

Gender Stereotype: Being Nepali Women!

Priyanka K.C¹., Rajan Binayek Pasa², Bishnu Bahadur Khatri³

Abstract

This paper discusses gender stereotypes still embedded in Nepali society towards women due to the disbelief and misconception which shaping the expectations, attitudes, and behaviors toward women. This study also elucidates the sad reality of gender stereotype throughout the life of women (birth, marriage etc.) that have been practicing in the culture and making life vulnerable and challenging. The critical appraisal at the situation of Nepali women reveals a terrible reality as women are still tolerating gender stereotype practices in the society, even when everyone is aware of their rights and gender equality. In particular, some exceptional woman personalities such as Pasang Lhamu Sherpa (first Nepali woman and the second woman in the world to summit Mount Everest); Anuradha Koirala (CNN's Hero of the Year-2010); Puspa Basnet (CNN's Hero of the Year-2012) etc. are the epitome of rebellors of the gender stereotype in Nepal. In general, equal praise, motivation and right education to both child (son and daughter) starting from home can help them to build gender neutral attitude in the future. Therefore, capacity to defy all the odds of the society like these rebellors of stereotype and gender neutral attitude towards gender stereotypes are the foundation of way out for maintaining gender equality in Nepali society.

Key Words: Gender stereotype, patriarchal, menstruation, marriage, rebellors

Introduction

Gender stereotype refers to bias, preconceptions, and preconceived notions that cause one to assess gender issues based on one's view which may or may not be correct. *The emotional, sexual, and psychological stereotyping of females begins when the doctor says, 'It's a girl - Shirley Chisholm.* Reflecting upon this statement, gender stereotypes are commonly held notions about the traits, conduct, and roles of men and women (Weinraub et al., 1984). The term "gender stereotype" refers to the widespread belief or assumption that certain traits or qualities are or should be shared by men and women. Similarly, applying that stereotyped belief to a person is known as gender stereotyping (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2014). Stereotyping also involves making assumptions about someone based on how you see the group they belong to. Especially, it is, "the intentional or unintentional use of whether it is wrong or right group information to evaluate a group member (Agars, 2004, p. 104). More specifically, gender stereotypes are ingrained beliefs about how men and women should behave to maintain certain gender norms (Suter, 2006).

¹ Member of Student Quality Circle, Central Department of Rural Development (CDRD) Email: kessipriyanka6789@gmail.com

² Lecturer, Central Department of Rural Development, Tribhuvan University, Nepal
Corresponding author Email: rajan.pasa@cdrd.tu.edu.np

³ Associate Professor, Central Department of Rural Development, Tribhuvan University, Nepal
Email: bishnu.khatri@cdrd.tu.edu.np, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4777-1307>

The development of gender stereotypes depends on the gender context and family level experiences (McHale et al., 2003; Witt 1997). It is forwarded to generation to generation as the traditions so that many people don't even realize that they are following the wrong trend. Men and women are frequently depicted in stereotypical ways based on the social roles and gendered division of labor that are predicated on the characteristics. And that are also considered to be inherent in each gender due to its biological composition (Lindsey, 2010). Feminine stereotypes, on the other hand, are centered on a collection of ideas that characterize women as compassionate, selfless, emotional in interpersonal relationships, child-friendly, affectionate, sensitive, and empathic, but most importantly timid and submissive. As masculinity is often associated with competitiveness, aggression, and independence (Ridgeway & Balkwell, 1997). The gender stereotypes' effects on the formation of gender roles subsequently with gender socialization, gendered labor division, and parental treatment. When a stereotype restricts a person's ability to grow personally, pursue a career, and make decisions about their lives and future goals, it is damaging. Furthermore, when gender stereotypes result in a breach or breaches of basic liberties and individual rights, they are wrong. An illustration of this is the fact that marital rape is not criminalized with stereotype that women are the personal asset of men. One more instance is how the legal system fails to hold those who commit sexual assault accountable due to preconceived notions about how women should act when engaging in sexual activity (OHCHR, 2014).

