LASER PULSE

Long-term Assistance and Services for Research (LASER)
Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine (PULSE)

UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL INCLUSION AND GENDER EQUALITY IN NEPAL THROUGH THE LENS OF TIME USE DATA

SUPPLEMENT TO AGREEMENT NO. AID-7200AA18CA00009

AOR Name: Brent Wells

May 31, 2023

AUTHORS

Mukta S. Tamang, Tribhuvan University
Phanwin Yokying, East-West Center

ABOUT LASER PULSE

LASER (Long-term Assistance and SErvices for Research) PULSE (Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine) is a $70M program funded through USAID's Innovation, Technology, and Research Hub, that delivers research-driven solutions to field-sourced development challenges in USAID partner countries.

A consortium led by Purdue University, with core partners Catholic Relief Services, Indiana University, Makerere University, and the University of Notre Dame, implements the LASER PULSE program through a growing network of 3,000+ researchers and development practitioners in 74 countries.

LASER PULSE collaborates with USAID missions, bureaus, and independent offices, and other local stakeholders to identify research needs for critical development challenges, and funds and strengthens the capacity of researcher-practitioner teams to co-design solutions that translate into policy and practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The successful completion of this research was made possible with the valuable support of various institutions and the efforts of individuals. We would like to extend our sincere thanks to all for their contributions. Over 7,000 women and men from Bagmati and Madhesh Province with different social backgrounds shared their information, experiences, and insights for this research. We express our deep gratitude to the participants for their time and contributions to this research even when the COVID-19 pandemic continues to cause stress.

We extend our thanks to the LASER PULSE program team at Purdue University. We are grateful to Pallavi Gupta, Program Director, Betty Bugusu, Technical Director, Pamela McClure, Research Project Manager, Laura Riddering, Research Translation Advisor, Frederick Rossi, Knowledge Management & Performance Monitoring Specialist and Ruth Nsibirano, Gender Specialist for their valuable support and guidance to the research. Special thanks and appreciation go to Suzanne Jeanette Cyr and Chris Wang for their kind assistance and support to the work.

We are deeply thankful to Nathan Tumuhamye, Director of Operations, Angella Atukunda, Engagement Officer, Harriet Adong, Communications Specialist, Anthony Ssebagereka, Research Officer based in Resilient Africa Network (RAN) led by Makerere University, Uganda for their valuable support with mindfulness of meticulous details in implementing the work. The support from the LASER and RAN team extended from research design, technical monitoring, and reviews of the progress as the work evolved during the entire period of the project.

This study was carried out with the generous support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). We would like to express our deep gratitude to Siena Fleischer LASER PULSE Alt-AOR Education Officer, Foreign Service Officer who also visited Nepal during the project execution phase in 2022 for her support. Special thanks and appreciation go to Manju Thapa Tuladhar, Gender Equality Social Inclusion Adviser at USAID/Nepal for her untiring assistance through her sustained pursuit of the agenda of gender equality and social inclusion in Nepal over the last two decades.

At Tribhuvan University, we are grateful to Prof. Dharma Kant Baskota, Vice Chancellor for ensuring an enabling environment for this work. We express our special thanks to Prof. Kusum Shakya, Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and Dr. Dambar Chemjong, Head, Central Department of Anthropology at Tribhuvan University for all necessary administrative assistance for the project. We would like to thank Prof. Binod Pokharel and Jiban Mani Paudel as members of the Research Management Committee for monitoring, advising and ensuring the quality of work through reviews, monitoring and field visits. At East-West Center, we extend our special thanks to Dr. Satu Limaye, Vice President, Director of Research, and Director of the East-West Center in Washington for his valuable support.

Finally, our heartfelt thanks go to the field enumerators, supervisors, and Research Associates who collected information and provided inputs at various stages in the research. Credits are due to Dr. Yogendra Gurung and Mr. Mohan Khajum for assistance in sampling design and data management. We express our appreciation to Yasodha Shrestha, Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Specialist from Research Translation Partner SAGUN, for her input through the design of the research. We also thank the administrative staff members at the CDA office for taking the very important responsibility of everyday management for the work.

PREFACE

It is my pleasure to write this foreword for the study report on "Understanding Social Inclusion and Gender Equality in Nepal through the Lens of Time Use Data," carried out in collaboration between Tribhuvan University and East-West Center. Central Department of Anthropology (CDA) at Tribhuvan University has been involved in a series of systematic research on pertinent themes on Nepali society over the last 20 years. Social Inclusion and Gender Equality is one of the central themes that has anchored its research projects. This research report is the latest addition to the series.

The exclusion of people to participate meaningfully in the social, political and economic life of the society is the key reason for inequality and instability in Nepal. In order to deepen our understanding of the complex phenomenon of social exclusion and gender disparity, there is a need to study multiple dimensions of exclusion in comprehensive ways. Time allocation studies provide valuable insights into social exclusion and gender inequality by revealing patterns of time use and distribution of responsibilities by different sections of people. This study showcases the reality of excluded and included groups in terms of time use patterns, time poverty, and division of labor as an integral determinant of well-being and offers empirical evidence for policy recommendations to foster gender equality and social inclusion in Nepal.

The study is expected to help better understand social inclusion and gender equality through the lens of time allocation. In addition, I hope that it will be useful for promoting policies and programs for reducing time poverty of the excluded groups, especially women for building inclusive society at local, provincial and federal levels. I am also confident that it will be helpful for researchers, teachers and students for teaching, learning, and further research on time allocation in relation to the various facets of social exclusion and gender equality in Nepal.

Prof. Dr. Dharma Kanta Baskota
Vice-Chancellor
May 2023

FOREWORD

This report is a product of the State of Social Inclusion in Nepal: A Study of Time Allocation (SOSIN-SOTA) Project and is also the first study to employ time-use data to showcase and deepen awareness on the reality of two critical issues—social exclusion and gender inequality—that have been hampering the progress of Nepal's development and growth.

It has been widely recognized that social exclusion together with gender inequality deprive individuals of choices as well as social, economic, and political opportunities to escape poverty and attain an adequate standard of well-being. Due to their obvious implications, previous studies and development initiatives explore the impacts of these problems by largely looking at access to resources and services (e.g. employment, land, education, and health care).

Both social exclusion and gender inequality influence decisions on how individuals can allocate their labor and account for disparities in time use in paid labor market work, unpaid household responsibilities, leisure, and self-care activities. Their time-use patterns, in turn, affect time pressure, time poverty, and, ultimately, their livelihoods and well-being. This report explores the effects of social exclusion and gender inequality on time use in work and non-work activities along with time poverty, work intensity, and household division of labor among women and men from both high and low castes and ethnic groups. It also provides evidence-based policy recommendations to help include the excluded and cultivate inclusive governance.

Established by the U.S. Congress in 1960 to foster better relations and understanding among the people of the U.S., Asia, and the Pacific through policy-relevant research and dialogue, the East-West Center would like to thank USAID and LASER PULSE for recognizing the importance of understanding these issues through the lens of time-use data. Given that supporting good governance is an integral part of our priority areas, we are delighted to expand our partnership with Tribhuvan University on these important issues to help foster a more inclusive Nepal.

As such, I hope that this report will generate two impactful outcomes toward promoting good governance in Nepal. First, I hope that it will provide a richer understanding of how exclusion and inequality affect the different dimensions of time allocation. Second, I hope that this report will generate dialogue on approaches helping to reduce gender-and caste-based time disparities and time poverty among excluded individuals, especially women.

Dr. Satu Limaye
Vice President, Director of Research, and Director of the East-West Center in Washington
East-West Center

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ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CDA	Central Department of Anthropology
EWC	East-West Center
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDI	Gender Disparity Index
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
HDI	Human Development Index
LASER	Long-term Assistance and Services for Research
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTUS	Nepal Time Use Survey
PPI	Poverty Probability Index
PPS	Probability Proportional to Size
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
PULSE	Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine
RAN	Resilient Africa Network
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SOSIN	State of Social Inclusion in Nepal
SOTA	Study of Time Allocation
TU	Tribhuvan University
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee

Chapter 1: Introduction

Defining Social Exclusion and Action Plans on Social Inclusion

The concept of social exclusion originated from Europe in response to the potential of social disintegration because of social and economic crises in the early 1970s, and gradually took center stage and becomes the focus of academic and policy discussions and debates worldwide (Ghimire 2018). While the term has several definitions, social exclusion is typically defined as "a dynamic process of progressive multidimensional rupturing of the social bond at the individual and collective levels" (Silver 2007, 1). With social bonds reflecting social relations, institutions, and a sense of belonging that foster social cohesion, integration and solidarity, the rupture of such a bond involves an act of segregation, abandonment, assistance, marginalization, and/or discrimination (Silver 2007). Exclusion of individuals can be based on several characteristics or a multiplicity of disadvantages—class, caste, ethnicity, rice, gender, age, religion, political representation, physical abilities, or even geographic locations (Sen 2000).

In all societies, social exclusion impedes full participation in activities of a society and denies access to information, resources, identity, and recognition, deteriorating lives, livelihoods, and the well-being of excluded populations (Ghimire 2008). Social exclusion adds a dimension to understanding the condition of poverty, deprivation, and powerlessness (Tamang 2014). As such, the concept of social inclusion eliminates social exclusion by requiring participation from all members in the social processes and the nature of their relationships, demanding the end of the status quo of inequality, involving the principle of equality to address social issues, and cultivating respect of identity, sociability, and culture of all groups (Tamang 2014).

Since the late 1990s after the Maoist insurgency that urged commitment to class, caste, and gender equality and promulgated the concept of social exclusion throughout Nepal, the country has introduced national laws and policies aiming to promote inclusive participation of all its members (Tamang 2014). Nepal's current Constitution, which was promulgated in 2015, envisions an independent democratic state and inclusive society and is committed to eliminating discrimination associated with class, caste, region, religion, and gender. Its Fifteenth Five-Year Plan (2019/20-2023/24) aims to address inequality and exclusion issues and to end discrimination, poverty, and inequality by enhancing structures and systems to develop the capacity of individuals and groups to access resources and opportunities. Each of eight sectoral ministries has drafted and adopted their own gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) guidelines, while the Local Government Operation Act also adopts several provisions for fostering GESI in the functions of the local government (ADB 2020).

The country has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and joined the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, as well as the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The country has also put in place National Action Plans to address gender-based violence and human rights and is committed to the UN Sustainable Development Goals, which foster "a just, equitable, tolerant, open, and socially inclusive world in which the needs of the most vulnerable are met" (UNSDG 2023).

1.2 Current Trends in Social Exclusion and Gender Inequality in Nepal

Despite Nepal's progressive efforts towards an inclusive society, the prevailing patriarchal and patrilineal systems that portray consistent paternalistic behavior towards women together with religious ideologies that prescribe strict conventions, norms, and behaviors continue to nurture exclusionary practices against women and lower castes and ethnic groups (Tamang 2014; ADB 2020). Madheshi, Dalits, and Muslims face discrimination based on patriarchal values, stigmatization of cultural identity and language, caste

hierarchy and untouchability, skin tone, region, religion, gender, and continue to remain socially excluded. They still trail other non-excluded groups in important outcomes, including poverty, well-paid employment, land rights, education, health, access to social services, and political representation. As such, 42 percent of Dalit (43.6 percent of Hill Dalit and 38.2 percent of Terai Dalit) live below poverty, even though Nepal's poverty rate has declined dramatically to 25.2 percent (International Dalit Solidarity Network, 2021). The 2022 Nepal Demographic Health Survey indicates that 26 percent of women aged 15-49 have no education, compared to only 8 percent of men and that women are less likely to report that they have good or very good health than men (34 percent vs. 48 percent).

According to the 2018 Nepal's Social Inclusion Survey, women shoulder multiple and more work responsibilities, especially in household work, than men because of prevailing anti-egalitarian attitudes towards participation in income-generating activities and domestic and care tasks (CDA 2020). Such gender inequality is prevalent among those belonging to excluded groups, such as Madheshi Dalit and Indigenous groups. For instance, Hill Brahmin and Newar women and men demonstrated the most egalitarian attitudes towards women's household roles, while Madheshi Dalit, Madheshi OC Muslims, and Hill Dalit (both women and men) reported fewer egalitarian attitudes (CDA 2020). Given that the engagement in work, whether devoted to income-generation or household maintenance, constitutes an essential element of life, these issues of workload and division of labor apply to the livelihood and well-being of women and those from the excluded castes and ethnic groups.

1.3 Poverty, Time Poverty and Social Exclusion

Poverty has long been recognized as a constraint to development, making poverty eradication the center of international development discourse and action. The Government of Nepal, non-governmental organizations, and development agencies have implemented anti-poverty programs, such as the Karnali Employment Programme (KEP) and the Rural Enterprise and Economic Development Project, to raise living standards of poor households in rural Nepal (Government of Nepal 2012; World Bank 2022). Various assessments and research on Nepal's progress towards poverty reduction have also been regularly conducted (Uematsu et al. 2016). For most of these initiatives and analyses, poverty largely centers on income shortage; that is, poverty conventionally reflects inadequacy in monetary resources, leading to financial insecurity and poor living conditions. For instance, the international poverty line is currently set by the World Bank at $2.15 per person per day, and anyone living less than this threshold is in extreme poverty (World Bank 2022). Even though time is also a basic life necessity, and its lack thereof can cause adverse outcomes, especially for disenfranchised populations, time-based poverty is overlooked, while a reduction in time poverty rarely becomes a policy or development priority. The multi-dimensional poverty that aims to capture different aspects affecting impoverished individuals cannot encompass time as a source of deprivation (OPHI 2022).

Time, like income, is a basic and scarce resource that allows individuals to engage in economic and non-economic activities and affects all dimensions of life including livelihoods, access to resources and services, child development, productivity, and overall well-being (Rodgers 2023). Time-based poverty signifies the lack of time for rest and leisure activities due to prolonged work hours (Bittman, 2002; Goodin et al. 2008; Bardasi and Wodon 2010; Srivastava and Floro 2017; Bain et al. 2018). Income poverty is a key risk factor for time poverty (Rodgers 2023) such that time-and income-poor individuals inevitably work long hours in both paid and unpaid work to make ends meet. Substantial work hours and time poverty are closely associated with worsening physical and mental health, declines in agricultural outputs and productivity, and limited participation in social, political, and economic opportunities (Hyde et al. 2020). For example, Nepali women who must work to generate supplemental household income and are also involved in unpaid domestic and care tasks with limited outsourcing capacity or no access to labor-saving devices are likely to have high work intensity, to be time pressed, and lack sufficient time for their necessary rest. This leads to a perpetual process of social exclusion of an individual and social group.

1.4 Report and Project Descriptions

This report, "Understanding Social Exclusion and Gender Inequality in Nepal through the Lens of Time Use Data*"* showcases how social stratification influences an understudied outcome of time and labor allocation by using Nepal's sex-and caste-disaggregated time-use survey to understand a diverse aspect of time use. Using both quantitative and qualitative time-use data, we provide novel and comprehensive insights into not only time allocation in work and non-work activities but also household division of labor, work intensity, time poverty, and time-related barriers and challenges experienced by women and men from the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups in Nepal.

This report is a product of the State of Social Inclusion in Nepal: A Study of Time Allocation (SOSIN-SOTA) project, led by Dr. Mukta Tamang of Tribhuvan University's Central Department of Anthropology and Dr. Phanwin Yokying of the East-West Center (EWC). The SOSIN-SOTA project builds upon the State of Social Inclusion in Nepal (SOSIN) project, which was carried out by the Central Department of Anthropology, by adding time allocation as a new dimension to deepen our understanding of the current state of social inclusion and gender equality in Nepal. To meet the need for disaggregated time-use data and understanding allocation of labor, the SOSIN-SOTA project takes an initial step to produce the country's first sex-, caste-, and ethnicity-disaggregated data— the Nepal Time Use Survey (NTUS) — to measure and monitor social inclusion and raise awareness of Nepal's social, cultural, and linguistic diversity from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. More information on the NTUS can be found in the methodology section.

Understanding how women and men from high and low castes and ethnic groups use their time is essential for formulating, implementing, and assessing the country's action plans towards establishing an inclusive society and is of relevance to SDGs on achieving gender equality and women's empowerment and reducing inequalities. Time-use data uncovers the hidden time dimensions of social stratification by increasing our understanding of human behavior on how women and men across different social groups conduct their daily lives in economic activities as well as in activities not commonly examined, such as sleeping, leisure/sports, volunteering, and socializing in response to societal and religious norms and roles. Data on time use also exposes the time constraints and trade-offs faced by women and men from each social group. As such, time-use data provides a well-rounded and unique insight into women's and men's participation in economic, social, and cultural life—an essential element of social inclusion, gender equality, and overall well-being.

The report is organized as follows: Chapter 2 provides detailed information on the NTUS methodology and its sampling design. Chapter 3 relies on descriptive statistics to describe time use in each daily activity and its sub-activities by gender and social group. Chapters 4 and 5 use qualitative and relevant quantitative time-use data to explain household division of labor and workload and work intensity, respectively. Chapter 6 discusses time poverty situations and determinants of time poverty by gender and social group using descriptive and regression analyses. Chapter 7 highlights changes and time-related challenges faced by women and men from both the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups. Chapter 8 concludes with evidence-based policy recommendations.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The study combines quantitative and qualitative methods. Mixed method approach is an innovative design in social exclusion and time allocation study in Nepal. For both the quantitative and qualitative study, research instruments and a questionnaire for a sample survey were designed based on the research objectives. A survey was conducted in Bagmati and Madhesh Province for quantitative data collection. The qualitative information came primarily from in-depth semi-structured interviews, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and field observations. Qualitative study was conducted in selected locations within the studied provinces that are representative for the data collection.

2.1 Quantitative Study: The Nepal Time Use Survey

To foster a better understanding of time and labor allocation of women and men from the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups, the Nepal Time Use Survey (NTUS) records the time each sample individual spends on a variety of primary and secondary activities using a 24-hour diary divided into 10-min slots. These activities comprise eight main categories: satellite account work and related activities (paid labor market work), unpaid domestic services, unpaid caregiving services to household members, community services and help to other households, learning, socializing, community participation and religious practice, leisure and sports, and self-care and maintenance.

The NTUS also qualitatively captures work intensity, household division of labor, workload, and time-related barriers to achieving a work-life balance. In addition to time use data, the NTUS collects detailed socio-economic and demographic information, including age, sex, relationship to the household head, educational attainment, marital status, caste/ethnic group, household-level ownership of assets, employment status, occupation, income, geographical location of residence, and household composition.

The data was collected from August 2022 through September 2022 from two provinces: Madhesh and Bagmati. The survey design was led by Dr. Phanwin Yokying.

2.1.1 Sampling Framework

We relied on the findings of the SOSIN report entitled “State of Social Inclusion in Nepal: Caste, Ethnicity, and Gender” and collected time allocation data from the social groups that are ranked in the top and bottom quintiles of the Poverty Probability Index (PPI). According to the report (2020), the groups that belong in the top quintiles in terms of PPI are regarded as most included: Baniya, Brahmin – Hill, Brahmin – Tarai, Chhetri, Darai, Gharti/Bhujel, Gurung, Haluwai, Jirel, Kalwar, Kayastha, Newar, Rajput, and Tamang. The groups that are in the bottom quintiles and are considered the most excluded are: Badhae/Kamar, Bantar, Bing/Binda, Chamar/Harijan/Ram, Chepang, Damai/Dholi, Dhanuk, Dhobi, Dom, Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi, Hayu, Kami, Kewat, Khatwe, Kumhar, Lohar, Mallah, Musahar, Muslim, Nuniya, and Tatma. In total, we gathered sex-disaggregated time-use data from 35 castes and ethnic groups. Details on the PPI for each selected group can be found in Appendix I. The following table summarizes the inclusion status of the caste/ethnic groups included in this study by broad social category:

Table 2.1: Inclusion Status of the Caste/Ethnicity by Social Group

Social Group	Caste/Ethnicity	
	20 percent Most Excluded	**20 percent Most Included**
Dalit	Bantar/Sardar, Chamar/ Harijan/ Ram, Damai/Dholi Dhobi, Dom, Dusadh/Pasawan/Pasi, Kami, Khatwe, Musahar, Tatma/Tatwa	
Madheshi Other Caste	Badhaee, Bin, Kewat, Kumhar, Lohar, Mallaha, Nuniya	Baniya, Haluwai, Kalwar
Adivasi Janajati (Indigenous Groups)	Chepang, Dhanuk, Hayu	Darai, Gharti/ Bhujel, Gurung, Jirel, Newar, Tamang
Hill Brahmin/Chhetri		Brahman – Hill, Chhetri
Madheshi Brahmin/Chhetri		Brahman – Tarai, , Kayastha, Rajput
Muslim	Muslim	

Time-use data for these groups was gathered from Madhesh and Bagmati Provinces. The Madhesh Province was selected because almost all the bottom 20 percent of social groups are concentrated in this province, which lags other provinces in many development outcomes. According to the 2020 Human Development Index (HDI) report, Madhesh Province scores the lowest in the HDI and the Gender Disparity Index (GDI) and experiences the slowest progress in poverty reduction (GoN and UNDP 2020). We chose Bagmati Province because it has a higher concentration of the top 20 percent social groups and has made remarkable progress on all three basic dimensions of human development, along with gender parity and equality. Data collected from these two distinct provinces allow us to gain and provide comparative insights into disparities in time allocation.

2.1.2 Sample Selection

The survey follows a three-stage probability cluster design. In the first stage, we relied on the caste/ethnic disaggregation of the 2011 Census to identify a list of village development committees (VDCs) with at least 100 households belonging to each group. For a few castes and ethnic groups, we allow for VDCs with at least 50 households for each group. In the state restructuring that took place in 2017/2018, the VDCs were incorporated into new local level bodies, such as Rural or Urban Municipalities. We updated the VDCs list with the corresponding units in the new structure and verified them on the ground during the survey. Using this list for each group, ten VDCs as the primary sampling unit (PSU) were selected using a self-weighted technique of probability proportional to size (PPS) for each group to ensure that a cluster with a higher population has a higher probability of being selected.

In the second stage, the team visited the VDC offices to obtain a list of all villages (former wards) or settlements in each selected VDC and identify the number of households of each group identified by the selection of VDC. From each particular VDC, the village/settlement as a cluster with the highest number of households belonging to each group was selected.

In the third stage, from each selected village, households of a particular group were listed, and 20 households were chosen using the systematic random sampling technique. For each group, 10 clusters were selected to add up 100 households (20 households* 5 clusters). The enumerators interviewed two primary decision makers from each household—one male and one female. Female and male primary decision

makers aged 18-80 years old from selected households belonging to the targeted social groups in Madhesh or Bagmati Province (including internally displaced persons or refugees) were eligible to be interviewed.

Primary decision makers are defined as individuals who self-identify as the primary household members responsible for decision making within the household. They are typically the household head and his wife, yet there can be other members who are most knowledgeable about the current situations of their households and can answer most of the questions in the survey. For example, it could be the father of the household head and his oldest adult daughter. It could also be the case that there is only one primary decision maker in the household.

2.1.3 Sampling Weights and Size

Given that such a design is self-weighting, there is no need to use weight to adjust for over- or under-sampling. Yet, weight may be necessary for the adjustments of unequal probability of household selection. In such cases, we calculated sample weights for the sample size of each group based on the ratio of the number of households from each group in the national population to the 100 households in the sample using the census.

Each of the 35 groups was treated as a separate stratum. An equal sample size was drawn from each stratum irrespective of population size. We selected 100 households from each group. The targeted sample size was 3,500 households (35 domains*100 households/domain). Self-weighted sample design was planned within each group. For each social group, the sample size was calculated based on the following assumptions: maximum population variability of 0.5, 10 percent error margin, and 90 percent confidence level. In total, we interviewed 7,000 individuals from 3,500 households.

2.1.4 Selection and Training of Survey Personnel

Field enumerators along with field and quality control supervisors were drawn from the body of graduate and undergraduate students from Tribhuvan University's central campus in Kirtipur along with Tribhuvan University's constituent campuses in Madhesh. Students who were part of the SOSIN project and social science students were given priority during the recruitment period. To promote inclusion and empower both female and male students, our survey personnel were largely gender balanced. Students' participation in the project enabled them to gain practical training in field research, namely data collection.

All enumerators and field supervisors underwent rigorous training on project background, objectives, time-use data, survey questionnaires, tablets, other survey instruments, and problem solving in the field. The five-day training was divided into four main sessions. Session 1 focused on developing a strong understanding of the importance of time-use data, survey questionnaire and response choices, list of codes, sampling strategies, and essential interview techniques. Session 2 centered on understanding and building strong familiarity with the use of electronic tablets and the task of the upload and transfer of collected data. All survey personnel were briefed on appropriate methods of data cleaning, transporting, and storing the tablets to decrease the likelihood of damage occurring.

Pilot and cognitive testing took place in Session 3, which allowed all field personnel to visit households belonging to both excluded and included social groups to test survey instruments and identify outstanding issues, including problems with the wording of questionnaires. The pilot testing took place in Ramkot, Kathmandu. Session 4 involved group discussion of challenges in pilot and cognitive testing to resolve all observed problems and finalize survey questionnaires and related instruments. Written instructions along with contact details of team supervisors were provided to each enumerator.

2.1.5 Implementation of Field Data Collection

Each fieldwork team was deployed in a group of three comprising two enumerators and one supervisor. The supervisors handled coordination of interview activities of his or her team, including the assignment of households to the interviewers, reviewing each collected file, calling selected households to make sure the data is consistent and error free, and securely sending completed data files to the domains of work. The survey team was managed by Dr. Mukta Tamang, and the CSPro program and related technical issues are to be managed by our consultant, Mr. Mohan Khajum.

Each enumerator visited their assigned households and asked if the primary female and male decision makers of the household were willing and available for an interview. After identifying willing and available households to interview, enumerators read and obtained written informed consent from each respondent. If the primary and secondary decision makers were unavailable but were willing to participate in the interview, the enumerator re-visited the household(s) during the time both respondents were available for an interview. If both were absent, our teams asked when the best time to meet with them would be. If the selected household was unavailable, the next household would be selected for an interview.

Each enumerator collected all parts of the survey using the tablet in case a follow up needed to be made. Once the data was entered, the files were saved in an organized and searchable manner and ready to be checked by the field supervisor. Once the data was thoroughly checked for errors and consistency, it was sent to our main database after each fieldwork day.

2.1.6 Methods for Ensuring Data Quality

The SOSIN-SOTA project implemented two strategies to control the quality of our data: ex-ante and ex-post methods. Our ex-ante strategy involved incorporating logical strings and conditional clauses programmed into our electronic survey to ensure that appropriate responses were captured by enumerators. The CSPro program automatically refused responses that were outside of the embedded parameters, alerting the enumerators to make sure that acceptable responses were recoded. Our ex-post method involved 1) providing rigorous training to our survey personnel to ensure that they thoroughly understood all aspects of data collection: the survey questionnaire and response options, 2) training our data collection team to effectively address challenges or issues that could arise during their fieldwork, and 3) ensuring that data collected was thoroughly checked for consistency by the field supervisor of each team. If errors or inconsistencies were detected, the field supervisor conducted a follow-up household visit to update the data. Dr. Phanwin Yokying, co-PI, reviewed the pilot data and changes were made accordingly to correct any mistakes or misunderstanding of survey questions.

Field supervisors monitored the enumerators and their work and were supported by five mobile Field Survey Quality Control Supervisors. Debrief meetings were held every day (after the day's work) between the enumerators and supervisors to discuss any challenges and requests. The entire survey team, both the enumerators and supervisors, were in regular contact with and supervised by the project PI, Dr. Mukta Tamang, throughout the fieldwork period.

2.1.7 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

After each fieldwork day, supervisors were responsible for transferring the data to the server. The supervisors ensured that the questionnaires were complete and accurate and that the collected data was consistent and met the basic data quality standards. Any errors, discrepancies, or inconsistencies were flagged by the supervisors, discussed with the relevant enumerators, and the respondents were contacted if necessary to correct and update the data prior to transferring the data to our primary database. For quality control, the collected data sent to the central database were randomly selected to be verified to ensure that they were free from errors and inconsistencies.

The sample households and respondents' identities has been protected. Our collected data is anonymous such that respondents' names were not entered into the system but remain in the data files. Unique IDs assigned to each respondent cannot be used to trace specific respondents or households. Our data files are carefully handled to ensure that they do not fall into the hands of third parties, and each collected data file is encrypted.

2.2 Qualitative Study: Semi-Structured Interviews, FGD and Observation

Qualitative study was conducted in 17 districts within Bagmati and Madhesh Province covering 30 caste and ethnic groups. Eighteen groups were from the 20 percent most excluded groups, while 12 were from the 20 percent most included groups. Semi-structured interviews, FGD and observations were conducted in all the studied locations. A total of 60 participants, 30 women and 30 women from each caste and ethnic group participated in the interview as key informants as recommended by the community leaders. Besides interviews, FGD were conducted with all caste and ethnic groups. The FGDs were held separately with female and male groups for understanding on the time allocation by sex. A total of 379 (204 women, 175 men) people participated in FGDs. An interview guideline with key questions was used for both semi-structured interviews and FGD.

Five ethnographic Field Research Associates participated in the qualitative study. The Research Associates also recorded their observations in the morning, afternoon, and evening on the peoples' involvement in various activities and time use. They also collected contextual information on the rural or urban location they studied.

The survey and FGD included varied segments of the population involved in different occupations. These occupations included agriculture, daily wage laborer in the informal sector, housewife, salaried jobholders, and people involved in business enterprises. Of the total interviews, 30 percent of participants were illiterate, 23 percent literate, and the remaining held various levels of formal education.

Qualitative data generated from interviews were recorded as notes in the Nepali language and recorded interviews were later transcribed. Five Research Associates involved in the interviews conducted were responsible for transcribing and finalizing the notes. For the data analysis, a method of content analysis was employed.

