CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background of the Study

Man and women are as the two wheels of a cart or two sides of a coin. If one wheel is broken the cart couldn't move. Similarly men and women are equally important in the human life. In the absence of any of them, the world can not go forward. No one denies that man and woman are equally important. However, women are not equal in our society. They are supposed to be the weaker sex. They are treated as inferior to man (Tasalima Nasarin, Bigreki Keti. 2058). Women have always constituted about half of the population and the fact that a society can not advance without their moving forward along with men has been recognized from the beginning of planned development.

"History is his story. To get a complete picture of the world we also need her story" (Kamala Bhasin, (2000) understanding gender, New Delhi: Kali for women) Politics has been key issues for human being. Women's access to positions of power, political or otherwise has not improved much in the last 10-15 years except at the grass roots level, although the constitution reserves five percent seats among the candidates of political parties in parliamentary elections for women. At the grass roots level only 20 percent reservation by the Local Self Governance Act (LSGA -2055) has made a difference. In parliamentary elections, political parties have not been able to put up more than the required mandatory five percent women candidates.

 Further the constituencies allocated to women candidates have often been those, which the particular party considered difficult to win. In the patriarchal system women control by men in this sector "women's productive or labour power, women's reproductive power, women's sexuality, women's mobility, property and other economic resources." (Kamala Bhasin, (2000) As a consequence, in the outgoing House of Representatives women constituted less than men although their proportion

was much higher in the Upper House, where the members are either nominated by the King or get elected on the basis of party strength in the lower House. The cabinets formed in the last decade have never included more than two women or given important positions to them, barring one or two exceptional cases. Fewer female members in 20-45 ministers have been the rule. Still today women constitute less than men in the Central Committees of the major political parties. The women representation in government administration has been improved, however, not significantly. Compared to 1978 AD, today, the proportion of women in the government administration has almost multiplied by three times. At officer and higher levels it has been doubled. Still women constitute less than ten percent of the total government staff. The proportion of women even among the professional and technical group in the occupational classification had declined in 1991 as compared to 1981 but the trend has fortunately reversed as per the 2001 Census (CBS, 2001).

The trend of increasing proportion of women in administration and management is more encouraging. During the 1990s, women's awareness and consciousness on political and gender issue has rapidly increased. The proportion of rural women who knew about women's organizations had more than tripled between 1978 and 1992 (from 4.7 percent to 14.9 percent). But still only 15 percent of rural women know about women's organizations and less than one percent participated in them. Slightly more than 20 percent knew about the new constitution, but only 6.2 percent was aware of its discriminatory features. Awareness in urban was higher (Acharya, Meena, and Pushpa Acharya, Gender Equality and Empowerment of women, 1997)

Human rights without women's rights are meaningless. Or women's rights are human rights. It is said that 'history is his story'. To get a complete picture of the world we also need 'her story'. According to Kate Mellite 'Personal is the political'. Today more than eighty five percent women are housewives in south Asia. (ibid) Women are not accessed to education and opportunities and so women do not reach to the policymaking level. Nepal has conducted Constituent Assembly Election in 2064 BS. In that election, there were given emphasis on inclusive participation of women from different background such as caste, ethnic groups, cultures, and languages but the result of election didn't demonstrated. 51 percent populations are women in Nepal but there is no proportional participation in major works. Many years ago women had

been struggling in the women's right in the world. Result of feminist movement's now we achieved women's rights such as, voting and candidates Right, reproductive rights, abortion rights, citizenship from mother, inheritance property rights, writing and speaking rights, etc. There is nominal representation of women in constitution assembly with inequitable participation. Men are involved in decision making on national policy but the involvement of women in such capacity is very insignificant. Patriarchal system is the main barrier for women, which has hindered highly experienced and educated women to reach to leadership level. When the women reach leadership level, then they can influence on policy about women resulting women's liberation.

In Nepal, women have been struggling against to the bad system of the government during revolution 2004 Bs, 2017, 2037, 2046, 2062/2063 B.S and 10 years people's war too which has achieved some important rights on women. After constituent assembly election monarchy system is overthrown and established republic system in Nepal. Women played vital role in the every political movement. (Mahila Surachha Dabab Samuha,(2056). 197 women have been elected in constituent assembly member. Political issue is a most important for developed countries. Women involvement is another important part but still this issue could not make important for any researcher. Although broad, research has been done for women political leaders in Nepal but couldn't study in different district and communities' women leader too. Communities or district level politics is base for the National politics so politician women leader are Key person of the politics. (Mahila Athot, (2066)

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Women's leadership level has not been studies yet and it is itself a problem in Nepal so it is problem of each and every district of Nepal. It is important issue but has not been researched it in Kaski district so it is necessary to research it. Women has not chair person in the political parties of Nepal but increasing the women's leadership. Now 197(around 33 percent) members of women are participated in Constituent assembly but women could not to reach the Prime minister and president level still in Nepal. Human being is the most important creature. Human is one woman and the other is man the unity of both then the society has been dynamic thus both creatures are important for human being. When the woman and man are energetic then the

country develops. If ignore the one creature development is abnormal so man and woman are both important in the human society. In the ancient society, people had been working different works in community to decision in community level .There was not legal policy in that state. According to Karl Marx, women had been leading in that community's works in ancient society. Women work was very well was not in equality between male and female and any other issues. The society was Matriarchal. Male and female power had equal (Angels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. 1884 AD).

Due to the changing patterns of time; male had successeded to predominance of women's authors and started the patriarchal system. Women were not involving in that major works but the man was leading about community works. Society had been developing and changing working and leadership system (Nepalma Mahilako Rajnitik Sahabhagita 2065, Renaissance Society Nepal). Society is a dynamic system male and female are one of the actor of society but the half actor is factor will not dynamic of society then human being will be finished So necessary of equitable participation and access with man and women in different work. (Clara Zetkin(1989) Mahilaharuko Muktiko Barema, Patana, India.) Feminist and intellectual class has been thinking women role is most important in the development activities so the government of Nepal managed 33 percent reservation.

Government of Nepal can't to make the policy of equitable participation and women can not achieve the leadership level in the nation still so a lot of violence of women in our society. Politics is very huge issue. It can change policy the nation so necessary for women to achieve the leadership level of the nation. Patriarchal system has been establishing women to inferior and sub ordination part of men but feminists struggling against to the patriarchal system and struggle of class base system of nation then feminist wanted to equal leadership of men and women. (Gurung Juna,Kumari, 2062)

This Study Has Raised Following Research Questions:
- How many members of man and woman and in district committee level of major political parties in Kaski district?
- How many man and women leaders have been leading in leadership level in political parties of Kaski district?

⟩ What is the condition of women's in major political parties of Kaski district?

⟩ What are the associated factors for the women to reach in leadership level in political parties?

⟩ Why is it necessary to reach women in leadership level in politics?

⟩ What are the motivated factors for women to involve in politics?

⟩ What are the barrier factors for women's leadership level in political parties?

⟩ Are they satisfied with their responsibilities in their political parties?

⟩ What are major problem faced by women in political parties?

⟩ How are the decisions making roles of women in political parties?

⟩ What is major cause of women unable to affiliate to political movement than men?

⟩ How the political parties help women to reach in leadership level?

⟩ Why women could not to reach in the leadership level in Nepal?

1.3   Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to know and understand the women's leadership level in political parties of Kaski district. The specific objectives of the study are as follows

⟩ To find out the condition of women's position in district committee of political parties

⟩ To analyze the associated factors with women to involved in politics

⟩ To identify the major problems faced by women in political parties of Kaski district

1.4   Rational and Signification of the Study

Despite majority in total population women could not involve in important work about the policy making of nation because women made sub ordinate part of man. Patriarchal system is a main barrier for women liberation. And feudalist system and thinking has been a part of women's oppression. It is studied women and leadership level in political parties and found main cause of women could not to reach the leadership level and barrier of women's leadership level. Political parties realized the women's situation. It would be source for the policy maker and political parties

improve and change existing the policy and strategy of policy maker and political parties then help the women to achieve the leadership level. All the stakeholders who are related to gender relation and sensitivity would be somehow benefited from this research piece.

1.5   Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

It studied and used the feminist, gender and conflict theoretical framework because the research related the gender and women's right.

Ancient society → Matriarchal system and leadership of women and had been equal power of the society hadn't inequitable in politics of man and women.

Slavery society   → Patriarchal system and leadership of man and inequality of women

Feudal society → Patriarchal system and leadership of man had Unequal power of man and women in that society.

Capitalist society → patriarchal system and leadership of man and had not equitable participation of man and woman.

Socialist society → Equitable system and equal powerful of male and female will be different work.

That is Marxist vision of developing society and policy. Mode of production will be determination of politics and any other issue. When the women are involving in mode of production then establish the women's authority. (Abhalinrid, Mahilamukti Andolanka Sambandama,) When the time has gone women's leaders started some women's movements for equitable participation and access in the world. At first in American women's of clothes industry had started women's revolution 1975 A.D. and the different movements of women's had done eighteenth and nineteenth century. International women's conferences had been completed in some years ago. e.g.…UN had declared women's years in 1975 A.D. first international women's conferences had completed in 1975 A.D. at Mexico City of America and second international women's conferences had completed in 1980 A.D at Copenhagen in Denmark. Third international women's conferences had completed in 1985 A.D in Nairobi. Fourth international women's conferences had completed in 1995 A.D. capital city of china and preparation of four documents: there are 1- Beijing Declaration 2 platform for

action 3 Critical areas of concerns 4 Strategic Objectives and action (UN 1995 Beijing platform for action New York.)

The other hand feminist movement had been developing of women's leaders in the world. Different schools of wave such as socialist feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism and liberal feminism are the most important of feminist waves. The government of Nepal has been inclusive participated of woman in different institution. Women's inclusive participation is that the women have involved base on population of stratified represent all the institute. Constituent assembly election has inclusive participation of women in Nepal. In the aforementioned theoretical outline the following nexus has drawn as a model for research.

1.5.1 Conceptual Framework
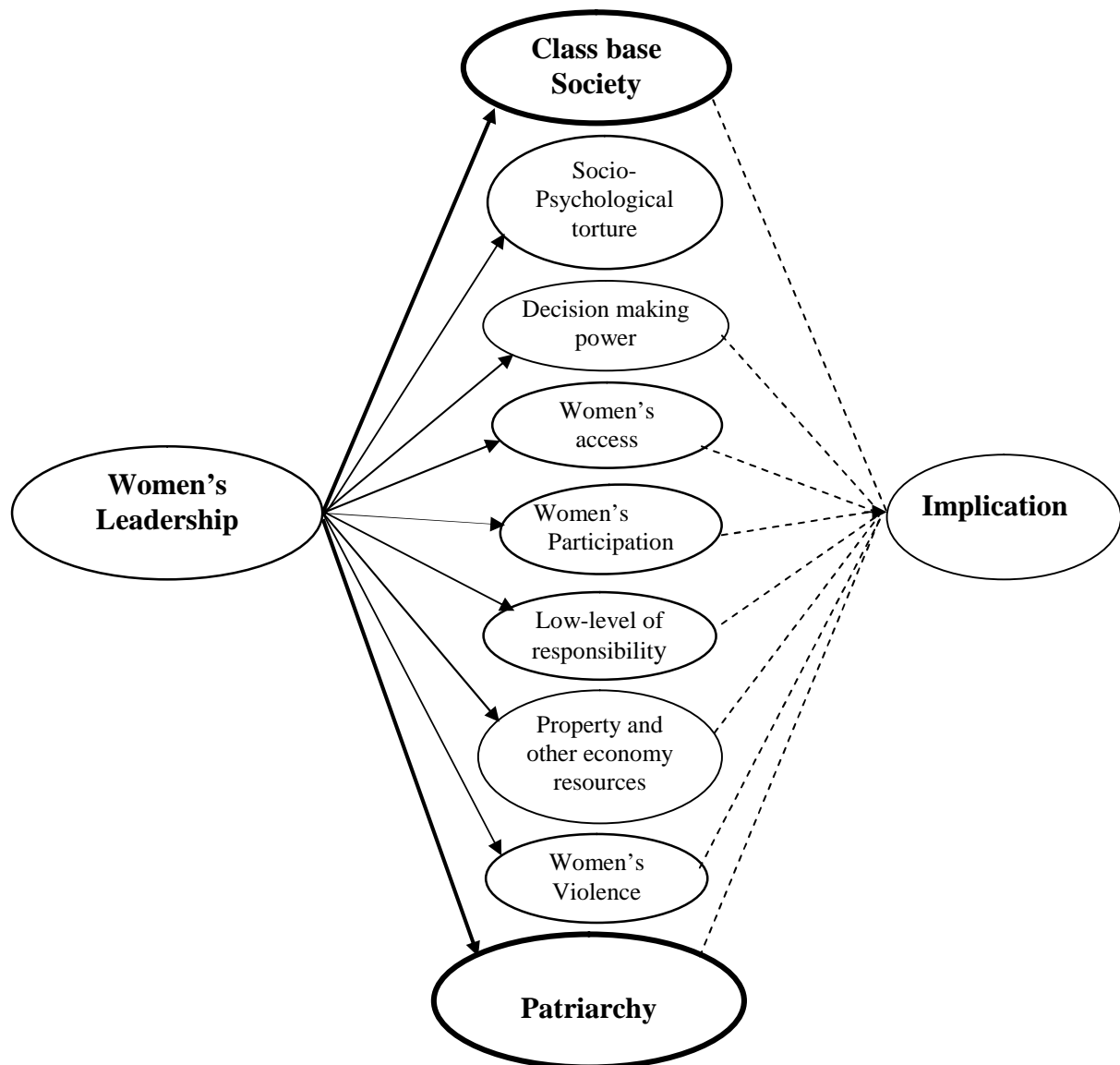
The conceptual Framework elucidates that the women's leadership is in every works in the society. Particularly affective elements are in women's leadership. Patriarchy is the most barriers for the women's leadership. Patriarchy had established in the whole society. Decision making power, women's access, women's participation, property and other economy resources, these elements are the important elements for women's leadership. If these elements controlled by women then will not the oppression women by society and men. Women's violence, low level of responsibility is women's problem. These elements are implication of the society then reform women's leadership.

1.5.2 Theoretical Framework
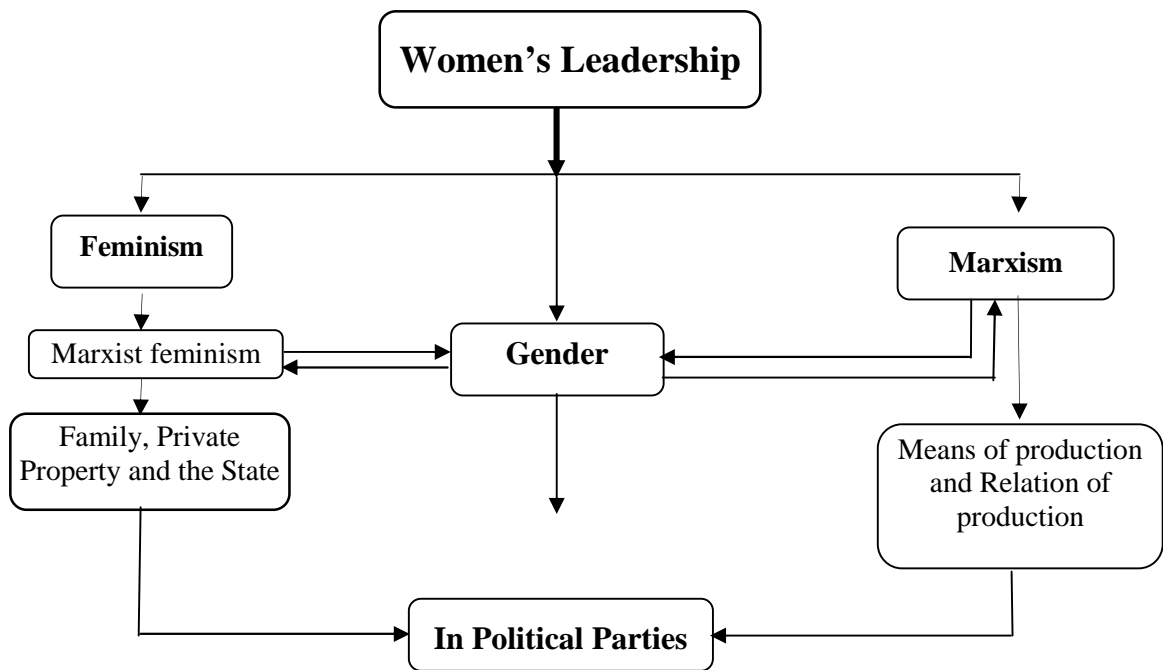
Theoretical Framework presentation is described in the research. In women's leadership the Marxism and Feminism theory have been used. According to Collins Dictionary of Sociology – (Feminism is the holist theory concerned with the nature of women in global oppression and subordination of men. It is sociological theory and practice which aim to free all women from male supremacy and exploitation.) Marxism and Feminism theory are connected to the leadership. When origin of the family, private property and the state had published 1884 by Karl Marx and Angels

then women had encouraged out of house works and earned income. Clara Zekin and the others women's leaders had contribution in the feminism.

According to Karl Marx "women are unpaid labour." Women did hard works but non produced work. No value the women's work in the patricidal and class base society. When the Means of production and Relation of production are controlled by women then women's leadership will be established. Gender connections these things. "These social and cultural definitions of women and Men are called Gender."(Kamala Bhasin)

1.6   Recent Activities of Women's Movement

In many years of the world women are still paid less then man for equivalent work, hold much less political and economic power, and are often the subject of intense social pressure to conform to relatively traditional gender expectations. Feminists continue to fight these conditions. The most high profile work is done in the fields of pay- equity, reproductive rights, and encouraging women to become engaged in politics, both as candidates and as voters.

In some areas feminists also fight for legislation guaranteeing equitable divorce Laws and protections against rape and sexual harassment and property right. Radical feminism was a significant development in second wave feminism, viewing women's oppression as a fundamental element in human society and Seeks to challenge that standard by broadly inverting perceived gender roles along with promoting lesbian and gay rights. In the Arab and Islamic world, the feminist movement has faced very different challenge. In Morocco and Iran, for example, it is the application of Islamic personal status laws that are the target of feminist activity. According to Islamic law, for example, a woman who remarries may lose custody over her children; divorce is an unqualified male privilege; in certain countries polygamy is still legal. While not attacking Islamic law itself, these women and men in difficult Islamic countries offer modern, feminist, egalitarian readings of religious texts. In Egypt feminist gynecologist Nawal al-Sa'dawi centers her critique on the still -prevalent custom of female genital mutilation. Feminist groups in other African countries have targeted the practice as well. One problem feminists have encountered in the late 20th century is a strong backlash against perceived zealotry on their part. This backlash may be due

to the visibility of some radical feminist activism that has been inaccurately perceived as representing the feminist movement as whole. Many women and some men have become reluctant to be identified as feminists for this reason. Outside of the west, the feminist movement is often delegitimized. Feminist gropes therefore often prefer to refer to themselves as "women's organizations" and refrain from labeling themselves feminists. (Binda Pande,GEFONT

1.7   Early Achievements of Women's Movement

The feminist movement has effected many changes in western society, including women's suffrage; broad employment for women at more equitable wages " equal pay for equal work" the right to initiate divorce proceedings and "no fault" divorce; the rights of women to control their own bodies and medical decision, including obtaining birth control devices and safe abortions ; and many others. Some feminists would argue that there is still much to be done on these fronts, while third wave feminists would disagree and claim that the battle has basically "been won" As western society has become increasingly accepting of feminists principles, some of these are no longer seen as specifically feminist, because they have been adopted by all or most people. Some beliefs that were radical for their time are now mainstream political thought. (ibid) Almost no one in western societies today questions the right of women to vote, choose her own marital partner if any, or to own land, concepts that seemed quit strange only 100 years ago. Feminists are often proponents of using non-sexist language using "Ms" to refer to both married and unmarried women, for example, and the ironic use of the term "her story" instead of "history". Feminists are also often proponents of using gender- inclusive language, such as humanity instead of "mankind", or "he or she" in place of "Him "where the gender is unknown. Feminists in most cases advance their desired use of language either to promote an equal and respectful treatment of women or to affect the tone of political discourse. This can be seen as move to change language which has been viewed by some feminists as imbued with sexism- providing for example the case in the English language the world for the general pronoun is "he" or "his" (the child should have his paper and pencils), which is the same age the masculine pronoun (the boy and his truck). These feminists purport that language then directly affect perception of reality (Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis).

However, to take a postcolonial analysis of this point, many languages other than English many notes have such a gendered pronoun instance and those changing

language many no be an important to some feminist as others. Yet, English is becoming more and more universal, and the issue of language may be seen to be of growing importance. (Ibid)

1.8   Definition of Key Terms

1.8.1   Constituent Assembly

Constituent assembly is a forum of selected |elected and nominated representatives by the people for to make new constitution.

1.8.2   Voting

It is process to select their representations through casting vote.

1.8.3   Leadership

The state and position of being a leader: a leadership contest, the party thrived under his leadership. Strong leadership is headed to captain the team. A group of leaders of a particular organization etc the party leadership is /are divided. Maim position and leading position who direct and manage the work and the team

1.8.4   Politics

Politics means policy of government. Politics is a law of control in society. Politics is one of the methods to survive people. When the people made rule, law and policy it started the society that was politics. Politics is very important issue.

