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**Women and the Subsistence Sector**  
**Economic Participation and Household Decisionmaking in Nepal**

Meena Acharya  
Lynn Bennett

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INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND  
JOINT LIBRARY  
FEB 25 1985  
INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR  
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The World Bank  
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

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First printing January 1983

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Acharya, Meena.

Women and the subsistence sector.

(World Bank staff working papers ; no. 526)

Bibliography: p.

1. Rural women--Nepal--Economic conditions.  
2. Rural women--Employment--Nepal. 3. Home economics--  
Nepal--Decision making. I. Bennett, Lynn, 1945-  
II. Title. III. Series.

HQ1735.9.A65 1983 305.4'2'095496 82-24731  
ISBN 0-8213-0024-5

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## ABSTRACT

This paper attempts first to analyze how various socio-cultural, economic and demographic factors affect the extent and structure of female economic participation in the largely subsistence economy of rural Nepal. It then investigates the relationship between these variables and the extent of women's input into the household decision-making process. Among the specific hypotheses examined is the supposition that the strength of female decision-making power in the household is positively affected by women's participation in the market economy and negatively affected by their confinement to subsistence agricultural production and domestic work. The paper also investigates the hypothesis that women's decision-making input is inversely related to the income status of the household.

An extensive methodological annex describes the complementary quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection which were combined in the study. The survey instruments used to collect time allocation, decision making and other quantitative data are presented along with a condensed version of the field guide to the collection of in depth anthropological material on women and households.

### Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their thanks to the Ford Foundation and UNICEF for making this endeavor possible. Thanks are also due to Susan Cochrane, Rashid Faruqee, and Susan Stout for their valuable help with the statistical analysis. We owe a special thanks to our programmers Woody Kan and Mao Sin, to the Word Processing Unit and to our excellent secretary Nellie Artis.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The intent of this discussion is to initiate an analysis of the relationships between cultural patterns and norms of female behavior, the sexual division of labor and women's status, as indicated by their relative input into the household decision-making process. Although it is recognized that status is a multi-dimensional concept and there are other equally important indicators, household decision-making is singled out here as a particularly powerful indicator of the internal dynamics of sexual stratification within the household when caste and economic status are held constant.

As a first step in understanding the complex social, demographic and economic factors affecting women's decision-making role, an analytical framework is presented using selected variables from a comprehensive micro-level data set collected in seven village studies on the status of women in Nepal. The first section describes the data and its parameters and gives a summary account of the methodology used. A descriptive model using the village level data is presented in the second section as background for the regression analysis in the following section. The fourth section is devoted to policy conclusions for development planning in Nepal.

Underlying the entire analysis is a focus on the subsistence sector. The 'model' developed in chapter two begins from the perspective of the rural household and tries, through the use of time allocation data to provide a more precise, empirically-based means of analyzing the subsistence sector and its interaction with the market sector in traditional economies. In this model the village economy is conceived as operating in four concentric spheres or sectors--each of which offers a set of possible strategies for increasing the family's living standard or 'welfare' by the production of income, performance of services or generation of leisure for each individual member. These four spheres begin with 1) the households' domestic work and then 2) its own agricultural production activities, and more outward to 3) work in the local market economy and finally through short term migration to 4) employment in the wider economy beyond the village.

The four sphere model is useful in depicting the intra household sexual division of labor between domestic and subsistence production on the one hand and market production activities on the other. The aggregate data presented show clearly that women's labor is heavily concentrated in Spheres I and II with women responsible for 86 percent of the domestic work time and 57 percent of the input into subsistence agricultural activities. In the market sector, however, the situation changes and women's input drops to 38 percent in Sphere III and 25 percent in Sphere IV. Yet, because of the overwhelming importance of subsistence agriculture in Nepal and women's predominance in this sector, women's overall contribution to the household income is still 50 percent of the total--compared to 44 percent contributed by men and 6 percent by children between 10 and 14.

While women in all the communities studied contribute heavily to domestic and family farm work, two distinct patterns emerge with regard to the

degree of female participation in the market economy. One pattern manifest by the Hindu communities involves a marked concentration of female labor within the first two spheres, that is, in domestic work and subsistence production. The other pattern prevalent in the Tibeto Burman communities shows a much higher degree of female participation in the market economy--defined here as the third and fourth spheres. In terms of women's status, the interesting aspect of these two patterns in the sexual division of labor is that they each appear to entail very different degrees of female control over household decision making: women in the more orthodox Hindu communities who are largely confined to domestic and subsistence production display a much less significant role in major household economic decisions than those in the Tibeto-Burman communities where women participate actively in the market economy.

Implicit in this interpretation of the descriptive village level data is the hypothesis that women's participation in the market economy increases their status (defined in terms of household decision making) while confinement to non-market subsistence production and domestic work reduces it. But of course, besides the structure of female economic participation, there are a host of other social and demographic factors which also influence women's role in household decision making--both directly and indirectly through their effect on women's economic participation. The objective of the statistical analysis presented in Chapter Three is to begin exploring the complex relationships between these social, economic and demographic factors and to measure their effect on women's decision-making roles.

To do this four groups of hypotheses are set out and tested through a series of regression equations. One group relates patterns of female economic participation to cultural variables; the second group to household income and property status; and the third group to certain demographic variables. A fourth group explores the relationships between the women's household decision making roles and patterns of female economic participation as well as other variables.

To summarize some of the more interesting regression results, the cultural patterns generally associated with the Tibeto-Burman groups were found to contribute positively to women's participation in market activities and to their decision-making power in the household.

Household income status as expected, emerged as a positive influence on the extent of women's confinement to domestic activities and a negative influence on their participation in subsistence agricultural activities and their relative input into domestic and farm management decisions. However, household income status seems to have no direct effect on women's input into market activities or their input into household resource allocation decisions.

The regression results, relating patterns of female economic participation to women's decision making roles within the household, confirm our major hypotheses about the relationship between the structure of female economic participation and women's status in the household as measured by her decision-making role. The proportion of time spent by a woman in domestic activities emerged as positive factor in the determination of her input in farm management decisions and as a negative factor in her input into resource allocation decisions. It has no effect on her input in domestic decisions. As expected time input into subsistence agricultural production had a strong positive effect on women's input into farm management decisions and no significant effect on either domestic or resource allocation decisions. Participation in the market economy outside the village had a positive influence on women's input into both domestic and resource allocation decisions and understandably, a negative influence on farm management decisions.

There are several policy implications drawn from the study for integrating women into the development process. It is emphasized that involving women in development plans and programs is essential both for increasing the effectiveness of development projects in rural areas and for achieving equity within the household.

The analysis shows that bringing women into the market economy is both an effective step towards a more efficient use of local resources and a means of improving women's status and economic security in Nepal, at this stage. Women's involvement in market activities gives them much greater power within the household in terms of their input in all aspects of household decision-making. At the same time confining women's work to the domestic and subsistence sectors reduces their power vis-a-vis men in the household. Two explanations are offered for this phenomenon. First, women who participate in the market activities make a measurable contribution to the household income and second, they are more likely to control their own production assets while women working in subsistence agriculture are generally laboring on land controlled by the male household head.

The need to use income generation as an entry point can hardly be overemphasized. For most women participation in traditional programs in health and family planning, education, nutrition, and child care, etc., is a luxury they cannot afford. Unless the time women spend away from household

and agricultural chores can bring in some visible contribution to family income, neither they nor their households will feel that the time is justified. Time is in fact a crucial issue for women. With an average female work burden of 10.81 hours per day (compared to 7.51 for men) rural women have no "spare" time. Hence, workload of women, as well as the seasonal variation in their work loads and their daily activity schedule should be kept in mind and efforts to develop labor-saving village technologies should be intensified.

It is overwhelmingly evident from the time allocation and the decision making data that women play a major role in agricultural production-- both as laborers and as managers of the production process. This strongly suggests that a major overhaul of the current male-oriented approach to agricultural extension is long overdue. Not only must female village level extension agents be trained and deployed, but the existing male extension workers at all levels of the hierarchy must be made aware of women's major role in agriculture and of the need to reach women as well as men farmers.

The regression results also indicate that involving women in the development process and expanding their acceptable roles beyond those of mother, housekeeper and subsistence agricultural worker can be expected to have important long range effects in terms of reduced fertility rates and changed social attitudes towards children's education. A comparison of the non-dichotomous Tibeto-Burman communities and the Hindu communities shows that women in the former communities tend to have lower birth rates--perhaps because the Tibeto-Burman communities provide alternative role models and sources of economic security. Similarly in, communities where fewer restrictions have been imposed on women by tradition and culture (i.e. among the Baragaonlè, Rai, Magar and Tamang) there is greater willingness to educate girls even though the number of educated adult women is often very low in these communities.

WOMEN AND THE SUBSISTENCE SECTOR: ECONOMIC  
PARTICIPATION AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING IN NEPAL

INTRODUCTION

The specific concern of this discussion is to investigate the relationship between the extent and structure of women's economic participation and their relative input into household economic decisions. However, this investigation is carried out in the context of the broader issue of women's status. How do we measure the relative status of women in a given community and how is it affected by various economic, educational, demographic and socio-cultural variables? Moreover, if such relationships can be established, what implications -- both in terms of equity and growth -- might they have for the formulation of development policy?

Using selected variables from a comprehensive micro-level data set collected in seven village studies on the status of women in Nepal, an analytical framework is presented. <sup>1/</sup> The major quantitative indicator of female status used is the relative input into three areas of household decision-making: farm management, domestic expenditure and, finally, disposal of household resources which is considered to be the most powerful indicator. The framework encompasses several sets of variables which were thought to affect women's status either directly or through intermediation and an attempt is made to suggest how these sets may be related. Several socio-cultural variables are used as indicators for the two major cultural groups covered by the study -- the group belonging to the Hindu Indo-Aryan cultural tradition and the Tibeto-Burman group following Buddhist or indigenous religions. Other sets of variables such as household economic status, various individual level characteristics and the structure of female economic participation are also incorporated into the framework as factors affecting women's status.

Within the general framework presented it would be possible to investigate numerous other aspects of the question of women's status. For example, information on other important status indicators such as the extent of women's political awareness and participation and the level of educational

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<sup>1/</sup> Although the data were collected for eight villages, the time allocation data for one village were lost in transportation. The analysis therefore is based on data for seven villages.

achievement, are available in the existing data set. 1/ Moreover, it would be possible to examine the relationships between these various indicators among themselves. A thorough exploration of these relationships is, however, beyond the scope of the present discussion. Instead, our objective is to focus on one indicator: household decision-making. In doing this we have narrowed our concern to the analysis of the relative status of women and men in the same household, and thus suspended the consideration of inter-caste, and inter-class relations between the sexes. In other words we are in this discussion looking at the comparative power of men and women when caste economic status are held constant. This study does not address status relationships for example which might apply between a high caste landowners wife and a poor, low caste laborer. Moreover it should be emphasized that the available decision-making data only permits analysis of the relative status of men and women within the family. It does not allow us to assess womens status in the village and wider spheres of society. Keeping these limitations in mind we will look at the conditions associated with high female decision-making and analyze the relative strength of the various factors affecting the level of women's decision-making input in the household. Among the specific hypotheses to be tested in the course of this analysis is the supposition that the strength of female decision-making power in the household is positively correlated with the extent of women's participation in the market economy and negatively correlated with their input into subsistence agricultural production and domestic work.

#### THE DATA: PARAMETERS AND METHODS OF COLLECTION

The data used in this analysis were generated in a field study conducted under the Status of Women Project in Nepal. 2/ The project had two distinct parts. In the first phase, a review of the existing macro-data sets, micro-level anthropological studies and the legal and institutional framework was completed. 3/ The scope of the subsequent field studies was determined in the light of the deficiencies discovered in the existing data sets and the general lack of information on women and rural households. The major findings

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- 1/ It would have also been useful to have measures of women's health and nutrition status and the extent of their control over their own reproductive behavior and the ownership of personal property. Although an attempt was made to collect data on the latter aspect (see Annex II), time and resource limitations prevented us from attempting to gather quantitative information on health and nutrition status and control of reproductive behavior.
- 2/ This project was carried out by the Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA) at Nepal's Tribhuvan University under a grant from USAID.
- 3/ See Acharya, 1979, Bennett, 1979 and Pradhan, 1979.

of the first phase showed that current employment and economic activity rates were extremely inadequate to measure women's contribution to the rural economy, that the demographic data sets, specifically on marriage and divorce, reflected the perception of the predominant Hindu community rather than the reality, and that there was a large gap between the national legal framework and actual legal practices in rural areas.

Consequently, the primary objective of the second phase was to create an adequate data base for a more realistic evaluation of women's economic and social roles in Nepal. This involved studying various dimensions of rural household behavior. As a by-product, a large data set was generated, giving a comprehensive picture of the subsistence sector which is generally ignored in conventional statistics. The methodology employed, therefore, is useful not only as a tool for studying women's role and status but also as a step towards a more realistic assessment of the role of the subsistence sector in developing countries in general.

In formulating our approach we started from the basic theoretical conviction, 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 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. Therefore, despite the title of our project, we felt that it was misleading to speak of the status of women -- even within a single group. We expected that if we looked carefully enough, our studies of the various communities in Nepal would all reveal a good deal of ambiguity in the relations between the sexes. Specifically, we expected that women's status vis-a-vis men (in a given community) would vary with women's many roles and the contexts within which these roles are enacted. Since status is a function of the power, authority and prestige attached to a given role by society and since everyone, male and female, must enact a number of different roles in the course of a lifetime (or indeed in a single day or even simultaneously at a given instant), we would expect the status of any one individual -- or any 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. The multi-dimensional nature of the concept of status, therefore, called for a multi-dimensional approach to the study of women in rural households. This led to various innovations in our research design.

The first significant departure from conventional approaches was to combine quantitative survey methods with the collection of in-depth anthropological material. This means that the quantitative variables to be statistically examined in this paper represent only a small part of the data available from the Status of Women study. And while these data are useful and, in fact, essential for analyzing the particular set of relationships we

are primarily concerned with here, they do not in themselves provide a meaningful context in which to interpret the significance of these relationships in broader terms. They are, in short, inadequate to capture the complexity of rural women's lives and the full range of cultural and economic forces which combine to determine their status in a given community and to influence the way they interact with the development process. There has been a growing awareness 1/ that the quantitative approach on its own cannot provide the kind of information needed to answer many of the most fundamental questions currently posed by development — not only those involving women per se but a whole host of other related issues concerning the needs and choices of households. The determinants of fertility and technology adoption, the dynamics of rural labor markets, patterns of household savings and investment, education and health care behavior and the intra household distribution of food and other resources; in short, all the micro-issues of household behavior can only be adequately analyzed using a combination of in-depth anthropological material and quantitative survey data.

For the Nepal Status of Women field studies, a conscious effort was made to place equal emphasis on the collection of both types of data. A field methodology was developed combining the extensive use of various types of surveys and questionnaires with in-depth anthropological approaches such as participant observation, open ended key-informant interviews and, most importantly, extended residence in the community under study. Each of the eight primary researchers lived for a minimum of six months with a family in the community and several had the benefit of more than two years residence.

To guide them in the collection and interpretation of in-depth material on village women and provide some degree of uniformity in the type of qualitative material collected, the researchers jointly developed a Field Manual (Status of Women Team: 1979). The manual is organized into sections corresponding to the major aspects or 'dimensions' of women's status which the team wanted to investigate: the economic, familial, political, educational, legal and finally the ideological or religious dimension. Each section contains a series of leading questions to open the researcher to important issues and lines of enquiry as well as suggestions on how to approach certain sensitive topics. Also included for optional use are schedules to guide the researcher in collecting information from key informants on such topics as child birth practices and attitudes towards fertility, legal status, kinship terms, the perceived sexual division of labor, male female wage rates etc. It was expected (and explicitly stated) that no researcher would be able to follow up all the lines of inquiry suggested in the manual and that each would

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1/ See Campbell, Stone and Shrestha, The Use and Misuse of Social Science Research in Nepal, 1980, Gorkha Sansthan. Also, Richard Anker, "Research on Women's Roles and Demographic Change: Survey Questionnaires for households, women, men and communities with background explanation. 1980, ILO; and "Rural Women's Participation in Development," Evaluation Study No. 3, 1980, UNDP, New York.



devote more attention to those areas which particularly interested that researcher or which emerged as central to understanding the status of women in the particular community where he or she worked.

This type of manual is extremely helpful when the research team is inter-disciplinary and includes some researchers with a background in anthropological field techniques and others without. <sup>1/</sup> A condensed version of the manual is presented in Annex II. Although it is of necessity somewhat culture-specific to Nepal, much of what the manual contains could be useful in developing similar guidelines for inter-disciplinary teams in other countries seeking in-depth material on women and households.

In addition to the attention given to collecting in-depth material, the overall emphasis on the importance of cultural variables is also evident in the sample design which covers eight different communities purposively selected to encompass as much as possible of Nepal's wide ethnic and geographic variation. The country's two major cultural groupings -- the Indo-Aryan and the Tibeto-Burman -- and its principal geographic divisions between the Terai, Middle Hills and Mountains are all represented in the current sample (see Map).

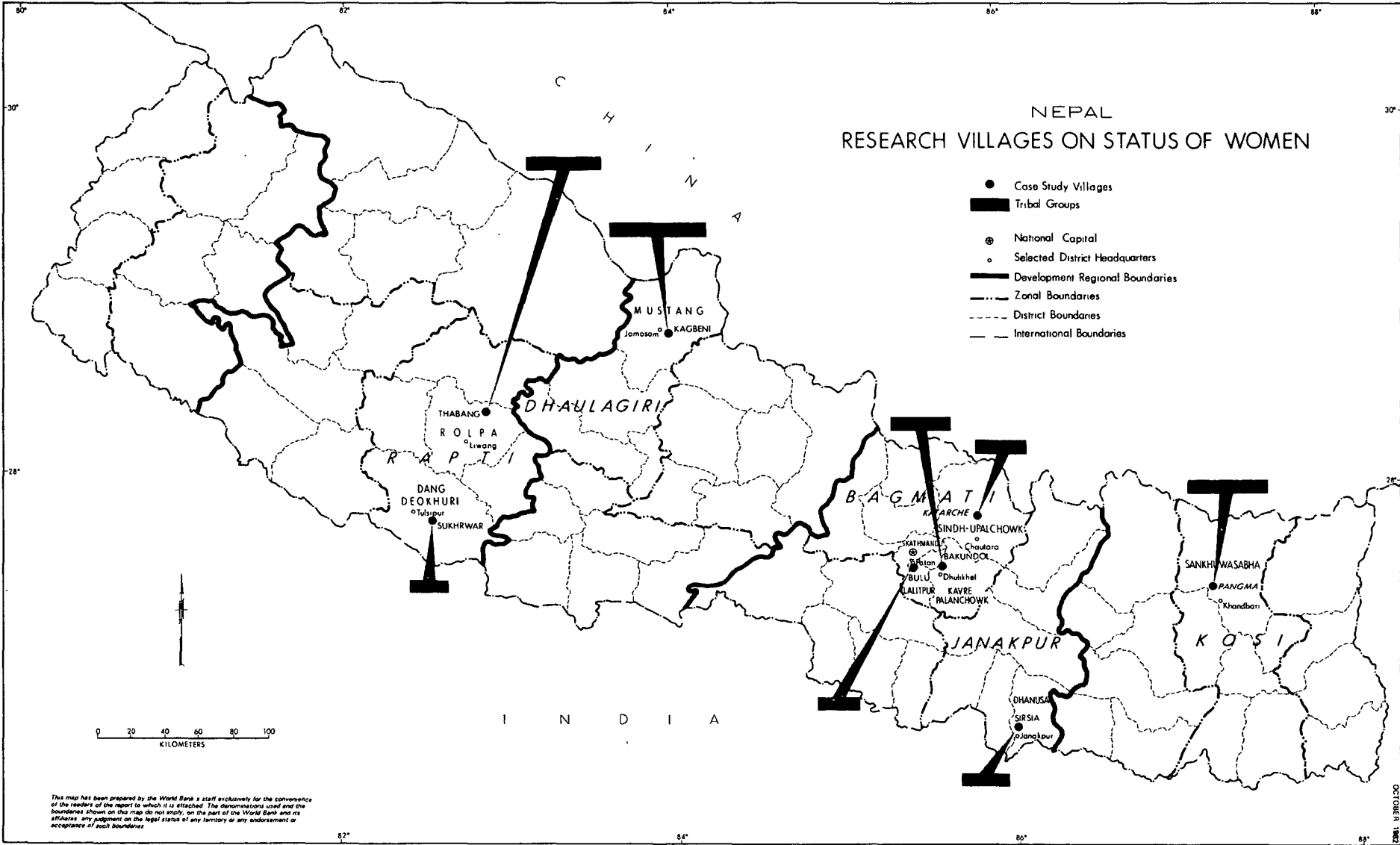
On the quantitative side, a series of survey instruments containing 24 separate components was developed and pretested to gather a wide range of data including those on: 1) demographic variables such as age, sex, fertility history, caste membership, literary status family structure etc., 2) household income, production and sales, 3) household assets, 4) credit use, 5) employment, 6) economic exchanges at marriage, 7) educational achievement and attitudes, 8) gender stereotypes and role models, 9) women's political consciousness and community participation, 10) household decision-making patterns, and 11) time allocation. It should be noted that a number of these variables including those on attitudes, gender stereotypes and role models and much of the demographic information on marriage choice, type of marriage, proximity of natal home, etc. were designed to capture socio-cultural characteristics. Thus as part of our attempt at a holistic approach we tried wherever possible to generate quantitative measures of socio-cultural variations to complement our in-depth material. Not all of our attempts to quantify socio-cultural factors were successful, but several proved to be surprisingly reliable and informative and thus permitted the introduction of these factors into our quantitative analysis. A more detailed listing of the variables along with sample survey forms and some discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the methodology used and particular survey instruments developed are presented in Annex II. Our major concern here is to set out the parameters of the time allocation and the decision-making data on which the present analysis is focused.

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<sup>1/</sup> It should not however be considered a substitute for at least some training in anthropological approaches to data collection. For the present study all team members participated in a weekly seminar which ran for two months while the survey instruments were being designed and pretested.

# NEPAL RESEARCH VILLAGES ON STATUS OF WOMEN

- Case Study Villages
- ▬ Tribal Groups
- ⊙ National Capital
- Selected District Headquarters
- ▬ Development Regional Boundaries
- Zonal Boundaries
- - - District Boundaries
- - - International Boundaries



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Generating time use data involved two steps. The field observers recorded the activities for all members of a predetermined sample of households at a given moment during randomly chosen hours (the method and survey forms used are described in detail in Annex II). The distribution of time between the various activities is derived from the frequency with which those activities were observed, the idea being that activities which absorb more time have a higher probability of being observed during the random spot check. The major time use categories were animal husbandry, agriculture, hunting and gathering, food processing, manufacturing and domestic work. Wage earning activities constituted a separate category as did employment outside the village and time spent outside the village for social or educational purposes. Time spent on reproductive activities including education, sickness and treatment, and also on social activities and leisure was recorded under separate categories. Within the major categories, sub-categories were specified in detail (see Annex II for the complete list). This was necessary in order to minimize the influence of subjective elements in the definition of work and non-work on the part of the observer and to allow subsequent regrouping of major categories at the analytical stage.

The second and perhaps more unconventional aspect of the quantitative methodology was the format of the instruments used for collecting data on decision-making. (See Annex II.) Because responses to generalized questions such as "who makes the decision about buying clothing?", tend to reflect cultural norms rather than actual behavior, these types of questions were avoided. Instead respondents were asked for each category of decision, 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 recording the particular item decided (i.e. the sale of a hen, the taking of Rs 500 loan or the purchase of a new cooking pot), the respondent was asked about who had participated in the various stages of the decision-making process. Thus for each decision made, information was collected on who had initiated it or suggested the idea, who had been consulted, who had finally made 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. The survey covers about forty different categories of household economic decisions encompassing a broad range -- from what food grain to cook on a particular day to whether or not sell the family land. For analytical purposes, however, all the answers were regrouped into three major categories. The first is farm management and includes questions on labor allocation, crop choice, fertilizer use etc. The second category is domestic expenditure which covers decisions on the purchase of small food items and household necessities, clothing and household durables, education and health care expenditure, expenditure on small gifts and loans, religious and social obligations and travel, as well as information on who keeps the household money and who generally does the shopping. The final category termed as resource allocation includes decisions on major capital transactions and disposal of household production. These are decisions about the sale or purchase of land or large animals, about the marketing of family agricultural and craft production, about starting up or expanding a business, taking or giving of loans, etc. Although of course fewer of these kinds of major decisions are made, they are among the most important, and we consider

participation in this category of decisions to be a better measure of actual effective power in the family than either farm management or domestic decisions.

Sample Size. The time allocation data used in the major part of the current analysis covers 167 households from seven villages. Twenty-four households were randomly selected from each village except one where the number was 23. <sup>1/</sup> The total number of time use observations (i.e. individuals observed x number of times observed) is more than ninety thousand. The population covered by the time use sample is 478 females and 443 males.

The other data pertain to a sample of 279 households or a total population of 906 females and 855 males. This sample overlapped the time use sample and included an additional 11 houses randomly selected in each of the seven villages plus an additional 35 households in an eighth village. The number of decisions recorded for these 279 households totalled 15,358 of which 9,368 were for those 167 households which are included in the current analysis involving the time use data.

#### THE INSIDE-OUTSIDE DICHOTOMY: A DESCRIPTIVE MODEL

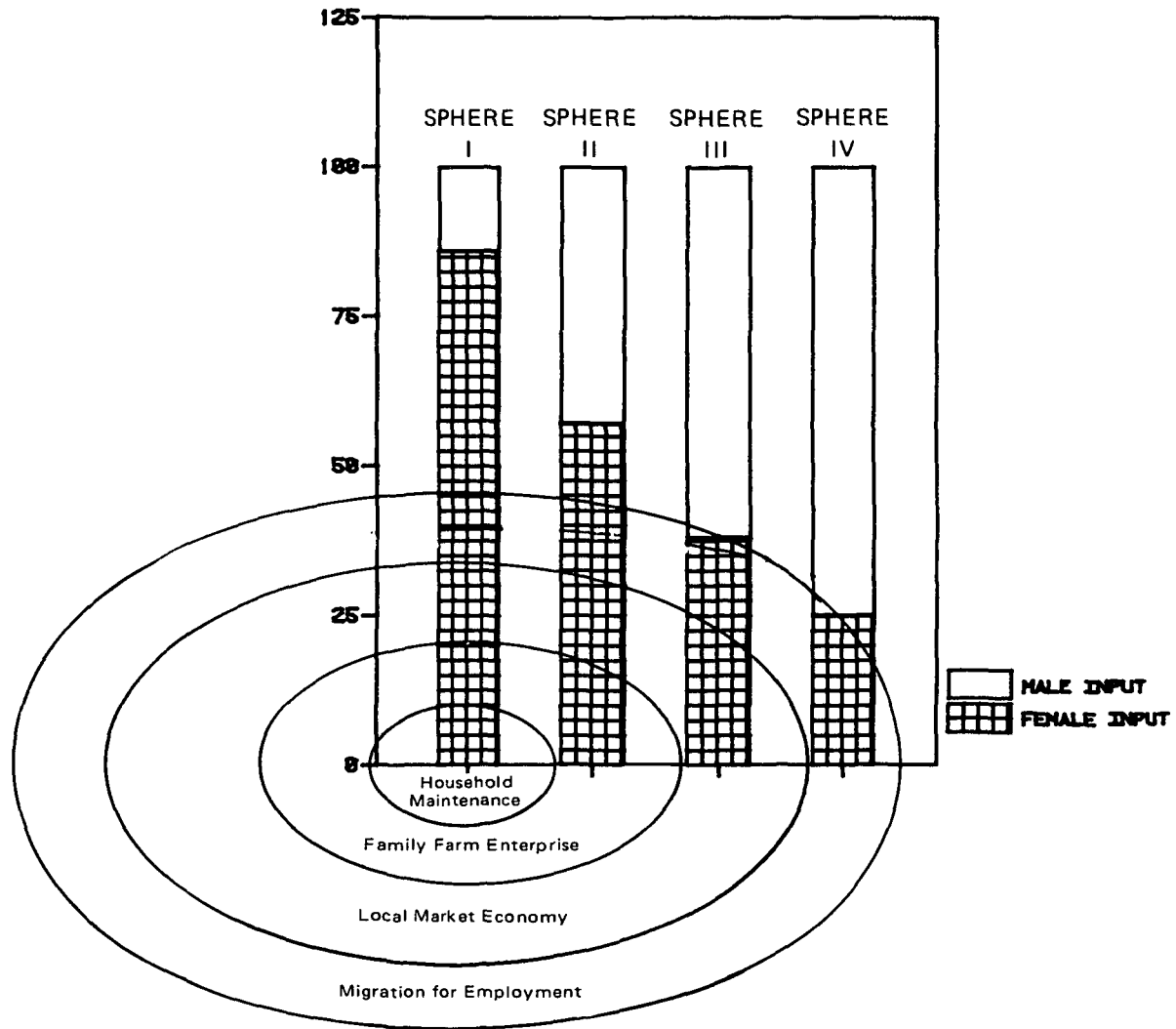
From the perspective of the rural subsistence household, the market sector is really not the most important aspect of the economy. Only 30.6 percent of the annual income of households in the present sample is generated through market intervention -- 12 percent through the sale of home-produced goods, 6.9 percent through trading profit and 11.7 percent through wage income (see Table 3 Annex I). These are truly subsistence households, consuming more than 86 percent of what they produce and for them the subsistence sector, which generates 69.4 percent of the family income, is primary. Hence, in trying to understand their behavior -- especially as regards the economic participation of women in relation to the relative male and female input in household decision-making -- it is logical to begin with this sector.

A revised version of the simple descriptive "model" of the village economy presented in an earlier analysis (Acharya and Bennett 1981), is developed here, a model which starts from the perspective of the rural household and tries through the use of time allocation data, to provide a more precise, empirically-based means of analyzing the subsistence sector and its

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<sup>1/</sup> Out of the initial sample of 168 households one household had to be dropped because of migration.

