

**LOCAL ELECTION AND LEADERSHIP CAPACITY AMONG
MARGINALIZED WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES**

(A Study of Malarani Rural Municipality of Arghakhanchi District, Nepal)

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

The thesis entitled "LOCAL ELECTION AND LEADERSHIP CAPACITY AMONG MARGINALIZED WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES: A STUDY OF MALARANI RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF FARGHAKHANCHI DISTRICT" has been prepared by Dhruvaraj B.K. under my supervision for his partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology. I, therefore, recommend this thesis to be accepted for its evaluation.

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LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

This thesis entitled "LOCAL ELECTION AND LEADERSHIP CAPACITY AMONG MARGINALIZED WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES: A STUDY OF MALARANI RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF ARGHAKHANCHI DISTRICT" submitted to the Central Department of Sociology, University Campus, by Mr. Dhruvaraj BK for the partial fulfillment of Master of Arts in Sociology has been accepted.

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LETTER OF DECLARATION

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

Dhrubaraj BK

April 01, 2019

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The dissertation entitled "LOCAL ELECTION AND LEADERSHIP CAPACITY AMONG MARGINALIZED WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES: A STUDY OF MALARANI RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF ARGHAKHANCHI DISTRICT" has been carried out to fulfill the requirement of the Master Degree of Arts in Sociology.

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Dhrubaraj BK

April 01, 2019

ABSTRACT

This dissertation entitled "Local Election and Leadership Capacity among Marginalized Women Representatives" was undertaken aiming at exploring and analyzing the challenges faced by the locally elected marginalized women representatives and their leadership capacity. To fulfill the objectives, the study has been adopted descriptive research design. Both the primary and secondary sources of the data have been used to capture the research objectives. The study is limited inentire 9 wards of Malarani Rural Municipality in Arghakhanchi district and it employed three tools: a semi-structured interview schedule, key informant interview, observation checklist, and document study for the collection of primary information.

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

The successful completion of local level elections were held after almost two decades. The number of women especially from marginalized communities coming into power are just fresh in the political arena and local level government. The lack of long-term investment by political parties on building the capacities of political women and thus not fit for leadership. However, elected marginalized women who are having formal education up to secondary level and having experience of working in several community groups, have the better confidence to undertake their roles and responsibilities in comparison to the literate representatives. Aware women representatives are now known the politics is the pioneer base of empowering the women and even their belonged community people.

Regardless of their education status or age, majority of the marginalized women representatives have felt the need of increase capacity of leadership by leadership and

women empowerment training, and law constitution and regulation training. Among the five members of the ward, two seats are reserved for female representatives one of whom must be Dalit. Overall, through the use of quotas and other mechanism, there has been a dramatic increase in female political representations. Locally elected marginalized women's numerical representation is good. However, there are barriers in effective and meaningful representation in the local level government as much effective as it was intended due to their limited capacity. These barriers are however linked with structural composition of society as well as their personal capacity. They have realized the significance of politics and they are convincing other women of their community in involving to the politics through sharing the significance of politics in social transformation. Furthermore, educated and socially active elected marginalized women representatives have started to unite to the marginalized women representatives for collective contribution in uplifting and empowering to their own communities.

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

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Nepal, where 126 variants of caste/ethnic people, 123 types of innate languages and ten types of religious groups thrive in a community (CBS, 2011). However, the Nepali society is highly guided by the orthodox Hindu caste ideology, wherein segregation results in the divide between superior and inferior, dominated and subordinated, master and slave and men and women (Subedi, 2011). "Certain groups pay a 'penalty' in terms of lower household per capita consumption because of their caste, ethnic or religious identity"(DFID and WB 2006:8). Despite the diversity of people all the social, economic, political, religious power is hold by single groups which led many social group such as Dalit, indigenous ethnic groups, women and religious minorities groups toward exclusion from the mainstream of the Development. (Ibid). Nepal is a society characterized by a strong patriarchal culture, where women traditionally have been marginalized from participating in public life. Women's social status and relative equality with men varies among Nepal's various ethnic groups, regions and castes. Yet, their position is normally determined by patriarchal traditions, in which the predominant view is that women are subordinate to men and their role should be confined to the domestic sphere, where their main duties involve child raising and household chores (UNESCO, 2006: 51). In combination, discriminatory cultural practices and laws pose major hurdles for achieving gender equality in Nepal, and women are falling behind men in areas such as education, economic empowerment and political participation (Acharya, 2003).

According to the survey report "Women's Political Participation, Empowerment and Inclusion in Nepal" by United Nations Development Fund for Women et.al. (2009), the 'Women's Committee (*Nari Samiti*)' had conducted a campaign in the name of 'women's education' against Rana regime at Siraha in 1971. This was the first endeavor for women's advancement in Nepal. This Committee was formed in the initiation of women leaders Yog Maya Devi and Divya Devi Koirala (Majupuria, 2007). In 1990, women's participation in ending thirty years of autocratic monarchy

'Panchayat Era', to replace monarchical parliamentary system was a revolution to break the stigma of vulnerability. With women's political movement during Communist Party Nepal (CPN-Maoists) people's war (1996-2006) a massive transformation in the social structure of women was marked. A large number of women from rural areas were mobilized in people's war started by CPN-Maoists. The women from grassroots level participated, as they were suppressed in many sectors as compared to women from urban areas (Yami, 2007).

Although women have had the right to vote and to stand for election since 1951 and the government in 1991 ratified the CEDAW without any reservations, women's voices have long been silenced in Nepal. Women have traditionally had little opportunity to participate actively in political life, with few or no women represented in the legislative, judiciary and executive bodies (Acharya, 2003:49-50; Kabir, Farah, 2003:70). The 1990 Constitution stipulated that all political parties contesting elections to the Lower House of Parliament must have at least 5% female candidates, and that three seats in the Upper House are reserved for women (The constitution of kingdom of Nepal 1990). The Local Self-Governance Act of 1999 demanded 20% women's representation in local elected bodies. However, women had never comprised more than 6% of Nepal's parliamentarians before 2007 and the few women in political positions were mostly limited to the upper caste or were close relatives of male politicians, and largely subordinate to male members and leaders (Acharya, 2003: 49-50).

With the new Constitution 2015, Nepal Officially became a federal republic and conducted local elections in May, June and September 2017. The local level is a critical institutional setting for the emerging dynamics of federal governance especially following a twenty-year absence of elected officials (Tamang, 2018). The visible and tangible presence of women and marginalized women in public life is an accepted indicator of inclusive and equitable social development. However, this public space is often hugely contested from a gender perspective, and marginalized women tend to be largely excluded from wielding any influence in such spaces. Local election is also very important for women and marginalized women. In order to address the gender-based inequalities that mark a patriarchal society, it is important for women to take on leadership positions and be actively involved in decision

making (Bhattarai, 2011). The struggle for women and minorities' rights in Nepal has been a development focal point for decades. Great advances have been made in the areas of health services, education, income generation activities and public service provision. However, women and minorities still face many barriers when it comes to fully exercising their political rights. For a long time, they have been underrepresented in politics and struggled to participate meaningfully in government decision making. The 2017 local elections mark an important milestone and potential turning point in this regard.

The lowest level of government consists of 753 rural and urban municipalities. More specifically in terms of the 753 local level governments: 6 metropolises, 11 sub-metropolises, 276 municipalities, and 460 rural municipalities, 35,041 local representatives were elected.(Election Commission 2017). Out of these 35,041 elected representatives, 14,352 or 40.96% were women (Election Commission 2017). Dissecting the narrative of 40.96% women representation, however, presents a much-nuanced picture that highlights 'Nepali woman' is not a homogenous category. According to Bhola Paswan's extensive analysis of local election results show that although Dalit women's representation is the highest at 47 percent, mainly due to Dalit women ward member quotas where the Dalit women are considered as most marginalized women in Nepal. According to Mahato, Phudyal and Baruah (2019: 73-74) 14,339 women now represent local constituencies in the municipal sphere of governance. Among them, 47.4% (6,567) are Dalits, 23.5% are Khas Arya women, 19.9% are Janajati, 8% Madhesi, and 1.3% Muslim. 7 out of 263 mayor seats were won by women, among them 6 are Khas Arya, and 1 is Madhesi. Similarly, the Chair position had 11 women, of which 6 were Khas-Arya and 5 Janajati. Dalits appear significant, but outside of the Dalit women quota, their presence barely registers. The local elections have changed the political landscape, at least at the local levels, for Nepali women. However, much more remains to be done. There is the fact that 91% of the deputy positions—deputy mayors in municipalities and vice chairpersons in rural municipalities—were won by women, but men won 98% of chief positions—mayors and chairpersons (Election Commission, 2017).

This is fact that elected marginalized women representatives came from a diverse range of backgrounds, e.g. from Dalit, indigenous, Madeshi, and Muslim. Their

different backgrounds mean that they have different strengths and development needs. The marginalized women representation in local level is a very important first step, physical presence alone does not automatically guarantee that women and minorities will be able to participate meaningfully in political decision making. Furthermore, it does not ensure that elected marginalized women representatives will be able to survive in politics long term and build a successful political career.

In this particular context, this research was undertaken to explore the challenges faced by the locally elected marginalized women representatives as well as examine their leadership capacity at the local government. The research was administered in Malarani Rural Municipality of Arghakhanchi district based on purposive research sampling. The research uses a standard in-depth interview and KII questionnaire to gather primary information. Similarly, case study, review of meeting minutes, document study and field observation methods were used to be gathered secondary source of information. These interviews and secondary sources led to the conclusion that the locally elected marginalized women have been bound with limited knowledge about their roles, responsibilities and several existing policies which created them barriers in leadership capacity.

1.2. Statement of Problem

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

It is important to note that women in Nepal are by no means a homogeneous group. They are marked by great differences in terms of socio-cultural background, ethnic identity, religion, economic position and geographical location. The reality is that many marginalized women struggle to cover their basic needs and dignity for survival. In compare to men, marginalized women have to overcome more barriers than men when it comes to participating meaningfully in local government decision

making as well as effective participation in the local politics. They face more challenges in their efforts to influence local resource mobilization and the development planning process than men.

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

Researchers have not paid enough attention to identify and explore the issues concerning the challenges women representatives from marginalized communities have been facing. Thus, this research was undertaken to examine the challenges that locally elected women representatives from marginalized communities are facing. For the said purpose, it was aimed to analyze the leadership capacity of locally elected women from historically most marginalized communities particularly to the Dalit and Janajati community in Malarani Rural Municipality of Arghakhanchi district. In order to meet these objectives, the research has been guided by the following research questions:

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

1.3. Objective(s) of the Study

The primary objective of this study was to assess and investigate the gravity of leadership capacity of elected marginalized women representatives and also observe the factors that effect in meaningful participation of women in politics. The specific objectives of the study were as follows:

-) To explore the challenges faced by the locally elected marginalized women representatives at local level.

-) To analyze the link/relation between the leadership capacity of locally elected marginalized women representatives and the challenges they are facing.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study will be milestone to provide a comprehensive and specific picture of challenges faced by locally elected marginalized women and their leadership capacity. This research significantly helps to understand the challenges and leadership capacity of elected women representatives from marginalized community for the academicians. It will further contribute to the existing body of literature / knowledge providing the clear understanding of challenges, barriers and capacity of elected marginalized women in the local level. Locally elected women represented from a diverse range of backgrounds such as Dalit, Indigenous, Madesi, Muslim and non-Dalit communities. Their different backgrounds mean that they have different strengths and development needs when it comes to participating effectively in local government. In order to address the specific barriers and opportunities of elected women from different communities, it is necessary to develop a detailed picture of their specific needs and circumstances. This study will provide such insights and hence help concerned authorities develop targeted action plans for building the leadership capacity of marginalized elected women. As such, it will help them work towards the government's goal of enhancing leadership capacity of women in the emerging state structure.