1.9   Limitation of the Study

This study was carried out by selecting the major three political parties in Kaski district out of 25 political parties in Kaski district. It may not be generalized in other political parties which are differently located. The limitations of this study are given below:-

-) This study was based on the sample size of selected major political parties Basically Unified Maoist, CPN UML and Nepali congress.
-) Limited variables have been selected.
-) This study has been limited to both time and financial constraints.

It has not covered in the broad area of the study, but involved only three Major political parties of Kaski.

CHAPTER – II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nepal is still running under strong feudalistic social values and norms. There were no clear provisions regarding Nepalese women and leadership level in political parties yet. Following the UN Declaration of 1975, which was International Women's Year, the Nepali government began to celebrate International Women's Day on the 8th of March. It has been leading the issue of women's leaders from political parties. Leadership level is most important level. Men had been leading of the society since some years ago but in the ancient society women had been leading that society. When passing the time men had dominated the women. Women had not leadership level in the long period of time in nation and every organization.

 Encyclopedia of social science-Defines: "Leadership is the relation between an individual and group around some common interest and behaving in a manner directed or determined by him." Then feminist has been starting the feminist movement and some women reached the leadership level in small programme. Leadership is very broad issue in politics. Everyday our behavior is connecting the politics. It can make policy of the state. There is violence of women in the world. Our country is developing country. Many of the policy makers are men so we could not make the hard law for women. Men could not realize women's torture and violence. Nepalese women have been starting some revolution for own rights. Thus women have been involving in the different workplace to complete own work; do not feel women's access and leadership yet.

Women's participation has just been the teeth of elephant so they can't access to decision making process. A little power has been giving the women to decision making. Man has not given the leadership level to women. When studied manifestos of different political parties in 2064 B.S (Phagun) Nepal communist party Maoist, CPN (UML), Nepali congress and any others couldn't found clearly vision to women and man of equal leadership level in all manifestos. Manifesto of communist party

Nepal (Maoist) had taken in - structure of Government and Dalit and women's right, revolution of land right. Unequal law has discouraged health, education, forest, women's reproductive health, and women's property right. Maoist agenda: the new transitional economic policy and federalist. Researcher could not find the equal leadership level of man and women. Manifesto of CPN (UML) 2064 BS has involved construction of the national infrastructure, education and women and child right, agriculture and forest. In that manifesto, research could not be found about the especial indicat on of the women's leadership. And Nepali congress party's manifesto had concerned - women's rights of participation and structure of government policy. In the different sectors, women's have not involved and access in leadership level even women's participation too. There was not included women's related programme and leadership level. Some manifestos of political parties have clear vision about women's right but did not have the leadership level of women in that manifesto.

And the other manifestos of political parties haven't clear vision about women's right and leadership level. It is found that the manifestos had nominal right of women but don't have implementation behavior. Thus it is necessary to research different political parties's strategy of women's rights and participation and leadership level. Then we will have hoped improve the women's situation in politics and women will have been reached the leadership level of the nation.

2.1   Theoretical Overview

2.1.1   Political Sociology

Ever since the time of Aristotle, thinkers have been making systematic study of concrete political phenomena. They have been observing how political phenomena influence and get influenced by the rest of the social structure and culture. In this regard, Aristotle's politics' may be taken as a work of political sociology. Ferguson, Montesquieu, and Tocqueville were all engaged in what today would be called political sociology. The classical sociologist like Weber (his essay 'politics as vocation') and pare to (he works 'The mind and society') were pioneers in including a political sociology in their work. Further, Karl Marx in Germany, Masco in Italy and Graham walls in England advanced so essentially sociological theories of political elites and of the processes of consensus and dissent. Also Andre Siegfried of pre-1914 France made a detailed study of this social group and interests in voting behaviors.

The phrase 'political sociology ' to describe this tradition only came into general use after 1945.Ever since the birth of sociology, the analysis of political processes and institution has been one of its most important concerns. Sociologists argue and many political scientists agree that it is difficult to study political process except as special cases of more general psychological and sociological relationships. The term "political sociology" has come to be accepted both within sociology and political science as encompassing the overlap between the two sciences. However, the political scientist is primarily concerned with the dimension of power and the factors affecting its distribution.

The sociologist, on the other hand, is more concerned with social control; with the way in which the values and norms of a society regulate relations. His emphasis is on social ties, rather than on formal structures and legal definitions. As Smelser N.J. says, "political sociology can be defined as the study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions." political sociology is not solely the study of the social factors that condition the political order. Political sociology employs the methods of sociological research, including those of attitude research to investigate the content of political behavior. It treats political institutions, both formal or constitutional and informal, as parts of the social system.

It has concentrated attention on 'elites' and their membership, on the expression and regulation of conflict, on formal pressure groups, on the formation of political opinion. Political sociologists have been concerned with political parties as social Institutions and with the phenomena of despotic and totalitarian regimes. It is an integral part of sociology which has progressively transformed political science in the direction of a wider attention to empirical reality (Rao, 2004:33-34). Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests.

It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organization. The focal point in all these concerns is the interdependence and the interplay of socio-cultural, economic and political

elements. The task of the political sociologist is to study the political process as a continuum of interactions between society and its decision makers and between the decisions making institutions and social forces. Two groups of scholars have discussed the scope of political sociology in two different ways. According to Greer and Orleans, political sociology is concerned with the structure of the state; the nature and conditions of legitimacy; the nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state; and the nature of the sub units and their relation with the state.

They treat political sociology in terns of consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change. By implication, whatever is related to the state is alone held as the subject matter of political sociology. (Greer and Orleans) Andreu Effarat takes a broader view of the picture and suggests that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns, and consequences of the distribution and process of the power and authority in all social systems. Among social system he includes small groups families, educational and religious groups, as will as governmental or political institutions.

Lipset and Bandix suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to political sociologists, as voting behavior; concentration of economic power and political decision making; of political movements and interest groups, political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behavior; and the problem of bureaucracy. To Dowse and Hughes, one area of sub-sanative concern for the political sociologist is the problem of social order and political obedience. Richard G. Braungart has pointed out that political sociologists are concerned with the dynamic association among and between (a) the social origins of politics, (b) the structure of politics or the political process, and (c) the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture. We would suggest the political sociology should include five areas: political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions); political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation so on); political leadership political (bases, types and operation of community power structure); and political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites and its relationships to social change and modernizations). The conflict goes on between political scientists

and sociologists who reflect different orientations and approaches. While a sociologist generally emphasizes the primacy of social forces, a political scientist stresses the autonomy and creative role, of politics.

But ideological commitments of the scholars in question also intrude into the controversy. The Marxist scholars treat economic or social variables as determinants of political phenomena. They find it difficult to accept politics as an autonomous and interdependent (or independent) function. They don't appreciate the autonomy pf politics because they believe in the dogma that politics is the superstructure, the character of which is totally conditioned by the modes and relations of production, and it can't but reflect the dominant class interest in a society. Political sociology must develop as a theoretical and methodological bridge between the two disciplines of political science and sociology. A political sociologist studies political behavior within sociological perspective. But while doing so, he must pay due attention to political questions and political parameters (Ashraf and Sharma, 2001:7-11)

2.1.2 Sociology of Political Parties

The communist view of a patty as the representation of class has inspired studies into the sociology of political parties. Behavioural enquiries have also been made concerning the relationship of the individuals' standard of living, his profession and his education with his political affiliation. This school attributes the essence of the political party to the social or the rank-and –file membership that is to their affiliation with identifiable social or economic classes in the population. Thus the wing party in the England in 17th and 18th centuries was connected with the great financial and mercantile interest, while the Tory stood for the landed nobility, the country squires and the established church. In the United States, the Federalist Party was largely composed of bankers, businessman, large capitalistic planters, and members of the professions, while the Democratic Republican party of Jefferson represented the small farmers, inhabitants of black- country areas, city workers and skilled artisans. The tendency to treat parties as reflection of a particular class has been widespread in modern times. The approach has also been extended to tracing the influence of factors such as caste, ethnicity, nationality, race or relation, on political affiliation. This approach is based on the consideration that ideological and doctrinal beliefs are '

determined' by material factors or group affiliations. However, Avery Leiserson, among others, rightly argues that in many situations, the converse can be true.

Many party leaders and personalities profess doctrinal beliefs and act in policy controversies squarely in contradiction with their class or caste situation and thus deliberately attempt to declass and decaste themselves. How do we explain such individuals 'behavior if we are to regard all behavior as group behavior? Moreover this approach neglects or minimizes the structural aspect, internal organization and external governmental relationships of the party and influences of leadership behavior. It can not explain deviations of party policy from the professed norms of group belief except on grounds of moral deficiency or political expediency. We must also appreciate that parties and party system not only reflect society, but also seek to change and mould it (Ashraf and Sharma, 2001: 90-91)

2.1.3 Gender Perspective

Gender perspective is a new and an approach to analyze culture and society in the context of sociology and anthropology. It focuses that social reality can be assimilated only from the study of the relation between man and women. Similarly, it studies the power relation, status and authority of men and women. It studies not only women but also men; there is no society in the world where there is balance between men and women. Women's roles and works are taken as less valuable in most of social structures. They are discriminated in each and every field. According to Upreti (2004), gender perspective is the outcome of the various women movements conducted in various times. Men's movements stand for the establishment of women right to right to liberty, life and pursuit of happiness. However, it stands for women's right to vote, right to read and write in productive works. similarly, gender approach has been developed resulting from the failure of launching development strategies and theories i.e. growth model, modernization theory, economic theory etc. these above mentioned models proved not to be inhabited in the settlement of poor and disadvantaged group and none of them adequately addressed mass poverty and inequalities including gender inequalities.

2.1.4   Concept of Sex and Gender

Sex is typically used to refer to a person's biological maleness or femaleness. Gender designates psychological, social and cultural aspects of maleness and femaleness. This distinction is important because it reminds us that male-female difference between the sexes (Zwareeveen, 1993).According to the Dictionary of Anthropology (1990), gender has been referred to the social, cultural and psychological patterning of differences between male and female which is a cultural classification that allows for the separation the biological and cultural aspects of differences between males and females. Gender is a term used to refer to the socially constructed relations between women and men in a particular society. There are biological differences between man and women. Sex refers to the biological differences that are universal and unchanging.

The term gender refers to the social differences that are learnt, created by men who are changeable overtime and have wide variations within and between cultures. Gender is a socio-economic variable to analyze roles, responsibilities, constraint and opportunities of people involved and it considers both men and women (Bhasin, 2000) Gender roles are learned behaviors in a given society conditioning in which activities tasks and responsibilities are considered feminine and masculine. Gender roles arise from the socially and culturally assigned difference between men and women. These are changeable with class, role, caste/ethnicity, religion, age and time. They influence the division or labor, which reinforces existing power relations and access to resources, benefits, information and decision making (Thapaliya, 2001). Although gender is a word with along history of diverse usages, its sociological meaning refers to a cultural idea that constructs images and expectations of females and males. This distinguishes gender from, sex whose scope is limited to biological differences like reproductive function and secondary characteristics such as body, hair and breast developmental. (Kammeyer 1994).

2.1.5   Feminist Perspective

The concept of feminism was originated in 1968 challenging the consequences about women and male dominancy. Feminism analyzes the society in modern way. It has established as ideological and philosophical issues about women's movement in the different parts of the world 2004).Feminism can be defined in narrow and broader ways. In its narrowest sense, it is a complex set of political ideologies used by the

women's movements to advance the cause of women's equality and to end sexist theory and the practice of social oppression. In a broader of deeper sense, feminism is a variety of inter related frameworks used observe, analyze, and interpret the complex ways in which the social reality of gender and gender inequality is constructed (Jhanson, 1975).

Feminism is a perspective that encourages willingness to understand and explain social realities from the vantage point of women. Hitherto, the realities have largely been understood from the perspective of a few economically, politically and culturally powerful people of their times, mostly men. It was only after the feminist movement that gained strength in the 1950s received momentum in the 1960s that voices of women became louder and began to receive attention worldwide. The feminist theory, which developed in the 1970s, is the academic component of the feminist movement (Mishra, 2005) there are many different types of gender/ feminist perspectives and some of them are presented as follows

2.2   Liberal Feminism

The theory was most popular in the 1950s and 1960s when many civil rights movements were taking place. Liberal feminism that argues equality for women, who can be achieved through legal means and social reform The term is related to liberalism i.e. to emancipate women from the exploitation of political, legal, religious domination of land in any other moral barriers. This theory is based on the claims of the classical liberal philosophy developed by Locke, Rousseau, Bent ham and J.S Mill for equal rights, liberty and justice. The beginnings of feminism can be traced to flowering of liberalism in the 16th & 17th centuries. It gained predominance during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and come to the forefront of the women's movement in the west, in the 1990s.

It emphasizes on the equality between men and women for equal opportunity, strives for rights of women. it points out that women are equally involved in the labor markets as men because they should take equal responsibility for domestic work or family responsibilities should be the work of paid professionals"(Rai, 1997).

The theory dominated in late 19th and early 20th centuries in the world. It is grounded for equal rights, individualist liberty and justice. Liberal feminism has been associated with the movement now (New opportunities for women) and ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) Campaigns in the USA. Great Britain made some legal amendments for the equal payment for women and policies made for the rights of women. It emphasizes to equal opportunity to women. The movement was separated from socialist and Marxist feminism in 1960 to 1970s. Post-structuralism and postmodernist have criticized this theory (ibid)

2.3   Marxist Feminism

The theory emerged in the early years of the 20th century particularly of those Alexandra Kollonati in Russia 1977, Clara Zethkin in Germany, Emrna Goldman properly described as anarchist feminist in the United States. They attempted to place issue, which went beyond the paradigm of production, oppressional behavior, and sexual relation on domestic life, generally on the agenda of political manifestos of Marxist party's theoretical analysis and the policies of the communist state in the New soviet Union. It was principally Engel's 'Origins of the Family, private property and the state (1984), which provided both legitimacy and a starting point of consideration of the women's question, as it was known.

The influence of Marxism is still of immense importance within feminist theory (Welch, 2001). Marxist feminists regard the economic position of power as crucial to their oppression. This oppression starts in the family where women are seen as unpaid workers, low salary given in office, low statues and part time jobs. Marxist feminists believe that the interest of women lies with the liberation of the working class and the overthrow of capitalism. The theory provides an adequate explanation for the subordination and exploitation of women in capitalist societies. They are given priority to class struggle. Economic exploitation, dependency and powerless relationship with husbands and fathers should be reduced to strengthen their status. Gender relations are placed at the center of its analysis (Paudel, 2002)

2.4   Radical / Revolutionary Feminism

Radical feminism gave the second wave of the women's movements in North America and Europe is cutting edge in the late 1960s and early 1970s.radical feminism was born in North America out of dissatisfaction with radical left politics and usually included some commitment to the goals of socialism. Radical feminism promotes the basis for many of the ideas of feminism (Welch, 2001). The beginning of this theory can be traced to late 1960s. It was originated at the time of second wave of feminist movement. It created the favorable environment for second wave of feminist movement.

The view originated in North America out of dissatisfaction with left polities. The main focus is on sexuality, personal relation, marriage family and violence against women. It strongly opposes the patriarchy the things are categorized within the boundary of masculine and feminine. Radical feminist claim sexual oppression is the major oppression. This theory claims that women should have there place in every decision – making sector of the society and social organization. Women are equally capable to man. Women should get equal access to education and training similar to men. There should be equal payment for the same type of work as man do.

2.5   Socialist/Dual-Systems Feminism

'Socialist' or ' dual-systems' feminists argue that what is necessary is a dual analysis that articulates Marxist class theory with the feminist theory of patriarchy: a theory that takes account of what unites all women-oppression by men-as well as the class divisions between them. While Marxist feminist theory continues to give primacy to class analysis, dual systems feminists take as their question on the relationship of women to the economic system as well as the cause of male exploitation and domination of women. In order to understand the subordination of women in capitalist societies, she suggests that it is necessary to articulate Marxist with patriarchal perspectives that is, to show the specific form that female exploitation takes in capitalist societies (Abbott and Wallace, 1997).

Socialist feminism united the concept of patriarchy and capitalism and seeks to eliminate both class and gender oppression. It says that women's oppression is caused

by their economic dependency. It is believed that liberation and end to oppression cannot be achieved within the existing system. Struggle has to be against all forms of oppression. It argues for collaboration between men and women in the creation of a new society and for the collaboration of women of all classes to eradicate injustices of all types. It also believes that the patriarchy existed before property comes into existence, but is does not mean that it will disappear when private property is abolished (Rai, 1997).

2.6   Gender Development Strategies

2.6.1   Women in Development (WID)

During the 1950, women's role was taken as re-productive only. In publication of E. Bose Up (1970), women's role was seen as productivity. It stated that women have economic contribution. Similarly, publication of Bose up and activities of liberal feminists have played vital roles to propound concept that women's roles should be neglected while performing any types of development arena. Thus, in the seventies the WID strategy emerged as a concept in development arena. The underlying rationale of WID is that women are untapped resources, which can provide a significant contribution to economic focuses that women should be pulled out from the domestic sphere and the integrated into the productive sphere by making women equal before law, equal access to education and employment for women by skill training (cited in: Pokharel and Sapkota, 2004). The first idea, which came even before the official recognition of women as a special target group, was to start welfare oriented programmed for women. They were designed to assist women in their traditional tasks the in the reproductive sphere. Programs were aimed at women's practical needs like health, nutrition and family planning, but not at making women self-sufficient. Women were seen as passive recipients and victims of underdevelopment. This charitable approach was present in missionary development work during the colonial period for example, long before WID became fashionable (ibid).

2.6.2   Women and Development (WAD)

In the background of the dependency theory WAD is conceptualized in late 1970's. WAD has formed cause of failure of WID strategy. It has emerged as a critique of the

modernization theory and the WID approach in the second half of the 1970. It focuses that women have always been part of development processes. Therefore integrating women in development is a myth and focuses about the traditional socio-cultural pattern should be changed: both productive and reproductive roles of women should be focused. Moreover, it highlights redistributive perspective for equitable and equal development. The emphasis of WAD is on:

- Women should be treated as equal partners of development.
- Women's triple workload should be reduced to minimize by maximum involvement of women in the program as decision makers rather as beneficiaries.
- The unequal distribution resources should be minimized by maximum involvement of women in the program as decision makers rather as beneficiaries.
- Women situations will not improve until the structures both notional and internal equitable (Luintel 2008).

2.6.3   Gender and Development (GAD)

In the1990's Gender and Development (GAD) was introduced as the new alternative approach to development in gaining equal participation of men and women. It was expected to overcome the weaknesses points of women in development approach to development, women in development approach was aimed to reduce women's traditional role and workload through collective provision of water, fuel and household technology. The integration of women into the "productive economy" was key to the reforms suggested by the WID.

The term gender as perceived as 'women centered approach' introduced the relationship perspective carefully integrating other social variables of caste, class, race, ethnicity and their interdependences in the social order rather than understanding how society determines and maintains masculinity and feminism. Gender identities and relations are not universal but vary from culture to culture and community to community. Socially contracted Gender in dynamic can change from time to time. The term Gender in many societies is misperceived and misinterpreted resulting misunderstanding within the household level of different projects (Moser, 1983).GAD aimed to look at the social relations and interactions between women and men in any

society. Gender and Development approach has emerged as a progressive approach to development from women's perspective and experience.

It originated from third world. Women's learning from efforts made to integrate them into mainstream development (Two halves make a whole). To some degree the GAD approach brought about some changes in advanced society at the central level leaving the excluded, the marginalized, disadvantaged and underprivileged women's lives at the different level of society unchanged. Its evolution can be traced to the feminist movement demanding recognition of women's role in the economic, social and political development of nation. Main aim of this approach is to integrate women in Development. Its application in development through GAD questioned the adequacy of focusing on women in isolation ignoring the essentially relational nature pf women's subordination. Understanding Gender values and practices which differ from cultural to cultural to knowing how societies are organized function and accept social changes. Hence GAD has thereby widened the nature and scope of analysis and interventions of development programs (young, 1993).

2.7   Review of the Previous Studies

2.7.1   Women in Society

Status of women is an important factor which determines the socio-economic development of a country. Status has been defined in different ways. The United Nations has given the definition of women's status as "the conjunction of position women occupy as a worker, student, wife, mother and/or prestige attached to these positions a woman and/or the right and duties she is expected to exercise"(CBS, 1987). Bennett's study on status of women in Nepal is the milestone for women in development in Nepal. Extensive fieldwork in eight communities showed a clear link between women's ability to generate income and their status in the family and community.