Figure 2  
 MALE/FEMALE INPUT INTO THE FOUR SPHERES OF THE VILLAGE ECONOMY



interaction with the market sector in traditional and developing economies. 1/ In this view, the village economy is conceived as operating in three or actually four concentric spheres or sectors -- each of which offers a set of possible strategies for increasing the family's living standard or 'welfare' by the production of income, performance of services or generation of leisure for each individual member. These four spheres begin with 1) the household's domestic work and then 2) its agricultural production activities and move outward to 3) work in the village labor market and local bazaar and finally, through short term migration, to 4) employment in the wider economy beyond the village. All rural households must combine various strategies from all four spheres in the attempt to maximize their welfare. But among the communities studied two broad patterns emerged in the intra household age/sex division of labor between these spheres. One pattern of the division of labor involves keeping women and children more or less exclusively within the first two inner spheres. The other allows women to participate in the third and even fourth spheres to varying degrees -- though generally men have little to do with activities in the first sphere which, no matter what the overall pattern in the distribution of labor, seem to be left to women.

At the center of this model then, analytically separated from the other "economic" or income-earning sectors but supporting all of them with its services, is the Household Maintenance Sphere. Sphere I encompasses those activities traditionally defined as "domestic" such as cooking, laundry, cleaning and child care. Although these services are seen as necessary for family survival and could theoretically be given an economic value through the use of imputed wage rates in combination with time allocation data, this has not been done in the present analysis. 2/ The Household Maintenance Sphere has not been considered part of the subsistence sector just as it has not been

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1/ While following the new household economics in viewing the household as the center of economic activities in the rural areas of Nepal, this approach differs in concentrating on the analysis of activity patterns rather than the maximization of the household utility function. This shift of emphasis is partially due to the difficulties of measurement involved but also because of certain fundamental doubts about the adequacy of the concept of utility as an explanation for all aspects of household behavior. (See Acharya, 1982).

2/ Attempts to value domestic activities have been made by various authors (for examples on developing countries see Quizon 1979, Kusinic and Davanzo 1980, and Mueller 1981). We did not attempt to value domestic services partially because of the difficulty in establishing a realistic wage rate for such services in rural Nepal where there is ordinarily no market for them. Another reason is that the value of many of these services such as mother's care for her own child or the preparation of a meal according to strict rules of caste purity by someone who is vitally concerned with the family's ritual status, cannot, in any case, be adequately captured by purely economic measures.

considered part of the market sector in conventional economic analyses, though it is certainly equally crucial to the existence of both. 1/

The subsistence sector or Sphere II of the rural economy is the Family Farm Enterprise. This is essentially the household as a unit of production and is to a large extent anterior to the market economy. Although physically and socially continuous with the Household Maintenance Sphere, Sphere II is conceptually separate in the sense that the activities it encompasses, all produce or processed goods (as distinct from services). And these goods even though they are not primarily destined for market sale can, with a fairly high degree of accuracy, be assigned an economic value if data on household production are collected in enough detail.

In terms of time use categories, Sphere II includes agricultural and animal husbandry activities which qualify as labor force participation under conventional definitions as well as a group of activities classified in our earlier analysis as "subsistence economic" (Acharya and Bennett, 1981). The latter include food processing, fuel and water collection, construction or repair of one's own dwelling and the gathering of wild food. These are all activities which in some sense produce or process goods and which in industrialized countries, count as labor force participation because they are performed commercially. It therefore seems arbitrary and somewhat ethnocentric to exclude them from the category of economic activities simply because in traditional subsistence economies they are performed by family members without pay. They have therefore been included as economic activities in Sphere II rather than as domestic activities in Household Maintenance Sphere I.

Sphere III in this analysis is the Local Market Economy which includes work performed in the village or nearby bazaars for wages or profit in either cash or kind as well as work performed at home if the goods produced are primarily for sale or exchange in the market. The time allocation categories covered by Sphere III are "manufacturing" and "outside income-earning" which includes wage labor, salaried work and work in business or trade enterprises within the village.

Sphere IV refers to short term migration for employment and participation in the Wider Market Economy beyond the village. The distinguishing feature between Sphere III and Sphere IV of the rural economy is not the type of activity involved but the locus of the activity. Any employment or work including portering, army service, trade or agricultural labor that required a household member to spend the night outside the village was considered as participation in Sphere IV.

In presenting such a 'model', there are of course, a number of explanations which should be made about why a certain activity or set of activities

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1/ Domestic activities were included in the subsistence sector or the Farm Family Enterprise in the earlier analysis (Bennett and Acharya 1981).

was included in one sphere and not another. For example, it is possible to argue that "home manufacturing" should be placed in Sphere II since the unit of production for handicraft goods is generally the household. However, if we look at the orientation of home manufacturing, we find that 42 percent of what is produced is sold. Agricultural production on the other hand, in the sample communities, was primarily for home consumption with only 10 percent of what is produced reaching the market so it was included in Sphere II. At the same time, even in terms of the unit of production, the Farm Family Enterprise is not totally independent of the market economy since most households do employ at least some wage laborers to supplement the family labor force during the peak season.

Definitional difficulties such as these and the earlier problems encountered in distinguishing "domestic" from "subsistence economic" activities in the delineation of Sphere II only highlight the fluid boundaries of the subsistence sector and underline the fact that these boundaries can be defined differently depending on which criterion one wishes to focus on. The physical locus of the work, the social unit in which it takes place, the type of output (i.e., product or service -- though even this distinction blurs if one considers the difference between raw food and a cooked meal or a dirty shirt and a clean one), the destination of the output (i.e., for home consumption or sale in the market): these are all dimensions along which activities have been classified as belonging to the domestic, subsistence or market sector in the model presented here. And there are other dimensions or aspects of these activities as well, such as the ownership of the means of production and the degree to which what is produced can be identified as the work of a particular individual. These aspects will be considered subsequently when we seek to understand how participation in different types of market and non-market activities affects women's decision-making power in the home. The point to be made here is that the sectors of the rural economy interpenetrate and that in fact, when examined carefully, most work activities appear to belong somewhere on a continuum which moves from domestic through subsistence to the market rather than to discreet 'sectors'.

Knowing then that our definitions of the four 'spheres' of the rural economy are at best provisional, we return to the discussion of our model. For our analysis, the most significant feature of these spheres is that women participate to very different degrees in each of them. The time allocation data reveal the unsurprising fact that for the aggregate sample, women were responsible for 86 percent of the adult time devoted to the Household Maintenance or Sphere I (see Figure 2). In Sphere II, the Family Farm Enterprise, women's time input was 57 percent of the total -- still substantially greater than that of men. For the market sector, however, the situation changes and women's input drops to 38 percent in Sphere III and 25 percent in Sphere IV. What this shows us is a pattern familiar in many parts of the developing world, whereby men leave the major part of both the domestic work and 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. The situation in Nepal is not as extreme as in some African and Middle Eastern countries where men have more or less, abandoned farming and migrated to urban centers to find wage employment. Men still contribute 43 percent of the time input into the



Family Farm Enterprise and on the average adult men in our sample spend 1.43 hours a day in animal husbandry activities and 2.73 hours a day in farm production - making a total of 4.16 hours or a little over half their average workday of 7.51 hours.

However, men in Nepal are much more likely than women 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 or longterm basis. They can do this not only because their socialization, greater mobility and generally greater access to education and capital 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.

This pattern can be interpreted as an economic manifestation of the inside/outside or private/public dichotomy between the socially accorded domains of the sexes which has been invoked by a number of anthropologists (Rosaldo 1974, 1980; Sandey 1974; Ortner 1974) to help explain the crosscultural phenomenon of women's lower status vis-a-vis men. The argument is that women's involvement with child rearing and domestic work has led to their exclusion from the public sphere of politics and commerce and hence, from positions of power and authority in society at large.

The data already presented on women's relative input to the Household Maintenance Sphere show that women in Nepal, like most women, are far more involved with domestic work than men. The average adult woman in the sample spends 4.04 hours a day cooking, cleaning, doing laundry and caring for children while men spend only 0.80 hours a day in Household Maintenance activities. However, this heavy involvement with the domestic sphere does not -- except perhaps among the wealthier families of the Maithili community in the Terai -- entail any kind of physical confinement within the house or courtyard. The data show on the contrary that women throughout Nepal, but especially in the Hill and Mountain regions, are very active and visible in the fields and forests helping to generate income for the household. The average adult woman in the sample spends 3.71 hours a day in farming and animal husbandry work and 2.16 hours a day in fuel and water collection, food processing and other subsistence economic activities. This makes a total of 5.87 hours a day spent by women in subsistence sector production for Sphere II or the Family Farm Enterprise as compared to 5.06 hours a day for men.

Nevertheless, the inside/outside formulation is extremely apt for the Nepalese situation if one interprets the dichotomy not in a physical sense with reference to the confinement of women inside the house or courtyard, but in an economic sense as the concentration of female labor in household domestic work and subsistence production. In terms of our analysis then, the "inside" encompasses Spheres I and II, that is, Household Maintenance and the Family Farm Enterprise. The "outside" refers to the market economy, both within the village in Sphere III and beyond it in Sphere IV.

The aggregate data show clearly that women's labor is concentrated on the "inside". The average adult woman in the sample devotes 9.91 hours a day to work for Household Maintenance and the Family Farm Enterprise while men spend 5.86 hours a day in these activities. When the data are disaggregated by village, a similar pattern of high female input into the "inside" is found in most communities. Female input in domestic activities ranged from 91 percent of the total adult time devoted to this activity in the conservative Hindu Maithili community to 80 percent among the Tibetan-speaking Buddhist peoples of Baragaon village in the high mountains. And with the exception of the Baragaonle community and the Maithili community, 1/ in all other groups female input into subsistence agricultural production (Sphere II) was consistently higher than that of men's with the highest in the Magar community where women's contribution to Sphere II was 69 percent of the total.

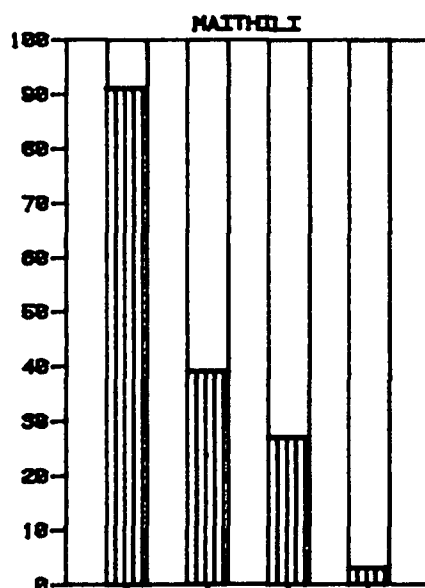
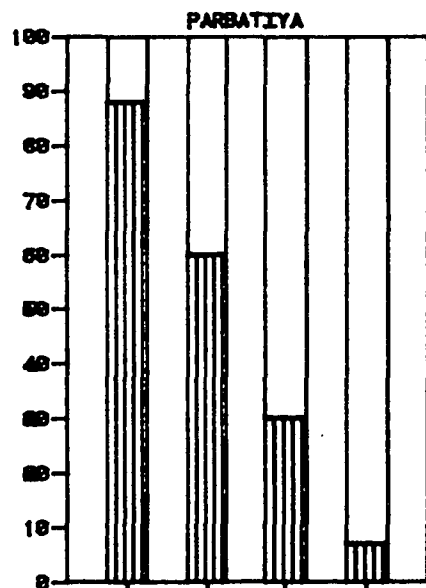
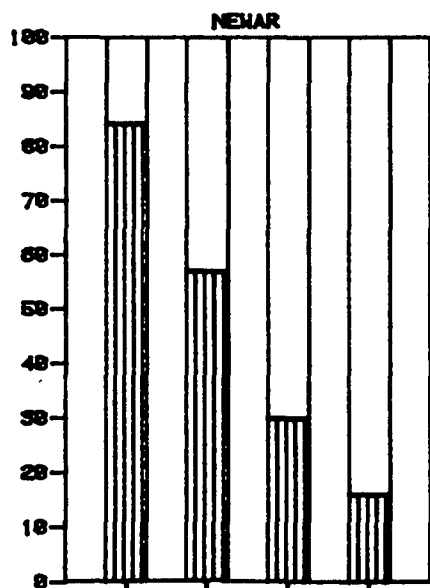
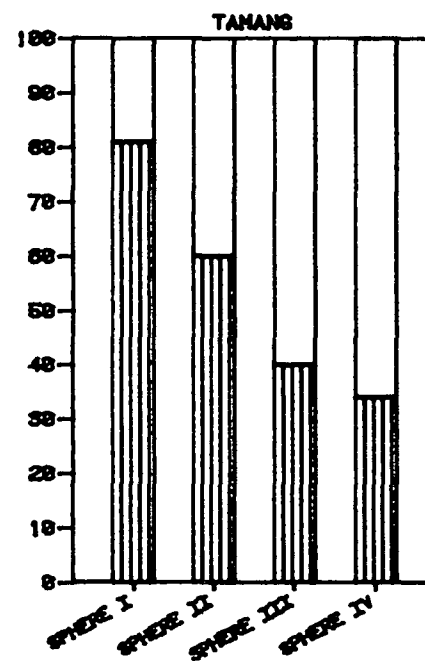
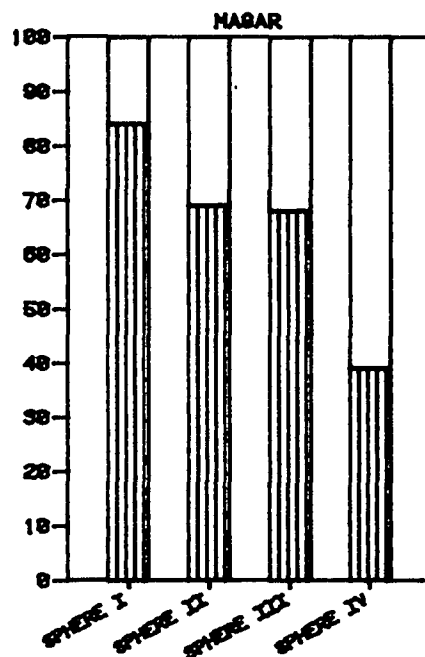
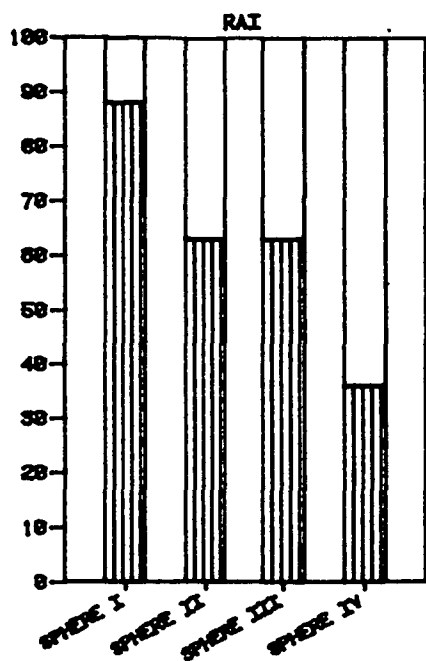
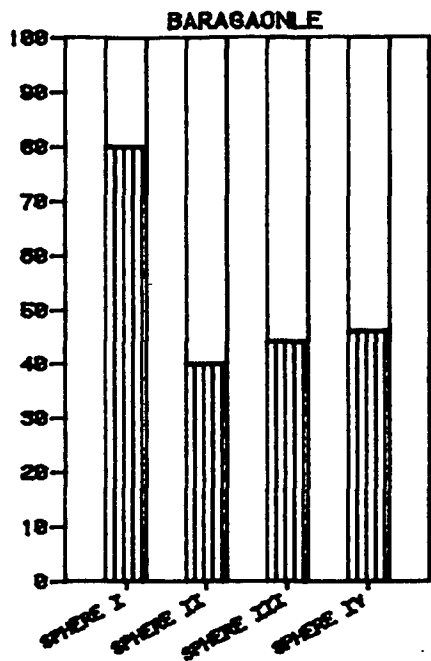
However, despite women's uniformly high involvement with the "inside", there are significant inter-community variations in the degree to which women participate in the "outside" or market sphere of the economy. In fact an examination of the comparative data in Figure 3 reveals two fairly distinct patterns (see also Table 4, Annex I). One pattern displayed by the Maithili, Parbatiya and to a lesser degree, the Newar, indicates the presence of a relatively strong inside/outside dichotomy with women in these communities much less involved than men in activities related to the market economy. The second pattern is that found among the Baragaonle, Lohorung Rai, Kham Magar and to a lesser degree among the Tamang, where the dichotomy between the economic (and social) domains of the sexes is relatively weak and women participate almost as actively as men in the market economy. 2/

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1/ There are two major reasons for the relatively lower female input in the Baragaonle community. First is the heavy dependency on outside wage labor rather than family labor for agricultural production since the population is sparse, the growing season short and cash is available from the community's trading ventures. Second is the fact that Baragaon is the only community where men are almost exclusively responsible for fuel collection since there are no forests in this high mountain region and parties must go long distances and spend the night out in the forests. The Maithili community is similar in many respects to farming communities in North India and Bangladesh where the ideal of female seclusion is very strong and some degree of social stigma attached to women's working outside even in the family fields.

2/ The subject of this discussion is not the absolute amount of time spent daily by women on these activities but the ratio of male/female input in these activities.

RELATIVE MALE/FEMALE INPUT IN 4 SPHERES OF THE RURAL ECONOMY BY VILLAGE



KEY

SPEERE I = Household Maintenance  
 SPHERE II = Family Farm Earnings  
 SPHERE III = Local Market Earnings  
 SPHERE IV = Short Term Mig  
 for Employment

Male Time Input  
 Female Time Input

To a large extent this economic difference in the structure of the division of labor between the sexes coincides with an important cultural division between groups who are part of the Hindu, Indo-Aryan tradition on the one hand and Tibeto-Burman groups who practice either Buddhism or indigenous religions on the other.

In all of the non-Hindu Tibeto-Burman groups -- but especially among the Baragaole, Rai and Magar -- the inside/outside dichotomy appears to be fairly weak. In addition to their work in the subsistence sector, women in these groups are contributing between 68 to 40 percent of the time spent in Sphere III, the Local Market Economy and between 46 to 34 percent of the time spent in Sphere IV or Employment Outside the Village (see Figure 3). The three project researchers who worked among the Rai, Magar and Baragaonle, each mention in their case studies the emphasis placed on female entrepreneurship. In all three groups, women brew beer and liquor which they sell either in the village or at local fairs in addition to marketing home produce and manufactured goods. Schuler (1981) reports that Baragaonle women form partnerships with friends or sisters to secure enough capital to buy supplies for the temporary "inns" they run during the annual summer festival high in the mountains at the shrine of Muktinath. They set up tents from which they sell beer and food, usually managing to make several hundred rupees profit in just a few days. Likewise, during the winter season many Baragaonle women set up trailside hotels or open small shops in Hill bazaars at lower altitudes where they support themselves and their children by brewing and selling beer or carding wool. 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 Indian mills.

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 Rs. 2000 in liquor sales" (1981:51). 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 (1981:50). 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.

Molnar (1981) describes the thriving business conducted by some of the women in the Magar community she studied -- particularly young unmarried women, widows and divorced women. These women also 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, "women can still sell as much liquor as they can carry since the number of rounds of liquor a teenage boy or man can buy for his peers determines his prestige." (1981:107). 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: 111).

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, it is expected that much of what she earns will go towards purchase of her own clothes and jewellery 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).

In regard to women's status one of the most important features which the Tibeto-Burman groups have in common is their relative lack of ideological concern over the strict control of female sexual purity. Of course in all these groups high value is placed on stable relationships and marital chastity; nevertheless, the accepted marriage patterns are fairly flexible and there are few social restrictions placed on female mobility. Since there is less emphasis on the importance of a virgin bride among the Tibeto-Burman groups, the age of marriage tends to be later and marriage between adults is the norm. In the Magar community none of the ever-married women had been married before age 14 while amongst the Baragaonle and Rai only 3 and 6 percent respectively had been married before age 14. In the Parbatiya, Newar and Maithili communities, on the other hand, the percentage of women married before age 14 was 24, 29 and 80 percent respectively (Acharya and Bennett 1981). Women in the Tibeto-Burman communities also have more say in their choice of marriage partners and face no loss of ritual status if they decide to divorce and remarry. Women in these communities are also more comfortable talking openly with men whether family members or strangers and much less value is placed on "shyness" as a female virtue.

Among the non-dichotomous groups, 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 area are interspersed with Brahman, Chetri, Newar and other more Hinduized Tibeto-Burman tribal groups like the Gurung. Although the Tamang 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 discussed above. 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 and hence 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. The researcher who worked among the Tamang reports that the women in her village 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 women from her village only brew for occasional home consumption rather than for sale may be the lack of surplus grain in this community where the per household income was the lowest of all the villages studied (Indira Shrestha, personal communication). The success of the Agricultural Development Bank's Small Farmer credit groups composed primarily of female

Tamang weavers in Rasuwa district suggests that Tamang communities in other areas may already have traditions of female entrepreneurship -- or at least be receptive to the idea. Moreover, Tamang women are fairly active in the labor market. The only community where the proportion of female paid labor days was larger was the Rai community where women were responsible for 35 percent of the total days of paid employment. The corresponding figure for Tamang women was 34 percent (Acharya and Bennett 1981).

Among the dichotomous communities, a different cultural pattern prevails. The most extreme among these communities are the Maithili and the Parbatiya -- both of Indo-Aryan racial stock and orthodox Hindu religious beliefs. The Maithili village studied is similar to Hindu villages in Northern India with a full range of castes from Brahmans to untouchable Chamar sweepers while the Parbatiya village is composed of high caste Hill Brahmans and Chetris (similar to Rajputs) and a group of untouchable Sarki cobblers. In both communities, there is concern with the maintenance of caste purity and the purity of women. The only respectable economic role open to women in these two communities is as unpaid family workers within the domestic or subsistence sectors in Sphere I or II 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 courtyards of their husband's homes and requires that they cover their faces when they venture out. There is, as mentioned earlier, 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 women is manifest in this community in a number of ways, especially among the high castes. 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. 1/ For unmarried pubescent girls 2/ 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.

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1/ In contrast to all the other groups studied, the marriage patterns in both these dichotomous communities show strong preference for brides from outside the village (Acharya and Bennett, 1981). This means that for a newly married woman 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.

2/ In the Maithili community there are in fact few girls past puberty who remain unmarried.

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. Firstly, 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. In the Tibeto-Burman groups it is particularly the younger unmarried women who become involved in entrepreneurial activities. The one younger woman in Sirsia who does run a small shop is socially stigmatized by the rest of the village and perceived as a "loose" woman. In the hill Hindu community there is not a single high caste Parbatiya woman who engages in any form of entrepreneurial activity, although 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.

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. 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 as we have seen, 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 its 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.

The Newar community studied is also strongly Hindu and although they speak a Tibeto-Burman rather than an Indo-Aryan language, the basic outlines of their social structure and family organization reveal their close affinity with the Indo-Aryan cultural tradition. Like the Parbatiya and Maithili Hindus the Newars also place considerable emphasis on the ideal of female sexual purity. However, Newari culture -- at least as manifest in the rural peasant community studied -- appears to have developed both the ritual means

of softening the behavioral implications of the ideal, 1/ as well as a high degree of tolerance for deviation from it. The researcher who worked among the Newars reports that divorce and remarriage are commonplace and do not affect women's social or ritual status. In fact, 31 percent of the ever-married female population of the Newar community studied had been married more than once (Pradhan 1981).

Although the dichotomy is somewhat less pronounced in the Newar community, the time allocation data show that Newar women are, like the Maithili and Parbatiya, still primarily confined to the "inside" in domestic and subsistence production. They brew liquor but almost exclusively for home consumption rather than for sale. Moreover, although Newar women do participate in commercial weaving activities, Pradhan (1981) reports that they do so only as wage laborers paid on a per meter basis rather than as entrepreneurs who handle the marketing process and keep the profits.

It is important to note in discussing the inside/outside dichotomy that there does not appear to be any relationship between the strength of the dichotomy in a given community and that community's relative involvement with the market economy. In other words, there is no correlation either positive or negative between the degree of overall market penetration and the extent of women's involvement in the market economy relative to men. The highly dichotomous Parbatiya community, for example, derives 48.3 of its income through market intermediation while the percentage of market income in the other extreme dichotomous community -- the Maithili -- is only 19.2 percent (see Table 3, Annex I). Among the non-dichotomous communities, where women's relative participation in the market sector is high, the same range is evident -- from 41 percent among the Baragaonle to only 17.6 percent market income among the Rai.

Implicit in the formulation of the inside/outside dichotomy in relation to the four sphere model is the hypothesis that women in communities which encourage their economic participation in the wider spheres of society will tend to have 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. To break the issue down and rephrase it in more operational terms one might ask first: Is women's observed high input into domestic and subsistence agricultural production 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 more dependent on other factors including specifically, the level of women's participation in the "outside" or market economy?

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1/ See, for example, Allen's (1976) analysis of the Ihi or "mock marriage" ceremony for prepubescent 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.



According to a detailed examination of the village averages for time allocation and decision-making patterns (Acharya & Bennett, 1981), the answer to the first question at least in terms of the management of the production process, appears to be a qualified yes. The aggregate data on the distribution of decision-making responsibility between the sexes for certain important steps in the agricultural production process (Tables 5(a) and 5(b), Annex I) show that Nepalese women are not just silent workers who take directions from men. On the contrary, their managerial role in agricultural production appears to be commensurate with the level of their labor input into Sphere II, the Family Farm Enterprise.

There is, however, a considerable variation between the communities regarding the relative male/female input into farm management decisions (see Table 5c, Annex I). The highest female input was found among the Lohorung Rai women who made 72.7 percent of these decisions on their own. The lowest level of female input was 17.1 percent in the Maithili community -- the only group among the villages studied where women actually had significantly less say in farm management decisions than men. In this community the effects of both a relatively low female input in agricultural labor and a strong inside/outside dichotomy are combined. In the other highly dichotomous communities, however (the Parbatiya and the Newar), male and female input in farm management is roughly equal suggesting that women's high level of participation in subsistence production in these communities has positively influenced their level of input in farm management decisions. Looking at the non-dichotomous communities, we find substantial female pre-eminence in farm management in all these communities except among the Baragaonle where it is about equal despite the fact that women's labor input in Sphere II was lower than men's in this community (see Table 4, Annex 1).

Turning from decisions about the management of the agricultural production process to decisions on resource allocation about the disposal of what is produced and the management of household assets, we find that in these latter types of decisions women's labor input into subsistence production no longer seems to have a consistently positive effect across communities. Instead what appears to be more important is the degree to which women in a given community participate in the market economy.

In the category of domestic expenditure decisions women still lead men at the aggregate level though by a somewhat smaller margin than for farm management. However, in decisions about the disposal of household production and major capital transactions which are by far the most important in terms of real power in the household, men assume the lead. And when we turn again to examination of the village level data in Table 5c, we find a consistent pattern which suggests that women's input into major decisions about the disposal of household production and management of household assets in a given community is negatively related to the strength of the inside/outside dichotomy in that community. Thus women in those villages where their work is largely confined to domestic and subsistence agricultural production including the Maithili, Parbatiya and to a lesser extent the Newars, had much less decision-making responsibility than women in communities like the Rai, Baragaonle, Magar and Tamang where women participate actively in the market

economy. Moreover, the supposition that in communities where women were more closely confined to the "inside," they would at least have more control over decisions about the domestic domain, did not hold true. In dichotomous communities men dominated the decision-making process not only as regards major capital transactions and the disposal of household production but even for minor household expenditures. Among the Parbatiya, Newar and Maithili communities men make decisions on their own about minor domestic transactions in almost twice the number of cases as women do. Even the number of joint decisions in this area is very low ranging from 12.1 percent in the Maithili community to only 2.8 percent among the Parbatiya.

## TOWARDS A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The foregoing descriptive analysis thus indicates the existence of varied patterns with respect to cultural norms of female behavior, the sexual division of labor and women's role in the household decision making process. It further suggests that female decision-making power in the household, especially regarding the most important category of resource allocation, is more positively correlated with the extent of women's participation in the market economy and home production of crafts for sale than with women's input into subsistence agricultural production or domestic work for the family. Moreover, it appears that cultural factors affect both the structure of female economic participation and female input into the decision-making process.

There are, however, a number of other factors acting at the household and individual levels such as the economic status of the household, the individual women's age, the availability of family members to help with child care, etc., which also affect the structure of female economic participation and decision-making in the household. Because the interaction or causal relationships among these factors are extremely complex, the framework of the analysis must be refined and extended to take this complexity into account. The current attempt to analyze the available data statistically is one step in this direction. Particular attention has been given to exploring the relationships between cultural pattern, economic participation and decision-making. The analytical framework being presented here is still very simple and set in a short term perspective. It assumes one way causal linear relationships between the dependent and independent variables with no significant interaction among the independent variables. We are aware that this is only a tentative approximation of the reality. Nevertheless, we think that this preliminary analysis can be of use in indicating the strength and direction of the relationships between the various socio-economic and demographic factors, the structure of female participation in the economy and the decision-making process in the household.

