GENDER DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN TAMANG AND BRAHMIN COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

The study documents the discriminatory practices in different ethnic groups. The study was designed as a descriptive study based on sample survey. The total of 200 women including Brahimns and Tamangs were selected randomly for this study. The study findings show that there is discriminatory practice against women in both communities. Women perceive more discrimination at the societal level comparing to household level. With compare to Tamang, Brahmin women experience more discrimination in marriage time and choice of partner. They consider gender and customary practices as major factors responsible for discrimination.

INTRODUCTION

Discrimination against women means any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing of nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status on a basis of equality of men and women of human rights and fundamental freedom in the economic, social, cultural, civil, political or any other field (Majpuria, 2007). Discriminatory behavior is generally regarded as an obstacle for the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. However, in practice majority of the women in different communities, societies, religions in many countries are still subjected to various forms of discrimination at different stages of their life. Discrimination starts during socialization processes from the very early age in the name of sex segregation and is well established during the middle childhood (Thome, 1993). Later on this turns into discrimination. World's large portion of women is still being discriminated in each community, religion or country directly or indirectly in different stages of life. Brahme cited by Das (1989) have revealed that though both male and female are hired for same type of job, female are discriminated to get equal pay to male. Such type of practice is more common in the developing world. According to Dhital (2007) gender discrimination in education, employment and health accelerates economic burden. Discrimination against women affects their capacity to participate freely and fully in society and in turn brings psychologically harmful consequences. Due to the 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. A report reveals that seventy eight thousand of fetuses were aborted in Mumbai, just because they were known as female fetus (Bastola, 2007).

In this context the society in Nepal is not an exception. Nepal is a multicultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religious country. It is a religious and male dominated society where women are considered as secondary to men. Preference

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of son is more common and deeply rooted value in every community. Gender based discrimination irrespective to caste and ethnicity, starts right after the birth in different forms and it continues through out the life for most of the women. There are different sets of behaviors for boys and girls to perform. Such discrimination has also helped to establish the hierarchical relationship between men and women in the society and also helped to create many rigid gender norms that restrict women's opportunities and stifle their development in the private and public sphere.

The behavior and attitude varies from one community to another since each community/caste/ ethnic group has its own tradition, culture and religion. Besides any behavior or practice considered as discriminatory in one culture may not be thought to be so in another culture. Discrimination between male and female in general has been a cultural tradition, which is interlinked with religion happens to be accepted by women and applied by men as a social norm. Some of the Hindu religion ideals are so defined that they go on to stipulate that if a woman is barren for eight years, and only give birth to a female child until eleven years or has impolite sound (Apriya Bhashi) then the men should marry another woman immediately. In contrast even though a man keeps relation with another woman, is uneducated or characterless (Anachaar) the wife still should serve him as a god. Similarly the Hindu ideals prescribe that women should stay under the care of a father, husband and a son during childhood, young age and old age respectively. There is a belief in Hindu religion that parent without a son neither get mukti nor would they go to heaven after death. (Ranamagar, 2007). Such beliefs make men either desperate to get remarried with another woman for son or accelerates domestic violence. Discrimination and violence against woman remain common today as proving by the fact that a husband was reported to have killed his wife for giving births to female baby (Kantipur, 2007). Buddhist religion seems to be liberal in gender quality. As stated by Jampuria (2007) Buddhism never discriminates women nor it considers women as secondary to men. Buddhism allows women to be bhikkuni (nuns). However among the Buddhists too while, both male and female are regarded as equal, in practice they still have defined different gender roles for male and female.

The main purpose of this paper is to examine some of the prevalent discriminatory practices against women in the male dominated Nepali society. More specifically, I compare such practices in Brahmin and Tamang communities. Moreover, the study also attempts to find out how far women are aware and conscious about the discriminatory practices at societal and household levels.