Many female government officials who entered politics through quota systems in the past contributed little to local development planning and were not reelected. In the constituent assembly (CA) election of 2008, about 32.8% of seats were reserved for women but about 30% in the CA election of 2013. Few of the women elected in 2008 were re-elected in 2013. Indeed, it appears that especially women from marginalized communities, such as Dalits and Janjatis, were unable to establish an enduring political career. The final reason for this research is hence to establish the barriers and opportunities women face when it comes to developing a long-term political career. This study will provide a clear outline of what elected women need in order continue in politics for long term, focusing in particular on the needs of women from marginalized communities. As such, the study report will help concerned

stakeholders, policy makers to develop a concrete action plan so as to retain women in politics. Further to this, it will be also important for the researcher who is interested on the same topic.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Theoretical Review

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

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

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

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

2.1.1. Theory of Social Stratification

Marginalization usually talks about social inequality. Social inequality is in the form of hierarchy where one is at the top most level and the other is at lowest subordinate level. To illustrate the social condition, many sociologists have used the term social stratification. The term stratification connects with all the component of social

inequality such as ethnicity, gender, caste, power and class. Social stratification appears similar to a rock that is made of several of strata. Each stratum interlinks with the other and becomes rigid. This kind of rigidity does not exist in the hierarchy of social structure. It is quite tough to probe deep into social structure. The theory of social stratification was first proposed by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore in 1945.

Regarding the social stratification, Marxian perception is very clear on some ground. "Marxists" focus on the two major social groups: a ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class indicates the power through the control over production mode. It exploits the subject class at every possible level. The Marxian perception is that the system of social stratification derives from the relationships of social groups to the forces of the production.

The sociologist H.K. Rawat (2007:177) complies the definition Raymond D Murrey about social stratification. According to Murrey, "social stratification is a horizontal division of society into "higher" and "lower" social units." The social stratification from society to society as its patterns are flexible. The experiences of groups change the patterns of stratification as these are the objective results of rating. If a system rates a person as an individual, then it is an individual stratification and if it rates a group, it is called group stratification.

The co-relation of social stratification with other divisions like gender, sexuality, ethnicity and age is very much complex. The social inequalities are formed on the basis of above divisions. Thus, marginalization and discrimination on the basis of gender and ethnicity pass the inequalities among the life of human-being. The basis parameters of social inequalities are cast, class, status and power. To illustrate, status is the estimation of social honor or prestige given by other part of society and it is highly value-stricken outlook than wealth and power. Consequently, the quality of honor varies from society to society

2.1.2. Liberal Feminism Perspective

Liberal feminism is an individualistic form of feminist theory, which focused on women's ability to maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminist argues that society holds that false beliefs that women are by nature, less intellectually and physically capable than men. Thus this tends to discriminate

against women in the academy, forum and market place. Liberal feminist belief that female subordination is rooted in the set of customary legal constraints that blocks women entrance to and success in the so-called public world. They strive for sexual equality via political and legal reform.

They were concerned with gaining freedom through equality, putting into men cruelty to women, and gaining to the freedom to opportunity to become full persons. They believe that no government or custom should prohibit the exercise of personal freedom. Early liberal feminists had to counter the assumption that only while men deserve to be full citizen. Liberal feminism is grounded in classical thinking that individual should be free to develop their own talents and pressure their own interest. Liberal feminism accepts the opportunities to women.

Liberal feminist support the equal right amendment the oppose prejudice and discrimination that block the aspiration of women (Macionios, 2002)

2.1.3. Patriarchy Theory

The female marginalization emerges from social structure especially from the system of male domination which is called "patriarchy". Patriarchy gives birth to gender oppression of women. Basically, class relations and modes of productions create class oppression and women oppression. Patriarchy talks exactly about the phenomena of female oppression in the society.

The term patriarchy has been used in variety of ways. The chief difference is between 'realist' and 'social-constructivist' illustrations. The former sees patriarchy as a constituent in economic structures. A critic Payne (2006:73) complies the statement of sociologist Hartman regarding the term that indicates the males' control of the female labor forces "the materials base upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labor power.

Feminist believe that patriarchy is adjust social system that is harmful to both men and women. Feminist who learn anti rape campaign, in 1970 was motivated to the liberal from of patriarchy and realms the supremacy of male through sexual harassment, political, economic and expect. Men harm women to prove their masculinity and to dominant and control over women. Patriarchy control over women

and exercise through institutionalize restriction code. Social restriction and code make women silent and suffer (Hadi, 2017)

2.1.4. Marxist and Socialist Theory

A central tenet of all forms of Marxist and socialist feminism is the belief that women's situation cannot be understood in isolation from its socio-economic context, and that any meaningful improvement in the lives of women requires that this context be changed. This approach goes back at least as far as the early nineteenth century, and socialist feminist ideas are to be found in all periods; many early writers and ideas have however disappeared from history and are only now being rediscovered. Marxism adds to this basic position the idea that society will not be changed by appeals to reason and justice, but by collective class struggle that can only succeed at a particular stage of economic and social development.

I have used Marxist and social feminist perspective, and social stratification theory since my study was focused to identify structural barriers of locally elected marginalized women representatives and they have been represented from different social background which include socio-economic condition of elected representatives.

2.2. Empirical Review

Literature review is an essential part of a social research. It provides a guidelines and some knowledge to the researchers that help them to achieve the goal. It is a part of any research that helps to gain useful and background information about problem over the study. Nepali women constitute more than half of the country's population. Due to the continuous dominance of the patriarchal value system they remain discriminated and treated as second class citizens. The current constitution incorporates specific provisions to provide some political support to women. Despite special measures set by the government for women's leadership capacity, women have not been benefited from such measures. This study is an attempt made to analyze the status of leadership capacity and political participation of women. Many NGOs and people have studied on the leadership capacity of women in Nepal. Their findings are found in various research papers, books, seminar papers, reports, journal and articles. And for this

thesis proposal writing I have reviewed the related articles, previous research papers, journals etc.

2.2.1. Historical Background of Women's Participation in Politics

Politics is chief policy of all the policies. Women's participation and contribution involving in politics has been remarkable in all the democratic movements in Nepal. According to the survey report "Women's Political Participation, Empowerment and Inclusions in Nepal" by United Nations Development Fund for Women et.al. (2009), the 'Women's Committee (NariSamiti)' had conducted a campaign in the name of 'women's education' against Rana regime at Siraha in 1971. This was the first endeavor for women's advancement in Nepal. This Committee was formed in the initiation of women leaders Yog Maya Devi and Divya Devi Koirala. There was an active participation of women during the labour movement of Biratnagar in 1947. Many were arrested by the then Rana regime at that time.

Nepal Women's Association was formed in 1947 to work for women rights and freedom by women leaders close to different political parties. Mangala Devi Singh, Kamaksha Devi, Shreemaya Devi, Rajani Champa, Sahana Pradhan and Sadhana Pradhan were members of the first executive committee of the Association. Afterwards, women leaders affiliated to various political parties formed and conducted their own women organizations (Majupuria, 2007).

Moti Devi Shrestha was one of the five founding members of Nepal Communist Party established in 1949. Sadhana Adhikari was elected the member of Kathmandu Municipality in 1952 representing the Nepal Women's Association. In the election of 1958 at the national level, Dwarika Devi Thakurani was elected to the House of Representatives and became Assistant Minister. Similarly, Kamal Rana was nominated in the Upper House and became Vice-Chairperson of the same (Ibid). The pace of campaign of women's political participation was interrupted due to the establishment of unitary Panchayati System by the then King Mahendra in 1960. This time, the parliamentary system was revoked and the popular government led by B.P. Koirala was toppled by the King.

During the 12 years period after success of popular movement of 1990, advocacy on women's issues continued at the national level. In this connection, voice was raised

for gender equality and public consent was developed in favor of social, economic and political reformation. There was significant participation of women in the street agitation against the King's action of 4th October 2002. The endorsement of inclusive democracy is seen in the Detailed Peace Accord between seven political parties and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 BS. This is the recognition of women's contribution in the democratic movements. The system enabling adequate representation of women by initiating to develop equitable society through the democracy of inclusive and participatory nature has been approved by all spheres. Women leaders have collectively addressed the need that all the responsible political parties should be serious for democratization of political changes United Nations Development Fund for Women et.al. (2009).

2.2.2. Definition of Marginalization

Om Gurung (2009) in his paper entitled "Social inclusion: Policies and Practices in Nepal" has stated that every oppressed caste, race, ethnicity and economically depressed within the caste, race and ethnicities can be called marginalized. One of the widely accepted factors of marginalization of indigenous peoples and other marginalized communities in Nepal is the social exclusion. The cultural discrimination, economic exploitation, social exclusion and political oppression have become the national characters of Nepali state politics ever since the formation of greater Nepal through territorial conquest by the Gorkha rulers in 1769 A. D. Soon after the territorial conquest, Prithivi Narayan Shah declared Nepal as the true Hindu Kingdom. He further declared Nepal as the common garden of four varnas and thirty six castes. In practice, Nepal never became a common garden of all communities. Instead, it remained private vassal of so called high caste Hindu Bahuns and Chhetris. The territorial unification of Nepal through military conquest did not unify the feelings and aspirations of non-Hindu communities. They were excluded from the mainstream national political life and deprived off the socio-economic opportunities. The structure of Nepali society into a hierarchical segmentation along the line of Hindu caste system with the ritual claim of superior and inferior as well as pure and impure excluded indigenous peoples, women and Dalits from the national social, cultural, economic and political life.

Indigenous peoples, women, Madhesis and Dalits experienced new form of domination and hegemony during the Panchayat (partyless political system) regime (1960-1990). Politics was dominated by Hindu Bahuns, Chhetris and few Newar elites and indigenous peoples, women, Madhesis and Dalits were excluded from the national political life. The new political system called Panchayat headed by absolute monarch was engaged in a new project to modernize Nepal and attain national integration. But rather than developing a new model of ethnic pluralism, the Hindu rulers of the new regime engaged themselves to officially promoting ethnic homogenization by imposing the concept of one nation, one culture, one language, one religion, and one national identity.

2.2.3. Status of Marginalized Women in Political Participation

Status of marginalized women can be defined in the context of their access to knowledge, economic resources, and political power, as well as their personal autonomy in the process of decision making (UNDP, 2004). Across the cultural diversity, the majority of communities in Nepal are patriarchal. Woman's life is strongly influenced by her father and husband as reflected in the practice of patrilocal residence, patriarchal descent, inheritance systems and family relations. The basic feature of the dominant Indo-Aryan culture is the patrilineal inheritance system and extreme concern over the purity of the female body. It discourages women and hinders those (women) for political participation. Democratic system of governance, the political changes of 1990 brought difference to women's political participation and access to positions of power, over the long haul. In short term perspective, however, no change has been visible in that regard (Acharya 1994).

Access to political power and decision-making process are considered as an index of the overall status of women in society (Shrestha 2001). In spite of constitutional provisions on women's representation their widespread participation in 1990 movement for democracy, and increased awareness, women' have not been able to improve their political representation at various levels, positions of power and decision-making.

