

## Socio-cultural Factors and Perception of Women Towards Menstruation Restrictions in Siddharthanagar Municipality, Rupandehi

Naba Raj Dhakal<sup>1</sup> and Kavita Thapa<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

Menstruation is purely a biological process- normal vaginal bleeding. However, it is perceived social taboos that restrict the women in various ways in their private and public life. The restrictive practices prevalent in Hindu culture consider the women as impure and unclean in the periods. This research article intends to explore the social and cultural factors that push the women to the position of pollution. In addition, this article also explores the perceptions and experiences of menstruating women. The semi-structured interview schedule has been applied for collecting information from Dogara and Ghanda Tole, Bhairahwa, Rupandehi that comprises both Madhesi and hilly of women aged between 12 to 24, representatively selected using purposive sampling. This research argues that menstruation restrictions, especially from entering into kitchen, worshipping the temples and many more are not followed out of the will of the women. However, Patriarchal mindset of society and family, traditional stereotypes, religious dogma etc are imposed upon women aiming to compel them to follow the discriminatory practices which come out of the sense of fearfulness and shamefulness. The finding of this research is significant for the field of social Science such that it provides an approach to comprehend the social and cultural dimensions of the taboos in the form of menstruation restrictions.

**Keywords:** Patriarchy, Impure, Social Taboos, Religion and culture, Tradition. Shamefulness

### Menstruation Restriction as the Social Taboos

Menstruation can be perceived as a normal vaginal bleeding that occurs as a part of women's monthly cycle. This is biological process. However, the process is socially produced and reproduced reinforced by the divergent patterns of societies. Therefore, the experiences of woman differ contextually. However, factual data on women's perceptual on menstrual practices and restriction are scare (Mukherjee, 2020).

1. Bhairahawa Multiple Campus, TU., Email: [nabrajdhakal111@gmail.com](mailto:nabrajdhakal111@gmail.com)

2. SOS Small Group Home, Lumbini, Email: [thapakavita25@gmail.com](mailto:thapakavita25@gmail.com)

Article history: Received on: Oct. 9, 2024; Accepted on: Dec. 28, 2024; Published on: Jan. 31, 2025  
Peer Reviewed under the authority of THE ACADEMIA, journal of NUTAN, central committee, Kathmandu, Nepal, with ISSN 2350-8671 (Print).



The lively experiences of menstruating girls differ as per the awareness, attitude, socio-cultural set up, financial status and peer circle. The taboos, secrecy and embarrassment associated with discussing menstruation Hindus adolescents from seeking advice from parents and teachers on appropriable (MHM) practices (Shah, 2019). Instead of understanding as the development of women into adulthood, menstruation is aligned with the sense of shamefulness. Menstruating women are taught mainly in Hindu communities to remain silent over the issues of menstruation. Moreover, restrictions are imposed upon them. Therefore, menstruation is scarcely discussed openly due to mostly negative social and religious belief about the females which treats them as spiritually polluted during her periods (Mukherjee et al, 2018).

Various menstrual practices supported by social and religious beliefs indicate that menstruation is evil and unclean. Such beliefs influence community members' attitude towards adolescent girls and adult women. This attitude leads to constitution of practices such as isolating menstruating girls from family members and sending them to relatives' house for certain days. Nepali Hindus forbid menstruating women from entering kitchen or temples, touch a male relative even to share and touch her own husband. The practice of 'chhaupadi' can be taken as one of the existing stigma for the modern society. It involves the sequestering of women in sheds separate from their house. Based on study conducted in 16 different low and middle income countries from 2019 to 2020, Barrington and Hennegan et.al.,(2021) concludes that cross different cultures, menstruation is stigmatized and conceptualized as something that is "dirty " and "impure" and should be kept private.

Johnston-Robledo et al., (2007) state that these negative views toward menstruation and menstruating women are related to stigma and society's views of women in general. The socio-cultural belief regarding menstruation are so deeply ingrained in some societies in Nepal that women believe themselves to be impure they feel embarrassed of their natural body function and are fearful of being blamed and bringing bad fortune if they don't strictly follow the menstrual restrictions imposed on them by the society (Mukherjee, 2020).

Gurung (2023) notes that despite the significant challenges and barriers posed by menstruation taboos and stigma on the health and well-being of Nepali women and girls, this issue has received limited attention and remains under-researched in Nepal.