The study further demonstrated that in communities, which encouraged female participation in market activities and women's entrepreneurial abilities, women had a greater say in the use and distribution of family resources then an increase in women's entrepreneurial abilities. Women had a greater in the use and distribution family

resources then an increase in women's earning capacity plays a role in increasing women's status and security as well as improving their families. Standards of living, women's role in subsistence agriculture and market economy including their considerable decision making responsibilities are not reflected in any development agency strategies for extension, training credit employment etc. Instead, these strategies are targeted almost exclusively toward men, resulting not only in failure to mobilize the fully productive potential of women, but in the tendency to actually lower their relative status by not reaching through the inside/outside dichotomy to draw women into the highly complex and increasingly important structures of the development process and the wider spheres of society (Acharya and Bennett, 1981)

In today's context, the cost of living is very high, so the added sources of income earned by women's jobs outsides the house is very helpful indeed. Once the women start earning, their socio-economical status will also improve. It helps them to maintain and improve decent standard pf living. For this reasons, women have started to take up jobs outside while continuing to perform their traditional household chore as a house wife. The socio-economic conditions of women are changing. In the modern developing society a man doesn't perform a dual role but the modern society has created such a situation for a women the she has to play dual role of working women and a house wife (Acharya and Bennett, 1982). Generally, decision-making refers to the power or rights to decide in the household, community etc.

Gender differences in the decision making processes vary in the deferent places among the different castes, classes and ethnic groups. In Magar, Gurung Tamang and Newar communities male and female are equally impossible for decision-making while Barhmin and Chhetri women do not play an active role in decision making power but it is relatively higher in Rai and Gurung than Brahmin and Chhetri. Acharya (1994), a renowned social explorer, has described about employment status of women in her book "The statistical profile on Nepalese women". She found the overwhelming majority of workers are still self employed or own account workers while less than one percent are employers. The percent of self employed workers, which remained more or less constant about 56 percent between 1981, has decreased to 75 percent in 1991.

That decrease is mainly accounted for by males. In other word, large proportions of women are self-employed than men. There is slow but continuous change taking place in the employment status of the population. The proportions of both male and female employees in the population are increasing while those of the self-employed or unpaid family workers are decreasing. This may signify a positive or negative trend depending on just moving out because of impoverishment caused by flooding of the market by factory produced goods. In this study, Acharya has focused about the increasing number of employed women with the changing period of time. According to her, with the expansion of market many educated women have engaged in marketing, advertising, education, and health sectors. Their jobs are also helpful to raise their social statues especially for women of the lower caste and marginal communities. In respect of studying as published by women development SAARC Division under Ministry of Labor and social welfare in 1987 in "women of Nepal" indicates that as in other developing countries women in Nepal are mostly engaged in household work and employed in lower positions and have to bear double burden of house and office due to various reasons (Pahari Jamuna 2008).

UNDP declaration for plan action states that the women are not minority groups numerically; women constitute half of the total population of the world. By limiting women participation in development, societies deprive themselves of the full talent by half of their number. Women carry a triple burden in society as a producer/worker she contributes directly to subsistence and income, as a mother and wife cares for the family members and the children, as a community worker she gives all her leisure hours and labor to society. As for a women's access to property and modern avenues of education, skill development and knowledge is concerned, Nepalese women in general lag far behind men (Acharya, 1997).

Women in Nepal as elsewhere hold triple responsibility of reproduction, production and community management. However reproduction isn't treated as work and house holding is not considered a predicating job at least by the state organs. Women suffer from discriminatory practices in opportunities for education, personal mobility which is required among others for skill development and independent decision-making is highly restricted. Women in Nepal work for longer hours than men have many opportunities to gainful employment and posses extremely limited property right.

Lock of access, control over property, mainly landed property women are deprived from decision-making about the household income (NESAC, 1998). The situation of women in developing country like Nepal is much worse than in the developed once, still at the beginning of 21st country. The reasons are patriarchal attitude, conservative tradition, illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and superstitions. Women have been treated as second class citizen. They have also less prestige, power and privilege then their male counterparts in the society (Upreti, 1998). Society is the web of human relationship. Educational environment, mature of society, health status and many other such factors determine the status of society. Nepalese society is made-up of so many cultures but it is the Hindu culture that is most influential with regards to defining the role of women.

In Nepal, women are treated as second-class citizen. It explains how pathetic social position they do have. They do not have their self-identity. They are denied property right, political right and power. Women have no control over their own bodies. No matter how hard they work for their family and country, they are put into lowest rank. They are restricted to be part of public lives (Sharestha, 2002. Discrimination against girls is prevalent everywhere and every time such as when she is in the womb, at school or in media. Not only these, but also in number of other socio-economic status given to her, her health care related issues, getting her education, making decision for economically active women, making national political for the advancement of women (Thapa,2003).

2.8   Feminist Movement in the World

The feminist movement reaches far before the 18th century, but the seeds of modern feminist movement were planted during the late part of that country. The earliest works on the so-called were the restrictive role of women; with out necessarily claiming that women were disadvantaged or that man was to blame.

2.8.1 Ancient to till 18th Century

Christine is pizan, a late medieval writer, was possibly the earliest feminist in the western tradition. Indeed she is believed to be the first women to make a living writing. Feminist thought began to take a more substantial shape during the

enlightenment with such thinkers as Lady Mary Worley Montague and the Marquis de Condorcet championing women's education. The first scientific society for women was founded in Middleburg, a city in the south of the Dutch republic, in 1785. Journals for women which focused on issues like science became popular during this period as well. According to Mary Wollstonecraft's believed a vindication of the Rights of women (1792) is one of the first works that can unambiguously be called feminist, although by modern standards her comparison of women to the nobility, the elite of society, coddled, fragile, and in danger of intellectual and moral sloth, does not sound like a feminist argument. Wollstonecraft believed that both sexes contributed to this situation and took it for granted that women had considerable power over man (Binda Pande,GEFONT).

2.8.2 18th to 19th Century

The movement is generally said to have begin in the 18th century as people increasingly adopted the perception that women are oppressed in a male- centered society (patriarchy the feminist movement) is rooted in the west and especially in the reform movement of the 19th Century. The organized movement is dated form the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, john Stuart mill, with the influence of his wife Harriet Taylor, made a considerable contribution with his work the subjection of women, in the mid – 19th century. Emmeline Pankhurst was one of the founders of the suffragette movement and aimed to revel the institutional sexism in British society, forming the Women's social and political union (WSPU). Often the repeated jailing for forms of activism that broke the law, particularly property destruction, inspired members to go on hunger strikes. As a result of the resultant force- feeding that was the practice; these members became very ill, serving to draw attention to the brutality of the legal system at the time and to further their cause.

In an attempt to solve this, the government introduced a bill that became known as the cat and mouse Act, which allowed women to be released when they starved themselves to dangerous levels, then to be re- arrested later. Other notable 19th century feminists influence, Emma Goldman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Margaret Sanger.The feminist movement in the Arab world saw Egyptian jurist qasim Amin,the author of the 1899 pioneering book women's Liberation (Tahrir al – Mar'a),as the

father of the Arab feminist movement. In his work Amin criticized some of the practices prevalent in his society as the time, such as polygamy, the veil, or women's segregation, and condemned them as un- Islamic and contradicting the true spirit of Islam. His work had an enormous influence on women's political movements throughout the Islamic and Arab world, and is read and cited today. Less know, however, are the women who preceded Amin in their feminist critique of their societies. The women's press in Egypt started voicing such concerns since its very first issues in 1892. Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese women and man had been reading European feminist magazines even a decade earlier, and discussed their relevance to the Middle East in the general press. (ibid)

2.8.3 In the 20th Century

Many countries began to grant women the vote in the early years of the 20th century especially in the final years of the First World War and the first years after the war. The reason for this varied, but included a desire to recognize the contribution of Woman during the war, and was also influenced by rhetoric used by both sides at time to justify their war effort. For example, Wilson's fourteen points recognized self determination as a vital component of society. The hypocrisy of denying half the population of modern nation the vote the became difficult for men to ignore .The 1920s were an important time for women, who, in addition to gaining the vote also gained legal recognition in many countries. (ibid)

However, in many women lost the jobs they had gained during the war in fact, women who had held jobs, prior to the war sometimes compelled to give up their jobs to returning soldiers, partly due to a conservative backlash, and partially through societal pressure to reward the soldiers. Many women continued d to work in blue collar jobs, on farms, and traditionally female occupations. Women did make strides in some fields such as nursing. In Nigeria the Igbo women's war of 1929 saw women demanding a greater role in local Politics. In both world wars, manpower shortages brought women in to traditionally male occupations, ranging from munitions manufacturing and mechanical work to a female baseball league. (ibid)

By demonstrating that women could do "men's work" and highlighting society's dependence on their labor. This shift encouraged women to strive for equality. In world was II, the popular icon Rosie the Riveter become a symbol for a generation of

working women. The rise of socialism and communism advanced the rights of women to economic party with men in some countries. Women were often encouraged to take their place as equals in these societies; although they are rarely enjoyed the same level of political power as men, and still often faced very different social expectations. In some areas, regimes actively discouraged the feminist movement and women's liberations. In Nazi Germany a very hierarchical society was idealized were women maintained of position largely subordinate to men. Women's activism was very difficult there, and in other societies that deliberately set out to restrict women's, and men, gender roles, such as Italy, and much later Afghanistan. Early feminist are often could the first wave feminist, and feminist after about 1960 are called the sound wave feminist. Second wave feminist concerned with gaining full social and economic equality, having already gained almost full legal equality in many western nation. On of the men fields of interest to these women was in gaining to right to contraception and birth control, which wave almost universally restricted until the 1960s. (ibid)

With the development of the birth control pill feminist hoed to make it as available as possible. Many hoped that this would free women from the perceived burden of mothering children they did not want; they felt that control of reproduction was necessary for full economic independence from men. Access to abortion was also widely demanded but this was much more difficult secure because of the deep social division that exists over the issue. To this day, abortion remains controversial in many parts of the world. Many feminist also fought to change perceptions of female sexual behavior since it was often considered more acceptable for men to have multiple sexual partners, many feminist encouraged women in to "sexual liberation" And having sex for pleasure with multiple partners. (ibid) The extent to most women in fact changed their behavior, first of all because many women had already slept with multiple partners, and secondly because most women still reminded in mainly monogamous relationship, are debatable. However, it seems clear that women becoming sexually active since the 1980s are relatively more sexuality active than previous generations. Moreover, much of the taboo of sexuality evaporated within western societies as women in monogamous and open relationships asserted their right to enjoy and not regret or be shamed by sexuality (sexual revolution) these developments in sexual behavior have not gone with out criticism by some feminists. They see the sexual revolution primarily as a tool used by men to gain easy access to

sex with out the obligations entailed by marriage and traditional social norms they see the relaxation of social attitudes towards sex in general, and the increased availability of pornography with out stigma as leading towards greater sexual objectification of women by men. Catharine Mackinnon and Andrea Dworkin gained notoriety in the 1980s by attempting to classify Pomography as a violation of women's civil rights. There is a so called third wave, but feminists disagree as to its necessary its, benefits and its ideas. (ibid)

Often also called "post feminist" it can possibly be considered to be the advancement of a female discourse in a world where the equality of women is something that can be assumed- rather than fought for. However many women cite that this belief is oppressive in itself, as it assumes an equality which to a certain degree, does not exist. Women still must face a host of issues including unequal pay, the lack of child care, the glass ceiling sexual inequality in government programs such as social security, the burdensome assumption as to women's responsibility for the family even when working, and continuing gender stereotyping that hinder a younger generation of women from realizing their abilities in math and the sciences (Binda PandeGEFONT)

2.9   Women's Situation in Politics

Ojha (2000) has study "women's participation in politics" the study was an attempt to analyze women's participation and leadership level in politics and other decision - making bodies at the international, national and local level, which is extremely low in Nepal. Politics is always considered as only men's domain and women are excluded from this area. However, the trend of women's involvement in politics in increasing in resent year. To increase women's participation in politics, government of Nepal has provided a reservation of 33 percent seats for women at the local, national and level.

2.9.1 Reasons for Involving in the Political Party

The identified DCMs are involved in their respective party politics for improving the status of the women themselves in the current democratic era. As they claimed they can bring holistic changes to the society by involving in the party activities so that the concept of equality between men and women can be achieved in a realistic way. Some of them were motivated by their family members whereas some others had a vision of

community development. The selected man DCMs gave mixed answers to this query. Some of them replied as for social change whereas other some of them were committed to eliminate all forms of discrimination. The selected woman members of the central committees also expressed similar views on reasons for involving in the respective political parties. (Subedi Bhawana, 2010)

Table2. 9 Women in Politics in the World

SN	Countries	Members of Total Legislative (%)
1.	Sweden	45.3
2.	Denmark	38.0
3.	Phinlands	37.5
4.	Nerve	36.4
5.	Cuba	36.0
6.	Germany	31.4
7.	Vietnam	27.0
8.	Switzerland	24.8
9.	Chine	20.2
10.	Belayed	17.3
11.	America	14.o
12.	France	11.7
13.	Japan	9.9
14.	India	9.3
15.	Russia	8.0

Source: (UNDP Human Development Report 2004, March)

2.9.2 Women's Leadership in the world

Seerimabo Bandara Niyeke had a first women's Prime Minister of the world. She had women leader of Shirlanka PhirdamaPartiy.Similarly:India:Gandi.(prime Minister), Ejarayala: Goldameyar.(Prime Minister, Pakistan: Benajeer Bhutto. (Prime Minister, Bangladesh: Begam Khalidajiya. (Prime Minister Nerve: Gorhalerm Warntalyanda.(Prime Minister r,Belay a-t: Margaret Thyacharat, (prime Minister, Shirlanka; Chandrika Kumara Tunga Bandara Niyeke. (President,) Argentina: Kristina Phanarndejde Keecharnar. (President) (Class Note of Gender in Master's degree)

2.9.3 Feminist Movement in Nepal

The courageous battle of Nalapani cannot be forgotten while talking of Nepali women's movement; Nepali women had fought bravely against British imperialism in Nalapani. Even when the British army blocked the sources of water, they fought bravely, hand-in-hand with men, carrying babies on their back and Khukuris in their hands. The British rulers them selves have mentioned of the courageous battle the women fought with them. Following this event, the participation of women has noticeably increased in series of historical event. Nepali history has recorded how Queen Rajendra Laxmi Devi shah took power in her hands and gave rise to such incidents as Kot Parba and Bhandarkhal Parba, both killed a large number of top officials and other people. History also witnesses how Jung Bahadur Rana assumed power and consolidated it with the help of royal maids, who informed him of the conspiracies being hatched against him. Such historical incidents created pressure to abolish the sati Pratha, a social practice in which a wife was burned alive on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher was compelled to abolish the system in 1920.(Modanath Prashida,Nari Bandhan ra Mukti, 2063BS)

2.9.4 Participation in the Movement 1918 – 1950

Women started an organized effort to fight oppression from 1918. The first organization of Nepali women Nari Samiti (women committee) was founded under the chairpersonship of Yogmaya Neupane in 1918 AD. Equality and freedom were the main objectives of the committee. Yogmaya was child widow. She had experienced inhuman and tortuous life of a widow in a conservative society. The Nari Samit's activities were: the exploitation against women in the name of religion and tradition, particularly the widow marriage, child marriage and polygamy. With in a few years of its activity, the committee submitted a 24 point petition of demands starting the problems facing women to the Prime Minister Chandra Shamser. Following the death of Chandra Shamser, Yogmaya and her disciples came to Kathmandu and met and discussed the matter with Juddha Shumsher and his wife. After receiving assurance of reform in religion they return back to Bhojpur.

But instead of working on the letter of demand the government killed four revolutionaries in 1940. Yogmaya's group lost hope. Finally, with a firm statement,

that "it is batter to die than to live in the lawless state." Yogmaya and her disciples collectively sacrificed their lives in protests by jumping in the Arun River in 1941. In 1993, Chandrakanta Mathema set up a women's school at Makhan Kathmandu. Along with literacy classes, the school provided training on sewing and knitting. Women became involved in political as well as educational movements through the school. For the first time, co-education school was established at Naghal in 1944. These schools encouraged women to participate in political movement. Labor movement began from Biratnagar in 1947.women also took part in the movement. Some of them were including Nalini Upadhyaya, Kamini Giri, Indira Acharya and Dibya Koiralawere arrested for this.

All of them was not laborers. For the first time in the history of Nepal, women took part in the procession of "Civic rights movements" held in 1947-the procession began from Padmodaya High School. Thirty nine people including four women Sadhana Adhikari, Sahana Pradhan ,Kanaklata Bajracharya and Snehalata Shrestha were arrested. All of them were imprisoned together inside Singha Durbar and were released after a week. Durung the same year, on first week of august, a gathering of women at Mhepi founded Nepal's women's association. Mangala Devi Singh was not present on the occasion. However Ganesh Man Singh was in prison, the gathering decided that his wife should be the president. A committee was constituted with Kamaksha Devi as the Vice-president and Snehalata Shrestha as the General Secretary. Under the leadership of this association, a delegation met Prime Minister Padma Shumsher demanding education, employment and voting rights for women. Another movement took place in 1948 in the name of National Congress. Eleven person including and six women arrested. A procession of women took to the street in Katmandu on the day of Shree Panchami in 1951 the procession began from Bangemudha and concluded at Swayambhu. It had a good participation of peasant women. Pamphlets on the rights of women were also distributed in the procession. Durung the same year, King Tribhuban went to India. The Rana rulers coroneted Prince Gyanendra, But the public protested it.

A British Mission from India came to Nepal to seek public support for Gynendra as the King of a Country.the Mission Was also denounced by showing black flag at the airport. Police responded it with Lathi charge the protesters were dispersed. Despite

police suppression, a procession led by Shanta Shrestha was quite successful in showing black flags to the mission. Everyone praised her courage. Nepali women also took part in other anti Rana activities. At the same time, autocrat Basnet families murdered the family of Danti Bhoteni of soul and confiscated their property. But Danti Bhoteni did not loose hope. She came to Kathmandu on foot disguised as a man wearing Daura Suruwal. She then began asking for justice at the royal Palace but later, on her return back to the village, she was murdered. (GEFONT, 2001)

2.9.5   Participation in the Movement 1951 – 1978

With the end of the autocratic Rana Rule social movements continued taking up various issues in the changed circumstances. On the other side, internal disputes began to rise in different organizations. This also affected the women's association. Punya Prabha Dhungana constituted All Nepal women's association in 1951.this association along with other points, demanded for the recruitment of women in to the police force. As a result, 18 women were in to police service. In 1952, political parties and people's organization started debating over the issue that the Delhi Agreement was a betrayal. The debate also reflected the differences in political thinking. Mangala Devi led a faction which believed that women's rights could be attained through the reform. Kamaksha Devi led the other side with the belief that only a radical change. The Indian Prime minister Jawahar Lal Nehru came to Nepal. Nepal's women's association decided formally to protest him with black flags at the airport. Eight women including Sabitra Shrestha were arrested and were released after a week. Women continued their participation in movements despite tortures and harassment. As a result in 1952 women received the right to vote and also began to take part in parliamentary politics. In 1953 Sadhana Adhikari contested for Kathmandu Municipality election. She was the first elected women in the Municipality. Nepalese women celebrated the international women's day March 8 for the first time in 1961 (from Mahilamukti vol-1) the declaration 1951 of All Nepal women's association put up the following demands.

- Equal wages for equal works.
- Equal rights in all walks of national life.
- Special facility for women in post-delivery period and childcare facilities.
- Free education for children.

With drawl of husbands and sons from the arm-force of foreign imperialist countries. Independent Nepal and people's democracy in Nepal.("**A brief history of Communist Movement in Nepal**")

Dwarika Devi Thakurini was elected from Dadeldhura District in the first general elections in 1958. She was also appointed as the first women minister- The Minister of state for health. In 1960 King Mahendra forcibly replaced Multiparty Democratic system by Panchayat System. Women came to the streets in protest of this reactionary move of the King. Shailaja Acharya, Umadevi and Gauri Rana were in the fore front protesting with black flags. On February 18, 1961 they were arrested. All women's organizations were banned along with the declaration of the Panchayat system. But women participation continued in the movements carried out by workers, peasants, and students. They continued organizing themselves in an underground existence. A large number of women participated in the movement organized by students demanding free students union in 1965 and the movement against DIG Narayan Singh (who tried to harass sexually the woman artist at Rastriya Nachghar in 1966). The Armed struggle in Jhapa in 1971 which is renowned as "Jhapa Bidroha" also, had women participation; Lila Kattel, Gaura Prasain and Sita Khadka were among the notable women who fought fearlessly in this movement. All three of them served Jail terms for this. Among them, Lila Kattel died in a rickshaw accident, on fortunately after a few years of release. In order to keep the public under their clutches, the Panchayat rulers had set up different class organizations, **Nepal women's organization** was one of them founded under the leadership of the women from the palace and aristocrat family. Established in 1962, a handful of women under the banner of this organization reaped benefits in the name of women in general. It is noteworthy, however, that the aristocrat women had started celebrating international women's, year and international working women's day (march 8) in the name of "women's day" since 1975. The organization has been gone astray along with the fall of the Panchayat. (ibid)

2.9.6   Participation in Anti-Panchayat Movement (1979-90)

All Nepal women's association dissolved after the coup of 1960 was re-constituted in 1978 under the Convenorship of Parijat: but this couldn't carry out any programmers immediately there four on February 1980, seven-member All Nepal Women's Association Central Preparatory Committee was constituted under the Convenorship of Shanta Manawi with Swasti Bauracharya, Jaya Ghimire, Radha Gyawali, Sanjita Giri, Sharada Mainali and Kamala Rai as its members from the year the International working women's Day (march 8) was celebrated at the people's level as an important day of women's movement it was ,thereafter established as the working women Day.