According to a research book on "The Status of Women in Political Participation in Nepal" by Prativa Pradhan (2004-2005) has found out that despite constitutional

provisions and the participation of marginalized women in the 1990 movement for democracy, they have not been able to increase their political representation at various levels. Neither they have been able to increase their access to positions of power and decision making. The proportion of women in Parliament in 1996 was actually smaller than in the 1989 Panchayat Parliament. Similarly, the representation of women at VDC and district levels had not changed much until 1996. There are no women Mayors or DDC chairpersons even now. Only recently the situation has changed substantially at the grassroots level. The Act on Local Election 1997 required all political parties to file candidature of at least one female candidate at the ward level. Representation of women is also mandatory at VDC and DDC levels. Among the nominees there must be at least one woman. As a consequence of this Act, more than 100,000 women participated in VDC level elections as candidates and more than 36,000 have been elected to the village assembly.

Evaluation of various policies and programs of the state and political parties has been done here in this perspective. There is sufficient place to suspect that women's participation and activeness is low in politics due to their low representation in decision making level of the state and in various structures of the political parties playing decisive roles in governance (Bhusal, 2007).

2.2.4. Marginalized Women Membership in Political Parties

Marginalized women in the political parties have been able to increase their representation in the political party central and district executives to a varying degree and able get parties to have special reservations at various party organs. Overall, women's representation in the central committees of the political parties represented in the CA/Parliament has improved to 14 percent from mere 8 percent in 2003. The three major parties UCPN (Maoists), CPN (UML) and NC have made special commitments to develop women's leadership, although they are yet to be implemented (Acharya 2003).

A study on "Women's Political Participation, Empowerment and Inclusions in Nepal" by United Nations Development Fund for Women et.al. (2009) shows that during the popular movement of 1990, Nepali Congress and Communist Party of Nepal (UML), the biggest political parties at that time, had had a remarkable achievement in terms of

increasing their membership. The number of Nepali Congress active members was about 30,000 in 2046-47 which reached to be 121,000 in late 2056. This party had about 700,000 ordinary members in 2058. Similarly, the number of organized members in CPN (UML) was 42,711 in 2052 which jumped to 85,000 in 2057.

This party had about 400,000 ordinary members in 2058. It is estimated that there were about 5% women members in political parties active during the popular movement-2 of 2006. However, this number has increased now but there is 40 lack of specific database. Since this study is focused on this subject matter, detailed illustration and analysis are presented in Chapter Three below.

2.2.5. Marginalized Women's Political Participation through Civil Society

The tradition for women's organizations in Nepal goes back to 1948, when the Nepal Women's Association was formed to raise political and social awareness among women and to protest against the government's refusal to give women voting rights. Subsequently, however, the king's subversion of the democratic system to an autocratic regime suspended all civil society organizations and their activities between 1960 and 1990 (Nepali & Shrestha 2007:28; SAP 2008:51). In the early 1990s, a number of socially and politically oriented women's organizations were created, but during Nepal's armed conflict (1996–2006) civil society activity was again virtually curtailed and organizations were obliged to have prior consent from the Chief District Office before organizing programs (Geiser, 2005:24; UNIFEM 2006a: 25). However, as mentioned earlier, Nepal saw a new wave of women's political engagement during the People's Movement in April 2006, when women from civil society took to the streets to demand peace and democracy. Since then, a maximum number of active women's organizations have been operating in Nepal, with a variety of priorities, activities and target groups. Some of the women's organizations are associated with political parties, while others represent specific ethnic, caste and religious groups or geographic regions. Many of the organizations work across the whole country, but most of them have their base and operate in Kathmandu, and are generally headed and staffed by women. Throughout the peace and post conflict political negotiations, several women's organizations have actively channeled their views and demands to national decision makers.

Despite the variety of their working areas and target groups, women's organizations have sometimes also gathered in alliances and coalitions to work for joint causes, and with financial and moral support from the international community they have formed several women's networks, such as Shanti Malika, Women's Alliance for Peace, Power, Democracy and Constituent Assembly (WAPPDCA), and Women Act, which all work to address issues related to women, peace and security. Although there are no formal linkages for communication between political institutions and civil society groups, many women's organizations and networks have persistently pushed to get access to political leaders and institutions, using an array of methods (including petitions, media publications, workshops, seminars, signature campaigns and street demonstrations) to make their initiatives heard by national decision makers.

2.2.6. Marginalized Women in Local Bodies

Legal provision was made in 1998 for reservation of women's seat in each Ward of the Village Development Committee or Municipality by amending the laws relating to the local body elections. After this, about 100,000 women participated in the local elections of 1998 and about 36,000 women were elected as VDC Members. However, very few women could be elected in the executive posts; for example: no women were elected in Mayor, Deputy Mayor and DDC Chairperson and only 289 Ward Chairpersons from a total of 35,217 Wards from 3913 VDCs (Killing, 2058). In 1998 elections of VDC, Municipality and DDC, 7.7%, 6.7% and 19.5% women were elected in these bodies respectively.

The 2017 Local Election Act has increased the proportion of women in politics even further and constitutes an important milestone in women's political representation. Compared to the last local election in 1997 when 20% of elected representatives were women, in the current election this figure has been doubled due to the new constitutional and legal provisions. The Act sets quotas for every ward in rural municipalities, urban municipalities, and cities. It stipulates that in each ward two seats be reserved for women, one of which must be allocated to a Dalit woman. The Act further stipulates that if a man is elected to the executive position of ward chief, the deputy position should be reserved for a female candidate – and vice versa. The same rules apply at municipality level.

2.2.7. Constitutional Provision Ensuring the Participation

The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2006 has made the positive provisions of some fundamental rights under the women's right such as no discrimination to be made only because of being women, the right to reproductive health to be placed as the fundamental right, equal right of both daughter and son in the paternal property etc. In addition to this, the Constitution has made provision that the acts of violence of physical, mental or other nature shall be punishable by laws. Similarly, Article 20 of the Constitution has made provision of right against discrimination in the name of custom, tradition or culture. The fundamental right to proportional participation has been assured. Women's 33% candidacy in the Constituent Assembly is ensured. Besides, special provision for women has been made in the sections of state responsibility and directive principles. The favorable provisions of the Constitution can be outlined as follows (Malla: 2007):

Article 4 of the Constitution has established the sentiment of people's movement by stating clearly that Nepal is an inclusive and fully democratic country. The political parties should ensure at least one third women candidates in the CA. The Constitution has made provisions for Women's Commission to be established by law (Articles 131). It has also provided for at least one women member in the National Human Rights Commission (Article 134).

2.2.8. Legal Provision

The National Women's Commission Act, 2063 has been formulated with the objective of establishing the Commission to proceed women's issues with relevant policies and protection. The Act has envisaged the Commission to be an independent and autonomous organization. In this way, there have been provisions of institutional and legal support for the enforcement of the rights. The Constituent Assembly Elections Act, 2063 has made some special provisions for women's participation in the CA. The Human Trafficking and Transfer Control Act, 2064 has been formulated the first detailed law in Asia. This has broadened the definition of trafficking and paid some attention towards victim justice system as well. Likewise, the Military Act, 2063 has removed the provisions resisting women's entry to the military services. The amendment in the Nepal Citizenship Act, 2063 has protected the 48 right of

citizenship from mother's name partially. Foreign Employment Act, 2064 has removed the provision that prohibited women from foreign employment and also have made some special provisions for women. Similarly, the amendment of 2064 in the Civil Service Act has made special provisions of positive discrimination for women to come into the civil service. Women's participation is ensured by making provision that there should be 33% women from among the 45% candidates under category of inclusion while fulfilling the gazetted third class and non-gazetted posts by open competition (Malla: 2064).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses about the methodology employed by the researcher to obtain relevant qualitative and quantitative data. It also deals with the short discussion of research design, rationale of the selection of the study area, census, data collection technique, data processing and analysis. Researchers used various tools and techniques of field works for collecting primary and secondary data.

3.1. Rational of the Site Selection

The research was administered in Malarani Rural Municipality, Arghakhanchi. The site for the research was selected purposively. This was the best research site for such sort of research that aim at exploring challenges and leadership capacity of locally elected marginalized women representatives. The selected study site found the enough social diversity such as exclusion group, marginalized people and caste-based variances. The population of most marginalized community- Dalit was also found well enough for the study. It was thought that the study can deliver better result if the well-known site is selected. The main reasons for the selection of the above study area were; the first, women are considered as lower and less respected position in the patriarchal society. The second, marginalized women are not allowed to come forward as equal as to men in politics. Thus, I wanted to know the real scenario of leadership capacity of locally elected women from marginalized community of Malarani Rural Municipality, Arghakhanchi. And, I have some previous experience about elected marginalized women of the study area so that primary data collection could be made easy. As some cases and issues of the study topic were known to me, it was expected to explore the intended facts of the study in detailed. On the other hand, I was born in the same village and familiar enough about entire phenomena of the place including differences, diversity, marginalization, development changes. Keeping these facts in mind, decision has been made to conduct the study in this area.

3.2 Research Design

This study conducted based on the descriptive research design. The study is descriptive because it described the challenges and barriers faced by elected

marginalized women and their leadership capacity. Similarly, this research tried to attempt explore the leadership capacity of elected marginalized women at local level as well. The research question has drawn on the basis of existing research problems and literature review. As the study mostly focuses on the qualitative data, the collected data described in narration and has meticulously to reach to the finding of the study.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

I have used both primary and secondary sources to generate required information. The primary data has been collected by using in-depth interview, key informant Interview, and observation. I have collected experiences, thoughts, perceptions, opinions and perspectives of elected marginalized women concerning the challenges and capacity of locally elected marginalized women through these methods. Meeting Minute Review that explored qualitative information on leadership capacity of elected marginalized women. The secondary data has been collected from different I/NGOs and government agencies. The primary data was the main information for analysis and interpretation where the secondary data plays supportive role for the development of theoretical backbone of the study.

3.4 Sample Procedures

Malarani Rural Municipality of Arghakhanchi district was selected as study area for conducting survey. A total of 49 elected representatives including village executive members, 20 women and marginalized women are locally elected representatives at the study area. The sample size of this study are entire women representatives from most marginalized community- Janajati and Dalit. Of the total women representatives, only 10 women representatives (9 Dalit women and 1 Janajati woman) from entire 9 wards were the direct respondent for the research. A total of 6 respondents were involved for the Key Informant Interview (KII) which include Chairperson (1), Vice-Chairperson (1), Member of Village Executive (2), Chief Administrative Officer (1) and Ward Chairperson of ward no. 9 of Malarani Rural Municipality.

3.5 Techniques and Tools for Data Collection

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

3.5.1. In-depth Interview

This is the major tool using for gathering qualitative information where the entire women representatives of marginalized communities were the respondents for face to face interview. Both close and open-ended questions were developed for the interview. Entire 10 selected for direct respondents were interviewed for capturing their overall experiences, thoughts, perspectives and opinions concerning local level government.

3.5.2. Key Informant Interview (KII)

Key informant interview schedule was used in the study as the tool for collecting data. The main aim of this method was to maximize and bring variations in the range of information which was collected from a number of holding vital posts, knowledge-rich and male representatives. Key informant interview was conducted by the checklist to those people applicable to literate and professionals, intellectual matured persons included both Men and Women. Required participants were interviewed as the representatives of Malarani Rural Municipality. Such interviews carried out in a very open, flexible and informal manner to be guided by some sort of checklist. Information regarding their experience, observation, perception, and practice in leadership capacity of elected women from marginalized communities with focus on their changing understanding has been explored and mentioned in the effective manner.

3.5.3. Case Study

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

3.5.4. Review of Meeting Minutes

Meeting minutes of ward and municipality level meetings has been reviewed for past 6 months randomly which has further supported to get information regarding decision

making and meaningful participation and proved the leadership capacity of marginalized women representatives.