STUDY AREA AND DATA COLLECTION

The Proposed study was conducted in Ichangu Narayan Village Development Committee (VDC) of Kathmandu district during the year 2007. The VDC is located in the northwest of Shyombhu Nath temple. The total area of the VDC is 4,469 *ropanies* along with the population of 7,516 with diverse caste and ethnic groups such as Brahmin, Chhetri, Tamang and Newar. Over three-fourths of the population is literate in the VDC (Ichangunarayanko Barsik Prakashan, 2062).

A total of 200 women from the VDC were selected randomly for this study. The list of the households (voter list, 2061) was obtained from the VDC office and a separate list of the households of Brahmin and Tamang was prepared. From the list, a sample of 200 women (100 from each community) was selected randomly. Only women who were 17 years or older at the time of the survey were considered as respondent for this study.

The questionnaire consists of two parts. First part consists of general information such as age, caste, and education and the second part contains about practices of discrimination. Two undergraduate female students were hired as enumerators for conducting an interview schedule. They were given training by the researcher for two days to make them understand about the questionnaire and coding for filling out the questionnaire. After the training, they were sent to field sites for data collection. In many cases, the researcher herself was present while conducting the interviews. In some cases, more than one interview was also conducted separately at the same household where the criteria for the respondents were met.

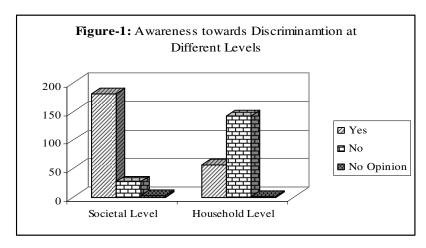
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The breakdown of the survey population was one-half (50%) Brahmin and the remaining (50%) Tamang. The age of the respondents ranged from 17 to 73 years with an average age of $28.46~(\pm~11.98)$. Over one-fifths (23.5%) of the survey population were illiterate, 4.5 percent literate, and 72 percent received formal education. Among the respondents who received formal education, over one-half (53%) attended high school and higher secondary level, followed by bachelor level and above (27%) and up to class eight (20%). Regarding occupation, about one-half (45.5%) of the respondents were homemakers, followed by students (39.5%), jobholders (6.5%), wage labors and maid (3.5%), and the remaining (5%) was engaged in other occupation such as tailoring, shop keeping etc.

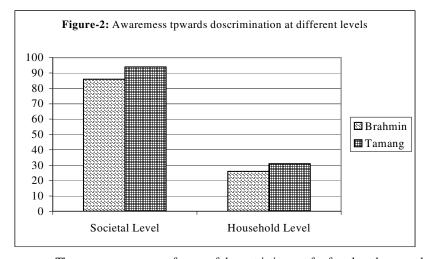
AWARENESS TOWARDS DISCRIMINATION

Respondents were asked if they had heard about and/or experienced any discriminatory practices in Nepali society. Irrespective of ethnicity, majority of the respondents (90%) were found to be aware of prevalent societal discriminations. The remaining 10 percent of the respondents repeated either that they had not experienced discrimination or had nothing to say on the topic (See Figure 1). Furthermore, the respondents who said "NO" were very clear and confident about their responses and said, "Those women who cannot progress and utilize the given opportunities often blame others in the name of discrimination". In contrast, about three-fourth of the respondents (71%) were not aware of household level discrimination.

When compared for caste/ethnic differences, Tamang women (94%) were found to be relatively more aware of societal discrimination than Brahmin women (86%). Similarly, when asked if they have felt any discrimination at household level, Tamang women (31%) were more aware about the discrimination practices at household level comparing to Brahmin women (26%). The differences in the awareness of discrimination between societal and household levels indicate that the women may not exactly know what discrimination is.



It was observed in the field discussion that when simply asked if they have felt discrimination in mobility, most of them said no, but when asked "If there were different rules for men and women for returning home late in the evening, then they said "yes" which means the meaning of discrimination is still not properly understood by rural women due to cultural practices.



