

**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL
GOVERNMENT**

(A Case Study of Kirtipur Municipality)

A Thesis

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LETTER OF DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or produced by another party in fulfillment, partial or otherwise, of any other degree at another University or institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

Sunil Dangol

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

The thesis entitled "**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT (A CASE STUDY OF KIRTIPUR MUNICIPALITY)**" has been prepared by SUNIL DANGOL under my supervision for his partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master in Political Science. I, therefore, recommend this thesis to be accepted for its evaluation.

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LETTER OF APPROVAL

This thesis entitled "**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT (A CASE STUDY OF KIRTIPUR MUNICIPALITY)**" submitted to the Central Department of Political Science, University Campus, by Mr. Sunil Dangol for the partial fulfillment of Master in Political Science has been accepted.

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ABSTRACT

Nepali women constitute more than half of the country's population. Due to the continuous dominance of the patriarchal value system they remain discriminated and treated as second class citizens. The current Constitution incorporates specific provisions to provide some political support to women. Despite special measures set by the government for women's political participation, women have not been benefited from such measures. Present paper is an attempt made to analyse status of Nepalese women in various sphere of socio-economic life.

This dissertation entitled "**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT (A CASE STUDY OF KIRTIPUR MUNICIPALITY)**" was undertaken aiming at exploring and analyzing the challenges faced by the locally elected women representatives and their leadership capacity. Both the primary and secondary sources of the data have been used to capture the research objectives. The study is limited in entire 10 wards of Kirtipur Municipality and it employed three tools: a semi-structured interview schedule, key informant interview, observation checklist, and document study for the collection of primary information.

The study with findings indicate elected women representatives found to be evolving with the capacity of leadership through overcoming challenges they are facing like limited knowledge in their performing roles that they have a mandate with greater responsibilities at the local level. Elected marginalized women had no proper political and social work background prior to the election. They were mostly engaged in a household activity and community-based groups – saving credit, women group; however, they have now been involved in social services, development, community and women rights being a representative of their community.

Regardless of their education status or age, majority of the marginalized women representatives have felt the need of increase capacity of leadership by leadership and women empowerment training, and law constitution and regulation training. Among the five members of the ward, two seats are reserved for female representatives one of whom must be Dalit. Overall, through the use of quotas and other mechanism, there

has been a dramatic increase in female political representations. Locally elected marginalized women's numerical representation is good. However, there are barriers in effective and meaningful representation in the local level government as much effective as it was intended due to their limited capacity. These barriers are however linked with structural composition of society as well as their personal capacity. They have realized the significance of politics and they are convincing other women of their community in involving to the politics through sharing the significance of politics in social transformation. Furthermore, educated and socially active elected marginalized women representatives have started to unite to the women representatives for collective contribution in uplifting and empowering to their own communities.

The study has mapped the training needs of women elected representatives referencing women's own articulation of their limitations and challenges. However, such training to "raise women's consciousness" is insufficient. This study reveals that even when women in politics are aware of their roles and responsibilities and are actively seeking to exercise legally mandated authority, they are prohibited from taking on their functions. The representatives have felt the need for financial and budget management training to help perform better at work, followed by leadership and women empowerment training. Government and policy makers should pay the special attention in making such policies and programs that aims at eliminating those barriers of the women representatives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LETTER OF DECLARATION	i
LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION	ii
LETTER OF APPROVAL	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Meaning of Woman Participation in Local Government	1
1.2 Background of the Kirtipur Municipality	1
1.3 Legal Provisions for Women Participation in Politics	2
1.4 Statement of Problem	4
1.5 Objectives of the Study	5
1.6 Significance of the Study	5
1.7 Limitation of the Study	6
1.8 Organization of the study	6
1.9 Research Methodology	8
1.10 Research Design	8
1.11 Sources of Data and Method of Data Collection	9
CHAPTER II	10
REVIEW OF LITERATURE	10
2.1 Conceptual Framework	10
2.1.1 The case for researching women's underrepresentation	11
2.1.2 Concept of Participation in Development	12
2.1.3 Women's Participation in Economic Activities	13
2.1.4 Women's Participation in Development Activities	14

2.1.5 Women and Education	15
2.1.6 Women’s Empowerment and Institutional Development	16
2.1.7 Gender and Development	17
2.2 Determining Factors for Substantive Representation of Women	20
2.3 Did Substantive Representation of Women Occur?	23
CHAPTER - III	25
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	25
3.1 Research Methodology	25
3.2 Research Design	26
3.3 Sources of Data and Method of Data Collection	26
3.4 Techniques and Tools for Data Collection	26
3.5 Limitations of the Study	28
CHAPTER – IV	29
DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF DATA OF STUDY AREA	29
4.1 Physical -Geographic Location	29
4.2 Socio-Cultural Background of Kirtipur Municipality	29
4.3 Population and Status of Eligible voters of Kirtipur Municipality	31
4.4 Literacy rate of Study Area	33
4.5 Detail Study based on Election Report	34
4.6 Brief description of Key Interviewee and Analysis of Data	36
4.6.1 Access to Politics	36
4.6.2 Acceptability from Society after involvement in Politics	37
4.6.3 Search for New leadership or continuing with the old leaders	38
4.6.4 Opinion of the respondent is recognized or not?	38
4.6.5 Gender Equality	39
4.6.6 Caste Discrimination	39
4.6.7 Reservation/Quota	40
4.6.8 Academic Qualification	41
4.6.9 Active Involvement in Politics before being elected.	41
4.6.10 Beneficial for next generation	42

CHAPTER – V	44
CHALLENGES FOR SUBSTANTIVE WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	44
5.1 Factors causing hindrance for substantive representation in local government	45
5.1.1 Patriarchal Mindsets	45
5.1.2 Multiple Identities and Independent Movements	47
5.1.3 Women 's Capacity	49
CHAPTER-VI	50
FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	50
6.1 Findings	50
6.2 Conclusions	51
6.3 Recommendation	52
REFERENCES	55
ANNEXURE-1 List of Key Interviewee	61
ANNEXURE-2 Questionnaire	62

LIST OF TABLES

Table no 1: Population of Kirtipur Municipality differentiated by Caste	30
Table no 2: Population of Kirtipur Municipality based on gender	32
Table no 3: Population and Area of different wards of Kirtipur Municipality	32
Table no 4: Status of Eligible voters in Kathmandu district.	33
Table no 5: Population aged 5 years above by literacy status and sex	33
Table no 6: Table showing the elected women representatives in local elections in different province	34
Table no 7: Elected Candidates in House of Representatives (Pratinidhi Sabha) and Provincial Assembly (Pradesh Sabha) of 2017 based on the gender	35
Table no 8 : Local Level Result based on Gender in Kirtipur Municipality	36

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No 1:	Federal Government Structure of Nepal	3
Figure No 2:	Access to Politics	37
Figure No 3:	Acceptance From Society	37
Figure No. 4:	New Leadership or Old leadership	38
Figure no 6:	Recognition of opinion	38
Figure No 7:	Gender Equality	39
Figure No 8:	Caste Discrimination	39
Figure No. 9:	Promotion chances and Reservation	40
Figure No 10:	Academic Qualification	41
Figure No 11:	Involvement in Politics before Election	42
Figure No. 12:	Level of successful leadership after being elected	42
Figure no 13:	Beneficial for Next Generation	43
Figure no 14 :	Women's political finance pressure on elections	45

ABBREVIATIONS

CA	: Constituent Assembly
CPN	: Communist Party of Nepal
ECN	: Election Commission of Nepal
FPTP	: First-Past-the-Post electoral system
IFES	: International Foundation for Electoral Systems
MC	: Maoist Center
MP	: Members of Parliament
NC	: Nepali Congress
PR	: Peoples' Representative
SS	: Sanghiya Samajwadi

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Meaning of Woman Participation in Local Government

Women's political participation is a fundamental prerequisite for gender equality and genuine democracy. It facilitates women's direct engagement in public decision-making and is a means of ensuring better accountability to women. Political accountability to women begins with increasing the number of women in decision-making positions, but it cannot stop there. What is required are gender-sensitive governance reforms that will make all elected officials more effective at promoting gender equality in public policy and ensuring their implementation. The full participation of women in political and decision-making processes as candidates and elected representatives is crucial to democratic development. Ongoing debates about political finance rarely consider the impact of money on women's representation. Money is an essential and unavoidable part of elections but creates an additional barrier for women and other marginalized groups, given their limited access to and control of financial resources. In Nepal and many other countries, female candidates may need to raise more funds than their male counterparts to run competitively.

Traditionally, Nepali women had limited role in political leadership. However, time and again they became active and have significantly contributed in bringing political changes in Nepal. Women's participation in Nepali politics surfaced in the revolt against the oligarchy Rana regime in 1951. For protesting against the undemocratic royal proclamation of 1960, a group of women organizations openly waved black flags in a public procession and were imprisoned. Women's active participation in politics was noted later in the 1990 People's Movement where women from various regions and ideologies significantly contributed in the success for abolishing the one party system and establishing the multiparty democratic system in the country. Similarly, hundreds of thousands of women collectively participated in 2nd people movement in 2006 resulting in the demolition of monarchy and declaration of Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic.

1.2 Background of the Kirtipur Municipality

Kirtipur (Nepal Bhasa: Kipoo) is an ancient city of Nepal. It is located in the Kathmandu Valley 5 km south-west of the city of Kathmandu. It is one among the

five oldest municipality in the valley, the others being Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur and Madhyapur Thimi. The name Kirtipur comes from the Sanskrit terms Kirti (glory) and pur (city). It is one of the most famous and religious places to visit. Many people visit this place not only for its natural environment but also to visit temples. The city was listed as a UNESCO tentative site in 2008. The history of Kirtipur goes back to 1099 AD. It was earlier a part of Lalitpur until it was annexed into Kathmandu by Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1767. The Kirtipur residents are said to have put up a fierce resistance against the invaders, resulting in the death of the Shah King's favorite general, Kalu Pande.

Kirtipur is one of the historical cities dominated by Newar community, which was declared as municipality among 58 municipalities under the Municipal Act in 2053 chaitra 14 B. S. within the Kathmandu valley. It is situated in 7 km south-west of Kathmandu Metropolitan city. It is also known as the city of glory, as it is one of the old and typical Newar settlements of the valley. It lies at 27° 38' 37" to 27° 41' 36"N and 85° 14' 64" to 85° 18' 00"E with altitude ranging from 1284m to 1524m above mean sea level. It was declared as municipality in 1997 by combining eight contemporary village development committees namely Palifal, Layaku, Bahirigaon, Chithubihar, Champadevi, Bishnudevi, Balkumari and Chovar. Administratively, Kirtipur Municipality had 10 wards covering 14.76 sq. km area. It is encircled by Bagmati River in the East, Chandragiri Municipality in the West, Kathmandu Metropolitan City in North and Dakchhinkali Municipality in the South. (<https://www.kirtipurmun.gov.np/en>,2021)

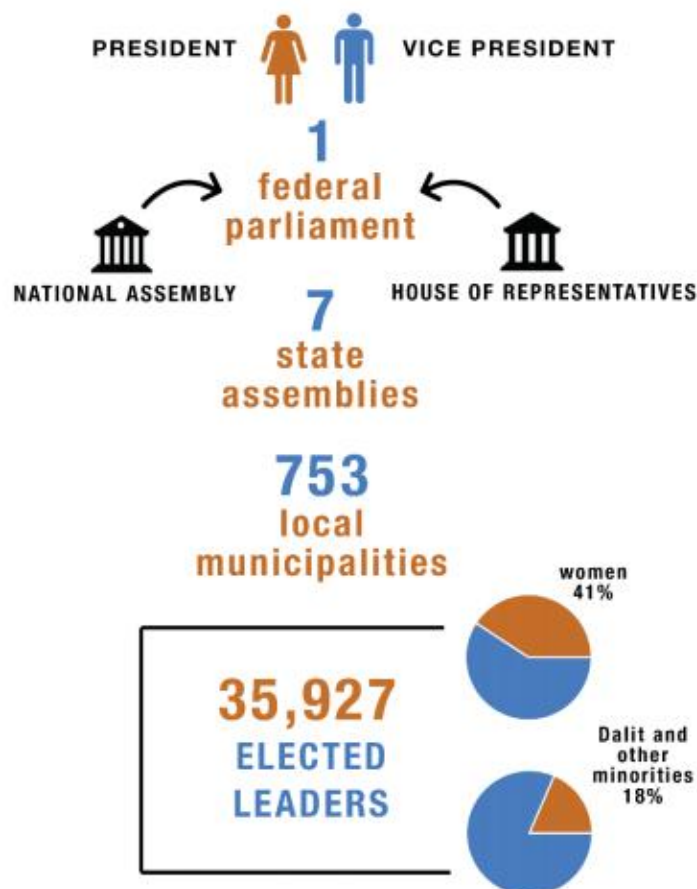
1.3 Legal Provisions for Women Participation in Politics

Nepal has been undergoing tremendous socio-political transformations over the past two decades, from civil war to negotiated peace, unitary to federal and monarchical government, and ultimately to the current republican political system, where the role of women is eminent. Historically, despite unfavorable circumstances, Nepali women have established themselves as key actors of socio-political changes. Under the leadership of Yogmaya Neupane (1860-1941), Nepali women began their struggle during the Rana Regime and advanced since the 1950s, by engaging both in popular peaceful political movements to armed insurgency and parliamentary competition with their male political counterparts. As a result, the new constitution of Nepal in

2015, ensured 33 % of seats, guaranteed to the parliaments and all other government positions as well as provision of male-female alternate seat provisions in the highest positions such as President and Vice President, Chief and Deputy Chief of Parliament (in both upper and lower houses), Mayor and Deputy Mayor where two of one must be female. Further, it has ensured inclusive provisions in all state structures. As a result, from the national and local elections of 2017-18, women have come to occupy 41.8% of political positions across the country. One of the key factors to ensure higher and meaningful participation of women in politics was these favorable electoral provisions. We found that despite numerous challenges that women face in political and electoral processes, they have demonstrated success in achieving higher participation in political positions. However, what has been achieved so far is not enough and continued concerted action among all actors is essential.

