 (40.0)	87 (52.1)	115 (59.6)	264 (51.3)	106 (68.0)	144 (77.4)	162 (81.0)	412 (76.0)
1 - 3 Trips	64 (41.3)	46 (27.5)	57 (29.5)	167 (32.4)	45 (28.8)	28 (15.1)	30 (15.0)	103 (19.0)
4 - 9 Trips	9 (5.8)	11 (6.6)	11 (5.7)	31 (6.0)	3 (1.9)	3 (1.6)	4 (2.0)	10 (1.9)
10 + Trips	20 (12.9)	23 (13.8)	10 (5.2)	53 (10.3)	2 (1.3)	11 (5.9)	4 (2.0)	17 (3.1)
Total	155 (100.0)	167 (100.0)	193 (100.0)	515 (100.0)	156 (100.0)	186 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	542 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

APPENDIX F

Employment Data by Economic Strata
for
Each of the Eight Villages Separately

TABLE F.1

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA & SEX
(Baragaonle Village)

Economic Strata Sector and Sex		Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
		Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labor	Male	190 (10.8)	10 (45.5)	-	-	-	-	190 (10.8)	10 (45.5)
	Female	18 (2.7)	3 (33.3)	-	-	25 (20.0)	1 (50.0)	43 (5.4)	4 (36.4)
Cottage Industry	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Female	530 (79.3)	5 (55.6)	-	-	100 (80.0)	1 (50.0)	630 (79.5)	6 (54.5)
Construction Labor	Male	38 (2.2)	3 (13.6)	-	-	-	-	38 (2.2)	3 (13.6)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	270 (15.3)	1 (4.5)	-	-	-	-	270 (15.3)	1 (4.5)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service in Organized Sector	Male	360 (20.4)	2 (9.1)	-	-	-	-	360 (20.4)	2 (9.1)
	Female	120 (18.0)	1 (11.1)	-	-	-	-	120 (15.1)	1 (9.1)
Others	Male	902 (51.3)	6 (27.3)	-	-	-	-	902 (51.3)	6 (27.3)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	1760 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	1760 (100.0)	22 (100.0)
	Female	668 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	-	-	125 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	793 (100.0)	11 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F. 2

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Lohorung Rai Village)

Sector and Sex		Economic Strata	Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
			Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labor	Male	5 (1.6)	1 (33.3)	125 (20.5)	11 (68.8)	205 (92.8)	6 (85.7)	335 (29.3)	18 (69.2)	
	Female	-	-	297 (85.8)	12 (92.3)	300 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	597 (92.4)	18 (94.7)	
Domestic Labor	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Female	-	-	49 (14.2)	1 (7.7)	-	-	49 (7.6)	1 (5.3)	
Construction	Male	-	-	-	-	16 (7.2)	1 (14.3)	16 (1.4)	1 (3.9)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	6 (1.9)	1 (33.3)	-	-	-	-	6 (0.5)	1 (3.9)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Service in Organized Sector	Male	300 (96.5)	1 (33.3)	485 (79.5)	5 (31.2)	-	-	785 (68.8)	6 (23.0)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	311 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	610 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	221 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	1142 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	
	Female	-	-	346 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	300 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	646 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.3

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Kham Magar Village)

Sector and Sex		Economic Strata	Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
			Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labour	Male	-	-	-	-	58 (6.8)	3 (42.9)	58 (3.1)	3 (27.3)	
	Female	10 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	78 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	98 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	-	-	-	-	50 (5.9)	1 (14.3)	50 (2.7)	1 (9.1)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Service in Organized Sector	Male	740 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	265 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	740 (87.3)	3 (42.8)	1745 (94.2)	7 (63.6)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	740 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	265 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	848 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	1853 (100.0)	11 (100.0)	
	Female	10 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	78 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	98 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.4
 OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (Parbatiya Village)

Sector and Sex		Economic Strata	Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
			Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labour	Male	124 (8.2)	3 (30.0)	450 (10.5)	10 (26.3)	134 (25.1)	4 (40.0)	708 (11.2)	17 (29.3)	
	Female	128 (96.2)	2 (66.7)	337 (27.6)	8 (50.0)	153 (96.2)	6 (85.7)	618 (40.8)	16 (61.6)	
Cottage Industry	Male	7 (0.5)	1 (10.0)	938 (21.9)	5 (13.2)	25 (4.7)	1 (10.0)	970 (15.4)	7 (12.1)	
	Female	-	-	464 (37.9)	3 (18.7)	-	-	464 (30.6)	3 (11.5)	
Construction Labour	Male	12 (0.8)	1 (10.0)	642 (15.0)	11 (28.9)	375 (70.2)	5 (50.0)	1029 (16.3)	17 (29.3)	
	Female	5 (3.8)	1 (33.3)	193 (15.8)	3 (18.7)	6 (3.8)	1 (14.3)	204 (13.5)	5 (19.2)	
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	270 (17.9)	1 (10.0)	904 (21.2)	4 (10.5)	-	-	1174 (18.6)	5 (8.6)	
	Female	-	-	229 (18.7)	2 (12.5)	-	-	229 (15.1)	2 (7.7)	
Service in Organized Sector	Male	1094 (72.6)	4 (40.0)	1319 (30.9)	6 (15.8)	-	-	2413 (38.2)	10 (17.2)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Other	Male	-	-	22 (0.5)	2 (5.3)	-	-	22 (0.3)	2 (3.5)	
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	1507 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	4275 (100.0)	38 (100.0)	534 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	6316 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	
	Female	133 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	1223 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	159 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	1515 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.5

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Newar Village)

Economic Strata Sector and Sex		Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
		Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agriculture Labor	Male	9 (0.8)	2 (25.0)	112 (6.4)	9 (47.4)	357 (42.8)	13 (52.0)	478 (12.7)	24 (46.2)
	Female	30 (7.2)	5 (62.5)	93 (19.3)	7 (70.0)	173 (52.3)	9 (75.0)	296 (24.1)	21 (70.0)
Cottage Industry	Male	-	-	-	-	120 (14.4)	2 (8.0)	120 (3.2)	2 (3.8)
	Female	380 (91.6)	2 (25.0)	90 (18.6)	1 (10.0)	150 (45.3)	2 (16.7)	620 (50.4)	5 (16.7)
Construction	Male	285 (24.5)	3 (37.5)	390 (22.2)	3 (15.8)	207 (24.8)	7 (28.0)	882 (23.5)	13 (25.0)
	Female	5 (1.2)	1 (12.5)	300 (62.1)	2 (20.0)	-	-	305 (24.8)	3 (10.0)
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	150 (12.9)	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	-	150 (4.0)	1 (1.9)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service in Organized Sector	Male	720 (61.8)	2 (25.0)	1110 (63.2)	4 (21.0)	-	-	1830 (48.7)	6 (11.5)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Portering	Male	-	-	114 (6.5)	2 (10.5)	140 (16.8)	2 (8.0)	254 (6.8)	4 (7.7)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	Male	-	-	30 (1.7)	1 (5.3)	10 (1.2)	1 (4.0)	40 (1.1)	2 (3.9)
	Female	-	-	-	-	8 (2.4)	1 (8.3)	8 (0.7)	1 (3.3)
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	1164 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	1756 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	834 (100.0)	25 (100.0)	3754 (100.0)	52 (100.0)
	Female	415 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	483 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	331 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	1229 (100.0)	30 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.6

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Tamang Village)

Sector and Sex		Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
		Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labour	Male	16 (3.0)	1 (20.0)	158 (41.8)	3 (33.3)	220 (20.7)	6 (22.2)	394 (20.0)	10 (24.4)
	Female	12 (21.4)	1 (33.3)	163 (50.1)	6 (60.0)	185 (28.6)	8 (36.4)	360 (35.0)	15 (42.9)
Domestic Labour	Male	-	-	14 (3.7)	1 (11.1)	-	-	14 (0.7)	1 (2.4)
	Female	-	-	22 (6.8)	1 (10.0)	-	-	22 (2.1)	1 (2.8)
Construction	Male	-	-	150 (39.7)	2 (22.2)	160 (15.0)	5 (18.5)	310 (15.7)	7 (17.1)
	Female	-	-	-	-	13 (2.0)	1 (4.5)	13 (1.3)	1 (2.8)
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	200 (37.9)	1 (20.0)	-	-	-	-	200 (10.2)	1 (2.4)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Portering	Male	312 (59.1)	3 (60.0)	56 (14.8)	3 (33.3)	684 (64.3)	16 (59.3)	1052 (53.4)	22 (53.7)
	Female	44 (78.6)	2 (66.7)	140 (43.1)	3 (30.0)	449 (69.4)	13 (59.1)	633 (61.6)	18 (51.4)
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	528 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	378 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	1064 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	1970 (100.0)	41 (100.0)
	Female	56 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	325 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	647 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	1028 (100.0)	35 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.7

OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Tharu Village)

Economic Strata Sector and Sex		Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
		Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labour	Male	2 (0.3)	1 (14.3)	20 (8.6)	7 (46.6)	1925 (56.6)	17 (35.4)	1947 (46.0)	25 (35.7)
	Female	-	-	128 (18.6)	3 (50.0)	572 (64.3)	4 (40.0)	700 (44.4)	7 (43.8)
Domestic Labour	Male	-	-	-	-	695 (20.4)	7 (14.6)	695 (16.4)	7 (10.0)
	Female	-	-	510 (74.1)	2 (33.3)	230 (25.8)	3 (30.0)	740 (46.9)	5 (31.3)
Construction	Male	2 (0.3)	1 (14.3)	5 (2.2)	1 (6.7)	254 (7.5)	10 (20.8)	261 (6.1)	12 (17.2)
	Female	-	-	-	-	40 (4.5)	1 (10.0)	40 (2.5)	1 (6.2)
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	90 (15.0)	1 (14.3)	90 (38.6)	1 (6.7)	260 (7.6)	2 (4.2)	440 (10.4)	4 (5.7)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service in Organized Sector	Male	476 (79.5)	2 (28.5)	52 (22.3)	1 (6.7)	-	-	528 (12.5)	3 (4.3)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Portering	Male	29 (4.9)	2 (28.5)	66 (28.3)	5 (33.3)	205 (6.0)	11 (22.9)	300 (7.1)	18 (25.7)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	Male	-	-	-	-	65 (1.9)	1 (2.1)	65 (1.5)	1 (1.4)
	Female	-	-	50 (7.3)	1 (16.7)	48 (5.4)	2 (20.0)	98 (6.2)	3 (18.7)
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	599 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	233 (100.0)	15 (100.0)	3404 (100.0)	48 (100.0)	4236 (100.0)	70 (100.0)
	Female	-	-	688 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	890 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	1578 (100.0)	16 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.8
 OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (Maithili Village)

Sector and Sex		Top		Middle		Bottom		All Strata	
		Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed	Person days worked	No. of people employed
Agricultural Labour	Male	-	-	180 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	3240 (66.0)	15 (65.2)	3420 (67.3)	16 (66.7)
	Female	-	-	-	-	1605 (93.9)	11 (84.6)	1605 (93.9)	11 (84.6)
Domestic Labour	Male	-	-	-	-	790 (16.1)	3 (13.0)	790 (15.5)	3 (12.5)
	Female	-	-	-	-	45 (2.6)	1 (7.7)	45 (2.6)	1 (7.7)
Service in Non-Organized Sector	Male	-	-	-	-	145 (3.0)	3 (13.0)	145 (2.8)	3 (12.5)
	Female	-	-	-	-	60 (3.5)	1 (7.7)	60 (3.5)	1 (7.7)
Service in Organized Sector	Male	-	-	-	-	730 (14.9)	2 (8.7)	730 (14.4)	2 (8.3)
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All Types of Paid Employment	Male	-	-	180 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	4905 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	5085 (100.0)	24 (100.0)
	Female	-	-	-	-	1710 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	1710 (100.0)	13 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.9
 REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (Baragaonle Village)

Reasons for Not Working	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Too old, poor health	3 (8.8)	-	-	3 (8.6)	4 (11.4)	-	-	4 (11.1)	7 (10.1)	-	-	7 (9.9)
Too much work at home	19 (55.9)	-	-	19 (54.3)	17 (48.6)	1 (100.0)	-	18 (50.0)	36 (52.2)	1 (50.0)	-	37 (52.1)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	1 (2.9)	-	-	1 (2.8)	6 (17.1)	-	-	6 (16.7)	7 (10.2)	-	-	7 (9.9)
Not qualified for work available	-	1 (100.0)	-	1 (2.8)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (50.0)	-	1 (1.4)
Social custom	-	-	-	-	2 (5.7)	-	-	2 (5.5)	2 (2.9)	-	-	2 (2.8)
No suitable employment available	2 (5.9)	-	-	2 (5.7)	-	-	-	-	2 (2.9)	-	-	2 (2.8)
Other	9 (26.5)	-	-	9 (25.7)	6 (17.2)	-	-	6 (16.7)	15 (21.7)	-	-	15 (21.1)
Total	34 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	-	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	-	36 (100.0)	69 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	-	71 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

(In number)

TABLE F.10
 REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (Lohorung Rai Village)

Respondents/ Economic Strata	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Reasons for Not Working												
Too old, poor health	-	3 (11.1)	1 (5.9)	4 (6.9)	2 (10.5)	4 (10.8)	1 (4.2)	7 (8.8)	2 (6.1)	7 (10.9)	2 (4.9)	11 (8.0)
Too much work at home	9 (64.3)	15 (55.6)	11 (64.7)	35 (60.3)	15 (78.9)	24 (64.9)	15 (62.5)	54 (67.5)	24 (72.7)	39 (61.0)	26 (63.4)	89 (64.5)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	1 (5.3)	2 (5.4)	2 (8.3)	5 (6.3)	1 (3.0)	2 (3.1)	2 (4.9)	5 (3.6)
Studying, no time	4 (28.6)	8 (29.6)	5 (29.4)	17 (29.3)	1 (5.3)	5 (13.5)	5 (20.8)	11 (13.7)	5 (15.2)	13 (20.3)	10 (24.4)	28 (20.3)
Not qualified for work available	1 (7.1)	1 (3.7)	-	2 (3.5)	-	2 (5.4)	1 (4.2)	3 (3.7)	1 (3.0)	3 (4.7)	1 (2.4)	5 (3.6)
Total	14 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	37 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	80 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	64 (100.0)	41 (100.0)	138 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.11
REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Kham Magar Village)

Reasons for Not Working	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
Too old, poor health	1 (8.3)	1 (10.0)	4 (16.7)	6 (13.0)	2 (14.3)	1 (6.7)	3 (9.4)	6 (9.8)	3 (11.5)	2 (8.0)	7 (12.5)	12 (11.2)
Too much work at home	6 (50.0)	4 (40.0)	10 (41.7)	20 (43.5)	4 (28.6)	4 (26.7)	13 (40.6)	21 (34.4)	10 (38.5)	8 (32.0)	23 (41.1)	41 (38.3)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	5 (35.7)	3 (20.0)	4 (12.5)	12 (19.7)	5 (19.2)	3 (12.0)	4 (7.1)	12 (11.2)
Studying, no time	2 (16.7)	3 (30.0)	3 (12.5)	8 (17.4)	-	1 (6.7)	1 (3.1)	2 (3.3)	2 (7.7)	4 (16.0)	4 (7.1)	10 (9.4)
Not qualified for work available	-	-	2 (8.3)	2 (4.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (3.6)	2 (1.9)
Social custom	1 (8.3)	-	-	1 (2.2)	2 (14.3)	2 (13.3)	4 (12.5)	8 (13.1)	3 (11.5)	2 (8.0)	4 (7.1)	9 (8.4)
Requires moving out of family or village	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3.1)	1 (1.7)	-	-	1 (1.8)	1 (0.9)
No suitable employment available	1 (8.3)	-	2 (8.3)	3 (6.5)	1 (7.1)	4 (26.6)	6 (18.8)	11 (18.0)	2 (7.7)	4 (16.0)	8 (14.3)	14 (13.1)
Others	1 (8.3)	2 (20.0)	3 (12.5)	6 (13.0)	-	-	-	-	1 (3.9)	2 (8.0)	3 (5.4)	6 (5.6)
Total	12 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	15 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	61 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	25 (100.0)	56 (100.0)	107 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.12
 REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (Parbativa Village)

(In number)

Reasons for Not Working	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Too old, poor health	3 (37.5)	2 (14.3)	1 (25.0)	6 (23.1)	2 (16.7)	4 (11.1)	2 (33.3)	8 (14.8)	5 (25.0)	6 (12.0)	3 (30.0)	14 (17.5)
Too much work at home	5 (62.5)	5 (35.7)	2 (50.0)	12 (46.1)	6 (50.0)	26 (72.2)	3 (50.0)	35 (64.8)	11 (55.0)	31 (62.0)	5 (50.0)	47 (58.8)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	3 (25.0)	5 (13.9)	1 (16.7)	9 (16.7)	3 (15.0)	5 (10.0)	1 (10.0)	9 (11.2)
Studying, no time	-	6 (42.9)	-	6 (23.1)	-	-	-	-	-	6 (12.0)	-	6 (7.5)
Social custom	-	-	-	-	1 (8.1)	1 (2.8)	-	2 (3.7)	1 (5.0)	1 (2.0)	-	2 (2.5)
No suitable employment available	-	1 (7.1)	1 (25.0)	2 (7.7)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2.0)	1 (10.0)	2 (2.5)
Total	8 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	36 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	50 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	80 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.13

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Newar Village)

(In number)

Reasons for Not Working	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Economic Strata		All Strata		Economic Strata		All Strata		Economic Strata		All Strata	
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Too old, poor health	2 (22.2)	3 (15.8)	1 (8.3)	6 (15.0)	1 (10.0)	3 (13.0)	-	4 (8.5)	3 (15.8)	6 (14.3)	1 (3.8)	10 (11.5)
Too much work at home	3 (33.3)	2 (10.5)	1 (8.3)	6 (15.0)	6 (60.0)	8 (34.8)	3 (21.4)	17 (36.2)	9 (47.4)	10 (23.8)	4 (15.4)	23 (26.4)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	1 (10.0)	2 (8.7)	2 (14.3)	5 (10.6)	1 (5.3)	2 (4.8)	2 (7.7)	5 (5.8)
Studying, no time	3 (33.3)	11 (57.9)	2 (16.7)	16 (40.0)	1 (10.0)	3 (13.0)	-	4 (8.5)	4 (21.0)	14 (33.3)	2 (7.7)	20 (23.0)
Not qualified for work available	-	-	-	-	-	1 (4.4)	-	1 (2.1)	-	1 (2.4)	-	1 (1.1)
Others	1 (11.1)	3 (15.8)	8 (66.7)	12 (30.0)	1 (10.0)	6 (26.1)	9 (64.3)	16 (34.1)	2 (10.5)	9 (21.4)	17 (65.4)	28 (32.2)
Total	9 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	47 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	26 (100.0)	87 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.14
 REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
 (Tamang Village)

Respondents/ Economic Strata	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Reasons for Not Working												
Too old, poor health	-	-	1 (14.3)	1 (11.1)	1 (16.6)	-	2 (16.7)	3 (13.6)	1 (12.5)	-	3 (15.8)	4 (12.9)
Too much work at home	1 (50.0)	-	2 (28.6)	3 (33.3)	3 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	5 (41.6)	10 (45.5)	4 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	7 (36.8)	13 (41.9)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	1 (16.7)	-	2 (16.7)	3 (13.6)	1 (12.5)	-	2 (10.5)	3 (9.7)
Studying, no time	1 (50.0)	-	3 (42.8)	4 (44.5)	-	2 (50.0)	-	2 (9.1)	1 (12.5)	2 (50.0)	3 (15.8)	6 (19.4)
Requires moving out of family or village	-	-	-	-	1 (16.7)	-	1 (8.3)	2 (9.1)	1 (12.5)	-	1 (5.3)	2 (6.4)
No suitable employment available	-	-	1 (14.3)	1 (11.1)	-	-	2 (16.7)	2 (9.1)	-	-	3 (15.8)	3 (9.7)
Total	2 (100.0)	-	7 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	31 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.15

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Tharu Village)

Respondents/ Economic Strata Reasons for Not Working	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Too old, poor health	-	7 (24.1)	4 (18.2)	11 (18.0)	1 (8.3)	7 (23.3)	3 (9.1)	11 (14.7)	1 (4.5)	14 (23.7)	7 (12.7)	22 (16.2)
Too much work at home	10 (100.0)	21 (72.4)	17 (77.3)	48 (78.7)	11 (91.7)	20 (66.7)	26 (78.8)	57 (76.0)	21 (95.5)	41 (69.5)	43 (78.2)	105 (77.2)
Child care responsibilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3.3)	2 (6.0)	3 (4.0)	-	1 (1.7)	2 (3.6)	3 (2.2)
Studying, no time	-	1 (3.5)	1 (4.5)	2 (3.3)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1.7)	1 (1.8)	2 (1.5)
No suitable employment available	-	-	-	-	-	2 (6.7)	2 (6.0)	4 (5.3)	-	2 (3.4)	2 (3.6)	4 (2.9)
Total	10 (100.0)	29 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	61 (100.0)	12 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	59 (100.0)	55 (100.0)	136 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

TABLE F.16

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME BY ECONOMIC STRATA AND SEX
(Maithili Village)

Respondents/ Economic Strata Reasons for Not Working	Male Respondents				Female Respondents				Total Respondents			
	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata	Top	Middle	Bottom	All Strata
Too old, poor health	1 (5.0)	1 (11.1)	2 (15.4)	4 (9.5)	3 (17.6)	2 (25.0)	2 (9.5)	7 (15.2)	4 (10.8)	3 (17.6)	4 (11.8)	11 (12.5)
Too much work at home	10 (50.0)	7 (77.8)	5 (38.4)	22 (52.4)	8 (47.1)	5 (62.5)	7 (33.3)	20 (43.5)	18 (48.7)	12 (70.6)	12 (35.3)	42 (47.7)
Child care responsi- bilities, lactation	-	-	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	2 (9.5)	3 (6.5)	-	1 (5.9)	2 (5.9)	3 (3.4)
Studying, no time	2 (10.0)	1 (11.1)	-	3 (7.1)	-	-	-	-	2 (5.4)	1 (5.9)	-	3 (3.4)
Social custom	-	-	5 (38.4)	5 (11.9)	2 (11.8)	-	9 (42.9)	11 (23.9)	2 (5.4)	-	14 (41.1)	16 (18.2)
No suitable employment available	2 (10.0)	-	-	2 (4.8)	-	-	-	-	2 (5.4)	-	-	2 (2.3)
Others	5 (25.0)	-	1 (7.7)	6 (14.3)	4 (23.5)	-	1 (4.8)	5 (10.9)	9 (24.3)	-	2 (5.9)	11 (12.5)
Total	20 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	21 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	37 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	34 (100.0)	88 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate column percentages.

