

**UNRAVELING PARENTAL GENDER DISCRIMINATORY  
PRACTICES: A CASE OF KATHMANDU  
METROPOLITAN CITY**

**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science of  
Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**in**

**HOME SCIENC**

**By**

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**February 2016**

## **LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION**

We certify that this dissertation entitled “Unraveling Parental Gender Discriminatory Practices: A case of Kathmandu Metropolitan City” was prepared by Samidha Dhungel Pokharel under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirement for Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in Home Science (Child Development and Gender Socialization).

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**APPROVAL LETTER**

This dissertation entitled “**Unraveling Parental Gender Discriminatory Practices: A Case of Kathmandu Metropolitan City**” was submitted by **Samidha Dhungel Pokharel** for final examination to the Research Committee of the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in HOME SCIENCE. I hereby, certify that the Reserch Committee of the Faculty has found dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has, therefore, accepted it for the degree.

Prof. Chinta Mani Pokharel, PhD

Dean and Chairman

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## DECLARATION

I hereby, declare that this PhD dissertation entitled “Unraveling Parental gender Discriminatory Practices: A case of Kathmandu Metropolitan City” submitted to the Office of the Dean, faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision of my supervisor. I have made due acknowledgements to all ideas and information borrowed from different sources in the course of writing this dissertation. The result presented in this dissertation have not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of my degree or for any reasons. No part of the content of this dissertation has ever been published in any form before. I shall besolely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

Samidha Dhungel Pokharel

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I express my gratitude to Professor Dr. Ram Bahadur Chhetri whom I've known since 2006, as a mentor of my research project entitled "Societal Discrimination women's Perspective" and recently Supervisor for my PhD Dissertation, for all the feedbacks and suggestions he gave me throughout my research period. Likewise, I express my gratitude to my co-supervisor Professor Dr. Mira Mishra for her valuable suggestions and feedbacks.

I am thankful to all anonymous members involved in recruiting proposals to accept it; and Social Inclusion Research Fund/SNV, Nepal for providing fund for this study.

My colleagues Mandira Tamrakaar, Sabita Sthapit; friend Manju Sapkota also deserve acknowledgement for their support in my networking to find eligible respondents for the study. Likewise, Principle Lalit Sharma and Indra Lochan Chaudhari of "Bouddha children Heaven school" also deserve acknowledgement for making the necessary arrangements that allowed me to meet with teenagers ; and Deepak Tuladhar the principle of Modern Newa School for finding the parents of under the age of five years old are equally be worthy of the gratitude . Without their support this study would not be completed on time. I would also like to acknowledge Lila Neupane, and Samjhana Ghimire.

Finally, I am thankful to my husband Professor Dr. Ridish Pokharel who encouraged me to continue my study; daughter Garima Pokharel, and son Sambridda Pokharel for their patience and cooperation during my busy schedule for data collection. I would also like to heartily thank my son for his proof reading.

Last, but not the least, I am also thankful to my Dhungel family, especially, my mother who gave me the foundation to become capable of earning this degree. Without their support and devotion during my school and college life, I would have never been eligible to pursue my PhD. My sincere gratitude would be incomplete if I forgot to acknowledge my late father Professor Hari Nath Upadhyaya Dhungel who gave me blessing with sacred word “*Dherai Padha hai chhori*” during last moment of his life.

## **ABSTRACT**

The overall objective of this dissertation is to explore and analyzed parental gender discriminatory behavior and children's coping strategy against it. Findings rely on the data collected from a total of three hundred and ninety-five (395) respondents (parents having children from birth to nineteen years old, and teenage boys and girls) residing in Kathmandu metropolitan city through a mixed model.

Parental gendered perception and practice is highly influenced by gender, educational status and economic condition. Parents show gender differentiated attitude from the very beginning of child's birth and put into practice while providing health facilities, breast feeding/weaning, quality education, decision making, household labor distribution, etc. Teenage boys and girls feel more discrimination in the area of mobility, household job responsibility and education. Boys identify themselves as confident, defiant, supporter and progenitor while girls as rejected, docile, suppressed and confused. More girls than boys feel discrimination at home. More boys than girls choose problem solving coping strategies. More girls than boys on the other hand, use emotion focused coping strategies.

It can be concluded that parental gender discriminatory behaviors is not an issue for girls only but also for boys. Like other societal discrimination parental gender discriminatory behavior is embedded with: parental stereotypical perception attached with boys and girls, identity formation, and types of strategies chosen by teenagers to cope against it. Parental attitude that is expressed in behavior help boys and girls to internalize that they are different to each other based on their biological sex and accept stereo typical gender role. Gender awareness programs at school would benefit boys and girls to resist parental gendered

behavior effectively. Moreover, improvement in parental educational and economical condition would be helpful in lessening gender discrimination.

Key words: Gender discrimination, Parent, Child, Identity, Coping strategy



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## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 BACKGROUND**

Socialization of children is focused on primary socialization assuming that the child is born with an 'empty' or clear mind which is slowly filled with social ideas regarding accepted norms and values of the group in which s/he born and raised. A child learns to be independent and maintains social relationship with many contexts which begins with family and may extend to the global community. Family/home is the primary institution of socialization wherefrom a child learns about the norm, culture, values and religion of the family or that of community. In the name of socialization the family, according to their culture, forces and reinforces many norms and values to the son and daughter accordingly by sharing the ideas of right versus wrong; evaluation of good and bad; desirable versus undesirable. As per Pierre Bourdieu every society has a code of conduct 'Doxa' (Bourdieu, 1977) (translated by Richard Nice) is not open to questioning or contestation"; "un-discussed, unnamed, admitted without agreement or scrutiny". 'Doxa' includes widely accepted norms and practices; which enter almost every sphere of activity. Social norms and values of the society restrict or categorize individual or group of the society for Do's and Don'ts according to their gender. Influenced by 'Doxa', both, family and the society demand children to follow it as they grow (Agrawal B. , 2000). As a traditional male dominated society, position of women and girls in Nepalese society is subjugated. Family maintains general rules for conducting household activities according to the sex of the children. Son is must in both Hindu and Buddhist family. Some major reasons behind preference of sons against daughters are associated with the issue of



support during old age, family reputation and prestige, and continuity of progeny (Tiwari, 2006).

Learning theories like behaviorism assume that a learner starts of learning as a clean slate. Behavior is shaped through both positive and negative reinforcement which increases the possibility that the antecedent behavior will happen again. In contrast, punishment, both positive, and negative, decreases the likelihood that the antecedent behavior will happen again. Whereas, cognitivism is more focused on learner's mental ability of processing the facts, their past experience and linking it to the present and future; and constructivism shapes children's behavior by social learning theory. In this sense, it is obvious that the role of family in shaping children's behavior is prominent.

Family resources and strategies are more potent in fostering successful outcome in youth than neighbor-hood influence (Glen H. Elder, 1998). According to Erik Erikson's life-cycle theory (1968), stage between births to teen is most critical period amongst different stages of life. So it is the parent's responsibility to direct their children towards the right track. Amartya Sen (2000) believes that people not only learn by doing but also will unlearn by not doing. The discouragement that is induced by the family can lead to weakening of motivation and passiveness to that specific activity. Parental gender discriminatory perception toward son and daughter leads them to either encourage or discourage children in gender specific activities, which in turn cause deterioration of certain skill by not doing. Because of continuous exclusion, children lose the skill they would develop with practice, which in turn cause the loss of confidence and consequently damage their ability that could be

developed in long run. Children with low self esteem and inability either exclude themselves or are excluded by society (Sen, 2000).

Different theories about the development of gender such as Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981), Cognitive developmental theory (Kohlberg, 1966 cited in Bem, 1981), and Social cognitive theory (Bussey & Bandura, 1999) emphasize the importance of environmental role in gender development. Male and female is the salient feature in each human culture. Children are expected to acquire gender specific skills from the very beginning of life at home, which is then reinforced by school. Children learn gender specific behavior through observation, direct instruction, reward and punishment for certain gender specific activities and identification of same sex. As children identify their gender, girls continue to follow the women's gender role while boys begin to separate themselves from women. Both girls and boys try to maintain it after reaching the level of consistency.

Both boys and girls learn gender role and develop gender identity, basically, from mother. Boys develop masculine gender identification and gender role in the absence of continuous and ongoing personal relationship with his father. Boys learn gender role more consciously than girls and negatively in the sense that boys define masculinity as opposite of femininity. In this context, boys tend to deny identification with and relationship with the mother and reject what they consider to be feminine. On the other hand girls continuously stay with the mother. Hence girls' feminine identity is reinforced with women's mothering (Chodorow, 1979). Both boys and girls follow traditional gender role socialization and transfer such belief to their children once they become adult (Powlishta, Sen, Serbi, Dubois, & Eichstedt, 2001). It is,

therefore, important to address the issue of gender equity at an early stage of children's life in order to minimize gender inequalities (Oxfam, 2010)

Though parents are aware and say they should not treat boys and girls differently, in practice, they treat their little girls and boys differently. Parents show gender discriminatory behaviors while providing playing cum learning materials which help children to identify their gender identity as a “Girl” or “Boy”. Playing with doll is considered as “feminine” and is appropriate for females. Similarly, playing with truck, guns etc is considered as “masculine” and is appropriate for males. Doyle (1989) have reported that without knowing the interest of the children mothers offer train to children with boy dress and doll to children with girl dress. Not only the toys, but also the interacting style with male and female children is different. Mothers smiles and keep the female child more close to themselves than the male child (Doyle, 1989).

Boys and girls are raised with the cultural stereotypes for their gender as guides. Masculine and feminine traits are stamped out of girls and boys respectively. Socialization of girls tends to be oriented toward nurturance and responsibility. Available researches reveal that parental behavior regarding children's gender-specific behavior might differ from each other (Peter, 1994; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). As the parents are also the product of traditional gender discriminatory value system, they are also affected by the changing gender behavioral norms. Fathers may encourage one traditional value while mother may encourage another. For example, fathers may encourage their sons in sports rather than daughters and mothers may encourage daughters to perform the house hold chores rather than sons (Peter, 1994). Parents are more likely to permit or encourage aggression in boys than girls and that

this might be one of the reasons of boy's aggressiveness (Maccobby & Jacklin, 1974). Social norms that encourage male to be powerful, aggressive, unemotional and controlling contribute to a social acceptance of men as dominant. Conversely, the norms that encourage female to be submissive and emotional reinforces women's role as weak, powerless and dependent upon men (Oxfam, 2010). Chaplin *et.al* has found that fathers pay more attention to submissive emotion (sadness and anxiety) in preschool girls and disharmonious emotions (aggressiveness and disharmonious happiness) of early school age boys. Though the submissive expression were found in boys, by the time they reach early school age, the average (50%) number of submissive expression were decreased. Parental attention to submissive emotions was also related to same submissive expression of the girls over time (Chaplin, Cole, & Zohn-Waxler, 2005). Bhadra and Mishra (2009) have reported the women's behavior like intentional or deliberate crying in front of husband, prolonged sullenness and keeping studied silence to draw husband's attention. They further mention that 'keeping silence' and deliberate crying at affinal home provides power to women to cope with hardship and/or to change husband's extreme-masculinity and unsavory behavior or to bring change in traditionally dichotomized husband wife relationship.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Contemporary scholars believe that gender discrimination is a subject of the past (Taubman, 1991; Meadows, Land and Lamb, 2005). They believe industrialization and increasing wealth lessens the inequality in political and economic domain. Women's role and appropriate behavior defined by society vary within the caste, class, economic and educational status of the family. Sometime perception of women's role and practice might not be congruent because of changes

that may have occurred in the society. Isely (1992) in her study “Women’s role: Perception and Practice in South Indian village” found the difference between the perceptions and practice about *kallar* women’s mobility. Though it was believed “*Kallar* women and girls never leave the house”, in practice it was different than they thought. Restriction on mobility for girl between the times of attaining puberty was severe during day time. But they had limited freedom of mobility after dark. Likewise, married women move in groups usually accompanied by the men. Taubman (1991) believes that in recent cohort of young generation both male and female children are being treated in comparable level of education and the resource distribution of the family in developed countries like United States. Meadow , Land and Lamb (2005) in their study in United States, during 1985-2001” , which was motivated by fundamental question “Do American boys and girls differ substantially in quality of life?” conclude that there is no such differences in quality of life. Furthermore they claim that though there might be some differences in gender, both boys and girls face similar advantage and disadvantage over time. The overall level of well being is equal in developed country like United States. (Meadows, Land, & Lamb, 2005).

On the other hand, various studies show that children and women are still facing gender discrimination both in private and public sphere. One in every three women has survived an act of violence caused by gender discrimination. Most often, it has been caused by a member of their family (William, nd). Practice of delay eating and lower preference for household food for females including women and girl child is still prevalent in rural India (Neogy, 2010). Parents prefer providing better food to the boys than girls (Howarth E. Bouis, 1998). Few scholarly literatures regarding gender discrimination in Nepalese society shows that sons are preferred against

daughters by parents (Leone, Matthews, & Zuanna, 2003); fertility behavior is influenced by sex of the child (Acharya R. C., 2010). Leone, Matthews, and Zuana (2003) in their study, based on data available from Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 1996, on married women aged 15-49 years who did not desire any more children. They estimated the level of contraceptive use and the total fertility rate in the absence of sex preference of children. Their findings suggest that though there was no evidences of gender bias in introducing any types of vaccination and oral rehydration, sex preference influence the use of contraceptive which was decreased by 24 %. The number of women having son as a last child (64%) had stopped child bearing with comparison to women who had daughter as last child (3%). This suggests that the son preference in Nepal is substantial. Thapa (2013) in his small sized qualitative study also found, once born, girls face discrimination in terms of quality of education, resource allocation, nutrition, and health facilities (Thapa, 2013)

Gregory (2003) concluded that sex discrimination is still prevalent although the long standing gap between compensation paid to men and women have narrowed down in recent years, female workers still receive substantially less than men. Similarly, the promotion of few women at top position does not clearly mean it is an everyday occurrence. Most of the women still face an uphill barrier in achieving equal work place and status as men. Blatant, subtle, and covert type discrimination continues to plague working women. Because act of sex discrimination is often subtly conceived and not readily detectable, women often remain unaware that sex discrimination constitutes a moving force in their work lives, and, as a result, they seldom seek legal redress for it. Though some women recognize the impact of discrimination on their career; because of complex legal proceeding, lack of financial resources to retain attorney, family responsibilities that make it hard to be involved in

extended litigation, fear of losing job and acceptance of discrimination with perception "all workplaces are infested with sex discrimination and not worth to contest it in male dominated society", do not want to be involved in complex legal process. There is a need of more study to determine whether gender discriminatory practices exist or not in contemporary Nepalese society.

Based on substantial body of research it can be assumed that gender discrimination is still a challenging issue in contemporary world. Son is considered as a must in some patriarchal society or preferred in most of the family and provided with better facilities needed for quality life. Son preference impacts on pregnancy rates, average number of siblings, sex distribution of children, birth intervals, and duration of postpartum abstinence. But, it is very hard to pinpoint the family member in terms of who is responsible for gender discriminatory practices at home. Research in this fundamental area is lacking and needs to be addressed.

According to psychoanalytic theory, the primary outcome of the oedipus complex is heterosexual erotic orientation for both boys and girls. Boys resolve their oedipus complex by repressing their attachment with mothers and retain primary love object throughout their boyhood. Hence, development of masculine heterosexual object choice is relatively continuous. But, in case of girls, it is somewhat harder than boys. In order to get proper heterosexual orientation girls should transfer their primary love object choice to father and men. Because of the unavailability of father to daughter and mother-daughter relationship, girls could not totally transfer primary object to father and remain involved with mother (Chodorow N. , 1997).

Changes in social norms and values which encourage gender inequality cannot be achieved overnight. Attitudes and behaviors that lead to gender equality are

developed through socialization process beginning from birth. Knowledge and ideas acquired during early adolescent is influential. It is the best suitable time period to intervene before individuals solidify their ideas about gender roles and social norms (Lundgren, Beckman, Chaurasiya, Subhedi, & Kerner, 2013). Knowledge regarding Parental gender discriminatory practices and its impact on teenage boys' and girls' identity would open window of opportunity to develop awareness program against discriminatory practices.

Bringing radical change in society is a tough task due to stereotypical perception of the people living in society. Person, family or community who seeks and works for change is either considered as a rebellious or social evil (*Bikriti*) and are discouraged by society. Because in transitory period, some traditional norms may have changed, new norms may have yet to be developed that make people uncertain about the appropriate role and feel anomie-normlessness. Normative culture, thus, inherits from one generation to another generation unquestioned. However, there might be some modifications. Neither laws nor policies written in a piece of paper or governmental rules and regulation against discrimination are enough to abolish it. Abolition of discrimination should start from home. Boys' and girls' coping mechanism may differ and that might motivate parents to treat son and daughter differently. The ways son and daughter cope with parental gender discriminatory behavior is seriously lacking sociological attention. In this context, my concern is to identify and analyze the mechanisms that help to lessen gender discrimination at home and society as a whole.



### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- Do parents perceive son and daughter differently and show gendered behavior?
- What are the natures of parental gendered behavior that teenage boys and girls are concerned with?
- What are the effects of parental gendered behavior on teenage boys' and girls' gender identity?
- What types of coping strategies that teenage boys and girls use against parental gendered behavior?

### **1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The general objective of this study is to explore, document, and analyze gendered nature of parenting and its impact on both teenaged sons and daughters in Hindu and Buddhist family.

Specific objectives of the study:

- To document parental perception and gender discriminatory behavior toward son and daughter,
- To find out or identify the nature of parental discriminatory behaviors noticed by teenagers,
- To analyze the effect of parental gender discriminatory behaviors on teenagers' gender identity.
- To document the types of strategy used by teenager to cope with parental gender discriminatory behavior.

## **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Gender discrimination is a prominent public discourse in Nepal.

Discrimination in education, job, wage and property in societal and national context are major focus of this research study. Discrimination starts from family in simple form that is either in the form of love or protection; and turns into a complex challenges for society and nation in larger context. Scholars believe gender as the women's issue and have done many researches on women's issues. Agreeing with (Mehata, 2007), I also believe that gender refers to both women and men in relation to one another, pertaining to the appropriate roles, activities and responsibilities attributed to women and men in a given society, and the socially determined norms and values that they place on them. Men and women both might be negatively affected by the gender role assigned to them by society.

Gender discrimination is a social and national problem in larger context, which starts from each single home depending on the families' economic background, values, religion and culture. Children are the victims of gender discrimination within home. Many of the researches done about gender in Nepal deal with the differences between husband and wife about their earnings, holding property, work load and resource allocated to male and female child, etc. Studies regarding gender and its impact on children have been overlooked by the scholars. Parental gender discriminatory perception and practice toward son and daughter, and how a parental gender discriminatory behavior influence male and female child has not been of major focus yet. It is important to understand the impact of parental discrimination among children not only because such type of study is lacking in Nepalese society, but also because discrimination may hinder optimal functioning in childhood and adolescence

and can negatively affect future adjustment and mental health. More research is therefore needed to analyze how discrimination at home leads subjugation of girls and aggressiveness among boys as well as how children employ coping strategies to deal with these challenges. This study is focused on four major areas associated with gender: (a) parental gendered perception, (b) parental gendered differentiated practices, (c) parental gendered behavior and its effect on children's identity, and (d) the coping strategy used by male and female teens against parental gender discriminatory behavior.

The way people raise their children differ from one culture to another and from one caste or ethnic group to another. It is essential to inform theorist, researcher and practitioner how culturally diverse people raise children (Parke and Buriel, 1998 cited in (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). This study focuses on two different religious groups: Hindu and Buddhist; and culturally diverse groups: Newar, Caste group and Hill ethnic group. Parents, school teachers, students studying child development, developmentalist working in the field of gender will benefit from the newly generated knowledge. Moreover, findings of the study will assist the policy makers to understand the existing discrimination practices in the society and also make them understand who in terms of gender (father or mother) are involved in gender discrimination along with the reasons. Such information will also allow the policy makers to formulate inclusive policy and programs focusing on gender which is likely to encourage women to take part in the development and nation building process. In the long run the study will also be helpful to formulate the non discriminatory household environment, society, and nation as a whole.

## 1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

**Gender:** The terms “gender” in this dissertation has been used in both terms biological sex and gender identity as defined by California Penal Code, section 422.56 (c) “Gender” is defined to mean “sex” and it also “includes a person’s gender identity and gender-related appearance and behavior, whether or not stereotypically associated with the person’s assigned sex at birth” (A Guide by ACLU of Northern California, 2010).

**Gender discrimination:** The term gender discrimination in this dissertation has been used to indicate parental gender differentiated attitude and behavior between sons and daughters.

**Male/Father:** Men having children and are the respondents of the study.

**Boy/ Girls:** Boys and girls between the age of 13 to 19 and are respondents of the study.

**Female /Mother:** Women having children and are the respondents of the study.

**Son/Daughter:** Parental response about children of the family.

**Brother/Sister:** Teenagers talking about their siblings.

**Child:** The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child states a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier. However, boys or girls who are called nineteen are also taken as children. The reason for setting children’s age at nineteen rather than eighteen is because in the context of Nepal , when an individual becomes seventeen

and turns eighteen in coming months, most consider the individual as eighteen years old. So by placing the age limit at nineteen it is more effective avoiding the error of considering an individual as eighteen years old who is just seventeen.

## **1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT**

“Gender” is a very controversial term in contemporary society. Scholars have two opposing views regarding gender *i.e.* biological and sociological. Butler also (1990) argues that both ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ is culturally constructed and inseparable. Butler further argues as “it would make no sense, then to define gender as the cultural interpretation of sex, if sex itself is a gender category”. I have used the term gender in this paper in both biological and social terms; in sense that it seeks the parental gender discriminatory behavior against biological male and female child and their exercise to make a male child to be masculine, and a female child feminine as described by the normative society.

The report has been categorized under six basic groups:

Chapter 1: Introduction which deals with definition, types of discrimination especially gender discrimination, objectives and research questions of the study.

Chapter 2: Review of literatures, theoretical/conceptual frame work and theories to relate with this study.

Chapter 3: Research methodology discusses about the research design, survey area, sample size, tools and technique, statistical method and limitation of the study etc.

Chapter 4: Data analysis and interpretation has been triangulated with findings of previous scholars. To be more specific, Chapter 4 has been divided into 5 more sections according to the objectives of the study to answer the questions raised by the researcher: 4.1 gives an idea about general information of the respondents. 4.2 parental gender discriminatory attitude and behavior at home 4.3 teenagers' experience toward parental gender discriminatory behavior and its effect on them 4.4 Teenagers; coping strategy against parental gender discriminatory behaviors 4.5 Major findings of the study .

Chapter 5: Summary and conclusion.

## **CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL**

### **FRAMEWORK**

Gender discrimination is a major concern of scholars in the contemporary world. Discrimination can be done in different forms such as: individually, institutionally and structurally. Based on the objectives of this dissertation, this chapter includes review of literatures associated with parents within home. Beginning with the status of men and women in different era of civilization, major focus is on the core theme of the dissertation “parental gender discriminatory behavior and its impact on teenage boys and girls. Literature published on journal, books, published and unpublished reports, magazines, daily Newspapers, web sites and unpublished dissertations are the major source of this section.

#### **2.1 STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE FAMILY: PARADIGM SHIFT**

Evidences from primitive society’s women were equal to that of men. Legend about the marriage of great historic women like *Sita* (main female character of Ramayan) and *Draupadi* (main female character of Mahabharat) prove that women in those days enjoy freedom of selecting life partner. The described age of those women also gives a picture of women’s maturity to select life partner, which was gradually narrowed down with the reduction in age at marriage; and hindered women’s right to select their life partner. Likewise the acceptance of Dhrtarastra, Pandu, Bidur and Pandavas (Pandu putras) as Kuru dynasty, suggest that once women were accepted as Daughter-in-Laws, they had equal rights as their husband. They had rights of delivering lineage if husbands were unable to perform this duty. These examples

prove that there have been egalitarian societies, where women had achieved considerable social recognition and power.

Sharon Smith (1997) in her writing “Engels and the origin of women’s oppression” also describes existence of non monogamous pairing of males and females with their offspring prior to class society. Bhasin (1993) argues that People, during stone- age neither had any concept about the male and female reproductive organs nor its importance in reproduction. They used to live together, perform same type of work, and enjoy together. They knew about reproduction from animal husbandry. After the beginning of the institution of family, men became more patriarchal and started division of labors and gender role (Bhasin, 1993).

Anthropologists argue that there is not any society where women have publicly recognized power and authority surpassing that of men (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974). Rosaldo in her book “woman culture and society” argue that no matter how much power and influence women have in society and production they never got ‘*public value*’. Ortner in her book ‘Is female to Male as Nature is to culture?’ suggest that because of women’s association with breast feeding, child birth and child rearing, menstruation they are compared with nature and men as the creator of culture. Although in some culture, women are seen as superior to men, in most of the cases because of women’s social role (household sphere) they are seen as inferior to men.

Hepeng (2007) reported that scientist and engineers in China still face discrimination in the workplace. Women scientist could not get research job as the institution and labs openly admit to only recruiting males. Rosemary cited in Davidson and Black, (2001) also observed overt type discrimination that women feel



in her study. She quotes a woman's voice who had worked as a ranger for 12 years expressed as "It is better than it used to be probably but I don't think women get as much chance as training as blokes. Women tend to be overlooked; the people who allocate training are all blokes" (Davidson & Black, 2001). Study also reveals the fact that women with children are less likely to be hired and if hired would be paid a lower salary than male applicants. But men either with children or without children who asked for higher salary are not adversely affected as women. Women who asked for more money as salary are not hired, (Correl, Benard, & Paik, 2007).

Substantial body of literatures suggests that development of human beings and family, their roles and responsibility; family and society as a whole has been changing from time to time. With the development of civilization and industrialization, the definition of men and women has become more distinctive. In this process many male scholars started to define the role of a perfect woman and man: men as bread winner and women as care taker. The social world during Vedic era was turned into patriarchal and father became the head of family. Though, the birth of female over male was considered as disfavor, once born women were provided with the entire opportunities male enjoyed (Mishra K. , 1993). Mishra (2005) also mention that women were the first farmer and served as provider and nurturers of the family. After the invention of agriculture men took over the social and gendered roles as provider and controller of the family.

Based on published literature related to women's subordination, and can be concluded that discrimination between men and women is not a new phenomenon. Prior to World War I, most of the women were confined to domestic sphere. Primarily, their role was recognized as care taker and it involved household duties

known as women's work. They served their family as a cleaner, supervisor, cook, nurse etc without being given any power or able to share in political power with men. During WWI and WWII (1914- 1918, 1939- 1945), many men went to war and deceased which led to the decrease in labor force. Consequently, for the first time in the history, women were also permitted to join the armed force. The war tore families apart and forced women to take new roles and responsibilities. After WWI many women returned to their previous job that society had destined for them but some other refused (Brown, 2005) reviewed by Crail-Rugotzke, (2005) Women Workers during the First World War)].

The story about Meera Bai who fought against patriarchy for her right to decision also gives evidence that women in 18<sup>th</sup> century were not treated as human beings. Despite long history of discrimination, the phenomenon remained unexplained and embedded into the culture. Those who were in power and privileged enough to define the world in their perspective were rarely adversely affected by gender discrimination. At that time gender discrimination was not defined as an illegal act. After the Civil Right movement of the 1960, that led to define the sex discrimination along with race, religion, color and national origin as an illegal act as defined in Civil Right Act of 1964, gender discrimination started to be an issue.

## **2.2 GENDER DISCRIMINATION**

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women defines gender discrimination (1979) as: "Distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of marital status, on the basis of equality between men and women, of human right or

fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field" (Blanchfield, 2011).

"Gender discrimination can involve a whole gamut of issues, from unequal pay to women being portrayed as sexual objects in the media to wives being beaten up by their spouses. While in theory gender discrimination can affect both men and women, however, it is women who have been at the receiving end through the ages and across cultures, since most cultures in the world are patriarchal, or male dominated" (Putatunda, 2012).

In general Gender inequalities affect women's access to education, health care services, and financial resources and constraint their participation in decision making. This in turn limits their capacity to seize new opportunities and to cope with economic stresses (Hunzai & Yuves, 2010).

Keeping the women away from achieving their full measure of reward on the basis of their sex is called sex discrimination, and is recognized as a form of inequality and issue for women around the world. Discrimination against women denying or limiting as it does their equality or rights with men, is fundamentally unjust and constitutes an offence against human dignity (Article 1 of the declaration on elimination of discrimination of women adopted by UN General Assembly").

## **2.3 EXISTENCE, NATURE AND IMPACT OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION**

Gender discrimination can be seen in different form and different places throughout different stages of one's life. Discrimination between boys and girls starts from home right after birth. Neighbors, relatives and friends, especially in patriarchal societies like Nepal, become curious about the sex of the new born baby and raise the

question “ whether new born baby is a boy or girl?” if the sex of the baby is male the question gets full stop. But if the sex of the new born baby is female, there will be many consecutive questions such as “is this the first or second delivery?”

In home it starts in the form of socialization and as children go to school it is reinforced in educational institutions. Sex segregation starts from the preschool age and continue throughout the elementary, middle and high school. Sex segregation is well established by middle childhood (Eder and Hallinan, 1978; Schofield, 1981; Thorne, 1992). In an educational setting there could be discrimination between boys and girls by excluding /including or encouraging /discouraging certain groups from educational institution, choosing specific subjects, or participation in certain activities (Pokharel S. D., 2013).

Most intellectual group of women of the developed countries who fight for other's right (lawyers), themselves feel subtle type of discrimination in occupation. They are requested or assigned to the work that needs more percent of time than those of male lawyers, need out- of- town travel, dealing with unfamiliar or unpleasant case/client, restricted to the access to mentors, clients (Lentz & Laband, 1995).

Gender discriminations practiced in day-to-day life are of different types; for example: blatant, subtle, and covert. Covert and subtle type discriminations are more dangerous than the blatant type discrimination since they are less visible and obvious. Those who feel blatant discrimination can protest immediately but subtle type discrimination is internalized by the people and takes it as normal, natural and acceptable (Benokraitis, 1997). The prevention of women, albeit in subtle ways, from accessing decision making process results in their voices and interest being less likely to be considered in the policies, procedures, and strategies chosen by the agency.

Without access to higher positions women, to some extent, remain powerless to alter the way their own position is defined and powerless to contribute to agency decision. Because of the lack of recognition of their contribution, women might feel depressed, and frustrated.

Heilman and Guzzo cited in (Geis, 1993) conclude that gender biased perception causes discriminatory behavior which affects the capacity of women to participate freely and fully in society and in turn brings psychological harmful consequences. The harmful consequences might be observed in different ways: the woman who takes discrimination aggressively, she may experience it as destructive to her relationship, damages her sense of herself if other considered her as a trouble maker. Or a woman who take discrimination as a complaint she may lose or destabilize valuable relationship with family, coworker or the perpetrator. Women who are able to maintain a healthy sense of anger, it can lead to self- stigmatization, isolation or a sense of looser. Such woman can suffer from depression and anxiety (Lenhart S. A., 2004).

## **2.4 PERPETRATOR OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION**

Scholars working on gender have different views about who maintains gender inequality? Research reveals that both perpetrator either including men and women in the society as well as the victim is equally responsible to continue discriminatory behaviors in the society. Discrimination towards women is culturally embedded in society and often is very hard to point out one single factor *i.e.* who in term of male or female or the customary practices is the responsible factor (Pokharel, 2007). Uma Chakravarti in her writing “Conceptualizing Brahmanical patriarchy in early India: gender, caste, class and state” believe that the subordination of women is

interconnected with powerful Brahmanical religious instruments which shapes social practices and encourage women to internalize such practices (Chakravarti, 1993).

According to Liberal feminism women are disadvantaged due to customary expectation which are held by men and promoted through 'agencies of socialization, and internalized by women. Women's condition can be improved by breaking down stereotypical expectation by providing girls and women better trainings, equal opportunity programs etc (Razavi & Miller, 1995).