Gender discrimination, gender inequality, injustice, and gender based violence are not novel concepts in the history of patriarchal society. The history itself paints a clear picture of the status of women in society. Even while the goal of patriarchy is not to oppress women, a society that values masculinity unavoidably emphasize masculinity and masculine traits than feminine traits. Men (and women) will be encouraged in such a system to view women as entities capable of satisfying male demands (Becker, 1999). Women have historically experienced extreme prejudice as a result of being seen as 'second-grade citizens' and as victims of patriarchal society. Men have traditionally oppressed/suppressed women in order to demonstrate their dominance over them in society. In present context, the level of gender stereotypical behavior is reduced to some extent because of the active human agency involved in the ground of gender equality but not completely vanished. The closer look reveals that gender stereotypes are still embedded in human nature on both a social and an individual level. Reasoning that gender inequity as the main by product. The recent tragic death of Mahsa Amini in Iran serves as the clearest example of this issue. As news reported in "The Guardian, 2022" Days after being jailed by the regime's morality police for allegedly failing to wear the country's hijab laws, a 22-year-old woman Mahsa Amini died in an Iranian hospital. She was reportedly beaten by Iran's morality police during a crackdown on violations of the country's strict hijab restrictions and was then rushed to the hospital in a coma.

Feminism, gender equality, women's liberty, women's right have always been the matter of contention throughout the history even in the global society. According to United Nations (UN), "the birth of global feminism occurred in 1985. Nairobi hosted the

international conference to assess the success of the UN decade for women focusing in Equality, Development, and Peace. Similarly, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action is a worldwide plan of action for empowering women. It is enshrined in the principle of equality, development and peace for all humanity (Gabreil, 2002). Additionally, the UN General Assembly passed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. It is frequently referred to international declaration of right for women. It outlines a strategy for eradicating gender discrimination at the national level. It consists of a prologue and 30 articles (UN Women, 2022). Furthermore, according to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals which comprise of 5 goals: "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls," nearly 143 nations, including Nepal, guaranteed gender equality in their constitutions by 2015.

In context of Nepal, there are constitutional provisions such as "Rights of Women" as Fundamental Rights, Citizenship with identity of descent and gender by the name of mother or father, 33% of Federal Parliament Seats reserved for women as well as the legal reforms like Safe Motherhood and Reproductive Health Right Act, 2018, Sexual Harassment at Workplace (Prevention) Act, 2015, Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act, 2009 etc. Presently, the law and policies regarding the women's right, equality and justice have made countless women empowered and been playing positive role toward gender stereotypes in some society but not completely satisfactory. Gupta et al., (2021) also revealed more than 80 percent respondents strongly agreed that within the community, decision making at home was male dominated and at least a third of respondents did not think men in the community do household work. This might be reason that Nepal received a 0.692 on the Gender Gap Index 2022 for gender parity. According to the International Labor Organization, the COVID pandemic caused 1.6 to 2 million female Nepali employees to lose their jobs completely or have their hours drastically curtailed, which resulted in poorer pay. In similar vein, Asia Foundation (2021) study reveals that 37 percent of enterprises reduced the pay of their female employees, while 58 percent reduced their compensation by 50 percent (Nepal Economic Forum [NEF], 2022). Gender discrimination was and is still ingrained in Nepal as compared to other countries due to backward thought process, traditional norms, values, rituals practices of Nepalese people. Therefore, this paper discusses gender stereotypes embedded in Nepali society.

Methods and Materials

This paper has focused on gender stereotypes and other challenges in Nepalese society. The research issues have been appraised based on the secondary sources of information such as inter/national policy instruments (e.g. Beijing platform for action, UN women, CEDAW, UNFPA); Hindu cosmology about Kumari and popular sayings; traditions (e.g. Sati system, dowry system, marital rape, Chhaupadi) and empirical findings including report of CREPHA, WCSCSCN and Nepal Police. More so, this paper also has unpacked contributions of the inter/national figures such as Queen Elizabeth, Mother Teresa, Florence Nightingale, Pasang Lhamu Sherpa, Anuradha Koirala and Puspa Basnet who were/are truly inspirational women (Rebellers of gender stereotype). Hence, this study is interpretive in nature that has highlighted subjective meaning of our (the authors')

interpretation and the reflections based on secondary sources of information (O'reilly, 2005).