3.5.5. Document Study

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

3.6. Secondary Data Collection

The secondary data were collected from different NGOs, INGOs and other organizations such as Diagnostic Study of Local Governance in Federal Nepal 2017 published by The Asia Foundation Nepal, Federal Nepal: The Provinces Socio-Cultural Profiles of The Seven Provinces published by Governance Facility, National Baseline Survey on Mainstreaming Elected Women in Local Politics: Assessing their Knowledge, Skills, and Needs conducted by Center for Dalit Women Nepal, First Rural Municipality Development Planning FY-2074/75 of Malarani Rural Municipality. The case stories, news and related documents; working papers were used as a secondary data to conclude and validate the hypothesis.

3.7 Data Analysis and Interpretation

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

3.8. Limitations of the Study

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

- This study is limited on certain place of certain district. So it does not generalized in other places.
- Study is based only on limited individual representatives of local level from the study area.
- This study has been conducted only for the purpose of partial fulfillment of the requirement of Master of Arts 2nd year for submitting to the central Department of Sociology in Tribhuvan University.
- It is an academic research work and the study is conducted within given time frame and financial limitation. So, there may have lack of enough information.

CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY AREA

4.1. Physic-Geographic Location

Malarani Rural Municipality falls in Arghakhanchi district in the north-western hill of province 5 of Nepal. Sandhikharka is the district headquarter of this district. It is 390 km (land route) north-west from Kathmandu. The district covers an area of 1,193 km² and has a population of 197,622 according to national census 2011. Its' neighboring districts are Palpa in the east, Pyuthan and Dang in the west, Gulmi in the north, Kapilvastu and Rupandehi in the south. The altitude of Arghakhanchi district ranges from 305 to 2515 meters from the sea level. Arghakhanchi is only the hill district where every village has road network as well as it has touched east-west highway by Sitganga Municipality.

The Arghakhanchi district was initially two separate kingdoms 'Argha' and 'Khanchi' until Prithivi Narayan Shah annexed the two principalities in 1943 BS under his unification campaign of *Chaubisi Rajya*. Later the merger was renamed Arghakhanchi and added to Gulmi district. Arghakhanchi became a separate district in 2018 BS.

Malarani Rural Municipality is situated at 22 KM far away from the district headquarter Sandhikharka. It is established in 2017 after the promulgation of Constitution of Nepal 2015 by merging of seven then Village Development Committees (VDCs) namely Arghatosh, Mareng, Khana, Khanadaha, Bangi, Hansapur and Gokhunga. The geographical coverage of Malarani Rural Municipality is 101.06 km² whereas the population is 28,044.00 (census 2011).

Weather: The Arghakhanchi - District lies in hill which has tropical and sub-tropical climate. The maximum recorded temperature is 24.95 C in the month of May and June, and the minimum recorded temperature is 6.03 C in the month of January. Rainfall, mostly starts from the end of May and lasts for three or four months till August and sometimes till September in accordance with extent of monsoon. However, weather of the Malarani Rural Municipality was very pleasant during the field visit in September, neither there was extreme hot nor cold.

Resources: Basically, land, forest and water are important natural resources of Nepal. All most all populations of the study site are depended upon land for its subsistence production. Some people of marginalized communities are in foreign for the employment however many people of this community are based on agriculture.

Land: Land is one of the most utilized natural resource in the study site. Type and quality of soil are major concerns of farmers and they invest a great deal of labour to maintain and enhance it. Land is generally classified as Bari (dry cultivated land) and Khet (paddy cultivated land) on the basis of types of crop cultivated and irrigation facilities. Basically, land in Malarani Rural Municipality is hill and there is no modern irrigation facility. Basically, farmers are depending on the rainy water and in some areas, farmers have been using channel for irrigation in their land.

4.2. Socio-Economic and Political Characteristics

This chapter consists of the main part of the study. It tends to focus on the analysis and discussion of empirical data obtained from the field study. Description of capacity of locally elected marginalized women, meaningful participation in politics, elected women's strengths and development needs in the field of politics of Malarani Rural Municipality, Arghakhanchi are analyzed in detail.

4.2.1 Socio-Demographic Background of the Study Site

Malarani Rural Municipality has diverse people. However, using the 2011 national census data there are majority of hill Bramin community where 35.48% population covers by them. Similarly, there is 15.66% of Bishwakarma 2.73% of Pariyar and 5.60% of Nepali in Malarani Rural Municipality.

4.2.2. Distribution of Population Composition in the Study Site based on Caste/Ethnicity (Dalits, Janajati and Others)

SN	Caste/ Ethnicity	Population	Percentage
1	Brahman/Chhetri	17,162.00	61.20
2	Janajati	4,070.00	14.51
3	Dalit	6,728.00	23.99
4	Others	84.00	0.30
	Total	28,044.00	100.00

Source: National Census 2011

People of various castes are currently living in Malarani Rural Municipality with total population 28,044. Out of which 6,728 people are Dalit and 4,070 are Janajati. The main Dalit caste groups in the Rural Municipality are *Lohar, Sarki, Sunar, Damai, Kami and Mijar*. People of various multi ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds are living in this Rural Municipality. Thus, in a way this symbolizes the diversity of the Nepalis population.

4.3. Socio-economic and Political Characteristics

4.3.1. Caste Ethnic Background of the Respondents

A total of 10 respondents were participated in the research study from entire nine wards of Malarani Rural Municipality. Among the respondents, maximum 4 were belonged to Bishwakarma while only one respondent was from Magar community. Similarly, 3 were Nepali and 2 were Pariyar respondents in the study. The respondents majorly belonged to Bishwakarma community.

4.3.2. Age and Education Composition

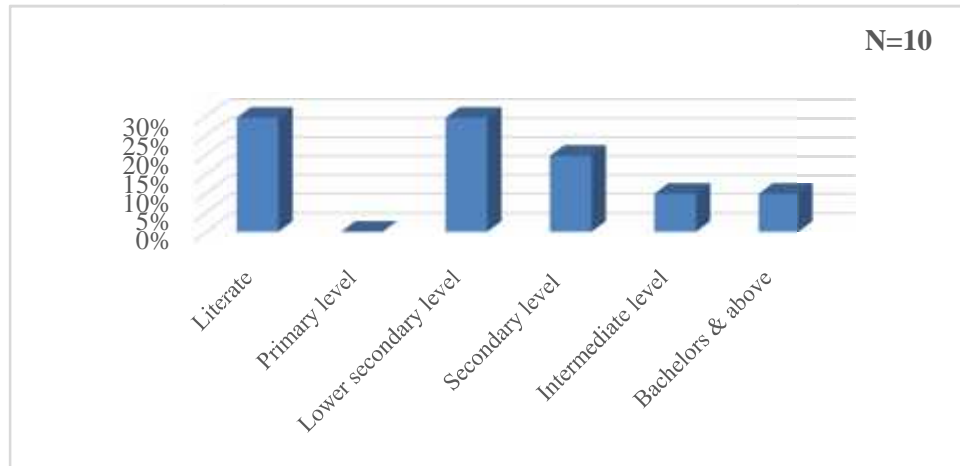
It was attempted to know the age groups and education of the respondents from marginalized community. The youngest respondents were of 26 years age where eldest were up to the age of 44 years. Locally elected marginalized women representatives were from the age group between 26 to 44 years. Of the 10 respondents, 4 respondents that they were found attaining education up to SLC level. Only one respondent found with intermediate level education and another one found with education up to lower secondary level. Rest 3 respondents were identified just literate with no formal schooling.

4.3.3. Marital Status, Religion and Family Types

The study found that total respondents were currently married and there were no unmarried, widow/single women. This means all the respondents for the research were married. Interestingly, all the respondents answered that they were the followers of Hindu religion. Family is a universal institution. It is found in every society. It fulfills emotional and physical needs of its members. So, the family play important role on women empowerment. The obtained data shows that high numbers of

respondents were represented from nuclear family and only 2 respondents were inhabiting in joint family. This data reveals that the recent people want to live in nuclear family due to modernization, urbanization and globalization process.

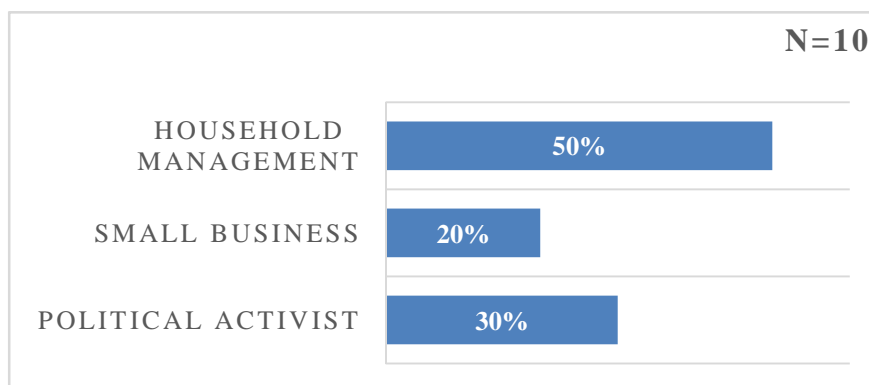
4.3.4. Distribution Respondents by their Spouse's Education



Source: Field study, 2018

This above chart clearly shows the education level of the respondent's spouse. The data shows that 30% of respondents were literate with no formal schooling. Similarly, the same number (30%) have lower secondary level education. 20% were obtained education up to secondary level. Only 10% were completed bachelors & above education and 10% completed intermediate level education.

4.3.5. Respondents' Major Occupation before Election

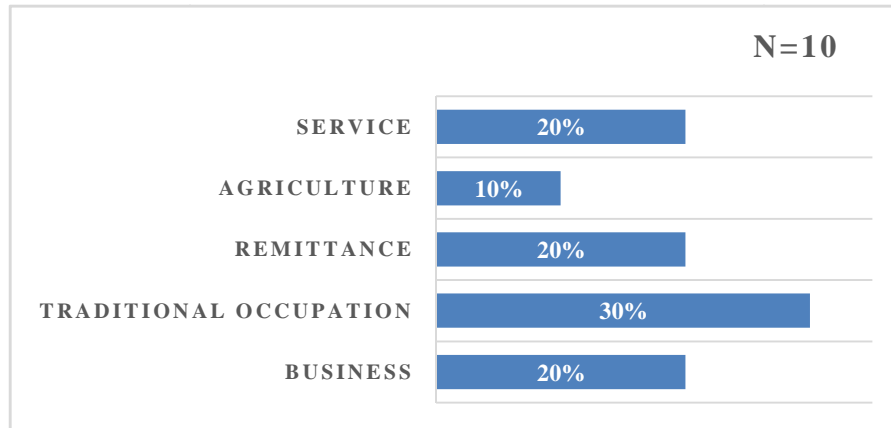


Source: Field study, 2018

This above figure describes the occupation of elected women representatives from marginalized before they were elected. According to the obtained data, larger number

of respondents were involved in household management with 50%. Similarly, 30% had involved in political activist and 20% had small business.