Data analysis consisted of three stages. First, the Research Associates shared the data in the workshop with the whole research team. The purpose of this exercise was to identify key themes and categories emerging in the data. Second, all the data was compiled for close examination to refine the categories used as research findings. After the finalization of the themes and categories, the relevant information was grouped into each category. Third, testimonies of the participants were extracted, including verbatim quotes and description of the events, experiences, or opinions. Select testimonials were reproduced under each theme in the report as empirical material. Dr. Mukta Tamang designed and managed the qualitative study.

Each participant signed or assented to a written prior informed consent informing them of their right to voluntarily respond or withdraw from the interview. The study collected data from individuals on their views, perceptions, and personal life experiences. Some of the information was sensitive, including reproductive health, illness, and experiences of violence. To protect the privacy and ensure no harm, all personally identifiable information was removed or pseudonyms are used.

Chapter 3: Time Allocation in Work and Non-Work Activities

Using Nepal's Time Use Survey data, Chapter 3 provides comparative and comprehensive insights into how women and men from the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups distribute their time in a variety of daily activities. The key activities we focused on include paid labor market work, domestic tasks, care work, volunteering, socializing, learning, leisure, and personal care. Given that caste, ethnicity, and gender are essential elements determining livelihood and well-being in Nepal, understanding time use in daily activities allows us to uncover how social exclusion and gender inequality influence not only participation in economic and non-economic activities but also intra-household division of labor together with time tradeoffs and constraints faced by women and men within the same social groups and across different castes and ethnic groups.

3.1 Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of Sample Populations

To fully understand differences in participation rates and distribution of time by sex and social group, it is essential to first examine the underlying socio-economic and demographic characteristics of our sample population. This sub-section aims to answer the following questions: Who are the women and men in our dataset, and what do they do? How do they differ in terms of individual and household characteristics?

Table 3.1 below presents relevant characteristics by sex and social group. For both castes and ethnic groups, our sample men are older than their female counterparts, and the age gap is larger among the included couples. Men and women belonging to the included social groups are also older than those in the excluded group on average. Most of the sample individuals are married, and a greater share of women from the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups are married than women from the top 20 percent most included groups (97.05 percent vs. 94.79 percent). Surprisingly, larger shares of women have completed primary school than men, and a greater proportion of women from the marginalized social groups have completed primary education than women from the included castes and ethnic groups (87.43 percent vs. 76.86 percent).

We observed interesting differences in occupation choices by gender and social group. Regardless of castes and ethnic groups, men are more likely to be involved in outside employment (agriculture, business/enterprise, wage labor, salaried work) than women. This reflects the prevailing gender norms that men are traditionally expected to be the breadwinners, and women are discouraged from engaging in income-generating activities outside the home (Holmelin 2019). Gender disparities in working/owning businesses and enterprises and in salaried work are larger among those belonging to the top 20 percent most included castes and social groups. For instance, included men's participation rate in salaried work is 14.72 percentage points higher than included women, compared to only 6.34 percentage points for those from the excluded castes and social groups. The reverse is true for agriculture and wage labor; gender differences in these occupations are larger among the marginalized social groups. One reason is because of marginalization, men and women from excluded groups are segregated into agriculture or working as wage laborers in both farm and non-farm sectors, whereas individuals from the included groups are concentrated in salaried work and their own businesses and enterprises, such as owning a restaurant or shop or serving as a middleman. For example, only 21.5 percent of included men are in agriculture, compared to 26 percent for excluded men. Another reason for such disparities is because more than half of women from both included and excluded groups work as household helpers, while less than three percent of men work in such a female-dominated occupation.

In terms of unemployment, less than 10 percent of sample populations are unemployed, and greater shares of women are unemployed than men. The gender gap in unemployment is smaller among the top 20 percent most included castes and social groups.

While we do not find any gender differences in household-level variables, there are significant differences in these variables between social groups. On average, excluded households have a greater number of children and a lower number of elderly individuals than included households. More than half of the included men and women belong in the top or third wealth tercile, while almost half of men and women from the marginalized social groups are in the poorest or bottom wealth tercile.

Table 3.1: Individual and Household Characteristics by Gender and Social Group

Characteristics	Included Groups		Excluded Groups	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age	48.34	**44.25**	44.78***	**40.84*** **
Married	95.00	94.79	94.33	**97.05*** **
Completed primary school (%)	73.36	**76.86**	72.24	**87.43*** **
Agriculture	21.5	**16.42**	26.00***	**18.52**
Business/enterprise	25.58	**14.21**	12.95***	**4.90*** **
Wage labor	13.93	**2.43**	42.62***	**12.81*** **
Salaried work	21.79	**7.07**	8.29***	**1.95*** **
Household help	1.07	**51.64**	2.10**	**52.62**
Others	14.21	**2.64**	5.81***	**2.00**
Unemployed	1.93	**5.57**	2.24	**7.19***
No. children 0-17 y/o	1.34	1.34	2.11***	2.11***
No. working age individuals 18-60 y/o	3.23	3.23	3.19	3.19
No. elderly individuals 61 and up	0.55	0.55	0.36***	0.36***
1st asset tercile (%)	10.07	10.07	48.90***	48.90***
2nd asset tercile (%)	33.31	33.21	33.81	33.81
3rd asset tercile (%)	56.71	56.71	17.29***	17.29***
Women should not be employed outside of household (%)	24.64	26.07	42.29***	43.43***
Women's most important role is to care for her family (%)	76.21	77.50	85.33***	86.24***
Total:	1,400	1,400	2,100	2,100

Note: Bold reflects significant gender difference among individuals from the same social groups at p<0.10. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women (men) from the included and women (men) from the excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

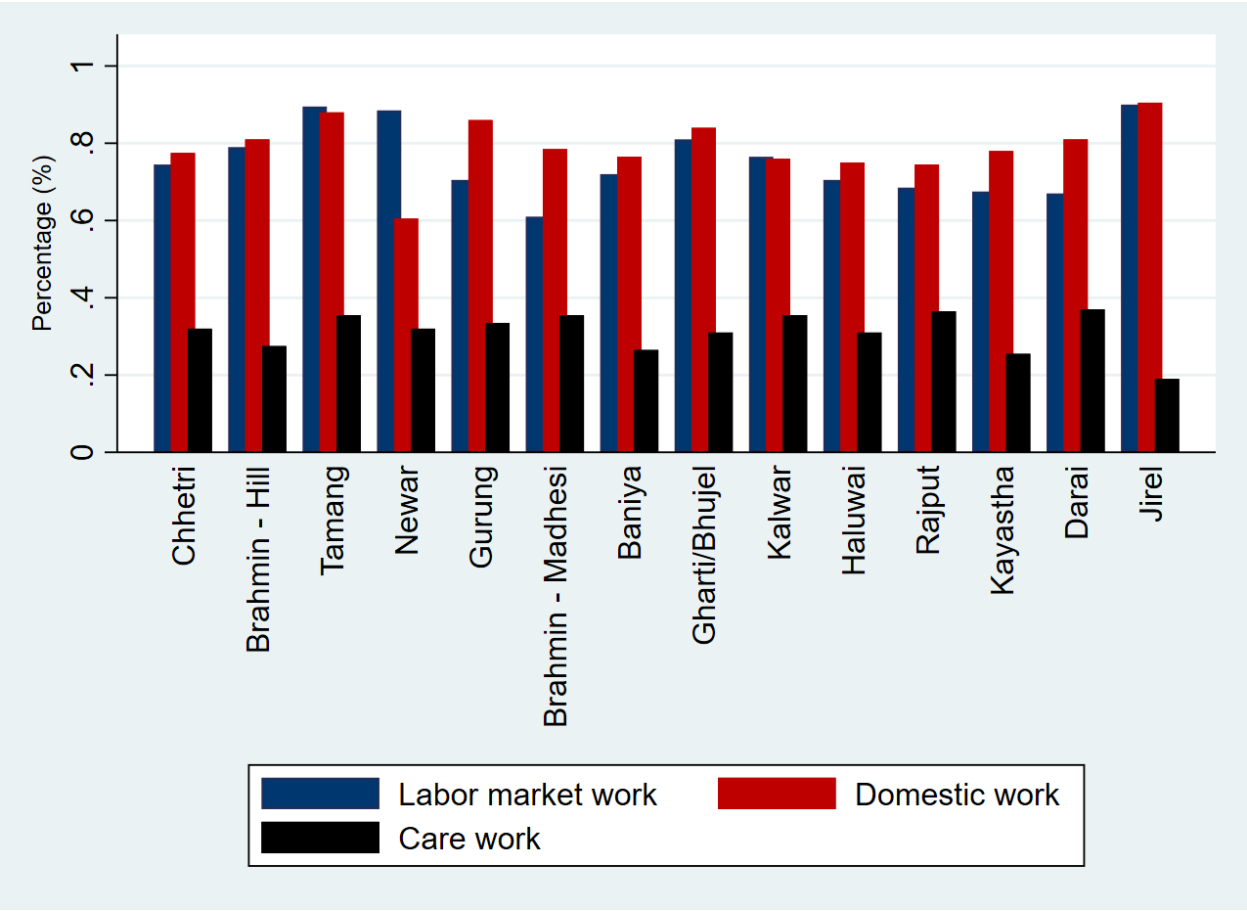
Although we do not observe gender disparities in perceptions towards gender norms for both groups, men and women from marginalized groups are more likely to agree with traditional gender norms and roles, especially on domestic responsibilities, than those from included social groups. For instance, 85.33 percent of excluded men and 86.24 percent of excluded women approved the statement that women's most important role is to care for their families, compared to 76.21 percent for included men and 77.50 percent for included women.

3.2 Participation Rates in Daily Activities

Before we examined individuals' time allocation, it was also important to understand participation rates in work and non-work activities by gender and social group. Although participation rates do not capture time use or the extent to which our sample individuals are involved in each activity, participation rates tell us proportions of individuals that spend more than ten minutes in each selected activity. Below we show participation rates in labor market work, household chores, and care work among the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups (Figure 3-A) and the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups (Figure 3-B). In both figures, participation rates in paid labor market work along with domestic tasks average between 60 percent to 90 percent for both included and excluded castes and ethnic groups. In particular, Tamang, Newar, and Jirel, which all belong to the top 20 percent most included social groups, have the highest participation rates in paid labor market work of around 90 percent. With a participation rate of roughly 60 percent, Brahmin-Madheshi, which belongs to the top of the social hierarchy in Nepal with members able to work in the formal and high-paying jobs, has the lowest involvement rate in income-generating activities. Among the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups, Figure 3.2 shows that Kami and Dom are most involved in labor market work with about 90 percent participation rates. Many of the Doms work as cleaners, especially for local government agencies, and the traditional occupation of the Kamis is ironsmithing. Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi, who mostly work as wage laborers in farm and non-farm activities, have the lowest engagement rate in such work.

Regarding domestic work, Figure 3-A indicates that participation rates for Tamang, Jirel, and Gurung center around 90 percent, which is higher than those of other included castes and ethnic groups. Involvement rates in domestic work for the excluded castes and social groups are equally high and average around 85 percent. Many groups from the excluded social groups, such as Kami, Dhanuk, Hayu, and Khatwe, in fact have participation rates in domestic chores of 90 percent.

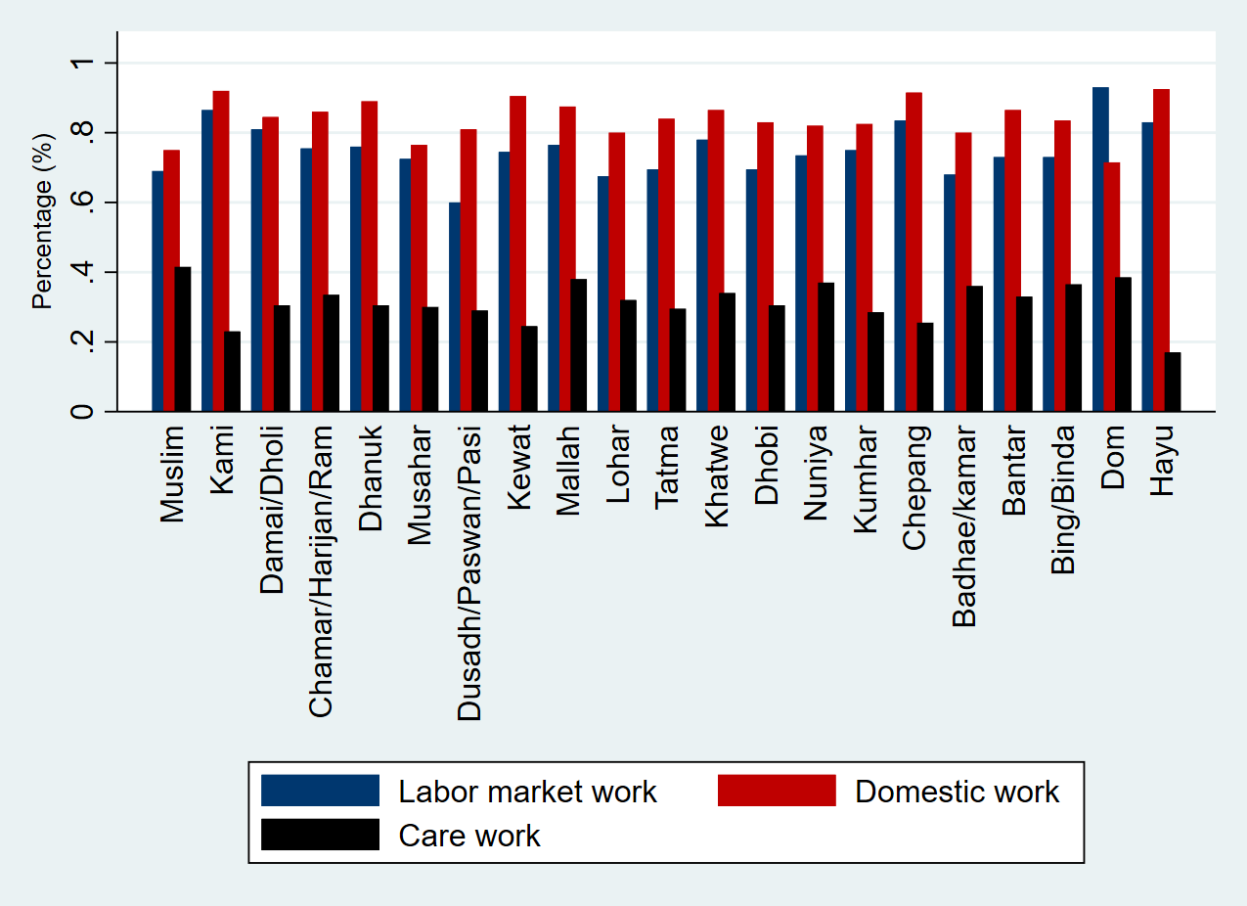
Figure 3-A: Participation Rates in Work Activities among Top 20 percent Most Included Groups



Interestingly, for most castes and ethnic groups and especially for the excluded social groups, involvement rates in domestic work was higher than those of labor market work on average. Though, the opposite is found for Newar (Figure 3-A) and Dom (Figure 3-B) in which participation rates in paid labor market work are 30 and 20 percentage points, respectively, higher than those of domestic work. In terms of care work, participation rates were considerably lower than those of other work activities and hover around 20 percent to 40 percent for both social groups. Among the included castes and ethnic groups, Jirel members were less involved in care work while Tamang, Brahmin-Madheshi, Kalwar, and Rajput were more active in care work than others. Among the excluded castes and ethnic groups, Hayu, Kami, and Kewat had the lowest participation rate of 20 percent in care work. Many other excluded groups, namely Muslim, Mallah, and Dom, maintained nearly 40 percent participation rates in such activity. A likely reason for this is these castes have a greater number of children than other excluded castes and ethnic groups. Also, these castes and ethnic groups, such as Muslim and Brahmin-Madheshi, strictly adhere to traditional gender roles; many

women from these groups, particularly those belonging to Brahmin-Madheshi, do not work outside the home and perform all household domestic and care duties.

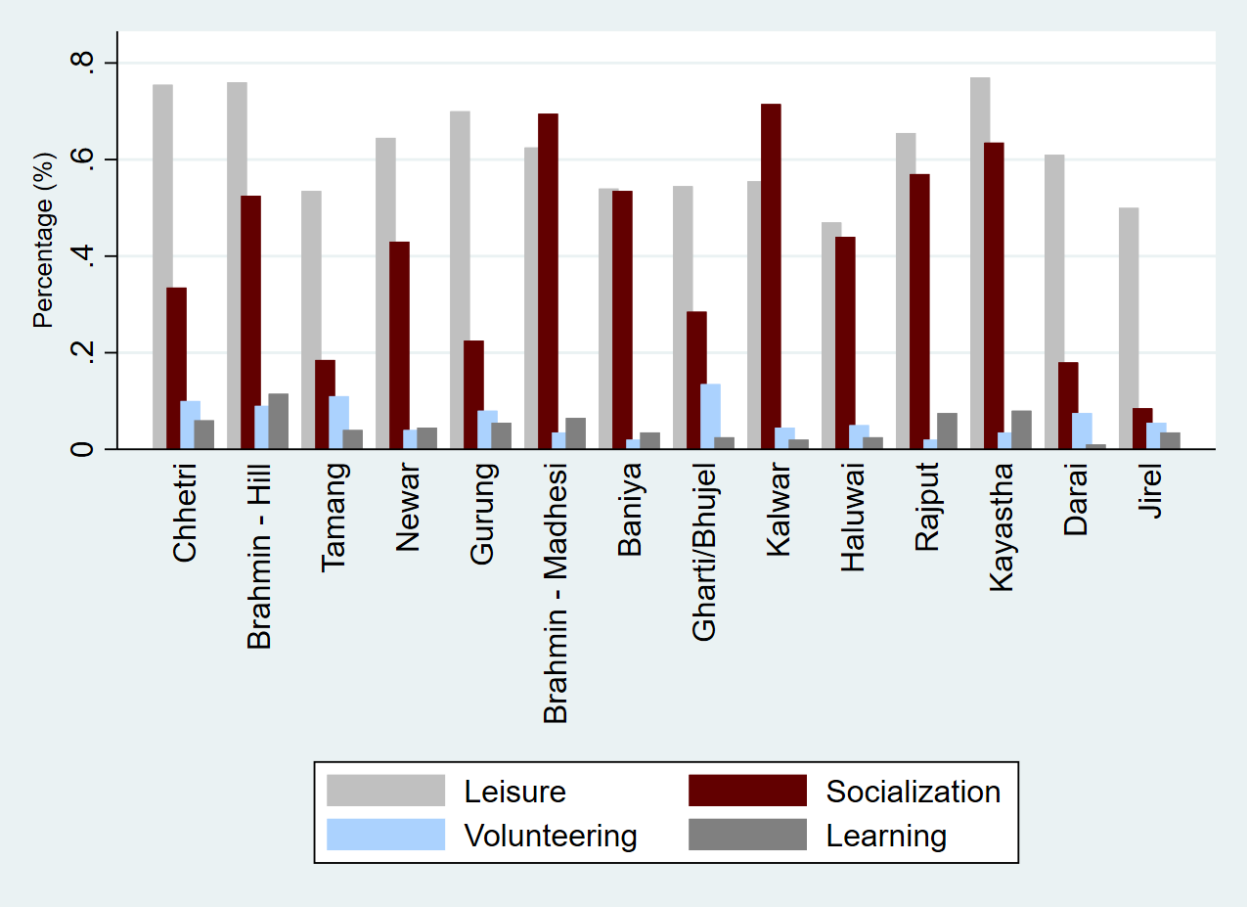
Figure 3-B: Participation Rates in Work Activities among Bottom 20 percent Most Excluded Groups



Moving on to non-work activities, Figures 3-C and 3-D below illustrate participation rates in voluntary work, learning, socializing, and leisure and sports activities among included and excluded castes and ethnic groups, respectively. Leisure and socializing have higher participation rates than voluntary and learning activities for both groups. Compared to the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups, the top 20 percent most included groups, overall, have higher involvement rates in non-work activities. This is because the excluded castes and ethnic groups, as highlighted in Figures 3-A and 3-B, are much more involved in paid labor market work and unpaid domestic and care tasks than those from the included social groups. Participation rates for leisure for included groups hover around 50 percent to 80 percent on average, compared to 10 percent to 50 percent for the excluded groups. Figure 3 reveals that Chhetri, Brahmin-Hill, and Kayastha have the highest average involvement rates of around 80 percent in leisure. For the excluded castes and ethnic groups, Figure 3-D shows that Damai/Dholi and Bantar, who struggle to find jobs in Nepal

and experience high seasonal unemployment rates, have the highest participation rates of 50 percent in leisure. With a 10 percent participation rate, Chepang (an Indigenous group) is the least involved in leisure activities. A plausible reason is because most of the Chepang live in extreme poverty and are employed in low-wage and labor-intensive occupations, such as working in agriculture (e.g. hunting and gathering vegetables/fruits from forests) or as wage laborers.

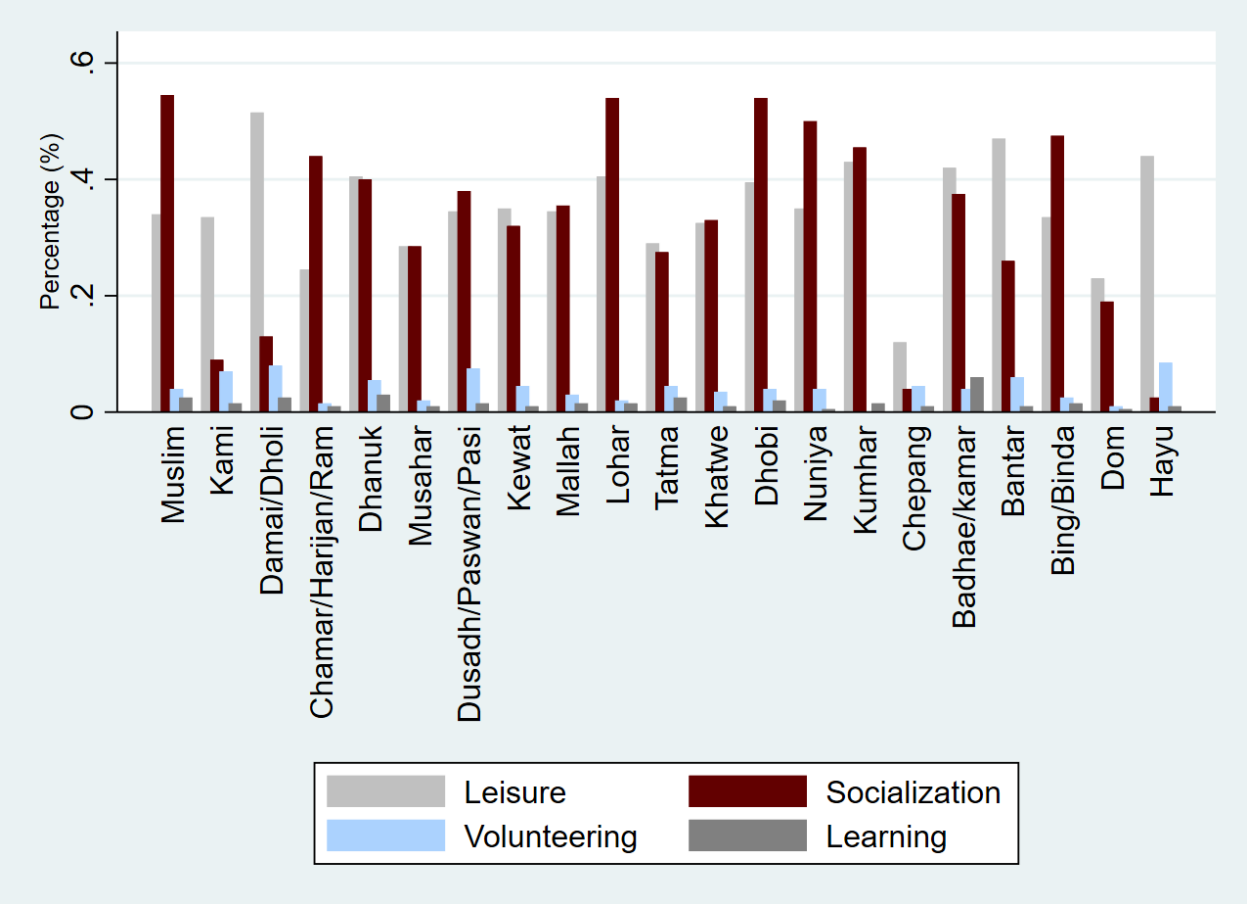
Figure 3-C: Participation Rates in Non-Work Activities among Top 20 percent Most Included Groups



Involvement rates for socializing activities varied considerably across the included and excluded social groups. As expected, Brahmin-Madheshi and Kalawar have the highest involvement rates in socializing activities of 70 percent on average. Jirel had the lowest participation rates in leisure and socializing activities, because, as shown in Figure 3-A, Jirel had high participation rates in the labor market and domestic work. For the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups, socializing activities are a more common non-work activity and gain higher involvement rates (around 50 percent) from many excluded castes and ethnic groups, such as Muslim, Lohar, Dhobi, and Nuniya, than leisure. On the contrary, Chepang, Hayu, Kami, and Damai/Dholi have markedly lower involvement rates (10 percent or lower) in socializing activities than other excluded castes and ethnic groups. In terms of voluntary activities and learning, their involvement rates are at most 10 percent and are even lower for the excluded castes and ethnic groups. For instance, Chepang, Lohar and Bing have less than a 10 percent participation rate in

volunteering and learning activities. Overall, the Chepang from the excluded social groups stood out as the group with the lowest participation rates in all non-work activities.

Figure 3-D: Participation Rates in Non-Work Activities among Bottom 20 percent Most Excluded Groups



3.3 Time Allocation in Key Daily Activities by Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics

Shifting our focus to distribution of time, Table 3.2 below provides average time spent in each daily activity in association with education status, occupation, and household wealth. Individuals who did not complete primary school tend to distribute more time towards labor market work than those who completed primary school. Their lower educational attainment is associated with lower wages, which increased the need to work longer hours to meet their individual and household needs. The lower working hours among the better educated may explain why they were able to devote more time towards unpaid activities, namely domestic work, and personal care activities.

When focusing on occupations, individuals working on their own businesses and enterprises had the highest working time in labor market work (505.11 minutes or 8.41 hours), followed by salaried workers (485.44 minutes or 8.09 hours), wage labor (440.05 minutes or 7.33 hours), and agriculture (322.92 minutes or 5.4 hours). Household helpers, who are mostly women, tend to work part-time or 209.91 minutes or 3.5 hours per day. As expected, the unemployed and others (foreign employment, retired, elderly or disabled people) had the lowest average working time and highest average time dedicated towards leisure and personal care activities.

The unemployed and those working as household helpers allocated substantially more time towards domestic and care work, close to 400 minutes or 6.7 hours, than those in other occupations. Similarly, those working as household helpers contributed the highest amount of time, 121 minutes (2 hours) towards care work. Individuals working in their own businesses and enterprises or in salaried work allocated the least amount of time towards domestic and care tasks and other non-work activities, including leisure and personal care. A plausible reason is because owning a business or an enterprise, such as a restaurant or a shop, together with salaried work demands longer work hours or sometimes around-the-clock time input, compared to those in agriculture or wage labor.

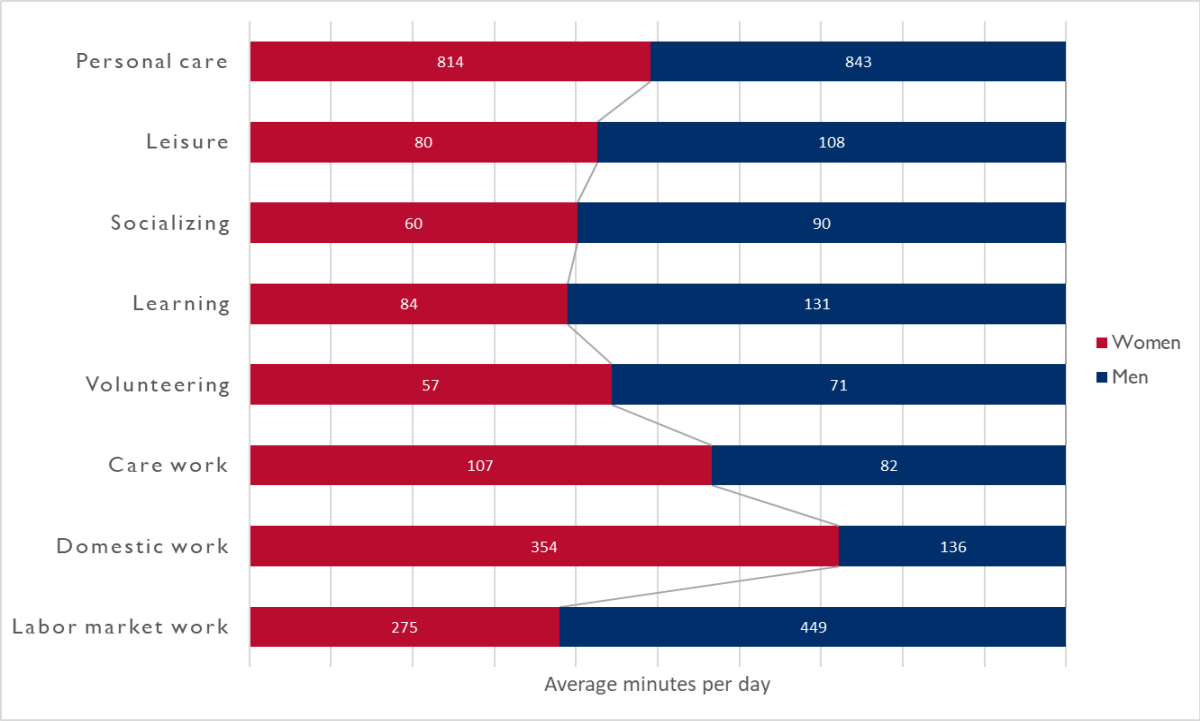
In terms of household wealth, individuals in the top or third tercile allocated the highest amount of time towards labor market work, while those in the bottom or first tercile spend the least time in such activity. Yet, the magnitude of the difference is not large. Those belonging to the poorest group spend significantly less time on volunteering activities than those in higher wealth terciles. For instance, individuals in the second tercile allocate 74.69 minutes to volunteering activities, compared to 39.70 minutes for those in the poorest tercile. The lower working time enabled those in the poorest tercile to contribute more time towards learning, socializing, leisure, and personal care activities.