Thapa et al., (2019) stated that menstrual beliefs and practices are often culturally constructed.<sup>1</sup> In some cultures, menstruation is considered a sign of physical maturity and fertility; however, in some, it is considered a source of pollution and impurity. Menstruation is subjected to several forms of stigma in many communities. The women fear revealing about their periods, and hide it from the family members and, have restrictions in relation to daily activities.

Sapkota et al., (2013) report that traditional beliefs about menstruation continue to exist and that menstrual hygiene among adolescents is often inadequate. They emphasize the necessity for targeted interventions to increase awareness and provide family health education to all girls. Addressing menstrual hygiene is an issue that requires attention at all levels.

Mukherjee et al., (2020) explains that menstrual practices and beliefs are frequently shaped by gender, religion, and culture. In many regions, particularly in low and middle-income countries in Asia and Africa, menstruation is stigmatized or viewed as taboo. In Hindu communities, for instance, menstruating girls and women are often taught to endure their periods in silence. His perceptions and practices surrounding menstruation restrictions among urban females highlight the cultural beliefs and societal norms that dictate menstruation-related restrictions, which often limit women's participation in daily activities. However, this article wishes to explore what young women perceive about menstruation practices and what social factors significantly impact such perception of the women.

I hold the view that menstruation restrictions are not only psychological but a kind of direct and sometimes indirect threat created all around them. There are numerous rituals that pressurize the females to consider themselves as impure for certain days. By all the means the society keeps on making them much conscious over the days. It has set strict do and don'ts for females that compel other people to follow the restrictions for promoting purity. The family itself and its members are the first ones who set the boundaries. They teach the practices that must be followed by the females in the family. The chain starts from menarche to menopause. Hindu communities believe that women and girls can spread misfortune or impurity during menstruation. As a result, they may face restrictions on their day-to-day behavior, including prohibitions on attending religious ceremonies, visiting religious spaces, handling food, or sleeping at home. There are various restrictions imposed during mensuration. Various menstrual practices supported by social and religious beliefs indicate that menstruation is evil and unclean, such beliefs influence community members attitudes towards adolescent girls and adult females too, leading to practices such as isolating menstruating girls (menarche) from family members (especially males), sending them to relatives house for certain days following by various rituals.

Hindus follow the menstruation restrictions. Therefore, rituals and beliefs are highly prevailing and dominating in our society. The restrictions are imposed which isolates menstruating girls and limits their ability to interact and participate in community and religious activities which directly reduces their self-esteem and compels them to be the weaker sex. This reality obviously attracts the scholarly contribution concerning the field of menstruating taboos in Sociology.

This research is based on the field study of the women from 12 to 24 years old at Dogara and Ghanda Tole, Bhairahwa, Rupandehi. This follows the exploratory research design since the perception of women about menstruation restriction and its social and cultural factors are explored through the semi-structured interview schedule. The field work was conducted in July 2024. This research incorporated both quantitative and qualitative nature of information. For this research, 24 girls were selected using purposive sampling to account for the diversity of the population. This sampling method allowed the researcher to select participants based on specific qualities required for the study and was useful for exploring cultural domains through knowledgeable experts (Tongco, 2007). The selection aimed to ensure proper representation of both hilly and Madhesi girls, with an equal number of girls from each regional identity included in the study. Additionally, the researcher had only chosen the Hindu girls since this practice exists. Upon visiting the ward office in the religious community, the researcher obtained the village profile, which provided valuable information for identifying the religious affiliations of the girls and their respective age groups.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Patriarchy**

Patriarchy is considered a social structure and the practices that places the male at the center of power who plays the role to dominate, oppress and subjugate the women. Therefore, the males are the leading entities in societies (Walby, 1990). The practice of patriarchy rests on the assumption that male has maintained the hegemony of power that sets them at the top of social hierarchy and they get the license to control over the female body politic as per their desire (Acker, 2006). He writes, "Patriarchy is structural relation between men and women roots in male dominance which is found primarily in family" (p.22). The International Nepalese Youth Forum (2008) maintains that patriarchy is commonly held belief in Nepal as is the case around the world. The experiences of madhesi women is more extreme than the participants of hilly women. Madhesi Participants shared the experiences that they are strictly restricted to look at the face of male members during period. They are always blamed for the illness of their brothers when they are found looking at the brothers. Ratan Kumari, one of the Madhesi Participants whose real name is hidden to protect her privacy responded that her younger brother fell ill soon after her first period. Her father blamed her for her carelessness to see her brother. Such blame griped her mind with fear. However, she could not respond to the blame. She kept silence to desperation. She suffered physical punishment for alleged action for which she was not responsible at all. Another Madhesi participant admits that such practices still exist in her communities. The negative attitude of her parents still put her in pressure