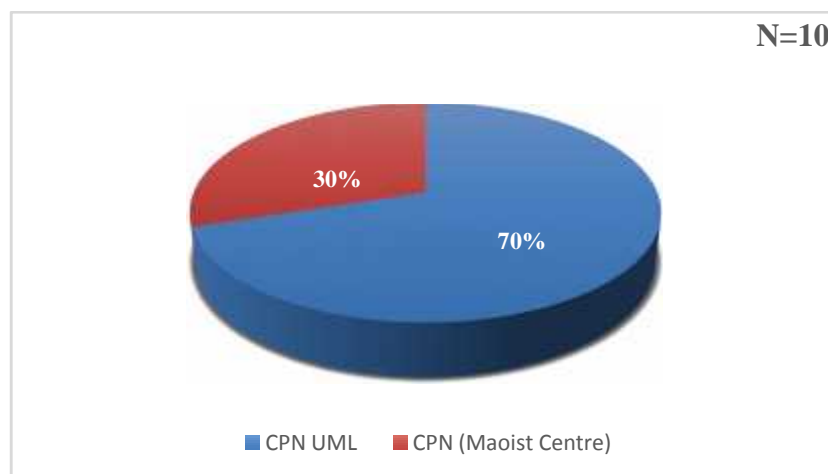
4.3.6. Distribution of Main Occupation/source of Income of Respondents' Household



Source: Field study, 2018

Going with the above data, the occupation/source of income of household of respondents found the traditional occupation (30%) is high. Similarly, major occupation/source of income followed by business (20%), remittance (20%), service (2) and agriculture (10%). Majority of respondents had traditional occupation for the major income of household in Malarani Rural Municipality.

4.3.7. Distribution Respondents by Political Party they represented from



Source: Field study, 2018

When we analyze the data in terms of political affiliation of the respondents, we see that the vast majority marginalized women representatives who have been voted in are from two major parties: CPN UML and CPN Maoist (Centre). The majority (70%) of the representatives were represented from CPN (UML) and least number of representatives were from CPN (Maoist Centre) with 30% in Malarani Rural Municipality.

CHAPTER V

CHALLENGES FACED BY LOCALLY ELECTED MARGINALIZED WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES AND THEIR CAPACITY TO FULFILL THEIR MANDATES

5.1. Marginalized Women Representatives Familiarity with their Roles, Responsibilities and Satisfaction with the Responsibility Undertaken

Elected marginalized women found to have a limited understanding of their roles and responsibilities. In local level, most of the women and marginalized women have been provided ticket for candidacy in general position. Political parties also provided them candidacy ticket whom the family members are politically accessed. Elected women have less knowledge regarding politics and its importance in social justice and transformation. Further, few rural women understood the politics is a place of earning money and politician's work is to visit several places with free mind. Actually, they want to be free from household chores and getting economic benefits. However, now the few elected women started becoming politically empowered day by day involving their respective party's meeting and orientation. Within the surveyed area, marginalized women representatives have received orientation on role and responsibility of elected representatives for two times from different NGOs that orientation was targeted to the marginalized women representatives. However, the government has not yet managed any sort of capacity building training to the marginalized women representatives while only two NGOs managed the orientation workshop for them.

Man Kala BK, 44, won the ward member of ward no. 7 of Malarani Rural Municipality. She was not aware about politics and she was just busy in household management prior to the election. In the initial days after elected, she was totally unaware about the role and responsibilities due to lack of political and other exposure. Now she has started studying about the role and responsibilities, and local level plans and programs with colleagues, community people and family member. She cited "I was totally unfamiliar about my roles in the beginning time but I have been involving in several trainings and workshops and learning something new from there".

Balkrishna Sharma (Chairperson of Malarani Rural Municipality) emphasizes that the women from marginalized community are active and quite aware in terms of their roles and responsibilities as they are all literate in Malarani. He further explained that there are a lot of problems of elected women especially marginalized women causing their knowledge on their roles and responsibilities as they have not received proper support from their families to be attending meetings and programs freely from where they have to be more capacitated.

Few elected women have political experience where maximum women have just been involved in politics after the election. Politically accessed women have confidence and known about the roles and responsibilities. Talking about the ward level elected marginalized women were few aware on their role and responsibilities towards society. Maximum elected women have no idea of executing their roles and responsibilities as well. In regards of familiarity with mandates of elected women, high level educated (secondary level) women are more aware with their roles and responsibilities while low level educated (primary or literacy level) are less aware. This is justified that only few women representatives have fulfilled their roles and responsibilities very effectively and with satisfaction since the few women are with secondary level education. However, their learning process is undergoing from various trainings, orientations, aware colleague members and family members.

5.2. Knowledge on Local Level Rights Enshrined in the Constitution

Gender and caste-based discrimination prevent marginalized women from accessing information, power and resources. However, the Constitution of Nepal 2015, the resulting federalism, and the 2017 local elections are bringing marginalized women into the political process. The 2017 Local Election Act has increased the proportion of women in politics even further and constitutes an important milestone in women's political representation. Marginalized women representatives are considered as incapable in decision-making and the responsibility of governance. They have no proper idea about local governance and working procedures. Even they are not aware about their rights. The fact that many locally elected marginalized women were not in politics before the election. They had no political experience where maximum marginalized women have just been involved in politics after the election. They were

only limited within household chores. Somewhat marginalized women came in the position due to their spouse and father in law's name and fame in the politics.

Mina Nepali, the age of 32 years is an elected Ward Member of ward no. 6 at Malarani Rural Municipality. She studied up to class 5 and got married. She was used to busy in household management and looking after children's care and sometimes she was active in some community saving credit groups. Though there was political environment in her resident, she was not politically affiliated and had no idea about the politics. Her father-in-law was an active local political leader of CPN Maoist (Center). She got ticket for the candidacy due to her father-in-law who was active in politics. She shared during my field visit "I cannot understand the decision in the ward level meeting though the minute is read out. I am just learning about development programs, laws and policies". She attends meetings, assemblies and programs regularly and due to this she is getting confidence along the learning about local rights and related matters. (For more details, please refer to the annex-I (D))

Majority of the representatives were not aware on local level rights where few of the representatives were knowledgeable on local level rights enshrined in the constitution. It seems the leadership capacity of representatives is weaker in comparison to the other community. Now after the election, marginalized women have started attending several meetings, programs, workshops and seminars on various issues and due to which they have gradually been able to understand the rights of local level, women rights in the community and even their rights, roles and responsibilities in local level government.

5.3. Status of Politically Engagement of Locally Marginalized Women Representatives

The contribution also depends on the affiliation of the representatives to the political parties in a democratic society. Nepal being a multi-party democratic country, one may have a presumption that all the representatives won by the respective political parties must be the valid members of the political parties. However the surprising thing is only few marginalized women were found having membership of the respective political parties. They have party membership in the ward level committee of political party.

Nim Bahadur Sunar (Member of Village Executive) cited that there are also social barriers for women mobilization in politics such as family responsibility, unfavorable family support and male dominated society. Similarly, lack of proper education, economic dependency, lack of confidence and restricted mobility are also the economic barriers for women in politics which also justify the need of the inter-generational participation in awareness raising and capacity building programs.

5.4. Elected Women's Confidence of Sharing Own Thoughts in the Meetings

According to Phan Bahadur Pun Magar (Ward Chairperson of 8 no. ward at Malarani Rural Municipality) the marginalized women representatives who are just literate, feel low self-esteem and have low confidence to raise the voice in meetings. *"Marginalized women needs to be empowered in leadership, speech delivery skills and overcome from the feeling of low self-esteem. Such capacity building training should be provided with the categorization considering level of understanding of the elected women from Dalit and others"*- Phan Bahadur Pun said.

During my field work I found generally marginalized women representatives who are educated, have confidence to share their idea, agenda, opinion and issues in the meeting and program in comparison to the literate women. However, marginalized women representatives have hesitation to share their issues and raise voices in the meetings and programs since they haven't received the opportunity to explore themselves before. Marginalized women representatives attend the meetings but they cannot effective agenda where they are considered as taken for token. Many women representatives have less idea about the allocated budget for their wards. Sumitra Nepali (Ward Member of Ward no. 6) shared *"at our ward, the ward chairperson develops community development program inviting intelligent male villagers and allocate budget accordingly by them. Ward chairperson only ask me to visit the development program like road construction within my village area. I actually do not know the actual budget and program allocated for our ward"*. There is lack of accountability and transparency in budgets and programs at the ward level where women and marginalized women representative, and even passive male representatives are not shared the actual budget and program.

The regular meetings, programs and some trainings made them capacitated and they are having confidence to raise the voices, agendas gradually. Despite of engaging in household management, elected women are involving in social services, development and women rights as well by which they are becoming empowered.

5.5. Elected Women's Confidence in Delivering Speech

Elected women's confidence in the delivery of speech is another indicator to examine the leadership capacity of locally elected marginalized women. Man Kala BK (Ward Member of Ward no. 7) shared her experience regarding speech delivery in-front of gathered people. She said *"I was so nervous when even speak my name in-front of gathered people since I was never used to. Now I have to heavily involve in meetings and programs and I brought confident gradually and I can deliver small piece of speech nicely now a days"*.

Elected women have been practicing raising voice, opinion and public speech after getting knowledge on local level rights, women rights and even their duties and rights at the local level.

5.6. Elected Women's Skills of Problem Solving and Decision Making

The problem solving, and decision making are significant indicators to examine and evaluate the leadership capacity of elected marginalized women. Many elected women had no political and social work background before the election. They were fully engaged in household chores but now they have been involving in social service, development, community and women rights. They have started to learn about laws, provisions, policies and programs through trainings, meetings and orientations.

Sita BK (41) is an elected Ward Member of ward no. 5 of Malarani Rural Municipality. She is a Member of Village Executive as well. She has passed 10 class. She worked for Female Community Health Volunteer (FCHV) for long time before the election. Sita is a good example for her community. Now, being a local representative, she gets many respects from people and people always invite for any social phenomena and function. She can resolve some disputes of her community and create harmonious society. (For more details: please refer to the annex I (C))

During my field study local women representatives found that they are empowering gradually in terms of taking decision to contribute their society through resolving several social problem within there. They are joining meetings and assemblies regarding development agendas and started raising their voices.

5.7. Elected Women's Confidence in Conducting Meetings

Large numbers of elected women have been elected as ward member and there is a meeting at the ward conduct by ward secretary. However, elected marginalized women conduct programs and meetings sometime. Nim Bahadur Sunar (ibid) said that some of the marginalized women have come from the background of small group mobilization at their community with vital position and they can conduct meetings and programs well.

Due to the formal, informal orientation and knowledge sharing by active and aware colleagues within local level as well as some training conducted by NGOs focusing to the marginalized women, a little progress in marginalized women's capacity to conduct official meetings and programs gradually. Elected women representatives got well cooperation and encouragement from their respective family and society to carry out their roles and responsibilities as well. They have further capacitated and built confidence through involving several programs and meetings organized by Rural Municipality.

5.8. Elected Women's Capacity in Making Local Level Planning

The study found that more than two third population interviewed was not knowledgeable in making local level planning. It means, very few representatives who are politically active and have secondary education had capacity of planning local level development. According to the Chief Administrative Officer of Malarani Rural Municipality "*the system gave women's representation, but there is no meaningful participation. Women representatives are very new in the local level government they need to be strengthened and empowered in planning process and development programs. However, they have started learning and practicing developing local level planning with the close coordination of ward chair and executive member of the Rural Municipality.*" Meaningful participation requires

understanding participation in basic terms and ability to engage in policy process and have influence and decision-making power.

Sita BK (Ward Member and Member of Village Executive) said “*the high density of settlement of Dalit and Janajati in my ward and there is cutting-up meat of buffalo and pig in the open ground. Thus, in the municipality meeting, I have regularly been demanding a butcher house to build there*”. Half of the women representatives who are active started raising and claiming some development programs like water tapes, electricity, Badhsala (butcher house), road access for their community. It indicates they are used to demand and make local development plans and programs.

5.9. Elected Women Capacity to Convince other Women in Politics

Great advances have been made in the areas of health services, education, income generation activities and public service provision. However, women and minorities still face many barriers when it comes to fully exercising their political rights. For a long time, they have been underrepresented in politics and struggled to participate meaningfully in government decision-making.