An Appraisal: Stereotype as Growing Up

"Girls are taught to shrink themselves, not to grow, they are taught to limit themselves within household chores not to fly beyond this". Growing up as a girl is certainly challenge in our Nepalese society. Family and society began educating girls about the values and obligations that come with adjusting to society from a young age. They also began teaching them how to make compromises in their personal lives. In particular, Nepalese culture requires girls to behave, speak, dress, eat, and do other things in a graceful and elegant manner. Girls are also expected to project a kind and elegant image. In Nepal, girls are treated as "*Arka ko ghar jane jhaat*" which means the one who have to go to another house after marriage and for that reason, girls are bound to learn the household works from the early age. Even though these cosmologies (cultural rules) does not apply for the boys because being a boy itself is the boon to them. As she grew up as the teenagers, the biological change itself is the tough situation for any girl. They have to go through the painful mensuration process every single month. The mensuration taboo, which is deeply ingrained in Nepalese society, makes their lives even more difficult on a physical and mental level, despite all the cramping and suffering. During their period, women are supposedly impure and untouchable, shunned from the kitchen, places of worship, and even the family.

According to Hinduism, the most obvious illustration of this is the worship of women as goddesses. Even in Nepal, the living goddess "Kumari" is worshipped, but afterwards the mensuration, she is deemed impure and dethroned, and the quest for a new Kumari begins. In rural areas of far-western and western Nepal, "*Chhaupadi*" a superstition that confines many girls to dwell in dim, solitary huts, is still prevalent. Over 95 percent of women in the district, according to the Achham Women's Development Officer (UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office, 2011), practice *Chhaupadi*. As stated in 2019 Himalayan Times, As many as 15 children and women died in *Chhau* (cow sheds) in the last 13 years in Achham and Dailekh districts alone, according to a recent report made public by the National Human Rights Commission.

Nepal has a 65.9 percent overall literacy rate, with a 75.1 percent male literacy rate and a 57.4 percent female literacy rate (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2011). More so, the literacy rate for those who are 15 years of age and above is 67.9%, which is higher in the population of young people aged 15 to 24. Only 23.6 percent of adults 65 and older are literate (Sharma, 2022). Although Nepal has made considerable strides toward increasing literacy over the past ten years, there is still a sizable gender gap in literacy. In comparison, female literacy is lower in rural, mountainous, and far western areas (Dhakal, 2018). It is doubtful why female educational attainment is still lower than male literacy if gender equality actually exist and gender stereotypes no longer apply in our Nepalese culture. As a result, it is apparent how our traditional thinking restricts girls, causes them more hardship, increases their vulnerability, and makes them more susceptible to discrimination by birth and marriage.

Stereotype by Birth

Children are exposed to knowledge about the values and actions deemed appropriate for each gender group from birth. Therefore, it is expected that they develop a good understanding of gender stereotypes early in life (Martin et al., 2002). In fact, according to recent studies, some infants as young as 30 months may already recognize specific gender stereotypes like toys that are associated with boys (cars) and girls (dolls) (Ruble et al., 2006). In Nepal, the popular saying "*Choro paye khasi, Chori paye farsi*" (serving he-goat's mutton for He birth but pumpkin for She birth) which literally shows the reality of stereotype for women and the preference for boy over a girl during child birth. Nepal being male dominated country, woman domination has been tradition to Nepalese society. And this perspective toward woman can be seen with the birth of infant in the every Nepalese home. No matter how much educated is the family or no matter how much liberal they are in their speech, deep down every parents expected to have at least one son to forward their lineage as well as to support in their old age. Because of patrilocal and patrilineal system, which places emphasis on having at least one son as coparcener. Nepal is known for having a strong preference for sons (Rai et al., 2014). In Nepal, sons are also very highly valued because they carry on the family name, can participate in funeral rites, and are expected to support the parents in old age (Haughton & Haughton, 1995).

