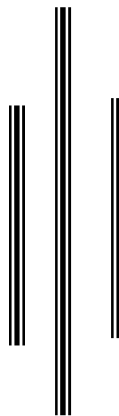


**The Status and Role of Nepalese Women in Changing  
National Political Context  
[A case study of women CA Members]**



**Thesis Submitted to the department of Sociology/Anthropology  
Padma Kanya Multiple College**

For partial fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts  
In Sociology



**Submitted by:  
Renju Neupane**

Roll No: 198

Second Year exam Roll No. :380097

TU Regd No: 6-2-3-1121-2003

Padma Kanya Multiple College

Bagbazar-31, Kathmand

## RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "The Status and Role of Nepalese Women in Changing National political Context: A case study of women CA Members" submitted by Renju Neupane for the partial fulfilment of requirement for Master's Degree in Sociology has been carried out under my supervision and guidance. She did this research in woman CA Members of Nepal.

I recommended this dissertation for final evaluation and approval to the dissertation evaluation committee.

Date:

.....

Kailash Uprety  
Lecturer ,Department of  
Sociology/Anthropology  
Padma Kanya Multiple Campus  
Bag bazaar, Kathmandu,

**Tribhuvan University**  
**Padma Kanya Multiple Campus**  
**Department of Sociology /Anthropology**  
Bag Bazaar, Kathmandu

**APPROVAL LETTER**

This thesis submitted by Renju Neupane "The Status and Role of Nepalese Women in Changing National political context: A case study of women CA Members" has been accepted and approved as a partial fulfilment of the requirement for Master's Degree in Sociology by the evaluation committee comprising of:

.....  
Kailash Uprety  
(Thesis Supervisor)

.....  
(External Examiner)

.....  
Mr. Pradip Prasad Mishra  
(Head of the Department)

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First and foremost, I would like to express my best regards and gratitude to Mr. Kailash Uprety who help me navigate through this research. Without his inspiration, guidance and co-operation this research could not come in this form. I could not have imagined success in my pursuit. In spite of his tight schedules, Mr. Uprety had been available to me whenever I needed his comments and consultations.

I must recall that I had gained some significant insights from Mr. Pradip Prasad Mishra ,Mr. Lokraj Pandey, Mr. Man Bdr. Shahu , Mr. Deepak Pokharel for their orientation to pursue the research work. I am also thankful to Mr.Ramesh Shrestha the external examiner for his comments.

I would like to especially thank to all the informants for providing valuable time in sharing ideas and information for my research work.

Renju Neupane

## Table of Contents

**Recommendation**

**Approval letter**

**Acknowledgement**

### **Chapter-1**

**Introduction** **1-9**

1.1 General introduction 1

1.2 Statement of the problem 7

1.3 Objective of the study 8

1.4 Significance of the study 9

1.5 Organization of the study 9

### **Chapter-2**

**Review of Literature** **10-18**

2.1 Theoretical Review 11

2.2 Historical Background of CA 12

2.3 Previous Literature Review on world context. 13

2.4 Previous Literature review in Nepalese context 16

### **Chapter-3**

**Research Methodology** **19-21**

3.1 Rationale of site selection 19

3.2 Universe and sampling procedure 19

3.3 Research Design 19

3.4 Nature and sources of Data 20

3.5 Data collection procedure 20

3.5.1 Interview 20

3.5.2 Questionnaire 20

3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation 20

3.7 Limitation of the study 21

## **Chapter-4**

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

#### **4.1 Socio-economic background of women CA members. 22-51**

4.1.1 Class wise Distribution 22

4.1.2 Occupation 23

4.1.3 Education 24

4.1.4 Role of economy in politics 25

#### **4.2 Current socio-political status of women CA members. 26-33**

4.2.1 Involved party 27

4.2.2 Inspiration Sources 28

4.2.3 Electoral Process 29

4.2.4 Criteria of Candidacy 30

4.2.5 Changes in women CA members 31

4.2.6 International visit of women CA members 33

#### **4.3 Role played by women in constitutional building process. 33-36**

4.3.1 Types of agenda 34

4.3.2 Implementation of agenda 34

4.3.3 Role satisfaction 35

4.3.4 Agenda in the committee 36

#### **4.4 Obstacles 37-40**

4.4.1 Types of obstacle 37

4.4.2 Priority in the political issues 38

4.4.3 Causes of discontinuing politics 40

#### **Case Studies 41-51**

## **Chapter-5**

### **Summary, Major findings and Conclusion 51-57**

5.1 Summary 52

5.2 Major findings 53

5.3 Conclusion 55.4

Recommendation 57

<b>References cited</b>	<b>58-59</b>
<b>Annex</b>	<b>60-64</b>
<b>Photo of women member</b>	

## **Acronyms**

CA: Constitutional Assembly

FPTP First-Past-The-Post

UCPN-Maoist: United Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist

NC: Nepali Congress

CPN-UML: Communist party of Nepal- United Marxist Leninist

CPN-ML: Communist party of Nepal- Marxist Leninist

MJAF: Madhesie Jana Adhikar Forum

TAMALOPA: Terai Madhesie Loktantrik Party

## **List of Tables**

1. The division of respondent on the basis of economic class.
2. The division of respondent on the basis of types of occupation.
3. The classification of women CA member on the basis of academic qualification.
4. Involvement of respondent in politics on the basis of role of economy.
5. The classification of respondent on the basis of political party.
6. Division of respondent on the basis of inspiration sources.
7. Division of respondent on the basis of election procedure.
8. Classification of respondent on the basis of criteria of candidacy.
9. Division of respondent on the basis of change in social status.
10. Respondent are classified on the basis of international visit.
11. Classification of the respondent on the basis of implementation of agenda.
12. Division of respondent on the basis of role satisfactions of women CA member.
13. The respondents are categorized on the basis of hearing of the agenda in the committee.
14. The no. of respondent is classified on the basis of obstacle faced by them.
15. Classification of respondent on the basis of aspect of priority in politics.
16. Division of respondent on the basis of discontinuing politics.



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 General Introduction:

When we talk about the participation of women in the world politics then it is only 13.7%. The only countries which have been able to increase women participation are Norway, Finland and Switzerland. As per the UNDP statistics there is 43% women participation in politics in Sweden, 37% in Netherland, 35.8% in Norway and 30.4% in Finland. (Dhital-2005)

According to UN Report, women occupy only 10% of parliament seats and 6% of cabinet position around the world. (Karki-2007)

Nepali society is patriarchal society and it has been the main sources of power in the society. The traditional gender role reinforces the principal that men are strong, protective, practical, decisive and naturally capable of facing the challenges of life whereas women are weak, submissive, less decisive and more prone to throwing tantrums to the challenges of life. This theory promotes the belief that women are lower status than men. The status of women is lower than men even today. The status of Nepalese women in general has been affected by the traditional values that prevailed in the society. Most of the traditional values of the past were not favourable to the freedom of women. In Nepalese society there were many social norms, practices which neglected the women's individuality. One of the examples found in the traditional society which snatches the personal freedom of women was the Sati system which was in practice in the past but now it is already abolished. In this system women have to kill herself even without her will in case of her husband's death. It is the social torture to the women in the name of traditional practices. Women had to fight in every step in the patriarchal male dominated system.

Hindu women of Nepal were not allowed to observe many religious performances. They could not even read the holy scriptures like Vedas, Purans etc. Concept of pollution was there in practice among the Hindus and birth pollution was one of them.

Actually, the position of women had been different in ideology and in practice. Women are respected only in religious book but in practice they are exploited in the name of religion. On the one hand women are worshipped like a God and the other they are accused as being witch. It is a controversial matter regarding women. In the same way women have different status as being daughter and daughter-in-law and daughter are considered as sacred where as daughter-in-law or wife are considered as polluted or dangerous. (Bennet-1976)

Nepali society is male dominated society and each and every norms and values are guided by male perspective. Women are restricted from doing sradha of their late parents. They do not participate in kul puja but works as an associate only. (Bennet-1976)

The discrimination of women has also been found in political and economic sectors. They do not have equal access in economic resources and do not have decision making rights even in family affairs. As a result they are far behind in politics to every extension of life. (Majpuria 2007)

Women are given a high priority in every party election charter. Different political party election charter have talked to gurantee different rights of women. The present biggest political party of Nepal UCPN-Maoist says about the equal rights of women in parents property, society, economy and state will be guranteed. (Election charter of UCPN-Maoist 2064)

Nepali Congress also mentions about proportionate representation and inclusion of women in politics, administration and in policy making level and laws which are against women will be end. (Election charter of Nepali Congress 2064)

CPN-UML election charter also focused on women's issues. It says all the things which are against women that is differentiation, exploitation will be abolished and the 33% of women inclusion in all aspect of national life. Daughter's will have the rights in their parental property and special priority will be given to women in education ,health etc. (Election charter of CPN-UML 2064)

In the election charter of other political party also has talked about the special law to be made for women to end the differentiation in different sectors regarding sexual harassment, exploitation etc. Strong laws should be made by the state to end dowry system and social awakening programme should be done in society.

As we already know from the election charter of different political party that each and every party have special provision to protect women's right but these are limited only in the charter before election. The party themselves are not serious about the women's right and still Nepalese women are exploited in the name of dowry system and other social evils. 33% of women in every sector has been guaranteed only after mass movement second conducted in the country. Women are included only in numbers in different sector under proportionate inclusion but they are still dominated by male ideology and there are many things left to be done for women.

### **Political Status of Women in Ancient, Medieval and Early Shah Period**

Political role of women from the past is not continuous. In some phases in political history they actively participated in power politics, but not in all phases. Queen Rajya woti the mother of King Mana Dev did not go sati in request of her son and Mana Dev always took suggestion from her. This evidence certify that women from past were involved in political activities. (Yadav-2050)

King Rana Bahadur Shah (1777-1806) felt the necessity of the involvement of the women of Royal family in the state affairs. His copper plate epigraph at Pashupati of the year 1855 B.S states that the rule of country did not go smoothly when the queens become old; so that the queen should instruct their daughter-in law on the state affairs before hand. (Dhana Bajra and Tek Bahadur-1981)

Queen Rajendra Laxmi Devi the mother of Rana Bahadur Shah takes the requestship and starts to run the state political activity with the help of Bahadur Shah her brother-in-law. She got victory over Kaski, Lamjung and Newakot. Queen Rajya Laxmi also got power to rule the country and her husband Rajendra Bikram Shah gave this opportunity in 1900 B.S. She also exercise the supreme authority of political of the state. (Thapa-1985)

The rise of Junga Bahadur Rana drag out women from political scenario. Although Nepalese women were ignorant, suppressed and exploited at that time but the conscious citizen like Krishan Prasad Koirala had tried to draw the women in political and social movement. By his contribution the first Women's Organization (Mahila sang) was formed in 1974 B.S. (Koirala-1960)

The starting point in the process of political consciousness among the women in Nepal is the historical Jute Mill Strike in Biratnagar on 27 March 1947. (Majpuria-1991) Nepalese women were also actively involved and profoundly in anti-Rana movement. Dibya Koirala, Indira Acharya, and Nalini Upadhaya actively participated in Labour movement during 2003 B.S. Falgun-21 and they were arrested. (Basnet-2053)

In the strike against Rana women took part and it brought several women to the fore front in the political activity. As a result of involvement and political consciousness they form their own political organization "*Mahila Sang*" under the chairmanship of Mangala Devi Sing in 2004 B.S. At that time they did not have right to elect and to be elected. So, women were organized and fight for their voting rights. Due to their movement Shree 3 Padma Sumsher was compelled to give voting rights for them. As a result Sadhana Pradhan was elected as Member in Kathmandu Municipality for the first time. (Thomphay-2059)

Nepal's Interim Constitution 2007 B.S. has also guaranteed different rights of women constitutionally. It declares "equal wage for same works to both men and women". (Shakya-2066)

Dwarika Devi Thakurani was the first elected Member of Parliament and Women Minister at 2015 B.S. from Nepali Congress. She was elected from Dadeldhura. This shows that women in the past have certain role to play in government. (Rijal-2062)

During panchayat system all the political parties as well as Women's Organization were banned. After that women participated along with other political parties in the restoration of democracy. Women also went in underground along with their male colleagues for their political

rights. At the same time some women were also involved in Panchayati political system. During 2017B.S to 2046B.S a large number of women are involved in anti- panchayat movement. At that time they were arrested and torture for being involved in the movement but they boldly participated in the movement.