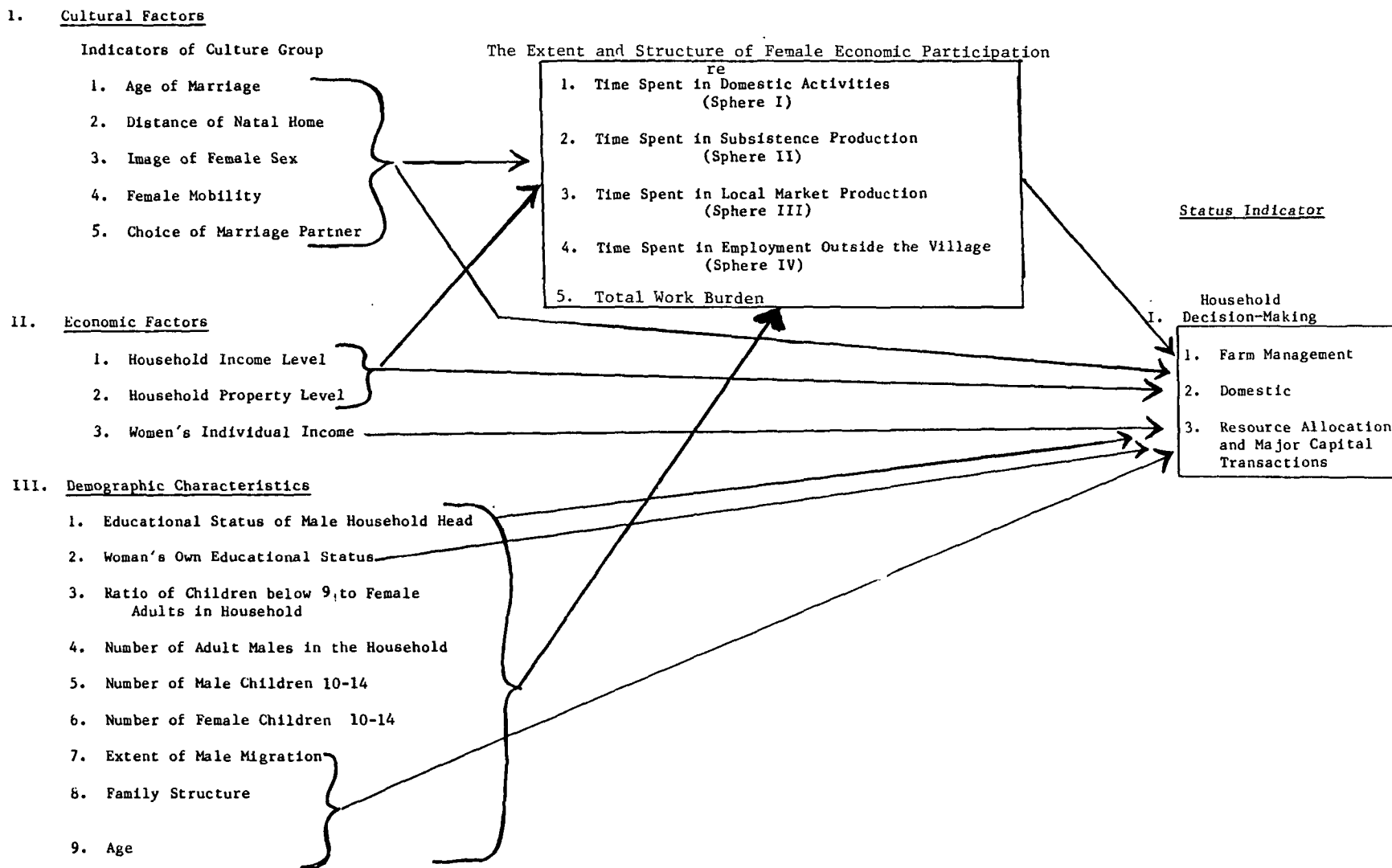
### a. The Statistical Framework and the Hypotheses

The framework set out below represents an attempt to conceptualize the way various factors combine to affect women's status directly and indirectly through their effect on the structure and extent of female economic participation. (See Figure 4.) The major indicator of status being analyzed here is women's input into three different categories of decision-making. 1/

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1/ Although data on another status indicator the extent of women's political participation, are available and could theoretically be examined within the framework presented, this was beyond the scope of the present analysis. Likewise data on a third status indicator, that is individual educational level, are available. However so few women or men in the sample were educated that tests using this variable were not possible. Moreover, in the case of education it is difficult to establish the direction of causation since female education level can be seen as an effect of cultural factors and at the same time as a variable affecting the structure of female economic participation and a number of other factors set out in the framework here as independent variables.

Figure 4  
A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS



There are four specific groups of hypotheses implicit in the framework presented below. One group relates patterns of female economic participation to cultural variables; the second group to household income and property status; and the third group to certain demographic variables. A fourth group explores the relationships between the women's household decision making roles and patterns of female economic participation as well as other variables. The hypothesis to be examined in these four major groups are as follows:

#### I. Cultural Patterns and the Structure of Female Economic Participation

- 1.1 Two major cultural traditions are represented in the Nepal sample, namely the Indo-Aryan/Hindu and the Tibeto-Burman/Buddhist-Animist. Each tradition provides a distinctive social framework for women's economic participation. The Tibeto-Burman cultural pattern is more conducive to higher relative female participation in the "outside" or market economy while the Hindu pattern is associated with the concentration of female labor in the "inside" for domestic and subsistence agricultural production. More specifically it is hypothesized that a number of aspects of the Tibeto-Burman cultural pattern, that is 1) higher age of marriage, 2) greater female mobility, 3) more positive the female gender stereotype, 4) self-choice of marriage partner, 5) and marriage at close proximity to woman's natal home, are positively associated with higher female input into the market economy. Conversely, the earlier marriage age, negative female gender stereotypes lack of female choice in marriage partner and marriage at greater distance from the woman have -- all of which are part of the Hindu Indo-Aryan tradition -- are positively associated with the relative confinement of women's work time to domestic and subsistence production.

#### II. Household Economic Status and the Extent and Structure of Female Economic Participation Pattern.

- 2.1 Women's total work burden is only slightly affected by the economic status of the household. Specifically, household economic status influences only the composition of the work or the sectors in which it occurs but not the total time devoted to work.
- 2.2 The household's property and economic status are inversely related with women's participation in the subsistence and market sectors.

#### III. Demographic Factors and the Structure of Female Economic Participation

- 3.1 Women's participation in subsistence and market production increases with the number of days spent outside the village per adult male in the family.
- 3.2 The presence of male or female children of 10 to 14 years of age in the household reduces women's input into domestic work and releases

her for other kinds of work. This relationship is stronger in the case of female children than in the case of male children.

- 3.3 The presence of children aged 9 and below has a negative influence on women's participation in subsistence activity and in-village and out-village market participation.
- 3.4 Age on the whole, is a positive factor in determining women's work burden and the level of their participation in subsistence production and particularly in in-village and out-of-village market activities.
- 3.5 Membership in an extended family reduces a woman's total work burden.

#### IV. Household Decision Making, the Structure of Female Economic Participation and Other Factors.

- 4.1 The Tibeto-Burman Socio-cultural framework provides a greater scope for female participation in the household decision-making process. To reformulate this hypothesis in terms of social variables associated with the Tibeto-Burman cultural group, we would expect that the higher the age of marriage, the greater the female mobility and the more positive the female gender stereo-type the higher the female input in decision-making. Further, women who have chosen their own marriage partners and who have married at a closer proximity to their natal homes can be expected to have a greater decision-making role in the household.
- 4.2 The household's property and economic status are inversely related with female input into household decision-making.
- 4.3 Women's independent wage or salary income has a positive effect on their decision-making role in the household.
- 4.4 Membership in an extended family reduces women's contribution to the decision-making process in the household.
- 4.5 Women's input into household decisions increases with age.
- 4.6 Participation in domestic and subsistence production activities has a positive effect on women's input in farm management decisions.
- 4.7 Participation in domestic and subsistence production activities does not increase women's decision-making input in the area of domestic or resource allocation decisions.
- 4.8 Women's relative confinement to domestic and subsistence production activities contributes inversely to female input into decisions about the disposal of household production and the management of household assets.

- 4.9 Women's participation in the local market economy and employment outside the village contributes positively to female input into decisions on the disposal of household production and the management of household assets.

The above hypotheses were tested by means of a series of regression equations. The quantification of cultural dimension, however, needs special discussion because of the difficulty encountered when trying to analyze statistically the effect of an essentially non-quantitative variable such as culture. The suspected importance of culture as a determinant of women's work patterns and decision-making roles (Hypotheses 1.1 and 4.1) was confirmed when membership in the Tibeto-Burman group was introduced in the regression equation as a dummy variable. The  $R^2$  was quite high and the culture group dummy explained but almost all of the variation. This meant however, that most of the other variables except household income level became insignificant. We suspected that this was because of the high degree of overlap between the culture dummy and other social variables. For example, one set of social variables, i.e. age at first marriage, freedom of choice of marriage partner and female mobility, relate to the degree of emphasis placed on control of female sexual purity which as we have seen is high in the Hindu, Indo-Aryan tradition and much less marked among the Tibeto-Burman communities. Other variables such as proximity to natal home are indicators of the degree of support a woman can expect from her natal kin group after marriage or conversely the extent to which women must begin married life as an outsider in a distant village. The discussion in the earlier descriptive section established the fact that the two major culture groups have rather distinct patterns with respect to these variables as well. This conclusion was further strengthened by a series of T tests which show that there is a significant statistical difference between the two groups regarding the above dimensions of social behavior (see the table). We therefore decided that for further analysis these social variables could be viewed as components or even indicators of the two major culture groups. This procedure also had the advantage of permitting a more precise mapping of the social-cultural factors affecting women's economic participation and decision-making role.

Of course no single variable or group of variables can be expected to adequately portray the effects of an extremely complex phenomenon such as culture. Not surprisingly the explanatory power of some of the regression equations on female decision-making input decrease significantly when the categorical culture group variable is "replaced" by one or more of these social variables.

Once the procedure of using selected socio-cultural interval variables to capture with more precision at least some of the effect of the categorical cultural variable had been developed, we turned to the analysis of the hypothesised relationships. In Figure 4, the arrows indicate the hypothesised relationships between different groups of variables. Two sets of step-wise regression were run. The first set examined the first three groups of hypothesis. The structure of women's economic participation as reflected

SOME IMPORTANT DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: DIFFERENCE OF MEAN SCORES

T - TEST

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE			SEPARATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE			T VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	2-TAIL PROB.	
			STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	T VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM					
<u>Distance to Natal Home</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	181	1.2928	1.587	0.118								
Hindu	174	1.8851	1.381	0.105	1.32	0.069	-3.75	353	0.000	-3.76	349.69	0.000
<u>Marriage choice</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	181	0.4530	0.499	0.037								
Hindu	174	0.1954	0.398	0.030	1.58	0.003	5.37	353	0.000	5.39	341.33	0.000
<u>Age at first marriage</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	181	18.2541	5.835	0.434								
Hindu	168	13.5774	3.925	0.303	2.21	0.000	8.72	347	0.000	8.84	317.07	0.000
<u>Mobility</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	181	0.8674	1.271	0.094								
Hindu	168	0.5238	1.299	0.100	1.04	0.772	2.50	347	0.013	2.49	343.79	0.013
<u>Female Image</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	123	6.0407	4.042	0.364								
Hindu	94	2.4574	4.290	0.442	1.13	0.535	6.30	215	0.000	6.25	193.94	0.000



in the proportion of time devoted to four major categories or 'spheres' of work were regressed with a number of factors including several cultural variables, (Hypotheses #1.1) household income (Hypothesis 2.1, 2.2) and the demographic variables listed in Figure 4 (Hypotheses 3.1-3.5). Four separate equations were used representing female participation in four spheres of activities. The independent variables for all the equations in this set were the same to start with. In the following discussion we have reproduced the coefficients for only those variables which were found to be significant in respective equations.

The second set of equations examines Hypothesis 4.1-4.9. In these equations three indicators of women status (i.e., the individual woman's input in 1) farm management decisions, 2) domestic decisions and 3) decisions on resource allocation) were regressed with that woman's time input into different spheres of activities and a number of the original variables (as indicated by arrows in Figure 4) which were hypothesized to have a direct effect on decision-making in addition to their effect on the structure of female economic participation described by the first set of equations. As in the previous set some of the variables were insignificant and dropped out of the equations. The variables, which emerged significant in different equations, are analysed in the next section.

The variables used in the subsequent analysis are listed below. A more detailed description of the variables and the process of their derivation are given in Annex 1.

#### List of Variables in The Regressions

##### Decision making variables (Indicators of Status)

MEDMD = Proportion of domestic expenditure decisions, in which the particular woman participated either jointly or as a sole decision makers to the total number of decisions in the particular category in the household.

MEDMF = Proportion of farm management decisions in which the particular woman participated either jointly or as a sole decision maker to the total number of farm management decisions in that household.

MEDMR - Proportion of resource allocation decisions in which the particular women participated either jointly or as sole decision makers to the total number of decisions in the particular category in the household.

##### Time Use Variables

DOMACTI = Proportion of individual frequency of domestic activities to the total number of in-village observations for the individual.

SUBACTI = Proportion of the individual frequency in subsistence activities to total in-village observations for that individual.

MKACTI = Proportion of individual frequency of market activities to total number of in-village observations for that individual.

OUTEMPLI = Proportion of individual days of employment outside the village to number of days observed for that individual.

Economic Variables

HHINC - Household income

HHPROP - Household property

WINDING - Individual woman's wage and salary income

Demographic Variables

AGE - Age Score

AGE1STMA - Age at first marriage

TMIG - Per male migration score for household

CB9/FL - Ratio of children aged 9 and below to female adults in the household

ADLTML - Number of adult males in the household

FLC10T14 - Number of female children 10 to 14 in the household.

Other Variables

HFLIMG - Households score for female image

DISTHM - Score for distance to the woman's natal home

MOBIL - Individual woman's mobility score

IATBED - Score on attitude to boy's education

IATGED - Score on attitude to girl's education

b. The Regression Results

Set I: Factors Affecting the Extent and Structure of Female Economic Participation

1. Female Work Burden

There were two hypotheses involving women's work burden or the overall extent of their time input into work without regard to the sectoral nature of the work. Hypothesis #2.1 states that women's total work burden does not vary significantly with the household's economic status. The product correlation coefficients relating to women's total work burden to both household property and household income are not significant even at the 20 percent level. The hypothesis is thus corroborated.

	Correlation Coefficient	P	N
Household Income/Woman's Total Work Hours	0.0843	0.142	164
Household Property/Woman's Total Work Hours	0.0667	0.198	164

In the regression equation relating women's work burden to the various factors set out in the framework, the  $\bar{R}^2$  was found to be very low and most of the variation was explained by age. This supports Hypothesis #3.4 and shows that women's total work burden increases with age. All other factors including type of family structure dropped out of the equation. Hence Hypothesis #3.5 which posited that membership in an extended family would be negatively related to the extent of women's work burden does not test out.

2. Female Input into Domestic Activity (Sphere I)

Dependent variable: DOMACTI

$$\bar{R}_c^{-2*} = 0.41 \quad \bar{R}^2 = 0.31$$

Independent Variables	Regression Results		
	B	$\beta$	F
Constant	0.417897		
AGE	0.018448	0.41916	90.6
DISTHM	0.022850	0.19639	19.7
HHINC	0.000003	0.12331	10.1
HFLIMG	-0.003281	-0.11731	9.1
TMIG	-0.000440	-0.00020	5.1

\*  $\bar{R}_c^2$  indicates the  $\bar{R}^2$  obtained from the regressions with the cultural dummy variable. This notation is maintained throughout this section.

-2

The difference in  $R^2$  between two regressions, one with the cultural dummy and the other without, is 0.10. This means that about 10 percent more variation could be explained by other cultural factors not included in the current equation. In the current equation only 31 percent of the variation in women's time input into domestic activities or the Household Maintenance Sphere is explained by the factors included in the above equation. The only significant coefficients in the equation are those for age, male migration and two of the social variables, i.e. distance to the woman's natal home and the household's image of the female sex. Age is highly significant and positive and explains a major portion of the variation in women's input into domestic activity. The older the woman, the more likely she is to be confined to domestic activities. However, on the basis of our field observations, we suspect that age acts differently for the two major cultural groups. In the Tibeto-Burman communities younger unmarried women are encouraged to be entrepreneurs and so may spend less time in domestic activities. In the Hindu communities on the other hand only married women may participate in market activities outside the household thus reducing their relative time input into domestic work. Moreover the tradition in Hindu joint families which dictates that newly married daughters-in-law should relieve the senior women of the household of domestic chores would also tend to reduce the domestic work load of older women in the Hindu communities. Due to the small sample size, however, we were unable to explore this hypothesis for the two cultural groups separately.

Interestingly male migration acts to decrease female input into domestic work suggesting that women left on their own in the village reduce the elaborateness of their cooking and housekeeping either because the men are not there to demand it or, more probably, because these women must put more time into subsistence agriculture or wage work to maintain themselves.

Both of the cultural variables show influence in the expected direction and lend indirect support to Hypothesis #1.1 by showing that patterns statistically associated with Hindu culture tend to lead to higher female work input into Sphere I or domestic activities. Thus, the greater the distance to a woman's natal home, the more time she spends in domestic work. As we have seen, it is the Hindu groups that prefer village exogamy and tend to marry at a greater distance while the Tibeto-Burman groups often prefer to marry endogamously within the same village. Similarly, more positive images of the female sex (prevalent in the Tibeto-Burman communities) are also associated with reduced female involvement in domestic work.

The coefficient for household income is significant and positive as expected, (Hypothesis #2.2) indicating that wealthier households do tend to keep women more heavily involved in domestic activities. However, Hypothesis #3.2 which posited a negative relationship between woman's input into domestic work and the presence of children between 10 and 14 to assist them in household tasks did not test out -- though as we will see below, female children in the 10 to 14 age group do have a positive effect on the amount of time women can devote to subsistence agricultural activities.

3. Female Input into Subsistence Activities (Sphere II)

Dependent variable: SUBACTI

$$\bar{R}_C^2 = 0.19$$

$$\bar{R}^2 = 0.16$$

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Independent Variables	Regression Results		
	B	$\beta$	F
Constant	0.189938		
AGE	0.008693	0.16976	10.8
HFLIMG	0.005326	0.16368	13.9
HHINC	-0.000004	-0.18650	12.3
FLC10TI4	0.036516	0.13665	9.7
ADLTML	0.012655	0.07433	2.0
DISTHM	0.017944	0.13257	7.0
CB9/FL	-0.022323	-0.11626	6.3
TMIG	0.000474	0.08128	3.5
MOBIL	-0.012461	-0.08045	3.3

---

In the equation without the cultural dummy only 16 percent of the variation in women's participation in subsistence agricultural activities or the Family Farm Enterprise is explained by the factors included in the equation. Of the cultural indicators, distance to natal home, female mobility and household image of the female sex are significant. As in the case of female input into domestic activity described above, distance to natal home also contributes positively to the amount of time women put into the Family Farm Enterprise. This again supports our hypothesis (#1.1) that women from the Hindu groups who are generally married into families further from their natal home than their counterparts from the Tibeto-Burman groups also tend to be more confined to non-market subsistence production. In other words women from the Hindu groups appear to have a significantly higher time input in both Sphere I and Sphere II which we have defined as the "inside," than women from the Tibeto-Burman groups.

Contrary to our assumption, however, women in households with a positive image of the female sex tend to put in more time in subsistence activities. Since positive female image is on the whole associated with the Tibeto-Burman groups we had expected the opposite as was the case with domestic activities discussed earlier. There are two possible explanations for this unexpected finding. The first is the cross cutting influence of caste in the Parbatiya and Maithili communities. In both these communities -- but especially in the Parbatiya where roughly 25 percent of the sample were low caste untouchables -- the pattern of economic participation of low caste women is quite different from that of high caste women and in fact, similar to that of the Tibeto-Burman group. While high caste women in the Hindu communities are indeed almost completely confined to non-market subsistence production as expected, low caste women who often have little family land to farm in any case, must give up their prestige and go to work as wage

laborers. Yet both high and low caste Hindus appear to share the same over all negative image of the female sex, following the cultural norms.

The second possible explanation is the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the overall degree of market penetration varies a great deal between the communities but not in any way consistent with the Hindu/Tibeto-Burman distinction (see Table 3 Annex I). Hence in the Parbatiya community where 48 percent of the household income is generated through the market sector, the actual female input into market activities in terms of absolute time may be higher -- especially among the low castes -- then the absolute time input of women in the Rai community for example, where market income accounts for only 17 percent of the total. This may be the case even though in terms of relative male/female input into market activities the Rai women are, as we have seen, far more involved than the Parbatiya. In short, it would appear that, in order to portray the actual relationship between certain of the cultural factors and the structure of female economic participation additional variables may need to be considered.

Turning to household income, we find that as hypothesized, higher family income contributes negatively to women's time input into subsistence production. This confirms Hypotheses #2.2 that women in higher income groups have to work less in the subsistence sector. However, as we have seen in the preceding discussion (of Hypothesis 2.1), it does not mean that they work less on the whole.

The negative effect of household income in this equation reflects two different cultural patterns which both contribute to the trend in different ways. One factor operating is the tendency of wealthier Hindu household to keep their women confined to Sphere I in domestic activities which are considered more prestigious in this group and felt to be more in keeping with the ideal of protecting female members of the household from contact with "outsiders." On the other hand, in the Tibeto-Burman groups where this ideal is not held, women in wealthier households actually tend to participate more in both in-village and out-of-village entrepreneurial activities and less in subsistence agricultural activities. For one thing wealthier women in these groups have greater access to the capital needed for their entrepreneurial ventures and, in addition, their households tend to hire wage laborers for many of the agricultural tasks.

Among the demographic variables, the presence of female children between 10 and 14 years of age was found as predicted in Hypothesis #3.2 to increase women's level of input into Sphere II. This we suspect is due to the substitution effect. Women in households with grown-up female children can count on their help in domestic activities, and thus have more free time to devote to subsistence agricultural work. In conformation with Hypothesis #3.3, the greater the number of children age nine and under in the household relative to adult females, the less time women have to devote to subsistence activities. Also as expected, male migration contributes positively to women's work in Sphere II thus partially confirming Hypothesis #3.1. In other words, the more time male household members spend out of the village, the more time female household members must devote to subsistence agricultural production activities.

4. Female Input into the Market Sector  
(Spheres III and IV)

A. Dependent Variable: MKACTI

$$\bar{R}_c^2 = 0.18 \quad \bar{R}^2 = 0.18$$

Independent Variables	Regression Results	B	$\beta$	F
Constant		0.045971		
AGEISTMG		0.002004	0.26369	18.5
ADLTML		-0.008187	-0.00262	9.8
CB9/FL		-0.008781	-0.12717	7.8
MOBIL		0.006488	0.11651	7.5
HFLIMG		-0.001154	-0.09844	5.2
DISTHM		-0.006384	-0.24228	7.0
AGE		0.002412	0.13103	4.2
FLC10T14		-0.006629	-0.06900	2.5

B. Dependent Variable: OUTEMPLI

$$\bar{R}_c^2 = 19 \quad \bar{R}^2 = 17$$

Independent Variables	Regression Results	B	$\beta$	F
Constant		0.004479		
TMIG		0.001238	0.33305	59.1
HFLIMG		0.002275	0.10908	6.7
MOBIL		0.010773	0.10908	6.5
FLC10T14		-0.016582	-0.09732	5.0
DISTHM		-0.011558	-0.13391	7.6
AGEISTMA		0.001289	0.09559	3.9

There are two equations on women's participation in market activities. The first one (A) relates to women's participation in market activities within the village (Sphere III) and the second (B) to women's employment beyond the village (Sphere IV). While for domestic activity the introduction of the cultural dummy added 10 percent to the explanatory power of the equation, it makes little difference here.

The factors in the first equation explain about 18 percent of the variation in women's participation in Sphere III. Among the cultural variables, age at first marriage, distance from natal home and female mobility all contribute as expected towards women's participation in the local market economy. However, once again the image of the female sex appears to operate in an unexpected direction indicating that the higher the household's image of the female sex, the lower the women's participation in in-village market activities. Probably the same cross-cutting effects of caste and degree of market penetration suggested to explain the behavior of this variable in the previous equation are at work here as well.

Among the demographic factors, the woman's age, the number of male adults in the household and the ratio of children below nine to adult females emerged as significant in the expected direction. The fewer the men in the household the higher women's participation in Sphere III (Hypothesis #3.3). The number of children below nine in the household also decreases women's participation as expected (Hypothesis #3.3).

The second equation in this section relates to women's participation in out-village employment activities or Sphere IV. The  $\bar{R}^2$  for this equation is only 0.17. Of the factors in the equation male migration is the most significant. However, there may be a considerable degree of co-determination in these two factors because for the Tibetan speaking Baragaonle community husbands and wives often migrate together during the winter months. Moreover, in all communities extreme poverty may force both men and women to leave the village together to seek employment.

One demographic variable which has a significant but somewhat puzzling effect is the number of female children in the 10-14 age group which appears to contribute negatively to women's participation in both in-village and out-village employment. The reason for this however is not clear.

Turning to the cultural variables we find that four of these have a significant effect on female employment outside the village and all in the expected direction. Higher age at first marriage, greater female mobility and in this instance, positive female image -- all characteristics associated with the Tibeto-Burman groups -- increase women's participation in Sphere IV. On the other hand, marriage at greater distance from the woman's natal home, which tends to be the Hindu practice, decreases women's participation in the market economy beyond the village. These findings therefore also lend at least indirect support to Hypothesis #1.1.



Set II: Factors Affecting Female Decision-Making

1. Domestic Decisions

Dependent Variable: MEDMD

$$\bar{R}_c^2 = 0.28 \quad \bar{R}^2 = 0.18$$

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Independent Variables	Regression Results	B	$\beta$	F
Constant	0.103947			
HFLIMG	0.011793		0.25112	11.1
OUTEMPLI	0.532477		0.26056	11.7
AGE	0.017287		0.15019	4.0
AGEISTMA	0.006312		0.13127	3.1
MACTI	0.506128		0.15693	4.0
SUBACTI	0.320788		0.13329	2.5
HHINC	-0.000004		-0.08187	1.1

---

Only about 18 percent of the variation in women's input into domestic decisions is explained by the factors considered in this equation. Of the cultural variables the image of the female sex and age at first marriage emerged as significant and positive. Household income status does not seem to play a significant role. Age however, does and as expected contributes positively to women's input into domestic decisions.

Women's participation in subsistence production, local market activities and employment outside the village all have a positive effect on women's domestic decision making role. However, of all the variables, employment outside the village was the most important thus supporting the earlier conclusion that participation in the "outside" market economy improves women's decision making power in the domestic sphere.

2. Farm Management Decisions

Dependent Variable: MEDMF

$$\bar{R}_c^2 = 0.32 \quad \bar{R}^2 = 0.32$$

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Independent Variables	Regression Results	B	$\beta$	F
Constant	-0.283987			
SUBACTI	0.814300		0.30819	16.6
WINDINC	0.000169		0.19197	8.3
AGE	0.020093		0.15902	5.3
DOMACTI	0.526101		0.25449	12.8
HFLIMG	0.008605		0.16690	5.7
HHINC	-0.000009		-0.18014	6.0
OUTEMPLI	-0.266251		-0.11868	2.8
DISTHM	0.020726		0.10921	2.3
AGEISTMA	0.004296		0.08139	1.5

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The household's income, its image of the female sex, the individual woman's age, the distance to her natal home, her age at first marriage, her own income and her participation in subsistence, domestic and out-village market activities, together account for 32 percent of the variation in female input into farm management decisions. Among the cultural variables only female image emerged as significant and positive. As postulated in hypothesis #4.2 household income has a negative effect on women's input into farm management decisions. In other words, the wealthier the household, the less say women have in farm management decisions. The effect of women's individual income however is positive and confirms Hypothesis #4.3.

The Beta coefficients indicate that among the factors considered, the level of a woman's participation in subsistence activities (i.e. Sphere II or the Family Farm Enterprise) seems to have the greatest effect on her role in farm management decisions. Participation in domestic activities also increases women's input in farm management. These two findings thus confirm Hypothesis #4.6 and support our earlier conclusion based on the village averages that for this area of decision making women's power is commensurate with their high level of labor input into domestic work and agricultural production.

3. Female Input into Disposal of Household Production and Asset Management

Dependent Variable: MEDMR

$$\bar{R}_c^2 = 0.31 \quad \bar{R}^2 = 0.15$$

Independent Variables	Regression Results	B	$\beta$	F
Constant		0.064821		
DOMACTI		-0.631170	-0.27320	13.2
OUTEMPLI		0.442028	0.17631	5.0
DISTHM		-0.031482	-0.14844	3.7
AGEISTMA		0.007279	0.12339	2.8
MOBIL		0.033682	0.10726	2.0

The overall coefficient of determination and consequently the amount of variation explained is lower in this equation. The adjusted  $\bar{R}^2$  is only about 0.15. Among the cultural variables the distance to a woman's natal home and age at first marriage are significant. These findings indicate that both close proximity of the natal kin group and later age of marriage have positive effects on the amount of influence a woman is able to exert in her marital home over how family resources are allocated.

The economic status of the household seems to affect women's input into resource allocation and investment decisions only indirectly by confining or not confining women to Sphere I "inside" activities.

As hypothesized, the individual woman's participation in employment outside the village (Sphere IV) has a significantly positive effect on her decision-making power over resource allocation while participation in domestic activity (Sphere I) has a significantly negative effect. (Hypothesis #4.8 and 4.9) In other words, confinement to the "inside" domestic sphere does reduce women's status, measured by her input into the most important category of decisions, while access to the "outside" increases it. Similarly, in conformation with Hypothesis #4.7, women's participation in Sphere II, subsistence agricultural production for the family, has no significant effect on the extent of her decision-making power over household resource allocation. Of the significant positive factors, woman's participation in employment outside the village seems to explain the largest proportion of the variation. On the negative side confinement to domestic activity seems to be the most important factor in reducing women's input to resource allocation decisions. As evident from the  $\beta$  coefficient, one standard deviation increase in the proportion of a woman's time devoted to domestic activity reduces her input in resource allocation decisions by 0.27 standard deviations. These findings strongly support Hypothesis #4.8.

To summarize, the cultural patterns generally associated with the Tibeto-Burman group were found to contribute positively to women's participation in market activities and to their decision-making power in the

household. Although not all the cultural variables emerged as significant in all the equations, invariably at least one did emerge as significant in every equation. Thus the distance to a woman's natal home was found to be negatively associated with her participation in market activities and her input into resource allocation decisions. At the same time this variable was found to be positively associated with the relative concentration of a woman's time in domestic activities and subsistence activities. Distance to natal home did not emerge as a significant determinant of women's input into decisions about domestic expenditures but did seem to contribute positively to women's input in farm management decisions. The pattern that emerges is consistent with the earlier descriptive analysis: women in dichotomous Hindu communities who tend to be married off at a greater distance from their parents' home also tend to be more confined to domestic and subsistence activities and have less decision making input except in the area of farm management. Apart from female image which was discussed earlier, the other cultural variables all seem to conform to a similar pattern.

Household income status as expected, emerged a positive influence on the extent of women's confinement to domestic activities and a negative influence on their participation in subsistence agricultural activities and their relative input into domestic and farm management decisions. However household income status seems to have no effect on women's input into market activities or their input into household resource allocation decisions. 1/

Among the demographic variables age has emerged as a significant and positive factor in all the regressions except in those for participation in out-of-village market activities and resource allocation decisions. The ratio of children age nine and below to adult females in the household has the expected negative effect on women's involvement in both subsistence agriculture and market activities. The number of female children between 10 and 14 in the household had a positive effect on women's participation in subsistence activities but, somewhat puzzlingly, showed a negative effect on women's involvement in market activities.

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1/ This result, may be concealing two tendencies operating in different directions. We suspect that the effect of household income status on both women's market participation and their decision making power operates differently in the Tibeto-Burman and Indo Aryan groups. We would expect it to have a strong negative effect in the Indo-Aryan groups. But it is hard to predict the direction of its effect in the Tibeto-Burman groups. These questions need further testing. Unfortunately the current sample size precludes analysis of the two groups separately.