at periods To bar them from the contact with male students, they remain absent in schools for four days that hamper their studies. The attitude of teachers in schools is also not welcoming for them. They are suggested to stay at home during periods. A society that establishes male chauvinism tends to impose inequality, discrimination and violent activities.. Though the situation on gender inequality has come a long way now, still social restriction on menstruations persist. However, there are lots of changes in case of women getting out of domesticated walls of the house particularly in hilly participants. The equal opportunities for the labor force are not still practiced in our country. The menstruation restrictions are rather flexible in their communities. Expect the restrictions in worshipping the temple and cooking in the kitchen, they are allowed to perform other tasks such as going to schools, looking at the face of male members. The experiences of both madhesi and hilly married women in terms of cohabitation with their husband is somehow similar. They shared that they need to sleep in another bed during periods and they hesuete for sexual intercourse. They note that their husbands are cooperative. However, in laws always keep on eye to check whether they are sleeping in separate bed. They keep alert about the restrictions since they are prone to be blamed for any alleged damage in the family members. They have experiences of being restricted from putting Tika at Dashain during periods. Therefore, they take medicine to stop periods for some days to be together with their family at such festive celebration. The participants responded that they are imposed upon with the discriminatory practices as the menstruation restrictions whereas this is just the biological process. They perceive that menstruation restrictions are product of patriarchal thought because they can have physical attachment with the female members whereas male members are out of their reach. The parents always penetrate the conception of purity and impurity in their mind, most of the participants remarked.

So, it is evident that as the menstruations practice neglects the fundamental rights of the women and prohibits the women from living a safe and dignified language by imposing girls from attending schools during periods because of continuity of patriarchal beliefs and relationships, the girls from the city areas like Bhairahawa are forced to exercise menstruation taboos.

The opinions of the participants based on educational level are divergent. The women who are yet to have their SEE are found to be ignorant about the restrictions. They maintain restrictive practices because they are suggested to do so. They are afraid of potential harm to their male members and their own future potential as continuously suggested by the family members. In contrast, those having their universities degree consider the male supremacy for such discriminatory practices. They further share that to prove the virility of males, females are pushed to the notion of impurity which is falsely constructed against the scientific foundation. They have the opinion that menstruation is the cradle of human civilization. The moment of periods should be

the moment of celebration. As Tyson (2014) regards that women are atomized element being crushed at the ideology of patriarchy? They sometimes may not feel that they are endowed with oppression which they are destined to worship in the name of fate. Therefore as the participants responded that they are forced to choose menstruation practices reflecting that they own the impure blood at this particular moment. They are in other words treated in the way that this is all about the natural creation and nobody can withdraw from what is constructed.

### **Tradition**

The participants shared during interview that they are worried about the restriction in performing prayers and engaging in kitchen. Lila kumari Pandey, a Madhesi participant aged 24 recalled her heat debate with her mother at her periods. Her mother suggested her to strictly follow the practices. She also shared that this is tradition being followed from generation long back. The participants strongly opposed her mother views as she grew up. However, she could not be able to avoid it though she perceives that restrictions are superstitious beliefs.

In similar vein, Punam Pandey, a participant of the study shares that she becomes the cursor for damage of the family reputation if not followed the restrictions as per the superstitious beliefs of her family. However, the so called consequences have never happened to her family. Therefore, she came to understand that this is all falsely postulated rules to keep on the tradition. Her mother has taught her from her childhood that if she does not follow the restrictions, disaster, terrible diseases like cholera diarrhea and natural calamities like landslides and heavy rain will cause the discomfort to the human lives. This also may invite premature death and accident. Entering the temple not obeying the traditional beliefs, they may have to face the death and they can get unconscious and may lose the eyesight. These are the lessons taught to the girls from the very beginning of their life which exists in their mind that forces them follow the restriction during menstruations. Sabita Sitaula aged 23 from representing the hilly community makes it clear that though women have achieved academic degree and engaged in professional life, the restrictions still persist that have brought the risk to the girls' self- confidence and blocked the way of progress of society towards the path of advancement. In addition, Khusbo Thapa shares:

We are unable to breach the rules of tradition though we are educated. We are imposed with the fear of terror forcibly created in our mind. The changes are started to manifest in the slow pace but they are unable to develop their agency to resist the basis of the perceptions of the women. Until the women raise the voices against the injustice they are compelled to encounter, the hope of improvement in this condition is not in near future.