Pokharel (2008) has noted that male and female as well as customary practices, to some extent, encourage women to internalize the discrimination as natural difference between male and female. Depending on the status of women that is married or unmarried, they feel different types of discriminatory behavior by different factor. Some women feel male as father/father in law and particularly husband are responsible for discrimination in allowances, property, mobility and occupation. Similarly, some other women feel the discrimination on food and differential parental behavior like distribution of house hold chores, control interaction with boys and mobility by mother/mother in law. Majority of the women also blame both male and female equally as the perpetrator of discrimination. Few married women and insignificant number of unmarried women blame customary practice as the reason of discrimination. Due to fear of being deserted by husband, women don't even hesitate to abort the female embryo inside their womb before it turns into a baby (Bastola, 2007). Women to some extent are responsible for the discrimination they experience as they often keep quiet and do not protest against it to please their so-called superiors. They often forget their rightful place and almost become a slave to the situation to make their superior happy. Most of the women still choose to be married having children and engage in low paid job (Sharma, 1989). If the norms and pressure

to conform is relaxed, the choices and value of women will be very different  
(UNICEF, 2007)

Roger (2004) mentions views of different individual regarding the person responsible for maintaining gender discrimination as follow: "Some people have a firm conviction that men are responsible for gender discrimination as a community, but I disagree. It is social structure and religious barriers, for example, which prevent women from leaving the house. We need to address the social, political, and economic system at once.—the family is not exempt from the external environment, so it is better to look at the structural level of things and how that influence the family if we want to change gender relation there". "I think gender is an issue for all humanity, but I also think how much women are responsible for creating imbalances. Women are responsible for making me male or female in terms of attitude, behavior and practice because they are the masters of the socialization process"; "Men are dominating our society, so what males like, what males want, what males desire or what males want to see is happening... At this moment women are getting fewer rights, (and it is difficult for them) just to have movement (for equality). Men are not fully ready to reduce their control over resources, decision making process or even over female counterparts". Gender is socially constructed with formal education, culture, religion and families all mentioned as contributing to creating and reinforcing gender norms ” (Roger,2004: 179,180,181).

Fuwa, et al in their empirical study have also indicated the importance of mother's education than the father's in reducing child labor and increasing the girl's school enrollment. The effect of mother's income on both male and female child is same, whereas the father favors the boys more than the girls (Fuwa, Ito, kubo,

Kurosaki, & Sawada, 2006). Though mother's additional income expenditure to male and female children for health, nutritional status and schooling is similar, it indirectly helps to raise the educational and health status of girl child (Choudhary, Bhattarai, Pandit, & Kollmair, 2010).

## **2.5 CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION**

Prior to jump on determining whether children are facing discrimination at home or not it is necessary to understand their fundamental rights. Equality in opportunity of life is fundamental Human Rights of all categories of people living in all parts of the world. Discrimination- the systematic denial of certain people, group or community from full human right- is an obstacle for the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. United Nations has adopted more than twenty principal treaties further elaborating human rights including women Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and children Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (CRC).

Child- from prenatal to the stages of adolescent's limit of the age bar is eighteen as described by CRC, 1989- rights and its fulfillment of the responsibilities lies both on guardian and the state. The four main child rights enshrined by the CRC, 1989 (National Human Rights Commission, 2009: 29) includes:

- Right to life: nutrition, immunization and primary health care, protected shelter, healthy environment, and clean drinking water.
- Right to Protection: right to protect from discrimination, mistreatment, child labor and mistreatment, exposure to dangerous job, trafficking and separation from parents.



- Right to development: access to education, sports, rest, love, respect and care from the parents; mental, moral and social development.
- Right to Participation: being able to participate in certain activities, social and cultural activities in every aspect of life without any obstruction and discrimination, right to be informed about different things and right to expression of ideas.

Despite, most part of the world's ratification on CRC a large number of children are deprived of their rights. From infancy, girls face worse treatment than boys in such forms as selective malnutrition and denial of equal access to education and health services and parental behavior. The use of family planning is also driven by the birth of son. More mothers having sons with contrast to those having daughters are found to be stopping child birth permanently (Leone, Matthews, & Zuanna, 2003). Boys tend to have greater school attendance, a higher likelihood of vaccination, and slightly longer breast feeding (Acharya, 2010; Abrejo, Shaikh, & Rizvi, 2009; Alur, 2007; Bhadra, 2002; Bhattarai, 2011).

### **2.5.1 Discrimination against Right to life: (nutrition and health care)**

Parents show gender discriminatory behavior against their children since the baby is in the womb. According to the report of UNICEF, though it is hard to provide conclusive evidences of misuse of Modern Diagnostic Tools for Pregnancy, the unusual proportion of male birth and male children under five in Asia, it can be assumed that the trend of sex selection is sky rocketing (UNICEF, 2007; Westley, 1995; Bhattarai, 2011; Frost, Puri, & Hinde, 2013).

V. Bhaskar and Alur in their study have reported inhumane discriminatory practices in India. Bhaskar (2008) reveals the cases of feeding uncooked rice to female girls as a way of inducing rapid death and killing female girls by family members within three days. Because of such female infanticide practices, Bedi Shikha are traditionally known as Kudimaar (girl killer) (Bhaskar, 2008). Infanticide and sex selective abortion is tough and illegal practice in India is a social problem. Signs posted as “Pay 500 hundred rupees and save 50,000 rupees later” (literally aborting a female fetus now could save a fortune in wedding expenses in the future) gives message that infanticide and sex selective abortion is associated with dowry. She further writes such inhumane practice is not only limited within poorer family but also found in richer family because of social norms and cultural beliefs (Alur, 2007).

From infancy, girls face worse treatment than boys in such forms as selective malnutrition and denial of equal access to education, health services, and parental behavior. Gender bias in household spending on education and health services provided to sons and daughters is more pronounced in poor and rural household who are dependent on agriculture (Burgess & Zhuang, 2000).

The Nepal Living Standard Survey, 2011 also revealed the fact that parents take their daughter to the government institutions for the consultation of acute illness and sons to the private institutions (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011) (Table 1).

**Table 1 Percentage of Health consultations for acute illness by type of institution**

	Government Institution						Private Health Institution					
Gender	Sub-health post	Health post	Public health center	Hospital	Other	Sub-total	Pharmacy	Clinic	Private hospital	Other	Sub-total	Total
Male	12.3	7.8	2.1	11	2.2	35.3	25.6	28.8	5.2	5.1	64.7	100
Female	13.7	8.0	2.9	11.6	2.3	38.5	25.0	26.3	5.4	4.8	61.5	100

Source: NLSS, 2010/2011, Central Bureau of Statistics, November 2011. Volume one

## **2.5.2 Discrimination against Right to protection: (mistreatment)**

Most of the culture values men's behaviors, occupations, and attitudes more highly than those associated with women. Boys are taught that they will inherit the privileges and prestige of male-hood. Parental expression toward son as “*budheskaalko sahara*” and preferences provided to sons makes them more confident, proud and secure. Boys consider father as their role model who supports family and are willing to study hard to follow father's foot step. On the contrary, girls are taught as if they are less socially valuable than boys. Girls learn as they are socially less valuable than boys through parental discriminatory behaviors in the areas of basic need like food, education. Parental intentional discriminatory behaviors push teenager girl to feel rejected in the family. Both boys and girls are expected to view their status as right, moral, and appropriate. Once they internalize it girls never ask about the prejudice they feel (Pokharel 2013).

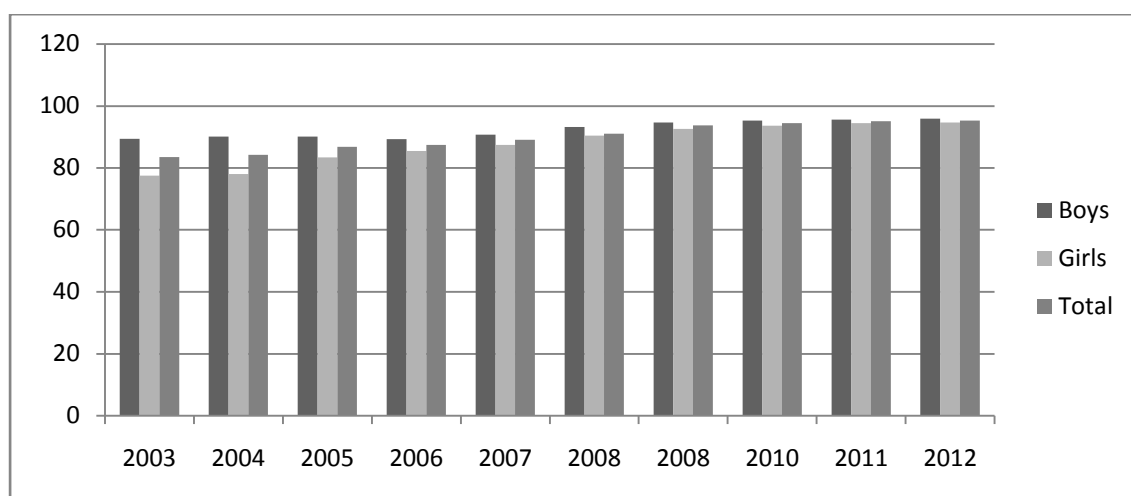
Raley and Bianche indicate that treating son and daughter is not only an issue of developing countries but also of developed countries like United States of America. As per her findings fathers take care of family as a bread winner, invest more, stay married with the mother of the son, and take custody of the son in case of divorce. Mothers having son also believe that if both parents work outside the home children will suffer. So mothers focused on conventional role of care giving and fathers take the role of bread winner (cited in Raley & Bianche, 2006). Low level of parental, especially fathers', involvement in upbringing the girl child may affect overall level of wellbeing (Lundberg, 2005).

Parents are found to be passive toward their son when sons express emotion aggressively but, are punitive to the daughters for the same type of emotional expression (Pokharel, 2008). Frequent and repeated nagging forces girls to be accustomed to such behavior and as a result they become passive even in unfavorable condition; and eventually accept it. On the contrary, the feelings that boys are boys, physically strong, and supporter of the parents during their old age make them feel safe and secure. That is why boys often outburst against restrictions put on them (Pokharel, 2013).

### **2.5.3 Discrimination against Right to development**

Out of one hundred and eighty countries, Nepal is also one of the countries committed to achieving Millennium Development Goals. Gender equality and empowerment of women is one of eight goals that need to be achieved by 2015. Naila Kabeer (2005) argues that education, employment and political participation are three ingredients essential for achieving the goal of gender equality and women empowerment. She describes empowerment as a process by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability.

Though, data available from Ministry of Education report (2012-2013) cited in (MDG Report, 2013) indicates the excellent progress in Net enrollment rate in primary education by gender (Figure 1), many available literatures reveals disparity in quality of education provided to the male and female children. It proves that the discrimination between qualities of education is still prevalent in Nepalese society. Nearly one out of five girls who get an opportunity to enroll in primary education



**Figure 1 Trend in NER by gender Source: MOE 2012-2013**

could not continue their education and are constantly deprived of the opportunity to achieve their full potential. Girls are less favored and given extra house hold chores, less leisure time and fewer expenses (UNICEF, 2007). Sons are treated better and get the opportunity of better education facilities than daughters. Parents prefer sending their son to an English school whereas, girls to a government school (Phukan, 1996). Parental attitude toward the need of education of girls is negative in some Tharu communities of Chitwan district Nepal. Consequently more boys (50%) in comparison to girls (10%) have gotten the opportunity to study in Boarding school (Pandey P. D., 2006).

Lancaster, Maitra, and Ray (2008) point out the differentiation in allocation of spending on education between boys and girls in the age group 11-16 years. The reason for differentiation might be due to the availability of more schools for boys, and either lack of local secondary schools for girls or social taboos or difficulties associated with sending girls to local secondary schools, or parental unwillingness to invest in girl's education. Pro-boy spending of goods and accessories associated with secondary and tertiary education has been observed in both rural and urban society of China (Burgess & Zhuang, 2000).

National population and Housing Census (2011) also reveal gender differences in literacy status of children aged 5 years and above (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012) (Table 2).

**Table 2 Population aged 5 years and above by literacy status**

	Number of population	Can read and write	Can read only	Can't read and write	Not stated
<b>Nepal</b>					
Total	23,926,541	15,777,786	602,777	7,524,427	21,551
Male	11,534,084	8,666,282	283,708	2,575,935	8,159
Female	12,392,457	7,111,504	319,069	4,948,492	13,392
<b>Urban</b>					
Total	4,196,720	3,450,674	71,276	672,398	2,372
Male	2,133,451	1,899,135	31,888	201,577	851
Female	2,963,269	1,551,539	39,388	470,821	1,521
<b>Rural</b>					
Total	19,729,821	12,327,112	531,501	6,852,029	19,179
Male	9,400,633	6,767,147	251,820	2,374,358	7,308
Female	10,329,188	5,559,965	279,681	4,477,671	11,871

Source: National population and Housing Census 2011

Though parents send both sons and daughters to school for education, parents allow their son to choose the subjects they want to study no matter how far should

they go and how expensive it is, but restricts their daughters from choosing the expensive subjects of their interest, if parents cannot afford it easily. The reason behind such parental discriminatory behavior is associated with the traditional saying that a daughter goes to other's home and has to hold broom and clean utensils' that promote parents to perceive spending or investing on daughter's education not worth as son since they go to other's home after marriage (Phukan, 1996).

Parents usually relate girl's study (subject preference) to household domain like taking care of family health, cooking, guiding/helping small children in their study, whereas son's study is focused on good job (Rothchild, 2006). A good bridegroom is the final destiny for their daughters and is taught manners and works in order to obtain the qualities of an excellent bridegroom (Phukan, 1996). Daughters are forced to help their seniors in the kitchen and serve the male member of the family even during examination period in the name of teaching household chores (Pokharel, 2007).

During the process of individuation, girls are encouraged to stay inside the house with the mother or anyone family member and help them in household chores and become dependent in society. In some community, girls begin gradually spending time with their mothers and assist with household chores at the age of five. Daughters are encouraged to be more nurturance (Jay, 1969 cited in Chodorow, 1993). Boys are encouraged to be away from mothers and are allowed to move and play outside the house. Parental permission to preschool boys roam farther from home than their preschool girls make boys to be independent and girls to be more dependent (Henslin, 2004).

Parents become more restrictive to their daughter in case of mobility as daughters turn to teen-age. Daughters are also restricted to interact with the outside world (Hameih & Usta, 2011). Parents are more interfering to daughters' personal matters like interaction with boys, choice of partner, and age at marriage than the sons (Pokharel, 2007). Subsequently, they start to lose their self-confidence; on many occasions, they have to depend on a male member who could be either their father, brother, husband or ultimately to son during old age (Phukan, 1996). The reason for such type of parental differentiated behavior is they (parents) relate daughter's issue with their prestige (Kafle, 2008). It has been reported that if daughter marry with low caste boy, parents never accept both daughter and son-in-law but in case of son the situation is different. Though parents exasperated with son, they accept both son and daughter-in-law (Pokharel, 2009).

In Nepalese culture, generally sons are preferred to walk with father and daughters with mother. Such preferences offer sons more opportunities to go out than daughters as father is mobile and uses different facilities such as vehicles. Excluding teen age girls from the opportunity make them sad and confused with questions "Is it the only reason that they are girls and could not have opportunities like their brothers" (Pokharel, 2013).

## **2.6 SOCIALIZATION AND GENDER IDENTITY**

Gender identity is defined as a personal conception of oneself as male or female (or rarely, both or neither). In other word, the way an individual internalizes own-self as being masculine or feminine is gender identity. Each child is born as a human being with no sense of maleness and femaleness or masculine and feminine (Chodorow N. , Family structure and feminine personality, 1993). As the child



becomes older he/she can understand the comments made by family member and other people around them about their behavior and body parts. Slowly, they start understanding social roles need to be followed accordingly, and consequently become masculine or feminine.

Turner *et.al* cited by (Frable, 1997) defines gender identity as men's and women's awareness of and feelings for their gender category. Based on different scholarly literatures, Frable states that it is self categorization of an individual within Boy/ Girl category, three-step acquisition process which includes: labeling- knowing self and others accurately, gender stability- learning that boys become men and girls become women, gender constancy- being a male or female is permanent and unchangeable .

The earliest age of children's internalization of parental messages regarding gender and awareness of adult gender role differences being found is two-years (Witt, 1997). As children reach three years they learn about themselves as being a male or female and follow the seniors that fall under their category: male or female.

According to cognitive-developmental theory once the child has achieved a fairly stable self concept s/he will select model accordingly and socialization will become more and more autonomous process (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Once imposed, this identity is internalized and experienced as an unalterable and inevitable reality. The unchanging core of personality formation is "with rare exception firmly and irreversibly established for both sexes by the time child is around three" (Chodorow, 1978 cited in Gilligan, 1979).

Different scholars have different views about whether the gender identity of an individual is influenced by biology or culture. Scholars have tried to prove it in their own perspective with strong evidences. Those who believe on biology opine that the formation of gender identity starts from within the mother's womb. According to him, Testes Determining Factor (TDF) is responsible in the identity formation of the child. In case of unusual developmental pattern of TDF, individual would not be able to fit them-self in any category the society has defined for them (Ghosh, 2009). It is relevant to quote the emotional feeling expressed by the third gender "I do not care about the standard of living, but i wish god make me either complete boy or girl in my next birth. It is being very hard to live with double standard" which supports TDF plays vital role in determining gender identity (Kantipur: National Daily News paper, year 20, volume 85 pp 8). It would not be a challenging issue in contemporary society raised by third gender if society and family have succeeded to fit them (third gender) under any of the stereotypical masculine or feminine category.

The proponents of cultural influences of gender identity believe that gender is initially acquired in the context of family where an individual's sense of self is shaped and internalizes his/her place within the social order. Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981); Social cognitive theory (Bussey & Bandura, 1999) emphasizes the importance of environmental role in gender development. Children learn gender specific behavior through observation, direct instruction, reward and punishment for certain gender specific activities and identification of same sex. Children are expected to acquire gender specific skills from the very beginning of life at home. Furthermore, family provides an environment in which interactions establish deep-seated ideas about gender and gender-appropriate behavior. Hence, child's earliest exposure to what it means to be male or female comes from parents and parental attitude have strong and

long lasting effect on children's life. Once children identify their gender, girls continue to follow the women's gender role while boys begin to separate themselves from women and both girls and boys try to maintain it after reaching the level of consistency.

Gender role expectation between boys and girls become more noticeable during puberty (Hallman & Roca, 2007). In order to get right kind of child, in terms of gender, masculinity or femininity is matched by the parents, who reproduce the gender system and the result is the ongoing re-creation of the present two-gender system. It is therefore, important to address the issue of gender equity at an early stage in children's life in order to address emerging gender inequalities (Oxfam, 2010).

Despite some controversy, whether gender identity of an individual is influenced by the biology or the culture, no one can deny the influence of environment and culture in biological male or female child. It is generally believed that an individual acquires the sense of self in the context of family and internalizes his/her place within the social order. In this study, I have made an attempt to describe how society and family influence cis gendered (whose biological body and mind conform to each other as a male or female defined by the society) to identify their roles in a given society and its impact on teenagers.

## **2.7 THEORIES RELATED TO GENDER DISCRIMINATION**

Discrimination is embedded from socio cultural norms and values, beliefs; and intertwined with education, economy etc. It is multidimensional; hence only one theory of discrimination is incomplete and inadequate. Theories that I have

categorized in this paper might be re-categorized under different division and subdivision.

### **2.7.1 Engel's theory of property inheritance**

According to Engel (1884) the subordination and changing trajectory of gender relation is not biological rather the emergence of private property (Agrawal, 2008). The overthrow of mother's right was the world historical defeat of female sex. The position of women in family between the period of savagery and barbarism was free and honorable between the period of savagery and barbarism.

As human beings entered to barbarism after savagery, human learnt about breeding domestic animal and the practice of agriculture and the methods of increasing supply of natural products. Hence, hunting the basic art of living was turned luxurious. Slowly human beings they started hoarding property for the future. The problem arose when husband and wife had to separate. The issue was about the property "who does it belong to". According to sexual division of labor, it was the man who was responsible for producing the necessary items needed for lively hood. There was no question then, if Man produced the stuffs he was the owner.

But because of the custom of the normative society, men could not inherit their children. In such condition, after the death of the proprietor the property would be transferred to the deceased person's siblings and cousin. Deprivation of own children from father's property was not tolerable to men. To correct this problem, men overthrew the mother's right to children and women became slaves and somewhat reproducing machine (Engel, 1891).

Blumberg as cited in Turner (2003) argues that because of lack of economic power, most of the women are denied of honor and prestige. They also lose the power of decision making regarding reproduction, (when and how many children to make), choosing life partner, time to marry, premarital and extra marital sex, freedom of mobility, education etc (Turner, 2003). This study attempts to document whether the issue of property distribution in family is still a major type of discrimination between boys and girls.

### **2.7.2 Functionalist theory of sexual division of labor**

History shows that division of labor has been observed since the Mesopotamian culture. Emile Durkheim views the division of labor positively. Durkheim believes that the division of labor fosters social solidarity yielding moral phenomenon” that ensures mutual relationship”. He further argues that sexual division of labor is the source of conjugal solidarity. Durkheim’s theory of ‘conjugal solidarity’ seemed appropriate until before the commencement of world war second. Reeves & Baden (2000) argue that socially assigned roles to women are less valuable to those of men’s assigned role. The reason behind valuable and invaluable role is associated with productive and unproductive role of women and men. Women’s reproductive role of bearing, and rearing children, taking care of the family has been ignored or devalued historically, whereas men’s productive role such as paid work, market production etc has been considered as highly valuable. Sexual division of labor has fortunated men with more resources than women.

Modern liberal feminists believe people are created equal and should not be denied equality opportunity. Women can be empowered without completely restructuring the society. On the other hand Agassi (1989) believes gender equality in

changing all stereotypical perception toward social roles for men and women and establishing equal distribution of house hold chores and taking care of children between partners and parents in order for women to achieve equal status as men do (Agassi, 1989). My study attempts to collect information regarding whether parents still follow the sexual division of labor that offers men the privileges of power of demand, and women to follow them.

### **2.7.3 Conflict theory**

Marxism believes on the role of coercion and power in maintaining social order. According to Marxist theory, society is fragmented into groups and competes for social and economic resources. Those who are politically, economically and socially powerful control those resources and dominate the weaker groups to maintain social order in society. This perspective believes in social control not consensus and conformity. In most parts of the world, males are considered superior to females and thus control women. This study will explore parental perception toward son and daughter as superior versus inferior respectively as perceived in traditional society which encourage discrimination between son and daughter within family and home.

### **2.7.4 Social-psychological theory of prejudice:**

Social perception plays a major role in developing an individual's attitude against a member of social group or the group as a whole. In the process of learning, listening and seeing the world, people develop perception without being aware of it and activate those perceived stimuli in memory. Consequently, people inevitably 'go beyond the information given' inferring more information from a perceived stimulus than is physically present. Incidentally activated social knowledge affects people's

behavior across a range of ostensibly unrelated domain (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004).

Stereo type beliefs and expectancies toward some group or member of the group lead to discriminatory behavior.

Prejudice is a preconceived judgment or opinion without having sufficient knowledge about an individual or group. Like other attitude, prejudice has three components: cognitive (beliefs about a target group), affective (dislike), conative (behavioral predisposition to behave negatively toward the target group) (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010). It is considered as a social hazard that segregates peoples into different categories.

Eagly and Karau in their “Role congruity theory” describe how prejudice arise from the relation that people perceive between the characteristics of member of social group and the requirement of the social roles that group or member occupy or aspire to occupy. A potential for prejudice exists when social perceivers hold a stereotype about a social group that is incongruent within the attributes that are thought to be required for success in certain class of social roles (Eagly and Karau, 2002). This study will document parental stereotype attitude and expectation toward son and daughter.

### **2.7.5 Bio-social theory:**

Despite two antagonistic theory nature versus nurture, Wood and Eagly (2002) have proposed bio social theory of origin of sex differences and argue that this is most adequate to account for the cross-cultural patterning of male and female behavior. Biosocial theory suggests that biology social structure and environment interact reciprocally to produce sex typed-roles that constitute a society’s division labor.

Biosocial theory suggests that addressing the question of gender differences through proximal causes: gender roles and socialization experiences is not enough. So, distal causes such as biological process, genetic factor, also should be considered. Although, gender roles along with specific occupied roles of men and women guide social behavior the biological process especially are also implicated to performance of social role (Wood & Eagly, 2002).

### **2.7.6 Coping strategy**

Scholars have conceptualized socialization as a one way process. An individual learns the norms, values, appropriate behaviors and posits himself/herself in the society and make an identity. However, an individual start working collectively against socially imposed norms and values, if perceived as illegitimate and intolerable (cited by Mishra, 2005). Xiaoyu (2012) also advocates that the existing understanding of socialization as one way process, though not wrong, is incomplete, “people are not only socializees who learn social norms and values, but they also act as proactive agents who could influence the content and outcome of the socialization process”. Gender inequality exists in society because of the subjective belief that gender discrimination is less injurious to its victim than other discrimination (Rierson, 1994) and negligence or the lack of victim’s interest to change it (Sen,1999).

Scholars believe coping is “cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external or internal demands (and conflicts between them) that are appraised as taxing the resources of a person (Lazarus, 1991 cited by Desmond, Shevlin, & MacLachlan, 2006). Various coping strategies used by people have been mentioned by scholars. Problem focused, emotion focused, and mixed coping strategies are some of the strategies mentioned almost by most of the scholars (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985;



Stanton, Parsa, & Austenfeld, 2002; Joseph & Kuo, 2009). Amongst other strategies, suppressive coping Strategies such as passive acceptance and avoidance lead victim toward depression (Wei, Ku, Russel, Mallinckrodt, & Liao, 2008).

History also shows that in the beginning of human development, society was based on matrilineal family and women were the head of the family. Men could be pushed out from the family at any time. During civilization, men started to go out and started arranging foods for the family and hoarding property for the future; and women took care of the children. Slowly, men started to be the owner of the property which they wanted to handover to their own clan which could not be possible in matrilineal family. Handing over own property to other clan was not tolerable to men. So they overthrew the traditional mother's right to property (Engel, 1891). It was the men who resisted the traditional matrilineal system. If they had not resisted but accepted, the matrilineal system would have continued hitherto. So I argue that acceptance of patriarchal thought by women is also a major cause of women's oppression provoked by gender discrimination. In this paper, I have tried to document the types of coping strategies used by teenagers against parental discriminatory behaviors to overcome the problem.

## **2.8 CONCEPTUAL/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Every society has their own social norms: shared rules of which in turn are based on shared value of the community. Society is guided by the norms and values, and influences each member of the society. However, society with the collective efforts of its members also changes norms and value of the society. The main objective of this dissertation is to see the cause and effect of parental discriminatory behavior and its impact on children. So the concept of this study is based on the

assumption that parents are the product of socialization and have their own values and belief guided by social norms and values. Moreover, because of the social pressure, parents are compelled to follow social rules and regulation though they think some rules and regulation as illegitimate. Yet, there are some differences within an individual, family and group of people. It is impossible to analyze the cause and effect of differences within an individual, family or group in societal level. This dissertation is focused on who in terms of religion, educational background, income and gender of the individual, in what area parents show gender discriminatory behaviors. Furthermore it also analyzes the impact of parental discriminatory behaviors on children's identity and their way of coping.

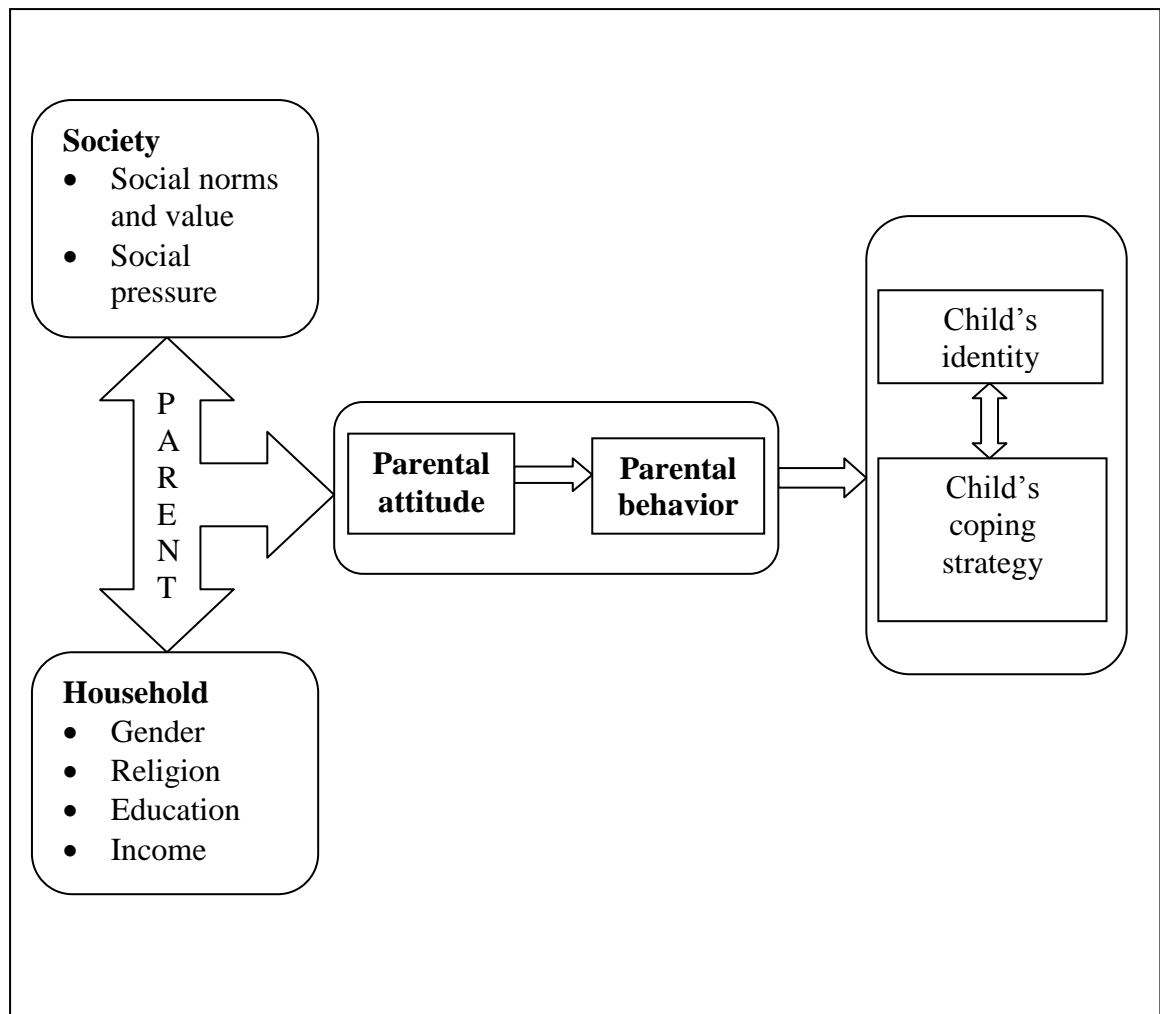
Gender socialization is one of the major products of socialization and underpinnings of gender discrimination. Since, parents themselves are the product of socialization, they also internalize social practice and develop gender schema (Powlishta, Sen, Serbi, Dubois, & Eichstedt, 2001). Such automatically activated social knowledge and information in memory then guide parents' judgment, attitude and behavior without being aware of such influence (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004). They set different rules according to the sex of the children under the same roof and treat them differently.

Born as empty slate, an individual child learn right versus wrong, Do's versus don't and so on. Family is the primary institution of socialization, and of course, parents are the major agents of socialization (Bem, 1981; Erikson, 1968; Chaplin, Cole, & Zohn-Waxler, 2005; Chodorow, 1979). The salient feature a child learns in the given society is gender identity and gender roles. As they reach adolescent age (in this study mentioned as teenage) they try to develop an identity that suits them. Their

role model might be the person they trust and like most. Yet, parents are the most influential factor. Though teenagers show rebelliousness toward parental rules and regulations, they cannot totally deny the core set of value (Fleming, 2004).

According to Heilman (1983) cited by Eagly and Karau, (2002) lack- of-fit model, inconsistency in ascribed and prescribed roles produce lack-of-fit perception toward own self and leads to decreased expectation of success by increasing expectation of failure. This further lowers the self evaluation as well as evaluation by others. To become fit in society, teenagers follow stereotypical gender role and identify themselves accordingly. Those who recognize social rules as legitimate do not question it, but try to act collectively for the continuity of such rules and transfer to forthcoming generations. On the other hand, those who recognize social rules as illegitimate start acting collectively to challenge the society.

Honored with the feeling of valuable and superior in the society, boys in the process of challenging social rule resist more actively and aggressively and, succeed to changes the social rules. In contrast, women, with the feeling of less valuable and inferiority complex, feel more social pressure because of fear being out of group in the society. Consequently, women surrender to the society and accept the social rules and then transfer it to next generation. Hence, men make the history and known as ‘revolutionist’, while women labeled as “rebellion” (Figure 2).