(Upreti, Bishnu R.; Upreti, Drishti; and Ghale, Yamuna,2020)

Figure No 1: Federal Government Structure of Nepal



Source: IFES, 2020

1.4 Statement of Problem

Women have less access to education and health facilities. They have low status in society and are considered as second grade citizens in the country. As most of the people live in rural areas having low access to modern facilities and resources which affect the life of females very immensely, women's involvement in different socio-economic as well as political activities is insignificant. They are largely surrounded by household burdens and cannot cross the boundaries of social norms and values which are deeply rooted in the society. Society does not allow women to work without her husband's permission in most of the cases. They have low decision making power which curtails their right to freedom.

Women have excellent leadership capabilities but there are various factors such as violence, corruption and manipulations which discourage them to participate in politics. Therefore it is essential to make politics clear and clean which may be creatively helpful to increase the flow of women in political area at national as well as local levels.

The struggle for women rights in Nepal has been a development focal point for decades. Progress in the field of social inclusion and gender equality has been uneven. Great advances have been made in the areas of health services, education, income generation activities and public service provision (Paswan, 2017). However, women and marginalized still face many barriers when it comes to fully exercising their political rights. They have been underrepresented in politics and struggled to participate meaningfully in government decision making (Ibid).

Furthermore, especially elected women from communities face systemic bias that they will need to address their new roles if they are to be effective and survive. As such, in order to help secure genuine, long-term and meaningful participation by women in local politics, it is necessary to get a clear understanding on the challenges and opportunities they face in their elected positions, their duties and responsibilities and their capabilities and needs.

For the said purpose, it was aimed to analyze the leadership capacity of locally elected women from various wards of Kirtipur Municipalities. In order to meet these objectives, the research has been guided by the following research questions:

- What are the challenges faced by locally elected women representative?
- Are those challenges linked to the leadership capacity of locally elected women representatives?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to portray the decision making power of female representatives at local level in Kirtipur Municipality. The specific objectives are mentioned as:

- To study the mandate of women elected representatives;
- To examine the capacities and experiences as well as their articulated challenges and needs;
- To explore the socio-cultural environment within which women elected representatives have to operate;

1.6 Significance of the Study

At present in the Nepalese society, to address all these issues, women organizations and women themselves have been strongly advocating and lobby for maximum women participation at all levels of state mechanisms. As a result recent Constitutional Assembly election has ensured almost 33% women representation. This is a major achievement in the history of Nepal as well as entire South Asian region. However, Nepalese women holding more than 50 percent population in the total census should not be satisfied with this result. They must strive and fight for ensuring 50% proportional and meaningful representation of women at all level. Also, these women CA members have different challenges ahead, for which they need support- and collaboration from all the members of civil society as well as political parties.

There has been change in cultural assumptions about women and leadership in Nepal. But, still women political figures had difficulty gaining a hearing or respect for their ideas, were tied to ‘female issues’ and were perceived as not capable of winning elections. The issues raised by women are treated as ‘Women’s issue’ and not as issues of state. Women serving as ministers, professors, civil society leaders and all have demonstrated their competencies as leaders to the public. All those constitute

opportunities for the public to see female leadership. But as a result of patriarchal thought, still the political positions are not given to the women in political parties and state mechanisms.

The status of women has not changed significantly. It is expected that the study was a vital role in conducting researches of the status of females in terms of decision making process at local levels of Kirtipur Municipality.

Present study is attempted to assess the women's participation in local self governance in Kirtipur Municipality. The study has signified the situation of women in politics and to formulate policy and plans and implement these, in terms of women's participation.

As such, the study report will help concerned stakeholders, policy makers to develop a concrete action plan so as to retain women in politics. Further to this, it will be also relatable for planners, policy makers, NGO/INGOs and other institutions to understand the situation of women in politics and to formulate policy and plans and implement these, in terms of women's participation. The findings, conclusion and recommendations will be useful for further study conducted by those who are interested to study about women's political activities in local level, specifically in Kirtipur Municipality.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

This study is the mini academic research to partial fulfillment of the Master's Degree in Political Science within the boundary of certain time and budget. The objective of research was broad to find out the dynamics of leadership capacity of women participation in Kirtipur Municipality, so the study, findings and conclusion is not generalized at national level. Study is based only on limited individual representatives of local level from the study area. It is an academic research work and the study is conducted within given time frame and financial limitation. So, there may have lack of enough information.

1.8 Organization of the study

The research study has been organized into six chapters namely.

- Introduction
- Review of literature
- Research methodology
- Presentation and analysis of data
- Challenges for Substantive Women Representation in Local Government
- Findings, conclusion and recommendations

1.8.1 Introduction

The introduction chapter provides general information and concepts of and prevailing scenario of women participation in local governance in context with Kirtipur Municipality. This chapter gives a brief picture of what is going to be studied, why the study is important and what are the limitations of the study.

1.8.2 Review of Literature

This chapter consists of a general study related to the women's participation in socio economic and political environment. This chapter deals concept of participation, community organizations, women in development and ideology of local governance program. This study aims to exploring the challenges and barriers faced by locally elected women and its implication to their leadership capacity, some theories were taken into consideration in the entire research work assuming that these theories will substantiate the most reasonable ground for women elected in local level to be studies.

1.8.3 Research Methodology

This segment deals with the procedural and technical part of the study. It consists the research design, selection of study area, source of data, method of data collection, sampling design, data processing, analysis of data, time period and budget estimation. This study specifically deals with the research challenges of women participation in politics in Kirtipur Municipality. For this, the problem has been studied and further analyzed in different scenarios of the political and socio-economic environment.

1.8.4 Presentation and Analysis

It deals with the issues identified in the introduction chapter. This is the heart of the thesis in actual sense. This is the major part of the whole study in which collected data are analyzed and interpreted by the help of the financial and statistical tools. Major findings of the study are also discussed in this chapter.

1.8.5 Challenges for Substantive representation for women in Local Government

This chapters describes the challenges faced by women for being actively involved in Politics and the factors and reason being the weak representation in local government.

1.8.6 Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation

This is concerned with the summary, conclusions and recommendations. This is suggestive to all the concerned authorities and the researchers. Conclusion of the whole study is included in this chapter.

1.9 Research Methodology

Research Methodology refers to the conceptual structure with in which the research is being conducted. It is a way to solve the research problem systematically. It facilitates the research work and brings reliabilities the research work and validity on it. It discusses the procedure employed on study including data collection and analysis. A research work should follow the scientific methods while collecting the data and analyzing them.

1.10 Research Design

This study will especially frame to examine Women Participation in political and socio-economic environment of Kirtipur Municipality. It also attempts to analyze the role of female representative in each wards of Kirtipur Municipality. Both qualitative and quantitative information will be collected.

The study will be based upon primary data collected from field survey., Basically, the variables such as socio-economic condition, there present and past status and feeling,

attendance in meeting, participation in decision making process and their perception towards politics and local bodies.

1.11 Sources of Data and Method of Data Collection

As mainly two sources of data from which required information is obtained. Secondary sources were used to complete this task. The data were collected from the field with help of survey of study area. Primary Sources like Interview and Questionnaire Method will be used and For Secondary Method, books, Journals, websites and other various articles and thesis and news articles will be used. All these data will be used with comparative, descriptive methods and analytical tools for further studies and reports.

CHAPTER-II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Conceptual Framework

'Concrete condition does not validate concept, it is the concept which makes possible and validates analysis of the concrete' (Hidess, B and Hirst 1975; cited by BK, Ananta; 2010:28)

The statement above gives the sense which assumes that the universal base for any pragmatic studies should be the standard theories which are debates in the contemporary world. Since this study aims to exploring the challenges and barriers faced by locally elected marginalized women and its implication to their leadership capacity, some theories were taken into consideration in the entire research work assuming that these theories will substantiate the most reasonable ground for women elected in local level to be studies.

Through the literature review, it seems that there has been very little research and studies carried out on political status of women. Most of the research have focused on the political status of women but have not been able to find out the real scenario of locally elected women in political participation. These some literatures have also made effort to reveal the situation of women in politics although there are no evidences of empirical research study related to the political participation of elected women representatives at local level.

We can measure the study of current leadership capacity of locally elected marginalized women through various theory based on sociological perspectives. In this chapter I have tried to explore some social science theory to explain about the consequences are seem in the capacity of locally elected women at local level

Women's struggles for political reform Nepal, a landlocked country and officially a Federal Democratic Republic at present, sits on its rugged terrain and topography of high mountains in the north and fertile flat plains in the Terai along the southern slopes between two Asian giants, India and China. The country, whose current population stands at 29.8 million (UN, 2019), had been reeling under the prolonged autocratic rule of the Ranas for over 104 years. It was during the period of

decolonization of South Asia and the departure of the British from India, that the Rana oligarchy came to an end (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012) in 1951 (Sharma, 2006). Nepal thus entered into a series of unstable democratic experiments, with prevalent political instabilities. The monarchy of King Tribhuvan announced an interim government and an interim constitution for a period up to the election of Parliament in 1959, in which the Nepali Congress Party (NCP) won with a two-thirds majority. In early 1961, the then King Mahendra dissolved the first elected two-thirds majority government of the NCP and altogether banned all political parties in order to take absolute monarchical power into his own hands (Gurung, 2011) to form a unitary top-down, centralized, monarchical state referred to as the "Panchayat System" (Khadka, 1986). The struggle of women for equality and political participation goes back more than a century, during these periods of political instability. Nepali women's engagement in social, economic, and political freedoms have not been properly documented. In line with this observation, referring to Thapa (2012), Dhungana (2014) argues that the history of women's struggle for their freedoms is not well documented in Nepal because men were the writers of history (Dhungana, 2014). Thapa (2012) argues that many women such as Ambalika Devi, Lok Priya Devi, Chandrakala Devi, Mangaladevi, and Divya Koirala among many others, have contributed to Nepali literature, art, and politics but very few have been included in the narratives of official records (Thapa, 2012).

2.1.1 The case for researching women's underrepresentation

An extensive political science literature aims to explain why women should be relatively absent from political office and why this absence should become ever more pronounced as we climb the ladder of political hierarchy. The emphasis in this literature tends to be on legislatures due in part to the important functions that these bodies perform but also because recruitment into parliament tends to determine who is eligible to govern (Norris, 1997a). In parliamentary systems, executives are typically selected from the pool of elected MPs, while in presidential systems, legislative politics acts as a training ground where future leaders can acquire experience that will convince the electorate of their qualification for higher office. Of course, this literature has a strong normative bent: the motivation for understanding the factors that contribute to women's political underrepresentation is to tackle this state of

affairs. Underlying the literature therefore is a crucial assumption that increasing the number of women in political life is desirable. This assumption has both a theoretical and an empirical basis.

2.1.2 Concept of Participation in Development

Participation has been a key strategy for community development over the years. Many scholars (Adhikari 2000, Bongartz and Dahal, 1996:20) discuss on various aspects of community development including participation. According to them, participation of the community in development projects in Nepal had been realized during the early 70's. The concept of community participation then was limited to the participation of the communities in contributing voluntary labor in the construction stage of projects. Such community participation was believed to be adequate for the sustainable development of the projects

Participation is sharing of ideas, physical involvement towards activities, shared responsibilities, shared benefits and cultivation of a feeling of togetherness in every activity. People's participation in social, economic, political and cultural affairs is means by which people directly legislates plans which are to be implemented in their locality for their betterment (Bongartz and Dahal, 1996:20).

According to Mishra (1984 cited in Poudyal 2004) the concept of people participation flourished during the 1970s, encompassing the needs for mass mobilization. He feels uneasy to define people participation and conceives it in a cursory manner. For people participation, he opposes the so called representative of the people and with skepticism sees that they represent the interest of the rich rather than poor.

Participation strengthens the capacities of individuals and communities to mobilize and help themselves. In this way, dependence on the state is minimized and ordinary people rediscover their potential for co-operation and mutual endeavor (Midlely, 1986:8, quoted in Bongartz and Dahal)

The most significant contribution on the understanding of participation and local level organizational behavior and performance has come from the interdisciplinary Rural Development Committee at Cornell University (Hulme and Turner 1990 p-194).