## **Religion and Culture**

Social restrictions during menstruation is based on the Hindu ideology in Nepal (Crawford et al., 2014). Hindu ideology rests on the assumption of purity and pollution. Menstruation practices in the researched area exists on the basis of impurity. This impurity is closely associated with the notion of caste system that has ranked the people on the certain hierarchical ladder (Sukumar, 2020). In Hindu practices, menstruation is regarded as unclean and impure moment. On this context, women are imposed with the restriction. Many social and cultural taboos are practiced pertaining to the Hindu culture (Khadka, 2014). The blending of religion and culture together brings religious superstitions in place. This shows the male domination, high social status and on the other hand, deteriorating condition of women (Ranabhat et al., 2015). The practice of purity and pollution also links the Hindu ideology with the gendered inequality. Miscarriages, birth, death and menstruation are considered impure. The paradox is that worshiped as goddess sometimes, women are defamed with the status of impurity. Their conversion from purity to impurity is the hilarious condition for the women. Women are deprived of interacting with the brothers in the first periods. They are either taken to the house of relatives or neighbors to keep them out of sight and interaction. However, the practice of menstruation restrictions vary among the participants based on the caste identification. Rupa Khatri aged 22 representing Chhetri caste said, "in the first period, my mother took me to the house of one of my relatives to hide for seven days. I came back home after the seven days of seclusion and purified with water touched with gold." However, the practice has come a long way. She added, "Now, I do not touch kitchen utensils and worshipping rooms. But, I am not taken out of home during periods". The experience of Madhesi Bhamin women has showed that situation has not changed. Hina Mishra (24) is not allowed to the range of activities like touching the utensils, male members, entering worshipping rooms and eating self-served. Once returning home from schools, she felt hungry and ate the meal kept in kitchen since other members were absent. After learning her self-served incident, her mother freaked out. She said you would have to bear the potential harm cause to your brother and father for forbidden behavior. She said, "Fortunately, nothing happened and she was safe."

There is another practice of religious assumptions targeted to the lower caste people. They are prohibited to enter the upper caste houses based on their so called caste superiority. They are charged on the ground of their food culture that they eat dirty things like beef. Bimala BK shared:

Once she felt thirsty at her period while returning from schools, she happened to drink water to the public tap which one of her upper caste friends revealed the secret about her menstruation, she was beaten by the upper caste women. She was also scolded by her family that left her frightened and harassed.

The impurity that is applied to the lower caste people in many grounds also align with the girls' menstruation. Menstruation is linked with the religions. Therefore, on the

ground of impurity, woman has to follow restrictions. They have to go in isolation that is meant to hide from the sight of family members for the certain period of time from the family members. The cultural mindset relating to the religions is very difficult to alter.

### **Educational Adversary**

I believe a key reason for the persistence of menstruation-related cultural practices is the lack of sex education. The participant women felt that In Nepal, sex education is largely overlooked in schools, and menstruation is often treated as a source of shame, fear, and ridicule. Discussions about it are rarely initiated by teachers. What is more, female teachers themselves follow the restrictions. Rima Kumari shared her experience that one of her female teachers in the class motivated students not to follow the restrictions. However, in private conversation, she suggested the girls to accept it. This is enough to show the double standard of the teachers. Although the topic of bodily changes during adolescence is introduced in the ninth grade (around ages 14-15), most girls start menstruating by sixth or seventh grade (around ages 11-12) (Gajurel, December 2019). This delay means that many girls miss the opportunity to learn essential information about menstruation, including hygiene and nutrition. Gajurel further notes that when purchasing sanitary pads, shopkeepers—regardless of gender—wrap them in newspaper, emphasizing the stigma surrounding these products (ibid). To address this issue, I believe menstruation education should be integrated into the school curriculum to enhance understanding of bodily changes and their implications. If both males and females are educated about menstruation, it may help diminish traditional practices and change societal attitudes.

### **Types of Restrictions and Perception of Women**

In the schedule interview, participants were asked about their perceptions about different activities to be followed during menstruation. Their response was mixed which is mentioned in the following table.