APPENDIX G

Male and Female Opinions on
Own and Opposite Sex Characteristics
for
Each of the Eight Villages Separately

TABLE G.1

MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
(Baragaonle Village)

Questions	Respondents/ Sex				Male				Female				Both								
	Men		Women		Both Same		Total	Men		Women		Both Same		Total	Men		Women		Both Same		Total
	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)	(%)	(In number)
1. Who is most trustworthy?	19 (70.4)	8 (29.6)	-	-	27 (100.0)	-	27 (100.0)	10 (35.7)	17 (60.7)	1 (3.6)	28 (100.0)	29 (52.7)	25 (45.5)	1 (1.8)	55 (100.0)						
2. Who is more concerning about their family?	2 (7.4)	25 (92.6)	-	-	27 (100.0)	-	27 (100.0)	1 (3.6)	27 (96.4)	-	28 (100.0)	3 (5.5)	52 (94.5)	-	55 (100.0)						
3. Who is more obedient?	27 (100.0)	-	-	-	27 (100.0)	-	27 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	-	-	28 (100.0)	55 (100.0)	-	-	55 (100.0)						
4. Who is kinder?	18 (66.7)	9 (33.3)	-	-	27 (100.0)	-	27 (100.0)	8 (28.6)	19 (67.8)	1 (3.6)	28 (100.0)	26 (47.3)	28 (50.9)	1 (1.8)	55 (100.0)						
5. Who is more cooperative?	8 (29.6)	17 (63.0)	2 (7.4)	4 (14.8)	27 (100.0)	2 (7.1)	27 (100.0)	2 (7.1)	26 (92.9)	-	28 (100.0)	10 (18.2)	43 (78.2)	2 (3.6)	55 (100.0)						
6. Who is more religious?	19 (70.4)	4 (14.8)	4 (14.8)	6 (21.0)	27 (100.0)	7 (25.0)	27 (100.0)	7 (25.0)	20 (71.4)	1 (3.6)	28 (100.0)	26 (47.3)	24 (43.6)	5 (9.1)	55 (100.0)						
I. Positive Image	93 (57.4)	63 (38.9)	3 (1.7)	6 (3.7)	162 (100.0)	56 (33.3)	168 (100.0)	56 (33.3)	109 (64.9)	3 (1.8)	168 (100.0)	149 (45.2)	172 (52.1)	9 (2.7)	330 (100.0)						
1. Who is more selfish?	9 (33.3)	16 (59.3)	2 (7.4)	2 (7.4)	27 (100.0)	9 (32.1)	27 (100.0)	9 (32.1)	19 (67.9)	-	28 (100.0)	18 (32.7)	35 (63.6)	2 (3.6)	55 (100.0)						
2. Who is more lazy?	23 (85.2)	4 (14.8)	-	-	27 (100.0)	23 (82.1)	27 (100.0)	23 (82.1)	5 (17.9)	-	28 (100.0)	46 (83.6)	9 (16.4)	-	55 (100.0)						
3. Who is more stubborn?	23 (85.2)	3 (11.1)	1 (3.7)	1 (3.7)	27 (100.0)	24 (85.7)	27 (100.0)	24 (85.7)	4 (14.3)	-	28 (100.0)	47 (85.5)	7 (12.7)	1 (1.8)	55 (100.0)						
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	24 (88.9)	3 (11.1)	-	-	27 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	-	-	28 (100.0)	52 (94.5)	3 (5.5)	-	55 (100.0)						
II. Negative Image	79 (73.1)	26 (24.1)	3 (2.8)	3 (2.8)	108 (100.0)	84 (75.0)	108 (100.0)	84 (75.0)	28 (25.0)	-	112 (100.0)	163 (74.1)	54 (24.5)	3 (1.4)	220 (100.0)						
Overall Image (I-II)	14 (25.9)	37 (68.5)	3 (5.6)	3 (5.6)	54 (100.0)	-28 (-50.0)	54 (100.0)	-28 (-50.0)	81 (144.6)	3 (5.4)	56 (100.0)	-14 (-12.7)	118 (107.3)	6 (5.4)	110 (100.0)						

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE G.2
 MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
 (Lohorung Rai Village)

Respondents/ Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
I. Who is more trustworthy?	6 (25.0)	9 (37.5)	9 (37.5)	24 (100.0)	6 (18.2)	11 (33.3)	16 (48.5)	33 (100.0)	12 (21.0)	20 (35.1)	25 (43.9)	57 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerned about their family?	2 (8.3)	22 (91.7)	-	24 (100.0)	1 (2.9)	33 (97.1)	-	34 (100.0)	3 (5.2)	55 (94.8)	-	58 (100.0)
3. Who is more obedient?	-	18 (75.0)	6 (35.0)	24 (100.0)	1 (2.9)	31 (91.2)	2 (5.9)	34 (100.0)	1 (1.7)	49 (84.5)	8 (13.8)	58 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	1 (4.2)	18 (75.0)	5 (20.8)	24 (100.0)	1 (2.9)	27 (79.4)	6 (17.7)	34 (100.0)	2 (3.4)	45 (77.6)	11 (19.0)	58 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	14 (60.9)	-	9 (39.1)	23 (100.0)	15 (44.1)	9 (26.5)	10 (29.4)	34 (100.0)	29 (50.9)	9 (15.8)	19 (33.3)	57 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	1 (4.3)	14 (60.9)	8 (34.8)	23 (100.0)	2 (5.9)	32 (94.1)	-	34 (100.0)	3 (5.3)	46 (80.7)	8 (14.0)	57 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	24 (16.9)	81 (57.0)	37 (26.1)	142 (100.0)	26 (12.8)	143 (70.4)	34 (16.8)	203 (100.0)	50 (14.5)	224 (64.9)	71 (20.6)	345 (100.0)
1. Who is selfish?	4 (16.7)	12 (50.0)	8 (33.3)	24 (100.0)	14 (41.2)	8 (23.5)	12 (35.3)	34 (100.0)	18 (31.0)	20 (34.5)	20 (34.5)	58 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	14 (58.3)	2 (8.3)	8 (33.3)	24 (100.0)	32 (94.1)	1 (2.9)	1 (2.9)	34 (100.0)	46 (79.3)	3 (5.2)	9 (15.5)	58 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	19 (79.2)	1 (4.2)	4 (16.6)	24 (100.0)	31 (91.2)	-	3 (8.8)	34 (100.0)	50 (86.2)	1 (1.7)	7 (12.1)	58 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	-	12 (52.2)	11 (47.8)	23 (100.0)	1 (2.9)	16 (47.1)	17 (50.0)	34 (100.0)	1 (1.8)	28 (49.1)	28 (49.1)	57 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	37 (39.0)	27 (28.4)	31 (32.6)	95 (100.0)	78 (57.3)	25 (18.4)	33 (24.3)	136 (100.0)	115 (49.8)	52 (22.5)	64 (27.7)	231 (100.0)
Overall Image (I-II)	-13 (-27.7)	54 (114.9)	6 (12.8)	47 (100.0)	-52 (-77.6)	118 (176.1)	1 (1.5)	67 (100.0)	-65 (-57.0)	172 (150.9)	7 (6.1)	114 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE G.3
 MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
 (Kham Magar Village)

Respondents/ Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)	(n)
I. Who is more trustworthy?	8 (30.8)	6 (23.1)	12 (46.1)	26 (100.0)	4 (14.3)	9 (32.1)	15 (53.6)	28 (100.0)	12 (22.2)	15 (27.8)	27 (50.0)	54 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerning about their family?	3	14	11	28	3	14	11	28	6	28	22	56
3. Who is more obedient?	14 (48.3)	7 (24.1)	8 (27.6)	29 (100.0)	11 (39.3)	8 (28.6)	9 (32.1)	28 (100.0)	25 (43.9)	15 (26.3)	17 (29.8)	57 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	1 (3.6)	18 (64.3)	9 (32.1)	28 (100.0)	5 (17.2)	13 (44.8)	11 (38.0)	29 (100.0)	6 (10.5)	31 (54.4)	20 (33.1)	57 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	2 (7.4)	15 (55.6)	10 (37.0)	27 (100.0)	4 (14.8)	9 (33.3)	14 (51.9)	27 (100.0)	6 (11.1)	24 (44.4)	24 (44.4)	54 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	5 (17.3)	15 (51.7)	9 (31.0)	29 (100.0)	9 (32.1)	7 (25.0)	12 (42.9)	28 (100.0)	14 (24.6)	22 (38.6)	21 (36.8)	57 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	33 (19.8)	75 (44.9)	59 (35.3)	167 (100.0)	36 (21.4)	60 (35.7)	72 (42.9)	168 (100.0)	69 (20.6)	135 (40.3)	131 (39.1)	335 (100.0)
1. Who is more selfish?	5 (18.5)	3 (11.1)	19 (70.4)	27 (100.0)	8 (28.6)	8 (28.6)	12 (42.8)	28 (100.0)	13 (23.6)	11 (20.0)	31 (56.4)	55 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	18 (62.1)	3 (10.3)	8 (27.6)	29 (100.0)	21 (75.0)	2 (7.1)	5 (17.9)	28 (100.0)	39 (68.4)	5 (8.8)	13 (22.8)	57 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	6 (25.0)	5 (20.8)	13 (54.2)	24 (100.0)	8 (33.3)	4 (16.7)	12 (50.0)	24 (100.0)	14 (29.2)	9 (18.7)	25 (52.1)	48 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	10 (37.1)	8 (29.6)	9 (33.3)	27 (100.0)	10 (38.5)	5 (19.2)	11 (42.3)	26 (100.0)	20 (37.7)	13 (24.5)	20 (37.8)	53 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	39 (36.4)	19 (17.8)	49 (45.8)	107 (100.0)	47 (44.4)	19 (17.9)	40 (37.7)	106 (100.0)	86 (40.4)	38 (17.8)	89 (41.8)	213 (100.0)
Overall Image (I-II)	-6 (10.0)	56 (93.3)	10 (16.7)	60 (100.0)	-11 (17.7)	41 (66.1)	32 (51.6)	62 (100.0)	-17 (13.9)	97 (79.5)	42 (34.4)	122 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE G.4
 MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
 (Parbatiya Village)

Respondents/ Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
1. Who is more trustworthy?	20 (62.5)	5 (15.6)	7 (21.9)	32 (100.0)	11 (32.4)	20 (58.8)	3 (8.8)	34 (100.0)	31 (47.0)	25 (37.9)	10 (15.1)	66 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerning about their family?	8 (25.0)	15 (46.9)	9 (28.1)	32 (100.0)	14 (41.2)	10 (29.4)	10 (29.4)	34 (100.0)	22 (33.3)	25 (37.9)	19 (28.8)	66 (100.0)
3. Who is more obedient?	3 (9.4)	26 (81.2)	3 (9.4)	32 (100.0)	-	30 (88.2)	4 (11.8)	34 (100.0)	3 (4.5)	56 (84.9)	7 (10.6)	66 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	9 (28.1)	14 (43.8)	9 (28.1)	32 (100.0)	9 (26.5)	15 (44.1)	10 (29.4)	34 (100.0)	18 (27.3)	29 (43.9)	19 (28.8)	66 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	21 (65.6)	5 (15.6)	6 (18.8)	32 (100.0)	12 (35.3)	8 (23.5)	14 (41.2)	34 (100.0)	33 (50.0)	13 (19.7)	20 (30.3)	66 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	2 (6.2)	24 (75.0)	6 (18.8)	32 (100.0)	1 (2.9)	29 (85.3)	4 (11.8)	34 (100.0)	3 (4.5)	53 (80.3)	10 (15.2)	66 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	63 (32.8)	89 (46.4)	40 (20.8)	192 (100.0)	47 (23.0)	112 (54.9)	45 (22.1)	204 (100.0)	110 (27.8)	201 (50.7)	85 (21.5)	396 (100.0)
1. Who is more selfish?	14 (43.7)	7 (21.9)	11 (34.4)	32 (100.0)	9 (26.5)	15 (44.1)	10 (29.4)	34 (100.0)	23 (34.9)	22 (33.3)	21 (31.8)	66 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	13 (40.6)	9 (28.1)	10 (31.3)	32 (100.0)	18 (52.9)	10 (29.4)	6 (17.7)	34 (100.0)	31 (47.0)	19 (28.8)	16 (24.2)	66 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	-	31 (96.9)	1 (3.1)	32 (100.0)	6 (17.6)	26 (76.5)	2 (5.9)	34 (100.0)	6 (9.1)	57 (86.4)	3 (4.5)	66 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	2 (6.2)	19 (59.4)	11 (34.4)	32 (100.0)	5 (14.7)	18 (52.9)	11 (32.4)	34 (100.0)	7 (10.6)	37 (56.1)	22 (33.3)	66 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	29 (22.6)	66 (51.6)	33 (25.8)	128 (100.0)	38 (28.0)	69 (50.7)	29 (21.3)	136 (100.0)	67 (25.4)	135 (51.1)	62 (23.5)	264 (100.0)
Overall Image (I-II)	34 (53.1)	23 (36.0)	7 (10.9)	64 (100.0)	9 (13.2)	43 (63.3)	16 (23.5)	68 (100.0)	43 (32.6)	66 (50.0)	23 (17.4)	132 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE G.5
MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
(Newar Village)

Questions	Respondents/ Sex				Male				Female				Both											
	Men		Women		Both Same		Total		Men		Women		Both Same		Total		Men		Women		Both Same		Total	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
1. Who is more 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)		32 (32.3)		31 (100.0)		8 (13.8)		34 (58.6)		16 (27.6)		58 (100.0)	
4. Who is kinder?	-		18 (64.3)		10 (35.7)		28 (100.0)		1 (3.5)		21 (72.4)		7 (24.1)		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)		-		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 (37.1)		9 (33.3)		8 (29.6)		27 (100.0)		21 (38.9)		17 (31.5)		16 (29.6)		54 (100.0)	
II. Negative Image	28 (26.2)		42 (39.2)		37 (34.6)		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)	
Overall Image (I+II)	12 (21.1)		23 (40.3)		22 (38.6)		57 (100.0)		4 (6.1)		43 (66.2)		18 (27.7)		65 (100.0)		16 (13.1)		66 (54.1)		40 (32.8)		122 (100.0)	

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE C.6
 MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
 (Tamang Village)

Respondents/ Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
1. Who is more trustworthy?	16 (64.0)	6 (24.0)	3 (12.0)	25 (100.0)	7 (25.0)	11 (39.3)	10 (35.7)	28 (100.0)	23 (43.4)	17 (32.1)	13 (24.5)	53 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerned about their family?	1 (3.7)	15 (55.6)	11 (40.7)	27 (100.0)	2 (6.1)	18 (54.5)	13 (39.4)	33 (100.0)	3 (5.0)	33 (55.0)	24 (40.0)	60 (100.0)
3. Who is more obedient?	3 (11.1)	15 (55.6)	9 (33.3)	27 (100.0)	3 (9.4)	14 (43.7)	15 (46.9)	32 (100.0)	6 (10.2)	29 (49.1)	24 (40.7)	59 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	5 (18.5)	11 (40.7)	11 (40.7)	27 (100.0)	6 (18.2)	17 (51.5)	10 (30.3)	33 (100.0)	11 (18.3)	28 (46.7)	21 (35.0)	60 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	8 (29.6)	4 (14.8)	15 (55.6)	27 (100.0)	5 (15.2)	7 (21.2)	21 (63.6)	33 (100.0)	13 (21.7)	11 (18.3)	36 (60.0)	60 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	3 (11.5)	8 (30.8)	15 (57.7)	26 (100.0)	5 (15.6)	11 (34.4)	16 (50.0)	32 (100.0)	8 (13.8)	19 (32.8)	31 (53.4)	58 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	36 (22.6)	59 (37.1)	64 (40.3)	159 (100.0)	28 (14.7)	78 (40.8)	85 (44.5)	191 (100.0)	64 (18.3)	137 (39.1)	149 (42.6)	350 (100.0)
1. Who is more selfish?	9 (34.6)	3 (11.5)	14 (53.9)	26 (100.0)	12 (41.4)	6 (20.7)	11 (37.9)	29 (100.0)	21 (38.2)	9 (16.4)	25 (45.4)	55 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	12 (48.0)	1 (4.0)	12 (48.0)	25 (100.0)	15 (46.9)	2 (6.2)	15 (46.9)	32 (100.0)	27 (77.4)	3 (5.2)	27 (47.4)	57 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	2 (7.7)	9 (34.6)	15 (57.7)	26 (100.0)	7 (21.9)	20 (62.5)	5 (15.6)	32 (100.0)	9 (15.5)	39 (67.2)	10 (17.3)	58 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	7 (25.9)	11 (40.8)	9 (33.3)	27 (100.0)	9 (28.1)	10 (31.3)	13 (40.6)	32 (100.0)	16 (27.1)	21 (35.6)	22 (37.3)	59 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	30 (28.8)	34 (32.7)	40 (38.5)	104 (100.0)	43 (34.4)	38 (30.4)	44 (35.2)	125 (100.0)	73 (31.9)	72 (31.4)	84 (36.7)	229 (100.0)
Overall Image (I-II)	6 (10.9)	25 (45.5)	24 (43.6)	55 (100.0)	-15 (-22.7)	40 (60.6)	41 (62.1)	66 (100.0)	-9 (7.4)	65 (53.7)	65 (53.7)	121 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE G.7
MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
(Tharu Village)

Respondents/ Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
1. Who is more trustworthy?	22 (61.1)	2 (5.6)	12 (33.3)	36 (100.0)	26 (76.5)	1 (2.9)	7 (20.6)	34 (100.0)	48 (68.6)	3 (4.3)	19 (27.1)	70 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerning about their family?	4 (11.1)	25 (69.4)	7 (19.5)	36 (100.0)	12 (35.3)	8 (23.5)	14 (41.2)	34 (100.0)	16 (22.9)	33 (47.1)	21 (30.0)	70 (100.0)
3. Who is more obedient?	7 (24.1)	4 (13.8)	18 (62.1)	29 (100.0)	2 (7.1)	12 (42.9)	14 (50.0)	28 (100.0)	9 (15.8)	16 (28.1)	32 (56.1)	57 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	5 (15.2)	15 (45.4)	13 (39.4)	33 (100.0)	5 (14.7)	21 (61.8)	8 (23.5)	34 (100.0)	10 (14.9)	36 (53.7)	21 (31.4)	67 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	25 (69.4)	4 (11.1)	7 (19.5)	36 (100.0)	10 (29.4)	13 (38.2)	11 (32.4)	34 (100.0)	35 (50.0)	17 (24.3)	18 (25.7)	70 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	22 (62.8)	10 (28.6)	3 (8.6)	35 (100.0)	22 (64.7)	10 (29.4)	2 (5.9)	34 (100.0)	44 (63.8)	20 (29.0)	5 (7.2)	69 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	85 (41.4)	60 (29.3)	60 (29.3)	205 (100.0)	77 (38.9)	65 (32.8)	56 (28.3)	198 (100.0)	162 (40.2)	125 (31.0)	116 (28.8)	403 (100.0)
1. Who is more selfish?	3 (8.3)	9 (25.0)	24 (66.7)	36 (100.0)	5 (14.7)	-	29 (85.3)	34 (100.0)	8 (11.4)	9 (12.9)	53 (75.7)	70 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	12 (33.3)	7 (19.5)	17 (47.2)	36 (100.0)	14 (41.2)	1 (2.9)	19 (55.9)	34 (100.0)	26 (37.2)	8 (11.4)	36 (51.4)	70 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	2 (5.5)	28 (77.8)	6 (16.7)	36 (100.0)	2 (6.3)	9 (28.1)	21 (65.6)	32 (100.0)	4 (5.9)	37 (54.4)	27 (39.7)	68 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	2 (5.6)	27 (75.0)	7 (19.4)	36 (100.0)	2 (5.9)	16 (47.0)	16 (47.0)	34 (100.0)	4 (5.7)	43 (61.4)	23 (32.9)	70 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	19 (13.2)	71 (49.3)	54 (37.5)	144 (100.0)	23 (17.2)	26 (19.4)	85 (63.4)	134 (100.0)	42 (15.1)	97 (34.9)	139 (50.0)	278 (100.0)
Overall Image (I-II)	66 (108.2)	-11 (-18.0)	6 (9.8)	61 (100.0)	54 (84.4)	39 (60.9)	-29 (45.3)	64 (100.0)	120 (96.0)	28 (22.4)	-23 (-18.4)	125 (100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