Table 3.2: Average Minutes per Day Spent on Each Daily Activity (Conditional on Participation) by Education, Occupation, and Household Wealth

	Labor market work	Domestic work	Care work	Volunteering	Learning	Socializing	Leisure	Personal care
Education:								
Did not complete primary school	399.60	253.45	99.89	76.38	126	75.71	103.41	816.19
Completed primary school	370.46	270.29	99.75	60.93	115.48	72.30	93.99	831.92
Occupations:								
Agriculture	322.92	261.97	83.06	87.88	85.88	75.50	85.84	827.92
Business/enterprise	505.11	165.09	67.06	35.31	54	52.42	74.80	753.40
Wage labor	440.05	165.18	91.14	52.58	23.08	77.95	94.47	830.02
Salaried work	485.44	144.79	72.99	92.5	85.89	67.19	101.22	761.24
Household help	209.91	381.10	121.47	53.63	140.56	66.98	91.95	831.26
Unemployed	165.51	393.36	94.42	56.67	247.50	87.29	137.06	905.38
Others	252.08	177.74	104.66	76.67	192.50	127.67	159.02	1032.25
Wealth:								
1st asset tercile	370.62	272.11	97.50	39.70	212.17	80.77	84.96	842.97
2nd asset tercile	375.72	260.60	101.43	74.69	120.00	66.19	96.63	835.00
3rd asset tercile	385.21	267.46	100.44	75.11	93.36	72.16	100.93	807.13

Examining the gender gap in time use, Figure 3-E below provides an overview of the average time women and men from the sample groups spend on each of the key daily activities. On average, Nepali men and women spent 449 minutes (7.5 hours) and 275 minutes (4.6 hours) per day, respectively, on paid labor market work. Consistent with past trends (Cameron, 1995), Nepali women contributed substantially more time towards unpaid domestic and care tasks for their households. For instance, Nepali women spent 354 minutes or close to 6 hours per day on average on household domestic tasks, while men spent 136 minutes or 2.25 hours per day on such activities. Compared to women, Nepali men allocated more time towards all types of non-work activities, including volunteering, learning, socializing, leisure and sports, along with personal care. For example, men spent 108 minutes or almost 2 hours per day on leisure activities, compared to 80 minutes or 1.3 hours for women. Figure 3.5 paints a less egalitarian gender distribution of the uses of time in work and non-work activities such that Nepali women have a higher total workload in paid labor market work and unpaid domestic and care work than their male counterparts, leaving women with less time for non-work activities. Next, we examine how gender gaps vary across the included and excluded castes and ethnic groups for each key activity and its relevant sub-activities.

Figure 3-E: Average Minutes per Day on Daily Activities by Gender



3.4 Paid Income-generating Work

Focusing first on paid labor market work, Table 3.3 indicates that the average time spent in all types of income-generating activities was higher for men than for women from both excluded and included social groups. The gender disparity in time allocation in paid labor market work was particularly large among those working in the formal occupations (working for corporations, NGOs, or government agencies) as well as those working in construction-related jobs. For instance, among those from the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups, women spent 268 minutes or 4.5 hours per day on formal employment, compared to 405 minutes or 6.8 hours per day for their male counterparts. For individuals belonging to the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups, women spent 172 minutes or 2.9 hours per day on working in construction activities, while men spent 365 minutes or 6 hours on these activities.

Among women, those from excluded castes and ethnic groups spent more time in physically demanding and low-paying jobs with minimal or no job security or employer-sponsored benefits, e.g. agriculture and construction jobs, while working women from included social groups were more heavily involved in formal and higher-wage occupations. For instance, women from the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups spent 326 minutes or 5.4 hours on working for corporations, NGOs, or government entities compared to 268 minutes or 4.5 hours for women from the bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups. On the other hand, women from the excluded groups contributed an average of 264 minutes or 4.4 hours per day on agriculture compared to 245 minutes or 4 hours for women from included groups. Similar results were found for men; men from excluded castes and ethnic groups worked more hours on farm-related work and provided services to local households for income.

Because of the caste-based social stratification and the consequent job segregation, most women and men from the excluded castes and ethnic groups do not have adequate skills or societal approvals for formal or higher-paying and more secure jobs, such as operating a business, small enterprise, or trade activities. Consequently, these occupations are dominated by those belonging to higher castes and ethnic groups, while those from lower castes, particularly women, are confined to agricultural or subsistence economy and have scant access to productive farm assets, such as land. Due to traditional gender norms and roles (e.g. strong son preference, responsibilities in household tasks, and restricted education access), women, especially those belonging to marginalized populations, experience even more restricted economic opportunities.

Table 3.3: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Labor Market Work Activities

ACTIVITY	EXCLUDED GROUPS		INCLUDED GROUPS	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Work for corporations, NGOs, or government	267.7	405.5***	**325.5**	421.2***
Work in primary production activities	263.6	352.5***	**245.3*** **	**319.5*** **
Work in non-primary production activities	237.6	344.1***	**279.7**	365.3***
Work in construction activities	182.3	382.4***	172.4	360.5***
Work for household providing services for income	231.0	311.1**	280.3	**371.4*** **

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

3.5 Household Domestic and Care Activities

Table 3.4 below presents average time spent per day by women and men from excluded and included groups on each domestic work activity. In line with the recent findings from other countries (Floro and Komatsu 2011; Ferrant et al. 2014; Rubiano and Viollaz 2019), Nepali women, regardless of caste and ethnic group, dedicated more time for domestic chores, namely food management, cleaning and upkeep of dwelling, and care of textiles and footwear, than men. For instance, women from the included castes and ethnic groups spent 164 minutes or close to 3 hours on food management, compared to 62 minutes for their male counterparts. Among women, those from the top 20 percent most included groups spent slightly more time on domestic tasks that are less labor intensive, namely pet care and shopping, than those from the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups. On the other hand, women from the excluded castes

and ethnic groups allocated slightly more time towards the cleaning and upkeep of dwellings (79 minutes versus 75 minutes per day).

Interestingly for men, those from included groups contributed more time towards food management, household maintenance and repairs, pet care, and shopping, than men from excluded castes and ethnic groups. A reason for this could be because men from included groups do not need to devote as much time towards paid labor market work to make ends meet for their households because their reservation[1] and actual wages are higher than those of men from lower castes and ethnic groups (Karki and Bohara 2014). They, therefore, have more time for other work activities.

Table 3.4: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Domestic Work Activities

ACTIVITY	**EXCLUDED GROUPS**		**INCLUDED GROUPS**	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Food management	164.1	48.8***	163.8	**61.8*** **
Cleaning and upkeep of dwelling and surroundings	79.3	58.4***	**75.3**	65.4**
Do-it-yourself decorations, maintenance, and small repairs	41.4	40.2	39.4	**60.9*** **
Care of textiles and footwear	54.3	42.0*	55.2	32.1***
Household management	54.8	50.5	56.2	54.9
Pet care	118.1	113.5	**126.4**	**126.0**
Shopping	59.5	57.3	**68.0**	**65.6**

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

[1] Reservation wage is the lowest wage rate at which a worker would be willing to perform a particular job.

Similar to household domestic work, Table 3.5 indicates that women from both excluded and included groups worked more hours, close to two hours (113 minutes) on childcare than their male counterparts. No differences were found, however, for care provided to dependent adults (e.g. elderly individuals) between women and men within the same groups and between the two social groups. Even though there are no caste-based disparities, these descriptive results are consistent with the common trend that women shoulder most unpaid care work (Hirway 2015; Rublano and Viollaz 2019) than their male counterparts, regardless of castes and ethnic groups.

Table 3.5: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Care Work Activities

ACTIVITY	**EXCLUDED GROUPS**		**INCLUDED GROUPS**	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Childcare	113.3	80.8***	113.9	85.9***
Care to dependent adults	78.2	95.5	81.2	86.5

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

3.6 Community Service Activities

Table 3.6 captures average time use in activities relating to community services. Due to the low level of participation in community service activities reflected in Figures 3.3 and 3.4, no significant gender differences were observed for time spent on providing unpaid help to other households in the community or on community-organized services. For attendance in meetings for community and volunteer services, women from excluded castes and ethnic groups spend more time on such an activity than their male counterparts. Differences in the distribution of time are found between women (similarly for men) from excluded and included groups; women and men from included groups spent significantly more time on community service activities than those from excluded groups. As an example, women along with men from the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups spent over an hour or 78 and 72 minutes per day, respectively, on unpaid help to others within the community, compared to 38 minutes for excluded women and 40 minutes for excluded men. Men from included groups also spent 116 minutes or almost 2

hours per day on community-organized services, compared to less than one hour or 40 minutes for men from excluded groups.

Table 3.6: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Community Service Activities

ACTIVITY	EXCLUDED GROUPS		INCLUDED GROUPS	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Unpaid help to other households	38.1	39.8	**77.6**	**72.1**
Community-organized services	110	40	50	**115.6**
Attendance in meetings for community and volunteer services	190	70***	80	113.7

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Education is an important area of disparity among women and men within the same castes and ethnic groups and across different groups and is a critical factor reinforcing and legitimizing exclusion and inequality in Nepal (Stash and Hannum 2001). While our survey respondents were adults and mostly above school age, the consequence of exclusion and unequal access to education is reflected in adults' time allocation towards learning activities, especially among women. According to Table 3.7, compared to women from the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups, women from the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and social groups spent significantly less time on additional study, non-formal education, and courses during free time (e.g. reading). A likely reason is that the majority of women from the excluded groups were illiterate. The reverse pattern is, however, observed for men; men from excluded groups spent 114 minutes or 1.9 hours per day on such an activity, compared to 61 minutes for those from higher castes. Even though there are no significant gender differences for most educational activities due to low participation rates in each of these activities among the respondents as shown earlier, men from the bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups allocated considerably more time towards doing homework, course review, research, and related tasks.

Table 3.7: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend On Learning

ACTIVITY	EXCLUDED GROUPS		INCLUDED GROUPS	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
General education	n/a	n/a	30.0	35.3
Homework, course review, research and related activities	48.3	111.8*	89.6	119.8
Additional study, non-formal education, and courses during free time	23.3	114.4	**68.5**	**60.6**

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

3.8 Socializing and Leisure

Table 3.8 uncovers gender-based and caste-based differences in socializing, community participation, and religious practice. Regardless of caste and ethnic group, men spent more time socializing than their female peers. For instance, women from excluded groups spent one hour per day on socializing and communication, compared to 91 minutes per day for men from the same group. Men from included groups also allocated slightly more time on religious practice than women from the same group (57 minutes versus 46 minutes per day).

Similar to other non-work activities, women from included social groups spent considerably more time, 167.2 minutes or almost 3 hours per day participating in community cultural and social events than women from excluded castes who spent, on average, less than one hour or 51.1 minutes per day on the same activity. While the magnitude of the caste-based difference is smaller among men, men from excluded groups spent less time or 46 minutes per day on religious practice, compared to 57 minutes per day for men from included groups. Interestingly, involvement in civic and related responsibilities is a more common social activity for both women and men from the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and social groups than other

socializing activities, whereas participation in cultural and social events is a popular social activity for those from the top 20 percent most included castes and social groups.

Table 3.8: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Socializing, Community Participation, and Religious Practice

ACTIVITY	EXCLUDED GROUPS		INCLUDED GROUPS	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Socializing and communication	65.9	91.4***	66.5	96.5***
Participation in community cultural/social events	51.1	101.1	**167.2**	137.2
Involvement in civic and related responsibilities	86.7	114.3	n/a	n/a
Religious practice	43.9	46.3	45.5	**56.7*** **

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Focusing on leisure and sports, Table 3.9 below reveals that men from the excluded social groups allocated more time towards hobbies, games, and other pastime activities along with internet use than women from the same social groups. In particular, women spent less than one hour, or 54 minutes, on pastime activities, compared to 90 minutes per day for men from the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups. Men from the included groups also devoted more time towards mass media use (84 versus 78 minutes per day) as well as internet use (73 versus 62 minutes per day) than their female counterparts.

Similar to socializing activities, we also observed a disparity in the distribution of time among women and men between the two social groups, such that those belonging to the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups, mostly men, could enjoy more time in leisure and sports. For example, men from the included groups spend 103 minutes attending cultural, entertainment, and sports events compared to a little over half an hour, 38 minutes, for men from excluded castes and social groups. Men from included groups also spent 84 minutes or 1.4 hours per day on average watching television and/or listening to a radio, compared to 66 minutes or an hour per day for men from excluded groups. A likely reason for this caste-

based disparity is, as shown in Table 3.1, men from the excluded social groups spent more time in physically demanding and labor-intensive income-generating activities.

Table 3.9: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Leisure and Sports

ACTIVITY	EXCLUDED GROUPS		INCLUDED GROUPS	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Attending/visiting cultural, entertainment and sports events	n/a	37.7	90	**102.9**
Hobbies, games, and other pastime activities	53.5	89.9**	61.4	100.8
Sports participation and exercise and related activities	53.8	54.7	63.1	**70.0**
Mass media (TV and radio) use	64.4	66.7	**78**	**83.9***
Internet use	55.4	68.3***	61.9	73.4***

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

3.9 Personal Care and Maintenance Activities

Table 3.10 below further reveals a gender gap in self-care and maintenance activities, especially among those belonging to the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups. More specifically, women from both groups allocated less time towards eating and drinking. Likewise, men from included groups allocated slightly more time for personal hygiene and care than their female counterparts (65 versus 71

minutes per day), and women from excluded groups had significantly less time for activities related to reflecting, resting, and relaxing than their male counterparts (128 versus 138 minutes per day).

Even though they are more involved in work activities, those from the bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups spent more time on sleeping and personal hygiene along with personal hygiene and care (such as showering, facial cleansing and teeth cleaning, receiving medical care). For example, women from included castes spent 508 minutes or 8.5 hours on sleeping, while women from excluded groups spend 533 minutes or close to 9 hours on such an activity. However, the opposite is found for eating and drinking, such that women and men from excluded groups allocated less time for these activities than those from the included groups. Men from excluded castes spent 96 minutes or 1.6 hours per day on eating and drinking, compared to 106 minutes or 1.8 hours per day for men from included castes.

Table 3.10: Conditional Average Minutes per Day Women and Men from Excluded and Included Castes Spend on Self-Care and Maintenance

ACTIVITY	**EXCLUDED GROUPS**		**INCLUDED GROUPS**	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
Sleep and related activities	533.4	532.9	**508**	**507.3**
Eating and drinking	93.1	95.9**	**102.11**	**106*** **
Personal hygiene and care	74.9	77.1	**65.2**	**70.8*** **
Receiving personal and health/medical care from others	47.1	50	61.7	50.9
Activities associated with reflecting, resting, and relaxing	128.4	138.4***	130.2	133.7

Notes: The averages are conditional on participation in each activity. Stars reflect statistically significant differences between women and men for each group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold denotes statistically significant differences between women (resp. men) who belong to included and excluded groups at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

This chapter takes an initial step to uncover the implications of social exclusion and gender inequality on distribution of time or allocation of labor towards paid labor market work, household domestic and care tasks, community services/volunteering, learning, socializing, leisure/sports, and personal care in Nepal. Our time-use data reveals gender disparities remain prevalent across all key daily activities among high-

and low-caste populations. Compared to Nepalese women, men allocate substantially more time in paid labor market work and more time for leisure and personal care activities. Women contribute disproportionately more time in domestic and care tasks, and women from the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups spend more time than their male counterparts on community service and volunteering activities.

When taking castes and ethnic groups into account, our data shows stark disparities in time use between those in the top 20 percent most included groups and the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups. Compared to those in the included castes and ethnic groups, women and men from the bottom of the social hierarchy contribute more time in agriculture and construction, while those at the top of the social hierarchy allocate more time towards working for government agencies, NGOs, and corporations. Marginalized women also contribute more time towards labor-intensive domestic work, such as cleaning and household maintenance, whereas women from the included social groups spend their time on less labor-intensive tasks, such as pet care and shopping. Interestingly, men from the included social groups spent more time on domestic tasks than men from excluded social groups. In terms of non-work activities, both women and men from the included social groups allocated more time towards community service and volunteering activities, leisure/sports, and eating and drinking than those from the excluded social groups. Additionally, women from the top 20 percent most included groups spent more time on additional learning activities, such as reading, than women from the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups.

To sum up, gender- and caste-based discrimination and stigmatization together with strong caste identities result in work segregation in both paid and unpaid domains; individuals from the lower castes, especially women, spent longer hours in labor-intensive and low-paying work mostly in the informal sector, while those in the higher caste work in higher-paying occupations in the formal sector. To balance the burdens of income-generating work and household responsibilities, women and those in the lower castes incur trade-offs between work and non-work activities, which can leave many, especially women, stressed, overworked, and disenfranchised. Even though Nepal has made significant progress and implemented various development initiatives and policies aiming to address gender inequality and social exclusion, much more needs to be done to narrow gender-based and caste-based gaps in work time and foster a healthy work-life balance, especially among marginalized women and men.

Chapter 4: Household Division of Labor

The intra-household division of labor is one of the prime spheres where inequality and exclusion are produced and perpetuated. In our findings, women across social groups spent their time disproportionately higher in unpaid domestic and care work, leaving them out of paid employment and short of time for personal care, learning, and leisure. In contrast, men allocated more time for paid labor work, leisure, and personal care. Such divisions in time allocation lead to exclusion and inequalities in opportunities and outcomes for personal and professional development for girls and women. The work division at the

household level also has implications for gender relationships, participation in the decision-making process, voice, and well-being of the family members.

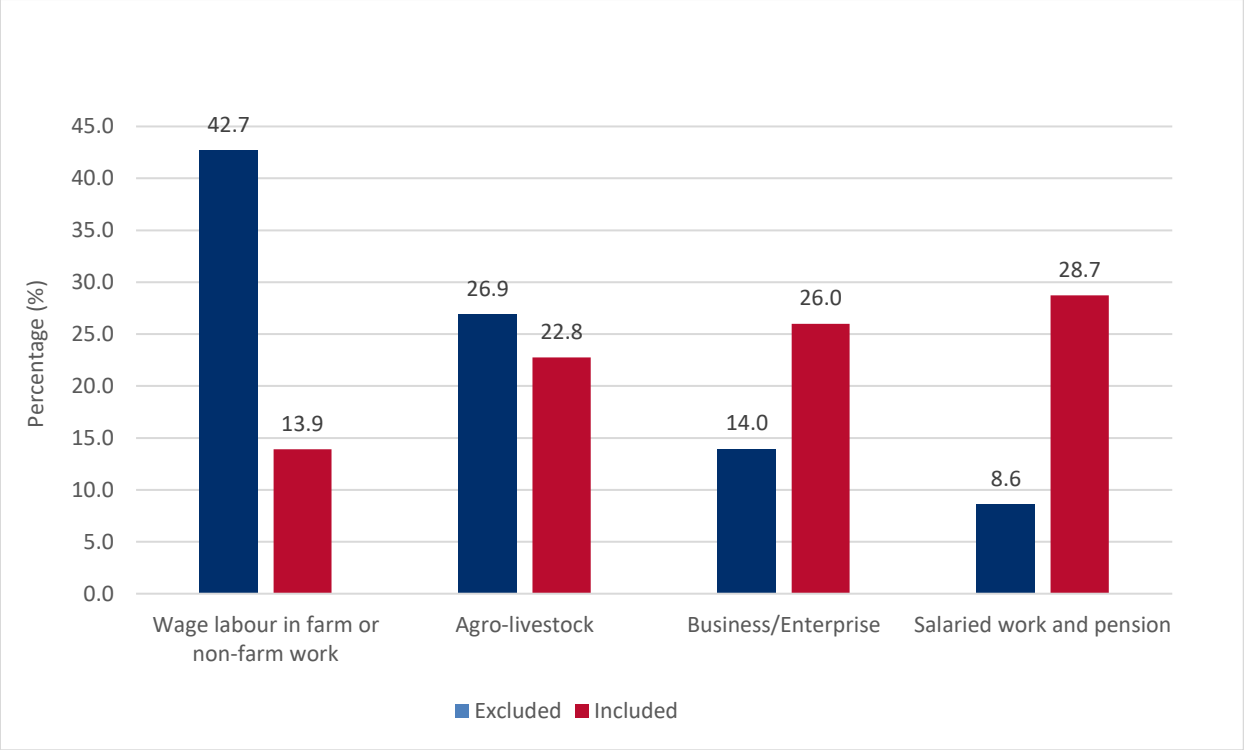
In Nepal, caste and ethnic identity continue to define one's occupation. Caste and ethnic belonging and the associated occupation of the group, plays an important role in determining household division of labor. The caste framework institutionalized in Nepal in the past is based on the idea of division of labor among different caste groups, often in unequal terms with privileges for those belonging to upper caste. Based on the qualitative assessment supplemented by quantitative data, this chapter presents the current state of the household division of labor among men and women across the different spectrums of social and economic status groups. The findings are categorized into six key themes.

4.1 Correlation between Occupation, Caste/ethnicity, and Exclusion

The study shows there is a noticeable association between occupation, caste/ethnicity, and exclusion. Lower caste, Indigenous groups, and minorities fall under the excluded category while the upper castes are in included status. For example, all Dalit groups and Muslim communities in the study all classify as excluded, while all the upper caste Brahmin and Chhetri from both Hill and Madhesh are in the included category.

Excluded groups generally participate in agricultural casual wage labor and their primary occupation is in the agro-livestock field. The occupations undertaken by the excluded groups involve work in the informal sector that are strenuous, less paid, and often hazardous. The members of the included groups' primary occupations are generally business/enterprise and salaried jobs. The jobs taken up by the included groups comprise trade, shopkeeping, service enterprises, and employment in government, NGOs, private companies, schools, hospitals, and others. These jobs are better paid and more secure. The following figure shows occupation by inclusion and exclusion status:

Figure 4-A: Primary Occupation of Men by Inclusion and Exclusion Status (%)



Overall, the included groups belonging to upper caste Brahmin/Chhetri and Newar have primary occupations of business/enterprise and salaried jobs. More than two-thirds of the excluded families belonging to Dalit, Indigenous, and Madheshi caste groups and Muslims are dependent on wage labor as their primary occupation.

The Nepali caste system derives from India's classical Hindu *Varnashrama* model, which classifies people broadly into four endogamous caste or social strata called Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra. They are organized in a segmented hierarchy of superior and inferior status based on the principle of purity and impurity. The Brahmins are considered the highest in the order of purity, while Sudra is regarded as polluted and the lowest caste. Besides the four strata, there is another one at the bottom of the caste ladder or outcaste called untouchable which are known as Dalits today.

Each caste is assigned a hereditary occupation or trade. Brahmins are traditionally associated with the tasks of priests, scholars, and teachers, while Kshatriyas are considered as rulers and warriors. Vaishyas were

expected to live as traders, merchants, and business class while Sudra as the lowest caste is involved in manual labor and worked as artisans or servants to the upper caste. Occupation and hierarchy are often intertwined in the caste system. Occupations of the lower caste are stigmatized; characterized as 'polluted'. High-paying and high-prestige occupations are often forbidden for the lower caste. Most of the so-called Dalits or untouchables work in jobs considered impure and dirty by the upper caste, including manual scavenging, toilet cleaning, leatherwork, butchery, and other artisan work. While the caste-based traditional occupation is in decline, a caste-based division of new occupations has emerged. High-paid and prestigious positions in business, academia, government, press, politics, and education are dominated by the upper caste while jobs involving wage labor are exclusively done by the lower caste.

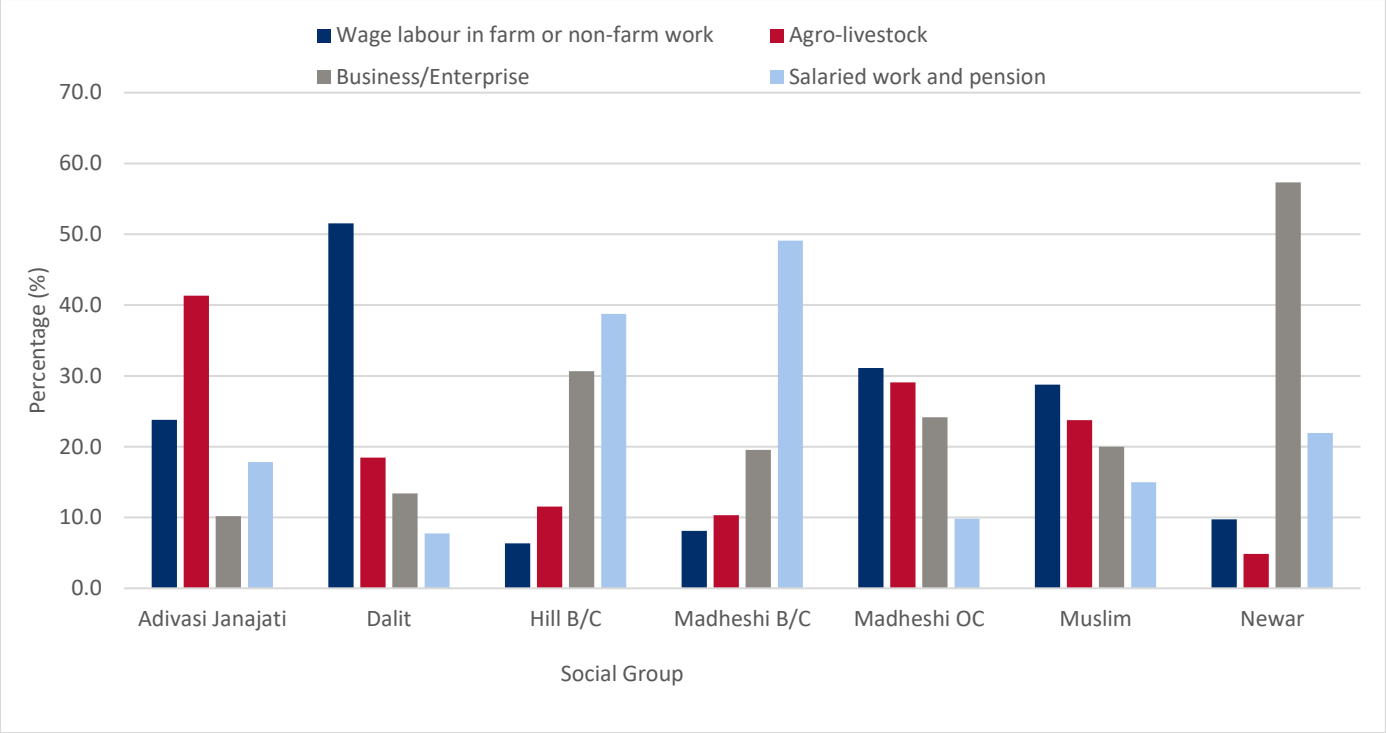
Reflecting on how caste impacts occupation, a 57-year-old Dalit man from Dhanusa district of the Tatma community responded that "if I were not born as Dalit, I would have inherited land and I would have been working on my farm than constantly looking for wage labor."

The same is also true for Madheshi and other caste groups. For example, Baniya, Haluwai, and Kalwar have traditional occupations of trading and shopkeeping. A participant of the Haluwai community recounted that most members of his community are involved in tea shops and stated that "we are specialized in confectionery and sweet-making, as this is our traditional caste-occupation." Similarly, the occupations of the other two castes Mallah and Kewat are associated with the river as boatmen and fishermen and are found in the settlements on the major riverbanks.

Land ownership is another defining factor for caste occupation in Nepal. Dalits could not own land and were expected to live by providing their services to upper-caste land-owning groups. This system of patron-client relationships is called *Jajmani* in Nepal. The changes brought about by the market in increasing economic opportunity in the last few decades have loosened this patron-client relationship. The lower caste, landless, and poor can now find on- or off-farm wage labor.

The ethnic groups who fall under the category of Indigenous Nationalities or Adivasi Janajati are not part of the caste system. They differ from caste societies in that they do not follow the caste framework of social hierarchy based on the principle of purity and impurity. Nor do they have any caste-based occupation to make them part of the patron-client system. Except for Newar, all Indigenous groups traditionally depended on agriculture, livestock, and natural resource-based livelihood. Those who are excluded within Indigenous groups had a higher dependency on forest products and swidden cultivation. The following figure shows occupation types by different social groups:

Figure 4-B: Primary Occupation of Men by Social Groups (%)



Comparison among the different caste/ethnic groups falling within the same social category offers important variations. For example, within the Dalit groups studied, Musahar, Dom, Paswan, Bantar, and Chamar families have a higher dependency on casual wage labor compared to other Dalit groups. 84 percent of Musahar are involved in wage labor for their survival. They do not own land, and their huts are built in marginal and hazardous areas. They rarely have marketable skills other than manual labor nor have means for other enterprises. These groups are also considered to be at the bottom of the hierarchy in the caste framework.

Other Dalit groups, Damai, Tatma, Khatwe, Dhobi, and Kami combine their primary occupation of wage labor with sharecropping and animal husbandry. Those with marginal land cultivate vegetables and other crops. Some Dalit groups continue to practice their caste-based occupation if they are still relevant in the marketplace. For example, some families from Kami whose caste occupation is ironwork run workshops for producing iron tools. Similarly, Dom who were traditionally assigned cleaning, working in the cremation ground, and basketry as their caste occupation are also employed as a sweeper and cleaner in local municipalities. The traditional occupation of the Dhobi traditionally was washing clothes and continue

their traditional occupation to some extent. Both women and men are in wage labor and traditional caste occupation in these groups.