The concept of development is essentially concerned with social change and human progress in a group of countries, mostly former colonies, which are lumped together under convenient but increasingly misleading collective titles such as the Third World or the South. Since the Second World War the explanation of development or the lack of it has been a major academic growth industry. Before the time, students of social change and social scientist in general focused their attention on the dynamic west (ibid)

Chambers (1983) proposed an alternative approach for community development. For him, rural development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want a need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more benefits of development (Chambers, 1983 p.147). Chambers findings show that past development became failure due centralized planning, top-down modality and urban centric program.

Korten's (1980 quoted in Hulme and Turner) work which proposed a 'learning process approach' to community organization as the basis for rural development stimulated many social scientist in to more focused applied research on the nature and performance of local organizations that sought to elicit participation.

The successful development intervention that Korten describes-“...emerged out of learning process in which villagers and program personnel shared their knowledge resources to create a program which achieved a fit between needs and capacities of beneficiaries and those of the outsiders who were providing the assistance. Leadership and teamwork, rather than blueprint, were the key elements” (ibid).

Dahal(1996) has written about local self – governance and people while assuring the challenges of good governance. He states "Discriminatory codes of society that put unemployed, disabled, poor and women to inferior status also seat barrier to participations".

2.1.3 Women's Participation in Economic Activities

The participation of women in different agricultural and rural development activities depends up on the family structure, level of education, occupation, etc.

Many scholars (Escobar,Sachs,Acharya and Bennett) have done studies focusing women issues in economic activities on community development programs.

Escobar (1984) a number of studies have shown that development has not only rendered invisible women's contribution to the economy; it has had a detrimental effect on women's economic position status.

Sachas(1985, p 127) aptly put women's visibility has been organized by technique that consider only their role as reproducers, development has practiced "agriculture for men and in home economics for women ". Again according to him development planners have tended to assume that men are the most productive workers. There has been worldwide failure to evaluate the contribution of women to productive activity. Approaching agricultural development from a western perspective, planners define the US agricultural system as the ideal. Women's contribution to agricultural production in the US has remained invisible..... programs for women have been in health, family planning, nutrition, childcare and home economics.....For women, the consequences of development include increased work loads loss of existing employment changes in the reward structure for their work, and loss of control of land.

Acharya and Bennett (1983) highlighted in their 'Economic Participation in Nepal' up on the fact that women are the primary supporters of the domestic and subsistence sectors. The time allocation and the decision making date reveal women's "major role in agricultural production both as labors and as managers of the production producers." They divided the stage of decision making further in to four stages, to prove and find out more about, how and why the decisions were made and what role women played in making them. The stages were suggestion, consultation, decision and disagreement.

2.1.4 Women's Participation in Development Activities

Development activities approaches like Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) are milestones for the participation of women in the development efforts (Kayastha, PM/1998).

Women in Development (WID) concept broadly came in to existence when the term was first coined in the early 1970s by the women committee of the Washington D.C. Charter of society for International Development, a network of female development professionals influenced by the work on the Third World undertaken by Ester Boserup and other new anthropologist....USAID with its office of women in development has been one of the most resolute advocates of the WID approach. Together with the Harvard Institute of International Development, they have produced a case study based on methodology to identify how women have been left out development on the ground that 'women are key factors in the economic system; yet their neglect in development has left untapped of potentiality large contribution' (Mooser 1989). From this work the Women in Development slogan spread all over the world; with its identity, which has also influenced Nepal. By that time, some work in this area was initiated. The United Nations Decade for women (1975- 85) had played a crucial role in highlighting and publicizing the importance by which invisible role of women in economy and social development was established. During this decade there has been a considerable shift in approach in academic researchers and policy makers. Researchers have moved from a preoccupation

Bhatta (2000) writes that it is impossible to think of human society in the absence of women participation, women's role in world's revolution are safe in historical pages. Though, the differences between men and women are not removed totally. Mainly this type of problem is got in developing countries. Past tradition, poverty, social inequality, etc are main causes of inequality and inequity.

To reduce male domination in all respects after encouraging the participation of women in development, a women's empowerment program must be launched as a campaign. The concrete aspect of such programs would be formulated by the women's commission and would ensure the active participation of women by reservation of quotas in all sorts of domains (Shakya, 2003)

2.1.5 Women and Education

Many scholars Shakya, Hulme and Turner have given emphasis on Education to the women.

According to Shakya (2003) Education is an important mechanism for social awareness. The level of women's education is very low. Attention should urgently be paid to the matter to emphasizing women's education and to encouraging and protecting the same. While preparing the curriculum, strict attention should be paid to removing gender discrimination. Skill training and vocational and employment oriented technical education should be given particular emphasis. The level of education should be lifted to raise women's own standard.

In rural areas educational opportunities are not only limited but they are also biased in favor of men. Illiteracy rate is higher among women while participation in the formal educational systems is lower. Domestic service is a major option for women with low educational attainment women's awareness program is necessary to bring women forward (Hulme and Turner - 1990)

To reduce male domination in all respects after encouraging the participation of women in development, a women's empowerment program must be launched as a campaign. The concrete aspect of such programs would be formulated by the women's commission and would ensure the active participation of women by reservation of quotas in all sorts of domains (Shakya 2003)

Equality in rights in paternal property, achievements of equal rights for women in regard to the acquisition of property, earning- equal wages for equal work.

2.1.6 Women's Empowerment and Institutional Development

Development could not embrace the deteriorating status of women in the globe especially the developing countries like Nepal. So during the end of 60s and early 70s, women researchers in different parts of the world started pointing to the disregard of women in development planning. In 1970s, the theoretical concept of basic needs fulfillment and poverty alleviation were forwarded in the global development contest. In those theoretical concept women's involvement and decision making was felt essential. In the process of making issue visible, 1975 was announced as women year 1975 and also 1975–85 UN Women Decade. In Nepal Women Service Co-ordination Committee was formed as well as in 1987 Women Development Department was formed (Poudyal 2001).

Self help promotion at the local level is now widely recognized as a key strategy for poverty alleviation, empower rural poor and overall rural development. The organization of women and its institutional development is one of the important aspects for empowerment process. When women are organized into the groups they can put their collective strength to undertake development activities.

2.1.7 Gender and Development

Gender And Development (GAD) concept was coined in 1980s. It is an approach to development. It focuses relation between men and women.

There were many contradictions in theory and practice relating to gender issues within household and in the wider social areas. For example, the strong preference for sons, early arranged marriages for daughters, the practice of polygamy by men combined with an insistence on strict monogamy for women, feudal cultural customs such as fasting on auspicious dates (Parvati 2003 p. 175)

The absence of men from the household has reversed earlier gender role. For example, today women are found ploughed the field, although this is officially not permitted by Hindu religion. They are found roofing their houses, something that is not normally culturally accepted (ibid p. 176).

If could simply scoff at the image of her 'ideal' then the situation would not be so perilous for her. But a woman is unable to do so because man has the power to control her- to use her for his own purpose no matter the cost she has to pay (Tong 1989 p.206).

The writers of five male authors about women are that in each case the ideal woman is urged to forget, deny, or in some way negate herself. Henry Motherlant's woman exists in order to make her man feel virile. D.H. Lawrence's woman gives up being what she wants to be so that her man can be what he wants to be. Paul Claudels's woman is the handmade not only of the God but also of man. Andre Breton's woman is burdened with a heavy guilt trip- provided that her love is deep enough, she can effect or her man the equivalent of salvation, otherwise ,he will be demanded. Stendhal's woman risks life and limb in her passionate attempt to save her lover from ruin, prison, death (ibid).

From above the past literatures analyzed and described different aspect of women and community development. These literatures also facilitate me to understand the issue of community development in Nepal and elsewhere. Despite the growing number of development literatures in Nepal, few studies have examined the effects of community organization in social mobilization.

Subsequent to accepting the 'proportion of women in legislatures' as an indicator to assess the progress of democracy and development, increasing the proportion of women in parliaments through electoral quotas has become an international movement (Sawer, 2010).

Critical Mass Theory

Kanter (1977) developed the concept of critical mass theory, studying women's behaviors in an industrial sales force dominated numerically by men. She focuses on how group structures shape interaction contexts and influence particular patterns of male-female interaction and found that a relative number of women were crucial to their performance and efficiency in the corporations. She categorized four group structures: uniform, skewed, tilted and balanced. Analysis of the two groups, skewed and tilted, is relevant here. The skewed groups are those in which there is male/female ratio of about 85/15 and the tilted group has the ratio of perhaps 65/35. Kanter found that in a skewed group, the numerically dominant types, men, control the group and its culture. Women remain token participants and they are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals. In a tilted group, however, minority members and women are potentially allies and can form coalitions, and they are strong enough to affect the culture of the group. Women begin to become individuals differentiated from each other as well as a type differentiated from the majority.

According to Dahlerup (1988), the term critical mass was taken from nuclear physics, which refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction or 'an irreversible turning point' into a new situation. By analogy, in politics this implies that when women have a proportion of about 30 percent in an organization, a qualitative shift will take place. However, according to her no 'specific turning point' can be identified in politics, and that consequently the concept of critical mass should be replaced by the concept of

critical acts (Dahlerup, 1988). She argued that six different changes might follow as a result of the increase in the relative number of women. Changes in the reaction to women politicians; in the performance and efficiency of women politicians; social climate of political life (the political culture); political discourse; policy (political decisions); and increase in the power of women (the empowerment of women).

With regard to the question whether the proportion of women makes a difference in parliaments, Dahlerup (2006) says the proportion of women is very important for women to perform as representatives in the way they want. However, the proportion is less important for the policy outcomes as this is interrelated with other factors, such as political context, state feminist machineries, prevailing discourses, framing of the issue, coalition building, and movement strength. Even a small number of women in the right circumstances can make a big difference whereas a large minority of women may not have commitment or may not be able to bring about change in political agendas at a given time. Based on the experience of the Nordic Parliaments, Dahlerup (2006) is of the view that political context is more important than the numbers of women.

In another analysis, Sawyer (2012) has analyzed critical mass and other factors that have enabled the substantive representation of women to occur in 2006 in the Australian Senate. Women senators from different parties successfully co-sponsored a Bill, whereby the ban on the import of the RU 486 drug, an abortion drug, in Australia was lifted. For this to happen, the critical mass of women (35.5 percent), she noted, was very important as the majority of the male senators voted against the Bill. However, critical mass alone was not sufficient; other important factors included the presence of critical actors, a critical juncture, institution building inside and along the parliament, and the culture of the Australian senate. Timing was important as party competition was not as intense as it would be nearer the election. It was also important, with reference to the career stages of the individual senators; as most of the critical actors were almost at the end of their political careers, they had nothing to lose. The role of a parliamentary group on population and development was crucial in bringing women across parties together. The role of NGOs was also important to provide technical support. Furthermore, the Australian Senate, which was elected

through proportional representation, had a significant culture of collaboration than the more adversarial lower house.

Regarding the experience of New Zealand's parliament of 1984, Grey (2006) noted that changes in the number of women in the parliament corresponded to changes in political agendas. According to her, once women's numbers increased from the level of being a token to a minority group in the House of Representatives, there was an increase in the level of debate on issues, such as child care and parental leave.

2.2 Determining Factors for Substantive Representation of Women

A number of studies reveal different factors that either enhance or hinder women's substantive representation in law making bodies.

Substantive representation of women is very much dependent on institutional contexts, such as external political environment, institutional norms, party affiliation, ideology and cohesion, differences among women representatives, how new the representatives are, institutional positions including front and back benches, government or opposition membership, and the existence of women's caucuses (Childs & Krook, 2006).

2.2.1 Critical Actors

Empirical researches suggest that the presence of critical actors is more decisive than reaching a critical mass to bring about women friendly policy changes (Childs & Krook, 2006; Dahlerup, 1988). Critical actors are central to women-friendly outcomes, and the number of women may matter less than the presence of woman role models (Kanter, 1977). Thus, recently some scholars have contended that gender and political scholars should make a shift in their research question from 'when women make a difference' to 'how the substantive representation of women occurs' (Childs & Krook, 2006). Central to this shift is the concept of critical actors (Celis & Childs, 2008). Critical actors are those who influence the policy process and mobilize others around women's concerns while critical acts are actions that lead to changes in the positions of minority groups (Dahlerup, 1988). Critical actors are sometimes called feminist activists and equality champions (Childs & Krook, 2006) and critical acts include activities like drafting bills, participating in public debates and lobbying

legislators and colleagues for women friendly policy changes (Celis et al., 2008). ‘Occupy for reproductive health,’ a protest of women in the Philippines, is an example of a critical act. Women had held this huge protest to express political dissatisfaction about the pending reproductive health bill in the parliament, which ultimately led to its endorsement (Brillon, 2013).