The women are aware of some of the restriction put for female at home and accept them as part of culture rather than discrimination. As a male dominated society, different sets of behavior are assigned for men and women and those behaviors are accepted fully in the society no matter which caste or ethnic groups they belong. Such behavior makes an individual to treat female differently although s/he says male and female are being treated equally. In fact, women in a male dominated society are treated differently unconsciously or unintentionally. Because of the gender

schemas, which develop from all the diverse information the women have acquired that has anything to do with gender, they are accepting the discrimination facing at household level. There is a popular saying that people notice other people facing discrimination but do not feel it for themselves. This may be the reason women's awareness of discrimination in the study area at the societal level is very high compared to the household level. As cited by Geis, a study conducted by Guzzo (1978) had also concluded that women were not conscious about the discriminatory behaviors that are based on gender perception.

Table-1: Perceived prevalent societal discriminatory practices in different

Discrimination	Responding in Percentage				
Practices in	Brahmin $(n = 100)$	Tamang (n = 100)			
Property (ownership)	75.8	80.6			
Occupation	69.7	62.2			
Education	67.7	55.1			
Way of behaving	76.8	72.4			
Behaving on the way	78.0	74.5			
Others	12	8.0			

Source: Field Report, 2007.

More than half of the survey population irrespective to ethnicity articulated that there are different types of discriminatory practices prevalent in the society. As indicated by respondents the discrimination prevalent in society in descending order is property, 78.2%, behaving on the way 76.6; and ways of behaving 74.6%, occupation 66.0%, education 61.4%. Different types of discrimination faced by Brahmin and Tamang women have been presented in Table 1. It is very evident from the data prescribed in table 1 that women are facing discrimination in the society. They feel that they are being discriminated in many things such as behaving on the road, way of behaving and property. The underpinning cause of such discrimination is societal norm where women are still considered as secondary to men. Majority of the women still neither own any property nor are educated as men to be independent in the society. Because of household chores, lower qualifications and other causes they cannot take on just about any occupation and move freely outside the home as men do. In general there is no distinct differences of societal discrimination awareness in Tamang and Brahmin community. Insignificant level of differences in different category of societal discrimination awareness can be seen in two different communities. With comparison to Tamang, Brahmins women seem to be aware about the prevalent societal discriminatory practices in almost all categories of discrimination except right to own property. Some respondents, notwithstanding their ethnicity, also mentioned other types of sensitive discrimination, which was not mentioned in the questionnaire. As reported by the respondents the other types of discrimination faced by the women are: decision making for self, mobility, food, interaction with boys, allowances, social inclusion and/choice of partner. Respondents concluded that in the patriarchal Nepali society women are considered as inferior than men and are not always allowed to participate in decision-making, even on matters related to

their own lives. It is very common in Nepalese society that if a girl marries with low caste boy, she is neglected by other family member and even could not return to her parental home. But the son is accepted later if he marries with outcaste girl. As the sons are considered the supporter of old age parents, family members are forced to accept outcaste girl as a daughter-in-law.