Many caste-based occupations have become obsolete. But the legacy is part of the current experience of Dalit communities shaping their occupational options. A 40-year-old female of the Dalit caste of Musahar from Siraha when asked, how do you think caste has impacted her occupation, said "Caste matters. The upper caste thinks that Musahar's caste occupation is agriculture labor. People belonging to other castes consider planting, plowing, and harvesting crops as untouchable Musahar's occupation. We do not get other kinds of wage work because of our caste. What can we do? When we open a shop, people from other castes do not come, if we raise buffalo, nobody wants to buy milk from us. Our pollution sticks with our occupation."

Among Indigenous groups, about 40 percent of families are dependent upon agriculture. Among highly excluded Indigenous groups, dependency on agriculture and wage labor is significant. For example, 90 percent of Chepang, 76 percent of Dhanuk, and 72 percent of Hayu reported their primary occupation to be agriculture and animal husbandry. Hayu and Chepang live in the Mid-hill region, and about half of the families practice swidden agriculture and rain-fed farming. They combine these endeavors with collecting forest products such as wild yams, fruits, mushrooms, and other edibles for supplementing their food. A 32-year-old Hayu man from Sindhuli depicts a typical day: "I wake up at 6 am. After breakfast, I go to work on the farm. These days are for harvesting beans and maize. My wife goes to the forest to collect fodder for goats and cattle. After lunch, I go again to the farm and also the forest to collect firewood and fodder while my wife takes animals for grazing. When we have time, both of us weave bamboo mattresses for sale."

Other Indigenous groups, Gharti/Bhujel, Darai, Jirel, and Tamang, have around half their population involved in agriculture and livestock raising as primary occupation. But they also engage in salaried work and business enterprises to supplement their family economy. A reflection in the group discussion with Darai men in Chitwan gives a glimpse of Indigenous groups who are involved in agriculture and other works, "We have just harvested corn and are going to plant mustard in the field. Paddy is yet to be harvested. In this community generally, both males and females work in agriculture. Men do the work that requires more physical strength, such as ploughing, carrying fertilizer, and collecting firewood. Animal husbandry is part of our agriculture. Some young men from our community have gone to work in other cities in Nepal and Gulf countries."

Another social group included in the study is Madheshi. Roughly two-thirds combine agriculture and wage labor as their primary occupation, while one-third work in business/enterprise and salaried jobs. Agriculture and wage labor are concentrated among excluded groups, which include Badhaee, Bin, Kewat, Kumhar, Lohar, Mallaha, and Nuniya. For many, agriculture is not sufficient to feed the family for a full year, hence the availability of wage labor both inside the country and outside is essential for their living.

The case of a 42-year-old Bin farmer from Bara district who works as a seasonal agricultural laborer is illustrative of this group. During the months of mid-March to mid-May, the peak season for harvesting wheat and planting paddy, he goes to Chitwan and Butwal for work. He has been working as a seasonal wage laborer since he was 17 years old. He travels to different areas to work with a team of seasonal laborers like himself from the village. These three months are crucial periods for him to earn enough cash for his family for the year. Hence, he works for more than 16 hours a day during these months. Back home, his wife looks after the family, agriculture, and livestock. There is very little wage labor available in his village.

Baniya, Haluwai, and Kalwar within Madheshi fall under the included category. About half of the households from these three caste groups have occupations in business enterprises. Mostly they run sweet/tea shops, and groceries, trade various goods and engage in skilled or semi-skilled works such as repair of cycles, motorbikes, stoves, mason, carpenter, and others. In terms of time allocation, men with tea/snack shops work long hours. Women help their spouses when they are free from their domestic work.

Half of the included groups overall, have business/enterprise and salaried jobs as their primary occupation. Being urban dwellers with traditional involvement in trade and commerce, about two-thirds of Newars are engaged in business/enterprise. Kayastha from Tarai traditionally worked as scribes. Today, they have two-thirds of people involved in salaried work. In one interview, regarding how past caste-based occupation influences the contemporary situation, a participant in a group discussion said that "Our traditional occupation has been in education and scribing. We are not able to do work that other castes do." Kayastha has an above 95 percent literacy rate and works in highly skilled jobs such as engineers, doctors, lawyers, Chartered Accountants, and others. Women from both Newar and Kayastha partake in business/enterprises and salaried jobs together with men. Only an insignificant number of Newar and Kayasthas are involved in agriculture.

Rajput, who consider themselves the former ruling class and landlords, have increasingly been involved in business/enterprises and high-paid jobs. Rajput households interviewed reported that one-third of their community members are in business/enterprises and another one-third are in salaried jobs. In an interview, a 42-year-old Rajput man from Mahottari district said of the participation of women that "Given their upper caste and ruling class belonging, their sense of pride is high, and life is luxurious. They hire domestic servants, and their women are not allowed to work outside. But this is changing now as Rajput women are getting educated."

Brahmin from both Hill and Tarai are two other groups who have a higher share in salaried jobs. Traditional Brahmins considered themselves the holders of knowledge and priestly caste. A considerable number of Brahmin women have gained higher education. Nevertheless, women taking paid labor are low, especially in the Madheshi Brahmin community.

In summary, a new general pattern of distribution of occupation by caste and ethnic group is emerging. Although they do not follow exactly the traditional caste-based occupation, a tendency shows that excluded lower caste and ethnic groups are involved in lower-paid jobs while included and upper caste groups can

take better jobs. The qualitative assessment reveals that caste and ethnic division of labor impact women's involvement in paid and household work.

4.2 Predominance of Men in Paid Labor

Involvement in economic activities or paid labor is a crucial part of the household division of labor. Paid labor includes work related to business enterprises, salaried jobs, and production-related work in agriculture, and livestock and wage labor. Overall, men's involvement in paid labor is nearly double that of women. The predominance of men over women in paid labor is evident in all caste and ethnic groups, irrespective of their inclusion status.

There are, however, considerable variations in the nature of work and the time allocation by caste/ethnicity and inclusion status. The difference is also visible in terms of occupation and the location of the population.

The highest gap between men and women in paid labor involvement is among the Madheshi Brahmin/Chhetri community. Male members of this community perform more than 80 percent of paid jobs in the household. Most of the Kayastha and Madheshi Brahmin men, for example, are involved in jobs as professionals, technical experts, teachers, managers, or in various positions in government and non-government sectors. The daily routine of these job holders is often stable, as is their income to support the family financially. Although women and girls in these communities have acquired higher education, their involvement in the paid job market is much less compared to male members.

The Adivasi Janajati community has the lowest gap in the involvement of men and women in a paid job. There are primarily two reasons for this. The first is that they are primarily involved in agriculture, where both men and women take equal responsibility and second, Indigenous women in Nepal have a tradition of engaging in small-scale businesses. The Tamang and Chepang communities which belong to Indigenous groups have insignificant differences between men and women.

Most of the male members who depend upon wage labor often travel outside of their village. The destination of the wage laborers includes construction sites of roads, hydropower, and buildings in different parts of countries and cities. They also take seasonal journeys to various districts during agricultural plantation and harvesting seasons. The Dalits, Muslims, and other male members of excluded groups also travel to the Indian state of Panjab and Haryana for agricultural labor during planting and harvesting seasons.

A 57-year-old Tatma male of the Dalit community from Dhanusha said that he is the main breadwinner of his household. He works as a wage laborer at a construction site where he clears the land, carries bricks, and crushes stones. During the FGD with the males from the Tatma community, participants shared that the men mostly work outside, and females do the household work. According to them, females also work as agricultural labor in local areas available minimally only during the season. Both men and women from Dalit communities, especially Musahar, Dusad, and Bantar, express that they are forced to remain unemployed for several months each year.

The males from other Madheshi caste groups, Bin, Lohar, Mallah, Kumhar, and Nuniya, who belong to the excluded category, are involved in agriculture and wage labor. But they also take part in their traditional caste-based jobs; Mallah in fishing jobs, Kumhar in making pottery, and Lohar in making iron tools. Except for Nuniya, very few women from these groups were involved in paid work. Only some women work as seasonal agriculture laborers. The Lohar women participating in this study were housewives; they were not involved in any kind of paid work.

The males from Baniya, Halwai, and Kalwar, the included Madheshi caste group, were mostly in business enterprises with few in salaried jobs. In an interview with a 42-year-old businessman from Kaliya, Bara said on the household division of labor, "I open my automobile repair workshop at 10:00 in the morning and remain in the shop till late evening. Back home, my wife looks after the children, and my elderly parents and does domestic work like cooking, cleaning, washing, etc." The males from these castes shared they handled the earnings and their females were responsible for the household works that involve the caring tasks too. Some women from these groups also assist their males in their business. For example, Halwai women help their males to prepare snacks and sweets for the shop/stalls, Kalwar women look after the business in the absence of their males. However, it is only assistance; the women do not have any decision-making roles in the business.

The males from the hill Janajati groups like Darai, Gharti/ Bhujel, Gurung, and Tamang, who are also under the included category, were mostly involved in agriculture. Some of the younger males from this group are in foreign employment in different cities in Nepal and Gulf countries. A 59-year-old Gharti male from Dhading told in the interview that, "agriculture is like a cycle, it goes throughout the year. I still do agriculture because the younger people of this family live outside for their job."

During the FGD, Darai males from Chitwan also shared that the younger generation of males was getting involved in paid work as foreign labor migrants. To supplement their farm and forest-based living, the males from the excluded Janajati groups like Chepang and Hayu look for positions as wage laborers in agriculture and construction. The Janajati women belonging to both categories were also involved in agriculture and work as wage workers. However, they are primarily involved in household work. According to the Chepang women from Makwanpur, very few women from their community were involved in the paid/earning work outside. The women shared that the males worked outside the home and women managed the household from their husbands' earnings.

Most of the Newar in the study area own their own business enterprises. A 56-year-old Newar male sharing his normal day and the role he takes in the family said

> I wake up early in the morning, go for morning walk, come and have tea. I then go to my business. I take a late lunch and get involved in my work once again. I am an investor. I am also a shareholder in a finance company. I also own an investment company and it can invest in any business. My wife is also involved in this business. My son has a master's degree in international business. He is

> also involved in the family business. My daughter is doing a Chartered Accountant course in Australia. All our family members are involved in this business.

The Muslim males participating in this study were mostly involved in paid work in different cities in India. They work as bakers, tailors, contractual laborers, and seasonal agricultural laborers. Some males have also been to Malaysia and Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Those who cannot afford to go outside work as wage workers locally. The males from the Muslim community in Rautahat district during the FGD said "earning is the man's work, women do women-type work; it's as simple as that."

The FGD participants in the women's groups also suggested that it is not safe for the women to work outside. Working outside can also ruin the family's honor or *Izzat*. The women of the community were mostly engaged in domestic unpaid work, as they are expected to stay at home. However, some women from the poor economic class work as wage laborers. The younger generation of Muslim girls and boys are getting both Madarsha education and English and Nepali medium of education.

The males from Hill Brahmin/Chhetri were mostly involved in salaried work in the government, non-government or private sectors and business enterprises. Unlike the males from the other caste and ethnic groups, the males from these groups have established themselves in paid government jobs that ensure economic security. The younger generation of males/females of this caste group was mostly seeking their careers abroad. The women of these groups, though educated, were not involved in paid work. They were dependent economically on their male-paid work or pensions. The younger generation of females of these groups are seeking their career pathways in different paid jobs, however. A 22-year-old Brahmin woman from Chitwan shared she is working as a Montessori teacher. She had obtained a master's level education and was planning to move abroad for a quality job and steady income.

The general pattern of men doing paid work and women taking charge of the unpaid domestic/household work is still predominant. Traditionally, men work outside to earn, and women work inside households to manage the family. This is how the ideology of "gender roles of male and female" manifests in Nepal. Almost all the males who participated in this research were involved in different paid work outside the home. Even though ideas about the gender division of labor are changing because of education, awareness, and exposure of younger generations to the outer world, the traditional concept of men being breadwinners is dominant.

4.3 Higher Involvement of Women in Unpaid Domestic and Care Work

If men are predominant in paid labor work, women have an overwhelming presence in unpaid domestic and care work. As evident from the quantitative analysis, across both excluded and included caste and ethnic groups, women spend more time in domestic and care-related work compared to their male counterparts. For example, women spend 6.2 hours in domestic and care work whereas men spend 1.8 hours a day. Time spent by women in domestic and care work is three times higher than that of men.

Unpaid domestic and care work constitutes primary household labor. Domestic work includes food management, cooking, cleaning, washing, shopping, maintenance, and other household chores necessary to keep the everyday household running. The unpaid caregiving service within households includes care for children, dependent adults, sick and disabled family members, and other caregiving work. The prevalent gender social norms consider women as a primary agent to carry out unpaid domestic and care work.

Inter-social group comparison shows that women from the Madheshi Brahmin Chhetri community spend the highest amount of time in domestic and care work, followed by Madheshi OC and Dalits. A relatively lower gap in involvement in domestic and care work between women and men is found among the hill Adivasi Janajati group. Hayu and Tamang, for example, have an insignificant variation in terms of men and women comparison.

In terms of the difference between women and men, most of the caste and ethnic groups in the included category appear to have higher disparity. Newar women, for example, have a shorter duration of domestic and care work performed by both males and females, but Newar women's involvement in domestic and care work is eight times higher than those of Newar males. Baniya, Madheshi Brahmin, and Rajput women similarly spend as high as seven times more in domestic and care work. Except for Hill Brahmin, which also has a higher level of women's presence in domestic and care work, the women's higher involvement is concentrated in Madhesh province compared to mountain regions of Bagmati province.

Examples of the daily routine of women from different groups can help illustrate the nature and type of domestic and care work involved. In an FGD, Dom women belonging to the Dalit community from Parsa shared their daily routine:

> Women in our community generally wake up at 4:00 am in the summer morning and at 5:00 am in the winter. They perform the basic cleanliness task at home and then leave for regular Municipality duty to sweep roads and collect garbage. They come back at noon to cook food and feed their children, husband, and other elderly members. After washing the dishes, they go back to sweeping work and then clear garbage by the evening 5:00 pm evening. Upon returning in the evening, they again get involved in the household chores. Even though both males and females of this community were involved in the paid work outside, it is only the women who do the domestic and care work.

A 35-year-old Paswan Dalit woman from Sarlahi shared, "First thing I do in the morning is to get my cattle out of the shade, give them grass and water, and clean the house. After that, I go to work in my field. I work there up to around noon and return home for the food. My daughter-in-law cooks the food. In the afternoon, I take my cattle for grazing during which time I also collect fodder for them. I return home in the late afternoon. I have a grandchild to look after. I give him oil massages in the evening."

According to her, the males in her home do not do these jobs.

Women from the Madheshi other castes like Bin, Kumhar, Lohar, Mallaha, and Nuniya also reported more time involved in unpaid domestic and care work. The women from these communities shared that a normal day for them can be divided into four parts. First, morning when they clean the house, porch, and cow shed, feed children, and other members of the family, send children to school, and go grazing and collecting fodder for cattle and goats or work on the farm. Second, is around noon when women return to the home around 11 am to prepare food for the family. Preparing food, cooking, serving family members, dishwashing and cleaning are major activities during the mid-day. Third, is the afternoon when they wash clothes, return to work on a farm or wage and take care of animals. Preparing for afternoon tea/snack is also part of the work. In the evening, women again take up the job of food preparation and cleaning before they take a break and go to bed.

This is a common pattern for women from both provinces and for all social groups. The women from the Chepang, Dhanuk, Hayu, Darai, Gharti/ Bhujel, and Tamang belonging to the Indigenous group have a similar pattern of their day. They shared that most of their time in a day is spent doing the household chores, looking after the cattle, and working on their own farming land. In an interview, a 46-years old Hayu woman from Sindhuli shared, "I wake up early in the morning, clean house and dishes, clean the cattle shed, and get grass for the cattle. I also have six goats and some chickens at home. Besides domestic and care work, I also weave bamboo mattresses for sale and work as a seasonal agricultural laborer."

Those women from included groups who work in regular salaried jobs such as in government, NGOs, private companies, or have their own businesses have different daily routines. In the morning and evening, they carry out domestic work and during the day they are out at work. In a group discussion among Kayastha women in Janakpur, a 64-year-old woman explained that "in the past women were not educated. Women worked only at home. However, Kayastha women have acquired better education compared to other groups. They are also involved in outside jobs. For example, both my husband and I worked as teachers in college. When we return home from work, I immediately take up household work. But my husband, on the other hand, engages in reading, writing, and other social activities. My husband later pursued literature and politics, but I could never manage time for other things because of domestic chores."

Muslim women also spent long hours in unpaid domestic and care work. The women from this religious group were expected to work inside the house and take care of the children and other family members. In an FGD, Muslim women from Rajpur and Rautahat shared that they wake up early in the morning, clean their home, take their livestock (goats, buffalo, hen, duck) for grazing, and prepare fodder. None of them have hand pumps at their home, so they fetch water from the community tube well. Some of them have small babies, so they work while holding a child on their arm and sometimes even while lactating them. Most Muslim families surveyed did not have a gas stove; they prepared their food on firewood. During the daytime, they collected firewood for cooking and grass for the cattle. Most of the women who participated in the study did not work in any kind of paid work outside. Only women from poorer families work as wage laborers and in local agriculture.

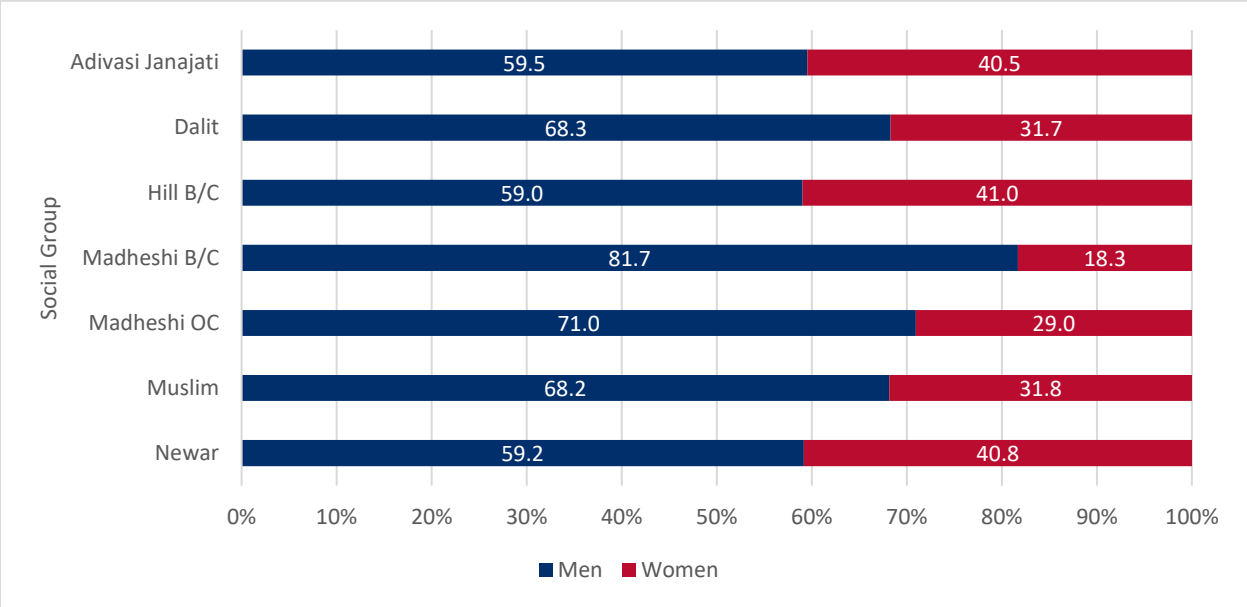
The Brahmin/Chhetri women also predominantly take the household sphere. The Brahmin women from Bharatpur, Chitwan in a FGD shared they wake up early in the morning, clean their home, bathe, and do morning prayers or *pooja*. They then work in their kitchen, preparing tea, snacks, and lunch for the family, and take the children to school. During the day, they work in their kitchen garden and make cotton wicks needed for prayer rituals and wash clothes. One 46-year-old Chhetri woman from Lalitpur, in an interview shared, "Every day, I wake up early morning, clean my house, take bath, offer prayers, cook food, wash utensils, wash clothes and make cotton wicks in the daytime. I also make rugs and leaf plates or *tapari* in my free time." Those women who were also involved in the paid work outside were also primarily responsible for the household work. The women further shared that their partners do the household work when they are sick and especially during their menstrual period days when they are prohibited to do the household work especially the kitchen and prayers for the four days to maintain purity as per the Hindu social norms.

The daily routine of women varied by occupation, family economic situation, or caste/ethnicity. But in all the groups, women bear the responsibility for the domestic and care work. At certain times of the year or situations, women had to take extra burdens when the children are small, live in a joint family with a big size, and have disabled, sick, or elderly family members who need special care, Festival season is another time when women endure a higher workload.

4.4 Women's Contribution as an Earner in Excluded Households

Despite the predominance of men engaged in paid labor, women from across different social groups have significant economic contributions to the family. Of the total time spent on paid labor by men and women in a household, women have a share of about one-third. For example, if men spend 6.6 hours a day in paid labor, women's involvement in such activities is 3.4 hours a day. Women participate in various economic activities ranging from agriculture, animal husbandry, and wage labor to business enterprises and various salaried jobs. The following figures show the share of women's time in paid labor compared to their male counterparts.

Figure 4-C: Percentage Share of Total Household Work Hour in Paid Activities by Social Group and Sex



The average women's involvement in paid labor is 32.9 percent of the total time spent in economic activities by a man and a woman in a family. There are, however, variations among social groups. Women from hill Brahmin/Chhetri, Newar, and Adivasi Janajati communities spent more time on paid labor compared to other groups. The lowest duration in the paid labor spent is by women in the Madheshi Brahmin/Chhetri community.

Agriculture and livestock were the most common work that women are involved in from both excluded and included group, with one-quarter of women reporting their primary occupation as agriculture and animal husbandry. About 40 percent of Indigenous women were involved in agriculture as their primary occupation. Within Indigenous groups, some have a higher involvement than others. For example, 90 percent of Jirel and 82 percent of Hayu women identified agriculture as their primary occupation. A 46-year-old Hayu woman from Sindhuli shared her daily routine, "In the morning I wash dishes, clean cattle shed, collect dung for making manure, and go to the forest for fodder. During the day I work on the farm. Looking after chicken, cleaning the house, washing clothes and cooking meals are regular tasks."

The migration of men for labor outside the village has increased women's work in agriculture. While men are away for work, women are required to assume agriculture and domestic care work on their own. A case of a 29-year-old Gharti woman from Dhading whose husband is working in Qatar as a migrant laborer is illustrative of this situation. She starts her day cleaning the house, filling the drinking water, feeding the animal, getting the fodder, and then cooking food. After feeding her children, she sends them to school by

10 am. Then she goes to the field for work. She has three children and said, “my eldest daughter now is 11 years and is only a helping hand. Since my husband is not home, I do all work of collecting the firewood, fodder, and shopping by myself.”

There were two groups with little or no agricultural work reported. First, those whom were engaged in salaried jobs or business enterprises. Kayastha and Newar, both in the included category, have virtually no women involved in agriculture. Second, landless Dalits. Dom, Musahar, Paswan, Bantar from among the Dalit community had no or little involvement in agriculture. For example, Musahar and Dom belonging to the Dalit community live almost exclusively on wage labor, as they do not own any land. Dalit settlements are generally placed in the margin of the village, often in the flood-prone area near the Bagmati River and other hazardous locations.

The excluded Dalit groups who do not have land, nevertheless, keep some cattle, goats, and chickens as a source of cash income. But primarily, poor Dalits and Muslim women are involved in locally available agricultural wage labor during certain seasons. They typically involve planting, weeding, harvesting, harrowing, and processing the crops, and post-harvest processing.

A daily routine of a 40-year-old illiterate Musahar woman from Siraha district involves both wage and domestic work. She recounts her day, “After I wake up, I finish all the household work of cleaning and cooking for the family. Then around 9 am, I go to my landlord’s house to work. There I clean dishes, wash clothes, dry, husk, and store paddy, then go to get the rice ready and finally make the home tidy. Around noon, I returned to my home to take care of the goat and cut the fodder. Late in the afternoon, I go for wage labor in a paddy field.” According to her, it would be extremely difficult to run the household if she does not get involved in multiple paid jobs.

Women from some caste and ethnic groups also used traditional crafts to earn income for the family. For example, Dom and Hayu women are skilled in making bamboo. Some women from the Damai community whose caste occupation is tailoring, have taken this work. The experience of a 30-year-old Chamar woman from Siraha illustrates how women get involved in various tasks to support their family economy. She said, “I work in other's agricultural field for a wage, but I also have leased a small plot of land from the landlord for sharecropping. Chamar women’s caste role is to work as a *sudeni* or midwife. So I also do this work whenever available for additional earning.”

The women from the included caste/ethnic groups like Brahman, Chhetri, Kayastha, Rajput, Newar, and Gurung, contribute to the family economy. The nature of their work, however, differs from those of excluded groups. They were in salaried jobs or in business enterprises. Women from both excluded and included however, shared a common issue of not having desirable work. For example, upper caste women reported living in the home idle despite being educated, while women from excluded groups had free time when they have no wage or any other work opportunity.

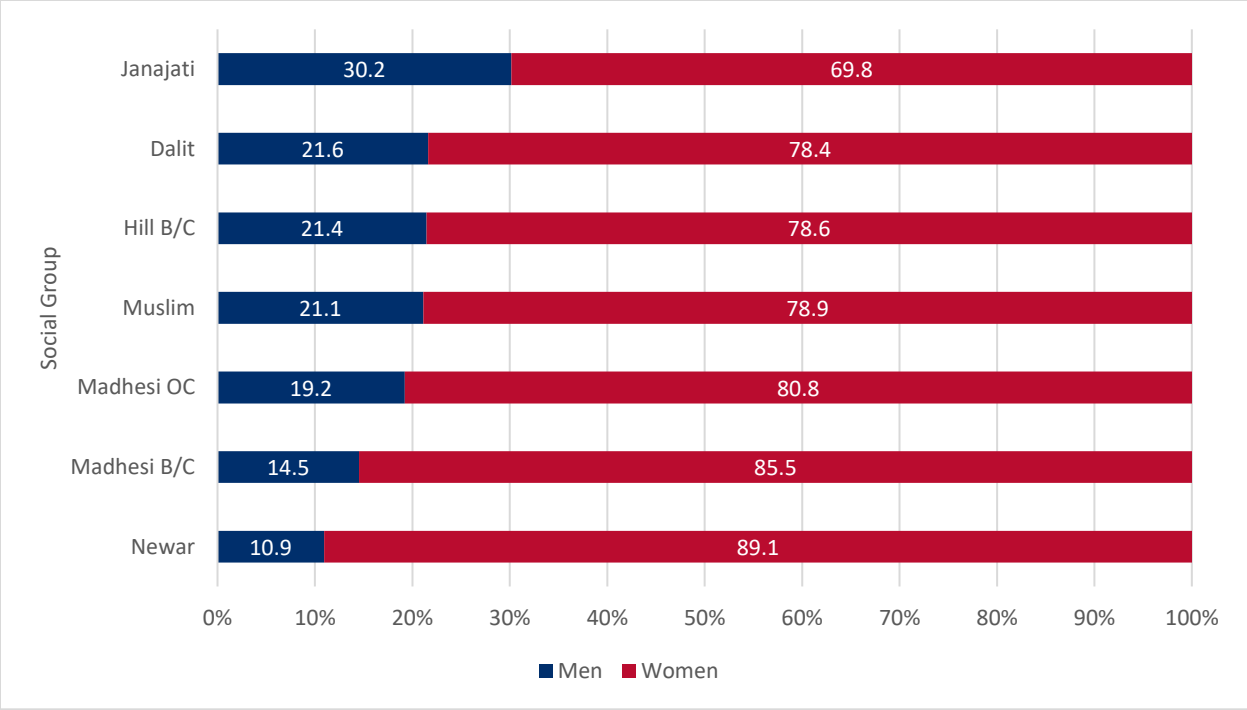
In summary, women from all groups contribute to the family economy. The women from included groups generally work in business enterprises or salaried jobs. The most excluded Dalit castes were engaged as mostly wage workers and seasonal laborers in agriculture. The women from Adivasi Janajati groups primarily contribute to agriculture and livestock. The involvement of women from excluded groups in paid labor is a necessity to stay out of poverty and their contribution is crucial.

4.5 Men as Helpers in Household Work

Men's contribution to domestic and care work was considerably less than women's involvement in paid labor. Of the total daily time spent in domestic and care work, men's share on average was 22.2 percent. There were, however, variations by caste and ethnicity and the educational level of the family.

Indigenous groups which have traditionally had a relatively egalitarian division of labor have higher involvement of men in domestic and care work. For example, Hayu men from Indigenous groups have a 36.9 percent share of domestic and care work. The lowest share of men in domestic and care work is recorded in Newar (10.9 percent), Rajput 11.9 percent and Baniya 13.7 percent belonging to the Madheshi caste groups. The following figure shows the percentage of domestic and care work shared by social groups and sex.

Figure 4-D: Percentage Share of Domestic and Care Work by Social Group and Sex



Almost all participants in the research reported that men were only helpers in household work. The help from men is situational, such as in festival seasons and in the time of specific needs. The Kalwar and Dhobi women from Parsa shared that their male members help them clean the store and lift the heavy materials during the festival seasons like Dashara and Chhatt festival.

Women from included groups like Brahmin, Chhetri, and Newar shared that their males helped them during the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown by taking care of the children and some other household work. The Brahmin and Chhetri women also shared that their males doing household work, especially work related to the kitchen, and when help is needed for the care of elderly or sick members of the family. Among the upper caste groups, males also take the responsibility for cooking when their women are in the menstruation period, a common restrictive practice among the Hindu community.

Indigenous women from both the excluded and included groups shared that the gender roles in their household are not as strict as the caste groups. Although they shared their males do not hesitate to do the household chores like cooking and cleaning, their involvement in the household work was mainly when their wives were sick, busy with some other work, or had been outside the home. The women further reported their males were not dependent on their females for their work like washing the clothes and serving

food, which lowered the burden of females of these groups. The Tamang and Bhujel women especially shared that their household division of labor is comparatively more flexible than the caste groups.