2.2.2 Institutional Support

The role of different institutions has been perceived as crucial in supporting critical actors and enabling critical acts in the policy process. Such institutions may include women’s movement organizations, women’s wings within political parties, parliamentary institutions with a gender mandate, NGOs, and international agencies and donors (Costa et al., 2012). Institution building within parliaments can play a vital role in facilitating the substantive representation of women. In Timor Leste, the role of a cross party parliamentary women’s caucus was found to be instrumental in achieving a parliamentary resolution on gender responsive budgeting (Costa et al., 2012).

2.2.3 Party Ideology

A number of studies demonstrate that party discipline and differences in party ideology hinder women representatives from making their alliance and working together for the benefit of women electorates. In countries with a Westminster system of parliament, the culture of adversarial political conduct and strong party discipline tend to overwhelm the cooperative behaviors among women representatives (Sawer, 2012). A study of parliaments in the UK and Norway, for instance, shows that women vote according to party position, and cross party alliance of female MPs are considered inappropriate (Celis et al., 2008). Party ideology rather than sex and gender determine the behavior of legislators (Reingold, 2000) as it was the most important determinant of voting behavior of MPs (Cowley, 2002). Similarly, being in a party was critical to determining the MPs’ voting behavior and contributions to debates (Evans, 2012). In such a partisan environment, cross-party cooperation among women representatives is usually considered suspicious (Dahlerup, 2006: 518).

Cross- party cooperation among women is very difficult to achieve and rare in politics, but research shows that it is not impossible. Party affiliation interacts with the

sex of the representatives and the content of the substantive representation of women (Dodson, 2001).

In Australia, most cross-party work by women parliamentarians has been issue specific: either related to abortion law reform or to women's health issues (Sawer, 2012). Cross-party alliances among women also occurred in the Finnish Parliament in the 1990s on the issues of prostitution and gender equality policy (Holli & Kantola, 2005).

Masculine Norms

Many studies point out that the rules and the norms of legislative institutions may lead male and female legislators to conform to masculine practices in ways that undermine their capacity to integrate women's concerns and perspectives into public policy-making (Childs & Krook, 2006). Lovenduski (2005) contends that the deep-rooted culture of masculinity in political institutions, gender biased policies and personnel comprise the most difficult constraints in effective women's representation.

Capacity of Women

Some scholars including Wen et al. (2013) argue that women are less politically knowledgeable, less effective and less likely to engage in political discourse. Others claim the level of experience of women representatives and their institutional positions also make a difference to their impact on policy development. Newly elected women representatives are more likely to support party programs, less likely to challenge party whips or to initiate and support progressive or radical legislative proposals compared to their more experienced colleagues (Beckwith, 2007). Other researchers have also found that women with limited positional power and lack of seniority or prestige also hamper their effectiveness in legislatures (Dodson, 2001). For example, women representatives in the US House of Representatives in the period 1973-1992 were not able to formulate a policy on reproductive issues because they were not in leadership and commission positions (Norton, 1995).

2.3 Did Substantive Representation of Women Occur?

Although women representatives were found active and more disciplined compared to their male counterparts in daily routine work (Falch, 2010), their role was indisputably found to be less effective in terms of advancing women's causes. Despite the presence of a large number of women representatives, they could not represent the interests of their gender substantively on crucial issues (Falch, 2010; Khakurel et al., 2011; Tamang, 2009). Women, both inside and outside the CA, advocated a number of women's rights, such as equality in granting citizenship, giving recognition to the women's commission as a constitutional body, giving formal status to women's caucuses, and the proportional representation of women in all state bodies. However, this was inadequate and did not gain the attention of the CA. Consequently, its decisions on several issues ran contrary to what women were advocating. The law concerning citizenship had been gender discriminatory for a long time in Nepal. The interim constitution (2007) continued to maintain this as it made citizenship provisions gender biased in two basic ways: first, a child is unconditionally eligible to citizenship on the basis of his/her father being a Nepali national, however, a child is not entitled to citizenship by descent on the basis of his/her mother being a Nepali national, but only eligible to obtain naturalized citizenship if certain constitutional conditions are fulfilled. Second, a foreign woman may acquire Nepali citizenship by marrying a Nepali man but a foreign man is not entitled to the same right if married to a Nepali woman.

People had the expectation that a CA with a large women's presence would eliminate such discrimination. This expectation was further reinforced when the fundamental rights committee of the CA, which was responsible for drafting fundamental rights, including citizenship rights, was chaired by a woman member. The first draft prepared by the committee, headed by a woman, proposed the provision of equal citizenship rights but the top male leaders overrode the initial draft and proposed a citizenship law, which is discriminatory and even more regressive than the provisions of the existing interim constitution of 2007 (Tuladhar, 2012).

The proposed law requires that both parents of a person have to be Nepali nationals as a basic criterion to be eligible for citizenship by descent (CAS et al., 2010). Furthermore, the proposed law continues the discriminatory provision in granting

citizenship to foreign spouses of Nepali nationals. This first proposed provision potentially leads to the statelessness of many children, including those born out of cross-border marriages and out of wedlock, following rape, women's trafficking, and prostitution. Similarly, this provision undermines women's agency in case of single mothers. The proposed law that grants citizenship to the foreign spouses of Nepali nationals is gender discriminatory in the sense that a foreign woman can get Nepali citizenship by marrying a Nepali man as soon as she initiates proceedings for renouncing her prior citizenship. However, a foreign man cannot get Nepali citizenship on the same grounds, but would have to reside in Nepal for 15 years to apply for naturalized citizenship.

Similarly, the voices of women representatives were overlooked in the case of granting constitutional status to the Women Commission. The Commission was established in 2002 under National Women's Commission Act 2016 to protect, promote, and safeguard the interest and rights of women. Since its formation, women activists have been advocating that the Commission be given the status of a constitutional body so that it may work independently of the government. However, the male-dominated CA rejected women's voices on the grounds that if the Women Commission were granted constitutional status, other marginalized groups, such as Dalits and Janajatis would claim the same rights (Falcón, 2010; Khakurel et al., 2011). Following a major effort made by women representatives, a women's caucus was established in the CA. However, the assembly refused to accord a formal status to it on the grounds that if a women's caucus were granted a formal status many others of marginalized groups like Dalits and Janajatis would make the same demand. Women both inside and outside the CA were advocating for at least 33 percent women's representation in all state bodies. Accordingly, the CA passed a resolution ensuring at least one-third representation of women in all state bodies. During the four-year tenure of the CA and after the resolution was passed, four governments were formed but none of them abided by this resolution. Women were left underrepresented in all successive governments. The CA's decisions on these cases clearly demonstrated the marginalization of women's voices and women's issues. The subsequent section discusses the factors contributing to this marginalization.

CHAPTER - III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employed two types of information collection techniques: a literature review and key informant interviews. The literature review supported the development of questions for key interviews, which served as the foundation for the main findings and recommendations in this thesis. The literature review consisted of reports on women's equality and politics in Nepal, reports on political finance globally, election observation reports and Nepali newspaper articles. With limited information on women's equality and political finance in Nepal, and little research on this topic globally, much of the discussion in the media on women and political finance is based on assumptions, not on the experiences of women and men in politics. Key informant interviews have been conducted to explore the personal experiences of men and women running for elected office and the opinions of civil society organizations (CSOs), political party representatives, academics and journalists on the intersection of women's equality and political finance in the 2017 HoR elections in Nepal. A total of 23 interviews with 10 women and 13 men were conducted between January and March 2019 with the stakeholder groups in the table below. The successful female and male candidates included MPs and political party leaders, and participants represented diverse political backgrounds, various political parties and candidates running in local government. Respondents' anonymity was maintained throughout the study. While the number of stakeholders interviewed does not constitute a statistically representative sample, the variety of responses illustrate the diverse experiences men and women face in politics in Nepal and allows for conclusions to be drawn from their experiences.

3.1 Research Methodology

Research Methodology refers to the conceptual structure within which the research is being conducted. It is a way to solve the research problem systematically. It facilitates the research work and brings reliability to the research work and validity to it. It discusses the procedure employed on study including data collection and analysis. A research work should follow the scientific methods while collecting the data and analyzing them.

3.2 Research Design

This study will especially framed to examine Women Participation in political and socio-economic environment of Kirtipur Municipality. It also attempts to analyze the role of female representative in each wards of Kirtipur Municipality. Both qualitative and quantitative information will be collected. In this study both descriptive and exploratory research design were applied. By descriptive research design adequate information based on fact were collected. The opinions, behaviors and characteristics of the respondents were studied in detail in order to describe the events occurring at present. It was mainly described the formation system, process of membership, CO meeting, minute, saving, credit process, decision of community development activities at household level. Whereas exploratory research design was applied to know in depth study of the respondents. The socio- economic condition of the women participants in COs was evaluated in detail.

3.3 Sources of Data and Method of Data Collection

As mainly two sources of data from which required information is obtained. Secondary sources were used to complete this task. The data were collected from the field with help of survey of study area. Primary Sources like Interview and Questionare Method has been used and For Secondary Method, books, Journals , websites and other various articles and thesis and news articles has been referred .

During this research, the interview and data analysis has been done in context with the women involvement politics in Nepal and the field visit and interviews has been carried out with the elected members within the wards of Kirtipur Municipality. A total of 11 respondents were involved for the Key Informant Interview (KII) which include elected ward members of Kirtipur municipality.

3.4 Techniques and Tools for Data Collection

The following tools and techniques used to collect the required data:

3.4.1 Key Informant Interview (KII)

Key informant interview schedule was used in the study as the tool for collecting data. The main aim of this method was to maximize and bring variations in the range of

information which was collected from a number of holding vital posts, knowledgeable and male representatives. Key informant interview was conducted by the checklist to those people applicable to literate and professionals, intellectual matured persons included both Men and Women. Required participants were interviewed as the representatives of Kirtipur Municipality. Such interviews were carried out in a very open, flexible and informal manner to be guided by some sort of checklist. Information regarding their experience, observation, perception, and practice in leadership capacity of elected women from marginalized communities with focus on their changing understanding has been explored and mentioned in the effective manner.

3.4.2 Case Study

For this study, couples of cases were collected which must be related to the elected women's status of their leadership capacity. The case study helped to gather more prominent information. The cases drawn from story told by the elected women from marginalized communities.

3.4.3 Review of Meeting Minutes

Meeting minutes of ward and municipality level meetings has been reviewed for past 6 months randomly which has further supported to get information regarding decision making and meaningful participation and proved the leadership capacity of marginalized women representatives.

3.5.5. Document Study

In addition to this, document study technique used to collect required secondary data for the study. For this, the use of library became an immense means. Citizen Participation in Governance published by Central Department of Sociology, TU and Governance Facility, and Unequal Citizens summary report by The World Bank/DFID, different articles by IFED and so on were studied and reviewed during the collection of secondary information.

3.4.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis is an important section of the research. The raw information was collected from the field through different data collection techniques. After completing the fieldwork, the data were reviewed, edited, coded, and tabulated before start analyzing and interpreting them. The data were analyzed on the basis of qualitative and quantitative methodology as this study was more focused on qualitative methods where the quantitative data are less used. The findings and recommendations of the study have been made only after the detailed analysis and interpretation.

After completion of data collection, the data had analyzed by using both descriptive and statistical method .The statistical tools and techniques had used in order to interpret data in percentage, ratio, in bar charts, pie chart etc.

3.5 Limitations of the Study

This study is the mini academic research to partial fulfillment of the Master's Degree in Political Science. The objective of research was broad to find out the dynamics of leadership capacity of elected marginalized women representatives in Kirtipur Municipality. The following limitations are in the study.

This study is limited on certain place of certain district. So it does not generalized in other places.

Study is based only on limited individual representatives of local level from the study area.

This study has been conducted only for the purpose of partial fulfillment of the requirement of Masters in political science for submitting to the central Department of Political Science in Tribhuvan University.

It is an academic research work and the study is conducted within given time frame and financial limitation. So, there may have lack of enough information.

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF DATA OF STUDY AREA

4.1 Physical -Geographic Location

Kirtipur is one of the oldest settlements in the Kathmandu Valley. This small town is recorded as an ancient capital of Nepal. Kirtipur means “a famed town” in Nepali language is also known as “kipu” and “kyapu”. The location of this small town is different from the other main towns of the valley in the same that occupies the top of a steep rocky hill. This city of glory is inhabited by Newars, which are the earliest settlers in the Valley with their own language and culture. It is a great escape from the heavy pollution and noise of central Kathmandu, with cooling winds and good views of the mountains. There are several temples to see and small car-free streets climbing up and down the hill where inhabitants perform their daily rituals, and very few tourists.

Kirtipur Municipality is part of the Kathmandu District and lies in the hilly region. Geographically, Kirtipur lies in between longitude 27° 38' 30” and 27° 41' 30” E and latitude 85° 13' and 85° 19' N, at altitudes ranging from 1284m to 1524m above mean sea level. The general decline of elevation is from south-west to north-east. The Kathmandu Metropolitan City lies in the northern side, while the Bagmati River separates the Lalitpur District with the Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City on the eastern side. Chalnakhel VDC borders Kirtipur Municipality in the south and Macchegaun VDC in the west.