HOUSEHOLD LEVEL DISCRIMINATION

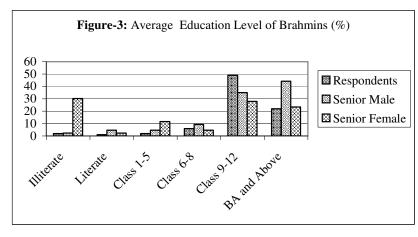
At first respondents were simply asked if they have felt discrimination at household level. In order to make them understand about the discrimination the respondents were explained as "any type of restriction that might be in the name of teaching, love or protection". Such explanation helped them to understand the meaning of discrimination and responded to the questionnaire accordingly. Most of the respondents reported that they were being discriminated in one or the other category at household level. Majority of the women from both groups (44.4% Brahmins and 50.5% Tamang) acknowledged that they were discriminated in mobility. Different types of discrimination felt by Brahmin women in descending order is 38.4% in marriage time, 34.7% in education, 32.3% in choice of partner, 21.2% in parental behavior, 17.2% in property, 15.2% in occupation, 10.1% in allowances, 5.1% in food, and 3.0% in other. Similarly different types of discrimination felt by Tamang respondents at household level were education by 24.5%, choice of partner by 24.0%, way of behaving by 20.4%, property and marriage time both by 19.0%, occupation by 17.0%, allowances 15.0%, food by 5.0%, other by 2.0% (See Table 2). Other type of discrimination felt by respondents was: interaction with others, especially boys; exclusion of daughter in traditional funeral ceremony, and extra work for girls. One of the respondents from Brahmin family expressed that she really does not like when son and parents both need to perform the ceremony for each other's death during 13 days but not in case of daughters. There is a fallacy in Hindu religion that daughters are other's property. So neither parent nor daughters should bear each other's responsibilities. This misunderstanding has accelerated the discrimination in the society.

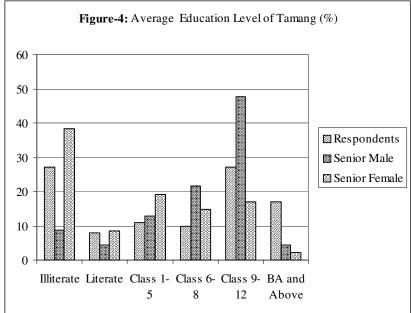
Table-2: Caste wise discrimination at household level

Discrimination	Responding in Percentage				
Practices in	Brahmin (n = 100)	Tamang (n = 100)			
Property	17.2	19.0			
Occupation	15.2	17.0			
Mobility	44.4	50.5			
Food	5.1	5.0			
Allowance	10.1	15.0			
Education	34.7	24.5			
Marriage time	38.4	19.0			
Choice of partner	32.3	24.0			
Way of behaving	21.2	20.4			
Others	3.0	2.0			

Source: Field Report, 2007.

The data presented in Table 2 makes it clear that while the degree of discrimination for various practices may vary, women in both groups (Tamang and Brahmin) are indeed discriminated at the household level. The differences in percentage may be due to cultural practices, family environment that make women feel or do not feel discrimination in specific category of discrimination. The higher gap in discriminatory practices between Brahmins and Tamangs is in marriage time, choice of partner and education. The main reason for such differences in Brahmin and Tamang is the prejudice that affects Brahmins girl's future marriage if she has love affair. But in case of Tamang culture there is no stigma attached to girl's love affair or even the pregnancy and having a child before marriage (Bista, 1980; Fricke, 1986). Another reason might be Brahmins conservativeness and rigidity toward caste, age, and education of the prospective son-in-law. It is almost a tradition in Brahmin family that the boy who is going to be the son-in-law of the family should be more qualified, and senior in age than the daughter. If not boys think wives will dominate them. Similarly, to get more qualified husband is a matter of prestige for a girl. This type of belief forces girl to be married earlier. Early marriage restricts girl to choose the life partner on her own, and education facility due to more responsibility and restrictions after marriage. Even when her in laws and husband ask a married woman to continue her education or job she would hesitate to do so thinking that she would not be able to make her seniors happy. Not only the individual women, because of the perceived role that it is husband's responsibility to take economic responsibilities of the family, but also the parents are not sincere about their daughter's education. But in contrast, Tamang were found to be noninterventionist in elopement marriage practices that allowed the women to choose their life partner. Similarly it was learnt during interview that, Tamang boys were involved in different types of jobs without completing their education. But Tamang girls were comparatively better educated than the boys (Figure 4). During informal discussions with parents after completion of interviews, it was learned that the reason of higher percentage of education level of Tamang girl as compared to senior boys were the restrictions imposed on the girls. Tamang parent restricted their daughter's mobility thinking that they might be spoiled but did not care about their sons. The consequence was their sons were spoiled and often addicted to drugs and other anti social behaviors and consequently gave up their studies. From this, it can be assumed that Tamang parents also discriminate their son and daughter. It can be said that not only the daughters but also sons need special attention until specific age but not discrimination. Though the total number of literate and graduated women belong to Tamang is pretty low than that of Brahmins women, they feel less discriminated at household level (See figure 3 and 4 for details). The reason is the higher percentage of Tamang women were getting opportunities for studying up to BA and above in comparison to senior male siblings or the low percentage of Brahmin women having opportunity of studying up to BA level or above as compared to senior male siblings.