Muslim men from Rajpur, Rautahat said the males of their community do not do household work. According to them, the male who does the household chores is “Maugiaha” (male of feminine character). Instead, they shared their daughters helped their mothers with domestic work like cooking, cleaning, and looking after the younger siblings and grazing cattle. Boys rarely help with the household work. Masculinity is strongly associated with earning while the domestic sphere is considered feminine.

The study also brings to light that some younger generations do some of the household chores. The Lohar and Kalwar men participating in this study shared that they cook rice in an electric rice cooker, make tea on a gas stove, store water through an electric motor and use a microwave oven sometimes. According to them, doing household work with the help of modern appliances is different from doing household work in traditional ways like lighting the firewood to cook food or going to fetch water in a public hand pump and technology is transforming traditional gender roles.

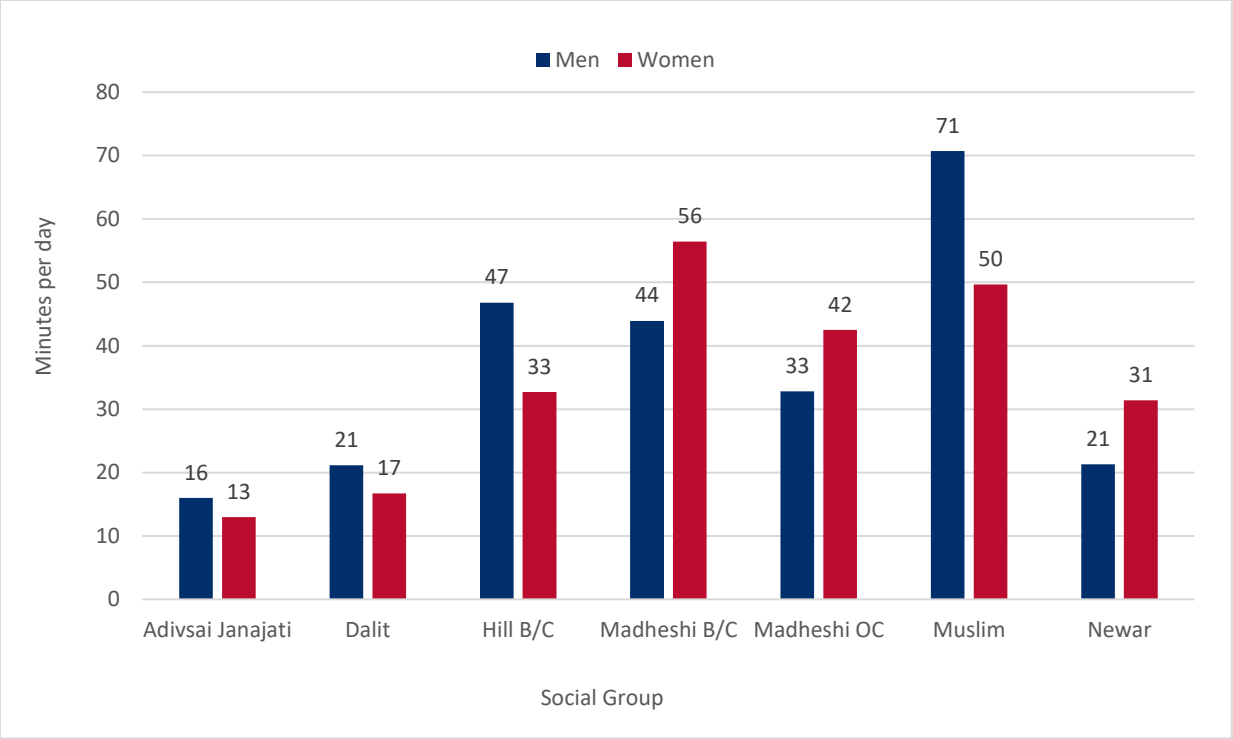
In summary, the traditional notion that a man should be the breadwinner and women are primarily responsible for the household and care activities is still very dominant and has been internalized in behavior and maintained through everyday socialization. Across caste/ethnic groups, men's involvement in household work is only situational; they were mainly helpers.

4.6 Participation in Social Activities as a Priority

Both male and female participants across the caste and ethnic groups in both excluded and included categories considered social activities and events of significant importance. They believe it allows them to socialize in the community as well as to spend some time out of their busy daily schedule.

The participants from both included and excluded communities who were mostly wage workers shared they prefer not to miss the opportunity to attend religious gatherings, wedding ceremonies, and other occasions for meeting other community members. They also participated in community meetings where there is collective work that needs to be done. Attendance at community events for them is both a responsibility and an occasion for socialization and exchange. The following figure shows the average time in minutes spent by men and women from different groups in social and religious activities.

Figure 4-E: Participation in Social and Religious Activities by Social Group and Sex (minutes/day)



Men and women from the Muslim community appeared to spend the highest duration of time on social and religious activities. A focus group discussion among Muslim women reflected on how the women spent their time. They shared they have to read the *Namaz*, a religious prayer three times a day. During the festivals, especially Ramadan, they get time to enjoy themselves with the community members and visit their relatives. They feel happy their daughters share their household work so they do not feel pressure and rushed as usual. On normal days, when these women go together to collect firewood and fodder, they take time for long conversations and share their feelings. None of the women have a television in their home so they enjoy their leisure doing casual chats. Most of them have small non-android mobile phones which they used to call their husbands and other relatives working in India and other parts of Nepal.

Women and men from included groups and those who are economically better-off expressed their satisfaction that they can spend time in social activities. Particularly, those families who have members with salaried jobs or rental income have busy schedules but they attend ceremonies and community meetings. Madheshi and Hill Brahmin Chhetri communities, followed by the Madheshi caste, appear to have a relatively higher duration of time for social and religious activities. The women among these groups suggested that they have adequate time for social activities. They shared that both men and women in the community work collectively when such ceremonies need to be organized.

Compared to other groups, Dalits and Indigenous groups spent less time on social and religious activities. There are two reasons for this. First, the limited events in their community for such gatherings and second, they are busy with agriculture and wage labor. Both men and women from these communities, nevertheless, place a high preference for allocating time for such events. In an FGD with Chamar men, the participants said that “people from our village do not take any work during such occasions. In our village, we have a Jhulan ceremony or carnival when music, dance, and other activities are performed. No matter how much wages they get, people refuse to take the job so that they do not miss it.”

Indigenous groups also gave priority to the social and religious activities in the community. In many of these communities, attendance at the wedding or death ceremony of neighbors or relatives is an obligation. A woman from the Tamang community from Sindhupalchok said, "We manage our time to attend social activities by leaving early from work or by asking other members of the family for help to carry the task. Presence in social ceremonies and ritual events such as death and religious ceremonies is very important for our community. Women from our community start in the early morning to complete domestic and care work so that they can participate in social gatherings. These gatherings are also occasions for us to get some break and renew our relationship.”

Chapter 5: Workload and Intensity

Workload is the need to perform a higher number or amount of work in a specific duration of time, while intensity is the greater degree of physical strength and mental focus required for accomplishing the task. Workload and intensity encompass both quantity and complexity of the task to be performed. Excessive workload and intensity lead to exhaustion, fatigue, and stress. The need to constantly perform physically strenuous tasks and work under stress causes physical and mental health problems. This is one of the major causes and consequences of exclusion and disparity in well-being.

In this chapter, we present the experiences of women and men from different social groups and occupations on workload and intensity. Based on qualitative assessment, it provides cases of how people perceive and experience both physical and mental stress. The type of occupation, season, family demographic situation, and availability of economic and educational resources to the family often determine the degree of workload. The research shows that women and men from both excluded and included groups undergo experiences of being overburdened and stressed. The features of the workload and intensity differ by socially excluded and included groups. We categorized the findings of the assessment into five key themes.

5.1 Strenuous and Stressful Wage Labor

Women and men involved in wage labor expressed that they have undergone physically strenuous and mentally stressful work experiences. As discussed above, members from the most excluded and marginalized communities Dalit, Indigenous groups, Madheshi caste, and Muslim communities are primarily dependent upon wage labor. The highest number of wage laborers come from excluded Dalit communities while included groups such as Hill and Madheshi Brahmin Chhetri and Newar have insignificant numbers of people involved in wage labor.

Wage labor work available for manual laborers in Nepal is in three areas: agriculture, construction, and the informal sector. Wage labor in agriculture is seasonal, available only during the peak seasons both in the hill and Terai regions. Spring season is generally from February to April and monsoon June through August is the crop plantation season when there is high demand for labor. Another season of high agricultural labor demand is autumn, from September to November for harvesting the paddy and wheat. Wage labor for weeding and tending crops is often limited and is done mostly by women. Women wage laborers generally take the job in areas surrounding their settlement due to their limited mobility. But the men go to different parts of Nepal as well as to northern India as agricultural laborers.

The case of a 32-year-old Paswan man from the Mahottari district who works as an agricultural laborer is an illustrative case of how people express their experiences. During the agricultural peak season, he goes to the southwestern districts of Nepal to search for work. He finds work in Kapilvastu, Rupandehi, and Nawalparasi districts. Last spring, he went to the town of Butwal for work which is a 10-hour bus ride away. When asked how he experienced his workload, he said, “I have more workload during the spring,

monsoon and autumn season as these are the season of harvesting wheat and planting paddy. The harvest and plantation must be done within a certain period. So I have only limited days. Hence I do two shifts a day. One in the morning from 6 am to 12 noon and the second shift from 1 to 7 pm. Working for about 16-17 hours per day with minimal rest is tiring. I hardly get enough time even for breakfast and lunch not to mention time for rest."

Wage labor in construction is another opportunity recently opened for wage laborers in Nepal because of increased public investment in roads, airports, and dry ports and a house construction boom in the urban centers. Construction work often involves carrying heavy materials such as sand, cement, iron rods, digging, bricklaying, and operating machinery. These works are physically demanding, often in hazardous conditions such as heat, cold, or dust. Not only are laborers required to work long hours, but must also work quickly to complete work by specific deadlines. A Dhanuk man from the Bara district who worked in dry port construction in Birgunj shared his daily routine:

> I leave home at 8 am or early with my old bicycle. The dry port is at a distance of about 10 km. I start work at 9 am. Since I do not have the skill to take a job as a mason, wiring, or machine operator, I work as a helper carrying stones, sand, bricks, and other construction materials. Concrete mixing is another work I have to do. I get a one-hour break for lunch. I leave work at 6 pm and when I reach home I am exhausted. I eat food and also drink so that I can sleep and get ready for the next day.

Wage labor in the informal sector includes work in transportation, the service sector, and domestic work. Labor in the transportation sector involves manually loading and unloading heavy objects. In urban areas, people also work as porters to carry various goods from one place to another. Other works available for wage laborers are in the service sector, such as in retail shops, hotels, and restaurants as a cleaner, dishwasher, or managing inventories. Domestic work is another possibility in urban areas which involves cleaning, cooking, washing, and child and elderly care. A Musahar woman from Siraha shared, "I do not have my land. Well, none of the Musahars have land. I work on other people's farms for wages. I also carry domestic services like cleaning the house, dishes, etc., in other households. When there is no work for a wage, I go to the forest to collect firewood for sale. We are very poor, so cannot depend on only one source of income."

Wage workers in Nepal earn low wages; women earning less than men. There is no job security nor social protections. In addition, because of the unpredictability of job opportunities, wage workers live in persistent mental stress about finding their next job. A Bhujel wage laborer from Dhading who works as a porter stated, "I can endure the hardship of physical labor but constantly worrying about finding the next job makes me feel terrible."

5.2 Strain of Farming and Animal Husbandry Work

About a quarter of both female and male household decision-makers reported their primary occupation as agriculture and animal husbandry. All caste and ethnic groups in the provinces studied from both excluded and included are involved in agriculture and animal husbandry. The highest number of households dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry comes from Indigenous groups followed by Madheshi OC, Muslims, and Dalits. Newar, Madheshi, and hill Brahmin/Chhetri communities have minimal involvement in agriculture and animal husbandry.

Most households combine agriculture and animal husbandry. Livestock is an essential component of agriculture in Nepal for manure and plowing. Families in rural areas who have limited or no agricultural land keep livestock as a source of cash to supplement their family economy. Their livelihood, especially when agriculture is combined with livestock, involves a significant workload and intensity.

Traditional agriculture both in hill and Terai is primarily for subsistence. People produce crops such as maize and legumes in unirrigated farms and paddy, wheat, potato, mustard, lentils, and others in irrigated fields. Depending on altitude and soil type, farmers grow three or more crops a year. Work on the farm starts with preparing the land for cultivation by fertilizing, plowing, tilling, harrowing, and preparing seedbeds. After the sowing or transplanting of crops, regular supervision and maintenance is required for irrigation management, pest, disease, and weed control as the crop grows. Harvest and post-harvest tasks of drying, winnowing, and storing are other important tasks. Farming is highly time-sensitive, as all the work needs to be done in a specific period. While the workload is high during the plantation and harvest, the regularity of supervision it requires makes farming intensive. In the plain areas of Terai, the use of tractors and threshing machines has reduced the time significantly, while farming in the terraces in the hills is physically demanding. The introduction of small-scale vegetables for the market in recent years has seen changes in time allocation in agriculture.

Buffalo, goat, poultry, and cattle are major animals kept by the families in the study area. Key work in animal husbandry involves feeding, watering, grazing, milking, breeding and maintaining shelter by cleaning dung. The volume of work depends on the number of animals kept, but irrespective of the number, animal care requires routine tasks that cannot be skipped. Agriculture and livestock keep both women and men occupied throughout the year, irrespective of the size of the farm.

Hayu, one of the excluded Indigenous groups, has the highest dependency on agriculture. They cultivate maize and legumes in slope terraces in the hill district of Sindhuli. Both women and men work in the field, but women take responsibility when men are away from home in search of wage labor. A 32-year-old Hayu man said:

> Agriculture in rugged hill terraces and keeping livestock indeed takes a lot of time. I live with my wife, young son, and elderly father. My wife and I work on a farm and take care of animals. In the morning, we feed the animals, and milk and then clean the shelter. Then I go to the farm. After

> lunch, my wife goes for herding animals and collects fodder and firewood. I go to work in the field again. We do not have an irrigation facility. So we store monsoon water in a pond to use during the dry season. Managing both crop cultivation and keeping animals is tough, as it needs constant work. In some seasons the workload is just too much. When I go out for wage labor, my wife had to do all the work.

Seasonal variability is high in agricultural work in Nepal. During planting and harvesting seasons, families experience acute time constraints with no time for rest and other activities. During peak season, the farmers work for long hours. A 51-year-old hill Brahmin farmer said “Monsoon is an extremely busy time for us here. During this season weeds in the farm grow fast. We also have to feed the livestock, which keeps us busy, and no time for any other activities. During these months we work from 4 am till 8 pm."

A 28-year-old Kewat man from Siraha who does vegetable farming said that, unlike regular crop farming, vegetable farming requires extra management time. “If I am not able to get my vegetable to the market on time, the vegetable gets damaged. There is no low season for vegetable farmers. Sometimes, when the brokers do not buy or buy only at a low price, my financial situation becomes badly disrupted.”

Women, besides attending to animals and carrying work in the field, must also complete daily chores of cooking, cleaning, washing, and other care work in the morning and the evening. A Dhobi woman with a 12-month-old baby shared how tired she feels at the end of the day. "I feel exhausted. Workload during the agriculture season is very high. I need to work in the kitchen three times a day and take care of the baby besides working farm and feeding livestock. It keeps us occupied for more than 18 hours a day. But I manage them all. This is our way of life.”

Agriculture combined with livestock raising is a labor-intensive task that leaves the farming family with limited time for other activities. Agriculture work, in particular, is seasonal and during the peak period, it is very intensive. The need to manage fertilizer, seeds, irrigation, and the market is another challenging issue in Nepal. Women who are engaged in agriculture are burdened with an intense workload during the peak season, since they have to perform both household work and seasonal work.

5.3 Longer Hour Work in Informal Sector Business Enterprise

Most informal sector business enterprises in Nepal rely on family labor for both excluded and included groups. They include tea shops and food stalls, small retail shops, street vending, furniture making, iron tool workshops, plumbing, wiring, cycle and automobile repair workshops, and others. Handicraft production such as bamboo basket making, weaving, brewing, and others are some of the activities undertaken traditionally by Indigenous women.

Some communities such as Baniya, Haluwai, and Kalwar have taken the tea shops with sweet making and retail business as their main occupation. Mostly men are in charge of the business but women also help in

cooking and other preparation. The tea shops generally sell tea and snacks, sweets, beverages, and traditional Nepali food *dal-bhaat* or rice and lentils. These eateries generally serve locals as well as visitors and travelers. Small retail shops locally known as *dokaan* or *pasal* are provision stores that offer groceries and various household items of daily necessities.

A 29-year-old Halwai male from the Saptari district running a teashop and bakery feels his business keeps him quite busy. He said, "I have a small business of bakery and tea shop. I could hire only two staff, a baker, and a helper to serve and clean the dishes. So, most of the time I have to work by myself. I start my day at 4 am. Therefore, I have a lot of work. My workload increases significantly during the festival and *langan pati* or wedding season. I have to go to different places for cooking food during wedding ceremonies. I ask my wife for help during the busy season."

A 50-year-old Lohar man from the Parsa district for the last six years has been running an iron workshop, a traditional occupation for this caste. Upgrading his family occupation, he started a workshop near Birgunj city where he makes iron tools for sale in the market. He shared that his job of making the iron tools needs great physical effort. To strike the hot iron and turn it into tools and weapons requires a different set of skills. The temperature in the workshop is sometimes too high. To run his business, he needs charcoal, so he travels to the adjacent Indian city of Raxual on his bicycle every week to purchase it.

Along with his iron workshop, he also helps at home. Getting feed for buffalo from the market, preparing the fodder, and selling milk to the market are some of his regular tasks. More than the household work, his fabrication of iron tools makes him tired at the end of the day and his hands and shoulders ache. He worried that his work efficiency is decreasing with age.

Women often are involved in the production of handicrafts in the rural areas. They also work as street vendors selling vegetables, clothes, snacks, and other household items. Some women, especially those belonging to Indigenous groups, brew local *raksi* or wine for sale. A Tamang woman from a village next to Kathmandu city describes the work involved in *raksi* making. She buys millet, cooks and ferments it, and distills it for making wine. For this, she needs to gather firewood from the forest nearby. Selling *raksi* from millet helps her get some profit if she can sell it. She said, "I need cash to pay the school fee of my daughter, who is studying at grade six. That's why I do this work. But selling *raksi* is difficult. I have to work in fear as police often arbitrarily take away our product saying that it is not legal. I feel helpless."

A 37-year-old Chhetri woman who sells clothes on the street expressed she is happy with the work but sometimes it is too tiring. She said, "Unlike rich women who can go for a morning walk for their health, I have long working hours, from early morning to late night. I feel rushed in the morning and the evening. My working hours are not fixed, especially during festival sessions, it gets intense. I remember I stayed in the office until 10:00 in the street. The long working hours make me stressed. I feel that the physical labor, as well as the mental pressure of managing both the household and the family, make me feel stressed."

People involved in sizable businesses also feel time pressed. A 42-year-old Newar man who operates as an investor and has a real estate and stock market business said, “Doing business is a very busy job. My wife and I are busy from early morning after waking up to the time we go to bed. We have to take so many calls, we have to constantly meet with different people. When you are involved in business, you are never free. It is very stressful and tense. We have to pay interest on the loan on time and if we don’t, then we have to pay a huge fine. We have to think and work, keeping everything in mind. Time is money.”

The people involved in self-employed small enterprises often spent more time in their work than those who are in salaried jobs. Generally, men from the upper caste/class involved in salaried work start their day with morning walks, badminton, yoga, and religious rituals. They spend the day in the office doing routine work. Those who are retired have enough financial and social resources for their children to access education and work.

5.4 Added Duties for Family Members with Special Care Needs

Households with family members whom require special care and attention have an additional workload. Small children, elderly, members with disabilities, mental health issues, or chronic illness have unique needs. Management of food and medication, as well as help with personal care such as bathing, dressing, and toileting, is some of the work needed for supporting members with special needs. Most of the time, women in households are responsible for such tasks in addition to their regular duties of household management. The need for emotional support, including facilitating social engagement and financial management needed for such care work, requires additional work of both men and women in a household.

A 20-year-old Chamar female, Siraha who has a small baby explains her workload as an incessant flow. She says, “I have a nine-month-old child. Morning and evening are the busiest times for me as I have to cook meals while carrying my baby. My baby is only nine months old and I cannot leave her alone. I am fearful that she might get choked or fall into some accident. I breastfeed the baby when I have a small break for household work. I am lucky that the baby has no health issues so far. I pray every day for her good health." A 27-year-old Dhobi woman from the Parsa district had a similar experience:

> I work from morning till the evening. I have the pressure of work, especially in the morning when my husband needs to go to his job and my children to school on time. All my three children are small in age and are dependent on me. I am responsible for the care of my family members. I wash and iron clothes, and prepare food for my children and husband. Child care is indeed a pressing issue for many women who have younger children. A 25-year-old Kumhar woman from Bara says, “I feel pressured because there is so much work to be done but I have little time. My baby doesn’t let me work when she is awake. So, when my child is sleeping, I rush and work quickly to finish the work.

A 32-year-old Nuniya housewife from the Parsa district said,

> Most of my time is spent in household chores and caring tasks. My youngest baby is one-year-old and needs most of my time. My father-in-law is paralyzed and hence needs help with personal care including feeding, bathing, cleaning, etc. My husband helps him. My mother-in-law also is a patient with asthma so, she cannot help me with household work. However, she sometimes looks after the young baby which frees me to carry out domestic work. My unmarried sister-in-law also assists me in cooking and cleaning the house. A woman is never without work. I am working from early morning to late night. Even when going to bed I am only thinking about the work that is to be done the next day. Before going to bed I have to massage my young baby, and mother-in-law sometimes.

The situation of a 35-year-old woman from Rautahat illustrates that workload and stress can be even higher when women are the head of the household. She shared, “My husband is mentally ill. I have all the responsibilities toward the family. Although my daughters help with household chores, I still have to take care of my husband's medical expenses. I have to go find seasonal wage labor. I have also some goats and poultry to take care of. They are my source of cash for supporting my husband and children,"

Women's workload in households with big family sizes also experience heavy workloads. A traditional joint family can be as many as 20 people. Grandparents, sons, daughters-in-law, grandchildren as well as unmarried daughters are part of the family who eat in the same kitchen. In these joint families, daughters-in-law are often busy for the whole day preparing tea and snack, cooking breakfast, lunch, and dinner, followed by dishwashing. In addition, when guests arrive, the workload becomes much higher.

5.5 Burden of Tedious Household Chores and Multitasking

Women from all castes and ethnic groups bear the burden of tedious household chores and multitasking and find chores tedious and repetitive. They take on multiple tasks such as domestic chores and care of children and elderly members of the family along with wage labor, farming, as well as animal husbandry. The allocation of time and energy to work varies by household composition, seasons, and economic status.

Despite their long and tedious engagement in unpaid domestic and care activities, the women's household work is considered as non-work as it does not contribute economically. Women's engagement in unpaid domestic and care activities is also a constraint to engaging in paid work. They also lack the opportunity to engage in other learning activities. The existing dominant social norms make women responsible for the household chores, thus creating men’s unequal involvement. The traditional perception of gender roles still affects the way men and women work is viewed.

A 32-year-old Nuniya female from the Parsa district shared that domestic work, although it requires a high amount of time, is not considered as work. She said, "My husband sometimes complains when quarreling that I do nothing, just sit at home and eat and sleep, and that I do not have to do paid work to run the family. He doesn’t consider my work as work. I work from early morning to late night. When you have children or

a sick member in the family, it is even more difficult. I wish to take up a job outside after my children grow but I know that this will not decrease my workload in-house."

A sense of duty among the women for their work in the household plays an important role in giving them endurance. A 35-year-old Bin female from the Rautahat district shared how fatigued she felt by the end of the day, "I work in the kitchen from morning to evening, cooking, cleaning dishes, sweeping the house and sending children to school and looking after the elderly mother-in-law. I don't even get time to sit calmly and talk with neighbors. The work is monotonous and tiring. Although domestic work does not require heavy physical labor, I feel exhausted by the evening. But I feel ok because household work is my duty."

When asked how they feel about domestic and care work, many women expressed that they are habituated to this. For example, a 44-year-old Chhetri woman from Lalitpur district said, "It is not like we are pressured by someone to do the work. It is our own choice and we do this work because we have to." A similar observation was echoed by a 58-year-old Gurung woman from Dhading, "Domestic and care work is our job today and it will be also for tomorrow. We do the same work day in and out. It is for ourselves. Anyhow we have to perform the work. I do not want to feel stressed."

Some women feel that domestic and care work is a necessity that they must fulfill for running the family. A Hayu woman from Sindhuli said, "If we don't work in the field, we won't have grain to eat this year. I have to cook the food for my family to eat and to be able to work. If I don't work, who is going to make the food? We, women, have been accustomed to this work. As women, we cannot go out to do other work."

Some women felt that there is no other choice for them than to get occupied by domestic work. A 45-year-old Tamang woman from Sindhupalchowk, shared, "We have to be satisfied to do the household work. What will we do without doing any of the household work? What will we do outside? This is our fate. We have to be satisfied because we don't have any other choice."

The women from excluded groups felt their minds and body were occupied in domestic and care activities. They noted they neither have time for leisure, nor time to engage in other kinds of learning activities. The situation is slightly different for some women from the included category. For example, the women who were engaged in salaried jobs and business enterprises shared that they have a fixed schedule for their work. But they also bore the burden of domestic and care work disproportionately.

A Terai Brahmin female from Mahottari district who had to quit her job as an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) shared "I was working as an ANM. I resigned from my job due to my family issues. I had to take care of my children at the time. Therefore, women like us have to compromise to balance work and home."

A Muslim woman from Rautahat had a similar situation, "I'm 50-years-old now. In my household, both men and women earn for their livelihood. But the men in the household do not do the household work. While women are multitasking. I am taking care of my children, and cattle, managing the domestic work, and also working outside to earn income for the family."

Women's workload also varied depending on household composition, geographical location, access to technologies, education, and other development means. The women from the included category like Brahman (hill/terai), Chhetri, Kayastha, Rajput, Newar, and Kalwar were comparatively more educated than the women from the excluded category and were associated with urban areas with better access to development means like road, transportation, electricity, and water reported less workload in domestic chorus. Additionally, they had comparatively higher leisure time to do the work they like or enjoy.

The Brahmin (hill) women from Chitwan in a FGD shared that they do yoga, go for morning walks, and play badminton in the morning for their physical and mental health. They have electric home appliances like rice cookers, fridges, gas stoves, and washing machines, that have eased their household world saving their time and energy. They also have plenty of time to rest during the day. Some do flower gardening and plantations in their free time and visit religious places and arrange picnics with the community.

A 30-year-old Kalwar woman from Bara shared, "I have a small family size, it includes me, my husband, and my two school-going children. I am a housewife. I do all the work by myself but my kitchen is well-equipped with home appliances like a refrigerator, microwave, rice cooker, roti maker, and gas stove. I mostly get the ready-made snacks from the market". She further shared that she had enough time for herself during the day when her children were at school and her husband was in his business work. She goes to beauty parlors, watches tv serials, spends time on Facebook, and makes TikTok videos in her free time.

A Newar woman from Kathmandu shared that she does have to do all the household work herself but her small family size creates less burden comparatively. Her two children were abroad. She also has home technologies that ease her work. She shared that she watches television and Facebook at her leisure and uses her scooter to go outside. She further shared that she also does online shopping and gets it delivered at home which saves her time.

Workload and intensity are crucial aspects of understanding processes of exclusion and inclusion. Excessive workload and intensity results in deterioration of physical and mental health and perpetuation of poverty, vulnerability, and disparity in wellbeing. The study shows that men from excluded groups and women from both excluded and included categories from all caste and ethnic groups face higher levels of workload and intensity. Wage workers and people involved in agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihood bear physical hardship and work for longer hours. Long hours of work is also the case for people involved in self-employed family-based business enterprises such as teashop and food stalls and other informal sector services. Women from all groups in a family situation where the children, elders, and members require special care needs do extra work. Finally, the domestic and care work in which women are engaged is often tedious, monotonous, and time-consuming, and sometimes physically taxing. This routine work required to maintain the household is often taken by women as their duty, necessity, or simply their fate given the prevalent patriarchal ideology of gender-based labor division.

The household division of labor shows there is a correlation between occupation, caste/ethnicity, and inclusion status. In both excluded and included groups, a predominance of men in paid labor and women's

higher involvement in domestic and care work is common. Overall, men's involvement in paid labor is nearly double that of women in all caste and ethnic groups, irrespective of their inclusion status. The highest gap between men and women in terms of paid labor involvement is among the Madheshi Brahmin/Chhetri community. The Adivasi Janajati community had the lowest gap in the involvement of men and women in a paid job. Time spent by women in domestic and care work is three times higher than that of men. Despite the predominance of men in paid labor in the household division of labor, women from across different social groups have significant contributions to the family through their involvement in economic activities. Women's share of the total duration of time spent on paid labor is about one-third. Men's contribution to domestic and care work is only as helper and considerably less than women. Social activities and events were considered of greater value by both male and female participants across the caste and ethnic groups in both excluded and included categories. They reported it allows them to socialize in the community as well as to spend time out of their busy daily schedule.

Chapter 6: Time Poverty, Gender, and Castes

Given that time poverty is a critical development challenge, and an understudied source of social and economic inequalities in Nepal, efforts to eradicate poverty have not fully matured without serious attention to time-based poverty. To help fulfill this gap, this chapter sheds light on the time poverty situations in Nepal by 1) examining total work hours in all work activities, 2) exploring incidences of time poverty among women and men within the same social groups and across different social groups, and 3) analyzing socioeconomic and demographic determinants of time poverty by gender and social group.