4.2 Socio-Cultural Background of Kirtipur Municipality

Kirtipur Municipality is multi- ethnic and multi-cultural municipality but majority population in core area is of Newars. Other ethnic groups are Bhramin, Chettri , Tamang , Pahari. The Majority of the population follows hindusm and Buddhism, however there are few Christains and Muslim with new migration in this area . Enriched with various famous temples with high cultural values , the area is one of the major attraction for tourist. Some of the famous heritages are Bagh bharav temple, taudaha, Jal vinayak temple, Adinath Temple etc.

Table 1: Population of Kirtipur Municipality differentiated by Caste

Caste	Total	Male	Female
Newar	24441	12087	12354
Brahaman-Hill	15883	9945	5938
Chhetri	13370	7433	5937
Tamang	3419	1811	1608
Magar	1936	1030	906
Rai	828	447	381
Tharu	644	458	186
Thakuri	561	375	186
Gurung	496	265	23
Yadav	447	381	66
Kami	367	201	166
Limbu	320	196	124
Dalit others	263	143	120
Damai/Dholi	239	121	118
Sarki	231	119	112
Musalman	192	152	40
Others	191	131	60
Terai others	167	121	46
Teli	124	98	26
Sanyasi/Dashnami	123	72	51
Gharti/Bhujel	113	59	54
Koiri/Kushwaha	112	85	27
Majhi	99	58	41
Hajam/Thakur	84	62	22
Brahman - Tarai	74	51	23
Dhanuk	73	65	8
Sherpa	63	33	30
Chepang/Praja	49	27	22
Haluwai	48	31	17
Kayastha	47	34	13
Kurmi	46	40	6
Kalwar	41	29	12
Thakali	40	21	19

Kumal	37	22	15
Gaine	36	21	15
Kathbaniyan	34	20	14
Rajbansi	28	17	11
Sudhi	28	17	11
Danuwar	27	16	11
Sunuwar	26	16	10
Bhote	25	8	17
Marwadi	23	10	13
Rajput	22	17	5
Badi	22	14	8
Chamling	21	13	8
Chamar/Harijan/Ram	17	14	3
Kanu	17	10	7
Kumhar	17	14	3
Foreigner	17	9	8
Mali	15	9	6
Lohar	14	13	1
Thami	14	7	7
Ghale	13	6	7
Sonar	11	9	2
Total	65602	36476	29126

Source : Kirtipur Municipality

4.3 Population and Status of Eligible voters of Kirtipur Municipality

As per the Census report 2011 published by National Planning Commission, The municipality consists of consists of 19-441. Household including overall population of 65602 people among which 36476 are male and 29126 are female representing 56% percent of male and 44% of females on gender basis . The further distribution of population is given below in table no 2.

Table no 2: Population of Kirtipur Municipality based on gender

Ward No.	Household	Male	Female	Total Population	Area/ha
1	1915	3674	3034	6708	43.11
2	1863	3610	3118	6728	71.89
3	1414	2738	2382	5120	50.27
4	1426	3079	3079	6158	640.42
5	2027	3821	2937	6758	158.64
6	1678	3586	3696	7282	464.85
7	1722	2934	1727	4661	34.52
8	1359	2447	1759	4206	17.19
9	2845	4911	3331	8242	143.78
10	3192	5676	4063	9739	176.68
Total	19441	36476	29126	65602	1801.35

(Source: Election Commission Nepal. 2021)

Table no 3: Population and Area of different wards of Kirtipur Municipality

Ward no	Previous ward no	Population	Area(sq.km)
1	1	6807	0.45
2	2	6728	0.55
3	5/6	5120	0.33
4	7/8/19	6185	3.41
5	11/12	6758	1.25
6	13/14/15	7282	4.87
7	18	4661	0.34
8	9/10	4206	0.23
9	16/17	8242	1.76
10	3/4	9739	1.57

(Source: Election Commission Nepal. 2021)

There are 28100 eligible voters in Kirtipur Municipality with 13562 female and 14538 male voters. Kirtipur Municipality consists of 5% of male and female voters out the eligible voters in Kathmandu district.

Table no 4: Status of Eligible voters in Kathmandu district.

S.N	Names of Municipality	No of Wards	Female	Male	Others
1	Kathmandu Metropolitian city	32	134669	144638	2
2	Kageshwori Municipality	9	13791	14138	0
3	Kirtipur Municipality	10	13562	14538	3
4	Gokarneshwor Municipality	9	13908	14152	0
5	Chandragiri Municipality	15	18910	19925	1
6	Tokha Municipality	11	13612	14557	2
7	Tarkeshwor Municipality	11	14612	14890	0
8	Dakshinkali Municipality	9	7588	7583	0
9	Nagarjun Municipality	10	12911	13333	2
10	Budanilkantha Municipality	13	19660	20549	1
11	Shankharapur Municipality	9	9050	8822	0
Total		138	272273	287125	11
% of Kirtipur to Kathmandu District		7%	5%	5%	27%

(Source: Election Commission Nepal. 2021)

4.4 Literacy rate of Study Area

As per the Nepal Census, 2011, Kirtipur Municipality has 86.8% of literacy rate considering the population aged 5 and above. The literacy rate of male is 94.47% while the literacy rate of female is relatively low i.e 77.18%. The lower literacy rate also affects the women empowerment and their participation in local government.

Table No.5: Population aged 5 years above by literacy status and sex

	Population aged 5 years and above	Population who			Literacy not stated	Literacy rate
		can read only	can write only	can't read and write		
Both sex	62121	53923	775	7412	11	86.8
Male	34581	32667	333	1578	3	94.47
Female	27540	21256	442	5834	8	77.18

(Source: Kirtipur Municipality)

4.5 Detail Study based on Election Report

The provincial elections of 2017-18 saw participation of women candidates in almost all of the major political parties, underscoring this as a historic moment in terms of gender inclusion. This was the first provincial and local election after the promulgation of the Constitution in 2015 under the federal republican system. Women achieved their quota of 40.4 per cent mandated by the Nepal Election Commission, including the higher posts of mayor and deputy mayor, in which parties were required to include at least one, woman candidate in either of the posts. However, the candidacy and the elected representatives of men outnumbered women candidates.

Table No. 6: Table showing the elected women representatives in local elections in different province

Provinces	Political parties	Elected Male representatives in local elections	Elected Female representatives in local elections
Province 2	Nepali Congress (NC)	1204	794
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	1849	1370
	Maoist Centre (MC)	317	189
	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	79	61
	Others	111	68
Province 2	Nepali Congress (NC)	1042	689
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	711	538
	Maoist Centre (MC)	665	463
	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	610	445
	Others	857	585
Province 3	Nepali Congress (NC)	1093	673
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	1749	1278
	Maoist Centre (MC)	522	349
	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	104	58
	Others	0	0
Province 4	Nepali Congress (NC)	1053	711
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	950	702
	Maoist Centre (MC)	208	143

	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	0	0
	Others	104	61
Province 5	Nepali Congress (NC)	948	659
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	1133	810
	Maoist Centre (MC)	868	367
	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	139	105
	Others	257	170
Province 6	Nepali Congress (NC)	643	401
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	862	554
	Maoist Centre (MC)	669	469
	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	0	0
	Others	76	44
Province 7	Nepali Congress (NC)	943	624
	Unified Marxist Leninist(UML)	943	692
	Maoist Centre (MC)	313	221
	Sanghiya Samajwad (SS)	0	0
	Others	64	41

Source ECN, 2017

Though a woman representative has been able to retain the position of President (1), 17 in the House of Representatives, 6 in the Provincial Assembly and 21 in National Assembly, the ratio of male and female elected representatives still shows a huge percentage gap difference of 98.16%:8.13% (See table 7. This shows that power structures and hierarchy still prevail in Nepali politics.

Table 7: Elected Candidates in House of Representatives (Pratinidhi Sabha) and Provincial Assembly (Pradesh Sabha) of 2017 based on the gender

Gender	Elected House of Representatives	Elected Representatives in Provincial Assembly	Elected Representatives in National Assembly	President	Vice-President	Total	Percentage
Male	313	159	35		1	508	91.86
Female	17	6	21	1		45	8.13
Grand Total	330	165	56	1	1	553	100

In context to election at local government, the major post of mayor is won by male and Deputy Mayor as female. Also, the post of ward chairperson in all ten wards is covered by male representatives while in case of ward members, women are elected only to fulfil the quota for women and dalit women except in ward no one, one of the female candidate won in free election.

Table 8 : Local Level Result based on Gender in Kirtipur Municipality

Post	Male	Female
Mayor	1	-
Deputy Mayor	-	1
Ward chairperson	10	
Ward Member	19	20
Executive Board Members (Mayor, Deputy Mayor, 10 ward chairpersons and 4 female ward members, 1 dalit female ward member and 3 male dalit members)	14	6

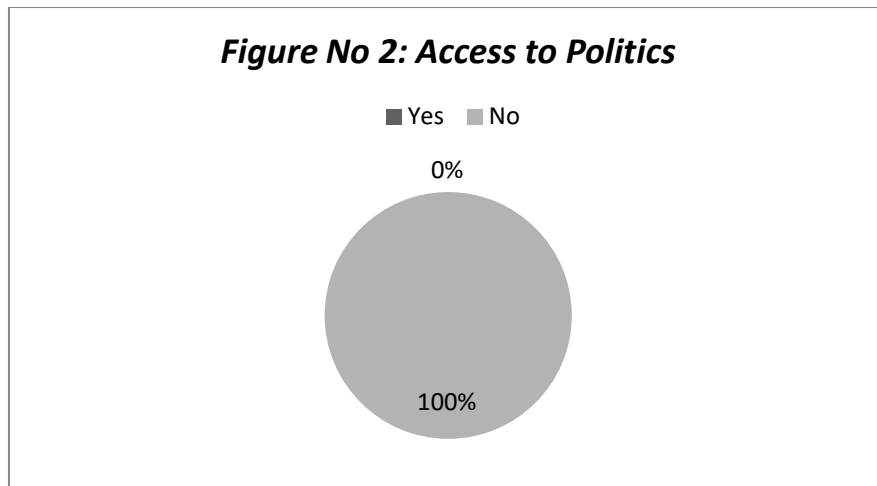
Source: ECN 2017

4.6 Brief description of Key Interviewee and Analysis of Data

For analyzing the current political scenario from viewpoint of female representative of local government and studying the challenges and problem faced by the representatives, the total of 11 persons including 9 females and 2 males including 5 person from marginalized sectors. The details of the interviewee are included in Annexure -1. The interviewee were given a set of questionnaire (referred in Annex 2) and the responds has been analyzed further below.

4.6.1 Access to Politics

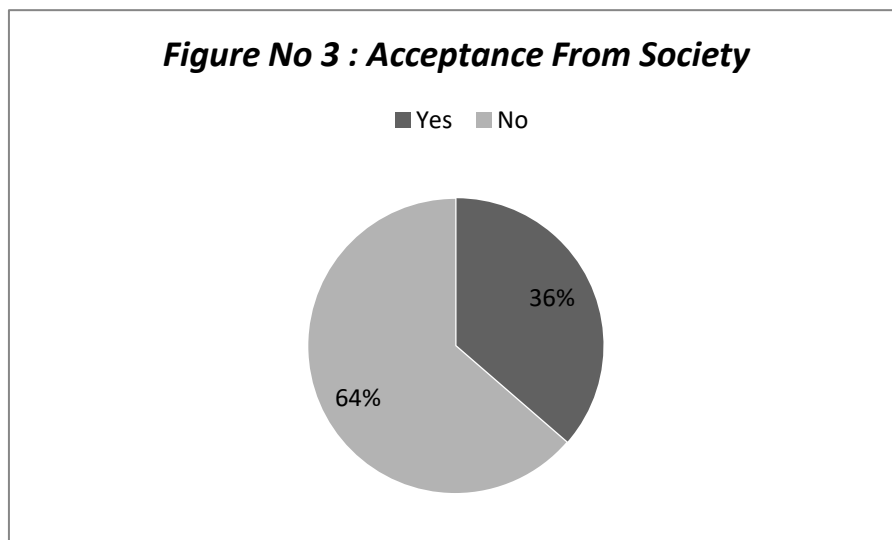
The interviewees were asked if it is easy for them to get involved in politics being women, dalit and for marginalized group. As per the responds from the interviewee, Nepal being a male dominated society and a society with caste discrimination, it is still difficult to be join and get actively involved in politics.