Sita BK encourage other women to participate any programs either it is political or non-political so that they can learn anything from the program. She suggests that politics is not for only upper caste women and male but also for Dalit women in politics. She is still feeling lacking of leadership capacity within her though it is improving now than past. (For more detail, please refer to annex I (C))

The study found elected women's political background, leadership capacity and self-confidence are weaker than elected male representatives since many elected women were not involved in the political parties before the election due to which it is hard to perform their roles and responsibilities.

Elected women have less knowledge regarding politics and its importance in social justice and transformation. Even most of them have no knowledge of women rights so that they do not encourage other women to involve in politics. Rather community women are showing their interest themselves to hold the position of local level in future election seeing elected women's outdoor involvement, allowances and other

facility. Most of the rural women understood the politics is a place of earning money and politician's work is to visit several places.

Now many elected marginalized women have realized that the politics is the pioneer base of uplifting their belonged communities. Pramila Chhetri (Vice-chairperson of Malarani Rural Municipality) shared that she has encouraged women specially marginalized women to engage politics while visiting societies and programs. She further shared during her interview that ward member marginalized women got political awareness gradually and they have started encouraging their communities to involve in politics.

During the field study women representatives were found with capacity to convince other women in politics by mobilizing them in various women empowerment activities. The women representatives expressed 'state' and 'political parties' being the main factor for increasing women leadership and representation in politics.

5.10. Current Situation of Elected Women in the Local Level

The physical presence of locally elected marginalized women in local level is numerically good but they are still unable to rapport building or established in local level. They have not proper knowledge on law, strategy, and community mobilization. Rather than lack of proper knowledge they are working hardly in local level. Though elected women are getting support from their family and spouse, but it seems they are emerging on their roles and responsibilities. There is quite changes in gender roles after being elected at home affairs. However, elected women would perform household works as before. Most of the elected women are from poor economic background. They have the responsibility of managing their family working as daily wages labor and others.

Many of these elected women had never independently left the home before election. Still elected women have hard to go out of home without their family's permission. In such condition, they cannot move outside freely. Nepali society is male dominated society so this is the main obstacle in the society. Marginalized women representatives have many problems like economic, social and family.

Current situation of local women representative in local level is neither good nor bad. In such condition women are not well empowered to perform their roles where their family and spouses have chance to grab the authority. In some extent, society perceives elected women in a negative way. They blame social stigma that women who are in politics not good by their character. Elected women especially marginalize women seem to be emerging and empowering on their position. However, they are not concerned on making important decisions and programs. They are somehow called in the meetings and trainings to fulfill the corium. In other hand, concerned agencies are providing several orientation trainings to develop their capacity and skills to elected women, however these capacity enhancement programs are limit.

Many women representatives have inadequate knowledge in political ideology. Political parties also provided them candidacy ticket whom the family members are politically accessed. However, now the few elected women started becoming political empowerment day by day through involving their respective party's meeting and informal orientation.

5.11. Relation between Challenges and Capacity

The above-mentioned challenges (socio-economic and political) are somehow linked with the leadership capacity of locally elected marginalized women representatives. They came from reservation quota and they got the better opportunity to work in their respective community. Marginalized women representatives are considered as low level of understanding in every aspects of the phenomena. They have no proper idea about rule of Law, local governance and working procedures. Even they are not aware about their judiciary mandate. They could not play effective role in this situation.

However, the challenges they are facing now have been a big question on their capacity. Elected marginalized women representatives faced barriers while performing their roles in local governments due to low level of skills, knowledge and capacities. Few elected marginalized women have political experience where maximum women have just been involved in politics after the election. Despite several barriers faced by locally elected marginalized women representatives, they expressed commitment and optimism in terms of carrying out their roles accordingly as they have been receiving different types of capacity enhancement trainings.

Sumitra BK, Pokhrel a Ward Member of ward no-3 was born in non-Dalit family. She got inter caste married with Dalit boy. Her husband and father in law were active in politics in India (Prabasi Nepali Sangh, Bharat). There was political environment at her married home. However, she had no any interest in politics. She usually was busy in agriculture after the marriage. After she got elected, she has been studying her role and responsibilities these days. But in the meeting her suggestions and agendas are excluded many times.

Sumitra is secretary of Dalit Women Network (DWN). She regularly gives enough time to the community people but there is problem in her family when she is late evening to be back to home. So she said there is no freedom to women like men representatives in the society. Though, she is attending during planning, budging and other decision-making process she cannot raise the agenda strongly and effectively due to lack of proper knowledge and capacity on thematic area. She feels that she just attend for fulfilling the meeting corium. (For more details, please see the annex I (E))

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary

This research was undertaken with the objective to explore challenges and leadership capacity of locally elected marginalized women representatives of Malarani Rural Municipality of Arghakhanchi district. Only 10 representatives from marginalized (Dalit and Janajati) community have been taken the interview for the research.

Women's specially marginalized women's political representation and participation in Nepal is still very low as compare to other countries. Obstacles to their participation at economic, social and political level has been limited their contributions to decision-making, and their needs and interests are hardly ever taken into account.

6.1.1. Current Leadership Capacity of Locally Elected Marginalized Women

Marginalized women representatives found to be emerging with the capacity of leadership during the field study. Regardless of their educations status or age, majority of the marginalized women representatives have felt the need of increase capacity of leadership through financial and budget management trainings to help better at work, followed by leadership and women empowerment training. The leadership capacity seemed poor in marginalized women representatives due to have less knowledge about the local level rights enshrined in the constitution and local level act in comparison to the other women and men representatives. They even have limited knowledge on their roles, responsibilities and rights.

Normally marginalized women representatives are active in the part of social mobilization. Many of the marginalized women representatives had the background of community group mobilization such as mothers group, saving credit group, women group and farmers group. Therefore, they have capacity to convince and mobilize other women as well. The exciting thing is elected marginalized women are highly interested to be familiar on policy, law, rights and any new things for knowledge in the emerging local level government. They are empowering through several capacity building trainings by the local level and I/NGOs.

6.1.2. Awareness Level of Politics and their Roles and Responsibilities among Marginalized Women Representatives

Nepal has made significant progress in devolution of political powers and inclusion of marginalized groups. The 2017 Local Election Act has increased the proportion of women in politics ever further and constitutes an important milestone in women's political representation. But the bitter truth is many of the marginalized women representatives had poor political background where maximum women representatives have just been involved in politics after the election. They do have few political knowledge viz. political party ideology they represented from. Political parties provided candidacy ticket to some of them due to the reason of the family members are politically accessed. On the other hand, the provision of reservation seat to the marginalized women made them possible to get the ticket of candidacy. However, many elected women are being empowered gradually through involving their respective party's meeting and orientation.

Locally elected marginalized women have no previous experience regarding local level as the federal system has just been established. Many of them had poor familiarity with their roles and responsibilities and now they are having knowledge to perform their roles and responsibilities to fulfill the mandate they have received. Elected women are getting support from their family and spouses so that they are emerging to learn-on-learn about everything they feel lack within them. Among the representatives, few of have fulfilled their roles and responsibilities very effectively and with satisfaction.

Now elected marginalized women are more active than before. The proper orientations, trainings regarding their capacity development has been conducting for them. Political parties also realized that the active participation of women in politics is today's need. Therefore, the respective parties have also granted them several some political orientation programs. Due to the reason, elected women have gradually been aware on their roles and responsibilities as well as political awareness.

6.1.3. Social Respect for Elected Marginalized Women Representatives

Elected marginalized women have started receiving respect by their respective society as they have joined to perform their responsibilities towards their society gradually.

This has been possible after they have got some knowledge and skills through meetings, trainings, workshops and seminars on various issues. Most of the elected women can resolve some social disputes nicely who were involving in social groups and committee before the election. Therefore, they are asked and invited on social phenomena by community people. Community people and their family give them immense respect and courtesy considering them as they are the social activist.

As they are elected representatives, they have certain roles and responsibilities at local level so that they are receiving courtesy and respect from their family and community. Women were considered as weaker one in the community and now the perception towards women has been changing gradually. Despite of engaging in household management, elected women are involving in social services, development and women rights. The number of elected women have illiteracy whereas they have started to learn about laws, provisions, policies and programs through trainings, meetings and orientations. In addition to this, elected women are becoming economically empowered as they are entitled to remuneration and allowances.

Elected marginalized women reach in community development work for monitoring and observation. They are interested and active in social work and development planning and process. Though they trying to perform their duties and responsibilities, they could not do well as they are in new process and they have lack of proper knowledge on procedural process. There is no any complain against elected marginalized women. But their capacity is always in question. Especially, marginalized women used to be perceived as low capacity. Sometimes, they get complained on Decision making procedures, budget and planning of program are made unrealistic and beyond the community.

6.1.4. Opportunities and Barriers of Elected Marginalized Women for Leadership Capacity

Elected representatives have so many opportunities in terms of enhance their capacity and make positive change in their community. They have access of local resources, their own rights and decisions. They have the jurisdiction of forming several acts, laws, procedures to govern the local government. They have the mandate to improve

and increase local revenue as well. They have easy access with local people so that they can easily provide service for them.

Similarly, they have equally barriers that they are no proper familiar with the existing rule and law for the local level. They are also unclear about the bureaucratic as well as management system. There is limited cooperation between authority of representatives and bureaucratic staffs. Besides this, family burden also another crucial problem for women representatives. Caste-based discrimination, social and religious stereotypes, social stigma is fundamental obstacle to foster career as elected representatives.

6.2. Conclusion

Locally elected marginalized women have low leadership capacity which are directly reflected into their roles and responsibilities. They were found having inadequate knowledge of local level planning and process. Among them, literate representatives have poor familiarity about their roles and responsibilities. Locally elected marginalized women's numerical representation is good. However, there are barriers in effective and meaningful representation in the local level government as much effective as it was intended due to their limited capacity.

Many women are actively prohibited from participation in the first instance. They have held the position but male representatives bound their hands and feet. As Ward Member - Mina Nepali said, "Ward chair bounded our hand and feed. We are bypass while taking any significant decision at the ward level".

These barriers are however linked with structural composition of society as well as their personal capacity. It is believed that women should be imposed within the house in Nepali society. Due to which women participation and mobilization in political parties are very rare. Social culprit like caste-based discrimination, gender discrimination led them into marginalization. They still have been facing these barriers while performing their duties and responsibilities.

The study has mapped the training needs for marginalized women elected representatives referencing women's own articulation of their limitations and challenges. The representatives have felt the need for financial and budget

management training to help perform better at work, followed by leadership and women empowerment training. It also requires simultaneous interventions into such realms as political parties, women NGOs, electoral laws, political finance reform, as well as education, economic programs and knowledge production for women. Government and policy makers should pay enough attention in making such policies and programs that aims at eliminating those barriers.

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ANNEXES

- I. Case Studies:
 - a. Case of Sumitra Pariyar,
 - b. Case of Supriya Yonjan (Pun)
 - c. Case of Sita BK
 - d. Case of Mina Nepali
 - e. Case of Sumitra BK (Pokhrel)
- II. Meeting Minutes
- III. Questionnaire for In-depth interview and Key Informants' Interview
- IV. Table of Respondents' Detail

ANNEX- I: CASE STUDY

A. *Sumitra Pariyar* is an elected candidate to the position of ward member at Malarani Rural Municipality-8, Arghakhanchi. She belongs to Dalit community and took her candidacy from Dalit woman quota. She has received secondary level education. She got married at the early age of 15. She lives in a nuclear family. Her husband has received literacy education and he works at golf country.