Due to being ridiculed by their guardians and neighbors for "never having had a boy in their womb" or "niputar," or "never having a son in their womb," mothers without sons have been shown to suffer from severe psychological suffering (Clarke et al., 2014). Even in the current situation, a woman must continue having children until the boy is born in the hopes of having a son, or else she must abort the girl. Despite the fact that sex-based abortions are generally prohibited. A household survey by the Center for Research on Environment, Health, and Population Activities (CREPHA) in 2017 revealed that 73 percent of pregnant mothers with daughters and 89 percent of expectant women who have already given birth to two or more female children want to have a boy. Similar to that, a CREPHA study from last year (2018) also revealed that 26.3 percent of pregnant women in Arghakhanchi and 17.2 percent of pregnant women in Lalitpur had abortions after learning the fetuses were female (*The Himalayan Times*, 2019).

The observation demonstrates how the issue of birth stereotypes instills in Nepali society the fallacious idea that men are superior to women and that they are the only ones capable of managing their lineage and shouldering all of the responsibilities, leading to the concentration of power and authority in the hands of men. Regarding the availability, distribution, and utilization of resources, which are unequally allocated between men and women. Power is strongly correlated to gender (Sultana & Lazim, 2011, p. 168). In Nepalese family, we never get to hear that mother as the head of family, in contrast, we always grew up by listening father as 'a head of family', as the 'decision maker' of the family. These all pre-assumptive stereotypes have the strong impact in our attitudes and behavioral patterns thus, leading discrimination by birth.

Stereotype in Marriage

In Nepalese society, it is customary for married women to leave their parents' home and move into their husbands', where they must care for his family for the rest of their lives. Her birthplace is no longer her home, and the surname that was originally associated with her name will no longer be used. The bride and bride's family will constantly have to portray themselves in pleasing and tolerating manner with groom's family. In order to do this, dowries, which are in exchange for the bride's hand in marriage, the groom's family received benefits (ex. Money, furniture etc.), are commonly used at wedding ceremonies. In particular, dowry is used as a "*tilak*" and family ritual in the Tarai (Madhesh) region of Nepal. Neha Chaudhary, the wife of Dr. Pankaj Chaudhary, a physician working at the Grande Hospital, accused, assaulted and beaten her, according to a recent news in '*My Republica*' in 2022. According to the victim, her husband, mother-in-law, and sister-in-law (the husband's sister) started abusing her at home just a few days after the wedding. In accordance with her in-laws' request for dowry, Rs. 12.5 million was spent on furniture and 20 *Tolas* (233.27625 gram) of gold, among other things; nonetheless, her husband insisted she purchase a home in Kathmandu. In Nepali society, there are many instances of women being killed, committing suicide, being assaulted, and having their rights violated on a regular basis. Brides are also sent back from their families for failing to provide a sufficient dowry.

Apart from that, after marriage, many women are only constrained in household chores. The continuation of education after marriage is troublesome. In some Nepali cultures, there is misconception that 'man is breadwinner and woman is the house maker' for the family, so that woman is dependent to their husband economically most of the time over their lives. However, women currently have triple roles: productive roles involve household economic support activities like agriculture and livestock production; reproductive include roles such as gathering fuel/water, preparing food, and caring for children, are tasks for reproducing and maintaining the home; and community role consists of responsibilities supporting community improvement and services (Manandhar, 2008). Actually, these roles are indeed overburdening and draining for any woman. In spite of that some Nepalese women never get praise of doing that, because there is a gender stereotype that women are born to manage the house and if they choose to undertake their career, it's their responsibilities to manage both. Similarly, the participation of women in their household decision making is low. According to the report of NDHS 2016 showed that only 38 percentage of married women (15-49) years participate in all 3 decisions i.e. their own health care, major household purchases, and visits to their family or relatives. The man's decision are considered as the final decision. There is the saying that "*pothi baseko ramro hudaina*" which means female speaking in any matters including decision making is conceived as misbehave in Nepalese culture.