After the restoration of democracy the constitution of Nepal 2047B.S tried to guarantee some political right of women. In this constitution 5% women candidacy was compulsory for all political party in election. This was good opportunity for women who have devoted their life in politics. Now at present the participation of women in political party has also increased. Now there are more women members in central committee and District committee in different political party. In fact women and politics go hand in hand. It can not be termed as an associate and co-partner.

Women's political participation is still very low which is one of the ways to enhance status of women. In the general election of 1991 only 7(3.4%) women were elected out of the total 82 (6.1%) women contestant and only 3% women were nominated in the upper house out of 60. And in the mid term election (1994) only 8 (4%) women were elected. In the general election of 1999 nearly 6% women were elected and there was only a single woman in the cabinet but not a full minister. Chitralekha Yadav becomes the deputy speaker of the house. Most important achievement of the women movement in politics had been that there is a compulsory representation of women in each ward. Due to this provision the participation of women in politics has increased tremendously which in the long run will hopefully help in the high participation of women in the central level political representation. (Luitel-2008)

The status and role of Nepalese women politician is more progressed in present context. The Mass Movement of 2063 B.S has brought many women right. The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2063 has guaranteed many fundamental rights for women. Such as the provision of citizenship that if a child is born in the territory of Nepal could get the citizenship even from his/her mother's name. Equal inclusion of women, dalit and janajati in different sectors of state. 33% of women inclusion in election and in every sector, such as property right civil service etc. is the

achievement of Nepali women. These achievements are brought from the political movements conducted in the country in different phases. (Shakya-2066)

Access to political power and decision making process is considered as an index of the overall status of women in society. In patriarchal and male society like Nepal where women are systematically discriminated have lower status in comparison to men. "The low participation of women in Nepalese politics is results of complex mix of inter-related factors. With regard to the existing constitution contains many negative provisions which do not help to secure gender justice. Though Nepal is a party a large number of international legal instruments concerning human rights but the discrimination against women continues at all levels." (Thapalia 2001:7)

33% of women inclusion in every sector does not mean just to include 33% of women's number in political party and parliament but also means to human value, participatory process and to make politics people oriented. (Dhital-2005)

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Women are neglected by the society and their contribution in socio-economic as well as in political sector is also neglected. We do not find much more evidences which have really supported women. Women are backward almost in all sectors. Their access to resources is not satisfactory one. They have less decision making power in the household and outside. Women are confined to their household activity and their labour is not counted.

Women are dominated in every sector and do not have prominent position in politics as well as in other sectors. Many other women politician has to face obstacle from their own colleague. They are also not easily brought to the higher rank in the party. The political party of Nepal most often uses women only as their vote bank and this practice among the party discourages the women to be involved in political activities.

Women have to play a dual role at a time and have the burden of the family and also a political career. They are not free as men and can't give full time to politics due to different socio-cultural and personal factors. Domestic role of women is more than that of men so they do not easily

come to politics. Although, women participated in party politics from early periods but their contribution to politics is not counted. Different women politician from the past actively participated in different political movements and protest but they are always placed in the secondary position. Dwarika Devi Thakurani, Dibya koirala, Mangala Devi singh, Nona Koirala, Sadhana Pradhan, Sahana Pradhan, Sailaja Acharya and other women politician have a long history in Nepalese women politics. But they are unable to get higher position in their party. (Rijal-2064)

Development of the country is not possible without the involvement of women in politics because they cover half of the population of the country. Not only is that politics the main basis of policy formation so women should be involved in politics.

The topic is researchable as its main intention is to find out women's politician role in constitution building process and the problem faced by them. Such type of research is necessary in our context where women are placed in secondary position in society. They are suppressed, oppressed and dominated by male ideology and do not have their own prominent position in society. In such a condition this study will help to show the important role played by women politician in changing the society along with their male colleague. One dissertation (*Basnet-2053*) is concerned with the role of women in democratic movement in Nepal. This study has provided only about the role that is played by women during different phases of democratic movement. Similarly, the writing of (Thomphay-2059) also concentrate on the women's movement in Nepal. But, these writing do not highlight the status and role of women politicians. So, this study tries to highlight the status and role of a women politician after being elected as a CA member in constitutional assembly.

Mainly women face different types of problem to come in politics. Some of the major problem faces by women politician are the scarcity of money, disapproval from family, competition with colleague and play double and triple role that is burden of family activities and the responsibility of the party. Due to this cause women has marginalized even in politics According to Pampha Bhusal, "It is difficult for women to come in politics with the money of husband's and they do not have access in resources which makes women far behind in politics and other sectors as well".

Though there are some studies which are done on women but they are not particularly based upon the women politicians and their status and role played by them in present context. Previous studies is not done on women CA member in particular so, the present study tries to find out the socio-economic background as well as the role played by women CA member in constitutional building process. This study will address the following questions:

What is status and role of women politician in Nepal?

What are the hindering factors for women to come in politics?

What is their role in constitutional building process?

### **1.3 Objective of the study**

#### **General objective:**

- ) To study the status and role of Nepalese women in changing national political context.

#### **Specific objective:**

- ) To present the socio-economic background of women CA members.
- ) To know the current socio-political status of women CA members.
- ) To find their role in constitutional building process.
- ) To highlight the problem faced by the women CA member involved in politics

### **1.4 Significance of the study**

To bring changes in the country women politician have a great share. From the past till now women have been fighting for their rights. Women have significant role to make New Nepal. Women politician are also not far from this. They have fight for their voting rights and the then governments was compelled to grant voting rights for women and as a result Sadhans Pradhan was elected as member in the municipality election in 2008 B.S. Women are elected in the parliament and now there are 32.77% of women CA member in the constitutional assembly. Now women are in the policy making level and constitutional drafting committees so the new constitution also may guarantee different rights of women. The significance of the research are as follows:

- ) Provides data on women politician:

This research is mostly based on qualitative as well as quantitative data. It has explored personnel experiences of the women CA member and their major constraints to come in political field. This research will be helpful for policymaker and planner.



) Pave the way for those who want further in –depth study.

This research will provide the guideline for researcher who try to do their study particularly on women politician and the women CA members and their status and role in constitutional drafting process.

## **1.5 Organization of the Study**

In this research chapter one deals about the introduction of the topic, about the status and role of women politician. Chapter two deals with the relevant literature reviews. Chapter three deals with the research methodology used in this thesis. Chapter four deals with the analysis and interpretation of the collected data through the medium of tabulation on the basis of different topic such as classwise distribution of women CA member, their constraints to come in politics etc. And lastly chapter five deals with the summary, major findings and conclusion of the thesis.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Review of Literature**

This section presents the review of various literatures relevant to the study which may be published and unpublished Book, Article Magazine etc. We find many writing related to the issues of women from the past. There are writings which concentrate on the role of women in different sectors, the social inequality, backwardness of women and superstitions.

Some books are published on the basis of women's role in different democratic movements and the history book of Nepal points out that in different period, women have greatly contributed to the awakening of political consciousness. Nepalese women showed their valour in the historical battle of *Khalenga Fort at Nalapani* against British rule. So, in the present context media is also playing a vital role to discuss and present the issues related to women. Articles are published on the women related issues such as equal share in the parental property, violence against women, rights of lineage to women etc. These are published by different organization and media publication

There are some books which are published about women's role in political movements, their participation in politics etc. but we do not find any books or articles which are particularly written about the status and role of women CA members in the constitutional assembly. Their political status and the role played by them in drafting new constitution. Different information is collected from published and unpublished literatures. Information related to the conducted research is also collected through different books, articles, magazines and internet.

The substantial input of prior researches and article which are popularly known as literature review as if they are available are considered to be reviewed for the success of any research. Taking this fact few available literatures which are thought to be useful to present study are briefly reviewed.

## **2.1 Theoretical Review**

### **Gender perspective**

Gender is a term referred to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity. Gender mainly deals with the social differences between men and women created by the society which is learned, is changeable over time and varies within and between cultures. (Luitel-2008)

The theories of gender oppression describe women's subordinate position in relation to men in which men have fundamental and concrete interests in controlling, using, subjugating and oppressing women.

Gender relation include the relative social position of women and men and how this social position of women and men and how this social status changes in different context. Gender relations are constructed and maintained through a complex factors that are formed, according to social, cultural and historical circumstances. (Luitel-2008)

Actually, gender model is the study of power relations between men and women in the society. How this power is institutionalized and practiced in everyday life from family to the state and interstate relationship to reproduce, to maintain and to change to hierarchical and unequal gender relationships are basic focus of this model.

Bouviour's (1953) the book written by Simon De Bouviour's disclosed the myths and reality of the universal understanding of masculinity\ femininity depicted mostly by male sociologist\anthropologist. It emphasized on the point that women's liberation was not only to women but that of men also.

Bennet (1979) in the book "Tradition and Change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women" she has written about the legal status of Nepalese women in Nepalese constitution, its emergence and development of status of women in national code. National Code provides the different terms and conditions for divorce for men and women.

Bennet (1983) in her writing she has shown how economic and family responsibility of a son is translated into the performance of rituals. Women have different status as being daughter and daughter-in-law. Daughters are respected by the family and considered as sacred where as daughter-in-law are considered as polluted and dangerous in her book Dangerous wife and Sacred Sisters. This study of Bennet also shows that there is gender discrimination existed in Nepali culture and society.

March (1983) in her article "Weaving, Writing and Gender" she has mainly shown the gender role in the Tamang community through the medium of weaving and writing. For Tamang weaving and writing are not only technical skills but dense symbol of gender. Women in Tamang community are socialized to weave while men are socialized to write.

## **2.2 Historical Background of CA**

### **United States of America**

America was the first to prepare constitution by using the CA modality and its procedure. The process was started in 1787 and the constitution was enacted in 1789. Since, then several amendements have been made so far in this constitution.

### **France**

After the end of the French revolution in 1789 a meeting was organized excluding the state general, the elite and the clergymen. In other words, the common people formed an assembly.

Later on, the assembly was converted into CA which drafted a constitution following the republican model.

### **The Union of Soviet Republic of Russia (USSR)**

After the October Revolution (1917) in USSR, the CA election was held. Lenin led Bolshevik party forcefully captured the state power and forms a constitution drafting committee in 1924 with the approval of referendum. This constitution was the first one to follow the Marxist Model. (FIRD & RSDC, 2007, p.34)

Similarly in Germany CA election was held in 1949 and Italy, People's Republic of China, Peru etc. held CA election in 1948, 1954 and 1992 respectively.

### **India**

In India CA is demanded in 1936 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In order to frame a new constitution, the independent India held CA election under the Cabinet mission. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar headed the constitution draft committee and new constitution came into effect from January 26, 1950.

### **South Africa**

South African model of CA is different from that of other countries. In framing and preparing constitution, it has to pass three major phases. It was started in 1989 and the new constitution was implemented in 1996 by the approval of the president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela.