In the regressions relating patterns of female economic participation to women's decision making roles within the household, the proportion of time spent by a woman in domestic activities emerged as a positive factor in the determination of her input in farm management decisions and as a negative factor in her input into resource allocation decisions. It has no effect on her input in domestic decisions. 1/ As expected time input into subsistence agricultural production had a strong positive effect on women's input into farm management decisions and no significant effect on either domestic or resource allocation decisions. Participation in the market economy outside the village had a positive influence on women's input into both domestic and resource allocation decisions and understandably, a negative influence on farm management decisions. 2/ Thus the regression results appear to confirm our major hypotheses about the relationship between the structure of female economic participation and women's status in the household as measured by her decision-making role. They also confirm our hypothesis that there is a negative relationship between household income status and women's power within the household.

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1/ This we suspect is due to the fact that while farm management decisions are defined in terms of purely farming activities the category of domestic decisions includes, besides decisions on daily expenditures, those on education, family health care, marriage and other social occasions. These items involve large expenditures and women may have less input in these decisions. The fluid or one might even say arbitrary nature of the boundaries between domestic and subsistence production has been mentioned previously and may help to explain why women who are active in the domestic sphere also make decisions on matters concerning the farm. Another factor here may be the fact that since domestic work has higher prestige than agricultural work, powerful senior women may delegate agricultural work to others and spend more of their own time in domestic work even though they still retain control over farm management decisions.

2/ The association between increased decision making power and market participation found in the Nepal data may not necessarily hold in other countries, for in Nepal, market oriented entrepreneurial activities are mostly self-financed and operated and owned by individuals or families. While often in other countries market oriented production takes place in large factories where the laborers neither own the means of production, nor have any say in the organization of production. Several studies, many of which were assembled in the recent special issue of Signs on "Development and the Sexual Division of Labour." (Volume I. No. 2. Winter 1981), show that in many countries women's participation in the market economy often occurs under conditions which only perpetuate their subordinate status. Further work is needed to identify the particular macro-level socio-economic and political characteristics which appear to make market participation a positive factor in the determination of women's status within the household in Nepal.

## POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The policy implications of this study for Nepal are varied. We have presented a thorough discussion of these in an earlier work. (Acharya and Bennett, 1981). Here we will discuss only those which follow directly from the foregoing analysis. These conclusions are important both for increasing the effectiveness of development programs and attaining the objectives of equity.

### 1. Women's Role in the Village Economy and the Design of Rural Development Programs.

We have seen that Nepal's rural economy is predominantly subsistence oriented and that women are responsible for 57 percent of the adult time input into subsistence activities. It is therefore not surprising that when total household production rather than just outside earnings, is considered our findings show that women contribute 50 percent of the family income while men and children between the ages of 10 and 14 contribute 44 and 6 percent respectively. 1/ (See Figure 5).

Within the subsistence sector female labor constitutes 45 percent of the total time input by adult household members in agriculture and 46 percent of that devoted to animal husbandry. Food processing is overwhelmingly dominated by women. Women's overall input into the subsistence sector is higher than men's, both in terms of the number of hours per day spent by the individual woman and in terms of the number of women concentrated in this sector.

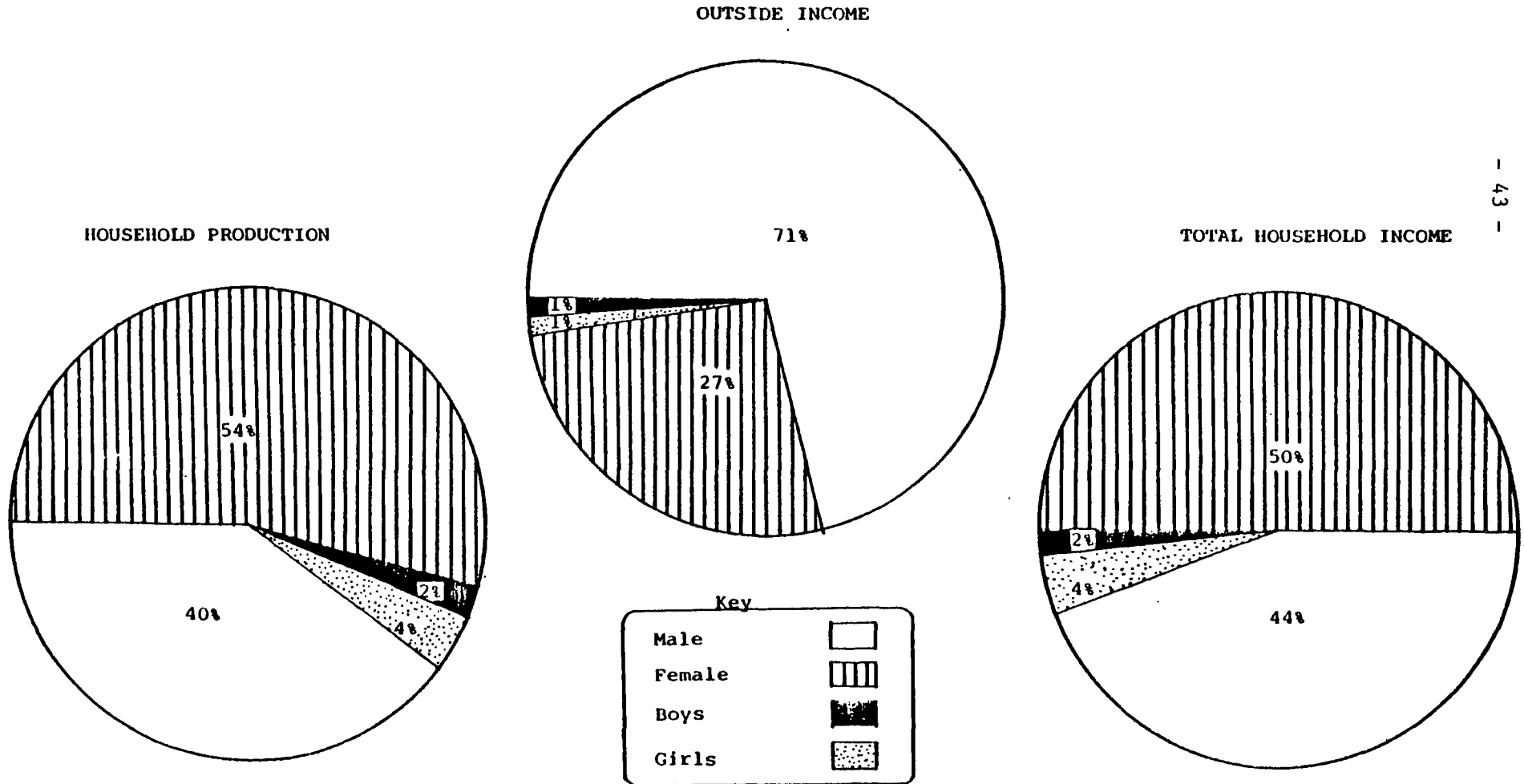
While certain types of labor are usually performed by women in all communities (notably farm maintenance, plantation, weeding, seed selection, water collection, and food processing) and other types by men (including ploughing and house construction), there is considerable variation between and within communities studied with regard to sexual division of labor for fuel collection and animal husbandry. Women are particularly heavily involved in seed selection, the application of organic manure and harvesting operations.

As we have seen women play an equally important role in decisions about the management of the agricultural production process within the subsistence sector. Higher family income status does reduce the involvement of women in farm-management decisions. Nevertheless this effect is very small

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1/ This figure was derived by allocating the joint production within the household to different age/sex groups on the basis of the time input of corresponding age/sex groups within the household in different activities and adding this to individually identifiable income earned through wage, salary work and trading ventures. For more methodological details, see table 6, annex 1 and the footnote to it.

Figure 5  
 MALE/FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSEHOLD INCOME



and women in Hill communities are involved heavily in decisions on the choice of crops, arranging exchange and wage labor, and allocating household labor.

The extent and depth of women's participation in the rural subsistence economy has several implications for the design of the rural development plans and programs. Among the most important are those relating to Training, Extension and Functional Adult Education. The high degree of women's involvement in family farm management has generally been ignored and no specific efforts have been made to integrate women in agricultural or other rural training programs. 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 in all agricultural, animal husbandry, resource conservation and forestry programs. This entails several unconventional moves such as 1) lowering the minimal educational requirements for several types of training and for certain types of extension workers, 2) making a special effort to recruit mature married women for training, 1/ 3) devising special training material with the rural female audience in view, 4) conducting mobile training programs etc.

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 small scale businesses. The most productive approach would be to integrate literacy and numeracy training with practical on-the-job training in income generation activities.

The need to use income generation as an entry point can hardly be overemphasized. For most rural women, participation in traditional programs in health and family planning education, nutrition and child care, etc., is a luxury they cannot afford. Unless the time women spend away from household and agricultural chores can bring in some visible 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 and timing of extension training or adult education for women (or men for that matter).

## 2. Market Activities and Employment Generation

As we have seen the aggregate figures show that on the whole women's

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1/ The findings from the village studies indicate that the importance of recruiting mature married women is much greater in the more conservative Hindu communities.



participation in the "outside" or market economy is substantially lower than that of men. Women's current input into Sphere III, Local Market Economy is 0.91 hours versus 1.61 hours for men and women's employment outside the village in Sphere IV is only 9 percent of the total observed female person days versus 22 percent for men. Whether the concern is to accelerate growth or to achieve equity within the household, it is important to support the tradition of female entrepreneurship where it exists and encourage its development in the highly dichotomous communities where women have in the past been discouraged from market participation. It is clear that in addition to its importance in enabling us to understand the dynamics of the rural economy, the implications of the inside/outside dichotomy are not limited to the economic dimension. In our field studies we found that women's greater involvement with Spheres I and II was associated with a tendency to depend on men as mediators -- not only with the market economy but with all the complex structures of the modern world. For women, the legal system, the local panchayat government, credit institutions, health services and agricultural extension -- all of the increasingly important bureaucratic structures of development -- are part of the "outside". Hence for many rural women, these systems and services are both socially and conceptually inaccessible.

In the foregoing analysis, we have seen that women's involvement in market activities gives them much greater power within the household in terms of their input in all aspects of household decision-making. At the same time, limiting women's involvement to the domestic and subsistence sectors reduces their power vis-a-vis men in the household. This may in part be due to the fact that unlike family subsistence farming where the production process is a joint effort and the product is more or less communal, money earned or crafts produced are highly individualized. They allow women to make a measurable contribution to the household income and thus enhance the perception of women as equal partners.

There is however, another possible explanation for the connection between women's market participation and their increased decision-making power, an explanation which has important implications both in terms of equity and growth. Women confined to subsistence production for the family farm enterprise are working on production assets which, due to the prevalent patrilineal system of land inheritance, are predominantly owned and controlled by men. Female entrepreneurship, however, is as we have seen, not dependent on land ownership. Bringing women out into the market gives them an opportunity to generate their own production assets, thus providing a means of reducing the dependency on Nepal's finite land resources and at the same time a 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.

Bringing women into the market economy then, is both an effective step towards more efficient use of local resources and a means of improving women's status and economic security. However, in recommending employment generation for rural women, there are several issues that need to be taken into account.

First, we know from the time allocation data that women's overall work burden in all communities is very high. 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 regard to the generation of female employment, two relevant points emerge from these findings. Firstly, 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 work time, rather than on filling in unemployed time with additional low productivity domestic or public works activities. The second 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.

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. Programs introducing new technology should try to involve women directly in its diffusion and make sure that female labor is not displaced by male labor in the process of technological change. The rural areas are extremely interested in new technologies, and if the bestower of these technologies requires that they be women-managed, the communities will still accept them. With more sophisticated technologies requiring credit, a loan guarantee program could be set up to support women's involvement. Such measures are critical if the displacement of women from their traditional spheres of productive activity and authority is not to continue.

### 3. Targeted Integration:

To fully mobilize women in the development process and provide them increasing opportunity to lead secure productive lives, women should be specifically targeted within each development sector. Concern with equal participation for the disadvantaged sectors of society cannot stop short at the household level. The current study of the household decision-making process shows very clearly that, at least in those communities which 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. While there is an important need for specialized women's agencies and programs, it is 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. To quote one of our earlier papers (Acharya and Pradhan, 1979), "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: 4).

As part of the target group approach sectoral investment targets should state explicitly how much employment each sector will generate for men and women. Such targets could provide a broad framework 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 specific efforts to direct both training and credit to women as well as men. Only such efforts could enable women to become more productive and keep pace with the modernization process.

Providing credit to women is more difficult than it looks at first glance. Women generally do not own pledgeable assets and this often cuts them off from institutional credit. Providing credit to poor women inevitably involves intensive supervision and provision of other supporting services. Since most of the potential women borrowers are illiterate, they also need careful training in accounting and developing skills for dealing with the various institutions such as commercial banks which are part of the "outside" modern world.

#### 4. Long Run Implications

The policies recommended above aimed at involving women in the development process and expanding their acceptable roles beyond those of mother, housekeeper and subsistence agricultural worker can be expected to have important long range effects in terms of reduced fertility rates and changed social attitudes towards children's education. The small size of our sample does not allow a detailed statistical analysis relating women's fertility to various socio-economic factors influencing women's role models and their work patterns. However, a summary regression, the results of which are presented below, does show negative relationships between fertility and female involvement in Sphere IV activities. The confinement of women to domestic activities (Sphere I) on the other hand tends to increase their fertility. A

comparison of the non-dichotomous Tibeto-Burman and the dichotomous Hindu group does show that women belonging to the Tibeto-Burman communities which provide some sort of alternative role model and source of economic security tend to have lower birth rates. This is so despite the higher literacy rate in the dichotomous Hindu communities and the greater proximity of the dichotomous communities in the sample to urban centers.

Regression Results on Factors Affecting Fertility

Dependent variable children born  
to married women of 15+

$$R^2 = 0.42$$

Independent Variables	Regression Results	B	$\beta$	F
Constant		-11.554840		
AGE		2.902608	2.82622	60.6
(AGE)2		-0.117005	-2.28998	39.7
AGE1STMA		-0.058532	-0.11206	4.8
DOMACTI		1.816808	0.10011	3.9
OUTEMPLI		-1.973397	-0.09131	3.3

\* Age square is introduced so as to take into account the fact that after certain age, the fertility tapers off.

Similarly, in communities where fewer restrictions have been imposed on women by tradition and culture (i.e. among the Baragaonle, Rai, Magar and Tamang) there is greater willingness to educate girls even though the number of educated adult women is often very low in these communities. The continued association of women with the natal household after marriage and the greater possibility of support from daughters in old age provides another incentive to female education in the Tibeto-Burman non-dichotomous group. Contrary to the Hindu view, there is no feeling that it is shameful to accept help from a married daughter. Hence, 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. The study generated some data on attitude to boys' and girls' education. The mean scores on attitude to boys' education in the two major groups of communities studied does not differ significantly, while that on attitude to girls' education does. (See table below.)

ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION - DIFFERENCE OF MEAN SCORES

T - TEST

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE			SEPARATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE			T VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	2-TAIL PROB.	
			STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	T VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM				
<u>Attitude to boys education</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	121	4.4463	1.431	0.130	1.27	0.213	-0.31	217	0.757	-0.31	195.79	0.760
Hindu	98	4.5102	1.613	0.163								
<u>Attitude to girls education</u>												
Tibeto-Burman	121	3.6116	1.743	0.158	1.41	0.074	4.67	217	0.000	4.59	189.82	0.000
Hindu	98	2.4082	2.070	0.207								

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ANNEX I

VARIABLES: THEIR DERIVATION AND SOURCE  
TABLES



VARIABLES: THEIR DERIVATION AND SCORING PROCEDURES

I. Cultural

1. MOBIL = Number of trips involving overnight stays made by women to urban or ritual centers. Number of trips is used as a score.
2. DISTHM = Distance to women's natal home. This is measured in terms of hours or days walk and the numbers are taken as scores.
3. AGE = Age group to which the individual belongs to. This is once again an interval variable comprising 9 age groups at 5 year intervals for population of 5 and above, and 2 age groups for children below 5. The group numbers have been used as scores.
4. HHINC = Household's total income. This excludes value added from food processing used for home use or sale and women's wage and salary income. It was felt that it would be appropriate to exclude income from exclusively women's activities from household income in order to test its effect on women's work pattern.
5. IATBED = Individual's attitude to boys' education. This variable is created combining answers to two attitude questions on education: namely whether boys should go to school or not (scores 1, 0) and up to what level they should study (scores 0 to 5). Total of the scores on the two answers are used as scores of individual attitude to education.
6. IATGED = Individual's attitude to girls' education, created in the same manner as variable 51 but by assigning scores to answers to attitude to girl's education.

Scoring Procedure\*

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<u>Question:</u>	<u>Answer</u>	<u>Scores</u>
Is it important to send boys to school? )	Yes	1
Is it important to send girls to school? )	No/no answer	0
To what level?		
	Less than three years	1
	3 to 7 years	2
	8 to 10 years	3
	More than 10 years	4
	As much as the family can afford	5
	No answer	0

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\* Maximum possible score 6.

7. HFLIMG = Household's female image. This variable is created in two steps. In the first step negative or positive numbers are assigned to responses to questions on whether qualities such as trustworthiness, selfishness, obedience characterize men, women or both sexes equally. The resulting score is then totaled for each respondent. There are two sets of responses one from a male and one from a female and hence two scores for each household. Household scores are created adding up both scores (see the attached table below).

Scoring Procedures\*

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Questions on:

Positive Qualities

Scores Assigned to Answers

1. Trustworthiness (Q.1)	)	Only Men	-1
2. Concerned about family (Q.3)	)	Only Women	2
3. Obedience (Q.5)	)	Both	1
4. Kindness (Q.7)	)	No answers	0
5. Cooperation (Q.9)	)		
6. Religion (Q.10)	)		

Negative Qualities

1. Selfishness (Q.2)	)	Only Men	1
2. Laziness (Q.4)	)	Only Women	-2
3. Stubbornness (Q.6)	)	Both	-1
4. Quarrelsomeness (Q.8)	)	No answer	0

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\* Highest possible score 16.

## Annex 1

Table 1: NEPAL'S POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE, THE DISTRICTS AND THE VILLAGES COVERED BY THIS STUDY

Particulars	All Nepal (1971)		District		Respective language speaking population (In number)	Village Studied	
	Respective Language speaking population (In '000)	Percentage to total	Name	Population (In number)		Name	Sample population (In number)
Bhote + others	2,141	18.53	Mustang	26,944	4,820	Baragaun	162
Rai	232	2.01	Sankhuwa-shava	114,313	16,403	Pangma	194
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	Lalitput	154,998	69,872	Bulu	185
Tamang	555	4.80	Sindhu-Palchok	206,384	61,905	Katarche	176
Tharu	496	4.29	Dang-Deokhuri	167,820	72,475	Sukrawar	404
Maithili	1,327	11.49	Dhankuha	330,601	284,707	Sirsia	235
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,535</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,409,180</b>	<b>651,830</b>		<b>1761</b>

Source: Acharya and Bennett, 1981.

\* This village is not included in the current analysis.

Annex 1

Table 2: POPULATION BY AGE

Age Group	Total	
	Male	Female
0-4	53	58
5-9	59	71
10-14	53	65
15+	278	284
Total	443	478

\* Sample for current time allocation study, i.e. 24 households in each of the seven villages in the current sample.

## Annex 1

**Table 3: PER HOUSEHOLD SUBSISTENCE INCOME AND PRODUCTION\* BY VILLAGE**  
(In Rupees)

Village	Composition of Income	Subsistence Production /1	M A R K E T I N C O M E			Total	Grand Total
			Production Sales	Wage/ Salary	Investment/ Trading		
Baragaon		10630 (59.0)	2320 (12.9)	1018 (5.6)	4057 (22.5)	7395 (41.0)	18025 (100.0)
Pangma		8819 (82.4)	823 (7.7)	957 (9.0)	99 (0.9)	1879 (17.6)	10698 (100.0)
Thabang		4847 (73.1)	549 (8.3)	817 (12.3)	414 (6.3)	1780 (26.9)	6627 (100.0)
Bakundol		5334 (51.7)	1998 (19.4)	2712 (26.3)	270 (2.6)	4980 (48.3)	10314 (100.0)
Bulu		4174 (62.1)	1176 (17.5)	1095 (16.3)	273 (4.1)	2544 (37.9)	6718 (100.0)
Katarche		3849 (73.5)	139 (2.6)	1173 (22.4)	77 (1.5)	1389 (26.5)	5238 (100.0)
Sukraware		11170 (78.7)	1729 (12.2)	897 (6.3)	387 (2.8)	3014 (21.3)	14184 (100.0)
Sirsia		7024 (80.8)	944 (10.9)	727 (8.3)	----- -----	1671 (19.2)	8695 (100.0)
<u>All villages</u>		<u>690</u> <u>(69.4)</u>	<u>1210</u> <u>(12.0)</u>	<u>1175</u> <u>(11.7)</u>	<u>698</u> <u>(6.9)</u>	<u>3083</u> <u>(30.6)</u>	<u>10074</u> <u>(100.0)</u>

(Figure in parentheses indicate row percentages)

\* For Sample Households.

/1 Valuation of Household Production: 1. Only production of physical goods have been valued. 2. Traded goods have been valued at prevailing local market prices. 3. Non-traded goods have been valued at the replacement cost, i.e., market price of the nearest substitutes. 4. Value added from food processing has been estimated at the basis of price differentials of finished products and raw materials used plus costs involved.

Source: Acharya and Bennett, 1981.



## Annex 1

Table 4 (a): PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION (IN-VILLAGE ACTIVITIES)  
(For Population of 15 Years and Above)

(In hours per day)

Communities Village/Sex	Tibeto-Burman								Indo-Aryan							
	Tibetan speaking- Baragaon		Lohorung Rai Pangma		Kham-Magar Thabang		Tamang Katarche		Parbatiya Bakundol		Newar- Bulu		Tharu- Sukraware 1/		Maithili- Sirsia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<u>Sphere I</u>	<u>0.75</u>	<u>3.78</u>	<u>0.86</u>	<u>4.19</u>	<u>0.73</u>	<u>2.37</u>	<u>0.52</u>	<u>1.49</u>	<u>0.94</u>	<u>5.28</u>	<u>0.96</u>	<u>4.41</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>4.71</u>	<u>0.52</u>	<u>5.60</u>
Cooking-Serving	0.31	2.17	0.27	2.21	0.34	0.89	0.26	0.82	0.29	3.01	0.36	2.09	0.21	2.11	0.09	2.67
Cleaning (house, pots clothes (etc.))	0.10	0.80	0.15	1.16	0.13	0.67	0.16	0.51	0.04	1.23	0.00	0.81	0.06	0.69	0.04	1.23
Shopping	0.06	0.06	0.31	0.45	0.01	0.01	0.10	0.12	0.37	0.10	0.11	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.27	0.14
Childcare	0.15	0.56	0.07	0.14	0.22	0.78	0.00	0.03	0.22	0.91	0.40	1.27	0.18	1.88	0.07	1.25
Other domestic Activities	0.13	0.19	0.06	0.23	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.09	0.21	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.31
<u>Sphere II</u>	<u>3.90</u>	<u>2.99</u>	<u>7.12</u>	<u>7.67</u>	<u>4.52</u>	<u>5.21</u>	<u>6.51</u>	<u>6.68</u>	<u>4.09</u>	<u>6.01</u>	<u>3.07</u>	<u>4.04</u>	<u>7.29</u>	<u>4.97</u>	<u>4.82</u>	<u>3.68</u>
Animal Husbandry	0.61	0.36	2.08	0.90	0.50	0.22	3.22	2.04	1.39	1.58	0.53	0.56	1.91	0.61	1.12	0.68
Agriculture	1.71	1.25	3.93	3.57	2.62	3.26	2.49	3.47	1.86	2.72	1.77	0.97	3.63	1.85	3.20	0.98
Construction	0.73	0.30	0.35	0.07	0.28	0.06	0.31	0.08	0.29	0.13	0.02	0.00	0.79	0.12	0.17	0.10
Hunting and Gathering	0.05	0.01	0.24	0.10	0.11	0.08	0.09	0.01	0.31	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.63	0.28	0.04	0.01
Fuel collection	0.58	0.07	0.28	0.35	0.58	0.57	0.10	0.38	0.06	0.18	0.39	0.69	0.24	0.55	0.15	0.27
Fetching water	0.06	0.26	0.10	1.12	0.21	0.28	0.11	0.39	0.03	0.82	0.00	0.38	0.02	0.35	0.01	0.51
Food processing	0.16	0.74	0.14	1.56	0.22	0.74	0.19	0.31	0.15	0.53	0.36	1.44	0.07	1.21	0.13	1.13
<u>Sphere III</u>	<u>2.15</u>	<u>2.03</u>	<u>0.39</u>	<u>0.52</u>	<u>1.23</u>	<u>1.45</u>	<u>0.62</u>	<u>0.29</u>	<u>3.13</u>	<u>1.21</u>	<u>2.17</u>	<u>0.89</u>	<u>2.31</u>	<u>0.93</u>	<u>1.61</u>	<u>0.70</u>
Manufacturing at home	0.47	0.80	0.23	0.19	0.44	1.20	0.34	0.22	0.82	0.30	0.17	0.48	0.80	0.63	0.22	0.18
Outside income earning activities	1.68	1.23	0.16	0.33	0.79	0.25	0.28	0.07	2.31	0.91	2.00	0.41	1.51	0.30	1.39	0.52
<u>Total Work Hours per day</u>	<u>6.80</u>	<u>8.80</u>	<u>8.37</u>	<u>12.38</u>	<u>6.48</u>	<u>9.03</u>	<u>7.65</u>	<u>8.46</u>	<u>8.16</u>	<u>12.50</u>	<u>6.20</u>	<u>9.34</u>	<u>10.06</u>	<u>10.61</u>	<u>6.95</u>	<u>9.98</u>

1/ Not included in the current analysis

Table 4 (b): PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION - EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE  
(Sphere IV)  
(For Population of 15 Years and Above)

Communities/ Village	Particular	(In person days)					
		Total Days Observed		Out for Employment			
		M	F	Number		Percent to Total Days Observed	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>							
Baragaon		3849	3549	927	755	24.1	21.3
Pangma		5787	7333	334	240	5.8	3.3
Thabang		7343	8312	3798	1578	51.7	19.0
Katarche		2644	3057	885	488	33.5	16.0
<u>Indo-Aryan</u>							
Bakundol		7448	7614	1313	99	17.6	1.3
Bulu		2854	2935	289	56	10.1	1.9
Sukrawar*		5205	5783	974	590	18.7	10.2
Sirsia		4320	4088	96	3	2.2	0.1
All villages		39450	42671	8616	3809	21.4	8.93

\*Not included in the current analysis

Annex 1

MALE/FEMALE DECISION MAKING INPUTS

Table 5a LABOR ALLOCATION

Type of Decision	Sex		Both	Traditional	Total
	Male	Female			
Arranges Exchange Labor	35.2	35.7	18.3	10.8	100.0
Arranges Wage Labor	42.4	29.3	15.7	12.6	100.0
Decides Others Work Outside Home	56.2	43.8	-	-	100.0
Decides Own Work Outside Home	51.7	48.3	-	-	100.0
ALL LABOR DECISIONS	46.2	39.4	8.6	5.8	100.0

Table 5b: AGRICULTURAL DECISIONS

What Crop to Plant?	18.0	30.2	12.8	39.0	100.0
What Seed to Use (Own or Imported)	20.7	60.4	10.9	8.0	100.0
Amount & Kind of Fertilizer	32.5	39.7	13.4	14.4	100.0
ALL AGRICULTURAL DECISIONS	25.3	42.1	12.6	20.0	100.0

Source: Acharya and Bennett, The Rural Women of Nepal, 1981

## Annex 1

Table 5(c) MALE/FEMALE INPUT INTO 3 MAJOR CATEGORIES OF DECISION MAKING

(For Seven Villages)

Village	Type of Decision	Sex	FARM MANAGEMENT *					DOMESTIC					RESOURCE ALLOCATION				
			Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total	Male	Female	Both	Traditional	Total
Baragaonle (Baragoan)			3.7 (10.5)	3.6 (10.1)	2 (0.6)	285 (79.0)	358 (100.0)	154 (18.5)	350 (42.9)	268 (32.8)	44 (5.4)	816 (100.0)	8.0 (17.5)	258 (56.6)	104 (22.8)	14 (3.1)	456 (100.0)
Lohorong Rai (Pangma)			54 (5.0)	791 (72.1)	206 (18.9)	37 (3.4)	1088 (100.0)	88 (10.7)	626 (76.3)	68 (8.3)	38 (4.7)	820 (100.0)	80 (30.2)	131 (49.4)	48 (18.1)	6 (2.3)	265 (100)
Magar (Thabang)			35 (10.3)	134 (39.4)	114 (33.5)	57 (16.8)	340 (100.0)	39 (10.7)	64 (17.6)	129 (35.4)	132 (36.3)	364 (100.0)	10 (7.8)	51 (39.8)	45 (35.2)	22 (17.2)	128 (100.0)
Tamang (Katarche)			102 (15.8)	208 (32.3)	114 (17.7)	220 (34.2)	664 (1.1)	73 (20.9)	160 (45.7)	57 (16.3)	60 (17.1)	350 (1.1)	43 (44.8)	22 (22.9)	22 (22.9)	9 (9.4)	96 (100.0)
Parbatiya (Bakundol)			485 (49.0)	446 (45.0)	48 (4.9)	11 (1.1)	990 (100.0)	505 (60.6)	273 (32.8)	23 (2.8)	32 (3.8)	833 (100.0)	267 (84.8)	32 (10.1)	15 (4.8)	1 (0.3)	315 (100.0)
Maithili (Sirsia)			410 (63.7)	110 (17.1)	75 (11.7)	48 (7.5)	643 (100.0)	289 (52.9)	168 (30.8)	66 (12.1)	23 (4.2)	546 (100.0)	84 (39.6)	64 (30.2)	55 (25.9)	9 (4.3)	212 (100.0)
Newar (Bulu)			234 (29.0)	310 (38.4)	81 (10.0)	183 (22.6)	808 (100.0)	278 (57.1)	154 (31.6)	42 (8.6)	13 (2.7)	487 (100.0)	116 (65.2)	42 (23.6)	17 (9.5)	3 (1.7)	178 (100.0)
7-Village Total			1357 (27.9)	2035 (41.8)	640 (13.1)	339 (17.2)	4871 (100.0)	1426 (33.8)	1795 (42.6)	653 (15.5)	342 (8.1)	4216 (100.0)	680 (41.2)	600 (36.4)	306 (18.5)	64 (3.9)	1650 (100.0)

(Figures in brackets indicate percentages)

\*Includes both labor allocation and agricultural decisions.

Source: Acharya and Bennett, 1981.

Annex 1

Table 6: CONTRIBUTIONS 1/ TO THE TOTAL INCOME OF THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

Activities	Adults 15+		Children 10-14		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
• Animal husbandry	69,115 (46.95)	50,069 (34.01)	12,440 (8.45)	15,590 (10.59)	147,218 (100.0)
• Agriculture	45,8271 (45.79)	49,0197 (48.98)	18,615 (1.86)	33,728 (3.37)	100,0811 (100.00)
• Hunting and gathering	40,589 (43.70)	45,289 (48.76)	1,793 (1.93)	5,211 (5.61)	92,882 (100.00)
• Manufacturing	15,698 (43.05)	19,899 (54.57)	332 (0.91)	536 (1.47)	36,465 (100.00)
• Food processing	30,054 (10.75)	236,878 (84.73)	2,544 (0.91)	10,092 (3.61)	279,568 (100.00)
• Profit from trading	58,220 (60.33)	38,283 (39.67)	-	-	96,503 (100.00)
• Wage and salary	154,902 [77.01]	42,932 [21.34]	1,385 [0.69]	1,925 [0.96]	201,144 [100.00]
Total household income	826,853	923,547	371,109	67,082	1,854,591

Source: Condensed from Acharya and Bennett, 1981.

Figures in parenthesis are percentages derived from the data on time use. Figures in brackets are derived from this table.)

These estimates have two components, namely, the wage and salary income and all other income. Classification of wage, salary and pensions by age and sex groups presented no difficulty, since the individual contributors could be identified easily. Income generated in other sectors have been allocated to different age/sex groups in proportion to the time spent by these age/sex groups in respective sectors. For example, in the 167 sample households a total income of Rs 147,218 was generated from activities classified under animal husbandry. Adult female time constituted 34.01 percent of the total time spent by all members of the same sample households on these activities. Then 34.01 percent of the total income of Rs 147,218 has been attributed to women. Total contributions have been calculated by aggregating the sectoral estimates.



ANNEX II

Extracts from

FIELD MANUAL: Guidelines for the Collection  
and Analysis of Data on the Status of Women  
in Rural Nepalese Communities





ANNEX II - Part 1

Quantitative Instruments



## QUANTITATIVE INSTRUMENTS

### Introduction

As described in the main text, nine sets of instruments were developed for quantitative data collection. Although we tried to keep the forms simple, and did several pre-tests, some of our instruments proved to be well designed while others presented certain problems. The most successful ones were those used for recording time use, household property and subsistence production, decision-making and demographic variables. The ones on credit, economic transfers at marriage, and development perceptions were not as effective as we had hoped. Those used for collection of data on political participation, male/female stereotypes and attitudes to education were somewhat in-between. We will present here examples of the first set of forms, i.e. those we felt were successful. The second set are omitted from the current discussion. Since the third set were devised in the context of the Nepalese political structure and the culture, we will discuss them in general and reproduce sections when necessary.

### Time Use

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 informants are asked to tell the researcher in sequence how much time they spend 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). <sup>1/</sup> The advantages and disadvantages of each approach have been thoroughly discussed in recent literature (Boulier: 1977, Mueller: 1978, the Asia Society: 1978, Birdsall: 1980 Anker, 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 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). We adopted our methodology from an unpublished paper by Johnson

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<sup>1/</sup> A third approach used in several Western countries is to have the informants keep their own daily time 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.

(1974). 1/ Our time allocation data was collected over a time span between 6 months and a year depending on the village 2/ with each household visited every other day thus allowing a total of between 78 and 156 observations per person (one of the examples of the random hour charts is attached). In order to assure sufficient time for other types of data collection it was decided that only two hours a day would be devoted to time use observation. This allowed the researcher to cover a sample of 24 households (four groups of six households) by visiting two groups a day during two different randomly chosen hours. The interviewer was provided with a pre-coded form containing a detailed set of activities listed vertically and space to record the name and person number of each household member across the top before the interview. He was also given a list of sample households and a schedule of randomly chosen hours within which each group of households which were classified in A, B, C and D four groups, had to be visited for observation. In this case the hours for observation were chosen from the 16-hour period beginning 4 a.m. and ending at 8 p.m. During the visit the interviewer observed what each household member -- no matter what age or sex -- was doing and recorded his observation by marking the corresponding box on the activity list under that person's name. He then went to the next household and did the same. The distribution of time between the various activities over a sixteen-hour day was derived from the frequency with which those activities were observed. For example, if a person was observed 78 times out of which 20 times he was found to be engaged in agricultural activity, we would say that on the average he devoted about 26 percent of his time to agriculture. To derive the daily hours, it would be necessary to multiply the fraction of time devoted to the particular activity by 16, because our sample observation hours were derived from 16-hour days.

The activity list includes 97 activities. As mentioned in the main text, they are divided into 12 major categories. This list was developed for the Nepalese villages and tries to capture the major types of activities that take place there. Both the major groupings and the list of activities might need modifications for other situations and study of other issues. The main point is that the list of activities should be detailed enough to capture all the work that is being performed within the household and to make the data comparable to similar activities performed in the market (see Acharya 1982). 2/ A modified version of this form should perhaps drop the category of participation in local economy and add one more digit to the code so as to identify the market/non-market orientation of the activity. This could easily

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

2/ Budgetary constraints limited 4 of the studies to a time span of 6 months. However, this period encompassed the major busy seasons (rice planting and harvest) as well as a portion of the slack winter season.

2/ Cited in the references to the main text.

be done by some manipulation of the codes. For example, we are using five digit code 01030 for fodder collection. We could put either 2 or 1 in the last column depending whether the activity was market-oriented or not. In that case, 01032 would be fodder collection either done for wage labor or for sale and 01031, the fodder collection for home use. In fact, the modified format would be more appropriate for creating relatively bias-free comparative data on market and non-market activities. The method of using the last digit of the code to record some aspect of the activity of special interest to the research has other applications. For example in one of the village studies the last digit of the agricultural code was used to note what crop the activity related to, allowing the relative amount of unpaid male and female family labor absorbed by various crops to be analyzed. Another application which might be useful for fertility research would be to use the last digit to record whether a given activity was performed in the presence of a child or not.

One major category of activities which needed special treatment was "Extended Absence from Village". In Nepal, short term seasonal migration is an important economic phenomena that we wanted to record. Moreover, we were particularly interested in the frequency with which married women visit 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 in terms of hours. 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 the 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.

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. Rather we counted only feeding, carrying or direct attendance as "child care".

Since our observations are spot (moment) observations, the occurrence of double activity was limited. While in longitudinal studies there is much more probability of encountering double activity, very few activities can be concurrent within a specific moment. Thus this method seems 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 the activities performed concurrently by a single individual as separate activities.

This method has several advantages. It avoids the defects of recall method but at the same time it is less time intensive than other observation methods. It is simple and requires comparatively little training for interviewers. The data collected by this method is more uniform. Since only frequency of activities are recorded, there is only minimal chances of interviewer bias being reflected in the data. The sample size can be expanded easily according to needs of the particular survey. The only inconvenience in using this method is that the observations should be spread over a long enough period so that all hours of the day and all seasons of the year are covered by observation. It can be used in single-round surveys only for collecting information on what people are doing at the particular moment or hour of the survey.

TIME ALLOCATION TAS

Daily Activity

Village No.

Household No.

Month

Date

hour






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

\* List of Activities attached.

List of Activities

	<u>Code</u>
<u>In-village Activities</u> (Activities not involving overnight stay outside the village)	
<u>I. PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES</u>	
A. Animal Husbandry	
Herding	01010
Care and feeding of animals within compound (medical treatment, shoeing, grooming)	01020
Fodder collection	01030
Castration/Breeding	01040
Shearing	01050
Milking	01060
Butchering	01070
Other	01080
B. Agriculture	
Land preparation (ploughing, use of hoe, harrowing, beating clods, slash and burn)	02010
Terrace keep-up and routine repair of irrigation channels	02020
Collecting and preparing organic fertilizer	02030
Carrying and spreading organic-chemical fertilizer	02040
Weeding planting operations (seed bed preparation, sowing, transplanting)	02050
Weeding	02060
Irrigation	02070
Harvesting (bundling, drying crop residue, storing or bagging grain)	02080
Threshing and cleaning grain	02090
Horticulture	02100
Kitchen Gardening	02110
Seed selection and storage	02120
Guarding/protection of crops (in field and harvested)	02130
Other	02140
C. Hunting and Gathering	
Hunting wild animals, birds etc.	03010
Fishing	03020
Gathering of materials for craft production (hemp, nettles, bamboo, leaves etc.)	03030
Gathering of edible food (mushrooms, fruits, tobacco, nettles etc.)	03040
Collection of medical herbs (juniper, <u>jaributi</u> )	03050
Other	03060



D. Fetching or preparing fuel <u>1/</u>	05050
E. Fetching water <u>1/</u>	05060
F. Manufacturing	
Textile (includes entire process from cleaning wool, or cotton, through spinning, setting up loom, dyeing, weaving)	04011
Rope/basketry (grass mats, ropes, fish-nets, baskets etc.)	04012
Making and repair of tools and utensils (plough, spades, <u>Dhiki</u> , pots etc.)	04013
Leather work	04014
Sewing (in own home)	04015
Other	04016
G. Food Processing	
Husking/drying grains, post husking, winnowing	04021
Roasting, grinding, chiura-making, (beaten rice) oil pressing	04022
Liquor making	04023
Food preservation (drying of meat and vegetables, pickle making)	04024
Preparation of dairy products (ghee, curds, cheese etc.)	04025
Other	04026
H. Participation in Local Economy	
Government Service	10010
Wage labor (Agriculture, construction, animal husbandry, portering, fuel gathering etc.)	10020
Trade (Sale of food grains, dairy products and other food stuffs, livestock or manufactured goods)	10030
Hotel, tea-shop, beer house, stores	10040
Lending/borrowing	10050
Medical and religious service (for wages)	10060
Entertainment (for wages)	10070
Other	10080
I. Construction	
Building and repairing house (living quarters)	07010
Construction and repair of compound or field	

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1/ These two activities were originally placed in the category of Domestic activity but during the analysis stage they were reclassified as "Subsistence economic."

fences, animal sheds and shelters in the field or in the yard.	07020
Well-digging	07030
Construction of dhiki, mills, grinding stones etc.	07040
Other	07050

II. DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES

J. Domestic Activities

Cooking/serving	05010
Cleaning dishes and pots	05020
Cleaning house/mud plastering	05030
Washing clothes and bedding	05040
Fetching water	05060
Shopping	05070
Other	05080

III. REPRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

K. Child Bearing and Child Care

Child birth/recovery period	06010
Tending	06020
Feeding	06030
Bathing/cleaning	06040
Oiling and massaging	06050
Other	06060

L. Education

Academic (in-village)	09010
Non-formal (in-village)	09020
Other	09030

M. Other Activities

Grooming and personal hygiene	11010
Sickness/treatment	11030
Eating	11040

IV. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES/OBLIGATION AND LEISURE

N. Social Activities/Obligation

Ritual (for self or neighbor without pay)	11020
Voluntary Labor	18010
Political Service (Panchayat etc.)	08020

Voluntary community service (School, committee, youth organization, Women's organization etc.)	08030
Other	08040

O. Leisure

Drinking of alcoholic beverages	11050
Gambling/card playing	11060
In-Village visiting	11070
Inter-village visiting	11080
Sleeping	11090
Other	11100

Out-village Activities (Activities involving overnight stay outside the village)

P. Army Service 12010

Government Service	12020
Wage work	12030
Trading	12040
Education	12050
Other work	12060
Herding	12070
Visiting parents, in-laws or grandparents	12080
Other visits	12090

Predetermined Observation Hour Chart  
Used in One Village

Weeks	Days	1 Sunday	2 Monday	3 Tuesday	4 Wednesday	5 Thursday	6 Friday	7 Saturday
First Week Example		A 5-6 AM B 2-3 PM	X	C 11-12AM D 7-8 PM	A 9-10AM B 12-12AM	C 10-11AM D 4-5 PM	A 5-6PM B 8-9AM	C 5-6 PM D 3-4 PM
Second Week Example		X	A 1-2PM B 10-11AM	C 2-3PM D 1-2PM	A 10-11AM B 3-4PM	C 9-10 AM D 4-5 PM	A 4-5PM B 4-5AM	C 12-1 PM D 6-7 AM
First Week		X	A 4-5 PM B 9-10AM	C 5-6PM D 1-2PM	A 1-2PM B 11-12N	C 10-11 PM D 1-2 PM	A 7-8AM B 4-5PM	C 5-6 AM D 1-2 PM
Second Week		A 6-7 PM B 6-7 AM	C 11-12AM D 10-11AM		A 5-6AM B 12-1AM	C 1-2 PM D 5-6 AM	A 5-6AM B 7-8AM	C 12-1 PM D 5-6 AM
Third Week			A 3-4 PM B 6-7 PM	C 7-8PM D 5-6PM	A 3-4PM B 12-1PM	C 1-2 PM D 6-7 AM	A 9-10AM B 11-12N	C 12-1 PM D 7-8 PM
Fourth Week		A 5-6 PM B 2-3 PM	C 12-1PM D 5-6AM	A 6-7AM B 7-8AM	C 5-6AM D 12-1PM	A 1-2 PM B 6-7 AM		C 12-1 PM D 5-6 PM
Fifth Week		A 5-6 PM B 5-6AM	C 9-10AM D 7-8 AM		A 6-7 PM B 8-9 AM	C 10-11AM D 1-2 PM	A 7-8PM B 9-10AM	C 7-8 PM D 6-7 AM
Sixth Week		A 5-6 PM B 7-8 PM	C 5-6 PM D 3-4 PM	A 3-4PM B 12-1PM	C 4-5 PM D 6-7 AM	A 11-12PM B 9-10AM		C 2-3 PM D 6-7 PM
Seventh Week		A 7-8 PM B 10-11AM	C 8-9 AM D 4-5 PM	A 1-2PM B 10-11PM	C 6-7 PM D 5-6 AM	A 7-8AM B 2-3PM	C 4-5PM D 5-6PM	X
Eighth Week			A 7-8 PM B 6-7 PM	C 10-11AM D 6-7 AM	A 2-3 PM B 3-4 PM	C 1-2PM D 4-5PM	A 11-12PM B 6-7 AM	C 5-6 PM D 12-1 PM
Ninth Week		A 5-6AM B 6-7AM	C 10-11AM D 1-2 PM	A 9-10AM B 6-7 PM	C 2-3 PM D 10-11AM	A 10-11AM B 5-6 AM		C 4-5 AM D 11-12PM
Tenth Week		A 6-7AM B 2-3PM	C 6-7 PM D 10-11AM	A 10-11AM B 5-6 AM	C 4-5 AM D 11-12AM	A 6-7AM B 1-2PM	C 6-7PM D 4-5PM	
Eleventh Week		A 7-8PM B 5-6AM	C 7-8 PM D 1-2 PM	A 3-4 PM B 1-2 PM	C 6-7 AM D 4-5 PM	A 3-4PM B 2-3PM		C 7-8 AM D 6-7 AM
Twelfth Week		A 11-12AM B 4-5 PM	C 1-2 PM D 7-8 AM	A 5-6 PM B 2-3 PM		C 4-5PM D 2-3PM	A 7-8PM B 6-7AM	C 10-11AM D 4-5 AM
Thirteenth Week			A 12-1 PM B 8-9 AM	C 4-5 AM D 11-12PM	A 7-8 AM B 3-4 PM	C 2-3PM D 9-10AM	A 12-1PM B 7-8PM	C 11-12 N D 3-4 PM
Fourteenth Week		A 2-3 PM B 1-2 PM	C 5-6 PM D 12-1 PM	A 3-4 PM B 6-7 AM	C 5-6AM D 7-8AM	A 6-7AM B 1-2PM		C 1-2 PM D 10-11AM
Fifteenth Week		A 5-6 AM B 1-2 PM	C 8-9 AM D 4-5 AM	A 4-5 AM B 7-8 PM	C 7-8PM D 3-4PM	A 6-7 PM B 6-7 AM		C 6-7 AM D 4-5 PM
Sixteenth Week			A 9-10AM B 10-11AM	C 7-8 PM D 6-7 PM	A 10-11AM B 7-8 PM	C 3-4 PM D 2-3 PM	A 6-7AM B 7-8PM	C 1-2 PM D 9-10AM
Seventeenth Week		A 1-2 PM B 7-8 AM	C 7-8 PM D 1-2 PM	A 4-5 PM B 1-2 PM		C 11-12PM D 5-6 AM	A 11-12N B 6-7AM	C 6-7 PM D 5-6 AM
Eighteenth Week		A 12-1 PM B 4-5 AM		C 9-10AM D 10-11AM	A 9-10AM B 7-8 AM	C 7-8 PM D 6-7 PM	A 11-12N B 9-10AM	C 4-5 PM D 5-6 PM
Nineteenth Week		A 12-1 PM B 8-9 AM	C 7-8 PM D 7-8 AM		A 4-5 AM B 6-7 PM	C 4-5 AM D 4-5 PM	A 6-7AM B 7-8PM	C 8-9 AM D 5-6 AM
Twentieth Week		A 7-8 AM B 5-6 AM	C 7-8 AM D 4-5 PM	A 6-7 PM B 5-6 PM		C 5-6 PM D 7-8 AM	A 11-12N B 5-6AM	C 7-8 PM D 12-1 PM
Twenty-1st Week		A 5-6 AM B 1-2 PM	C 9-10AM D 4-5 AM		A 3-4 PM B 5-6 AM	C 11-12 N D 6-7 PM	A 12-1PM B 9-10AM	C 5-6 AM D 7-8 PM
Twenty-2nd Week		A 3-4 PM B 9-10AM	C 12-1 PM D 5-6 AM	A 3-4 PM B 12-1 PM	C 7-8 AM D 11-12 N	A 7-8 AM B 3-4 PM		C 3-4 PM D 6-7 PM
Twenty-3rd Week			A 5-6 AM B 6-7 PM	C 4-5 PM D 11-12 N	A 8-9 AM B 7-8 PM	C 10-11AM D 5-6 PM	A 8-9AM B 7-8PM	C 7-8 PM D 6-7 AM
Twenty-4th Week		A 6-7 AM B 12-1 PM	C 7-8 AM D 5-6 AM	A 6-7 PM B 8-9 AM		C 7-8 PM D 1-2 PM	A 10-11AM B 3-4 PM	C 6-7 AM D 5-6 PM
Twenty-5th Week		A 9-10AM B 7-8 AM	C 6-7 PM D 1-2 AM		A 12-1 PM B 5-6 PM	C 6-7 AM D 2-3 PM	A 7-8 AM B 5-6 AM	C 1-2 PM D 3-4 PM
Twenty-6th Week		A 2-3 PM B 9-10AM	C 6-7 PM D 4-5 AM	A 5-6 PM B 9-10AM	C 5-6 AM D 12-1 PM	A 1-2 PM B 5-6 PM	C 6-7 PM D 11-12PM	

### Demographic Information

The demographic data sheet (DDS) has several unique features. Besides collecting information on regular demographic variables like age, age of marriage and fertility, we tried to record several other types of information such as family structure, relation to household head, distance to women's natal homes, marriage patterns (whether wives tend to be from related families or not) form of marriage (own choice or parents' choice) and reasons for termination of marriage, types of marriages (whether polygamous or monogamous), type of marriage ceremony and women's mobility. In Nepal, this is the first study which tried to generate data on these variables on a large scale. Earlier studies on these dimensions have generally been anthropological and mostly based on small case studies. The demographic information we collected has proved very useful in correcting some of the previous misperceptions about social reality in Nepal. For example, in our earlier analysis (Acharya and Bennett 1981) it came out clearly that second marriages are much more common in all communities than had been assumed. Only the high caste Hindus had restrictions on remarriages. The data also showed that only wealthier families tend to be extended in structure.

Our sample is not large enough to have enabled us to do an intensive study of fertility patterns. We were interested in fertility and number of living children as a social phenomenon and the information collected was adequate for that purpose. However one serious deficiency is that the demographic data form used did not enable us to identify the children by their parents or wives by their husbands. A three digit relation code or a block recording system (i.e. record the household head and his wife, record his first son and his nuclear unit, second son and his nuclear unit, etc.) would have taken care of this deficiency.

The fact that the demographic data sheet for each household had a separate page on which the researcher was to record the family kinship chart was very useful in a number of ways. It helped explain how social characteristics affect residence patterns. For example, we found that in one community even when the family was nuclear, the brothers tended to live within the same compounds. This meant that women had more help with child-care but at the same time the residence pattern gave them less say in the household decisions.

The kinship chart can also be used to derive historical information on approximate birth and death rates and is useful in locating clusters of patrilineal or matrilineal relations within the village and in some groups detecting patterns of intermarriage between households.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET (D.D.S.): Form 40

Page 1.

(Members living presently in the household or those temporarily absent up 6 months)

1. Form No. 40 (1-2) 2. Card No. 1 (3) 3. Village No.      (4-6) 4. House hold      (7-8)  
 5. Caste/ethnic group      (9-10) 6. Economic Strata      (11) 7. Household size      (12-13)  
 8. Family Structure      (14-15)

For all household members													For married female members																
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32						
Person's Number	Person's Name	Relation to Household head	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Type of present marriage	Age at first marriage	Relation to spouse before marriage, if any	Years of schooling	Can read/write	Wage labor	Farma labor	Trips	Destination, duration and purpose of trips	Any relative from Maiti side here? If so, who and what relation	Name of Maiti Village	Distance to Maiti	How many days in Maiti last year?	How many conceptions?	How many children born alive?	How many male now alive?	How many female now alive?	Natal clan/thar?						
1617		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26								36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	
0 1																													
0 2																													
0 3																													
0 4																													
0 5																													
0 6																													
0 7																													
0 8																													
0 9																													
1 0																													
1 1																													
1 2																													
1617		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26								36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	

1. Form No. 470 (1-2) 2. Card No. 27 (3)

3. Village No.      (4-6) 4. Household No.      (7-8)

Person's Name		For All Married Members of Household																				Punchers: Punch data above in column 1-8 Begin Card 2: Punch person number in column 16-17 Begin punching new data from column 50																															
		FIRST MARRIAGE					SECOND MARRIAGE					THIRD MARRIAGE					FOURTH MARRIAGE					FIFTH MARRIAGE																															
30	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80					
	No. of Marital Unions	No. of spouses at present	Loss of ritual status	Form of Marriage	Type of ceremony	Number of children	(Record person no. of children here)	Duration	Reason for Termination	Form of marriage	Type of ceremony	Number of children	(Record person no. of children)	Duration	Reason for Termination	Form of Marriage	Type of ceremony	No. of children	(Record person no. of children)	Duration	Reason for Termination	Form of Marriage	Type of ceremony	No. of children	(Record person no. of children)	Duration	Reason for Termination	Form of Marriage	Type of ceremony	No. of children	(Record person no. of children)	Duration	Reason for Termination	Form of Marriage	Type of ceremony	No. of children	(Record person no. of children)	Duration	Reason for Termination	Form of Marriage	Type of ceremony	No. of children	(Record person no. of children)	Duration	Reason for Termination								
47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET (D.D.S.): Form 40  
Page three

Kinship Diagram

Miscellaneous Notes

(Ask about absent members not listed, where have they gone, why, how often they return. This includes married-out daughters and sisters.)



DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET (D.D.S.) ; FORM 40

INSTRUCTIONS AND CODES

For page 1 of Form 40

1. Form No. (1-2) : Write 40
2. Card No. (3) : Write 1
3. Village No. (4-6) : Write as it appears on T.A.S.
4. Household No. (7-8) : Write as in T.A.S. for first 24 and continue to 35 with newly selected households.
5. Caste/Ethnic Group (9-10) Code as follows:

Village No.	Caste Code	Name
	01	Maithili Brahman ✓
	02	Yadav ✓
239	03	Bherdier
	04	Teli/Suri
	05	Hazam/Lohar
	06	Chamar
	07	Shrestha
226	08	Jyapu
	09	Desar
	10	Nau
228	11	Kham Magar
121	12	Lohorung Rai
238	13	Dang Tharu
228	14	Tamang
	15	Baragaonle Tibetan a
115	16	Baragaonle Tibetan b
	17	Baragaonle Tibetan c
	18	Parbatia Brahman/Jaisi
	19	Chetri
124	20	Chipa Newar
	21	Thame/Other
	22	Sarki
	23	Damai

6. Economic Strata (11) : To be coded later
7. Household Size (12-13) : Write in No. in figures.
8. Family Structure (14-15) : Use following code:
  - Nuclear Family - Monogamous
    - 01 - Monogamous Conjugal Unit (i.e. couple with or without unmarried children or grand children)
    - 04 - Monogamous Conjugal Unit with single parent of wife/husband.
  - Nuclear Family - Polygamous
    - 02 - Polygynous Conjugal Unit (i.e. man with many wives)
    - 03 - Polyandrous Conjugal Unit (i.e. woman with many husbands)
    - 05 - Polygynous Unit with single parent of wife or husband.
    - 06 - Polyandrous Unit with single parent of wife/husband.
  - Extended Family
    - 07 - More than one Conjugal Unit, of married parents and married children.
    - 08 - More than one Conjugal Unit of married brothers.
    - 09 - Three generation household (i.e. parents & their married children and married grand children).
  - Other -
    - 10 - Non-Conjugal Unit of unmarried brothers & sisters without parents.
    - 11 - Non Conjugal Unit of Single parent & unmarried children.
    - 12 - Other (could include unrelated people living together or single person households).
9. Person's No. (16-17) : Write as it appears in T.A.S. Note: List all adults first and then children. Be sure to use same order used for T.A.S. !
10. Person's Name: Write as it appears in T.A.S.

11. Relation to Head of Household (18-19):

Use following code:

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 01 Head of Household<br>(male)   | 17 Daughter/Niece (Married)*  |
| 02 Head of Household<br>(female) | 18 Daughter (Married but not yet<br>living with husband eg.<br>pre- <u>gaura</u> )*   |
| 03 Spouse                        | 19 Daughter-in-law  |
| 04 Mother/Paternal/Aunt*         | 20 Grand daughter (Unmarried)*  |
| 05 Father/Paternal uncle*        | 21 Grand daughter (Married)*  |
| 06 Mother-in-law                 | 22 G'd daughter-in-law  |
| 07 Father-in-law                 | 23 G'd Son (Unmarried)*   |
| 08 Sister (Unmarried)*           | 24 G'd Son (Married)*   |
| 09 Sister (Married)*             | 25 G'd Son-in-law   |
| 10 Brother-in-law                | 26 Other: Relative eg. .<br>Step-son/daughter   |
| 11 Brother (Unmarried)*          | 27 Other: Non-Relative  |
| 12 Brother (Married)*            | 28 Sister (Married but not<br>living with husband e.g.<br>pre- <u>gaura</u> )*        |
| 13 Son/Nephew (Unmarried)*       | 29 Grand daughter<br>(Married but not living with<br>husband e.g. pre <u>gaura</u> )* |
| 14 Son/Nephew (Married)*         | 30 Sister-in-law  |
| 15 Son-in-law                    |   |
| 16 Daughter/Niece (Unmarried)*   |   |

\* = Consanguineal relative.

12. Sex. (20): Use following code:

1. male
2. female

13. Age. (21-22) : Use following code:

code	age	code	age	code	age
01	= 0-1	06	= 20-24	11	= 45-49
02	= 2-4	07	= 25-29	12	= 50-54
03	= 5-9	08	= 30-34	13	= 55-59
04	= 10-14	09	= 35-39	14	= 60-69
05	= 15-19	10	= 40-44	15	= 70-79
				16	= 80 & over

14. Marital Status. (23): Use following code:

1. Never Married
2. Presently Married (1st.)
3. Presently Married (2nd.)
4. Presently Married (3rd.)
5. Presently Married 4th, or more.
6. Widowed and not remarried
7. Divorced/Separated in court
8. Divorced/Separated informal.

15. Type of present marriage (24):

Use following code:

1. Monogamous
2. Polygynous - Sororal  
(i.e. sisters married to same husband)
3. Polygynous Non-Sororal  
(i.e. non-related woman married to same husband)
4. Polyandrous - Fraternal  
(i.e. woman married to two brothers)
5. Polyandrous-Non-Fraternal  
(i.e. woman married to two unrelated men).
6. Sororate(monogamous)  
(i.e. men married to deceased wife's sister)
7. Levirate(monogamous)(woman married to deceased  
husband's brother)
8. Not applicable  
(i.e. individual never married, widowed or  
divorced and not remarried).

16. Age at 1st. Marriage (25-26):  
Write age in years. Form
17. Relation to Spouse before marriage, if any. Use kinship notation from/ Fl, if no relation write 0.
18. Yrs. of Schooling (27): Use following code:  
1. No School  
2. Primary School  
3. Secondary School  
4. Higher Education  
5. Army education
19. Can read/write (28): Use following code:  
1. Yes  
2. No.
20. Wage Labor (29-31): Write no. of days each member performed agricultural labor for wages during last six months (i.e. since Asar 1) Approximate if exact figure cannot be obtained.
21. Farma Labor (32-34): Write no of days each member worked in parma exchange group during last six months (i.e. since Asar 1). Approximate if exact figure cannot be obtained. (Do not include days when worked on own land)
22. Trips (35): Use following code to indicate trips undertaken by each person during the past year to any urban or ritual centers which necessitated more than one days absence from village (ie. sleeping over night)  
0. no trips                      3. 3 trips  
1. one trip                      4. 4 to 10 trips  
2. two trips                      5. more than 10 trips
23. Write/available space, information about destination, duration and purpose of as many trips as possible

For Page 1. Married Female members only.

24. any relatives from maiti side here in this village? If yes write name and relation to female member questioned using notation from kinship terminology sheet (Form: Fl) If no relation write 0.
25. Write the name of the women's maiti village. If same as ghar, write "same".
26. Distance to maiti (36): Use following code to record how long it takes to reach maiti from here (note: if informant usually cuts down time by taking a bus rather than walking record shortest time):  
0. same village                      4. 6 hrs to 1 day  
1. less than 1 hr.                      5. two days  
2. 1 hr. to less than                      6. three days  
   3 hrs.                                      7. four days  
3. 3 hrs to less than                      8. five days  
   6 hrs.                                      9. six days or more
27. How many days in maitighar last year (37-38): Write approximate approximate number of days (1 visit counts as a day).
28. How many conceptions (39-40): Write no of times female member questioned has been pregnant (whether pregnancy come to full term or not).
29. How many children born alive (41-42): Write total no of children born alive to female member questioned.
30. How many male children now alive (43-44): Write total no of male children born to female member questioned who are still living.
31. How many female children now alive (45-46): Write total no of female children born to female member questioned who are still living.
32. Natal clan/thar: record name of women's maiti clan or thar.

For page 2

1. Form No. (1-2): Write 40
2. Card No. (3) : Write 2
3. Village No. (4-6): Write as it appears on T.A.S.
4. Household No. (7-8): Write as in T.A.S.
10. Person's Name: Write as it appears on Page 1. BE SURE TO MAINTAIN SAME ORDER AS ON PAGE 1. ALSO RECORD PERSON NO.
33. No. of Marital Unions (47): Write the total number of marriages contracted by each married household member during entire lifetime.

34. No. of Spouses at present (48): Write the total number of husbands or wives of each married member at present. Include co-existent partners not living in house.
35. Loss of ritual Status (49): note whether individual has fallen in ritual status during lifetime due to marriages (for example: an Upadhya Brahman woman becoming a Jaisi through widow remarriage, etc.). Use following code:  
Yes = 1                      No = 2
- Questions 36 - 40 For First Marriage:
36. Form of 1st Marriage (50): Use following code:  
1. own choice, without parent's consent  
2. own choice, with parent's consent  
3. capture with own consent + knowledge before.  
4. capture without own consent/knowledge before.  
5. arranged without own consent  
6. arranged with own consent.
37. Type of Ceremoney for 1st Marriage (51):  
Use following code:  
0 no ritual  
1 minimum ritual ceremoney  
2 maximum ritual ceremoney  
3 No answer  
Find out the names your village uses for each of these types of marriages and then use local names to ask informants. Explain elsewhere in detail what each kind of marriage ritual entails in terms of expense, prestige and legitimacy. See chapter 2 ("Familial Dimension" of Field Manual, pages 2 - 3).
38. Number of Children from 1st marriage (52-53):  
Use following code to record the number of children conceived from 1st marriage. (if any present in household note these children's "person no" from column 9 on page 1. in un-numbered space provided next to column 36)  
01 = one child  
02 = two children  
03 = three children etc.
39. Duration of 1st Marriage (54-55):  
Write no. of years that first marriage lasted.
40. Reason for termination of 1st Marriage (56-57):  
Use following code to record reason for termination of first marriage:  
00 not terminated  
01 death of spouse  
02 descretion by spouse  
03 desertion by self  
04 elopement by spouse  
05 elopement by self  
06 male infertility  
07 female infertility  
08 couple's infertility  
09 mutual consent  
10 husband brought in another wife  
11 intra familial disputes  
12 other

Questions 36-40 repeated for all marriages.

### Household Decision-Making

There were altogether 7 questionnaires in this series containing a total of 40 questions on the process of decision making on matters such as arrangement and allocation of wage, exchange and family labour, crop, seed and fertilizer choices, all kinds of domestic expenditure including those on education and health, investment, borrowings and sales, etc. Some forms are reproduced as examples. <sup>1/</sup> As already discussed, the responses to the questions regrouped into three categories for analytical purposes, namely, farm management, domestic expenditure, and resource allocation and investment. Where appropriate, the decision categories were once again matched with broad time use categories. This allowed us to do the current quantitative analysis of the structure of women's economic participation and decision making in the households. The major characteristics of the forms were described in the main text. Two points however, reference period and number of transactions, need specific mention in this section.

Different reference periods have been used for different kinds of transactions. Thus, while 'month' is taken as reference period for 'food items,' and a 'year' for sickness or treatment or 'household durables', capital transactions have been recorded for five years preceding the survey year. This was necessary to capture the major transactions undertaken by the household.

Regarding the number of transactions for each household, the form is quite flexible. The number of decisions recorded in each category could range from 0 to 5 or 4 depending on how many transactions had taken place and how many an informant could recall.

It should also be noted that these decision-making forms were designed to show relative male/female input into the decision-making process and they do not provide information on the content of the decisions. In other words they tell us whether or not women are involved in decisions about health expenditure, but not about what women or men decided, i.e. to go to a doctor vs. a local healer or how much money to spend. However the forms do contain space for recording such information and several of the researchers were able to gather non-quantitative information on the content of decisions and in some instances important family disagreements were even revealed in the course of data collection.

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<sup>1/</sup>. Form 52 is the prototype used for asking questions on all kinds of expenditures, investment and borrowings.

Labor Allocation Decisions

(Extract from Form 50)

Has anyone from your household worked for wages or gone for parma work during the last month? If yes.

Who? (Write name and later fill in person code from DDS)

Who decided that they should work? (use Decision code below)

Name	Person code	Decision code	card column
1.			(24 - 27)
2.			(28 - 31)
3.			(32 - 35)
4.			(36 - 39)
5.			(40 - 43)
6.			(44 - 47)
7.			(48 - 51)
8.			(52 - 55)

- 01 Spouse
- 02 me
- 03 other male
- 04 other female
- 11 do not know
- 13 not applicab
- 14 individual's own decision

Card No.  (3)  
 Village No.  (4-6)  
 Household No.  (7-8)  
 Person No.  (9-10)

EDa Code (for question 1,2,3,4 and 6,7,8) 01 my spouse 02 me 03 other male household member 04 other female household member		09 jointly 10 traditional 11 do not know 12 no answer 13 not applicable		Fertilizer answer code (for question 1. Traditional manure 2. chemical fertilizer 3. mixture 4. none	
--	--	---	--	--	--

	Grains list major 3			Cash crops list 2 besides grain		Kitchen garden (list major 2) pr	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. What are the crops grown by household? (Interviewer fill in from Forms 70 + 71 before interviews)							
2. Who decided to grow this crop? (use EDa code)	<input type="checkbox"/> (11-12)	<input type="checkbox"/> (13-14)	<input type="checkbox"/> (15-16)	<input type="checkbox"/> (17-18)	<input type="checkbox"/> (19-20)	<input type="checkbox"/> (21-22)	<input type="checkbox"/> (23-24)
3. Who decided whether to use own seed or buy improved seed for this crop? (use EDa code)	<input type="checkbox"/> (25-26)	<input type="checkbox"/> (27-28)	<input type="checkbox"/> (29-30)	<input type="checkbox"/> (31-32)	<input type="checkbox"/> (33-34)	<input type="checkbox"/> (35-36)	<input type="checkbox"/> (37-38)
4. If own seed used, who did seed selection? (use EDa code)	<input type="checkbox"/> (39-40)	<input type="checkbox"/> (41-42)	<input type="checkbox"/> (43-44)	<input type="checkbox"/> (45-46)	<input type="checkbox"/> (47-48)	<input type="checkbox"/> (49-50)	<input type="checkbox"/> (51-52)
5. What kind of fertilizer did you use? (use fertilizer code)	<input type="checkbox"/> (53)	<input type="checkbox"/> (54)	<input type="checkbox"/> (55)	<input type="checkbox"/> (56)	<input type="checkbox"/> (57)	<input type="checkbox"/> (58)	<input type="checkbox"/> (59)
6. Who decided on what fertilizer to use? (use EDa code)	<input type="checkbox"/> (60-61)	<input type="checkbox"/> (62-63)	<input type="checkbox"/> (64-65)	<input type="checkbox"/> (66-67)	<input type="checkbox"/> (68-69)	<input type="checkbox"/> (70-71)	<input type="checkbox"/> (72-73) End Card 1
7. Who decided on how much fertilizer to use? (use EDa code)	Duplicate columns 1-10 except column 3 is now ?						
	<input type="checkbox"/> (11-12)	<input type="checkbox"/> (13-14)	<input type="checkbox"/> (15-16)	<input type="checkbox"/> (17-18)	<input type="checkbox"/> (19-20)	<input type="checkbox"/> (21-22)	<input type="checkbox"/> (23-24)
8. Who actually applied the fertilizer/manure in the field? (use EDa code)	<input type="checkbox"/> (25-26)	<input type="checkbox"/> (27-28)	<input type="checkbox"/> (29-30)	<input type="checkbox"/> (31-32)	<input type="checkbox"/> (33-34)	<input type="checkbox"/> (35-36)	<input type="checkbox"/> (37-38)

ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING/Control over Family Cash & Kind Expenditures: Form 52 (1-2)

Page 1 For Senior Female member of Household (SE) not in presence of Senior Male Household Members.

1. Who generally keeps the household money? <input type="checkbox"/> (11-12)		Note: "expenditure" means use of either family's cash resources or barter/exchange of family's resources in kind.				Card No.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6	(3)
2. Who usually goes to the bazaar to make purchases? <input type="checkbox"/> (13-14)						Village No.	<input type="checkbox"/>	(4-6)
						Household No.	<input type="checkbox"/>	(7-8)
						Person No.	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9-15)
Decision- makers  Items  Decided	1	2	3	4	Remarks: Record details of any conflict over given decision and how resolved; also note unusual decisions that vary from family's previous pattern or from observed village pattern. (i.e. selling family land) and probe to find out more about <u>how</u> & <u>why</u> these decisions were made -- and what role women played in making them.	Code EDa		
	Who first suggested the expenditure?	Who was consulted?	Who decided on whether to spend more, less or same as usual?	Who disagreed with the purchase?		01 My spouse		
3. What food items and other household necessities were purchased by your family during the last month? (i.e. milk, meat, matches, spices, cigarettes, oil, etc)						02 me		
1.	3	1				03 Other male household member		
2.	3	2				04 Other female household member		
3.	3	3				05 Male relative		
4.	3	4				06 Female relative		
5.	3	5				07 Male neighbor		
4. What small gifts or loans did you give to your friends, neighbours relatives or priest in the last several months?					1. (in cash or kind--such as vegetables, fruits, small amounts of grain, milk, etc.)	08 Female neighbor		
1.	4	1				09 Household Jointly either sex		
2.	4	2			10 NO ONE			
3.	4	3			ie. traditional			
4.	4	4			no one consulted			
5.	4	5			no decision necessary			
					no one disagreed			
					11 Do not know			
					12 No answer			
					13 Not applicable			



ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING/Control over Family Cash & Kind Expenditures: Form 52 (1-2)

Page 2

For Senior Female member of Household (SDM) not in presence of Senior Male Household Members.

Decision - Makers	Items Decided	1	2	3	4	Remarks: (See Page 1)	Card No.	(3)		
		Who first suggested the expenditures?	Who was consulted?	Who decided on whether to spend more, less or same as usual?	Who disagreed with the purchase?		1 2 3 4 5 6			
5.	What were the five largest expenditures your family made for <u>clothing</u> in the last year?						Village No. <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table> (4-6)			
	1. _____ 5.1						Household No. <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table> (7-8)			
	2. _____ 5.2						Person No. <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table> (9-10)			
	3. _____ 5.3						Code SDa			
	4. _____ 5.4						01 my spouse			
	5. _____ 5.5						02 me			
6.	What expenditures did your family make on <u>household durables</u> during the last year? (i.e. furniture, utensils, radio, bicycle, bedding etc)						03 Other male household member			
	1. _____ 6.1						04 Other female household member			
	2. _____ 6.2						05 male relative			
	3. _____ 6.3						06 female relative			
	4. _____ 6.4						07 male neighbor			
	5. _____ 6.5						08 female neighbor			
7.	What expenditures did your family make on <u>medical treatment</u> for family members during the last year (both indigenous healers, western)?						09 Household Jointly either sex			
	1. _____ 7.1						10 NO ONE			
	2. _____ 7.2						ie. traditional			
	3. _____ 7.3						no one consulted			
	4. _____ 7.4						no decision necessary			
	5. _____ 7.5						no decision necessary			
							no one disagreed			
							11 Do not know			
							12 No answer			
							13 Not applicable			

1  
98  
1

ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING/Control over Family Cash & Kind Expenditures: Form 52 (1-2)

Page 3

For Senior Female member of Household (S9) not in presence of Senior Male Household Members.

Items Decided	Decision - makers	Remarks: (See Page 1)				Card No.
		1 Who first suggested the expenditure?	2 Who was consulted?	3 Who decided on whether to spend more, less or same as usual?	4 Who disagreed with the purchase?	1 2 3 4 5 6 (3)
8. What expenditures did your family make during the last year on <u>travel</u> ? (including pilgrimage, business, pleasure, etc.)						Village No. <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> (4-6) Household No. <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> (7-8) Person No. <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> (9-17)
1.	81					Code EDA 01 my spouse 02 me 03 other male household member 04 other female household member 05 male relative 06 female relative 07 male neighbor 08 female neighbor 09 Household Jointly either sex 10 NO ONE ie. traditional no one consulted no decision necessary no one disagreed 11 Do not know 12 No answer 13 Not applicable
2.	82					
3.	83					
4.	84					
5.	85					
9. What expenditure did your family make on social/religious ceremonies, (like weddings, funerals, barmans, sapta's etc) during the last several years?						
1.	91					
2.	92					
3.	93					
4.	94					
5.	95					

### Household Property, Production and Income

Forms for collection of data on income and household property were specified in detail, but kept quite simple. Besides collecting data on the cash income from various sources, an effort was made to capture the major proportion of household subsistence production. Detailed product lists classified by major product groups, namely agriculture, manufacturing, hunting and gathering and food processing, were used. In each category probable household products were listed in detail in order to facilitate the process of recall for the respondents and space was also left to record other products (one form is reproduced for example). To the extent possible, the time use activity code was matched with the product code in the production forms. This enabled us to identify the products generated and value added within the households by women on their own and also to study the labor contribution of women to household's joint products such as agricultural crops. <sup>1/</sup> By matching the production and time use codes we could, for example, assign the value added in the process of food processing to women because most of the time spent in food processing activities was contributed by women.

The form for household property tried to capture both the quantity of the household property and the extent of women's control over it. This was felt to be necessary since Nepal is governed by Hindu legal code in which the land and all immovable property tends to be viewed as a joint household estate under the legal control of the male household head. However, information in the second part of the form, on the extent of women's control over the household property was quite scanty and we were not able to incorporate it in our analysis. For women, the concept of trying to ascertain the degree of their rights of disposal over household property itself seemed confusing and for some perhaps even threatening as if we had asked them whether they actually intended to sell some of the family property. We had to depend instead on qualitative information in ascertaining the extent of women's control over the household's joint property. The additional page, attached to the household property form, however, enabling the researcher to make a rough sketch of the various pieces of land, the household owned was helpful. It allowed us to get a fuller view of the often fragmented land holdings without much difficulty.

Similarly, the forms on individual property ownership and individual borrowings for private purposes were found to be of only limited use. This was because people in poor households have difficulty understanding the concept of 'private property' separate from that of the household. Among the poorest households it was obvious to them that any property or income, irrespective to whom it belonged would go for feeding or caring for the family members. The question was meaningful only to wealthier women.

---

<sup>1/</sup> See Acharya and Bennett, 1981 for the details on measurements of women's contribution to household production.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS AND PROCESSED FOOD: FORM 72

Page 1

Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_  
 Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Form No. 7/2 (1-2)  
 Card No. 1 (3)  
 Village No.     (4-6)  
 Household No.     (7-8)

Form No. 7/2 (1-2)  
 Card No. 2 (3)  
 Village No.     (4-6)  
 Household No.     (7-8)

T.A.S. Code	Product	PRODUCTION				SALES					
		Weekly/Monthly Quantity	Per Unit Price 1/	No. of weeks/months in a year when the good is produced	Annual Production in Value	Card Column	Weekly Monthly Quantity	Per Unit Price 1/	No. of weeks/months in a year when this item is sold	Annual Sales in Value	Card Column
		Not to be punched					Not to be punched				
4. 040	Industrial <sup>2/</sup> Products:										
1. 04011	Textiles				////	(9-13)				////	(9-13)
2. 04012	Rope, Baskets etc.				////	(14-18)				////	(14-18)
3. 04013	Household Utensils and farm implements				////	(19-23)				////	(19-23)
4. 04014	Leather Goods				////	(24-28)				////	(24-28)
5. 04015	Clothing				////	(29-33)				////	(29-33)
6. 04016	Others				////	(34-38)				////	(34-38)

1/ Use similar prices as mentioned in footnote to the Form 70, but average out for seasonal variation if any difference observed (e.g. for onion).

2/ Cost of materials (bought and home produced) as well as interest charges have to be netted out. For example of 2 manas of chiura is prepared from 2 manas paddy the net value added by processing will be the price of 3 manas of chiura minus the price of 2 manas paddy. This is necessary to eliminate double counting.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS AND PROCESSED FOOD: FORM 72

Page 2

T.A.S. Code	Product	PRODUCTION				SALES					
		Weekly/Monthly Quantity	Per Unit Price 1/	No. of weeks/months in a year when the good is produced	Annual Production in Value	Card Column	Weekly/Monthly Quantity	Per Unit Price 1/	No. of weeks/months in a year when this item is sold	Annual Sales	Card Column
		Not to be punched					Not to be punched				
04014	Processed Food										
1. 04021	Rice				//////	(39-43)				//////	(39-43)
2. 04022	Chiura, Flour, Oil, etc.				//////	(44-48)				//////	(44-48)
3. 04023	Liquor				//////	(49-53)				//////	(49-53)
4. 04024	Dried meat, vegetables, pickles etc.				//////	(54-58)				//////	(54-58)
5. 04025	Ghee, Curd, Cheese etc. (Processed Dairy products.)				//////	(59-63)				//////	(59-63)
6. 04026	a. Cooked food for sale				//////	(64-68)				//////	(64-68)
7. 04026	b. Others				//////	(69-73)				//////	(69-73)

WAGE/SALARY INCOME: FORM 74	Form No. <u>74</u> (1-2)	<u>Sources of Income Code</u>
Page 1	Card No. <u>1</u> (3)	1 - Salary
Date _____	Village No. <u>    </u> (4-6)	2 - Pensions
Interviewer _____	Household No. <u>    </u> (7-8)	3 - Income transfers
Respondent _____		4 - Wages

Person's Name	Person Code from DDS	Source of income	Annual Income	Daily Rate/Monthly Salary/etc.	No. of days in a month when the activity takes place	No of month in a year when the activity take place
1 _____	<u>    </u> (9-10)	<u>    </u> (11)	<u>    </u> (12-18)			
2 _____	<u>    </u> (19-20)	<u>    </u> (21)	<u>    </u> (22-28)			
3 _____	<u>    </u> (29-30)	<u>    </u> (31)	<u>    </u> (32-38)			
4 _____	<u>    </u> (39-40)	<u>    </u> (41)	<u>    </u> (42-48)			
5 _____	<u>    </u> (49-50)	<u>    </u> (51)	<u>    </u> (52-58)			
6 _____	<u>    </u> (59-60)	<u>    </u> (61)	<u>    </u> (62-68)			
7 _____	<u>    </u> (69-70)	<u>    </u> (71)	<u>    </u> (72-78)			
Not to be punched						
Punchers: Begin New Card here. Duplicate columns 1-8 except for the third column (Card No.) which becomes 2. Begin punching new data from column 9.						
8 _____	<u>    </u> (9-10)	<u>    </u> (11)	<u>    </u> (12-18)			
9 _____	<u>    </u> (19-20)	<u>    </u> (21)	<u>    </u> (22-28)			
10 _____	<u>    </u> (29-30)	<u>    </u> (31)	<u>    </u> (32-38)			
11 _____	<u>    </u> (39-40)	<u>    </u> (41)	<u>    </u> (42-48)			
12 _____	<u>    </u> (49-50)	<u>    </u> (51)	<u>    </u> (52-58)			
13 _____	<u>    </u> (59-60)	<u>    </u> (61)	<u>    </u> (62-68)			
14 _____	<u>    </u> (69-70)	<u>    </u> (71)	<u>    </u> (72-78)			

For wages only

**Note:** Salary should be understood as both Cash and Kind income received as regular payment. Payments in kind should be converted into cash at the local market prices (e.g. if a man receives two muris of rice, one pathi of oil and one mana of salt annually working in a landlord's house all of that should be converted into cash. If he also eats in the landlord's house then his salary would be the cash amount directly paid plus the cost of maintaining a man for a year.

Incomes Transfer as distinguished from the salary and wage is regular transfer of Cash and Kind income to a given household in our sample by a person of the household or a relative who is working in another place, and so does not live in the house. Only net transfers should be included. For example a man from household A is working as a doorkeeper in India and he gets Rs. 500 per month. He spends Rs. 300 for himself and transfers Rs. 200 to his family in Nepal. In this case Rs. 200 is the net income transfer which should be counted in Household A's annual income.

Wages: All Cash and Kind payments converted into cash. For example if a labourer gets 2 meals and Rs. 5 per day, the 2 meals should be converted into cash on the basis of prevailing market prices. If the payment is completely in kind it has to be valued and converted into cash.

**PATTERN OF OWNERSHIP AND RIGHTS OF DISPOSAL/** Joint Family  
Property: FORM 60

Page 1

**Rights of Disposal Code:**  
0 - No rights of disposal  
1 - less than 10%  
2 - 10 to 25%  
3 - 26 to 50%  
4 - 51 to 75%  
5 - 76 to 98%  
6 - 100%  
7 - Do not know  
8 - Not applicable

Form 6/0 (1-2)  
Card No. 1 (3)  
Village No.     (4-6)  
Household No.     (7-8)  
Person No.     (9-10)  
(first visit)  
Person No.     (11-12)  
(second visit)

Kind of Asset	First visit: to the Household Head		Second visit: to Senior Female Member	
	Value in Rupees	Card Column	Rights of Disposal (use code above)	Card Column
1/ 01 <u>A. Land</u> 1. <u>Khat</u> 2. <u>Pako</u> 3. <u>Bari, bagaincha</u> 4. Pasture and other land	Total Value <sup>2/</sup> <u>   </u>	First Card (13-19)	<u>   </u>	(20)
02 <u>B. Building</u> 1. Residence 2. Cattleshed 3. Others	<u>   </u>	(21-27)	<u>   </u>	(28)
03 <u>Milk Animals</u> 1. Cows 2. Buffaloes	<u>   </u>	(29-35)	<u>   </u>	(36)
04 <u>Drought Animals</u> 1. Oxen 2. He/buffaloes 3. Horses 4. Other pack animals	<u>   </u>	(37-43)	<u>   </u>	(44)
05 <u>Minor Animals &amp; Poultry</u> 1. Pigs 2. Goats & Sheep 3. Poultry Birds 4. Other	<u>   </u>	(45-51)	<u>   </u>	(52)
06 <u>Major Agricultural Equipments</u> 1. Plough 2. Tractors & Trailors 3. Other Machinery	<u>   </u>	(53-59)	<u>   </u>	(60)
07 <u>Minor Agricultural Equipment</u>	<u>   </u>	(61-67)	<u>   </u>	(68)

1/ If respondent is permanent tenant then  $\frac{1}{4}$  of land he is cultivating counts as his property.

2/ Record details of items or property owned in blank space below. For example, for 03, record number of milk animals owned. Then ask local buying price to arrive at a figure for "Total value". For land holdings be sure to record the area owned of each type of land (use local measurements and convert later to hectares). Then ask respondent for the local buying price for that type of land and multiply by the area owned to arrive at a figure for "Total value". Do not forget however to record area owned as that is also important to us!

**PATTERN OF OWNERSHIP AND RIGHTS OF DISPOSAL/ Joint Family Property: FORM 60**

Page 2

**Rights of Disposal Code**  
 0 - No rights of disposal  
 1 - less than 10%  
 2 - 10 to 25%  
 3 - 26 to 50%  
 4 - 51 to 75%  
 5 - 76 to 98%  
 6 - 100%  
 7 - Do not know  
 8 - Not applicable

Form  (1-2)  
 Card No.  (3)  
 Village No.  (4-6)  
 Household No.  (7-8)  
 Person No.  (9-10)  
 (first visit)  
 Person No.  (11-12)  
 (second visit)

Kind of Asset	First visit: to the Household Head		Second visit: to Senior Female Member	
	Value in Rupees	Card Column	Rights of Disposal (use code above)	Card Column
<b>08 Transport Vehicles</b> 1. Animals Carts 2. Bicycles 3. Others	<input type="text" value=""/>	(69-75)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(76)
<b>Punchers Duplicate columns 1-8 except column 1 is now 2</b>				
<b>Other Assets</b> 09 Share of Any Bank or Cooperatives	<input type="text" value=""/>	(13-19)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(20)
10 Deposits with Banks or Cooperatives	<input type="text" value=""/>	(21-27)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(28)
11 Loans & Advances	<input type="text" value=""/>	(29-35)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(36)
12 Gold & Silver	<input type="text" value=""/>	(37-43)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(44)
13 Cash	<input type="text" value=""/>	(45-51)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(52)
14 Household Utensils	<input type="text" value=""/>	(53-59)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(60)
15 Others	<input type="text" value=""/>	(61-67)	<input type="text" value=""/>	(68)



OWNERSHIP PATTERNS AND RIGHTS OF DISPOSAL/ Joint Family Property: FORM 60

Page 3. Rough "Map" of Household Farm

Use this sheet to draw out a rough conceptual sketch of the household farm. Sit with your respondent (the Household Head) and ask him/her to help you draw out a rough map of the family farm. In most cases the land which makes up the farm will not be a single continuous piece, but nevertheless you can make a rough drawing of the land parcels owned by the family. Label the area of each piece and note the type of land. Include rented land also with the appropriate label. This should help your respondent remember and report the many small parcels of land which may constitute the family farm. In some cases the family may own land outside the village (in the terai etc) so be sure to include this land too even if it is rented out. If respondent is uneasy about your drawing a map (ie. fear of tax collection ect) suggest that he may keep the map-or if he is still worried, do not persist.

Political Awareness and Participation, Education and Gender Stereotypes

The form we used to generate data on political participation and attitudes to education were fairly conventional. Questions were asked on participation in village elections, identification of village level politicians and political boundaries and subboundaries of the electorates, names of the district level institutions and politicians and one or two questions on identification of persons in national institutions such as the kingship and the prime-ministership. A few questions were included on women's organizations and women politicians. We, however, did not interview men on these questions, therefore the relative political consciousness of men vs. women could not be evaluated. The main body of the questions on education were on reasons as to why parents thought that boys/girls should not be educated less than boys. Ten reasons (list attached) were listed out of which respondents could choose any three.

To generate quantitative measures of cultural stereotypes about men and women we asked an equal number of men and women whether various positive and negative qualities better characterized men or women or applied equally to both sexes. Quite surprisingly this data confirmed our perception of the social reality that women in 'non-dichotomous' societies are viewed more positively. The other set of ideological questions on qualities of an ideal bride or bridegroom, however, were less helpful for quantitative analysis.

EDUCATION

1. Do you think it is important to go to school for #
- Boys  
Girls
- Interviewer: If the answer for the above question is Yes for boys and No for girls, pick the three most important reasons. Use code to record responses in boxes in right hand column. Similarly, if No even for boys read out the reasons from the next page and record the answers in the boxes.

---

1. Code: Reasons for keeping girls out of school

---

- 1 Because they are needed for farm work
- 2 Because they will have to mix with boys at the school
- 3 Because it does not pay to send them to school since they are going to get married off and leave the family.
- 4 Because it is difficult to marry off girls who have been to school.
- 5 Because it does not pay to send girls since they are not likely to join service or take a salaried job.
- 6 Because they are needed for housework.
- 7 Because it costs too much
- 8 Because their husbands will take care of them
- 9 Other (Specify)
- 0 No answer

---

\* Interviewer: If Yes write "1" in the boxes. If No, write "2"; if no answer, write "3".

2. Code: Reasons for keeping boys out of school

---

- 1 Because they are needed for farm work
- 2 Because they become disobedient
- 3 Because they are needed to earn money as wage laborers
- 4 Because they might go against religion/tradition
- 5 Because they might look for work somewhere else and leave the family
- 6 Because they are needed for housework
- 7 Because it costs too much
- 8 Because it won't help them to earn a living later on. It is no practical use
- 9 Other (Specify):
- 0 No answer

2. How much education should they have?

Interviewer: use following code to fill the box at the right.

Boys

Girls

Answer Code:

- 1 - less than three years
- 2 - 3 to 7 years
- 3 - 8 to 10 years
- 4 - more than 10 years
- 5 - as much as the family can afford
- 0 - no answer

Interviewer: In case the respondent feels that the girls should have less education than boys ask question 3.

3. You said girls should have less education than boys. Why is that?

Note: In answers, the respondents were read a similar list of reasons as in question 1 of which they could pick three reasons.

B. MALE AND FEMALE STEROTYPES

Interviewer: For each of the following ten questions use the answer code\* provided to fill in the boxes in the right hand column. If your respondents are Nepali speakers and understand Nepali easily, use exact translations provided below each question. For non-Nepali speakers have your bi-lingual Field Assistant translate each question for you and instruct him/her to ask the question in the same way using the same words for each interview. If possible have the Field Assistant write out the translation.

Let me ask you about the characteristics of grown-up men and women:

1. In general, who do you think are more trustworthy: men or women?
2. Who is more selfish: men or women?
3. Who is more concerned and caring about their family/spouse:?
4. Who is more lazy: men or women?
5. Who is more obedient towards superiors: men or women?
6. Who is more stubborn: men or women?
7. Who is kinder: men or women?
8. Who is more quarrelsome: men or women?
9. Who is more cooperative: men or women?
10. Who is more concerned and involved in religious matters: men or women?

---

\* Answer codes provided in Annex 1, page 55.



ANNEX II - Part 2

Guidelines for Collection of Indepth  
Anthropological Information \* on Women  
in Rural Nepalese Communities

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These guidelines should be used in conjunction with the quantitative instruments described in part 1 of this annex. Readers are often referred back to those instruments.





THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

A. Organization of Production and Division of Labour

1. Traditional Sexual Division of Labor

- a. Describe Traditional Division of Labor by sex and age by filling out Key Informant Schedule 2. <sup>1/</sup> Observe as many as possible of women's tasks and activities. Record where possible descriptions of the methods and processes women use in their activities. For example, collect recipes for making chang, drying meat or vegetables, making achar, etc. Describe the process and materials used in any handicraft activities women perform (see Abdullah + Zeidenstein 1976: 9). Describe how grain and other food is stored and what problems are encountered. Describe the technology or equipment used in women's activities such as husking grain, fetching water etc.

Intensity of work, though not perfectly, may be estimated to some extent through participant observation. One way of doing this systematically would be to use the activity list on "Key Informant Schedule 2" and record beside each activity your judgment as to whether that activity is highly strenuous in terms of effort required and energy absorbed.

- b. Through observation and interviews with men and women, find out about the perceived value or prestige attached to different tasks i.e. what jobs people don't like to do or refuse to do and why (e.g., water carrying, grinding, cooking, carrying manure, working for wages)? Which jobs do they enjoy or take pride in (e.g., child care, handicrafts, preparation of certain special foods, religious worship)? Do men and women tend to agree on their estimation of the value and prestige attached to various tasks?
- c. Reasons for Existing Sexual Division of Labor
- i. Male and Female Stereotypes: What are the particular characteristics attributed to men and women or children which are considered to make them particularly suited to certain tasks e.g., strength, endurance, susceptibility to danger, competence at bargaining, articulateness, ability to work in a team, aptitude for certain kinds of skills, innate qualities. Collect material from both sexes about each other (c.f. Ideological Dimension). Do you ever see one

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<sup>1/</sup> The activity list on this schedule was same as that used for collection of the data on time use. Hence, has not been reproduced here.

sex performing activities defined as appropriate to the other (i.e., women ploughing in a community where this is considered a male task). Under what circumstances? What is village reaction? In the case of an all-male or all-female household, what tasks require members of the opposite sex to be called in? Who is called? Relatives, neighbours, or someone who does the work for wages?

- ii. What other socio-cultural constraints (besides sexual stereotypes) do you see preventing women from performing certain types of tasks? For example, women's freedom to move outside the home; freedom to migrate outside the community in search of work or for trade. What is the strength of the inside/outside (or domestic/public) dichotomy and how does it affect the division of labor?
- iii. What other types of constraints on certain men and women prevent them from performing certain tasks (e.g., conflicts created by child care duties, school attendance, extended absence from village due to salaried job or need to find wage labor). What strategies are used to overcome these constraints (e.g., shared child care responsibilities, keeping children out of school to help at home, etc.).

## 2. Social Unit of Production

Which economic activities in your community are primarily:

- a. Kin-based; involving the household alone or an extended kin-group without cash payment.
- b. Village-based; e.g., neighbors or client-patron relation (such as the kamaune system in Nepal or the jajman system in India) involving either labor exchange or mostly payment in kind with minimal cash exchange.
- c. Inter-village; e.g., sramdan (voluntary labor for public works), inter-village herding or trading involving no cash payment.
- d. Commercial; e.g., local factories, business or trading ventures in which people are employed for wages, large farms which employ people for wages.

## 3. Labor Markets

- a. Parma - Describe the existing parma or labour exchange systems in your village. Which activities are carried out through parma. How are parma groups structured (e.g., based on residential proximity? kinship? caste? friendship? other sorts of obligations?). How many separate work groups exist within the village? Does membership shift or remain stable?

When do groups break up? Yearly? Seasonally? After a quarrel between certain members of the group? Who organizes the group (men or women)? Or is work for different crops and operations organized by different sexes? Who decides on membership and rotation schedule etc.? Is a "woman day" considered equal to a "man day" of labor? How are slackers treated (e.g., joking, scolding, shaming)? Try to get a list of the various parma groups that have functioned during various seasons of the past year; membership; number of days worked. Ask if membership in this year's groups was different from last year's and if so, why?

- b. Other indigenous exchange categories. Describe any exchanges systems that exist in your village (such as exchange of ritual or other services for labor or grain in the kamaune system, etc.). Which activities usually use this system?
- c. Paid Labor. Which women have to work as wage laborers for others; which engage only in parma plus labor in their own field; which women hire other women as laborers (see Abdullah + Zeidenstein 1976: 10)? Are there marked status distinctions between these three categories? Is there any system of contract labor in your village? If so, describe how it works and who participates (i.e., men/women, villagers/outsideers).
- d. Political, money-loan or friendship labor obligations. Describe the system if it exists and which activities it involves.

B. Female/Male Control Over Economic Resources:

"Who controls the product of labor and how is the product used in forming social relationships?" (Schlegal 1977) is one of the key questions in determination of women's status. Collect information on:

1. Inheritance patterns:

Traditional inheritance patterns and rights over self-earned and ancestral (maternal/paternal) property and over marriage portion. Women's tenancy rights (c.f. Legal Dimension).

2. Women's Support Networks:

Mueller has pointed out that there are two basic avenues by which people gain access to the necessities of life: 'Work' and 'Support Systems.' 'Support Systems,' she writes, "may be private such as economic assistance from kinship groups, friends, or other mutual help networks. Support systems may be public such as social security, welfare, school lunches, free medical care etc. Support may take the form of transfers of money, goods, labor (say, help in the field or with child care), or other services, (1978: 3)." She holds that while men secure most of the necessities of life

from 'work,' women have traditionally depended more on the 'support system' because of their child-bearing and child-rearing responsibilities, their greater longevity, and because of social restrictions on labor force participation." Your own observations of who actually does the 'work' in village Nepal may lead you to challenge Mueller's dichotomy between male primary dependence on 'work' and female dependence on support systems. Nevertheless, it may be very helpful to look for these support networks and try to describe the exchanges or transfers involved. According to Mueller (1978):

these transfers may occur regularly, for example, when migrants remit money to family members left behind in rural areas, or when children help to support aging parents or when a man provides regular support for a widowed or separated sister. Support may also be irregular, taking the form of large or small gifts associated with special occasions (weddings, birthdays, harvest time), or occurring sporadically when the donor has a surplus.

In other words, in speaking of 'support systems,' we are really looking at the economic significance of the social forms you are studying in the 'familial,' 'community' and 'ideological' dimensions.

### 3. Participation in Economic Decision-Making

From close observation of the few households you know well, record the type of decisions women make and the strategies they use to influence the decisions of others. Are women mostly involved in economic decisions that affect themselves and their "own" money and time or ones that affect the entire household or community? What role do women play in day-to-day decisions about the allocation of household resources and the assignment of tasks? Does their control extend to other women or to men as well? Do women participate in long-range financial decisions regarding agricultural inputs, farm management, marketing family produce, extravillage migratory labor? How much influence do they have over financing or religious rituals, marriages, medical and educational expenditures? Do women participate in dividing assets between sons? In deciding amount of daughter's marriage portion? In deciding to build a new house or buy a new buffalo, etc.?

In what areas are women prevented from making economic decisions? How do differences in male and female values show up in the allocation of resources? What decisions create conflict with men? What information is ignored by (or kept from) women/men in economic decisions? What information is shared (e.g., areas of mutual decision-making).

### 4. Women and Economic Independence

Do women have any source of independent earnings from their own enterprises? Own property, wages or salary? What strategies do they use to earn or save money? Collect cases and descriptions of women-run

enterprises. How was initial capital obtained? Who else participates as partner, employee or client? To what extent do women display a "business sense" of profit and loss? What do women do with money they earn? Spend? Save? Contribute to household? Is there an element of secrecy about their earnings? If so, why? Are women involved in borrowing and lending money? If so, for the household or for themselves as individuals? What are the borrowing and lending networks? If women are restricted from borrowing/lending what reasons are given for these restrictions?

C. Relationship of Women to Economic Development, Services and Facilities:

1. Record information on access to services cover following aspects.
  - a. Agricultural credit (Look for credit given directly to women and also credit given to men to begin enterprises that will employ women).
  - b. Training in agricultural or small industry skill development. What traditional means are used to impart such skills in handi-crafts etc.? What government-run training programs are available to women locally, in the center? Do women know about these opportunities? Do they want to participate? If not, why? No time? Programs not useful etc.? (c.f. Community/Political Dimension).
  - c. Contact with extension agents e.g., JTA, Women Workers, etc. (c.f. Community/Political Dimension).
  - d. Use and attitudes towards improved inputs (e.g. seeds, fertilizers). Who get improved inputs and how? Special attention should be focused on female-headed households.
2. Describe what are the constraints and Opportunities for Change. Specifically pay attention to:
  - a. Displacement of women from traditional occupations. (e.g. local industry replaced by government enterprises; availability of new goods). What are the implications of a displacement? Visible or predictable? For example, has there been a change from traditional handloom dress to factory-made cloth? Do women have more free time as a result? Do they lose income?
  - b. New opportunities opened up for women to earn income. (e.g. road construction work, opening hotels for trekkers, etc.). Do they exist? How women who have taken these opportunities relate to men and women who have not? Are there any notable changes in status (upward or downward?) What changes occur in activities and obligations towards village and family?
  - c. Type of technology (traditional vs. modern) used in production by women and men.

ECONOMIC DIMENSION/KEY INFORMANT SCHEDULE 1

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Respondent(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_

Cross Check Respondents \_\_\_\_\_

(Be sure to ask some men  
and some women.)

PREVAILING MALE AND FEMALE DAILY WAGE RATES\* FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF WORK

	Male		Female	
	Busy Season	Slack Season	Slack Season	Busy Season
Rice planting				
Ploughing				
Field preparation				
Portering				
Tailoring				
Construction				
Skilled construction				
Husking grain				
Animal husbandry				
etc.				
. . .				
. . .				
. . .				
. . .				

\* If wages differ by sex for same work ask several men and women why this is so ?

- d. Effects of new laws on women's ability to own property and conduct financial transactions (c.f. Legal Dimensions).
- e. Recommended program areas. Ask women and men from your village about their priorities and ideas for programs that could improve their economic situation.

## THE FAMILIAL DIMENSION

### A. General Social Organization:

#### 1. Kinship Groups

Using key informants, find out what are the main ways in which the people of the village you are studying divide themselves (e.g. into descent groups, lineage, clans, ritual groups, marriage exchange groups). What are the ritual names of these groups? Collect any origin myths and stories about these groups. Are there any special connections between clans (e.g. brother clans, clans which have split off)? Are villages clan-oriented or lineage-oriented? How many clans/lineages are there? Are there any special connections between certain lineages? Any lineages or clans located in specific residence areas?

Using key informants, collect kin terms on schedule Fl. Have informant explain any special relationships/obligations that exist between certain categories of kin (e.g. relationship between father and son or mother and son or brothers and sisters). Note behavior (such as greetings, gift exchanges, respect-avoidance, joking) which is used to express special relationships between various categories of kin. Does this behavior change with the age of the individuals involved? Collect genealogies for families within the 35 household sample. Collect natal clan name (or gotra/thar) names and natal village of women as well. Find out how far away each women's village is. (c.f. Demographic Data Sheet). Describe descent system.

#### 2. Marriage Patterns

What are the basic endogamous/exogamous groups? Ask key informants: With what groups can you marry? Within what group is marriage forbidden? Why? Between which individuals? Up to how many generations is marriage forbidden on paternal/maternal side? If forbidden type of marriage occurs what are the penalties and consequences for the couple?.

Are there any preferential marriage patterns? If so, which relatives preferred? Which groups? Which villages? Is marriage choice up to parents or up to couple? In arranged marriage, how much is the girl's opinion consulted? Is there hypergamy (i.e. woman marries higher status man) or hypogamy (i.e. man marries higher status woman)? Is there polyandry/polygamy? What are the attitudes

towards these? (Ask male and female informants and also listen and observe reactions). What types of marriages exist (i.e., ceremonial or informal, arranged, love, capture, elopement, etc). Collect local names for types. Attitude of villagers to each type of marriage. Attitude of father, mother, daughter, groom to these various types of marriage. (In general, for attitude questions you should ask both male and female informants directly as well as observing their reactions and recording unsolicited comments they make in conversations with other villagers). Consequences of unfavorable type of marriage? How long is the process of becoming married? When is a woman considered to be married? When does a woman finally live with her husband? After certain rituals? After birth of a child?

What are the qualities required of a bride/groom? What characteristics are considered impediments to marriage? What is the ideal/usual age at marriage? (Ask male and female informants). (c.f. Demographic Data Sheet).

Are there any monetary exchanges, gift exchanges or labor exchanges before, during or after the ceremony? If so, between whom? How do key informants explain the meaning of each exchange? How many and what category of kin on each side are involved in such exchanges (i.e., brother, sister, mother's brother, etc.). Are any words spoken when these exchanges are made? Names for these exchanges. Is the bride considered as a gift? What is the relative status of the bride's family vs. the groom's? Who expresses respect/deference to whom? How? (i.e. what tika/dok, etc. is exchanged?)

Have key informants describe various types of weddings, rituals and if possible, observe and record them yourself.

How do parents express their view of a daughter's marriage? Loss of a worker? Loss of a daughter? Loss of part of themselves? How do parents express their views of a son's marriage? Gaining a worker? Special help for the mother-in-law? Someone to continue the family line? Is bride treated as an intruder or as their own daughter? Does marriage separate a woman ritually from her natal family?

What is divorce? Who influences decisions to divorce? What are the economic and social repercussions of divorce? On a woman? On a man? What compensations must be paid for breaking a union at different points in the marriage process? (c.f. Legal Dimension). What happens if a woman leaves to live with another man (any change in ritual or social status?). What happens if both woman and man mutually decide to break the union? What reasons do men/women give for having divorced or separated from a former spouse? What happens if a woman simply goes to her natal home and refuses to return? Can a man simply send his wife away if he wants to end the union? Who influences these decisions? What are the penalties? If there are



children what happens to them (any difference in custody of girls and boys)? What happens to a marriage when there are no children? Divorce? Polygamy? (c.f. Ideological Dimension/Fertility and Motherhood.) What group is involved in divorce (e.g. family, lineage, clan, community)? What is the attitude toward divorce, polygamy, polyandry? If a man marries a second wife, does the first wife have to give or sign her permission?

What is the social and economic position of the widow (at various ages, with and without children)? Who looks after the widow? (c.f. Women's Support Networks in Economic Dimension). Is leverite (i.e., marriage of brother's widow) or sororate (i.e., marriage of deceased wife's sister) frequently practiced? What is the attitude toward widow remarriage? What social or ritual repercussions?

Collect marital histories of as many women as possible both statistical as in the Demographic Data Sheet (Form 40) and narrative as those collected by Kurz-Jones in Himalayan Woman (1977).

### 3. Family Structure and Residence Patterns

From observations of behavior between family members, what is the degree of hierarchy in the family? What are the patterns of deference and authority? How are these expressed in behavior? (both in ritual settings and everyday interaction). Is rank based mainly on seniority, sex, personal characteristics or a combination of these?

Ask key informants whether nuclear or extended families are preferred and why. Which form is actually more frequent? What are the residence patterns after marriage, i.e., patrilocal (couple lives with husband's family); martrilocal (with wife's family) neolocal (couple sets up separate household), etc. When do sons split from parents? Which son usually remains with parents? Who is considered to influence the split? What other causes are given/do you observe? Where is the new house built? By whom? Is split usually peaceful or preceded by a quarrel? Do sons and parents still eat communally? Is anything kept in common?

Does family structure tend to isolate women of the community from each other or does it tend to encourage the formation of female solidarity groups? Is there hierarchy among the women in the family? Do married women work easily together? With their in-laws? What are the usual attitudes towards mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law?

How frequently do women visit their natal home (at different life stages)? Does frequency of visits depend on distance from natal home and/or stability of marriage? On what ritual occasions should a daughter return to her natal home? What does a woman take to her

natal home? What gifts are returned? Who else does she visit in her natal village? Any gifts? Exchange? How welcome is a woman in her natal home? For short visits? For long visits? Permanently if marriage is dissolved? (c.f. Economic Dimension Women's Support Networks). How often does the husband visit his wife's natal home? How is he treated? What is a woman's ritual status in her natal home (e.g., does she participate in funeral, kul-devta worship, etc. Is she considered sacred?). Do women tend to be more involved in rituals, disputes and family events of their natal home or husband's home? Does a woman take her husband's ancestral spirits and lineage name as her own?

From your observations, which relationships within the family seem tense and competitive? Are there any rituals, myths or stories which express these tensions? Note cases and examples of such relationships. Strategies for dispute settlement within the family. Keep careful records of disputes, collecting if possible, different people's versions of their causes and outcomes. (Try to record at least ten different incidents or histories).

Which relationships seem particularly warm and supportive within the family? Are there any rituals, myths or stories which express and celebrate these relationships (e.g. bhai-tika). Note cases and examples of such relationships. What are the feeding patterns in the house? Who distributes the food? In ritual feasts, how is food divided?

B. Women's Roles/Status at Various Life-Stages

Describe women's ideal roles (as well as observed norms and deviations) during the life stages listed below. What are a woman's responsibilities, relations with family and outsiders and expected/permitted behaviour at each stage? Are there any special ceremonies or events that mark the transition from one stage to another?

1. Before puberty (as unmarried daughters and sisters). (c.f. Ideological Dimension/Socialization).
2. Post-puberty/pre-marriage (as unmarried but sexually developed daughters and sisters).

Does this stage exist or is pre-puberty marriage practiced? If so, does a girl stay in her natal home until after puberty? What is the importance of pre-marital chastity (and marital fidelity)? What controls are placed on female sexuality (before and after marriage)? (c.f. Ideological Dimension/Fertility and Motherhood.) What is the status of children born "out of wedlock?" What are the pressures to marry if pregnant? What is the attitude toward and frequency of abortion or infanticide? What methods used? Male knowledge of this option? (c.f. Ideological Dimension/Fertility and Motherhood.)

3. During early years of marriage before motherhood (as married daughters and sisters, as new wife, daughter-in-law and sister-in-law). (c.f. "Marriage Patterns"/Attitudes towards incoming bride and "Family Structure and Residence Patterns," visits to natal home.)
4. During middle years of marriage (as wife, mother, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, married daughter and sister). What is the importance of motherhood role to female status? What is the position of the childless wife? (c.f. Ideological Dimension/Fertility and Motherhood.)
5. As senior woman past child bearing years (as mother-in-law, widow or possibly the head of the household, as "old woman" in community). Who is responsible for providing a woman's security in her old age? (c.f. Economic Dimension, Women's Support Networks.) Do new options for travel, religious activity or community participation open up to women at this stage?

What are desires and goals of women at different stages? (Ask women informants of different ages. Ask older women what they wanted when they were young and what they value now.) What are women's options for achieving power and influence in the family at different stages. What covert/overt strategies do women use to gain power or get what they want from different members of the family? (i.e. Sexuality? Scolding? Refusing to work? Leaving for her natal home? Getting support from women friends, relatives, community?). How do these strategies change at different stages? How do other family/household members win a woman's support in achieving their goals? How does a woman gain the trust and support of another wife, sister-in-law or mother-in-law? Are these important to her? Record incidents you have observed and histories others have told you of women who have exercised overt authority or covert influence in the family and community. (c.f. Political Community Dimension.) What is a woman's role in household/community decisions at various life stages? When is her sphere of influence greatest?

How much autonomy do women have at different stages? How much deviation from the ideal pattern is tolerated? (One good way of gaining perspective on the various stages of a woman's life is to interview older women and collect their life histories. Ask what friendships they have formed, which kin ties were important, which have endured and which have broken and why. The life history is also an excellent tool for getting at self-perceptions and values which are important to the ideological dimension. One suggested framework for conducting such life history interviews is the series of open-ended questions developed by Dr. Robert Levy in Appendix I of his book Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands (1973: Chicago).

C. Changing Familial Roles and the Impact of Development on Women's Roles in the Family

1. Observe and record awareness/impact of new marriage, divorce and inheritance laws on family structure and women's position in the family. (c.f. Legal Dimension.)
2. Awareness/impact of family planning and ability to control family size and fertility. Cultural attitude (male/female) towards family planning; ideal size and sex ratio. (c.f. Ideological Dimension/Fertility and Motherhood.)
3. Extent of and effect of male out migration or new opportunities for off-farm employment for men or women's position in the family as farm managers.

Form F.1  
Kinship Terminology

Collect Nepali and Local Village Terms for Following Categories

- 
- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Father's Father                 | 24. Father's Brother's elder daughter     |
| 2. Father's Mother                 | 25. Father's Brother's younger Daughter   |
| 3. Mother's Mother                 | 26. Father's Brother's Daughter's Husband |
| 4. Mother's Mother's Brother       | 27. Father's Sister's elder Daughter      |
| 5. Mother's Father                 | 28. Father's Sister's younger Daughter    |
| 6. Father's elder Brother          | 29. Father's Sister's Daughter's Husband  |
| 7. Father's younger Brother        | 30. Elder Brother                         |
| 8. Father's Brother's Wife         | 31. Younger Brother                       |
| 9. Father's elder Sister           | 32. Brother's Wife                        |
| 10. Father's younger Sister        | 33. Mother's Brother's Wife               |
| 11. Father's Sister's Husband      | 34. Mother's Brother's elder Son          |
| 12. Mother's elder Brother         | 35. Mother's Brother's younger Son        |
| 13. Mother's younger Brother       | 36. Mother's Brother's Son's Wife         |
| 14. Mother's Brother's Wife        | 37. Mother's Brother's elder Daughter     |
| 15. Mother's elder Sister          | 38. Mother's Brother's younger Daughter   |
| 16. Mother's younger Sister        | 39. Mother's Brother's Daughter's Husband |
| 17. Mother's Sister's Husband      | 40. Mother's Sister's elder Son           |
| 18. Father's Sister's elder Son    | 41. Mother's Sister's younger Son         |
| 19. Father's Sister's younger Son  |   |
| 20. Father's Sister's Son's Wife   |   |
| 21. Father's Brother's older Son   |   |
| 22. Father's Brother's younger Son |   |
| 23. Father's Brother's Son's Wife  |   |

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 42. Mother's Sister's Son's Wife         | 66. Mother's Brother's Son's Son  |
| 43. Mother's Sister's elder Daughter     | 67. Son's Son                     |
| 44. Mother's Sister's younger Daughter   | 68. Son's Daughter                |
| 45. Mother's Sister's Daughter's Husband | 69. Brother's Daughter's Son      |
| 46. Elder Sister                         | 70. Brother's Daughter's Daughter |
| 47. Younger Sister                       | 71. Brother's Son's Son           |
| 48. Sister's Husband                     | 72. Brother's Son's Daughter      |
| 49. Son's Wife's Father                  | 73. Daughter's Son                |
| 50. Son's Wife's Mother                  | 74. Daughter's Daughter           |
| 51. Son's Wife                           | 75. Sister's Son's Son            |
| 52. Son                                  | 76. Sister's Son's Daughter       |
| 53. Brother's Son                        | 77. Sister's Daughter's Son       |
| 54. Brother's Son's Wife                 | 78. Sister's Daughter's Daughter  |
| 55. Brother's Daughter                   | 79. Great Grand Son               |
| 56. Brother's Daughter's Husband         | 80. Great Grand Daughter          |
| 57. Daughter's Husband's Father          | 81. Husband's Father              |
| 58. Daughter's Husband's Mother          | 82. Husband's Mother              |
| 59. Daughter                             | 83. Husband                       |
| 60. Daughter's Husband                   | 84. Husband's elder Brother       |
| 61. Sister's Son                         | 85. Husband's younger Brother     |
| 62. Sister's Son's Wife                  | 86. Husband's elder Sister        |
| 63. Sister's Daughter                    | 87. Husband's younger Sister      |
| 64. Sister's Daughter's Husband          | 88. Husband's Brother's Daughter  |
| 65. Mother's Brother's Son's Daughter    | 89. Husband's Brother's Son       |
|  | 90. Husband's Sister's Son        |
|  | 91. Husband's Sister's Daughter   |

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 92. Wife's Father               | 98. Wife's younger Brother's Wife       |
| 93. Wife's Mother               | 100. Wife's younger Sister              |
| 94. Elder Wife, younger Wife    | 101. Wife's Sister's Daughter           |
| 95. Wife's elder Brother        | 102. Wife's elder Sister's Husband      |
| 96. Wife's younger Brother      | 103. Wife's Younger Sister's<br>Husband |
| 97. Wife's elder Brother's Wife |   |

THE POLITICAL/COMMUNITY DIMENSION

A. Traditional:

1. Women's Groups

Are there any local traditional "female solidarity groups?" These could be labor exchange or work groups, religious organizations, credit groups, etc.

Are these formal, continuous groups with a fairly stable membership (such as Rodi Ghar) or informal, sporadic groups with shifting membership (like Parma labor exchange groups or pilgrimage groups)?

Observe group's interactions. Who are the leaders? What purpose does the group serve according to its own members? What other purposes does it serve? When was the group formed and by whom? Are there any factions within the group? How are these dealt with? (i.e. joking, mediation by a respected individual, avoidance etc.).

What role does the group play in mobilizing loyalties and action (of its members and of the wider community)?

Are women's groups central institutions within the economic religious or political system? Or peripheral? (Schlegal 1977: 19). What are men's attitudes towards various types of women's groups?

If no such traditional women's groups exist what is the feasibility of forming such an organization in the community you are studying? What are villager's (male/female) reactions to the suggestion of forming a women's group (say a co-op to produce and market a certain product)? Would women from different sub-groups within the village (high caste women and untouchable women for example) be willing to work together or would it be necessary to have separate groups?

2. Women's Role in Community Organization

What are women's communication networks within the village and beyond? What Types? Social? Religious? Political? Work-oriented? What are men's communication networks and how do they compare with women's?

Do women involve themselves in community decisions and disputes? How much weight do men place on women's opinions? In public? If expressed at home? If women express reluctance to attend public meetings what reasons do they give? Among the women in your village, who is interested in issues and public affairs, factions, irrigation, schools, roads, local politics etc.? Are women's conceptions of situations (and priorities) the same or different than men's? Give examples of community disputes noting the manner and extent to which women involved themselves. These could be past incidents which you



actually did not observe (just be careful to distinguish the two observed and reported and make your source of information clear). Try to record two or three case histories of such incidents and be sure to note who were the women leaders.

Do men encourage/discourage women to involve themselves in their (men's) affairs? Do they ask for women's opinions (publicly/privately)? Do women act as hostesses at public affairs or active participants? Do women tend to support their own male kinsmen's views and factions or do they play a mediating role between male factions?

If women in the community you are studying belong to mixed male/female groups, is access to decision-making roles equally open to both sexes? (See Schlegel 1977:9).

Do women identify as a group? Usually? In certain situations? On certain ritual occasion? Do they discuss issues among themselves? Are their opinions collective or individual?

### 3. Leadership Roles

Who are the most respected women in the village? What characteristics do they have? Age, wealth, education, boldness, religious piety? Do these respected women take an active role in village affairs? Do they confine themselves to the domestic sphere or do they use indirect means to influence community decisions? How did these women attain their leadership positions? By a scripton? (i.e. by inherited wealth, or being married to a male leader or being from a high status lineage) or by achievement -- if so, by what kind of achievement?

### 4. Class and Status in the Community

How do class and status differentiate groups of women? (c.f. Economic Dimension. Question on: Which women hire other women as laborers? Which women exchange labor? Which women work for others?). What class conflicts exist among women? Are women as conscious of rank and hierarchy as men? How do questions of status affect the kinds of work women are willing to do? What decisions about themselves and their daughters do women make for status reasons?

## B. Government (c.f. Community Level Information).

### 1. Panchayat (Village Council Government)

Are any women members of the village panchayat? Were they elected or appointed? In the past have any women been members of the local panchayat? Do women attend village assemblies? Do they voice their opinions or just observe?

2. Nepal Women's Organization (N.W.O.)

Are any women involved as members or officers in N.W.O.? Is there an active local organization? What programs have they carried out? Is there an active District level organization? Are local village women involved?

3. Other Groups

Are there kindergartens (Bal Mandir), village/ward level health institutions, village cooperatives (Sajha) small farmer groups in the village? Do women participate actively (or indirectly) in any of these groups?

C. Constraints and Opportunities for Involving Women in Community Activities and Development Programs

1. From observation and unstructured interview describe the relationship between village women and various forms of government extension and other outside institutions. How do women interact with: i) Women Workers, ii) JTAs (and other agricultural extension agents), iii) Village Health Workers, iv) family planning workers (from N.W.O. & from Health Ministry), v) local school teachers, vi) National development Service students, vii) others. Are their relationships with extension agents characterized by trust, suspicion, resentment, respect or aloofness? Do they relate better if extension agents are female?
2. Village women's perceived needs. What are the women's priorities for government services and development programs? What do village women see as constraints to the kind of services and programs they need? What ideas do they have for ways to solve their problems? Would they feel more at ease if there were female health and extension workers?

THE EDUCATIONAL DIMENSION

A. Attitudes towards education for women

1. Men's attitudes

Ask key male informants if they are sending their sons/daughters to school. Ask reasons for sending boys or girls to school (i.e. expected benefits to individual students and student's family.) Is a girl more or less marriageable if she is educated? What are reasons given for keeping boys or girls out of school. Economic? (i.e. the boy's/girl's labor is needed.) Social? (e.g., the girl will become too bold, or lack of relevance of school for village life.)

2. Women's attitudes

Ask same questions of women. Do they share their husband's views on the value of education for girls? Do they wish they had received schooling or feel that school is of no use to women?

B. Formal Schooling

Assess constraints and opportunities of classroom situation and curriculum. Observe classroom situation in local primary and secondary school. Compare behaviour of male and female students (assertiveness, obedience, performance) and assess teacher's attitudes and treatment of male and female students. (e.g., punishment - is it more severe for boys than for girls or the same?). Interview teachers and selected students about problems of students, relevance of curriculum, etc. (c.f. Community Level Information on Local Schools.)

C. Non-Formal Education/Adult Literacy:

Assess constraints and opportunities provided by existing programs. Describe existing programs (from NWO, Education Ministry). Who runs them? How long do they last? Do women actually acquire literacy and numeracy? Do they retain the knowledge? Is there resistance from men to allow women to attend? Are classes scheduled at convenient times? Do women have time to attend classes? Where do they meet? What attitudes do women express towards education in general, for girls, for themselves? How do they think it will benefit them or do they see it as a luxury and a status symbol only? (c.f. Community Level Information.)

THE LEGAL DIMENSION

A. Inheritance and Property Division

Collect rules or patterns of inheritance: e.g. do brothers get equal shares or is there some form of primogeniture (inheritance by eldest only) or ultimogeniture (inheritance by youngest son only)?

Do daughters get a share of property? Movable or immovable? Under what conditions? Is it their right or does it depend on the decision of other relatives? Does a daughter have any rights over her mother's personal jewelry or other property?

What is the order of succession to ancestral property? In other words, in the absence of preferred relative (e.g. son), who is next in line for inheritance? Next, etc.?

Do these patterns entail a single clear cut set of "legal rights" or are there alternate systems, of which one or another could be activated according to the decision of a group of kinsmen? (e.g.

consulting Nepali National laws for some matters, Buddhist texts for others and "traditional practice" for others). In other words, how much variety in type of authority source and flexibility in interpretation of these sources is there?

When does property division usually take place? At the death of one or both parents? At the marriage of the first son? Of each son, etc.?

What sort of dowry or bridewealth payments are common? (i.e. Cash? Livestock? Household items?). When are they given? (at time of engagement, wedding or later?). Who makes the payment or gift and who actually keeps it? If a woman brings movable/immovable property with her in marriage who exercises control over it? (i.e. Who controls the produce, who has the rights of disposal -- ideally and actually?).

Methodology: Ask these questions and related questions that you may think of at least 3 individuals at separate times. Compare their answers and ask again if some points seem confusing.

Ask about the details of actual cases that you may hear of during your field work. Compare the outcome of these cases with the abstract principles or "rules" and ask about any discrepancies that you notice. You may discover alternative principles that are important in operation but which may not be mentioned because they conflict with the dominant ideology (e.g. systems of female inheritance in a strongly patrilineal society).