6.1 Total Working Hours in Paid and Unpaid Work

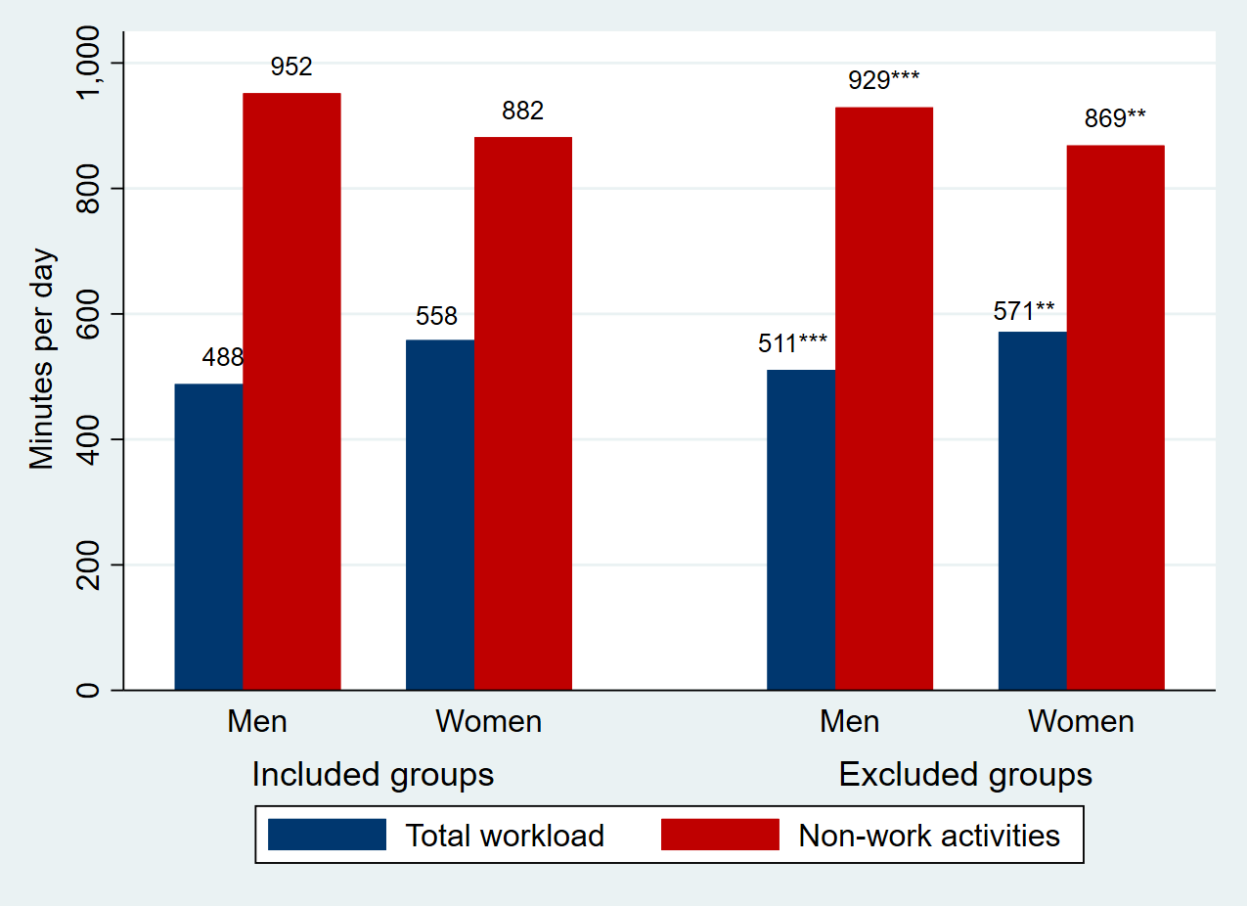
Time poverty literature divides time into four main types (Bittman 2002; Williams et al. 2016; Rodgers 2023). The first type is contracted time, or the amount of time allocated towards paid work or education. The second type is committed time, which is the amount of time devoted to unpaid work, such as cooking, cleaning, and grocery shopping. The third type is the necessary time or time required to maintain good health and well-being, such as time for eating, sleeping, and showering. The last is the leisure time or residual, which is the amount of time that remains after prioritizing the first three types of time. In this analysis, time poverty is measured in terms of total workload or the sum of contracted and committed time.[2] To fully understand time poverty in the context of Nepal, it is important to first understand time allocated towards paid labor market work along with unpaid domestic and care tasks.

Figure 6-A below illustrates the average amount of time women and men from the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups spend on work and non-work activities. Work activities incorporate income-generating work and unpaid domestic and care responsibilities, and non-work activities include community service, socializing, learning, leisure, and personal care activities. When combining both paid and unpaid work, women from both included and excluded social groups allocate a greater amount of time towards work activities than men. For instance, women from the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups spend 571 minutes or 9.5 hours per day on the combined contracted and committed time, compared to 511 minutes or 8.5 hours per day for excluded men. This explains why women from both groups enjoy less necessary and leisure time than men. Men from included groups spend 952 minutes or 15.9 hours on non-work activities, compared to 882 minutes or 14.7 hours for included women. The gender gap in time allocation is slightly larger among

[2] We exclude schooling time from the contracted time since, as shown in Chapter 3, our sample respondents have low participation rates in learning activities. Instead, time spent in learning activities in this analysis is considered as part of residual or non-work activity.

women and men from the included castes and ethnic groups. However, compared to those belonging to the top 20 percent most included social groups, women, and men from the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups do have higher total contracted and committed time and, thus, lower necessary and leisure time.

Figure 6-A: Mean Total Work Time and Non-Work Time by Social Group and Gender



Focusing solely on committed and contracted time, Figures 6-B and 6-C below show the mean total working time in paid labor market work and unpaid domestic and care tasks for women and men from each caste and ethnic group. Among those from the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups, Figure 6-B indicates that men and women from Newar, Tamang, and Jirel have the highest mean total work time than those from other included castes and ethnic groups, while both men and women belonging to Brahmin-Madheshi have the lowest average time in work activities. As an example, Newar women spent 654.1

minutes or 10.9 hours per day on average on committed and contracted time combined, compared to 474.5 minutes or 7.9 hours for Brahmin-Madheshi women. A likely reason is because larger proportions of Newar, Tamang, and Jirel men and women work in agriculture or business/enterprise, while greater shares of Brahmin-Madheshi individuals are involved in salaried work. Our data shows that Brahmin-Madheshi women and men also earn a higher income on average than Newar, Tamang, and Jirel women and men. Also, women from the Brahmin-Madheshi, even though they are educated, are not encouraged to be economically active; they are socially expected to only care for their family members and perform household chores.

Among those from the bottom 20 percent, most excluded castes and ethnic groups, Figure 6-C below indicates that women and men from Chepang have the highest average total workload of 648.8 minutes or 10.8 hours. On the contrary, women from Musahar and men from Badhae/kamar have the lowest mean workload of 523.1 minutes or 8.7 hours and 445.2 minutes or 7.42 hours per day on average. Compared to those belonging to Musahar and Badhae/kamar, women and men from Chepang work longer hours because they have lower educational attainment, are largely concentrated in agriculture (especially women), and many of them belong to the bottom wealth tercile. They also live further from urban areas and market centers. The Chepang seems to be further excluded among the excluded.

Figure 6-B: Mean Total Workload in Paid and Unpaid Work among Men and Women from Top 20 percent Most Included Groups

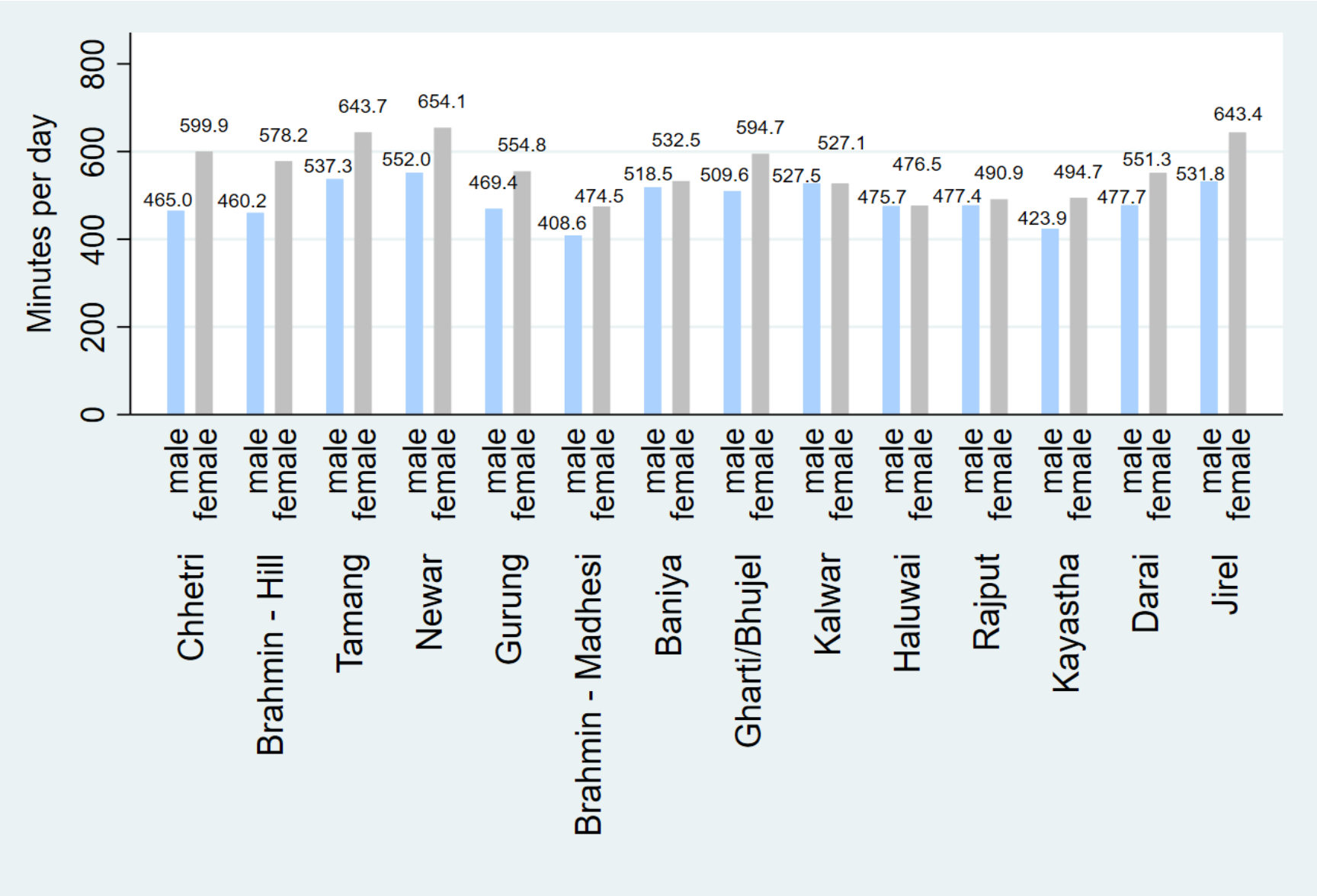
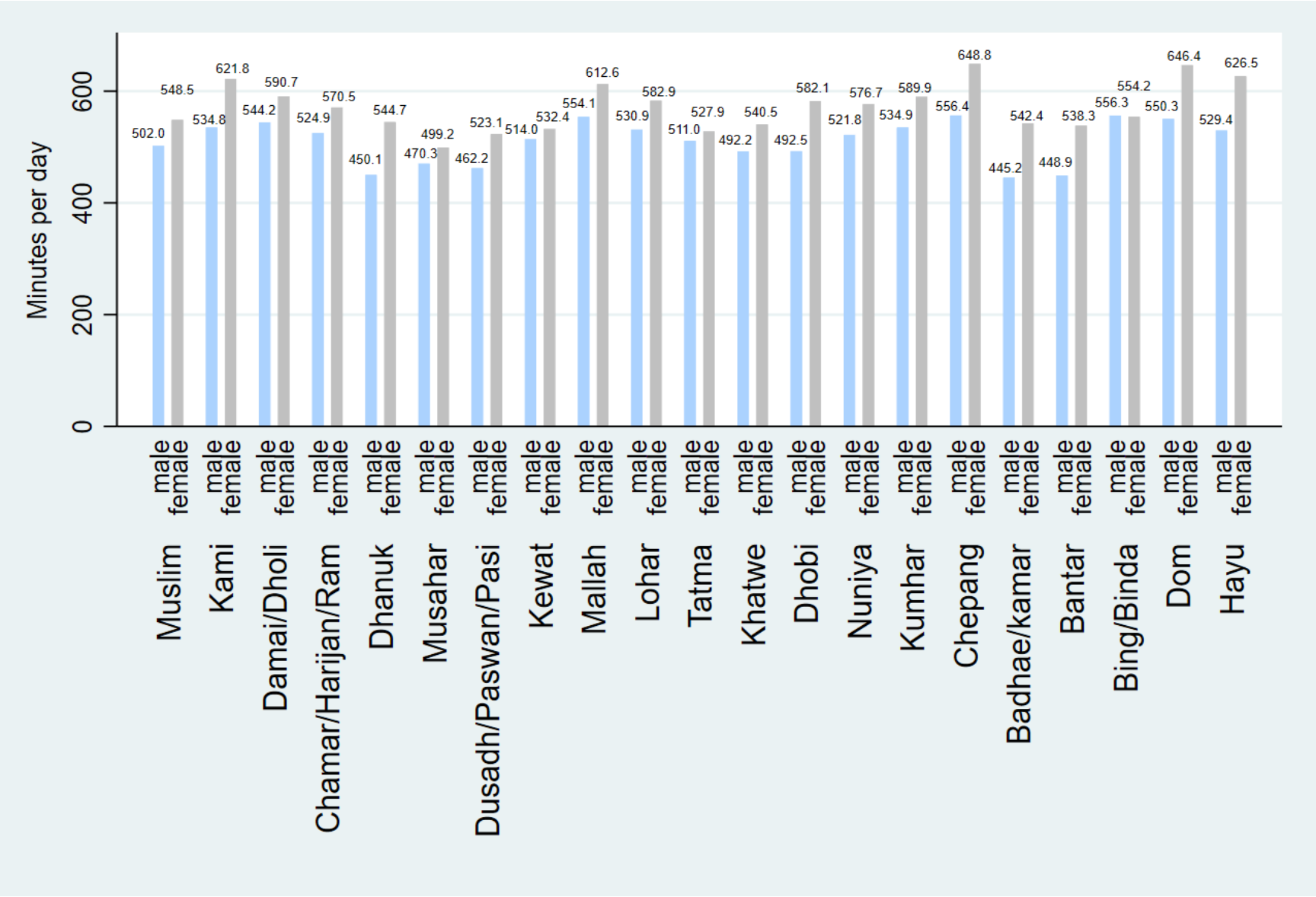


Figure 6-C: Mean Total Workload in Paid and Unpaid Work among Men and Women from Bottom 20 percent Most Excluded Group



6.2 Time Poverty

Table 6.1 below shows time poverty rates based on three different relative poverty thresholds—50th, 75th, and 90th percentile of the total work time— for men and women from the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups. At the lowest threshold, 50th percentile of total working time or 560 minutes (9.3 hours) per day, close to half or 49.04 percent of the sample individuals are time poor. This rate is significantly higher for women than men, regardless of social group. Time poverty rates are even higher for those, especially women, from excluded social groups. For instance, 57.14 percent of excluded women spend over 560 minutes per day working on paid labor market work and unpaid domestic and care tasks and are thus considered being time poor, compared to 52.57 percent of included women.

At a higher threshold of the 75th percentile or 650 minutes (10.8 hours) per day, gender- and caste-specific time poverty rates decline dramatically, and the overall poverty rate for the full sample declines by almost half or 24.34 percentage points to 24.70 percent. Nonetheless, we continue to observe similar trends such that greater proportions of women from both included and excluded social groups experience time poverty than men.

At the highest threshold of the 90th percentile of total working time or 730 minutes (12.2 hours) per day, the overall time poverty rate substantially drops to 9.67 percent. While gender differences remain similar to those of the lower thresholds, the poverty rate is significantly higher for included women than that of excluded women (15.57 percent vs. 11.24 percent). Those from included castes and social groups, especially women, allocate more than 12.2 hours towards working in their own businesses and enterprises, which is more time consuming than agricultural work, in addition to their domestic and care work responsibilities. In this analysis, we adopt the 75th percentile of the total working hours distribution as the main poverty line such that individuals who spend more than 650 minutes or 10.8 hours on work activities, both paid and unpaid work, are regarded as time poor. This relative threshold is more in line with the poverty lines used in the time-use literature (Bardasi and Wodon 2006; Bain et al. 2018).

Table 6.1: Proportions of Individuals That Are Time Poor at the 50th, 75th, and 90th Percentile

Relative poverty threshold	Full sample (%)	Included Group		Excluded Groups	
		Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
50th percentile: 560 minutes or 9.3 hours	49.04	41.71	52.57***	43.48	**57.14***
75th percentile: 650 minutes or 10.8 hours	24.70	20.43	31.36***	18.43	29.38***
90th percentile: 730 minutes or 12.2 hours	9.67	8.00	15.57***	**5.29**	**11.24***

Notes: Asterisks capture difference between men and women within each social group at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. Bold reflects differences between men (women) from included and excluded groups at $p<0.05$.

Using the 75th percentile poverty threshold, Figures 6-D and 6-E show poverty rates (the proportions of individuals who are time poor) by gender and social group. Among those belonging to the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups, Figure 6.4 reveals that at least 50 percent of Newar, Jirel, and Tamang women are living in time poverty. As illustrated in Figure 6-B, these women have longer contracted and committed time than other included women on average. On the contrary, only about 10 percent of Brahmin-Madheshi, Kalwar, and Rajput women experience time poverty. For men, poverty rates average between 10 percent and 30 percent. As expected, the highest time poverty rate of roughly 30 percent is concentrated among Brahmin-Hill, Tamang, and Newar men. At least 90 percent of Kayastha and Brahmin-Madheshi men are not time poor.

Among men and women from the bottom 20 percent, most excluded castes and social groups, Figure 6-E shows that time poverty rates among Chepang, Kami, Dom, Hayu, and Mallah are noticeably higher than those from other excluded castes and ethnic groups. In particular, 60 percent of Chepang women allocate over 10.8 hours towards work activities and are time poor. Similar to those of included men, time poverty rates among excluded men hover around 10 percent to 30 percent with Musahar, Khatwe, and Badhae/kamar having the lowest poverty rate of around 10 percent.

Figure 6-D: Share of Time-Poor Women and Men from Included Groups

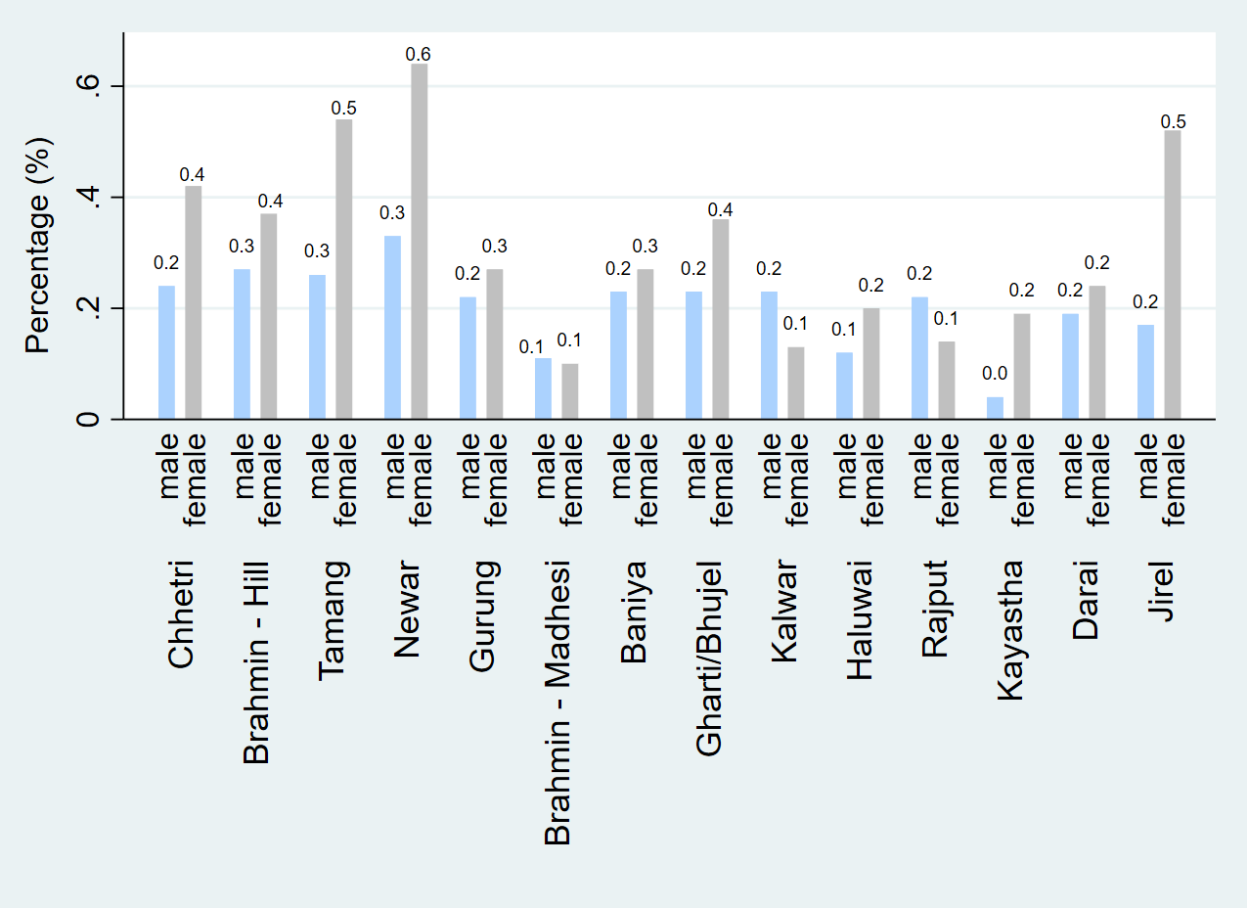
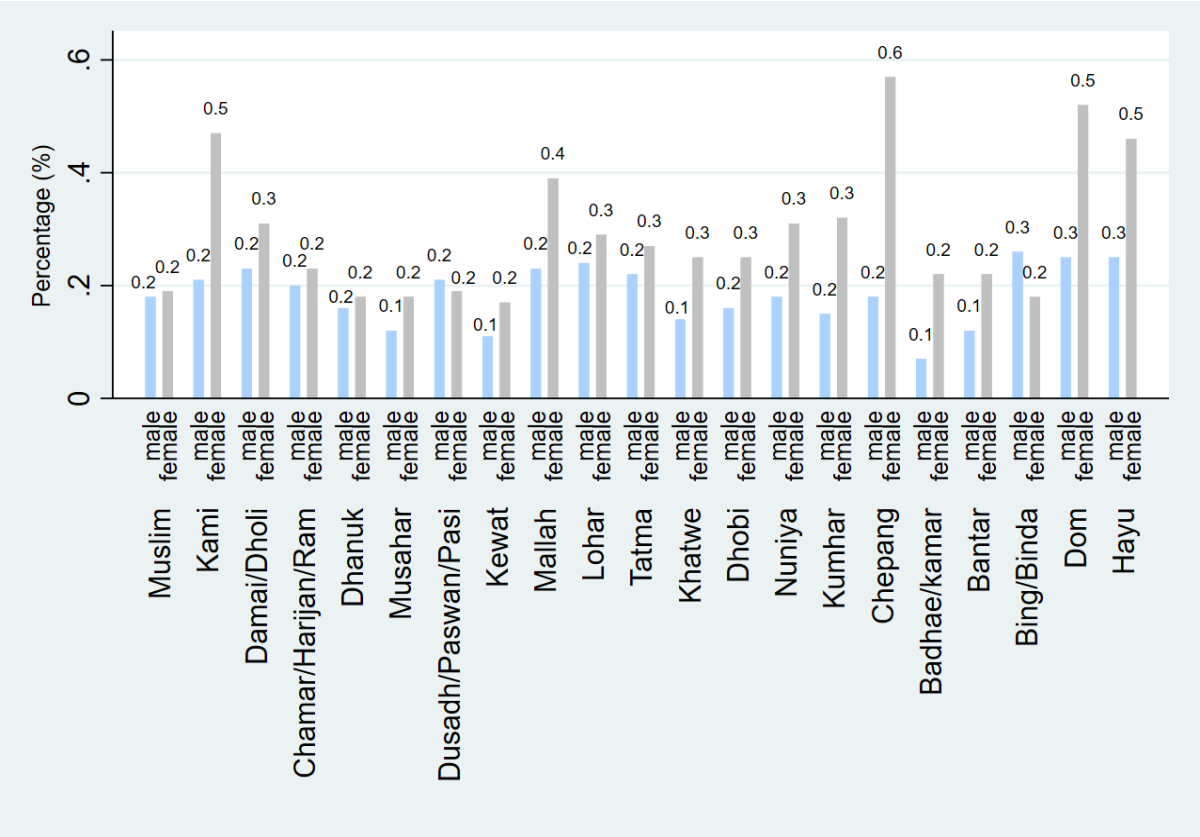


Figure 6-E: Share of Time-Poor Women and Men from Excluded Groups



In addition to exploring incidences of time poverty by gender and social group, it is also essential to understand how socio-economic and demographic characteristics differ among women and men within the same social groups who are and are not time poor. Table 6.2 below presents selected individual and household characteristics by gender, time poverty status, and social group. For both groups, women and men who are not time poor are significantly older than those who are time poor. We do not find significant differences in primary school completion between those who are time poor and are not time poor for women and men belonging to the top 20 percent most included social groups. For those in the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups, greater shares of men (73.03 percent) and women (88.33 percent) who are not time poor have completed primary school, compared to men (68.73 percent) and women (85.25 percent) who are living in time poverty.

Table 6.2: Selected Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics by Gender, Time Poverty Status, and Social Group

Characteristics	Included Groups				Excluded Groups			
	Time Poor		Non-Time Poor		Time Poor		Non-Time Poor	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mean age	43.36	40.53	49.62***	45.95***	43.72	38.81	45.02*	41.69***
Completed primary school (%)	70.98	77.22	73.97	76.69	68.73	85.25	73.03*	88.33*
No. children 0-17 y/o	1.40	1.28	1.32	1.36	2.32	2.31	2.07***	2.03***
No. working age individuals 18-60 y/o	3.19	3.09	3.25	3.30**	3.20	3.04	3.19	3.26***
No. elderly individuals 61 and up	0.41	0.44	0.58***	0.60***	0.30	0.35	0.38**	0.37
1st asset tercile (%)	9.79	9.79	10.14	10.20	49.10	52.84	48.86	47.27**
2nd asset tercile (%)	36.71	36.67	32.32	31.63*	30.75	30.96	34.50	35.00*
3rd asset tercile (%)	53.50	53.53	57.54	58.17	20.16	16.21	16.64*	17.73
Women should not be employed outside of household (%)	65.73	70.16	78.90***	80.85***	85.79	89.30	85.23	84.96***
Women's most important role is to care for her family (%)	13.64	15.26	19.21**	21.85***	40.83	38.90	37.13	41.20
Total:	286	439	387	617	1,114	961	1,713	1,483

Notes: Poverty line is at the 75th percentile of the total working hours. Asterisks capture difference between men (women) from each social group who are time poor and non-time poor at * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

We did not find significant differences in the number of children for men and women who are and are not time poor, but we observed that excluded men and women who are time poor, on average, live in households with a greater number of children than excluded men and women who are not time poor. The number of adults in the household can help to alleviate work burdens for women from both included and excluded social groups. In particular, non-time-poor women tend to live in households with larger numbers of working-age individuals than time-poor women, regardless of social group. Likewise, included individuals along with excluded men who are not time poor live in households with a greater number of elderly individuals than included individuals and excluded men who are time poor.

We observed mixed results when focusing on wealth. For those belonging to the included castes and ethnic groups, we saw a lower share of non-time-poor women in the second wealth tercile than women who are time poor (31.63 percent vs. 36.67 percent). Among those in the excluded groups, a larger share of time-poor women were in the bottom wealth tercile (52.84 percent vs. 47.27 percent) when compared to that of non-time-poor women. For the second tercile, a smaller proportion of time-poor women belong to this upper wealth tercile than non-time-poor women (30.96 percent vs. 35 percent). For excluded men, a greater proportion of time-poor men are in the top wealth tercile (20.16 percent vs. 16.64 percent).

Regarding attitudes towards gender norms, greater shares of included women and men who are not time poor agree with the traditional roles of women. In particular, 78.90 percent of included men and 80.85 percent of included women who are not time poor believe that women should not be employed outside of the household, compared to 65.73 percent for included men and 70.16 percent for included women who are time poor. The opposite is found for those from excluded castes and ethnic groups. About 84.96 percent of excluded women who are not time poor agree that women should not be working outside of the household, compared to 89.30 percent of excluded women who are time poor.

6.3 Time-poverty Determinants

This analysis further examines socio-economic and demographic factors affecting time poverty using a probit regression analysis. Given that included and excluded women and men face different social and economic constraints and societal expectations, social inequalities and marginalization processes based on caste, class, and ethnic group combined with gender play a vital role in shaping workload, participation in social and political life, and, thereby, vulnerability to time poverty. Hence, we conducted separate estimations for men and women from each of the two social groups to pinpoint factors contributing to time poverty for excluded women and men and included women and men.

Before we investigated socio-economic and demographic factors affecting time poverty separately by gender and social group, we needed to understand how caste and gender stratifications together with their interaction influence time poverty using the pooled or full sample. In Column 1 of Table 6.3, the estimated coefficient for "excluded group" is positive and statistically significant at the 10 percent level, indicating that individuals belonging to the bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups are more likely to experience time poverty than those from the top 20 percent most included social groups. Similarly, the estimated coefficient for "female" is also positive and significant at the one percent level, and its magnitude is considerably larger than that of the "excluded group" variable. This implies that women are significantly more likely to suffer from time poverty than men. From the pooled analysis, social hierarchy and gender have an influence on time poverty. This raised a question: Does being a woman in the bottom 20 percent most excluded social groups result in greater vulnerability to time poverty? We interacted the "excluded" and "female" variables to address this question.