### **Nepal**

In Nepal, the CA was demanded by the people in 2007 B.S and the king Tribhuvan himself agreed to prepare a new constitution by the people's representatives through constituent assembly. But the , CA was possible in the country after seven- party alliance and the Maoist joined hand together with it through the Twelve point Agreement. The CA election was held on April 10, 2008. It is the urgent need to Nepal, for the political re-structuring of the country.

## **2.3 Previous literature in the world context.**

The political participation of women in the world seems relatively low and it is due because of the existence of patriarchal mindset even in the political parties in almost all the countries in the world no matter how advanced and socially, economically, culturally and politically sounds the countries.

The status of women in the developed countries is also not so good in political sectors. Leaving some expectations of European, American and Asian countries. Women in the world are socially, economically, culturally and politically dominated and they are excluded from the opportunities.

Gabriel and Beisenkamp Thomas (2007) has given information about voting rights in different country in his book “Women of Nepal March Forward” In this book he has mentions about, during French Revolution, “The Manifesto of men and women citizen’s right was rejected by the National Parliament. The bourgeois rulers who took over after the revolution but also gave capital punishment to Olympe de Gouges who prepared the manifesto.

In New York, on March-8, 1847, the garment women gathered demanding the reduction of working hours, increase of salary and improvements of workplace were severely beaten up by the police and their movement was crushed. So, in the memory of this movement March-8 is celebrated as International women labour’s day all over the world.

In England in 1838 Chartists had included the voting rights for women but later it was removed. And in Iran 1911, ruling out the voting rights for women the Islamic leaders had said, “We should not think, over the issues. Simply because it is against the code of conduct of Islamic parliament because God has not bestowed necessary abilities upon them to take part in politics.”

In Japan in 1928, the then home minister told the women demanding voting rights “Go home and wash your children’s cloths because you deserve it.”

Women in South Africa constitute half the electorate, they hold an average, only 10% of seat in parliament and 6% in national cabinet .South Africa hold the distinction of having the highest

number of female members of parliaments (MPs) with 25% representation.(  
[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent\\_Action/apic\\_9496.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent_Action/apic_9496.html))

According to Welch, The Regional Advisor for Eastern and South Africa, Welch attributes women's low representation in the political decision –making process to several factors. “Socio-cultural perceptions and inhabitation, lack of finance, lack of political commitment, consciousness and goodwill and the general lack of infrastructure,”

She says; keep women confined to roles outside of politics.  
([http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent\\_Action/apic\\_9496.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent_Action/apic_9496.html))

World Women Conference (1975& 1995), First and fourth world women conference is reviewed as these conference have played an important role to bring fourth the convention on all forms of discrimination against women and the platform for action. (Luitel-2008)

### **In South Asia**

In South Asian countries women are discriminated because of son preference tradition of the society dominated by religious beliefs. Women are discriminated from birth to funeral ceremony. Political participation of women in the state structure and mechanism is still a far dream. Though many South Asian countries have ensured equal status of all citizens without discrimination based on gender in every layers of governance, political Participation of women.  
([www.everstuncensord.org](http://www.everstuncensord.org))

A majority of the South Asian countries have constitutional and legal provisions to ensure participation of women in politics, but their level of participation in politics and state affairs is dismally low. Representation of women at national level in South Asian ranges from the highest of 33.2% in Nepal or 5.8% in Sri Lanka despite being a conventional in terms of women's rights. Afghanistan rank second with 27.7% women representation in national politics. Representation of women in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India which is 22.5%, 18.6% and 10.9% respectively. In Bhutan and Maldives women members of parliament constitute only 10.9% and 6.6 of the total representatives respectively. (<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>)

The growth of women's participation in politics at a global level has been a long process. In spite of women's effort for gender equality; women still hold only 14% of the parliamentary seats around the world. The percentage varies greatly between the countries. The Nordic countries have the highest percentage with 39% of parliamentarian being women while there are 16% in Europe and 14% in the United States. In sub-Saharan Africa there are 12% and in the Pacific there are 13%. The Arab states have the lowest percentage, with women's occupying only 3.6% of the seats. (Bello, 2003)

Women like Indira Gandhi, who served as prime Minister of India for an aggregate period of fifteen years in the world's longest serving women Prime Minister. Similarly, Sri Mao Bhandara Nike of Sri Lanka becomes the first women Prime Minister of the world and Benizor Bhutto and Khaligda Ziea were elected as women prime Minister of Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively. (Bhattarai-2055 unpublished)

#### **2.4 Previous literature in Nepalese Context**

Acharya-1979, Meena Acharya writes about the right to political expression thus: "If we take the right to political expression to mean participation in the running of the state by voting and holding public office, the political participation of Nepalese women would appear to be very marginal."

Basnet-2053, it is the study about the Nepalese women who are engaged in politics before and after the restoration of democracy and their role played in those movements. She published a book entitled, "*Nepalko Prajantrik Aandolanma Mahila Barga Ko Bhumika*".

Thapa-1991, the author has focused his study on the women and their role in changing society. Here he has studied different role of women which is responsible for change in society. He published a book entitled, "*Women and Social Change in Nepal*".

Majpuria-2007, the study is mainly about the Nepalese women. Here he has studied about the role that is played by Nepali women during different movements and the evil practices that was

found in traditional Nepalese society .He talks about Social evils related women in his book. He published a book name “*Nepalese Women*”.

Yadav-2050, he has based his study on the historical events and political changes which occur in the history of Nepal. He gives a picture of Early Nepalese women politician. “*Nepal Ko Rajnaitik Eitihash*”.

Thomphay-2059, Women movement conducted in the country is mainly studied here.She published a book name “*Nepal ma Mahila Aandolan (2004-2046B.S)*”. It is a study about the women movement from the past to 2046 B.S

Singh-2003, in his paper presentation mentions that not only the reactionary orthodox and bourgeoise forces but also are found to hold such views that is women are backward and are unable to do anything. In Germany, in 1875 August Bebel’s proposal of women’s voting rights was rejected by the conference of Socialist Democratic Party.

Rijal-2062, Bishnu Rijal has studied about the life of politically active women of Nepal. Here; he has presented the contribution of those women in politics from the past and also about those women who have done a great job in the Nepalese society in the sectors of literature and others.  
“

Election charter of political party (2064), through election charter of different political parties the provision and issues related to women which are mention in the charter is seen. Mainly in the election charter it is mentioned that 33% of women in clusion in the state mechanism and equal share of parental property also for woman is mainly raised as there policatal agenda in different poltical party"s charter.

Interim constitution of Nepal (2064) with the seventh amembedents and in interim constitution the provision related to women is seen. Specially, the interim constitution of Nepal has clearly mentions about the prorision of citizenship that is even a child can get citizenship from his/her mother's name. Equal share in parental property etc.



Upreti-2065, write about the active role played by women politician during the mass movement second conducted in the country his book, “*Loktantrik Aandolan Ka Rajnaitik Mahila Baktitwaharu*”. Especially in this book the contribution done by women in the movement and general information about women politician is given. The causes to come in politics and constraint for women to be involved in this field is also clearly written. Mainly woman faces problem of economy to come in politics. Due to their economic condition they can not continue political career. Woman should be politically empowered and brought to the top leading position through political training. Lack of education, awareness and obstacle from society, disapproval of family it is difficulty for women to come in politics. This thing is especially highlighted in this study.

Shakya-2066, the writing mainly concentrated on the right of women which has been guaranteed by different constitution which was in practice in the history of Nepal. Here, the constitution of 2072 B.S has talked about the equal wages for man and woman for same kind of work.

Pandey-2010, discuss about the present situation of Nepal and its political change. He has also written about the issues raised in cabinet meeting on February 10, 2008 and the effective implementation of reservation for marginalized communities including Madhesis in all organs of state in his book, “*New Nepal, The Fault Lines*”.

Thus, reviewing many literatures we can say that most of the studies on women are confined to only a socio-cultural and economic role played by them. We do not find many books which are written about women politician's status and role. Their role is shown only in the democratic movement. Writing on position of women in political party and their role in constitution building process is not easily found. So, this study aims to fulfill the gap of knowledge of women CA member's role played by them in constitutional building process. It would attempt to find out the real political status of woman who is actively involved in politics.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **3.1 Rationale of the site selection**

This study is of great rationale mainly in two senses that is relatively a new study subject area in our own context. More-over, researches about women CA member is not easily found and there are less literature related to this particular study. In this context this study will fulfill that information gap and it will also be useful for those who are interested to know about the actual status and role of women Constitutional Assembly members and their role in constitutional building process. Similarly the study area or site selection is relatively new as it was not done before. Moreover, this study centers to Kathmandu as CA members are here. It also covers the member from different ideology, caste and is representative of total Nepal. CA members are selected because through this study the researcher have tried to find out the real status and role of women and their contribution in building new constitution. Women are always behind the curtain so; here it tries to show the actual status of women politician in constitutional assembly.

#### **3.2 Universe and Sampling Procedure**

The total universe of this study is 197 women CA members both elected directly and those who are elected as proportionate. Among them 43 member will be the respondent of this study which is 20% of the total universe. The sample is selected on the basis of ideology, dalits, janajati etc. In order to make the research study comprehensive purposive and convenient sampling method was applied.

#### **3.3 Research Design**

The present study has mainly included descriptive cum explorative research design because it is an attempt to reveal the political status and role of women CA member of Nepal. Explorative in the sense as it helps to find out the problem faced by the respondent. And descriptive research design is used to find the role, status and family background of the sample size.

### **3.4 Nature and Sources of Data**

Primary as well as secondary data are used in the present research .Secondary data are collected from various relevant published and un published literature such as book, article, magazine ,television, internet etc .Primary data is collected by using different tools of data collection. Such tools are interview, questionnaire, observation etc .Both qualitative and quantative data are used in the present research.

### **3.5 Data Collection Procedure**

Different data collection tools which are used while conducting research are used. Such data collection tools are interview, questionnaire, and observation etc.and structured and semi-structured interview is also used.

#### **3.5.1 Interview**

Face to face interview is used in this research in order to collect supporting information about their status and role in constitutional assembly.23 respondent were interviewed in depth.

#### **3.5.2 Questionnaire**

Questionnaire form is distributed to find out the quantative data related to the status and role played by women CA members in constitutional assembly and constitution building process. The information related to their status and role is collected through questionnaire form.

### **3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

The analysis and interpretation of the data collected during research period are analysed by using simple data analysis and interpretation tools such as tabulation, frequency etc. Besides, this to make the research more precise and organized different footnote, photograph, references etc .will be properly arranged and enclosed. Here, the collected data are properly classified and processed.

### **3.7 Limitation of the Study**

There are not any studies which can be free from limitation and this study is not an exception of this fact. This limitation is presumed and can be mentioned as follows:

- ) The study is confined to only Women CA member and their Socio-economic background. So, this study might not be wide enough to highlight the overall status and role of Nepalese women involved in politics.

) It is done by student for partial fulfillment of Master's Degree, so it has limitation on sample size and information level.

## **Chapter-4**

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

This chapter mainly deals about the women constitutional assembly member (CA) role in constitutional building process, socio-economic background, current socio-political status, the problem faced by them in politics. Here in this section the collected data is analysed and interpreted by using simple data analyzing tools of research. The collected data are classified under different sub-topic such as Classwise distribution, inspiration source, constraints etc. and tabulated. Total there are 601 CA members in constitutional assembly and 197 of them are women. Among 197 women CA members the researcher have selected about 43 women CA member as the respondent of the conducted research. 20 respondents are given questionnaire to fill and detailed study is done on them and 23 of them are interviewed in depth in order to collect the supporting information about their status and role in constitution assembly and there are 5 women CA member whose case study is presented in this research. The samples are selected on the basis of ideology, janajati, dalit, backward area for the equal representation of the sample. Case study is also presented in this section for the detailed study.