2.9.6.1 Namita and Sunita- Murder case

Residents of Lazimpat, two sisters Namita and Sunita were admitted to College following the results of School Leaving Certificate (SLC) examinations, 1981. Next Year, they went on a tour to Pokhara. After days in Pokhara the two sisters were raped and murdered by some hooligans. Their dead-body was found at the bank of the Seti River. Women then waged a national-wide movement demanding action against the culprit involved in the crime. (Ghosana issue-1) Following the murder of Namita and Sunita in 1981, ANWA led a nation wide protest programme. A grand procession was organized on june in Kathmandu. The procession submitted a letter of protest to the Prime Minister at Singha Durbar and converged in to a mass meeting in the premises of Tri-Chandra College. Students, Peasants workers and people from all walks of life, men and women, took part in the programmes organized and led by ANWA demanding stern actions against the culprit and protection for women. The nation witnessed procession and rallies, wall painting, posturing and distribution of pamphlets all around the country. Not only march 8, had the Teej, a cultural festival of Nepali women, also become an occasion for women activists to carry out a lot of Programmes Led by ANWA. Women throughout the nation utilized the day as an awareness –oriented cultural festival. In 1985, police charged Lathi on the women gathered to celebrate the Teej at Butwal. 2046 BS, four hooligans' raped 11-years – old girl AsaliMaya Tamang at Dillibazaar Kathmandu. (ibid)

2.9.6.2 Bhurjungkhola Rape Case

In 1988, four local hooligans raped Durga Devi Acharya at Bhurjungkhola, pokhara. Panchayati rulers had planned the incident because she was and ANWA activist, hence against the Panchayat system. ANWA staged a big protest in Pokhara against the crime. It later expanded all over the country. As result of the pressure from women, four of the culprits including Amar Bahadur Gurung were arrested and jailed for two years, as they were Panchayat sponsored hooligans, the rules released them before their term of imprisonment was over.

2.9.7 Participation in Various Activities 1990- 2010

Women played an important role in the 1990 popular movement ANWA had constituted a Central Action committee in Kathmandu in support of the movement other struggle committees of women at different levels were also constituted outside the valley March 8 of this year was jointly celebrated by different women's organizations giving the public a massage about a unified movement. A large number of women were arrested from Kathmandu and other places for participating in programme. The women introduced a variety of protest events. They covered up their mouths with black bands, held torch processions, corner meetings and mass meetings, and moved around the city striking dinner plates. Like their male counterparts, women in the movement also faced Lathi charge,kicks, warrants, and arrests from police. They also suffered other forms of mental, physical, psychological torture and sexual harassment at police custody. At the outset of the movement, Janaki Devi Yadav, Muneswori Yadav and Sonawati Yadav attained Martyrdom. Shobha Bajracharya, Pampha Khadgi lost their lives in course of the movement. Bidhya Devi Joshi, Sita Bidari and others were also injured by bullet. The news of police attack and barbaric torture of Laxmi Karki in Pokhara further enraged the people to protest against the Panchayat. Around 500 women were arrested in connection with the movement. (ibid)

2.9.7.1 Constitutional Provision for Constituting a Family Court Against Women Violence

On the occasion of Teej -1990 ANWA organized a cultural programme at Pashupati. For the first time after thirty years of the autocratic rule, the women expressed their feekings in an open atmosphere. They sang songs of their sorrow, rights, and struggle. In the evening they returned back to their homes. As usual in the evening, the queen

was on her way to Pashupati Nath Temple. The people who had hatred against the place expressed their angerby pelting the queen's vehicle with stones for this, Pampha Bhusal Laxmi Karki, Hisila Yami and others, and their houses raided. Bachaspati Devkota, Raju Nepal, Toyanath Thapaliya and other men were also arrested and tortured in the same year, some hooligans attacked a Teej progremm in Arghakhnchi demanding action against the hooligans, the women in Arghakhanchi staged a 20-day relay strike and five- day hunger strike. (Mahila Mukti vo-4) In 2052 BS Nepal communist party Maoist had started the people's war for people's right and liberation. Many people had involved in that underground movement also women leader had participation the people's war and hard work and honesty behaviour high responsible in that work. All the 40 percent women had involved the Maoist Army then the Government of Nepal had started the women's participation in that Nepali Army. Around 1900 women had lost their life for Nationality and people's liberation. Very bravery women had work in that movement .Nepali Army had raped and Torture psychological, physically and mentally for that bravery women. But women had not back in that movement. Some women leader had saw the own brave- Jail break. (CPN Maoist Bashu shandes-1, 2064) Kaski District is a one of the most important District for the National politic.

Women's leader of Kaski District were struggle all of the national women's and National issues. Bhurjungkhola Rape Case was the one example issue. All of the women's issues for women have been struggle in Kaski District. Women's leaders of Kaski District have been involved in that national woman's and other right agenda for Nation. All the women had involved people's war since 2052. In that people's war period 20 women had sacrificed of their life for women's liberation in Kaski district. In that period 12 women were in Kaski district and 8 women came to Kaski district from another district for political movement.

These Martyrs women are as follows:

Sumitra Ghimire, Durga Devi Paudel, Chaalimaya Nepali, Sharada Subedi, Indira Tiwari, Rita Nepali, Anita Pariyar, Dhan Kumari B.K, Muna Adhikari,Kopila Ranabhat, Sita Bhurtel, Asmita B.K, . They were in Kaski District. And Chunu Gurung, Debaki Karki,Ashodha Basnet, Mina parajuli, Sabitra Khanala, Sunita Bika, Mina Kumari Tamu, Usa Lamichane

(Ibid) another revolution in 2062|063 women played a vital role for achieve the republic Nepal. Constituent Assembly election in 2064 B.S 368 women were candidates with out 3946 direct candidate in Nepal. (Sharma Gita, women's participation in constituent assembly in Nepal\ Gita Sharma Pokhara, Department of Political science PNC, September 2009.) 197 women have participation in CA members. One woman has CA member From Kaski District.

2.9.7.2 Landmarks in Nepali Women's Movement

- The first women's organization Nari Samiti had formatted in 1917AD.
- Yogmaya and 68 of her disciples had Suisided by jumping in to the Arun River in 1941AD.
- Adarsha women's association had Formation in 1946AD.
- First participation of women in apolitical rally, four women were arrested, held in custody and released after a week, Formation of the Nepal women's association in 1947A.D. in 1960-90 AD
- Women had participated in the anti-Rana Movement, Disputes and division in Nepal Women's Association In 1951AD.
- Women had participated in underground movement.
- Reconstitution of ANWA, Celebration of International Working Women's Day at the people level in 1980AD.
- Women's organizations had developed and expansion of with emphasis on women's participation in all sectors of the movement in 1979 -90 AD.
- Movement against the Namita-Sunita murder case in 1981.
- Movement against Bhurjungkhola rape case in 1988AD.
- Completed first National conference of ANWA and Women participation in the popular movement in 1990AD.
- Movement Demand for the formulation of equality-based constitution in 1991. (From, Mahilamukti Vol-4)
- Women's involved in people's war movement since 2052 -2062 BS.

Women's participated in constitution assembly election in2064 BS. And 197 women are CA members (ANWA Revolusonary Mahila Athota 2066

2.9.8   Women's Leadership in Nepal

UN 1975- status of women may be defines as to what do women compared with men, have access to political power. Knowledge and to economic resources UN focused following six aspects to analyze the status of women these are Politic, Family, Health, Education, Household work / Economy. On the other hand R.L.Blumberg 1977 suggested following points: when and who to Marry, Termination of union, Sexual freedom before and after marriage, Freedom of movements, Access to educational opportunities and privacy with in the household History of Nepal, women had coming in leadership level in political parties But that leadership is nominal type. In the local election women participated in VDC to DDC. It shows that women's leadership level and representation was increasing.

Table 2.9.8.1Women among Various Levels of Political In Situations

Post	1991 a/		1986/87 Panchayats	
	Women	Total	Women	Total
Village Development Committee Chairpersons	11 (0.28)	3993	12(0.30)	4012
Village Development Committee Vice Chair Person	18 (0.45)	3993	**7** (0.17)	4005
Village Development Committee Members	210 (0.58)	35883	1060 (0.59)	179480
Municipality Mayors	0	36	0	31
Municipality Deputy Mayors	0	36	1 (3.22)	31
Municipality Members	2 (0.38)	521	4 (0.91)	439
District Development Committee Chair person	0	75	0	75
District Development Committee Vice Chair Person	1 (1.33)	75	0	75
District Development Committee Members	6 (0.65)	924	5 (0.74)	675
Members of the House of Representatives	7 (3.41)	205	8 (5.7)	
Total	255(0.56)	45741	1097(0.58)	188963

Source: Acharya 1994.

The table presented those women participation and leader ship position in the local level autonomy in Nepal. In 1991 women leaders found that 0.28 percent to reach in Village Development Committee Chairpersons. And Village Development Committee vice Chair Person 0.45, Village Development Committee Members 0.58, Municipality Mayors 0, Municipality Deputy Mayors 0, and Municipality Members 0.38, and District Development Committee Chair person 0, District Development Committee vice Chair Person 1.33, District Development Committee Members 6, and Members of the House of Representatives 7 percentage but poor participated before 1986|87 according to table.

Table 2.9.8.2 Different Elections and Representative of Women's Legislative Members in Nepal

Years	2015	2048	2051	2056	2062	2064
Representative Percentage %	0.92	3.41	3.41	5.73	17.5 Interim constitution	33 (around)CA members

Resources: Report of Elections (election office) and Interim Constituent in Nepal.

The table shows that different elections and women's situation in legislative members. Women's situation has been increasing in legislative Members since 2015. So on in 2064, 33 percentage women had represented in legislative.

2.9.8.1 Situation of Women's Participation in Constituent Assembly of Nepal

When completed the constituent assembly election on 2064 B.S in Nepal. The election had inclusive type so some women's achieve opportunity to candidates and victory the CA election. Now 197 members of women are representation in C.A assembly in Nepal. From directly election -30, from proportional -161 members and 6 members are selection from government. Following tables: (hisila.post@gmail.com.).

Table: 2.9.8.3 Situation of Women's Participation in Constituent Assembly of Nepal

S.N	Name of Political Parties	Total Membership of CA	Women Participation	Percentage
1	Unified Communist Party Nepal (Maoist)	239	79	33.05
2	Nepali Congress	113	38	33.62
3	Nepal Communist Party (UML)	109	36	33.03
4	Madheshi People's right Forum	53	13	24.52
5	Tarai Madhesh Loktantric Party	21	5	23.80
6	Sadbhabana Party	9	2	22.22
7	Rastriya Prajatantra party	8	4	50
8	Nepal Communist Party M.L	9	4	44.44
9	Nepal Communist Party Akikrit	2	1	50
10	Rastriya Prajatantra party Nepal	4	2	50
11	Rastriya Janamorcha	4	1	25
12	Nepal Majdur Kisan party	5	1	20
13	Rastriya Janasakti Party	3	1	33.33
14	Rastriya Janamukti Party.	2	0	0
15	Nepal Communist Party Samukta	5	2	40
16	Nepal Sadbhabana party Anandi Devi	3	1	33.33
17	Nepali janata Dal	2	1	50
18	Sanghiya Loktantrik Rastriya Manch	2	1	50
19	Samajbadi Prajatantrik Janata Party Nepal	1	0	0
20	Dalit Janajati Party	1	0	0
21	Nepal Paribar Dal.	1	0	0
22	Nepal Rastriya Party	1	0	0
23	Nepal Loktantrik Samajbadi Dal Nepal	1	0	0
24	Chure Bhabar Rastriya Yakata Party Nepal	1	0	0
25	Swatantra	2	0	0
26	Others	-	5	0
Total		601	197	32.77

Source: All Nepal Women Association's (Revolution) Mahila Athot 2066

CHAPTER – III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY (PROCEDURE)

3.1   Rational of the Selection of the Study Area

Kaski district is selected as the study area for the research because this district is densely populated and one of the important place for national politics. All of the women were involved every political movement in Kaski but women were not participated in leadership position in political parties. Review of the district level parties structures shows that the extent of representation of women in the political parties in leadership level is very low. Due to this the political parties have realized that the adequate representation of women should be ensured at least at the district level. It has provided a strong base to identify and interest act the respondents of the research study. The research method includes the procedure which has been followed to carry out this study. To achieve its objectives and to generate valid data and information's hereby some different shorts of methodologies has followed.

3.2   Research Design

The present study has been basically followed for the description of women's leadership level in political parties: a study of gender relation in Kaski district. It has been based on the descriptive research design. In order to fulfill the specific objectives of the study, the analysis has been mainly based on primary and secondary data. Basically this study describe the condition of women's position in district committee in Kaski district, similarly associated factors for women to reach in leadership level and problem faced by women in political parties has been identified and described to light on women's leadership level in political parties.

3.3   Nature and Sources of Data

The nature of the data is both qualitative and quantitative. This study has based on primary as well as secondary data. Primary data has been collected using the data

collection techniques such as questionnaire and interview from the field through case study. All necessary secondary information were collected from the various reports, books, journals, research papers and relevant organizations

3.4   Universe and Sampling Procedure

The entire population from the selected major political parties: Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), CPN UML and Nepali Congress are the major political parties of Kaski district. The universe of the study includes the total number of women and men who are members of district committees. According to the parties office source of these three parties there are 172 members in the district committees of the three political parties. Thus the universe of the study is 172. (Five District Committees are related to: Bhugol, Student, Majdur, Sukumbasi, Intellectual but related the Autonomous district committee it in all of five district committee's key persons are representation. So selected the Autonomous district committee of Kaski in the research. (From Unified Maoist)

It is important to note that sample is a spoon of water, which carries all basic characteristics of the ocean. This research also should be conscious that its universe should be properly represented with certain number of sample carrying all basic characteristics. Out of 172 people, 41 people i.e. 23.84 percentage members of women are sample. Stratified sampling has been used it select the respondents. The sample size is all these women members of the major political parties in Kaski district.

3.5   Data Collection Tools and Techniques

Primary data was collected from district committees of political parties and the second was the case study of the women leader of the political parties. A semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect data from the first type of respondents. Both close ended and open ended questions were used but mostly close ended question were used. The instrument was designed to explore information of women reason for their low level of participation and leadership position, associated factors, and problem faced by women in the committees of the political parties. Similarly the second type of respondents were individually interviewed their case study who were women

leader of political parties. The following method of data collection techniques were adopted during the study period. Which are as follows.

3.5.1 Questionnaire Schedule

Questionnaire schedule was administered for the purpose of collecting information needed to meet the objectives of the study. Questionnaire schedules were filled up with the selected sample informants by the researcher and required information were collected. It must be include in appendix-1

3.5.2 Interview

Interview schedule is used to get most of the information needed to fulfill the objective of the study. By using these schedules personal and political, social characteristics, work experience, and its utilization, technical know how and many other things needed are collected.

3.5.3 Case Study

Kaski District is a one of the important District. It is related with central politics of Nepal. It has autonomy value after Kathmandu. Women's movement is also important. Here political movement with directly connected with Kathmandu so women leader in Kaski are very valuable and significant. Selected women leaders who had establish in the Kaski district too national. Some of the women leaders who are leading the women's political activist are selected that the women and to write these political case study about. Women leaders they have been establishing in district of political movement. Durga B.K who has been affiliating in communist party Nepal (Maoist) and leading all of women in Kaski District. She became CA member in Nepal. Mitra Kumari Gurung (Subedi) has been affiliating in CPNUML. She has been in women's related works and district member of CPNUML. Now she is leading the sister organization of CPNUML in Kaski. She has long experience of women's works. And Sarada Paudel is one of the women leaders in Kaski. She affiliated the Nepali Congress. She works for a long time in women's organization so established the local leader of women. They are women leader in Kaski District But not highlighting the any person for their political case study. All women, gender's students and politician person inspired of their study so selected there.

3.6   Problems of Field Work

During the field work, the researcher faced a lot of problems. Although the number of respondents was not so large it took a long time and it was difficult to meet them as they live in different parts of the district. It was also a hot political time and all the political activists were busy in their scheduled Programme for the preparation of government also revolution still. It also created difficulties in managing time to meet them. Taking some respondents were relatively easier job it became very difficult to deal with other respondents. Some of them hesitated to respond as they suspected that if the researcher was trying to know the secrecy of their party some of them told that they need permission from their party leadership to respond the questions. The tussles which look place among the political parties during the field work also created some serious difficulties in collecting data.

3.7   Reliability

The questions that were found irrelevant and complex during the pretest have been identified and corrected. Necessary cross checks and verifications have been made during analysis and report writing.

3.8   Method of Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected have been analyzed qualitatively as well as quantitatively since the information received from the second type of respondents is more qualitative, they have been analyzed manually. But as for those collected from the first type of respondents, computer Programme SPSS has been used. Few simple statistical tools like frequency and percentage have been used during the analysis. Moreover, tabulation and graphic presentation have been made to make the presentation more meaningful. To avoid the data error the data collected from different source have been cross-compared and edited. As the data set are edited, the results have been interpreted, and based on this, conclusion have been drawn.

CHAPTER – IV

POLITICAL AND SOC IAL BACKGROUND
OF THE STUDY AREA

Nepal is a country decorated with natural beauties and cultural diversities. Within it Kaski district lies in the western development region, which in is considered as in important district from the geographical, social and economic points of view. Its natural scenes and cultural diversities is not only famous with in the country but in other countries of the world too. So, through the tourism industry it has contributed a lot in the national economy. The total area of this district is 201700 hectares and it lies at the height in between 450 to 7939 m above the sea level. According to the geographical report, Kaski district lies with In $28^06'$ to $28^036'$ northern longitude and $83^040'$ to $84^012'$ eastern latitude (District Development Plan, 57-58:1).

4.1   Political Background

The role of Kaski district has been significant in the national politics of Nepal. The people of this district have a high contribution in the revolution of 2007 B.S. after that event the political consciousness of the people started to rise. As a first political party Nepali congress was established and similarly, communist party was established under the leadership of Sundar Mani Parajuli in 2013 B S. Pyasi**.**S.N, 2061, Kaski jilla Ko Bigat Ra Bartaman Rajnitink Sthiti. ("Ghosana"Vol-vi,CPN(UML), Kaski. Although many people sacrificed for the establishment of democracy, it could not sustain for a long time.

The royal take over of 2017 Poush I dismissed the democratic process and all the political parties were banned. The political parties took sometime to recognize and they started their underground activities in a slow motion. Although the speed of activities of the political parties was slow, the political activities of the students increased inside the Prithvi Narayan Campus after 2023 B.S "the effect of election of student union of Prithvi Narayan Campus was not limited to Kaski but also had great significance all over the country at the time of election the leaders of different

political parties was used to gather in Pokhara. For all the groups the subject matter of politics was of high concern. Although the parties were underground they wanted the publicity of their ideology and the election of student union was the only means of it. It was like the compulsion. When the entire pro – people institutions were banned the election of student union was the great medium for the publicity of political ideology all over the western development region (Adhikari Pyasi, 2061: 28-29) thus P.N campus occupies an important place in the political history of Kaski district. The historical student movement of 2036 B.S was also successfully carried out in Kaski. As a result of student movement, king Birendra was compelled to announce' referendum' in 2037 B.S But the democratic force could not win the referendum and hence the Panchayat system continued for a long time.

The people of Kaski district significantly contributed in the people's movement of 2046 B.S. this historical people's movement re-established democracy in Nepal After that three elections were conducted to choose the representatives of the people as a democratic practice. In the election of 2048 B.S for the House of Representatives, CPN (UML) got two seats and Nepali congress got one seat. Likewise, in the election of 2051, CPN (UML) got two seats and Nepali congress got one seat. But in the election of 2056 Nepali congress got victory over all the three seats. In the local election 2049, Nepali congress got a leading position while CPN (UML) got the leading position in the local election of 2054. The former pro-Panchayat people were organized in Rastriya Prajatantra party. But they have not been able in achieving a grand success besides some seats in the local election. (Gurung Shibaji, 2009)

This district was not also a away from the effect of Maoist insurgency that started from 2052 B.S at the initial stage the effect if insurgency was not so high but later it flourished over all the parts of the district. According to the western regional office of INSEC, altogether 107 people lost their life during insurgency both by the Maoist and the state. King Gyanendra's steps of 2059 Aswin 18 and 2061Magh 19 further disturbed the democratic process. Against such regressive acts of the king the political parties of Kaski district led the continuous struggles. During the historical revolution of 2062\63 Kaski district played a vital role. The first Martyr of the revolution Bhimsen Dahal was from Kaski district. With the success of the revolution the twelve years insurgency has been ended. Now, the Maoist is in the Mainstream of politics

and largest political party of Nepal after the election of constituent assembly, among the four constituencies for CA election, CPN Maoist got victory over three and CPN (UML) got victory in on constituency.

4.2   Social Structure

4.2.1   Cast\Ethnic

Kaski district is not only rich in natural beauty but it is also decorated by the cultural diversities. Brahmins,Gurungs, Chhetri, Kami, Magar,Newar,Damai, Sarki,Tamang etc. are the major caste\ ethnic groups of Kaski district. Table 4.2.1 shows the population of kaski by caste|ethnic groups.