As per the responds, the entire 11 respondent replied that it is difficult for them to join politics in comparison to others. Women responded that the responsibilities towards family and traditions and marginalized persons responded that the caste discrimination still causing hindrance in active participation in politics

4.6.2 Acceptability from Society after involvement in Politics

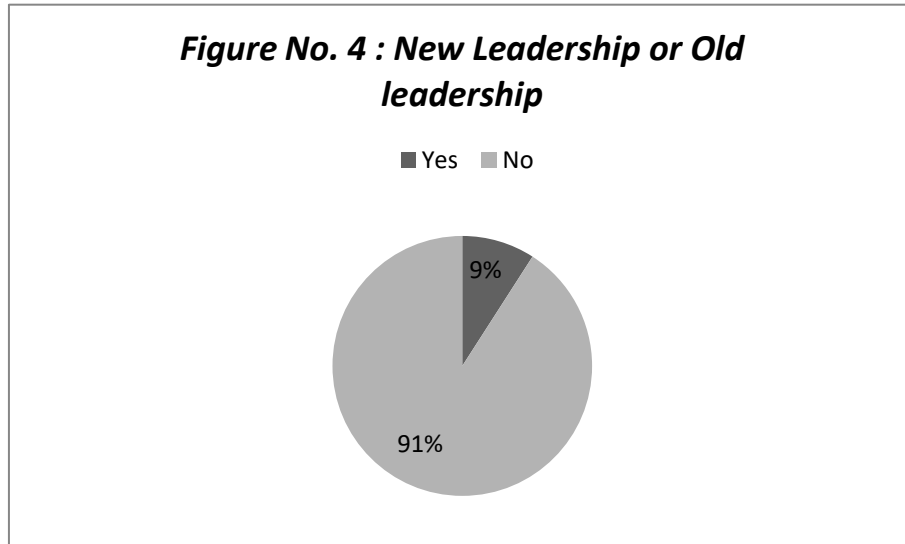
The interviewees were asked if the society has accepted their involvement in politics. This question was asked to to analyze the social acceptance from the society and how society takes the involvement of women in politics after they were elected.



It is found that 36% of the responded replied that they have been accepted positively in their society where as 64% of the responded replied that the society is still to accept their political involvement positively. This shows that there's still a high gender discrimination and caste differences in the society of Kirtipur Municipality.

4.6.3 Search for New leadership or continuing with the old leaders

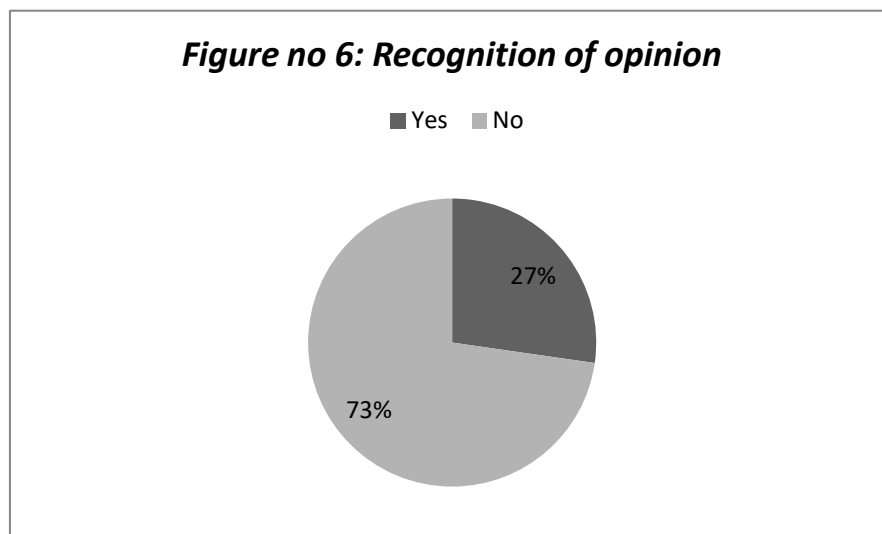
The interviewee was asked if the society is searching for the new youth leadership or they want to continue with the old leaders.



91% of the responded replied that the society is search for new youth leadership. This shows that the society is tired of old politics and slow growth of the country. The society is waiting for the new youth politicians with new power and mechanism to develop the country.

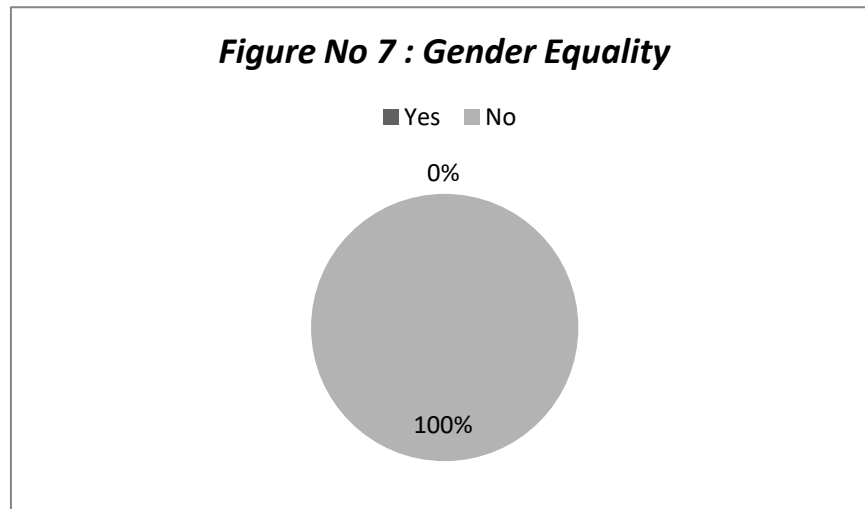
4.6.4 Opinion of the respondent is recognized or not?

The responded were asked if their queries, opinion and requests are addressed during the meetings or not.



27% of the respondent replied that their opinion and decision are addressed in the ward and committee meetings while 73% of the responded replied that their opinions and decision are not addressed and they are included in meeting only because of quota requirement fulfillment by the law. However they are not given priority nor their decision are addressed properly.

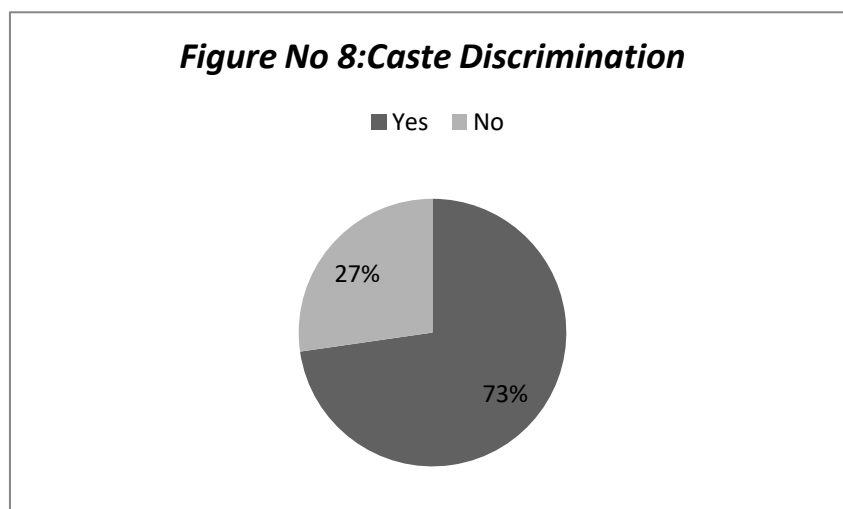
4.6.5 Gender Equality



This question was asked to see the respond the society towards gender equality. The entire respondent replied negatively. This shows that the respondent themselves feel the discrimination in the society.

4.6.6 Caste Discrimination

This question was asked to see if there is discrimination between the women representative and dalit women representative.

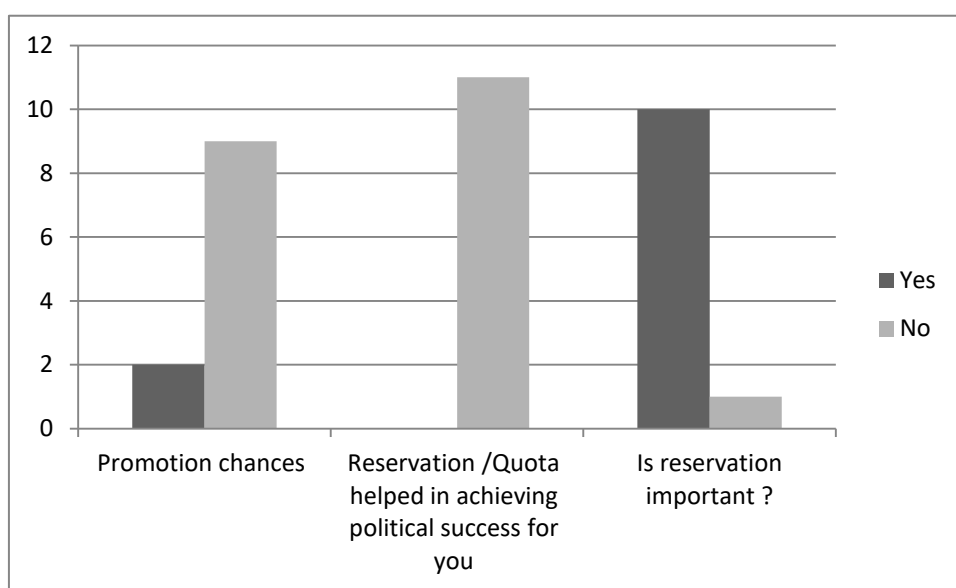


73% of the respondent replied there's a caste discrimination to the ward member from marginalized group while 27% of the respondent replied there is no caste discrimination they have faced in the society.

4.6.7 Reservation/Quota

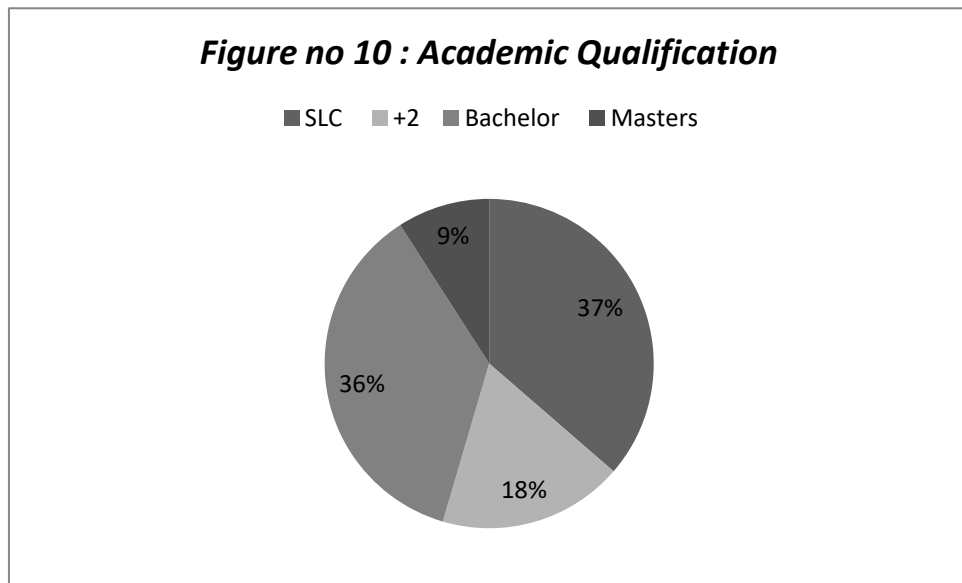
The interviewees were asked if the quota have helped them to achieve the current level in politics and if the marginalized ward members and women ward members has seen the chance of promotion in politics.

Figure No. 9: Promotion chances and Reservation



9 out of 11 respondent feel that they would not be chosen for ward chairperson for next election, while 2 respondent feel that there's a chance that they will be selected for higher post for next election. Regarding the quota system, all the marginalized and women ward members feel that they were selected and elected in election because of the reservation and quota system. 91% of the respondent believed that feel quota are important and it has helped to achieve political success but one to the respondent replied negatively and replied it causes biasness to those who are capable but is unsuccessful because their chance of selection is less than those of marginalized group.