#### **4.1 Socio-Economic condition:**

The socio-economic condition of women also plays an important role in the political field. Those women whose economic condition is good can easily participated in the politics in comparison to those who does not have good economic condition.

##### **4.1.1 Classwise Distribution:**

Sociologists have given three fold classifications of classes which consist of Upper class, Middle class and Lower class. (Shankaro Rao, P, 305) Nepali society is also a class based society. Here in Nepali society also there are three types of classes. The class of women CA member is on various bases. Here, basically lower class people are workers, do not have control over resources and politics and live depending particularly on their labour. They always face hand to mouth problem due to the lack of own land. Marginal peasant, potters, industrial labourer etc. fall under this class. Middle class is associated particularly with occupational group. Lawyer, doctors, professor, teacher, intermeadiate level officials etc. They have their own land and they do not face hand to mouth problem. Those people who have sufficient land, control over resources and are closer to national level politics. They do not face any problem regarding food stuff and economic crisis at any time are considered to be a upper economic class. The table no. 1 also gives information about the class of the women CA member which they belong to.

**Table no.1: The division of respondent on the basis of economic class.**

S N.	Family class	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Lower class	6	30
2	Middle class	13	65
3	High class	1	5
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

From the above table it is clear that 65% of women CA members belong to the middle class family. Similarly, 30% of the respondent belongs to the lower class. Where as only 5% of the respondents are of upper class. We know that middle class people mostly are involved in profession and are considered as professional class.They often play an active role to get benefits from the state. So, it is easy for them to be involved in politics independently. The table above also justifies these facts. Thus, the economic status of women automatically increases their political and social status.

#### **4.1.2 Occupations:**

There are many types of occupation existing in our society.Nepal is an agricultural country and about 67% of the population has engaged in agricultural sectors.(UNDP-2001).But, now even the occupation of people is changing according to time.Mostly people are engaged in other occupation than agriculture. The table no.2 also gives an occupational pattern of women CA member family.

**Table no. 2: The division of respondent on the basis of types of occupation.**

S.N	Types of occupation	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Agriculture	8	40

2	Business	4	20
3	Teaching	4	20
4	Agriculture&Business	2	10
5	Agriculture&Teaching	1	5
6	Others(Kamaya)	1	5
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The main occupation of people of Nepal is agriculture and the large portion of national income also comes from agricultural products. But, now in present context the occupation of people is in changing phase. The traditional occupation that is caste based occupation is also changed. But, the tables above shows that still Nepali people are engaged in agricultural works. 40% of the respondents were found to be involved in agricultural works and 10% of the respondents were found to be involved in two types of occupation that is they are involved in agriculture and business. 5% of respondent were involved in agriculture and teaching. Though the state have declared Kamaya free society but in this research it is found that still about 5% of the respondent (Shanta Chaudhary of CPN-UML was a Kamaya before being elected as a CA member) are found to be in this occupation to meet their daily needs as those do not have their own land for doing agriculture.

#### **4.1.3 Education:**

Educational qualification of girls is increasing day by day. It is due to the influence of westernization, modernization, development of science and technology, the role of mass media and the promotion of girl's education by the state. Different organizations are also working in this field in rural areas. Different types of activities done by NGO'S ,INGO'S and local body helps to increase educational qualification of girls. Table no .3 also gives the information about the academic qualification of women CA member.

**Table no. 3: The classification of women CA member on the basis of academic qualification.**

S.N	Academic Qualification	No.of respondrnt	Percentage
1	S.L.C	5	25
2	Intermediate	2	10
3	Bachelor	3	15
4	Masters	6	30
5	Others (Just literate)	4	20
	Total	20	100

**Source: Field Survey, 2010**

It was clear from the above table that the ratio of academic level of women is diversified. Here most of the respondent has completed the post graduate level which is 30% and still there is a gap between S.L.C and intermediate level education which is about 25% of the respondent have passed S.L.C and only about 10% of the respondent have completed the intermediate level education. 15% of the respondent has completed bachelor level education. 20% of the respondents are just literate. The data presented in the table above shows that women's academic educational qualification is increasing day by day but still there is a gap between different level academic educational qualifications. There is a need to find the cause which acts as hindering factors for women education and completing their academic educational qualification.

#### **4.1.4 Role of economy in politics:**

Economy is the main basis of livelihood. It plays an important role in maintaining status of the people. Those who have good economic condition have a high reputation in the society and those who don't have high economic condition have to face different types of problem even though if he/she is highly qualified. The economy of person increases the social status of a person unknowingly. Similarly the socio-economic condition of women plays an important role for her to be involved in politics. Table no. 4 deals about socio-economic condition that plays a role for women to be involved in politics.

**Table no. 4: Involvement of respondent in politics on the basis of role of economy.**



S.N	Role of economy in politics	No of respondent	percentage
1	Higher	13	65
2	Little	3	15
3	General	2	10
4	Problem of state	1	5
5	Don't have any problem	1	5
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

The table above gives information that even a socio-economic aspect of women plays a vital role for her to be involved in politics. It shows that a socio-economic aspect play higher contributing role for a women those who are involved in politics. It was found that there are about 65% of the respondent who agree that their socio-economic aspect plays a vital role in their political career. There are also respondent who think that it is not the socio-economic condition of theirs but the problem of state that is unability of state to bring women in politics which is 5% . 5% respondent do not have any problem to come in politics regarding their socio-economic aspect. The data in the table gives the idea that the socio-economic condition of women have a contributing role in the politics of her.

## **4.2 Socio- political status:**

Here in this section we mainly deal about the socio-political status of women CA member. In this section different data are presented on the basis of their party involvement, their inspiration to come in politics, election procedure, criteria of their selection, and the change in them after being CA member.

The socio-political status of women is not so satisfactory one. In politics also they faces problem even from their colleague. In the political party also they are not given a top level responsibility. Men have set ideology about women in the society so women don't have good socio-political status.

### **4.2.1 Involved party:**

There are more than seventy five political parties existing in Nepal and women are elected from 28 existing political parties. So, here in this section mainly provides the information about the concerned political party of women CA member. Table no.5 also gives the information about the political party which the CA member belong to. (Election commission)

**Table no.5: The classification of respondent on the basis of political party.**

S.N	Name of political party	No of respondent	Percentage
1	UCPN-Maoist	9	45
2	Nepali Congress	3	15
3	CPN-UML	4	20
4	MJAF-Loktantrik	1	5
5	CPN-ML	1	5
6	Sadhavana Party	1	5
7	Nepali Janata Dal	1	5
	Total	20	100

Sources: Field survey, 2010

There are more women CA member elected from UCPN-Maoist from the data presented in the table above. More women candidate won the election of CA from UCPN-Maoist It may be due to 10 years armed conflict of the party. UCPN-Maoist have practiced inclusion of women in every party committee etc. There were 40% of women who were involved in armed conflict and there are also women who are party incharge from UCPN-Maoist. ( Satya Padhi) According to the table no.5 there are 45% of women elected as CA member from UCPN-Maoist. There is 20% of women CA member from CPN-UML and 15% women CA member from Nepali Congress and other political party have about 5% women CA member from their respective political party. .

#### **4.2.2 Inspiration source:**

Inspiration to come in politics for different person is different. One may be inspired from his\her father-mother; brother-sister, friend and her husband's political activities. Women CA member

also have mixed types of opinion about the inspiration and motivational factor to be involved in politics. Table no. 6 gives information about the source of inspiration of women CA member.

**Table no.6: Division of respondent on the basis of inspiration source.**

S.N	Inspiration Source	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Father-Mother	4	20
2	Brother	1	5
3	Sister	1	5
4	Family	9	45
5	Friend	2	10
6	Social condition & Event	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

More women CA member are involved in politics due to their political family background. The data in the table also verify this fact. In their family they have seen political activities done by their elder member and got inspiration from them to be involved in the politics. From this table 45% of the respondents were inspired from their family members to be involved in politics. 20% of the respondents are inspired from their father-mother. The percentage of the women CA member who is inspired by social condition and events to come in politics is 15%. And 5% of respondents are inspired from their brother- sister and 10% of them are inspired from their friend to come in political field. From this data it is clear that the respondents are mainly inspired from their family's political activities to be involved in politics. It means families play an important role in the activities of a person and have impression upon a person's life. The opinion of different women member regarding their inspiration is presented below.

Binda Pandey (CPN-UML) was motivated to be involved in politics due to the gender inequality against women found in the society

Simiraly Uma Regmi (Nepali Congress) was inspired from B.P Koirala and come in politics. She was involved in politics during her school days from 2028 B.S.

According to Sushma Sharma (UCPN-Maoist) was inspired from the developing social events to be involved in politics and the Marxist ideology also motivated her to be involved in politics.

### 4.2.3 Electroral Process

The table no.7 gives information about the election procedure through which the women candidates are elected in the constitutional assembly election

**Table no.7: Division of respondents on the basis of election procedure.**

S.N	Election procedure	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Directly elected	4	20
2	Proportionately elected	16	80
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

There are more candidates who have won the proportionate election procedure in the constitutional assembly. There are about 161 women who are elected through Proportionate Election System and there are 30 women CA member who are elected through First- Past- the-post (FPTP) election system. Their percentage is 32.77% of the total member in the constitutional assembly. (Kharel, B.P. 2008, p.7) The table above also shows that more respondent are elected through proportionate election system and which is about 80% according to the data presented in the table no.7. There are only 20% of respondent who are elected through First-past-the-post election system. Majority of the candidate are elected through the provision of inclusion of women in every mechanism of the state. Due to this cause more women candidate are elected in the election of CA from different political party.

### 4.2.4 Critearea of candidacy:

Many party has given candidacy to women politician on different basis. They participated in the election of constitutional assembly according to their different political activities in district level

in the party. The table no.8 also shows about their different types of deed responsible for them to be given candidacy in the election of CA.

**Table no. 8: Classification of respondent on the basis of criteria of candidacy.**

S.N	Criteria of candidacy	No. of respondent	Percentage
1	Political background	11	55
2	Social contribution	8	40
3	Others	1	5
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

From the data presented above we get information that most of the women politicians were given candidacy in the constitutional assembly election due to their political background. And 55% of the respondent believe that they were selected on the basis of their political background as a candidate in the election from their concerned party. They were actively involved in party politics in district level as well as in central level so they were selected as a candidate from particular party in the constitutional assembly election. 40% of the respondent believed that they were selected on the basis of their social contribution in the society in the election of constitutional assembly. And 5% of the respondent were selected on the other criteria. Those who are elected in the election have a political background and the social contribution done by them in the society.

#### **4.2.5 Changes in women CA member:**

When there is a change in status then there is a change noticed in an individual. When a person is involved in the local level politics then he/she have less responsibility or only the responsibility of the party but as soon as the same person if is elected in the election then his responsibility level also increases and has changed in political status as well as social status of that particular person. So, this particular section of the study is focused to the changes that have occurred in the women CA member after being elected in the constitutional assembly election. Their political status is changed in their own party because they play an active role in

national politics, their economic status is also changed due to the facilities of state. They are empowered by the access of high political interaction, different types of training such as computer, language etc. They came into the decision making level after being elected which are taken as significant changes in the status of the respondent. Before being elected in the CA, some CA member were only the housewife, domestic worker, care taker of their child and professional but now they have become a public personality and they have access in different government organization, NGO'S and can address different mass meeting confidently. They are being treated as a guest, chief guest and they are in frequent interaction with PM and chairperson of the CA which is the general changes in the status of women CA member. Those respondents who do not notice any change in their status even after being CA member are considered in as usual category. Table no.9 describe about the changes that have occurred in the respondent after being elected as CA member.