**Figure 2 Conceptual / Theoretical Framework (Developed b the researcher)**

## **CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN.**

Based on research design, two broader types of data collection methods: quantitative and qualitative has been widely used by the researchers. Quantitative research produces numerical data and deals with questions like what, how much, how often and to what extent, and to whom etc. While qualitative research produces information which can be best described in words and attempts to answer the causes and processes that are not rigorously examined and cannot be quantified. It is concerned with questions like why, how and what way. The purpose of quantitative research is to generalize the findings of the research in more diverse population, which is not an aim of qualitative research (Casley & Kumar, 1992; Hancock, 2002).

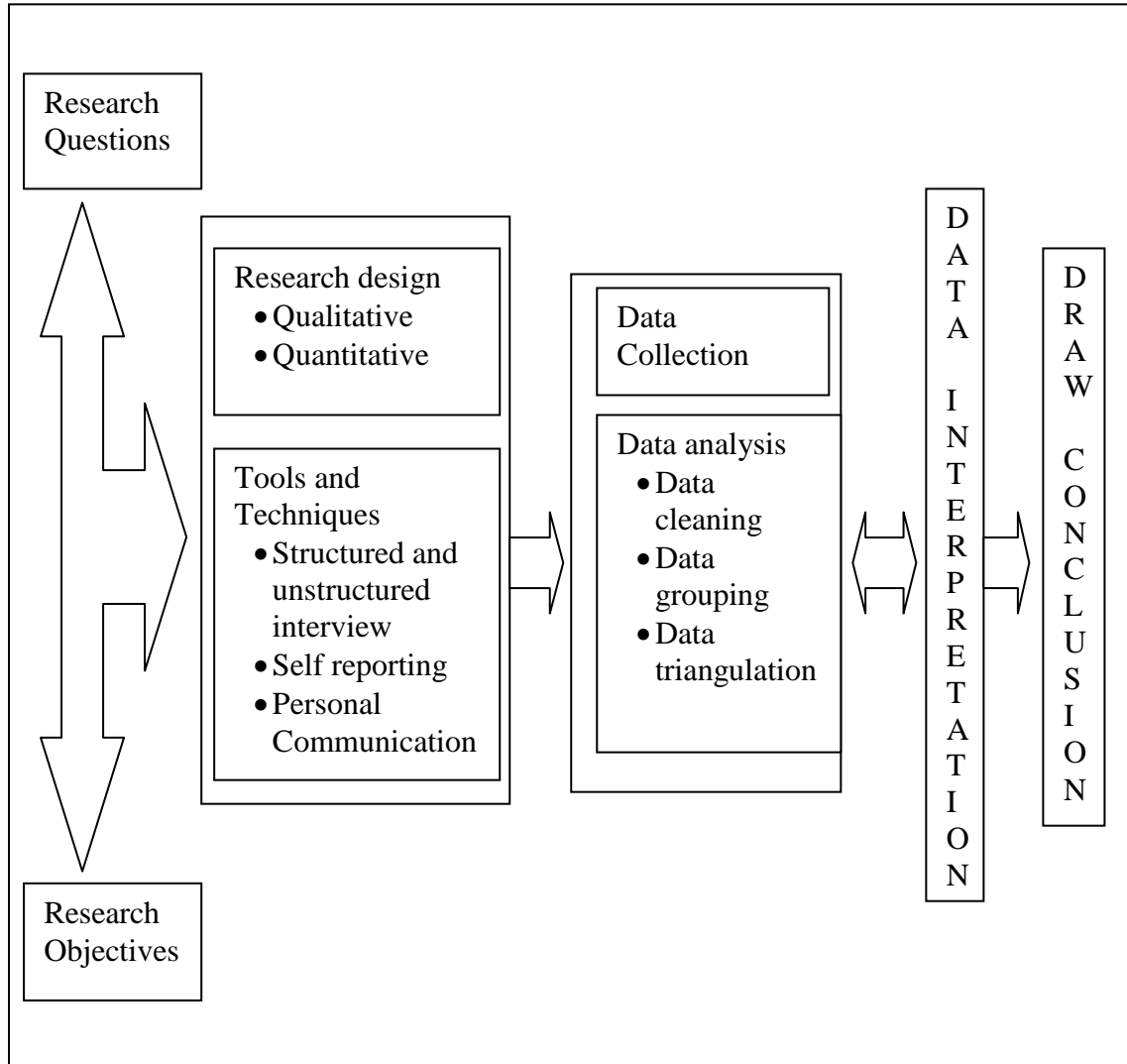
Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) cite different opposing views of the scholars about quantitative and qualitative methods and writes that advocates of quantitative research methods believe that social observations should be treated as entities in the way that physical scientists treat physical phenomena. They argue that social science inquiry should be objective and generalization should be time and context free. Outcome of such generalization can be determined reliably and validly; whereas advocates of qualitative research method contend that time and context free generalizations are neither desirable nor possible (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The third type of research methodology commonly known as mixed method Qualitative and Quantitative mixed approach (Q2) also known as multi-method, integrated, hybrid, combined and mixed methodology. The goal of mixed method research is to draw the strength and minimize the weakness of both qualitative and

quantitative in one single research studies and across studies. Categories and theories that are used by quantitative researchers may not reflect local constituencies' understanding. The produced knowledge may be too abstract and general for direct application to specific local situations, context and individuals. On the contrary, knowledge produced from qualitative research cannot be generalized to other individuals and settings. Research findings are more easily influenced by researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies. With the application of mixed method, researcher can provide stronger evidences for conclusion and more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and practice (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Data can be collected through Sequential, concurrent, or transformative procedure (Haan & Dubey, 2007; Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib, & Rupert, 2007; Creswell, second edition). Mixed research design has also been used by different Nepalese scholars (Khadka & Simkhada, 2007; oirala, Bajracharya, Khadka, Singh, Biswakarma, & Chhetri, 2010).

Gender discrimination is a social issue that hinders an individual's optimal development. We are aware that discrimination exists within home but do not fully understand the phenomena. General objective of this dissertation is to understand: why discrimination exists within family, teenager's experience toward parental discriminatory behavior etc. These types of questions can only be solved through in depth interview. Each individual is unique and might take discriminatory behavior differently. Pre-structured limited option may not cover views and opinion about such issue. So, case study is most appropriate for this study. Hence, I have taken advantage of two qualitative designs: phenomenology and case study. More over my concern in this study is to document who is the perpetrator and what are the causes of gender discrimination. Quantitative analysis is more suitable for such study. So, based on the

objective and nature of my research, I have considered mixed model as the most suitable method for this study (Figure 3).



**Figure 3 Research model:**

Adapted from R. Burke Johnson and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, 2004

### 3.2 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Depending on the time period of data collection, two major types of research methods such as longitudinal and cross sectional have been used since long time in the field of child development and sociology. Longitudinal studies emphasize the

continuous observation of same group or an individual over the years at certain interval of time. The procedure is expensive and time consuming, and follow up of participants (same interviewee) is complicated. On the contrary, in cross sectional method information are gathered through many groups in short period. In this study, I have retained widely practiced social anthropological approach, the cross sectional approach for comparative assessment across the socioeconomic, cultural, and religious, gender, educational status etc.

### **3.3 RESEARCH TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES**

Sociological perspective on gender varies according to different level of analysis *i.e. macro-sociological, micro-sociological*. In *macro-sociological* perspective, data are collected in large-scale social phenomena such as labor force, educational and political trends which are differentiated according to gender roles. On the other *micro-sociological* perspective pay attention to the data collection about gender interaction of couple, families and peer group. This study is based on micro-sociological perspective.

The research study is entirely focused on parental discriminatory behavior inside the home. Monitoring and interaction between parents and children at home is challenging. So a set of questionnaire for parental perception toward son and daughter in Likert's scale and questions regarding other information were developed for the survey. The questionnaire has been administered to both the father and mother separately. Respondents who felt comfortable with researcher were interviewed in-depth.



### 3.3.1 Research technique

Different techniques such as observation of parent child interaction under structured or unstructured setting, parent report by using parenting stress Index, providing a series of hypothetical scenario and ask parents to rate how would they respond in variety of ways; and child report are common method used for assessing parental behavior. However, it is very challenging to monitor the daily activities and interaction between parents and children at home (Pomerantz & Thompson, 2008). So a set of questionnaire for parental report was developed for the survey which contained both open and closed ended questions. Different techniques were applied for the purpose of collecting data.

**Interview:** Interview consists of direct and indirect method. In direct method a set of questionnaire with both open ended and close ended was used for formal discussion. Respondent's responses were maintained with notes. Indirect method of interview was conducted through informal discussion (Researcher made an open discussion with those respondents who felt comfortable to discuss their perception sand practices regarding gender issues but hesitated when researcher requested to make a note in front of them). Major points were memorized and noted down after coming home.

**Self reporting:** Teenager's experience toward parental discriminatory behavior, their (teenagers) identification and coping strategies were recorded through self reporting technique. Teenagers were requested to come to school in the morning on Saturday with principal's approval. Students were provided with pencil and paper and made aware of the purpose of the study and requested to answer the questions

(see annex II) in essay form. I myself was present during self reporting time and assisting teenage boys and girls in case of confusion.

**Personal Communication:** Though the issue of gender discrimination has been an issue and reported by many Nepalese Scholars, Parental gender discriminatory behavior between sons and daughters within home has not been properly reflected in literatures. During field visit, I interacted with many individuals and had an opportunity of informal discussion with them. During informal discussion, they shared their experience about parental gender discriminatory behaviors. Those experiences which were noteworthy in my study has been included as a part of my research as personal communication.

### **3.3.2 Research tools:**

Two different set of questionnaire for: (a) parents and (b) teenage girls and boys were prepared for the interview. Parents and children were requested to report their perception, practices and teenager's experience regarding parental gender discriminatory behaviors and its impact on them.

Questionnaire for Parents: Questionnaire for the parents was categorized under two different sections. Section 1 contains the demographic data of the parents and describes the discriminatory behaviors of the parents categorized under religion, educational level, ethnicity, etc. Section 2 contains the perception (popular saying about son and daughter in Nepalese society and practices. Information regarding parental perception toward sons and daughters were collected in Likert scale: strongly disagree, disagree, no opinion, agree and strongly disagree. For this purpose, traditional sayings about sexuality which are frequently expressed in day to day life

were developed in statement form and translated into English by researcher. Other practices were collected in Yes/No forms and multiple choices. To make the questions easy to understand by the research assistant, it was translated into Nepali (Annex I).

Questionnaire for teenage boys and girls: first part of questionnaires for teenage children consists of general information and second part consists of three simple open ended questions about coping strategies as suggested by (Tobin, 1984, 2001): 1. Mention the type of discrimination you feel at home, 2 if you protest against discrimination, how and 3. Whether you feel different from your opposite sex sibling or not, if so how; were asked to the teenagers (Annex II).

According to (Stanton, Parsa, & Austenfeld, 2002) the most commonly mentioned coping instruments in more than hundred articles are WOC (Ways of Coping Scales): Larzarus and Folkman (1985); the modification of 68 items listed by Larzarus and Folkman, (1980) and Aldwin et al. (1980); the COPE (Multi Dimensional Coping Inventory): Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub (1989); and the CISS (Coping Inventory for Stressful Situation): Endler and Parker (1990, 1994). Three broad categories of coping strategies which produced eight scales conceptualized by Folkman and Larzarus (1985:157) are problem focused, emotion focused, and mixed emotion and problem focused. Problem focused coping strategy involves effort by an individual to obtain the information and mobilize the action with the intention of changing reality of the person-environment interaction (Lyon, 2000 cited in Joseph and Kuo, 2009). Problem focused strategies are used in case of controllable situation and the action might be directed either towards the environment or oneself. On the contrary, emotion focused coping strategies are aimed towards regulating one's

emotional responses to the stressful situation that are less controllable (Taylor, Klein, Lewis, Gruenewald, Gurung, & A.Updegraff, 2000).

Coping traits are often poor predictors of the ways people actually cope in a specific context (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). Scholars have developed different coping instruments which have been modified accordingly. In 1989, Carver, Scheier and Weintraub pointed out some weakness of Coping Strategy Scales as lacking clear description of an act with some examples: “Took a big chance and or did something risky”; “I did something which I did not think would work, but at least I was doing something”. Wei, Ku, Russel, Mallinckrodt, & Liao (2008) describe three styles of dispositional coping: reflective, suppressive and reactive which was developed by Hepner, Cook, Wright and Johnson in 1995. Likewise coping Strategy Indicator (CSI) 33 items developed by Amir Khan (1990) which is generalizable across population cultural and situational variation (Desmond, Shevlin, & MacLachlan, 2006) was combined with ACSI (Africultural Coping System Inventory) Adam et al (2000) and developed Integrated Coping Measure to assess “Black Canadians’ Coping Responses to Racial Discrimination” (Joseph & Kuo, 2009).

For this study, I have chosen three broader theoretical model of coping strategy suggested by (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985) as a guideline: 1. Problem-focused coping, 2. Emotion-focused coping which consists of wishful thinking, distancing, emphasizing the positive, self blame, tension reduction, self isolation. 3. Mixed problem- and emotion-focused coping (See annex VII). Each individual’s reaction to stress is unique (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989), people adopt wide array of coping methods in managing discrimination (Joseph and Kuo, 2009). Tobin (1984, 2001) suggests that coping strategies indicators also can be used as open ended

manner. I also believe that people might apply wide array of coping strategies for the same type of discrimination at different time period and environment. I myself have reacted differently for the same stress according to mood and situation. It is very hard for me to exactly determine how I coped with same type of stress at different time period. Acknowledging the fact that each individual cope differently pre structured limited options might not cover the coping strategies used by teenagers against parental gender discriminatory behavior, teenagers were requested to describe the exact coping process they used in stressful situation encounter. Information was collected through self-reporting technique followed by interview to maintain the reliability of self-reported coping strategy.

### **3.4 DATA ANALYSIS:**

Coping Strategies Scales have been used with a wide variety of population to assess coping strategies in a variety of context like student's exam- related coping, response to racial discrimination, coping responses of spouse of depressed patients, returning refugees etc (Desmond, Shevlin, & MacLachlan, 2006). In this study coping strategies .scales has been used to assess teenagers' way of coping against parental discriminatory behavior.

Data has been interpreted using both qualitative and quantitative method; also known as mixed method and Qual-Quant method. Qualitative data were sorted, decoded, edited and then interpreted in coherent manner. Quantitative data were analyzed in Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Statistical tools such as frequency, percentage, mean, standard deviation, Chi-Square Tests, and Independent-Samples T test were used for the purpose of data analysis. For the purpose of Independent- Samples T test, respondents' responses were grouped into two broader

categories under ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ answers by merging “strongly disagree” and “disagree” into ‘No’; and “strongly agree” and “agree” in ‘Yes’ and discarding “no opinions”.

Analysis of data regarding coping Strategy involves 2 steps: **1.** Qualitative analysis of data by describing the stressor’s action including (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989) and **2.** Categorization of each single actions under three broad categories as suggested by (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985).

### **3.5 STUDY AREA AND REASON FOR SELECTION:**

Though women are discriminated universally, they have not been affected in the same way. Discrimination either at social or household level is embedded with personal belief, culture, norms and value of the family, education, economy, and religion (Bhadra, 2013). Consideration of these variables is essential for conducting research in this field.

The study has been carried out in Kathmandu Municipality which is central region amongst the five developmental region of Nepal. Though, Kathmandu valley is historically known as Newar settlement, now it has turned into more diverse in terms of caste/ethnic composition than other municipality (Subedi, 2010). Furthermore, Kathmandu district is most densely populated among seventy five districts of the country. People from different parts of the country reside in rented house. It has been reported that out of 435,544 total population of this district, 255,444 (58.64%) live in rented house (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Hence, data presented in this study area also might represent the view of overall parents, teenage boys and girls of the country.

Hence, the Kathmandu municipality, to get divergent population as it is the capital of Nepal, where people from different family background and culture reside, has been selected for the study. The city is considered to be better in terms of implementing government policy, opportunities for the citizens, training and parental awareness against discrimination as well. As a place of better opportunities, it would allow us to understand the different situation of discriminatory practices in a contemporary society.

Considering the inclusion criteria of family; Bouddha, Swoyambhu, Gongabu and Koteswor, the four wards of Kathmandu metropolitan city has been purposively chosen to find Hindu and Buddhist people. Beside these four purposively selected areas, other areas of Kathmandu metropolitan city close to these areas are also included for the study (Figure 4). Data were collected during the year December 2011 to December 2013.

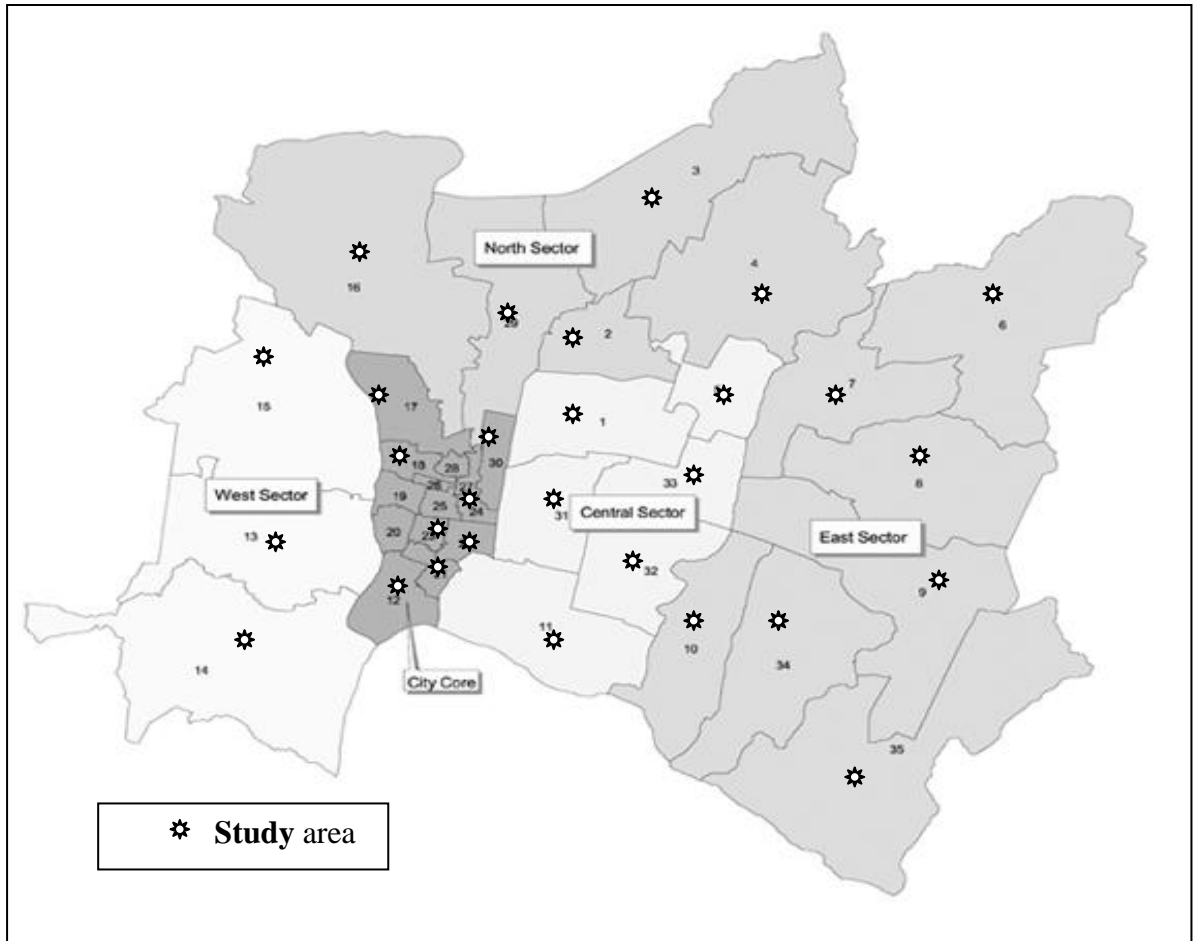


Figure 4 Map of study area

### 3.6. SURVEY POPULATION

Each single unit of the family has been considered as the universe of survey population. Family with a father, mother, and at least one son and daughter have been considered as a complete family for the comparison of discrimination within house. Sex discrimination in society occurs unconsciously and unintentionally or sometimes also in the name of protection or loves (Pokharel, 2007). Perpetrator of discrimination might not be aware of his/her behavior or lacks the awareness regarding anti discrimination policy; or intentionally deny the discrimination. To avoid the error which might misguide the research study, teenage boys and girls as the unit of the family has also been included in the study for the triangulation as used by (Khadka &



Simkhada, 2007); (Koirala, Bajracharya, Khadka, Singh, Biswakarma, & Chhetri, 2010). Teenagers who had at least one sibling of opposite sex met the criteria and thus were included in the study.

### **3.6.1 Criteria for the inclusion of family as the respondents:**

This study is focused on parental behavior and practice toward son and daughter. Out of eight stages of life, five stages: (i) Basic trust versus Basic mistrust, (ii) Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt, (iii) Initiative versus Guilt, (iv) Industry versus inferiority, and (v) Identity versus Role confusion; teenagers go through (Fleming, 2004). Parental encouragement and discouragement shapes children identity. So a family who has at least two children (both male and female) up to nineteen years of age has been selected to study parental behavior.

Different studies show that discrimination between son and daughter become more noticeable during puberty (Hallman & Roca, 2007). This is the age when children develop their identity. So, teenage boys and girls between thirteen to nineteen years old also have been selected as respondents.

According to Central Bureau of Statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012) majority of people living in Nepal are Hindu which covers 81.3% of a total population followed by Buddhist 9.0%, Islam 4.4%, Kirat 3.1%, Christianity 1.4%, Prakriti 0.5%; and others like Bon, Jain, Sikh, Bahai are less than 0.05 %. Similarly, the total of 1,744,240 people resides in Kathmandu district, out of which 1,395,538 (80 %) are Hindu, 268,479 (15%) Buddhist, 40,592 (2.32%) Christian, and 21,866 (1.25%) are Islam. The number of people falling under other religion like: Kirat, Prakriti, Jain, Sikh, Bahai, and Bon residing in Kathmandu district is less than 1%.

Moreover, scholars like (Luitel, 1992; Majpuria, 2007) have reported that gender discrimination is highly visible in Hindu religion than that of Buddhist religion. Considering the density of people categorized according to religion, this study is focused on two major religious groups: Hindu and Buddhist population. People from different ethnicity, educational, and professional background were prioritized as far as possible.

### **3.6.2 Sampling Procedure:**

The purpose of the study is to analyze the situation of boys and girls in complete family (both parents at home) and parent's attitude and behavior towards son and daughter, the presence of each member father, mother, and male and female child is required to compare the parental gender discriminatory behavior. In Nepalese society it has been reported that one in every four house hold (25.42%), at least one member is absent and living outside the country; the highest proportion (44.81%) of absentee falls under the age between 15- 24 years old (CBS, 2012). In such condition household survey through probability sampling is very costly, and time consuming. Acknowledging the complexity of society, I have chosen non probability sampling as the most suitable sampling procedure for this study. However, attention has been made to collect information from wide range of respondents and analyze whether factors like educational status, religion, gender etc influence parental behavior or not.

To get diversified respondents, they were categorized under two broad religious groups: Hindu and Buddhist. These two major religious groups were further categorized under gender, educational status, ethnicity, and income and occupation. . Students studying Masters Level majoring in "Child Development and Gender Socialization" were chosen as the enumerators. In the beginning, person who was in

personal contact and met the criteria were chosen as respondents for data collection then respondents were requested to refer other people who were qualified as respondents. Respondent's first cousins were excluded to avoid biasness and to get more diverse data. Thus respondents were identified through personal net working which already has been used by (Kane, 2006).

As a researcher, I also enquired with family, friends and neighbors about the family who could meet the criteria of respondents. Respondents were requested to identify the next family and keep on doing the same until it reaches the required number. Researchers paid attention to include more diverse respondents in terms of caste, educational status, economic groups, and occupation, and religion as well. Out of thirty five wards, the respondents are from twenty three different wards.

### **3.6.3 Sample size:**

Based on the objectives of the study, respondents were classified into two groups that are parents having children up to nineteen years old; and teenage boys and girls. Total number of respondents that could represent the whole universe is controversial. Different theories for sampling size have been developed by the statistician. "The larger the universe, the smaller the size of the respondents" is one of the most popular theory to determine the sample size that represents the universe. In my study, I have considered the total household as the universe of the study. Based on the formula used by (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970) (See Annex III) and (Rea & Parker, 1997) a total of 395 respondents including 269 parents and 126 teen age boys and girls from different household have been selected for the study.

### **3.7 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF INFORMATION**

The study has relied on information collected over a two year period, in which I was directly involved. Because of the nature of study which required large amount of data, I hired two of my students studying child development and gender socialization in Master level. Research assistant were in close contact during the time of data collection and instructed accordingly. Some confusing, contradictory and incomplete set of data were discarded before entering, decoding and interpreting.

### **3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION**

I have followed the code of ethics that a researcher should retain while studying people and their context. Research assistants were also clearly instructed to maintain the confidentiality and respondent's views in their (respondent) own perspective. Respondents were informed about the purpose of study and were free to respond to any of the questions if they did not feel comfortable with that specific question. I, myself, was also aware about the ethics of the researcher and followed the same principle.

### **3.9 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATION**

- This study is based on Kathmandu municipality, the most developed part of the country. Parental gender discriminatory perception and practices might be higher in other parts.
- Parents might have answered the questions about children's activities deceptively as most of them were considering 'discriminatory behavior'

negatively, though researcher did not use the word discrimination in front of parents intentionally.

- Quantitative data regarding teenager's identity and coping strategy is quite small to generalize in larger context.

## **CHAPTER 4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **4.1 INTRODUCING RESPONDENTS**

According to National Census 2011, a total of 125 caste/ethnic groups reside in Nepal. Chhetri is the largest group having 16.6% of the total population followed by Brahmin-Hill (12.2%), Magar (7.1%) Tharu (6.6%), Tamang (5.8%), Newar (5.0%), Kami (4.8%), Musalman(4.4%), Yadav (4.0%) and Rai (2.3%) (CBS, 2012). Similarly, 81.3 % are Hindu, Buddhism 9.0%, Islam 4%, Kirat 3.1%, Christianity 1.4%, Prakriti 0.5%, Bon, Jainism, Bahai and Sikhism are less than 0.5% which are insignificant in number.

Though Kathmandu municipality is known as culturally diverse city where out of one hundred and twenty five caste/ethnicity, sixty seven caste/ethnicity reside, 85% of them are Newar, Brahmin, Chhetri, Tamang, Gurung, Sherpa and Magar. Likewise, 80% of the population is Hindu followed by Buddhist (15.39%), Christian (2.32%), Islam (1.25%), Kirat (0.76%) and others such as Prakriti, Bon, Jain, Bahai and sikh are in insignificant numbers (Subedi, 2010) .

Moreover, based on nature of the study respondents of this study are classified under two different categories: parents and teenagers and also have been analyzed and interpreted in different sub chapters.

#### **4.1.1 Information regarding parents**

For the purpose of data analysis, respondents were categorized under religion, gender, educational status, income, and ethnicity. Based on the main caste and

ethnicity (2001 Census) respondents are categorized under three major groups i.e.

1. Caste group 2. Hill-Ethnic group 3. Language group. Such categorization has already been used by Gurung (2006).

**Table 3 Characteristics of the parents**

		Frequency	Percentage
Religion	Hindu	152	56.5
	Buddhist	117	43.5
Gender	Male	138	51.3
	Female	131	48.7
Education	Illiterate	16	5.9
	Literate	50	18.6
	Lower secondary	17	6.3
	Higher secondary	114	42.3
	Bachelors and above	72	26.8
Income	40,000+	64	24.5
	20,001-39,999	111	42.5
	20,000 or less	86	33.0
Ethnicity/Caste	Caste group	126	46.8
	Newar	60	22.3
	Hill ethnics	83	30.9
Occupation	House wife	46	17.1
	Job holder	91	33.8
	Business	99	36.8
	Other	33	12.3

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Language group includes Newar. Caste-group includes majority of Hill Brahmin/Chhetri and few Dalit and Terai Brahmin Chhetri. Similarly Hill ethnic group include Hill-Ethnic group represent Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Sherpa, Rai and Limbu.

Out of two hundred and sixty nine parents (including father and mother only), Hindu consist of 56.65% and Buddhist 43.5% only. The mean age of male

respondents was 39.38 ranging from 23 to 59. Likewise the mean age of female respondents was 35.46 ranging from 24 to 51. Average income of the respondents was recorded 33673.95 ranging from 10,000-200,000.

#### 4.1.2 Information regarding teenage boys and girls

Along with two hundred and sixty nine parents, a total of one hundred and twenty six teenagers including both boys and girls were chosen as the respondents to analyze how teenage boys and girls cope against parental gender discriminatory behaviors at home.

**Table 4 Demography of the teenage boys and girls**

		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	61	48.4
	Female	65	51.6
Level of education	Up to high school	62	49.2
	Higher secondary and above	59	46.8
	Drop out	5	4.0
Age	Early adolescent (13-16)	67	53.2
	Late adolescent (17-19)	59	46.8
Religion	Hindu	90	71.4
	Buddhist	36	28.6
Ethnicity	Caste group	57	44.4
	Newar	38	31.0
	Hill ethnics	31	24.6

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Though an attention was paid, it was very difficult to get Buddhist teenage boys and girls living with parental home. So the number of Hindu boys and girls is higher (71.4%) than Buddhist boys and girls (28.6%).



## **4.2 DISCRIMINATORY PERCEPTION AND PRACTICE**

Perception is how an individual sees, hears or becomes aware of something through his/her senses. Social perception involves the development of an attitude toward another person or group of person. Human behavior is knowingly or unknowingly influenced by previously perceived factors. This section describes about the parental gendered perception and gender biased behavior toward son and daughter.

### **4.2.1 An exploration on parent's gendered perception toward children**

Social knowledge is automatically activated in memory during the natural course of perception. Such automatically activated information then guide people's judgment, attitude and behavior without being aware of such influence (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004). According to Heilman (1983) cited by Eagly and Karau, 2002) lack- of- fit model, inconsistency in ascribed and prescribed roles produce lack-of-fit perception towards own self and leads to decreased expectation of success by increasing expectation of failure. This further lowers the self evaluation as well as evaluation by others. Gender stereotypes affect perception of individual's attributes and produce lack-of-fit with roles that are perceived to require attributes stereotypical of the other sex.

Researchers such as (Asfaw, Klasen, & Lamanna, 2007; Riggs, 1997; Fuse, 2010) have examined peoples attitude to analyze gender differentiated role and behavior which is one of the cause of gender discrimination. Acknowledging the fact that when people perceive a group or individual, information regarding that particular group or individual is instantly activated and influence perceiver's behavior, parents

were requested to rate their perception toward sons and daughters in Likert scale. For this purpose, traditional sayings about sexuality that are most frequently used in Nepalese family, were produced in statement form and translated into English by myself for this dissertation (Table 5).

**Table 5 Parental perception toward son and daughter**

Statements	Percent					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean (std.dev)
Daughter's prestige is on the tip of needle	15.2	19.0	16.0	30.1	19.7	3.20 (1.362)
Those who go to other's home should tolerate	23.4	34.9	10.4	22.3	8.9	2.58 (1.304)
No matter however daughters study should work on the kitchen	15.2	33.5	9.7	28.6	13.0	2.91 (1.322)
Sons are the supporter of parents during old age	11.2	22.7	22.3	33.5	10.4	3.09 (1.192)
A man should take responsibility of wife and children	11.2	14.1	19.3	42.0	13.4	3.32 (1.201)
Should consider the household advice of a grown up son	6.3	9.7	15.2	48.7	20.1	3.67 (1.096)

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings of the study suggest that out of six statements related to son and daughter in society, respondents regardless to their culture, ethnicity, gender, economy, age and educational level have shown positive response toward the statements associated with daughter's prestige, men's responsibility toward family, son as the supporter during old age, and inclusion of son in decision making. Respondents expressed their concern about daughters' prestige in their own way. Newar community compare daughter with holy waters literally known as '*jal*' in Nepali and '*neel*' in Newari. One Newar man expressed his view as daughters are as '*neel*', which becomes unholy if touched by other and should be thrown. But sons are like '*sheetu*' literally '*dubo*' which is always sacred and goes to god's head even if people step on it. Similarly, other ethnic groups also compare daughter with glass which is fragile and once cracked could not be joined.