With an interaction term between "excluded group" and "female" variables, Column 2 shows the estimated coefficient of the "excluded group" variable is again positive and statistically significant. This means men from the excluded social groups are more likely to experience time poverty than men from the included social groups. The "female" variable also remains positive and statistically significant, indicating that women from included castes and ethnic groups are more subject to time poverty than included men. This result is consistent with the descriptive results above. Given the positive and statistically significant net effect of the "female" variable and the interaction term (reported at the end of Table 6.3), we also observed a large gender disparity among those from the excluded social groups. Among women, the positive net effect of the "excluded group" variable and interaction term revealed that women from excluded groups are indeed more likely to experience time poverty than included women.

Table 6.3: Probit Estimates Predicting the Effect of Social Group and Gender on the Probability of Being Time Poor

Variables	(1)	(2)
	Full sample	Full sample
Excluded group	0.217***	0.214***
	(0.056)	(0.078)
Female	0.691***	0.687***
	(0.052)	(0.082)
Excluded group*female		0.006
		(0.100)
Age	0.013	0.013
	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age squared	-0.000**	-0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)

Married	0.111	0.111
	(0.102)	(0.102)
Completed primary school	-0.036	-0.037
	(0.051)	(0.052)
Business/enterprise	0.686***	0.686***
	(0.079)	(0.078)
Wage labour	0.145**	0.145**
	(0.073)	(0.074)
Salaried work	0.418***	0.418***
	(0.093)	(0.092)
Household help	-0.354***	-0.354***
	(0.083)	(0.083)
Do not work/unemployed	-1.167***	-1.167***
	(0.135)	(0.134)
Others	-0.689***	-0.689***
	(0.138)	(0.138)
Women should not be employed outside of household	0.009	0.009
	(0.052)	(0.052)
Women's most important role is to care for her family	-0.048	-0.048
	(0.078)	(0.078)
No. children 0-5 y/o	0.046*	0.046*
	(0.024)	(0.024)
No. children 6-13 y/o	0.044***	0.044***
	(0.016)	(0.016)
No. children 14-17 y/o	0.054*	0.054*
	(0.032)	(0.032)
No. working-age men 18-60 y/o	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.024)	(0.024)
No. working-age women 18-60 y/o	-0.052*	-0.052*
	(0.030)	(0.030)
No. elderly women 61 and up	0.008	0.008
	(0.045)	(0.045)
No. elderly men 61 and up	0.028	0.028
	(0.049)	(0.049)

2nd asset tercile	-0.114**	-0.114**
	(0.048)	(0.048)
3rd asset tercile	-0.173***	-0.173***
	(0.064)	(0.064)
Constant	-1.455***	-1.453***
	(0.224)	(0.228)
Net effect: Excluded group + (Excluded group*female)		0.220***
		(0.072)
Net effect: Female + (Excluded group*female)		0.694***
		(0.063)
District-level location fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Observations	7,000	7,000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 6.4 below reports the determinants of time poverty separately by gender and social group. Columns 2 and 4 show that age squared marginally decreases the likelihood of time poverty for women, signifying that, as women age to a certain point, the probability that they experience time poverty diminishes. The estimated coefficients of completion of primary school are negative as expected, yet these estimated coefficients are statistically significant. Focusing on occupations, women and men working in their own businesses/enterprises and salaried work are more likely to be time poor than those working in agriculture, regardless of social group. For instance, included men and women working in their own businesses or enterprises are 92.5 percent and 76.6 percent, respectively, more likely to experience time poverty than included men and women working in agriculture. Similarly, included men and excluded women working as wage laborers in farm or non-farm sectors are 34 percent and 27.3 percent, respectively, more likely to be time poor compared to those in agriculture. Women from included and excluded social groups working as household helpers are 43.1 percent and 24.8 percent less likely to experience time poverty than women in agriculture for both included and excluded social groups. This could be because agricultural work is more labor intensive and requires longer work hours than housekeeping occupations.

Perception towards gender roles plays an inconclusive role in time poverty. Table 6.4 shows that excluded men who believe that women should not work outside the home are more likely to be time poor than those who disagree with that statement, and the reverse is found for excluded women. This might be because women who agree with this statement could be strictly responsible for domestic and care tasks and do not have outside work responsibilities, increasing the need for male household members to be the household income earners. Interestingly, included men who believe that women's most important role is to take care of the home are less likely to be time poor, and the opposite is true for excluded women. This could imply that men with such perception delegate all domestic and care tasks to female household members, increasing their work burdens.

While the number of children and working-age men has no impact on included individuals and excluded men, the number of toddlers and children (teenagers and younger) increases the probability of being time poor for excluded women. An increase in the number of working-age women reduces included women's likelihood of experiencing time poverty. An increase in the number of elderly women increases the likelihood of being time poor for included men and excluded women, but the opposite effect for excluded men. Compared to those belonging to the bottom or poorest wealth tercile, women from the most included and excluded castes and ethnic groups and live in the richest or top wealth tercile are 35 percent and 22.4 percent, respectively, less likely to experience time poverty.

Table 6.4: Probit Estimates Reported in Terms of Marginal Effects of Determinants of Time Poverty by Sex and Social Group

Variables	(1) Included men	(2) Included women	(3) Excluded men	(4) Excluded women
Age	-0.005	0.014	0.006	0.008
	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Age squared	0.000	-0.000**	-0.000	-0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.019	0.023	-0.006	0.067
	(0.058)	(0.074)	(0.039)	(0.048)
Completed primary school	-0.017	-0.004	-0.018	-0.001
	(0.029)	(0.038)	(0.017)	(0.040)
Business/enterprise	0.266***	0.284***	0.116***	0.238***
	(0.050)	(0.061)	(0.042)	(0.061)
Wage labour	0.091*	0.045	0.031	0.094**
	(0.051)	(0.093)	(0.026)	(0.048)
Salaried work	0.098*	0.272***	0.113**	0.272***
	(0.051)	(0.078)	(0.046)	(0.074)
Household help	-0.080	-0.144***	0.078	-0.081**
	(0.063)	(0.049)	(0.092)	(0.041)
Do not work/unemployed		-0.250***	-0.136***	-0.232***
		(0.032)	(0.037)	(0.024)
Others	-0.126***		-0.057	-0.216***
	(0.032)		(0.036)	(0.037)
Women should not be employed outside of household	0.042	-0.005	0.041**	-0.053*

	(0.027)	(0.041)	(0.020)	(0.031)
Women's most important role is to care for her family	-0.103**	0.012	-0.034	0.090**
	(0.046)	(0.036)	(0.031)	(0.039)
No. children 0-5 y/o	0.007	0.023	0.007	0.027**
	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.010)	(0.012)
No. children 6-13 y/o	0.004	-0.004	0.007	0.023***
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.009)
No. children 14-17 y/o	0.011	-0.001	0.006	0.031**
	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.016)
No. working-age men 18-60 y/o	0.000	-0.000	-0.009	-0.003
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.014)
No. working-age women 18-60 y/o	-0.017	-0.039**	0.006	-0.029
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.018)
No. elderly women 61 and up	0.032*	-0.000	-0.046*	0.064**
	(0.019)	(0.030)	(0.026)	(0.028)
No. elderly men 61 and up	-0.036	0.041	0.016	0.009
	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.029)
2nd asset tercile	-0.015	-0.096**	-0.022	-0.032
	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.018)	(0.024)
3rd asset tercile	-0.044	-0.118***	0.010	-0.070**
	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.029)	(0.033)
Observations	1,353	1,363	2,100	2,100

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

This chapter provides a novel and comprehensive understanding of time poverty situations among women and men from the top 20 percent most included and bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups in Nepal. Overall, our findings confirm that Nepalese women have a higher total workload and longer total working hours in income-generating work along with domestic and care work activities than men, resulting in high time poverty rates among women for all time poverty thresholds. Such gender disparities are evidenced for both excluded and included castes and ethnic groups.

While poverty rates vary depending on the thresholds, our regression results indicate that individuals belonging to the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups, particularly women, are more likely to live in time poverty than those belonging to the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups.

Occupation is a strong and consistent determinant of time poverty. Working in one's own businesses/enterprises and salaried work increases the probability of being time poor for each gender and social group compared to agriculture. Household wealth also has a consistent and strong negative effect on time poverty for both included and excluded women. Among women who belong to the excluded groups, an increase in the number of children in the household is associated with an increase in the probability of experiencing time poverty. For women belonging to the included groups, an increase in the number of working-age female household members reduces the probability that the included women experience time poverty. Attitudes towards traditional gender roles implicate incidences of time poverty.

Our findings show that time-based poverty in Nepal is closely intertwined with not only gender but also castes and ethnic groups. Social stratification, discrimination, and segregation, which perpetuate traditional gender ideologies and roles, restrict access to social, economic, and political opportunities and productive resources and services, inevitably confine marginalized populations to low-paying and labor-intensive employment, increasing their need to work long hours and heightening their vulnerability to time poverty.

As gender and caste continue to shape their time and, thus, labor allocation, livelihood, and well-being, individuals who are born into the bottom of the social hierarchy, especially women, are essentially doubly cursed. To break this curse, policies that aim to foster social inclusion and gender equality should focus on reducing time poverty rates among women and those belonging to the bottom of the social hierarchy by targeting a reduction in total workload as a key policy priority. Sponsoring vocational training and technical education programs to women and men from excluded castes and ethnic groups can upgrade their knowledge, skills, and, thus, wages. This will enable them to better integrate into the formal labor market, work in better-paying and less labor-intensive jobs, and/or increase the returns of their business enterprises in the long run, reducing the need to work long hours.

Offering targeted consultation and specialized skill training for those working in businesses/enterprises can help to foster efficiency, reduce their long working hours, and potentially enhance returns and values of their businesses and enterprises, particularly since such an occupation is associated with increased vulnerability to time poverty for both the included and excluded women and men. Providing inclusive, quality, and affordable care facilities, namely in areas populated by the excluded castes and ethnic groups, can help alleviate domestic and care work burdens and reduce time poverty for included and excluded women.

Chapter 7: Changes and Challenges

There have been positive changes in the time allocation by men and women from both the excluded and included groups belonging to different castes and ethnicity during recent years. Opening space for the participation of women in paid work outside the home is one of the key trends seen. Access to better technologies has reduced the time needed for work. Increased facilities of transport, electricity, drinking water, and other infrastructure have significantly helped households to save time. New job opportunities are becoming available beyond the local village for both poorer and richer households. This has caused increased mobility of the people and brought changes in domestic labor responsibility. Because of expanded educational opportunities, social media, and public policies for promoting gender equality, the old gendered ideology is now received with a certain level of apprehension.

Despite these changes, significant gender disparities in time allocation continue to exist, especially for excluded groups. The changes and their benefits are not distributed equitably to the different caste and ethnic groups. For some groups, especially the excluded, things have not changed for good. Examination of specific cases suggests the changes occurred in different ways for different groups. This chapter presents major perceived changes in the time used by different sections of society and challenges they face. Based on the qualitative interviews and discussions, it offers cases, views, and experiences of research participants to illustrate the key findings in five areas.

7.1 Increased Involvement of Women Outside the Home

The majority of participants in interviews and FGD suggested there has been an increase in women's involvement outside their homes compared to the past. The reason and nature of this, however, differs noticeably by group. For the included groups, women's involvement in paid work further increased due to the attainment of higher levels of education by women. A higher level of educational attainment then also leads to other changes in family labor division and ideology. Group discussion with Madheshi Brahmin women in Janakpur provides instructive observation for this development. One participant of the group discussion stated

> In the past, women generally had no education. All of them did domestic work. But Kayastha women have advanced to a greater extent. Now women are working in various paid jobs. Men also started to help women in taking care of children. In my generation, it was not like that. For example, my husband and I both worked as teachers in college. I took the household chores as soon as we reached home back from college. My husband used to start other activities such as reading, writing, and meeting people. Later, he became active in literature and politics. But for me, I could manage no other things than household work. But I think things are gradually changing for this generation as compared to my times.

Women from included groups who acquired education were likely to take up salaried jobs in various sectors such as teachers, civil servants, nurses, doctors, engineers, NGOs, politics, or business. A Newar man coming from a family of traders responded proudly that "My wife and I work together in business." He shared that his family never took a salaried job. His grandfather ran a rice store, and his father changed the family enterprise to vegetable marketing. He said, "I want to become a successful industrialist. We change the model of our business to suit the needs of the time. Women in Newar society used to be limited to home in the past. Now women have come forward. If women are left behind, we will not be able to progress."

Women from Brahmin, Chhetri, and Newar and others, included Madheshi groups, have an increased level of involvement in the labor market although, those who have less educational attainment are confined mostly to agriculture, livestock, and household works. In some upper caste families, such as Madheshi Brahmin and Rajput, not sending women to work outside their homes is still considered a matter of prestige. A Rajput man from Siraha district reported that women nowadays are educated and only a few work in agriculture. But in his community, people still hold the notion that women working on the farm and animal husbandry are culturally undesirable. He worried, "If my wife works on the farm, grazes buffalos, takes food and water for laborers in the field, my honor will be questioned. It will be hard for me to face my father-in-law in such a situation."

Change for Dalit women and men has been mainly in the condition of work. The caste-based economic relation is characterized by the traditional patron-client system in which Dalits provide services to landed families for a payment in kind. The patron-client system has declined significantly in recent years. Women from the Dalit communities now can work as daily wage laborers and are paid in cash. Some of them also continue traditional crafts or small-scale agriculture and livestock raising.

Dalit women and men now can go outside their villages to urban centers for wage labor and other paid work. They are now less dependent upon local land-owning and richer families for employment. In the past, both Dalit women and men depended solely upon land-owning and richer families for employment. They received low pay and were also treated in discriminatory ways.

A description from a FGD among the Dalit women belonging to Chamar caste in Siraha district provides a relevant case for understanding the situation. They described that

> Chamar women no longer have to work under the authority of landlord (*kamtiya*). They are independent to take different work outside the village. In the past, the only works available for Chamars were in the farms and houses of upper-caste families in the village. They also had to perform the job assigned to them as low caste such as removing dead animals from the landlords and upper caste houses in the village and cleaning. Chamar women had to work as a midwife, take care of newborn babies, and massage upper-caste women. Chamars were yelled at and even beaten by landlords if caste rules are not obeyed. We collectively resisted and refused to handle their dead animals. No one is compelled to ask favor from the landlords now.

A reflection of a 36-year-old Dalit Khatwe woman from Mahottari district also supports the case. She shared that

> there was no other employment available for Dalit men and women in the past except labor at farms and houses of rich upper caste in the village. This was the only option to get food for the family. Men worked in the field while women worked inside the house of the rich, husking rice, making flour, cleaning, washing, and other. If women cannot go to work, landlords would refuse jobs to men as well and were beaten for not bringing their women. We experienced lots of hardship physically and mentally. They treated us badly. Now we do not live under the domination of the rich and upper caste. Also, Dalit women are now learning skills and becoming more confident to go out.

Except for the Newar, women belonging to Indigenous groups expressed the changes in women's participation in paid labor are insignificant. The women of the Indigenous population traditionally participated in agriculture, animal husbandry, forest-based livelihoods, handicrafts, and business enterprise along with their men counterparts.

Jirel, Hayu, and Chepang, for example, find that things have not changed. As a 46-year-old Hayu woman from Sindhuli put it, "Women do regular work as always. We go to the forest, plant, and harvest crops, weave bamboo mattresses and baskets, and look after goats and cattle. Men do the heavier work." 90 percent of Jirel, 82 percent of Hayu, and 44 percent of Chepang women responded that their primary occupation is agriculture and livestock raising. Chepang, Tamang, Gharti, and Darai women also take up wage jobs in agricultural fields in neighboring villages to supplement their agro-forestry-dependent livelihood. The availability of wage work has enabled some Indigenous families to supplement their agriculture.

In recent years, women from Indigenous communities also started to migrate out of the country for labor. Their destinations are generally Gulf countries where they work as domestic workers. The absence of an adult female in the family has caused alteration in household work division. Sometimes other female members take on more workload and at other times men share the work.

7.2 Reduced Time in Domestic Chores and Agriculture

Many men and women, especially from included groups, reported that because of the new technology and labor-saving household appliances, domestic work has become easier and less labor intensive. Using pressure cookers for cooking has become common in Nepal during the last few decades. The use of LPG stoves for cooking has become common in urban areas and among richer families in the countryside. LPG turned out to be not only helpful in cooking food in less time but also in saving time for collecting firewood. Similarly, appliances such as spice mixtures, *roti* or bread makers, vegetable choppers, mops, and cleaning

tools have made domestic tasks easier. Richer households also use washing machines and dryers, dishwashers, microwaves, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and other appliances in their homes.

A Brahmin woman from Chitwan recounted “In the past women had to collect fodder, firewood from the forest and drinking water from a common well. We use LP gas for cooking so do not need to spend time collecting firewood anymore. Every household now has drinking water supplied and toilet provisions. We do not have to rub the floor with red soil for cleaning our mud house as we have now cemented floor. We have to do the household work but it is easier now with technology. For richer it is even better because they can afford machines for washing dishes.”

FGD among the hill Brahman male echoed the same perception. One participant described the change from the previous generation of women by saying, “The mother-in-law used to wake up before the sun for cleaning the house and fetching water from the well. They manually husked rice in *dhiki* and *okhal* – a wooden tool for husking. They grind corn in *janto* – a manual stone mill. These days’ women husk and grind their grains in electrically operated mills. Daughter-in-law uses mixture instead of flat stone for crushing spice.”

Madheshi Brahmin women stated a concern regarding the availability of paying job for their daughters although they have much free time. They suggested that because of the access to labor-saving appliances, as well as their ability to hire domestic workers, women have much free time now. One of the women stated, "Most of the women become free after 10 am. After that, they have no work to do and stay idle through the day till time to cook the evening meal. We are unemployed so we talk among ourselves in groups as we have no work to do. Most of our daughters and daughters-in-law have received an education. They need paid work.”

Similarly, the availability of agricultural technology such as tractors and thrashers has significantly reduced the manual labor needed for farming. Tractors are used to plow the land in the flat lands of Tarai by almost all farmers now. The thrashing machine used for harvesting rice has reduced the time substantially compared to the past.

A Darai farmer is happy with the technology available for agriculture, stating

> We do not use oxen to plow the field anymore. For thrashing paddy, we needed many days of labor. This job now is done by thrasher with a minimum labor and time. In the past, a plowman would plow a pair of oxen from morning to noon. He eats lunch in the field. Then he brings another pair of oxen to plow till evening. Around 3 pm he would take snacks and home-made beer to clench his thirst. After plowing, then we have to harrow with a spade to break up the soil and clear weeds. Only maize was cultivated at that time. With irrigation facility now we have rice cultivation.

The increased ease and efficiency brought about by the introduction of appliances and machines in the household and farm appear to benefit mainly those families who are already better off. Excluded Dalit families and Indigenous peoples living in the remote area of the Bagmati province have benefitted less from these changes. These changes sometimes had negative effects on the immediate livelihood of the excluded communities.

A response by a 40-year-old Dalit Musahar Woman from Siraha sums up the adverse effect of such changes in their lives. She said, “Things have changed now. We used to collect firewood and sale for buying food. This was one source of income for women. Now, people rarely buy firewood as they cook on gas. Musahar men used to get wage work for plowing and harvesting crops. Now these jobs are done by tractors. The machines took our jobs. So, we search for jobs outside in the cities and construction sites. Those who can pay manpower suppliers go outside the country for work.”

More than two-thirds of the Dalit households are living in thatched houses with mud floors. About half of the excluded families from Madheshi caste groups live in such houses. More than half of the families from Dalit (73 percent) , Muslim (63 percent) Madheshi caste (57 percent), and Indigenous groups (56 percent) are currently using firewood for cooking. Given the poverty and living conditions, the excluded groups are not able to afford amenities that would help reduce their time.

The same is also true regarding adopting machines for farming. Many of the excluded families do not own adequate land for agriculture. For the small farmers living in the hills of Bagmati province who farm in rugged terrain, the use of tractors is not feasible. A Chepang man retorted when asked about technology, “I wish there could be machines and technologies that can be used in my rain-fed farm on mountain slopes.”

7.3 Development Infrastructure Contributes to Time-saving

Increased access to developmental infrastructure like transportation, electricity, drinking water, and cell phones has a crucial role in saving time, reducing physical toil, and improving efficiency. Most families now have access to electricity as the principal source of light. Except for the Chepang, Jirel, and Kewat, households from all other groups can reach the market often on paved roads within an hour. Access to drinking water has been extended substantially in the country. Mobile phones are also being used by over 90 percent of households. Men and women from all groups reported that development infrastructures have substantially lessened their physical labor. For the included groups who live in urban areas and better-served locations and those who have information and resources, the benefit is much higher. However, development infrastructure brings benefits in different ways for excluded and marginal households from Dalit and Indigenous communities who reside in inaccessible areas.

Nepal has extensively invested in road building in recent years. Temporary roads are being paved by local municipalities. Roads have benefited people in three ways. First, people do not need to carry heavy loads from the market, such as construction materials, fertilizers, rice, and other household goods or their

agriculture and other products to market. Second, roads have substantially decreased travel time. In the past, people used to walk a day to reach district headquarters for official work. But now in many of the districts, they can reach the destination in two hours. Third, roads have increased the mobility of laborers and entrepreneurs.

Most of the rural roads in monsoon season become dirt roads unusable for vehicles. Even seasonal dirt roads have benefitted people by saving time and energy. A 30-year-old Hayu male from the interior of Ramechhap district, for example, shared, “Before we had to cross the river. There were no roads or bridges. Now we have a rough road linking the market. It is a one-day trip to the market now to sell our products and buy household goods. It used to take three days of return walking journey, carrying heavy loads. It has made life for us men easier. This is good but the road to our village is a dirt road operational only during the dry season. Monsoon is still a difficult time for us.”

Wage workers from Rautahat districts shared their experience of how they have benefitted from road and transportation access. In a FGD among the Bin community who send their youths to different parts of the country for seasonal agricultural labor, they stated the road made it easier to travel to find work. They said the road linking their village and highway greatly helped the villagers. Before they had to walk for miles to get to the highway in Chandranigahapore to take a bus to Butwal where they go for work. The public bus service, although relatively expensive for them, has made the journey short and comfortable. The road network linking the Indian border at Jayanagar from their village enabled traveling to Indian states to search for jobs for the people from the village. A man said that “With the road, I can return home swiftly if there is any emergency at home from my work.”

People from rural areas where electricity facilities are available also noted positive experiences. They were happy that electricity replaced the old kerosene light. With better lighting, they can work later in the night. The most important change electricity brought, especially for rural women, was mills for husking and grinding grains. In the past, women had to spend a lot of time manually operating tools for husking rice grinding grains. Some had to walk over three hours to reach water mills near rivers or streams for the task. But now power-operated mills are in every settlement provide this grinding service. This not only saves a significant amount of time but also the physical hardship involved.

A farmer from an excluded group in Dhading shared that “Women used to start grinding manually in a stone grinder at 4 a.m. Men had to go to a water mill for grinding. Electricity replaced them all. Life is much easier now.”

Besides the mills, there are other applications of electricity that people in rural areas appreciate. For example, a Gurung man from Chitwan who works as a carpenter and house builder, said that in the past, “I used to cut trees with an axe. It took a whole day for a tree to be cut. Now with my machine, I can finish the job in one hour. The day is reduced to an hour and a month is reduced to a day.”

Access to drinking water has also greatly helped save time for women in rural areas. A 32-year-old Nuniya woman from Parsa district recounted her experience, "I used to collect firewood to cook food. Fetch water from the communal pond and carry it to our home for cooking, washing, and bathing purposes. I had to fetch water 3-4 times a day. There was no electricity, we used to work in darkness with the help of a kerosene lamp. Now everything has been replaced. We have a hand pump at our home, an electric bulb, and an electric fan now. It has saved my time and energy."

The benefits from development infrastructure for excluded communities is a positive change, but is at the basic level in terms of reducing the physical hardship and reduction of time required for everyday work for daily survival. In many remote parts of the districts and margins of the villages, updated development infrastructure is still not available. A Chepang woman from Makwanpur district said when asked what changes she has experienced over the past years,

> We had to go to the landlord's house to work for them. But now, we don't have to go to ask their favor. We can go for other wage labor. However, many things have not changed for us. We still have to fetch water from the stream at far distances and carry it. Collect fodder and firewood. We still have to do agriculture to feed the family. We still go to traditional mills. Only those people who can buy a gas stove can use the stove to cook food. Only those who have money can buy the food in the market. Roads built in our village caused a landslide. There is no electricity. We have nobody in the local government to help with these works.

Housing is another major infrastructure issue that has been overlooked in the past. Many excluded groups, such as Musahar, Chepang, Hayu, Dom, and others, live in small huts built with mud walls and thatched roofs. Besides the infrastructure, for the excluded groups, government support for affordable housing, health care, childcare, and education is a big challenge. The development infrastructure is also yet to contribute to the poverty reduction of disadvantaged families.

7.4 Child Care, Health, and Secured Work as a Challenge for Excluded

The excluded groups find themselves in a paradoxical situation. On one hand, they spend a considerable duration of time in childcare and supporting members with health issues and an intensive duration of time in seasonal wage labor. They find that they have to remain only partially employed or temporarily unemployed during the year. This situation applies to both wage workers and households relying on agriculture. This leaves them, especially women, without time for leisure, learning, or self-care, while men remain idle without gainful employment for a considerable time.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a family demographic situation with children, and members with unique care and attention needs adversely impacts women's workload. Many of the areas where excluded communities live do not have childcare facilities for small children. A woman from Khatwe community in Siraha who has a 2-year-old daughter said "I wish I could also send my child to a daycare center where she

could play with mates and start learning from an early age. She would also be safe there. In the house, I always fear that she might get burnt or fall into some accident. The daycare would have also given me spare time for doing things or for little leisure for me."

Excluded families also have limited resources for accessing quality education for school-age children. Government schools in Nepal still have poor infrastructure and lower standards of classroom teaching and learning. The schools do not have any meal plans for the children who come from poorer family backgrounds. Children from marginalized communities often fail in their studies for multiple reasons. First, the lack of culture and gender-friendly classrooms. Many Indigenous children fail because the language of instruction is not in their mother tongue. They are left behind in comprehension compared to those children whose mother tongue is the Nepali language- the medium of instruction. The children from Dalit also experience caste-based discrimination from peers, if not from teachers themselves. As a result, many children from disadvantaged groups, especially from Dalit and Indigenous communities, are drop out of school at an early age. Their parents are required to spend additional time on their care. Most often, the bigger children remain minimally attended by adults. Besides their inability to provide children with adequate educational materials, dress, and supplies, sometimes these families required school-age children to remain outside of school to help with household work.

Dalit children in Terai who speak Maithili, Bhojpuri, rather than Nepali face linguistic difficulty in addition to visible and invisible discrimination based on the notion of caste pollution. Dalit children belonging to Kami and Damai from Hill might not have linguistic problems, but they face discrimination as well as inaccessibility to school facilities.

In the hills of Bagmati province, distance to school is a problem for children. Although primary schools are accessible within walking distance of half an hour to one-hour, high schools are in market centers which are not accessible from home. The accommodation facilities near school are not available or even when available excluded families cannot afford such facilities. Hayu, Chepang, Gharti, Tamang, and other Indigenous children face linguistic problems besides accessibility. Some parents try to send their children to cities. A Tamang man from Sindhupalchowk expressed his desire, "I go to Malaysia to work as a migrant laborer so that I can send and pay for my child's education in a private boarding school in Melamchi bazaar where he hopefully could succeed." Due to these challenges, children from excluded communities are required to allocate more time to catch up on their education or find informal ways of learning.

An episode of a family member becoming ill dramatically upsets the balance of the excluded family. They require extra time for care, especially for a woman in the family. The situation for the family can be even more detrimental, if the other family member is physically or mentally disabled, have chronic health issues, or an elderly member who requires personal care. This situation not only increases the workload of the women and men but also adds mental stress. They often fall into debt traps for paying for medication and health care services. In Nepal, there is no health insurance system nor does the government provide adequate free health care services.

Members from excluded communities work long hours in the informal labor market to meet their basic needs. Wage labor in agriculture and construction is generally seasonal. Job security in this sector is virtually non-existent, and laborers find it difficult to find jobs regularly. Because of poverty or financial hardship and lack of skills, they are not able to engage in income-generating enterprises. As a result, for 3-6 months a year, many of wage laborers are not able to engage in gainful work. When asked about their experience of time poverty, a Mallaha man from Dhanusha who works as a wage laborer said, "We face acute time pressure during peak season when we find work. We have no time for rest. But we have too much free time when we have no work. We spend time searching for the next work or remaining idle at home. We need secure work."

A 48-years old Musahar male from Siraha said, "If I don't work, I cannot feed my family. If my ancestors had land, it would have been easier. I wish I had a small piece of land even if it is enough to produce rice for only half a year. I could labor for the next six months to feed my family. But I don't have anything, so I have to work to buy food. For 1 kg of chicken meat, it costs Rs. 400, which equals my pay for half a day. So, I have to work a lot. But I do not get work regularly."

Daily wage laborers are often paid very low wages, which makes it difficult for them to meet their basic needs. Their daily earnings may not be enough to cover their housing, food, and healthcare expenses, let alone save for the future. Lack of job security can make it difficult for them to plan for their future and can leave them vulnerable to sudden changes in employment. Thus, lack of jobs/unemployment is a bigger source of threat and stress than the current workload/time barrier for the excluded groups.

Agriculture-based livelihoods face a similar situation of fluctuation between constrained and excess time. During the farming season, farmers are time pressed. But during the slack season, they do not have much work to do. A Jirel farmer from Dolakha said, "The products from farms can feed my family only for about six months a year. It gives us neither enough income nor full employment. It is like half subsistence and half unemployed."