**Table no.9: Division of respondent on the basis of changes in social status.**

S.N	Changes in social status	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Significant	11	55
2	General	6	30
3	As Usual	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The findings of the data in the above table also clarify that there is many changes occurred in the social status of women CA member after being elected as a CA member in the constitutional assembly election. 55% of the respondent of the research have noticed significant changes occurred in them after being elected as a CA member. 30% of the respondent have only noticed a general changes in them and 15% of the respondent have not noticed any change in their social status. But, automatically there is a changes in a person when he\she has been elected in the election. They becomes the member of constitutional assembly and enjoy the states facility and becomes a public personality. There is definitely a change in an individual when their status is changed in the society. They have become a CA member from the general political personality.

Many CA members have noticed changes in them after being elected as a CA member in constitutional assembly. Those who have noticed a change in them are presented below.

Kamala Panta of (Nepali Congress) is of the opinion that there is definitely a change in the women political status and now women CA member can present their idea with out any hesitation. Globalization also plays an important role to change the political status of women.

Similarly Laxmi Pariyar (Nepali Congress) has noticed a great change in her after being a CA member. Before being a CA member she used to think how to run family activities and now she used to think how to develop the nation. The common housewife does not get an opportunity but now we get many opportunities.

According to Durga Jayanti Rai (UCPN-Maoist) before there was the responsibility of concerned party only and now we have the responsibility of the nation. Before being elected as CA member I was engaged in party politics in the rural areas but now we have interaction and discussion with international personality.

#### **4.2.6 International visit of women CA member:**

After being elected as a CA member in the constitutional assembly many CA members got an opportunity to visit many countries either in the international seminar or workshop there. Women CA members too got an opportunity to participate in such a programme. They also visited different countries to study the constitution of that particular country. Table no.10 also gives information about their international visit.

**Table no. 10: Respondent is classified on the basis of international visit.**

S.N	Participated in international seminar	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Yes	9	45
2	No	8	40

3	Opportunity are not given to women	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The figure in the table given above also makes it clear that almost 45% of the women CA members have visited different countries to participate in the seminar organized there. Regarding the opportunity provided to them for visiting different countries in the world women CA member have mixed perspective. 40% of the respondent has not participated in any international programme. 15% of the respondents are of the opinion that women are not given any opportunity to participate in international seminar and programme because of being women. And also says that, “Opportunity should be snatched and taken.” (Sushma Sharma-CA member of UCPN-Maoist)

### **4.3 Role played by women CA member:**

This section mainly deals about the role played by women CA member in constitutional building process. This section mainly finds the role of women CA member in different thematic committee, constitutional committee and the agenda raises by women CA in different 11 Thematic committee is passed or not.

#### **4.3.1 Types of agenda**

Different types of agenda raised by women CA members in different thematic committee are rights of lineage to women, provision of citizenship that is a child can get citizenship from his/her mother’s name, language, equal share in parental property for daughters as like son’s etc. The issue related to the area from which they are elected is also raised by women CA members in their concerned committee.

#### **4.3.2 Implementation of the agenda**

Table no. 11 discuss about the role played by women CA member in different committee and classification of the respondent on the basis of implementation of the agenda raised by them regarding the class and community from which they are elected as a CA member.



**Table no. 11. Classification of the respondent on the basis of agenda applied in the committee.**

S.N	Agenda raises	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Mostly applied	9	45
2	Few are applied	11	55
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Women CA members of different political party are united with each others and have the same perspective regarding the issues of women and insuring women's fundamental rights in the new constitution. The table above also shows that 55% of the respondent are of the opinion that only a few agenda raised by them are applied or heard and noted in the thematic committee. And 45% of the respondent says that most of the agenda raised by them are heard in different committee. In the past there were not more women in such a decision making level and their rights are not guaranteed in the constitution. In different thematic committee also there is more number of women CA member. In the constitution drafting committee of 2046 B.S there was not a single women representative but now there is a compulsory representation of women in such type of committee. The respondent those who have given their view about the agenda raised by them in different committee and its application is presented below:

According to Kiran Yadav (NC) it is difficult to pass agenda in the thematic committee before the formulation of Women Caucus and after it formulation it has been easy to include womens agenda in the thematic committee.

But, Pampha Bhusal (UCPN-Maoist) says that if the ideology of the party is passed in the thematic committee then it is easily applied in the thematic committee otherwise it is very difficult to pass the agenda in the thematic committee. No matter the women CA member belongs to which political party.

### **4.3.3 Role satisfaction:**

Women CA member are playing an active role in the constitutional assembly. Some of them are satisfied and others are not fully satisfied. The women CA member are not satisfied with their role as they have to work according to the whip of the party and can not work independently. The table no.12 gives the percentage of women CA member who are satisfied, not satisfied etc.

**Table no.12: Division of respondent on the basis of role satisfaction of women CA member.**

S.N	Category	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Strongly Satisfied	13	65
2	Just satisfied	4	20
3	Dissatisfied	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Majority of the women CA members are satisfied with the role played by them in the constitutional assembly and in different thematic committee. In the committee they regularly have the discussion related to the issues of women, dalit, janajati, marginalized people and also the issues related to language and many more so they are satisfied with their role in such committee. 65% of them are strongly satisfied with the role played by them in constitutional assembly. 20% of them are just satisfied with their role. And 15% of the respondent are dissatisfied with their role because they can not work independently and do their own decision related to different topic. There they have to work according to the concerned party whip so they are not fully satisfied with the role played by them.

#### **4.3.4 Agenda in the committee**

Women CA members are playing an active role in their concerned committee and raises the agenda related to their community and area from where they are being elected in the CA election. Those CA members who belong to the dalit, janajati, marginalized and backward area are raising the issues and agenda of their concerned community and trying to include different types of rights in the new constitution. Though they raises many issues in the meeting of their concerned committee and here table no.13 also present the data about how much is heard to the agenda raises by women CA member in thematic committee.

**Table no. 13: The respondents are categorized on the basis of hearing of the agenda in committee**

S.N	Category	No of respondent	Percentage
1	All is heard	1	5
2	Mostly heard	12	60
3	Generally heard	4	20
4	Not heard	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The data in the table makes it clear that most of the agenda raised by respondent are heard in the thematic committee and other sub committee. 60% of the respondent have the same opinion that is mostly their agenda is heard in the committee. But, 15% of them are of the opinion that their agenda are not at all heard. In the committee also there are more male members and they do not seriously hear to the agenda raised by women. And 20% of the respondents agree that the agenda raised by them is generally heard. The data clarify that most of the agenda of women CA member is heard in the committee.

Women CA member have come from different community and area and raises agenda of their concerned community in the constitutional assembly. According to Bishnu Maya B.K (CPN-UML), “Women caucus is playing an important role in insuring women’s right and right of backward people.

#### **4.4 Obstacles:**

Women politician have to face different types of obstacle to come in politics. They have double or triple role to play in the family. They have the burden of family activities and party responsibility so they generally faces obstacle to come in politics. This section generally deals about the major obstacle that a women faces while coming in politics.

##### **4.4.1 Types of obstacle:**

There are different types of obstacle for women to come in politics. As, we know that our society is guided by patriarchal ideology and the same ideology restrict women for doing their task independently. They always see women from the eye of suspect. Some of the obstacles faced by

women to come in politics are obstacle from family, economic obstacle; social obstacle etc. Table no.14 is also about the obstacle faced by general Nepali women to come in politics.

**Table no. 14: The no. of respondent are classified on the basis of obstacle faced by them**

S.N	Types of obstacle	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Competition with collegues	4	20
2	Economic obstacle	6	30
3	Socital obstacle	4	20
4	All above	4	20
5	Others	2	10
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

There are different types of obstacle to come in politics for different community women. Obstacle to come in politics for so called upper caste, lower caste and the untouchable women is the same. Women are placed in the secondary position in every sector. Even in politics they are kept in the same category. Here the data presented in the table no 14 also shows that most of the women can't come in political field due to the economic obstacle which is about 30%. Women do not have access to economy so from husband's earning it is very difficult for women to come in politics. 20% of the respondent are of the opinion that competition with colleague is also a cause for women not to come in politics. There are also social and obstacle from the family member which is 20% respectively to come in politics. The above data shows that women have to face obstacle from society, economy, colleague to come in politics even though the state have declared 33% of women inclusion in every mechanism of the state. The opinion related to obstacle for a women to come in the politics is presented below:

According to Sita Boudel (UCPN-Maoist), "There are different types of obstacle for a dalit women to come in politics. First obstacle for women to come in politics is economic problem. Second is the existing perspective towards dalit that is a dalit can not reach to the top level of the state. Third is due to illiteracy, fourth is due to poverty and fifth is due to the existing patriarchal ideology women faces an obstacle to come in politics."

According to Shanti Devi Chamar (CPN-UML), “Women in politics are seen as second class and dalit women have third class status and in family fourth class and to come in politics she has to cross all these types of obstacle.”

#### 4.4.2 Priority given to continue politics:

Aspect of priority to be involved in politics is different for different people. One aspect may be the priority of one person and for another person other aspect may be the priority. So, women CA members have also different types of priority for women to continue politics and remain in political field for a long time. Table no. 15 also deals about the aspect of priority of women CA members to continue politics.

**Table no.15: Classification of respondent on the basis of aspect of priority given in politics**

S.N	Aspect of priority to continue politics	No of respondent	Percentage
1	People’s service	6	30
2	Relation with leader & member	7	35
3	Economic condition	4	20
4	Family approval	3	15
	Total	20	100

Source: Field Survey, 2010

To continue politics there are different aspect which should be given importance. Not only women but also men have to consider and give importance to different aspect. They should have good relationship with the public so that the public have trust upon them. They should have cordial relationship with the leader and the member of the party in the local level and in the central level. The politician should be farsighted. Different activities have influence upon a person to continue politics or not. Family should be supporting and have good understanding towards an individual who are involved in politics. The table no.15 makes it clear that to continue the political career a person should have good relation with the party leader and the party members and 35% of the respondents have the belief on this aspect. 30% of the respondents think that the

people’s service is most important for anyone to continue their political career. Only 15% of the respondent of the research says that one should have a family approval to be involved in politics and continue it. The views of the respondent regarding this aspect are given below:

According to Usha Kala Rai of (CPN-UML), “Women politician should give equal priority to people’s service, good relation with leader and member, economic condition and family approval to continue their political career.” Similarly, Lalita Shah of (MJF-loktantrik) is of the opinion that a women politician should give equal priority to people’s service to continue their political life.

**4.4.3 Causes of dis continuing politics:**

Women politician cann’t continues politics for a long period of time due to different social and personal cause. Women have double role to play in the society. They have natural role to play i.e. give birth to child and reare and care them. Due to this socital responsibility she can not continue her political career. And those who are still in politics have sacrifice a lot and remain in political field. Women CA member also faces different types of obstacle in the society to continue their politics. There are different causes behind not continuing politics by the women. The table no.16 also deals about the main causes of not continuing politics by women politician.

**Table no.16: Division of respondent on the basis of the cause of discontinuing politics.**

S.N	Causes of dis continuing politics	No of respondent	Percentage
1	Difficulty from family	4	20
2	Competition with colleague	4	20
3	Scarcity of money	7	35
4	Others	5	25
	Total	20	100

**Source: Field Survey, 2010**

Women can not continue politics due to various types of causes. They face difficulty from the family etc. The above table shows that 20% of the respondents agree that it is due to the competition with own colleague which is the one cause of not continuing politics by women politician. 20% of the respondents believe that it is due to difficulty from the family and 35% of them believe that it is mainly due to scarcity of money which acts as a major cause of discontinuing politics by the women politician. And 25% of the respondent are of the opinion that due to others cause women politician are unable to continue their political career.