RESPONSIBLE FACTORS OF DISCRIMINATION AT HOUSE

Different factors have outstanding role on different discriminatory behaviors. Male and female separately or sometime are equally responsible for discrimination. But in some cases customary practices have influenced the individual and discourage to participate in some activities. Those respondents, who felt discriminated, were asked about the responsible factors of discriminations. It is quite surprising that most of the women from both ethnic groups (81.0% Brahmins and 65% Tamangs) expressed female as the main

responsible factor of discrimination in parental behavior. Many reasons come to the mind while thinking of such discriminatory behaviors: First, because of patriarchal society women feel safe after giving birth to male baby and those who don't have son make more offspring in the hope of having a newborn male baby. They cannot support their family with limited resources and consequently discriminate their girl child thinking daughter will go to others house and son will support them during their old age; Second, daughters are more close to mothers and learn stereotype gender roles which restricts women from different activities; Third, mother relates her emotions with daughters and wants to protect them from the sorrows they feel; Fourth, in Nepalese society three is a saying chhoriko ijjat siyoko tuppoma meaning daughter's honor is on the tip of a needle. Such type of saying makes the mother sensitive and restricts daughters from different types of outdoors activities. Finally, if children, especially daughters, are spoilt all the blame goes to the mother. Because of the social pressure, mothers restrict their daughter, though they don't want to.

Similarly among those who felt food discrimination, 100%, of Brahmins and 60% of Tamangs blamed females (mother-in-lows) for food discrimination. The difference between Brahmins and Tamang families is because of the cultural factor. It was reported that some Tamangs family distribute food to whole family along with daughter-in-law at the same time and eat together. This was the prominent factor that reveals the differences in Brahmins and Tamangs. Both male and female in Brahmins family and male in Tamangs family were found as discriminators of property as stated by 44.4% and 42.1% respectively. Among the Brahmins, 47.7% of Brahmins respondents blamed female (mother before marriage and mother-in-law after marriage) as the main discriminator of mobility while 50.0% of Tamangs respondent point out male as the main discriminator. Mothers in laws even do not hesitate to complain about their daughter-in-law with their son. Such complaints mislead husband and become irate to their wife. The cases of murdering wife by enraged husband are often reported in newspapers (Kantipur, 2007). It is quite surprising that a woman who goes through the roles of disciplined daughter, a submissive daughter-in-law, a sacrificing mother unexpectedly turns into a dominant mother-in-law. This study does not have an answer to this paradox. However, the question: "what factor encourages a woman to be dominant"? can be an important question for further researcher. Is this the only gender schema that helps a nurturing and caring woman to turn into a dominant mother-in-law or some thing else? Since male are considered as head of the family; owns and earns property, they were found to be main discriminator in allowances in both Tamangs and Brahmin as stated by 73.3% and 55.6% respectively. Both male and female were equally found as responsible factors for discrimination in education, marriage time and choice of partner as stated by 41.2% Brahmins and 58.3% Tamangs, 47.4% Brahmins and 47.4% Tamang, 75.0% and 62.5% Tamangs respectively (See Table 3 for details).