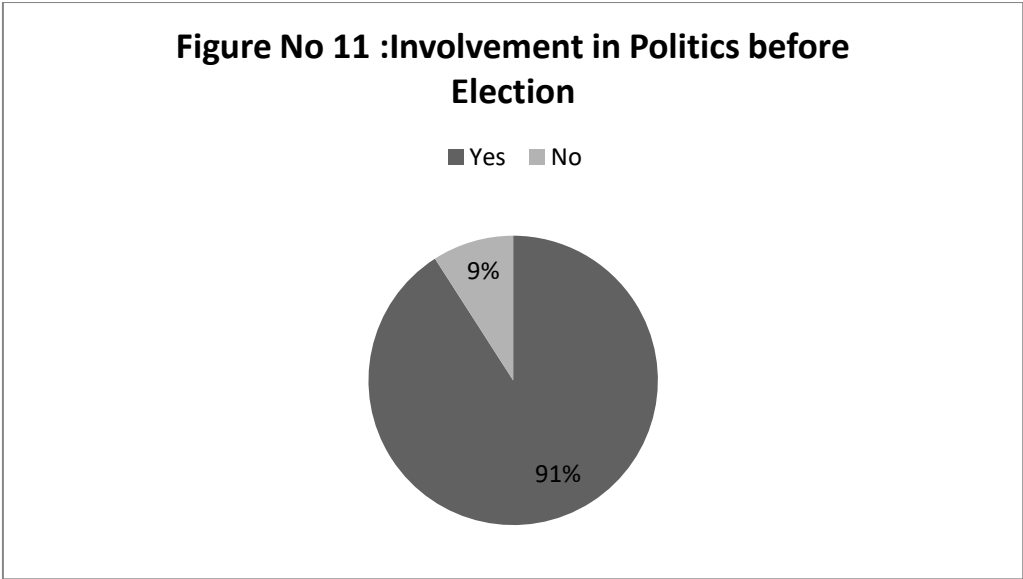
4.6.8 Academic Qualification



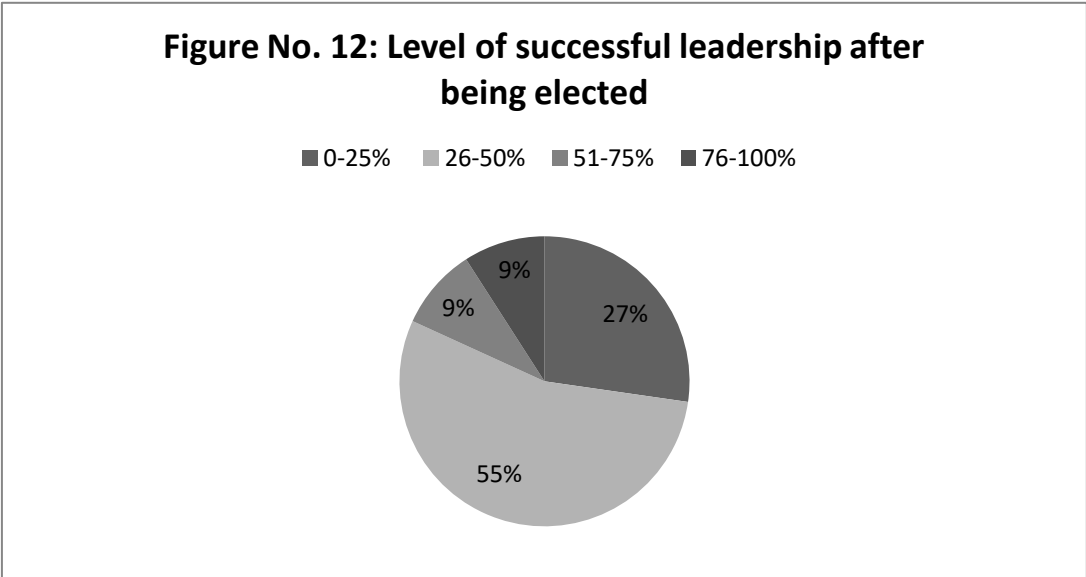
The study of the interviewee shows that all the respondent are literate. About 36% of the ward members are SLC passed, 18% have completed intermediate, 36% has completed Bachelors and 9% has completed masters. Though majority of the respondent have just completed SLC, we have noticed that that they have only completed basic education. Education shall also be focused as it provides the member with knowledge, confidence and exposure.

4.6.9 Active Involvement in Politics before being elected.

This questionnaire helps to study the political background of the women ward members and level of active involvement. The study shows that 10 out of 11 persons were not involved in any committee in political party while only one was involved actively in the politics. This shows that the members were involved only in politics just before election to fulfill the quota.



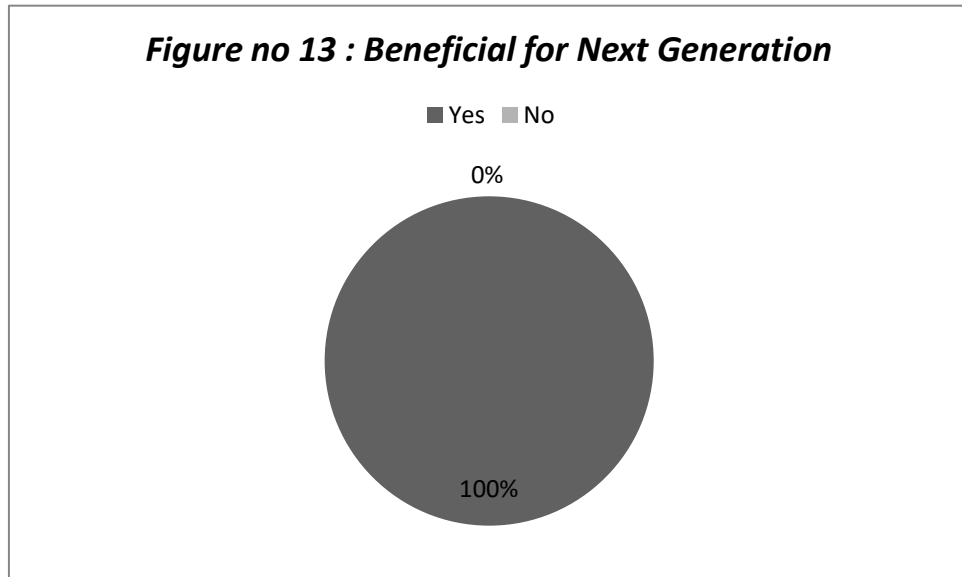
However, it has been noted that after election, the society has improved and they have been able to make changes and address the wellbeing and development of the society to certain level. It is found that 55% of ward member feels that they have made positive changes of 0-25% while 27% of the ward member feels that they have made changes of 51-75% .



4.6.10 Beneficial for next generation

This questionnaire was asked to study if the present involvement of women will help women in future for active involvement in politics. 100% of the respondent believed that they have created a roadway for future generation to become actively involve in politics. They believe that the next generation will not have to face as much difficulty

as the present generation and it will be relatively easier for next generation and also believe there will be many successful women leaders as well as from marginalized sector.



CHAPTER – V
CHALLENGES FOR SUBSTANTIVE WOMEN
REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

“Though men and women are given equal opportunity by the local government, due to the patriarchal mindset of society and also the fact that women are binded by most the household work and responsibilities towards family, women are not able to give their cent percent in politics and causing hindrance to be successful leader” – Pabitra Bista ,Ward Member -5

“Women face difficulties raising money as well as spending money. They have less independence in monetary decision making....Women have less access to financial resources and also do not have many contacts with potential donors.....there are a lot of people who are left behind because of the inability to raise money and I think this is unjust. We cannot spend as much as men during elections. I may not have much financial problem but I have seen many who have face the problem” – Manju Budathoki, Ward Member-6

“I, being the elected ward member from Kirtipur Municipality, have faced many discrimination from the society as well as many informal discrimination from ward itself. For example, our ward gives Rs 10000 during last rituals of person to their family under the program of “Ghar-Ghar ma isthaniya sarkar”. While all the ward members usually goes to pay condolences to the family and give the money, I am not informed or invited because I belong to the marginalized sector and there is a ritual that they should not speak with people from marginalized group during this period.” – Dalit Female ward member-7

“Its not that women ward members are not given priority based on gender but because the person themselves are not active or enlightened with political scenario. Those who are active and capable outcasts other members whether they be male or female. So, women themselves shall also be active and capable and we the political parties and government shall do trainings and empowerment programs”- Female ward member-9

The interviews conducted for this report point to financial and cultural barriers for women entering politics, challenges related to political finance and women’s experiences in getting political party support, being nominated as a candidate and campaigning. The report outlines candidates’ responses on the role of the electoral system in women’s representation and potential methods of increasing women’s representation in Nepali politics. Respondents agreed that the more a candidate could spend on his or her campaign, the more favorable his or her chances for nomination by party leaders. Female candidates reported more difficulty raising and accessing funds for their campaigns compared to male candidates and that they faced a lack of support from family members and political party leaders. IFES hopes the findings and recommendations from this assessment spark discussions on the critical need for reforms and capacity-building efforts ahead of the next general elections in 2022.

Figure no 14 : Women’s political finance pressure on elections



Source: IFES, 2020

5.1 Factors causing hindrance for substantive representation in local government.

The below are the few factors causing hindrance for substantive representation in local government.

5.1.1 Patriarchal Mindsets

The patriarchal mindset is deeply rooted in Nepali society, which has marginalized women from participating in public life. Patriarchal traditions have confined women to the domestic sphere, where their roles involve child-raising and household chores. Women have traditionally had little opportunity to participate actively in political life, with few or no women represented in legislative, judicial, and executive bodies (Acharya, 2003; Bennett, 2006). Women had never Comprised more than 6 percent of

Nepal's parliaments before 2007 (Falch, 2010). The few women who have occupied political positions were from the upper castes or were close relatives of male politicians, and were largely subordinate to the male leaders (UNDP, 2009). Women's wings of political parties have always played a sub-ordinate role in their respective political parties (DFID and the World Bank, 2005).

Even after the political transformation in 2006, women were never accepted or involved as mediators, participants, observers or signatories in the peace negotiations. Women's marginalization in politics is well reflected in a statement made by Ian Martin, the head of the UN Mission to Nepal (UNMIN) during the peace process. "At all the political negotiating tables, I have seen in Nepal during the peace process, not once have I seen a woman at the table" (Martin, 2007: 1). Political parties were forced to give political space to women in the election of 2008 due to the mandatory constitutional provision of quotas, but the patriarchal culture of political institutions is well reflected in the statement made by a woman who did run for the CA. She stated that women were only given candidacies to meet quotas and did not receive the same level of support as their male counterparts (IDEA, 2011).

In the CA, women representatives contended that male leaders never took women's views into serious consideration. Many decisions were made by top male leaders during informal sessions and later shared in the assembly (Falch, 2010). One woman representative has been quoted as saying, "decisions in political parties are usually taken by a small group of men behind closed doors, and women have to wait for their male leadership to take its decisions before voting in the parliament" (Falch, 2010: 14).

Gender issues were never considered seriously by the top leaders. 69.9 percent women CA members reported that male members never recognized gender issues as important issues for discussion. Of them 35.2 percent attributed the major challenge for the inclusion of a gender perspective in the new constitution to a lack of support by the male CA members (Khakurel et al., 2011). The chairperson of the cross-party women's alliance express a similar view, "It is not possible to channel our issues through the different committees in the assembly, because the gender related issues were not a priority" (Aryal, 2009: 1).

This patriarchal mindset was also reflected in the media. Women representatives were often harassed and devalued in the media. The national dailies, instead of appreciating the diversity of women representatives, always highlighted the low economic profiles of women with sensationalist headlines, such as ‘Chura bechadai savasad’ (‘women representatives selling bangles’) and ‘Bhada majda majdai sa-vasad’ (‘maids became CA members’) (IDEA, 2011). The women representatives’ work and women’s issues never reached the headlines.

5.1.2 Multiple Identities and Independent Movements

In Nepal, state structures including the government and political parties largely represent and function as a sub-set of the hierarchical and deep-rooted social structure based on caste, class, and patriarchy (Bennett, 2006; UNDP, 2009). Many social movements have attempted to challenge such hierarchical power structures but unfortunately these movements have remained independent of each other despite their common goal of an equal society. Since coordination and dialogue has been absent, the demands of one group have often contradicted those of others and one movement has tended to divert the state’s attention from the others (Bennett, 2006). Bennett’s findings are very relevant with respect to the women’s movement because women’s rights movements not only have remained independent of others, but the woman activists have been diverted from women’s issues to attend to others. Political ideologies, caste, ethnic and class issues have often been divisive among women (Falch, 2010); and the women’s constituency has always remained limited and weak.

A study by Acharya and Gentle (2006) sought to study the effectiveness of women’s representation in community forest user groups in Nepal and revealed that women’s representation in decision making bodies had increased but women did not get support from likeminded individuals and organizations, which significantly impeded their substantial representation. Subsequently, some of them had to withdraw from the position and some were sacked and replaced by male members.

In the CA, women representatives represented the diversified Nepali society in terms of caste, language, ethnicity, religion, class, and party ideology. This diversity has been considered widely as the strength of the CA from the perspective of inclusion. However, from a gender perspective, this diversity did not often result in positive

outcomes in terms of advocacy for women's issues. In fact, the diversity posed challenges for women to unite for women's issues (Khakurel et al., 2011). Women of marginalized castes and ethnicities, especially from Dalit, Janajati and Madhesi groups, chose to highlight their caste and ethnic identities and aligned themselves with such categories.

The main issue for Dalit women in the CA to advocate against was caste-based discrimination, while for Janajati and Madhesi women, the recognition of their respective languages and their identity was the fundamental issue (Tamang, 2009).

The class system had a dual effect in dividing the women representatives. First, there was lack of trust between the women representatives of higher and lower economic classes (Khakurel et al., 2011). Second, some political parties highlighted the class issue in a way that overshadowed women's issues (Yami, 2007). Women were widely divided by their political ideologies as well. Women political leaders were first and foremost guided by political ideology, ignoring women's interests (Acharya, 2003). Women politicians generally perceive themselves as political leaders rather than women leaders. Accordingly, they compromise women's interests over their political party's interests (Tamang, 2009).

The election system through which women were elected (first- past-the-post and Proportional Representation) was also reported to have created conflict among women. Women elected through FPTP were said to have considered them as legitimate leaders. They were deemed as more accountable towards the people of their respective constituencies. Women elected through PR system were considered as 'token' women and they were said to have been more loyal to their political parties (Khakurel et al., 2011).

The differences among woman CA members, as outlined above, were so strong that a cross-party alliance among them was indeed impossible. An inter-party women's caucus was there but it was un-able to bridge the division among women. There was a complete lack of communication and coordination among the woman CA members. Their multiple identities were identified as the most decisive factor that divided them and 62.8 percent women CA members accepted that there was a complete lack of

unity among them, which helped women's issues to be overlooked by the CA (Khakurel et al., 2011).