To supplement agriculture, farmers raise livestock such as buffalo, cattle, goats, and poultry. Many families have a buffalo or a pair of oxen, a few goats, and dozens of poultry. These animals keep the family busy, as they require feeding and cleaning at regular intervals. Although animal products help earn some cash for the family, they do not provide full-time employment. As a result, the poorer households diversify their livelihood by engaging in handicrafts, wage labor, or collection of forest products.

A Hayu farming woman from Sindhuli detailed their situation, "In the off-season for agriculture, the women make *Mandro* and sell it in the local market in Sindhuli. When food shortage is high we go for collecting yams and mushrooms in the forest. We also look for wage labor but is rarely available in the local area." Poverty in her village is compounded by a lack of other services. They do not have paved roads for transportation. They also do not have drinking water nearby so they walk a long distance to get water from the spring. They are able to carry water sufficient for drinking but water is scarce for washing and bathing.

The women shared that they have long working hours that left them tired and stressed out at the end of the day.

7.5 Persistent Ideology of Gendered Division of Labor

Some change in the gender ideology of labor division have taken place in the study area. Despite progress toward gender equality, the ideology of a gendered division of labor however, persists across social groups. Although culturally diverse, Nepali society upholds the patriarchy in which gender roles and labor division are firmly placed. The traditional ideology of gender division of labor dictates that men involve in paid labor as the breadwinner of the family and women confine themselves to the domestic and caregiving roles.

The research participants perceived some changes in attitude and practice concerning the restriction of mobility or seclusion of women. Like in some parts of north India, Nepali Hindu and Muslim communities, in Madhesh traditionally practiced seclusion of women, involving limiting women's mobility outside the home and interacting with unrelated men in public places. The practice of wearing a head cover or veil known as purdah among Hindu, and Hijab/Niqab among Muslims is part of the seclusion. Upper caste and class women often use head covers as a symbol of status. Traditional notions hold it symbolizes the modesty and purity of women. Seclusion practice is also associated with religious duty and family honor.

A 35-year-old Paswan farming woman expressed the changes in the practice of seclusion, "In the past, women were not allowed to go outside. Daughters-in-law were particularly restricted. When neighboring male members come to the porch, women were required to stay inside. Now they serve tea to guests! The daughters-in-law can go to school. Even when they are pregnant, they can attend public meetings. It was not like that before."

The outlook toward girls' education has also changed. In the past, investment in the daughters' education used to be of the least priority for most households. A 27-year-old Kalwar housewife recounted that compared to her time with her mother- and mother-in-law, many things have changed. She said, "My mother got married at an early age, but I got married a little older than them. There was no concept of educating the daughter earlier. Because of that, I was not sent to school. But now I am sending my two daughters to a government school and son to a boarding school."

Women's education along with the relaxation of old gender norms has not only opened possibilities for women to work outside but also has caused an increase in men's participation in domestic work. A 30-year-old Chhetri women farmer who had studied up to grade 10 from Kavre said "There has been some change compared to past. Men also work in the kitchen when women are not available. A woman from my village works as an auto-rickshaw driver in the city. Some girls are working in health services. In the past, people believed that women should not talk in front of men."

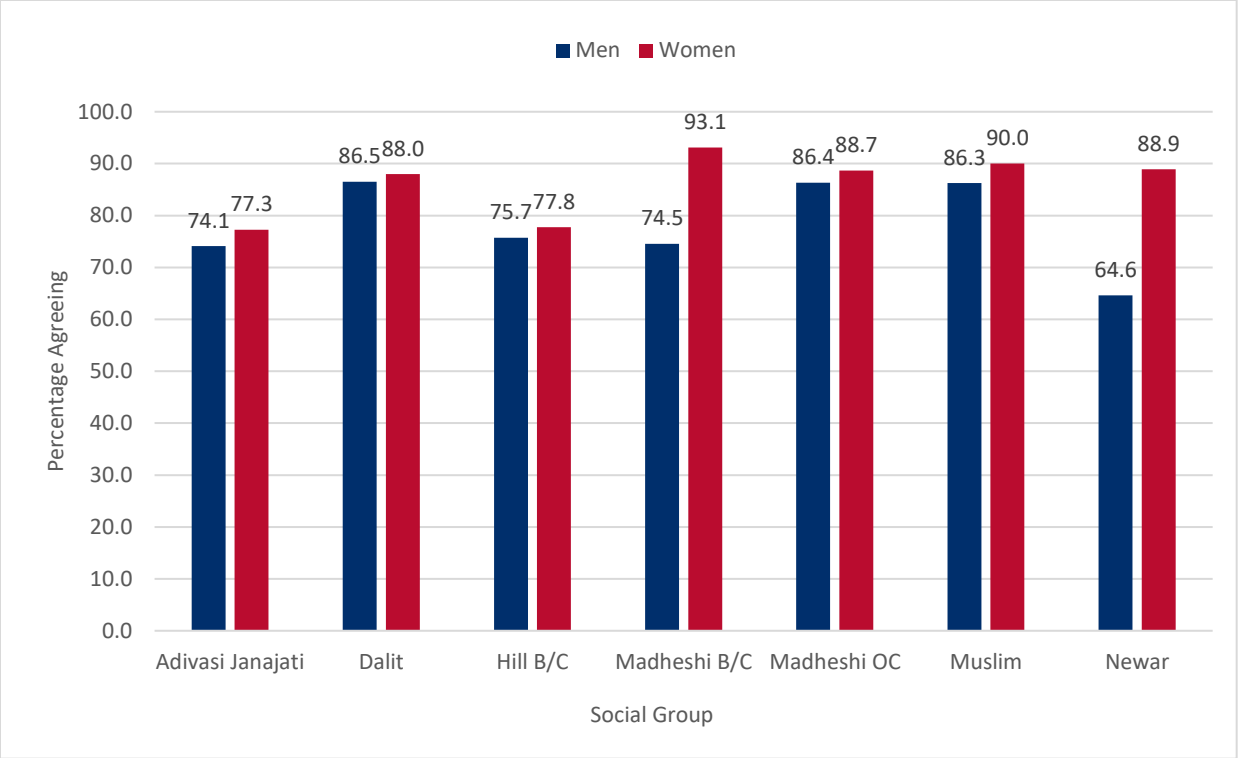
Despite these observations, many women believed that the change has been insignificant and only benefited the well-off section of society who could afford education for their daughters and have connections to place them in jobs. A Dhanuk male from Bara district said, “There has been no substantial change. Men go outside to work for earnings. Women do the household work. This pattern just continues." A Gurung woman grumbled, “Still there are husbands who drink and harass their wives. Male domination, nevertheless, has become less direct.”

The persistence of gender-based ideology of labor division continues despite awareness of the need for change. An illustrative example is found in a confession of an educated middle-aged man, who said, “I do outside work like earning money and making sure that my family gets to eat. I know I should help with domestic work but I cannot handle it. Maybe it became my habit. When I help my wife with household chores, I feel anxious thinking about what the neighbors might say.”

The persistence of the gendered ideology of labor division is reflected in the quantitative survey results as well. For assessing the gender norms, participants were asked to agree or disagree with four statements: 1)"women should not go outside for work," 2) “women’s role is taking care of home and family,” 3) “shameful if men do domestic care work,” and 4) “shameful if the wife earns more than the husband.”

The traditional gender role that assigns women to domestic and care work in particular is still an established norm. As the following figure shows, more than 70 percent of women and men participants (except Newar male) from all social groups stated that they agree with the statement “women’s role is taking care of home and family.” Interestingly, a comparison between women and men from different social groups shows that women from all the social groups have a higher percentage of responses agreeing with the statement. Although there are some variations by social groups and sex, the difference is not markedly significant.

Figure 7.A: Women's Role is Taking Care of Home/Family (%)



Analysis of the data by excluded and included groups on gender norms shows a similar pattern. For example, as the following figure shows, more than 75 percent of male participants from both excluded and included groups stated that they agree with the statement "women's role is taking care of home and family." When the same question was asked to female participants, more than 80 percent from both excluded and included groups responded that they agree with the statement.

Figure 7.B: Men's Perception on Gender Ideology (%)

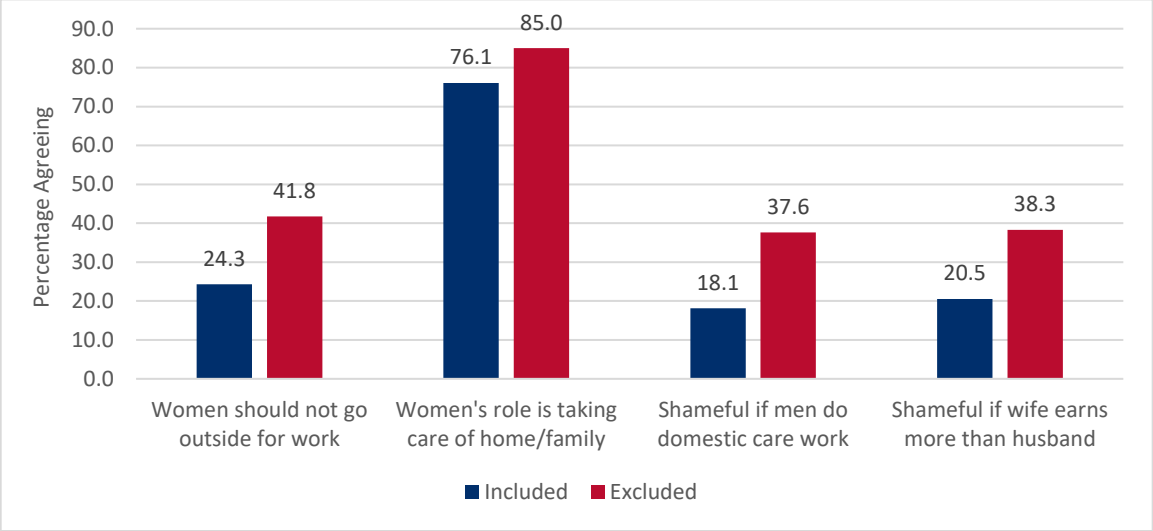
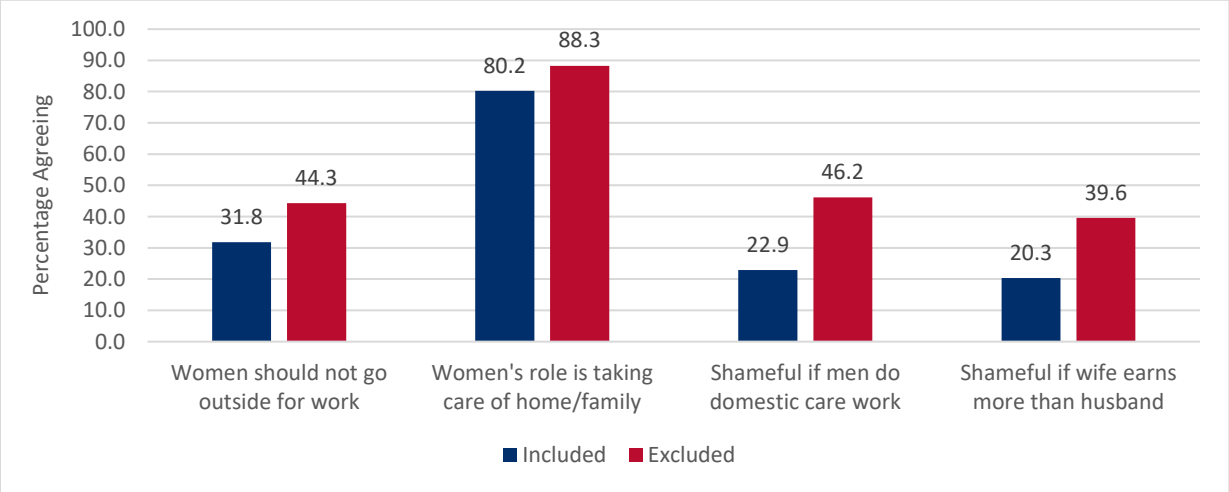


Figure 7.C: Women's Perception on Gender Ideology (%)



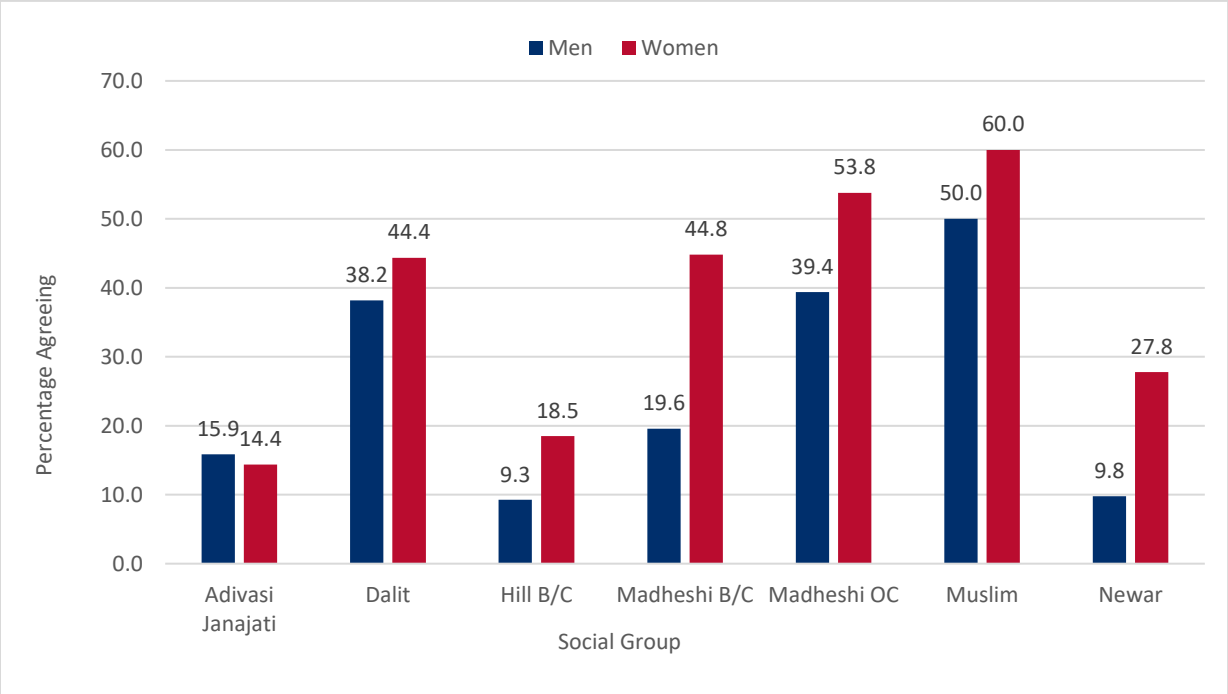
Comparison between the perception of women and men from both excluded and included groups shows that more women than men tended to agree on traditional gender norms as indicated in their agreement in

all four statements. Similarly, more excluded groups in comparison to included groups tended to agree on the old gender norms.

This result to a certain extent contradicts the fact that women from excluded groups such as Dalits, Indigenous groups, and Muslims partake in paid labor as wage workers or farmers along with their male counterparts. Despite such practice, the question of why the excluded groups and women endorse traditional ideology needs an explanation. Prevalence of patriarchal ideals, women's seclusion from the public sphere as valued social norms, and partly lack of education that offers an alternative view on the part of excluded groups can be attributed to the persistence of the traditional gendered ideology of labor division.

The participants' responses on the statement whether they agree that it is "shameful if men do domestic and care work" provide some additional insights. For example, as the following figure shows, the positive response to the statement is highest among Muslim women and men followed by Madheshi OC, Madheshi Brahmin Chhetri, and Dalits. In all social groups, except Adivasi Janajati, women appear to regard the old value as important.

Figure 7.D: Shameful if men do domestic and care work (%)



The Adivasi Janajati group has the lowest percentage of participants who agreed with the statement that it is “shameful if men do domestic work.” This may be explained based on their customary norms of guiding gender relations in their society. Adivasi Janajatis, although consider males as the breadwinner, they have a relatively egalitarian ethos in terms of labor division. In addition, as Indigenous groups with their own distinctive religious and cultural practices, Hindu-Islamic religious or traditional rules of women’s seclusion is historically not part of their social practice, except when they borrow the traits.

Another group in which a lower number of respondents agreeing on men’s domestic role is Hill Brahmin Chhetri and Newar. Largely, it can be attributed to the higher level of education and exposure to ideas of gender equality. Both groups follow the Hindu religion, the social practice is much less orthodox than the one found in parts of north India and Nepal Madhesh.

Research participants observed that some changes have taken place during recent years in time allocation and division of labor. The increased participation of women in paid labor, saving of time and energy by modern technologies and appliances in agriculture and households use, and reduction in time and physical labor by development infrastructure are some of the noteworthy changes. While some changes were beneficial for both excluded and included groups, the better-off section of society can accrue the advantage of those changes. The excluded groups still face challenges in terms of access to better employment, technologies, and development infrastructure. In particular, access to affordable and reliable childcare, children’s education, health, and secure employment are critical challenges faced by excluded groups. Last, despite some hopeful signs of progress, traditional gender ideology guided by patriarchal values persists.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Recommendations

The agenda of social inclusion and gender equality encompasses concerns of poverty reduction, equitable development, human rights, anti-discrimination, political, economic, and social participation, and multiculturalism. The Constitution of Nepal 2015 envisions an inclusive state, inclusive democracy, and an inclusive society. The end of social exclusion and gender inequality is a national priority. In recognition of the need for promoting inclusion, in line with the spirit of people's aspiration and constitution, the government of Nepal together with its development partners, has adopted various policy measures and programs to promote social inclusion and gender equality.

Such an endeavor requires a robust understanding of the various dimensions of social exclusion and gender inequality. The causes and consequences of exclusion are multifarious and need to be analyzed to generate insights. Building on the previous studies on social exclusion and gender disparity in Nepal, this research looks at time allocation by women and men from the most excluded and included caste and ethnic groups in Nepal. Going beyond an assessment of access to resources, services, and representation, this research looks at the relationship between exclusion and time allocation. Employing a mixed method approach, this study explores time use disaggregated by sex and caste/ethnicity in terms of time poverty, household division of labor, workload, and intensity, as well as changes and challenges including on gendered ideology of labor division. The findings of the research can provide an empirical basis for policy and program formulation for enhancing social inclusion and gender equality.

This study generated data to help uncover the implications of social exclusion and gender inequality on the distribution of time, allocation of labor towards paid labor market work and household domestic and care tasks, community services/volunteering, learning, socializing, leisure/sports, and personal care. The research reveals participation rates in daily activities, labor market work, household chores, and care work, average between 60 percent to 90 percent for both included and excluded castes and ethnic groups. Participation of included communities is higher in work activities than members of excluded groups, with some exceptions.

The participation rate in non-work activities, including voluntary work, learning, socializing, and leisure and sports activities, shows that compared to the bottom 20 percent most excluded groups, the top 20 percent most included groups, overall, have higher involvement rates. More specifically, participation rates for leisure for included groups hover around 50 percent to 80 percent on average, compared to 10 percent to 50 percent for the excluded groups. Chhetri, Brahmin-Hill, and Kayastha have the highest average involvement rates of around 80% in leisure. With a 10 percent participation rate, Chepang is the least involved in leisure activities.

Involvement rates for socializing activities vary considerably across the included and excluded social groups. As expected, Brahmin-Madheshi and Kalawar have the highest involvement rates in socializing activities of 70 percent on average. Chepang, Lohar, and Bing have less than a 10 percent participation rate

in volunteering and learning activities. Overall, the Chepang from the excluded social groups stands out as the group with the lowest participation rates in all non-work activities.

On average, Nepali men and women spend 449 minutes (7.5 hours) and 275 minutes (4.6 hours) per day, respectively, on paid labor market work. Women contribute substantially more time towards unpaid domestic and care tasks for their households. For instance, women spend 354 minutes or close to 6 hours per day on average on household domestic tasks, while men spend 136 minutes or 2.25 hours per day on such activities.

Compared to women, Nepali men allocate more time towards all types of non-work activities, including volunteering, learning, socializing, leisure, and sports, along with personal care. For example, men spend 108 minutes or almost 2 hours per day on leisure activities, compared to 80 minutes or 1.3 hours for women. This paints a less egalitarian gender distribution of the uses of time in work and non-work activities such that Nepali women have a higher total workload in paid labor market work and unpaid domestic and care work than their male counterparts, leaving women with less time for non-work activities.

Household division of labor shows there is a correlation between occupation, caste/ethnicity, and inclusion status. Nevertheless, in both excluded and included groups, the predominance of men in paid labor and women's higher involvement in domestic and care work is common. Overall, men's involvement in paid labor is nearly double that of women in all caste and ethnic groups irrespective of their inclusion status. The highest gap between men and women in terms of paid labor involvement is among the Madheshi Brahman/Chhetri community. The Adivasi Janajati community has the lowest gap in the involvement of men and women in paid jobs.

Time spent by women in domestic and care work is around three times higher than that of men. Despite the predominance of men in paid labor in the household division of labor, women from across different social groups have significant contributions to the family through their involvement in economic activities. Of the total duration of time spent on paid labor by men and women in a household, women have a share of about one-third. Men's contribution to domestic and care work is considerably less.

Social activities and events were considered of greater value by both male and female participants across the caste and ethnic groups in both excluded and included categories. They believe it allows them to socialize in the community as well as to spend some time out of their busy daily schedule in both paid and unpaid work.

Workload and work intensity are crucial but overlooked aspects of understanding processes of exclusion and inclusion. The study shows that men from excluded groups and women from both excluded and included categories from all caste and ethnic groups face higher levels of workload and intensity. Wage workers and people involved in agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihood bear physical hardship and work for longer hours. Long work hours are also the case for people involved in self-employed family-based business enterprises such as teashop and food stalls and other informal sector services. Women from

all groups when they are in a family situation where the children, elders, and members require special care needs to do extra work. Finally, the domestic and care work in which women are engaged is often tedious, monotonous, and time-consuming, if not physically heavy. These routine works required to maintain the household are often taken by women as their duty, necessity, or simply their fate, given the prevalent patriarchal ideology of gender-based labor division.

Research results indicate that individuals belonging to the bottom 20 percent most excluded castes and ethnic groups, particularly women, are more likely to live in time poverty than those belonging to the top 20 percent most included castes and ethnic groups. Occupation appears to be a strong determinant of time poverty, while household wealth also has a negative effect. Attitudes towards traditional gender roles implicate incidences of time poverty. Social stratification, discrimination, and segregation limit access to social, economic, and political opportunities, limiting marginalized populations to low-paying and labor-intensive employment.

Research participants observed that some changes have taken place during recent years in time allocation and division of labor. The increased participation of women in paid labor, saving of time and energy by modern technologies and appliances in agriculture and households use, and reduction in time and physical labor by development infrastructure are some of the noteworthy changes. While some changes were beneficial for both excluded and included groups, the better-off section of society accrues these advantages more often. Excluded groups still face challenges in terms of access to better employment, technologies, and basic infrastructure. In particular, access to affordable and reliable childcare, children's education, health, and secure employment are critical challenges faced by excluded groups. Last, despite some hopeful signs of progress, traditional gender ideology guided by patriarchal values persists.

Based on the findings and the issues identified through this research, the study offers the following recommendations relevant to future policy and programs:

1. To address the current challenges of time poverty in Nepal, policies that aim to foster social inclusion and gender equality should also focus on reducing time poverty rates among women and those belonging to the bottom of the social hierarchy by targeting a reduction in total workload as a key policy priority.

2. Sponsoring vocational training and technical education programs for women and men from excluded caste and ethnic groups can upgrade their knowledge, skills, and thus wages. This could take place in collaboration with organizations like the Federation of Women's Entrepreneurs Association of Nepal, the Small Cottage Industry, and CTEVT (Center for Technical Education and Vocational Training).

3. Creating an enabling environment for informal sector workers to better intergrade into the formal labor market, work in secure, higher paid, and less labor-intensive jobs can reduce the need to work long hours.

4. Offering targeted consultation and specialized skill training for those working in businesses/enterprises (especially those that are female-owned) to foster efficiency, enhance returns and values of their businesses and enterprises, and ultimately reduce the included and excluded women and men's vulnerability to time poverty.

5. Providing inclusive, quality, and affordable childcare facilities, namely in areas populated by the excluded castes and ethnic groups, can alleviate domestic and care work burden for included and excluded women.

6. There should be special provisions at the policy level, targeting the most excluded who depend upon daily wage labor, to provide them with special support to equip them with special support in education, capital, and skills and also eliminate caste/ethnicity-based discrimination.

7. Policy priority should also be in place to develop infrastructure/motorable roads, access to drinking water, electricity, market, schools, hospitals, and job creation in the areas where the excluded groups reside.

8. Access to household appliances (cooking, washing, cleaning), access to appropriate agriculture technologies and technologies related to livestock, goat raising, poultry, etc. that are women and poor-friendly should be promoted and subsidized.

9. Special and localized provisions for social support for the highly excluded, such as health, education, vocational training, access to land and capital, and social security for the highly excluded groups, should be made.

10. Advocacy to gradually adjust patriarchal values and gender ideology, attitude, and behavior towards division of labor among different castes and ethnic groups through transformative education, media, laws, and art forms is critical.

11. Programs or policies promoting the existing Indigenous values of egalitarian gender relations are vital for cross-cultural learning and sustained engagement in the change at the local level.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Poorest and Richest Social Groups according to Poverty Probability Index

Social Groups	Caste/ethnicity	PPI value
Madhesi Dalit	Musahar	31.0
Madhesi Dalit	Dusadh/Paswan/Pasi	29.7
Madhesi Dalit	Chamar/Harijan/Ram	25.2
Madhesi OC	Nuniya	21.8
Madhesi OC	Bing/Binda	21.0
Madhesi OC	Lohar	18.0
Madhesi Dalit	Khatwe	17.4
Madhesi Dalit	Dom	17.2
Madhesi OC	Mallah	16.8
Mt./Hill Janajati	Hayu	15.6
Hill Dalit	Kami	15.4
Madhesi Dalit	Tatma	14.5
Madhesi OC	Kewat	14.1
Madhesi Dalit	Dhobi	13.9
Madhesi OC	Kumhar	13.8
Madhesi OC	Badhae/Kamar	13.7
Hill Dalit	Damai/Dholi	13.7
Mt./Hill Janajati	Chepang	13.6
Tarai Janajati	Dhanuk	13.0
Madhesi Dalit	Bantar	12.9
Muslim	Muslim	12.7
Hill Chhetri	Chhetri	6.6
Madhesi OC	Baniya	6.3
Mt./Hill Janajati	Tamang	6.0
Mt./Hill Janajati	Jirel	5.3
Mt./Hill Janajati	Gharti/Bhujel	5.1

Madhesi B/C	Rajput	4.9
Madhesi B/C	Brahmin - Tarai	4.5
Madhesi OC	Haluwai	4.1
Madhesi OC	Kalwar	3.9
Mt./Hill Janajati	Darai	3.2
Mt./Hill Janajati	Gurung	2.5
Madhesi B/C	Kayastha	2.2
Newar	Newar	2.2
Hill Brahmin	Brahmin - Hill	1.6

Appendix II: Sample Size Calculation

Sample size determination is largely an outcome of a compromise with time and resources. In our SOSIN-SOTA project, there are 35 social groups, which are treated as independent domains of the study, and they each represent themselves. Our sample size is determined with the upper-most range of error margin at 10 percent and has to be accepted at 90 percent confidence level. The other statistical assumptions made while determining sample size were maximum population variability of 0.5 that yields maximum sample size, the design effect of 1.4 and 4 percent non-response rate. With this, the sample size would be 98 of each group with the following formula.

$$n' = \frac{1.645^2(pq)}{e^2}$$

$$n_{srs} = \frac{n'}{1 + (n'/N)}$$

$$n_{clust} = \frac{n_{srs}(d)}{0.96}$$

,where

n' = initial estimate of sample
1.645 = normal standard deviation from t-distribution at 90 percent confidence level
p = population proportion (assumed to be 0.5)
q = 1-p
pq = indicator of population variability
e^2 = desired level of precision measured in terms of margin of error (assumed to be 10 percent)
n= sample size for simple random sample (SRS)
N = population size
n_{clust} = sample size for cluster design
d = design effect (assumed to be 1.4), and
0.96 = response rate (non-response rate assumed to be 4 percent)

Appendix III: Field Researchers and Research Assistants

Research Management Committee

Prof. Binod Pokharel
Dr. Dambar Chemjong
Dr. Jiban Mani Paudel

Field Survey Monitoring and Quality Control

Dr. Man Bahadru Khatri
Basanta Thapa
Santu Prasad Yadav

Field Survey Supervisors

Bishnu Chudal
Bishnu Gurung
Dil Maya Dhakal
Durlav Rayamaji
Hari Shankar Prasad Chaudhary
Pramod Yadav
SetemanTamang
Suresh Yadav
Udaya Thing
Usha Adhikari

Qualitative Study Research Associates

Jag Bahadur Budha
Kusumlata Tiwari
Lal Kumari Roka
Neeti Lekhi Chaudhari
Nishnu Thing
Susma Rai

Qualitative Data Transcribing/Coding

Salina Dolmo Lama
Kusmulata Tiwari

Field Survey Enumerators

Abhisek Kumar Dutta
Anjana Ghimire
Anjanain Rai
Anju Kumari Karna
Arati Khadka
Aruna Limbu
Bandana Chaudhary
Bhumika Thebe
Bina Kumari Chaudhary
Binita Gurung
Binod Koirala
Brinda Sharma
Dil Kumar Bista
Kabita Kunwar
Lalita Sah
Manju Thapa
Mona Karna
Mukesh Joshi
Nar Kumari Budathoki
Nathuni Majhi (Mushahar)
Pramila Syangtan
Prashanta Khadka
Rajkumari Chaudhary
Sabnam Shrestha
Samenta Limbu
Sangam Yadav
Sanjit Baidhya
Shova Tiwari
Sima Gupta
Simon Paudel
Sumitra Chaudhary
Ujjwal Neupane