TABLE G.8
MALE/FEMALE OPINIONS ON OWN AND OPPOSITE SEX CHARACTERISTICS
(Maithili Village)

Respondents/ Sex	Male				Female				Both			
	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total	Men	Women	Both Same	Total
	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)	(In number)
1. Who is more trustworthy?	11 (36.7)	5 (16.7)	14 (46.6)	30 (100.0)	10 (30.3)	5 (15.2)	18 (54.5)	33 (100.0)	21 (33.3)	10 (15.9)	32 (50.8)	63 (100.0)
2. Who is more concerning about their family?	10 (32.3)	6 (19.3)	15 (48.4)	31 (100.0)	13 (40.6)	8 (25.0)	11 (34.4)	32 (100.0)	23 (36.5)	14 (22.2)	26 (41.3)	63 (100.0)
3. Who is more obedient?	7 (22.6)	6 (19.3)	18 (58.1)	31 (100.0)	7 (20.0)	17 (48.6)	11 (31.4)	35 (100.0)	14 (21.2)	23 (34.9)	29 (43.9)	66 (100.0)
4. Who is kinder?	2 (6.2)	20 (62.5)	10 (31.3)	32 (100.0)	5 (14.7)	21 (61.8)	8 (23.5)	34 (100.0)	7 (10.6)	41 (62.1)	18 (27.3)	66 (100.0)
5. Who is more cooperative?	11 (35.5)	2 (6.4)	18 (58.1)	31 (100.0)	12 (37.5)	7 (21.9)	13 (40.6)	32 (100.0)	23 (36.5)	9 (14.3)	31 (49.2)	63 (100.0)
6. Who is more religious?	6 (18.7)	19 (59.4)	7 (21.9)	32 (100.0)	5 (15.2)	20 (60.6)	8 (24.2)	33 (100.0)	11 (16.9)	39 (60.0)	15 (23.1)	65 (100.0)
I. Positive Image	47 (25.1)	58 (31.0)	82 (43.9)	187 (100.0)	52 (26.1)	78 (39.2)	69 (34.7)	199 (100.0)	99 (25.7)	136 (35.2)	151 (39.1)	386 (100.0)
1. Who is more selfish?	4 (14.8)	7 (25.9)	16 (59.3)	27 (100.0)	14 (42.4)	10 (30.3)	9 (27.3)	33 (100.0)	18 (30.0)	17 (28.3)	25 (41.7)	60 (100.0)
2. Who is more lazy?	6 (20.7)	10 (34.5)	13 (44.8)	29 (100.0)	5 (16.1)	16 (51.6)	10 (32.3)	31 (100.0)	11 (18.3)	26 (43.3)	23 (38.4)	60 (100.0)
3. Who is more stubborn?	1 (3.4)	20 (69.0)	8 (27.6)	29 (100.0)	5 (17.2)	20 (69.0)	4 (13.8)	29 (100.0)	6 (10.3)	40 (69.0)	12 (20.7)	58 (100.0)
4. Who is more quarrelsome?	-	23 (71.9)	9 (28.1)	32 (100.0)	5 (16.7)	21 (70.0)	4 (13.3)	30 (100.0)	5 (8.0)	44 (71.0)	13 (21.0)	62 (100.0)
II. Negative Image	11 (9.4)	60 (51.3)	46 (39.3)	117 (100.0)	29 (23.6)	67 (54.5)	27 (21.9)	123 (100.0)	40 (16.7)	127 (52.9)	73 (30.4)	240 (100.0)
Overall Image (I-II)	36 (51.4)	-2 (2.8)	36 (51.4)	70 (100.0)	23 (30.3)	11 (14.5)	42 (55.2)	76 (100.0)	59 (40.4)	9 (6.2)	78 (53.4)	146 (100.0)

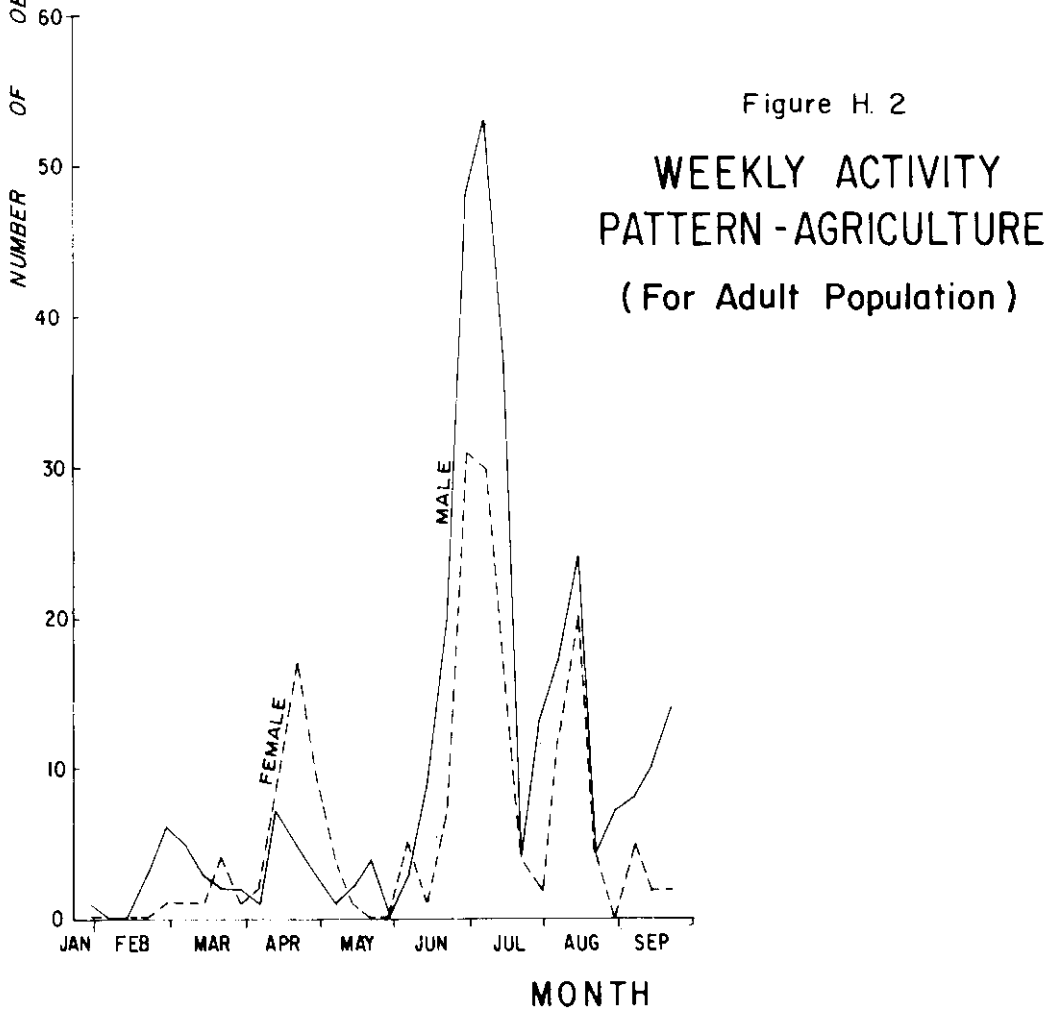
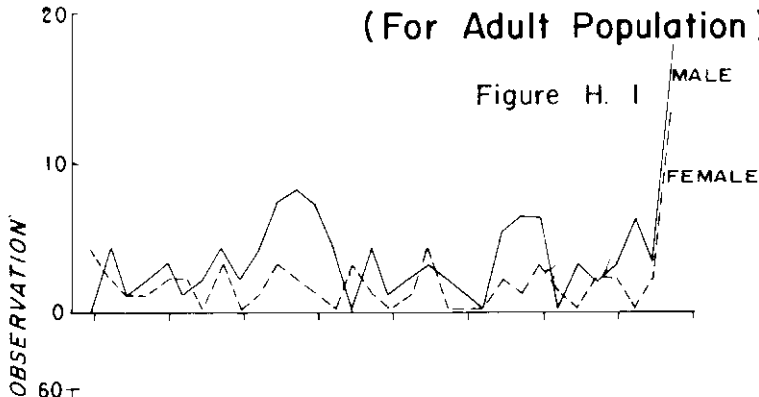
Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

APPENDIX H

Seasonality Data
by Village

BARAGAONLE VILLAGE

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN- ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
(For Adult Population)



Starting date - January 29, 1978

BARAGAONLE VILLAGE

Figure H. 3

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN - MANUFACTURING & FOOD PROCESSING

(For Adult Population)

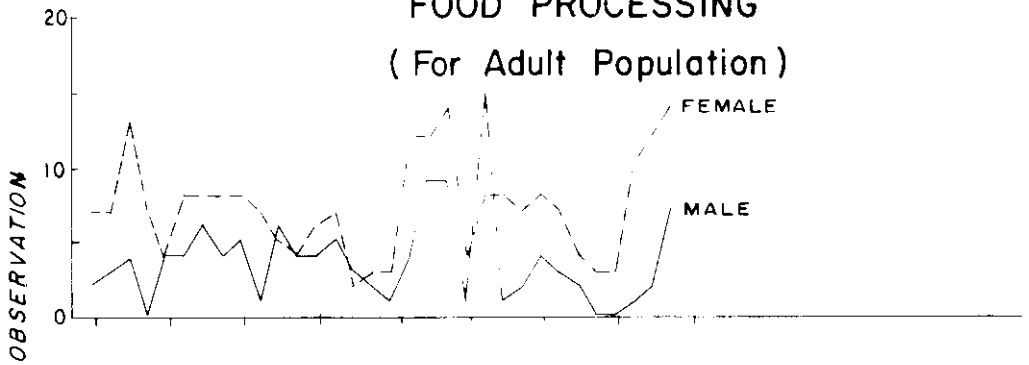
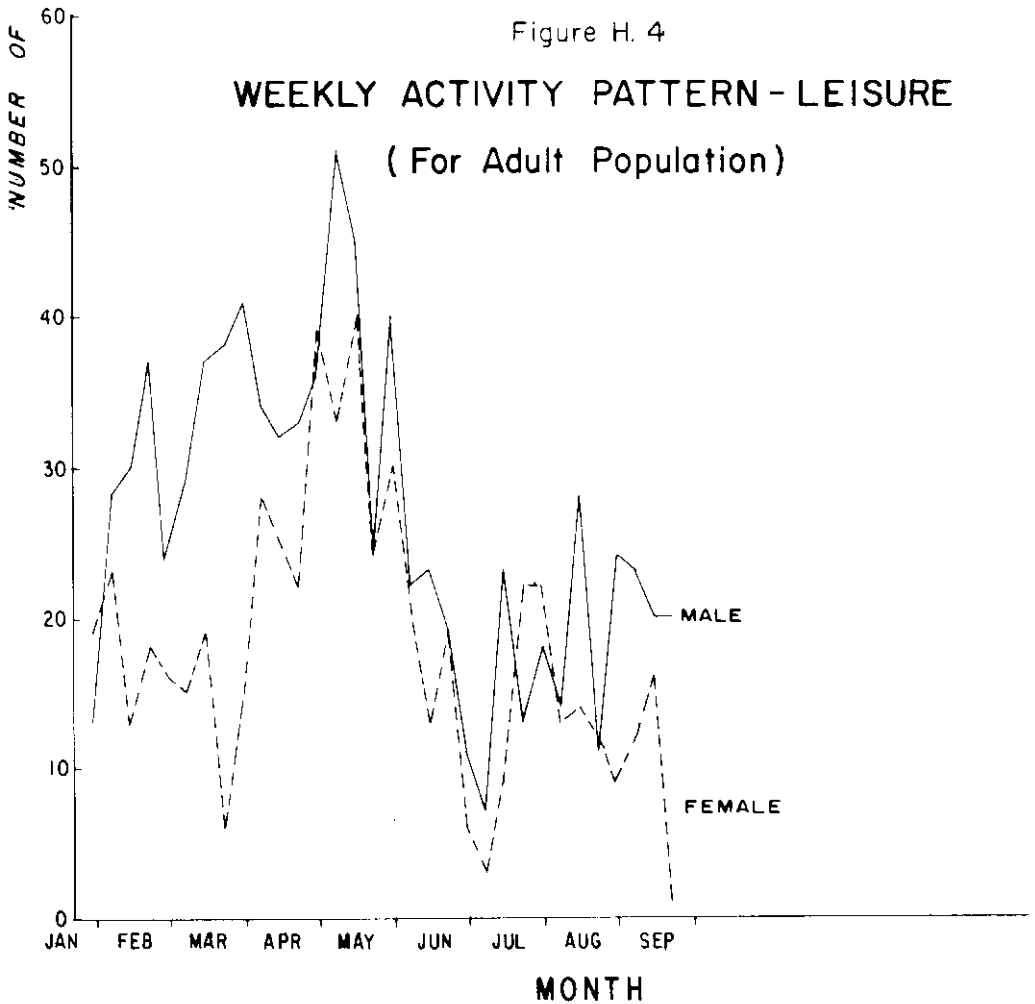


Figure H. 4

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN - LEISURE

(For Adult Population)



Starting date - January 29, 1978

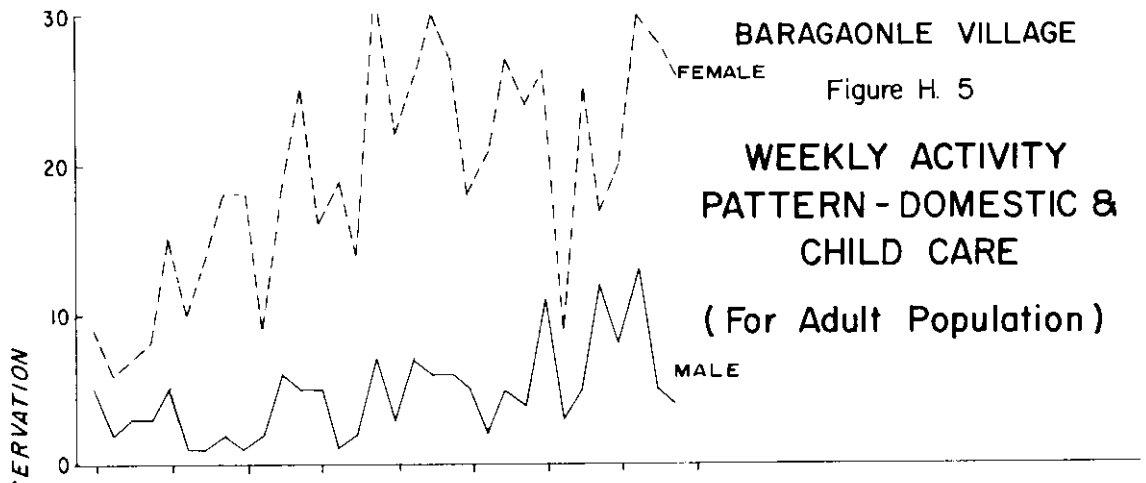
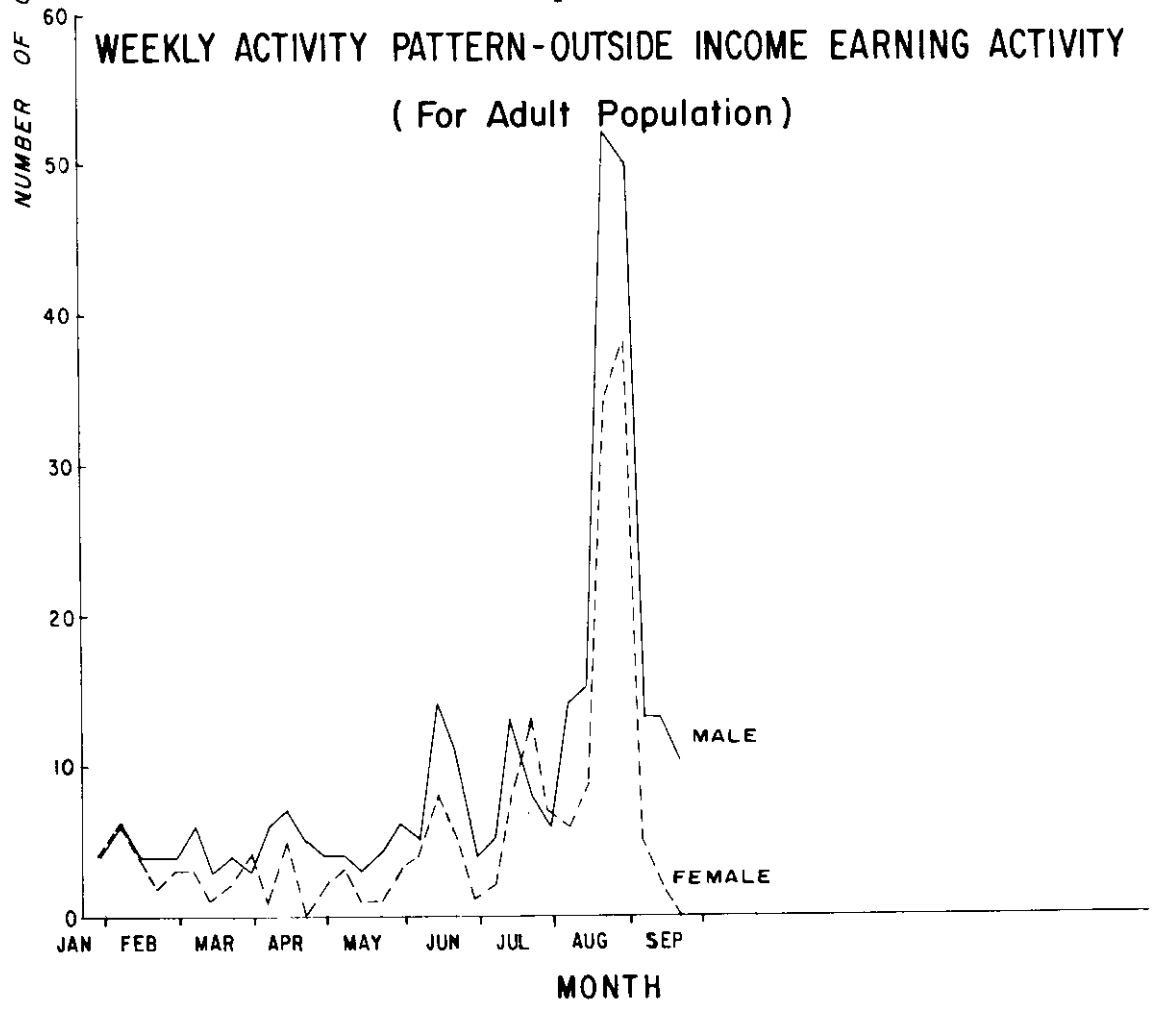