5.1.3 Women's Capacity

Lack of parliamentary experience and of formal education among some woman CA members were also reported as factors limiting their ability to contribute effectively and independently in politics. Only 27 out of 197 women had previous parliamentary experience. For the majority 170 representatives, this was a completely new experience. A majority 24.5 percent only had school level education. Surprisingly, 17.9 percent woman CA members had no formal education and could barely read and write (Khakurel et al., 2011). One representative from the international community has been quoted as saying that; "Women in political positions are not really influencing politics. They are still very attached to their political parties and there is a great need for capacity-building to empower women to become independent, so that they can express themselves and their opinions" (Falch, 2010: 15).

CHAPTER-VI

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Findings

This article demonstrates that a critical mass of women was present in the politics and they were able to raise some important women's issues. Citizenship based on equality, constitutional status for the Women's Commission, recognition of the women's caucus as a formal body and the proportional representation of women in all state bodies were some major issues that women inside and outside the political scenario advocated for. In all these cases, however, the male dominated environment ultimately decided against what women had been advocating for. Unfortunately, the women members silently accepted the decisions and followed what their male leaders wanted them to do. They were not able to unite for the cause of their gender and fight against male hegemony. The critical mass of women was not strong enough to influence the culture of the male-dominated group, and alliances to fight for gender equality among women elected members were non-existent. Patriarchal attitudes among political leaders, lack of parliamentary experience among most women, and independent movements of marginalized groups were identified by scholars as factors hindering the formation of a strong alliance among women elected members. The women representatives were not only divided along party lines, but also by differences of caste, ethnicity, class and language. These diverted them away from women's issues and to attend to other concerns. This chapter began by considering the different ways in which power has been conceptualized. It demonstrated how both postmodernist conceptualization of power and the resistance literature, which has been influenced by these understandings, offers important insights as to how power is negotiated. However, it also pointed to the dangers inherent in these conceptions of power. First, over-arching structures of domination and exploitation can be ignored and second, the emphasis on 'everyday resistance' can shift focus away from organized large scale forms of resistance. I conclude that in order to understand how power operates and is negotiated in a given community or society it is necessary to take into account many of the different ways in which power has been conceptualized. This Chapter was also concerned with the ways in which empowerment has been conceptualized and how the term is used. While the chapter discussed debates around

the term and drew attention to the many different ways it has been and continues to be used I argue that it is still a useful term and the very flexibility it contains serves to illustrate the complex nature of negotiating and changing structures and dynamics of power. The discussion on community participation within development thought and practice highlighted the dangers of dichotomies which either represent the rural poor and women in post-colonial regions as either a powerless other or romanticize them as having pure knowledge unaffected by wider historical and social forces. Both these dichotomies 71 most usually fail to elucidate the inequities existing within these communities and groups. Finally the chapter has raised issues as to what ‘truth’ is and how internalised social norms and the interdependence between truth and knowledge not only affect how we conceptualise the operation of power within different contexts, but also affects the research process itself.

6.2 Conclusion

From Rana rule to the Panchayat era to the Maoist insurgency and the Federal Democratic Republic, Nepal has undergone lengthy and massive socio-political uncertainties and changes. However, Nepali women have constantly challenged the patriarchy in all its dimensions. They initiated a movement for their rights—one that has been largely ignored in the literature—more 90 *Journal of International Women’s Studies* Vol. 21, No. 2 April 2020 than 100 years ago under the leadership of Yogmaya Neupane, a movement that continues today. Even though the road for women towards political participation has not been easy, they have been quite successful over the last decade in securing their rights. Achieving the 33 per cent quota in the Parliament and other political and bureaucratic structures is an example of such success. Though the Constitution of 1990 brought much hope for the country's political transformation and guaranteed considerable political rights, civil liberties, and individual freedom, it was only able to introduce a few changes regarding gender-discriminatory laws. After the signing of the CPA and the promulgation of the Interim Constitution, the one-third representation in government structures for women was secured. Consequently, the motivation for women to engage in the election process also increased. The Constituent Assembly election of 2008 became historic as women’s participation outnumbered men—an example of such motivation. The Constitution of 2015 promised at least 33% of women's participation in all the State

operations. At the local level, 41 per cent of newly elected officials were women along with 34 per cent of Provincial assembly seats reserved for women. However, despite the promise of including women's representation in the State restructuring, women have been denied political power at the local level. Women candidates have been elected in the Parliament simply to fulfill the quota of including women representatives. As noted above, many operational problems in the daily execution of Parliamentary duties persist due to entrenched discrimination. The women of Nepal are still not freed from the burden of living in a patriarchal society. Too often their capacity to participate in Parliament at quota levels has been questioned, rather than holding up for scrutiny the forms of discrimination and lack of opportunities that have underprepared women for equal participation. The influence of women in decision-making and constitution-building process remains limited. Though women have become successful in acquiring higher positions (e.g., President of Nepal, earlier Chief Justice of Supreme Court and Speaker of the Parliament), achievements not even possible to imagine two decades ago, the achievements attained thus far are not enough. Continued, concerted action among all actors is essential.

6.3 Recommendation

The interviews conducted for this study and the analysis of existing research and data point to several recommendations for reform and changed behavior. There is no single change that can remove the gender-related financial challenges faced by women running for office. Rather, various Nepali – and to a lesser extent international – stakeholders must make changes so that the role of money in Nepali politics can advance, rather than hinder, women's equality. The below recommendations are based on the findings from this report, and are organized based on the concerned stakeholder

6.3.1 Support the active participation of women in Nepali elections.

To be fully inclusive, elections in Nepal must include the active participation of women and men on equal terms, and as the election management body in Nepal, the ECN should act within its legal mandate to support women's equality in elections. For example, a complete waiver of candidacy fees for female candidates would increase women's engagement in elections. Several respondents also argued that the ECN

should provide resources to female candidates and explore ways that such support could be provided within the existing legal framework, or if necessary, make recommendations for legal reform.

6.3.2 Strengthen the application of quotas for women as candidates for FPTP races and PR closed party lists and quotas for women's representation in central party committees. As the election management body, the ECN is responsible for implementing the election quotas laid out in the Nepali Constitution. The ECN's enforcement of gender quotas for PR closed lists and for FPTP candidates – if legislation mandating FPTP quotas is passed – is essential to strengthening women's political representation in Nepal. One option the ECN may consider is a mandate that every other PR list is headed by a woman. The ECN could also work closer with political parties to meet the quotas for women's representation in political party central committees.

6.3.3 Support women's equality in Nepali politics.

All political party representatives interviewed said that their parties, while supportive of women's equality, do not have any policies to advance women's equality among party officials or candidates. A root cause underlying the challenges for women's political participation is the patriarchal mindset among political party leadership. Political parties should seek to attract women who would be interested in pursuing politics as a career and carefully analyze what policies and approaches can be introduced to empower women politicians. A practical example could be to exclude elected women representatives from requirements to donate a portion of their salary to the political party. Political parties should further be held to the standards set forth in the Political Party Act, 2017, to have one-third women's representation on all party committees and commit to inclusion of women in party decision-making processes. In addition, political parties can provide trainings for female candidates on public speaking, leadership, fundraising, bookkeeping and cost-effective campaigning.

6.3.4 Provide support and mentoring to potential women leaders.

The success of efforts to amend legislation and alter the behavior of the ECN, political parties and civil society groups can only increase women's equality if motivated women step into the electoral arena and actively engage in political

processes. Civil society groups can play an important role in International Foundation for Electoral Systems 22 assisting women to take on leadership roles as candidates or in their political parties. Leadership and campaign skills development and longer-term mentoring by experienced politicians can play an important role in supporting women to prepare for elections.

6.3.5 Support female candidates to report incidences of election violence and harassment and invest in media literacy programs to empower voters to recognize instances of disinformation.

Female candidates are more likely than male candidates to face violence in elections in the form of defamation, harassment, threats of violence and economic violence. Nepali civil society could advocate to the government, the ECN and third-party stakeholders to strengthen reporting and investigation mechanisms for instances of violence against women in elections. Civil society should also consider investing in media literacy projects to encourage voters to critically examine election information received through social media, traditional media or word of mouth to recognize possible instances of disinformation against female candidates.

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ANNEXURE-1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES:

S.N	Name	Ward No.	Position	Contact No.
1	Sunita Maharjan	1	Ward Member	9843571716
2	Sajita Maharjan	2	Ward Member	9843399277
3	Manu Bika	2	Ward Member	9808601762
4	Nanda Devi Maharjan	3	Municipal Executive Board Member	9843883334
5	Pabitra Bista	5	Ward Member	9841419058
6	Manju Basnet	6	Ward Member	9849226299
7	Maina Rokka	6	Ward Member	9808475713
8	Raju Mijar	6	Municipal Executive Board Member	9860484753
9	Rajendra Tolange	4	Municipal Executive Board Member	9840070230
10	Bhuna Pariyar	7	Acting Ward Chairperson	9840332026
11	Sunita Nakarmi	9	Municipal Executive Board Member	9841721838

6. Is there equal respect, behavior from society between women PR and Dalit women PR?
(महिला वडा सदस्य र दलित महिला सदस्यलाई गर्ने मानसम्मान, ब्यबहार समान छ ?)
A) Yes B) No
7. Do you feel like is even female deputy mayor /Dalit members /women members are also seen as capable for the post of mayors, ward chairperson in upcoming local election?
(पुरुष वडा अध्यक्ष/ सदस्यलाई जस्तो उपमेयर/दलित/महिला सदस्यलाई पनि आउने स्थानीय निर्वाचनको सम्भावित मेयर/वडा अध्यक्षको उम्मेदवारका रुपमा हेर्ने गरेको महसुस गर्नु भएको छ?)
A) Yes B) No
8. Do you believe that your political party will give you chance of being candidate for important position without reservation /quota system?
(आरक्षण कोटा बाहेक तपाईंलाई अन्य महत्वपूर्ण पदको उम्मेदवारका लागि पार्टीले अघि बढाउछ जस्तो लाग्छ ?)
A) Yes B) No
9. Have you ever experienced of Bias/disrespect/partiality just because of you are from dalit/janajati/women ward member?
(दलित पक्षपात/पूर्वाग्रह/अपमान समाजमा कारण भएकै सदस्य वडा महिला /जनजाति/ परेको भोग्यु?)
A) Yes B) No
10. Is it easy or hard to hold leadership for Dalit/Janajati/Women in comparision to other male leaders?
(दलित/ जनजाती/ महिला भए कै कारण अरु पुरुष नेताको दाजोमा नेतृत्व गर्न असहज महसुस गर्नु भएको छ कि छैन?)
A) Yes B) No
11. What is your academic qualification?
(तपाईंको शैक्षिक योग्यता कति हो?)
A)SLC B)+2 Level c) Bachelor d) Masters
12. Were you politically active before election in 2017 ??
(तपाईं स्थानीय निर्वाचन हुनु भन्दा अगाडी राजनीतिमा आबद्ध एव सक्रिय हुने अवसर पाउनु भएको थियो?)

- A) Yes B) No
13. If Yes, in which position and Committee?
(यदि भए कुन कमिटीको कुन जिम्मेवारीमा?)
.....
14. How often have you discuss about national/international issues in official or unofficial meetings?
(औपचारिक अनौपचारिक रुपमा राष्ट्रिय/अन्तरराष्ट्रिय मुद्दाबारे कतिको छलफल हुने गर्छ?)
- A) Not often B) Sometimes
C) Usually D) Frequently
15. In your opinion, is political training necessary or not?
(तपाईंको बिचारमा राजनीतिक प्रशिक्षण आवश्यक छ कि छैन?)
- A) Yes B) No
16. Whether is it help or not to solve problems of targeted class by your representation?
(तपाइको प्रतिनिधित्वले गर्दा लक्षित बर्गको समस्या समाधान गर्न मद्दत पुगेको छ कि छैन?)
- A) 0-25% B) 50% C) 75% D) 100%
17. Do you think your opportunity of being represented supports upcoming new generation to be more potential from same community?
(तपाइले पाउनु भएको अवसरले गर्दा सोहि समुदायबाट आउने भावी पुस्ता तपाईंहरु भन्दा बढी क्षमतावान भएर सहभागी हुन सहयोग पुग्छ जस्तो लाग्छ?)
- A) Yes B) No
18. If yes then How?
(यदि लाग्छ भने कसरि लाग्छ ?)
- A) Facilitated Training B) Developed concept of Study
C) Learn with us and more Opportunity D) All of the above
19. Can you reached this post if there is no reservation quota ?
(तपाईं आरक्षणकोटा नभएको भए यो पदमा पुग्नु हुन्थियो?)
- A) Yes B) No

20. Is proportional inclusive democratic system namely reservation quota necessary or unnecessary?

(समानुपातिक समाबेसी लोकतान्त्रिक ब्यबस्था अर्थात आरक्षण कोटा अत्यावश्यक कि अनावश्यक?)

A) Yes

B) No