Table 4.2.1 Population of Kaski by Cast\Ethnic Group

S.N	Caste\Ethnic Group	Population	Percentage
1	Brahmin (hill)	114889	30.19
2	Gurung	69038	18.14
3	Chhetri	55918	14.69
5	Magar	23522	6.18
6	Newar	20117	5.29
7	Damai\dholi	14864	3.19
8	Sarki	9315	2.45
9	Tamang	7983	2.10
10	Unidentified Dalit	5022	1.32
11	Gharti\ Bhujel	4794	1.26
12	Thakuri	4785	1.26

Source: District Development Profile of Nepal- 2004

4.2.2   Religion

Kaski district is comprised of various religious groups. Hinduism and Buddhism are the major two religions. Table below shows the distribution of population by religion.

Table 4.2.2 Distribution of Population of Kaski by Religion

S.N	Religion	Population	Percentage
1	Hindu	310945	81.71
2	Buddhist	60435	15.88
3	Islam	2620	0.69
4	Kirati	160	0.04
5	Jain	36	0.1
6	Christian	3016	0.79
7	Sikh	82	0.02
8	Others	3232	0.85
	Total	380527	100

Source: District Development Profile of Nepal- 2004

4.2.3 Language

Kaski district is comprised of various linguistic groups: Nepali is the main language used by the people of Kaski as the means of communication and Gurung, Newar, Magar and Tamang are the other important language used in the district as mother tongue.

CHAPTER – V

WOMEN'S POSITION IN DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

5.1   Political Parties and Women's Position in District Committee

Nepal's political parties originated in the 1930s and 40s in opposition to the century – old oligarchic Rana regime (1846-1951) (Hachhethu, 2006:5) they have been playing a leading role in the democratic movement in the political history of Nepal, political parties have been facing various difficulties and barriers. The evolutionary process of parties and the party system was disturbed when the then king Mahendra, through a royal coup in December 1960, banned all political parties. Only few parties, the NC and some splinter groups of the CPN, survived during the Panchayat period. But after the restoration of democracy in 1990, mushrooming of the parties occurred, among which only few are functioning in a well manner throughout the history there has been always conflict between the political parties and monarchy on Nepal.

But after the revolution of April 2006 and the decision of the first meeting of constituent assembly of 28 may, 2008 the Monarchy of Nepal has been abolished and now the political parties have got all the responsibilities to led the country. In a new democratic republic Nepal the political parties have to work for the prosperity of the country. They need to solve the problems of the people and lead the country in the path of development. All kinds of discrimination on the basis of gender, women's right, caste, language, religion and region should be eliminated and the state should be addressed women 's right. Thus the political parties have to address the issue of women's leadership position. A short description of the major political parties of Kaski district is as follows.

5.2   Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

The communist party of Nepal was established on 2006 B.S during the people's struggle against the autocratic feudal Rana regime. The CPN was founded by the revolutionaries to wage people's struggle and established Communist system in the

country. Founders of communist parity: are Puspa Lal Shrestha, Nar Bahadur Karmachara, Niranjan Gobinda Baidya and Narayan Bilas Joshi. Kamred Puspalal continually fought for democracy till his last breath in 1978 while in exile in India. In its early years, the party gave clarion on call for the establishment of the new democracy to liberate the country from feudal and imperialist exploitation and to preserve the independence of the country. Narbahadur Karmachara is till living one of the founder members of communist party. Moti Devi Shrestha had managed Tea,Breakfast and dinner for first meeting of Communist party in India. Unified communist party had started the people's war on 2052 and ended on 2062 B.S. in that time; people have achieved liberation in many associated things. And the long monarchy period had ended. The party is largest among all of political parties.

It has 239 members of constituent assembly. This party led the country. The idea of Maoist model of new republic Nepal was first articulated by CPN (fourth convention). The realignment of the leftist forces in the post -1990 periods led to the formation of the CPN (Unity Centre), which consisted of several splinter groups of the erstwhile CPN (Fourth convention). The party contested the 1991 parliamentary elections and 1992, local elections through its political wing, the United people's Front (UPF), in other to, in their own words, "expose the sham of parliamentary democracy". The party, under the leadership of General secretary Puspa Kamal Dahal (popularly known as Prachanda), then upheld faith in armed revolution against the prevailing system of monarchy and democracy.

A split in the unity center over the question of translating the idea of the armed struggle in to action led to the formation of the CPN (Maoist) as separate group in February 1995 (Hachhethu, 2006: 10). The party led an armed struggled for about 12 years. During the insurgency more then 12000 peoples have lost their lives. After the April revolution of 2006, the insurgency is in the process of peaceful settlement. The party is in the open politics and it has got a great achievement in the constituent assembly election of 2064B.s. Now CPN Maoist is the largest party in the constituent assembly. As opposed to its earlier ideological stance for one grater party, Republic People's democracy, they have now made provisions for competitive party politics in their newly proposed 'new model of Republic democracy'. The Maoist's proposal for state restructuring women's participation and leadership position components such as

popular sovereignty, secularism, federalism, women's right and leadership democracy and retention of the multiparty competitive system. CPN Maoist is a leading party of Kaski district. Previously it has not much effect in the district but gradually the party expanded its organization all over the district. During the insurgency there was some huge war in the district. However, there ware frequent attacks and counter attacks in which many people lost their lives. The former secretaries Raj Bikram Bhurtel and Bijaya Dhakal also lost their lives during the insurgency. Like other parties of the country.

CPN Maoist emerged as the biggest parties of the district in the Constituent Assembly election of 2064 B.S the party won three seats out of four in the election. The party formed 65 members in district committee. 26 members are women participation out of 65 members in district committee. Now Kamred Hari Kumar Adhikari is head |Incharge and Comred jeevan Baral is Sub Encharge of the party of Kaski. Bakhan Singh Gurung is the chairperson in Autonomous committee in Kaski district And Durga B .k Raj Kaji Gurung and Krishana Bahadur Gurung are members of constituent Assembly.

Table 5.2 Number of Male and Female in District Committee of Unified Maoist in Kaski

District committee of Maoist	Members of Women	Members of Men	Total Members
Participation	26	39	65
Percent	40	60	100

Source: District party office -2010

The Table 5.2 shows that the women's position is low level than men's position in district committee of Kaski. But its situation is highest there all of the political parties. When the parties had started the people's war then all the women had participated that people's war against the struggle of all kinds of exploitation. Women had played a first-class role in people's war. The party involved the women in armies for war. Women had successes in every political war complete the responsibility. Then the government has been started the participated women in army. Unified communist party has been making policy to increase the women to equal men but can't it. Women participated in district committee able to 40 percent. Women can't reach the

leadership position still compare with men. Two women are monetary position in district committee and all women are members.
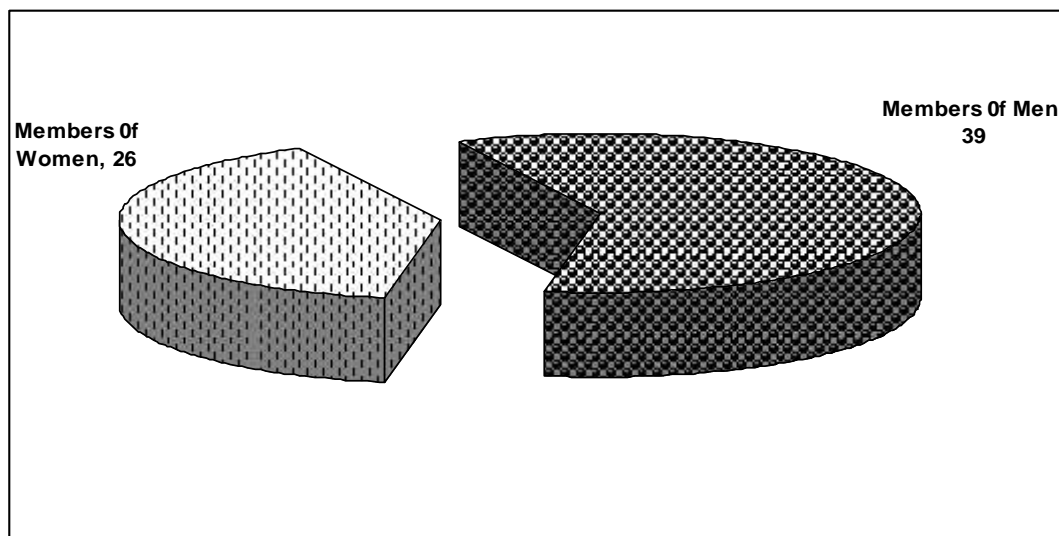

Figure: 5.2 Number of Male and Female in District Committee of Unified Maoist in Kaski

5.3   Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist)

The evolutionary process of CPN is marked with many splits in different periods of time among many splinter groups of the CPN, when the communist party has been alienated very kinds of groups; one of the important groups is CPN UML. It has done the struggle for people rights. The "Jhapali group" came into existence in 1971, which was impressed by the Cultural Revolution in china and the Naxalite uprising in India. The Jhapali group, latter on, committee emerged as CPN (Marxist Leninist) and they were known to be as an ultra-left group. At that time, it incepts. The "jhapali group" adopted the Maoist ideology of "Naulo Janabad" and followed the Naxalite line of class annihilation. But the growth of the party, mainly through the amalgamation of several splinter communist groups and expansion of front organization involved in open politics in the post-1980 referendum period, pushed it towards ideological moderation and modification. the constant revisions of the party's ideology manifested in its dumping the Naxalite line of liquidation of class enemies in 1982, abandoning of Maoism in 1989 and ultimately participation in the 1990 democracy movement (Hachhethu,2006:8). The CPN (ML) and the CPN (Marxist), a descendant of the CPN, unified in January 1991 and the unified party adopted the first parliament (1991-1994), lead a minority government of its own and served as a partner in two coalition governments in the second parliament (1994-1999), the party faced a severe

split in 2054 B.S., again reunited in 2058 B.S. The party upholds the principle of socialism and pursues the road of people's multi party democracy which is a creative application of Marxism and Leninism in the Nepalese context. www.cpnuml.org). Consolidation of democracy, strengthening people's sovereign rights, change the socio- economic relation and acceleration of the economic development in the country are the major concerns of the party.

Periodical election and the government of the majority, pluralism, rule of law, human rights are other important elements of the people's multi party democracy. CPN (UML) is one of the major political parties of Kaski district. It has its own glorious history in the district. Along with the split of CPN, various fractions of communist party were active in Kaski district. Among them CPN (ML) emerged as the largest and the effective group. It conducted its first district convention in 8 and 9 of Bhadra 2047 B.S. the convention elected Sharada Prasad Subedi as the secretary. After its unification with CPN (Marxist) it took the form of CPN (UML) and Khagaraj Adhikari became the district secretary of unified party.

The party won 2 seats out of 3 in the parliamentary election of both 2048 and 2051 B.S. likewise in the constituent assembly election of 2064 B.S. it won only one seat out of four. The party formed 55 members in district committee.13 members are women participation out of 55 members in district committee. Now Comred Man Bahadur G.C is Chairperson of CPN (UML) in Kaski district.

Table 5.3 Number of Male and Female in District Committee of CPN (UML) in Kaski

District committee of CPN UML	Members of Women	Members of Men	Total Members
Participation	13	42	55
Percent	24	76	100

Source: District party office -2010

The table 5.3 Shows that women's and man's position in district committee of communist party Nepal UML. It is the second largest party in Kaski district. Women's situation in district committee is very low. Women do not have can't to reach the 33 percentage in district committee and women are not successful to reach

the vital or leadership level. A few women can be involved in district committee. A women is vice secretary in district committee. It is communist party but not equal position of men and women in leadership level and membership in decision making place. Women couldn't reach in constituent assembly members from the party.
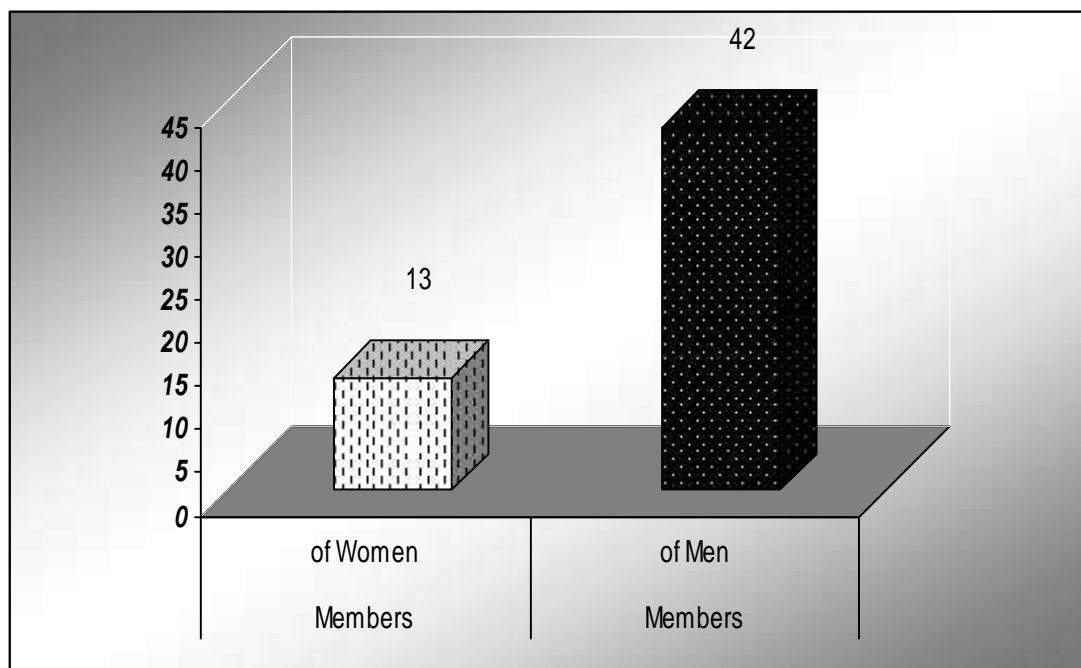

Figure: 5.3 Number of Male and Female in District Committee of CPNUML in Kaski

5.4   Nepali Congress

Nepali Congress was formed in India in 1946 as a result of merging of Nepali National congress and Nepal Democratic Party. Since its establishment the party has been in the forefront of political struggle for the restoration of democracy, pluralism human rights and rule of law (www.nepalicongress.org) the first national convention of Nepali congress was held in 1946. From that convention, Tanka Prasad Acharaya, who was in jail for –imprisonment, became president and Bishweswor Prasad koirala became the acting president. Nepali's greatest asset has been its history associated with its struggle for democracy, founded against a backdrop of democratic awareness and movement in the 1940. NC led the 1950-51anti Rana revolution and consequently gained two-third majority in the 1959 parliamentary elections, forming a government under Bishweswor Prasad Koirala. Its democratic credentials remained intact after the ban on political parties in December 1960 as it's exerted both violent (i.e. armed insurgency in early 1960s and 1970s and peaceful opposition against the party less

Panchayat regime. NC leader, late Ganesh Man Singh, was the commander of the successful Jana Andolan in 1990.

The primacy of the NC in the post 1990 politics became evident as it gained and regained majority of the seats in parliament in 1951and 1999 general elections despite a setback in the post 1990 period (Hachhethu, 2006:6). Like other parties, NC also faced a split in 4th Ashad, 2059 B.S. Shere Bahadur Deuba led a separate party named Nepali Congress (Democratic). The splinted groups reunited in 8 Aswin 2064 after five years. Democratic socialism is the party's ideology. But the party leaders and workers have been socialized primarily to the philosophy of liberal democracy rather than to the economy principle of socialism (Hachhethu, 2006:7).the party is conscious of its ongoing struggle against the destabilizing forces of extreme left and right (www.nepalicongress.com).

Nepali congress is a major and the oldest party of the Kaski district. It has been active since the revolution of 2007B.S the organizational network which has passive after the event of 2017 B.S; revived when the district committee was formed under the leadership of Dhir Bahadur Gurung .the party has been playing an important role in the democratic movement of the country. Nepali Congress won one seat out of three in the parliament election of both 2048 and 2051B.S. it won all three seats in the election of 2056 B.S and lost all four seats in the constituent Assembly election of 2064 B.S. district committee has formed 52 members. 2 members are women out of them 52 members. Yaghya Bahadur Thapa is the chair person of Kaski district of Nepali Congress.

Table 5.4 Number of Male and Female in District Committee of
Nepali Congress in Kaski

District committee in Nepali Congress	Members of Women	Members of Men	Total Members
Participation	2	50	52
Percent	4	96	100

Source: District Party Office 2010

We know that from this table 5.4 the women's condition in district level in Nepali Congress party. The party is very oldest party but the women's situation is a symbol in district level. District committee is very important place for politics but its place is full of men not women. It shows that a poor participation of women in decision making process. 2 women involved out of 52. It has 4 percentage women. Two women are member but not Chair person and in vital post
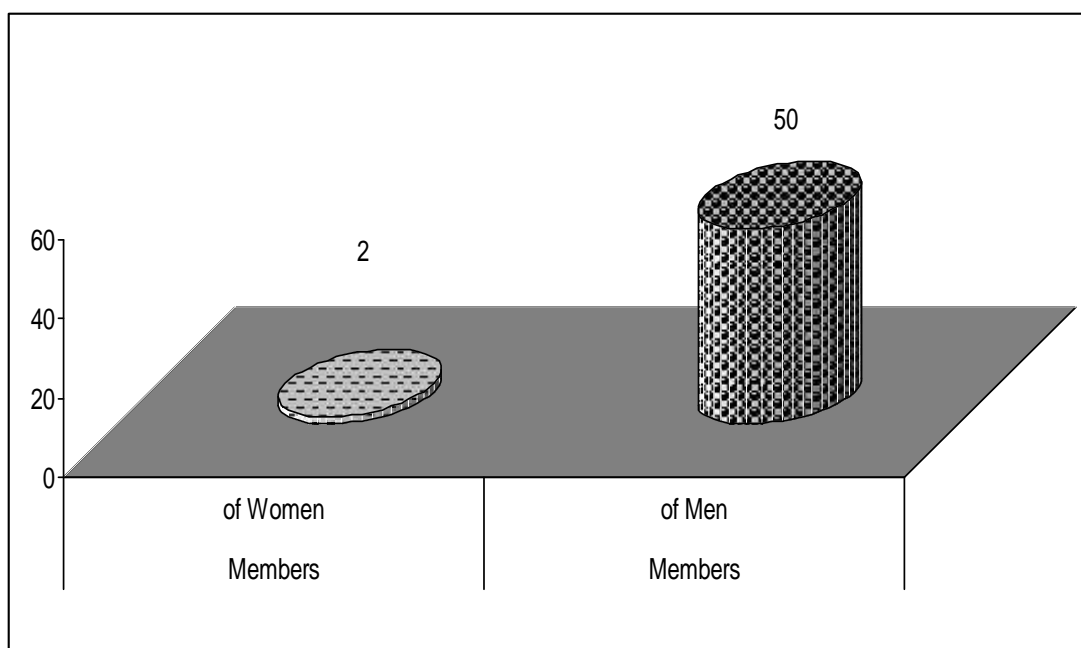

Figure: 5.4 Number of Male and Female in District Committee of Nepali Congress in Kaski

Table 5.5 Condition of Women's Participation in District

Committee of Major Political Parties

Political Parties	Members of Women	Members of Men	Total Members
Unified Maoist	26	39	65
CPN UML	13	42	55
Nepali Congress	2	50	52

Source: District Parties Office 2010

Women's position has been lower in district committee. Women have been participating in poor level decision making place of district committee. All of the women are not evolved in the political parties but voter members are all of women

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than men members of voter. Presented the table 5.5 shows that woman involved condition is batter in unified communist party of Maoist than other political party. 26 members of women have participated in district committee out of 65 of unified communist party Maoist. Its 40% women CPN (UML) have 13 members of women out of 55 in district committee.

Its 24 percent women participated in district committee. And the Nepali Congress has 2 members of women in district committee out of 52. (Its 4 percent).Its shows that, the poor representative of women in district level of political parties. Better participated is Maoist than other political parties but women do not reach in vital post in that party. Women's situation of Nepali Congress in district committee has been lowest than any another political parties.
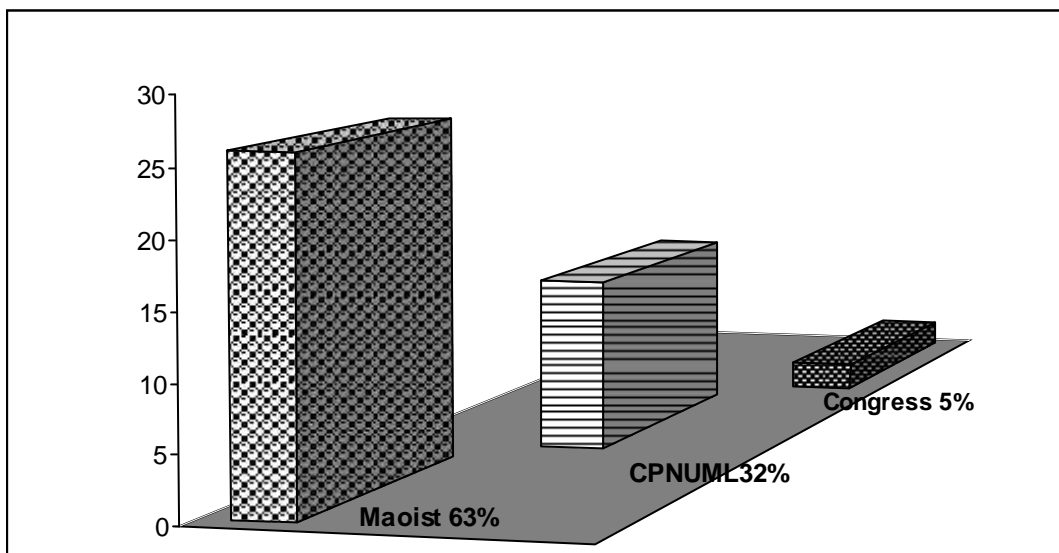
Figure 5.5 Women's Participation in District Committee of Major Political Parties.