Table-3: Household discrimination done by gender wise

Discrimination	Brahmin (responding in %)			Tamang (responding in %)				
Practices in	Male	Female	Both	Self	Male	Female	Both	Self
Property	27.8	11.1	44.4	16.7	42.1	21.1	26.3	10.5
Occupation	40.0	13.3	20.0	26.7	64.7	11.8	17.6	5.9
Mobility	38.6	47.7	11.4	2.3	50.0	36.0	14.0	-
Food	0.0	100.0	0.0		20.0	60.0	-	20.0
Allowance	55.6	33.3	11.1		73.3	13.3	13.3	
Education	17.6	17.6	41.2	20.6	20.8	12.5	58.3	8.3
Marriage time	15.8	36.8	47.4		26.3	21.1	47.4	5.0
Choice of partner	9.4	15.6	75.0		20.8	16.7	62.5	
Way of behaving	4.8	81.0	14.3		15.0	65.0	15.0	5.0
Others	33.3	33.3	33.3		0.0	100.0	0.0	

Source: Field Report, 2007.

As indicated by Sharma (1989), women are responsible to some extent for the discrimination they experienced, as they often remain quiet to please their so-called superiors. They often forget their rightful place and almost become a slave to the situation to make their superiors happy. Most of the women still choose to be married and have children and are still engaged in low paid jobs. Some of the respondents neither blamed male nor female but themselves as responsible factor for some discrimination that can be seen in the household level. Married women think it is their responsibility to perform household chore and take care of children. They never try to find a job nor continue their education though they are encouraged for further studies by their husband. But, later on, as their children start going to school, they become free and express regret for not completing their studies. Among Brahmin respondents, 16.7% (3) blamed customary practice for property discrimination. Similarly 26.7% (4), 2.3% (1), 20.6%) (7) women showed customary practice that discriminate her in occupation, mobility, and education, respectively. Tamang women also denied both male and female as discriminator but claimed that customary practices were responsible for discriminatory practices in household level. 10.5% (2), 5.9% (1), 8.3% (2), 5.0% (1) respondents said that they are discriminated in property, occupation, education and parental behavior respectively due to customary practices. A few Tamang respondents consider customary practices as responsible for discrimination in food and, marriage time decisions.

We know that property right is considered as the main issue of discrimination, in Nepal. Given this, the question about different types of property owned by the respondents was discussed with the respondents (See Table 4). Nearly a quarter of the respondents have only owned property in their name, still majority of the respondents do not feel any type of discrimination in property. When asked about this, they stated in different way: if their parents had enough property, they would give it to them; in some cases if marital home is poorer than parental home, women think about parental property of property; they have just small land and shelter to live, so it does not matter whoever in the family (husband or herself) owns the property; they are entertaining husband's property. Some Brahmin respondents said that women are getting property as

dowry during marriage ceremony and in the name of other cultural tradition. If parents give daughters both dowry and property, it will not be fair to brothers. They also mentioned that property is not the main factors of women development. Property given by others is not enough for life long. Individual own self should earn property so that it never finishes. Very few respondents blamed the law of Nepal that has restricted women to marry for getting parental property. The said that according to law only unmarried women can have parental property and should return it if she got married. So no one wants to be single whole life for getting property.

In case of education respondents mentioned that the discrimination between son and daughter has been lessened as compared to earlier days. However, parents send their children to the school; discrimination in quality education is still prevalent in the society. It was also learned from interviews that sons are given to choose the subjects they want to study no matter how far they need to go and how expensive it is. But daughters are not allowed to choose the subjects of their interest if it is expensive and parents cannot afford easily. Most of the parents still do not think investment in daughter's education is quite worth as "daughter goes to other's home and have to hold broom and clean utensils".