Figure H. 6

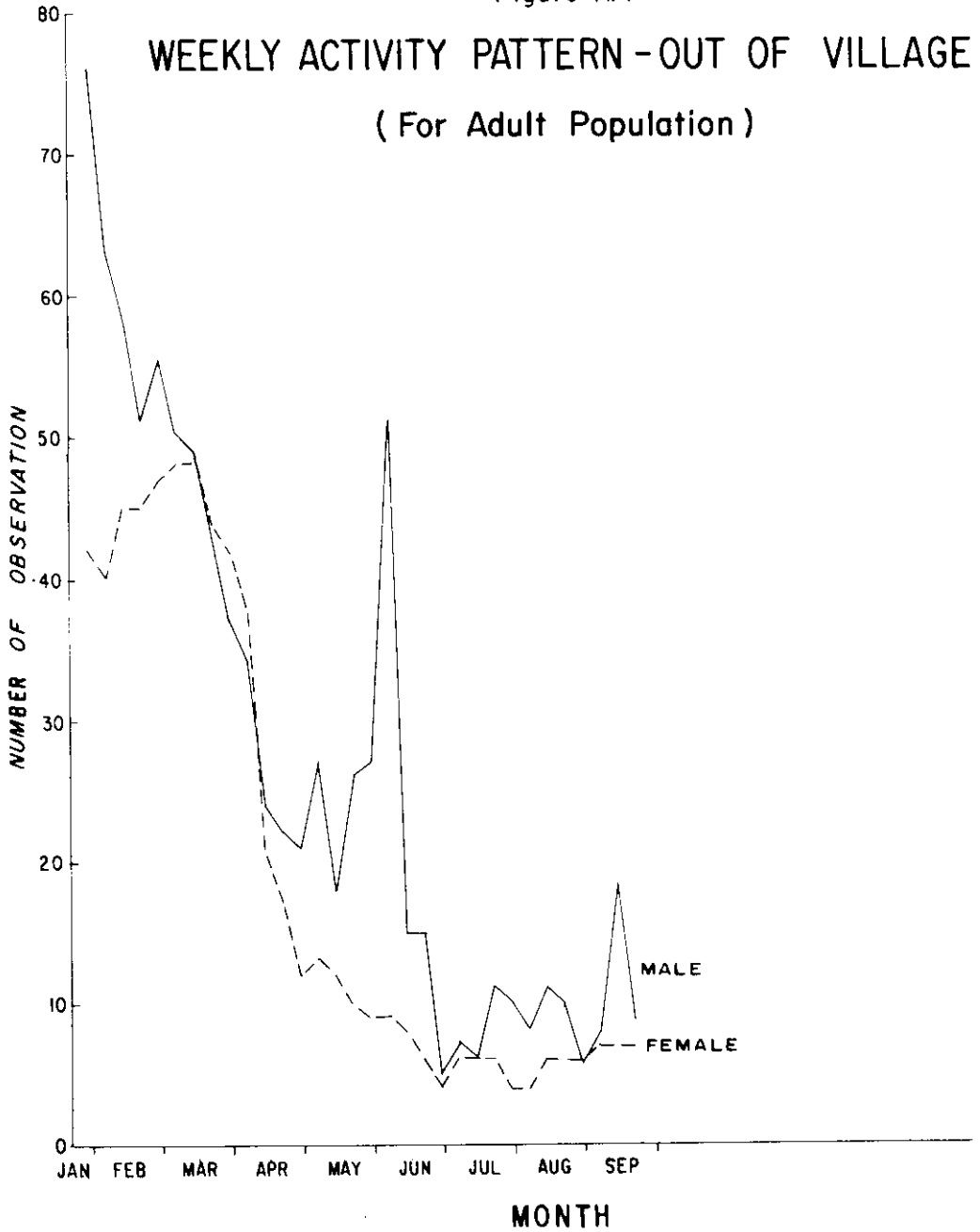


Starting date - January 29, 1978

BARAGAONLE VILLAGE

Figure H.7

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



Starting date - January 29, 1978

KHAM MAGAR VILLAGE

Figure H. 8

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-ANIMAL HUSBANDRY (For Adult Population)

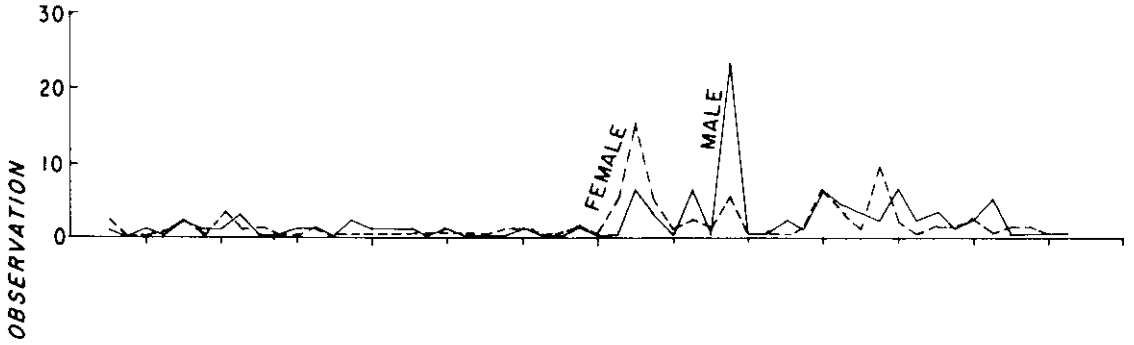
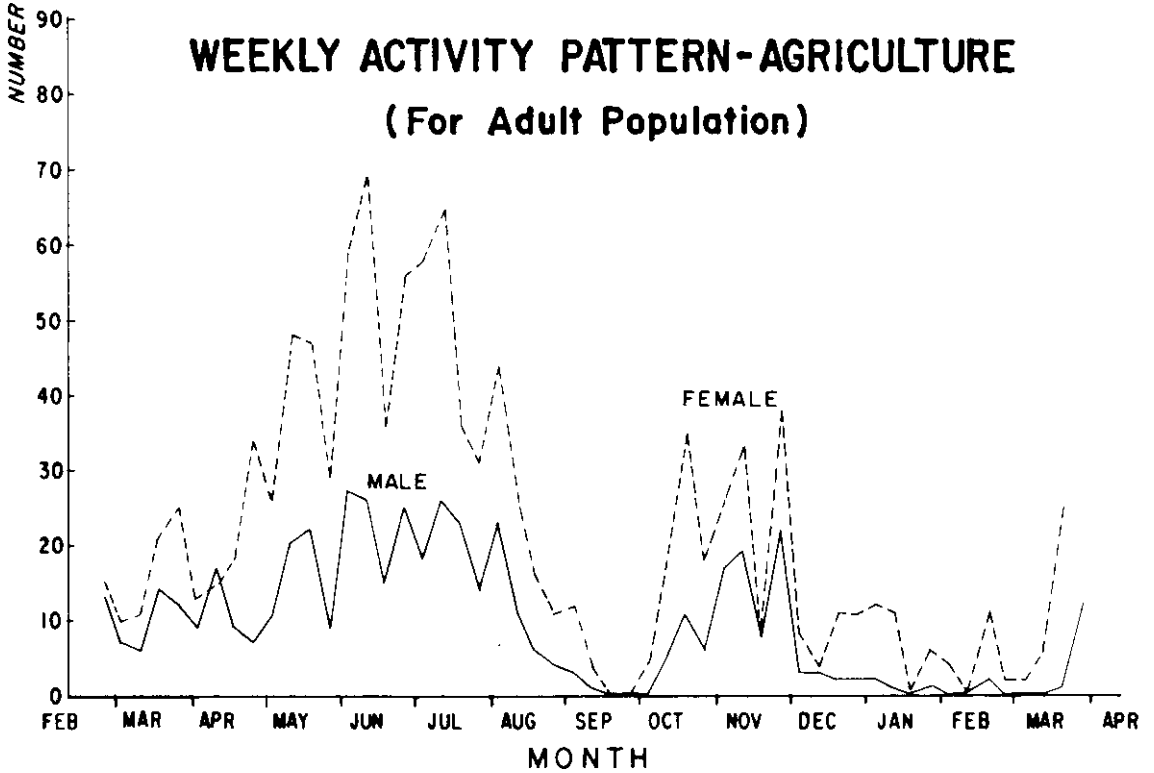


Figure H. 9

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-AGRICULTURE (For Adult Population)



Starting date - February 27, 1978

KHAM MAGAR VILLAGE

Figure H. 10

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN - MANUFACTURING &
FOOD PROCESSING
(For Adult Population)

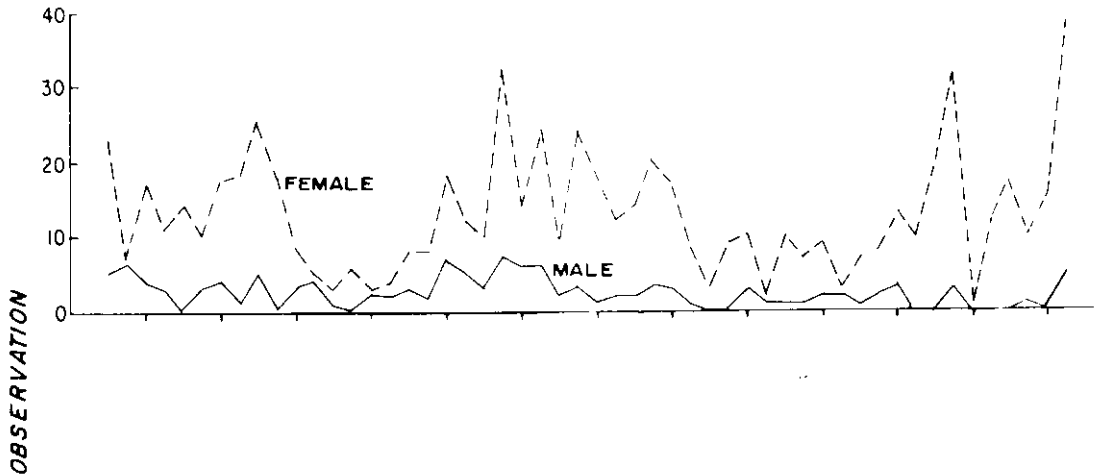
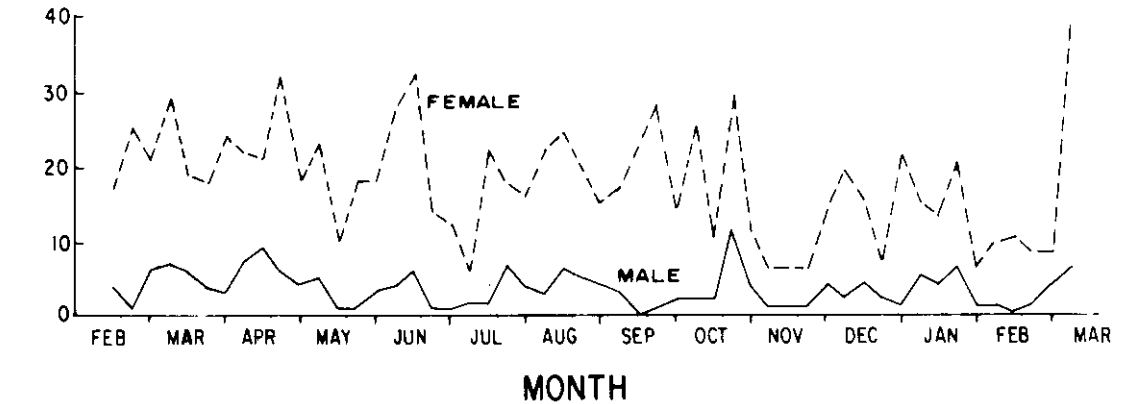


Figure H. 11

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



Starting date - February 27, 1978

KHAM MAGAR VILLAGE

Figure H. 12

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN- OUTSIDE INCOME
EARNING ACTIVITY
(For Adult Population)

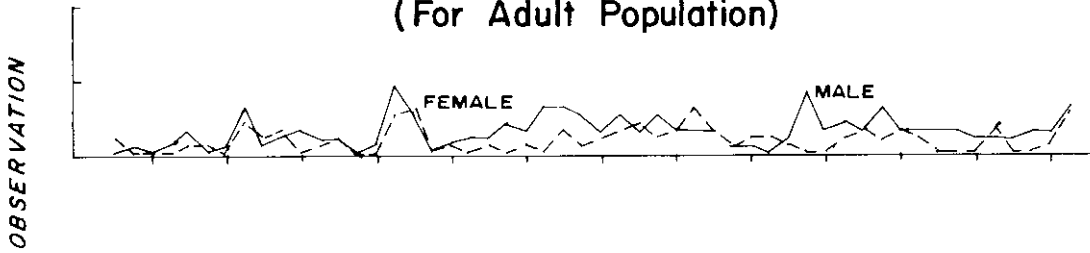
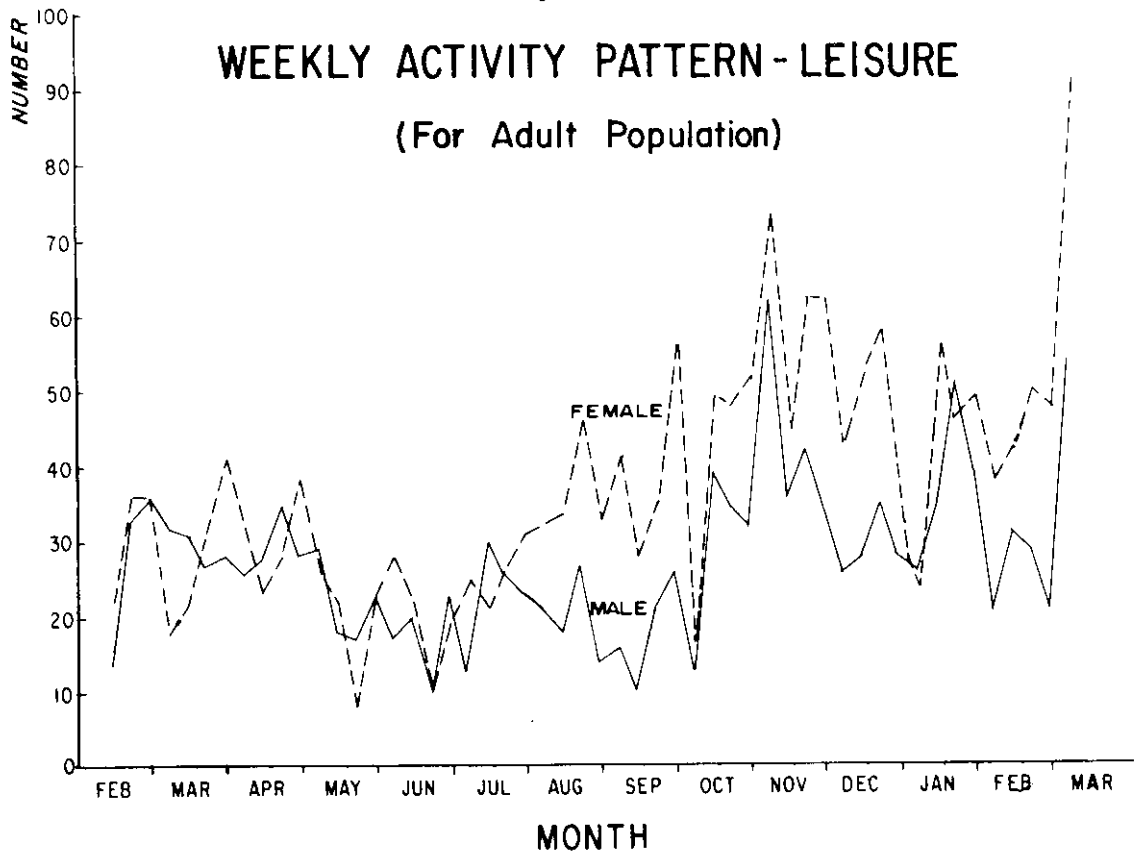


Figure H. 13

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN- LEISURE
(For Adult Population)

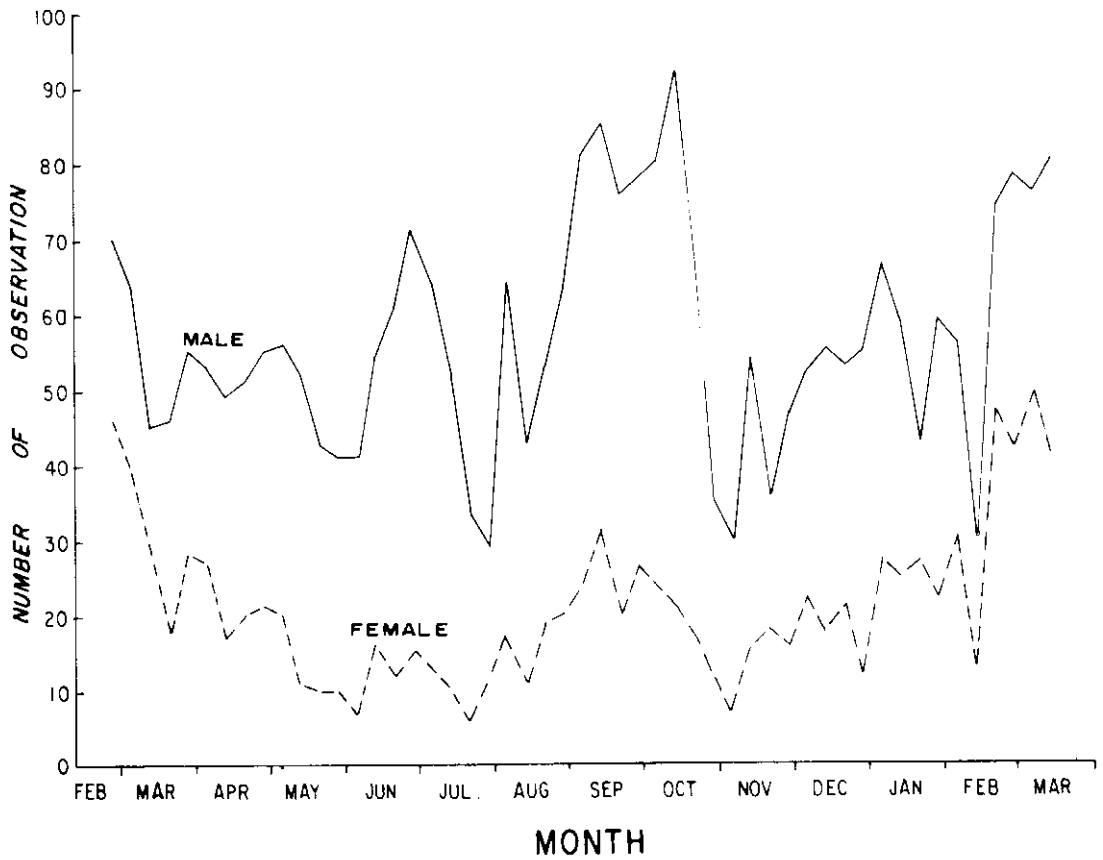


Starting date - February 27, 1978

KHAM MAGAR VILLAGE

Figure H. 14

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



Starting date - February 27, 1978

PARBATIYA VILLAGE

Figure H. 15

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-LEISURE
(For Adult Population)

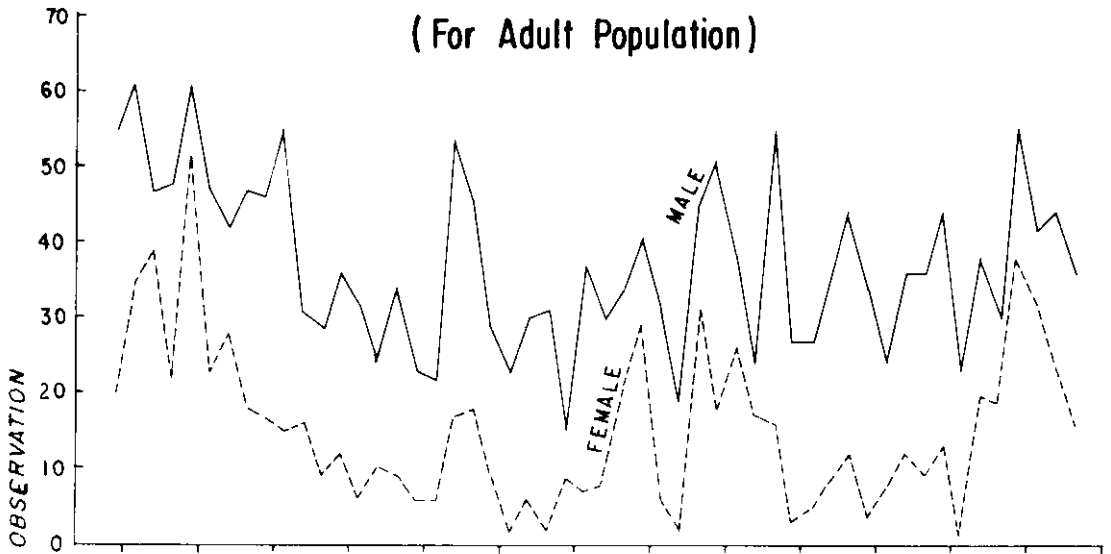
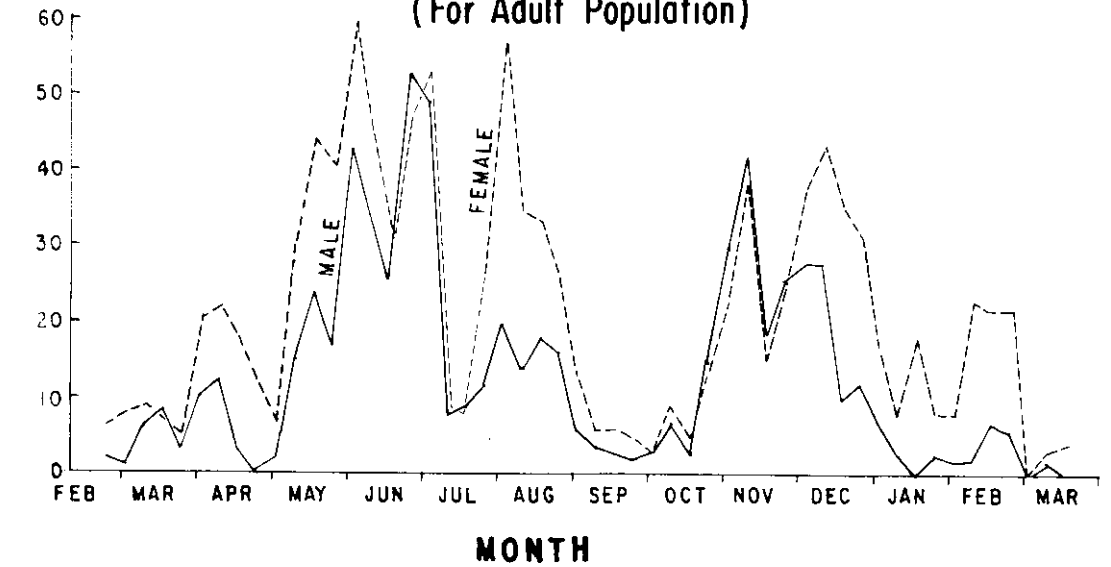


Figure H. 16

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-AGRICULTURE
(For Adult Population)



Starting date-February 26,1978

PARBATIYA VILLAGE

Figure H. 17

**WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-OUTSIDE INCOME EARNING
(For Adult Population)**

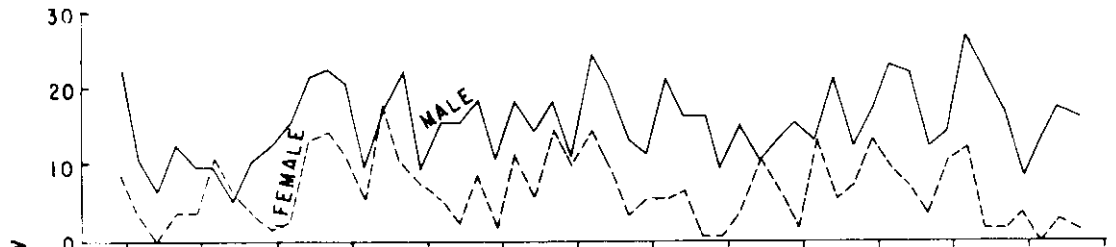


Figure H. 18

**WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-MANUFACTURING
& FOOD PROCESSING
(For Adult Population)**

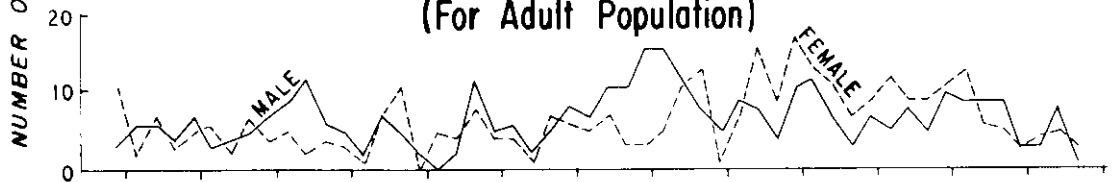
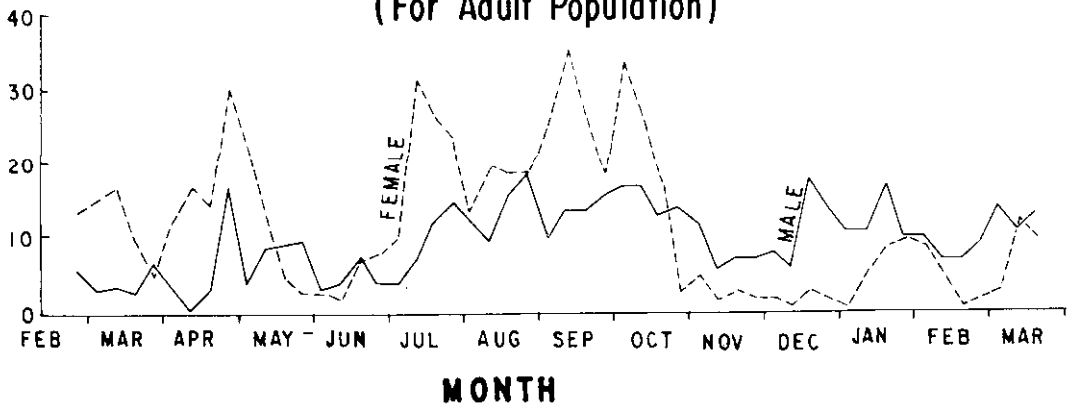


Figure H 19

**WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
(For Adult Population)**



Starting date- February 26, 1978

PARBATIYA VILLAGE

Figure H. 20

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

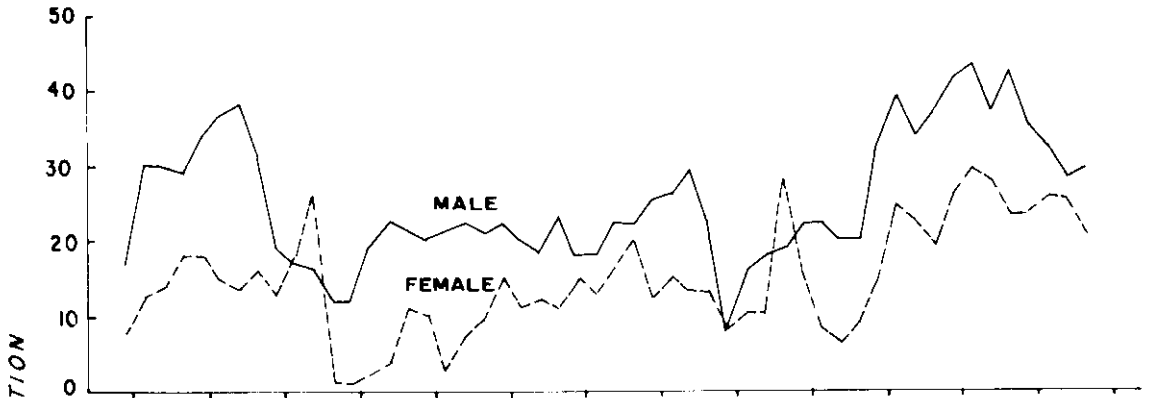
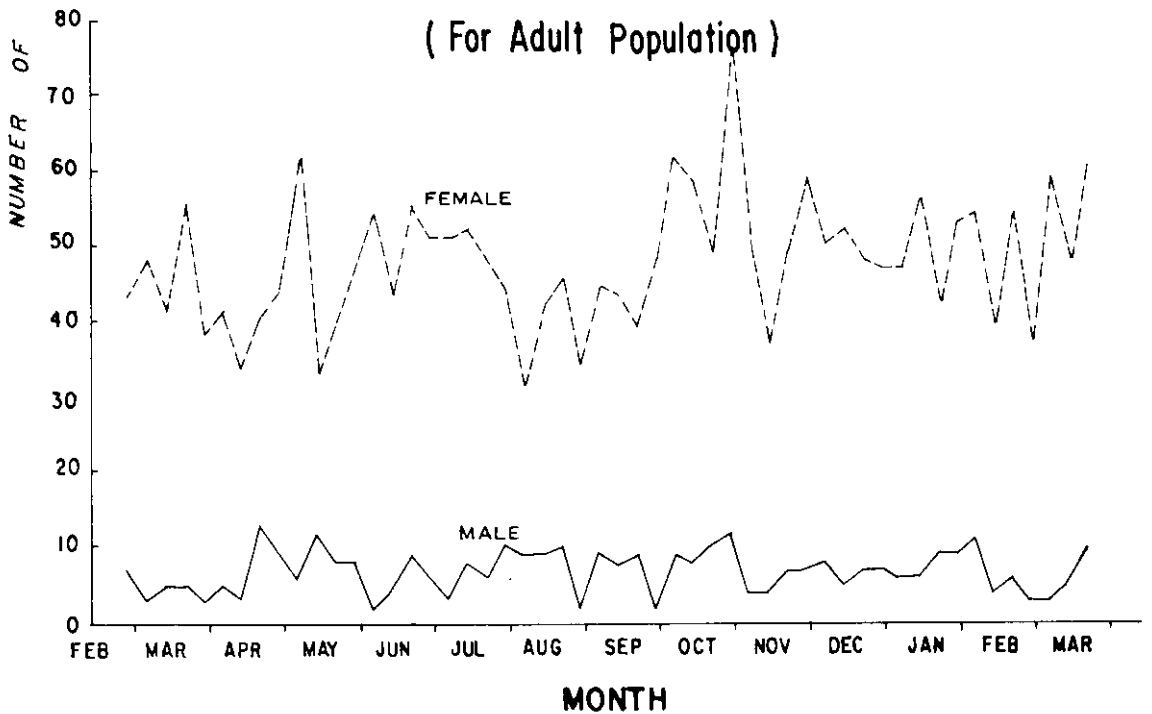


Figure H. 21

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



Starting date - February 26, 1978

NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

Figure H. 22

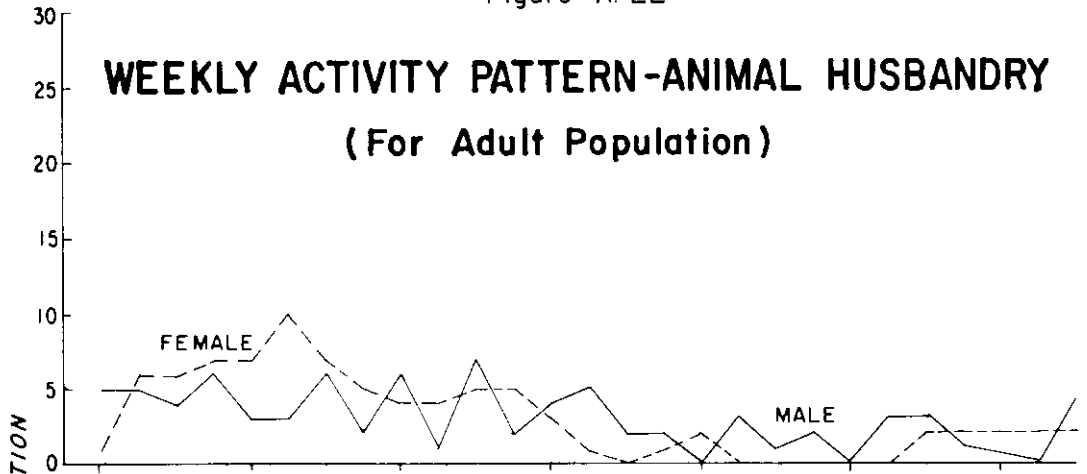
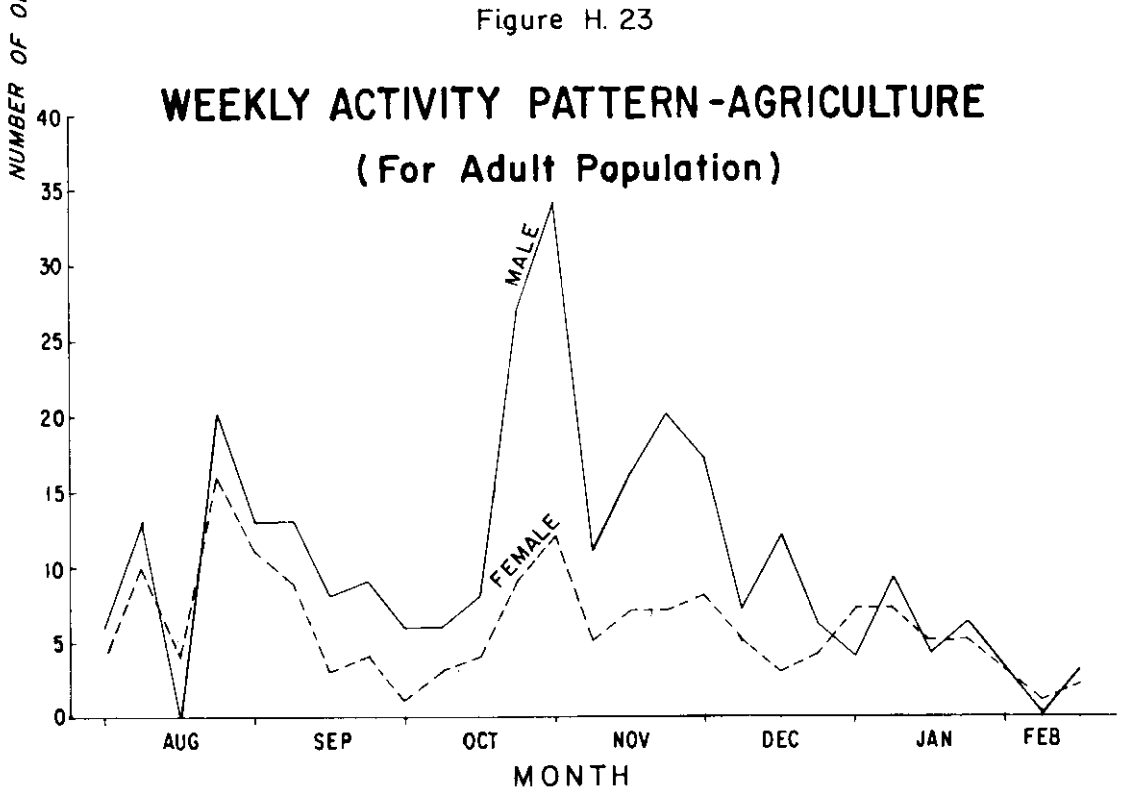


Figure H. 23



Starting date - August 1, 1978

NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

Figure H. 24

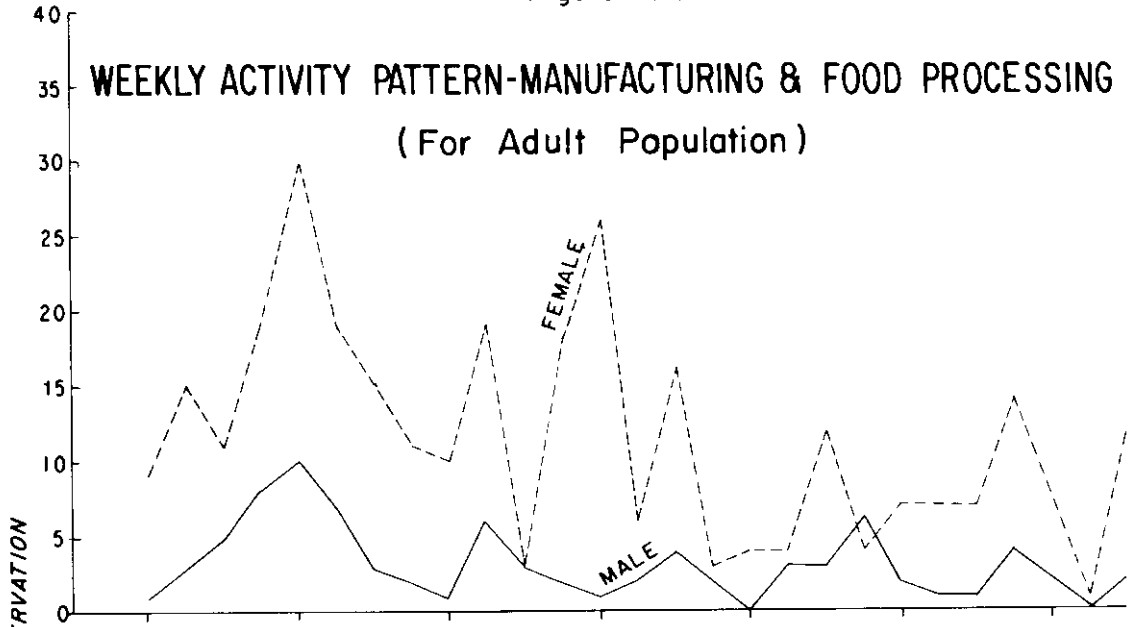
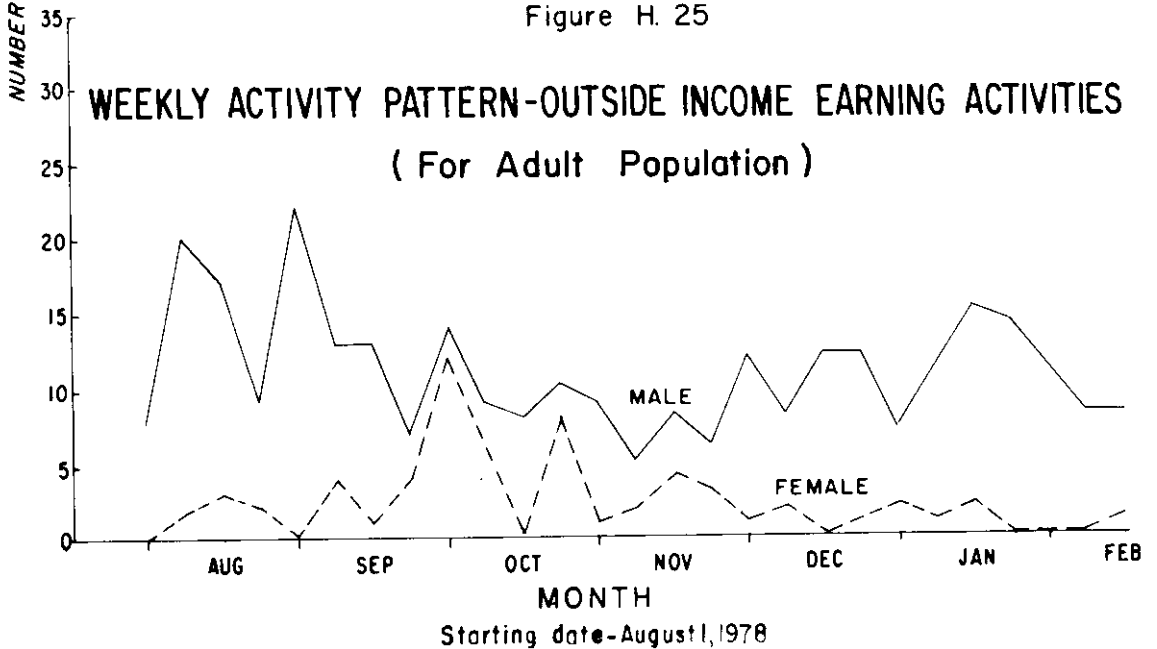


Figure H. 25



NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

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

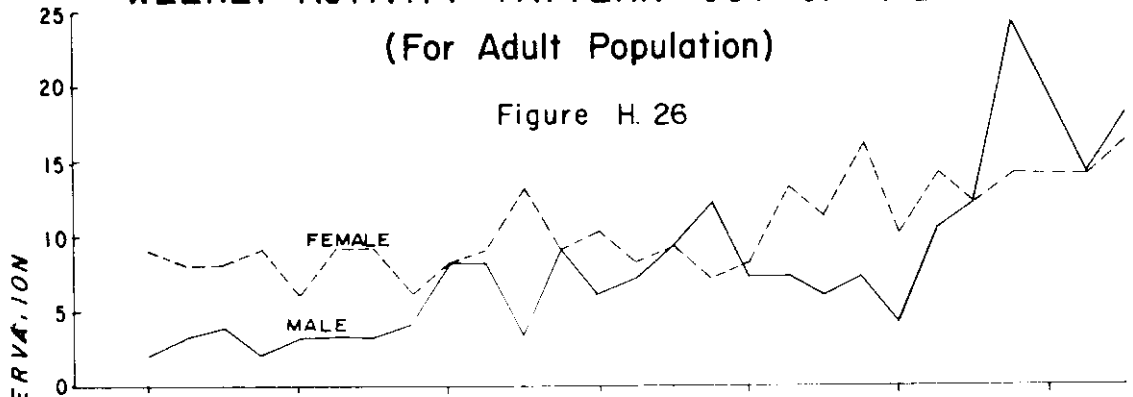
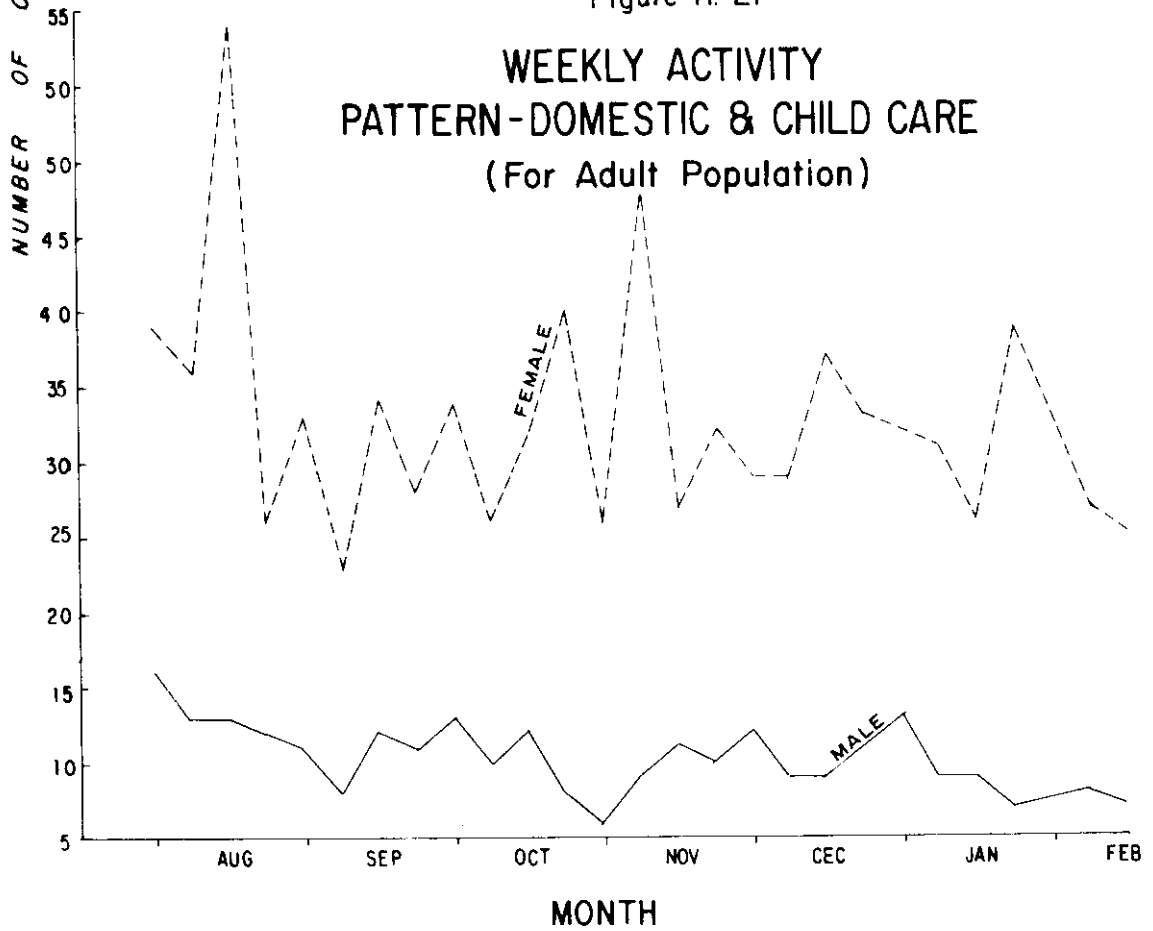