5.6   Condition of Women and Men in District Committee of Three Political Parties

Compare men and women condition in district committee in Kaski district has not been equaled. It is very different between men and women participation and leadership position in political parties.

Table 5.6 Condition of Women and Men in District Committee of Three Political Parties

Total Women of three District Committee	Members of Women	Members of Men	Total Members
Participation	41	131	172
Percentage	23.84	76.16	100

Source: District Party Office 2010

The table 5.6 presented that the participation of women's situation in major political parties. 41 members, 23.84 percent women are found in district committee and 131 members, 76.16 percent men are found in district committee in major political parties in Kaski district. Its shows that women's situation is symbolic in Kaski district.
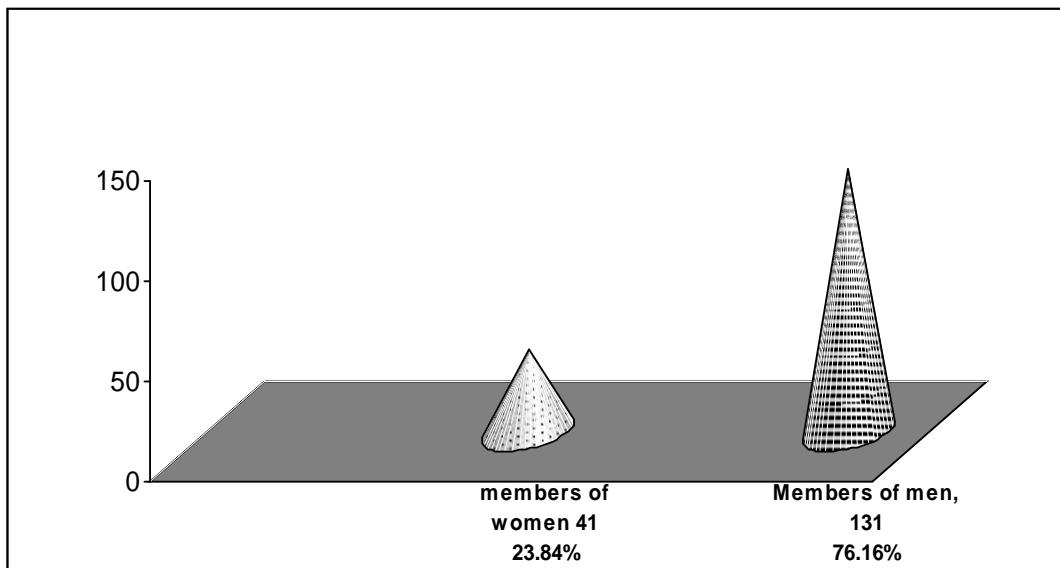
Figure: 5.6 Women And Men Condition In Three Political Parties Of District Committee.

Table: 5.7 Women's Access in Vital Post of Three Political Parties in District Committee

Chair person	Vice-chair person	Secretary	Sub secretary	Treasurer	Total Members of women	Total Members of men
0	0	0	2	1	38	131

Source: District Party Office 2010

The table 5.7 shows the women's access in vital post of district committee level in Kaski district. Only one woman is sub secretary in district committee in CPN (UML). Debaka Pahari is sub secretary. And only one woman has financial person in Maoist party in Kaski district. Durga B.K is treasurer person in district committee. She has been member of constituent Assembly and Mamata Gurung is Sub secretary.
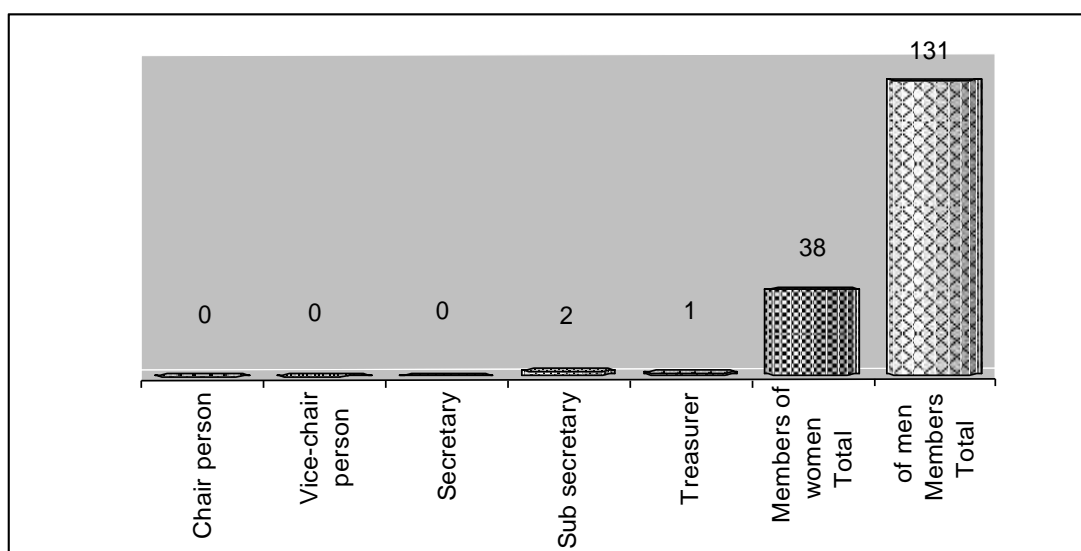

Figure: 5.7 Women's Access in Vital Post of Political Parties in District Committee

It shows that women don't represent in vital post in district committee of political parties. Capable women involved in political parties than men but women able members do not access in leadership level in political parties. Our society has been patriarchal society so male dominated situation in political parties women have not reached in leader and leadership level.

CHAPTER – VI

ASSOCIATED FACTORS WITH WOMEN
TO INVOLVED IN POLITICS

One of the main objectives of the study was to study the condition of respondent. This chapter attempts to analyze the associated factors with women's participation and leadership level in politic. The study has focused on presenting the associated factors of selected women in political parties.

6.1   Caste Composition

Our society is composed of various ethnic groups, caste system and several religious practices. Due to this reason, our society is divided into different castes and sub-castes from the ancient time. In the study area, women from different ethnic groups and castes are engaged in political parties.

Table: 6.1 Caste Wise Distributions of Respondents

S.N	Caste/Ethnic Group	Number	Percentage
1	Brahmin	29	71
2	Dalit	5	12
3	Gurung	4	10
4	Magar	3	7
	Total	41	100.0

Source: Field Works, 2010

The above table and below figure exemplifies that's in the political parties the composition of caste is diversified. According to the table; the population of 71 percent Brahmin is very high amongst other cast, i.e. 12 percent population are from Dalit , 10 percent respondent belongs to the Gurung, Caste and only 7 percent respondents belongs to the Magara family. It proves that the majority of women in political parties of kaski district are from Brahmin women while other is in nominal representation.
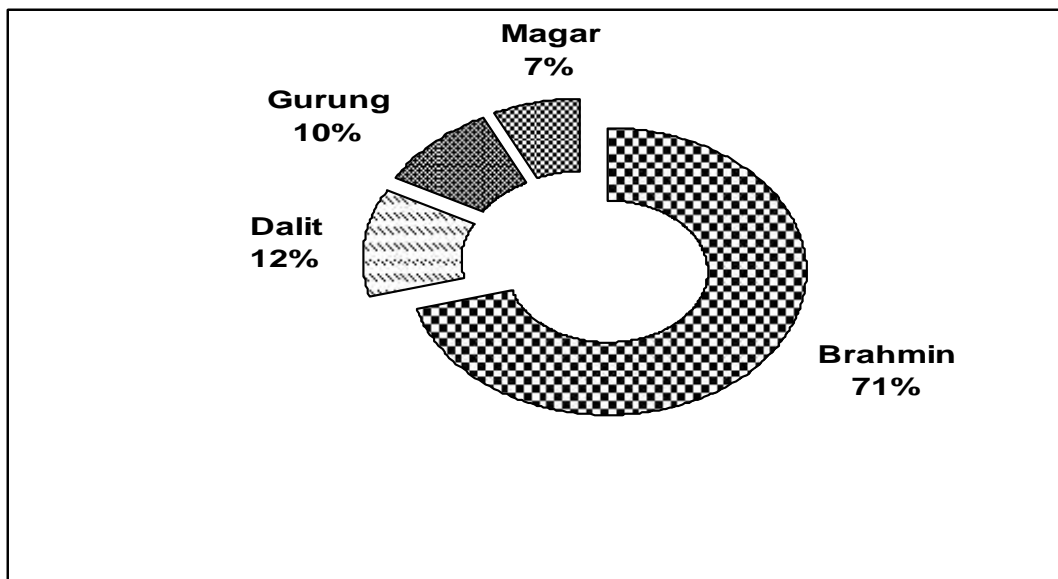
Figure: 6.1 Distribution of respondents by Caste.

6.2 Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age plays important role in every work, in politics, when we evolved in different type of age, it can effect in that work. Age makes differences in working hours. Age determined every type of work and involvement effects in decision making. The table below presents the record of age group of the respondent.

Table: 6.2 Distribution of respondents by Age

S.N	Age Group	Responses	Percentage
1	Below 30 years	11	27
2	30 to 45 years	18	44
3	45 years above	12	29
	Total	41	100

Source: Field study, 2010

The table 6.2 indicates the general information about the age of respondents. The largest percentage of the respondents 44 percentage was found in the age group 30 to 40 years. The respondents of 45 years above age were found to be 29 percent. The age group below 30 years was found 27 percentages. It shows that the ages of 30 to 45 years of women are involved in politics. Young women low involved in politics because our society is based on the traditional concept so men involved in politics since teenage level and women can't go in the political activity. On the other hand,

women involved in politics in long time but do not reach district level. Women have been oppressive for patriarchal society.
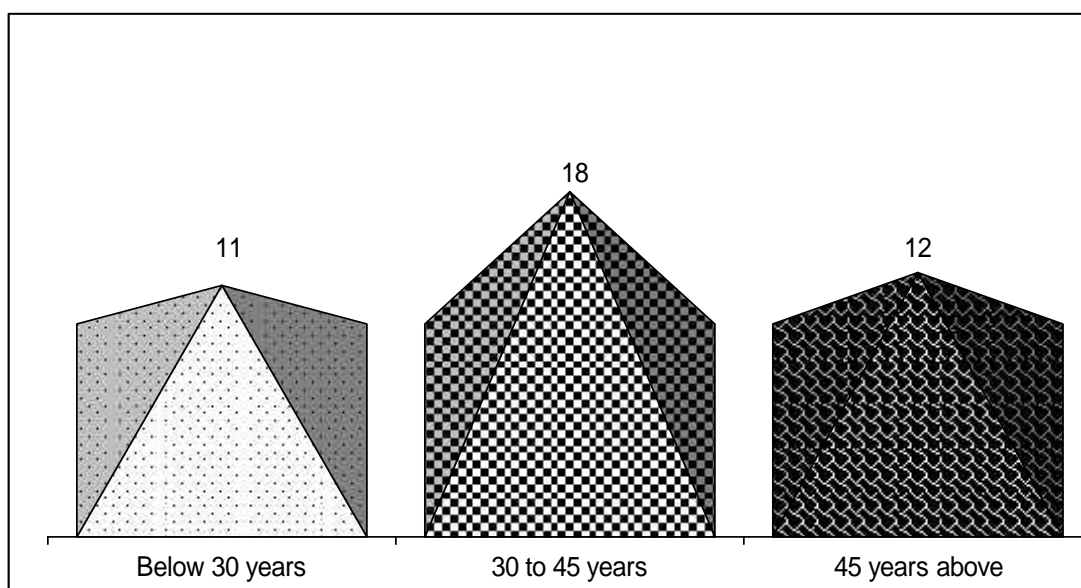

Figure: 6.2 age group of respondents

6.3   Educational Status of Respondents

Education is an important aspect of human civilization. It is also considered as an agent of social change and development as well as for the development for a nation. Education is a strong factor for political awareness and employment it brings about a change in an individual which in turn brings great changes in whole society too. Women with high academic qualifications are sure to influence the development process of the country and the quality of life.

Table 6.3 Educational Status of Respondents Depletion

S.N	Educational status	Respondents	Percentage
1	Literate	17	14.46
2	SLC	12	29.26
3	Intermediate level	4	9.75
4	Graduate level.	5	12.19
5	Master's level	3	7.31
	Total	41	100

Source: Field study, 2010

The Table 6.3 indicates the educational status of women of the study area. Among the respondents, literate 41.46 percent women were found to be literate. It is largest group of women literate. 29.26 percent women were found to be SLC. Where as 9.75 percent women were found to intermediate level and the 12.19 percent women were found to graduate level. And the 7.31 percent women were reached to master's level.
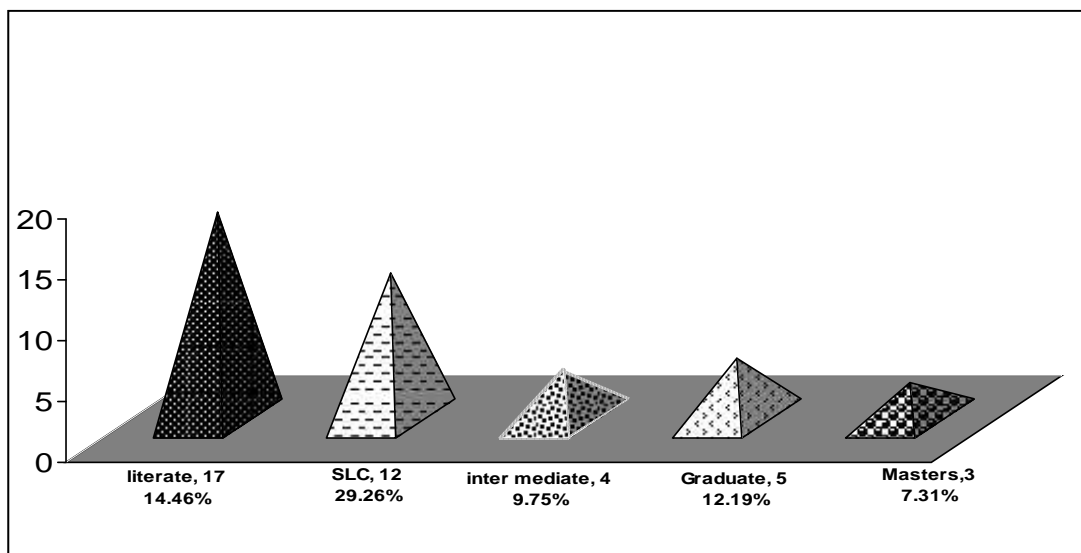

Figure: 6.3 Educational Status of Respondents

6.4   Marital Status of Respondents

In the human society marriage is an important factor for human being. It is mostly compulsory social phenomena but in the Nepalese context marriage is not an option for girls and for man marriage is an option in the entire world. Today in the modern society a few girls can have option for their marriage

Table 6.4 Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

S.N	Marital status	Responses	Percentage
1	Married	32	79
2	Un married	5	12
3	separation	3	7
4	widow	1	2
	Total	41	100

Source: Field Study, 2010

All the above discussion and colleted facts give the clear glimpse of political social and demographic background. Of the study site, Kaski district the study area occupies an important place in the national politics. It consists of the various group of women among the respondents 79 percent were found to be married, 12 percent were found to be unmarried. And 7 percent were found to be separation and 2 percent were found widow it shows that there is mostly involvement of married woman in politics in Nepal. And a few separated women involved in politics.
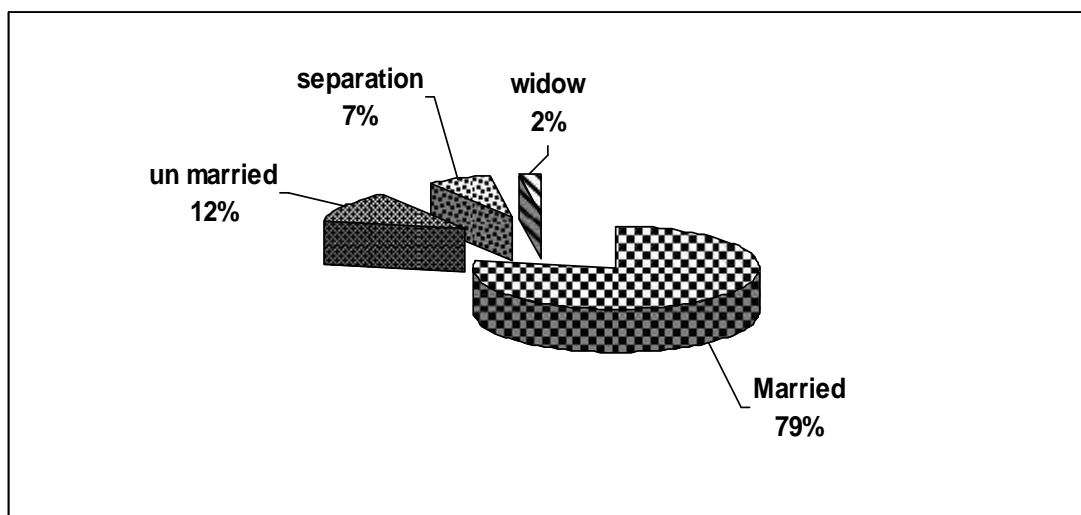
Figure: 6.4 Marital Statuses of Respondents

6.5 Duration of Time Involvement in Politics

The period of time spent in political activities is own of the basis of evaluating one's contribution in polities. Longer the period of time, there will be higher the chances of obtaining party leadership. The table 6.5 shows the involved time of the respondents in politics. Some women are full timber politician women and some are part timber. Many Women in Unified Maoist are full timber and women are in CPNUML and Nepali congresses are part timber.