During the time of interview, respondents were also asked if there were any supportive factors that could make their life better but could not get an opportunity. Surprisingly many respondents (41.0% Brahmins and 37.0% Tamang) believe education as the main factor that could make women life better. Tamang women indicated occupation as second supportive factor for women's personal development. The stage of women's life was categorized into three main groups as childhood (up to 12 years old) youth (13-19 years old) and adult (above 19 years old) as defined by Erik Erikson's classification cited by Boeree (1997) for the purpose of getting knowledge about their deprived stages of opportunity. Brahmins seem to be deprived in all three stages equally (34.8% each in childhood and young age and 30.4% in adult age) whereas more Tamangs (45.3%) were deprived of education, which is an opportunity necessary for better life during childhood. Similarly 30.2% and 24.5% of the Tamangs respondents were found to be deprived of such opportunity in young and adult. The reason for deprivation of educational opportunity for Brahmins was marriage (304%), being a female (26.1%), household work (21.7%), other reason (17.4%) and economic condition (4.3%). But incase of Tamang other reasons [(like specific illness, individual interest) (28.3%)] were found to be major hindering factor of educational opportunity. Tamang respondents said their parent had sent them to school but they discontinued for playing. This statement makes clear that Tamang parents were unaware about the importance of female education. Economic condition (17.0%), household work (17.0%), marriage (18.9%) and being a female (18.9%) were equally responsible hindering factors for Tamangs. (Also see table 4 for details)

Table-4: Different types of property owned by respondents

Types of	Brahmins		Tamangs		
property	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
Land	4	4.0	5	5.0	
House	3	3.0	3	3.0	
Other	6	6.0	4	4.0	
Land and house	9	9.0	7	7.0	
Land and other	3	3.0	0	0	
All	1	1.0	0	0	
Not at all	74	74.0	81	81.0	

Source: Field Report, 2007.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Findings of the study suggest that in spite of ethnicity discrimination against women exists in Nepali society and household level as well. Women are more aware of societal discrimination as compared to the household level discriminations. Different types of organizations are working in the field of discrimination and assisting women to raise the level of their awareness about societal discrimination. Mass media such as television and radio are also helping women to make aware of societal discrimination. The reason of unawareness about household level discrimination is due to respondent's positive attitude toward discrimination. Respondent to some extent are responsible for discrimination because though they are aware of discrimination/limitations think whoever do this, they love and protect them, which is important for them. Until women take discrimination positively and surrender to the situation, it is hard to get rid of discrimination. However there are insignificant differences in the degree of discrimination, different types of discriminatory practices can be seen in both communities. Among different types of discriminations, mobility and educational and educational discrimination is the major discriminatory practices seen in both communities. Second major issue of discrimination found in Brahmin family is regard to decision on marriage time and choice of partner.

The findings of the study showed both male and female as the main responsible factor for prevalent discriminatory practices in one or other way in the society. Discrimination in education, the main supportive factor of development as perceived by the respondents, is done by both male and female particularly father and mother in parental home in both Brahmin and Tamang families the major discrimination faced by more than half of the total Tamang women such as allowances and occupation is done by male; and food and way of behaving by female. Similarly male members of Brahmin family discriminate women for allowances and occupation. The female bring about discrimination in way of behaving. However, the discrimination in food is done by 100% female in Brahmins and 60% female in Tamangs family, very few (5 in Tamang and 5 in Brahmins) reported as they are being discriminated. More than half of the women from both Tamang and Brahmin family of study area admitted that they were (married) or will be (unmarried) restricted to choose their marriage time and

partner by both male and female equally. The finding has suggested that the discrimination in Nepali society has been interlinked with traditional culture and beliefs. Along with both male and female, societal norms are equally responsible for such discrimination. As the mother with daughters, mother-in-law with daughter-in-laws interacts in day-to-day life, she can protect women from many discriminations. Individual awareness and ability to protest against discrimination as well as parental positive attitude toward their daughter could lessen the problems. Special trainings for mother and mother-in-law would help women to overcome the situation.

The study has reveled that $^{3}/_{4}$ of the survey population don't own any types of property. Still they do not take it as discrimination. They think it would be an issue of discrimination if their husband or parents had enough property and still would not have given any of it to them. It means the issue of property discrimination is only for rich families. Majority of the respondents are concerned with educational discrimination and believe that this is the key factor that helps women to be self-dependent.

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