Figure H. 27

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

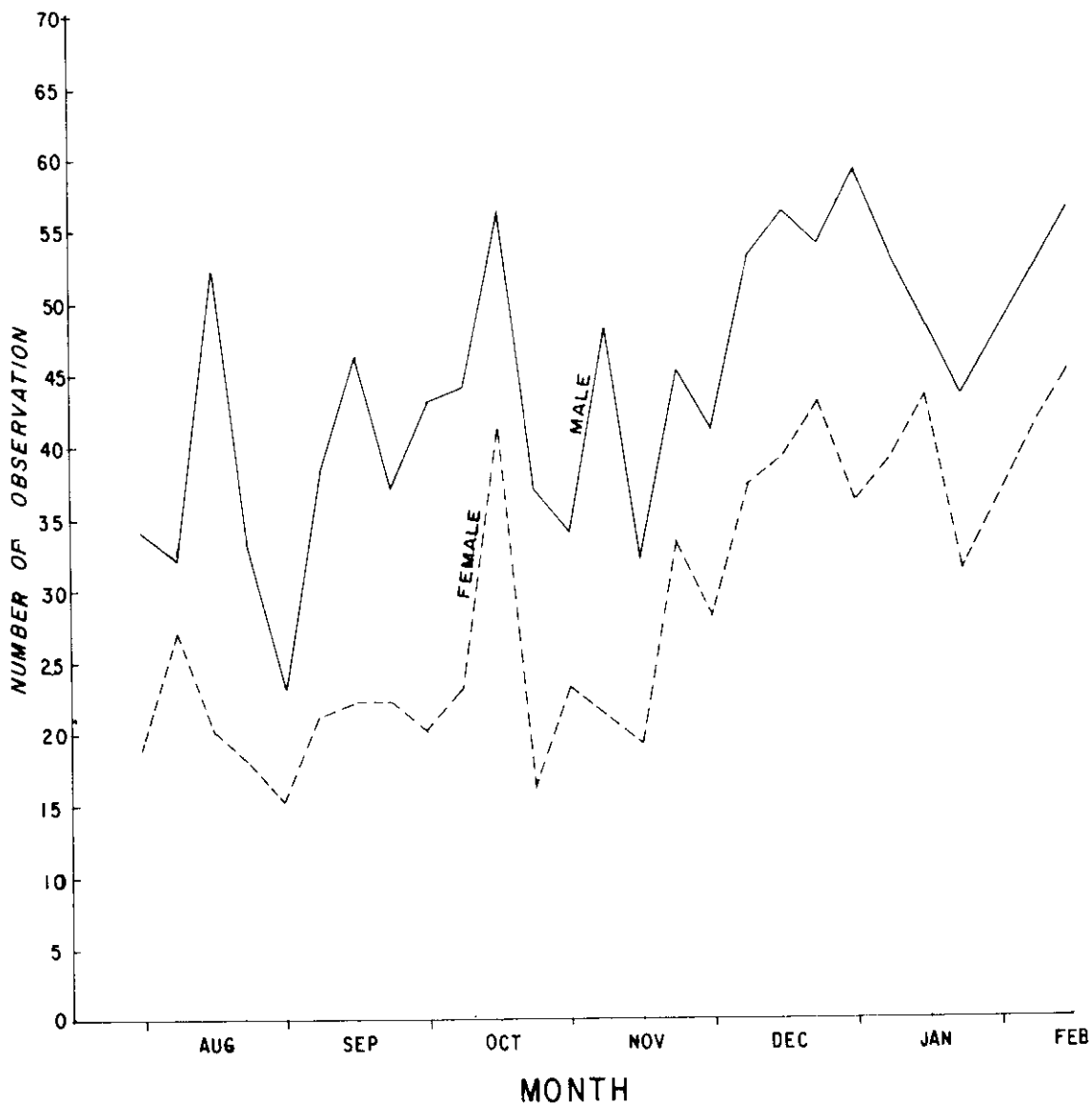


Starting date - August 1, 1978

NEWAR JYAPU VILLAGE

Figure H. 28

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-LEISURE (For Adult Population)



Starting date - August 1, 1978

TAMANG VILLAGE

Figure H. 29

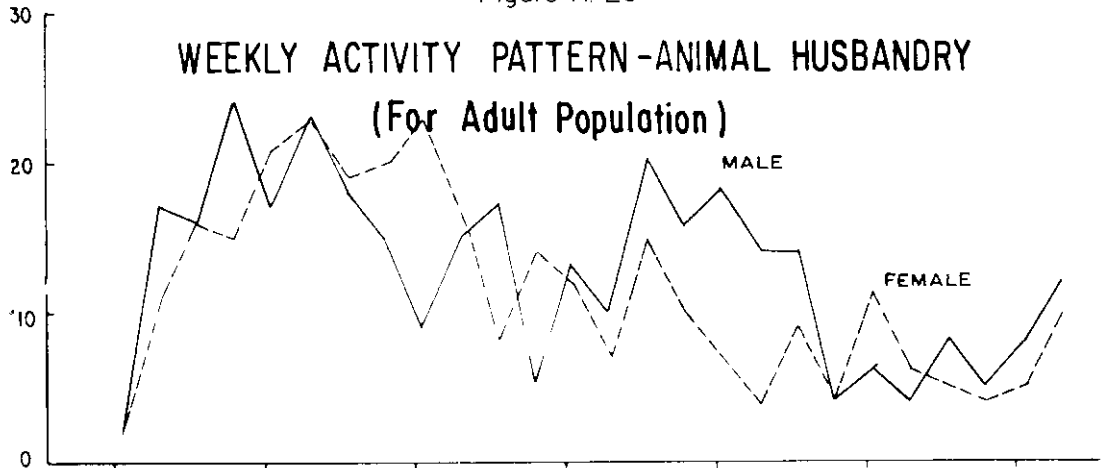
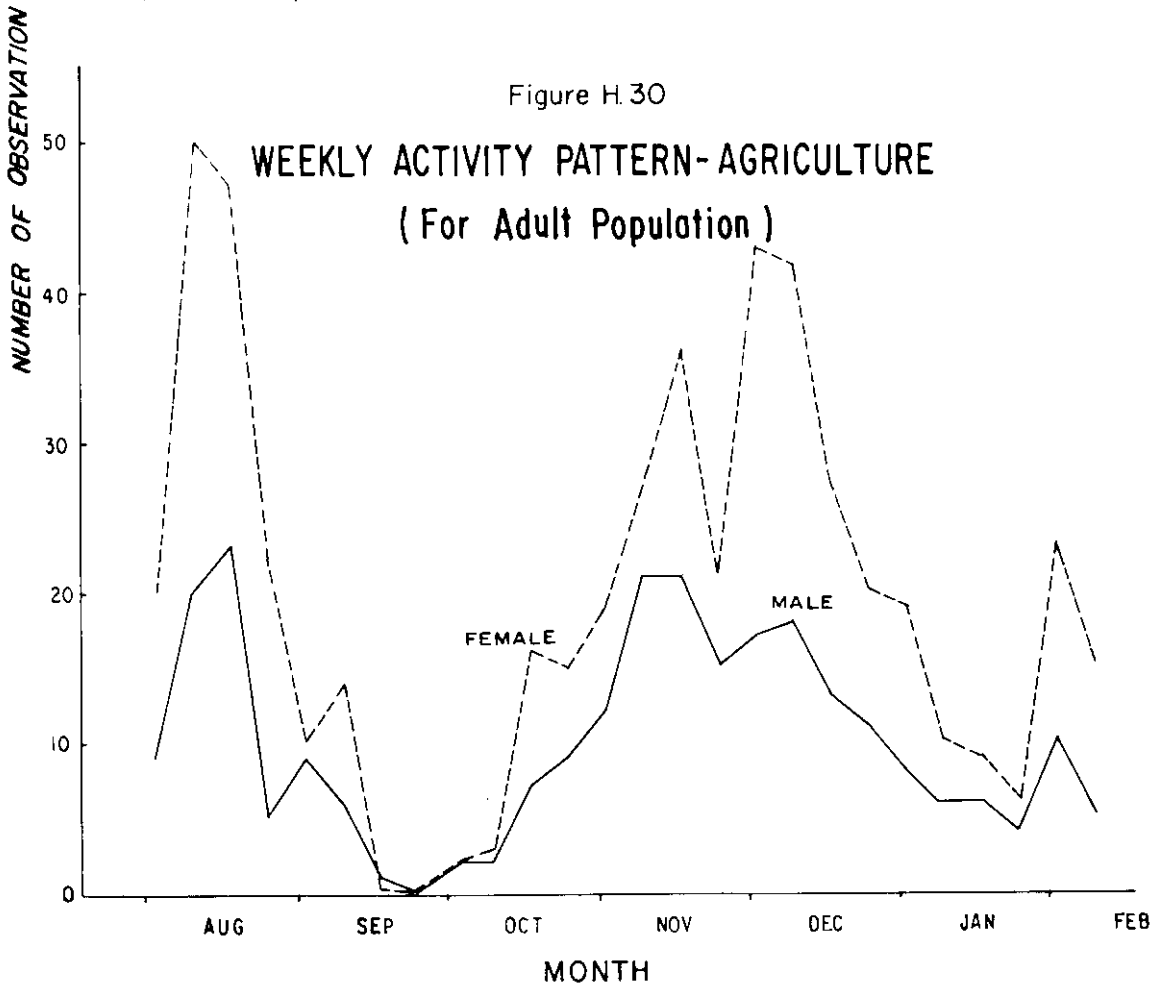


Figure H. 30



Starting date - August 4, 1978

TAMANG VILLAGE

Figure H. 31

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN - MANUFACTURING &
FOOD PROCESSING
(For Adult Population)

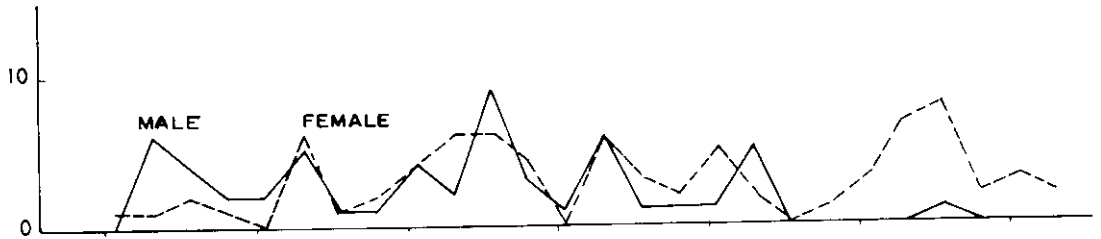
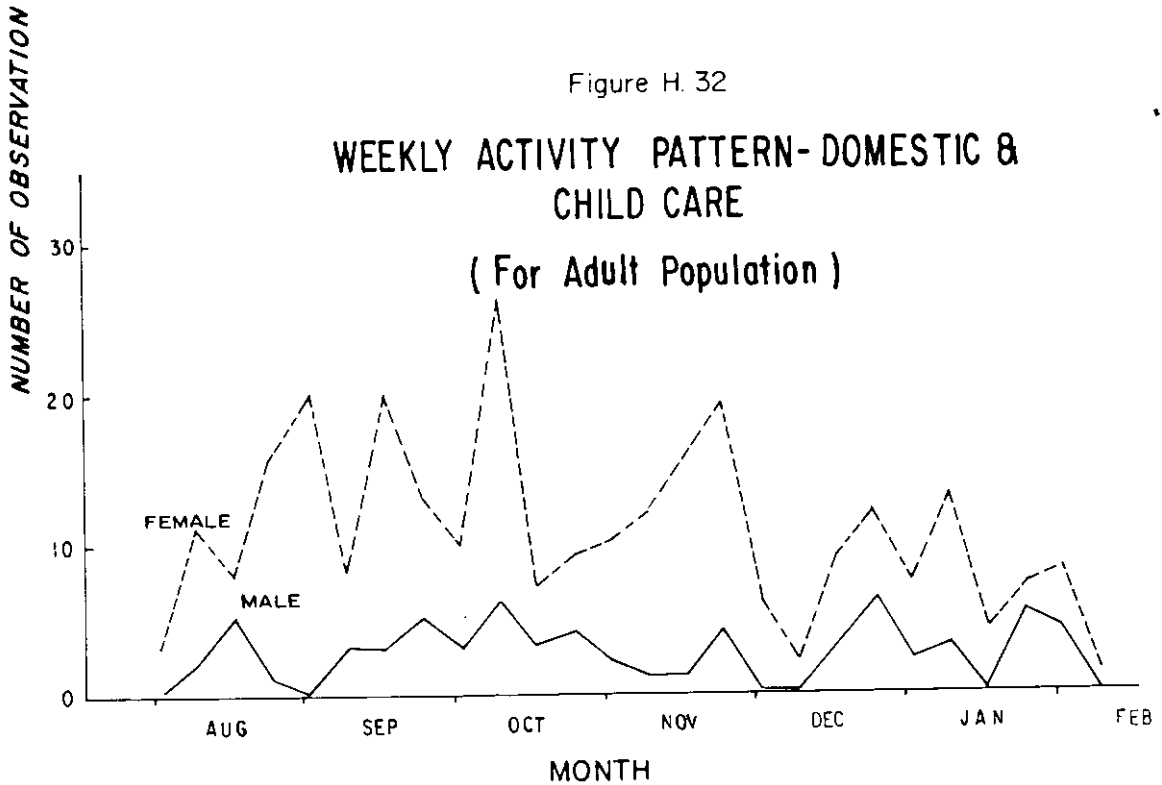


Figure H. 32

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



Starting date - August 4, 1978

TAMANG VILLAGE

Figure H. 33

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN- OUTSIDE INCOME EARNING ACTIVITY (For Adult Population)

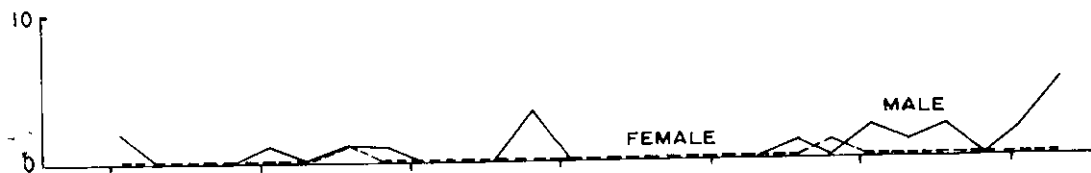
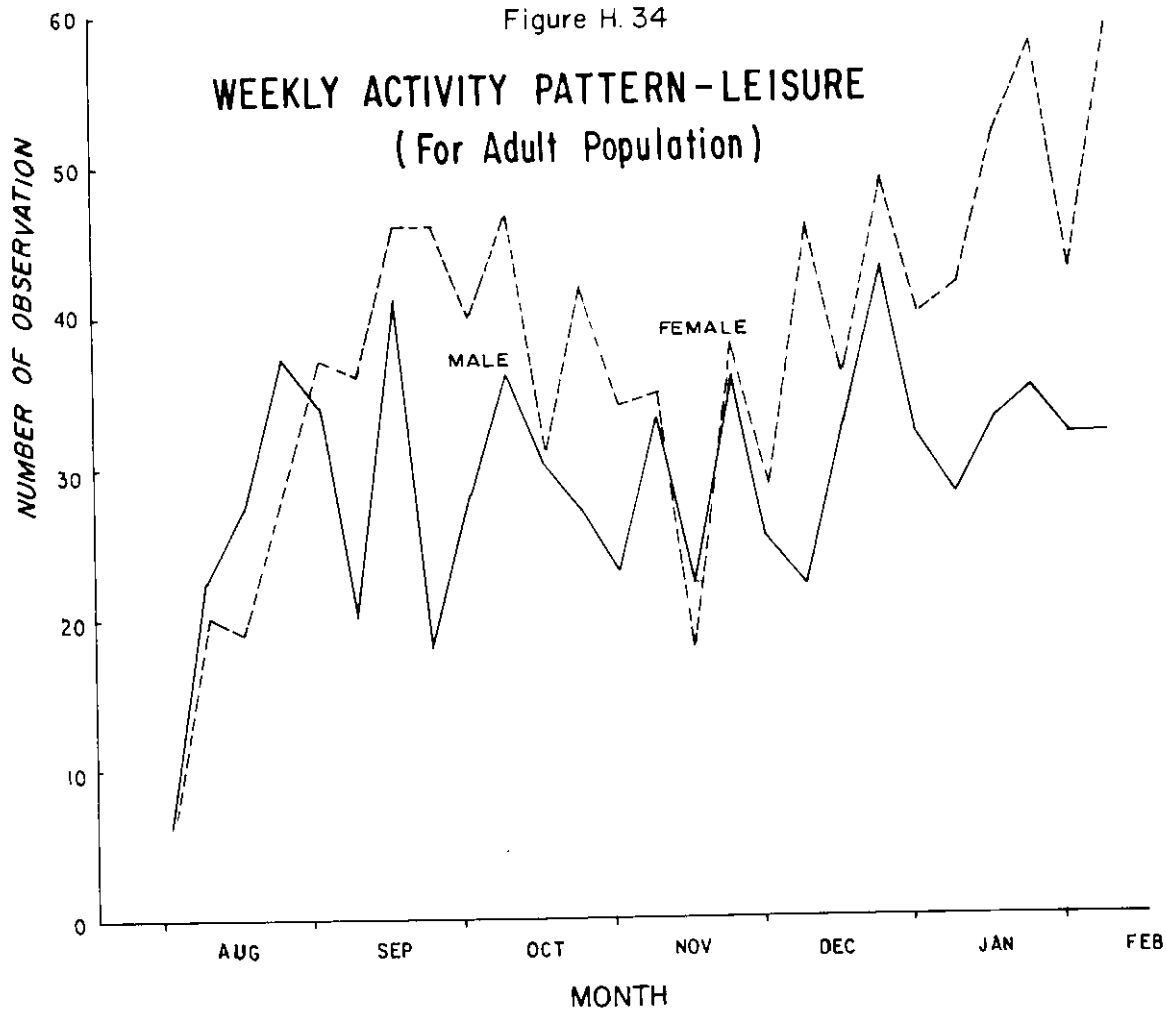


Figure H. 34

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-LEISURE (For Adult Population)

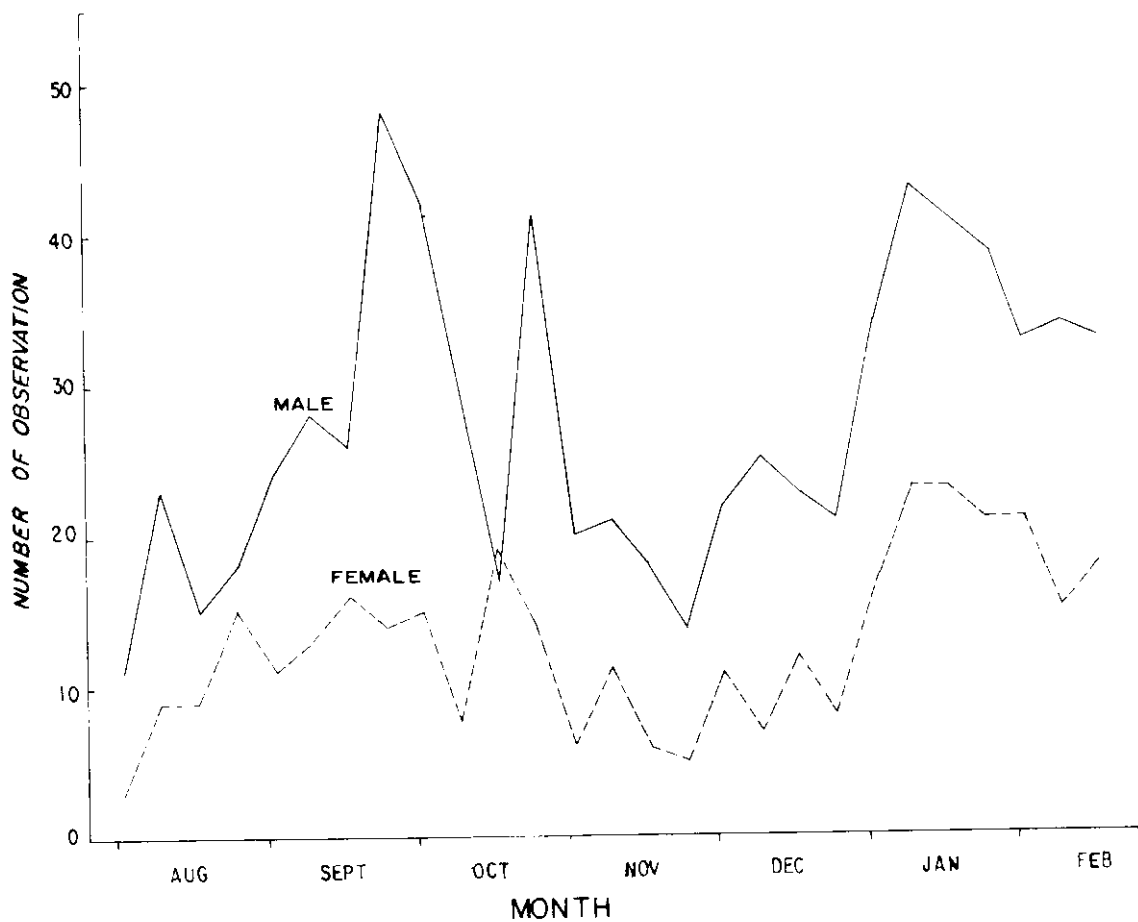


Starting date - August 4, 1978

TAMANG VILLAGE

Figure H. 35

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN - OUT OF VILLAGE
For Adult Population



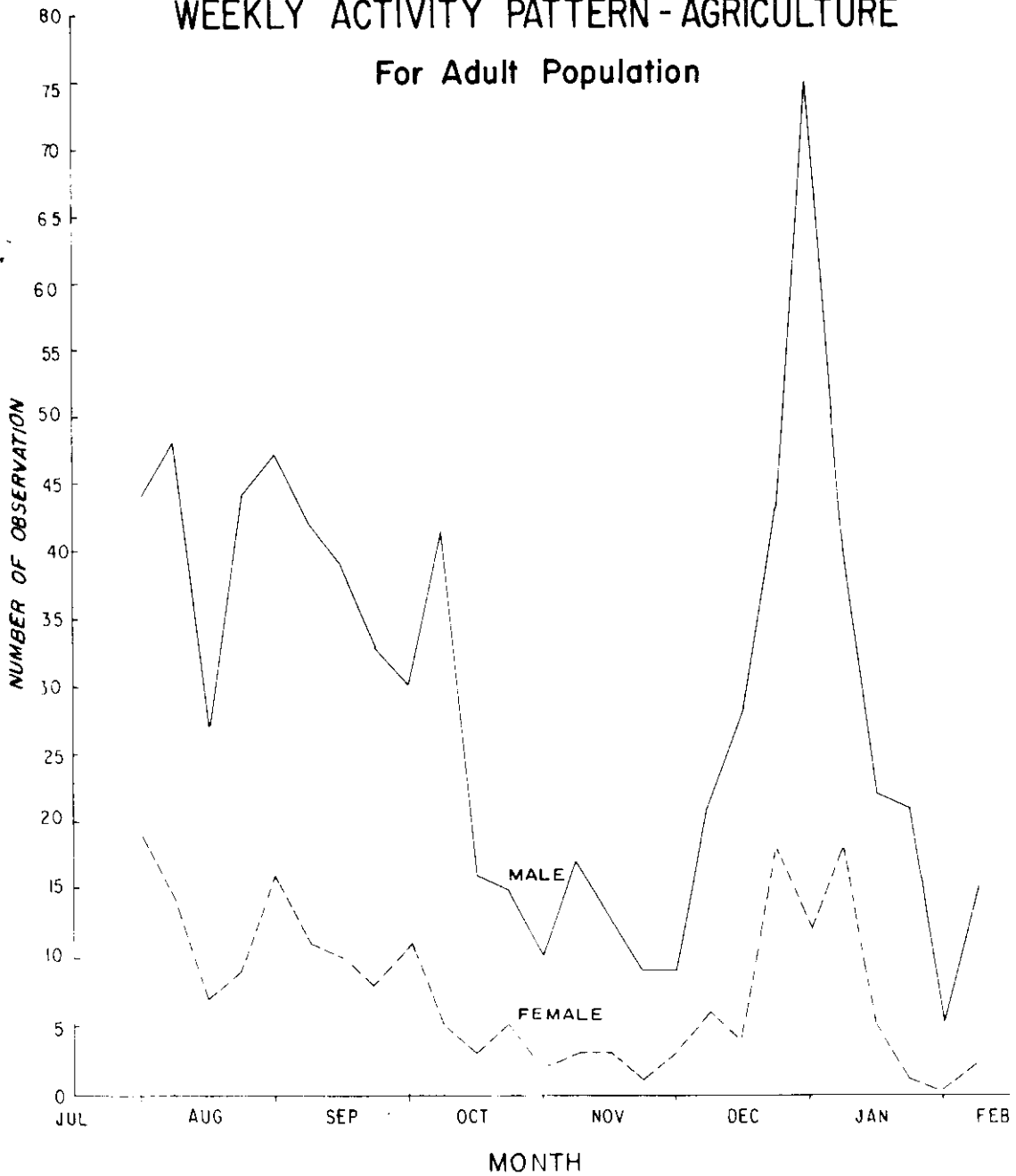
Starting date - August 4, 1978

MAITHILI VILLAGE

Figure H. 36

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN - AGRICULTURE

For Adult Population



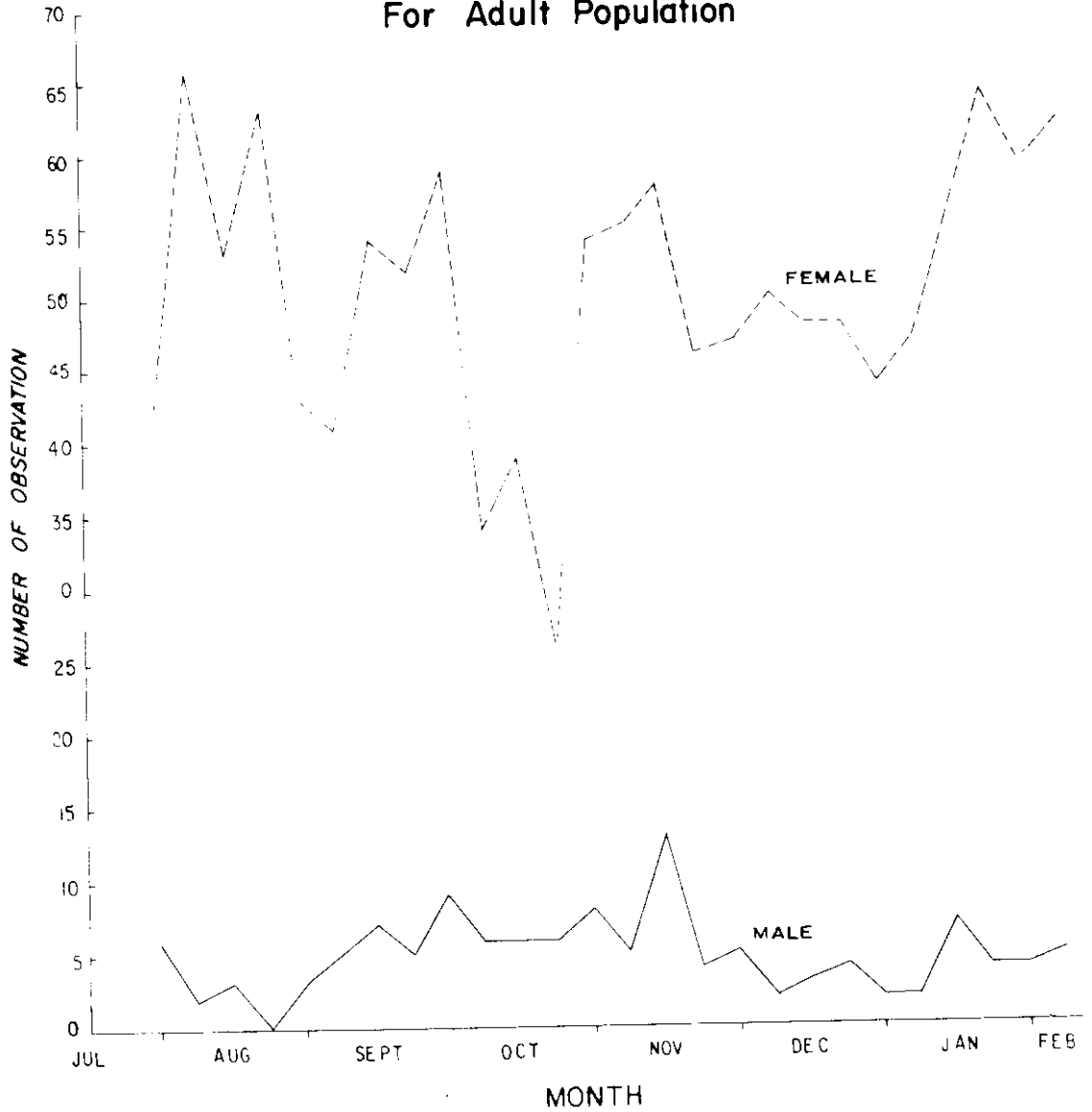
Starting date - July 31, 1979

MAITHILI VILLAGE

Figure H. 37

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-DOMESTIC &
CHILD CARE

For Adult Population



Starting date - July 31, 1978

MAITHILI VILLAGE

Figure H. 38

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-OUTSIDE INCOME EARNING ACTIVITY
(For Adult Population)

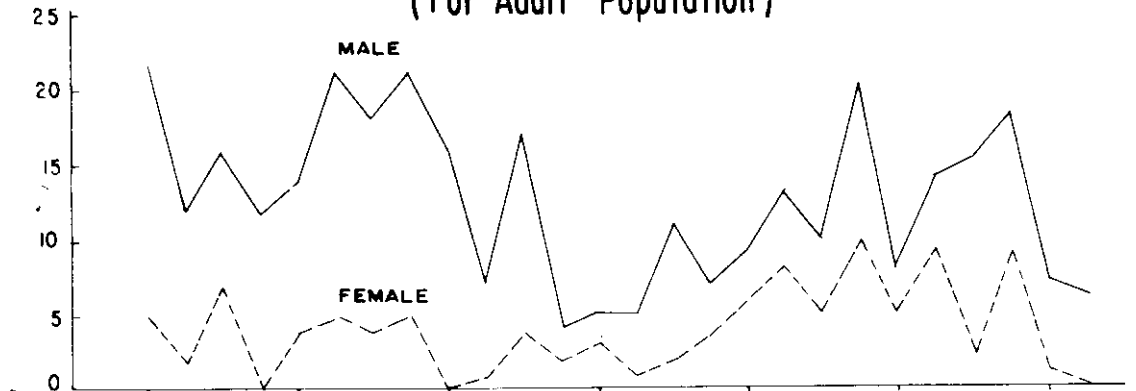


Figure H. 39

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN- MANUFACTURING & FOOD PROCESSING
(For Adult Population)

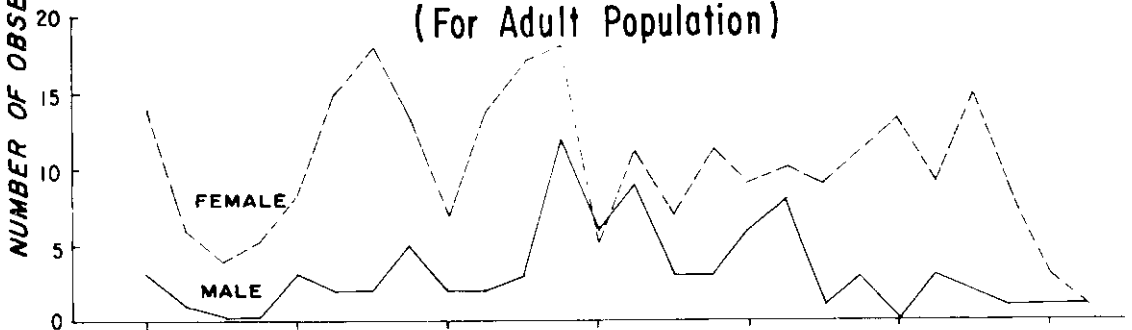
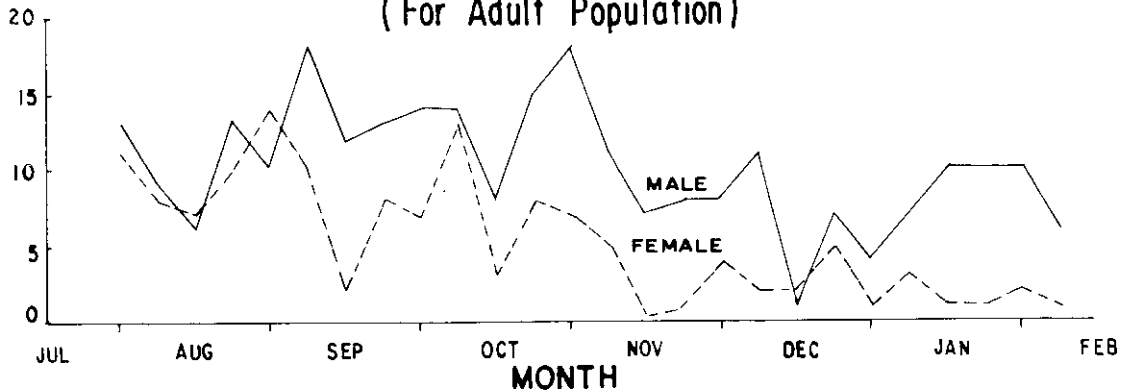


Figure H. 40

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
(For Adult Population)

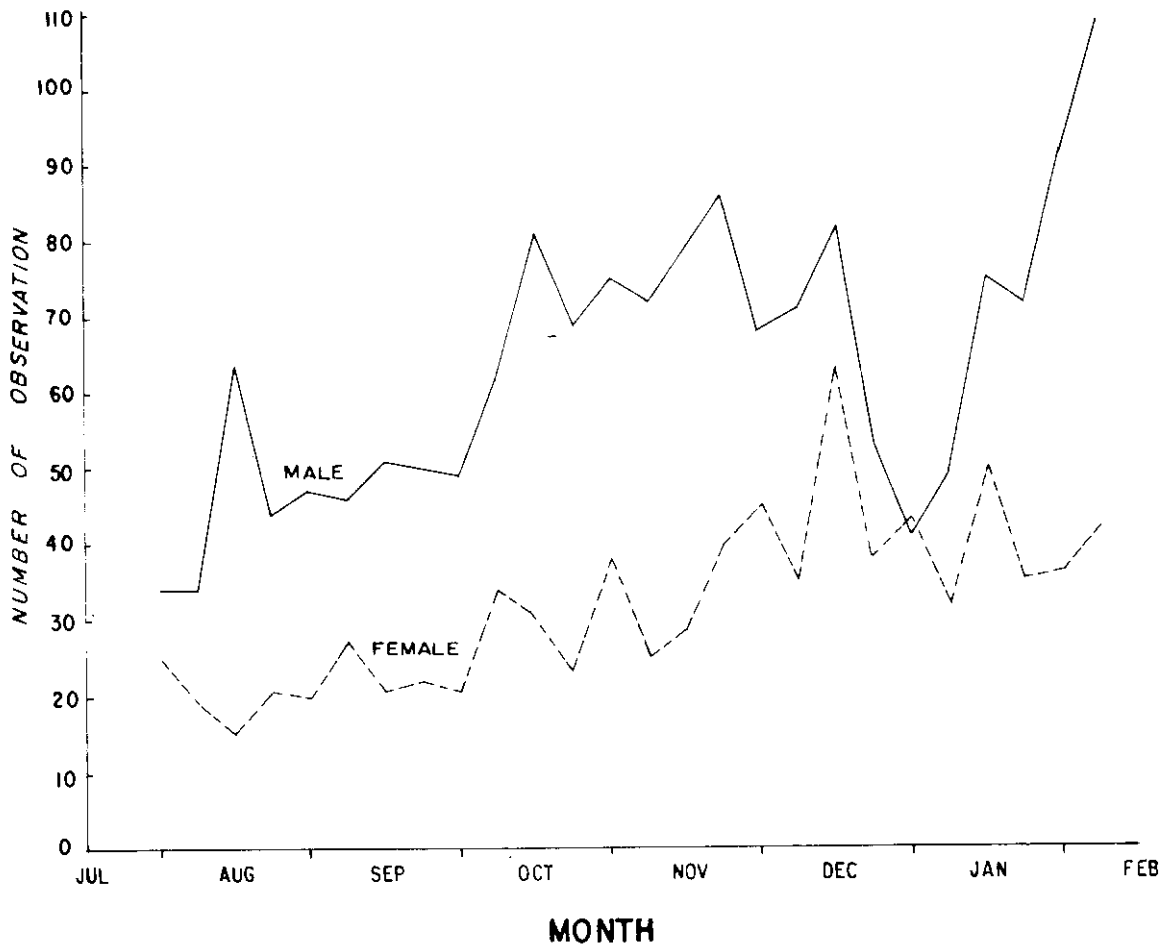


Starting date-July 31, 1978

MAITHILI VILLAGE

Figure H. 41

WEEKLY ACTIVITY PATTERN-LEISURE
(For Adult Population)



Starting date- July 31, 1981

APPENDIX I

Time Allocation

TABLE I.1
COMPARATIVE TIME USE PATTERNS IN 8 VILLAGES FOR MALES AND FEMALES, 15 YEARS AND ABOVE.