According to Gauri Mahato Koiri of (Sadhavana), the main cause behind not continuing politics by women is the difficulty from the family and scarcity of money to continue their political career.

According to Lila Kumari Bagale Somai of (UCPN-Maoist), “The main cause behind not continuing politics by women is the competition with colleague.”

**The Case study is presented below.**

#### **Momadhi Siddhiki (Muslim, Nepali Congress)**

Momadhi Siddhiki belongs to a middle class employer family and stay in a joint family. She was involved in organized politics only after 2046 B.S though she have participated in the election of partyless panchayat and democracy election. After her marriage her husband motivated her to be involved in party politics. Her husband's died in 2047 B.S and to fulfill the desire of her husband she was involved in politics. She used to think that politics and social work is the main means of women empowerment. Until and unless women's are empowered politics will not be successful. She was also elected as a Ward chairperson in 2049 BS election .Her mother –in-law also supported her to be involved in politics after her husband death.

She does not face any obstacle from her family but faces problem from some family members and other peoples of society. There is obstacle for almost women to come in politics. In case of single women and that also Muslim woman is really a tough thing to come out and of home and be involved in politics. The societies see those women from the eyes of suspect. She has crossed

these all types of social obstacles and come in politics. But now she is really satisfied as she is really satisfied as think she have become an idle of Muslim women in the society.

We all know that women have to face problems even from her colleagues. She too have faced such problem from my own party colleagues. She had to face betrayal from her own party member in general election of Deputy Mayor during 2054B.S election as another member had stood as a candidate in the election .She is not so satisfied with the responsibility given by the party. Though, there is more number of women involved in politics but they are not given any opportunity to go in the top level. According to her, “Male member of the party have set mind about women and think that they can’t do anything .The practice which is found in the family is also practiced even in political field. There also women are not given any opportunity as in the family.

In political field also women are placed in the secondary position. Now, there are 197 women member in the CA. Among them women are the members in different committees but most of them are not in decision making level. Women are not in such level due to the set ideology of men that women are unable to do such type of thing. They do not want to take any type of suggestion from women. It takes time for a women to go in the top decision making level. There are many male members in the top leading level in the party so it is also due to this cause women are not in the top leading position in the party.

Before being elected as a CA member in constitutional assembly she was involved in different social organization along with politics. She was also involved in Amnesty International and has open “Nari Kalyan Samaj” and worked there for about 10-12 year. She has also opened an organization named “Fatima Foundation” especially to uplift Muslim women. She have not taken only Muslim women but have worked for all dalit, Madhashi ,Brahmin ,Chhetri women but more focused is given to Muslim women.

We have worked in different sectors through the foundation of Fatima Foundation before constitutional assembly election and we talked about CA election procedure. She has also talked about political empowerment of women.



Actually, she was the daughter-in-law of a higher class family but the property was under her father-in-law and brother-in-law. Her husband had only a shutter in his name and the earning of that shutter which was Rs-2000 was their.

From the past she was actively involved in the party politics and timely the party has given her many opportunities. She have become a Central Committee member of “*Mahila Sang*”, two times become the member of “*Kendria Mahila Bibahag*” and become advisor in the district working committee and now she is elected as CA member from Proportionate election procedure. In the Janaandolan –two also she have played a leading role in the district.

She belongs to a Muslim community where parda system is in practice. She was house wife for about 18 year and she has not come out even in bal colony except going to doctors and visiting maternal house. When she was elected as a ward chairperson she used to wear “Burka” while going to ward office.

The big change in her is that she has become a leader from a general housewife. In Muslim community the first storey is for men and second storey is for women. Women do not go to first storey and talked with men there. Parda system is more practiced in the high class family. She is very much satisfied as she has been able to show that even a single woman can do anything. She is happy to be the source of inspiration for those single women in the society and she got belief from the society as she has worked even according to norms and values of the society. She felt very proud to be the member of constitutional assembly.

According to Momadhi Siddhiki, “Muslim women have also same type of problem as common Nepali women do have. In Muslim community also there is a practice of child marriage, social injustice, political problem, domestic violence, polygamy, etc.and it all depends upon the state that how it works to have solution to these types of societal problem. It is really a challenge to include Muslim women rights in the new constitution.”

In her opinion it has become an easy for a woman to come in politics if the family is supporting, if they get opportunity and have their own internal interest to join political field. But it is very difficult for a women to continue politics as they are not given any opportunity, they are given

candidacy in those areas where they don't have any chance to be elected, women are not given place in high level. These all acts as a hindering factor for women to be involved in politics.

### **Meena Pun (Janajati, Rastriya Janamorcha)**

She came from a farmer family and does not have a rich family background and have a general economic condition. Their economic condition is not so strong. Her brother was involved in politics during the panchayat time and he had done pragatishil marriage where stage is made to do marriage and in presence of party leader marriage is done and this thing actually inspires her to come in politics.

According to Meena Pun, "Politics is the main thing to change the society. Jobs may change the status of own selves but it can't change the discrimination, injustice, exploitation prevailing in the society. To change these types of things existing in the society politics is necessary so I have selected political field."

Many women are found to be involved in politics but they can't continue politics for a long time period. They have to face many obstacles to come in this field Women have to play double and triple role in the society. They takes care of children ,do household task etc.so,at the same time they are unable to complete the responsibility given by the party so women are disappearing from politics after certain time period. Those women who are involved in politics have struggle a lot and have done many sacrifice to continue their political career. Our social structure, society, environment and system acts as a barrier for women to come in politics. So, doing every household activity it's very difficult for women to continue their political career.

Now there is a little change even in politics and see more number of women participating in the politics. The present constitutional assembly has 197 women CA member which is 32.77% of the total number. From the past to the present time there were not more women who were elected in the national level election but the present constitutional assembly election has elected many women CA member. So, she thinks we must include some fundamental rights of women in the new constitution. Women were differentiated and constitution was not written in favor of citizen due to the absence of women in such level that is in constitutional drafting committee. Due to these causes women have to be back warded. We all women CA member must be serious to

include the women rights in the new constitution as more number of women are presented in the constitutional assembly.

Actually, women have contributed a lot in political field. They leave their family children etc. and struggle in the political field which is itself a challenge. Politics is not an easy thing to do, its challenge in itself. After being CA member we all women CA member are working from our own field in eleven thematic committee. There we came from different class, caste, area etc. and raise voices to guarantee the rights of our class, caste, area etc. All women CA members want to guarantee women's inclusion in every mechanism of the state.

In thematic committee also everything which is raised by women CA member may not have consensus there it may have objection. It is not possible to guarantee the women's right until and unless the political parties understood women's problem and from their side and make plans to solve such problem. Then only we will be able to guarantee more and more rights of women in the new constitution. We are working for guaranteeing the equal rights for both men and women in the new constitution. We have got property rights in the parents property as like son's and it's a great achievement in favor of women. Now, we the women CA member are demanding the rights of lineage to women and trying to include lineage rights to women in the new constitution. Constitution building is the first priority of the constitutional assembly. Citizens have given a mandates to write new constitution in two year time period but we are not able to complete our task even in two years time as we don't have theoretical consensus and also due to the state reconstruction that is the political parties does not have the same concept about state reconstruction. There is disagreement between the political parties so new constitution is not written in time .If there is national consensus than only new constitution will be constructed otherwise it can't be written even in extended time 1 year time period .

As she has come to the constitutional assembly from a political background I am going to continue my career in the political field even after the dismissal of constitutional assembly after fulfilling its goal

**Durga Pariyar (CPN-UML, dalit women CA member)**

Durga Pariyar, a dalit women CA member came from a political family background and she was motivated by the political activities done by the family member's. According to Durga Pariyar, "I understood that politics is a means of formating plans and policy. Until and unless we reach to such a level nothing can be done." She also used to read many theory of Maotse Tung and got inspiration from his ideology and actually came to politics.

A woman faces many problems from family and society as we know that Nepali society is a patriarchal society and the perspective to see towards women is not changed. Though she may be highly qualified but they are not given any opportunity in any field and politics is also not far from this things. Women that also dalit finds many difficulty to come in politics. Those women who are unable and economically weak face difficulty to come in politics. Social evils prevailing in societies, illiteracy, lack of access to economy all acts as an obstacle for a dalit women to come in politics. Women are almost not presented in any public activities and it's due to the social structure of our country. There is a saying in Nepali that is, "Pothi Basaco" which also discourages women to come out and participate in public activities. Another cause is the women have double role to play that is she have the natural role that is gives birth to a child and look after the family and at the same time involve in political activities of the party. So this double burden of women restricts her to be actively involved in politics. These all are the common problem faced by almost all Nepali women but not only dalit women. But she does not face such type of problem from the family as her family was politically conscious.

She was involved in party politics from student life and was gone in underground in 2038 B.S and she is the central committee member of Udayapur district and co-coordinator of 'Jana Sanskriti Manch' and also was engaged in some earning activities. Before being elected as a CA member in CA election she used to run a tailor and gives tailoring training to the women and she was a successful entrepreneur's. She was engaged in skilled development work from 2045-2064B.S. She was involved in the work of empowering women and still working for that. I too have worked in different party organization and was elected as a central committee member in 'Nepal Utpidit Jatiya Mukti Samaj', District secretary of 'Loktantarik Mahila Sanjal', 'Deputy

President of NGO' and President of 'Dalit Mahila Sang'. She has also worked as a dalit activist and gives training and worked in a health sectors for some time.

After being a CA member definitely there is a change in her. She feels more responsibility is upon her. It's easy to work in the social sectors but its little tough to work in the responsibility level. She was a common Nepali woman who doesn't have the knowledge of plans and policy of the state but now she got an opportunity to understand the plans and policy of the state. A general woman does not have access to socio-economy and they are also not empowered. After being elected as a CA member she is not able to give time to her family but her knowledge of horizon becomes broad. As a CA member she has participated in the discussion with the leader of different political party and is able to raise many issues of the citizens. She is not as satisfied with her role in constitutional assembly as they have to work according to the decision and wheap of the party so they face many difficulties.

She has played an active role in constitution building process during two years time. She has raised the issues of Suntali Dhami in the constitutional assembly. We are around 50 dalit CA member in the constitutional assembly. We all dalit CA member are raising a question to make discrimination free society, to include dalit in every mechanism of the state such as in police, army, in beaucracy ,in plans and policy formation level and in politics also dalit should be given 20% reservation quota. She has also raised the voice in the constitutional assembly to include dalit rights in the new constitution with priority. She has also contributed to bring dalit women in politics in an organized way. We the dalit CA member are working to guarantee the social approval for inter caste marriage in the society and now even the state is giving money to those couple who have done inter caste marriage which is a positive step of a state in favor of dalit and other so called lower caste people. In each and every school at least one dalit teacher should be appointed. Dalit should get 20% reservation quota in education, health, employment etc. Untouchable free society should be constructed and mainly she is playing a role in assuring different kinds of dalit rights in the new constitution. 20% reservation with compensation is demanded by dalit women CA members.

She is also going to continue her politics because it is politics which makes people aware about their rights. To secure dalit rights and to empower them in politics she is going to be involved in party politics. Though, after the achievement of new constitution making her role in politics is not completed so will continue her long political career.