Sumitra has long political experiences. She involved in politics at the local from her teenage. She was motivated to be involved in politics by her senior villagers who were already in politics. Her core motivation to be in politics was changing her belonged community where the situation of *Damai* community was vulnerable. Though there was no any political environment in her residence, but being an active Dalit woman she used to keep herself busy in the betterment of the *Damai* community. At the earlier phases she worked for the political party involving Village Committee of CPN-UML and *Nepal Jatiya Mukti Samaj*, a political sister organization of CPN UML as district member. She did not receive favorable environment after marriage since her husband was associated with different political party namely *Rastriya Janamorcha*. However, she struggled her life for politics from the local level. The majority of the people were CPN Maoist at her village Hansapur. Despite her very hard situation during the people war since she was active cadre of CPN UML at village, she used to do some social works being slight inactive in the politics and convinced her community people not to involve in CPN Maoist. She did not receive healthy support from her family for pursuing her political career even still she does not have the support.

After being elected ward member at local level, she is thankful towards the political party and her community. She was not much confident at the beginning, but now her confidence level is gradually increasing and she ensures herself to do something good in her life and for local people. She expects some capacity enhancement trainings related to roles and responsibilities of elected representatives at local level as she feels lacking of confidence while delivering speech in front of senior colleagues. However, she is getting enough encouragement to speak in mass from Chairperson of the Rural Municipality. She manages her time to be present the meetings and assembly regularly and try to raise voice in the meeting though the issues are not registered

officially in the meeting minutes. Apart from that, she used to keep herself busy in household chores. She believes women empowerment can only be possible through politics. She believed that the politics helped her to come forward up to this position. Therefore, she has been encouraging marginalized women to be active in politics for their all forms of empowerment.

Sumitra has experiences that many aware community people respect her after holding this position. They mainly ask her for resolving some social disputes and she does nicely. Apart from the local level representative, she is involved in several community based groups and organizations like saving and credit/cooperative, community forestry and agriculture, health, mothers group. She thought this is the wonderful platform to serve to the society.

B. *Supriya Yonjan Pun* is an elected woman ward committee member of ward no. 6 in Malarani Rural Municipality in the last year local polls. She was born in the Tamang community in Sindhupalchok. After getting married with a boy of Malarani Rural Municipality and she moved with her husband at the same village. She has completed the intermediate level education. She was just wanted to be a good entrepreneur for her family's wellbeing economic status rather than taking a concern about politics. But she could not be escaped from politics since her husband was active cadre of CPN-Maoist (Center) at the local level. At the period of local level, she has been encouraged to be a candidate of ward member by her husband.

Prior to the election, Yonjan was active member of several community-based groups such as; saving and credit, mothers group, women group. Since she was an educated woman among other members of a saving and credit group, she was responsible to keep records of accounts. Furthermore, she used to convince other members to invest and plan of the saving amount in profit making activities.

After she elected in the ward member position, she got an immense cooperation from her family and representing party to boost-up of her capabilities on the new path. She is keeping her busy in social work collaborating with the village intellectuals and local leaders. Though she had no fear of speaking in front of the people, she feels lack of knowledge and capacity regarding the functions, rights and duties of local government. She is trying most herself to be a good example of her community

byperforming well in social work. She is much interested to build capacity in terms of mediating disputes resolution within the community and preparing plan of development programs to perform better way. She has got chance to observe and monitor of development programs in the ward level.

She sometimes get frustrated due to her voices are taken as valueless in the ward level meetings since she is a *Tamang* woman where the *Tamang* community is considered a most marginalized among *Janajati*. Similarly, she feels marginal in her Rural Municipality since she is one and only representative from *Janajati* women. This has been making her stronger and she has started raising her voice for her community and Dalits with the close collaboration with Dalit women representatives. She said, "*Dalit and Janajati both communities are similar as they are historically marginalized communities, so we need to be united for our community development*".

C. Sita BK (41) is an elected Ward Member of ward no. 5 of Malarani Rural Municipality. She is also a member of the Village Executive. She has received secondary level education. She worked for Female Community Health Volunteer (FCHV) for long time prior to the election. Likewise, she was a member of CPN UML party and Village Committee of *Akhil Nepal Mahila Sanga*. Her husband also an active cadre in the politics and he takes part for the party as well as he runs his own business at the village. She got ticket for the candidacy due to her husband's contribution in party and even her active role in the community.

As her active involvement in the meetings and assemblies after being local level representative, she became a member of Village Executive. She had no sufficient confident speaking in the mass people. Gradually she started speaking up confidently at any formal and informal meetings. Now she can explore the issues of her community and tries to play good role in formulating several programs to the Dalit community. Though she explores many issues in the meeting, but her issues cannot be addressed and denied for next year plans.

Sita encourages other women to participate any programs either it is political or non-political so that they can learn something from the program. She suggests that politics is not for only upper caste women and male but also for Dalit women in politics. She is still feeling lacking of leadership capacity within her though it is being improved

gradually now rather than past. She used to deny not to participate at any program as she had low self-esteem to introduce within a group or meetings. Now she tries to speak up in the meetings. However, she cannot deliver the content confidently as much as she has knowledge about the issues. Thus, she needs various trainings and programs where she would learn more. She has received some trainings about roles and responsibilities of local representatives but she could not perform her duties accordingly because she has not been delegated any specific tasks.

She has very bad experience about caste based discrimination after being elected. She shared that once she took part in a district level program where non-Dalit representatives were also attended. The non-Dalit representatives had denied having lunch sitting together with Dalit women representatives in the program. After seeing that she spoke to the non-Dalit representatives that not to do such discriminatory behavior in such public spaces and programs.

Sita is the president of a poverty alleviation community organization and member of micro finance cooperative. She is a good example for her community. She is contributing her time and effort for people welfare. Now, being a local representative, she gets many respects from people and people always invites for any social phenomena and function.

D. *Mina Nepali, 32*, is a Ward member of 6 at Malarani Rural Municipality. She got married at the age of 17. She left her study after 5 class and got married. Her husband works for farming and traditional occupation i.e. making *Madal* and *Baja* (Nepali traditional musical instruments). There are total 4 family members including husband and 2 children.

Mina Nepali was totally unaware about politics. She used to keep herself busy in household chores, looking after children and so on though there is political environment in her residence. Her father in law was an active local political leader of CPN Maoist (Center). When local election announced, her father in law exercised for getting ticket for his daughter in law for the ward member position and finally Mina got the ticket of candidacy. Although she got the ticket, she was confused either being excited or sad since she had no idea about politics. She was only active in some community saving credit groups and agricultural activities before the election. Her

father in law and other local leaders supported and encouraged her enough during the election campaign conducting door to door visit, assembly and programs. Her representing party also helped her in campaign properly and therefore she won the election.

Now she has started interacting with colleagues, community people, visiting and observing development programs and has learned a lot about her role and responsibilities. She attends meetings, assemblies, programs regularly. *“I was not aware that I had a leadership capacity inside me. The orientation program helped to bring it out,”* she said. She used to hesitate to introduce herself for any kind of meetings at the earliest. She could not speak to the Chairperson of Rural Municipality. She started interacting with the president together with other Members these days. Mina found herself less confident, but she has encouraged working for society. She wants to speak in the meeting, but she does not feel enabling environment as Ward Chairperson conduct meeting for formality at the ward office. She blames that; *“we have to participate in the meeting only for clapping; decision is already made without consulting us”*. She further said; *“I cannot understand the decision though the meeting minute is read out. I'm just learning about the development program for Dalit community”*. She has a keen interest to build capacity in terms of public speaking and preparing plan of development program. She takes interest to know the plan and program of ward with Ward Chairperson, but she could not get proper support from the Ward Chairperson. However, she has got chance to observe and monitor of Dalit targeted programs like sewing cutting training, furniture making etc.

Mina is getting confident in harmonizing community people by resolving conflict and dispute in the community. Due to her emerging activeness in the society she is getting well behavior and respect from the people of her community. However, Mina has experienced gender and caste-based discrimination from her colleagues and community people.

E. Sumitra BK, Pokhrel a Ward Member of ward no-3 was born in non-Dalit family but she got married with a Dalit boy. Her husband and father in law were active in politics in India (*Prabasi Nepali Sangh, Bharat*). There was political environment at her married home. However, she had no any interest in politics. She usually was busy in household management and agriculture after the marriage. She

had not faced any caste-based discrimination in her childhood since she was Brahmin girl. When she got married with Dalit boy, she excessively faced caste-based discrimination more than Dalit people. Then she realized well enough that how inhuman behavior shows toward Dalit community by so called upper caste. Considering such situation, she started in Dalit movement at the local level. She joined several programs, rally and seminar about Dalit movement. She joined politics too and started raising the voice for Dalit rights within party. She actively involved in the party and due to this party provided her candidacy of Ward Member from Dalit quota. She won the seat.


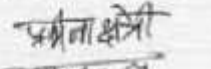




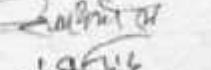



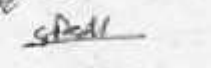






Sumitra is more committed to fight against caste-based discrimination. She shared an incident while taking the interview period that when she visited in community to monitor development work after election, all the other caste elected members and visitors were invited inside the home, but she was given lunch outside at the lunch time. She returned to her home and cried all over the night. This incident made her stronger to fight with such inhuman behavior of people. She has no even few fear to speak out at any forums, meetings and seminars. She is studying her role and responsibilities as well. But in the meeting her suggestions and agendas are excluded many times. Often she attends the ward meeting but all of the decision is taken by chair self.


Sumitra is a secretary of Dalit Women Network (DWN). She regularly gives enough time to the community people but there is problem in her family when she gets late in the evening to be back to home. So she said there is no freedom to women like men representatives in the society. She has confident but sometime she get frustrated because of her voices are considered as valueless in the meetings. Apart from this, she needs public speaking training, training on role and responsibility of local representative etc.


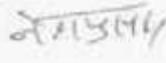
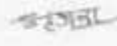
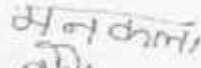

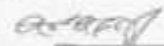





ANNEX- II: MEETING MINUTE

राज मिति २०७४/०६/०८ गते आइतबारका दिन यस मासारानी गाउँपालिकाको मा.स. ०७४।०७५ को गाउँ सभा तथा चनेट अधिवेशन मासारानी गाउँपालिकाका अध्यक्ष श्री बालकृष्ण शर्मा (आचार्य) ज्यूको अध्यक्षतामा बसी तपसिन बमोजिमको उपस्थितिमा देहाय बमोजिमका विषयमा छलफल गरि निर्णय गरियो ।

उपस्थिति

१) श्री बालकृष्ण शर्मा आचार्य	अध्यक्ष	
२) श्री प्रमिला क्षेत्री	उपाध्यक्ष	
३) श्री बालकृष्ण आचार्य	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. १	
४) श्री बिष्णु प्रसाद भुसाल	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. २	
५) श्री जीवन कुमार चौहान	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ३	
६) श्री बिष्णु प्रसाद पोखरेल	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ४	
७) श्री शोभाकर भुसाल	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ५	
८) श्री नारायण प्रसाद अर्वाल	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ६	
९) श्री सद्धक प्रसाद भुसाल	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ७	
१०) श्री नरेन्द्र कुमार वस्नेत	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ८	
११) श्री फन बहादुर पुन	बडा अध्यक्ष बडा नं. ९	
१२) श्री मन बहादुर वि. क.	दक्षित सदस्य	
१३) श्री इन्दिरा आचार्य	महिला सदस्य	
१४) श्री निम बहादुर सुनार	दक्षित सदस्य	
१५) श्री दुवा घिमिरे	महिला सदस्य	
१६) श्री दिपा पोखरेल	महिला सदस्य	
१७) श्री नीला वि. क.	महिला सदस्य	