Table 6.5 Duration of Time Involvement in Politics

S.N	Duration of involvement	Frequency	Percentage
1	0-5 years	5	13
2	6-10 years	15	37
3	11-20 years	11	27
4	Over 20 years	9	23
	Total	41	100

Source: Field Study, 2010

According to the above table, 6.5 showing the duration of time involved in political parties of women in Kaski District. 37 percent of the respondents were involved in politics since 6-10 years, 27 percent of the respondents were involved since 11-20 years, and similarly 23 percent of them respondents were involved in since over 20 years. And the other hand 13 percents of the respondents were involved in politics since 0-5 years. The table illustrates that most of the respondents are matured in politics
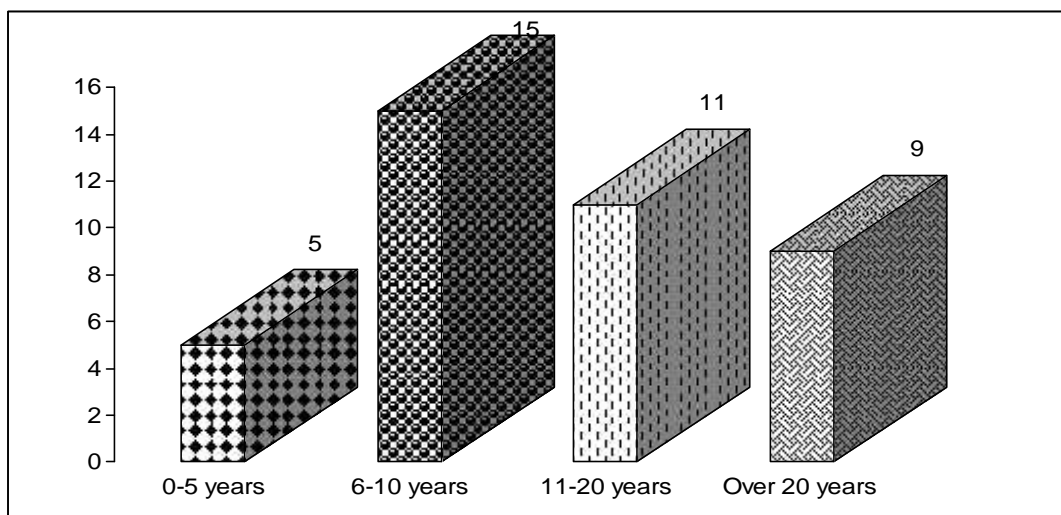
Figure: 6.5 Duration of Time Involvement in Politics

6.6 Associated Factors of Respondents for Leadership Level

Leadership level is a most important for human society. A leader determines every things to make society. Society is a dynamic change so it is going to change. In ancient society women had been leading in that society but in the modern society women haven't leading the society. Many associated factors to determine women to reach the leadership position in the political parties. There are some important associated factors:

Table 6.6 Associated Factors of Respondents for Leadership Level

S.N.	Associated Factors	Numbers	Percentage
1	Awareness	9	22
2	Education	8	20
3	Equal of property right	13	31
4	Independents of women	11	27
	Total	41	100

Source: field study 2010

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The table 6.6 shows the main helping associated factor is equal of property right between men and women. 31 percent were found to be equal property right. 27 percent were found to be independent women. Similarly 22 percent were found to be awareness. And 20 percent were found to be education. From that the table most important factor is equal of property right between men and women. Women can not get equal property rights in our society. Second important factor is independent of women. Women have been depended of men in the society. So women were oppressive from men. Awareness is third important factor. When women are aware then they destroy all of dominated behavior from society. Another important factor is education. "When women are educated then everything is good."
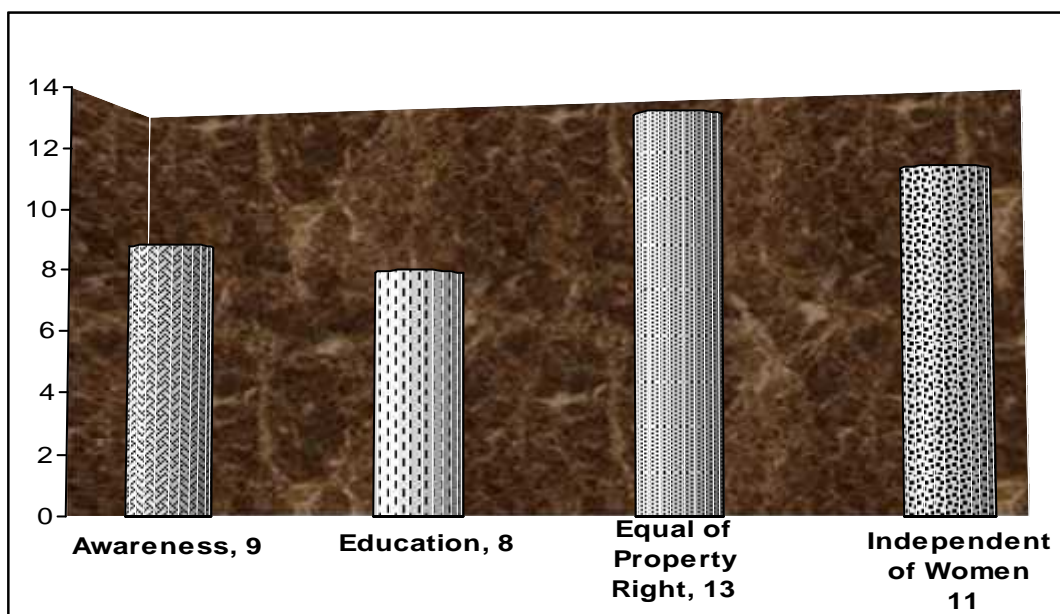

Figure: 6.6 Helping Factors 0f Respondents for Leadership Level

6.7   Associated Factors of Women Involved in Politics

The women who are involved in politics are found to be linked to enter in this field by various factors like for generational, women exploited from society, women exploited from husband and to became women leader. Hence, politics is necessary for women to promote their lives, proletariats class and development of the nation.

Table 6.7 Associated Factors of Women Involved in Politics

S.N.	Associated Factors	Numbers	Percentage
1	Women Oppressed from society,	21	51
2	women exploited from husband	5	5
3	Generational effect	7	17
4	To become women leader	8	20
	Total	41	100

Source: Field study 2010

Various associated factors are playing the roles in women's involvement in politics. The table 6.6 presents various associated factors of women to be involved in politics. Among the respondents 51 percent were associated due to the women exploited from society, whereas 20 percent were involved in these sector to become women leader, similarly 17 percent of them were involved generational effect and 5 percent were found to be exploited from their husband.
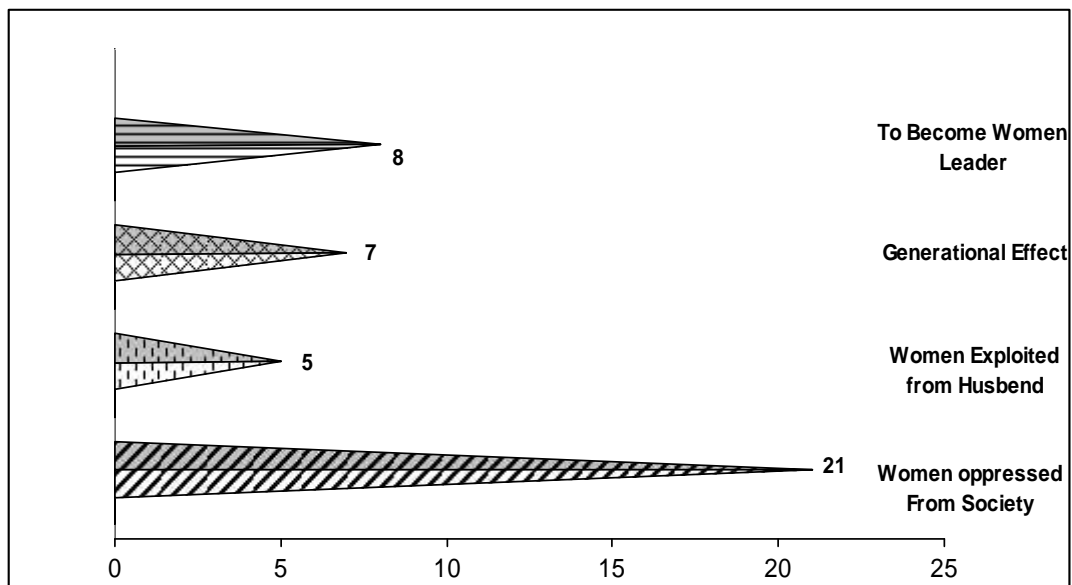

Figure 6.7 Associated Factors of Women's Involved in Politics

6.8   Some Barrier Factors for Leadership Level

Different factors have to bring barrier for women's leadership level in political parties. Our society base in patriarchal ideology so all of rules and policy have to make determined that factors.

Table 6.8 Some Barrier Factors for Leadership Level

S.N.	Barrier Factors	Numbers	Percentage
1	Patriarchal ideology	21	51
2	Lack of appropriate policy	16	39
3	Lack of political awareness	4	10
	Total	41	100

Source: Field study, 2010

The table 6.8 presented that the most of 51 percent respondents are found to patriarchal ideology as a most barrier for women's leadership level in that political parties. 39 percent respondents are found to lack of appropriate policy for women's leadership level. Similarly 10 percent respondents are said lack of political awareness.
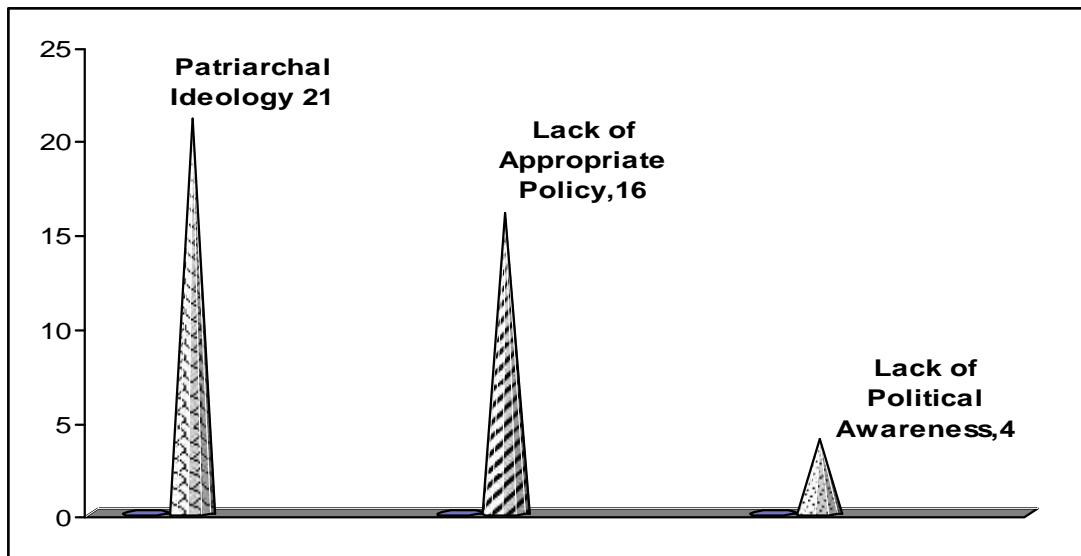

Figure: 6.8 Some Barrier Factors for leadership level

CHAPTER – VII

PROBLEM FACED BY WOMEN
IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Women who were involved in this field had to face different problems. Majority of them were struggling with never ending household tasks. Some of them hadn't get support from their family and political parties. This study also tries to show the women's violence, discrimination, economic problem faced by women in political parties. Decision making power is very important factor of human life. Generally, Nepalese women have less decision making power due to the patriarchal society. Following chapter is also focused in showing the decision making role of women in their family, political parties and nation as well as their professions.

7.1   Violence Faced by Respondents in Political Parties

The denial of opportunities and rights to certain group on the basis of race, sex, ethnicity, age or disability is known as women violence. Women's violence is the practice whereby one sex is given preferential treatment over the other sex. In most societies, it is observed favoring men against women. Women constitute more than half portion of the population of Nepal. However, they are far behind men in all aspects of life. There is wide gender discrimination in the political social, economic, administrative and legal fields primarily because of the patriarchal social system that confines women with in the home and men in control most of the resources.
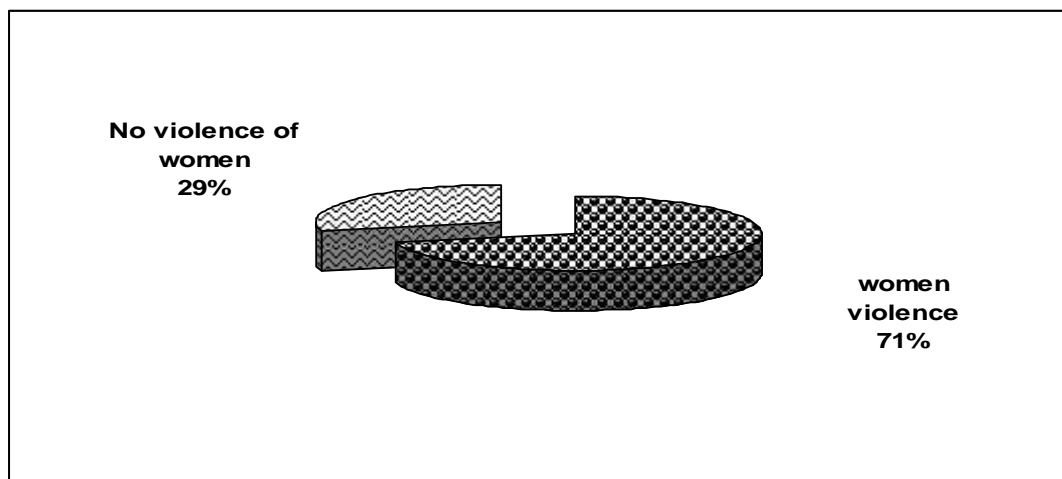

Figure: 7.1, Violence Faced by Respondents in Political Parties

The figure7.1 shows the prevalence of women's violence in political parties most of the respondents 71 percent (29) agreed that there is high women's violence or the women discrimination in this field. Only few percent 29 percent (12) did not feel so.

7.2   Problem Faced by Respondents in Political Parties

There are various types of problem prevalent in political parties. Women have to face many kinds of discrimination in working place. Women struggle the many kinds of problem in many working place. In that political parties women feeling the violence. But they fight back that problem and do own works.

Table 7.2 Problem Faced by Respondents in Political Parties

S.N	Problems	Frequency	Percentage
1	Low level responsibility	22	53
2	Less opportunity	11	27
3	No help of economic aspect	8	20
	Total	41	100

Source: field study 2010

The table7.2 presents the problems faced by respondents in political parties. Among the respondents 53 percent were found to face low level of responsibility. 27 percent of them realized that they had fewer opportunities in various field. However, 20 percent through them were no help of economic aspect. These problems faced by women in the polities parties.
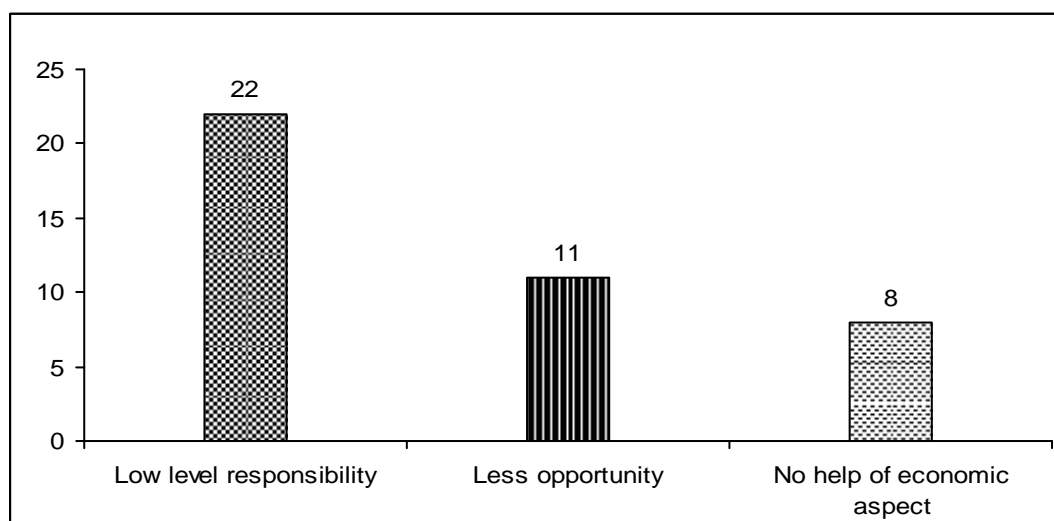

Figure: 7.2 Problems Faced by Respondents in Political Parties

7.3   Women's Role in Decision Making Process

In order to understand women's overall status their decision making power must be considered as an important tools. As women have less decisive role in household level to nation level. Decision making, they have even lesser role in political activities. Here the following information analyzes women's decision making process in the political parties. Generally Nepalese women have less decision making power. They are rarely participated in the important works political parties, family and other societal works.

Table7.3 Women's Role in Decision Making Process

S.N	Role in Decision Making	Frequency	Percentage
1	Main role	6	15
2	Less role	30	73
3	No role	5	12
	Total	41	100

Source: Field Study 2010

The table7.3 presents the role of women in decision making process in political parties. Among the respondents 73 percent had fewer role similarly, 12 percent were no role in decision making process. However 15 percent respondents had main role in decision making process of political parties in Kaski district. Still women's role in political parties has been sub-ordinate role. Large numbers of the respondents were found to be fewer roles in decision making process in the political parties in Kaski district.
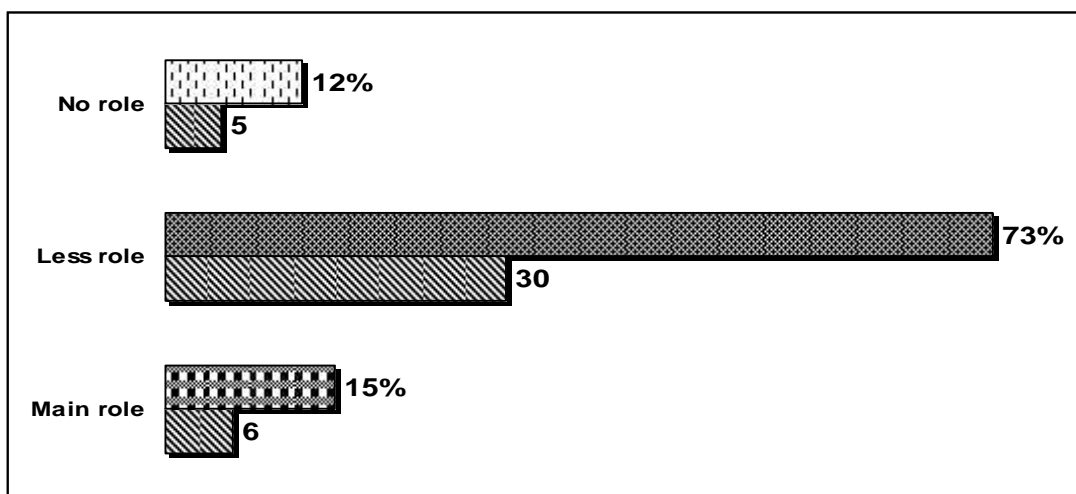

Figure: 7.3 Women's Role in Decision Making Process

7.4   Respects to the Respondent

Politics is an important factor for nation. With out politics people can not do the any work. Politics is a rule of law which made by people for people. In that ancient society women had been leading that society that society. Women had respected in that society. Women established in politics then women can leading that society and to reach the leadership level in politics.

Table 7.4 Respect to the Respondents

S.N	Respect level	Frequency	Percentage
1	Respect	32	78
2	Most respect	7	17
3	Not respect	2	5
	Total	41	100

Source: Field Study 2010

Table 7.4 shows the respected level of women in society. Majority of the respondent are not still most respected. 17 percent were found to be most respected. 78 percent of them are respected. And 5 percent were found to be not respected in the society.
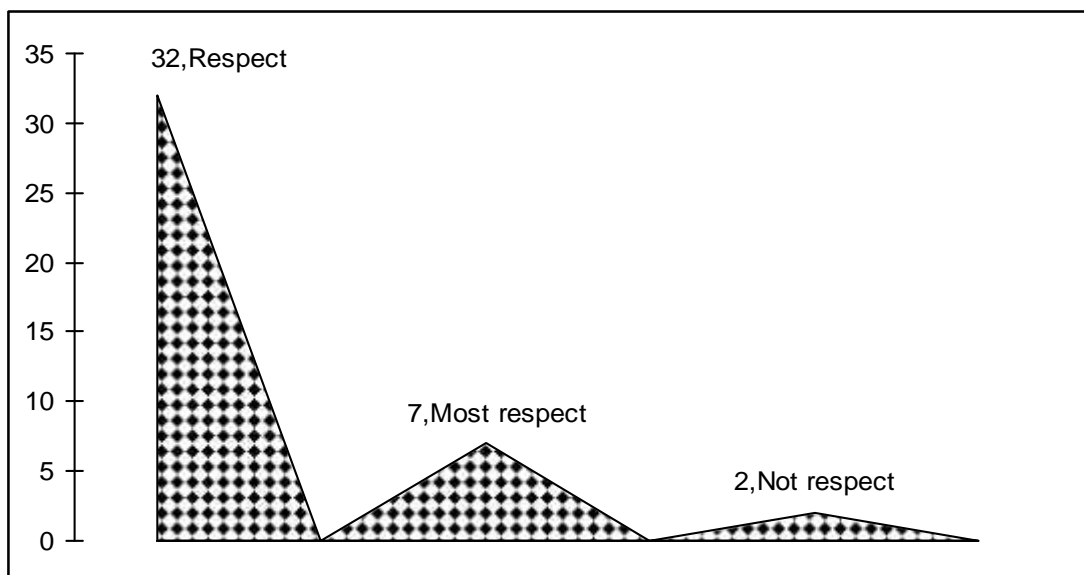

Figure: 7.4 Respect to the respondents

7.5 To Help of Respondents from Political Parties to Reach in Leadership Level

Women involved in political parties but they can not do the every work with out help of political parties. Politics is a back bone of the women. If political parties don't help women to reach in leadership level, women can't access in vital post and leadership level.

Table 7.5 to Help of Respondents from Political Parties

S.N	Help level	Frequency	Percentage
1	Sufficient help	10	24
2	Some how help	15	37
3	Just reservation	16	39
	Total	41	100

Source: Field Study 2010

Table 7.5 presented the canary of help from political parties in kaski district. Know that from the table 24 percent respondent were found to be sufficient help from political parties. Similarly 15 percent respondents were found to be some what help from political parties. And the large percent of respondents were found to be just reservation help from political parties. Political parties have been not helping sufficient. Political parties have been helping of women just reservation.
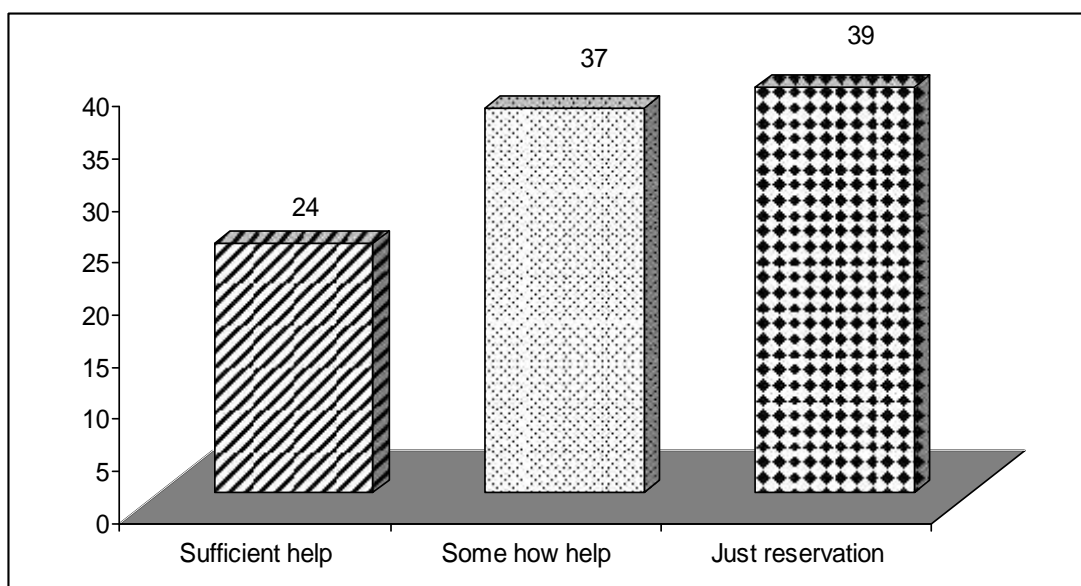

Figure: 7.5 to Help of Respondents from Political Parties

7.6   To Increase Women's Leadership in Political Parties

Situation of Women's leadership is very low. In the every organization and every decision making place. In the political parties, women are nominal participation. So women's present situation is necessary to change. How can it possible to change women's situation in political parties? Our need is to increase women's leadership in political parties.