### **Satya Padhi (UCPN-Maoist, backward area)**

She was born in a lower class farmer family. She is elected through proportionate election procedure from backward area from Karnali. She was involved in politics from the student life and has started her active political career from 2048 B.S through 'Jana Giti Yatra'. Satya believed that those who are not politically aware do not get rights. According to her, "The biggest right of human is political rights and all should be guided by politics and change in society occurs from political change." To end socio-economic and political problem she was actually involved in politics. Inequality present in the society mainly motivated her to come in politics. To change different types of social evil found in society she was involved in politics.

Before involving in active political life she has worked in different field. She was engaged in teaching for some time. She has also become an employee in different places but nothing attracts her than the desire to be involved in politics. To change society and to build discrimination free society she was involved in political field in spite of other sector.

She believed that there are different types of obstacle in the society for a woman to come in politics. Social structure of our society also acts as barrier for women to come in politics. The socio-cultural role of women also restricts her to be involved in politics. She was elected from Karnali region and there the perspective to see those women who are involved in politics is quite different. Those women who are involved in politics are seen from the eyes of suspect and were considered as of bad character. So, this ideology of society acts as a barrier for women to come in politics. There is also a political barrier for women in politics itself. There they are not given any opportunity and are placed in secondary position. But these obstacles do not do anything for those women who have internal interest to be involved in politics.

After being elected as a CA member definitely there is a change in her. Before she was only concerned with the responsibility of her own party but now she has the responsibility of the nation and those people who have elected her as their representative in the CA election that is of the backward area people. We know that Karnali region always faces problem of food stuff etc. So, now she is actually working to guarantee the rights of backward area people of Karnali regions. And also have the responsibility of drafting the new constitution in the given time. Now, she felt that within her there is a great responsibility. Before she was only concerned to the responsibility of the party and local level party politics but now she is concerned about the national level political responsibility. She also got an opportunity to interact with the different party leader and present her own ideas on different subject matter. She is conscious to include the rights of women, children, marginalized, backward area etc. in the new constitution.

As a CA member she is also playing an active role in constitutional assembly. Other women CA members are also playing an active role from their side. The committee where there are women CA member have draft the agenda in time in their concerned committee. Women CA member are externally working to bring consensus between the party.

In different thematic and constitutional drafting committee there is the compulsion of women representative so women are also given a place in such committee. As a result women different fundamental rights will be guaranteed in the new constitution.

She has come from the hard civil war of UCPN- Maoist party and she is going to continue her political career even after completion of constitution making by constitutional assembly. She know that the people can get freedom only through political change and to free citizen from inequality existing in society she is determined to continue party politics.

**Tashi Shangbo Gurungsheni (Janajati, CPN-UML, Proportionately elected from Mustang District)**

She belong to a remote district where life is very difficult and in the past there was not even a school in Mustang district .She was engaged in social work in Mustang. People of Mustang have

hard life and are backwarded due to the lack of education. For her politics is the main thing which is responsible to go in the desired position so she came to politics.

She have come in the political field from social work inspite of involving in mounteering and tourism sector she was involved in politics. Many people live in villages and have difficulty to do many things and the people of Upllo Mustang have more difficulty and they have a problem in making citizenship, passport etc. so to help those people who are in problem Tashi have come to political field inspite of social work.

She was elected from janajati from Mustang and she is of the opinion that not only janajati but all women have difficulty to come in politics as our society is guided by male ideology so the prevailing ideology also acts as an obstacle to come in politics. Mustang is a district where there are many janajati people. Though they do not face any problem in household activities but do not have access in politics. In Mustang only male members can participate in different types of meeting and if the male members are not able to attend the meeting then such a family has to pay "Jarimana". In this condition also women are not allowed to attend meeting as they think women can't present their things in the meeting. Actually she does not face any obstacle from the family. Women in our region are limited to household activity but she used to do discussion with the men.

Constitutional assembly is formed first time in Nepal and to be elected in this assembly it's a proud things for all and she was elected from remote Mustang district from where even a male members are not elected in the CA. She used to attend the meeting of CA in her own traditional dress which remind her about her identity and felt glad to present her ideology and the issues related to Mustang people in the assembly. She was glad as she have represented Gurung community and being the first Gurung CA member from the Mustang district.

Before being elected she was a social worker and also runs a small hotel in Jhomson but at present she has given that house in the rent and is not involved in any employment and occupation. At present she is busy in the CA and in the task of constitution building.



She has left the business and social work for politics and from 2048 B.S she is busy in the politics. For the development of women and the people of her region she is giving her full time to politics and is going to continue politics even after the dismissal of CA

## **Chapter 5**

### **Summary, major findings and conclusion**

#### **5.1 Summary:**

Nepali society is guided by patriarchal ideology so; the position of women is not satisfactory one. Women used to play a greater role almost in all sectors but have not good status in the society. She have double or triple role to play in the society. She plays the triple role of production, reproduction and community management.

When we talk about the political status of Nepali women then it is not satisfactory. We should not forget about the courage shown by Nepali women in the war of Nalapani to different democratic movements conducted in the country in different time period. Basically, in this research the issues of women's socio-political status and their role in constitution building process are studied. Due to the double and triple role women politician are unable to play active

role and continue their political career. Their role is not seen properly by the society. She finds difficulty to be involved in politics as she have the burden of family and responsibility to rear and care her children and at the same time she is not able to hold the responsibility given by the concerned party.

Women politician actively participated in the mass movement first and second conducted in the country. The issues related to citizenship, rights of lineage etc.of women are particularly raised here.Women movements has always been the prime force for political change in Nepal. Through demonstration and strike women strive for their desired goals. Only a few women are involved in political sectors. What inspires and motivates them to be involved in politics, is it their political family background or social events or ideology of renowned personality plays greater role behind their involvement in politics. Thus, the present research is sought to answer the following questions:

What is the status and role of women politician in Nepal?

What are the hindering factors for women to come in politics?

What is their role in constitutional building process?

To get answers of this research problem, women CA members of constitutional assembly are chosen for the study. The general objective of this research is to find out the status and role of women in changing national political context in Nepal. The specific objectives are to explore the socio-economic background of women CA members, their current socio-political status, the role played by them in constitutional building process and to finds out the problem faced by women politician to be involved in politics.

This research follows the descriptive and explorative research approaches. Explorative of the natures of the problem faced by women politician and special focus is given to the role played by women CA members. It includes both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data are collected through in-depth interviews, questionnaire and case study. Secondary data are collected from the articles, books, magazine, television, internet etc. The natures of data are both qulalitative and quantative. The collected data were analyzed by using simple stastical tools and techniques such as tabulation and frequency etc.

## **5.2 Major Findings:**

### **1. Socio-economic background of women CA members.**

- ) The study concentrated to women CA members revealed the facts that there were 65% women CA members who belonged to the middle class family background. Middle class is also considered as occupational class and have control over resources and are closer to national level politics. So, we find the same thing in this research.
- ) Even though the occupation of people is changing according to time but at present context also it was found that 40% of the respondent's family were involved in agricultural works. Still 5% of them are found to be Kamaya though state have declared Kamaya free society.
- ) It is found that 30% of women CA members have completed master's degree and there is diverse ratio of academic qualification of women CA members. 20% of them are just literate even at present time.
- ) Through the conducted research it is found that the economy of a person plays a higher contributing role for women those who are involved in politics. 65% of the respondents agree upon this fact.

### **2. Current socio-political status.**

- ) From the conducted research it revealed the facts that 45% of the women CA members are elected from UCPN-Maoist. And at present there is other new political party which emerges during the election of CA in the country. From such party also there are women representative in the constitutional assembly.
- ) The sources of inspiration to come in political sectors is different for women CA members. It was found that family acts as an inspiration source for the respondents to be involved in politics which is 45%. And 10% of them are inspired from their friends to be involved in political field.
- ) There are more women CA members those who are elected through proportionate election procedure which is the result of 33% of women inclusion in every mechanism of state. Only 20% of the women are elected through first-past-the-post election procedure.

- ) From the conducted study it revealed the facts that 55% of the women CA members were given candidacy on the basis of their political background and 40% of them are given candidacy on the basis of social contribution done by them in the society.
- ) Through the conducted study it is found that there is a change noticed in women CA members after being elected in CA. 55% of the respondent have noticed a change on them after being elected in CA. Before, they were housewife, care taker of children and domestic workers but now they have become the public personality and reached to policy formation level

### **3. Role played by women CA members:**

- ) From the present study it is found that few agenda raised by women CA members were implemented in the thematic committee and 55% of them agree on this fact .The agenda are rights of lineage to women, provision of citizenship that is a child can get citizenship even from his/her mother's name and equal share in the parental property etc.
- ) Women CA members were strongly satisfied with the role played by them in different committees and sub-committees. They are strongly satisfied as their agenda were implemented and heard in the concerned committee. 65% of them are strongly satisfied with the role played by them in constitutional assembly.

### **4. Hindering factors to be involved in politics:**

- ) There are different types of hindering factors for women to be involved in politics. 30% of the respondent faces economic problem to come in politics. Women also face difficulty from the society which is 20% and competition with colleague is also 20% which is an obstacle for women to be involved in politics.

- ) Aspect of priority to be involved in politics is different for different people. It was found that 35% of women CA members agree on the facts that one should give priority and have good relationship with the leader and member.
- ) From the conducted study it revealed the facts that due to economic condition that is scarcity of money women politician are unable to continue their political career.

**Conclusion:**

The study concentrated on women CA members revealed the facts that there are many inspiration sources and motivational factors for women to be involved in politics. But, the family acts as the most influential factors for an individual to be involved in politics. The individuals are inspired by the political activities done by their family members. It is not easy for women to be involved and continue the career in politics. Women have double or triple role to play in the society so they are unable to continue their political life.

The major problem faced by Nepali women is the scarcity of money to be involved in politics. Women have less access to property and resources and with the money of husband's it is difficult for women politician to continue their political career. They have the natural role to play in society that is give birth to child and rear and care the children so she can not handle the responsibility given by the party.

When we see the involvement of women in politics then we find that very few women have reached to the top level and in decision making and policy formation level. We do not find any women politician in top leading position of the political party. Dwarika Devi Thakurani was elected from Dadeldhura in the election of 2015 B.S after her only some of the women politicians were elected in the general election of 2048, 2056 and in constitutional assembly election of 2008 A.D. Now there are 32.77% of women CA member in the constitutional assembly election. According to the concept of 33% of proportionate inclusion of women in every state mechanism they are elected in such a large number. But, this is not sufficient and women should be given 50% representation as they covers the half of the country's population which is demanded by the women CA members. The role played by them in constitutional assembly is satisfactory one and where there are women chairperson the drafting of agenda is

completed in time this also shows that they have played active role in drafting the new constitution. But, the status of Nepalese women politician is not good even in their concerned political parties. Untill and unless there is changed ideology of men towards women and the set ideology of men towards women they can not have good political status as well as social status.

Women CA members agree on the facts that until and unless the top leader of political party has consensus on different issues and they are far from the game of chair and power constitution will not be drafted even in extended one year time period. Constitution is not constructed in two years time period due to the suspect of political leader upon another political party. If there will be consus than only the CA can give new constitution to people otherwise we can't say anything.

Women should be given special training and politically empowered them to bring them in top leading position in the political party. Now, there are more women CA members in the CA but just to include them in numbers may not be fruitful. These women who are have reached to such a position should be empowered otherwise theyb can not contribute properly in such a position of decision making and policy formation.

We find that now the numbers of women CA members are increasing in the CA which is a positive change in political history of Nepal. Though they are in top decision making position but their few agenda are only implemented in the thematic committee even though, they are playing active role in constitution drafting committee but they are not given any priority. It is found that their involment in politics is also more than 33% at present context which is positive change in political field.