On the contrary, majority of the people have shown negative responses toward the perception related to daughter's tolerance ability, and kitchen as women's destiny. One probable reason for such negative response toward kitchen as the destiny of daughters might be consequences of increasing educational status and economic independency of women. Likewise, the changes in perception regarding tolerance qualities of daughter might be due to the awareness about women's right, discrimination and women empowerment produced through feminist movement

It is also note worthy that significant numbers of parent (9.7% to 22.3%) had no clear opinion about different sayings associated with son and daughters. Hence, parents responded those sayings as neutral. One probable reason of such neutral response might be allied with the emerging trend of nuclear family, in and out migration opting to grasp more opportunities and the media that highlights the social evils such as pushing parents out of the home, taking parents to the shelter home without their consent, and other troubles faced by parents because of their own sons; and daughters taking multi role like earning, taking care of parents during old age and lighting the pyre of parents if required.

Finding of the study resemble to the study of Riggs (1997) who examined 117 college students' (including 73 females and 44 males) perception toward communal and agentic role of hypothetical employed and unemployed mother versus employed and unemployed father. Janet Morgan Riggs found the evidence of societal expectation of father's role as breadwinner and mother's as care giver. My finding also suggests that majority of the people in Kathmandu metropolitan city expect their son to perform the role of breadwinner during old age and take the responsibility of family. Table (5 ) also shows that 33.55% and 10.4% parents respectively agree or strongly agree to the statement that sons are the supporter during old age. Similarly,

42.0% and 13.4 % parents agree and strongly agree that a man should take responsibility of his wife and children respectively.

A Chi-Square Test was run to determine if there is an association between perception within religion, ethnicity, and gender of the respondents (Table 6).

**Table 6 Association between religion, gender, ethnicity and parental perception**

Statements	Assymp.Sig. (2-sided)		
	Religion	Gender	Ethnicity
Daughter's prestige is on the tip of needle	0.363	0.003	0.360
Those who go to other's home should tolerate	0.612	0.135	0.633
No matter however daughters study should work on the kitchen	0.591	0.050	0.728
Sons are the supporter of parents during old age	0.271	0.075	0.553
A man should take responsibility of wife and children	0.038	0.013	0.024
Should consider the household advice of a grown up son	0.545	0.003	0.922

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Interpretation of data reveals the fact that religion and ethnicity is highly associated with the stereotypical perception *i.e.* "A man should take responsibility of wife and children". The level of significant differences observed within religion was  $p=0.038$ , gender- $p=0.013$ , and within ethnicity was  $p=0.024$  level. Table (6) also suggests that gender of the parents enormously influence their perception about the role of male and female in the society than religion and ethnicity. More females in comparison to males strongly agree or agree to the statements associated with men and women. Likewise, study also reveals the fact that more Buddhist in comparison to Hindu believe that a man should take care of his family. Hill ethnic group in comparison to Newar and Caste group have higher tendency of perceiving male as having to take care of family and win the bread for the family. (See annex: IV, V, and VI for details). One probable reason, on the basis of generalization of data, for having higher tendency of perceiving mandatory role as bread winner in Hill ethnic group in comparison to Caste and Newar Group; females in comparison to males; and Buddhist

in comparison to Hindu might be associated with their low educational background which increases women's dependency on men.

Data were further categorized under educational status, income of the family and age of the respondents to determine if these factors influence parental perception or not. Independent-Samples T Test was used to achieve this objective (Table 7).

**Table 7 Significant differences in educational level, income, age and parental perception**

Statements	Factor	N	Mean (std .dev)		t-value	Sig. (2 tailed)
			No	Yes		
Daughters' prestige is on the tip of the needle	Educational status	225	11.09 (4.185)	7.47 (5.385)	5.423	0.000
	Age	223	38.11 (6.199)	37.27 (5.951)	1.022	0.308
	Income	220	40747.25 (28466.58)	30441.09 (19951.13)	3.158	0.003
Those who go to other's home should tolerate	Educational status	242	10.62 (4.871)	6.19 (5.006)	6.698	0.000
	Age	240	38.00 (6.095)	36.87 (6.368)	1.350	0.178
	Income	234	38543.05 (26483.38)	24324.10 (12532.53)	4.612	0.000
No matter however daughters study should work on the kitchen	Educational status	244	10.30 (5.112)	7.43 (5.237)	4.323	0.000
	Age	242	38.27 (6.015)	36.52 (6.351)	2.196	0.029
	Income	236	38617.89 (28271.37)	27291.15 (15955.02)	3.746	0.000
Sons are the supporter of parents during old age	Educational status	209	10.02 (4.931)	7.66 (5.502)	3.207	0.001
	Age	207	37.49 (5.972)	37.24 (6.491)	0.284	0.774
	Income	203	38218.39 (30520.07)	28249.14 (17245.94)	2.948	0.007
A man should take responsibility of wife and children	Educational status	218	10.74 (5.051)	7.54 (5.311)	4.178	0.000
	Age	216	37.91 (5.485)	37.03 (6.390)	0.973	0.332
	Income	210	35606.06 (19253.67)	29596.53 (18966.43)	2.121	0.035
Should consider the household advice of a grown up son	Educational status	231	10.09 (5.576)	8.71 (5.219)	1.551	0.122
	Age	229	38.47 (5.700)	37.11 (6.197)	1.308	0.192
	Income	223	33853.66 (18721.05)	31675.27 (21792.39)	0.592	0.554

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings suggest that respondents belonging to all economic, educational, and age group believe on the statement ‘Should consider the household advice of a grown up son’ and no significant differences was observed within groups. The significant differences in t- value observed in educational status age and economic status was (0.122), (0.192) (0.554) respectively. But, difference between educational status and economic condition of the respondents were highly significant with all other five perceptions attached to son and daughter. Independent- Samples T Test shows that the higher the education and economic condition of an individual lowers the gender discriminatory perception attached to men and women in the society which is also supported by Naila Kabeer who emphasizes women’s education and employment to empower women and lessening gender inequalities in the society (Kabeer, 2003; Kabeer, 2005).

Table (7) also reveals very interesting fact that age of the respondents does not make any differences on people’s perception. However, a significant difference was observed at 0.029 levels in the statement ‘No matter however daughters study, should work in the kitchen’. Respondents with mean age of 38.27 do not believe that daughters should work on the kitchen. On the contrary, respondents with the mean age of 36.52 either strongly agree or agree that regardless to daughters’ educational status; she should work in the kitchen. Though this study does not answer the question why increment in the age of the respondents produce negative attitude toward the statement ‘No matter however daughters study, should work on the kitchen’; it can be connected with Hallman and Roca (2007) who studied cause and effect of girls’ education in developing counties and noticed more gender role expectation between boys and girls during puberty, it can be assumed that those parents whose daughters have entered puberty expect more gender roles and gradually slows down. The

evidences of the study confirm that parents residing the Kathmandu Metropolitan city in contemporary society still perceive son and daughters differently.

#### **4.2.2 Perceived femininity and masculinity**

Femininity and masculinity are not the innate quality of a man or woman rather they are based on socio cultural conditions and differ from one community to another community. However, there are some general patterns. Usually, traits like strong and weak are considered as masculine and feminine respectively. Likewise, emotions such as aggressiveness and passiveness are considered masculine and feminine traits respectively. According to Margarete Mead (1935) cited in (Stet & Burke, 2000), these different emotions found in boys and girls are not because of biological differences, but due to the differences in socialization and cultural expectation held for each sex.

According to “social role theory” two attributes *communal* and *agentic* are linked to women and men respectively. Based on such ascribed roles socialization of girls tends to be oriented towards affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing and gentle. Unlike the girls, boys are socialized to be assertive, controlling, confident tendency such as aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful independent, self sufficient, self confident etc (Eagly and Karau, 2002; Eagly, Wood, and Diekmann, 2012).

Literature also suggest that parents feel proud of their daughters for being obedient, beautiful and pressured to be involved with and connected to others whereas parents feel proud of their sons if their sons are tough, strong and brave (Hameih & Usta, 2011). Boys are permitted to show aggressiveness particularly to self defense

toward the neighboring children and mothers. Lambert et al (1971) cited in (Maccobby & Jacklin, 1974) reported that French- Canadian and English Canadian parents treat their boys more harshly than girls, when their children show temper.

Parents were requested to express their views regarding masculinity and femininity by describing the masculine and feminine qualities they do not like in daughters and son respectively. Influenced by traditional male dominated society, people in metropolitan city still continue traditional traits of masculinity and femininity.

**Table 8 Perceived traits of masculinity and femininity**

<b>Masculine</b>	<b>Feminine</b>
Assertive	Elegant
Defiant	Obedient
Unemotional	Emotional
Frank	Shy
Lazy	Ease dropper
Stubborn	Back stabber
Leader	Follower

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

During field visit, it was learnt that respondents consider assertive, defiant, unemotional, frank, lazy, stubborn and leader qualities as masculine traits. On the other hand, elegant, obedient, emotional, shy, ease dropper, back biter, follower as feminine traits. During Field visit parents express their views on sexuality differently (Table 8).

My research finding is consistent with (Kane, 2006) who conducted qualitative study interviewing parents of preschool children and found that parents are liberal on gender nonconformity of their daughters but are not so in case of their son. Though parents accept some nonconforming tendencies on boys, they balance such



nonconforming attitude with some efforts to approximate hegemonic ideas of masculinity. Ballet dance, crying, nursing, playing with Barbie doll is considered as feminine characteristic that parents discourage to son, but it would not be an issue if daughter play with bows and arrow. Parents, including both father and mother, during my field visit, expressed similar kind of anti- masculine and anti-feminine characteristics which they do not like which was developing within their daughters and sons respectively (Box 1).

**Box 1. Sexuality as perceived by parents**

I do not like daughter's talking with loud voice and fighting like son (Father)

I do not like sons shedding tears on small matters (Father)

I do not like sons sitting on side and listening to people quietly and adding some comments time to time (Mother)

I do not like sons doing household chores for example washing clothes, cleaning utensils and sweeping floor (Mother)

I do not like daughters sitting idly they should be doing something (Mother)

I do not like sons playing with girlish toys (Mother)

I do not like son eating fatty, sour, hot food (chatpate) like girls (Father)

I do not like daughters roaming around Community (village) like sons (Father)

I do not like daughters interacting, talking and mingling with many people (Mother).

### **4.2.3 Perceived educational qualification for bride and groom:**

Despite the rising tendency of love marriage, arranged marriage has not yet vanished from society. However, children's consent play an important role while parent select bride or groom for their son and daughter. Educational status of bride and groom is one of the most repeatedly raised questions for marriage. Influenced by patriarchy, not only the parents but both bride and groom perceive that groom should

be more educated than bride. Parents were requested to express their views regarding their preference for educational status of son-in-law and daughter- in-law.

**Table 9 Perceived level of education for in law**

		Level of education (%)					
		Higher		Equal		Less	
		Son in law	Daughter in law	Son in law	Daughter in Law	Son in law	Daughter in law
	Over all	42.6	2.8	56.9	71.3	0.5	25.9
Ethnic Group	Caste Group	37.5	2.9	61.5	76.9	1.0	20.2
	Newar	50	0	50	69.4	0	30.6
	Hill	46.1	3.9	53.9	64.5	0	31.6
Religion	Hindu	41.4	2.5	58.2	76.2	0.8	21.3
	Buddhist	44.7	3.2	55.3	69.4	0	31.9
Gender	Male	44.9	3.7	54.2	67.3	0.9	29.9
	Female	40.4	1.8	59.6	75.2	0	22.9
Income	20,000 or less	51.4	2.9	48.6	65.7	0	31.4
	20,001-40,000	40.4	3.0	59.6	72.7	0	24.2
	40,001 Or above	34.4	2.1	63.8	76.6	2.1	21.3
Educational Status	Below 7	53.2	3.9	46.8	53.2	0	42.9
	8-12	39.8	2.3	60.2	80.7	0	17.0
	BA and above	32.0	2.0	66.0	82.0	2.0	16.0

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings of the study suggest that the tendency of homogamous marriage in terms of qualification (groom and bride having same level of educational level) is in rise. Majority of parents (71.3%) prefer to have their daughter in law's educational level equal to that of their son. And about half of the respondents (56.5%) prefer to have their son in law's educational level equal to that of their daughter. Despite the rising tendency of homogamous marriage there are still significant numbers of parents who still believe in heterogamous marriage (the qualification of groom should be

higher than the bride). In general, more parents (42.6%) desire to have their son in law highly qualified than their daughter in comparison to daughter in law (25.9%) for their son. Insignificant number of parents 0.5% and 2.8% do not mind if their son in law and son is less qualified than daughter or daughter in law respectively (Table 9). The tendency of preferring homogamous marriage for both son and daughter has been observed slightly higher in caste groups. The split data based on ethnicity, religion, gender, income and educational status of the respondents makes it obvious that parents want less qualified daughter in law than their son. On the contrary, when it comes to their daughter, they want a highly qualified son in law. It can be concluded that parental such differentiated behavior regarding son in laws' and daughter in laws' educational qualification is guided by the gender role defined by society for man as "bread winner" and woman as "care taker".

Reasons behind parental inclination towards homogamous marriage are: it enhances mutual understanding in conjugal life, economic well being of family, healthy relationship (no domination) between husband and wife. Unlike, the reason for rejecting highly qualified daughter in law as mentioned by parents are associated with conservative belief like highly qualified daughter in law dominates husband and whole family; is disobedient, egocentric, hard to control; and do not perform household chores, etc. On the contrary, the reason behind preferring highly qualified son in law are associated with daughters' secured economic condition, support, guidance, social status and future etc Respondents expressed their feelings about bride, groom, and preferred qualification in different ways (Box 2).

**Box 2. Reason for preferring heterogamous marriage**

I prefer my daughter in law to be less qualified than my son. It would be better if she is from poorer family, so that she would not dominate us rather would take care of us (Mother).

I would prefer less educated girl to be my daughter-in-law because if she is highly educated than my son she would not obey him (Father).

I have seen my relative's highly educated daughter-in-laws, who are arrogant and dominating. So I prefer less educated but of good manners in my future daughter in law (Mother).

I wish my son-in-law would not be less educated than my daughter, if so there might be chance of misunderstandings and fighting in future between husband and wife, son-in-law might feel humiliated and later on the conjugal life might be ruined and unsuccessful (Father).

Though it is not possible to get son in law as we wish, the norms in society is to select highly educated, holding higher post in job as far as possible hoping he will keep our daughter happy. Mother

I will be happy if I got highly educated son-in-law. If so it will enhance our prestige in society. He would also be able to keep our daughter happy and well off (Mother).

Findings of study resembles to that of Derne (1994) cited in (Kabeer, 2003) who studied middle class father of UP, India based on qualitative interview and revealed the belief during 1980 that husband should be more educated than wife, 'too much education' might turn out 'independent – minded daughters' who were not as deferential to their husband and in-laws as they should be. Perception about the quality of a bride in contemporary society is the same as it was thirty years ago. People in second decade of twenty-first century at Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, still think that highly educated wife dominates husband and in laws. So parents avoid highly educated girls for their son but, in contrast they prefer highly educated boys for their daughter.

#### 4.2.4 Perceived ideal age for marriage:

Child marriage is one of the underpinnings of high rate of school children's including both boys and girls drop out. However, early marriage is an issue of girls since its impact is largely negative and intense in girl child ( UNICEF, nd). In some parts of the world, where dowry is a social issue, parents prefer to let their daughter marry sooner which helps to lessens parental expenses in dowry. Highly educated daughter means the need for a more highly qualified son-in-law, which in turn, causes the higher expectation of dowry from groom. Moreover, social misbelieve such as daughter in law do not respect husband's family, ruin conjugal life are some of the pertinent factor that encourage parents early marriage of daughters (Dreze and Gadar, 1996 cited in Kabeer, 2003).

Acknowledging the fact that marriage could be a major barrier of girls' education, parents having children between the age 6 to 19 years old were requested to express their view about the appropriate age for their son and daughter to be married. Respondents were categorized under gender and religion to analyze if such variables influence parental perception regarding appropriate age at marriage for sons and daughters (Table 10).

**Table 10 Appropriate perceived age at marriage for son and daughter**

		Perceived age at marriage					
		Son			Daughter		
		Minimum	Maximum	Mean (std.dev.)	Minimum	Maximum	Mean (std.dev.)
Parent's Gender	Male	22	35	27.69 (2.531)	18	30	24.00 (2.621)
	Female	21	32	27.34 (2.442)	20	30	24.16 (2.051)
Parent's Religion	Hindu	22	35	27.77 (2.454)	18	30	24.30 (2.109)
	Buddhist	21	32	27.19 (2.502)	20	29	23.80 (2.604)

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

The ideal mean age for sons reported by father and mother is 27.75% and 27.34 % respectively, whereas the appropriate mean age at marriage for daughters as reported by father and mother is 24.0% and 24.16 % respectively. Likewise the appropriate mean age at marriage for daughter as reported Hindu and Buddhist is 24.30 and 23.80 and for son is 27.77 and 27.19 respectively. Data reveals the fact that gender and religion of parent do not influence the perceived appropriate age at marriage for son and daughter.

A Chi-Square Test was run to see if sex of child influences the perceived age at marriage for son and daughter. Chi-Square Test discloses the fact that sex of the child is associated with parent's perceived appropriate age at marriage for son and daughter. Significant differences between the sex of the child and age at marriage was observed at 0.00 level (Table 11).

**Table 11 Association between perceived appropriate age at marriage and gender of the child**

Children	Perceived mean age at marriage			Assymp.Sig. (2-sided)
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	
Son	21	35	27.51	$\chi^2 = 225.921$ p=0.000
Daughter	18	30	24.08	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Parents having teenage children were further requested to answer the question “would they marry their daughter/son, if a boy/girl from a good family and boy/girl (as described by the society) proposed for marriage. They were provided with three ‘Yes’, ‘No’, and ‘will think’ options.

**Table 12 Parental willingness to children's marriage**

Response	Father (N=57)		Mother (65)	
	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter
Yes	0	7.0	0	6.3
No	94.8	80.7	100.0	71.9
Will think	5.2	12.3	0	21.9
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Out of 145 parents including 70 fathers and 75 mothers, only 57 fathers and 65 mothers responded about the question (Table 12). Regardless to the sex of the parents, 97.3% of the total respondents said no for their son's marriage. Unlike to their son, 6.5 % of the parents expressed their interest for their teenage daughters' marriage if they got a boy from good family (*Ramro paribarko ramro keta*). Similarly, 17.9 % responded as "they will think about their teenage daughters' marriage". Being more specific to the gender of the parents, it has been observed that 7 % fathers and 6.3% of the mothers were ready to marry off their daughters at the moment while 14% fathers and 23.1% mothers responded "will think about it".

#### **4.2.5 Son preference**

Preference of son against daughter is a worldwide issue including most developed parts of the world like United States of America and developing countries especially in South Asia. Parental gender differential behaviors such as: father's attitude of spending more time with sons; custody of son after divorce; and tendency of having third child in parents having only two daughters than those of having sons was observed in United States (Raley & Bianche, 2006). Gender discriminatory behavior is more prevalent in those societies which follow patrilineal principles of inheritance and descent, where family line and property are transmitted through men (Kabeer, 2003). The thrust of having son against daughter leads toward inhumane form of discrimination that either prohibits a female fetus turning into a baby inside the womb or a girl enjoying well cooked rice, right to nutrition and after all right to survive (Bhaskar, 2008; Lamichhane et. al, 2011; Bhardwaj & Nelson, 2013; Frost, Puri,& Hinde, 2013; Haque, nd).

It would not be unrealistic to assume the existence of son preference against daughter in a traditional patrilineal society like Nepal. Acharya (2010) has reported parental son preference in western Terai of Nepal. According to his research finding, parents desiring two sons and one daughter outnumber the parents preferring one son and one daughter. Similarly, those parents who have only daughters, but no sons have higher hunger for a son in comparison to parents who have only sons but no daughters.

Fuse (2010) argue that many research studies have used behavioral measure and neglected attitudinal measures to analyze parental gender preference of children which is also one of the well suited tools. Assuming attitudinal preference of specific sex might lead parents to engage in post natal gender discrimination in terms of education, decision making, other opportunities essential for better life and development. In this study I have used two indicators: whether parents are curious and get pre information about the sex of the fetus or not; and regardless to the sex of new born baby, are parents satisfied with the first born baby.

During pre-test of the study, many parents were unable to respond the questions regarding use of “sex determining test” as they did not remember whether they tested their sex of the baby inside the womb or not. So parents were free to answer or not answer this question. Most of the parents who had children up to 12 years answered the question. This study does not seek whether parents have aborted their female fetus or not, but only attempts to figure out if parents in Kathmandu metropolitan city are concerned with the sex of the baby, which may cause abortion of female fetus, before birth or not. Findings show that, in general, parents prefer to have both son and daughter equally and do not care about the sex of the baby during first



delivery, but become concerned about the sex of the baby during second delivery (Table 13).

**Table 13 Number of parents knowing sex of the baby before birth**

Delivery status	Know the sex of baby before birth		Assymp.Sig (2-sided)
	Yes	No	$\chi^2=6.163$
First delivery	19.8	80.2	P=0.013
Second delivery	33.3	66.7	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Significant difference between the number of parents knowing the sex of the baby before birth during first and second baby has been observed at 0.013 level.

Respondent's remark makes it clear that parents during first delivery do not gravely care about the sex of the baby

Delivering a female baby as first child does not produce annoyance but, if the second child is also a female, it is really a matter of frustration. However, both son and daughter are needed (Literally 'Pahilo santaan j janmiye pani khasai dikka hudaina tara dosroma pani chhora janmiena bhane dikka laagchha, tara santaan dubai (chhora/Chhori) chahinchha') 31 years old man from Yadav family.

Leone et.al (2003) used a method developed by Dalla and Leone (2001) which assumes the population does not practice sex selective abortion, and child bearing stops when the desired number of children of a certain sex is reached. In their study, they used the data which was come from Nepal Demographic and Health Survey, 1996 (NDHS). In this study I also have assumed that the birth of son brings satisfaction to the parents and they might not be curious about the sex of the second baby. Hence, parents do not use sex determining tools. Data was analyzed with Chi-Square Test to determine the motivational factor that insists parents to know the sex of second baby (Table 14).

**Table 14 Association between the birth order of son and daughter; and pre-information about sex of baby**

Gender of child	N	Status at birth	Know the sex of baby		Assymp.Sig (2-sided)
			Yes	No	
Male	149	Senior	7 (18.9)	30 (81.1)	$\chi^2=5.275$
		Junior	44 (39.6)	67 (60.4)	P=0.022
Female	141	Senior	15 (20.3)	59 (79.7)	$\chi^2=0.125$
		Junior	15 (22.7)	51 (77.3)	P=0.724

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Finding shows that birth order of son and daughter significantly influences the parental concern regarding sex of the second child. Parents who delivered daughter as first baby tend to be concerned about the sex of the second baby than those who delivered son as first baby. More parents having son as second baby use sex determining tools to know the sex of the baby. Significant differences between first and second delivered son was recorded as  $p=0.02$  level.

Parental concern regarding sex of the second baby if the first delivered baby is female is not surprising in our society where mother of a daughter is neglected and rejected in the family. Many sad incidents associated with birth of daughter can be read in Nepalese news papers. A thirty five years old woman belonging to Hindu religion expressed her views preferring to have son as first baby as *‘if we deliver a son as first child, there will be no pressure to deliver another child (kich kich) from family member’*.

Fertility behavior of the parents in the context of existing children is also one of the tests to determine whether parents prefer son or daughter. Dahl & Moretti in their study found that parents with two daughters in United States produce third child expecting to have son (Dahl & Moretti, 2004; Andersson et. al. 2006 cited in Raley & Bianche, 2006). I have also witnessed many parents who used to state *“aajkal chhora*

*ra chhorima khi farak chhaina aba arko bacccha napaune*”, but delivered their third child with the interest of having a son. During field visit, I encountered a respondent who had a 21 year old eldest daughter and five years old son as third child. Delivering another child after long birth spacing is very common practices in Nepalese patriarchal society. Though couples compromise or agree to stop delivering more children expecting son, in many cases family members and even the doctors do not encourage such parents for permanent family planning rather discourage such decisions. A female respondent of a couple who were ready to plan their family permanently expressed her experience how she was compelled to deliver two more children:

After having three daughters continuously, my relatives and customers, who used to come in my shop to buy ornaments, considered me as having no progeny. Though I started feeling neglected in family, I tried to plan family permanently, but doctor advised us not to use family planning as we might change our mind later. Hence the doctor rejected to plan the family permanently. My mother in law also suggested us (me and my husband) to try one more time. We had a fear in mind what if we got daughter or even twins daughter. We used the modern diagnostic tool to know the sex of the baby. It was daughter again. We opted to abort it but my mother in law stopped doing it suggesting, she should have bring her own fortune and will grow up as other daughters. I was becoming older and older so at last we (husband wife) decided to have another pregnancy with short birth spacing. Finally I delivered my youngest son. Now I am happy with my four daughters and one son A 51 year old woman from Shakya family.

Quantitative data were also tabulated and interpreted to test the satisfaction level of parents having son or daughter as first baby. Parental satisfaction level has been tested in Likert scale. Parents having son as first baby were requested to rate the saying “having first son means no tension about the sex of second child”. Parents were categorized under gender, religion, ethnicity, educational background and economic status (Table 15).

**Table 15 Satisfaction level of parents having son as first baby**

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Assymp.Sig. (2-sided)
Ethnicity	Caste group	3.8	20.8	9.4	49.1	17.0	$\chi^2=13.743$ P=0.089
	Newar	0	25.0	16.7	16.7	41.7	
	Hill-ethnic	3.2	9.7	6.5	41.9	38.7	
Religion	Hindu	3.1	23.4	7.8	42.2	23.4	$\chi^2=4.729$ P=0.316
	Buddhist	2.3	11.4	13.6	36.4	36.4	
Gender	Male	5.6	22.2	7.4	35.2	29.6	$\chi^2=5.232$ P=0.269
	Female	0.0	14.8	13.0	44.4	27.8	
Economic Status	20,000 or less	6.1	9.1	9.1	45.5	30.3	$\chi^2=13.114$ P=0.108
	20,001-40,000	2.4	19.0	4.8	35.7	38.1	
	Above 40,000	0.0	27.6	17.2	44.8	10.3	
Educational Status	7 and Below	6.3	12.5	6.3	28.1	46.9	$\chi^2=16.364$ P=0.037
	8-12	0.0	20.0	6.7	44.4	28.9	
	Above BA	3.2	22.6	19.4	45.2	9.7	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Table (15) reveals the fact that majority of the parents who had son as first child regardless to religion, ethnicity, gender and economic status agreed that they were satisfied with the sex of the first child and were not concerned about the sex of second child. However, despite the lack of significant difference within ethnicity; Hill ethnic group show higher tendency of son preference against daughter in comparison to Caste group. Newars have been found as to be less son preferring group. Similarly, Buddhist in comparison to Hindu and females in comparison to male feel relaxed if they give birth to a male child as a first baby. The minor differences within ethnic groups, religion suggest that gender discrimination in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal, is not only an issue of Hindu Brahmins but also of Non- Hindu and Non Brahmins as argued by (Chakravarti, 1993). Instead, significant differences were

observed within parents having different educational background. My study suggests that higher the educational background, lowers the concern regarding the sex of first baby, which is consistent with (Koolwal, 2007) who also suggest that educational and economical factors, comparison to religion and caste, have much stronger impact on reducing demand for son.

Parents having daughter as first baby were also requested to rate their concern about the sex of the second baby. Parents were asked to rate the saying ‘having daughter as first baby give tension about the sex of second child’ (Table16).

**Table 16 Expectation of male baby who has daughter as first baby**

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Assymp.Sig. (2-sided)
Ethnicity	Caste group	8.2	19.2	11.0	43.8	17.8	$\chi^2=11.683$ P=0.166
	Newar	2.7	8.1	8.1	43.2	37.8	
	Hill-ethnic	5.9	13.7	21.6	39.2	19.6	
Religion	Hindu	8.0	18.2	9.1	39.8	25.0	$\chi^2=5.940$ P=0.204
	Buddhist	4.1	11.0	19.2	45.2	20.0	
Gender	Male	8.3	19.0	19.9	35.7	35.0	$\chi^2=5.772$ P=0.217
	Female	3.9	10.4	15.6	49.4	20.8	
Economic Status	20,000 or less	1.9	15.1	15.1	47.2	20.8	$\chi^2= 6.791$ P= 0.559
	20,001-40,000	11.6	4.5	11.6	39.1	23.2	
	Above 40,000	2.9	11.4	17.1	42.9	25.7	
Educational Status	7 and Below	7.8	7.8	15.7	43.1	25.5	$\chi^2= 4.007$ P= 0.856
	8-12	5.9	17.6	10.3	42.6	23.5	
	Above BA	4.9	17.1	17.1	41.5	19.5	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings show that parents belonging to different gender, religion, and ethnicity have higher expectation of son, if the first born child is daughter. Parents feel more pressure about the sex of second child throughout pregnancy period.

Question was raised why each and every people regardless to their ethnicity, religion, gender, economic and educational group prefer son against daughter. Information about the reasons behind the preference of son against daughter was collected through open ended question “Tell me the reason behind preferring son against daughter”. Respondents expressed their views and feelings in their own way. For the purpose of identifying main reasons that insist parents to prefer son against daughter each individual reason expressed by the respondents belonging to different category were noted down, correlated reasons were categorized under broader categories, and then grouped into major themes.

Support during old age, continuity of family line, culture, social/family status, conjugal bond and family pressure are major underpinnings associated with son preferences. Different reasons for son preference against daughter expressed by the respondents are reflected in Box (3).

### **Box 3. Reasons for son preference**

After marriage, daughters have to go to other's home and will have various responsibilities. She should take care of her own husband, children and probably father and mother in laws. She would not get time to visit us frequently and take care of us. Even though she managed to visit us, her sister in laws might be jealous of her and doubt that she will take parental property (A 55 year old man from Shakya (Buddhist) family).

After the birth of my son I feel like I own progenitor of my family and will support me economically during my old age (A 43 year old Newar man).

After marriage daughter goes to another home. Son looks after parents during old age, perform rituals after death which helps our soul to easily cross the Baitarni and go to heaven (Baitarni is so called big sea which needs to be crossed to reach heaven after death) (A 39 years old Brahmin woman).

As a goldsmith, my work is to make ornaments and sell to ladies customer. Until I had a son, my wife was worried assuming I might have extramarital relationship due to thrust of having son and was worried for having only daughters (A 55 year old Buddhist man).

Finding of this study is consistent with previous studies (Tiwari 2006) and suggest that parental son preference against daughter is entrenched with socio-cultural norms and values, religion and economic condition and pattern of virilocal residence. Nepal is still a traditional patriarchal society where parents without sons are considered as helpless, and labeled as “*Bichara*” (poor); and get sympathy if they again delivered daughter in second time. People give blessings “*chhoro paaes*” (may god give you son) to those who do not give birth of a son. Due to lack of institutionalized support for elderly care, children are solely the emotional, economical supporter and care taker during old age. Because of the pattern of virilocal residence son stays at home and inherits paternal property, thus are obliged to take

care of parents. On the other hand, the social system that forces daughters to go to others home and take responsibility of in laws, parents do not believe that daughters would come and take care of parents during their old age or as needed, though daughters want to. Finding of this study is consistent with (Bhaskar, 2008) who also suggest the presence of son in parent's funeral is highly required to light the pyre in Hindu culture.

#### **4.2.6 Breast feeding and Rice feeding**

Exclusive breast feeding is an optimal way of feeding an infant and is recommended for at least six months for proper growth and development of the child. Exclusive breast feeding helps in reducing infant mortality rate caused by common child hood diseases such as diarrhea, pneumonia, and helps in quicker recovery during illness. After six months, a child requires other complimentary foods along with breast milk to maintain good nutritional status. Biologically, exclusive breast milk is essential for both male and female child up to six months. In case of inadequate breast milk production or unavailability of mothers for breast feeding, supplementary foods like cereal, home-made cereal such as *Sarbottam Pitho*, lito before the child reaches at the age of six months is very common practice in Nepalese society. After rice feeding, it is commonly believed that the child is ready to have food from regular family pot which is, biologically, not suitable for child.

Serving lactating mothers with nutritious food to produce adequate breast milk for the baby until rice feeding celebration of the child is common practice. It is believed that, after rice feeding ceremony, the child is ready to have other food. So, less attention is paid on mother's diet which in turn decreases the volume of breast milk and negatively impacts the child's health.