Activity	Baraygonie		Lohorung Rai		Khum Magar		Parbatiya		Newar		Tamang		Tharu		Maithili	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(In hours per day)															
I. Sub-Total for Labor Participation	4.47	3.64	6.40	4.99	4.35	4.93	6.38	5.51	4.47	2.42	6.33	5.80	7.84	3.39	5.93	2.36
Hunting & Gathering	0.03	0.01	0.24	0.10	0.11	0.08	0.31	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.01	0.63	0.28	0.04	0.01
Fuel Collection	0.59	0.07	0.28	0.35	0.58	0.57	0.06	0.18	0.39	0.69	0.10	0.38	0.24	0.55	0.15	0.27
Fetching water	0.06	0.26	0.10	1.12	0.21	0.28	0.03	0.82	0.00	0.38	0.11	0.39	0.02	0.35	0.01	0.51
HH Construction	0.73	0.30	0.35	0.07	0.28	0.06	0.29	0.13	0.02	0.00	0.31	0.08	0.79	0.12	0.17	0.10
Food Processing	0.17	0.74	0.14	1.56	0.22	0.74	0.15	0.53	0.36	1.44	0.19	0.31	0.07	1.21	0.13	1.13
2. Sub-Total for Subsistence Domestic	1.58	1.38	1.11	3.20	1.40	1.73	0.84	1.71	0.78	2.50	0.80	1.17	1.75	2.51	0.50	2.02
Cooking/Serving	0.31	2.17	0.27	2.21	0.34	0.89	0.29	3.01	0.36	2.09	0.26	0.82	0.21	2.11	0.09	2.67
Cleaning Dishes/Pots	0.05	0.42	0.02	0.50	0.05	0.34	0.01	0.48	0.00	0.23	0.10	0.18	0.01	0.25	0.01	0.37
Cleaning House/Mud Plastering	0.03	0.25	0.08	0.56	0.05	0.21	0.02	0.51	0.00	0.25	0.06	0.28	0.04	0.39	0.02	0.82
Laundry	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.10	0.03	0.12	0.01	0.24	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.04
Shopping	0.06	0.06	0.31	0.45	0.01	0.01	0.37	0.10	0.11	0.03	0.10	0.12	0.01	0.01	0.27	0.14
Other Domestic Activity	0.13	0.19	0.05	0.23	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.09	0.21	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.31
Child Care	0.15	0.56	0.07	0.14	0.22	0.78	0.22	0.91	0.40	1.27	0.00	0.03	0.18	1.88	0.07	1.25
3. Sub-Total for Conventional Domestic	0.75	3.78	0.86	4.19	0.73	2.37	0.94	5.28	0.96	4.41	0.52	1.49	0.46	4.71	0.52	5.60
I. Work Burden (1+2+3)	6.80	8.80	8.37	12.38	6.08	9.03	8.16	12.50	6.21	9.33	7.65	8.46	10.05	10.61	6.95	9.98
4. Education	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.33	0.01	0.01	0.40	0.00	0.64	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.00
5. Personal Maintenance	1.19	1.22	1.17	0.76	1.59	1.27	1.77	1.72	0.89	1.21	0.80	0.59	0.65	0.69	1.89	1.76
6. Social Activities	1.41	0.20	0.50	0.17	0.33	0.10	0.29	0.26	0.38	0.24	0.07	0.03	0.41	0.04	0.11	0.10
7. Leisure	4.60	3.78	4.94	2.37	7.60	5.57	5.38	2.00	7.87	5.12	7.46	6.89	3.83	3.64	7.01	4.16
II. Sub-Total for Social/Maintenance/Leisure (4+5+6+7)	7.20	5.22	7.63	3.63	9.53	6.95	7.84	3.48	9.78	6.68	8.33	7.52	4.96	4.39	9.05	6.02
III. Total for In-Village Activities (1+II)	14.00	14.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	15.00	15.00	16.00	16.00

Work Burden

Social Maintenance

TABLE I.2
COMPARATIVE TIME USE PATTERNS IN 8 VILLAGES FOR MALES AND FEMALES, 10-14 YEARS

Activity	Village		Baragaonle		Johorung Rai		Kham Magar		Parbatiya		Newar		Tamang		Tharu		Maithili		
	Labor Force Participation	Non-Labor Force	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
			Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		
Animal Husbandry	0.52	0.16	3.39	1.91	0.35	0.25	2.31	2.24	1.19	3.71	5.83	2.57	2.99	2.08	2.97	2.08	2.97	2.08	2.97
Agriculture	0.65	0.69	1.10	1.91	1.79	2.60	0.40	1.03	0.33	0.29	2.11	1.72	1.66	1.05	0.83	1.05	0.83	1.05	0.83
Manufacturing	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.23	0.06	0.06	0	0.07	0.07	0.34	0.30	0	0	0	0	0	0
Outside Income Earning Activities (In-Village)	0.35	0.54	0.16	0.14	0.17	0.13	0.05	0.05	0.69	0.21	0.09	2.46	0.12	0.35	0.33	0.35	0.33	0.35	0.33
Sub-Total for Labor Force Participation Activities	1.55	1.45	4.67	3.98	2.34	3.21	2.92	3.38	2.22	4.29	6.59	7.09	5.08	3.49	4.13	3.49	4.13	3.49	4.13
Hunting and Gathering	0	0	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.16	0.02	0	0	0	0.12	0.21	0.06	0	0.06	0	0.06	0
Fuel Collection	0.03	0.08	0.16	0.38	0.47	0.94	0.04	0.12	0.19	0.45	0.04	0	0.53	0	0.30	0	0.30	0	0.30
Water Collection	0.21	0.48	0.49	1.41	0.35	0.51	0.12	0.81	0	0.12	0	0.04	0.42	0.09	0.30	0.09	0.30	0.09	0.30
Household Construction	0.03	0.04	0.04	0	0.08	0.03	0.10	0.03	0	0	0.08	0.02	0.52	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.06
Food Processing	0.10	0.14	0.20	0.46	0.10	0.31	0.09	0.34	0.07	0.31	0.04	0.08	0.64	0.09	0.41	0.09	0.41	0.09	0.41
Sub-Total for Subsistence Domestic Activities	0.38	0.73	0.98	2.31	1.07	1.83	0.51	1.32	0.26	0.88	0.17	0.95	0.79	1.82	1.07	0.32	1.07	0.32	1.07
Domestic Activities	0.04	0.69	0.08	0.44	0.17	0.17	0.29	1.16	0.14	0.64	0.04	0.09	0.42	0.12	0.88	0.12	0.88	0.12	0.88
Cooking/Serving	0.04	0.48	0.02	0.32	0.12	0.12	0.01	0.28	0	0.10	0.04	0.02	0	0.08	0.52	0	0.52	0	0.52
Washing Dishes	0	0.12	0.02	0.43	0.05	0.22	0	0.18	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.09	0.01	0.11	0.44	0.15	0.44	0.15	0.44
Cleaning House	0	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.07	0	0.06	0	0.07	0	0.07	0.01	0	0.06	0	0.06	0	0.06
Laundry	0.07	0.06	0.12	0.13	0	0	0.05	0.06	0	0.07	0	0	0	0	0	0.12	0	0.12	0
Shopping	0	0.08	0.07	0.14	0.05	0.04	0.06	0	0.07	1.12	0	0	0	0	0.11	0	0.11	0	0.11
Other Domestic	0.07	0.36	0.15	0.06	0.17	0.38	0.12	0.36	0.33	1.14	0.04	0.02	0.07	0.84	0.39	0.62	0.39	0.62	0.39
Child Care	0.21	1.81	0.48	1.55	0.60	1.00	0.53	2.10	0.57	2.14	0.17	0.35	0.52	1.59	1.00	2.40	1.00	2.40	1.00
Sub-Total for Conventional Domestic	2.13	3.99	6.13	7.83	4.01	6.04	3.96	6.80	3.05	7.31	6.93	9.40	8.40	4.81	7.60	4.81	7.60	4.81	7.60
Sub-Total for Work Burden (1+2+3)	4.16	3.49	2.43	0.65	2.19	1.13	0.53	1.43	1.31	0	1.81	0.05	1.64	0.07	2.08	0.07	2.08	0.07	2.08
Education	1.65	1.41	1.46	1.37	1.25	1.21	1.58	1.47	0.88	1.19	0.63	0.49	0.60	0.81	1.76	2.15	1.76	2.15	1.76
Personal Maintenance	0.07	0.14	0.21	0.21	0.03	0.16	0.12	0.42	0.10	0.12	0.08	0.02	0.12	0	0.06	0.22	0	0.06	0.22
Social Activities	5.99	4.98	5.78	5.93	8.52	7.45	9.82	5.87	10.66	7.38	6.55	6.04	4.24	5.63	7.30	5.37	7.30	5.37	7.30
Leisure	11.87	10.01	9.87	9.17	11.99	9.96	12.04	9.20	12.95	8.69	9.07	6.60	6.60	6.51	11.19	8.40	6.51	11.19	8.40
Sub-Total for Social Maintenance/Leisure (4+5+6+7)	14.00	14.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	15.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	15.00	16.00	16.00
Total In-Village Activities	14.00	14.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	15.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	15.00	16.00	16.00

(In hours per day)

TABLE I.4
REASONS FOR BEING OUT OF VILLAGE BY SEX & ECONOMIC STRATA
(For total population of 15 years and above)
(Six* Villages)

Activities	Economic Strata/Sex												(In numbers days)					
	Top				Middle				Bottom				All Strata					
	Male	Female	Both	%	Male	Female	Both	%	Male	Female	Both	%	Male	Female	Both			
I. Out of village for herding (Sphere I)	823 (44.25)	248 (21.45)	1071 (35.51)	913 (32.34)	616 (25.06)	1549 (28.99)	2527 (73.01)	4283 (52.19)	1904 (30.72)	6187 (42.95)								
Out of village for employment (Sphere III)																		
a. Army service	181 (9.73)	-	181 (6.00)	120 (4.16)	-	120 (2.25)	-	301 (3.67)	-	301 (2.09)								
b. Salaried employment/other employment	1 (0.05)	1 (0.09)	2 (0.07)	402 (13.93)	2 (0.08)	404 (7.56)	1 (0.03)	404 (4.92)	7 (0.11)	411 (2.85)								
c. Business/trade	15 (0.81)	3 (0.26)	18 (0.60)	6 (0.21)	2 (0.08)	8 (0.15)	10 (0.29)	31 (0.38)	7 (0.11)	38 (0.26)								
d. Wage work	4 (0.22)	-	4 (0.13)	244 (8.46)	96 (3.91)	340 (6.36)	235 (6.79)	483 (5.89)	135 (2.18)	618 (4.29)								
e. Other work/seeking employment	190 (10.21)	83 (7.18)	273 (9.05)	727 (25.20)	96 (3.91)	823 (15.40)	296 (8.55)	1213 (14.78)	411 (6.63)	1624 (11.28)								
2. Sub-Total for "Out for employment" (a+b+c+d+e)	391 (21.02)	87 (7.53)	478 (15.85)	1499 (51.96)	196 (7.97)	1695 (31.72)	542 (15.66)	2432 (29.64)	560 (9.03)	2992 (20.77)								
I. Sub-Total for "Out of village for income earning" (1+2)	1214 (65.27)	335 (28.98)	1549 (51.36)	2432 (84.30)	812 (33.03)	3244 (60.71)	3069 (88.67)	6715 (81.83)	2464 (39.75)	9179 (63.73)								
3. School	156 (8.39)	91 (7.87)	247 (8.19)	172 (5.96)	13 (0.53)	185 (3.46)	11 (0.32)	339 (4.13)	210 (3.39)	549 (3.81)								
4. Visit to relatives	371 (19.95)	713 (61.68)	1084 (35.94)	78 (2.70)	1102 (44.33)	1180 (22.09)	140 (4.05)	589 (7.18)	2577 (41.58)	3166 (21.98)								
5. Other reasons	119 (6.40)	17 (1.47)	136 (4.51)	203 (7.04)	531 (21.60)	734 (13.74)	241 (6.96)	563 (6.86)	947 (15.28)	1510 (10.48)								
II. Sub-Total for "Out for social/education" (3+4+5)	646 (34.73)	821 (71.02)	1467 (48.64)	453 (15.70)	1646 (66.97)	2099 (39.29)	392 (11.33)	1491 (18.17)	3734 (60.25)	5225 (36.27)								
III. Total "Out of village"	1860 (100.00%)	1156 (100.00%)	3016 (100.00%)	2885 (100.00%)	2458 (100.00%)	5343 (100.00%)	3461 (100.00%)	8206 (100.00%)	6198 (100.00%)	14404 (100.00%)								
IV. Total number of days observed	6332	6909	13241	12760	14041	26801	11301	30393	33291	63684								
V. % of days observed "Out of village" to total days observed	(29.37)	(16.73)	(22.78)	(22.61)	(17.51)	(19.94)	(30.63)	(27.00)	(18.62)	(22.62)								
VI. % of days observed "Out for employment" to total days observed	(19.17)	(4.85)	(11.70)	(19.06)	(5.78)	(12.10)	(27.15)	(22.09)	(7.40)	(14.41)								

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.

* All Villages except Kagbeni and Sukhrwar.

APPENDIX J

Women's Disposal of Personal Income
and
Use to Which Villagers Would Apply Credit
by Sex and Village

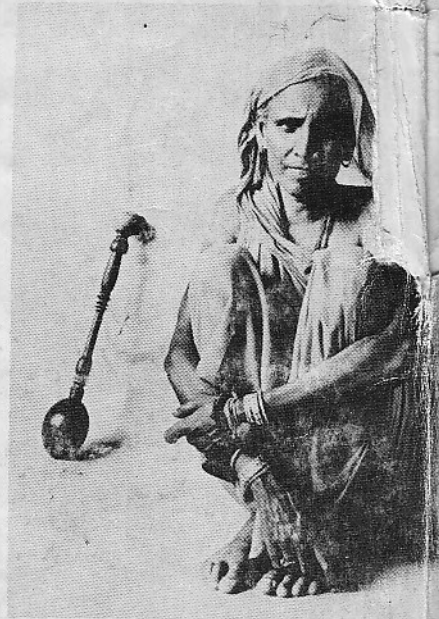
TABLE J.1
WOMEN'S DISPOSAL OF PERSONAL INCOME

Question	Village		Baragaonle	Lohoring Kaj	Knom Sagar	Purbatiya	Nesar	Tamang	Tharu	Maitthili	Total
	Answer										
1. Have you got an independent source of income?	Yes		31 (88.6)	11 (31.4)	26 (81.3)	17 (48.6)	19 (59.4)	24 (72.7)	31 (88.6)	8 (22.9)	167 (61.4)
	No		4 (21.4)	24 (68.6)	6 (18.7)	18 (51.4)	13 (40.6)	9 (27.3)	4 (11.4)	27 (77.1)	105 (38.6)
Total			35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	32 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	272 (100.0)
2. From what source?											
a. Land			7 (13.0)	-	-	-	6 (19.4)	4 (12.1)	-	2 (11.8)	19 (8.1)
b. Wage, labor or salary			1 (1.8)	1 (6.2)	-	8 (50.0)	10 (32.3)	8 (24.2)	5 (14.7)	5 (29.6)	38 (16.3)
c. Cottage industry			25 (46.3)	3 (18.8)	10 (30.3)	1 (6.2)	7 (12.9)	-	2 (5.9)	-	45 (19.2)
d. Gifts from Maithi			-	7 (43.7)	19 (57.6)	1 (6.2)	2 (6.4)	14 (42.4)	27 (79.4)	-	70 (29.9)
e. Gifts from husband			1 (1.8)	3 (18.8)	-	3 (18.8)	3 (9.7)	5 (15.2)	-	-	15 (6.6)
f. Others			20 (37.0)	2 (12.5)	4 (12.1)	3 (18.8)	6 (19.3)	2 (6.1)	-	10 (58.8)	47 (20.1)
Total			54 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	31 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	34 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	234 (100.0)
3. If yes, to what use you put them?											
a. Contribution to household expenditure			31 (62.0)	7 (31.8)	12 (16.9)	11 (45.8)	12 (31.6)	13 (46.6)	15 (34.1)	7 (37.5)	108 (37.9)
b. For children			4 (8.0)	9 (40.9)	2 (2.8)	3 (12.5)	11 (28.9)	4 (14.3)	6 (13.6)	-	39 (13.7)
c. Save for future			2 (4.0)	2 (9.1)	19 (26.8)	2 (8.3)	1 (2.6)	4 (14.3)	6 (9.1)	1 (12.5)	35 (12.3)
d. For daughter's marriage			1 (2.0)	-	17 (23.9)	-	-	-	-	-	18 (6.3)
e. For son's marriage			-	-	7 (9.9)	-	-	-	-	-	7 (2.5)
f. To buy land			-	-	2 (2.8)	-	-	2 (7.1)	-	-	4 (1.4)
g. To buy jewelry			3 (6.0)	-	4 (5.6)	1 (4.2)	-	1 (3.6)	-	-	9 (3.2)
h. To buy animals			2 (4.0)	1 (4.6)	1 (1.4)	-	-	1 (3.6)	-	-	5 (1.7)
i. To buy small things			6 (12.0)	3 (13.6)	6 (8.5)	5 (20.9)	5 (13.2)	-	19 (43.2)	-	44 (15.4)
j. Others			1 (2.0)	-	1 (1.4)	2 (8.3)	9 (23.7)	3 (10.7)	-	-	16 (5.6)
Total			50 (100.0)	22 (100.0)	71 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	38 (100.0)	28 (100.0)	44 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	285 (100.0)

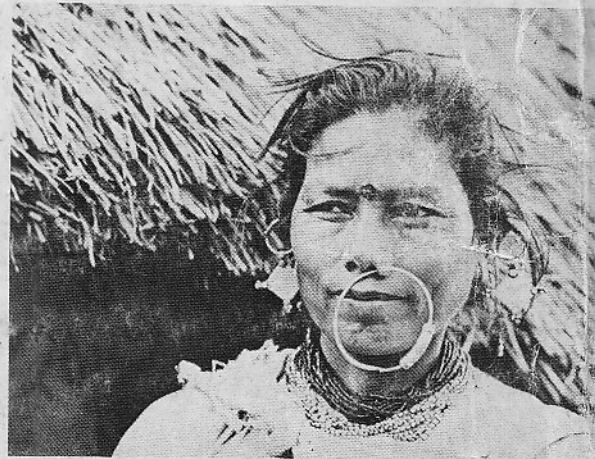
TABLE J.2
USE TO WHICH VILLAGERS WOULD APPLY CREDIT BY SEX & VILLAGE

Village & Sex	Response	Person who would use credit to:													(In number)	
		Buy Land, Buildings	Start Cottage Industry	Open Tea Shop	Finance Trading	Finance Improved Method of Cultivation	Buy Animals	Edu- cation Children	Give to Child- ren or Relatives	Meet Consump- tion Needs	Meet Medical Expen- ses	Meet Social Obli- gation	Others	Do not want Credit		Total
Baraogaonle	Male	-	-	-	2(50.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(25.0)	1(25.0)	4(100.0)
	Female	-	2(18.2)	1(9.1)	3(27.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(18.2)	3(27.2)	11(100.0)
Lohorung Rai	Both	-	2(13.3)	1(6.7)	5(33.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3(20.0)	4(26.7)	15(100.0)
	Male	4(6.8)	-	-	-	2(3.4)	19(32.2)	3(5.1)	1(1.7)	27(45.7)	1(1.7)	-	-	2(3.4)	-	59(100.0)
Kham Magar	Female	6(5.6)	-	-	-	2(1.9)	35(32.7)	3(2.8)	1(0.9)	56(52.4)	1(0.9)	-	-	1(2.1)	-	48(100.0)
	Both	5(22.7)	-	1(4.5)	1(4.5)	-	1(4.5)	2(9.1)	-	2(9.1)	-	-	-	1(4.5)	-	107(100.0)
Parbutiya	Male	12(18.2)	-	1(1.5)	3(4.6)	-	2(4.5)	2(3.0)	1(1.5)	8(18.2)	-	-	-	1(2.3)	-	44(100.0)
	Female	6(16.2)	3(8.1)	-	3(8.1)	2(5.4)	14(37.8)	-	-	10(15.2)	-	-	-	1(1.5)	-	66(100.0)
Newar	Both	7(16.3)	2(4.7)	1(2.3)	-	8(18.6)	6(14.0)	-	-	1(2.3)	-	-	-	4(10.8)	-	43(100.0)
	Male	13(16.3)	5(6.3)	1(1.2)	3(3.7)	10(12.5)	20(25.0)	-	-	1(1.2)	-	-	-	2(2.5)	-	80(100.0)
Tamang	Female	10(38.5)	-	-	-	-	2(7.7)	1(3.8)	-	1(3.8)	-	-	-	1(3.8)	-	26(100.0)
	Both	12(32.4)	4(10.8)	-	-	1(2.7)	-	4(10.8)	-	1(2.7)	-	-	-	1(2.7)	-	37(100.0)
Tharu	Male	22(34.9)	4(6.3)	-	-	1(1.6)	2(3.2)	5(7.9)	-	2(3.2)	-	-	-	2(3.2)	-	63(100.0)
	Female	3(10.3)	-	-	-	-	3(10.3)	-	-	8(72.7)	-	-	-	1(9.1)	-	11(100.0)
Maithili	Male	19(57.6)	-	-	-	-	4(10.0)	-	-	21(72.4)	-	-	-	2(6.9)	-	29(100.0)
	Female	3(7.5)	-	-	-	-	3(10.3)	-	-	29(72.5)	-	-	-	3(7.5)	-	40(100.0)
All Villages	Male	19(30.2)	-	-	-	-	3(9.1)	-	-	1(3.0)	-	-	-	2(6.1)	-	33(100.0)
	Female	2(12.5)	3(18.8)	-	-	1(6.2)	3(18.8)	-	-	1(1.6)	-	-	-	2(6.1)	-	30(100.0)
All Villages	Both	1(3.4)	2(6.9)	-	-	2(4.4)	2(6.9)	-	-	2(12.5)	-	-	-	2(6.1)	-	63(100.0)
	Male	46(22.1)	3(1.4)	1(0.5)	6(2.9)	5(2.4)	43(20.7)	4(1.9)	2(1.0)	41(19.7)	1(0.5)	-	-	1(6.2)	-	16(100.0)
All Villages	Female	32(11.8)	8(3.0)	2(0.7)	5(1.8)	10(3.7)	32(11.8)	6(2.2)	-	66(24.4)	1(0.4)	-	-	17(58.6)	-	29(100.0)
	Both	78(16.3)	11(2.3)	3(0.6)	11(2.3)	15(3.1)	75(15.7)	10(2.1)	2(0.4)	107(22.3)	2(0.4)	-	-	23(51.1)	-	45(100.0)
All Villages	Male	46(22.1)	3(1.4)	1(0.5)	6(2.9)	5(2.4)	43(20.7)	4(1.9)	2(1.0)	41(19.7)	1(0.5)	-	-	1(6.2)	-	16(100.0)
	Female	32(11.8)	8(3.0)	2(0.7)	5(1.8)	10(3.7)	32(11.8)	6(2.2)	-	66(24.4)	1(0.4)	-	-	17(58.6)	-	29(100.0)
All Villages	Both	78(16.3)	11(2.3)	3(0.6)	11(2.3)	15(3.1)	75(15.7)	10(2.1)	2(0.4)	107(22.3)	2(0.4)	-	-	23(51.1)	-	45(100.0)

Figures in parentheses indicate row percentages.



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