#### ***Types of Restriction and Perception of study Participants***

**Table 1**

Perceptions of Restrictions (in percent)	Agree	Disagree	Silent	percent
It matters while touching the male members	16.66	75	8.34	100
Sleeping in separate bed	20.8	70.8	8.4	100
Not attending the public activities	4.1	91.6	4.3	100
Not performing the Puja	37.5	58.33	16.66	100
Not cooking	16.66	79.16	4.16	100



Table 1 shows the types of restrictions and perceptions of women about the practice. 75 percent of participants responded that they disagreed about the beliefs of causing harm to male members if touched during menstruations. Therefore, touching during periods should be allowed. This indicates the growing consciousness of women about the restrictions. 16.66 percent of participants believed that touching the male members during period is proper and should be followed. Likewise, 70.8 percent of participants disagreed sleeping in separate bed at periods. Similarly, 91.6 percent of the participants disagreed not attending the public activities. In similar light, majority of the participants disagreed not performing puja and cooking during periods.

The table above indicates the perception of participants on whether the menstruation restriction is pure or impure. For those who hold the view that it is impure responded that certain restrictions are to be followed to maintain purity whereas the participants believing that purity is only imposed upon them without any scientific ground should be scrapped. The restriction is just meaningless and women are free to do whatever they wish for during periods. Therefore, this is meaningless. As this biological process is inevitable, it occurs at specific age to all the girls. It is something driven by hormones in female body. The participants who hold the view that impurity is meaningless further adds that there is nothing that female should feel shame about menstruation. There is difference between the rituals, culture on the basis of religion and the ethnic groups. It is celebrated as special occasion which leads girls towards gaining ability to child birth. It is something powerful and magical. There is some openness in perceptions and belief over the menstruation.

Menstruation is always been surrounded with different myths and taboos. It is something that should be kept in secrecy. Purity believing participants have the opinion that it brings impurity and thus, considered as uncleanness. Several tales characterize menstrual blood as punishment for sin. This belief is originated from Hindu mythology that the restrictive practices are performed to protect others from harm and bad fortune. Majority of participants are vocal to the negative attitude of menstruation restrictions. They believe that menstruating women are cursed and are separated from others. They are isolated from others and are not allowed to participate in any ceremonies and conduct rituals. As a result, they are prevented from various regular tasks including prayer and visiting temples, bathing in or drinking from common water sources, entering kitchen and touching peoples and articles. They are also prevented from socializing and eating certain foods. Some participants feel embarrassed of their natural body function and are fearful of being blamed bringing bad fortune if they don't strictly follow the menstrual restrictions imposed on them by the society.

## Shamefulness and Respect

It represents the perception of the girls related to their mensuration. Some of them may take it as a dirty and shameful thing whereas some consider it as a simple biological process which is very unique in itself.

### *The State of Shamefulness and Respect*

**Table 2**

The State of Shamefulness and Respect percentage	Frequency	
Shameful( Dirty)	3	12.5
Blessed (Conception)	15	62.5
Bothering (Accusation)	6	25
Total	24	100

### *Field Survey, 2024*

Table 2 indicates the response of study participants about the menstruation restrictions. 62.5 percent have the opinion that to have menstruation is the matter of blessing because without menstruating, conception is not possible. However, 25 percent argue that the moment of period is bothering because certain things as mentioned in first table are not allowed. In case, the abandoned activities are undertaken, accusations are directed towards women like potential harm to family members. Only 12.5 percent of study participants responded that menstruation practices are to strictly be followed since bleeding may cause dirt. Majority of participants shared that they did not consider menstruation as dirty or shameful as they have periods. It is normal and it prepares girl's body for reproduction. It represents puberty and prepares females body for child birth. Some people despite the reality that the menstrual cycle is a biological necessity, there are prevalent attitudes in many people in the society who believe menstruation is dirty and shameful. The society treats the female from a very narrow perspectives where it symbolizes it as a pollution. The females go through the rituals to make them pure by following social restrictions.

Lee & Sasser-Cohen (1996) state that menstrual blood has most commonly been tied to notions of pollution, danger and evil, which has compelled certain societies to consider this biological process a 'taboo'. Academic literature suggests that menstrual taboos exist to protect the community from menstruating women – who are alleged to be dirty and contaminating. Small number of study participants shared that the blood, mucus and dead cells produce bad smell.so it is dirty. Not only had this but the way they are treated also made them feel so. The traditional restrictions are set to free themselves from curse that can bring misfortune in the family for all. They consider themselves dirty on their menses. So they purify themselves by taking

bath on specific days they isolate themselves from kitchen and don't use articles in common. They have their own belief over the practice and follow them blindly. It suggests superstitious beliefs still exist in the study population. However, this is not influential being compared to those who argue that this is the momentary blessing and to those who do not intend to cling to the dogma, yet afraid of being accused for the harm caused to other family members.