Parents having children less than twelve years were also requested to remember the duration of breast feeding and the months of the baby when they celebrated rice feeding/*anna prashan*.

**Table 17 Breast/Rice feeding practice**

	Sex of the child	Months (mean age)			t-value	Sig. (2 tailed)
		n	Mean (months)	Std. dev		
Breast feeding	Son	36	25.06	6.803	1.665	0.100
	Daughter	37	21.92	9.093		
Rice feeding	Son	38	6.00	0.403	7.441	0.000
	Daughter	32	5.25	0.440		

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

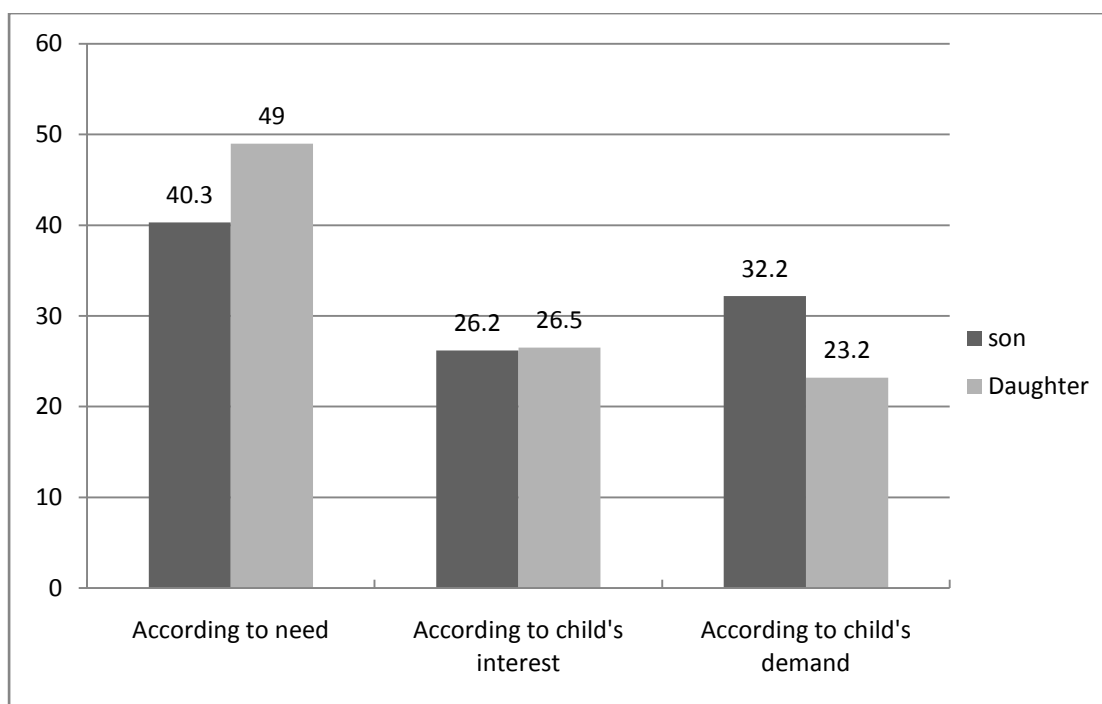
Findings of the study show that despite the awareness program about the importance of exclusive breast feeding, parents consider and practice the appropriate age for rice feeding for son as six months and five months for daughter, which is scientifically proven unhealthy for child. During field visit, the mean age for introducing rice for son and daughter was reported to be 6.00 and 5.25 months respectively, which means, female children are fed other solid food one month earlier than those of male child. Likewise, the mean duration of breast feeding for son is 25.06 and daughter is 21.92 months (Table 17). Findings suggest that, from such practice, though mother's breast milk is adequate girl child are excluding from the rights of having absolute milk.

Researcher had make a query with mothers if there was any reason behind the early rice feeding of the daughters. All of the respondents expressed this practice as a tradition, but unaware about the reason behind such gender differentiated traditional differences. The finding of this study can be related to the findings of Bhaskar V (2008) about Bedi Shikha who feed girls uncooked rice intending early death and

questions can be raised: Do parents in Nepalese society also neglect girl child's wellbeing and feed them rice earlier than son? Is this the way, forcing mother of a girl child to involve in household chores and farms? Or mothers of a girl child are not given proper diet which in turn causes less breast milk production, and mothers are compelled to introduce solid food earlier than son. One of the popular saying "Chhora paae Khasi Chhori paae farshi" also suggest that new born daughter and mother both are neglected by family in Nepalese society.

#### **4.2.7 Birthday celebration:**

Birthday celebration is not a new culture in Nepalese society. Celebrating male member's birthday based on lunar calendar (tithi) is traditionally and culturally accepted practice since long time. Puja (praying) locally known as "Astachiranjibi" in Nepali language is performed for longevity and good health of an individual. Recently, the way of celebrating a birthday is changing and practice of celebrating daughter's birthday is also on the rise. Parents celebrate their children's birthday in different way according to their economic condition, children's interest etc. Research findings show that people in Kathmandu celebrate their children's birthday in various ways such as praying to god for the good health of the child, inviting children's friend and relatives, giving gift to the child or distributing chocolates in school, etc. Though the major difference in the way of celebrating birthday of the son and daughter has not been observed, differences in the types of gifts given to daughter and son has been noticed (Figure 5).



**Figure 5 Types of birthday gift provided to son and daughter (Developed by the researcher)**

Gifts like dresses, books, shoes and other stuff of necessity are given to daughters. On the other hand, accessories of entertainment like guitar, Playstation (a type of electronic game), football, and other stuffs are given according to son's demand.

#### **4.2.8 Health facilities**

High Child Mortality Rate in developing countries is an issue of the world. Reducing child mortality rate is one of the Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015. Health facilities provided to children influence the health status of children. Report of Nepal Family Health Program (2010) shows slighter gender disparity in receiving the basic vaccine in rural areas of Nepal, which is 87% of female children against 91% of male children get full dose of vaccine. Likewise the number of male children (37%) getting vaccination is higher than those of female

children (24%). Six percent of female children versus 2 % male children never receive vaccine (NFHP, 2010).

Asfaw et.al (2007) argues that the high rate of female mortality rate in South Asian countries is associated with intra-household discrimination in receipt of medical attention. Asfaw, Klasen and Lamanna (2007) analyzed the 52<sup>nd</sup> Indian National Sample Survey that collected for the first time a detailed verbal autopsy of deceased person, and observed high level of intra-household gender discrimination in health care decision of household. They indicate that boys were found to be hospitalized before their death, but girls especially infants, were discriminated and deprived of medical facilities before they died. The difference between genders of the child dying in hospital was statistically significant. The place of death whether a person get medical assistance immediately before his or her death is used as health indicator for this study (Asfaw, Klasen, & Lamanna, 2007). Assuming parents show gender differentiated behavior during selecting the types of institutions for treatment; this study also looks for the places where parents take their children for the treatment (Table 18).

**Table 18 Gender of the child and health facilities**

		Gender of the children	Types of health facilities				
			House made	Medical shop	Hospital	Clinic	Assymp.Sig (2-sided)
Over all		Son	7.0	17.5	45.6	29.8	X2=10.309
		Daughter	16.8	22.6	37.4	23.2	P=0.016
Ethnic Group	Caste Group	Son	8.2	16.5	50.6	24.7	X2=2.206
		Daughter	14.1	17.9	41.0	26.9	P=0.531
	Newar	Son	4.9	17.1	39.0	39.0	X2=6.608
		Daughter	22.2	22.2	33.3	22.2	P=0.086
	Hill	Son	6.7	20.	42.2	31.1	X2= 5.243
		Daughter	17.1	31.7	34.1	17.1	P=0.155
Religion	Hindu	son	7.4	17.6	51.9	23.1	X2= 4.245
		Daughter	15.5	20.6	42.3	21.6	P=0.236
	Buddhist	son	6.5	17.7	33.9	41.9	X2=7.129
		Daughter	19.0	25.9	29.3	25.9	P=0.068
Income Group	20,000 or less	Son	1.7	25.9	53.4	19.0	X2=9.487
		Daughter	17.3	30.8	36.5	15.4	P=0.023
	20,001-40,000	Son	10.4	14.9	43.3	31.3	X2=1.947
		Daughter	11.3	22.6	43.5	22.6	P=0.583
	40,001 or above	Son	9.3	11.6	39.5	39.5	X2=2.033
		Daughter	19.4	13.9	30.6	36.1	P=0.566
Educational Status	Below 7	Son	5.6	25.9	48.1	20.4	X2=7.470
		Daughter	18.2	38.6	38.8	11.4	P=0.058
	8-12	Son	5.6	15.3	47.2	31.9	X2=3.306
		Daughter	12.5	20.3	43.8	23.4	P=0.347
	BA and above	Son	11.4	11.4	40.9	36.4	X2=1.773
		Daughter	21.7	10.9	34.8	32.6	P=0.621

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Verbally recorded data of this study about the place, where parents take their son and daughter for treatment also shows parental gender differentiated behavior while providing health services. In general, more sons in comparison to daughters (29.8% versus 23.2%) are treated in clinics and (45.6% versus 37.4%) in hospitals respectively. On the other hand, more daughters with compared to sons (16.8 %

versus 7.0%) respectively are treated with either homemade local medicine. The number of daughters taken to a local pharmacy known as medical shops and treated with ‘over the counter drug’, is greater than sons which is 8% versus 7.0% respectively.

The significant difference between type of health facilities provided and gender of the children has been observed at 0.016 levels. Ethnically split data shows parental gender biased behavior within three different ethnic groups and two religious groups. The differences observed within different groups were: Newars-  $p=0.086$ , Buddhist-  $p=0.086$  level, Parents with income 20,000 or less-  $p=0.023$  level and parents who were illiterate or have attained up to class 7-  $p=0.058$  level. Newar in comparison to Caste group and Hill ethnic group; and Buddhist in comparison to Hindu show gender biased behavior between son and daughter in terms of medical treatment. They treat daughters with house made medicine and take sons to the clinics. Likewise, parents with less income and lower educational status exhibit gender biased behavior in terms of pattern of providing health services to their sons and daughters.

Finding of this study is consistent with Asfaw et. al (2007), and supports Leone et.al (2003)’s assumption that parent show gender discriminatory behavior in the provision of health of son and daughter; and is consistent with the study of (NLSS) Nepal Living Standard Survey (2011), which makes clear that parents show gender discriminatory behavior even in the case of acute illness. According to NLSS (2011), more parents take their daughter to government health institutions such as sub-health post, health post, public health center and hospital, whereas son are taken to private health institutions such as pharmacy, clinic, private hospitals. It can be concluded that gender bias in health service is not only an issue of specific group but also of nation

as a whole. It is also noteworthy to mention one of my students studying at Master level currently working as a nurse in Hospital who expressed her experience as:

If we visit pediatric section, will see many female children lying on hospital bed, anyone who observed the in- patient ward would conclude that more girl children in comparison to boys are getting medical facilities. But in reality, parents take care of their son than daughter and bring them in Hospital before the case worsens. So they go back to their home from out-patient wards. On the contrary, girls are taken to the Hospital only after the case is worst. In such situation girls need to be hospitalized (Personal Communication: MA student 2068-8-7).

Data was further categorized to analyze whether the age of the child influence the parental gender discriminatory behavior in terms of providing health services to the children. For this purpose, age of the children was categorized into three groups: birth to less than 5 years, 5-12 years and 13 to 19 years old based on the developmental stages of children in the field of child development (Table 19).

**Table 19 Types of treatment gotten by children during different age**

Age group	Types of treatment	Gender of children	Number	Percentage	Assymp.Sig (2-sided)
0-5 years old Total =64	House made	Son	1	2.8	X <sup>2</sup> =12.124 P=0.007
		Daughter	9	32.1	
	Medical Hall	Son	3	8.3	
		Daughter	4	14.3	
	Hospital	Son	21	58.3	
		Daughter	11	39.3	
6-12 years old Total= 128	clinic	Son	11	73.3	X <sup>2</sup> = 11.634 P=0.009
		Daughter	4	26.7	
	House made	Son	1	1.6	
		Daughter	11	16.9	
	Medical hall	Son	13	20.6	
		Daughter	18	27.7	
13-19 years old Total= 134	Hospital	Son	26	41.3	X <sup>2</sup> =1.129 P=0.770
		Daughter	22	33.8	
	Clinic	Son	23	36.5	
		Daughter	14	21.5	
	House made	Son	10	14.1	
		Daughter	6	9.5	
	Medical hall	Son	14	19.7	
		Daughter	13	20.6	
	Hospital	Son	30	42.3	
		Daughter	25	39.7	
	Clinic	Son	17	23.9	
		Daughter	19	30.2	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Above table shows that parental gender discriminatory behavior in selecting place and type of treatment is more visible in 0-5 years group which is significant at  $p=0.007$  level, then in 5-12 years group which is  $p=0.009$ . Unlike to two groups (0-5 years and 6-12 years old children), such discriminatory behavior was not observed in 13-19 years old children. Instead, though significant difference is not observed, more teenage daughters are taken to the clinic than son. Conversely, more sons are treated in home with house made medicine. It is a paradox, Are parents more concerned with sons than daughters and take care of them at home for physical problems like, cough and cold? Do parental negligence towards daughters worsens the case and parents are compelled to take their daughters to the clinics and hospital? Do teenage girls are more susceptible during teen age?

#### **4.2.9 Education:**

Sharp gender bias in education throughout Asia has been reported by (Phukan, 1996; Burgess and Zhuang, 2001; Rothchild, 2006; and Lancaster et.al. 2008). Different statistical data published by Nepalese government also reveal educational discrimination between men and women. Adult literacy and average schooling years of women is very low in comparison to men (National planning commission, 2002-2007; MOES, 2001-2005; CBS, 2003). Low enrollment of girls in comparison to boys in Dalit and poor community is associated with high cost of education and more work load assigned to the girls (Acharya, Khatiwada, Sharma, Satyal, Aryal, & Ghimire, 2002).

**Table 20 Mean age, educational level and cases of dropouts**

Gender of the child	Mean age	Mean educational level	Number of drop outs
Son	12.09	6.86	0
Daughter	12.81	7.16	4

Source: Field survey 2011-2013



During field survey it was recorded that, except 4 cases of dropout of teenage girls aged between 15-19 years old, all of the school going children were admitted to the school. The mean age and educational level of school going age (six and above) sons and daughters is 12.09:6.86 versus 12.81:7.16 respectively.

Literatures show that sending son to private and daughters to public school is one of the discriminatory behavior parent shows towards son and daughter at home (Pandey,2006). Record of types of schools son and daughters enrolled were also maintained during field visit (Table 21).

**Table 21 Type of school attended by children**

			Type of school			
			Public		Private	
			Frequency	percentage	Frequency	Percentage
		Gender				
Over all		Son	23	9.4	222	90.6
		Daughter	33	13.6	209	86.4
Ethnic group	Caste	Son	10	8.7	105	91.3
		Daughter	15	12.8	102	87.2
	Newar	Son	2	4.0	48	96.0
		Daughter	6	12.8	41	87.2
	Hill ethnic	Son	11	13.8	69	86.3
		Daughter	12	15.4	66	84.6
Religion	Hindu	Son	12	8.8	124	91.2
		Daughter	18	13.0	120	87.0
	Buddhist	Son	11	10.2	97	89.8
		Daughter	15	14.4	89	85.6
Educational status of parent	1-7	Son	19	23.8	61	76.3
		Daughter	23	28.8	57	71.3
	8.12	Son	4	4.0	97	96.0
		Daughter	8	8.2	89	91.8
	BA and above	Son	0	0.0	63	100.0
		Daughter	2	3.1	62	96.9
Income group	20,000or less	Son	15	19.2	63	80.8
		Daughter	20	25.3	59	74.7
	20,001-40,000	Son	7	6.7	97	93.3
		Daughter	11	10.9	90	89.1
	Above 40,000	Son	1	1.7	58	98.3
		Daughter	2	3.4	56	96.6

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings of this study reveal that majority of the parents in Kathmandu Metropolitan city are aware about importance of girls' education and send their daughter to private school like their son. In contrast to the research finding of Pandey (2006) in Chitwan District of Nepal who observed the gender biased practice of sending boys to private and daughter to public schools. However, data shows insignificant trend of sending son to private schools and daughters to public schools.

Reason behind parental interest on sending their daughter to the school as described by them is quite surprising. Parents consider daughters as burden after marriage. Parents think that if their daughter is educated, they (daughters) would be able to take care of themselves by their own. So that parents would not be obliged to take daughter's responsibility again in future. One of the parents expressed her feelings as

We could neither predict our daughter will marry with man from good family nor her conjugal life would continue lifelong. In such context, it would be better to educate daughter and make her independent so that even though her conjugal life could not continue, she can manage her life on her own and I should not be bound to take her responsibility again.

Phukan (1996) had noticed gender differentiated behavior within her own relatives and reveal the fact that though parents provide better education to sons. Parents relate daughter's education with finding better bridegroom and prefer teaching household chores. This study tries to find out "Do parents show gender biased behavior in providing better opportunity to children in subject selection of their choice" (Table 22).

**Table 22 Subject selection**

	N	(yes)	(No)	$\chi^2 = 2.586$ $p = 0.108$
Boys	85	62	23	
Girls	91	56	35	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Finding shows that though parents send both sons and daughters to private schools, more sons in comparison to daughters are allowed to select the subject of their choice as sons do. The difference was observed at 0.108 levels. Though, this study could not solve the question “what types of subject parents suggest to sons and daughters”; during field visit I noticed that none of the daughters were studying engineering and mathematics. Similarly, more daughters than son were studying humanities, and more sons than daughters were studying science.

An attempt was made to understand whether parents directly interfere their daughters to select the subject of their choice or with their consent (Table 23).

**Table 23 Parental educational and economic status and Number of children selecting subject of their choice**

			Selection of subject					
			Own self		Suggested by parents		Mutual understanding	
			Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%
Over all		Son	61	71.8	10	11.8	14	16.5
		Daughter	56	61.5	9	9.9	26	28.6
Educational status of parent	Up to 7	Son	20	74.1	2	7.4	5	18.5
		Daughter	16	50.0	2	6.3	14	43.8
	8-12	Son	31	88.6	3	8.6	1	2.9
		Daughter	29	72.5	4	10.0	7	17.5
	BA and above	Son	10	43.5	5	21.7	8	34.8
		Daughter	11	57.9	3	15.8	5	26.3
Income of parents	Less than 20,000	Son	16	84.2	1	5.3	2	10.5
		Daughter	14	70.0	1	5.0	5	25.0
	20,001-40,000	Son	32	72.7	8	18.2	4	9.1
		Daughter	23	51.1	7	15.6	15	33.3
	Above 40,000	Son	13	61.9	1	4.8	7	33.3
		Daughter	19	73.1	1	3.8	6	23.1

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Parental record about their son and daughters show that, regardless to parental educational and economical background, more daughters (28.6%) in comparison to son (16.5%) select optional subjects in mutual understanding between parents and daughters. Likewise more sons (61%) in comparison to daughters (56%) select optional subjects in their own. It is also noteworthy that more sons (11.8%) in comparison to daughters (9.9%) take optional subjects with parental suggestion.

Different factors such as: limited budget, social norms that force daughter to go to other's home, household chores are highlighted as major barriers of quality education for girl and women in literatures. Adhikari (2008) carried out a study about women's perception on gender discrimination in education. Her study depicts the view of 70 women aged above 20 years who were residing in Kathmandu valley. According to her, some reasons behind such discrimination were associated with poor economy (52.9%), household work load (50.0%) women's marginalization (34.3%), culture / religion (22.9). Split data of this study, categorized under educational status up to seven, more sons (74.1%) in comparison to daughters (50.0%); class eight to twelve 88.6% sons versus 72.5% daughters, choose what subject to study by them self. Likewise, 84.2% sons versus 70.0% daughters belonging to parental income less than 20,000 per month and 72.7% sons versus 51.1% daughters belonging to parental income between 20,001 to 40,000 NRs per month choose the subjects of their interest by themselves. On the contrary, more daughters (57.9%) than sons (43.5%) belonging to parental educational status above BA and above; and more daughters (73.1%) than sons (61.9%) belonging to parental income above 40,000 per months choose the subject of their choice to study. It can be concluded that as parental educational status and income go higher, daughters get more freedom to choose the subject of their interest by themselves. Findings of this study consistent with Lancaster *et.al* (2008)

who had analyzed Indian data to investigate the existence and nature of gender bias in intra-household allocation of expenditure and observed parental preference for son's education within illiterate and economically poor group which was disappear in more literate groups.

Qualitative data suggest that a few highly educated and economically sound parents also show gender differentiated behavior subtly regarding their children's education. They allow their son to go abroad for further study, but hesitate when it comes to their daughters. They discriminate their daughters covertly with the fear in mind that if their daughter knows about it, it might be a big issue in the family. Covert discrimination is very hard to detect, and needs careful and thorough analysis. I had an opportunity to take series of informal interview, in different intervals, with a well educated bank manager about her son and daughter, and her effort to solve the issue of gender discrimination at home.

I have two children one son and one daughter. Both of them are studying in school. My daughter who is older than the son always expresses her interest to go abroad for further study after passing grade twelve. But I do not prefer to send her far away because I have seen so many daughters in my own relatives who have not married yet since they are highly qualified and hard to get well matched boy to marry. We (me and my husband) have talked and planned to send her to India, which is not far and convenient for us to watch.

Now my daughter is studying on Bachelor level in India. She stays at girls' hostel which is very strict and boys are not allowed. She usually comes back home to spend her long vacation but short vacation is problem because only a few international students stay in hostel. This year my daughter has planned to spend her short vacation with her friends at my relative's home who does not stay there recently. I think there will be no one to control them. Boys also can join there as a friend. But I am concerned they might throw party, drink which might in turn lead to unwanted incidents. So I deceitfully requested my relative to discourage my daughter's plan spending vacation at her home. Finally, I could handle the situation and my daughter stayed at hostel during short vacation. Though most of the students left hostel, I feel like my daughter is safe there.

My son has also passed his SLC. I am planning to send him to the same school where my daughter studied for 'A' level. So that there will be no blatant discrimination. My son also has started to express his interest to go abroad for further studies after 'A'

level. My husband is thinking to send him to the United States for Bachelors degree, but I am concerned that my daughter might blame us for educational discrimination.

My husband is determined to send my son to USA for Bachelors. I already have started to talk about son's interest and discuss about it with my daughter so that she would not take it as discriminatory behavior. She states the word "USA is very expensive" which I had told her when she expressed her interest of studying Bachelors in USA and suggest better to send him to India for Bachelors as her and then to United States. I counsel her by saying it would not be as hard as for you, because he is male. He can struggle there and earn money to support financially.

On the whole it can be summarized that perception toward daughters' education in Kathmandu valley is, to some extent, similar to South Asian context during 1979, who believed that "caring for daughters is like watering neighbor's tree: the fruits go to someone else" (Islam 1979 cited in Naila kabeer, 2003). There are still insignificant number of parents reside in Valley who think educating a daughter is worth less because of the thought an illiterate woman expressed her thought about daughter's education as: "*Chhora le ta bansha aghi badhauchha, chhori ta arkako ghar jaanchha, uslai padhaeko sixya pani jwaiko lagi upayogi hunchha, tyasaile chhori ta napaekai bes*"

#### **4.2.10 Children and decision making**

In patriarchal Nepalese society, women are discriminated in both public and private sphere. Discrimination in decision making process in public domain as well as in household level for family, occupational choice, property right in the form of less expense in education, food and health care of male and female child is an old practice in rural areas of Nepal (Nightingale, 2002; Shrestha, 2004; Bhadra, 2002; Pokharel, 2007). Despite the Nepal governmental policy of inclusion, the presence of women in decision making body (executive committee) has increased quantitatively from 1991-1992 to 2008 their dissatisfaction about unheard voice which are reflected in national media makes it clear that their qualitative role in decision making process is still

neglected. During my field research, I had an opportunity to have an informal talk with a school principal who expressed his views about women's decision making ability as:

“Many women are fighting for their inclusion in decision making process but I have seen so many women who are in the decision making body cannot take any decision by themselves. They always look us for help” (per communication: 2070/6/9).

Similar type of frustration, regarding women's ability on decision making, was expressed by a health professional as:

“During meeting, our department head always looks for male's support at the time of making decisions of the department, though most of us are women”(per communication: a health professional studying at master level 2068).

Women's low self esteem about their decision making power can be associated with the freedom of decision making they entertained during early age. Parental frequent naggings and discouragement about children's decisions force them to be accustomed to looking for someone's help before they decide. Personality trait suggest that socially acceptable methods of adjusting to people and situations which are learned during young age will be reinforced through repeated experiences and becomes increasingly stable with the passage of time (Hurlock, 6th edition). Majority of parents including both father and mother control their children and interfere on making choices on different areas such as visiting friends' home, time to return home, night stay and going out of the home for the purpose of playing.

Data was analyzed with Chi-Square test to determine if both son and daughter equally enjoy the right to decision on personal matters such as: visiting friend's home, spending night at friend's home, going out of the home and play with friends, selecting dress to wear, and deciding the time to return home from early age or not Table (24).

**Table 24 Association between sex of the children and right to decision**

Right to decide the dress				
	Total	(Yes)	(No)	$\chi^2= 0.001$ p=0.982
Boys	219	175	44	
Girls	223	178	45	
Go to friends home				
	Total	(Yes)	(No)	$\chi^2=4.795$ p=0.029
Boys	219	101	118	
Girls	223	80	143	
Time to come back at home				
	Total	(Yes)	(No)	$\chi^2= 2.009$ p=0.156
Boys	219	95	124	
Girls	223	82	141	
Sleep over at friend's home				
	Total	(Yes)	(No)	$\chi^2= 6.352$ p=0.012
Boys	219	28	191	
Girls	223	13	210	
Play outside				
	Total	(Yes)	(No)	$\chi^2= 5.623$ p=0.018
Boys	219	111	108	
Girls	223	88	135	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings show that parents are more liberal towards sons than towards daughters and exhibit gender discriminatory behaviors. Consequently, sons enjoy freedom to make decisions on visiting friend's home, spending night at friend's home, and going out of the home to play with friends. The level of significant differences observed was visiting friend's home (p=0.029), sleep over friend's home (p=0.012) and hang out (p=0.018).

Data was further categorized under the ethnicity of the parents to see if there is any association between ethnicity, gender of the children and parental permission regarding children's decision making. Data was computed with Pearson Chi-Square test and have found the association between parental ethnicity and permission regarding children's decision making (Table25).



**Table 25 Association between ethnicity and children's decision making**

Caste ethnicity	Personal decision	Son		daughter		Asymp.sig.
		Yes	No	Yes	N0	(2-sided)
Caste group	Dress selection	76	27	82	23	0.467
	Visiting friends	47	56	34	71	0.050
	Time to return home	43	60	32	73	0.091
	Night stay	12	91	4	101	0.034
	Play out side	47	56	34	71	0.050
Newar	Dress selection	35	3	31	07	0.175
	Visiting friends	13	25	13	25	1.00
	Time to return home	12	26	13	25	0.807
	Night stay	5	33	3	35	0.455
	Play out side	15	23	15	23	1.000
Hill ethnic	Dress selection	64	14	65	15	0.897
	Visiting friends	41	37	33	47	0.154
	Time to return home	40	38	37	43	0.527
	Night stay	11	67	6	74	0.181
	Play out side	49	29	39	41	0.075

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Finding shows that parental gender discriminatory behavior is more prevalent in caste group than other two: Newar and Hill ethnic group. Significant difference in children's decision making was observed in visiting friend's home ( $p=0,050$ ), time to return home ( $p=0.09$ ), whether to stay friend's home or not ( $p=0.034$ ), and playing out of the home or not ( $p=0,050$ ). The significant difference was observed at 95% confidence level in the area of visiting friends, night staying, and playing out of the home. Similarly, the significant difference between son and daughter's decision regarding time return home was observed at 90% confidence level. Above mentioned table also reveals the fact that parents belonging to Caste group are stricter to their daughter in comparison to other two groups. They show significant gender biased behavior in children's decision making in personal matters except selecting dress to wear. Similarly, the significant difference in gender biased behavior was observed in

children's choice to go outside and play. On the contrary, Newar parents are more liberal toward their daughters in comparison to Caste group and Hill ethnic group. They allow their daughters as equally as son to make decision in their personal matters. Significant differences between sex of the children and right to decision was not observed in any personal matters. It can be assumed that the influence of Brahmanical religious instruments is more powerful and shaping social practices within caste group.

Gender of the perpetrator of discrimination is an issue in Nepalese society. Some people blame the patriarchal society as the main cause of gender discrimination, and opine male are responsible for existing discriminatory practices. While others think women as a mother deals with children than those of fathers so they are the one who supports continuity of discriminatory practices in the society. Data was computed with Chi-Square test to determine if there is association between gender of the parents and parental discriminatory behavior among son and daughters (Table 26).

**Table 26 Association between parental gender and permission for rights to decision**

Gender of the respondents	Personal decision	Son		Daughter		Chi Square value	Asymp.sig.(2-sided)
		Yes	No	Yes	No		
Male	Dress selection	79.8	20.2	83.5	16.5	0.490	0.484
	Visiting friends	42.2	57.8	32.1	67.9	2.377	0.123
	Time to return home	41.3	58.7	36.7	63.3	0.482	0.487
	Night stay	15.6	84.4	4.6	95.4	7.280	<b>0.007</b>
	Hang out/play outside	49.5	50.5	36.7	63.3	3.66	<b>0.056</b>
Female	Dress selection	80.0	20.0	75.9	24.1	0.544	0.461
	Visiting friends	50.0	50.0	38.4	61.6	3.032	0.082
	Time to return home	45.5	54.5	36.6	63.4	1.796	0.180
	Night stay	10.0	90.0	7.1	92.9	0.579	0.447
	Hang out/play outside	51.8	48.2	42.0	58.0	2.164	0.141

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

It has been found that fathers exhibit discriminatory behavior among son and daughter than those of mothers. Fathers are stricter towards daughter than son and control their mobility. Paternal significant gender differentiated behavior was observed in the areas of night stay ( $p= 0.007$ ) and playing out of the home ( $p= 0.056$ ) and visiting friend's home ( $p = 0.123$ ). Whereas, significant differences in mother's behavior between sons and daughters was observed in the areas of visiting friend's home ( $p= 0.08$ ) and playing outside the home ( $p= 0.141$ ) level

#### 4.2.11 Household labor distribution

Distribution of household labor is another hot issue of gender bias within home (Raley & Bianche, 2006). Finding of this study also suggest that both father and mother expect son to work outside the house, whereas daughters inside the home. In comparison to mothers (34.8%), more fathers (50.9%) expect their son to do work related to outside the home (Table 27).

**Table 27 Parental expectation**

	Within home		Out of the home	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Son	9.3	6.3	50.9	34.8
Daughter	57.4	62.5	13.9	23.2
Both	30.6	26.8	27.8	29.5
Neither	2.8	4.5	7.4	12.5

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Note: within home include cleaning, cooking, out of the home includes paying utility bills, fetching water from public tap.

During field visit it was also learnt that mothers are more concerned with the necessity of teaching household chores to daughter. I had an opportunity to interview a 44 years old mother who had a 11 year old daughter and a 10 year old son belonging to Newar community. She expressed her thought as:

My daughter is eleven years old now. She only plays and knows nothing about household chores which is very important for her as we do not know what type of home she will go to after marriage. So it is good to learn household chores and I will start assigning her household chores very soon.

I further questioned if she is also going to teach household chores to her ten year old son? She responded as (didi keti bhaera ta ahile samma sikeko chhaina bhaile ke sikhha? Uslai sikna kar chhaina”) “Being a girl, elder sister still has not learnt household chores yet, so do not think he (son) will learn house hold chores. It is not required for him (son)”.

Similarly an eighteen years old boy disclosed the fact that though parents assign household jobs equally to both son and daughter, they are stricter to daughters in comparison to sons. He expressed his view:

It is up to me whether I help my mother in kitchen or not but my younger sister is compelled to work in the kitchen, cleaning etc. Whenever my friends come to my home my younger sister makes snacks and serves us.

Parents were also asked to mention the types of work done by son and daughter within and outside the home to find if there is difference between parental expectation and the actual work done by children (Table 28).

**Table 28 Gender and workload**

Types of work	Son			Daughter		
	Yes	Sometimes	Never	Yes	Sometimes	Never
Kitchen work	8.7	35.6	55.7	38.1	38.6	22.9
Shopping	19.6	39.3	41.1	20.2	43.9	35.9

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Data analysis confirms that, though parents assign household chores equally to son and daughter based on their gender, daughters actually do more household chores (38.1% kitchen work and 20.0% shopping) than sons (8.7% kitchen work and 19.6% shopping). Similarly the number of boys who neither work in kitchen nor do shopping

is higher (55.7% and 41.1% respectively) than daughters (22.9% and 35.9% in kitchen and shopping) respectively.

The reason for boy's working in kitchen is quite surprising and noteworthy that if the mother is busy in morning, and the age difference between elder brother and younger sister is high, boys are compelled to work in the kitchen. A fifteen years old boy whose mother is busy running her business from early morning, starts his day cleaning utensils and ends his day with fetching water expressed: *My younger sister is too little, so I wash dishes in the morning and fetch water after school*".

Scholars believe that the difference between teenagers' attitude toward their gender role becomes more distinct and the gap between son and daughters widens (Hallman & Roca, 2007). Findings of the study also prove that difference between gender role of boys and girls sharpens with the increment in age. Teenage girls continue their gender role and take responsibility of cooking and cleaning while boys deny doing so (Table 29).

**Table 29 Percentage of teenagers taking responsibility**

	Gender	Self service		Assymp
		Yes	No	
Personal cleaning	Son	36.0	64.0	$\chi^2=72.753$
	Daughter	88.9	11.1	P=0.000
Snax/breakfast	Son	2.6	45.6	$\chi^2=34.013$
	Daughter	19.8	21.4	P=0.000

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

The number of son and daughter making snacks by themselves is 2.6 % versus 19.8 %; and cleaning personal belongings is 36.0% versus 88.95% respectively. It is also noteworthy that the number of boys cleaning personal belongings (41 out of 114

*i.e.* 36.0%) outnumbered those cooking snacks or breakfast for themselves (3 out of 114 *i.e.* 2.6%).

From the above mentioned data, it becomes obvious that daughter's work load at home is higher than son and the types of chores done by son and daughters differ in gendered components and resembles previous studies in different parts of the world (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Klein, Graesch, & Izquierdo, 2009; Lin & Adsera, nd). This study resembles (Raley & Bianche, 2006), to some extent, the conclusion of a literature review that states difference in the United States between daughters doing more work in the kitchen than son is small. Lin and Adsera (nd) with the unit analysis of children aged 6-14 years old available from National Family Health Survey 2005-2006 (NFHS-3) also found the participation of more girls than boys in housework and assisting household labor. (Klein, Graesch, & Izquierdo, 2009)'s ethnographic study on children's contribution to household works which was carried out on 30 families also observed that children start helping in household chores from an early age *i.e.* 5 years. Their findings suggest that more girls take care of pet and siblings, clean bedrooms, prepare meal and equally involve as boys in outside chores. Boys involve in house cleaning and meal planning.

The question was raised why more girls do household chores than boys, though parents expect children's help in housework? To solve this question, available data was further analyzed. Children learn gender role from an early age. According to different learning theories, children develop stereotype gender concept from what they see and hear around them (cognitive development theory), learn through positive and negative comments and feedback for specific activities (social learning theory), and children assimilate all the information in schema-relevant terms and learn to

relate which attributes to link with their own sex (gender schema theory). Once children reach the level of gender consistency, which is believed to be reached at age of six or seven, their concept about their own gender is unalterable. In Nepalese society, there is a popular saying “*Nani dekhi lageko bani kahilyai najani*” (literally the habits developed in early child hood tend to be long lasting) also suggest that children develop their attitude and habit from early age. Parental passiveness and negligence in inculcating gender balanced attitude in children encourage them (children) to continue gender discriminatory perception and practice it later on in life. Parents having children of six year and above were requested to report maternal help in children’s daily activities like cooking snacks or breakfast for self and cleaning personal rooms and clothing (Table 30) .

**Table 30 Gender of child and maternal help**

	Gender	Maternal help (%)	Assymp.Sig (2-sided)
Cleaning room	Son	62.8	$\chi^2=7.549$ P=0.006
	Daughter	37.2	
Snacks/breakfast	Son	64.2	$\chi^2=53.507$ P=0.000
	Daughter	35.8	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Table 30 shows that more mothers help sons than daughters in their (son and daughter) personal daily activities. The significant differences were highly observed *i.e.*  $p= 0.006$  level in cleaning room and  $p= 0.000$  in making snacks and breakfast for themselves (children).

Findings associated with parental gendered record reported by them self suggest that both mothers and fathers at home show gendered attitude and behave differently with son and daughter.

## **4.3 PARENTAL GENDER DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIORS:**

### **TEENAGERS' PERSPECTIVE**

#### **4.3.1 Teenagers and parental discrimination**

The English proverb: “walk a mile in their shoes”, which is very close to the Nepalese saying “*khukuriko maar achanolai matra thaha hunchha*” is more relevant to this study. It is believed that, the perpetrator of discrimination might not have felt or thought that he or she is discriminating between his/her son and daughter because of the social norms that consider such practices as must and encourage to continue in the name of maintaining social order. In such condition, only parental perception and practices might reveal unrealistic truth. So, to avoid the error, one hundred and twenty six teenagers including both boys and girls were requested to report if they have observed or experienced any type of parental discriminatory behaviors between male and female siblings.

#### **4.3.2 Teenagers' experience against parental discrimination**

A total of one hundred and twenty six teenage boys and girls having siblings of opposite sex were selected for this purpose. Out of 126 respondents, 97 (77%) reported that they were experiencing discrimination in one way or another at home. Rest of the teenagers that is 29 (23%) reported they were not experiencing any type of discrimination at home.



**Table 31 Number of respondent experiencing parental gender discriminatory behavior at home**

		Yes	No	value	Assymp. Sig (2-sided)
Ethnicity	Caste group	71.4	28.6	1.509	0.470
	Newar	82.1	17.9		
	Hill ethnic	80.6	19.4		
Gender	Boys	77.0	23.0	0.000	0.987
	Girls	76.0	23.1		
Religion	Hindu	74.4	25.6	1.147	0.284
	Buddhist	83.3	16.7		
Age	13-16	77.6	22.4	0.032	0.858
	17-19	76.3	23.7		
Educational status	Up to high school	74.2	25.8	2.852	0.091
	Above high school	86.4	13.6		

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Split data show that majority of the teenagers belonging to different gender, ethnicity, religion, and age groups feel parental discriminatory behaviors at home. Teenagers studying in college level feel more discriminatory behavior than those who are studying at school level (Table 31).

Scholars working on gender have different view about who maintains gender inequality. Research reveals that men, women, as well as individuals who feel discriminated are equally responsible in continuing discriminatory behaviors in the society (Sharma, 1989; Roger, 2004; UNICEF, 2007; Pokharel, 2008). Discrimination towards women is culturally embedded in society and is very difficult to pin point one single factor i.e. who in terms of male or female; or the customary practices is the responsible factor. The discriminatory attitudes toward women and girls are not simply held by men but, by the norms and perception shared by the entire society.

According to power control theory, mother is the primary agents of socialization in the family. In ‘balanced Household’ where mother and father have relatively similar level of power at work mothers will be less likely to control their sons and daughters differently. But in ‘unbalanced household’ that is the power between father and mother is dissimilar, parents control their daughters more strictly than sons. (Bates, Bader, & Mencken, 2003), also opine that emerging power do not always accept the rule of game in the existing order. But make an attempt to shape the environment without challenging the fundamental rules of the game by raising their voices within it. Emerging powers not only act as norm-takers, but also act as norm-shapers

Fuwa, Ito, Kubo, Kurosaki, & Sawada (2006) in their empirical study have also indicated the importance of mother’s education in reducing child labor and increasing the girl's school enrollment. The effect of mother’s income on both male and female child is same, whereas fathers favor boys. Though mother's additional income expenditure to male and female children for health, nutritional status and schooling is similar, it indirectly helps to raise the educational and health status of girl child (Choudhary, Bhattarai, Pandit, & Kollmair, 2010).

**Table 32 Perpetrator of discrimination**

Perpetrator	Frequency	Percentage
Father	11	11.3
Mother	57	58.8
Both	29	29.9

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Findings of my study suggest that teenagers have experienced and observed the maternal discriminatory behaviors than paternal. More than half of the total

teenagers (58.8%) teenagers blame mothers as perpetrator of discrimination (Table 32).

Data were further categorized according to the sex of teenagers to see if there is gender differences in perception about who, father or mother, exhibits gender discriminatory behaviors at home (Table 33).

**Table 33 Perpetrator of discrimination gender perspective**

Perpetrator	Boys		Girls	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Father	5	10.9	6	11.5
Mother	26	56.5	32	61.5
Both	15	32.6	14	26.9
Total	46	100	52	100

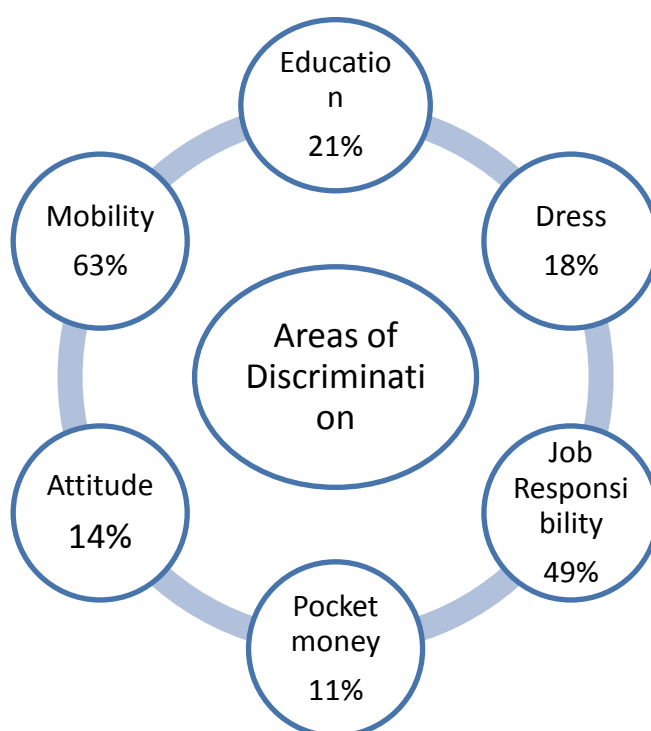
Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Both teenage boys (56.5%) and girls (61.5%) believe mothers show gender discriminatory behavior toward sons and daughters.

### **4.3.3 Nature of frequently experienced discrimination by teenage boys and girls**

For the purpose of determining area of discrimination felt by teenagers, only those who reported to have observed or experienced parental discriminatory behaviors are included for data analysis. As a male dominated society, parents show different types of discriminatory behaviors at home. Literatures show that son and daughters are raised in different environments and parents treat son and daughter differently at home: (Peter, 1994; Chaplin, Cole, & Zohn-Waxler, 2005; Rothchild, 2006; UNICEF, 2007; Lancaster, Maitra, & Ray, 2008; and Hameih & Usta, 2011). Assuming parents in Kathmandu Metropolitan City also deal with children differently, boys and girls

were requested to compare parental behavior between themselves and their siblings of opposite sex and mention the area where they felt discriminated against.



**Figure 6 Areas of discrimination experienced by teenage boys and girls**

Figure (6) reveals that teenagers in Kathmandu metropolitan city, the most developed part of Nepal, also face gender discriminatory behaviors at home. The most frequently felt discriminatory behaviors are in the field of mobility, household chores, education, dress, and pocket money. Boys think that they are enjoying more freedom in comparison to their sisters. Regardless to sex of the teenagers, most frequently felt areas of discrimination by their parents at home are: mobility (63%), household job responsibility (49%), education (21%), dress (18%), attitude<sup>1</sup> (14%) and, pocket money (11%). Other types of discrimination mentioned by less than 10% of the teenagers are interaction with other people, manners, and entertainment. Parental

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<sup>1</sup> Attitudes includes: affection, food, inclusion in family decision, sleeping hour, blaming, nagging etc

discriminatory behaviors reported by insignificant number of respondents have not been mentioned in figure.

#### **4.3.3.1 Mobility:**

In a patriarchal Nepalese society, it is very common for women to be confined within the four walls of home and serve men, seniors and children. Same practice is continued to this day. It has been reported in daily newspapers that there are some communities where women are not allowed to move freely just so that male members of the community would not see their face. Newly married bride are prohibited to enjoy the full size of meal to satisfy their hunger simply to avoid their mobility in day time for the purpose of defecation (Adhikari, 2007). Pokharel (2008) quotes the sayings of woman as her husband restricts her mobility because her husband is older than her and is afraid that she might run away with others and leave him alone *"my husband does not allow me to move freely. Since he is older than me, he thinks I might leave him if he allowed me to move freely"*.

Finding of the study also suggest that mobility is one of the major issues of discrimination felt by 63% of the total teenage including both boys and girls. Except few numbers of boys, most of the boys who reported their experience regarding parental discriminatory behaviors were against their female siblings. But almost all of the teenage girls who experienced parental discriminatory behavior were against themselves. During field visit, it was also reported that parents order/recommend both son and daughter to come back home on time but apply and follow through the rules more strictly to their daughter.

Both my father and mother tell us (me and my elder brother) to come home on time. Whenever I come late they scold me saying 'Chhori manchhe chhittai ghara aunu

parchha, aber samma bahira basna hunna' meaning daughters should not stay out late and should come home on time. But they never yell at my brother even when he comes home late-(A Sixteen year old Hindu girl).

My parents interfere on my younger sister's mobility (outing with friends) more frequently than me. They never scold me if I get back home late but they become outraged when my younger sister does the same. (Mero buwa aamale sathiharu sanga ghumna jaane kurama malai bhanda mero bahinilai dherai roklagaunu hunchha. Kahile kahi sathiko party bata farkada malai dhila bhayo bhane gali garnu hunna tara bahinile dhila gali bhane gharma tahalka machchinchha-(A eighteen years old Hindu boy).

Data was also computed with chi-square test to see if the age and gender of the teenagers determines the parental restriction on mobility. Result shows that there is a difference between the mean age of the teenagers and restriction put on their mobility. As teenagers' age increases they feel more restriction on mobility (Table 34).

**Table 34 Association between age, gender and restriction on mobility**

		N	Discrimination on mobility		Assymp.Sig (2-sided)
			Yes	No	
Gender	Boys	48	54.2	45.8	$\chi^2 = 3.090$ p=0.079
	Girls	53	71.2	28.8	
Age	13-16	53	52.8	47.2	$\chi^2 = 5.003$ p= 0.025
	17-19	47	74.5	25.5	

Source: Field survey 2011-2013

Patterns of age, gender, and parental restrictions put against children show that more girls than boys and children during late teens than early teens feel more restriction on mobility. The significant differences between early and late teens was observed at p=0.025 level. Similarly, significant differences between boys and girls was observed at p=0.079 level. It can be assumed that, usually, after sixteen years boys and girls start going college or at higher secondary school. Teenagers might have thought as if they are completely grown up and now can make their decision about where and when to go. Or because of freedom that students get in higher secondary schools or college level, parents might restrict their child's mobility more strictly.

Parents were made aware of children's view toward discrimination on their mobility. A query was made "Do parents really discriminate their daughter against son and control daughter's mobility, If so Why?" Various reason like unsafe environment for daughters because of bad boys, social norms that does not consider unwanted mobility of daughter as good thing, neighbor's and relative's snoop nature and unnecessary bad comments on daughters were the repeatedly expressed as a concern by the parents. One mother was also seriously concerned about daughter's biology. I was curious about her concern about daughter's biology and had questioned in detail. Below is the conversation between a mother (belonging to Buddhist religion) of Sixteen years old daughter who had just passed the SLC examination and researcher:

Researcher: Many teenagers believe that parents control their daughter's mobility than their son. Do you think they are correct?

Respondent: Yes. We parents have only one tension about son that is what if he involved in bad habit. But in case of daughters we have double tension. One is as son what if she involved in bad habit and other is what if some bad boys do something wrong with her?

Researcher: what is that something wrong?

Respondent: what if she becomes pregnant

Researcher: Pregnancy can be aborted

Respondent: Umm, Still she will mentally and psychologically suffer.

Above mentioned conversation make it obvious that parental discriminatory behavior in the area of mobility is associated with daughter's biology which cannot be denied as one of the major nature of discrimination that prohibit girls to enjoy many opportunities and link with (Wood & Eagly, 2002)'s "Bio social theory and it's implication on gender discrimination".

#### **4.3.3.2 Household chores:**

Household chores like cleaning, cooking, serving guest are considered a women's job. Women are forced to spend their time in "no wages" household chores (Pandey, Mishra, Chemjong, Popkharel, & Rawal, 2006). Household responsibilities make women less available for the extra meeting or social events where information is exchanged (Bhattarai, 2006). Type casting is a mechanism of constraint: of marginalization and powerlessness which distribute the work according to sex, based on the assumption that either men or women are better able to fulfill particular task (Davidson and Black 2001). Davidson & Black have observed the occurrence of type casting within the natural resource management in Australia. Generally, women are encouraged to work in female identified positions that are perceived as being more suitable for women's inherent skills consequently women are marginalized and excluded from a range of other positions, including managerial or more masculine roles. Positions filled by women are attributed to lower status, and remuneration is less than men in the organization and society at large. Stereotypical work division; for example animal care, fodder collection, cooking as for women's responsibility is also discouraging factors for the women's participation in decision making (Leach and Green, 1995 cited in Locke, 1999; Agrawal B. 2000).

My research findings suggest that both boys and girls are asked to perform household chores. However, assigned job is gendered component. Chores like fetching water from public place, shopping for day to day commodities, and paying utility bills need mobility and interaction with the outside world. Thus, parents request their sons to do such jobs. Whereas the jobs which are confined to four wall of the house like cooking, cleanings are done by girls.



My mother always asks my sister to clean utensils and wash clothes and forces me to go for shopping, and paying utility bills. We do not have any choice—(A Fourteen years old Hindu Boy).

My elder brother has more freedom of mobility so he can go anywhere he likes. I need to do all household chores like cooking, dish washing and laundry. My brother does not need to do all these works. I wash my elder brother's clothes too—(A sixteen years old Buddhist girl).

#### **4.3.3.3 Education**

Though parental records reveal parental equal allocation of resources on type of school attended by son and daughter, both teenage boys and girls (21%) have noticed parental gender bias in education. Some of the respondents reported their experiences in educational discrimination. Parents blatantly discriminate son and daughter in education. Parents ask their daughter to help in housework even during study time, but are more concerned with and give pressure to son's education. Parents prefer their son to be doctor or engineer. To achieve the goal parents pressurize their son to choose the subjects like Math and Science. If they think their son is weak they arrange tutor for extra coaching at home. Sons also feel discrimination when they are compelled to choose the subjects they do not like and pressurized to spend more time on study.

My mother pressurizes my younger sister on household chores, but she gives more emphasis on my study- A sixteen years old boy.

During my childhood, I was weak in my studies so my father continuously used to yell at me and compared me with my elder sister, who was brilliant in her study and this made me feel ashamed. I could not say anything in front of him because of fear, but used to go with my mother and shed tears- A nineteen years old boy.

Though parents in contemporary society are liberal toward daughter's education and send them to a private school just as they would their son, study shows that time spent on study by son and daughter at home is a subject of question. Parents expect their daughter to perform household chores along with their study. Thus, girls get

lesser time to study than their siblings of opposite sex. Those who are very serious at study and request to allow spending more time on study are considered as rebellion and are nagged by the parents. A fifteen years old studying in grade nine expressed her frustration against parental discrimination:

Whenever I spend more time on study, they ask me to stop studying and do some household chores. As I try to convince them why I am spending more time on study, they do not understand me; instead they consider my approach as misbehaving. .

The overall experience of teenage girls and boys show that boys and girls, in Kathmandu metropolitan city, are socialized in accordance to feminine and masculine qualities described by the society. Findings of the study is consistent with the study of (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) based on self-report of 22 women aged 20-45 (Mean age 21.4). Rafelli and Ontai also observed privileging of sons in family having both sons and daughters in terms of mobility, household chores and enforcing traditional feminine behavior to daughters.

#### **4.4 EFFECT OF PARENTAL GENDERED BEHAVIOR ON TEENAGERS'**

##### **GENDER IDENTITY**

Gender identity differs from that of gender roles, gender stereotypes, and gender attitudes (Spence and Helmreich, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Eagly, 1987 cited in Stet & Burke, 2000) which can be influenced by gender attitude, gender roles and gender stereotypes. Sociologically, it involves, all the meanings that are applied to oneself which are formed in social situations, stemming from ongoing interaction with others such as parents, peers, family etc.

Children become aware of parental behavior since early age and develop self-concept as a boy or girl. Before identifying themselves, children go through different

processes: general awareness of gender, gender identity, gender stability, gender constancy and then gender role identification (Kostelink, Stein, Whiren, & Soderman, 1998). After achieving stable self-concept, children select model accordingly and socialize autonomously (Maccobby & Jacklin, 1974). Once imposed, this identity is internalized and experienced as an unalterable and inevitable reality rooted in the conscious and unconscious mind. They start avoiding activities which are so called inappropriate for them, though they aspire to. Instead, they use different techniques to accommodate themselves and develop their identity accordingly.

Children are expected to acquire gender specific skills from the very beginning of life at home, which is later on reinforced by school. Children learn gender specific behavior through observation, direct instruction, reward and punishment for certain gender specific activities and identification of same sex. As children identify their gender, girls continue to follow the women's gender role while boys begin to separate themselves from women; and both girls and boys try to maintain it after reaching the level of consistency.

Erikson (1968)'s developmental theory suggest that children go through the stage of competence: industry versus inferiority (6-12years) and identity versus role confusion (12-18 years). Parental encouragement and praise for success direct children toward industry while shaming and discouragement directs toward inferiority.

Social constructivism learning theory also suggest that children acquire knowledge about gender roles and gender identity through their experiences in day to day conversation, sayings that reflects stereotypical perception toward masculinity and femininity, and interaction with people. Parents themselves as a byproduct of

gender socialization, initiate socializing their children at home by labeling an infant as male or female, deciding what to wear, what to do, how to interact with people, and sometimes which subject to study. Children learn gender role and their gender identity from parental encouragement and discouragement about gender specific behavior. When children reach the age of five, they acquire gender stability and learn that gender is permanent and remain same for the rest of their life. Though, there might be some protest and arguments between parents and teenagers, eventually, they (children) share the same attitude and value as their parents. Hence, children inherit socio-cultural behavior and traditional gender roles from the parents and transfer to next generation.

Parents during my field study reflected their stereotypical perception about masculinity and femininity, and were found to be encouraging their sons to be masculine and daughters to be feminine. Most of the parents in Kathmandu Metropolitan city were found to be encouraging their son to be highly educated, doctors, and engineers so that they (boys) would be able to take responsibility of parents as well as wife and children in future. Parental such expression is directing boys to develop a gender schema that they have to be the supporter and provider of the family. On the other hand, though parents provided girls educational facilities like to boys, they (parents) were found to be encouraging girls to learn household chores expecting that girls would not be troubled when they marry and go to in-laws home. Consequently, girls are developing a gender schema that they should go to in-laws home some day, and should take care of the family.

Teenage boys and girls were requested to describe their feelings and thought about parental gendered behavior to see whether they have been influenced by such

practices or not. Finding of the study reveals that both teenage boys and girls are fully aware of their gender and are able to analyze critically.

The difference that I have observed in my parent's behavior between me and my brother are: my father allows my brother to go outside but when I ask to go outside they scold me very badly, they even do not allow me to laugh during our festivals. If he saw me laughing, he scolds me but, my brother can laugh very loudly. I think he scolds me because, during festival many people (outsider of the family) come to our home. When they see us laughing, they consider it as bad habit and talk about this (back biting). They also criticize our parents. So I think it is okay for my parents to scold me. But there are other things which I think is not good. I think my parents do not think about my life (they do not care about me). Whenever my brother demands, my parents immediately fulfill his demand but they linger to fulfill my demands. Sometimes they take weeks or even months. My brother asked for a by-cycle, which my father bought for him, but he would not even buy a dress for me. One day I asked my mother if I could attend a picnic organized by my school, but she refused, but when my brother asked for same thing, she let him go. Me and my brother, sometimes, do mistakes and misbehave at home, but my parents only yell at me and not my brother-A fourteen years old girl.

"My behavior at home is normal, I behave like a girl, but when I try to do something creative or unique, my guardians and whole family members discourage me; telling it is what a boy does. Actually, I am fond of playing basketball and play with my friends in school. But when my family came to know about this they told me that basketball is a boys' game and girls are not allowed to play. Some times when I want to go out with my friends to hang out they directly scold me and said girls should not go out with others. Usually, I do all the household chores which my brothers don't. They are free at home all the time and can do anything they want. Their demands are fulfilled immediately but not mine though I asked for needed things. My brothers do not study well and my guardians are fully aware about this, but they do not care, but whenever I do not study they scold me and say being a daughter you should study hard. Sometimes I think my guardians are doing all these things for me because girls are girls and boys are boys. I feel very bad and get hurt whenever they compare me with brothers"-A sixteen years old girl.

Boys are also aware of parental gender differentiated behavior at home but are not sure whether it is okay to control their sister or not. So they accept stereotypical norms that put restrictions on their female siblings and do not protest against parental such discriminatory behavior.

Though my sister and I are similar in mental ability, I am physically stronger than my sister because I am boy. I am happy for getting more freedom than my sister, but not sure whether the restrictions put on her is wrong or right since they are physically weak- A nineteen years old boy.

Above mentioned narratives of boys and girls show that teenage boys and girls have been fully affected by parental behavior and are developing two different identities. Some common type of identity found in teen age girls are rejected, docile, care taker, alienated, confused, and suppressed. Unlike girls some common types of identity in boys are supporter, confident, defiant, and progenitor. Below are some examples of teenagers' identity of self expressed by boys and girls in their own words.

#### **4.4.1 Rejected**

Parents either intentionally or unintentionally express their feelings by using traditional sayings in different ways at household without knowing that even a single word makes sense for children and leaves an un-removable impression (*kahile nametine chhap*) on children's later life. Parental expression like "arkako ghar jane jaat" makes daughters feel rejected and makes them feel as an out caste in the family. This may be one reason why women do not prefer to claim parental property. "Property right is for those whose parents' have enough property - my father owns small hut, and if I claimed my property right , there would be no more property left for my brother. I am using my husband's Property" (Pokharel, 2007). During field visit, researcher had encountered a teenage girl who expressed her feelings of rejection as

I used to go to a public school from where I completed my SLC. But my brother went to English school. At that time I did not feel differentiated behavior of my parents. Once I entered into college education, I realized my weakness in English literature because of my school background and feeling sad since then.

#### **4.4.2 Docile**

Parental discriminatory behavior and daughter's acceptance of such discriminatory practice is not a new issue in Nepalese society (Pokharel S. , Gender discrimination: Women's perspective, 2008). Both sons and daughters are aware of discriminatory behavior, but frequent and repeated nagging and discriminatory behaviors force daughters to be accustomed to such behavior and become passive even in unfavorable condition; and eventually accept it.

My mother says I have to go to other's home so I need to learn household chores. Sometimes I protest against such saying by defending I will do household chores only if my brother does it. When I protest it I get a scolding-A sixteen years old girl.

Another sixteen years old girl describes how she compromises with parental gender exclusive behaviors.

Being a daughter my parents put control on my mobility whereas my brother gets freedom. For instance, I am not allowed to stay the night even at distant relatives' home, but my brother is allowed to stay. When I protest I get a scolding. My mood goes off for a while but I normalize myself again.

#### **4.4.3 Caring**

Parental expression often makes daughters and son clear that sons are the common group of ancestry, but daughters are not. Internalization of such belief in daughters produces a fear of rejection, which forces girls to think whether she would be accepted in husband's home or not. This might be the main reason women often surrender themselves in an unfavorable situation to make husband and his family happy (Sharma, 1989). Researcher had encountered with sixteen years old girl who was ready to continue the stereotypical role of woman to be accepted in affine home.

I have to clean the house, help in kitchen and make tea whenever a guest comes. Sometimes, I think my brother should also do household chores even though he is a

boy, but then second opinion comes in my mind it is okay doing these work, because I am a girl.

Another nineteen years old girl studying in BBA accepts the traditional role and is ready to continue such role expresses her view as:

I am a girl, when I marry I need to go to my husband's home. I have to serve my husband's family; of course I would and love to do it because if I love my husband I should also make his family happy. So I need to learn cooking and other household jobs. If I know it (household chores) I would not be embarrassed by in-laws about not having any knowledge of house hold chores.

#### **4.4.4 Alienated**

Some children are highly sensitive and self-conscious; they respond their adults with irritation, suspicion and distrust. They think they cannot control the situation and distant themselves from their family and parents.

Whenever I talk a bit longer on the phone, my mother sneaks around and asks me to hang up. Sometimes I protest to such behavior and argue with her, but other times I sleep with an empty stomach and lock myself in the room –A fifteen years old girl.

#### **4.4.5 Confused:**

It is believed that sons are closer to their fathers while daughters are to their mothers and they spend their time with them respectively". In Nepalese culture, generally, sons are favored to walk with fathers while daughters walk with their mothers. Such preferences offer sons more opportunities to go outside and broaden social relations and follow father's footsteps. Moreover, such ill practice widens gap in relation between fathers and daughters. Excluding teen age girls from the opportunity to develop attachment with father builds feeling of rejection, makes the daughter sad, and forces them to raise many questions: why can't I go with my father? Why my brother frequently goes outside with my father on motorbike?



Sometimes I question myself, is it the reason that my father does not love me because I am a daughter? Should I not go outside with my father? Sometimes thinking about all this, I cry and sleep quietly-A fourteen years old girl.

#### **4.4.6 Suppressed:**

Teenagers are fully aware of unnecessary parental naggings, though sometimes they do not express and suppress it in front of others; when alone they do overcome with emotions quietly.

My parents do not allow me to take my male friends in home. If they come to my home they raise many questions like who, why, what is his address and also often say next time do not bring them at home, but they allow my brother to bring even female friends at home. They even did not allow me to play with my male friend during HOLI (the day of color). I was disappointed with them so I did not go to my mother's maternal home for dinner. I stayed at home quietly and cried-A seventeen years old girl.

#### **4.4.7 Supporter**

Parental expression toward son as “*budheskaal ko sahara*” and preferences provided to them makes the son more confident, proud and secure. Parental expressions “son are supporter of old age” encourage boys to follow father's footsteps. They develop an identity of parent's supporter during their old age. “I have to study hard, because I am a boy so that I have to take care of my parents during their old age” -A fifteen years old boy.

Whenever we (sister and I) fight my parents support my sister stating ‘one day she has to go other's home’. Though I know my parents support my sister, I still feel proud because I am the only one supporter of my parents during their old age. My parents include me in decision making for the family, which makes me feel like I am also something-A nineteen years old boy.

#### **4.4.8 Confident:**

Henslin (2004) believe that parental gender discriminatory perception that encourage girls to stay at home and help mother in household chores and encourage

boys to move freely and play outside the home during the process of individuation lead male child to be independent and female child to be dependent. As they turn to adolescent they become more outgoing and mobile. Sons are confident that their misbehavior will be easily forgiven by parents and do not care about parental naggings. An eighteen years old boy expressed his response against his mother's control as:

My mom asks me to come home soon. Whenever I go outside she immediately starts calling me. Sometimes I do not receive her phone calls instead I disconnect. I do not care about her nags, so as my friends call me, I inform my mom that I am going outside, and immediately walk away from home”.

Boys develop a feeling ‘boys are boys’ and can go wherever they want:

“Because I am a boy I can move freely, can spend money. I don't have to work as my younger sister, so whenever I am at home I instead watch sports in television”- A seventeen years old boy.

#### **4.4.9 Defiant:**

Feelings like: ‘boys are boys’, ‘physically strong’, and ‘supporter of the parents during their old age’ make boys feel safe and secure in the family. They develop high self-esteem, which in turn inculcate the feelings like ‘I can do it’. It might be the reason boys cope against stress actively and aggressively.

I am a boy and I am physically strong. I do not have to do house hold chores, but should support my family in future as my dad does. I need to study hard because I need to take care of my parents in the future. When I am angry I don't eat food, go to my friend's home, and break things that are around me. I am a boy and I get more freedom. I can stay at friend's home at night because it is accepted in the society- A fourteen years old boy.

Another boy also describes his activeness and his sister's passiveness toward parental restrictions as:

I am totally different than my sister because we are different in physiological structure, and interest and attitude. I like to play cricket, and go to friend's home but my sister

doesn't, she likes to stay home. Whenever my mom scolds my sister and I; I often protest but my sister remains quiet- A sixteen years old boy.

Social norms that encourage boys to be strong, powerful, aggressive; and permit boys than girls to show aggression are the reasons boys show defiant behaviors (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Oxfam, 2010).

#### **4.4.10 Progenitor**

Boys are considered as the progenitor and owner of hereditary property from birth. From the beginning of early life, boys learn that whatever their parents own all belong to them. Teaching boys that they will inherit the privileges and prestige of male-hood, makes boys feel superior and valuable to the family while girls feel less valuable (Houston, 1987). Both are expected to view their status as right, moral, and appropriate. A nineteen years old boy who claims there is no discrimination between son and daughter at his home says very proudly that “

My father will equally distribute only his property to all of us four siblings (two elder sisters, my one younger brother and I), but not my grand parents'. Because all children have equal rights to get only father's property as partition share. It might be the reason that fighting between brothers, and not between sisters for partition share, is very common in our society.

Based on Erikson's theory of identity versus role confusion, it becomes obvious that parental gender differentiated behavior is making teen age children confused about who they are and what their gender role is. Findings of the study confirms that parents are the most prominent factor influencing children's development of gender identity and bring about individual differences especially within boys and girls. Based on parental expectation that encourage boys to be assertive, independent, competitive and girls to be passive, supportive and sensitive, teenager boys and girls chosen for the study were found to be developing their

identity accordingly. Boys and girls are developing their identity as provider versus care taker; defiant versus docile, confused versus confident etc respectively.

## **4.5 TEENAGERS' COPING STRATEGY**

Coping is a person's cognitive and behavioral efforts to reduce perceived threat, or to manage emotions associated with stress. Joseph and Kuo (2008) cite the original conceptualization of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) as a critical psychological process that concerns individual's responses to stressors and life hassles. An individual's coping responses is bounded by his or her cultural norms and shaped by the individual's values and beliefs. Joseph and Kuo further mention that the empirical study about the association between culture and coping strategy has been quite limited. Coping is an individual's behavioral and cognitive efforts to reduce perceived threat or handle stressful emotions. Cognitive theory suggests that it develops with individual's knowledge and personal experiences.

Below are some of the most commonly used coping strategies:

### **4.5.1 Venting emotion:**

Venting is the tendency to focus on whatever distress or upset one is experiencing and to ventilate those feelings. It can either be functional or dysfunctional. Scholars opine venting emotion differently. Some believe Focusing on the distress may distract people from active coping efforts and moving beyond the distress (cited by Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). Coping through expressing emotions may facilitate regulation of the social environment. Letting a partner know of one's sadness can prompt comfort. Coping through processing and expressing

emotions may direct one's attention toward central concern and result in identification of discrepancies between one's progress toward a goal and the expected rate of progress (Carver and Scheier 1998 cited by Stanton, Parsa, & Austenfeld, 2002). Mira Mishra also argues that women's studied crying and being quiet in front of husband lessen the chances of polyandry and reduced their stress in later life (Mishra, 2011). Stanton, Parsa, & Austenfeld in their study "The adaptive potential of coping through Emotional approach" advocate the functionalist perspectives and highlight the adaptive utility of venting emotion during coping with the quotation of their research participant:

I used to be pretty reserved, but since this breast cancer diagnosis, I've learned how important it is to express my emotion. I've started a journal, where I can say exactly how I feel. When I'm having a bad day with cancer, I make sure I write about it or talk about it. It's hard to face some of the feelings, but it just feels so much better than holding everything inside, like I used to (Stanton, Parsa, & Austenfeld, 2002, pp: 148. )

Qualitative analysis of data reveals that both boys and girls vent their stressful emotion in various ways such as hypertantrum, crying, verbal dispute etc. Boys vent their emotion actively and more aggressively. Though girls express their anger, they turn it into sadness passively.

My parents have restricted me in bringing my male friends over to my house. Whoever comes over to see me, my parents inquire for details like who they are, why they came, full address; and warn not to bring them over next time. But my brothers are allow to bring their female friends again and again a. I still remember the incident of HOLI, when I was not permitted to play with my male friends. Instead, they were told that I was not at home. I was furious with my parents so I did not go to my mother's maternal home for dinner. I sat quietly in our home and cried- A seventeen years old girl.

Whenever I am compared with my elder sister, who is more brilliant in her study, I feel ashamed, and thus, I protest in different ways like not eating meal (bhat nakhaera), throwing stuffs that is around me, and coming home late. As they start nagging me, I increase the volume of television and pretend like I am not listening to them- A sixteen years old boy

### **4.5.2 Seeking social support**

Seeking social support includes getting someone's help to get rid of the problem. People get social support because of two reasons: getting suggestions and advice from family, friends and neighbors or any one they count on if they could not figure out the solution of the problem; or for getting moral support, sympathy and understanding during stressful period. Hence, Seeking Social Support can be used as problem focused coping strategy or emotion focused coping strategy (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989).

My research findings suggest that teenagers, including both boys and girls, seek social support in order to stabilize their emotions.

My parents always force me to go shopping and fill buckets of water even though I despise doing those chores. Sometimes I protest verbally and ask them to send my sister, but other times I become irritated and walk out of the house to go visit my friends.-A fifteen years old boy.

My father states that "there are bad boys roaming the streets" so I am restricted from going outside, though my brother can go wherever he likes. I go to the garden when my friends come to visit and talk to them about my father and how he scolds –A thirteen years old girl.

### **4.5.3 Planning**

Planning is an active strategy used to cope with stress. An individual does something actively to alleviate stressful circumstances. This action is problem solving oriented and includes thinking about the problem and the best suitable steps to handle such problem. Planning occurs during secondary appraisal and conceptually differs from active coping which occurs during coping phase (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). It is an instrumental coping mechanism that aims to locate the source of the problem and determine solutions.

My brother's demands are fulfilled immediately. Last time I asked my mother for some money she refused. But when my brother asked her for a mobile, he immediately got that. After that incident I did not talk to her for a week. Then she gave me money- A nineteen years old girl.

Though my sister is elder than me, my mother always asks me to go and pay utility bills. Sometimes I follow her order, but sometimes I argue with her and raise questions: 'She is older than me so why doesn't she do this' and deny obeying her request – An eighteen years old boy.

#### **4.5.4 Avoidance/Denial**

Avoidance/denial as a coping strategy is controversial. It has been believed that it has several positive and negative impacts. The negative belief is that avoidance of the issue altogether may lead to denying that a problem even exists and creates additional problems. On the contrary, the positive belief toward denial/avoidance is that it is useful in minimizing distress and thereby, facilitates coping (Cited: Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). Denial is usually maintained by distractions, such as excessive alcohol consumption, overworking, or sleeping more than usual.

Whenever it gets late my mother frequently calls and reminds me to not eat and drink. This frequent nagging of hers usually irritates me and I get really tired. That is usually why I just cut off her phone calls-A nineteen years old boy.

#### **4.5.5 Argument**

Good communication between perpetrator and victim of gender discrimination can improve relationships, increasing intimacy, trust and support, while poor communication can weaken bonds, create mistrust and contempt. Teenage girls try to improve the situation with arguments.

Usually, my mother puts a ceiling on my mobility and forces me to learn house hold chores by saying 'you cannot go because you are a daughter'; 'You should learn because you are a daughter' and so on. Whenever my mother tries to control me with such logics, I always argue and fight with her- An eighteen years old girl.

### **4.5.6 Acceptance**

Acceptance coping is “Accepting that the difficult situation is real and should be addressed” (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). Acceptance helps an individual to take steps like learning about the problem and plan for future. A teen age girls reported her acceptance to discriminatory behavior as:

My parents put control on my mobility whereas my brother gets freedom. For instance, I am not allowed to stay the night even at distance relatives’ home. But, my brother is allowed to stay. When I protest, I get scolded at. My mood goes off for a while, but I normalize myself again- A sixteen years old girl.

### **4.5.7 Mixed coping strategy**

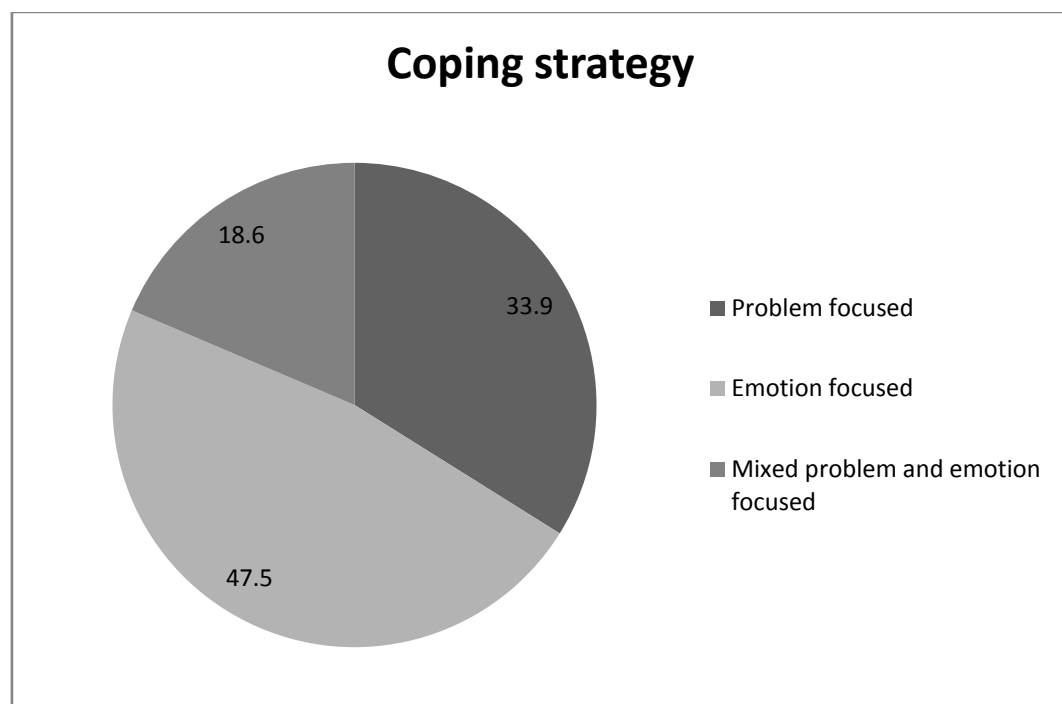
Coping is a complex process. People try out a variety of strategies dealing with just one aspect of stress. They are likely to experience seemingly contradictory states of mind and emotion at any given phase of an encounter (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). Findings of this research also found many teenagers using different types of strategies to cope with parental specific gender discriminatory behavior. Below is the example of mixed reaction:

Usually I proudly, tell my parents ‘yes I am a girl. It’s me who can do everything better than them (brothers)’ when they (parents) put restrictions on me, stating that I am a daughter. One day on the occasion of a birthday, my friend threw a party. I tried to get permission, but my parents refused. Coincidentally, my brother was also going out with his friend, and was permitted for that. Comparing these two different parental attitudes I could not control my temper. I directly went to my room, slammed the door and started to cry. My family knocked the door several times, but I did not open the door, instead cried inside the room for an hour thinking why they do not understand me and let me go to my friend’s birthday party and enjoy with them. After an hour, my aunt knocked on the door and told me I could go to the party. Eventually I joined the party and told my friends, who always understand and tell me to be relaxed and tension free, the whole incidents.



## 4.6 TYPES OF COPING STRATEGIES USED BY TEEN AGERS

Quantitative analysis of data represents the view of total teenagers who experienced parental gender discriminatory behaviors at home and protest against it. Figure 8 represents the view of a total 59 teenagers including both boys and girls. Out of 100 teenagers who experienced discrimination in one or other form, only 65 of them reported as protesting against parental discriminatory behavior. Those who reported as not protesting against discrimination were discarded for this purpose. Out of these 65, 6 boys reported as protesting for their female siblings, but not for themselves. So these 6 teenagers were also discarded. Thus, the data used for coping strategies used by teenagers reduced to 59. Findings show that most of the teenage girls and boys apply emotion focused (47.5%), problem focused (33.9%) and mixed problem and emotion focused coping strategies (18.6%). Finding of the study reveals that emotion focused coping strategies is one of the most commonly used coping strategies by teen age boys and girls.



**Figure 7 Number of teenagers using different coping strategy (Developed by the researcher)**

Considering the significant number of total respondent *i.e.* (35 out of 125) who are aware of parental gender differentiated behavior, but do nothing against such behavior, it becomes obvious that teenagers accept parental discriminatory behavior as granted. Findings of the study support Ridgeway and Correll (2004) who believe though, most of the people are aware of hegemonic gender belief all of them do not fully endorse. When people are consciously aware of pressure of such belief, they act to resist its' effect on their self-expectation and intentionally challenge that belief.

#### **4.7 AGE, GENDER AND COPING STRATEGY**

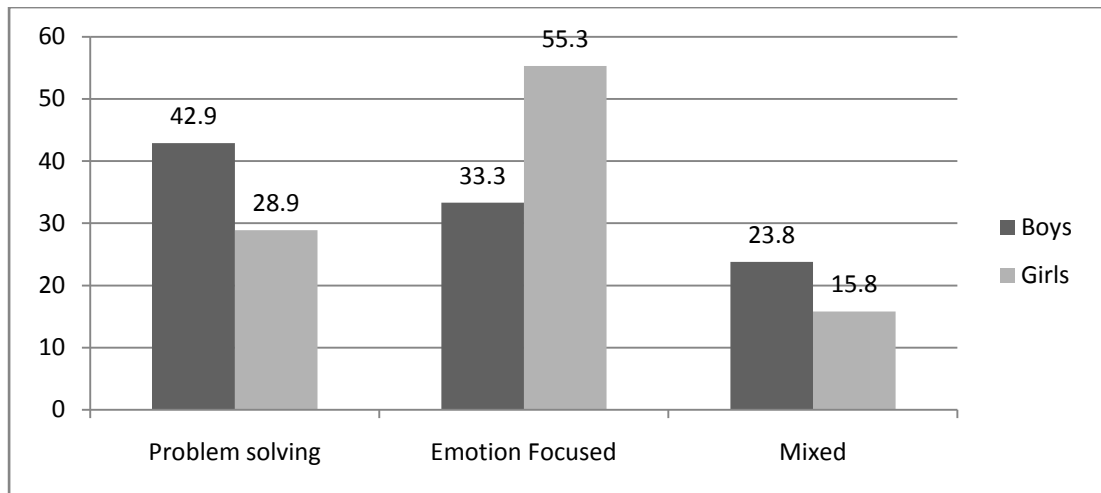
According to available literatures, in general, people use almost each and every type of coping strategies to combat the stressful situation. However, the predominance of one over another is determined by personal attitude and type of stress. Taylor *et.al* opines that there is some difference in behavioral response between male and female. Although 'Fight-or-Flight' is primary physiological response to stress of both males and females, females' response to stress are more marked by a pattern of 'tend-and- befriend'. Women are more likely to turn to other females for support in order to protect each other from perceived threats. Males are more likely to use physical aggression in struggle for power in hierarchy or to defend territory against external enemies. Males more commonly adopt the "fight or flight" response, where they either move toward or away from danger based on their ability to manage the situation on their own (Taylor S. , 1998);

Finding of this study is consistent to previous studies, and suggest that teenagers use different types of coping strategies. However, there are some

differences in gender. More boys (42.9%) in comparison to girls (28.9%) use problem solving method. On the contrary, more girls (55.3%) in comparison to boys (33.3%) applied emotion focused coping strategies against parental discriminatory behaviors. Less than a quarter of teenagers *i.e.* 23.8% boys and 15.8% girls cope with mixed emotion focused and problem solving strategy (Figure 8).

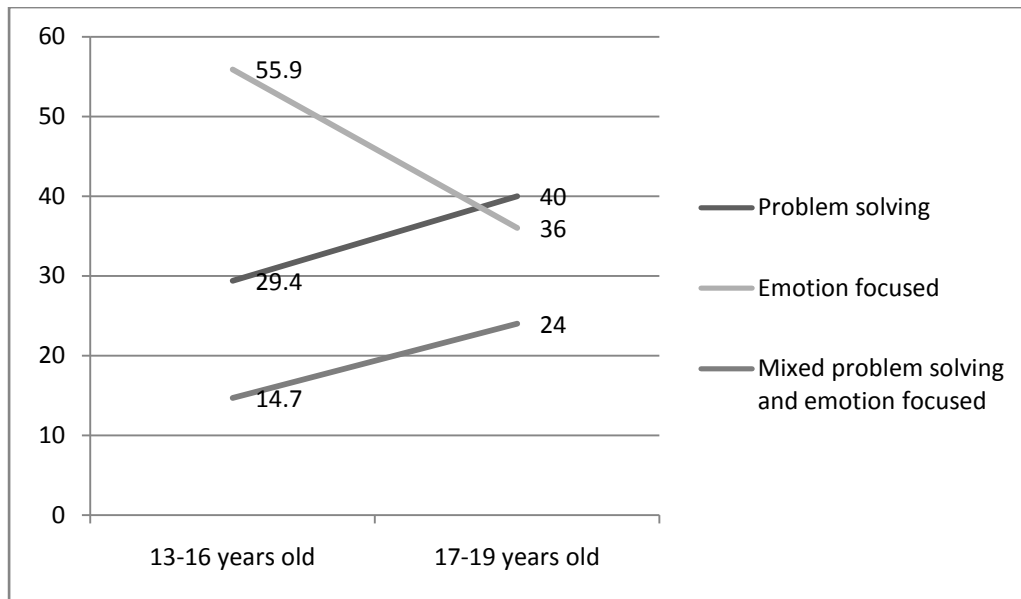
Though, expressing anger is one of the most repeatedly mentioned strategies used by both boys and girls to cope with parental discriminatory behaviors, intensity of aggressiveness is higher in boys than girls. Boys manifest their anger through loud voice, throwing household stuffs around and disobeying parents etc. Unlike boys, girls express their anger by keeping to themselves, crying, sullenness etc. Strategic behaviors reported by teenagers are categorized under different themes like: isolation, discussion, avoidance, sullenness, aggression and argument (Pokharel, 2013).

Expression of emotion in more girls in comparison to boys might be associated with parental perception toward masculinity and femininity that encourage boys and girls to be assertive and emotional respectively. The reason is also supported by the study of Chaplin et al (2005) who reveals father's attention to submissive emotion in preschooler girl's continuity of similar expression over time and discontinuity of such emotional expression in boys by the time they reach in early school age (Chaplin, Cole, & Zohn-Waxler, 2005).



**Figure 8 Percentage of boys and girls using different types of coping strategies (Developed b the researcher)**

Data was further analyzed to determine if age influences the types of coping strategies selected by teenagers. Findings show the changing tendency in choosing coping strategy according to age. With the increment of age, teenagers shift from emotional focused coping strategy to problem solving coping strategy (Figure 9). The reason behind such differences might be the parental perception which encourages girls to tolerate and suppress their emotion and linked with the Asian culture that view emotional self-control as the sign of maturity cited by (Wei, Ku, Russel, Mallinckrodt, & Liao, 2008).



**Figure 9 Trend of coping strategies: types and age of the teenagers (Developed by the researcher)**

Both qualitative and quantitative data suggest that gender and age influence coping styles of teenagers. Gender and age of the teenagers not only make differences in selecting types of coping strategies, but also the way they use it. Boys vent their emotion aggressively and try to control the environment, whereas girls suppress their emotion. Likewise, although both boys and girls seek social support to cope with parental discriminatory behaviors, boys go farther to look for friends whereas girls stay closer to home and seek social support. Research finding is consistent with (Taylor, Klein, Lewis, Gruenewald, Gurung, & A.Updegraff, 2000) and conclude that Females' responses toward stress are more marked by 'Tend-and-Befriend'. They show less physical aggression than males. Instead, males' responses toward stress are marked by 'Fight-or-Flight'

The probable reason of observed gender differences in coping strategies chosen by teenage boys and girls could be associated with their parent's gender discriminatory perception towards son and behavior which is reflected in day to day life such as: daughters are other's property, daughter should have more tolerance

capacity etc. which makes daughters feel insecure and less valuable than sons. Both boys and girls are selecting suitable coping strategies to survive. Girls in such condition accept discrimination or though protest, resist it mildly and passively. On the other hand boys, though they perceive discrimination against daughters as illegitimate in the beginning, also develop positive perception toward discrimination against daughter as inevitable and legitimate which make them passive to fight against it. But, if boys themselves feel as being discriminated, they consider it as illegitimate and challenge to bring the social change with the feeling of secured and valuable in the family.

Wei et.al (2008) examined three coping strategies: reflective, suppressive and reactive, and its association with perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms in their study carried out with 354 international students living in United States (Wei, Ku, Russel, Mallinckrodt, & Liao, 2008). Their study shows the positive association between perceived discrimination and depression. Based on their study it can be assumed that children at home, especially teenage girls in comparison to teenage boys, perceive discrimination and express such experiences with suppressive feelings. Girls in comparison to boys are at the risk of developing depression.

## **4.8 MAJOR FINDINGS**

### **4.8.1 Existing parental discriminatory attitude and behavior**

Parents in most developed part of the country, Kathmandu Metro Politian city, perceive son and daughter differently. Finding of this study is consistent with previous findings of (Tiwari, 2006; Kafle, 2008; Pokharel, 2009; Acharya, 2010). Parents manifest gender discriminatory behavior right after birth of the baby. Parents

who deliver a son feel more secure about their future, highly satisfied, and are relieved from the tension of having to think about the sex of the second baby. But, in contrast, if parents delivered a daughter, though they are not fully unsatisfied with, start worrying about the sex of second baby. Delivering a daughter at first delivery generate kind of fear “what if the second delivered child is also daughter”? Slowly, as children grow, parents start manifesting gender discriminatory behavior. Gender, educational status and income in comparison to religion, ethnicity and age of an individual play prominent role in discriminatory perception. More women than men perceive sons and daughters differently. Similarly, as the educational status and income increases, discriminatory perception disappears. Parental discriminatory behavior has been observed in the area of exclusive breast feeding, health facilities, quality of education provided to son and daughter, household labor distribution, mean age at marriage, and gift provided to them etc. Sons are provided with better birthday gift, health facilities, better education and fewer house hold labor burden than daughters. Significant differences were observed in time to introduce rice, types of health facilities provided, quality education, right to make decision about personal matters and household labor distribution. Despite evidence of parental discriminatory behaviors against daughters, boys also think that they are also discriminated at home. Boys are assigned to heavy works, need to go out of the home, pressurized to choose science, optional math and be a doctors and engineers.

Parental records about their own behavioral patterns give an idea about gender discriminatory practices at home that both male and female belonging to different ethnic and religious group treat son and daughter differently. However, more teenagers think that mothers shows discriminatory behavior than their fathers and blame mothers as the perpetrator of discrimination. Restriction on mobility,

distribution of household job responsibility, differences in attitudinal behavior, control on decision making in personal interest such as dress selection, differences on household job responsibility and differences on resource allocation such as pocket money are major areas where teenagers feel more discrimination. It is a social paradox, why teenagers blame mothers as perpetrator of discrimination? It can be assumed that (a) Mothers were more alert about the issue of discrimination, and might have been deceptive during interview. Hence, more detail analysis is needed. (b) Women have been traditionally put in charge of their daughters control and discipline. They show gender differential behavior because they fear the consequences to themselves if they don't. (c) Women create social systems which lead to their own oppressions and those of their daughters without requiring men to step in and enforce behavior themselves to gain favor and better treatment to comply with men's wishes as the women anticipate what the men will want. (d) As far as the issue of household chores, women are the one who perform all types of within and outside household job. She might have asked the one nearest to her to help or the one that is most outgoing without the intention of gender differentiation.

#### **4.8.2 Underpinnings of gender discrimination**

Gender discrimination is pervasive throughout different stages of life. It can take place at any time and any places. Discrimination is embedded with personal belief, attitude, religion, values, ethnicity, economic condition culture etc. Types and causes of discrimination may differ within individual, ethnicity, religion, time etc. Some of the major causes of parental gender discriminatory practices at home, according to findings of the study, are:



#### **4.8.2.1 Parental attitude and behavior:**

Two different prejudicial thought “*budhes kaalko sahara*” and “*arkako ghar jaane jaat*” attached with sons and daughters respectively are the underpinning causes that accelerate parental gender discriminatory behavior at home. Social norms, which considers the son in law staying at a wife’s maternal home as disgraceful, make parents feel lonely during old age. As per Aristotle, human being is a social animal. It is hard for them to live in isolation so they look for someone to stay with them as long as they live. Furthermore, because of the lack of provision of old age support, sons are considered a must to be supported during old age.

Parents consider daughters as a burden and prefer her marriage as soon as possible (earlier than sons’). Early marriage hampers continuity of girl’s education. Even though girls get an opportunity to continue their study, they could not complete it because of family responsibility, pregnancy and maternal responsibility. Furthermore, as a daughter in law, overly loaded responsibilities like taking care of family, and household chores, girls are compelled to discontinue their education. Even though girls succeed in completing their studies, there will be a delay in the start of their professional career and thus, the choice of professionalism is narrowed, which in turn, lowers economic productivity and increases their dependency on men.

#### **4.8.2.2 Gender identity**

Influenced by incidentally activated social perception, parents interact with children. Based on parental positive/negative feed backs, encouragement or discouragements, comments and suggestions; both son and daughter develop self-concept. Furthermore, with reference to diverse information regarding masculine and

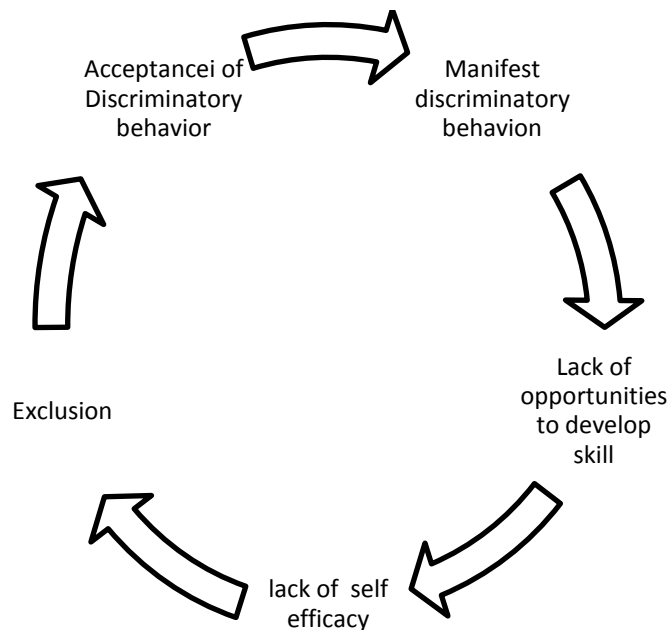
feminine both son and daughter create gender schema and identify themselves as masculine or feminine. Sons develop an identity as: superior because they are physically strong, supporter and progenitor of the family; should be rough and tough; being emotional and taking care of household chores is shame for them. On the contrary, daughters develop feminine identity which is supposed to be nurturing, caring, inferior, weak etc. once they internalize the gender identity, they perceive ascribed social role as legitimate and try to change their own behavior accordingly and this cycle is then transferred to next generation.

#### **4.8.2.3 Coping Strategy**

Influenced by traditional patriarchal culture, both sons and daughters experience such discriminatory behaviors and resist it differently. Because of girls' 'tend-and-befriend; and less aggressive nature it is easy for parents to control daughter than sons. On the other hand it becomes harder for parents to control their son because of 'fight or flight' coping tendency. Because of the weaker coping strategies parents succeed to shape the daughters' characteristics as defined by society though such imposed family rules is unbearable to girls. Coping strategies like acceptance, denial, avoidance are not desirable strategies in the society. Because these strategies ruin the social integration and leads to social exclusion, supports perpetrator to continue discriminatory behavior. Active coping strategies which include fighting against discrimination or standing up for one's rights and security is most beneficial (Makkonen, nd)

### 4.8.3 Discrimination leads exclusion

In daily life it is hard to determine whether discriminatory behavior is by product of exclusion or vice versa. Discriminatory perception and exclusion is interrelated and plays as cause and effect which creates a never ending cycle (Figure 10).



**Figure 10 Never ending cycle of discrimination and exclusion (Developed by the researcher)**

Because of parental gender discriminatory perception, children are excluded from the opportunities that could enhance their capabilities. The social norms and values put more household job responsibilities on girl child, whereas community level responsibilities on the male child. Social norms and values exclude male children from household chores and other so called feminine jobs while female children from decision making, outdoor activities etc. If children's behavior and parental expectation do not conform, children are continuously discouraged either by hook or by crook. Such exclusionary practices put them at disadvantage in performing better

result in those areas (Pokharel, 2012). Continuous exclusion from specific activities that is of an individual's interest cause the deterioration of latent skill and slowly leads to lack of motivation (Sen, 2000) to learn and children become passive. Ultimately, they develop discriminatory perception toward themselves as incompetent, unskilled and inefficient and hesitate to expose themselves in society.

During field visit I had an opportunity to interact with a 13 years old teenage girl who expressed her feeling as: *"My elder brother is physically strong and talented. He knows drawing, plays guitar, chess and carom, but I do not know how to do all these things"*. She is unaware of the opportunity that could enhance her efficiency and consequently accepts her inefficiency by blaming herself. Those who lack the skills are excluded as a result of the feeling of not fitting into the natural order of things' as defined by Silver (1994) cited by (O'Reilly, 2005) either by themselves, or by society tagging them as inefficient and excluding them.

Similarly, an eighteen year old boy who got an opportunity to walk with his father, serving as trekking guide from an early age, said that his elder sister is unfit and incapable of being a trekking guide because of her gender. He expressed his view as:

My elder sisters did not get the chance to learn how to walk in snow as it is not possible for sisters to walk daily with father (Didiharu ba sanga hidne kurai bhaena). Instead, being a boy of Langtang area, I got more opportunities to walk with my father during trekking. Since then I learnt how to walk in icy place, pull my trousers, and how to keep myself, along with the tourists, safe. I started to guide the tourist for trekking from the age of fourteen. Now, I can make a minimum of Four hundred thousand NRs per year.

## CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

People in Kathmandu municipality are still influenced by traditional patriarchal thought; Parents perceive and behave son and daughter differently. Majority of parents still believe that: daughter's prestige is very fragile so they should be protected more than sons; Sons stay at parental home and take care of parents during old age; Sons are the owner of hereditary property and should be included in family decision making process etc. Though less in number, there are still many parents who believe it is better for daughter to have high tolerance qualities and it is a compulsion for daughters to work in the kitchen, regardless of their educational status. Parents compare daughters with (नील) sacred water which becomes polluted if touched by others, considered as 'untouchable'; and sons with (सितु) the *Dubo* which is never polluted, even if stepped upon. More Buddhist in comparison to Hindus and Hill Ethnic group have higher tendency of perceiving male as the bread winner and supporter of the family. Similarly, in comparison to religion and ethnicity, gender, educational status and income of the respondents makes significant differences in how they perceive son and daughter. Assertive, disobedience, aggressive, frank, stubborn qualities are considered masculine whereas elegant, obedient, emotional, shy, ease dropping are considered feminine and parents encourage their son and daughter accordingly. Parents believe boys should be masculine and girls should be feminine. It has been concluded that preference of son is associated with the issue of (*Ansha and Bansha*) property inheritance and lineage. Such Brahmnical Perception as argued by Uma Chakravarti is deeply rooted not only in Brahmins and Hindu but also in Non Hindus and Non Brahmins. Discriminatory perception can be changed through education and increasing level of income.

Influenced by stereotypical perception, parents show gender differentiated attitude from the very beginning of the birth of a baby. Parents relate son's birth with *Ansa* (partition share) and *Bansa* (progeny) and prefer against daughter. First birth of the son brings satisfaction, joy and feeling of security, whereas, the birth of a daughter in first delivery brings, though not dissatisfaction, anxiousness in the family.

Influenced by attitude, parents show gender discriminatory behavior in breast feeding, time to rice feeding, birthday celebration, decision making, mobility, health facilities, quality education etc. Significant differences in parental gender discriminatory behaviors between son and daughter are salient in providing health facilities, quality education; inclusion of son and daughter in decision making for self as well as family, distributing household chores, mobility etc. It has been concluded that parental gender discriminatory practices is not extinct. Children at home are compelled to live impoverished life as perceived by Aristotle not only because of poor economic condition, but also due to lack of freedom to choose the activity and also lack of ability to appear in public without shame as described by Adam Smith. The trend of prevalent gender discriminatory practices and the parental perception suggest that parental behavior is shaped and guided by perception, or parents might routinely be unaware of some or many of the determinants of their gender discriminatory behavior. Perception can be changed through raising parent's educational level, and income which in turn helps to lessen the gender discriminatory gap between son and daughter.