१८। श्री खिम प्रसाद श्रेष्ठ	सदस्य	
१९। श्री धनश्याम क्षेत्री	सदस्य	
२०। श्री सरस्वती पन्थी बाण्डे	सदस्य	
२१। श्री सुमित्रा नेपाली	सदस्य	
२२। श्री लोक बहादुर कुवर	सदस्य	
२३। श्री निम बहादुर पाण्डे	सदस्य	
२४। श्री मिना नेपाली	सदस्य	
२५। श्री जनार्दन खनाल	सदस्य	
२६। श्री शोभाखर खनाल	सदस्य	
२७। श्री सुमित्रा वि.क.	सदस्य	
२८। श्री अशोक भुसाल	सदस्य	
२९। श्री ससे गुनार	सदस्य	
३०। श्री लक्ष्मि वि.क.	सदस्य	
३१। श्री दुर्गादेवि आचार्य	सदस्य	
३२। श्री ज्ञान बहादुर चौहान	सदस्य	
३३। श्री निम बहादुर महत	सदस्य	
३४। श्री कौशिला आचार्य	सदस्य	
३५। श्री ज्ञान बहादुर राउत क्षेत्री	सदस्य	
३६। श्री रेम बहादुर राना मगर	सदस्य	
३७। श्री सुश्रिया योन्जन पुन	सदस्य	
३८। श्री मिना नेपाली	सदस्य	

३९) श्री जित बहादुर खडका	सदस्य	
४०) श्री नेत्र प्रसाद मिश्र	सदस्य	
४१) श्रीसुजना खन्नाल	सदस्य	
४२) श्री भगवती वि.क	सदस्य	
४३) श्री जॉन बहादुर थापा	सदस्य	
४४) श्री बल बहादुर हीजाप्ती	सदस्य	
४५) श्री पदमा पन्थी	सदस्य	
४६) श्रीसुमित्रा परियार	सदस्य	
४७) श्री कमला पीडेल	सदस्य	
४८) श्री भुविलान घर्ती	सदस्य	
४९) श्री फूलमती परियार	सदस्य	
५०) श्री जनकराज पन्थी	सदस्य सचिव	
५१) श्री कृष्ण प्रसाद पाण्डे	काम तामेल	

**ANNEX- III: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR IN-DEPTH AND KEY INFORMANTS'
INTERVIEW**

**स्थानीय निर्वाचन तथा निर्वाचित सिमान्तकृत महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुको
नेतृत्व क्षमता**

(मालारानी गाउँपालिका, अर्घाखाँचीमा स्नातकोत्तरको सोधपत्रका लागि एक अध्ययन)

अध्ययनकर्ता : धुवराज बिके

सर्वेक्षण प्रश्नावली

सिमान्तकृत महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुसंग गहन अन्तरवार्ताका लागि सोधिने खुला
प्रश्नावलीहरु :

क्र.सं	प्रश्नावली	उत्तरहरु
१	वडा नं	
२	गाउँको नाम	
३	उत्तरदाताको नाम	
४	गाउँपालिका प्रतिनिधिको पद	अध्यक्ष उपाध्यक्ष वडा अध्यक्ष दलित महिला सदस्य महिला सदस्य
५	वैवाहिक स्थिति	अविवाहित विवाहित एकल छुट्टिएको सम्बन्ध विच्छेद
६	उमेर	_____पुरा गरेको वर्ष
७	धर्म	हिन्दु बौद्ध इस्लाम इसाइ
८	परिवारको मुख्य आय स्रोत	कृषि ठूला उद्यम तथा उद्योग साना तथा घरेलु उद्योग जागीर/सेवा रेमिट्यान्स(विदेश बाट पठाएकोरकम) श्रमिकज्याला निवृत्ति भरण(पेन्सन)

		परम्परागत पेशा आरनको काम सिलाईकटाई सुनको काम बाँसको काम
९	तपाईंको उच्चतम शैक्षिक योग्यता कति हो ?	निरक्षर साक्षर प्रौढ शिक्षा पूरा गरेको कक्षा_____
१०	तपाईंको श्रीमान /श्रीमतीको उच्च शैक्षिक योग्यता कति हो ?	निरक्षर साक्षर प्रौढ शिक्षा पूरा गरेको कक्षा_____
११	परिवारको प्रकार	एकल संयुक्त बृहत
१२	परिवारको सदस्य संख्या	संख्या_____

१३. स्थानीय तहमा निर्वाचित हुनुभन्दा पहिले तपाईंको मुख्य पेशा के थियो ?
१४. तपाईंको परिवारमा अन्य सदस्य राजनीतिमा संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ ?
१५. तपाईं निर्वाचनभन्दा पहिला कुनै राजनीतिक दलमा रहेर राजनीतिमा संलग्न हुनुहुन्थ्यो ?
१६. तपाईं अहिले कुनै राजनीतिक दलमा संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ ? यदि हुनुहुन्छ भने कुन स्तरको राजनीतिक पदमा संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ ?
१७. तपाईंलाई राजनीतिमा आउन कसले प्रणीत गर्नुभयो ?
१८. तपाईं वडा तथा पालिकास्तरको बैठकमा कतिको उपस्थित हुनुहुन्छ ?
१९. तपाईंलाई आफ्नो पदको काम, कर्तव्य र अधिकारबारे थाहा छ ? यदि छ भने, उक्त जिम्मेवारीहरु प्रभावकारी रूपमा पूरा गरेको जस्तो लाग्छ ?
२०. तपाईंले बैठकमा उपस्थित भएर आफ्नो विचार राख्ने अवसर पाउनु भएको छ ?
२१. यदि अवसर पाउनुभएको भए तपाईंको सरोकारलाई ध्यान दिइन्थ्यो ?
२२. अनि तपाईंको सरोकारलाई निर्णयमा समेटियो ?
२४. तपाईंले गाउँका अन्य महिलाहरुलाई पनि राजनीतिमा लाग्न प्रेरित गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ ?
२५. निर्वाचनपछि तपाईंले कुनै त्यस्तो लैंगिक हिसांको सामना गर्नुपरेको छ ?
२६. यदि छ भने कस्तो किसिमको लैंगिक हिसांको सामना गर्नुपयो ?
२७. तपाईंले निर्वाचित भएपछि कुनै त्यस्तो जातीय विभेद सामना गर्नु परेको छ ?

२८. यदि छ भने कस्तो किसिमको जातीय विभेदको सामना गर्नुपरेको छ ?
२९. तपाईंको विचारमा राजनीतिको माध्यमबाट महिलाको नेतृत्व क्षमता विकास हुन सक्छ ?
३०. के तपाईं भाषण गर्न सक्ने क्षमता हुन्छ ?
३१. तपाईं निर्वाचित भईसकेपछि तपाईंले नयाँ नीति, बजेट तथा सामुदायिक विकासमा काम गर्नुभएको छ ?
३२. तपाईं निर्वाचित भईसकेपछि समाजले तपाईंलाई सम्मान दिएको जस्तो महशुस गर्नुभएको छ ?
३३. समाजमा हुने सामान्य भैरगडा हुदाँ तपाईंलाई समाजले खोज्छ ?
३४. के तपाईंसंग उक्त भैरगडा मिलाउन सक्ने शीप छ ?
३५. के तपाईंसंग बैठक संचालन गर्न सक्ने शीप छ ?
३६. तपाईं कुनैपनि उपभोक्ता समिति, जस्तै खानेपानी तथा सरसफाई, वचत तथा ऋण सहकारी, सिमान्तकृत सामुदायिक समूह, आमा समूहमा आवद्ध हुनुहुन्छ ?
३७. यदि हुनुहुन्छ भने कुन पदमा रहनुभएको छ ?
३८. तपाईंलाई सरकार तथा संघसंस्थाले कस्तो प्रकारको तालिमको आशा गर्नुभएको छ ?
३९. अन्त्यमा केही छ कि ?

प्रमुख जानकारदाताहरूसंग अन्तरवार्ताको (KII) लागि सोधिने प्रश्नावलीहरु :

१. दलित तथा सिमान्तकृत महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुको क्षमतालाई कसरी मूल्यांकन गर्नुहुन्छ ?
२. के दलित महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरु बैठक र समारोहमा आफना विचार कतिको प्रभावकारी रुपमा राख्छन ?
३. के वडा स्तरका दलित महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुले आफनो पदिय जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्न सक्ने क्षमता कस्तो छ ?
४. तपाईंले प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव गरे अनुसार दलित महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुले आफनो समुदायको मुद्दाहरु प्रभावकारी रुपमा कतिको उठाउछन ?
५. दलित महिलाहरुले लिने कुनै निर्णय वा विचारहरुमा उहाँको स्वविवेक हो कि कोही कसैले सिकाएको भरमा हुने गर्दछ ?

६. दलित महिलाहरु स्थानीय तहमा हुने विभिन्न विकास तथा कार्यक्रमको भेलाहरुमा उपस्थित भएर कुनै प्रभावकारी विचारहरु राख्न र निर्णय प्रक्रियामा उहाँहरुको भूमिका कस्तो पाउनुभएको छ ?
७. दलित महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुको क्षमता विकासमा के कस्तो सहयोग गर्नुपर्ला ?
८. दलित महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरुलाई नियमित रुपमा कार्यसम्पादन गर्न उहाँहरुको घरपरिवारबाट कतिको सहयोग प्राप्त भएको छ ?
९. विभिन्न समुह परिचालन गर्नमा दलित महिला जनप्रतिनिधिहरु कतिको सक्षम छन् जस्तो लाग्छ ?
१०. यस गाउँपालिकामा महिलाहरुलाई पुरुष सरहनै सम्मानजनक रुपमा हेरिन्छ कि कुनै विभेद भोग्नुपरेको छ ?
११. दलित महिलाहरुलाई लैंगिक तथा जातको आधारमा कुनै सभा, सम्मेलन तथा बैठकमा कुनै प्रकारको विभेद भाग्नुपरेको छ ?

ANNEX-IV:TABLE OF RESPONDENTS' DETAIL

SN	Name of representative	Ward No.	Political Party	Caste	Age	Education	Marital Status	Religion	Type of family	Main occupation of family	Major profession before elected in local body	Spouse education
1	Sumitra Nepali	1	CPN (UML)	Nepali	41	SLC	Married	Hindu	Joint	Service	Housewife	SLC
2	Mina Nepali	2	CPN (UML)	Nepali	40	8 pass	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Service	Housewife	8 pass
3	Sumitra BK (Pokhrel)	3	CPN (UML)	Bishwakarma	26	SLC	Married	Hindu	Joint	Remittance	Business	10+2 pass
4	Laxmi BK	4	CPN (UML)	Bishwakarma	26	SLC	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Traditional occupation	Business	8 pass
5	Sita BK	5	CPN (UML)	Bishwakarma	41	10 pass	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Industry/Business	Political activist	B.Com
6	Supriya Yonjan (Pun)	6	CPN (Maoist Centre)	Janajati	25	Intermediate	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Agriculture	Housewife	B.Com
7	Mina Nepali	6	CPN (Maoist Centre)	Nepali	32	Literate	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Traditional occupation	Housewife	SLC
8	Man Kala BK	7	CPN (UML)	Nepali	44	Literate	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Agriculture	Housewife	7 pass
9	Sumitra Pariyar	8	CPN (UML)	Pariyar	36	SLC	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Traditional occupation	Political activist	Literate
10	Phulmati Pariyar	9	CPN (Maoist Centre)	Pariyar	44	Literate	Married	Hindu	Nuclear	Remittance	Business	Literate