Besides, not every marriage will succeed. Sometimes, misunderstandings and conflicts between a husband and wife lead to divorce, which is a general way to terminate a marriage. However, in contemporary society, divorce is more often attributed to the wife. Without even knowing the truth, they begin to infer that the wife may be to blame, that she may be a characterless woman, or that she lacks the ability to manage the household

and her husband. After the divorce, the male is completely free to form a new family (remarriage). Polygamy and remarriage are not a recent occurrence among men. Even in the Nepalese history, one king used to have several queens. However, when it comes to women, our society views it as a serious crime, and remarriage for divorced women is uncommon in our culture. Divorced women are treated differently. They have to go through the lot of mental and physical suffering so that lot of divorced women goes through depression and someone even commit suicide. In a similar manner, how Nepali culture views widowed women is deplorable. Around 101 years of "The Sati System" was practiced in during 1885 AD till 1901 AD, which refers to the practice where widows were burned alive on the husband's funeral pyre (Yadav, 2016). This custom reflects the status of widows and the discrimination that several Nepali women had been suffered. In spite of the fact that Nepal's Sati System was officially abolished in the 1920s (Dhungana, 2014), widows are allegedly still denied access to social and material resources and are also harassed and subject to various types of abuse (Haviland et al., 2014; Sabri et al., 2016; Surkan et al., 2015). Such treatment of widows is carried out within the framework of larger cultural and gender norms that place a strong emphasis on women's submission and subordination in Nepal. There are still some rituals practiced, such as the abandonment of the widow wearing red and the general belief that widows are bad signs and inauspicious (Bennett, 1983; Nightingale, 2011). Although, widow women are provided single's women allowance in monthly basis these days, the struggle for their real identity and real home after their spouse's death always remain.

Stereotype and Tolerance

From the mysterious rape case of Nirmala Panta to acid attack survivor Muskhan Khatun, all these numerous Nepalese girls have been gone through this pain only because of the sick and superior mentality who tends to regard as "Women are weak". For some men in Nepalese society, women are only the object to shows their toxic masculinity. As per UNFPA Nepal, 2020, physical abuse affected one in five women between the ages of 15 and 49. According to 31 percent of the male respondents, hitting their wives for disobedience is acceptable. Around 66 percent of victims of gender-based violence have not contacted anyone for assistance or had any conversations about putting up a fight or ending the violence they encounter.

Females are always taught to express less and tolerate more in our Nepali society. Despite of being victim, they neglect the situation due to the fear to express. In Nepali society, there is the myth called "*keti manche vayera dherai bolnu hudaina*" which means girl should not speak much, other than that you will be considered as manner less girl or that one who does not learn anything from their parents. This is the main cause of the abuse and molestation that many women experience on a regular basis. When considering the current situation, it is disturbing to see how Nepalese women are being mistreated. Bullying, fat shaming, taunting, teasing, clumping together women in public, and head-to-toe staring are surprisingly widespread yet still unchecked. Rape, assault on public transportation, domestic violence, harassment, and acid attacks against women are continually perpetuating. According to the most recent information from the Women,

Children, and Senior Citizen Service Center of Nepal (WCSCSCN) during the fiscal year 2077/078, there were roughly 2321 rape instances reported. In 2020–21, there were reported 735 attempted rapes. Every day, approximately seven women and girls were raped in the nation, according to a 2021 report from the Nepal Police, with the majority of these crimes including different types of violence being committed by neighbors, family members, and acquaintances (see in Table 1). The topic of marital rape is a novel and mostly unacknowledged concept in a patriarchal nation like Nepal where marriage is viewed as a privilege to have sexual contact with one's wife with or without consent (Dulal, 2022).

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Experience Different Types of Violence

Socio demographic	Physical violence (%)	Emotional violence (%)	Sexual violence (%)	Others violence (%)	Number of Women
Women's age					
15-24	17.7	9.5	7.3	21.5	832
25-29	22.4	12.2	7.2	24.9	671
30-49	24.8	13.5	6.9	28.6	2,059

Source: NDHS 2016 Data Files; Malla, 2021

The table presents the age specific experience of different types of violence i.e. physical, emotional, and sexual and the others. 30-49 age groups experienced the most of the violence of all among three age groups. The age group of 15-24 endured the highest level of sexual violence.