Table 7.6 to Increase Women's Leadership in Political Parties

S.N	Increase Element	Frequency	Percentage
1	To bring appropriate policy	21	51
2	Empowerment	13	32
3	Self study and hard working	7	17
	Total	41	100

Source: Field Study 2010

Table 7.6 shows that to increase women's leadership in political parties, most of the 51 percent respondents were found to bring appropriate policy for women to reach in leadership in the political parties. So on 32 percent respondents were found to empowerment of women is necessary to reach in leadership position and a few respondents 17 percent were found to self study and hard working for increase the women leadership in political parties.
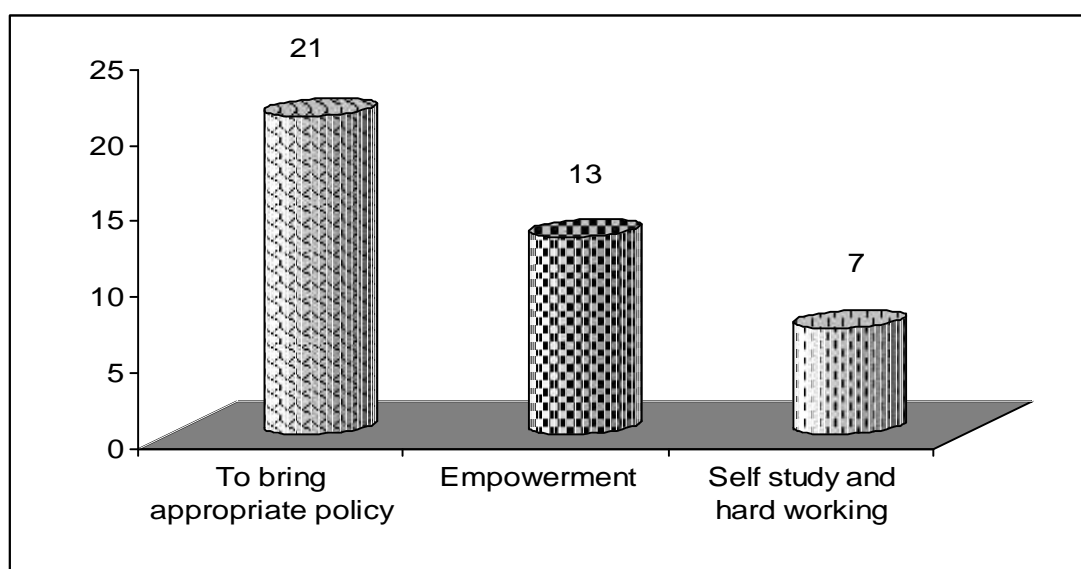

Figure: 7. 6 Increase women's leadership in Political Parties

Case Study of Women Leaders

Durga B.K.

Durga B.k is one of the intelligent woman leader in kaski district. She has been constituent assembly member since 2064 B.S. She had victory in constituent assembly election 0f Kaski election area no-4. She was born at Dhikurpokhari V.D.C-1 Kaski district on 2038 B.S. her Mother Ambika B. K and father Padam Singh B.K were good politician at that time so she inspired to involve in politics. Her family background was weak economic situation. She had studied 8 classes in Sirjana lawyer secondary school when she was 12 years old she became chairperson of shell committee in Sirjana lawyer secondary school in 2056 BS.

In 2058 she was whole timber activist in political parties of Maoist then she had been arrested from Nepali army. She had been kept in 3 years in Kaski prison. She did feel very torture from army. She realized mentally and physically torture in prison but she couldn't backward from politics. The political party had very help to carry out her from prison so she liberated from prison in 2060 BS. Her sister Dhan Kumari B.K had actively involved in people's war so cruel government had lost her sister Dhan Kumari B.K in 2060-10-24 at Kaski. She is Martyr of the nation. Then Durga B.K felt very tension of own sister.

Durga B.K has been actively working in politics to complete their dream of sister Dhan Kumari B.K. Durga worked in district committee of all Nepal national independent students union revolutionary. In that committee she was treasurer. In 2061 she became member of district committee in Unified communist party of Nepal (Maoist) then she worked in women department of Gandaki area. In 2062 BS she had became chairperson of All Nepal Women Association's (Revolutionary) in Kaski District. In 2065 she has been member of RBM in Tumuwan Rajya Committee. She was very happy with political party but she said that the patriarchal society has oppressed. When the class base society will end then we achieve women's liberation. She said that, women to reach in leadership position in political parties then to make policy about women so women actively involved in politics in Nepal.

Mitra Kumari Gurung(Subedi)

Mitra kumari Gurung subedi was born at Dhampus in Kaski district on 2009 B.S She was well politician women. When she grew up in to a young woman then she affiliated the political movements. When her friend gave a book of volume of Mayotsetung then she empowered to involve in communist party. She got inter cast married with a person who like political movement. After married her father and mother were very angry with her but her husband's family were not angry with her. Her husband helped her every political movement. During of Panchayat period she became chairperson of Women's Organization in Kaskikot VDC. In 2037 she had been member of Sister Organization of CPN UML in Kaski.

In 2039 B.S formally involved with CPN ML then she worked of political activities in political parties. In 2043 she became victory the VDC election of women's organization too. In 2047 she had achieve membership of democratic national forum. In 2047 she has achieved a membership of CPNUML in Kaski district. In 2062 she became chairperson of sister organization of CPNUML in Kaski district. In 2062 she was arrested 16 days in republic movement in Kaski district. In 2054-63 she had became member of Zone committee in CPNUML. Now she has been member of CPNUML in district committee of Kaski and she has been leading women's organization in Kaski district. She is chairperson in sister organization of CPNUML in Kaski.

From this case study, we know Mitrakumari Gurung is a good women leader but she faced many problems in that work. She can not reach in leadership position and decision making process in political party still. On the other hand political parties do not sufficient help her to reach leadership position and economic aspect. Due to the male dominated society and lack of appropriate policy. She said that, all women do politics then our nation should develop.

Sarada Paudel

Sarada Paudel is an other important women leader in Kaski District. She is affiliated in Nepali Congress. Sarada Paudel was born at Madikuwa VDC in Parbat district on 2009 BS. She was inspired to involved politics from her father and brother. Her father affiliated in Nepali Congress. In a child hood age she was intelligent girl in her

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school. On day she had told a song in her school about women leader Indira Gandi who had Prime Minister in India at that time. Her song –

"Ma pani aimai uni pani aaimai. malai khushi lagyo

Ma pani bholi pardhanamantri huna sakchu."

She was lovely daughter of her father. B.P Koirala came at her house and they had suspense political movement then she inspired too to do politics. In 2024 B.S she had married in Kaski at Pokhara -1. After marriage her husband helped her every political movement. But her politics was very barrier for her husband. He felt torture time and time and suspense 2 years from that on government. She was working in political activities in Kaski. In 2036 B.S political movement was very hot so she was actively involved in that movement. In the first revolution on 2046 B.S she helped actively managerial role in political party of Kaski.

In 2047|2|30 she successes to became district secretariat of Nepal Mahila sang Kaski, sister organization of Nepali Congress and 2049|11| she became chairperson of sister organization of Nepali Congress in Kaski. In 2048 B.S she formally joined Nepali Congress in Kaski district committee of Kaski. Since 2049-2061 B.S she was actively participate the republic movement and arrested 5 months and 24 days in Kaski and Katmandu. In constituent assembly election 2064 B.S she became candidacy in Kaski election no- 3 but she could not successful in that election. Her contribution is very high in Nepali Congress party and Nepalese women too. But she can not reach in leadership position in that party. She said that due to the traditional concept in political party all women do not access in leadership level. Still male dominated concept so women can not achieve the high level responsibilities. Now 2 women are in district committee out of 52 in their political party of Kaski

CHAPTER -VIII

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1   Summary

Today whole world is giving high interest and priority for empowering the women. Needless to say, women are the backbone of any society. For the development of the country, women can play a vital role in society. Every woman has political right, an inherent right to justice, equality, freedom and peace. They deserve access to all kinds of basic human needs. Male and female have equal rights and duties for the development of the country. Countries take measures to ensure that women have the same rights as men in the political as well as public life of their country. Countries must make sure that just as men; women have the rights to vote effect and be elected as Presidents of the Republic, Parliamentarians, Assembly Women and district chief executives or any other authority. Women have the right to participate in the same way as men in the political Activities of their country.

Therefore they can assume high government positions under the same conditions as men. The study focuses to analyze the women's leadership in political parties A study of gender relation in Kaski district

This study is concentrated on to address following Objectives:-

) To find the condition of women's position in district committee of political parties.

) To analyze the associated factors with women to reach in leadership level in political politics.

) To identify the major problems faced by women in political parties of Kaski district.

This study is based on the "Gender Perspective." the field of this study is district committee of Kaski with major political parties are: Unified Maoist, CPN UML and Nepali congress. This is most important place in political situation in Nepal. The

policies and procedures of these parties in information and their perspectives towards women leadership level have also been studied. The study is carried out under the branch of political sociology during literature on women's leadership level and political issues. The documents of the various political parties have been reviewed. Of their committees the universe of this study is about 172 members of district committee in associated political parties of Kaski district. 41 informants were selected through stratified sampling. All of women were selected from the major political parties of Kaski district committee.

This study has used descriptive and exploratory research designs both primary and secondary data were used as the raw materials for research. Primary data were collected from the field Study. Questionnaire schedule, case study and interview techniques were adopted for the collection of primary information and data collection. Secondary data were collected from various politics related office, organization, published books, articles and best websites. The analysis of data was performed by using popular computer software SPSS. Various tables, figure, charts and statistical techniques were used for the analysis and presentation of the data.

8.2   The Major Findings of This Study are as Follows

Women's position in district committee

- The majority of poor participation of women in district committee in Kaski. 41 members of women 23.84 percent and 131 members of men (76.16) percent are participated of district committee in Kaski

- In the study symbolic representation of women are taken low level vital post in district committee with out access in the leadership level.

- 2 women were sub secretary and one woman was treasurer in district level among them.

- Among the respondents, 2 women were found to be sub sectary and the other treasurer of the Unified Maoist party in Kaski district committee and one woman was found to sub sectary of CPN(UML) in Kaski district committee

- This study shows the picture of women's position in district committee in major political parties.63 percent women were found to be Unified Maoist ,

32 percent women were found to be in CPN UML and 5 percent found to be in Nepali Congress out of 41 women.

⟩ The majority of the respondents 40 percent women were involved in Unified Maoist, similarly, 24 percent were involved in CPN UML and 4 percent women were involved in Nepali Congress of Kaski district committee.

Associated Factors with Women's Leadership Level

⟩ Among the respondents 51 percent respondents were found to women exploited from society**,** 20 percent women found to become women leader**,** 17 percent respondents were found to generational effect and 5 percent respondents found to exploit from husband due to involved in politics.

⟩ The associated factors of the respondents to help of women to reach in leadership level, 31 percent respondents were found to Equal of property right between men and women, 27 percent respondents were found to Independents of women, 22 percent were found to Awareness and 20 percent of respondent were found to education

⟩ The study shows that most of the women have been married. There is a mostly involvement 79 percent married woman in politics. 12 percent were found to be unmarried. And 7 percent were found to be separated and 2 percent were found to widow. Its shows that a few separated women involved in politics.

⟩ The duration of time involvement of the respondents in politics from 6-10 years are 37 percents, and 10-20 years time spent for politics 27 percent, over 20 years time spent for politics 23 percents and 0-5 years time spent for politics 13 percent.

⟩ The majority of the sampled respondents were of age group 30- 45 years. Maximum 44 percent and the minimum 27 percent found to below 30 years age and 29 percent age group of respondents were 45 years above.

⟩ 14.46 percent women of total respondents are literate i.e. 29.26 percent women are SLC, 9.75 percent respondents are intermediate level and 12.19 percent women are Graduate level and 7.31 percent respondents are master's level.

⟩ The majority of women in political parties of Kaski district are Brahmin women's representation 71 percent while other is in nominal representation.

Dalit were found to 12 percent, Gurung were found to 10 percent and Magar found to 7 percent.

) 51 percent respondents are found to patriarchal ideology as a barrier for women's leadership level in those political parties. 39 percent respondents are found to lack of appropriate policy an another factors for women's leadership level. Similarly 10 percent respondents are said that lack of political awareness.

Problem Faced by Women

) In this study most of the 71 percent respondents were found to feel violence in the political parties and 29 percent respondents were found no feel of violence in the political parties.

) There was majority of 53 percent respondents were found to responsible of Low level responsibility in the political parties, 27 percent respondents were found Less opportunity in the political parties and 20 percent respondent were no help of economic aspect in the political parties

) Among the respondents most of them 73 percent were found less role in decision making process in the political parties. Similarly, 15 percent respondents were found to the main role in the decision making process and 12 percent respondents were found to no role in decision making process in the political parties.

) 78 percent respondents were found respected by the society, 17 percent respondents were most respected by society and the 5 percent respondents were not respected by society.

) Majority of respondents 39 percent were just help of reservation from political parties, 37 percent respondents were some what help and 10 percent respondents were received sufficient help from political parties in Kaski

8.3   Conclusion

Many of the problems with women's advancement are now related to patriarchal ideology, behavior and structures. All sectors/ sub-sectors, discussed above are hampered in achievement of their objectives by a patriarchal ideology. For example in the political leadership position and government sector too, there is no resistance to involving women in development, fulfilling their basic needs by increasing their

access to political, education, employment and decision making process. But, the inadequate gender sensitivity of the implementing machinery remains a major hurdle to implementation of all government policies. Nation has already made improvement in women's leadership level in politics one of its major policy objectives along with poverty reduction.

Nevertheless its implementation remains a challenge, due to the patriarchal value systems and structures. When equality in access to resources, decision making positions and powers and socially accepted ideology are concerned, any change that has taken place has been accidental. There is no general recognition that unless women are recognized as full citizens on par with men, the development process can not proceed rapidly. The basic challenge therefore is how to change this ideology. The main cause of women's poor condition of leadership level in political parties is found low level responsibility to give political parties for women. Patriarchal ideology, lack of appropriate policy, no role of decision making process in political parties., fewer opportunities in various fields, high violence of women or gender discrimination of women in comparison to male counterpart.

Because of these reasons women are backward in every aspects of their life. Women are found participated very less in politics as well as decision making process and social activities. Most of the respondents were spent long time in politics but political parties had not to give high responsibility according to their capacity. So women were not very satisfied in the sectors. Most of married women involved in politics thus women realized difficulties to play dual roles of household works and politics together. Political parties are not sufficient help for women to reach leadership position in political parties just help of reservation. This study shows that women are facing the high economical problem for their work politics. Family and political parties are not enough economically support for women. It shows that women to achieve few support from political parties for every works. In this study women said that, they feel patriarchal behaviour in political parties. Women are facing many problem and struggle in own political parties and with all society. Same capable men to reach in leadership level in political parties but same capable women do not achieve the leadership in political parties. It shows that lack of appropriate policy for women in political parties. Overall development of women increase their participation

in politics, it is essential to promote role of women in decision making in their political parties and household level as well as in professional level , providing them equal opportunities in related field. It is better to provision special right for women than reservation and quota system. Women can be successful to achieve the leadership level in political parties.

8.4   Recommendations

) There is an immediate and dire need to address major gender problems and violence faced by women in political parties such as capable women can not achieve high level responsibility or leadership level in Political parties. And can not reach women in decision making process so women are unknown from every information in this sector.

) Political parties must give responsibility for capable women according to her capacity and to reach in leadership level.

) Political parties should give sufficient opportunity for women to develop the leadership skill.

) appropriate policy for women in political parties should be given for leadership and encourage them to enhance leadership skill well as any other social works

) Nation and political parties should bring appropriate policy for women and should access in political party's leadership level.

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ANNEX – I

Topic: Women's Leadership in Political parties Of Kaski District

Researcher: Nirmala subedi

Prithwi Narayan Campus Pokhara

Interview Schedule

The sample questionnaire for the respondent is given below:

Sample No. ....

Permanent Address/District		VDC	
Current Address			
Name of political parties			

QN	Simple questions: Please tick the best option	Responses
101	Age	..........years
102	Caste/Ethnicity	1. Brahmin Chhetri 2. Dalits 3 Gurung 5.Magar
103	Education	1. Illiterate 2. Literate 3. SLC 4. Intermediate 5. Graduate 6. Master's
104	Marital status	1. Married 2. un married 3. Separation 4. widow
		1. Female members ………

| 105 | | 2. Male members……….. |
| | | 3. Total members…… |

QN	Objectives: ■ Women's position in district committee of Political Parties in Kaski District. ■ Associated factors with women to involved in politics ■ Major problems faced by women in political parties of Kaski District	Responses
206	Name of the political party you are Affiliated with.	…………….
207	How many members are there in your political party in district committee in kaski	………………
208	How many women and men involved in district committee in kaski	……………...
209	What is your position in your party?	1.chair person 2.Vice-chair person 3.Secretary 4.Vice Secretary 5.Treasurer 6. member
210	How long have you been working in political parties	1. 0-5 years 2.6-10 years 3.11-20 years 4.Over 20 years
211	Are you satisfied from your Responsibility	1. vary satisfied 2.satisfied 3.Not satisfied

212	Which associated factors had to Inspire you involved in politics?	1 you have exploited from society 2. you have exploited from husband, 3.Generational effect 4. To became women leader
213	In your opinion Which associated factors to help women to reach in Leadership position?	1.Awareness 2.Education 3.Equal of property right 4.Independents of women
214	In your opinion Which are most barrier factors for women's leadership Level?	1.Patriarchal ideology 2. Lack of appropriate policy 3.Lack of political awareness
215	Are you faced violence in political Parties?	1.Yes 2. no
216	WHICH PROBLEM YOU FEEL MUST IN YOUR POLITICAL PARTIES	1.Less opportunity Low level 2.responsibility 3.No help of economic aspect
217	What type of role you involved in Decision making process?	1.Main role 2.Less role 3.No role
218	What type of respect you feel from their society?	1.Most respect 2.Not respect 3. Respect
219	Are you feeling which level of help From the political parties?	1.Sufficient help 2. just reservation 3.some what help
220	Which policy do you think would be	1.To give responsibility according to their capacity 2. Women are first position

		Better for the women's leadership level?	in every organizations 3. 50%Women involved in the every organization in decision making process.
221		Did you know about the legal Provision on women right?	1. yes 2. no
222		In your opinion why are women couldn't to reach in the leadership level in political parties	1.women are not active in political activity 2.lack of women's contribution 3.Women are not educated

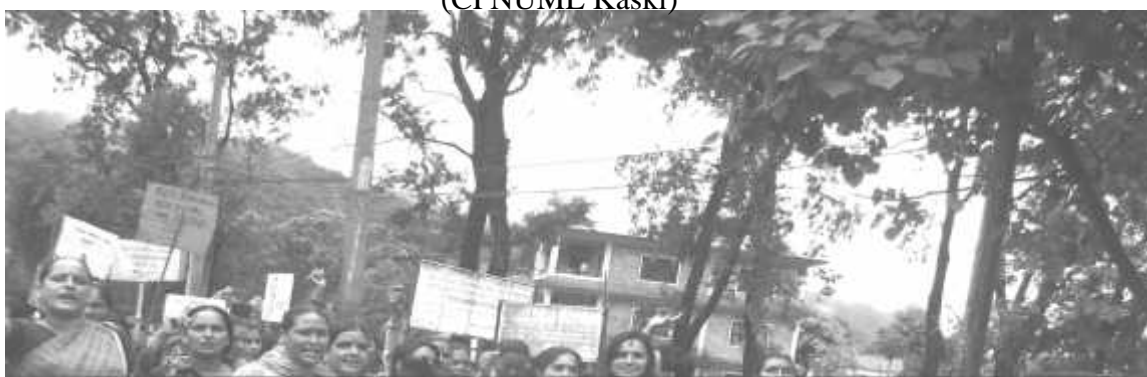Thank you for your kind response and valuable suggestions.

ANNEX-II
PHOTO GALLERY

Interview with Durga B.K

(Constituent assembly member)

Interview with Mitra Kumari Gurung

(CPNUML Kaski)

Rally of Women's Leader for Equal Right

Struggle all Women against the Women's Violence

Camping of Women for Leadership Level

In political Issues

Politician Women are working in the Household