## B. Marriage and Divorce

What constitutes a legal marriage?

What are the rights and obligations entailed?

What are the circumstances under which people divorce?

How is property divided at divorce (e.g. does the female have full rights over her dowry? Does she have any claims on the joint property? Under what conditions? What rights do children have to inherit the father's property after parents' divorce?).

Is there any compensation or fine that one partner gets from the other if the divorce is instigated by one side? (e.g. "jari" or adultery payment.) Under what conditions? What are the attitudes of villagers towards those who demand and those who pay such compensation?

What are the different forms of marriage? (e.g. arranged, elopement, capture). Do these entail different legal rights? Do second marriages entail the same rights as first? (e.g. rights to compensation for adultery, for divorce, rights of children to inheritance).

Methodology: Same as for inheritance and property division. However, many of these questions are too abstract to simply ask an informant. They need to be extracted from the data collected under "divorce," etc., e.g., if children of an arranged marriage have a right to inherit the father's property, but children of an elopement marriage do not then in some sense an elopement does not constitute a legal marriage. Are there illegitimate children in the society? What are the conditions under which a child is considered "legitimate?"

C. Traditional law vs. the "Mulki Ain":

Are traditional laws written?

If the principles or rules you get from your field enquiries are the same as those contained in the official National Code or "Mulki Ain" try to find out for each point: (1) whether the traditional system used to be different. (Ask whether these rules and patterns were the same in former times). (2) How the traditional system and the Mulki Ain interact in particular cases. (Take detailed notes on cases, especially conflicts concerning divorce, etc. and analyze them to see which principles -- traditional or "modern" -- were put into operation).

Add questions based on some of the areas covered in Monograph 2, of the Status of Women, Vol. I. Series (Bennett, 1979, see Status of Women Publication List.) For example, does a wife have the right to dispose of (sell) her own property or does she need her husband's or some other relative's consent? Does a husband need his wife's consent?

Note and compare customary laws concerning polygyny (and inheritance rights of children from a polygynous marriage) with the norms laid down in the Mulki Ain.

Note customary laws on the property rights of unmarried sisters, daughters, widowed mothers, etc. Under what circumstances do people get a life share or jiuni bhag in the community you are studying? Are there conditions under which people can will their property, or in some way select an heir, or does property automatically go to sons or revert to certain (patrilateral) relatives at a person's death?

What rights does a woman (married or unmarried) have over self-earned property?

Is there customary punishment for rape? Different if victim is married and unmarried? Different depending on caste of the victim and/or the perpetrator? What is the punishment? How decided? Record case histories.

Try to find out from key informants and from local district court records if possible what important cases have actually been taken to court in the area of family law? How do people (particularly women) feel about going to government courts? What alternative means do people have for settling their disputes? What type of people (male/female, literate/illiterate, upper/lower economic strata) tend to use the government courts and what people prefer the traditional means? Wherever possible collect case histories of disputes -- those settled in court and those settled informally.

Are there any examples in your area of conflict caused by discrepancy between traditional practice and the National Code? Who benefits from these discrepancies? Record any cases and their circumstances and outcome in as much detail as possible.

To what extent are women/men aware of women's new legal rights in the National Code? The attached questionnaire on "awareness of Nepali Law" may help elicit information on this topic. If possible it should be administered to both men and women.

What further changes would women like to see? In the laws? In the judiciary structure?

AWARENESS OF NEPALI LAW

To be asked to 35 adult females from among sample households of variant ages. Be sure to record full identification data on each respondent (i.e. household no. + person no).

1. Can you sell or give away your daijo (i.e. gift of property or cash from your natal family) or your pewa (i.e. a gift from your husband) under Nepali law?

Note: A Women has rights over 100% of her daijo and pewa to sell or dispose of as she likes. Can also will it to whom she desires.

2. By Nepali law do you think daijo or pewa can be used legally by your husband or parents-in-law for some need of the joint household?

Note: No never.

3. If you don't marry, can you get a share of your family property?

Note: you get an equal share as long as you have reached 35 years of age and do not marry. If you marry, this share reverts to the collateral relatives.

4. If you have brothers, can you inherit your father's property?

Note: If your father wills his estate to you, you are instituted as Dolaji and you can inherit 100% of his estate. At your death, if you have sons, they inherit. If you have no sons, but a daughter, you can institute her a daijo to inherit your estate. If you die issueless, the estate reverts to your father's heirs. If he does not name you his heir (i.e. dolaji) you come after wives, sons and sons' sons of your father in line of succession.

5. If your husband takes a second wife, can you claim a share of his property?

Note: Yes, you, your sons, your husband, his new wife and any children they may have all become co-parceners. If your husband brings a second wife, you can claim separation from your husband and get your legal share. After the property has been divided, if he remarries or if any son is born to him, you keep your original share.

6. If your husband gets you to sign a manjur, can he legally take a second wife?

Note: Under present law, no. Even if you sign a manjur, if the legal criterion for taking a second wife are not met, you can sue in court. (see notes on legal status.)

7. If your husband divorces you, must you be given a share of his property?

Note: You don't get a share, but are allowed 5 year's maintenance unless the divorce has been allowed for fault on your part. If you have children, they also get support.

8. If you go off with another man or go jari, what compensation must your jari husband, lover, give your husband?

Note: By current Nepali Law, jari is no longer a category. The jari couple is liable to a prison sentence of one to two months and a fine of Rs. 1,000 to 2,000 and no compensation is claimable legally.



THE IDEOLOGICAL/RELIGIOUS DIMENSION

A. Women's Roles in the Cultural and Religious Life of the Community:  
Collective Norms, Values and Ideals

1. Action and Behavior

How do women behave when they are in a group together with no men present? How do they act when men are present? How do they behave in public situations or in the presence of strangers? When are women modest? When bold? When are they talkative? Do they smoke or drink openly? In certain situations only? Not at all? How much do they joke - and with whom? Do they express their feelings and opinions or do you observe hesitancy? If so in what situations? (c.f. Familial Dimension, "Life Stages" and Political/Community Dimension "Women's Groups").

2. Myths and Stories

Are there any stories about women? How they treat their children? Their husbands? Their parents? Their friends? What images of women emerge from these stories? Are women depicted as causing conflict? As leading the young or men astray? How do brothers treat sisters and vice versa.? What female kinship categories are portrayed sympathetically and which seem problematic? What are the stated motivations for women/other's actions in the stories? If the stories are allegorical, who in the story takes the form of an animal? Plant? Supernatural being? Are these stories set in villages (i.e. the human world) in the wild or in celestial realms or a combination of settings? Are there certain important figures who reappear in different stories? What are their names and characteristics? Are their names referred to/used in everyday life as forms of abuse? Praise? (e.g. Goma, Laxmi, Sita).

Who tells these stories? Women? Men? Children? To whom are they told? In what setting and how often? Are they written or just remembered?

Do these stories reveal what pleases and displease women? Do they show how women can please or control men? Displease or anger men? Do gods or spirits punish women/men for their actions? Do they forgive them?

3. Rituals and Festivals

What rituals/festivals exist? Can women participate in all of them? Some of them? Can men participate in all of them or are they excluded from some (e.g. look at birth, death, menstruation, puberty, marriage (ratauli for example), hair cutting rituals and especially any rituals relating to lineage gods, etc.). Are there any rituals which express or deal with problems or situations which particularly

concern women? (i.e. gupha basne, tij which center on menstrual pollution and means of purification, etc.) What happens in these rituals? Have informants describe them and if possible observe them yourself. Ask informants why these rituals must be done. (This is a good question for any type of ritual -- though of course you will receive answers on many different levels of explanation from different informants). How are women (or the "female sex" as an abstract concept) represented in rituals? By figures, symbol images? How do these compare with representations of the male sex?

4. Religious Roles:

What roles do women play in religious performances? Do they serve as priests, healers or religious leaders? Have any women from the village become nuns or female mendicants? What do other village men and women think of such individuals?

To what extent do men's and women's rituals coincide? In rituals involving both sexes what do women do? What do men do? Are there reasons stated for these differences? What ritual activities are forbidden to women and what do they choose not to do? What support activities do women perform in the background during specific ceremonies (e.g. making beer, preparing special foods or ritual items, purifying the house, singing auspicious songs (mangals), etc.).

Can women be healers? If they can, is it more unusual for them than for men? Is there any difference in the form of initiation? In the kind of healing they are called upon to do? If the role of the healer is hereditary, is it passed through the female or male line? How do women become healers? If becoming a healer is not hereditary, is there any type of women who become possessed (e.g. young brides, widows, wealthier women, poor women, etc.) more than others?

Are there any spirits which usually or always possess women? How do women behave when possessed? How often are they possessed? Do men also become possessed by these spirits? Are these spirits female or male? Is there a special category of spirit which originates from women who died in child birth? Record names and characteristics of such spirits.

How are funerals performed for women who die in child birth? Can women who are not recognized healers or jankris and yet who sometimes become possessed perform any function as jankris or healers? Are female jankris excluded from some tasks and activities normal to women? If so why? Are they still considered women? If they are believed to become "male" in some way? Is this only while in possession or always? Can female jankris marry or if married, can they continue sexual intercourse with their husband? Are male and female patients given the same type of treatment for similar illnesses? If there is a difference, describe it. Do certain types of illness or spirit possession affect only males or only females? According to

informants, do men or women become ill more frequently? What reasons are given?

Who decides to call in a healer, women or men? Who is most prominent in organizing the healing ceremony?

5. Pollution Beliefs:

Are there any beliefs about female pollution in the group you are studying? If so, what aspects of womanhood are considered polluting (i.e. first menstruation, every menstruation, pregnancy, child birth, intercourse)?

What restrictions are placed on women to keep them from polluting others? Who do they pollute? Men only? Or women and children too? How is pollution thought to affect a person? (e.g. take away vitality, health, ritual purity or specific ritual powers)? What can be done to counteract pollution once contact has occurred?

Ask women and men what they think about pollution beliefs and how strictly the rules of avoidance are observed? Can women be polluted by men (of the same caste) in any circumstances?

B. Personal Images or Ethno-Ideologies of Women

1. How Men and Women View Themselves and the Opposite Sex:

Dwyer (1978) has recently drawn attention to the importance of distinguishing the following four perspectives when considering the male and female images and sexual stereotypes of a given culture:

a. men's view of themselves; b. men's view of women; c. women's view of themselves; d. women's view of men.

Discrepancies which often emerge between these different perspectives on male and female nature often reveal much about the relationship between the sexes in a given culture. In addition Dwyer suggests that consideration of each perspective separately and then in combination often helps to understand the type of strategies which women use to achieve their aims within the framework of male domination. For example, if women have a negative view of themselves, they are unlikely to cooperate even if they share a negative view of men. Instead, they will probably pursue their ends individually and secretly rather than through group action. While this need not concern us as a theoretical issue, we may find it useful in understanding why the women in the community under study do or do not act collectively (c.f. Political/Community Dimension, "Women's Groups").

Hence we should through interviews with male and female informants and through observation of social interaction within and between the sexes, try to learn about:

- a. Men's views of themselves. Do they believe that the male sex is superior to the female? Complementary? Or inferior? In what ways? What is believed to be the basis of male/female sex differentiation? (Physiological? Moral? Chance? Spiritual?) Record any myths about the origin of the sexes."

What do men view as the qualities of an ideal man? A bad man? What adjectives do they use to convey masculinity?

- b. Men's views of women. What are the male stereotypes about female nature? Do men consider women as total people? Or are they thought to be lacking in some way? Do men envy women in any way? Are women viewed as being as competent as men in financial affairs? As strong? As responsible? As rational, as co-operative, as interested in sex, etc.? (c.f. "Male/female Stereotype Survey Data"). What reasons do men give for these differences if any? Are these male qualities inherent or learned?

What words are used to say women, wife, girl, whore? Are these derogatory or respectful? (With the exception of whore which is obviously derogatory!) To what extent does male honor and family pride depend on the virtue of the women who "belong" to those men or that family? What is the attitude of men towards women working outside the home? Working for cash? Travelling without male escort beyond the village? (c.f. Economic Dimension). "Are women valued in their own right and therefore in a position to receive prestige? Or are they valued as objects in the social, political and economic affairs of men?" (Schlegel 1977:8).

Do men seem to have more affectionate, relaxed relationships with affinal women (wives, sisters-in-law, etc.) or consanguineal women (daughters, sisters and mothers)?

Do men view women as especially divisive and quarrelsome? Are women seen as causing conflict within social groups (i.e. family, lineage, work group or even village)? If men do see women as divisive and themselves as co-operative what reasons do they give for this? To what extent are men's beliefs backed up by your observations of male/female group behavior?

What do men give as the qualities of an ideal woman? A bad woman? What adjectives are used to convey femininity?

- c. Women's views of themselves: Do women believe that the female sex is superior to the male? Complementary? Or inferior? In what ways if any do women feel superior to men? (Strength, cleverness, purity, religious piety, compassion, patience, etc.). How do they explain these differences? Do women accept

or ignore men's view of them and men's assessment of their status?

Do women use demeaning terms to refer to themselves or members of their own sex (e.g. calling oneself a "dog" or an "untouchable" during menstruation; scolding one's daughter by calling her a randi (whore), etc.).

Do you observe more close and long standing friendships between men or women (or same for both)? Do women seem to trust each other? Or are they suspicious of each other? Ask women to tell you about friendships they have had in the past and present. Do women see other women as especially divisive or quarrelsome? What do women give as the qualities of an ideal woman? A bad woman? What adjectives do they use to convey femininity?

- d. Women's views of men. What are women's stereotypes about male nature? Do women view men's ritual and political roles with awe and respect or with amused tolerance? Do they see men as more interested in sex than they are or less interested? Do women envy men or "wish they were men" for any reasons? What do women view as the qualities of an ideal man? A bad man? What adjectives do they use to convey masculinity?

### C. Fertility and Motherhood

1. How important is the motherhood role to a woman's self esteem? What are the attitudes towards childless women in the community under study? Is the failure to produce a child usually blamed on the woman or is there an awareness of the possibility of male infertility as well? To what extent does a woman's status in the family and community (as well as her economic security) depend on having a large family? Do women you talk to see any alternative means to status and security? If so what are they?
2. From conversations with key informants, record cultural beliefs about the process of conception and fetal development. What are women's monthly fertile periods? What special practices are to be followed by expectant mothers? Special foods to be taken or avoided? Work patterns? Religious prescriptions? Is there a ban on sex during pregnancy? How strictly do women say this is observed? When may sexual intercourse be resumed after child birth?
3. From conversations with key informants and where possible from observation, describe the practices surrounding childbirth and the care of the infant and new mother. Who attends the birth? Do only women of certain castes become specialists or do experienced women of any caste become midwives? Are they paid? If so how much? Different for birth of a boy or girl? May men attend birth or are they supposed to be "unaware" of what is happening? In what position (standing, squatting or prone) do most women deliver? Describe the

procedures such as massaging, oiling, use of herbs and special strength-giving foods, etc. intended to help the women through labor and delivery of the placenta. What is done with the placenta? How and when is the child's cord cut? Describe first feeding of infant. Are there any practices followed regarding the initiation of nursing? Any methods to start milk flow?

What are the rituals surrounding pregnancy, childbirth (including those aimed at securing supernatural care protection of the infant and new mother after childbirth)? Is there any birth pollution? If so, describe practice and how strictly adhered to. How is the child's name chosen?

Does birth normally take place in the woman's parents' home or her husband's home? Does a woman get a "vacation" after childbirth? How long? What special treatment (i.e. massage/oiling) or foods are given to the newly delivered mother? Does this recuperation take place in her parents' home or her husband's home? Are there any local methods of abortion available? What is the attitude towards abortion (for married woman with too many children, or for an unmarried woman)?

The attached "Key Informant Schedule on Pregnancy Childbirth and Socialization" will be useful in collecting systematic data on this subject and in getting women to begin discussing it.

D. Sex Role Socialization:

1. Reaction to Male and Female Children

Through informal questioning find out whether parents express a marked preference for male or female children. If so what reasons do they give for their preference? (Male and female adults may not agree on this question so be sure to note any differences.) If possible observe family's reaction after the birth of male/female child.

2. Child Care Responsibility (c.f. "Fertility and Motherhood")

How is child care responsibility allocated in the family? Exclusively to the mother? To the mother and other senior/junior women (or only those women who get along well with the mother) in the family? To male members of the family as well? Make notes on any observations of males undertaking child care responsibility. Were they only playing with the child for a short time or did they assume feeding, bathing, cleaning and comforting responsibilities over an extended period?

Who is in charge of discipline? Of male/female children? At different ages? Do mothers lose control over boys as they grow older? Do fathers withdraw from disciplining girls as they mature? Is there any notable difference in the disciplinary style used by male and

female adults (e.g. withdrawal of affection, physical punishment, scolding, shaming, offering rewards, withholding food, etc.)? Are different disciplinary techniques used on boys and girls? From what age is this difference noticeable?

Do parents say (and do you observe) that they are more strict with male or female children? If so what reasons do they give? Do parents put much conscious effort into the training of a child? If so, from what age for girls or boys?

Where do infants and children sleep? With whom? Any differences for male and female children?

### 3. Parental Responsiveness and Parent-Child Interaction

Do mother's reactions (and those of other male/female family care-takers) to their child's needs vary according to the sex of the child with regard to:

- a. responding to a crying infant or child (with food or attention);
- b. seeking medical care (either modern or traditional) when child is ill;
- c. playing with child;
- d. praising or encouraging the child or "showing the child off" to others
- e. providing clothing and other material items

If there is any variation in maternal (or general adult) response to male and female children, when does it begin and how does it manifest itself? Who is given more encouragement/orientation towards training in obedience; nurturance; self-reliance; responsibility; achievement. Record your observations in as much detail as possible.

How do parents describe a good child and a bad child? Are there some characteristics which they would praise or accept in a boy but discourage in a girl and vice versa? Specify and ask for reasons. When are parents disappointed or angry with a male child? A female child? What characteristics are said to be passed on to a child through the mother or mother's side and what through father or father's side?

How do children describe the ideal mother, father, wife, husband? How do they view their own mother and father? (affection, fear, respect, distance)? Do they identify with (or want to be like) their mother or father? Note whenever possible the content and tone to father/son and mother/daughter conversations.

N.B. Throughout the topic of socialization there will be a great deal of variation in the behavior of different individuals and families. You will not have the time to spend hours observing a random sample of children and parents with behavior check-lists to get quantitative data on the relative frequency of certain types of interactions. Of course you may well be able to pick

up certain common patterns through your observations over the six month period. Nevertheless always be aware of the impressionistic nature of your data on socialization behavior. Your data on norms and attitudes, even if gathered from only a small sample of informants should, however, be quite dependable.

#### 4. Sex Differentiation

At what age do distinctions between male and female clothing and decorations begin? What are these distinctions (i.e. Nepali caps for boys; bangles, pierced ears/nose, tattoo, skirts, etc. for girls) in the community under study? How much variation (such as young 7/8 year-old girls wearing boys dress instead of girls dress, etc.) is tolerated?

What kind of games or play do girls/boys engage in? (Observe and describe competitive games, imitative play, fantasy play, etc.) With whom do girls/boys normally play or spend their time? Brothers/sisters? Relatives/other village children? Same sex/other? When does marked segregation of the sexes begin? How is it enforced (i.e. by peer pressure from children themselves or by parental direction)? Are there any children with whom boys/girls are discouraged from playing? Who are these children and what reasons do parents give for not wanting their children to play with them (i.e. caste, dislike of parents, etc.)? Do boys or girls seem to have a wider circle of friends or peers outside the family? Who spends more time with adults, boys or girls?

If there is a cultural ideal of modesty or laj etc. in feminine behavior, when and how is this instilled in girls? Does the importance of "modest" behavior increase suddenly at puberty and the onset of menstruation? Or only upon formal marriage? What behavior (e.g. approaching and talking with strangers; going about naked or only partially clothed; going about dirty or ungroomed; touching/playing with genitals; running and playing roughly; laughing and talking loudly, etc.) is forbidden/tolerated among girls/boys at various ages?

Is there any ritual or series of rituals which marks the transition from girlhood to womanhood? Is the transition viewed as sudden and complete or is there a concept of adolescence - of being between girlhood and womanhood (i.e. taruni)? What are the characteristics of females at this stage and the particular problems they face? When is this stage believed to begin and how long does it generally last? Describe any rituals which mark the transition (i.e. gupha basne, Ihi, etc.) in detail and ask women of various ages to tell you about it and how they remember their own experience of it.

How do female puberty rituals compare with those for males (if any?). Are they more or less elaborate and costly? Do they involve



literary traditions as opposed to oral traditions? etc.? (c.f. Familial Dimension "Life Stages").

At what age are girls/boys asked or expected to begin making a contribution to the household economy? Ask parents, and observe how strict they are in enforcing their expectations.

FAMILIAL & IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS/KEY INFORMANT SCHEDULE

PREGNANCY, CHILDBIRTH AND SOCIALIZATION\*

Instructions: Use this schedule to interview at least 10 women who have children from among the female population of our 35 household sample. Try to interview more mothers from the sample if possible. Include several of each of the following categories of women among those you interview:

- a. Women who have delivered within the last year or so.
- b. Women with pre-school children over one year old.
- c. Women with school age children.
- d. Women with fully grown/married children (one women may fit into several categories at once if she has children of different ages).

Record the answers on note cards. Be sure to number each answer. Also be sure to record complete location of the data (i.e. village, household number, person number, name) on the first card. Number subsequent cards and keep them together with a clip or rubber band.

Remember that this schedule is not intended to serve as a substitute for the open ended question on fertility, child birth and socialization included in the Field Manual. Perhaps when you find particularly responsive informants you could either ask them other related question at the time of the interview or return later for further conversations about the topics included in the Manual.

1. How many years had you been married when you had your first child?
2. Did you seek any help or treatment in order to have children? If so what treatment? Who encouraged you to have this treatment?
3. In your opinion, from what age does child birth become difficult for a woman?  
Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Reason \_\_\_\_\_
4. How many years after marriage can a couple go without having children before people begin to talk and say they should have a child?

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\* This schedule is a modified version of a questionnaire developed by Basundara Dungal (and other members of the CNAS staff working on the Status of Children Project) with some informal consultation with the Status of Women Project Advisor.

No. of years: \_\_\_\_\_ Reason: \_\_\_\_\_

5. How many children do you think it is good to have?

Total \_\_\_\_\_ Boys \_\_\_\_\_ Girls \_\_\_\_\_

Note: Your respondent may not have a clear cut answer here or may say "as many as god gives". Don't force an answer in numbers. If respondent gives a numerical answer probe to find out why she thinks that number of children or that number of boys vs. girls is best.

6. In your opinion is it better for a women to have a son or a daughter first \_\_\_ or does it matter: Can you expalin to me why?

Interviewer: Ask the following questions with specific reference to the woman's most recent pregnancy and delivery. Note whether the child was male or female.

7. When you were pregnant did you stop doing any particular type of work? If so what kind of work and after which month of pregnancy?
8. Who assisted you in delivery of your child?
9. What did you or your family give to the person who assisted you?
10. If you had any difficulties during delivery what did you do (or what would you have done)?
11. When you were pregnant were any special foods given to you? If so why were you given that kind of food?
12. When you were pregnant did you refrain from eating certain foods? If so why?
13. Is there any way to tell if a child is going to be a boy or a girl before it is born?
14. While you were pregnant did you do anything to protect you or the baby: For example: a) wearing something b) eating something c) placing somethign in the house d) performing a ritual e) anything else? If you did anything for protection, what did you do and who assisted you?
15. When you were in labor were you given anything to eat? If so what and can you tell me why that food was given to you?
16. While you were recovering from delivery what kind of special foods were given to you?

17. While you were recovering from child birth how many times a day did you eat? For how long a period?
18. On which day after delivery is the umbilical cord cut? Who cuts it? What do they cut it with? Is there any ritual associated with cutting the cord?
19. Where is the after birth disposed of? Who disposes of it? Can you tell me why this person should do it?
20. How many days after delivery do you usually begin to put oil on an infant?
21. When you put oil on your baby where do you usually sit - out in the sun or inside a room? If you sit in the sun, why? If you sit inside a room, why?
22. Up to what age do you apply oil on your baby?
23. Do you generally bathe a newborn infant? If yes, how many days after birth do you begin to bathe the infant?
24. How soon after delivery did you begin to have oil massages?
25. How many times a day did you have oil massages after delivery?
26. Where did you usually sit while having your oil massage? Out in the sun or inside a room? If you sat in the sun, why? If you sat inside, why?
27. Who generally applied oil for you when you were recovering from child birth? Someone from the family? Someone employed for the purpose? Yourself? Other?
28. If you paid someone to apply oil, what did you give them for their services?
29. While you were recovering from childbirth did you wear anything to protect yourself? If so can you tell me what it was?
30. During the first day after the child was born did anyone do anything to protect the baby? If so what? Who did it?
31. During the first month after birth did anyone do anything to protect the baby? If so what and on which day?
32. After the first month but within the first year after birth was anything done to protect the child? If so what and when was it done?
33. While your baby was still nursing did you ever take your baby outside the house with you when you had to go out to work?

34. If yes to 33, did you do anything (ritual) or take anything along to protect the baby? If so can you tell me what?
35. Have any of your children ever been sick? (Record most recent illness)  
When your child was sick where did you go for consultation or treatment?
36. Did you breast feed your last baby? If not why? Was it because no milk came, or not enough milk or some other reason?
37. How many days after delivery did you begin breast feeding your baby. What did you feed the baby until you began to nurse it? Was anything done to help the milk flow start?
38. Until what age did you breast feed your last child?
39. What do you do to wean a child?
40. If you didn't breast feed your child what did you feed it?
41. How many times a day did you breast feed your last child?
  - a) During the first month after birth:
  - b) Between one and six months:
  - c) Between six months and a year:
  - d) Between one and two years of age:
  - e) Between two and three years of age:
  - f) Between three and five years of age:
42. When you are at home who besides you looks after your children in the home?
43. When you go out to work who looks after your children?
44. After what age do you begin to scold your baby if he/she defecates on the bedding?
45. After what age do you begin to scold your child if he/she defecates inside the house?
46. After what age do you begin to scold your child if he/she defecates in the courtyard?

The Setting: Community Level Information

The following is a list <sup>1/</sup> of the kinds of community level data which you should collect about the village you are studying. When you write up your material this information will be helpful in establishing the general "setting" of your village. It will also provide a basis for comparison between villages.

Suggested Community Level Data to be included as part of "Setting" when writing up Case Study.

1. Local employment opportunities
2. Whether there is a factory or other large employer in the place
3. Whether people commute to jobs in nearby cities or towns
4. Means of transportation/access by road
5. Availability of electricity
6. Prevailing wage rates for men, women and children (i.e., our Economic Dimension/Key Informant Schedule 1)
7. In and out migration patterns
8. Location of markets most widely used (role of women in marketing)
9. Type of crops grown and cropping patterns, distance to fields - overall agricultural economic picture
10. Agricultural techniques used and animal husbandry practices (i.e. which animals raised and how central to economy). Also use of appropriate technology such as mills, irrigation pumps, etc.
11. Welfare programs available in the area (and their relevance and accessibility to women)
12. Mass media penetration (i.e. use of radios, availability of newspapers)
13. Name of panchayat; ward or wards; brief background of present panchayat body; traditional administrative structure and settlement patterns if different from present structure

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<sup>1/</sup> Partially taken from "Measuring Household Economic Status and Behavior in Developing Countries" (Mueller 1978:23) and altered and augmented (specifically from No. 15 on) to suit the Nepalese village situation.

14. Sketch map of the village, with position of watering places, mills, dhikis, washing places, defecation places, etc.
15. Indicate location of the village in Nepal in sketch map
16. Description of what the houses are made of, look like both inside and outside. How furnished? How many rooms? Do extended families stay in one dwelling? Are animals kept in houses or outside in sheds?
17. Linguistic Identity. What language, apart from Nepali spoken, if any
18. Clothing
19. Some remarks on the history of the area/people if known
20. The village in relation to other villages. Did your village have much contact with other villages? How different is your village from other surrounding villages in terms of wealth or ethnicity?
21. What are the dominant ecological features somehow effecting the lives of the villagers? Are there any special natural resources, i.e., forest, water, metals? How are communal resources allocated? Any cooperative systems used to regulate irrigation, use of pasture, use of wood and fuel.
22. Land distribution patterns. Any conflicting traditional systems of land ownership? Any great disparities?
23. Has tourism affected the vilalge in any way?
24. Number of households in village - rough tally of population.
25. Castes represented in the village; rough ranking; degree of emphasis on caste hierarchy in public interaction. Table 3 "Form 40: Demographic Data Sheet" will give the distribution of castes in the village and the many other tables throughout the TAS & 40-90 Series where caste is used as a variable may be useful in your description of how caste functions in your village.
26. Enumeration of major public and private community facilities, also use of appropriate technology such as mills, irrigation, pumps, etc. Use the chart below to indicate availability and distance. Make separate notes on any special features or problems or reasons for these services in your communities. Also record any special programs available for women in connection with these facilities. Note how long various services have been present in the Community and indicate village priorities for introducing these services if they are not present.

Service	Present	Distance
Post Office		
Hospital		
Health Post		
Family Planning Clinic		
Ayurvedic Clinic		
Traditional Healers (Jakris, Midwives, etc.)		
Primary School		
Secondary School		
Campus (Higher Educational Institutions)		
Adult Education		
Veterinary Hospital		
Agricultural Development Bank		
Agricultural Supply Corporation		
Sajha (Village Cooperatives)		
Range Office		
Herbal Farm		
Roads Department Camp.		
Irrigation Facilities (Pvt. or Govt.)		
Drinking Water Facilities (Pvt. or Govt.) & General Situation (i.e. distance and purity)		
Roads Department Office		
Handicrafts or skill training center		
Others		

27. Some Suggested Additions to list of Topics which might be included in each Case Study - "The Setting"
1. Why and how the particular village was chosen
  2. The name of the village and any special meaning it has, e.g., is it the same as the name of a clan, a historical figure - descriptive of a particular environment feature, etc.
  3. Description of your life in the village. Was it like that of the villagers or did you supplement your living with provisions from Kathmandu. Where did you live?
  4. Conditions and problems faced during field work. How you came to know people. How did you ask the questions? How did you deal with opposition or embarrassing situations? Did you have better, more comfortable relationships with the men or the women? Did the fact that you were a female/male researcher make any difference, do you think, to what you were able to achieve in the village?



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HG3881.5 .W57 W67 no.526 c.4  
Acharya, Meena.  
Women and the subsistence  
sector : economic  
participation and household

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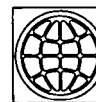
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