Rebellers of Stereotype

Women can do great things in life if given the right opportunities and encouragements. For that, first and foremost step is to challenge society's gender stereotyping. There are many historical figures (rebellers) who defied all odds of the society, like Queen Elizabeth who governed the United Kingdom for 60 years, Mother Teresa who won a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1979, and Florence Nightingale, who cared for wounded troops during the Crimean War. Similar to this, Pasang Lhamu Sherpa, who became the first Nepali woman and the second person in the world to summit Mount Everest; Anuradha Koirala, who was named CNN's Hero of the Year in 2010; Puspa Basnet, who was named CNN's Hero of the Year in 2012 are truly inspirational women (Rebellers of gender stereotype) in the context of Nepal. These are the true example that daughters should receive the same praise, inspiration, and motivation to discover their strengths through being rebellers of stereotype. Education can play vital role to alter people psychologically and change attitude about women as well as it can empower the women to advocate for themselves to uphold their fundamental rights (such as the speech and expression rights, the right against untouchability and discrimination, etc.) of women. In doing so, just society can be

emerged where men and women are perceived and treated equally against gender stereotypes and maintain gender neutral society.

Conclusion

Gender stereotype has affected females throughout their life and is becoming the major cause of gender discrimination and gender inequity. It entrenches in cultural belief, value, norms and predominantly rooted in the mind sets of Nepali people and forwarded to generation to generation as a culture and tradition. As a result, many people don't even realize that they are following the wrong practices over their lives. From ancient *Sati Prathaa* to recent dowry violence, mensuration taboo, increasing rape cases and abuses, this only reflects upon the Nepali women true position from past to present. Unless and until, such gender stereotypes do not detach from the society, it will always make women suffer as well as no education and law will affect in gender equality, women empowerment and justice etc. The provision of good education, equal praise, inspiration, and motivation to both child (son and daughter) starting from their parents can help them build gender neutral attitude in the future. The discouragement to the excuses like "boys are like that" to hide the wrong doing and misbehave of the son can help men to maintain right attitude in future. Effective implementation of gender right and gender equality related inter/national policies instruments can create the just society. However, eradicating these gender stereotypes is possible with sense of self and rebelling quality by empowering themselves and go against all forms of gender stereotypes which must be conceptualized and realized by the women including men in Nepalese society.

References

- Agars, M. D. (2004). Reconsidering the impact of gender stereotypes on the advancement of women in organizations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(2), 103-111. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00127.x>
- Becker, Mary (1999). "Patriarchy and inequality: Towards a substantive feminism," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1999: Article 3. <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1999/iss1/3>
- Bennett, L. (1983). *Dangerous wives and sacred sisters: Social and symbolic roles of high-caste women in Nepal*. Columbia University Press.
- Center for Research on Environment, Health, and Population Activities [CREPHA]. (2017). *Annual report*.
- Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS]. (2011). *Statistical year book*. Government of Nepal.
- Clarke, K., Saville, N., Shrestha, B., Costello, A., King, M., Manandhar, D., Osrin, D. & Prost, A. (2014). Predictors of psychological distress among postnatal mothers in rural Nepal: A cross-sectional community-based study. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 156, 76-86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2013.11.018>
- Dhakar, B. (2018). Statistical trends in literacy rates in Nepal. *IOSR Journal of Applied Chemistry (IOSR-JAC)*, 11 (11[1]), 71-77. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335107114>
- Dhungana, R. K. (2014). Nepali Hindu women's thorny path to liberation. *Journal of Education and Research*, 4(1), 39-57. <https://doi:10.3126/jer.v4i1.10013>
- Dulal, T. (2022). Increasing trend of sexual assault cases in Nepal. *Journal of Population and Development*, 3(1), 158-168. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jpd.v3i1.48817>