Teenage is the transitory period when children learn to transfer their childhood into adulthood and become responsible citizen of society. Boys feel as if 'they are superior', 'valuable' and 'progenitor of the family'. On the contrary daughters feel 'less valuable', 'inferior' and 'excluded from the family'. Teenagers in Kathmandu municipality are in the crisis of identity formation. Some boys and girls are in the

state of role confusion. Others who are in the state of developing identity formation, majority of them are accepting stereotypical gender roles: girls feminine and boys masculine. For the development of heterosexuality as defined by Nancy Chodorow, cross gender parent child relationship should be strengthened. Hence, boys learn feminine qualities such as politeness, kindness, passionate and girls learn masculine qualities such as being active, affirmative, which is the demand of contemporary society where compatibility within male and female member is required to run the family smoothly.

Both teenage boys and girls are fully aware of parental discriminatory behaviors. Mobility, distribution of household job, decision making, parental attitude and negligence in education are the major areas where teenagers feel more discriminated. In comparison to boys, girls feel more discrimination. Girls feel parental negligence regarding their studies while boys feel more pressure on their study than those of their sisters and are compelled to choose the subjects like science, math, engineering though the subjects are not of their interest. Parental records suggest that both father and mother show discriminatory behavior. However, teenagers feel that mothers are the major perpetrator of discrimination at home. It is a paradox. Are mothers really responsible for discrimination between son and daughter, if so what might be the reason? Or is it just the teenager's perception?

Teenage boys and girls, at home, cope with parental discriminatory behavior differently. Boys cope with discriminatory behavior more effectively which leads them toward success and are called revolutionist. Whereas, girls cope passively and in ineffective way that leads them toward failure and society attribute them as rebellion. Not only does society shape and socialize an individual's behavior but, an

individual's efforts to work collectively against illegitimate social norms, values and rules can also reshape and reform social rules according to the demand of changing society. It has been concluded that making an individual capable of resisting against discriminatory behavior will gradually modify cultural beliefs about gender.

It can be concluded that, like other societal discrimination, parental gender discriminatory behavior is embedded with: parental stereotypical perception attached with boys and girls, identity formation of the children, and types of strategies chosen by teenagers to cope against it. Discrimination is a social problem which can solely be solved through social change. Social change refers to significant alteration over time in behavioral pattern, norm and cultural values which starts with an individual and ends with society in larger context. Acknowledging social change as a very slow process, it can be assumed that parental gender discriminatory behaviors will continue for the next few generations. Imparting knowledge to the parents regarding anti gender discriminatory law and its negative consequences on children; making children aware of parental gender discriminatory behavior and teaching or empowering them to cope against it would help to lessen such discriminatory behaviors at home.



## ANNEXES

### ANNEX I QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

सर्वेक्षण मिति  सर्वेक्षकको नाम

#### खण्ड १ साधारण सुचना

उत्तरदाताको नाम

लिंग पुरुष  महिला

ठेगाना

उमेर वर्षमा  धर्म हिन्दु  गैर हिन्दु

औपचारिक शिक्षा (डिग्री हासिल गरेको तह)

पेशा व्यापार  के व्यापार

नोकरी  तह  दैनिक  के काम

आमदानी  वार्षिक/मासिक/हप्ता/दैनिक तलब रु

अन्य (श्रोत सहित कूल रु) वार्षिक/मासिक/हप्ता/दैनिक

सवारी साधन: गाडि  बाइक  साइकल  सार्वजनिक

अन्य उल्लेख गर्नुहोस्

#### श्रीमान/ श्रीमतीको बिबरण:

उमेर वर्षमा  धर्म हिन्दु  गैर हिन्दु

औपचारिक शिक्षा (डिग्री हासिल गरेको तह)

पेशा व्यापार  के व्यापार

नोकरी  तह  दैनिक  के काम

आमदानी:      वार्षिक/मासिक/हप्ता/दैनिक    तलब रु

अन्य (श्रोत सहित कूल रु उल्लेख गर्नुहोस् ) वार्षिक/मासिक/हप्ता/दैनिक

सवारी साधन:    गाडि  बाइक  साइकल  सार्वजनिक

अन्य उल्लेख गर्नुहोस्

## खण्ड २ धारणा

तलको भनाई संग तपाईं कतिको सहमत हुनुहुन्छ ?

कुनै एक मात्रमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्    एकदमबेसहमत    बेसहमत    दुबैहोईन    सहमत  
एकदमसहमत

छोरीको ईज्जत सियोको टुप्पामा	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
अर्काको घर जाने जातले सहेको बेश	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
जति पढे पनि छोरीले चुल्हा चौका गर्दै पर्दछ	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
छोरा भनेको बुढेशकालको सहारा	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
मर्द भएपछि स्वास्नी छोरा छोरी पाल्दै प्यो	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
बढेको छोराको घर सल्लाह लिनै प्यो	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
पहिलो संतान छोरा भएकोले दोश्रो पालामा जे भएपनि ढुक्क	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
पहिलो संतान छोरी भएकोले दोश्रोमा छोराको आस थियो	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

तपाईंको बिचारमा आमा बाबु छोरा पाउदा किन दंग र छोरी पाउदा किन दुखि हुन्छन होला?

### खण्ड ३ छोराछोरी संबन्धि सुचना

३. १ छोरा

छोरी

उमेर वर्षमा

बिबाहित

अबिबाहित

गर्भमा रहंदा लिंग थाहा पाउनु भएको थियो

थिएन

सुत्केरीमा भेट्न आउने मानिसहरुले के प्रतिक्रिया दिए?

स्तनपान गराएको भए कहिले सम्म गराउनु भयो महिनामा

कहिले सम्म गराउने विचार छ ? महिनामा

किन?

पछिल्लो पटक बिरामी भएको याद छ ? छ  छैन

छ भने के भएको थियो?

के उपचार गर्नु भयो घरेलु  औषधि पसल  अस्पताल  क्लीनिक

जन्म दिन मनाउनुहुन्छ मनाउँछु  मनाउँदिन

कसरि मनाउनु हुन्छ? उपहार दिएर  पुजा गरेर  केक काटेर

उस्को साथि बोलाएर  अन्य

उपहार दिने भए के दिनु हुन्छ?

किन?

बिद्यार्थी भएमा स्कूल वा कलेजको किसिम: निजी  सार्वजनिक

अध्ययन पुरा गरेको भए तह  अन्य

अतिरिक्त कृयाकलापमा भाग लिएको भए उल्लेख गर्नुहोस्

नभए किन? मन नगरेर  फर्कदा ढिलो हुने भएर  खर्च बढि लाग्ने भएर

अन्य

विद्यालय जांदा प्रयोग गर्ने साधन:

गाडि  बाइक  साइकल  सार्वजनिक

विषय उ/नी आफैले रोजेको  हामी संग सल्लाह गरेर

कुनै विषयमा कमजोर छ/छे

टयुसन पढ्छ/छे  पढ्दैन/दिन

तपाईंहरुले बेलाबेलामा मद्दत गर्नुहुन्छ गछीं  गर्दैनौं

कस्ले गर्दछ आमा बाबु

भाबि योजना छैन  छ भने के?

छैन भने किन?

विहान चिया नास्ता खान आफै आउछ/छे  आउदैन/दिन

कोठामा पुऱ्याईदिनु पर्दछ

कसले पुऱ्याउछ आमा  बाबु  छोरा/छोरी

आफ्नो कोठा लुगा आफै सफा गर्दछ/छे  गर्दैन/दिन

भान्छामा सघाउन भन्छु  कहिलेकाहिं भन्छु  भन्दै भन्दैन

किनमेल गर्न बाहिर जा भन्छु  कहिलेकाहिं भन्छु  भन्दै भन्दैन

कुन कुन कुरामा निर्णय लिने अधिकार दिनु भएको छ ?

लगाउने लुगा छ ☐ छैन ☐ साथि भाई कहा जाने छ ☐ छैन ☐

घर फर्कने समय छ ☐ छैन ☐ साथीभाई कहा रातबस्ने छ ☐ छैन ☐

घर बाहिर खेल जाने छ ☐ छैन ☐

राम्रो परिवार बाट बिहेको प्रस्ताव आयो भने बिबाह

गरिदिन्छु ☐ गरिदिन्न ☐ बिचार गर्छु ☐

३.२ छोरा ☐ छोरी ☐

उमेर वर्षमा बिबाहित ☐ अबिबाहित ☐

गर्भमा रहंदा लिंग थाहा पाउनु भएको थियो ☐ थिएन ☐

सुत्केरीमा भेट्न आउने मानिसहरुले के प्रतिक्रिया दिए?

स्तनपान गराएको भए कहिले सम्म गराउनु भयो महिनामा ☐

कहिले सम्म गराउने बिचार छ ? महिनामा ☐

किन?

पछिल्लो पटक बिरामी भएको याद छ ? छ ☐ छैन ☐

छ भने के भएको थियो?

के उपचार गर्नु भयो घरेलु ☐ औषधि पसल ☐ अस्पताल ☐ क्लीनिक ☐

जन्म दिन मनाउनुहुन्छ मनाउँछु ☐ मनाउँदिन ☐

कसरि मनाउनु हुन्छ? उपहार दिएर ☐ पुजा गरेर ☐ केक काटेर ☐

उस्को साथि बोलाएर  अन्य

उपहार दिने भए के दिनु हुन्छ?

किन?

विद्यार्थी भएमा स्कूल वा कलेजको किसिम: निजी  सार्वजनिक

अध्ययन पुरा गरेको भए तह  अन्य

अतिरिक्त कृयाकलापमा भाग लिएको भए उल्लेख गर्नुहोस्

नभए किन? मन नगरेर  फर्कदा ढिलो हुने भएर  खर्च बढि लाग्ने भएर

अन्य

विद्यालय जांदा प्रयोग गर्ने साधन:

गाडि  बाइक  साइकल  सार्वजनिक

बिषय उ/नी आफैले रोजेको  हामी संग सल्लाह गरेर

कुनै बिषयमा कमजोर छ/छे

टयुसन पढ्छ/छे  पढ्दैन/दिन

तपाईंहरुले बेलाबेलामा मद्दत गर्नुहुन्छ, गछीं  गर्दैनौं

कस्ले गर्दछ, आमा  बाबु

भाबि योजिना छैन  छ भने के?

छैन भने किन?

बिहान चिया नास्ता खान आफै आउछ/छे  आउदैन/दीन

कोठामा पुर्‍याईदिनु पर्दछ

कस्ले पुर्‍याउछ, आमा  बाबु  छोरा/छोरी

आफ्नो कोठा लुगा आफैं सफा गर्दछ/छे  गर्दै/दीन

भान्छामा सघाउन भन्छु  कहिलेकाहिं भन्छु  भन्दै भन्दैन

किनमेल गर्न बाहिर जा भन्छु  कहिलेकाहिं भन्छु  भन्दै भन्दैन

कुन कुन कुरामा निर्णय लिने अधिकार दिनु भएको छ ?

लगाउने लुगा छ  छैन  साथि भाई कहा जाने छ  छैन

घर फर्कने समय छ  छैन  साथिभाई कहा रातबस्ने छ  छैन

घर बाहिर खेल जाने छ  छैन

राम्रो परिवार बाट बिहेको प्रस्ताव आयो भने विवाह

गरिदिन्छु  गरिदिन्न  विचार गर्छु

विवाहको लागि कति उमेर उचित हन्छ छोरा  छोरी

विवाहको लागि बहारीको योग्यता छोरा भन्दा

कम पढेको  बढि पढेको  बराबर पढेको

विवाहको लागि ज्वाइँको योग्यता छोरा भन्दा

कम पढेको  बढि पढेको  बराबर पढेको

तपाई आफ्नो छोरा छोरीको भविष्यको बारेमा चिन्तित हुनुहुन्छ ? छ  छैन

छ भने कुन कुरामा? छोरा

छोरी

सुरक्षाको दृष्टिकोणले कसको बढि चिन्ता लाग्छ?

छोरा  छोरी

तपाइलाई कसैको सहयोग चाहिएमा घरको काममा कसले मद्दत गरे हुन्थ्यो जस्तो लाग्छ ?

छोरा

छोरी

किन

तपाईंलाई कसैको सहयोग चाहिएमा घरबाहिरको काममा कसले मद्दत गरे हुन्थ्यो जस्तो लाग्छ ?

छोरा

छोरी

किन

तपाईंको छोरा/ले छोरीको जस्तो कुन चाहि ब्यवहार गरेको मन पर्दैन?

तपाईंको छोरी/ले छोराको जस्तो कुन चाहि ब्यवहार गरेको मन पर्दैन?

सिमित आम्दानीको कारणले छोरा वा छोरी मध्ये कनै एको लागि खर्चिलो विषय रोज्न परेमा पहिलो

पाथमिकता कसलाई दिन हन्छ?

छोरा

छोरी

किन



## ANNEX II CHECKLIST FOR TEENAGERS

सर्वेक्षण मिति

सर्वेक्षकको नाम

उत्तरदाताको नाम

लिंग

पुरुष

महिला

ठेगाना

उमेर वर्षमा

धर्म

हिन्दु

गैर हिन्दु

औपचारिक शिक्षा (डिग्री हासिल गरेको तह)

तपाईंलाई तपाईंको दाजभाई तथा दिदी बहिनी भन्दा फरक भए जस्तो लाग्छ कि लाग्दैन

लाग्छ

लाग्दैन

लाग्ने भए के करामा

तपाईंले तपाईंको आमा तथा बबाले तपाईं र तपाईंको दाजभाई तथा दिदी बहिनीको बीचमा फरक

व्यवहार गरेको अनभव गर्नभएको छ रु

यदि छ भने के करामा घटनाको विवरण

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फरक व्यवहार अनभव गर्दा यसको सामना कसरी गर्न हन्छ

केहि पनि गर्दैन

गर्ने भए घटनाको विवरण

## ANNEX III SAMPLE SIZE TABLE

Required Sample Size <sup>†</sup>								
Population Size	Confidence = 95%				Confidence = 99%			
	Margin of Error				Margin of Error			
	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
20	19	20	20	20	19	20	20	20
30	28	29	29	30	29	29	30	30
50	44	47	48	50	47	48	49	50
75	63	69	72	74	67	71	73	75
100	80	89	94	99	87	93	96	99
150	108	126	137	148	122	135	142	149
200	132	160	177	196	154	174	186	198
250	152	190	215	244	182	211	229	246
300	169	217	251	291	207	246	270	295
400	196	265	318	384	250	309	348	391
500	217	306	377	475	285	365	421	485
600	234	340	432	565	315	416	490	579
700	248	370	481	653	341	462	554	672
800	260	396	526	739	363	503	615	763
1,000	278	440	606	906	399	575	727	943
1,200	291	474	674	1067	427	636	827	1119
1,500	306	515	759	1297	460	712	959	1376
2,000	322	563	869	1655	498	808	1141	1785
2,500	333	597	952	1984	524	879	1288	2173
3,500	346	641	1068	2565	558	977	1510	2890
5,000	357	678	1176	3288	586	1066	1734	3842
7,500	365	710	1275	4211	610	1147	1960	5165
10,000	370	727	1332	4899	622	1193	2098	6239
25,000	378	760	1448	6939	646	1285	2399	9972
50,000	381	772	1491	8056	655	1318	2520	12455
75,000	382	776	1506	8514	658	1330	2563	13583
100,000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227
250,000	384	782	1527	9248	662	1347	2626	15555
500,000	384	783	1532	9423	663	1350	2640	16055
1,000,000	384	783	1534	9512	663	1352	2647	16317
2,500,000	384	784	1536	9567	663	1353	2651	16478
10,000,000	384	784	1536	9594	663	1354	2653	16560
100,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16584
300,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16586

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The formula used for these calculations was:

$$n = \frac{X^2 * N * P * (1-P)}{(ME^2 * (N-1)) + (X^2 * P * (1-P))}$$

Where :

n = sample size

$X^2$  = Chi – square for the specified confidence level at 1 degree of freedom

N = Population Size

P = population proportion (.50 in this table)

ME = desired Margin of Error (expressed as a proportion)

This formula is the one used by Krejcie & Morgan in their 1970 article “Determining Sample Size for Research Activities” (*Educational and Psychological Measurement*, #30, pp. 607-610).

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## ANNEX IV GENDER OF THE PARENTS AND PERCEPTION TOWARD SON AND DAUGHTER

Daughter's prestige is on the tip of the needle								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Gender	Male	Frequency	32	21	23	35	27	138
		Percentage	23.2	15.2	16.7	25.4	19.6	100.0
	Female	Frequency	9	30	20	46	26	131
		Percentage	6.9	22.9	15.3	35.1	19.8	100.0
Total		Frequency	41	51	43	81	53	269
		Percentage	15.2	19.0	16.0	30.1	19.7	100.0
Those who go to other's home should tolerate								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Gender	Male	Frequency	39	48	9	30	12	138
		Percentage	28.3	34.8	6.5	21.7	8.7	100.0
	Female	Frequency	24	46	19	30	12	131
		Percentage	18.3	35.1	14.5	22.9	9.2	100.0
Total		Frequency	63	94	28	60	24	269
		Percentage	23.4	34.9	10.4	22.3	8.9	100.0
No matter however daughters study should work on the kitchen								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Gender	Male	Frequency	29	47	14	33	15	138
		Percentage	21.0	34.1	10.1	23.9	10.9	100.0
	Female	Frequency	12	44	11	44	20	131
		Percentage	9.2	33.6	8.4	33.6	15.3	100.0
Total		Frequency	41	91	25	77	35	269
		Percentage	15.2	33.8	9.3	28.6	13.0	100.0
Sons are the supporter of old age								

			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Gender	Male	Frequency	18	32	30	38	20	138
		Percentage	13.0	23.2	21.7	27.5	14.5	100.0
	Female	Frequency	12	29	31	51	8	131
		Percentage	9.2	22.1	23.7	38.9	6.1	100.0
Total		Frequency	30	61	61	89	28	269
		Percentage	11.2	22.7	22.7	33.1	10.4	100.0
A man should take responsibility of wife and children								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	
Gender	Male	Frequency	21	23	24	47	23	138
		Percentage	15.2	16.7	17.4	34.1	16.7	100.0
	Female	Frequency	9	15	28	66	13	131
		Percentage	6.9%	11.5	21.4	50.4	9.9	100.0
Total		Frequency	30	38	52	113	36	269
		Percentage	11.2	14.1	19.3	42.0	13.4	100.0
Should consider the household advice of a grown up son								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	
Gender	Male	Frequency	11	19	23	52	33	138
		Percentage	8.0	13.8	16.7	37.7	23.9	100.0
	Female	Frequency	6	7	18	80	20	131
		Percentage	4.6	5.3	13.7	61.1	15.3	100.0
Total		Frequency	17	26	41	132	53	269
		Percentage	6.3	9.7	15.2	49.1	19.7	100.0

## ANNEX V RELIGION OF PARENTS AND PERCEPTION TOWARD SON AND DAUGHTER

Daughter's prestige is on the tip of the needle								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Religion	Hindu	Frequency	28	28	24	47	25	152
		Percentage	18.4	18.4	15.8	30.9	16.4	100.0
	Buddhist	Frequency	13	23	19	34	28	117
		Percentage	11.1	19.7	16.2	29.1	23.9	100.0
Total		Frequency	41	51	43	81	53	269
		Percentage	15.2	19.0	16.0	30.1	19.7	100.0
Those who go to other's home should tolerate								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Religion	Hindu	Frequency	39	48	15	37	13	152
		Percentage	25.7	31.6	9.9	24.3	8.6	100.0
	Buddhist	Frequency	24	46	13	23	11	117
		Percentage	20.5	39.3	11.1	19.7	9.4	100.0
Total		Frequency	63	94	28	60	24	269
		Percentage	23.4	34.9	10.4	22.3	8.9	100.0
No matter however daughters study should work on the kitchen								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Religion	Hindu	Frequency	24	55	12	40	21	152
		Percentage	15.8	36.2	7.9	26.3	13.8	100.0
	Buddhist	Frequency	17	35	14	37	14	117
		Percentage	14.5	29.9	12.0	31.6	12.0	100.0
Total		Frequency	41	90	26	77	35	269
		Percentage	15.2	33.5	9.7	28.6	13.0	100.0
Sons are the supporter of old age								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Religion	Hindu	Frequency	21	28	35	52	16	152
		Percentage	13.8	18.4	23.0	34.2	10.5	100.0
	Buddhist	Frequency	9	33	25	38	12	117
		Percentage	7.7	28.2	21.4	32.5	10.3	100.0
Total		Frequency	30	61	60	90	28	269
		Percentage	11.2	22.7	22.3	33.5	10.4	100.0
A man should take responsibility of wife and children								

			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Religion	Hindu	Frequency	24	19	31	56	22	152
		Percentage	15.8	12.5	20.4	36.8	14.5	100.0
	Buddhist	Frequency	6	19	21	57	14	117
		Percentage	5.1	16.2	17.9	48.7	12.0	100.0
Total		Frequency	30	38	52	113	36	269
		Percentage	11.2	14.1	19.3	42.0	13.4	100.0
Should consider the household advice of a grown up son								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Religion	Hindu	Frequency	12	16	21	70	33	152
		Percentage	7.9	10.5	13.8	46.1	21.7	100.0
	Buddhist	Frequency	5	10	20	61	21	117
		Percentage	4.3	8.5	17.1	52.1	17.9	100.0
Total		Frequency	17	26	41	131	54	269
		Percentage	6.3	9.7	15.2	48.7	20.1	100.0

## ANNEX VI ETHNICITY OF PARENTS AND PERCEPTION TOWARD SON AND DAUGHTER

Daughter's prestige is on the tip of the needle								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Ethnicity	Caste group	Frequency	23	25	18	42	18	126
		Percentage	18.3	19.8	14.3	33.3	14.3	100.0
	Newar	Frequency	9	9	13	17	13	61
		Percentage	14.8	14.8	21.3	27.9	21.3	100.0
	Hill ethnic	Frequency	9	17	12	22	22	82
		Percentage	11.0	20.7	14.6	26.8	26.8	100.0
Total	Frequency		41	51	43	81	53	269
	Percentage		15.2	19.0	16.0	30.1	19.7	100.0
Those who go to other's home should tolerate								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Ethnicity	Caste group	Frequency	29	43	14	28	12	126
		Percentage	23.0	34.1	11.1	22.2	9.5	100.0
	Newar	Frequency	19	20	6	14	2	61
		Percentage	31.1	32.8	9.8	23.0	3.3	100.0
	Hill ethnic	Frequency	15	31	8	18	10	82
		Percentage	18.3	37.8	9.8	22.0	12.2	100.0
Total	Frequency		63	94	28	60	24	269
	Percentage		23.4	34.9	10.4	22.3	8.9	100.0
No matter however daughters study should work on the kitchen								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Ethnicity	Caste group	Frequency	22	46	10	32	16	126
		Percentage	17.5	36.5	7.9	25.4	12.7	100.0
	Newar	Frequency	7	21	5	21	7	61
		Percentage	11.5	34.4	8.2	34.4	11.5	100.0
	Hill ethnic	Frequency	12	23	11	24	12	82
		Percentage	14.6	28.0	13.4	29.3	14.6	100.0
Total	Frequency		41	90	26	77	35	269
	Percentage		15.2	33.5	9.7	28.6	13.0	100.0
Sons are the supporter of old age								



			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Ethnicity	Caste group	Frequency	18	26	28	42	12	126
		Percentage	14.3	20.6	22.2	33.3	9.5	100.0
	Newar	Frequency	8	15	11	22	5	61
		Percentage	13.1	24.6	18.0	36.1	8.2	100.0
	Hill ethnic	Frequency	4	20	21	26	11	82
		Percentage	4.9	24.4	25.6	31.7	13.4	100.0
Total	Frequency		30	61	60	90	28	269
	Percentage		11.2	22.7	22.3	33.5	10.4	100.0
A man should take responsibility of wife and children								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Ethnicity	Caste group	Frequency	22	13	24	55	12	126
		Percentage	17.5	10.3	19.0	43.7	9.5	100.0
	Newar	Frequency	5	13	10	21	12	61
		Percentage	8.2	21.3	16.4	34.4	19.7	100.0
	Hill ethnic	Frequency	3	12	18	37	12	82
		Percentage	3.7	14.6	22.0	45.1	14.6	100.0
Total	Frequency		30	38	52	113	36	269
	Percentage		11.2	14.1	19.3	42.0	13.4	100.0
Should consider the household advice of a grown up son								
			Strongly disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly agree	
Ethnicity	Caste group	Frequency	10	14	17	60	25	126
		Percentage	7.9	11.1	13.5	47.6	19.8	100.0
	Newar	Frequency	2	6	10	29	14	61
		Percentage	3.3	9.8	16.4	47.5	23.0	100.0
	Hill ethnic	Frequency	5	6	14	42	15	82
		Percentage	6.1	7.3	17.1	51.2	18.3	100.0
Total	Frequency		17	26	41	131	54	269
	Percentage		6.3	9.7	15.2	48.7	20.1	100.0

## ANNEX VII FOLK MAN AND LAZARUS THREE THEORETICAL MODEL CONSISTING EIGHT SUBSCALES

**WAYS OF COPING** was designed by Lazarus and Folkman (University of California, San Francisco) as a measure of coping processes used **in a particular stressful encounter** (and not of coping style or traits).

Instructions: Identify a stressful encounter that occurred recently, where it took place and what happened Next, read each item below and indicate, by using the following rating scale, to what extent you used it in the situation you have just described.

Not Used 0	Used Somewhat 1	Used Quite A Bit 2	Used a Great Deal 3
_____			1. Just concentrated on what I had to do next – the next step.
_____			2. I tried to analyze the problem in order to understand it better.
_____			3. Turned to work or substitute activity to take my mind off things.
_____			4. I felt that time would make a difference – the only thing to do was to wait.
_____			5. Bargained or compromised to get something positive from the situation.
_____			6. I did something which I didn't think would work, but at least I was doing something.
_____			7. Tried to get the person responsible to change his or her mind.
_____			8. Talked to someone to find out more about the situation.
_____			9. Criticized or lectured myself.
_____			10. Tried not to burn my bridges, but leave things open somewhat.
_____			11. Hoped a miracle would happen.
_____			12. Went along with fate; sometimes I just have bad luck.
_____			13. Went on as if nothing had happened.
_____			14. I tried to keep my feelings to myself.
_____			15. Looked for the silver lining, so to speak; tried to look on the bright side of things.
_____			16. Slept more than usual.
_____			17. I expressed anger to the person(s) who caused the problem.
_____			18. Accepted sympathy and understanding from someone.
_____			19. I told myself things that helped me to feel better.
_____			20. I was inspired to do something creative.
_____			21. Tried to forget the whole thing.
_____			22. I got professional help.
_____			23. Changed or grew as a person in a good way.
_____			24. I waited to see what would happen before doing anything.
_____			25. I apologized or did something to make up.
_____			26. I made a plan of action and followed it.
_____			27. I accepted the next best thing to what I wanted.
_____			28. I let my feelings out somehow.
_____			29. Realized I brought the problem on myself.
_____			30. I came out of the experience better than when I went in.
_____			31. Talked to someone who could do something concrete about the problem.
_____			32. Got away from it for a while; tried to rest or take a vacation.
_____			33. Tried to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication, etc.
_____			34. Took a big chance or did something very risky.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 35. I tried not to act too hastily or follow my first hunch.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 36. Found new faith.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 37. Maintained my pride and kept a stiff upper lip.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 38. Rediscovered what is important in life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 39. Changed something so things would turn out all right.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 40. Avoided being with people in general.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 41. Didn't let it get to me; refused to think too much about it.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 42. I asked a relative or friend I respected for advice.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 43. Kept others from knowing how bad things were.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 44. Made light of the situation; refused to get too serious about it.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 45. Talked to someone about how I was feeling.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 46. Stood my ground and fought for what I wanted.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 47. Took it out on other people.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 48. Drew on my past experiences; I was in a similar situation before.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 49. I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 50. Refused to believe that it had happened.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 51. I made a promise to myself that things would be different next time.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 52. Came up with a couple of different solutions to the problem.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 53. Accepted it, since nothing could be done.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 54. I tried to keep my feelings from interfering with other things too much.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 55. Wished that I could change what had happened or how I felt.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 56. I changed something about myself.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 57. I daydreamed or imagined a better time or place than the one I was in.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 58. Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 59. Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 60. I prayed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 61. I prepared myself for the worst.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 62. I went over in my mind what I would say or do.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 63. I thought about how a person I admire would handle this situation and used that as a model.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 64. I tried to see things from the other person's point of view.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 65. I reminded myself how much worse things could be.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 66. I jogged or exercised.

Scoring: To determine the predominant methods you used for coping, calculate your total score for each of the subscales below. Do this by summing the item scores noted for each scale.

**Scale 1: Confrontive coping**

- 46. Stood my ground and fought for what I wanted \_\_\_\_\_
- 7. Tried to get the person responsible to change his or her mind \_\_\_\_\_
- 17. I expressed anger to the person(s) who caused the problem \_\_\_\_\_
- 28. I let my feelings out somehow \_\_\_\_\_
- 34. Took a big chance or did something very risky \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. I did something which I didn't think would work, but at least I was doing something \_\_\_\_\_
- Total for Scale 1 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 2: Distancing**

44. Made light of the situation; refused to get too serious about it \_\_\_\_\_  
13. Went on as if nothing had happened \_\_\_\_\_  
41. Didn't let it get to me; refused to think too much about it \_\_\_\_\_  
21. Tried to forget the whole thing \_\_\_\_\_  
15. Looked for the silver lining, so to speak; tried to look on the  
bright side of things \_\_\_\_\_  
12. Went along with fate; sometimes I just have bad luck \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 2 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 3: Self-controlling**

14. I tried to keep my feelings to myself \_\_\_\_\_  
43. Kept others from knowing how bad things were \_\_\_\_\_  
10. Tried not to burn my bridges, but leave things open somewhat \_\_\_\_\_  
35. I tried not to act too hastily or follow my first hunch \_\_\_\_\_  
54. I tried to keep my feelings from interfering with other things too much \_\_\_\_\_  
63. I thought about how a person I admire would handle this situation and  
used that as a model \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 3 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 4: Seeking social support**

8. Talked to someone to find out more about the situation \_\_\_\_\_  
31. Talked to someone who could do something concrete about the problem \_\_\_\_\_  
42. I asked a relative or friend I respected for advice \_\_\_\_\_  
45. Talked to someone about how I was feeling \_\_\_\_\_  
18. Accepted sympathy and understanding from someone \_\_\_\_\_  
22. I got professional help \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 4 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 5: Accepting responsibility**

9. Criticized or lectured myself \_\_\_\_\_  
29. Realized I brought the problem on myself \_\_\_\_\_  
51. I made a promise to myself that things would be different next time \_\_\_\_\_  
25. I apologized or did something to make up \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 5 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 6: Escape-Avoidance**

58. Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with \_\_\_\_\_  
11. Hoped a miracle would happen \_\_\_\_\_  
59. Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out \_\_\_\_\_  
33. Tried to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking, using  
drugs or medication \_\_\_\_\_  
40. Avoided being with people in general \_\_\_\_\_  
50. Refused to believe that it had happened \_\_\_\_\_  
47. Took it out on other people \_\_\_\_\_

16. Slept more than usual \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 6 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 7: Planful problem-solving** \_\_\_\_\_  
49. I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work \_\_\_\_\_  
26. I made a plan of action and followed it \_\_\_\_\_  
1. Just concentrated on what I had to do next – the next step \_\_\_\_\_  
39. Changed something so things would turn out all right \_\_\_\_\_  
48. Drew on my past experiences; I was in a similar situation before \_\_\_\_\_  
52. Came up with a couple of different solutions to the problem \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 7 \_\_\_\_\_

**Scale 8: Positive reappraisal**  
23. Changed or grew as a person in a good way \_\_\_\_\_  
30. I came out of the experience better than when I went in \_\_\_\_\_  
36. Found new faith \_\_\_\_\_  
38. Rediscovered what is important in life \_\_\_\_\_  
60. I prayed \_\_\_\_\_  
56. I changed something about myself \_\_\_\_\_  
20. I was inspired to do something creative \_\_\_\_\_  
Total for Scale 8 \_\_\_\_\_

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