## **Conclusion**

The research highlights that the persistence of patriarchal and cultural norms around menstruation has profound implications on the lives of women in Nepal. Despite advancements in education and social awareness, many women, especially those from Madhesi communities, continue to face severe restrictions rooted in patriarchal ideologies that label menstruation as impure. These practices, fueled by a combination of religious, cultural, and social beliefs, undermine the dignity, confidence, and rights of women. Restrictions such as avoiding male interactions, skipping school, and isolation during menstruation significantly hinder women's education, professional growth, and overall well-being. Furthermore, the perpetuation of these taboos through family teachings and societal pressure reinforces gender-based discrimination and limits opportunities for women to challenge the status quo.

While some progress has been observed, particularly among women with higher education levels and those from hilly regions, the overall pace of change remains slow. A majority of participants recognize menstruation as a natural biological process, rejecting the notion of impurity. However, deeply ingrained traditional beliefs still dominate the perspectives of a significant minority, perpetuating shame and stigma. The findings emphasize the need for comprehensive sex education and open discussions to challenge menstrual taboos and foster gender equality. Educating both men and women about menstruation could help dismantle harmful traditions, empower women, and encourage societal progress toward eradicating discriminatory practices. Achieving change requires a collective effort to address the intersection of education, culture, religion, and patriarchal norms.

## **References**

- Acker, J. (2006). *Class Questions: Feminist Answers*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Amatya, P., Ghimire, S., Callahan, K. E., Baral, B. K., & Poudel, K. C. (2018). Practice and lived experience of menstrual exiles (Chhaupadi) among adolescent girls in far-western Nepal. *PloS ONE*, 13(12), 1-17.
- Crawford, M., Menger, L. M., & Kaufman, M. R. (2014). This is a natural process: managing menstrual stigma in Nepal. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 16(4), 426-439.

- Gajurel, S. (2019, December 16). Ending the stigma of menstruation. *My Republica*, p. 5.
- Hennegan, J., Winkler, I. T., Bobel, C., Keiser, D., Hampton, J., Larsson, G., ... & Mahon, T. (2021). Menstrual health: A definition for policy, practice, and research. *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters*, 29(1), 31-38.
- Gurung, I. (2023). Menstruation stigma: A qualitative exploratory study of the lived experiences of Nepali women. *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. <https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/4105>.
- Johnson, M. E. (2021). Asking the menstruation question to achieve menstrual justice. *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law*, 41, 158-148.
- Khadka, N. (2020). Chhaupadi Pratha: Women's experiences and perceptions about social suffering. *Molung Educational Frontier*, 10(special issue), 81-92.
- Lee, J. & Sasser-Coen, J. (1996). *Blood Stories: Menarche and the Politics of the Female Body in Contemporary U.S. Society*. Routledge.
- Mukherjee, A., Lama, M., Khakurel, U., Jha, A. N., Ajose, F., Acharya, S., ... & Shrestha, S. (2020). Perception and practices of menstruation restrictions among urban adolescent girls and women in Nepal: a cross-sectional survey. *Reproductive Health*, 17, 1-10.
- Ranabhat, C., Kim, C. B., Choi, E. H., Aryal, A., & Doh, Y. A. (2015). Chhaupadi culture and reproductive health of women in Nepal. *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Health*, 27(7), 785-795.
- Sapkota, D., Sharma, D., Pokharel, H. P., Budhathoki, S. S., & Khanal, V. K. (2013). Knowledge and practices regarding menstruation among school going adolescents of rural Nepal. *Journal of Kathmandu Medical College*, 2(3), 122-128.
- Shah, V. (2019). *Hindu Culture and Lifestyle: Living Indian Traditions in the Age of Artificial Intelligence*. Notion Press.
- Sukumar, D. (2020). Personal narrative: caste is my period. *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, 137-142.
- Thapa, S., Bhattarai, S., & Aro, A. R. (2019). Menstrual blood is bad and should be cleaned: A qualitative case study on traditional menstrual practices and contextual factors in the rural communities of far-western Nepal. *SAGE Open Medicine*, 7, 1-9.
- Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *A Journal of Plants, People and Applied Research*. Ethnobotany Research and Applications.
- Tyson, L. (2014). *Critical Theory Today: A User-friendly Guide*. Routledge.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford.