# CONFIGURATION OF MAN'S POSITION WITHIN PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURE IN NEPALESE SOCIETY

M. D. Uprety

Department of Sociology, Tri-Chandra Multiple Campus, Tribhuvan University

Corresponding Email: upretymeena@gmail.com

Received: 14th August, 2023; Revised: 15th November, 2023; Accepted: 5th December, 2023

#### **Abstract**

Patriarchy is a powerful philosophy and structure of male domination and supremacy. It is not new, nor is the recognition of women's demoralized existence well-established patriarchal system and it embraces that there is an inferior position of women since historical period. Patriarchy is a social system in which men use, abuse, control, oppress and exploit women. The concept of patriarchy highlights the interconnection of different aspects of gender discrimination and women are often underprivileged in many areas of social existence. Theories and philosophies of patriarchy explore the division of interests between most men and women formed by the social system of gender perceptions, practices and relationships. Gender is a relationship of power and inequality and not merely of variation. There are various supplementary expressions that have extremely related meaning to patriarchy. These incorporate gender command, gender arrange, gender display and sex-gender formulation. They are comparable in pointing to the powerful interconnection of various sphere of influence of gender discrimination. Analyses of patriarchy differ as to whether men's position as head of the household and family or society or state entity is recognized as the key to their potentiality to rule and oppress, or whether the institutional features of men's supremacy are pictured and imagined. In this context, this study provides an analysis of the understanding and accepting of man's position within existing patriarchal structure in Nepalese societies inside the background of gender standpoints and different educational status. It also tries to explore the common judgments and ruling ideologies on patriarchy and its practices and social insights of gender relationships.

**Keywords:** Patriarchy, Domination, Discrimination, Gender, Education.

# Concept of Patriarchy, Patrilineality and Patrilocality

Patriarchy is a social system in which a man is the head of the family, property ownership and surname or family name and lineage are traced from male line and they have legal and social recognized power over women and children. A family and society based on this system is ruled by men. So, patriarchy refers to a social relationship marked by the supremacy and power of a male or group of male that outline on the whole. It is represented as subordinating women, children and other family members which

traditional confronts man and woman classification. Patriarchy is a hegemonic gender order imposed through individual, familial, communal and institutional behaviors. Patriarchy different 'patrilineality' from and is 'patrilocality'. Patrilineal indicates societies where the derivation of inheritance such as economic, social and other benefits originates from the father's line. Patrilocal indicates a locus of control coming from the father's geographic and cultural surroundings. Many contemporary societies are rural or urban is predominantly of patrilineal and patrilocal structure. Primary characteristics of patriarchal systems are that they generally are patrilineal that is a child's descent is inherited by who is his father, and father's father were/are, rather than the mother's line. Thus, this type of patriarchal and patrilineal system facilitates where men effectively control the clan, property, women and children with their own logical arrangements from beginning to end. Patriarchal societies tend to have a sharp domestic and public dichotomy and men are inclined to control the upper position hierarchy. Men may apply their social and public roles and command in prestige, identity, liberty, competition and job and their superior reputation to recognize and reinforce the domination and oppression of women in all fields of gender relationships.

The patriarchal system is preserved using marriage and family and through the sexual division of labor in society. Patriarchy is rooted in biology rather than in economics or historical arrangements. Manifested through male force and control, the roots of patriarchy are located in women's reproductive selves. Woman's position in this power hierarchy is defined not in terms of the economic class structure but in terms of the patriarchal organization of society (Eisenstein, 1986). So, patriarchal ideas shape the distinction between sex and gender and assume that all socioeconomic and political distinctions between men and women are rooted in biology or anatomy (Heywood, 2003). Patriarchy activates to attain and sustain the gender inequalities needed for the subordination of women. The idea of patriarchy is helpful in clarification of the relationship between women's subordination and male's supremacy in the private and public arenas. In this circumstance, recognizing the reality of women's discrimination and oppression, which often creates it harder for women to get involved at all levels of socio-political life and puts them on the double burden of childcare and housework as well as official waged work. All the patriarchal social structures enable men to control women's status

and establish or create interdependence or solidarity among men which facilitate them to dominate women. Thus, it is clear that patriarchy is an arrangement of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women and their existence.

# **Theoretical Dialogue**

Feminist concepts of gender and gender inequality allow us to refer more or less directly to a theoretical framework for understanding how they have come to form a basis that helps to structure the whole society according to the concept of patriarchy (Seidman, 1994). Feminists analysis highlights the role of women's position and work in the social construction of gender and the perpetuation of male dominance which have been termed liberal, radical, Marxist, and socialist feminism by such influential categorizers. (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1978, Tong, 2000, Barrett, 1980, Jaggar, 1983 & Walby, 1990). The gendered division of labor has both economic and psychological consequences since women's caring labor creates women less capable of or motivated to separate from others, and hence less likely to protest such gender exploitation (Ferguson, 1989, 1991). Liberal feminists strongly argue that patriarchy must give explanation for women's lives by presenting them in 'women role' and 'womanhood' that are in procession with so-called feminine principles and ethics.

Prominent radical feminists are Kate Millet, Adrienne Rich, Ann Douglas, Mary Daly, Andrea Dworkin, Catherine MacKinnon etc., at the same time famous cultural feminists are Alison M. Jaggar, Paula Rothenberg, Alice Echols etc. Radical feminists observe male supremacy and autonomy as the core foundation of all unequal social relationships between man and women. The central tenet of radical feminism contends that gender inequalities are the outcome of autonomous system of patriarchy and that gender

inequalities are the primary form of social inequality. Radical feminist argue that women's oppression primary and fundamental. Patriarchy, elaborated system of male an domination which pervades all aspects of culture and social life is seen as trans-historical. All women are oppressed irrespective of historical, cultural, class or racial differences (Abbott & Wallace, 1997). Radical feminism focuses on patriarchy as a system of power that organizes society into a complexity of relationships construction which radical feminists declare as a male supremacy that oppresses women. While earlier feminist theorists focused on issues of gender inequality, one hallmark of contemporary feminists' theory is the breadth and intensity of its concern with oppression (Jaggar, 1983). Every theory of gender oppression has analyzed women's positions seeing that the end result of a straight and nonstop supremacy and command relationship between men and women in which men have deep-seated and existing interest in influentially controlling, governing, using as well as misusing, subjugating and hurt oppressing women which is in the practice of domination and supremacy while radical feminists seek to eradicate all types of patriarchal social structure.

Patriarchy is in the material realm, in the course of control of possession and property through laws and traditions affecting women's sexuality and reproduction and through daily deeds and manners which leads men to emphasize inequalities. Engels (1972) the processes of economic production and biological reproduction are both equally essential to the continuation of social life. In all societies, there has been a basic sexual division of labor, which corresponds to the foregoing: men have largely been responsible for the former 'production' and women for the latter 'reproduction'. As a result, men's activities have largely been confined to public spheres, the world of business etc. and women to the domestic sphere, household duties, family rearing etc.

Engels (1972) further argues that because men 'naturally' want their own children to inherit their possessions thus they took steps to ensure the faithfulness of their women. According to Engles (1972) after the period of primitive communism, marriage evolved through several stages that include polygyny and finally took the form of monogamous nuclear family which emerged as a result of development of the private property. It is based on the supremacy of man and the expressed purpose being production of children undisputed paternity. Such paternity is demanded because these children are later have to come into their father's property as his natural heir. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries suffrage campaigners flourished in protecting some legal and political rights for women in western societies. By the middle of the 20th century, the emphasis had reallocated and changed from suffrage to social, economic, cultural, political equality in the public and private sphere and the women's movement that sprung up for the duration of the 1960s created to argue that women were oppressed by patriarchal formations.

The material base comes from men's control over women's labor power, this control is constituted by restricting women's access to important economic resources and by disallowing women any control over female sexuality and especially female reproductive capacities (Tamang, 2000; Tong, 1989). Patriarchy precisely means rule by the father but is taken to convey to the male supremacy in society. Kate Millet argues as follows, firstly, society is governed by 'powerstructured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of people is controlled by another'. Secondly, patriarchy is a structure whereby 'male shall dominate female'. The more traditional analysis tended to focus on men as head of household, while the more recent analysis has tended to take in a broader range of sites of patriarchy. The wider range of social relations through which men dominate women includes

reproduction, violence, sexuality, work, culture and the state (Walby, 1990).

Feminists hold that this normalization conceals the social and political formation of an unequal male order, arguing that gender difference is socially produced in order to sustain male dominance (Seidman, 1994). Men have used women to feel self-assure and protect with themselves. If this inferiority is taken away from men then they would no longer have control over women and as a result, men and women would be equal with various problems of social order in society including men and women relationships. It was not until 1960s that feminists began to explore the features and institutions of patriarchy, the power of the concept to explain women's subordinate position in society (Seidman, 1994). The feminist engagement with theories of patriarchy criticized pre-existing theoretical positions and their ideological use, tracing theoretical progenitors of popular views about gender, gender roles etc. (Cooper, 1995; Raymond, 1980). To understand this patriarchal dynamics is to understand that society is deeply irrational especially in terms of its conventional males. In a nutshell, patriarchy is the extreme form of gender relations where women are always underprivileged and mistreated by men, patriarchy and patriarchal structure. So, the recommendation for improving women's condition is fairly apparent; once the scripts or rules of patriarchy are understood, it might be an entry point to improve women's ability to bargain with patriarchy (Sen, 1990). Concisely, to explain the low-grade position of women in various professions, the concept of patriarchy is important stance.

#### **Research Methods**

This research is conducted to study of the configuration of man's position in existing patriarchal structure of Nepali society in 2010, focusing especially in the perceptions of

professional men and women from different fields. The main aim of this research is to search out the man's position within Nepali patriarchal structures and prevailing gender relationships. For this purpose, purposive sampling technique has been adopted. Ministries, Nepal Army, Hospitals, Media houses, Campuses and Courts have been selected as the research areas. To make the study more reliable and precise, equal sex ratio of the respondents are involved in this study. The total numbers of respondents selected for this study includes 390 professional males and females from different fields. There is an equal participation of both (195) males and (195) females which comprises the proportion of 50:50. This study is based on exploratory and descriptive research interview design. Personal method interview schedule, general interview and observation have been conducted to acquire the necessary information.

This study has used both univariate i.e. single variable for frequency counts, bivariate i.e. two variables as well as multivariate i.e. more than two variables by cross tabulations analysis to examine the patterns and relationships between variables. For this, the chi-square  $(\chi^2)$  test has been applied to measure the statistical test of significance which is used to compare observed frequencies with expected frequencies. In other words, chi-square  $(\chi^2)$  test examines the significant difference on the perceptions of different attributes and assesses perceptual analysis based on the information and reactions drawn from the sample respondents regarding the construction of patriarchal structure and men's positional status in the social surroundings. Likewise, Spearman Rho correlation, nonparametric or distribution-free rank statistic proposed by Spearman in 1904 as a measure of the strength of the associations between variables has also been used.

# **Findings and Discussion**

This study has tried its level best to identify and relate the variables studying their structural condition that are compatible to the data and variables available for the study. Similarly, the researcher has strongly committed to objectivity and neutrality with the appropriate research methods and findings in this study. The information gained from 390 educated and professional male and female respondents are presented in tables as per requirement. The tables thus displayed are expected to give an insight to the readers about the content and context. This would also support the readers with the background information needed to deepen the understanding of the patriarchy and men's position in Nepali society and culture.

# Gender, Patriarchy and Men's Position

Patriarchy is a social systems based on the authority of male heads in household activities. It is also said that patriarchy is a symbol of male dominated society. Man's position within this patriarchal structure seems to be high, superior and leading in all way in which men even control the productive and reproductive power of women.

Within patriarchal structure, all the people i.e. male and female believe themselves as related to each others because they are related to a common male ancestor by links through men. Here, men believe they are superior to women, and women seem to agree. However, there is puzzle at the heart of these societies. Hence to make it more clear an attempt is made to know about man's position within patriarchal formation.

Both men and women have always worked, but the outlines of work opportunities and outcomes accessible to them, social rewards they have gained have characteristically depended less on their capabilities as individuals but on socially and culturally arranged patriarchal principles and imposed the viewpoint of 'women's work' and 'men's work'. This type of sexual division of labor varies with the economic system, power structure and cultural arrangement with power relationships. The following table explains the relationship between gender wise respondents' perceptions of men's position in patriarchal structure.

Table No. 1: Gender Wise Analysis of Man's Position in Patriarchal Structure in Nepali Societies

Position		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Controlling and Guiding Position	Count	55	79	134
	% within Position	41.0%	59.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	28.2%	40.5%	34.4%
Managing and Regulating Position	Count	71	32	103
	% within Position	68.9%	31.1%	100.0%
	% within Gender	36.4%	16.4%	26.4%
Coordinating and Corresponding Position	Count	48	19	67
	% within Position	71.6%	28.4%	100.0%
	% within Gender	24.6%	9.7%	17.2%
Dominating and Leading Position	Count	21	65	86
	% within Position	24.4%	75.6%	100.0%
	% within Gender	10.8%	33.3%	22.1%
Total	Count	195	195	390
	% within Position	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2010

From an overall study, it has been proved that

controlling, guiding, managing and regulating

position were the most powerful position because of their positional interpretations and understanding within a patriarchal structure of a society. Male respondents (36.4%) often reported managing and regulating position as the most powerful position within patriarchal structure. Similarly, 28.2% viewed controlling and guiding position as a secondary position followed by 24.6% of coordinating and corresponding position. Only 10.8% selected dominating and leading position as another option. On the other hand, female's perspective is quite different from male's perspective. More significant percent (40.5%)of respondents strongly reported controlling and

guiding position as the primary position of male in patriarchal structure. Likewise, 33.3% of female reported for dominating and leading position which was thrice as much than male's report. Similarly, 16.4% of female have observed managing and regulating position as another 9.7% powerful position and only for coordinating corresponding and position. Generally, women believed themselves to be controlled, guided, and dominated by men rather than coordination and corresponding of any kind. Likewise, the following table explains the association between gender and the man's position within patriarchal structure through Chi-Square  $(\chi^2)$  test.

Table No. 2: Chi-Square tests of Gender and Man's Position within Patriarchal Structure

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	54.129a	3	.001
Likelihood Ratio	56.054	3	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.365	1	.124
N of Valid Cases	390		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 33.50.

In case of testing significance evidence of association between gender and man's position within patriarchal structure, the  $\chi^2$  test assumed that: Null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>): There is no significant evidence of difference between genders in the proportion of man's position within patriarchal structure. Alternative hypothesis (H<sub>1</sub>): There is a significant evidence of difference between genders in the proportion of man's position within patriarchal structure. The result in table no. 2 shows that the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  =54.129 is found to be significant at one percent

critical value and 3 degrees of freedom. So, the null hypothesis is rejected and hence the alternate hypothesis H<sub>1</sub> is accepted. Therefore, there is a significant evidence of difference between genders in the proportion of man's position within patriarchal structure. In other words, gender wise man's positions within patriarchal structure are found to be unequal. In the same way, the table below explains the correlation between gender and man's position within patriarchal structure through Karl

Pearson's and Spearman correlation.

Table No. 3: Correlation between Gender and Man's Position within Patriarchal Structure

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. Tb	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.078	.050	1.540	.124 <sup>c</sup>
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.043	.052	.839	.402°
N of Valid Cases		390			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

It is seen that the level of relationship between gender and man's position within patriarchal structure measured through both Karl Pearson's and Spearman correlation are not found to be

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

significant. Rigorously speaking, patriarchal structure is a reflection of biased system which is an invention of placing that authority among the male members of the family, the father, which is the most genetically suited to disperse the inner mechanizations of the leadership, provider and defender within home. Normally, women's productive or labor power, women's reproduction, women's sexuality, women's mobility, property and other economic resources, social, cultural and political institutions, all these and other areas of women's lives in societies is under the patriarchal control. It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access in such power. Ideologically, it has been legitimate in everyday life of human being. Both male and women internalize those ideologies but men are benefited more while women are oppressed more. It, however, does not imply that women are either absolutely powerless or totally deprived of rights, influences and resources.

#### **Education, Patriarchy and Men's Position**

Education is the basis of life and it plays the most vital role in all the actors and factors affecting women's and men's occupational choices, career development and so on. Education helps to develop the skill, confidence and personality and to go ahead in life it has become one of the most

essential trait in this modern competitive society. Without education, skills for living cannot be developed. All experiences shows that education can take the lead role in reforming perceptions of gender differences, gender roles responsibilities in family, in labor market, and in society at large. Education is constructed by social discourses: further. it outlines women's perceptions and beliefs on gender differences as well as gender discrimination, and affects the roles they perform in private and public spheres, and also influences their choices throughout their career. In order to eliminate all stereotypes on gender roles, norms and ideologies, and given power women to construct wider career choices better education is required. On average, minimum education of the total respondent is B.A. level and M.A. level where we see some differences between male and female education status. But in case of M.A. plus degree no big difference is seen. In spite of the nature of various restrictions and limitations both social and physical, females are extremely close to male's ratio in doing higher level of education or education completion. This can be viewed as a positive step in education sector from gender standpoint. The following table explains the relationship between education wise respondents' perceptions of men's position within patriarchal structure in Nepali societies.

Table No. 4: Education Wise Analysis of Man's Position within Patriarchal Structure in Nepali Societies

Position		Level of Education				
		BA	MA	MA+Mhil	Phd+	Total
Controlling and Guiding	Count	96	33	2	3	134
Position	% within Position	71.6%	24.6%	1.5%	2.2%	100.0%
	% within Level of Education	49.7%	20.2%	10.0%	21.4%	34.4%
Managing and Regulating	Count	31	55	10	7	103
Position	% within Position	30.1%	53.4%	9.7%	6.8%	100.0%
	% within Level of Education	16.1%	33.7%	50.0%	50.0%	26.4%
Coordinating and	Count	23	36	5	3	67
Corresponding Position	% within Position	34.3%	53.7%	7.5%	4.5%	100.0%
	% within Level of Education	11.9%	22.1%	25.0%	21.4%	17.2%
Dominating and Leading	Count	43	39	3	1	86
Position	% within Position	50.0%	45.3%	3.5%	1.2%	100.0%
	% within Level of Education	22.3%	23.9%	15.0%	7.1%	22.1%
Total	Count	193	163	20	14	390
	% within Position	49.5%	41.8%	5.1%	3.6%	100.0%
	% within Level of Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2010

In the views of BA level respondents, it is seen that nearly fifty percent (49.7%) of the respondents have strongly reported the controlling and guiding position as the most powerful position of men, followed by 22.3% of dominating and leading position. Comparatively larger percent (33.7%) of MA level respondents have strongly preferred the managing and regulating position as the primary position of male, followed by 23.9% of dominating and leading position. Similarly, exactly 50% of M Phil level respondents have focused for managing and regulating position as a powerful position of male

in a patriarchal structure, followed by 25.0% of coordinating and corresponding position. Correspondingly, fifty percent of the Ph D holder respondents have agreed with the views of M Phil levels respondents, equally followed by 21.4% of controlling and guiding position and coordinating and corresponding position of male in a patriarchal structure in Nepal.

Similarly, the following table explains the association between the levels of education and the men's position within patriarchal structure through Chi-Square ( $\chi^2$ ) test.

Table No. 5: Chi-Square Tests of Education and the Man's Position within Patriarchal Structure

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	53.563a	9	.001
Likelihood Ratio	55.201	9	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.334	1	.021
N of Valid Cases	390		

a. 6 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.41.

The study of testing significance evidence of association between the levels of education and men's position within patriarchal structure, the  $\chi^2$  test assumed that: Null hypothesis (H<sub>0</sub>): There is no significant evidence of difference between the levels of education in the proportion of the men's position within patriarchal structure. Alternative

hypothesis (H<sub>1</sub>): There is a significant evidence of difference between the levels education in the proportion of the men's position within patriarchal structure. The result in table no. 5 shows that the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  =53.563 is found to be significant at one percent critical value and 9 degrees of freedom. So, the null hypothesis is

rejected and hence the alternate hypothesis  $H_1$  is accepted. Therefore, there is a significant evidence of difference between the levels of education in the proportion of the men's position within patriarchal structure. In other words, education wise the men's positions within patriarchal structure are found to be unequal.

In the same way, the table below explains correlation between the levels of education and men's position within patriarchal structure through Karl Pearson's and Spearman correlation method.

Table No. 6: Correlation between Education and the Man's Position within Patriarchal Structure

			Asymp. Std.		Approx.
		Value	Error <sup>a</sup>	Approx. T <sup>b</sup>	Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.117	.046	2.323	.021°
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.188	.049	3.776	.001°
N of Valid Cases		390			

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.
- c. Based on normal approximation.

The above table shows that the level of relationship between the levels of education and men's position within patriarchal structure measured through Karl Pearson's is found to be positive, 11.7 percent which is seen low in relationship and significant at 5 percent critical value. Similarly, Spearman correlation is also found to be positive 18.8 percent which is perceived in moderate relationships and significant at one percent critical value.

From an overall study, it is proved that controlling and guiding as well as managing and regulating position is the most powerful position of men within a patriarchal structure because of their positional and masculine interpretations and understanding in their private and public life. the Considering main point, patriarchal formations of knowledge affect patriarchal principles and is reflected in belief systems, value formations, social institutions, knowledge system, power structures, behavioral patterns, legal system, technology and information which support male dominance and governance. Most of these perceptions and practices are legitimized and recognized by social and cultural orientation, near about all social practices consider male

supremacy and domination as 'symbol of god' or 'symbol of power' and the norms, rules and regulations concerning property, power, rights, mobility, family, birth, marriage, career and so on are strongly connected to patriarchal foundation. Thus, it is clear that gender based discriminations and exploitations are common in Nepalese patriarchal structure.

## **Conclusion**

In Nepal, patriarchy is the integrated domination of men over women, which proceeds in the course of an extensive series of social and cultural dealings. It is not the underhanded contemporary capitalism and semi-capitalism, which does this. Relatively men have all the time detained the nearly supreme positions as capitalists and directors or chief leaders and they have personally benefitted from the contributions of their wives and female counterparts. These male elites themselves are the construct and manipulate of patriarchy, which figures their surroundings and offers the compensation prearranged to men at all circumstances in their life. Likewise, men's control over women's labor powers and labor markets and excluding women from having

access to some essential productive resources and restricting women's sexuality maintain this power. They have done with guiding principle in a way which reacts to the coordination of capitalism and patriarchy. To date, all these patriarchal gender ideologies and practices, separately and jointly block women's common happiness and existence.

By and large, Nepali patriarchal structure as a rigid, influential or dynamic is based on a system of power relations in terms of social, behavioral, religious, economic, cultural, political, legal etc. which are very hierarchical and uneven where men control women's interest. power, potentiality, mobility, employment, reproduction and sexuality. The socially and culturally originated and defined social features, beliefs, values, needs. abilities. desires. attitudes. qualities, roles, responsibilities and various ethical considerations and obligations of women and men contribute to these differences, inequalities and hierarchies among different cultures in Nepali societies. These types of gender perceptions and practices are women and men they made and are legitimized institutionalized too. So, it is clear that patriarchy is the result of social constructions that are being passed down from generation to generation.

## References

- Abbott, P. & Wallace, C. (1997). *An introduction to sociology: Feminist perspectives*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Barrett, M. (1980). Women's oppression today:

  Problems in Marxist feminist analysis.

  London: Verso.
- Cooper, D. (1995). *Power in struggle: Feminism,* sexuality and the state. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Eisenstein, Z. (1986). *The radical future of liberal* feminism. Boston: Notheastern University Press.
- Engels, F. (1972). The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, in the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan. New York: International Publishers.
- Ferguson, A. (1989). Blood at the root: Motherhood, sexuality and male domination. New York: Pandora & Unwin & Hyman.
- Ferguson, A. (1991). Sexual democracy: Women, oppression and revolution. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Jaggar, A. (1983). Feminist politics and human nature. Totowa NJ: Rowman & Allenheld.
- Jaggar, A. & Rothenberg, P. (1978). Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Raymond, J. G. (1980). *The transsexual empire*. London: The Women's Press.
- Seidman, S. (1994). Contested knowledge: Social theory in the postmodern era. USA: Blackwell.
- Sen, A. (1990). 'Gender and co-operative conflicts'. In Tinker, I. (Ed.), *Persistent inequalities: women and world development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tamang, S. (2000). 'Legalizing state patriarchy in Nepal'. *Studies in Nepali History and Society*. **2** (2):127–56.
- Tong, R. (1989). Feminist thought: A comprehensive introduction. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.