#### **5.4 Recommendation:**

- ) Women CA members should play the role of catalyst in different issues such as over all development and they should work above their party in the agenda related to people and their community.
- ) Women should collectively give pressure in the constitution building process in the constitutional assembly.
- ) Political party should give freedom and encourage their women CA members to speak and put the issues independently in the house.
- ) Political parties should not consider women only as their vote bank in the election.

- ) Women should be politically and economically empowered.
- ) There should be room or provision of equal participation for women CA members as men CA members in the house.
- ) The family may not be a position to support female members involved in politics. Therefore to support their political activities women should have equal ownership and rights and in resources earned by themselves or inherited from their ancestor.
- ) Society should assert their position in looking on women and should encourage them to be actively involved in political activities as their profession.

## References

- Acharya, Meena (1979): Statistical Profile of Nepalese women A Critical Review. CEDA, Tribhuvan University Kathmandu.
- Bagala Dilli Ram (2005): The Status of Nepalese Women, A Case study of Waling Municipality-3, Syanga, Unpublished Master's Degree thesis submitted to Central Department of Rural Development, Kritipur.
- Barbara Nelson and Najma (1994): Women and politics world wide, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Basnet Meera (2053): Nepalko Prajantrik Jana Aandolan Ma Mahila Barga KO Bhumika, Bennet Len (1976): Dangerous Wife and Sacred Sisters, Columbia University press New York
- Bhattraï Ek Raj (2055): Women's participation in the politics of Nepal, (1951-1994) unpublished, thesis of Master's Degree in political science department.
- Gabriel and Thomas Beisenkamp (2007): Women of Nepal March Forward, Jana Shikshya Griha, Kathmandu Nepal.
- Friedrich Elbert Stiftung (1992): Women and politics: Forms and process, New Delhi.
- INSEC (1996): Rajnaitek Mahila Parichaya, Kathmandu Indrani offset press.
- INSEC (1997): Women in politics, National conference on women 1996, Kathmandu Alpha off set 1997, Report.
- Interim constitution of Nepal (2063): Seventh amendement, Jana pragitishil prakashan putilisadak, 2066.
- International Idea (2009): Mahila Ra Sambidhan.
- Karki Sarmila (2007): WE, Women in politics, Vol-1, issue-1, Jagaran Nepal, Pg-4.
- Koirala Dibya (1960): 'An Introduction' Swasnimanchhe, April- May- June. Pg-18
- Kumar Dhurba, ed. (1995): State leadership and politics in Nepal, CNAS, Kathmandu, Jeevan Printing Press.
- Luitel Samira (2008): Gender Studies, Academic Book Center Kritipur.
- Mahila Mukti (2055): Akhil Nepal Mahila Sang.
- Majupuria Indra (2007): Nepalese women, Dr. Rohit Kumar, Meerut University, India .
- Ministry of Law and Justice, government of Nepal (1990): The constitution of Kingdom of Nepal 2047.
- Pandey Nischal Nath (2010): New, Nepal, the Fault Lines, SAGE Publications India Pvt.ltd.



Panta Kamala (2007): WE, Women in politics, Vol-1, issue-1, Jagaran Nepal. Pg-17

Policy Paper (2067): Martin Chautari, Ashmin 2067.

Rijal Bishnu (2062): Preranadaye Mahila, Moti Devi Smriti Kendra, Pg-15

SAP International (2009): Ending Voilence against Women in politics.

Shaky Bimala (2066): Nepalko Sambidhan Ma Mahila KO Adhikar.

Shtri Shakti (2002): Women Development Democracy, A study of Socio- economic change in the profile of women in Nepal, New Delhi Raj Press.

Thapa Krishna Bahadur (1991): Women and Social change in Nepal (1951-1960) (copyright) Published by Mrs.Ambika Thapa, Kathmandu.

Thapa Surya, ed. (2067): Sangarshashil Yoddhaharu, Moti Devi Smriti Kendra, Kathmandu.

Thapalia Santa (2001): Equal property rights to women, Main Base of National Development (Kathmandu, Lacc)

Thomphay Shiva Maya (2059): Nepal ma Mahila Aandolan (2004-2046) Akhil Nepal Mahila Sang, Pg-21.

Upadhaya Tara Nath (2015): Mahila Samiti, Swasnimanchhe, Kartik-Mangshir-Poush, Pg-25-26.

Upreti Dilli (2065): Loktantrik Aandolan Ka Mahila Baktitwaharu, Beyond Binding Committee, Pulchock, Lalitpur.

Yadav, Pitamber Lal (2050): Nepalko Rajnaitik Eitihash, Eight edition, P.g-1, 76,11o

[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent\\_Action/apic\\_9496.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Urgent_Action/apic_9496.html)

<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

[www.everstuncensord.org](http://www.everstuncensord.org)

## **Annex-1**

### **Questions for interview**

1. How do you come in politics and what inspires you to come in this field?
2. Why do you choose political field than other?
3. What is the main obstacle for a dalit, janajati and back ward people to come in politics?
4. Will you please say about your family member's socio economic condition?
5. What do you do before coming in political field?
6. How do you feel after being elected as CA member?
7. What are the changes that come upon you after being elected as CA members?
8. What are the challenges that you find while implementation the agenda of dalit, janajati and backward area people?
9. Generally we do not find any woman politician in top leading level in the political party, what do you think is the main cause behind this?
10. For the political leadership development of woman what role should be played by the political party and the state?
11. How do you find the role played by women CA members in CA during two years time period?
12. How much priority is given to the agenda and issues raised by women CA member in different thematic committee?
13. What are the things that should be considered to make woman friendly constitution?
14. What are the changes that you see in different sector of state after the declaration of 33% woman inclusion in every sector of state?
15. In your opinion what is the main cause behind not constructing new constitution during two years?
16. Do you think that the new constitution will be constructed in extended one year time period?

## **Annex-2**

## Questionnaire

1. **You are affiliated to which political party?**  
i) UCPN maoist       ii) Nepali congress       iii) UCPN-UML       iv) Tama lopa  iv)  
MJAF, Nepal       v) Other
2. From when do you come in politics?  
i) From less than 5 year       ii) From 5-10 year       iii) From 10-15 year   
iv) More than 15 year
3. Who inspire you to come in politics?  
Father-Mother       ii) Brother-Sister       iii) Family       iv) Friends
4. What is your academic educational qualification?  
i) SLC       ii) Intermediate       iii) Bachelor       iv) Masters       v) Other( just literate)
5. Form which types of family background you have come?  
i) Lower class       ii) Middle class       iii) Higher class
6. What is the main occupation of your family?  
i) Farming       ii) Business       iii) Teaching       iv) Other
7. If you are elected through FPTP election procedure then on what basic your party has given candidacy to you?  
i) Political background       ii) Social contribution       iii) Economic statue   
iv) Educational qualification       v) Other       vi) Don't know
8. If you are elected through proportionate election procedure than on what basic your party has given candidacy to you?  
i) Political background       ii) Social contribution       iii) Economic status   
iv) Educational qualification       v) Other       vi) Don't know
9. What changes do you observe in the social status of Nepalese women after being a CA Members?  
i) Drastic       ii) Many       iii) General       iv) As usual
10. After being elected as CA member how much time you give to your family?  
i) As Usual       ii) Difficult to give
11. When a woman is involved in politics, how much affect she bear by her socio-economic condition?  
i) Many       ii) Little       iii) As usual       v) General
12. The salary and allowances that you get after being elected as CA Members is sufficient for your family and poltics?  
i) Yes       ii) No       iii) Little amount       v) Salary and allowance isn't used in family
13. What types of training you have get after being elected as a CA member?  
i) Information technology       ii) English language       iii) Other
14. After being a CA member how much is your access information technology?

- i) More     ii) General     iii) As usual
15. Have you participated in international seminar and conference related to constitutional building process?  
i) Yes     ii) No     iii) Women are given opportunity
16. Are the decision made by you is implemented in themnatic committee or not?  
i) Mostly implemented     ii) little is implemented     iii) not implemented
17. Are you satisfied with the role played by you in CA?  
i) Satisfied     ii) little satisfied     iii) Dissatisfied
18. The agenda raised by you related to women, backward area people are heard in thematic committee or not?  
i) All is heard     ii) Some are heard     iii) Not heard
19. What is main obstacle for women to be involved in politics?  
i) Completion with colleague     ii) Obstacle from family   
iii) Economic condition     iv) Societal obstacle
20. Which aspect should be given more priority to continue politics by the women?  
i) People's service     ii) Relationship with leader and member   
iii) Economic condition     iv) Family approval
21. What is the main cause behind not contouring polities by women?  
i) Familial obstacle     ii) Competition with colleague   
iii) Scarcity of money     iv) Other
22. In the extended 1 year time period will the constitutional assembly be able to make constitution or not?  
i) Yes     ii) No     iii) can't say
23. Who is responsible for not making constitution in time?  
i) CA member     ii) Top leader of the party     iii) People     (iv) All

### Annex-3

**List of respondent of interview**  
**Respondent these who are elected through FPTP election procedure**

Sn.	Name of respondent	Date	Time
-----	--------------------	------	------

1.	Dama Sharma (UCPN-Maoist)	2067/06/16	12:45 PM
2.	Jayapuri Gharti Magar(UCPN-Maoist)	2067/06/21	1:00 PM
3.	Kamala Sharma (CPN-UML)	2067/06/21	2:45 PM
4.	Pampha Bhusal (UCPN-Maoist)	2067/06/14	1:00 PM
5.	Sita Boudel (UCPN-Maoist)	2067/06/19	1:15 PM
6.	Susma Sharma (UCPN-Maoist)	2067/06/14	3:30 PM

**Respondent of interview on the basis of proportionate election procedure**

S.N	Name of respondent	Date	Time
1	Binda Pandey	2067/6/17	11:45 a.m
2	Bishnu Maya B.K	2067/6/20	3: 00 p.m
3	Durga Jayanti Rai	2067/6/17	8:00 a.m
4	Durga Pariyar	2067/6/18	1:30 p.m
5	Him Kumari Sunwar	2067/6/19	12:50 p.m
6	Jaya Ghimire	2067/6/13	9:00 a.m
7	Kiran Yadhav	2067/6/13	1:50 p.m
8	Kabit Kumari Sardar Batar	2067/6/19	2:30 p.m
9	Laxmi pariyar	2067/6/22	8:00 a.m
10	Narayani Sharma	2067/6/20	12:00 noon
11	Ram Rati Ram	2067/6/21	11:30 p.m
12	Sakuntala Lepcha	2067/6/15	12:45 p.m
13	Santi Devi Chamar	2067/6/20	1:00 p.m
14	Santoshi B.K	2067/6/15	3:00 p.m
15	Tham Maya Thapa Magar	2067/6/18	3:00 p.m
16	Uma Regmi	2067/6/16	2:15 p.m
17	Usha Kala Rai	2067/6/13	2:00 p.m

**Annex-4**

**Name of Respondent of Questionnaire**

1. Dhindra Kumari Upadhaya
2. Gatri Shah
3. Gauri Mahato Koiri

4. Gita Dhaguna
5. Janak Kumari Chalise
6. Kalpana Dhamala
7. Kalpana Subedi
8. Lalita Kingring Magar.
9. Lalita Shah
10. Lalita Kumari Shah
11. Lila Kumari Bagale Somai
12. Munni Kumari Gupta
13. Padma Devi Adhikari
14. Pampha Bhusal
15. Santa Maya Tamang
16. Sabtri Singh
17. Shanta Chaudhari
18. Shanti Devi Chamar
19. Sushma Sharma
20. Usha Kala Rai