- Gabreil, A. (2002). *1995 Beijing platform for action on education: Towards a sustainable development of Nigerian Women*.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274077298>
- Gupta, T., Puri, M., Onta, K., Stein, D., Shrestha, B., Wagle, K. & Heilman, B. (2021). *Masculinity, violence against women, and justice-seeking in Nepal*.
<https://bit.ly/3jciRKm>
- Haughton, J. & Haughton, D. (1995). Son preference in Vietnam. *Studies in Family Planning*, 26(6), 325-337. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2138098>
- Haviland, M. J., Shrestha, A., Decker, M. R., Kohrt, B. A., Kafle, H. M., Lohani, S., Surkan, P. J. (2014). Barriers to sexual and reproductive health care among widows in Nepal. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 125(2), 129–133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgo.2013.10.021>
- Himalayan Times (2019). *Nepal is showing strong desire for male child*.
<https://bit.ly/3uVkuik>
<https://bit.ly/3j9JPCu>
- Lindsey, L. L. (2010). *Gender roles: A sociological perspective* (5th ed.). Pearson.
- Malla, R. (2021). State of domestic violence against ever married women In Nepal. *Voice of Teacher*, 6(1), 133–150. <https://doi.org/10.3126/vot.v6i1.44075>
- Martin, C. L., Ruble, D. N. & Szkrybalo, J. (2002). Cognitive theories of early gender development. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(6), 903–933. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.128.6.903>
- McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., & Whiteman, S. D. (2003). The family contexts of gender development in childhood and adolescence. *Social Development*, 12(1), 125–148. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00225>
- Ministry of Health [MoH], New ERA, & ICF (2017). Nepal 2016 demographic and health survey key findings. Government of Nepal. <https://bit.ly/2VLT3n1>
- Ministry of Health, Nepal; New ERA; and ICF. 2017. Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2016. Kathmandu, Nepal: Ministry of Health, Nepal
- My Republica. (2022). *Dowry still killing dreams in Nepal's Tarai*. <https://bit.ly/3WnKSwR>
- Nepal Economic Forum [NEF]. (2022). *Global gender gap index 2022 – Assessing Nepal's progress global gender gap index 2022*. <https://bit.ly/3jaKT9k>
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. [OHCHR]. (2014). *Gender stereotypes and Stereotyping and women's rights*. <https://bit.ly/3W7Diqs>
- O'reilly, K. (2005). *Ethnographic methods*. London: Routledge.
- Rai, P., Paudel, I. S., Ghimire, A. (2014). Effect of gender preference on fertility: Cross-sectional study among women of Tharu community from rural area of eastern region of Nepal. *Reprod Health*, 11(15), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1742-4755-11-15>
- Ridgeway, C. L. & Balkwell, J. (1997). Groups and the diffusion of status value beliefs. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60(1), 14-31. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2787009>
- Ruble, D. N., Martin, C. L. & Berenbaum, S. (2006). Gender development. In N. Eisenberg, W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Social, emotional, and personality development* (pp. 858–932). John Wiley & Sons.

- Sharma, H. (2022). *World literacy day 2022: Challenges for Nepal*. <https://bit.ly/3PyJ6ae>
- Sultana, A., & Lazim, A. S. (2011). Gender Studies in Teacher Education: An Empirical Research. *Asian Social Science*, 7(12), 168-174. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272692116>
- Suter, C. (2006). *Trends in gender segregation by field of work in higher education*. OECD.
- The Guardian (2022). *Iranian woman dies 'after being beaten by morality police' over hijab law*. <https://bit.ly/3W72nll>
- The Himalayan Times* (2019). 15 girls, women died in chhausheds in 13 yrs. <https://bit.ly/3W6qZuI>
- UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office (2011). *Chaupadi in the Far-West*
- UN Women (2022). *The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women*. <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>
- UNFPA Nepal (2020). *Gender-based violence prevention and response project II*.
- Weinraub, M., Clemens, P. L., Sockloff, A., Ethridge, T., Gracely, E., & Myers, B. (1984). The development of sex role stereotypes in the third year: Relationships to gender labeling, gender identity, sex-typed toy preference, and family characteristics. *Child Development*, 55, 1493–1503. <https://doi:10.1111/1467-8624.ep7303030>
- Yadav, P. (2016). White sari—transforming widowhood in Nepal. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 20(1), 1–24. <https://doi:10.1177/0971852415618748>